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The Carian Stratonicea's Exception: Two Equal *Megistoi Theoi* as Divine Patrons in the Roman Period

Abstract: Stratonikeia's pantheon displays a unique civic profile with two (almost) equally predominant deities in the Roman period: Hekate (in Lagina) and Zeus Panamaros (in Panamara). Only these two deities were called *megistoi kai epiphanestatoi*. When they are both mentioned, during the events of 81 and 40/39 BCE when they were granted the onomastic attribute *megistos.e*, they work in a doublet fashion, fuelled by the usual rhetoric for salutary deities after manifesting their *energeia* (their power in action), to the point where both deities become the *epiphanestatoi theoi* indiscriminately. And yet some clues point to Zeus coming first. The 'Stratonicean exception' does not reflect a hierarchy in a civic pantheon, but rather two comparable historical situations from which the city drew the best diplomatic advantage by relying on its gods. It explains the relative prominence of Zeus Panamaros, "born" at the same time as the Imperial era as *megistos*, *epiphanestatos* and *patrios theos*, without downgrading Hekate who preceded him in the patronage of the city and served as a model for the construction of his image.

τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου,
Solon
Civitas [. . .] *Stratonicensium Iovis et*
Triviae religionem tueba[n]tur.
Tacitus¹

Stratonicea is a Carian *polis* anchored on a Macedonian *katoikia* (settlement), with an enduring 'indigenous' identity besides its Greek status.² Yet its pantheon³ displays a unique civic profile with two (almost) equally predominant deities in the Roman period:⁴ Hekate in Lagina, and Zeus Panamaros in Panamara, whose "invention" dates

¹ Respectively: Solon, *Maxim* 20, *ap.* Stobaeus, 3.1.172 (= fr. 114 ed. Wehrli): (conjecturing) "the invisible by means of the visible"; Tac., *Ann.*, 3.62.2 (under Tiberius): "Stratonicea [was] championing the cult of Jove and Diana of the Crossways" (transl. Loeb).

The statistics and the graph were kindly provided by Alaya Palamidis who filled in the MAP database for Stratonicea (<https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr>). I thank her warmly for that and for reading a first draft of this text.

² In the 270s BCE, Antiochus I settled Macedonian colonists on the location of a previous community with a Lycian origin, see Mastrocinque 1979, 75–78; Cohen 1995, 268–273; and Debord 2001a, 157–158.

³ On this term, see Pirenne-Delforge (ed.) 1998.

⁴ Yet, in Ephesus, next to Artemis who is the local divine marker and identity reference *par excellence*, there are other very great divine powers, see Belayche 2021a.

to 40/39 BCE. Despite its medium size, the city had some importance because of the significant role it played within the regional challenges from the second-first centuries BCE onwards. And yet, in the Roman period, the local ritual agents did not have the Roman *civitas* in the majority, at least not in Lagina⁵ (unlike Ephesus, for instance). The epigraphic documentation that mentions the two deities (alone or together) is particularly extensive (c. 500 inscriptions). It is divided between devotional documents (dedications) and the public and commemorative documents of priest-hoods, but unequally for the two sanctuaries. In Panamara, the majority are dedications (c. 58% of the sources in the *DB MAP*), due to a particular rite that was common in Roman times: hair consecrations (c. 100 inscriptions).⁶ In Lagina, public and honorary documentation is more common (c. 69% of the sources in the *DB MAP*) which illustrates members (both men and women) of the civic elite by listing the catalogue of their cult functions while they exalt the gods also – which in turn enhanced their own greatness. Consequently, it either relates official divine denominations (the priest or the priestess of a certain deity) which have at most one attribute that differentiates them,⁷ or it aligns hyperbolic expressions that contribute to multiply epiclases in contexts of glorification.⁸

Within the pantheon of Stratonicea, only Zeus Panamaros and the Laginean Hecate participate in these exalting games (with three exceptions, see *infra*), in the same way that, because of their extra-urban settlement, they were the only ones to be honoured with rituals that were both “concentric” or “stationary” and “kinetic” (moving on a “sacred path”), to use the terminology of C.G. Williamson.⁹ However, as we see in all the cities of Asia where a divine power predominated (such as Artemis in Ephesus, Asclepius in Pergamon or, in Caria, Aphrodite in Aphrodisias), the two dominant divine powers did not drain a pantheon inhabited by over forty divine powers with different denominations. This pantheon relates to various cultural components in line with the history of Anatolia:¹⁰ 1) deities of Anatolian tradition subjected to an *interpre-*

5 Laumonier 1958, 372–391, set a relative chronology of ritual agents in Lagina. On the juridical, and not social, distinction between the Stratonicean notables, see Frija 2018, esp. 125 (“*on peut affirmer sans risque de se tromper que, dans des petites et moyennes cités de la région, la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine n’a pas, encore au milieu du II^e siècle, atteint l’ensemble de ceux que l’on peut considérer comme les élites locales*”); more broadly, Ferrary 2005.

6 See Girone 2003, 24–34 for the repertoire of dedications. When the god’s name is mentioned, it is Zeus Panamaros/Panëmeros (*vel sim.*)

7 In Stratonicea, there are 13 different onomastic attributes for the theonym of Zeus alone (appearing unequally, 82 times in total), besides the overwhelming majority of the attribute Panamaros/Panëmeros (*vel sim.*, appearing 130 times). For the whole city, see Graph 1.

8 *E.g.*, elsewhere double superlatives like μεγιστότατος (“the most greatest”), Müller 1913, no. 225. For Hermes τρισημέριος, Versnel 1990, 237–242. See also Chaniotis 2009; Chaniotis 2010a; and Marek 2000.

9 Williamson 2021, 61–64.

10 See Marek 2016, 309–549 for the Roman period.

*tatio Graeca*¹¹ like the name of the goddess Artemis, sometimes epichoricised or “demotised” (“*en Panamarois*” or “*en Korazois*”; Artemis and Apollo *Koliorgon* [from *Koliorga*]);¹² 2) others from the Greek tradition such as the figures of Hestia, Hermes, Asclepius, the Eleusinian goddesses and the *Nemeseis*; 3) foreign deities created in Hellenistic times like Sarapis; and finally 4) those of more recent Roman importation, such as Zeus Kapetolios and the deified emperors. Without examining the entire local pantheonic network in this article,¹³ the divine world of this city demonstrates once again, as if proof were needed, that the evolution of Greco-Roman polytheism during the imperial period did not consist in reducing the divine world to a unity which would have paved the way for Christianity, and that even what we call the “henotheistic” evolution of the imperial period did not bring about a fundamental change in the way of conceiving this divine world.¹⁴ In fact, no scholar has ever considered the continually glorified Zeus Panamaros or Hecate in terms of “henotheism”, even though the question was posed for a set of dedications found in the gymnasium of Stratonicea, because they were dedicated Διὶ ὑψίστῳ (To Zeus the most high/the highest) – once [Θε]ῷ ὑψ[ίστ]ῳ (To the most high/highest god) and Θεῷ / To the divine (Ἀγγέλῳ / Messenger, Ἀγγελικῷ / messenger, Βασιλικῷ / royal, etc.).¹⁵ But the *Zeus hypsistos* (the most high/highest) honoured in Panamara under Antoninus Pius in a very political context, with Hecate Soteira, Zeus Kapetolios and the Emperor’s Tyche,¹⁶ is very certainly Zeus Panamaros next to his partner¹⁷ and he could also very well be the one at the gymnasium, a political and competitive place *par excellence*. Once again, we note that a reflection based on onomastic attributes imposes a finely-honed contextualisation, and one without a preliminary model. The abundance of epigraphic (and numismatic) material provides a rare opportunity to take advantage of serial ap-

11 Strabo, 14.2.28 [C 661–663], stresses a long-time Hellenization: the Carians spoke bad Greek (they were *barbarophōnoi*), yet “[. . .] the language of the Carians [. . .] has very many Greek words mixed up with it”, “for, although the other peoples were not yet having very much intercourse with the Greeks [. . .], yet the Carians roamed throughout the whole of Greece, serving on expeditions for pay” (transl. Loeb). See Brixhe 1993 and Bresson 2007, 217–225. For Carian onomastic attributes, see the priesthoods of M. Sempronius Clemens, *I.Stratonikeia* 16 = *DB MAP* S#5949, l. 6–7 et *I.Stratonikeia* 293 = *DB MAP* S#6870, l. 16–17 (τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Διὸς Παναμάρου; τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Χρυσασορείου καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ναράσου καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λωνδάργου), and the database of G. Frija, “Prêtres civiques”, <https://www.pretres-civiques.org/pretre/sempronius-clemens>; Şahin 2002, no. 14. See also a civic dedication to Zeus Ardueros (*I.Stratonikeia* 518 = *DB MAP* S#7000), and other divine figures with an indigenous tradition (Demeter Naryandis and Artemis Peldekeitis, *I.Stratonikeia* 283 = *DB MAP* S#6814, end of the second century CE).

12 *I.Stratonikeia* 527 = *DB MAP* S#7026; *I.Stratonikeia* 704 = *DB MAP* S#7134; *I.Stratonikeia* 263 = *DB MAP* S#6782. On the demes of Stratonicea grouped in the civic territory, see Williamson 2021, 244–249.

13 For this kind of issue, see e.g. Belayche 2021b.

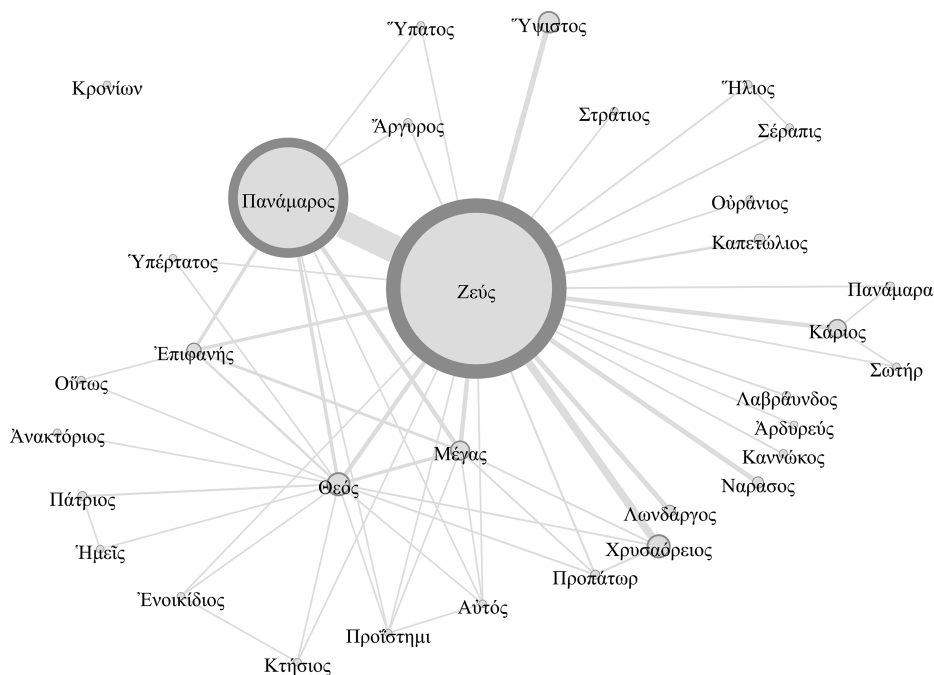
14 See Belayche 2023.

15 See Pleket 1981, 184–188, and Belayche 2012.

16 *I.Stratonikeia* 330 = *DB MAP* S#6948.

17 He is *hypatos* (the highest) once: *I.Stratonikeia* 206 = *DB MAP* S#6514 (Ζηνὶ Πανημερίῳ ὑπάτῳ).

proaches¹⁸ and address the very heart of the conception of a plural divine world, its making and its working,¹⁹ freeing ourselves from historiographical debates on “one vs many” and the taxonomy of the divine worlds,²⁰ of no heuristic value in this particular case.



Graph 1: Graph of all onomastic elements referring to Zeus in Stratonicea in the MAP database.²¹ Elements are linked when they appear in the same testimony and refer to a Zeus with the same epithet. The size of the elements and of the links between them depends on their frequency.

¹⁸ The last epigraphic corpus published in the *IGSK* dates to 2010 (*I.Stratonikeia* III). After this date, see the common tools (*SEG* and *BE*), the databases PHI (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org>) and MAP, but this latter lists only the onomastic sequences and not the theonyms without epithet (this reservation is important for Hekate who has few epithets).

¹⁹ See Belayche/Pirenne-Delforge 2015.

²⁰ Discussion has been rich over the last thirty years. As a reminder, a very few, important bibliographical standards: Versnel 1990; Versnel 2011; Athanassiadi/Frede (eds.) 1999; Mitchell/Van Nuffelen (eds.) 2010.

²¹ I do not propose a similar graph for Hekate because she has very few onomastic attributes.

1 Stratonicea, the *Polis* with a Dual Divine Patronage

Out of all the Greek cities of Asia, Stratonicea is the only case of a dual divine patronage²² which changed over time: Hecate and Zeus Chrysaoreios until the end of the 1st century BCE,²³ then Hecate and Zeus Panamaros. From Augustus onwards, the Stratoniceans “championed (*tuebantur*, Tacitus)” two master deities: a Zeus – called Panamaros (an onomastic attribute which is not Greek) from the last quarter of the 1st century BCE,²⁴ against a background of a pro-Roman attitude that never wavered in Stratonicea while the Greek cities of Asia showed some disaffection with Rome from the creation of the province –,²⁵ and a Hecate. This order of citation, which is that of the second century historian, was undoubtedly the one put forward by the Stratonicean ambassadors who came to Rome, given that Tacitus relates a Senate inquiry. In fact, this order matches the relative mass of epigraphic testimonies found, the vast majority of which are from the imperial period: they are more numerous for Zeus qualified as Panamaros *vel sim.* (c. 64% of the 203 testimonies in the *DB MAP* containing the Zeus element) – a predominance which is comparable to that of the Zeus element (either with attribute or not), c. 40% of all epigraphic attestations of deities in Stratonicea, with an expected overrepresentation in Panamara.²⁶ For Hecate, however, there are only 103 testimonies among all of the inscriptions in the Stratonicean corpus, of which approximately half do not include any onomastic attribute (that is, c. a quarter of the testimonies of divinities in the *DB MAP*, which only covers the divine elements with onomastic attributes) – despite the fact that the sanctuary of Lagina is in a much better state of conservation than the one in Panamara.²⁷ In public documentation (decrees) and self-illustration texts (inscriptions celebrating cultic

22 At Troezen in Argolis, according to Pausanias, 2.30.6, Zeus would have forced Athena and Poseidon to share the civic patronage, but the two divine powers have complementary functions: alone, Athena is *Polias* / of the city (and *Sthenias* / powerful), and Poseidon is *basileus* / king, as a magistrate (each of them is depicted on the opposite faces of coins from the fourth century BCE). There are no complementary functions in Stratonicea.

23 See *infra*, Strabo n. 51.

24 See the list of the various spellings (*Panamaros/rios*, *Panemeros/rios*) in Rivault 2021, tableau 1 s.vv. (not paginated). Concerning my issue, the diversity of spellings, connected to the chronology, has no impact insofar as there was no replacement of a spelling by another one. *Panamaros* and *Panemeros* coexist in the third century, although the god is always called *Panemeros/rios* in hair dedications, see *infra* p. 452.

25 Ferrary 2001.

26 The use of statistics is very complex because the same deity can be designated either without onomastic attributes or by other names (like *ho theos/hè thea*). Thus, statistics given in this paper are not to be taken as “objective” data; they are used as heuristic tools, helping to visualize orders of importance.

27 Despite the damage suffered by the Laginean sanctuary of Hecate during the Mithridatic war (Appian, *Mithr.*, 21), it is better preserved (Augustean works) than the sanctuary of Panamara, and it was (and is) properly excavated. The sanctuary of Panamara was a vast area enclosed by walls, with many buildings inside (among them a Hera temple), which are better attested in the honorific inscriptions

functions), the two figures appear as two “greatest” equal powers, with similar episodes of salutary intervention for the city at two key moments in the late-republican history of Asia.²⁸ However, this double patronage was not that of a “Greek-style” divine couple, even though the Zeus located in Panamara (*Karios* or *Panamaros*) could potentially give the impression of a “panhellenic” couple due to the existence of a Hera.²⁹ The citation order of the two deities varies according to the location of the dedications (in the city: 75 inscriptions; in either sanctuary, Panamara: 210 and Lagina: 79) and according to the context (chronological, religious or geopolitical). In the 11 cases where the two powers are glorified together, Zeus always comes first except once in Panamara,³⁰ bearing in mind that 8 of these inscriptions come from Panamara.

In the wake of previous research on the working and making of polytheism, I will focus on the tension between these two largely dominant powers (τῶν προεστώτων μεγίστων θεῶν): the *thea* (goddess) Hecate and Zeus Panamaros (listing them here in chronological order) – a tension that is not part of a “divine sovereignty” according to a vertical conception of power. Both have few onomastic attributes,³¹ except “greatest (*megistos/e*)” and “the most manifest” powers, perpetually providential for the city,³² in enough testimonies to have formulaic value, especially for Hecate.³³ And they are

of the imperial period than on the ground (no excavations up to now). For the constructions in Roman times, see Laumonier 1958, 222–227 and 242–245.

28 And yet Hellenistic Caria is known for epiphanies, see Robert 1937, 518; also, *RE* s.v. “*Epiphanie*” (Pfister), col. 277–323. At Mylasa, Zeus Osogoa/gos, “saviour and benefactor of the city” gave “many grandiose manifestations of his action”, *I.Mylasa* 306, see Robert 1945, 44 n. 1 and Rivault 2021, p. 161–166 (165 for this inscription); see also Laumonier 1958, 110.

29 Pirenne-Delforge/Pironti 2016, 175–205, esp. 194 n. 468 for Stratonikeia.

30 *I.Stratonikeia* 186 = *DB MAP* S#6493.

31 E.g. Zeus Panemerios of Argyros ([Διὶ Π]ανημέρῳ Ἀργύρου), *I.Stratonikeia* 311–312 = *DB MAP* S#6936–6937; Argyros is probably the founder of the cult, see Chaniotis/Carbon, forthcoming, for other anthroponyms in the genitive. For Hekate Soteira, *infra* n. 75. Hera, who also has few onomastic attributes except for topic ones, can be *Teleia*, e.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 324 = *DB MAP* S#6944.

32 *I.Stratonikeia* 1101 = *DB MAP* S#7200, l. 2–3 (mid-third century CE): τὴν πόλιν ἄνωθεν τῇ τῶν προεστώτων αὐτῆς μεγίστων θεῶν [προνοίᾳ, Διὸς Π]ανημε[ρίου καὶ Ἑ]κάτης ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ συνεχῶν κινδύνων σεσῶσθαι (“the providence of the greatest, prominent gods, Zeus Panemerios and Hecate, who saved the city from great and numerous dangers”). Already for Hekate *I.Stratonikeia* 512, 6–8 (ὁ δῆμος ἀποδεικνύμενος τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείαν τε καὶ εὐχαριστίαν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τυγχάνων τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπισημασίας διεσώθη (“and thus, to its benefit, obtaining the esteem/special attention of the gods (the *demos*) was saved”, transl. Van Bremen) ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν καιροῦ). The date is debatable (revolt of Aristonikos or Mithridatic war, Van Bremen 2010), precisely because the expressions are formulaic; see Laumonier 1958, 355. At Klazomenai, in the second century BCE, an epiphany of Zeus *soter epiphanes* in a similar context, Boulay 2009; in Caria at Bargylia for Artemis *Kindyas*, Robert 1937, 459–465 and Pritchett 1979, 37–39.

33 16 mentions for Hekate (more than 2/3) and 7 for Zeus Panamaros (c. 1/3), plus cases when they are either *megistos/e* (3/5 for Hekate and c. 1/3 for Zeus Panamaros) or *epiphanestatos/e* (more than 2/3 for Hekate and less than 1/3 for Zeus Panamaros). The lexicon of omnipotence (Versnel 2017) is not attested, yet it would not change the argument.

the only two figures of the Stratonicean pantheon to be so, with three exceptions that can be explained. Zeus Chrysaoreios, *propator* therefore ancestral (τοῦ προπάτορος Διὸς Χρυσαορείου)³⁴ since he was the second patron god until the last quarter of the 1st century BCE, is however only once *megistos theos* in 100–150 CE in a text in Lagina: τοῦ προπάτορος μεγ[ίστου] θεοῦ Διὸς Χρυσαορείου.³⁵ In this commemorative priestly inscription (where the honoured priest was priest of Zeus Panamaros three times), he is undoubtedly contaminated (even in the doubling of the *sigma*) by Zeus Panamaros and Hecate, both *megistos/e* [sic] *kai epiphanestatos/e theos/a* (c-d and 1–2 [the first lines are restored], and 16 and 19–20).³⁶ The absence of both attributes for the other “Carian” Zeuses honoured at Stratonicea³⁷ makes Panamaros stand out all the more because the “Carian” Zeuses are frequently “*megistos*” in regional epigraphy: the exemplary case being that of the Zeus of Iasos who is simply *megistos*,³⁸ with no other specific onomastic attribute, contrary to those of Labraunda or Mylasa.³⁹ The second exception has to do with Hera: she is *epiphanestate* in a 1st-century CE text commemorating the construction of the goddess’ *naos* ([τῆς ἐπι]φανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἥρας),⁴⁰ probably out of mimicry with her new Panamarean partner. Finally, the *Nemeseis* are *megistai*, which refers more to their imperial “theology” than to a hierarchical positioning in the local pantheon.⁴¹

The *megistos/e* attribute concentrated on the two figures of Hecate and Zeus Panamaros is remarkable because *meas/ale* is the most frequent epithet in the qualification of the gods in Greek⁴² and the number of attestations increases in Roman times

34 *I.Stratonikeia* 667 = *DB MAP* S#7035, l. 7: the priest was also priest of *megistos theos Zeus Panamaros*, l. 4–5.

35 *I.Stratonikeia* 663 = *DB MAP* S#7030, l. a-b and 13. The priests of the two inscriptions 663 and 667 (*DB MAP* S#7030 and 7035) come from the deme of *Hierakômê* where S.Ç Sahin locates the sanctuary of Zeus Chrysaoreios, but the hypothesis of a link which might have prompted the attribute of *Propator* cannot be demonstrated.

36 Heller 2006, 207, proposes a geopolitical reason in the context of the competition between cities for the granting of the title of *metropolis* of Caria under the Antonines, see *infra* n. 108.

37 See *supra* n. 7 and 11.

38 *SEG* 15, 639 (τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Μεγίστου); *BE* 1973, 425 and 1964, 458; Laumonier 1958, index s.v. 768.

39 For the Zeus of Labraunda Μεγίστω Θεῷ Διὶ Λαβραύνδῳ, *BE* 1973, 405. At Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 306), Zeus Osogo(a) is τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν [θεῶν]; see *infra* n. 97. Cf. Debord 2001b. Zeus Larasios at Tralles (*I.Tralleis* 14), the Zeus of Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 212 and 310) and the Zeus of Iasos (*I.Iasos* 235–236) are *hypsistoi*.

40 *I.Stratonikeia* 113 = *DB MAP* S#6397, l. 8–9.

41 *I.Stratonikeia* 175 = *DB MAP* S#6440: Θεαῖς μεγίσταις Νεμέσσει. At Smyrna, “their” city, they are just *megalai theai*, *I.Smyrna* 641 and 650 = *DB MAP* S#5939 and 5947. For the imperial Nemesis, *Bru* 2011, 157–173.

42 A first repertoire by Müller 1913; recently see Versnel 2011, 288–291 (“the fourth characteristic of henotheistic religion”) and Parker 2017a, 141–145 in acclamatory contexts. And yet this attribute is problematic, for the “Mothers” for instance, see Georgoudi 2021 and Belayche 2016. In the present state of the *DB MAP* (with few data from Anatolia), *meas* holds the sixth rank among the 10 onomastic elements in Greek that are the most frequent.

with the trend to exalt the gods and acclaim them – to such an extent that A. Chaniotis created the neologism “*megatheism*” to characterise this “expression of piety”.⁴³ But what does the attribute “greatest” mean, given that a divine primacy, itself glorified in the context of competition between cults, does not necessarily require it? Accordingly, in her city of Aphrodisias, Aphrodite is never *megiste* despite being eponymous and glorified as *epiphanestate thea*, and in Ephesus, the testimonies of Artemis *Epheisia he megiste thea* are concentrated in the epigraphic record of the donation of C. Vibius Salutaris at the very beginning of the 2nd century.⁴⁴ Why glorify two public divinities who are not a couple, equally and with the same formula, when a superlative has the function of establishing a hierarchy? And throughout what means? More broadly, how are we to understand the Stratonicean exception within the great cities of western Anatolia, and in the Greco-Roman representation of the cities’ tutelage which was based on the mythical *agon* between Athena and Poseidon for the one in Athens? What does this tell us about the conception of the gods of polytheism?

Upon examination, it appears that this “greatest and overpowerful in action” couple is a product of a well dated story, which again illustrates the conjunctural aspect of polytheistic representations which is a condition of their existence. Providing a fine example of the intertwining of religion and politics, the imperial-period “duo”, Zeus Panamaros-Hecate, is *organically* anchored in Stratonicea, and in its religious topography firstly. The two extra-urban geographical poles point in two opposite directions (each about ten kilometres from the city, see *infra* Fig. 1).⁴⁵ This dual topography creates symmetrical rituals⁴⁶ – festivities in their respective sanctuaries, shared religious tributes in the sanctuary of the city at the *bouleuterion*,⁴⁷ and two lavish annual processions which each take up about a month of the calendar, with spectacles and liberalities.⁴⁸ Secondly, this double anchoring is based on a historical memory continuously claimed as identity (δὴ ἀπαντὸς χρόνου) – the salutary epiphanies of the two divine powers during two similar historical episodes in each of the two geographical poles, in 88 and 40 BCE.⁴⁹ These two spatial and historical data shed light on this original pantheonic device – two equally exalted divinities, but with a moving hierarchy according to the contexts (and “discourses”) –, especially versus a god as identitarian as Zeus Karios who,

⁴³ Chaniotis 2010a, 113.

⁴⁴ Respectively *IAph2007*, 8.114; see Chaniotis 2010b, esp. 236–237. For Ephesus *I.Ephesos* 27 = *DB MAP* S#14381.

⁴⁵ They are not “frontier shrines”. On this discussion starting from the typology of G. Vallet, followed by Polignac 1984, see the convincing pages of Williamson 2021, 17–34 and 418–419.

⁴⁶ This is the refreshing “spatial approach” of Williamson 2021, 241–410 *passim*, for Stratonikeia and its two sanctuaries. But the scholar does not investigate the relationships between Zeus and Hekate.

⁴⁷ Bernini/Rivault 2020, esp. 151–161. The daily chorus of children (*I.Stratonikeia* 1101 = *DB MAP* S#7200) joined “kinetic” and “stationary” rituals.

⁴⁸ *E.g. I.Stratonikeia* 254. See Debord 2007.

⁴⁹ Yet, the Hekate sanctuary was damaged in 88, contrary to that of Panamara in 40, “miraculously” protected (*I.Stratonikeia* 10 = *DB MAP* S#5775).

during the Hellenistic period, was settled in Panamara where he was supplanted without disappearing.⁵⁰ How, over time, is the balance between the two “greatest” powers established and manifested, and how, where and when are variations in hierarchy expressed?

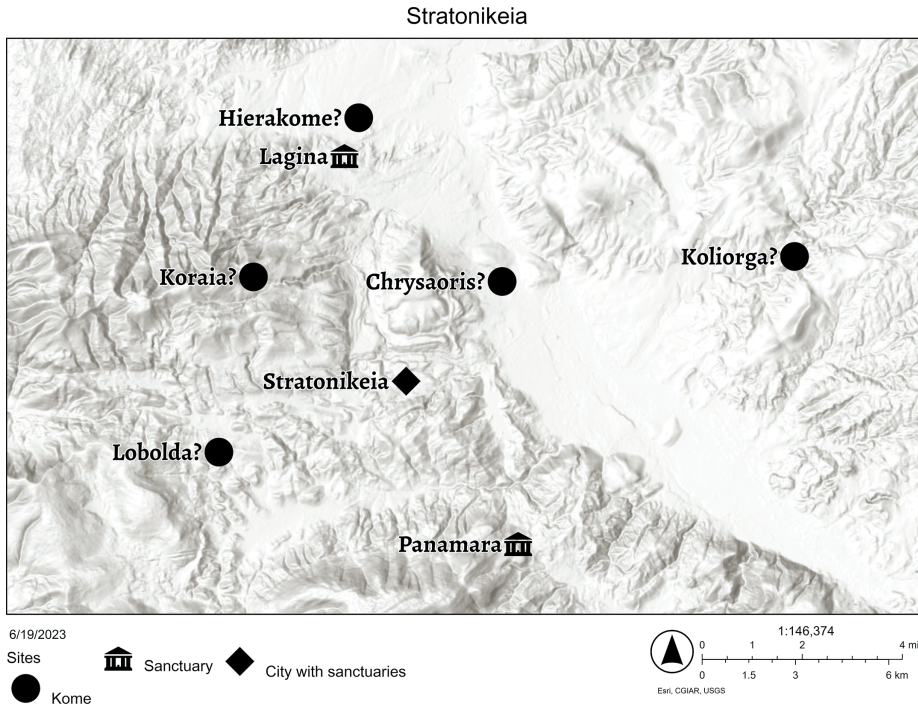


Fig. 1: Stratonicea and its *chora*.

2 Hecate First *Megiste Kai Epiphanestate*

A dual divine patronage already existed in the Hellenistic city. Strabo describes a situation in the mid-2nd century BCE, after the end of Rhodian rule:

There are two sanctuaries in the country of the Stratoniceians (ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων), of which the most famous, that of Hecate, is at Lagina (τὸ [*hieron*] τῆς Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον); and it draws great festal assemblies every year. And near the city (ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως), is the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus (τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαιορέως Διὸς), the common possession of all Carians (κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν), whither they gather both to offer sacrifice and to deliberate on their common interests.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See *infra* n. 64–65.

⁵¹ Strabo, 14.2.25 [C 660], transl. Loeb. See Heller 2006, 206–208.

This double tutelage is visually expressed in contemporary coinage when, on the obverse, there is a bust of Zeus, depicted too generically to allow precise identification,⁵² and on the reverse, Hecate standing frontally, her head coiffed with the *polos* (the hairstyle of the civic *Tychai*) topped by a crescent moon, and holding the torch and the *patera* (see for this type Fig. 5).⁵³ The distribution of the deities on the two sides of the coin shows no hint of a hierarchy between them, but rather the tradition in Hellenistic coinage of featuring Zeus on the obverse (Fig. 2a). Moreover, in many other issues from the 2nd-1st centuries BCE, when Hecate is shown alone, her bust is on the right, with Pegasus (Fig. 2b) or a winged Victory on the reverse.⁵⁴



Fig. 2a: Half-drachm, after 166 BCE (SNG von Aulock 8142; Meadow Group 2 A, p. 85).

O.: Zeus bearded and laurated;

R.: eagle with spread wings standing right, harpa in front, all within incuse square (in the field MEΛANTOY).



Fig. 2b: Stratonicea, ca. 2nd cent. BCE (BMC Caria 29).

O.: Hecate, laureate head, with moon crescent.

R.: Pegasus flying left (in the field ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ).

⁵² He might be Zeus Chrysaor(e)ios, according to Laumonier 1958, 202–203.

⁵³ See Meadows 2002, for the catalogue group 1 (tridrachm) 80 and 98 and pl. 19 group 1.

⁵⁴ See Meadows 2002, group 2, 80, drachms, c. 130–115 BCE.

Thus, Stratonicea already had two sanctuaries, already outside the city-centre, yet one extra-urban (Hecate) and the other peri-urban (Zeus Chrysaoreios). The one dedicated to Hecate was located in Lagina, north-west of the city (Fig. 1). With this *hieron ἐπιφανέστατον* (“the most famous sanctuary”, Strabo), the goddess gave the city a remarkable image – literally speaking, on the obverses of silver and bronze coins from the 2nd century BCE.⁵⁵ The other sanctuary, that of Zeus Chrysaor(e)ios, honoured a “Zeus”, that is, a great male god⁵⁶ – just as the “*Meter*” or the “*Artemis*” are Greek names for the great female goddesses of Anatolia⁵⁷ –, bearing a Carian epiclesis (toponymic).⁵⁸ He patronised a pan-Carian federal function⁵⁹ since his sanctuary, at the gates of the city-centre, was the place of the “Chrysaoric league” (τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσαορέων, Strabo) which was homonymous.⁶⁰ This is why he is the *propator*/ancestral power.⁶¹ The imperial period preserves the memory of this double patronage of Hecate and this Zeus, through the coupled priesthoods τῆς Ἑκάτης καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Χρυσαορείου and an inscription which gratifies him as *megistos* (sic) just like the patron couple of the time.⁶² Then, he had a sanctuary served by a priest,⁶³ but his importance has vanished because the ethnic league he patronised fell into disuse since the formation of the province of Asia.⁶⁴

The politico-ethnic function of the shrine of Zeus Chrysaor(e)ios at the gates of the city was different from the extra-urban shrine of Zeus Karios located in Panamara (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ [Καρίο]υ τοῦ ἐμ Πανα[μ]άρου),⁶⁵ a deme to the southeast of the

55 See Meadows 2002, catalogue p. 80–81 drachms group 2 and p. 91–94 group 3 (Hecate with the moon crescent) and p. 114 for the bronze coinage.

56 In all the Hellenized countries, the theonym of Zeus is used as a generic name for expressing a divine prominent position in Greek language, see Parker 2017b and 2017a, 46–50.

57 See Hermery 2020 for a shared iconography.

58 See Laumonier 1958, 200–211 (yet at pages 202–203, he seems to confuse him with Zeus Karios in setting a couple with Hera who was at Panamara (as B.V. Head did in *BMC Caria* p. LXVIII); Debord 2001b; Debord 2010 (on mythical references); Williamson 2021, 254–259; and Rivault 2021, 264–271, who lists him under the rubric “*Zeus de koina*”.

59 *I.Stratonikeia* 809 = DB MAP S#7137.

60 See Sahin 2003.

61 *I.Stratonikeia* 667 = DB MAP S#7035.

62 See *supra* n. 35 and *infra* n. 64.

63 *I.Stratonikeia* 236 = DB MAP S#6751.

64 *I.Stratonikeia* 249, 251, 252 = DB MAP S#6753, 6762, 6769; see also *I.Stratonikeia* 16 = DB MAP S#5949. Lozano 1993, 92–93, asserts that Zeus Panamaros is “*Iheredero*” of Zeus Chrysaoreios and that there was a “substitution” from the latter to the other; this is understandable only if the “legacy” concerns the position of civic patronage and not the identity of the god.

65 *I.Stratonikeia* 1401 = DB MAP S#5715, l. 24–25, in 197–188 BCE, a decree of Callipolis for Leon son of Chrysaor (Van Bremen 2004); see also *I.Stratonikeia* 3 = DB MAP S#5278 (phials offered to Zeus [Karios] by Philip V of Macedonia in 201), *I.Stratonikeia* 6 = DB MAP S#5279 (between 197 and 166), *I.Stratonikeia* 7 = DB MAP S#5708, l. 24–25 (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καρίου, before 197?), *I.Stratonikeia* 101 and 104 = DB MAP S#6355 and 6361 (second-first century BCE) and *I.Stratonikeia* 47 = DB MAP S#6346 (no

city (Fig. 1),⁶⁶ which would become the second sacred pole of the city from Augustus onwards. Twelve documents found at Panamara preserve his name,⁶⁷ including five with Hera. Strabo does not mention him in the Hellenistic period although he was granted *asylia* in the 2nd century BCE,⁶⁸ undoubtedly because he held no master status in the poliadic construction. It was the sanctuary of an ethnic god, Carian, which was not proper to the city of Stratoniceia.⁶⁹ In Hellenistic times, his Carian identity, able to ethnically support “the *koinon* of the Panamareans”,⁷⁰ was useful to the city’s relationships with both the demes and the neighbouring cities (Kallipolis and Laodicea).⁷¹ However, this role was not sufficient for glorifying Zeus Karios as *megistos* or *epiphanestatos*. In the imperial period, the *epiclesis* Karios only appears sporadically, for example in the dedication of a priest, son of one of the ambassadors of 39⁷² and, at the end of the 1st century CE, in the consecration by a priest and his wife of the “pronaos/vestibule (?) with all its surroundings (τὸν πρόαντα σὺν τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις πᾶσι)” “To Zeus Karios and Hera” in the *temenos* of Zeus now in his form of Panamaros.⁷³ In both cases, Zeus Karios became somewhat of a “co-tenant” of Zeus Panamaros, who supplanted but not replaced him.⁷⁴

date). In a religious rule badly flawed (*I.Stratonikeia* 1), this Zeus has no *epiclesis* (at least preserved), but this might have happened in the imperial period as well, see e.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 205 = DB MAP S#6702.

66 The date of the integration of Panamara in the city is a matter of debate, cf. Van Bremen 2004. On the “localism” of the sanctuary and its relations to Hellenism, see Mastrocinque 1979, 209–235; Lozano 1992, 86 n. 2 and 224–228, and 1993, 84 (the *Panamareia* served to “*rememorar anualmente la integración de la aldea primitiva en la ciudad griega*”); Bresson 2007.

67 Besides those cited *supra* n. 65, for the Roman period *I.Stratonikeia* 109, 111, 112 et 116 = DB MAP S#6363, 6392, 6393 and 6398 (first century CE), *I.Stratonikeia* 200 = DB MAP S#6505 (second century CE). *I.Stratonikeia* 20 = DB MAP S#6206 is a dubious restitution (twice) based on lines 3–4 ([τὰς ἐν]αργεῖς ἐπ[ι]φανείας)), which is rather fitting for Zeus Panamaros.

68 *I.Stratonikeia* 7 = DB MAP S#5708, l. 5–6 (the decree honouring Leon, 166–147 BCE): ἀσυλίας ὑπαρχούσας τῷ Διὶ καὶ Παναμαρεῦσιν. For Van Bremen 2004, 219–222, after Debord 2001b, 32, the *asylia* would precede the city foundation; *contra* Robert 1937, 520 and Laumonier 1958, 239, followed by Lozano 1992, 87.

69 This is why I consider it clumsy to list him as a Zeus “*politique*” like Rivault 2021, 230–233.

70 *I.Stratonikeia* 7 = DB MAP S#5708, l. 7–10.

71 Bresson *et al.* 2001, no. 84 & 89. On the delicate question of the identification of the demes, Debord 2001a, 163–167.

72 *I.Stratonikeia* 111 = DB MAP S#6392; see Laumonier 1958, 243. See also *I.Stratonikeia* 112 = DB MAP 6393 (Διὶ Καρίῳ [καὶ Ἡρ]αι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ), which memorialized constructions in the Hera temple; the dedication to the *dêmos*, which is a *unicum*, does not betray *per se* a privileged link between Zeus Karios and the people.

73 *I.Stratonikeia* 200 = DB MAP S#6505, l. 8–11. Laumonier’s translation, 1958, 244: “le temple (?) d’en face”, does not seem satisfactory.

74 See also Artemis τῆς ἐν Παν[αμάρ]οις καὶ τῶν συνκαθιδρυμένων θεῶν, *I.Stratonikeia* 251 = DB MAP S#6762. On the lexicon of the sharing of cult places, see Pañeda Murcia 2021.

Hecate had no dedicated onomastic attribute, but a dedication Σωτήρη (“To the Savior” with no theonym) persuades of the ‘transparency’ of the attribute.⁷⁵ She was the first “greatest and the most manifest (μεγίστη καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτη)” local goddess, perhaps already from the revolt of Aristonikos on,⁷⁶ certainly in any case in 81 BCE. A *senatus consultum* publicized her salvific providence during the Mithridatic war, during which Stratonicea had chosen the Romans’ camp.⁷⁷ The strong link with Rome dated back to the end of the Rhodian domination over Caria (188–167),⁷⁸ and the first testimonies of the cult of Hecate at Lagina also date from this time.⁷⁹ As a result of the Mithridatic war, the goddess not only gained an onomastic formula of “distinction” ([τῆς] Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανεστάτης καὶ μεγίστης θεᾶς),⁸⁰ with the mention of the predicate *thea*⁸¹), fixed as ἡ μεγίστη καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτη θεὰ Ἑκάτη or with a shorter onomastic sequence containing only one attribute or the other.⁸² Her glorification by name was doubled by a pairing with the *thea Rhome* (*dea Roma*) and material ‘translations’ for her sanctuary, granted many advantages including asylum (or rather its confirmation) which provided her a precious juridical capacity.⁸³ Thus, as a “counter-gift”, the pentetaeric festival of the *Hekatesia-Rhomaia* henceforth dedicated honours to Hecate Σωτείραι Ἐπιφανεῖ and to *Rhome* θεᾷ Εὐεργέτιδι (the goddess Rome Benefactress).⁸⁴ It is no coincidence that, in the documents we have in any case, after the first use in 81, *megiste kai epiphanestate* only become attributes of Hecate when alongside the appearance of Zeus Panamaros, who is only acclaimed as *megas* during his epiphany but who becomes *megistos kai epiphanestatos* in the honours he gets. The chronologi-

75 *I.Stratonikeia* 300 = DB MAP S#6905. Otherwise there are only 7 mentions of *Soteira* in 103 attestations of the theonym Hekate: *I.Stratonikeia* 330 = DB MAP S#6948 (Ἑκάτη Σω[τ]ήρη), *I.Stratonikeia* 510 = DB MAP S#6995 (Ἑκάτη Σωτείραι), *I.Stratonikeia* 516 = DB MAP S#6999 (Ἑκάτη Σωτείρη), and *I.Stratonikeia* 1108 = DB MAP S#7357 ([Ἑκά]τη Σωτείρη); *I.Stratonikeia* 217 = DB MAP S#6579 (Ἑκάτη Σωτήρη ἐπιφανῶ), *I.Stratonikeia* 507 = DB MAP S#6994 (Ἑκάτη Σωτείραι Ἐπιφανεῖ); and Aydaş 2009, no. 15 = DB MAP S#8475 (Ἑκάτη Σωτείραι ἐπιφανεῖ). There is no other deity *Soteira*. The book of Johnston 1990, with this title, concerns the Hekate of the Chaldaic oracles.

76 See *supra* n. 32.

77 *I.Stratonikeia* 505 = DB MAP S#6993.

78 See Bresson 2003. The relationships with Rhodes were never totally broken: in the imperial period, the Panamara sanctuary invites to its festivals “the Rhodians of Caria who are our neighbours”, *I.Stratonikeia* 22, l. 8–9. See Hatzfeld 1927 and Bresson *et al.* 2001, no. 216.

79 *I.Stratonikeia* 504.

80 *I. Stratonikeia* 505, 57 = DB MAP S#6993.

81 *I.Stratonikeia* 186, 197, 224, 289, 296b, 329 ([τῆς θεᾶς Ἑκά]της), 527, 663, 665a, 666, 704, 1420, 1428 = DB MAP S#6493, 6501, 6580, 6827, 6890, 6946, 7026, 7030, 7032, 7033, 7134, 8035, 8151.

82 For Hekate *megiste* alone, *I.Stratonikeia* 227, 255, 256, 513, 514, 523, 687 = DB MAP S#6581, 6770, 6774, 6997, 6998, 7025, 7089. For Hekate *epiphanestate* alone, *I.Stratonikeia* 113, 217 (Ἑκάτη Σωτήρη ἐπιφανῶ), 317, 699, 701, Aydaş 2009, no. 15 = DB MAP S#6397, 6579, 6939, 7125, 7126, 8475.

83 *I.Stratonikeia* 505 = DB MAP S#6993 and *I.Stratonikeia* 508 for the list of cities acknowledging the *asylia* and taking part in the festivals. See Rigsby 1996, 418–428; Van Bremen 2010; and Heller 2006, 65–68. The *senatus consultum* also renewed a treaty of alliance and friendship between Rome and the city.

84 *I.Stratonikeia* 507 = DB MAP S#6994, l. 6–7.

cal observation is the same when Hecate has only one of these two attributes⁸⁵ – more numerous mentions for her (especially in Lagina) than for Zeus Panamaros, except in the city-centre where they are balanced because of the joint worship there. The Hecate of 81 served as a model for the creation of Zeus Panamaros, but it is thanks to him that the glorifying formula for the two powers spread.

The fact that an imposing female deity – a Titanide who participated into Zeus' birth according to some versions and comes into the mythological network of Artemis and Demeter⁸⁶ – ruled an Anatolian city is not surprising in these countries of “Mothers” and “Artemis”. But Caria stands out more for its male gods, “*megistoi*” beyond their multiple epicleses (especially topical) and quick to manifest themselves,⁸⁷ most often referred to in Greek as Zeuses.⁸⁸

3 Zeus *Panamaros*, Second Comer (but also First) *Megistos Kai Epiphanestatos*

All these Zeuses, including Karios and Chrysaoreios, continue, for some, to people the pantheon of Stratonicea until the 3rd century CE (according to the preserved documentation).⁸⁹ Graph 1 shows their diversity (with no chronological distinctions), but fails to highlight the fact that only one is honoured as μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος. Zeus Panamaros is believed to have manifested himself in Panamara (ἐν Παναμάρῳ) during a salvific epiphany in 40 BCE, that is to say, in a historical context which is no longer Carian but rather globalised given that it concerns the *imperium* of Rome. This is why, in Augustan times, this “newcomer” robbed from Chrysaoreios the place of second *megistos* divine patron of the city, and from Karios his ownership of the Panamara sanctuary. The dual divine configuration based on a spatial bipolarisation therefore remained, but it was redesigned in the light of the new geopolitics. For this investigation, this is significant for the balance between the two *megistoi theoi*, Hecate

⁸⁵ *Supra* n. 82.

⁸⁶ I cannot develop here the fact that the form *monoprosopos* (with one face) of the Laginean Hecate, a Titanide divine power (preceding the Olympian god who grants her *timai* according to Hesiod, see Zografou 2010, 25–37) who has a part in Zeus' birth according to the temple's reliefs – so different from the other Hecate known in Anatolia as well (triform, dark and frightening, power of all passages) –, might explain why the city choose her as a civic deity. On the iconography of the freeze and its re-examination, see since Schober 1933, Baumeister 2007 (with the recension of Queyrel 2009, who invites to a contextualized reading of the reliefs) and Van Bremen 2010.

⁸⁷ See *supra* n. 38–39, and Laumonier 1958, index 755–768.

⁸⁸ See *supra* n. 56. Apollo also, e.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 298 = DB MAP S#6898, as a “couple” with Artemis, and Laumonier 1958, 211–213.

⁸⁹ See *supra* n. 7 et 11.

and Zeus Panamaros, also demonstrated in the preservation of the two *asylias* in Roman times, something unique for a city.⁹⁰

Concerning the naming of the gods, the episode of the year 40 BCE provides a “historical” case of accessing the origin of a god by its name, which is unique, to my knowledge (it is not a case of renaming). During the territorial disruption linked to the civil war which followed Caesar’s death in 44, Caria fell under the control of Labienus in 40. Upon his return, the “republican” general, who the murderers of the “tyrant” had sent to the Parthians, sought to seize southern Anatolia, including Stratonicea.⁹¹ I will refrain from going into detail about the “birth” of Zeus Panamaros during these troubles, which I have already studied.⁹² The inscription baptised by P. Roussel as the “miracle”⁹³ is the earliest occurrence of his onomastic features (*Panamaros* and *megistos* [restored]) – hence his “birth” – although later decrees, according to well-known rhetoric,⁹⁴ set the deity and his epiphany in a tradition “from ancient days” (ἐκ παλ[αίων χρόνων]).

... ἐπειδὴ ὁ μέγιστος Ζεὺς Πανάμαρος][καὶ πρότερον πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφανεῖς ἐνήργησεν ἐνεργείας εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλ[εως] σωτηρίαν ἐκ παλ[αίων χρόνων —][— μ]άλιστα δὲ νῦν, ἡγωνισμέ-
νου καὶ πεφηνά[ντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πολέμοις,]

... Whereas, [*already before, the greatest Zeus Panamaros had performed many and great deeds manifestly*] for the salvation of the city since ancient times [. . .], even more so today, [*the god*], who fought and who manifested himself [*against the enemies* . . .].⁹⁵

This inscription provides what could be called the “birth certificate” of the god, considering the name of the god is part of his making, as demonstrated in an exemplary manner by that of Sarapis.⁹⁶

90 See Rigsby 1996, 419: “Stratoniceia’s extraordinary honour of two inviolable temples seems to have been linked in both cases to the city’s loyalty to Rome in the first century B.C.”.

91 On the “raid of Labienus”, see the map in Delrieux/Ferrière 2004, 50.

92 Belayche 2009 (followed by Rivault 2021, 236–240); I also explained why, *contra* some scholars (like Debord 2001a, 167: “*le changement de l’épiclese*”, and now Williamson 2021, 242 and 397: “the change in the epiklesis of the god”), it is impossible to assert that Zeus Panamaros is the new name of Zeus Karios since the two deities coexisted and cohabitated, and because, in a polytheistic conception, this would mean that the Karios disappeared, and this is contradicted by the evidence, see *supra* n. 65.

93 Roussel 1931.

94 Girone 2003, 38, reads in it an authentication of the “miracle”. I would not say so because it is a common formula, yet the acclamation functions as a legitimization, see *infra* n. 98.

95 *I.Stratonikeia* 10 = DB MAP S#5775, l. 2–4, transl. Belayche 2009, restitutions in italics. There is no base for argument for using the expression “from the ancient times” to identify Zeus Karios since no evidence ever relates him to any *epiphaneia*, even in late times. On the contrary *I.Stratonikeia* 15 = DB MAP S#5902, l. 3–4 (a second-century CE decree): ἐπεὶ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος Ζεὺς Πανάμαρος σώζει τὴν πόλιν διὰ παντὸς χρόνου) (“Given that the greatest and most present Zeus Panamaros saves the city in any time”).

96 See Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 4.48 and Cyrilus of Alexandria, *Against Julian*, 1.16 [523CD]; see Borgeaud/Volokhine 2000. More broadly Belayche/Brulé *et al.* (eds.) 2005 (esp. I “*Penser et écrire le nom*”, 18: “*Le nom du dieu participe à la fabrication de celui-ci*”).

ἀναβοών[των] μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ Μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανάμαρον
those who cried aloud: Great is Zeus Panamaros (l. 13).⁹⁷

This passage from the epiphany narrative expresses the legitimisation of the ontological power of the god through his acclamation, given that, since the Hellenistic period, acclamations had become one of the procedures for decision-making.⁹⁸ What is more, one cannot exclude that the acclamation (as in a “conversion”) comes from the assailants “seized with madness (ἐνμανεῖς ὄντες)”⁹⁹ – a disruption consistent with the epiphanic experience, judging by the stereotype of bacchants. Indeed, these few lines (11–18) speak only of the assailants, but the syntax prevents us from being affirmative.¹⁰⁰ If the acclamation is indeed a result of the assailants’ bewilderment when faced with a thundering and lightning god, it is even more evident that the name they give to the atmospheric power fighting them (l. 4 *supra* and 7) is “Zeus” of the place (Panamaros), and not that of the Carian owner of the sanctuary (Karios) that these mercenary troops ignored probably.

Here is the first testimony of the epithet Panamaros – since one must postpone after the 1st century BCE an obscure text from Hyllarima (a city adjoining Stratonicea), according to which an association of Eranists had consecrated the “ΤΡΟΜΕΩΣ (?) of Zeus Panamaros”.¹⁰¹ This invention of the god by means of a new epiclesis – a god exists first by his name pronounced in a ritual context, in this case an acclamation – was the cornerstone of a new image chosen by the city in the context of the new geopolitical world, because, by protecting the city, Zeus Panamaros had also contributed to the salvation of Rome. However, historical tradition failed to preserve the memory of this “miracle”, if we are to believe the Stratonicean embassy of 22 which, according to Tacitus, argued only unfailing friendship and resistance to the Parthians (the army of Labienus), without mentioning this divine help which could however have made the difference with Aphrodisias, for example.¹⁰² Cassius Dio neither does report any

⁹⁷ See, of course, the acclamation of Artemis Ephesia in *Luke-Acts* 19.28 and 34.

⁹⁸ Wiemer 2013.

⁹⁹ *I.Stratonikeia* 10 = *DB MAP* S#5775, l. 17; see also l. 15: ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γε]νόμενοι.

¹⁰⁰ *I.Stratonikeia* 10 = *DB MAP* S#5775, l. 13: ἔτι δέ might introduce a behaviour of enemies different than those who desert, before ἄλλοι δέ (l. 14, yet a restitution) which might designate the Stratoniceans. *Contra* Merkelbach 1968 who understands a shout of gratitude from the Stratoniceans.

¹⁰¹ Debord/Varinlioglu 2018, no. 33 = *DB MAP* S#8480, convincingly redated by Rivault 2021, 234, although reservations in the *DB MAP*. Robert 1937, 513–515, had dated the inscription of the second century BCE, thus, for Laumonier 1958, 241, it was “l’ancien nom du dieu indigène qui avait dû être toujours en usage dans les milieux purement indigènes”. Yet there is no evidence anywhere before the “miracle”.

¹⁰² Tacitus, *Annals* 3.62.2 : *Aphrodisiensēs posthac et Stratonicensēs dictatoris Caesaris ob uetusta in partis merita et recens diui Augusti decretum adtulere, laudati quod Parthorum inruptionem nihil mutata in populum Romanum constantia pertulissent* (“Aphrodisias and Stratonicea adduced a decree of the dictator Julius in return for their early services to his cause, together with a modern rescript of the deified Augustus, who praised the unchanging fidelity to the Roman nation with which they had sustained the Parthian inroad” (transl. Loeb).

supernatural help, but rather a series of banal exactions in times of war.¹⁰³ By way of comparison, also at Cnidus, the epiphany of Artemis Hyakinthotrophos (possibly during the siege of Philip V in 201 BCE) was only claimed locally and is not alluded to in the Delphi letter accepting the festival.¹⁰⁴

According to the “miracle” inscription, the sanctuary of Panamara was marvelously spared, but it owes this not to its first Carian owner but rather to this new Zeus manifested as *Panamaros*. At a time when the cities of Asia were repositioning themselves in relation to the new Roman power, Stratonicea used the event of the siege of Labienus to create a new divine patron for itself, one destined for the highest honours, by building and mediating (in the region, but not in Rome) the epiphany of a saviour Zeus leading the fight . . .¹⁰⁵ for the greater glory of Rome at the same time. No sooner had Labienus left Caria, the Stratoniceans sent a large delegation to Rome (which shows just how much was at stake) to obtain confirmation of the privileges they expected from their precarious support in Rome. Sadly, the contents of the δόγμα (*senatus consultum*) dated from the 15th of August, 39, the Greek copy of which was engraved on the walls of the temple of Zeus Panamaros, are unknown due to its fragmentary state,¹⁰⁶ and the remaining traces do not state the name of the god. Another *senatus consultum* from the 30s confirms the asylum of the “sanctuary of Zeus who is in Panamara” ([τὸ δὲ] ἐ[ρὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Παναμ]άρους),¹⁰⁷ therefore without revealing the epiclesis of the god. Is the formula fortuitous if we consider the identity of the first owner of the place, Zeus Karios? In a new order ruled by the Roman *imperium*, a Carian Zeus, patron of an *ethnos*, sounded politically anachronistic.¹⁰⁸ It was better to put forth a god whose epiclesis was now only epichoric: Panamaros, who at the same time defended the interests of Stratonicea and Rome with his *energeia* (his power in action),¹⁰⁹ without denying the existence of an earlier Zeus.

103 Cassius Dio, 48.26.4–5: “As for Stratonicea, he besieged it for a long time, but was unable to capture it in any way [. . .] Labienus proceeded to levy money and to rob the temples” (transl. Loeb). *I. Stratonikeia* 511 = *DB MAP* S#6996 (Lagina) may evoke this event or that of the Mithridatic war.

104 Launey 1987², 899 n. 6.

105 *I. Stratonikeia* 10 = *DB MAP* S#5775, l. 4 (quoted *supra*) and 10 (τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μ[α]χομένους).

106 *I. Stratonikeia* 11 (= Sherk, *Roman Documents* 27, ll. 17–19); only preserved the names of the Roman senators and of the twelve Stratonicean ambassadors, among which was Stratos son of Menippos (an orator that Cicero called a master). None of them is a Roman citizen. Thus I am reluctant to see a link between the “birth” of the god and the influence of “*nuevos señores romanos*”, like Lozano 1993, 93.

107 *I. Stratonikeia* 12 = *DB MAP* S#5777, l. 5–9 and 15–16 (quotation) = Sherk, *Roman Documents* 30.

108 Yet the city claims once, under Hadrian, the title of “*metropolis* of Caria”, *I. Stratonikeia* 15 = *DB MAP* S#5902, l. 2, in a decree which changes the *eponymia* of the city for the highest glory of a priestly family entered in the Roman citizenship. In my opinion, the claim seems more political than the indigenous plea envisioned by Heller 2006, 304. On the “rank of metropolis”, see Guerber 2009, 116–119.

109 See *supra* n. 67.

The epithet is possibly of Carian origin;¹¹⁰ it is in any case demotic,¹¹¹ and fits into the “imperial” context of its “revelation” which consequently places the scope of the god beyond the civic field. Moreover, the god who reveals himself during the attack on the sanctuary of Panamara is a Greek-style Zeus, whose field of action is atmospheric and who manifests himself through thunderbolts, thunder and lightning, fog.¹¹² This may have prepared a more transparent variation of the epiclesis in the Greek language, *Panemerios/ros* (Πανημέριος/ρος) “of all the day/every day”. The form is attested from the 2nd century CE (with reservations of many undated inscriptions).¹¹³ While giving the epiclesis a more Hellenic color, it could also add a cosmic facet to the divinity, and, at the same time, a meaning: the “every day” or “all day” Zeus, in partnership with a Laginean Hecate of lunar tradition (as depicted on the monetary types), therefore nocturnal.

Anyhow, on the regional stage of the 2nd century, Stratonicea proclaimed to all those who came to the sanctuary of Panamara (thus the neighbouring cities)¹¹⁴ – citizens and strangers of all ages, sexes, conditions and domiciles, as written in the inscriptions of priesthoods’ commemorations –¹¹⁵ that the *theos* or *theos patrios* (ancestral god)¹¹⁶ invited them to come and participate in its *euphrosyne*, its ceremonial festivities, sometimes called μυστήριον (mystery). These inscriptions are difficult to date,¹¹⁷ but the 2nd century CE seems all the more probable as the use of the mystery vocabulary to designate a festive commensality with the god, the closest to him (a kind of *theoxenia*), matches the “mystericisation” of religious discourses attested from the 2nd century onwards.¹¹⁸ So, although not explicitly called with an epiclesis – perhaps precisely to persuade of his ancestry (a bit recent for him) – the Panamarean was the host god and he

¹¹⁰ According to Oppermann 1924; see also Laumonier 1958, 221 n. 3. According to Pausanias 8.10.4, the Carians of Mylasa (the great rival Carian city in the second century BCE) have a Zeus sanctuary “called [the verb is in the present tense] in the native tongue (*phônè epichôria*) Osogoa”. In my opinion, the use of *epicleseis* with a local origin is too light an argument for acknowledging a “conscience régionale”, Bresson 2007, 228.

¹¹¹ Laumonier 1958, 241 n. 6.

¹¹² *I.Stratonikeia* 10, 7, 12, 9–10 and 14–15.

¹¹³ E.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 281 = DB MAP S#6810. The two spellings can coexist in the same text, e.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 276 = DB MAP S#6794, l. 7 and 17–18.

¹¹⁴ E.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 236 = DB MAP S#675, 1, l. 6.

¹¹⁵ E.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 244 = DB MAP S#6752, l. 23–26; *I.Stratonikeia* 205 = DB MAP S#6702, l. 31–32; *I.Stratonikeia* 210, l. 7–8; and 256 = DB MAP S#6774, l. 9–10.

¹¹⁶ *I.Stratonikeia* 22–39; the god is called *ho theos* or *ho patrios theos* (*I.Stratonikeia* 23, 33 and 35 = DB MAP S#6330, 6342 and 6343), once Zeus (*I.Stratonikeia* 27). See Bowersock 1999.

¹¹⁷ Hatzfeld 1927, 73 (Augustan times); Laumonier 1958, 257 (second century CE); Sahin 1981 dates *I.Stratonikeia* 14 of the end of the second century BCE.

¹¹⁸ For Theo of Smyrna, *De utilitate mathematicae* p. 14–15 Hiller (= P. Scarpi, *Le religioni dei misteri, I. Eleusi, Dionisismo, Orfismo*, Milan, 2002, E7), the fifth and last step to the initiation was that of the felicity experienced during the stay in the divine intimacy (κατὰ τὸ [. . .] θεοῖς συνδιαίτων εὐδαιμονία). See Belayche/Massa/Hoffmann (eds.) 2021.

publicized his patronage of the city *ad extra*, in the same way as Hecate whose asylum had long been recognised.¹¹⁹ All these pilgrims could see or read the decree of the “miracle”, and the Stratoniceans did not hesitate to refer to it regularly in their communication. The features of this new Zeus marked a shift in the religious image that Stratonicea wanted to give of itself, alongside Hecate who continued to represent its first ancestry. It is a good example, in my opinion, of how religious dynamics worked, between tradition and innovation.¹²⁰

4 Which Balance Between the Two Divine Powers “*Megistos/e kai Epiphanestatos/e*”?



Fig. 3: Didrachm depicting Hecate on the obverse (in the field the name of the magistrate Sopyros) and Zeus Panamaros on horseback on the reverse (in the field ΣΤΡΑ).

A silver didrachm struck by Stratonicea (Fig. 3) provides the visual and chronological expression (from the obverse to the reverse) of the new dual patronage at the very moment it is set in: A.R. Meadows dates it to “no earlier than the 30s BCE”,¹²¹ thus the moment of the Panamaros’ “birth”.

The equestrian figure of Zeus Panamaros on the reverse is distinctive and new in the coinage of the city; it would become the standard depiction of the god on the coinage of the imperial period. It is tempting to suggest that the appearance of this new type on the coinage of the city may have a special significance.¹²²

¹¹⁹ See *supra* n. 83.

¹²⁰ On the “ritual dynamics” often revealed by heavy claims to the fidelity to traditions, see Chaniotis 2005.

¹²¹ Meadows 2002, 95, no. 4.A.i; see also 124–125.

¹²² Meadows 2002, 111.

The bust of Hecate with the crescent, in its traditional form (cf. Fig. 2b), is on the obverse – she was first –, while the reverse shows the newcomer, Zeus Panamaros, as a horseman god of Anatolian tradition, different from the Greek-type Zeus on the coins from the Hellenistic period (cf. Fig. 2a).¹²³ A choice of this type may have been aimed at evoking the annual processional movement from the sanctuary to the city. The balance between the two deities seems all the more equal as their salutary epiphanies happened in similar historical situations with regard to the Roman issue¹²⁴ and they had the same effects in the relationships with Rome. Gender identities do not seem to weigh in the balance, confirming the fact that a goddess is primarily a *theos/a* as Nicole Loraux put it.¹²⁵ The preambles of a decree of the end of the 2nd century CE, establishing a daily children's choir, recall the point, as well as the importance for Rome of these salutary epiphanies.¹²⁶

the providence (*pronoia*) of the greatest (*megistoi*) protector (*proestotoi*) gods, Zeus Panemerios and Hecate" [. . . who saved the city from great and numerous dangers], "whose inviolable sanctuaries the sacred Senate has recognized by a decree, to which it has granted the right of receiving suppliants, on account of the evident miracles which they have produced in the interest of the eternal dominion of our Roman overlords ([ὕπὲρ] τῆς τῶν κυρίων Ῥωμαίων αἰωνίου ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσαντο προφανεῖς ἐναργείας).¹²⁷

However, the balance between the two divine powers leans towards Zeus Panamaros for political reasons. Distinguished by the invariable formula *megiste kai epiphanestate*, Hecate (with a majority of inscriptions coming from Lagina) is identified as such in over 2/3 of the testimonies in the Roman period, against c. 1/3 for the Zeus of Panamara, *megistos kai epiphanestatos*. But this quantitative observation must be nuanced by the nature of the documents, because in Lagina commemorative inscriptions are more numerous (see *supra*), and these self-illustrative documents involve in their rhetoric of exaltation the deity (or deities) concerned. Besides, the total number of testimonies of Hecate with epiclesis is three times lower than that of Zeus Panamaros

¹²³ See e.g., the god Mên, Delemen 1999, no. 313–358. An exception under Septimius Severus, a reverse figuring a throning Zeus of Greco-Roman type, holding a sceptre in the left hand and a patera in the right hand, *BMC Caria* 51.

¹²⁴ Yet their forms of expression are different: that of Hecate grants her an onomastic sequence, but without the epigraphic advertisement given to that of Zeus Panamaros half a century later (*I.Stratonikeia* 10), during the Augustean "turn" for the cities of the Western Anatolia. For other epigraphic narratives of *epiphaneiai*, see e.g. *RICIS* 202/0101 (at the Sarapieion A of Delos) and the *iamata* on the walls of the Epidaurus' sanctuary. In the Lydian and Phrygian rural sanctuaries, the deities themselves require the engraving of their *dynamis* (power) / *arêtai* (powers), see Petzl 1994 and Belayche 2006.

¹²⁵ Loraux 1991. On the factor of gender in civic patronage, see Pironti 2013, 159: "*dans les panthéons locaux, la fonction de divinité tutélaire revient, plus souvent qu'à Zeus, à des déesses comme Athéna, Héra ou Artémis*".

¹²⁶ The goddess Roma is continuously depicted on coins of the imperial period, Delrieux 2013.

¹²⁷ *I.Stratonikeia* 1101 = *DB MAP* S#7200, l. 2–4. See Robert 1937, 516–521.

(c. 17% compared to c. 48% of the sources from Stratonicea in the *DB MAP*).¹²⁸ This fact arithmetically lowers the weight of this proportion. When the two deities are cited together, Zeus always precedes Hecate, except in a document from Panamara where the order of the deities corresponds to that of the priesthoods served by the honoured one.¹²⁹ The coins provide a visual expression of this order: Hecate never again appears on the obverse, as in the issue which published the arrival of the Panamarean at the end of the 1st century BCE (Fig. 3). Either Zeus Panamaros is on the obverse (Fig. 4), or the emperor, as the rule is in the imperial civic coinage (Fig. 5).



Fig. 4: Stratonicea, second century CE (*BMC Caria* 42 and pl. XXIV.4).

O.: Zeus *Panamaros* bearded and radiated, carrying a sceptre on the left shoulder, on horseback (CTPATONIKEQN in the field).

R.: Hecate with inflated veil, riding on a lion with radiate head and dog's tail (ΨΗΦΙCΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΦΛΑΥΒΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥC in the field).

One can also wonder whether the fact that, in Panamara, ritual agents with Roman citizenship are more numerous than in Lagina (*Flavii* in particular)¹³⁰ provides a supplementary clue to the greater political importance of the god. The coinage, along with the order of citation in the inscriptions, does not, after examination, establish a *religious* hierarchy between the two divine powers, equal like all supernatural powers. The religious tool was made to serve a political project, congruent with the new Mediterranean order.

¹²⁸ Zeus Panamaros is not only overrepresented at Panamara, as expected; outside his sanctuary, in the city and in Lagina, he accounts for c. 50% of the mentions of a “Zeus”. The fact is linked to the nature of the evidence (commemorations of priesthoods, more than 50%).

¹²⁹ *I.Stratonikeia* 186 = *DB MAP* S#6493: μετὰ [ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ ἱερωσύνην τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἑκάτης καὶ τοῦ Διὸς], first half of the second century.

¹³⁰ See Laumonier 1958, 341–343.



Fig. 5: Stratonicea, 202–205 CE (SNG Von Aulock 2694).

O.: busts of Caracalla and Plautilla (with the name of the magistrat Dionysios).

R.: Hekate facing forwards, wearing the *polos*, a moon crescent on her shoulders, holding a patera and a torch, with a dog at her feet.

5 Conclusion

It has been noted that the place of discovery of the inscriptions does not provide a relevant argument that allows us to appreciate the theological balance between the two deities due to the number of priesthoods' commemorations, often successive and involving several family members. The display location depends on the career moment of each priest or priestess or another cult agent from their family (such as the *kleidophoroi* / bearers of the key), knowing that the two sanctuaries were both *epiphanestatoi topoi*, high-profile locations.¹³¹ It is impossible, therefore, to infer from these data the scope of one deity or the other. When Zeus and Hekate are mentioned together, the events of 81 and 40/39 work in a doublet fashion, fuelled by the usual rhetoric for salutary deities after they manifest their *energeia* (their power in action), to the point where both deities become the *epiphanestatoi theoi* indiscriminately¹³² and the children's daily choir glorifies them together at the *bouleuterion* of the city. But Zeus comes first.¹³³ Hekate

¹³¹ E.g. *I.Stratonikeia* 667 = DB MAP S#7035 (Thrason Leon, son of Hieroklès, priest of the “greatest Zeus Panamaros” at 16 years old, under Hadrian) comes from Lagina, maybe because his daughter was *kleidophoros*. Yet *contra I.Stratonikeia* 254, found at Panamara, with a priestess and *kleidophoros* of Hekate.

¹³² *I.Stratonikeia* 1101 = DB MAP S#7200.

¹³³ Stratonikeia being an exception, it is difficult to find comparisons. And yet it would be interesting to compare with other frequent male-female “pairings”, like Apollo-Artemis, Hestia-Hermes, Zeus-Dionè (see in this volume the contribution of F. Quantin, p. 415–422), even Isis-Sarapis (though it is a peculiar “couple”, in order to appreciate the gender factor. But see Pironti 2013, 163: “*admettre que le profil des divinités se définit en fonction d’un contexte précis et des relations qu’elles y entretiennent avec d’autres puissances divines, davantage qu’en fonction du genre*”).

continues to reign as mistress in her sanctuary, on the reliefs of her temple where she is linked to the cycle of the birth of Zeus, and during the sumptuous ceremonies of the *Kleidophoria* (the festival of the key)¹³⁴ which takes up a whole month of the Stratoniceans' liturgical year. A parallel to this festival is the *anabasis* (the ascent) of Zeus *Panamaros*, built on the same model (a round-trip procession from his sanctuary) and providing the same euergetist festivities and liberalities – hence the similar denominations for Zeus and Hecate. The Stratonicean exception therefore does not reflect a hierarchy in a civic pantheon, but rather two comparable historical situations from which the city drew the best diplomatic advantage by relying on its gods. It explains the (relative) prominence of Zeus Panamaros “born” at the same time as the Imperial era as *megistos*, *epiphanestatos* and *patrios theos*, without downgrading Hecate who preceded him in the patronage of the city and served as a model for him. This would explain why “the priesthood of Hecate was the most prominent in the series of Stratonicean high priesthoods; it generally crowned the career” according to A. Laumonier.¹³⁵ Yet, more than sixty years later, we would need to resume the prosopography of ritual agents at Stratonicea in order to update a refined chronology.

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¹³⁴ See Karatas 2019, esp. 28–34.

¹³⁵ Laumonier 1958, 367 (my translation).

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