

THE CULT OF IUPITER DOLICHENUS: ORIGINS
AND ICONOGRAPHY

A Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the iconography of Roman deity Iupiter Dolichenus in order to gain an insight into cult's hidden meaning. The image of weather gods from Iron Age to the Greco-Roman Period in Northern Syria is also investigated since the representation of Iupiter Dolichenus was unique in the West and the close similarity of the representation of the god with the local weather gods of Northern Syria may point to the continuity of the cult.

In the absence of ancient literary sources, the other gods, goddesses and symbols represented in Dolichenian cult objects may express a part of Dolichenian doctrine. This is why they are included into this study.

Keywords: Iupiter Dolichenus, weather gods.

ÖZET

IUPITER DOLICHENUS KÜLTÜ: KÖKENLERİ VE İKONOGRAFI

Kuşseven, Pınar

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü

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Bu tez, kültün gizli anlamına ışık tutmak amacıyla Roma tanrısı Iupiter Dolichenus'un ikonografisini incelemektedir. Iupiter Dolichenus tasvirinin Batı'da ünik olması ve tanrı tasvirinin Kuzey Suriye'deki yerel hava tanrıları ile yakın benzerliğinin kültün bölgedeki sürekliliğini gösterebileceğinden Demir Çağı'ndan Greko-Romen Dönem'e kadar Kuzey Suriye'de hava tanrılarının tasvirleri de incelenmiştir.

Yazılı antik kaynaklar bulunmadığından, Dolichenus kült objelerinde tasvir edilen diğer tanrılar, tanrıçalar ve semboller Dolichenus öğretisinin bir bölümünü ifade edebilir. Bu nedenle bu çalışmaya dahil edilmişlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Iupiter Dolichenus, hava tanrıları.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Roman deity Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus was one of the oriental gods whose cult was spread to the distant parts of the Roman Empire and which took an important place in the religious life of the Roman people, especially among soldiers during the period between the 1st and 3rd centuries A.D. The god's name originated from the place name Doliche in Commagene. Two inscriptions of Dacia are read as *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) C(ommageno)* (Schwertheim 1987: 109f) and points to the original seat of Dolichenus' worship at Doliche (Δολίχη) in Commagene. Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century) who was the author of an important geographical dictionary entitled *Ethnica*, mentions the worship of Dolichenus at Doliche in Commagene (Stephanus of Byzantium 1958:85).

The god is usually represented as standing on a bull holding an axe in his upraised right hand and a bolt of lightning in the left. This representation was unique in the Western Roman provinces, and points to an origin among the weather gods of the East, and especially Syria, in the Iron Age. This is why an important thing in understanding the Iupiter Dolichenian cult is a study of its

iconography. This is very true because there is no surviving myth connected to Jupiter Dolichenus. As literary evidence is lacking on this point, so the Dolichenian iconography, along with that of his spouse, their attributes and other divinities included in his pantheon, may be used to have reflect what the cult meant to its believers.

Charles Sanders pointed out in 1902 that, for an accurate understanding of Jupiter Dolichenus and his worship, a satisfactory knowledge of the old Baal cults of Syria was necessary since the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in its original form was simply the worship of the local Baal. Cook, the well-known British historian, also emphasized in 1914 that the Hittite weather god Teshub lived on in Jupiter Dolichenus.

The purpose of this thesis will focus on mainly two points. One is can we know the prototypes of the iconography of Jupiter Dolichenus and understand to what degree the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus took its root from these local weather gods of Northern Syria. The other is a study of the art works and the iconography of the deity in order to gain an insight into the cult's hidden meaning. An analysis of how the cult spread to larger areas and gained so many adherents, and the official policy towards the cult, are not covered by this study. It is also beyond the scope of this thesis to study the sanctuaries, their plan and comparison to the older Hittite and North Syrian temples.

In Chapter 2, I will examine the background to the god and discuss the evidence that exists for his 'home town' of Doliche in Commagene. The ancient sources referring to Doliche are rare. The earliest literary mention of the ancient city is found in the 2nd century A.D, in Ptolemy's *Geography*, and Doliche was identified with modern Gaziantep (Aintab) until the 19th century. However, O.

Puchsteins' travel to the region led to the identification of the ancient settlement as being located at or near the village of Dülük, which lies ca. 10km northwest of modern Gaziantep, and whose name preserves the ancient form of Doliche. The ancient city extended onto Keber Tepe, rising beside the modern village of Dülük.

The sanctuary of Iupiter Dolichenus at Doliche was not discovered until the 20th century, when the French scholar F. Cumont, through some architectural remains, predicted that the sanctuary of the deity was situated on a hill 3 km southwest of Doliche. Since 1997, excavation has been carried out there by a team from the University of Münster under the direction of Prof. Dr. Engelbert Winter along with the participation of the Gaziantep Museum. This work located inside the sanctuary, Latin and Greek inscriptions dedicated to the “hearing god of Doliche”, confirmed Cumont's supposition as to this being the existence of the sanctuary of Iupiter Dolichenus on the Dülük Baba Tepesi. However, no representations of the god were found there.

The sanctuaries of the deity extended from Doliche and Dura-Europos in the East to Italy, and to the Roman provinces of Europe and Africa. The Dolichenian material found in these regions was first studied by Kan in 1943 and again by Merlat in 1960. A more extensive study with addition of new material was undertaken by Hörig and Schwertheim in 1987. Their book, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, gives detailed descriptions of the Dolichenian monuments by means of vast amounts of illustrations, maps, plans and epigraphic data.

Except for one example from Comana in Cappadocia, the earliest Hellenistic or Roman period representations of the deity come from the vicinity of ancient Doliche and the area that includes Maraş (Germanicia) in the North and Antakya (Antioch) and Tell Afrin near Aleppo in the south. Northern Syria and its vicinity was also the

area where the local weather gods (Teshub-Hadad-Ba'al) were worshipped. The representation of the god Dolichenus as syncretised into the Roman deity Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus in the Eastern part of the Empire appears mostly on stelae. These stelae show the god carrying lightning in his upraised left hand and a double axe in his right, in most cases standing on a bull, marching towards the right, in the so-called "smiting god" posture.

This motif, of a god standing on a bull, is first seen in the East in the Bronze Age. It survived in the East throughout the age of the Mitanni Kingdom, and during the Hittite Empire it can be traced at Carchemish in South-East Anatolia and at Ras-Shamra where a cylinder seal of king Ini-Teshup was found depicting a god mounted on a bull (Akurgal 1961: 77). However, the latest examples prior to Late Hellenistic Period come from Iron Age Northern Syria, the area that includes Malatya in the North and Aleppo in the South. Here representations are found with a similar iconography to Iupiter Dolichenus. They are dated to the 8th or 7th century B.C. However, the earliest representations of Iupiter Dolichenus are dated to the 1st century B.C and so there is a long gap in the tradition.

The problem is how was this iconographic model was adapted in the Greco-Roman Period. Although this weather god image standing on a bull was not apparently used for a long time, nonetheless, religious beliefs of the Persians and the kings of the Commagenians, especially the ruler cult of Antiochus I seem to have influenced the practice of the Iupiter Dolichenian cult. It is necessary to examine these gods in the same posture and having the same attributes in order to make comparisons and to determine whether the Dolichenian iconography that was acquired any distinctive features in the course of time. Therefore, I intend in Chapter 3 to examine in a general frame the weather god image of Northern Syria

from the Iron Age to the Greco-Roman Period by means of archaeological and literary sources.

Over six hundreds monuments - mainly inscriptions - of the Dolichenian cult have come to light from the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire (Schwertheim, Hörig 1987). Here, however, I will only survey that material iconographically relevant to the weather god image. The distinctive representation of the deity will be presented in Chapter 4, along with an analysis of Dolichenian cult objects. This will examine these on a regional basis, that is 'East' and 'West', with 'East' being the Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire, and 'West' being those where Latin was dominant.

In fact Iupiter Dolichenus is represented alongside a wide range of eastern and Greek gods, such as Sol and Luna, the Dioskouroi, and even Egyptian Isis and Serapis. Ferguson (1982: 219) draws attention to that "in a polytheistic system no deity normally claims the exclusive adherence of a worshipper and the gods were accommodating to one another ". According to Speidel (1978: 21), the inclusion of other deities, as is often the case with oriental religions such as Zoroastrianism, does not point the aspects of the deity, but as separate god and goddess who constitute part of the Dolichenian pantheon. In other words, these deities were not included accidentally and their representation with Iupiter Dolichenus must have expressed a part of Dolichenian doctrine. This is a subject that will be examined in Chapter 5 before presenting my conclusions in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF NORTHERN SYRIA WITH SPECIFIC RELEVANCE TO DOLICHE

2.1. The Hittite and the Neo-Hittite Period:

It is known that Gaziantep and its vicinity, as a part of Northern Syria, was exposed to several campaigns of the Hittites during the Late Bronze Age. Here in Northern Syria, even when the Hittites conducted their first campaigns in the region there was a substantial Hurrian presence (Bryce 1998: 58). More than three quarters of the names mentioned on the Alalah tablets are also Hurrian indicating that in the 2nd millennium B.C the population of the Amuq plain, in the neighborhood of Yesemek, some 22 km southeast of İslahiye, consisted mainly of Hurrians (Alkım 1968:220).

Control of the area by the Hittites was achieved permanently in the middle of the 14th century B.C. Bryce (1998:53) mentions that c. 1340 B.C Suppiluliuma I appointed his son Piyasilis (subsequently called Sarri Kusuḫ) to the viceregal seat at Carchemish, the final Mitannian stronghold in Syria and his other son Telepinu to the seat of Aleppo. From this time, the states of Syria under their own vassal

kings were ruled primarily from Carchemish by a representative of the Hittite rulers (Hawkins 2000:73).

Schütte-Maischatz (2004:17) draws attention to a fragmentary tablet that records a treaty between Suppiluliuma I and his son Sarri Kusuḫ and which includes mention of a place named Talkana: he quotes F.Cornelius as identifying this place as the later Doliche. The archaeologists excavating in Doliche have found Late Bronze Age ceramics there, and have assumed that there might have been a cult place on Dülük Baba Tepesi, perhaps dedicated to Teshub who was the great god of the Hurrians and included by the Hittites in their own pantheon (Bulgan et.al 2003:197). However, neither topographic nor archaeological investigations conducted so far in the area have revealed any Hittite presence there – in a cultural artifact sense - during the Late Bronze Age.

Suppiluliuma I's prime policy was to maintain Hittite control in Northern Syria. Güterbock (1954:114) also applies the term 'Hittite' to Carchemish for the period from Suppiluliuma I to 1200 B.C but only in the sense that it was part of the Hittite Empire. However, Telepinu's role in the region may well have been primarily a religious one, as indicated by the various references to him as "the priest" or "the great priest" (Bryce 1992:16). Indeed, the importance of Aleppo to the Hittites was cultic, because of its status as the centre of the worship of the weather god, a cult that assumed considerable prominence among the Hittites (Hawkins 2000:388). For this reason, Kupper (1973:41) states that in the Boğazköy texts, the great god Adad of Aleppo, was the same as the Teshub of Aleppo.

Thus, it can be said that the plain of Northern Syria was part of the Hittite Empire as a result of the campaigns of Suppiluliuma in which the Hurrians formed the predominant element in the population.

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, new political units were seen in Northern Syria. These are termed the Neo-Hittites, and they formed a number of small city states that were more or less dependent of the rising Assyrian power until Sargon II made them practically a province in 717 B.C (Osten 1927: 9). Although the common people of Northern Syria under the Hittite Empire during the Late Bronze Age were predominantly Hurrian, on the other hand, it can be seen by means of the Luwian inscriptions scattered throughout the region, that these Neo-Hittites did not use the written language of Hattusha or Hurrian (Hawkins, 2000). According to Gurney (1990: 33) Syria must have been overrun by another people coming from one of the Hittite provinces, Cilicia, who had adopted the Hittite civilization. Yet, it is known that a branch of the Hittite royal dynasty continued for at least several generations at Carchemish after the collapse of the central dynasty at Hattusha (Bryce 1998:384) and under Kuzi Teshub, Carchemish controlled the Euphrates valley between Malatya in the North to Emar in the South (Yakar 2000:477). In addition Hawkins (2000:283) mentions the kings of Melid (modern Malatya) who were the grandsons of Kuzi Teshub and states that Tiglath –Pileser I (1114-1076) describes Melidia as ‘of the great land of Hatti’.

One of these Neo-Hittite city states, covering the region of Maraş (Marqasi, later Germanicia) was called Gurgum. Gurgum’s eastern and Carchemish’s northern neighbor was another Hittite kingdom, Kummuh. Goell (1996:18) states that Kummuh included the fertile area in the vicinity of Samosata (modern Samsat). Although it is not known when the Neo-Hittite state of Kummuh was

established, its existence by the 8th century B.C is indicated in a document dating from the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C) (Başgelen 1998: 38) and the onomastics of the dynasty of Kummuh shows a distinct tendency towards the dynastic ‘leading names’ of the Hittite Empire (Hawkins 2000: 333). As for Marqasi where the worship of the local weather god was prominent, four of the kings named Mutalli, Qalparunda, Palalaman, and his son Qalparunda can be identified in Maraş inscriptions.

The Neo-Hittite Period bears witness to the arrival of new ethnic groups in the area and among the new settlers of Northern Syria were the Arameans. Lipiński (2000:132) points out that we have limited knowledge of the religion and social organization of the early Arameans and she states that the main god in Syria was the weather god and that this god is represented in the Syro-Hittite art of the 10th -8th centuries B.C standing on the back of a bull. The position of Aleppo as a cult centre of the weather god is obscure in this period. However, the weather god of Aleppo is represented by stelae with hieroglyphic inscriptions which were discovered both in Aleppo and the Aramean state of Bit Adini with its capital Til-Barsip 20 km downstream from Carchemish (Bunnens 2004:58). This shows that local or neighboring Hittite peoples continued to write dedications in their own script and language during the period. Hawkins (2000:390) suggests a *terminus ante quem* of circa 750-700 B.C for these monuments in connection with the destruction of the surrounding Neo-Hittite states and the deportation of this population by Tighlat-Pileser III and Sargon II. Sam'al (modern Zincirli) was one of these Aramean states but the extent and impact of their settlement here is little known (Hawkins 1982:381).

Another ethnic group whose influence made an impact on some Northern Syria states was the Phoenicians. The notable stele from Zincirli of Kilamuva, a king who bears a Luwian name, showing a Phoenician inscription and relief in Assyrian style, bears witness to the period as one of greater inter-ethnicity and cultural assimilation (Mazzoni 2000: 45). Their main god was Ba'al and is regarded as the equivalent of Iupiter (Teixidor 1977: 27).

While Assyria was the great power in the Middle East, these new groups seem to have changed the political and cultural atmosphere of the region. Akurgal points out (1961:143) that during the reign of Shalmeneser III late Hittite workshops came under the spell of Assyrian art. However, the Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite kingdoms of Syria lasted for almost 500 years and were culturally and politically prominent in the period from c.900 B.C until the last of them fell to the Assyrian king Sargon II (Bryce 2002:9). The change of Carchemish into an Assyrian province marked the end of the system of the Aramean and Hittite principalities in Syria, leaving only the Phoenician city states on the Mediterranean coast in a more or less independent position (Klengel 2000:30).

To sum up, the Late Bronze Age Hittite culture has not left much trace in the region ruled primarily from Carchemish. However, the importance of Aleppo was cultic and it was the centre of the worship of the weather god. With the fall of the Hittite Empire, the Neo-Hittite city states came into contact with different ethnic groups such as Arameans, Assyrians, and Phoenicians. On the other hand, the popularity of the worship of the weather god lasted in the region.

2.2. The Assyrian Conquest and After:

After the Assyrian conquest, the Neo-Hittite states became provinces of the Assyrian Empire. During the reign of Sargon II, Marqas was annexed to form an Assyrian province that lasted until the end of Empire (Hawkins 2000:250). It is not clear what happened to Gurgum and Kummuh, but in Hellenistic times they were included in the region known as Commagene, and scholars generally accept that the name Commagene is the Hellenised equivalent of the city kingdom named Kummuh. This could indicate they were also in an Assyrian province.

From the end of the 7th century B.C until the Hellenistic Period, our knowledge is limited about the history of Northern Syria. Leick (2003: 62) states that various former Assyrian provinces were won for the Babylonians by the frequent campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562). The city Kimuhi on the west bank of the Euphrates which was involved in the fighting between the Babylonians and Egyptians in 607-606 B.C is almost certainly identified with Kummuh and located at Samsat (Hawkins 2000: 332). The presence of Greek mercenaries on both sides in this period is attested by finds from Carchemish, pottery evidence from a fort at Mesad Hashavyahu on the Mediterranean coast, and the statements about Antimenidas, brother of Alcaeus, who was fighting for Nebuchadnezzar (Wiseman 1991: 230). Babylonia continued to serve as a link in the trade especially with Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, Elam, Cyprus and Asia Minor (Dandamaev 1982: 273).

After the conquest of the North Syrian regions and Kummuh by the Achaemenid Persian, Darius the Great (521-486), Kummuh became part of coastal satrapy of Syria (Goell 1996: 20). Lidar, Tille, Samsat, and Deve Hüyük (west of

Carchemish) were the places where Achaemenid Period is represented (Mellink 1988: 232). The Persian rule over the region lasted until the defeat of Darius III by Alexander the Great at the battle of Issus (333 B.C). However, although the Achaemenid Persians ruled Syria for 200 years, the period of their control is one of the most poorly documented in Syrian history (Schwartz 2003: 389). Aperghis (2004:52) also points out that in the Achaemenid Period, Northern Syria was apparently little developed in comparison to what it later became when the major Seleucid cities were founded. The important point to be mentioned is the official recognition of ethnic-national units as a significant factor in the imperial policy by the rulers (Eph'al 1988:147). Thus, cultural and religious traditions must have been preserved just as before.

During this period, the position of Doliche on the important trade roads seems to have made it a meeting place for the merchants coming from different ethnic groups. The excavations in 2004-2005 on Dülük Baba Tepesi, revealed rich finds from the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods (6th-5th centuries B.C) below the Roman-Hellenistic horizons. Outstanding among the finds are: the head of a bronze statuette of Osiris, miniature grotesques, numerous stamp seals and cylinder seals. Most of the stamp seals and miniature grotesques are Syro-Phoenician in origin and date to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. (Güllüce et.al. 2006: 108). In addition, imported polychrome ceramics from Phoenicia and fragments of black figure Greek (Attic) ceramics have also been discovered. According to some archaeologists (e.g., Güllüce et.al 2005: 56) the existence of black figure ceramics, present for the first time in this region, reflects the international significance of Dülük Baba Tepesi as a cult site. Some might see this as a naive interpretation and explanation for the presence of items that could have arrived simply through trade. However, it is the fact that they

were found with a relatively large number of other 'exotic' items in the sanctuary area that suggests a cultic association. In addition, it should be noted that these finds come from an ash layer that probably has sacrificial connections, because of the quantity of bone fragments from this layer (Winter 2005:85). Nonetheless, it is admitted that the interpretation is difficult to entirely accept as there is not yet any structure associated with this layer (Güllüce et.al 2005: 56).

During the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, the position of Doliche on important roads enabled it to be a meeting place for the merchants and could explain the continuance of a weather-god cult that develops into the attested sanctuary of Iupiter Dolichenus.

2.3. The Hellenistic Period:

In the early Hellenistic Period Northern Syria and the land of Commagene, which is the ancient name of the region between the Anti-Taurus and the Euphrates, including Adıyaman, Maraş and Gaziantep, were ruled by the Seleucid Kingdom. Seleucus I Nikator (305-280 B.C) founded his kingdom at Antioch. New cities displaying Greek city planning, often following the principles of Hippodamos, featuring a grid plan of streets intersecting at right angles, were founded and organized according to the Greek polis system (Cimok 1995:55). Apamea on the Orontes, Pella, Larissa, Kyrrhos, Beroia, Doliche, Seleukeia on the Euphrates, and Laodicea were all cities which represent this period. Musti (1984:180) has pointed out that the basis of the Seleucid monarchy was the armed forces. The veteran soldiers of the Greek army settled here and married and mixed with local Semitic or Asiatic people (Cimok 1995:55). McClellan (1997:185) also emphasizes that under

its Macedonian dynasty, Syria became increasingly tied to the developing eastern Mediterranean trading networks. In these ways, the interaction of different cultures may also have facilitated the assimilation of similar values by others.

As for Doliche itself, Winter states that it was founded around 300 B.C by a group of soldiers coming from Doliche in Thessalia and who chose the name Doliche to recall their homeland. This practice is well known in the East. There are many other Hellenistic cities in the eastern part of Asia Minor that took their names from their homeland city, e.g. Beroea (Aleppo), Kyrrhos, Europos, Larissa and Pella. (Winter 2003:53).

According to Shütte-Maischatz (2004:15), however, the place name Doliche was not new, and it did not originate in Asia Minor. He draws attention to the connection between the Greek word *dolichos* and the Hittite word *daluki*, both meaning 'long' (2004:20). In which case the name could be the Hellenised version of an indigenous name referring to the shape of the hill. As Grainger (1990:42) observed, Doliche may well have been the adaptation of an existing local name to suit Greek phonetics. This is because, as Grainger also claims (1990:44), that from its halfway location between Zeugma on the river and Kyrrhos, both places with garrisons, Doliche might also have been a site which would have commended itself to a military governor seeking control of an important military and commercial highway. Either way, archaeological evidence shows that Doliche was a place of some local importance from the Hellenistic period onwards.

The oldest archaeological materials from Hellenistic Doliche are four Rhodian amphoras. These stamped amphoras are dated to between 240-146 B.C (Wagner 1982: 156). Thus, they coincide with the early reign of Seleucus II Callinicus (246-225 B.C). However, the oldest evidence for the affiliation of Commagene to the

Seleucids dates from the time of the Seleucid King Antiochos III (Schütte 2004: 60) who reigned between 222-187 B.C.

In terms of religious life, the reign of Antiochus I of Commagene (69-36 B.C) was the period when the syncretism of western and eastern beliefs is best indicated in the archaeological record. The big cult inscriptions from the sanctuaries of Arsemia on the Euphrates, Karakuş and at the summit of the Nemrud Dağı as well as the text of the relief stele of Selik provide religious-historical evidence of the first rank (Wagner 1987:9).

The important thing is that Antiochus stressed in his cult inscriptions that while his maternal ancestors are descended from Alexander the Great (of Greek Macedonian origin), his paternal ones were from the line of Darius (of Persian origin). (Başgelen 1998:41). This ethnic mixture in his personality had a deep effect on religious life. Accordingly we see that both Greek and Persian gods (e.g. Apollo, Mithra) had eminent positions in cult centers.

An important datum for the history of Doliche is a fragment of Commagenian cult inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene which was found in 1979, ca 150 m east of Dülük Baba Tepesi (Wagner 1982:162). Wagner (1982:162) points out that the titlature of Antiochus I of Commagene on this stone - βασιλεύς μέγας 'Avτίoχoς - agrees with that found in the relevant passages of the large inscription in Hierothesia of Arsemia on the Nymphaios, Arsemia on the Euphrates and on Mt.Nemrud, and also with the beginning of the text of the Temenos-stele in Samosata. According to Schwerteim (1991:35), this titlature shows us that the inscription was established after the reorganization of the east by Pompeius during the years 65/64 B.C. and so it was only after this time that Zeus of Doliche was included along with the divine Antiochus I in his sanctuary. There are quite a large

number of seals of this period from the region which show Zeus of Doliche. However, these seals are the only evidence through which we know about Zeus/Jupiter of Doliche during the Hellenistic Period.

The exact borders of Commagene during the reign of its ruler Antiochus I are not known. However, Goell, using the topographic landmarks, has located the kingdom between the plateau steppeland of Cappadocia to the west and north, the mountains of Greater Armenia to the east, Parthia and Syria to the south, and Cilicia to the south west (Goell 1996:22). She also states that Antiochus and his warriors continued to figure in battles to secure possession of North Syria (1996:23).

2.4. The Arrival of Rome:

With the Roman presence in Northern Syria in the 1st century B.C., the small kingdom of Commagene, with Samosata as its capital seems to have been a tiny buffer state between the superpowers of the day: the Roman Empire and the kingdom of Persia (Başgelen 1998:41). However, according to Speidel (2005: 88) the transport of forces by Antiochus's son Mithridates II to Actium in support of Mark Antony in 31 B.C marked the beginning of a new era of dependence and a new phase of increased intervention in Commagene by Rome and its new ruler. He also draws attention to the fact that after Actium, the grandiose royal cult which had been established by Antiochus I was drastically reduced in scale and Antiochus was no longer referred to as Θεός and Δίκαιός (2005:89). It has been thought that Doliche had become provincial at the same time as Zeugma, which lies east of Doliche, an event that can be dated to 31 B.C as part of Octavian's reorganization of the region, punishing those who supported Mark Antony (Wagner 1982: 137).

It is thought that the earliest reference to the town of Doliche in the Roman period is given on a seal impression (Schwertheim 1987:18). This shows two men standing by a small altar and who clasp each other's hands in the greeting known as *Dexiosis*. An inscription surrounds the scene and is read as follows: Δολιχαίων. Ἔτους δ': 'Dolichē in the year 4'. Although his canonical attributes, the bull, and the thunderbolt are lacking, it is thought from the conical cap as well as the name Dolichē in the inscription that the figure on the left is Iupiter Dolichenus, and that the figure on the right represents Rome or a Roman official. The seal can therefore be dated either to 27 B.C., the fourth year after the annexation of Zeugma to Rome, if Dolichē was also made provincial at that time, or to A.D. 21, the fourth year of the Commagene provincial era, that territory having been made a province for the first time in A.D 17 (Ergeç 2000:85).

Although the exact date of Dolichē's annexation to Rome cannot be precisely fixed, a basalt altar with a relief of a priest of Iupiter Dolichenus and with an inscription indicates that it was certainly provincial by the fourth year of the rule of the Emperor Nero, i.e., A.D., 58 (Ergeç 2000: 89). Thus, it can be said that Dolichē certainly belonged to the Roman province of Syria by the later A.D. 50s. An inscription on an architrave fragment from Dülük Baba Tepesi is a dedication of a *legatus Augusti* (Wagner 1982:161), but what role was played by this *legatus* is uncertain. However, his presence, or rather the presence of an inscription dedicated by him, reveals that Dolichē, located on important roads coming from Samosata to Aleppo and Antioch, and from Germanicia to Zeugma thereby to Hierapolis (Fig.1) played an important role in provincial life, being one of the metropoleis of the Roman province of Syria.

The size of Doliche as a whole was calculated through surveying carried out in 2000. According to this, settlement on the hill known as Keber Tepe (Fig.2), has a surface area of approx. 0.72 km². So, the city of Doliche was larger than the walled limits of other significant towns of Asia Minor, such as, Priene (0.37 km²), Perge (0.38 km²), Herakleia Pontike (0.42 km²) or Side (0.55 km²) (Bulgan et.al. 2002: 166). A large rock-cut temple belonging to the Mithras cult on this settlement hill is also said to be the earliest known Mithraic temple in Asia Minor and the biggest one in the Roman Empire (Ergeç et.al. 2000:185).

According to Winter (1999:369) the barely legible Latin letters LE as well as the Roman numeral IV on one of the numerous niches in this mithraeum possibly refer to the Legio IV Scythica. This legion guarded the crossing at Zeugma in North Syria from the early 60s and remained in station there until the third century A.D (Mitchell 1993: 119). From the early 2nd century it recruited locally from Samosata and Beroea (Aleppo) as well as from Hierapolis-Castabala (Mitchell 1993:140). Further evidence for the presence of Roman soldiers is an inscription on a grave from Isely Tepe, on which Greek letters refer to Legio VII Claudia. Wagner (1982:164) informs us that Legio VII Claudia, which took part in the eastern campaigns of Trajan and then L.Verus, and also the campaigns of the 3rd century against the Sassanids, was formally based in Europe. Thus, the presence of an inscription apparently recording this inscription at the cult place of Iupiter Dolichenus on Dülük Baba Tepesi and the Mithraeum on Keber Tepe shows the importance that was already attached to Doliche as a sacred place for soldiers as early as, possibly, the Trajanic period.

The city coins were first produced with the city name or symbol during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and L.Verus (A.D.161-169) (Wagner 1982:133).

According to Ergeç (2000:85), the city of Doliche donated four columns for the construction of Chabinas (on today's Cendere River) which was dedicated to Emperor Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211) and his wife Julia Domna as well as his sons Caracalla and Geta. In fact a statue base of the Emperor Caracalla bearing a Greek inscription which was found in 2003 at Dülük Baba Tepesi indicates that he may have visited the sanctuary of Iupiter Dolichenus in his way to the Euphrates in order to ask for support from the god of Doliche for the coming war (Güllüce et.al. 2005: 54ff). A bronze votive tablet found on Dülük Baba Tepesi which is important as the earliest securely dated evidence of the cult of Iupiter Dolichenus there is also dated to the late 2nd or 3rd century A.D (Güllüce et.al. 2005:55). In addition, on the Isely Tepe which lies approx. 400m to the west of Dülük Baba Tepesi, a so-called priests' necropolis was discovered. Two epigraphic data found in the graves are worth mentioning in this connection as the inscription on the gravestone of a Dolichenus priest is read as 'devout Apollonis' and as Baradados (= Son of Hadad), which is said to be repeated and in use for other Dolichenus priests in Apulum and Rome (Bulgan et.al.2003:198).

Ergeç states (2000:85) that Doliche with its sanctuary came to a dramatic end in the year A.D. 253 through the invasion of North Syria and Cilicia by Šāhpur I, who included Doliche among the towns, laid waste in his action report at Naqsh-i Rستم. Likewise, the latest inscription for Iupiter Dolichenus from the East comes from Dura-Europos and is dated to around A.D. 251-253 (Schwertheim 1987: 36ff). However, this was not the end of settlement at Doliche. A coin of Emperor Valerius Licinianus Licinius (AD 308-324) was found on the central plateau (Bulgan et.al. 2003: 201), and the ceramic material recovered to date shows that the area of Dülük

Baba Tepesi is one of the few places in the whole region which was settled continuously until the Byzantine period (Güllüce et.al.2004: 33).

CHAPTER 3

FROM IRON AGE WEATHER GODS TO ZEUS OF DOLICHE

3.1. Prototypes of Iupiter Dolichenus

Teshub, Hadad (Adad), and Baal all have been referred as the weather gods of Northern Syria and they were regarded by some scholars as the prototypes of Iupiter Dolichenus (e.g. Merlat 1960). However, the representation of Teshub as marching towards the right with a sword and holding in his upraised right hand an axe and a thunderbolt in his left is iconographically different from the weather god representations of the Hittite Empire Period. On the rock walls of the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, for example, Teshub is represented as standing on two unnamed anthropomorphic mountain gods instead of a bull and holding a club in his right hand (Bittel 1975: 167ff). The god on a rock relief at İvriz is also shown with bent arms, carries bunches of grapes instead of weapons (Orthmann 1971: pl.14e). Gurney points out (1977:17) that in the 13th century B.C, when Hattusili married the priestess of Kizzuwadna, Puduhepa, the Hurrian gods of Kummarbi, the later Comana in Cappadocia, a country of mixed Luwian and Hurrian culture, took over the state religion, and at their head stood the national weather god Teshub and his queen Hebat. In South East Anatolia and Northern Syria the Hurrians formed the dominant

population, and their god was adapted by the Hittites, while because of the similarity in meaning behind it, in the Boğazköy texts, the great god Adad of Aleppo, was to become Teshub of Aleppo (Kupper 1973: 41).

However, as Rice reminds us, for the Hittites, the bull perpetuated the connection with the storm a frequent and rather obvious identification of the power and ferocity of the bull when raised to the celestial sphere (1998:269). Schwertheim also points out (1991:30) that the bull was the animal of the weather god because his roaring resembled thunder and his potency the fertile effect of the rain. This must be the reason why the weather god was often represented in the form of a bull, as illustrated in the relief found at Alaca Höyük (Gurney 1977: 123). It is plausible to think that the local people who lived by agriculture and depended strongly on weather conditions and naturally made their main god became the weather god mounted on a bull.

As for Iupiter Dolichenus, he is sometimes referred by scholars as ‘Baal of Doliche’ or ‘Dolichenian Baal’ (Turcan 1997: 161). The name Baal is derived from the term ba’al, meaning “owner” or “lord” (Toorn 1995: 249) and the word must have been used as a title for the gods in general. There were ba’als of waters, stones, mountains, and sometimes of the sun and other heavenly bodies and, in the course of time this, a local ba’al was often held to be the supreme god, and thus was frequently identified with Zeus or Iupiter (Hastings 1994:283ff). Similar to this Syrian tradition, for the Romans, Iupiter Optimus Maximus was the most important god of Rome, the ultimate protector of the city, whose favour was responsible for the growth and might of Rome (Price 1999: 150).

However, Baal was also the god most actively worshipped in Phoenicia, and the cult of Baal Shamem (i.e Lord of the Skies) persisted in the region of Tyre from

the time of Esarhaddon's reign until the last centuries of the first millennium B.C (Teixidor 1977: 40). Before he was introduced into the Canaanite pantheon, Baal may have been identified with Hadad, the head of the Aramean pantheon (i.e. the Akkadian Adad), though Hadad had a wider distribution especially among Assyrians (James 1960: 306). It is stated that the myth concerning Baal's death at the hand of Mot, the god of death and drought and his subsequent resurrection suggests the yearly cycle and his descent into the earth suggests he was a sky god who faced towards to mountains where the sun sets. Although the Phoenician presence is attested in Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia, on the other hand, Baal was worshipped mainly in Phoenician cities and their colonies (as, for example, at Carthage), and his association with Iupiter Dolichenus results from both some similarity in iconography and his being lord of the sky. However, Bunnens (2004: 63) mentions that Zakkur, king of Hamath, glorifies himself by saying that Baal Shamem spoke to him through seers and diviners and offered him victory over his enemies. A life-sized sculpture of Baal from his temple at Ras-Shamra shows the god holding a mace in his upraised right hand and a spear in his left, the haft of the spear being a tree, probably a cedar (Gray 1969:72). The similarity with Iupiter Dolichenus is observed in the posture of the god with upraised hand and step position to the right.

Similarly, Hadad has been associated with the New Year Festival and common to his iconography was the posture of the god as a smiting god, with thunderbolt and bull. Hadad means thunderer and as the storm god he brings both fertility through abundant rains and destruction through fierce winds and storms (Toorn 1995: 717). Gray also (1969:23) mentions that his role in the conflict with the powers of Chaos in the liturgy of the New Year Festival in Assyria was assumed by Ashur, the national

god of Assyria. He was worshipped in Sam'al, Aleppo and Damascus, the later Aramean kings of which assumed the title of Bar-Hadad (Toorn 1995:719). As the sky god, he was later identified with the sun god, assuming the role of Zeus and Jupiter in the Greco-Roman world (James 1960:307).

Thus, it can be said that the gods Teshub, Adad (Hadad) and Baal all had similar appearances and mythological contexts and so they could be considered separate embodiment of the one god. So, it is plausible to think that the meaning which must have lain behind the monuments was so familiar to those who produced them, that certain types of scene were repeated time and time again.

During the Iron Age, the image of the weather god in relief is seen mostly on the stelae scattered throughout the area including the north and central part of the Euphrates and the area immediately west of it in the first millennium B.C. Most have been found in Tell Ahmar near Aleppo, but Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Maraş, and Malatya also supply well-preserved examples. The Hittite word *huwasi* was used for a stele on which the deity was represented (Gurney 1977:25). It serves as outdoors or sheltered cult objects (Puhvel 2004: 438). Stelae with or without images are often mentioned as the focus of worship in cult inventories and where old and new cult objects are contrasted, stelae are always among the older of these (Loon 1985:16). These stelae are important as they help to examine the iconography of the weather god in the Iron Age. They had an important place among Jupiter Dolichenian cult objects as well.

Although the representations on these stelae shows some variation and some differences in detail that may have reflected preferences of different artistic schools, on the other hand, a basic canonical form is observed in the posture showing the god stepping towards right, the representation of the head and legs in profile, and the

holding in the upraised right hand of an axe and in the left lightning. On some examples, the cosmic aspect of the god is emphasized by the representation of the winged disc motif above the head of the god (e.g. Cat. A.4). It is striking that, one of the Tell Ahmar Stelae, the god is called once a “Storm-God of Army” and thus, the Lord of the Skies was also a god of military power (Bunnens 2004: 62).

According to Cumont (1956: 147), the axe symbolized the god’s mastery over lightning. The winged disk which is seen on top of the scene emphasizes the celestial and cosmic aspect of the god while the inclusion of the crescent at its lower part can be taken as a way of associating the main celestial bodies, the sun and moon in one symbol (Bunnens 2004:61ff). The main god of Aleppo, who is associated with such a winged disc, when the place was in the Aramean state of Bit Agusi, is represented four times by the Luwian phrase “Celestial Tarhunzas” (i.e Storm god of the Skies). The winged disc has been first adopted by the kings of Mitanni and has been assimilated to a concept of a sky symbol (Gurney 1990:177). The Royal title ‘My Sun’ which reinforces the divine nature of the king’s position, was probably derived from northern Syria and is closely associated with the image of a winged sun-disc (Bryce 2002:19).

The characteristic feature of the god as seen in Hittite art is shown in Figures A1, A2, A3. The hair style with long plait ending a slight curl and shoes with upturned toes is also seen in Malatya, Carchemish. The gods in Hittite art are also mainly recognizable by their horned caps (Akurgal 1961: 110ff). They indicate his divinity and his rank (e.g. Cat.A.1).

Although the bull was an animal attribute of the Iron Age weather gods, these are sometimes depicted without the animal. A basalt relief from Sam’al (Zincirli) (Cat. A.3) shows a god alone with a traditional style, but the overall style and

attributes make it clear that this is the weather-god. The Adiyaman stele (Cat.A.5) shows a typical weather god and is also similar with the Zincirli stele in showing the traditional attributes but the execution of the two is different. Another close parallel is a small stele from Til-Barsip with an almost identical figure (Hawkins 1970: 106).

According to Vieyra (1955: 75), the stele known as the Kubaba stele (Cat. A.6) is important in understanding the transition from Iron Age weather god and his spouse to the proto-Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena. This shows a male and female deity, and the male god holds a thunderbolt in his left hand and a lance or a club in his upraised right. On the Imperial Hittite reliefs the gods never carry an object in their outstretched hand but they close their fist and entirely non Hittite for the weather god to clutch a sheaf of thunderbolts and therefore all these details go back to models of Mitannian and Syro-Hittite art of the second millennium (Akurgal 1961: 127). The goddess has been identified as Kubaba. Hittite Kubaba or Kupapa was the great goddess of Kummah as well and one of the hilltop sanctuaries dedicated to her cult was discovered in the village of Ancoz (Boyce 1991:315).

Buren (1945:161) draws attention to fact that the lightning and axe serve to identify the deity as the weather god in scenes where the bull is omitted and she states that besides Teshub and Aramean Hadad carrying axes, soldiers carrying images of the gods are pictured on a wall-relief from the palace at Nimrud in which the image of Adad holds the triple lightning in one hand and axe in the other (Buren 1945: 90). It is plausible to think that the representation of the god with weapons was an important factor in attracting soldiers to the worship of the weather god.

3.2. Weather God Image in Achaemenid and Greco-Roman Period:

The problem is how this local tradition of representing of smiting god reappeared in Late Hellenistic-Roman Period as Iupiter Dolichenus. We do not have any archaeological evidence to show that the worship of traditional weather god mounted on a bull in a smiting posture survived during the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Period. This may result from the fact that the history of Syria in this period is relatively poorly documented. However, it has always been noted that, although the political power of Assyria had fallen to the Achaemenid Empire, its people, culture and religion lived on. The cities continued to practice their own religions, carrying out their own commercial activities.

However, we do not exactly know to what extent these local people carried their religious activities. Cumont mentions that after the conquest by Cyrus and the foundation of Persian domination, “Lord of the Heavens” (i.e local Baal) was readily confounded with Ahura Mazda, and Mithra worship which had a close association with Iupiter Dolichenus during Roman Period, was formed by a combination of Persian beliefs and Semitic theology (1956:147ff). Yet Boyce (1991:352) draws attention to the fact that “as nothing is known of Dolichenus worship as it developed under Iranian rule in Commagene, no more can be said than that the possibility exists that among the elements which the mysteries of Mithras and the worship of Dolichenus had in common may have been some beliefs of Zoroastrian origin”.

A detailed analysis on Zoroastrianism will not be given here, but some remarks on those aspects of it relevant to this discussion of the Iupiter Dolichenus cult need to be made. In Zoroastrians’s belief, Ahura Mazda (Ohrmazd) is said as ultimate god, the absolute goodness, wisdom and knowledge, creator of the sun, the stars, light and

dark, humans and animals and all spiritual and physical activities (Curtis 1993: 11). Besides the ultimate god Ahura Mazda, his counterpart Mithra became known as the sun god. Essentially Mithra functioned in the ethical sphere as the God of covenant and he oversaw all agreements that people made among themselves.

However, Mithra regarded the settlement of men and for this reason it used to be thought that the god is associated with the sun which from dawn to dusk makes its way above men's head as people go about their daily affairs and fire could be regarded as the agent of the Mithra (Boyce 1991: 28). The link between fire and Mithra arise because according to Iranian sources, it was the custom to swear covenants in the presence of the fire (Boyce 1991: 28). Blazing fire raised on an altar became a standard element of Zoroastrian iconography. Mithra also appeared along with other *yazatas* Anahit and Mah (moon God). There were other subsidiary gods such as Vayu, Indra. So, Mazdean heaven was inhabited by the gods similar with the Olympus; Ahura Mazda as Supreme Being was confounded with Zeus; Verethragna, the victorious hero with Herakles, Anahit to whom the bull is consecrated became Artemis Tauropolos (Cumont 1956:20).

Yet, the relationship of Ahura Mazda to other divine powers is not easy to define. Curtis (1993:11) states that in Zoroastrian belief, life in this world is a reflection of the cosmic struggle between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu or Ahriman (Evil Spirit), and man is forced to make an active choice between the two and thus life becomes an ethical battlefield between the powers of the good and evil. In this context Mithra became the guardian of the Truth and Order, the warrior who brings victory (Green 1991:79).

During the reign of Antiochus I (69-38 B.C), his kingdom was organized around various cult centers and detailed regulations were made for the participation

of the entire population in the cults (Price 1986: 37). In this Commagene pantheon, Zeus- Oramasdes (Ahura Mazda) appears as a syncretic deity of the Greek Zeus and the Persian Ahura Mazda at the magnificent tomb sanctuary (*hierothesion*) of Nemrud Dağı. In accordance with the hierarchy of the deities, Zeus-Oromasdes is the largest statue whose bust is fully bearded and the winged thunderbolt relief on his diadem distinguishes it from the diadems of the other deities (Başgelen 1998: 23).

As in the case of Iupiter Dolichenian cult, where various deities from different ranks of the pantheon are included, the tomb of Antiochus I provide places for a wide range of deities such as Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and Artagnes-Herakles-Ares. The Eagle is also common in both cases, although this could be present as a representative of the god Zeus/Iupiter. Thus, the identification of Iranian deities took a new dimension, Ahura Mazda comparable to Zeus, Mithra to Apollo, and Verethraghna to Herakles, and in doing so, some aspects of Zoroastrianism came to be known to foreigners through Antiochus's cult.

Antiochus' new cult was also established in Doliche. It has been suggested that by establishing of his cult in different parts of his kingdom, Antiochus aimed in this way at uniting all the inhabitants of Commagene in the veneration both of the king and of the great gods. However, as Schwertheim pointed out, it seems that the superior position of the ruler cult established by Commagenian kings did not restrict or prevent the worship of other gods by the local population (1991:29). During the reign of Antiochus I, the kingdom may have been Hellenized but it retained some Persian elements as he himself was of mixed blood, part Greek, part Persian. Winter (2004: 62) also draws attention to the cult inscription on Nemrud Dağı and he mentions that while Antiochus I transformed his own cult celebrations to the focal point, on the other hand he also permitted long established local cult celebrations.

Thus, Antiochus initiated his own ruler cult at Dülük Baba Tepesi, probably in order to encourage the admirers of Zeus Dolichaïos to see in the Zeus Oromasdes their own Dolichaïos (Winter 2004: 64).

As it is, a large number of clay seals, dating from the Hellenistic Period to the 2nd century A.D, have been found at or associated with Doliche. These seals are official seals that mark items controlled or issued by an urban authority or the priesthood of a temple (Weiss 2000: 102f). The most frequent types of the seals represent the busts of Zeus and Hera in high relief along with the representations of the Dioskouri and of Zeus Dolichenus and of an emperor in *dexiosis*.

Our knowledge about the religious life of the local people inhabiting between Antioch and Aleppo during the Greco-Roman Period is restricted. Zeus in Aleppo (Beroea) is known through the sacrifice made by Julian who also worshipped to Zeus at Antioch, much later than the appearance of the Dolichenian cult. In Palmyra, Baal-Shamin played an important role from the first century A.D in the art of Dura-Europos. The iconography of Baalshamin in Palmyra reminds the Greek Zeus and he is depicted as bearded man and wears long Greek garment and frequently shown holding a bouquet of corn and fruit (Dirven 1999: 116).

3.3. The Missing Link?

To return to our main problem, the lack of evidence for any continuance of the iconographic tradition between the Late Iron Age and the Hellenistic period, Jacobs draws attention to the Maraş stele (Cat.A.7a) which was previously built into the wall of a private house. Its importance results from the fact that the relief on the front of

the stele is dated to 7th century B.C while the stele also carries Greek inscription at the rear which is dated to ca. 1st century A.D.

What is different on the stele, is that immediately below the winged disc is an image of a bust of a man within a circle which spreads down. The same image, the circle spreading down but without bust and immediate upper of the winged disc occurs on the Asarhaddon's stele from Zincirli as well (Dörner 1990: 83). Although it is difficult to interpret this as the image does not show much detail, Jacobs (1992: 107) has argued that the bust represents the moon god which is bearded and wears a high Fez in Assyrian manner and holds a flower in front of his nose. The flower that he holds is said to look like a tulip. Natan (2006: 1014) associates the flower tulip and moon based on several factors and he states that the silhouette of a tulip flower has the rough outline of a crescent and star symbol. Besides, the circle in which the bust is represented is reminiscent of the full moon. A similar representation of the man occurs on a stele from Harran (Edessa) which bears an inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of Chaldaen dynasty of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (555-530 B.C), and where the moon god (Sin) was among the most outstanding deities (Drijvers 1980: 40, pl: XXIX).

The bottom part of this stele is lost and we do not know whether the god was originally mounted on a bull or not. Here, the representation of the god is iconographically different from the examples above mentioned. The differences concern the execution of the beard, cap, winged disc and the god's posture, but the figure at the left side of the stele (Cat. A.7b) is iconographically dependent on Neo-Assyrian art style as many Assyrian reliefs show the so-called beardless 'Eunuchs' figures (Jacobs 1992:108).

Jacobs identifies this Maraş representation as Iupiter Dolichenus. He points out that the prefix Bar (son) is also seen on a basalt altar from Doliche where the word Βαρβαναίο-υ is read. Besides, the Epithet ἐπήκοος is appeared on votive triangle of Iupiter Dolichenus (Schwertheim 1987: 7ff, Nr.5, Taf.II). The inclusion of the moon god is encountered in Iupiter Dolichenus representations (as Luna) as well. Although the iconography of the god is differed from that of Iupiter Dolichenus seen in the Western part of the Empire, the similarity is observed through the earliest representation of Iupiter Dolichenus especially the execution of the head and legs in profile. Moreover we do not have any evidence to show that any other god rather than the god of Doliche was represented on the stelae carrying axe and lightning. All of these factors make his association with Iupiter Dolichenus almost certain (Jacobs 1992: 112). Thus, it can be said that the figure on the stele is perceived by the person who found it as being Iupiter Dolichenus and he dedicated the stele to the “hearing God”.

CHAPTER 4

THE CULT OF IUPITER DOLICHENUS AND ITS ICONOGRAPHY

4.1. Iupiter Dolichenus in the East:

The objects representing Iupiter Dolichenus in Commagene and Northern Syria come from Doliche itself, its immediate vicinity (Kekliktepe, Zafer Köy, Alacakilise, Maraş, Tilhalit), from the Turkey-Syria border (Zeytintepe, Kurcuoğlu, Khaltan, Membij), and from Comana in Cappadocia (Fig.3). Germanicia, situated near the borders of Cappadocia and Syria, had easy communication with the southwest via the road over Mt.Amanus and it was an important place for demonstrating how a local weather god could be worshipped later by the Romans as Iupiter Dolichenus.

The homeland of the god is indicated on several dedications through the title “where iron is born” (*ubi ferrum nascitur*) (Kan 1943: 82). A possible iron production or iron processing at Doliche itself is very questionable because there is no evidence for it (Schwertheim 1991:31). Yet, Richardson (1937:450) mentions that Commagene had access to large iron deposits. At the feet of Yeni Kale in Arsemia Nymphaios, extensive iron ores were found during the excavations conducted by F.K. Dörner (Roesch 1975: 15). However we do not know whether these iron ores were known and utilized during the Roman Period. This title (*ubi ferrum nascitur*)

may have referred to Mother Earth in other words hilly places as well. Thus, Cook (1914: 631) mentions that iron and silver were regarded as the offsprings of Mother Earth and this belief had very possibly come down from the days of Hittites who worshipped a great mountain mother. So, it is not a surprise that for the Hittites, the sixteen references to iron to which Richardson (1937:447) has found occur only in the Teshub temple texts. Therefore, it is plausible to think that the title “where iron is born” must have goes back to Teshub and in the cult of Iupiter Dolichenus we see the reflection of the similar ideology. According to Shütte-Maischatz (2004:58) the admiration of the weather god of Doliche should bring the desired rains for the fertility of the fields, and also to create the condition for the iron production. Dülük Baba Tepesi with an altitude 1211m from its surroundings had been the suitable place for the cult place of Iupiter Dolichenus.

Although it is difficult to gain a precise impression, the cult was probably spread throughout the region by the Roman military, as we know that military units provide many traces regarding the character of the Iupiter Dolichenian cult. In fact the earliest known document recording the Dolichenian religion outside of Commagene is a military one: a building inscription of a temple to Iupiter Dolichenus at Lambaesis in Africa, dedicated by the commander of the legion there in A.D. 125/126 (Speidel 1978: 5).

An explanation for the role of the military in spreading the cult can be found in the militarized character of the region. Mitchell states that (1993: 119) from the annexation of Zeugma, ca 50 km east of Doliche, in A.D. 31 until A.D. 70, a system of frontier defense based on legionary fortress was established on the left bank of the Euphrates. Speidel (2005:95) also mentions that after A.D. 18 when Commagene was taken under direct Roman rule, auxiliary troops of Commagene must have been

incorporated to the Roman army and they would have helped spread the cult. As it is, according to Schwertheim (1991:35), Iupiter Dolichenus's popularity stemmed from his veneration by Syrian, especially Commagenian auxiliaries. Added to this we must remember that during the reign of Vespasian, when Commagene was annexed to Rome, with its capital at Samosata becoming the headquarters of the *XVI Flavia* legion (Bowersock 1973:135). It is therefore not surprising that a bronze votive hand representing Iupiter Dolichenus was found in Cappadocian Comana which has produced inscriptions for centurions of *Legio XII Fulminata* who had perhaps been posted there to control the passage of troops (Mitchell 1993:136). Pollard (2000:278) also mentions that a large concentration of troops were assembled near Antioch before A.D 252, for campaigns on the eastern frontier, with the emperor himself or a senior commander, present in the city. In fact the stelae of Iupiter Dolichenus in Antakya Museum may have been a dedication of the Roman soldiers stationed in the area requesting protection of the god.

The identification of the ethnic identities of the Roman soldiers stationed in Syria is not an easy matter (Pollard 2000:114). However, in the light of the names of the priests of Iupiter Dolichenus, Speidel (1978: 9) states that the Iupiter Dolichenian cult in the army was largely supported by Syrians and other Orientals, which is one of the reasons why the army proved to be a particularly successful field of expansion as there the Orientals found their way to the remotest corners of the empire. Millar also (1993:243) draws attention to the fact that even if all the public documents of this region are in Greek, with a few in Latin, that does not prove that every urban centre there had lost its original ethnic identity. For example, Hierapolis in particular, nominally a part of the Latin colony at Beirut and where Hadad and Atargatis were

worshipped, was a place that exhibited a distinctively Syrian character in the Roman period.

The material relating to the cult of Iupiter Dolichenus in the east comes mainly in the form of stelae, although Doliche itself does not provide monumental sculptures or stelae representing Iupiter Dolichenus. The majority of these stelae are single finds without an archaeological connection (Ergeç 2000: 91). Moreover, some of them have no inscription and shows a low artistic quality. Therefore, the dating of these mentioned objects is difficult. Almost all of the stelae come from Northern Syria, and were made of basalt although limestone was also used. The basalt stelae were used widespread in Commagene during the reign of Antiochus I of Commagene. These stelae bearing the god's image in relief in front and an inscription at the back or sometimes sides, apparently served as markers of the *temenos* (Boyce 1991:317). These eastern stelae show Iupiter Dolichenus on the bull alone or his consort Iuno.

It should be noted, however, that Bunnens (2004:65) discusses the possibility that some of these stelae may not belong to Iupiter Dolichenus since other centers of worship of the weather god in Syria are well attested in the Roman Period as at Aleppo, Hierapolis/Menbij, Damascus, Heliopolis/Baalbek. However, the stelae found in the immediate vicinity of Doliche such as Alacakilise, Zaferköy and Kekliktepe must represent Iupiter Dolichenus since we have no evidence that no weather god other than the god of Doliche was worshipped in this area during the Late Hellenistic and Roman Period.

As for the other examples, Bunnens (2004:67) also notes that besides the stele from Menbij, three reliefs from Khaltan, Zeytintepe and Kurcuoğlu found in a rather small area near the Amuq region may also actually represent the cult image of local weather god and not necessarily the god of Doliche. Although this possibility can't

be ruled out since on a triangular tablet from Doliche a figure standing on a bull is called as “the hearing God of Soumana”, nonetheless, the representation of a god standing on a bull on the stele has not been attested so far for any other god worshipped in this region such as Hadad or Iupiter Heliopolitanus. The iconography of Hadad worshipped in Hierapolis and that of Iupiter Heliopolitanus in Baalbek is different from the iconography of Iupiter Dolichenus. At Dura-Europos a site whose connection with Hierapolis has been noted by scholars, a cult relief shows Hadad seating with his feet resting on a footstool; the sign that mark him as Hadad (Greenfield 2001: 300). In addition, the stelae from Zeytintepe, Kurcuoğlu and Khaltan were found with the stelae showing the goddess holding a mirror one hand, leading to left on the animal. Such representation of Iupiter Dolichenus with his wife was also canonical in the West. So, the stelae depicting the bearded god standing on the bull, holding right hand double axe and in left lightning in a step position to the right strongly suggest that they depicted Iupiter Dolichenus unless otherwise can be proven by means of new finds with inscriptional evidence. As Ergeç (2000:91) rightly pointed out, new stelae or other materials representing the god from the sanctuary on Dülük Baba Tepesi which would be unearthed through succeeding investigations would enable us to see the iconographic tradition from North-Syrian town cult to the Roman Imperial cult.

One example of stelae identified as Iupiter Dolichenus is from Maraş and shows him in Persian clothes reminiscent of what the Commagenian king wore in Nemrud Dağı (Cat. B.4). In addition, on the Zafer Köy stele (Cat. B.2) the cap the god wears is stated to have concerned the simplistic form of the so-called Armenian Tiara which is known through the monuments of the Commagenian King Antiochus I. Stelae from Kürdini Tepe (Cat. B.1) and Gonca Dağı (Cat. B.3) also show the god

wearing a high cap with forward crooking point. Young (1964: 67f) identifies the high caps with forwards falling points as a Persian Tiara and he further notes that the two gods; Zeus Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes wear the Persian Tiara at Nemrud Dağı. However, compared to other examples, these caps concern a very simplistic form of Persian Tiara. According to Schütte-Maischatz (2004:115) there seems to occur at least at local level an adjustment of the cult picture and the rulers iconography of Antiochus I whose cult was set up on Dülük Baba Tepesi.

Schütte-Maischatz (2004: 115) also points out that under the successor of Antiochus I, Mithridates II (approx. 36-20), the intensity of the king's cult decreased and the Dolichenus reliefs from the Turkish-Syrian border are said to show a transitional form from Late Hittite to the Roman picture tradition on the account of garment in particular. One exceptional piece in this context is the marble statue which is said to have been found between Maraş and Birecik (Cat. B.13) and which is made in a completely Roman style and which bears striking similarities with the statue found in Mauer an der Url (Cat. C.1) and the statue found in Stari Sklamen (Cat. C.5). However, we do not have any other representation of the god from the east which would show such a striking similarity with the examples found in the western part of the Empire, and so it is plausible to think that it may have been imported from West. Indeed, although the stelae from Zeytintepe (Cat. B.8) and Khaltan (Cat. B.10) depict the god in the simplistic form of Roman cuirass, nevertheless, the Hittite influence or a more general oriental influence mediated by the Persians is felt strongly on all the eastern representations through the horned cap, the depiction of head and legs in profile and pigtail.

Some examples from the East show the god in dexiosis (Cat. B.16, B.18). This motif is frequently represented on Nemrud Dağı between the different deities and the

king of Antiochus I. Yet, it was not only peculiar to the Commagenian iconography but also it was used by Greek and Roman artists, especially on coins as well. In the Early Empire, clasped hands were seen as an emblem of friendship and loyalty and could also appear to signify agreement, unity and concord (Davies 1985:637). However, Boyce (1991: 317) points out that nowhere else in the Hellenistic world is it portrayed as often as in Commagene where Antiochus has shown himself at almost all sacred places. She further notes that this greeting is used constantly in the priestly rites of Zoroastrianism where instead of clasping hands each person takes a hand of the other and the formula is uttered “May we be of one strength, one righteousness” (Boyce 1991:318). The representation of Iupiter Dolichenus in *dexiosis* with an emperor does not appear on the cult objects acquired in the Western part of the Empire.

Way of dress apart, the Kekliktepe Stele (Cat. B.5) bear inscriptions recording the name of dedicator and show that this was votive stele set up asking for the god’s blessing or for the welfare of the dedicator or the Emperor. It is possible to think that the people who set up these stelae needed a holy place to feel secure and by creating the image of the god, they may have regarded these stones as little shrines where they could worship the god.

The steale apart, there are a few rare transportable objects from the region that belong to the Dolichenian cult, although these objects are much more common in the western provinces. These come in the form of bronze votive hand and triangular plaques. Bronze hands, representing the open right hand, symbolized the protecting hand of the deity and this was a common form of votive object in Semitic cults (Nash-Williams 1952:75). Seyrig points out that Atargatis can even be represented as a hand between two lions as a kind of symbol of her protective power (1939: 189).

As oriental cult object in origin, the open raised hand is thought to have been a symbol of justice, protection and omnipotence (Turcan 1997:164). According to Schwertheim (1991: 30), these must have symbolized the blessing asking hand of the believers or giving blessing hand of the god. Kan (1943: 32) also mentions that these were originally the protecting hand of the god that defended the faithful against the firms of evil minds and moved away misfortune from them as amulets did.

The identification of Dolichenian bronze hands in general can be made as some of them originally bore a figure of Iupiter Dolichenus (standing on his bull), some were found in the sanctuary of Dolichenus, and some bear inscriptions to the god. Such a bronze hand was found in Comana in Cappadocia (Cat. B.17). The fingers are lost and the inner surface of the hand shows Iupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull and Iuno Dolichena in relief. When these items became fashionable is not clear. However, a bronze hand with outstretched fingers from Heddernheim bears in the lower edge of the wrist a Latin inscription and can be dated to the second half of 2nd century A.D (Schwertheim 1987: 327).

Bronze hands found in the Western part of the Empire show that all are hollowed out and pierced in the wrist section so that they could be fixed onto a pole and carried in ritual procession (Turcan 1997:164). So, they are not only divine symbols but also specific attributes of the deity, the signs of his presence and protection (Najdenova 1989: 1373). However their use does not seem to have been restricted to the one purpose of carrying in a ritual procession. Najdenova (1989: 1373) points out that they had another use: as a votive by which believers gave thanks to the deity for the aid and protection he had given them. This is why some were also dedicated with the hope that a wish of the dedicator would be fulfilled.

As for the metal plaques, they were shaped in a triangular form and a typical example is that found at Doliche (Cat. B.16). In most cases, particularly on the plaques found in the Western part of the Empire, the decoration is arranged in superimposed bands and Dolichenus on his bull and with his spouse is shown with several other gods, motifs and symbols such as the Dioscuri, Sol and Luna, eagle, altar, Victoria (e.g. Cat. C.22). Significance of these triangular plaques is uncertain. They may have symbolized the canonical black stones (*betyl*), an interpretation based on the fact that there is an image of Terra Mater who also holds such a cult implement (Speidel 1978: 45). Such a *betyl* played an important part in the cult of Elagabal at Emisa in Syria, where the image of the deity was a conical stone decorated with astral symbols, although there is no evidence that a *betyl* played a part in the Dolichenian cult. However, the ‘*betyl*’ in the Elagabalian cult might have been meant to represent a mountain: Elagabal was the deity (*El*) of the mountain (*gabal*) (Birley 1999:71).

Much more likely is that the shape of these plaques was intended to symbolize the original mountain abode of gods such as Elagabal and Iupiter Dolichenus (Nash-Williams 1952: 751; Turcan 1997: 163). In fact Teshub, the probable forerunner of Iupiter Dolichenus, is depicted standing on the mountain gods (Namni and Hazzi), while Zeus was born from the mountain. Moreover, the sanctuary in Doliche for Iupiter Dolichenus is situated on the highest point in this locality. On the other hand, Kan (1943:26) draws attention to the similarity between Dolichenian triangles and the triangular case with pedestal in which Sandan Herakles was shown on the Greek and Roman coins from Tarsos where the Baal of this town, just as with the Baal of Doliche, was shown in relief on stone or bronze pyramids. That apart, it is important to note that these triangles have only been found in the military provinces, and not in

Italy or in Rome, not even in the richly equipped Dolichenum on the Aventine (Kan 1943:26). This suggests the possibility that they were carried by soldiers on poles in order to present the gods to the adoration of the faithful during ceremonies (Turcan 1997: 164), the plaques having the advantage of being cultic images that were easier to handle and transport than stelae.

4.2. Iupiter Dolichenus in the West:

The Western part of the Empire has produced a large amount of finds connected to the Iupiter Dolichenian cult. For example, in Rome alone, there were three temples dedicated to the god, on the Aventine, on the Esquiline and on the Caelian Hill. The sanctuary on the Esquiline was enlarged in the reign of Commodus by D.Junius Pacatus and decorated and enlarged again by a group of soldiers in A.D 191 (Speidel 1978: 17). The temple on the Aventine was built in the mid second century (Beard 1998: 275) and survived in use well into fourth century (Ferguson 1982: 35). Speidel (1978:12) states that the third temple on the Caelian Hill, which is contemporary with the temple on the Aventine, belonged to the imperial cavalry guard of the *equites singulares Augusti*.

The areas in the frontier provinces where the army was stationed became important centres of the cult, and dated inscriptions show that the cult was already widely established in the provinces by the time of Hadrian (117-138) (Nash-Williams 1952: 77). As already mentioned, the cult spread at a very early date to Africa. At Lambaesis, the families of legionaries in the garrison took part in the Dolichenian cult and the importance of women is worthy as inscriptions show them named beside their father and husbands (Turcan 1997:167).

The cult is much better represented in the military regions of Europe. For example, in the province of Germania Superior alone, five sanctuaries to the god are known and which have been excavated archaeologically (Schwertheim 1987: 196). Two or three cohorts from Commagene served a long time in Dacia and probably introduced the cult there (Sanders 1902:91). Carnuntum, a legionary station in Pannonia Superior, has provided several inscriptions and other evidence for the cult. In Britain, most of the monuments are found in the area of Hadrian's Wall, and are dated from the Antonine to the Severan period. Ferguson (1982: 35) mentions that there was an important shrine at Corbridge where the remains of a pediment, frieze and metopes as well as statue and altar point to a sanctuary of some elaboration.

Burns (2003: 267) mentions that when Maximinius Thrax (A.D. 235-238) came to power, he ordered his troops everywhere to strike at the cult centers of Jupiter Dolichenus, the favored god of the Severan family. The violent destruction of sanctuaries on Rhine and Danube during the reign of this emperor caused the end of all known Dolichenus temples in these provinces (Speidel 1978:72). However archaeological finds (e.g. an altar from Lower Germany dated to A.D 250) show that this destruction did not bring an end to the practice of the cult. The Dolichenum at Lambaesis was also in use in A.D 253 (Speidel 1978: 73). The cult is likely lost ground or disappeared after Valerianus and Gallienus (A.D. 253-260), since we have no monuments after that time (Speidel 1978: 75).

The conventional representations of the god in the West are mainly sculptures instead of stelae, but transportable artifacts are even more common. Generally Jupiter Dolichenus is figured standing on a bull in a smiting attitude brandishing in his right hand a double axe. According to Merlat (1960:186) the double axe was sufficient to ensure his identity since he always raised this instrument. He holds in his left hand a

lightning (thunderbolt), an aspect that may have especially appealed to the Roman legionary soldiers who carried a shield which had the device of a thunderbolt painted upon it. Iupiter Dolichenus is depicted in most cases as a bearded man wearing Phrygian cap, but sometimes a Tiara, but rarely a helmet. However, a marble statuette from harbor of Marseille (Cat. C.2) portrays the god as different from canonical iconography of Iupiter Dolichenus as a beardless young warrior with helmet.

Although the god is often represented in oriental style with Phrygian cap and with long hair, most of the time he wears a military cuirass with a short sleeved tunic over which he generally wears a mantle of the *paludamentum* type (Cat. C.4). A sword is generally attached to the *balteus* (Cat. C.16), and his legs are generally naked, although his feet are in some cases covered by *perones* (Cat. C.1).

His costume is generally that of a Roman soldier but it is also that worn by the emperors, and cuirassed statues were erected throughout the Roman world in honor of reigning and deceased emperors, members of imperial family, victorious generals, local heroes, and also Mars, the god of war (Gergel 1994: 191). On some examples (Cat. C2, C3), the cuirass worn by Iupiter Dolichenus is decorated on the breast with the head of Medusa, the frequent device on the cuirassed statue. In a marble sculpture from Dolichenum in Aventine (Cat. C.3) long tongue-shaped tabs are shown fastened to the lower edge of the cuirass which was the characteristic appearance of the Roman “classical” cuirass (Gergel 1994:194).

It seems that the god adopted this military costume in the East. Merlat (1960: 67) points out that Dolichenus was not unique in this respect as other Syrian gods like Iupiter Heliopolitanus or the Palmyrene gods also sometimes wore the military uniforms. According to him through the representation with the cuirass of emperors,

people recognized them as equal to a princeps as “master or protector” and saw representations of this type as a means both for showing respect to their Caesars and to the power of the god dressed in the garments of emperors. The militarization of Iupiter Dolichenus could date to a relatively late period when the Romans propagated him to all around the empire (Merlat 1960:85).

The bull is often standing either stoping or walking to the right and his head is depicted generally frontal. Sometimes he is lying on his right side (Cat. C.8, C.9). In some cases a girth strap surrounds the belly of the bull (Cat. C.1, C.7, C.22). A girth-strap around the belly of the bull has been interpreted as a symbol of its control by the god (Merlat 1960: 115ff). Following Fleischer, Schwertheim mentions that the girth, rather than being a sacred symbol, is a symbol of the sacrifice, because also sacrificial animals are decorated. A variety is probably created in order to break the monotonous traditional image.

Although the monuments consecrated to Iupiter Dolichenus show a common type with his traditional attributes, iconographically there are some deviating representations. The votive tablet from Heddernheim (Cat. C.29) is important because it depicts the god in entirely different iconography without his attribute bull and axe. In fact, without an inscription naming the god, it would not be associated with Iupiter Dolichenus. Here, the god is represented as Roman Iupiter with his scepter, thunderbolt, wreath and eagle. According to Schwertheim (1987: 198) this traditional clothing of the Roman Iupiter, applied on Iupiter Dolichenus marks this as a “*Conservator totius poli*” (i.e. as a preserver of the whole world) and, although never raised to the status of an imperial god, the god of Doliche could fulfill after these indications the functions of the uppermost Roman god. The representation of the deity as Roman Iupiter is not encountered so often in Dolichenian monuments

except for two other examples from Heddernheim (Schwertheim 1987: Nr. 514, Nr. 515).

Plaques with three or five floriated terminals at the top are votive objects peculiar to the Iupiter Dolichenian cult and are only found in the western provinces (Cat. 29). In some cases these bear a decoration showing a shrine (i.e. a pair of columns with pediment above) with the representation of Iupiter Dolichenus (with or without the bull and symbols) within. Many examples also bear inscriptions within *tabula ansata* or a rectangular frame at the base (Schwertheim 1987: Nr.299, Nr. 300, Nr. 301). All of the known examples come from the Western part of the Empire and they form one third of the cultic hoard found at Mauer an der Url (Schwertheim 1987: 196). The function of these objects in the Dolichenian cult is uncertain. However, according to Schwertheim (1987: 197), as some of these plaques have small holes indicating that they were attached to something, then they were probably also transported in processions.

According to Nash-Williams (1952: 75) these silver floral terminals represent the lily. His suggestion seems to be plausible, for the lily, which also decorated the golden coat of the Zeus of Phidias in Olympia, is referred in Greek myth in connection with Zeus and Herakles and is seen as a symbol of immortality. According to the myth, “Zeus wanted his son, Herakles, to be immortal and he put the infant son to the breast of Hera so that Herakles would drink her milk and became immortal. The child sucked so greedily from Hera’s breast that milk splashed across the heavens. The drops that fell to earth became white lilies.” (Ward 1999: 244).

However, the coins of Elis (Olympia) show the thunderbolt of Zeus in the form of a lily (Kan 1943: 30). Besides, according to Burkert (2002: 126), the thunderbolt

developed iconographically after a Near Eastern model in lily form. Therefore, the silver plaques that show a lily may have also been interpreted as a symbol of the thunderbolt, and thus of Zeus/Jupiter.

CHAPTER 5

THE OTHER GODS, GODDESSES AND SYMBOLS IN THE CULT OF IUPITER DOLICHENUS

5.1. Iuno Dolichena:

On the monuments of Iupiter Dolichenus, the god is sometimes accompanied by Iuno Dolichena. Actually, the Hittite weather god Teshub is also represented with his companion Hebat and Dolichenian Iuno is stated to have descended from a similar Hittite or Syro-Hittite line (Turcan 1997: 160). That the goddess was of Syrian in origin is also shown by an inscription on a Dolichenian cult objects from Rome. The inscription is read as *Iunoni Assyriae Reg(inae) Dolichenae* (Schwertheim 1987: 283). Although, here Assyria appears instead of Syria, on the account of Herodotus and Lucian, Schwertheim points out that “Assyrian” was a barbarian name for the Greek Syrians.

The goddess appears in most cases with Iupiter Dolichenus (e.g. Cat. C.14, C.15, C.16, C.17); her representation alone (two examples from Dolichenum in Aventine) is very rare (Cat. C.27, C.28). In general, she stands on the back of a deer or hind or a goat. Her body is represented frontal or three quarters towards left. On her head she sometimes wears a calathos or a diadem but most often a simple veil,

part of her mantle (Cat. C.14). She often holds a scepter in her left hand and raises a mirror and wears a short sleeved robe fastened on the waist.

The earliest examples come from Zeytintepe, Kurcuoğlu and Khaltan, and were found with the stelae representing Iupiter Dolichenus. These stelae show the goddess in a similar manner. On the stele from Khaltan (Cat. B.11), the goddess is depicted without her animal and headgear. She wears a sleeveless tunic which is fastened on the shoulders by fibula and with its right end laid over the left bent arm. Her lock hair falls to the shoulder. According to Schwertheim (1987: 30) the object that the goddess holds in her upraised right hand is a poppy capsule on a handle. On North Syrian sculptures at Carchemisch where Hebat is called Kubaba and on the reliefs from Yazılıkaya and Malatya (Vieyra 1955: Nr. 51, 65), the same object which is interpreted as poppy capsule, is held by the Hittite goddess just as Iuno Dolichena does.

The relief from the Dolichenum on the Aventine (Cat. C.27) shows the goddess alone in a traditional manner as Iuno Regina. The object she holds in her right hand must have been mirror, the attribute of Iuno rather than a poppy capsule. According to Turcan, Iuno had the same privilege of sovereignty as the Iuno of Doliche and she dominated the earth as Iupiter dominated the heavens (1997:161). Other than being a consort of Iupiter Dolichenus, the goddess must have also been seen by maternal aspect. As I already mentioned, women also took part in the Iupiter Dolichenian cult. Alcock (1986:129) draws attention to her function as a deity who presided over marriage and birth and, those aspects are particularly relevant to female life.

It has been suggested that her importance in the Empire was emphasized by Severus Alexander because of the influence of his mother Julia Mamaea. A statue from Chester which has been thought to represent the goddess had also parallel to the

statue of Julia Mamaea from Carnuntum (Schwertheim 1987:350). Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea were associated with Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Regina and represented as such since at Carnuntum statues of the divinities wearing imperial cloaks establish the identification (Ferguson 1982: 92).

As a consort of Iupiter, Iuno could not be excluded from Iupiter Dolichenian worship. Although she was considered as a goddess of women, her role in Roman religion seem not to have been so restricted. Iupiter with his consort Iuno was to reign over all the other gods, all of whom owe to this couple their existence (Cumont 1956:111). When they devoted an offering for their own safety in the combat and welfare of the emperor, soldiers must have also tried to extend the benefit to their families.

5.2. Sol and Luna:

Sol (sun) and Luna (moon) sometimes appear on the Dolichenian cult objects as the members of Dolichenian pantheon. They are shown flanking the main scenes, generally in the form of busts, the sun usually to the left, the moon to the right, though the inverse is also possible. They are usually shown in tunics but sometimes Sol is naked or half naked carrying a mantle on his shoulder. Sol is always radiant while Luna carries a luminous crescent on its head where we can see the horns of a crescent (Cat. C.26). Sometimes their images are accompanied by a torch, symbol of the light that they shed over the world (Merlat 1960:184). Two altars, dated to A.D 150, from Aventine Dolichenum depict the sun god holding a torch and moon goddess bearing a crescent on her hair (Schwertheim: Nr.356, 357).

Luna is related to night and darkness while Sol is related to day and light, and correspondingly life and death. Turcan (1997: 161) points out that Sol and Luna like Isis-Serapis and Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) do not evoke only the alternation of day and night but also symbolize eternity. Speidel also dwells on their role as symbols of oriental tradition that signify the eternity and the cosmic quality of the gods with whom they appear as their attributes (1978:25). This connects to the aspect of Jupiter Dolichenus as the master of the time as is indicated by the epithet *Aeternus* on some of the inscriptions (Schwertheim 1987: 387). Accordingly, on some Dolichenian cult objects, Sol and Luna appear along with Isis- Serapis and Dioscuri. On the plaque from Dolichenum in Aventine (Cat.C.26), they appear both turned to the right, and they are represented equal the other gods in size which shows that they are equal importance with Isis-Serapis and the Castores (Speidel 1978: 26f). Sol and Luna were always regarded as subordinated to cosmic god, in fact Dolichenus itself (Merlat 1960:124) since he was revered as *conservator totius mundi*.

The triangular tablet from Heddernheim (Cat.C.20) shows the busts of Sol and Luna in the lower register where they appear upon the heads of apodal geniuses, interpreted as mountain gods. According to Speidel (1978: 27) this scene may mean the actual appearance of the celestial bodies over the mountains. On the same tablet, Sol without Luna is emphasized on the upper part. Like Diana and Apollo, the sun had been worshipped by the *equites singulares Augusti* since the early second century; as an obviously oriental *Sol divinus* in A.D.128, in conjunction with the moon in A.D. 133 and as *Sol invictus* in A.D. 158 (Speidel 1978: 28ff). In fact, the oldest inscriptions which mention Sol and Dolichenus come from the Aventine qualifying him as *aeternus* and *dignus praestantissimus* (Merlat 1960 :123).

As an oriental symbol, in the battle of light against darkness, the Sun appears among Ahura Mazda's highest-ranking staff officer (Ferguson 1982:44). The cult reliefs of other oriental gods also often portray the sun and moon, especially those of Mithras. Thus the fundamental opponents, light and darkness and correspondingly life and death, seem to play an essential role in the bull-slaying scenery (Sørensen 1989:37). Speidel points out that the *equites singulares Augusti*, recruited from the *alae* in the provinces had a habit of continuing to revere their home gods in Rome. The priest of Iupiter Dolichenus, M.Ulpus Chresimus who was of Parthian nationality, dedicated a relief not to Iupiter Dolichenus, but "to the Invincible Sun" (Sol Invictus) and it represents the old priest beside the Sol with the moon and stars in the background (Cook 1914: 610).

However, the representation of Sol and Luna with Iupiter Dolichenus on the cult objects appears not only in Rome in connection with the *equites singulares* but also at other centres of worship such as Hedderheim, Mauer an der Url, Kömlöd. On the triangular tablets from here, Sol and Luna appear below the eagle which is represented at the upper register. According to Merlat (1960: 205) Sol and Luna formed a triad with the eagle and value of this triad can only be cosmic. Sol, Luna and eagle is also considered to have a similar meaning to that of the disk, crescent and wings of Iron Age and in both cases it was the celestial and cosmic aspect of the god that was emphasized (Bunnens 2004:62). As Bunnens pointed out, this triad on the monuments of the cult of Iupiter Dolichenus must have suggested a "translation of the winged disk motif by symbols more familiar to the worshippers of the Roman Period.

5.3. Mars, Hercules and Minerva:

Mars, Hercules and Minerva appear rarely with Iupiter Dolichenus. The Kömlöd tablet (Cat. C.22), dedicated by a centurion of *cohors I Alpinorum* (Speidel 1978:36) was one of the Dolichenian cult object where the identification of the two figures depicted as a busts at the lower register as Hercules and Minerva is almost certain. On this tablet, Hercules is shown his with his club and Minerva with her helmet flanking Iupiter Dolichenus on the corners.

Hercules was the divine son of Iupiter and the Roman equivalent of Greek Heracles. He was thought as the Greek interpretation of the Iranian Verethragna, the god of Victory and in Commagene on Nemrud Dağı, this god is named in both Iranian and Greek as Artagnes Herakles, appears along with other gods. Accordingly he bears the club of Greek hero and Persian Tiara. According to Turcan (1997:28) Melqart who was the chief deity of Tyre became Hercules in Rome and made his first entry in the company of Phoenician traders. Greek writers identified Tarsian Sandon as well as Melqart with the Greek Hercules who is counted to be founder of the Tarsus (Case 2003: 121). In Tarsus a great mass of terracotta figurines representing Herakles of conventional late Hellenistic type with club, lion skins were found. He was worshipped by the Romans as a god of commercial enterprise and of victory (Adkins 1996:98). We do not know anything about the nationality of the soldiers whether they were Easterner or not, who dedicated this tablet to Iupiter Dolichenus.

Minerva, who was worshipped along Iupiter and Iuno on the Capitol Hill and had a temple on Aventine hill, was also identified with the Greek goddess Athena and regarded as a goddess of handicrafts and of war (Adkins 1996: 153). She was

believed to have guided men in the war. There was even a legion stationed in the Rhine over a considerable period called *Legio Prima Minervia* (Evans 1861:164). She was also considered as the source of wisdom that wins immortality and in her martial aspect conqueress of death (Toynbee 1986: 61).

Mars is illustrated three times in the iconography of Dolichenus. The inclusion of Mars, Hercules and Minerva into Iupiter Dolichenian cult objects must have reflect their fighting quality, as Iupiter Optimus Maximus was not only the supreme deity of the Roman state but also its army. Henig (1984: 90) mentions that there were soldiers wearing belts inscribed with a prayer: *Juppiter Optime Maxime, conservanumerum omnium militantium*- “O Jupiter Greatest and Best, succor this band of fighting men all!” while the armor was ornamented with Jupiter, Mars, Minerva and Dioskouri (Castor and Pollux)-protecting divinities. So, the soldiers, who conceived Dolichenus main divinity of the Universe, also asked him to bring victory and protection in the combat. It is probably such a consideration that justifies the intervention of war like divinities into Dolichenian pantheon.

5.4. Isis and Serapis:

The representation of Greco-Egyptian deities with Iupiter Dolichenus is rare. A plaque from the Aventin Dolichenum represents in its lower register Isis and Serapis between Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena (Cat. C.26). Serapis is depicted as a bearded man wearing a long tunic and a basket over his head. He turns his head to Iupiter Dolichenus and holds in his left hand a scepter and he raises his right hand to Iupiter Dolichenus that is interpreted as a respect gesture to Iupiter Dolichenus. According to Schwertheim this gesture shows the subordinate positions of Egyptian

gods within the Dolichenian Pantheon (Schwertheim 1987: 254). Isis, her head also turns to Jupiter Dolichenus, stands frontal beside Serapis. She wears a long garment and carries on the head a basket with a crescent. The object that she holds in her left hand is probably Situla which is especially associated with Isis.

Another plaque from the Dolichenum on the Aventine (Cat. C.25) represents Isis and Serapis as busts above the eagle on the upper part between Jupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena. Serapis is shown as a bearded man who wears a tunic and carries a basket on his head. Isis also carries a basket on her head. Serapis was connected to fertility and is usually portrayed with a small basket on his head and carrying a cornucopia in one hand (Kiley 1997:182). However, the functions of Zeus, Pluto and Helios were especially ascribed to him (Cumont 1956: 89). The god is seen to be identical to Egyptian deity Osiris who was the god of afterlife and to be connected, therefore, with the consort of Osiris, Isis (Kiley 1997:182). The reverence of the Egyptian deity Osiris is also attested on the sanctuary of Dolichenus in Dülük Baba Tepesi through the find of a head of statuette of Osiris which is dated to between 6th - 5th centuries B.C. (Güllüce 2006). However we do not have any evidence from Doliche during the Roman Period that would show the inclusion of Isis and Serapis into Dolichenian pantheon. Their cult is attested in Antioch (Norris 1982:189) and the cult of Serapis became known by the reign of Ptolemy I who is said to erect a huge statue in Alexandria. Turcan (1997:97) mentions that in A.D. 158 the legate of IIIrd Augusta legion himself publicly made an act of piety at Lambaesis, by having the temple of Isis and Serapis enlarged and embellished.

As for Isis, she was seen as Mother Goddess (Ferguson 1982:16) and also connected with fertility. But she was identified simultaneously with Demeter, Aphrodite, Hera, Tyche and others and also considered as the queen of the heaven

and hell, of earth and sea (Cumont 1956:89). Cumont (1956: 84) mentions that Domitian made one of the Roma's most splendid monuments of Isis temple and from that time Isis and Serapis enjoyed the favor of every imperial dynasty, Flavians as well as Antonines and Severi and about the year 215 Caracalla built an Isis temple even more magnificent than that of Domitian.

The reverence to Egyptian deities by imperial dynasties can be one factor for their inclusion into Dolichenian cult. The date of two plaques from Aventine representing Isis and Serapis is coincided with the time when the cult was popular. One plaque is dated to second half of 2nd century A.D when at Lambaesis in North Africa which lies across the Rome, the temple to Isis and Serapis were erected. The other plaque is dated to 3rd century A.D when the cult was favored in imperial dynasty. However, the relation of these Egyptian gods with Iupiter Dolichenus must have lain under the fact that both have a cosmic character. Isis was mainly linked with cosmic divinities, regarded as Isis-Luna crowned with a crescent moon and Serapis also had been solarised from the beginning and fused in the 3rd century A.D with the solar deities (Roullet 1972:40).

5.5. Dioskouroi:

The Dioskouroi were the twin brothers (Castor and Pollux) who are sometimes referred as "the young boys of Zeus" or "the sons of Heaven" or Thyndarides (Tyndarydoi) or "the sons of Tyndareus". According to Greek mythology, Zeus, in the guise of swan, seduces Leda, wife of Tyndareos but Leda also made love to her husband Tyndareos, the king of Sparta. Leda gives birth to Pollux (the son of Zeus) and Castor (the son of Tyndareos) (Grimal 1990:159). So, because of their different

parentage Pollux was immortal, castor was mortal. On some Dolichenian cult objects, certain inscriptions are mentioning gods called *Castores* or *Castores Conservatores* (Kan 1943: Nr.156). The worshippers of Iupiter Dolichenus often bear the names of Castor and Polydeukes in honor of divine twins (Speidel 1978:22; Turcan 1997: 168) as well. Cumont (1956:123) mentions that “the two celestial hemispheres that alternately pass above and below the earth were personified and likened to the Dioskouroi who lived and died by turns”. On the other hand Dioskouroi were also associated to the idea of victory and in Rome they protected the army (Merlat 1960:103).

A triangular tablet from Mauer an der Url (Cat. C.24) shows the images of the Dioskouroi at its lower register. They are represented as naked young men, holding in one hand their lance, in the other the reins of the horse, opposed symmetrically. They stand frontal and their head turns the middle of the scene. Another plaque from Dolichenum in Aventine (Cat. C.26) also shows at the upper part of the scene Castores. They are represented as naked young men but a *pilos*, a cap peculiar to Dioskouroi, covers the head and a mantle is laid over the left shoulder.

The Castores were originally identical with the Indo-European twin pair of the Asvin, related to the horse (aśva) or Nâsatya which is called in state contracts between Hittite King Suppiluliuma (14th century B.C) and Hurrian state Mitanni (Cumont 1917: 353). Kan (1943:29) also draws attention to the possibility that Syrians adapted these twins later as Dioskouroi as in the case of Teshub adapted as Zeus and Iupiter. Another plaque from Dolichenum in Aventin (Cat. C.25) shows the divine twins on the top of relief as small busts flanking the right and left side. The representation of Castores as a bust is not encountered elsewhere in Dolichenian iconography, though they appear in that context on the Mithraic reliefs.

Apart from the known image of Dioskouroi, on some cult objects, such as triangular tablet from Iasen (Cat. C.21), two personalities represented as bearded old men, whose lower body reposes directly on a base, wearing Phrygian cap, holding palm leaves were also identified with Dioskouroi (Cumont 1956: 256). However this hypothesis is also much controversial. Because of their typical resemblance to Iupiter Dolichenus, it has also been thought that they are the apodic forms of Iupiter Dolichenus expressing symbolically his birth (Merlat 1960:103). According to Merlat (1960:108) the representation of Castores in apodal (feetless) geniuses characterizes their value of stabilizers, their base expressing the aspect of stability.

On the tablet from Heddernheim (Cat. C.20), the so called Castores Dolicheni is shown at the lower register at the either side of Iuno Dolichena. They wear cuirass and the lower body is depicted in spiral form, probably mountain is symbolized. Bunnens (2004:69) thinks that they were mountain gods who can be seen as the western equivalent of Anatolian mountain gods, especially those portrayed as caryatid figures that are common in both Late Bronze and Iron Age Anatolia and Northern Syria. So, it is plausible to think that they were terrestrial divinities and they ensure the stability of terrestrial universe and their representation emphasize one aspect of Iupiter Dolichenus not only as a cosmic or celestial qualities but also as terrestrial value that he had. Whatever their exact signification is, their union with Dolichenus and his partner indicates that they belong to the dolichenian cycle.

5.6. Victoria (Nike):

Victoria is frequently represented in Dolichenian cult objects, either as alone or with Dolichenus, Iuno or eagle. She always carries crown either directed to

Dolichenus or in the manner putting it on the god's head (Cat.C.20). The concept of Victory was essentially occidental since she is shown very traditionally: long tunic fastened on the body, wings, and laurel leaves and crown (Merlat 1960:78). In Hellenistic and Roman iconography, Victoria was a goddess associated with military triumph but in the Roman Empire she became a personification with more widespread connotations. Schwertheim (1981:200) interprets this figure as a companion of the triumph which Iupiter Dolichenus gained in the Roman Empire. However, the triangular plaques illustrate mainly Iupiter Dolichenus's cosmic aspect. Therefore, the Victoria in these objects can also point to different aspect of the cult. In one example from Mauer an der Url shows the goddess standing on a crescent (Speidel 1978:43). Nonetheless, the emphasis on Victoria in Dolichenian cult objects can both express the triumph of the military god and also his cosmic power felt everywhere.

5.7. Symbols:

On the Dolichenian cult objects, the god is often accompanied by symbols such as eagle, wreath, fire altar, stars. The eagle accompanies Iupiter Dolichenus very often both on the plaques and on the sculptures. The eagle is the companion of Zeus was a sacred bird and it should be noted that several of his priests had the Latin name for eagle (Aquila) (Turcan 1997: 168). It was also the sacred sun bird of the oriental Baal, the bearer of the souls of the departed to the realms of light (Nash-Williams 1952:74).

Sculptures of Dolichenus sometimes show the eagle as supporting the belly of the bull (Cat. C.2); it is represented once on the cuirass of the god and on the head of

the bull (Cat.C.5). According to Merlat (1960:205) the union of eagle and bull as well as its appearance on the cuirass must signify that the eagle is also directly linked with the god. Regarded as the most auspicious of birds, the eagle symbolized the chief god of Rome, Iupiter Optimus Maximus, who protected the entire state and throughout the history of Rome the eagle had been identified with the destiny of the empire (Helgeland 1978: 1473).

The eagle is often shown in association with the thunderbolt. The rear of a triangular plaque from Mauer an der Url (Schwertheim 1987: Nr. 294) shows in its middle part a hand holding a thunderbolt which is depicted in a medallion. Under the medallion two eagles were depicted in the corners while two peacocks appear above the hand. Here, the eagles as well as peacocks may have functioned as substitutes of the Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena. On a relief from Aventine, an eagle which holds a thunderbolt in its talons is shown above the fire altar (Cat. C.25). It is difficult to bring any explanation as to the meaning of this scene. However, Cirlot (1984: 91) points out that the eagle was a bird living in the full light of the sun and therefore considered to be luminous in its essence and to share in the elements of air and fire. He further notes that the eagle is also characterized by its daring flight, its speed and therefore its close association with fire and thunderbolt. So, the meaning of the representation of the eagle on the thunderbolt, the god holds in his right hand on the relief from Brigetio, can be understood in this conception. However the emphasis on the eagle in Dolichenian cult object may also reflect the military character of the cult. The eagle was also closely connected with Rome's success at war and they became indispensable to the *esprit de corps* of the legions, and it was the gravest offense to lose the eagle in combat; such loss usually resulted in the disbandment of the legion (Helgeland 1978:1474f).

Stars were also one of the elements of Dolichenian iconography, though its appearance is not so frequent. On a plaque from Kömlöd, the star is incised near the head of Dolichenus (Cat.C.22). A silver plaque from Mauer an der Url (Schwertheim 1987: Nr.302) shows a star incised within the gable of *tabula ansata* at the bottom. The Babylonians associated the planets with the god, and the Greeks and Romans also adopted this belief. Cumont (1956: 119) mentions that the ancient belief of Persians had been subjected in Babylon influence of theology and the majority of the gods of Iran had been likened to the stars worshipped in the valley of Euphrates. Krill (1974: 36) also points out the influence of Chaldean belief on Roman religion, stressing that Severus was most involved with Chaldean astrology having chosen his wife Julia Domna after astrological consultation. He also states that according to Chaldean belief, the heavenly bodies provided a starry place of eternal rest of the souls of departed and human souls would return to dwell forever in union with the god. This belief may have continued among Roman soldiers. The soldiers who would always feel the fear of death but believing in the eternity of their souls must have attached importance to include to the cult objects the holy elements of the sky. According to Merlat (1960:224) this symbol concerns the god and expresses its planetary value.

Another symbol represented in some Dolichenian cult objects is Ram, though it does not have an important place in the Dolichenian iconography. It is represented only three times on the monuments. Ram was consecrated to Saturn in Africa (Merlat 1960: 105). Ram was also a fitting emblem to be adopted by one of the Roman legions, as not only it was sacred to Mars, but its Latin name of Aries has been considered to have been derived from Ares-Mars (Evans 1861: 165). A sockle from Lambaese is ornated by two ram heads. On the monument from Szlankament, the

bull of Dolichenus poses on ram's head. On an altar from Dolichenum in Dura Europos, the head of the ram is executed in a high relief while his horns in level relief (Schwertheim 1987 Taf. XII, fig.36). Here, the ram must have been thought as sacrificial animal offered to the god. The representation of this animal seems to result from its being sacrificial animal rather than its connection with the war and thereby army.

The representation of the serpent in Dolichenian iconography is also rare, though more frequent than ram, and is also much more controversial. A monument at Chesters shows Dolichenus on the bull, facing a Iuno mounted on her sacred animal and the serpent is figured under the animal of the god (Merlat 1960: 58). The inclusion of serpents into cult objects (e.g. Cat. B.14) may refer the animal's association with cosmic circle as Iupiter Dolichenus was a celestial god. A detailed examination of the worship of this animal was made by J.Deane, and he mentions (1833: 122ff) that in Egypt, the serpent which is the symbolical of the divine wisdom, power and creative energy, was symbolical of Isis as well as some other deities such as Serapis. He also states that, quoting Eusebius, the world was described as a circle and "a serpent passing diametrically and horizontally through it" (Deane 1833: 128).

It is probable that this aspect attributed to the snakes led Merlat (1960:60) to link the castores with them. The parallel is given between the Castores Dolicheni and snakes in their role as a supporter of the vault of heaven, immediate assistant of the god (Schwertheim 1987: 79). However, Iupiter is also thought to owe his birth to serpent since when Saturn devoured his male children, his wife Rhea saved their son Iupiter by giving her husband a large stone which she substituted for her son and which was called Abadir (Egyptian *Ob* or *Oub*, serpent) and which signifies the

serpent (Deane 1833: 31f). In the accounts of Herodotus, Deane mentions that in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, there are two serpents by no means injurious to men; small in size, having two horns, springing up from the top of the head and they say that they are sacred to that God (Deane 1833:32). So, the artists who put snakes into Dolichenian cult objects must have known what meant this animal to Jupiter.

One of the most frequent depicted symbols in Dolichenian cult objects was the fire altar which belonged to conventional Dolichenian iconography. Its origins are to be found in Zoroastrianism. Accordingly, the fire could be regarded as in its origin divine and as venerable, being a symbol of the eternal (Hastings 1994: 57). The Roman historian Q. Curtius Rufus, for instance, calls the fire *aeternum* (Jong 1997:149). In Roma, the insignia for the goddess Vesta was an altar with flames and it was believed that if the fire of Vesta's altar went out, the Roman Empire would fall and the Vestal Virgins were the keepers of Rome's eternal flame (Knight 2004: 33). Cumont (1956: 99) mentions that inextinguishable fire burned in the palace of Caesars and was carried before them in official ceremonies and this lamp, constantly lighted, had also served the Persian Kings as an image of the perpetuity of their power. The everlastingness of the celestial fire of which sun, moon and stars are the manifestations, also contributed to the importance of fire in the ritual of worship (Hasting 1994:57). This aspect of the fire must have been the reason for the representation in the cult objects of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus aeterno*.

On the cult objects, the fire altar is generally depicted between Jupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena. It has been thought that fire altar is a simplistic symbol of a sacrifice which is offered to the divinity or a symbol of flame of everlastingness (Schwertheim 1987:16). The triangular plaque from Doliche (Cat.B.16) shows a fire altar which consists of a rectangular shaft decorated with two

rectangular panels, one within the other and the top has little upright projections at either side. According to Boyce (1991: 352) this fire altar owes its look to the imitation of fire holders used by Zoroastrians. Indeed, the frequent representation of the fire altar in Dolichenian cult objects may have taken its root from Zoroastrianism. As I already mentioned the fire is linked with Mithra since it was custom to swear covenants in the presence of the fire (Boyce 1991: 28). A rock-cut tomb shows Ahura Mazda and fire altar along with Achaemenian ruler (Garthweite 2005: Fig.2.7). On this triangular plaque, the representation of Dolichenus in *dexiosis* in a gesture making a pact, with a man, in the presence of fire altar and reminds us of this Iranian tradition. Furthermore, following Haider, Winter (2004:72) draws attention to that one of the essential ability of Iupiter Dolichenus was his function as a witness, protector and avenger of contracts.

Another element of Dolichenian iconography was wreath. An arrangement of the flowers and leaves especially in the shape of a circle is seen on the graves as a sign of respect for the person who has died. The ceiling of a rock-cut grave in Doliche is ornamented by a wreath, possibly as a result of this concept. On some Dolichenian cult objects, a wreath appears between Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena (Cat. C.21). In some cases it is represented in the hand of the Victoria who crowns Iupiter Dolichenus. The association of the wreath with a military meaning is made since the oak wreath (*corona civica*) had traditionally been awarded for rescuing a comrade in the battle (Zanker 1988: 93). Yet, the wreath had also other meanings; it is the symbol of Iupiter since it comes from the tree sacred to Iupiter. So, it is plausible to think that the representation of the wreath might have symbolized the victory strength of the divine pair and especially Iupiter Dolichenus (Schwertheim 1987:81).

On a votive tablet from Iasen, the scene is framed by two standards, decorated in the base; on the top an eagle sits (Cat. C.21). The two standards are the same; the poles bear a crescent and five *phalerae*. The other examples come from Kömlöd and Mauer an der Url. They are always represented on the register where the Castores figures are as well. It has been thought that they were military standards because the pillar-gods or Tyndarides were conceived as “conservatores” and their role was to influence positively the soldier (Merlat 1960: 48). In addition, it is stated that they closely resemble the standards of the Roman army (Speidel 1978:55). However while the Kömlöd tablet is dedicated by a centurion of an auxiliary cohort, the Mauer tablet was a civil dedication (Schwertheim 1987: 133, 190).

As for the presence of the standards, it was the symbol of the gods in the orient, and they may mean the same on the monuments of Dolichenus. These cult implements are stated to have appeared throughout Syria and Mesopotamia and had a long history (Dirven 1999: 92). The standard between Atargatis and Hadad is well known from representations of the cult in Hierapolis and from Hatra in central Mesopotamia and it resembled a Roman legionary standard in form and was intended to symbolize the presence of the gods (Swain 1998:306). Yet, we do not have any Dolichenian cult objects representing standards from the East and from Doliche itself. It is also difficult to determine whether these standards represented Castores or Iupiter Dolichenus. Nonetheless it is probable that the similarity between cult and military standards may have facilitated the assimilation. Succeeding investigations in the area may reveal new finds thereby we can gain more insight about their meaning.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The weather gods Hittite Teshub, Hadad (Adad), the head of the Aramean pantheon, and the Syrian Baal, in various forms, are seen as the origin of Iupiter Dolichenus. They were in essence the same god who had similar appearances and mythological contexts. However, the representation of the Hittite weather god Teshub standing on a bull is not encountered in central Anatolia during the Hittite Empire Period. This iconographic model was adapted by the Hittites from the Hurrians who formed dominant population in the South-East Anatolia and Northern Syria. This was because the main god in Syria was the weather god standing on the bull. The bull's association with weather god seems to have resulted from his power connected with the storm and his roaring that resembled to thunder. In some cases, the cosmic aspect of the Iron Age weather gods was emphasized by the inclusion of the winged disc where the sun and moon were joined in one symbol. On one of the Tell Ahmar stelae, the god is called as the "Storm God of Army". It is also stated that Baal Shamem offered to the king of Hamath victory over his enemies. So, as in the Roman Period, in some cases, the weather god was also connected with military power.

The canonical representation of the Iupiter Dolichenus seems to have been adapted from these early Iron Age weather gods whose main attributes were an axe and trident like thunderbolt. Apart from the main attributes such as bull, double axe lightning and sword, in the earliest examples of Iupiter Dolichenus, the similarity is also observed in the general appearance that is, the posture as marching towards right, and the execution of the head and legs in profile. One example from Khaltan depicts the god with long pigtail peculiar to Hittite picture tradition and two pairs of horns on the cap which was the symbol of the divinity for Hittites.

The representation of Iron Age weather gods appears mostly on the stelae or so-called *huwasi stones*. It seems that some of those stelae survived until Roman Period and became model for Dolichenian iconography. This is proved by a stele from Maraş where the relief on the front is dated to 7th century B.C, whereas, the Greek inscriptions on the back show that the stele was reused in the 1st century A.D and dedicated to the hearing god whose identification with Iupiter Dolichenus was made by Jacobs in 1992.

This study enabled me to see that not only in iconography but also in religious ideology there were some common features. It is striking that iron had important place both in Dolichenian cult and Hittite Teshub. Several dedications to Iupiter Dolichenus add the title *ubi ferrum nascitur* (“where iron is born”) and also sixteen references to iron occur only in Teshub temple texts. In both cases, the iron was believed to have formed on the tops of mountains.

The dating of the earliest material, which consists mostly of stelae, is problematic since these were single findings without archaeological connection and most of them show low artistic quality and has no inscription. The earliest representations of the god are different from others in that they bear some Persian

elements seen on the monuments of Commagenian king Antiochus I. As Schütte-Maischatz (2004:115) has pointed out there may have occur at local level an adjustment of the cult picture and rulers iconography of Antiochus I. However, after 31.B.C the royal cult established by Antiochus I was reduced and Doliche became provincial at the same time when Zeugma was taken over by the Romans. The stelae from the Turkish-Syrian border depict the god in the simplistic form of Roman cuirass and may reflect the transitional form from Late Hittite to Roman picture tradition. However, even in the 2nd century A.D, there were some representation showing him horned cap and long pigtail pointing his origin.

Despite of great diversity observed in iconography, in most cases, the god is portrayed wearing royal cuirass with short sleeved tunic over which he generally wears *paludamentum* and Phrygian cap sits on the head. The representation of the deity with the cuirass of emperors may point his power in the eyes of his believers. It seems that Roman Iupiter was combined with local weather gods and became Iupiter Dolichenus and through the contact with Rome he was identified with Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus.

The areas in the frontier provinces where the army was stationed became important cult centre of the cult. The military character of the god must have been one of the most important aspects why this god was so popular in Late Hellenistic-Roman Period when especially with the soldiers this cult spread.

Iupiter Dolichenian cult shared number of characteristic features with other oriental religions. Of the cult objects, bronze hands were a common form of votive objects in the Semitic cults as the symbol of justice and protection of the god and Atargatis can be even represented as a hand, as a symbol of her protective power. The presence of the standards in the orient is the symbol of the gods and they may

mean the same on the monuments of Dolichenus. The representation of Iupiter Dolichenus in *dexiosis* in the presence of the fire altar reminds Iranian tradition. The presence of Sol Luna and Eagle had similar meaning with winged disk emphasizing celestial and cosmic aspect of the god.

The cult is likely to have lost ground or disappeared after Valerianus and Gallienus (A.D. 253-260), since we have no monuments after that time (Speidel 1978: 75). Why it disappeared about then is not clear, but Gallienus blamed the bad experiences of the Romans at that time on people not following old Roman gods. This could have caused the cult to be banned, as what happened to the Christians at the same time.

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APPENDIX A

The Iron Age Weather Gods:

A.1. Stele. National Syrian Museum, Aleppo

Find Place: Tel Ahmar. Height: 3,03m; Width: 0,98m

Published in: Hawkins (2000): Pl.99

Date: The late 10th – early 9th centuries B.C

The stele depicts the god surmounted by winged disc, and standing on a bull, facing right. He holds in his upraised right hand an axe and in his left a trident thunderbolt. He wears a conical cap with a ball top and two pairs of horns. He has a long square beard and a long plait ending in a slight curl. He wears a short kilt with a large belt from which a sword is hanging on his left side. His feet are protected by shoes with upturned toes.

A.2. Stele, Louvre Museum. Inv. No: AO 11505

Find Place: Tell Ahmar. Height: 2,06m; Width: 0,83m.

Published in: Hawkins (2000): Pl.91-92.

Date: The late 10th – early 9th centuries B.C

The god is represented facing right, surmounted by a winged disc. He wears horned cap, short belted tunic with sword at waist. He holds in his left hand trident thunderbolt, in the right the double axe. He is bearded having long pigtail with a curl

in the end but the similarity of this figure with A1 suggests the god was standing on a bull.

A.3. Orthostat. Berlin, Vorderas. Abteilung. Inv. No: VA 2648

Find Place: Zincirli. Height: 1,32m; Width: 0,65m

Published in: Orthmann (1971): Taf. 58d

Date: ?

The god is standing alone, wearing a peaked cap, short kilt and up-turned boots. A sword is hanging from a large belt at the back. He marches right and holds in his right hand an axe and in his left trident-like lightning. He has a long square beard and long plait ending a slight curl.

A.4. Stele. Gaziantep Museum. Inv. No: 4136.

Find Place: Körkün (Gaziantep). Height: 1,33m; Width: 0,72m.

Published in: Hawkins (2000): Pl.58-59

Date: Late 9th century B.C

The stele depicts the god facing right, standing alone but surmounted by winged disc. He wears a horned cap, a short belted tunic with sword at the waist and upturned shoes. He holds in his upraised right hand a double axe and in his raised left hand a trident thunderbolt. The bearded god has a long pigtail.

A.5. Stele. ?

Find Place: Adiyaman. Height: 0,72m; Width: 0,30m

Published in: Orthmann (1971): Taf 67g.; Hawkins (2000): Pl. 177.

Date: ?

The god wears usual horned cap with ball top, the knee-length, short sleeved tunic with a belt and sword, and turned-up shoes. He has long hair down to his back in a curled pigtail and he has an axe brandished in his right hand, and a thunderbolt (now missing) in his damaged stretched out left hand.

A.6. Stele. The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. Inv. No: 10304

Find Place: Malatya. Height: 1,30m; Width: 0,90m

Published in: Vieyra (1955): Nr.65; Orthmann (1971): Taf.42f

Date: ?

The stele shows on the left the god standing upon a lion, facing a goddess seated upon a chair with high back, her feet on a stool, with the chair and stool resting upon a bull. The god holds the thunderbolt in his left and in the right a lance point downwards and he wears a high cap with three pairs of horns. The object that the goddess holds is either mirror or a poppy capsule. Above the figures a winged sun disk appears.

A.7a-7b. Stele. Maraş Museum. Inv. Nr.1.1.92

Find Place: Maraş. Private House.

Published in: Jacobs (1992): Abb.1, Abb.2; Wagner: (1982): Abb.15

Date: The relief : 7th century B.C; The inscription: 1st century A.D

The relief shows the god with long hair, carrying an axe in his right hand and lightning in his left. Over the right shoulder of the god lies a strap on which a sword hangs. The god faces to the right and wears a short-sleeved shirt. A winged disc is seen on the top of the scene. An image of a bust of a man appears immediately below

the winged disc, within a circle which spreads down. The bottom part of this stele is lost and we do not know whether the god was originally mounted on a bull or not.

The left side of the stele was later re-carved to, and show a beardless man (Cat .7b) whose hair reaches down to his shoulder.

There is also a Greek inscription on the back which is dated to 1st century A.D. It reads:

Θεω Ἐπηκόω.

Ζαριῆς

Βαρναίου

στρατηγός

[Σ]ύρων ἀνέσ-

τησεν υπέρ τ[ῆς]

[σωτηρίας εαυτου]

APPENDIX B

Iupiter Dolichenus in the East:

B.1. Basalt Stele. Gaziantep Museum.

Find Place: Kürdini Tepe near Alacakilise. Height: 1,60m; Width: 0,62m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr.19; Wagner (1987): 89

Date: The middle of the 1st century A.D

The execution of this stele is very rough and the details of the god's face and clothing are not recognizable. Both arms are raised and the attributes which Iupiter Dolichenus holds can't be identified. He probably holds in his right hand a double axe and seems to hold his left hand by his mouth. A sword is fastened to hip. He stands on a small bull and faces to the right. He wears a high cap with a crooked point. The stele is rounded on the top.

B.2. Limestone Stele. Adana Museum. Inv.No: 913.

Find Place: Zafer Köy. Height: 1,24m; Width: 0,59m

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr.1; Merlat (1960): Nr. 1; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.8.

Date: the 1st century B.C.

The god is depicted with a pointed beard and has no pigtail. He wears a short tunic, a sword on his left side, and he holds a double axe. The object that he holds in his left hand is difficult to identify, though it is probably lightning. His head is

shown in profile, the body from the front. The God stands on a bull whose head is facing forward. The stele is rounded on the top. The execution is rough and not well proportioned.

B.3. Basalt Stele. Gaziantep Museum, Inv. No: 4195.

Find Place. Gonca Dağı, near Aşağı Kalecik. Height: 1,20m; Width: 0,53m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 21; Wagner (1982): Nr. 2, Abb.15.

Date: The first half of the 1st century A.D.

The god is represented standing on a bull and facing right. He wears a short tunic and a high cap with a crooked point which is similar to the Alacakilise example and can be possibly classed as a Persian Tiara. The representation does not reveal much detail. On the left, a sword becomes visible; in his upraised right hand he carries a double axe, and lightning in his left hand. Beside his head, two rosettes are chiseled.

B.4. Limestone Stele (now lost).

Find Place: Maraş (Germanicia). Measurements: unknown

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): D.1; Kan (1943): Nr. 3; Merlat (1960): Nr. 5;

Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 17

Date: 1st century B.C.

The upper part of the stele is partly broken. The god stands on his bull, both facing to the right, and holds in his left hand a thunderbolt. The attribute in the upraised right hand is lost. He wears a *chiton* with a broad belt dropping down with undulating volume and a short sleeved cloak, which is fastened round his neck and is blown back. He wears high boots.

B.5. Stele. The Museum of Anatolian Civilization, Inv. No.114-99-99.

Find Place: Kekliktepe. Height: 1,15m; Width: 0,46m

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr. 4; Merlat (1960): Nr.3; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.9

Date: The end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

This stele is broken into two parts and badly eroded. The relief shows a coarse technique, and the details of the garment and his face are not identifiable. The god probably holds a double axe in the upraised right hand, and the lightning in the left hand is still recognizable. The god is represented standing on a small bull facing to the right. He probably wears a conical hat. He seems to wear a knee-length *tunica* with a wrap reaching up to hip. Straight across the upper part of the body runs a hanger in which a sword is fastened. The inscription on the back is written in irregular letters and reads:

Ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός
Λούκ (ιος) Νωνα, ἄπε
Λεύθερος Νομερίου,
υἱοῦ Λουκίου ἀνέσ-
τησε τόν θεον
υπερ σωτηρίας
Καίσαρος

Iupiter Dolichenus is not referred to in the Inscription but he is recognized through the representation, while the θεός of lines 1 and 5 refers to him.

B.6. Basalt Stele. Antakya, Hatay Museum, Inv. No: 10796.

Find Place: Kurcuoğlu. Height: 1, 82m; Width: 0,79m

Published in: Keskil (1969): Nr. 23; Schwertheim (1987) Nr. 24; Wagner (1982): Abb.17.

Date: ?

The God is represented facing to the right on a small bull. The clothing appears to be a military garment. A sword is fastened to the hip of the god. He holds a double axe in his right hand, its handle leaning on the shoulder, while he carries (probably) lightning in his left hand. The cap is divided into three parts. In addition, a long pigtail hangs down behind the back of the God. The long pigtail is also seen on the other relief and it has a long tradition in Syria.

B.7. Basalt Stele. Antakya Museum, Inv. No: 10796

Find Place: Kurcuoğlu. Height: 1,41m; Width: 0,65m

Published in: Keskil (1969): Nr.24; Merlat (1960): Nr.377; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.25

Date: ?

The representation shows Iuno Dolichena in profile facing to the left on a small deer (?). She wears a long, girded garment. The relief does not reveal many details, also the attributes which the goddess carried in her hands, are no longer identifiable.

B.8. Basalt Stele. Antakya Museum, Inv. No: 11093.

Find Place: Zeytintepe near Başıpınar. Height: 1,25m; Width: 0,70m

Published in: Hellenkemper (1978): Tf. XCVI; Keskil (1969): Nr. 25 Schwertheim (1987): Nr.22; Wagner (1982): Abb.18.

Date: The 1st century B.C or 1st century A.D.

The head is covered by a cylindrical Tiara which is divided into three parts and there are four small horns on their sides in pairs. His beard falls up to the breast; the hair is twisted reaching the hip and rolled up below. Jupiter is represented on two tiny bulls facing to the right. He wears the military garment with a *balteus* to which a big sword is fastened. He holds in his right hand a double axe and in his left a thunderbolt.

B.9. Basalt Stele. Antakya Museum, Inv. Nr: 11094

Find Place: Zeytintepe near Başıpınar. Height: 1,07m; Width: 0,60m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr.23; Keskil (1969): Nr.26.

Date: ?

The stele shows Iuno Dolichena standing on an animal that is probably a deer. She faces to the left, and wears a sleeveless tunic which is held by round brooches on the shoulders; a Himation is wrapped around the body and lies over the left, bent arm. A rich hairstyle which falls down up to the shoulders covers the head. In the upraised right hand the goddess holds now lost attribute, possibly a poppy capsule.

B.10. Basalt Stele. Aleppo Museum.

Find Place: Khaltan in Tell Afrin. Height: 1,00m; Width: 0,60m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 26; Will (1952): Tf.V

Date: The 1st or 2nd century A.D

The god is represented without his bull. He wears a Tiara flattened on the top, the upper part of which is divided into three parts; on both sides 2 small horns appear. A pigtail hangs down to the waist. The god is depicted facing to the right, head and legs in profile, but the body is frontal. The god wears a short, military

garment, and a *balteus* to which a sword is fastened. On his feet he wears high boots. The god holds in the upraised right hand a big double axe, in the left a thunderbolt of the type of double trident.

B.11. Stele. Museum Aleppo

Find Place: Khaltan in Tell Afrin. Height: 1,00m; Width: 0,75m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr.27; Will (1952): Tf.V

Date: 1st or 2nd century A.D

The relief shows Iuno Dolichena facing to the left. The goddess wears a sleeveless tunic which is held on the shoulders by round brooches; around the body is a coat whose corner-shaped end lies over the left, bent. A rich hair style fell to the shoulders. The object that she held in the upraised right hand is probably a poppy capsule on a handle.

B.12. Stele, possibly Basalt. Museum Aleppo (?)

Find Place: Membidj – Hierapolis. Height: 1,08m; Width: 0,67m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 29

Date: ?

The god stands on a bull, facing to the right, and wears a long folded garment. Over the shoulder is laid a quiver. The left leg is uncovered; the feet of the god are in shoes. He wears a Tiara rather than a Phrygian cap. He holds a double axe in his upraised right hand and the down stretched left hand holds a lightening whose spiral middle section is framed by serrated sparks (Schwertheim 1987: Nr.29a). The stele is rounded on the top and the god stands in a narrow frame with an inscription. Such a frame also surrounds the niche on the left narrow side where another figure appears

in a long garment with a double belt. He wears a conical cap. A Greek inscription on the left narrow side reads διά Θεοτέκνου.

The inscription stands on the niche curve on the front and on the left narrow side and is read as follows.

Front side : Σακνάδατος Βαραδαίου κατεσκεύασεν

Narrow side: διά Θεοτέκνου υίου αυτού.

B.13. Marble Sculpture. Musée du Louvre, Antiquités orientales. Inv. No: 7446.

Find Place: Between Maraş and Birecik. Height: 0,445 m; Width: 0,19m.

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): D.4; Kan (1943): Nr.5; Merlat (1960): Nr.4
Schwertheim (1987): Nr.18

Date: The Roman Imperial Period.

The god wears a Roman cuirass and a cloak (*Paludamentum*), with a Phrygian cap on the bearded head. The god is depicted frontal on a mighty bull which stands on a small base, facing to the right. Under the belly of the animal an altar serves as a prop. Behind the head of the God other prop becomes visible.

In the left hand the God holds lightning, the upper part of which has broken off. He presumably held a double axe in his right arm which is now broken at the middle of the upper arm. On his right side a sword hangs in a *balteus*. The feet are in short boots, probably in *perones*.

The Greek inscription on the base gives only the names of the persons, probably the dedicators.

Κρίσπος καί Σιλβά(ν-)

Ος.

B.14. A Stele, Damascus Museum, Inv. No: 3505

Find Place: Maštala. Height: 1,95m; Width: 0,75m

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. D.3; Kan (1943): Nr. 6; Merlat (1960): Nr. 6; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.28

Date: 2nd century A.D

A frame surrounds the picture field and the god is shown facing to the right on a bull that leads to the right and whose head is turned to the viewer. The details of his garment and his face are eroded but the god seems to wear a military garment and a wide belt. Under the upraised left arm a sword is to be recognized. Also the right arm is raised and holds probably a double axe. The object which the God carries in the left hand can not be identified. There is a small snake under the belly of the bull.

The inscription under the picture field is read as follows:

Μέγιστον ωπ

Θεον

Ἐρεσήμ Αδρειανού

ἐποίησεν. Μνησθῆ

Γαδωνᾶ [ς], μνησθῆ

Ἄντς

B.15. Gem. Unknown

Find Place: Gaziantep. Height: 0,016m; Width: 0,011m.

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): D.2; Kan (1943): Nr.2; Merlat (1960): Nr.2
Schwertheim (1987): Nr.10

Date: ?

The god is represented standing on a bull facing towards right. He seems to wear military clothes and a *balteus*. A sword is fastened in his right side. He wears either a Phrygian or a Persian Tiara, and holds a (probably) double axe in the upraised right hand and a lightning in the slightly stretched left hand. There is a small object, probably a fire altar, on the ground. A star is engraved on the right beside the god and on the left a half moon. There is a girth-strap around the belly of the bull.

B.16. Triangular tablet. Private possession.

Find Place: Dülük. Height: 0,286m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr.5

Date: The 2nd century A.D.

This tablet depicts the god holding in his left hand a thunderbolt. He stands on a bull, in *dexiosis* with a man, also on a bull. Both are bearded, and they wear long trousers and tunica with long sleeves and a cap rounded on the top. Between the two figures is a fire altar. The Greek inscription over these two figures is read as “Hearing God of Souma”.

B.17. Bronze Votive Hand. Adana Museum, Inv.No: 1606

Find Place: Şar- Comana Cappadociae. Height: 0,152m

Published in: Wagner (1987): Abb.16; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 43.

Date: The 1st century A.D

The whole inner surface of the hand, including thumb root and wrist, is decorated in relief. The representation shows in the left Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull that leads to the right and turns its head to the viewer. The god is bearded and he wears knee-length garment and a high cap on the head. He holds in his

upraised right hand a probably double axe and in his left a lightning bolt. To the right, Iuno Dolichena stands in a long garment on a hind. The object that she holds in his upraised right hand is difficult to identify. Between both divinities appears a hind that turns towards Iupiter Dolichenus and on whose antlers an eagle with stretched out wings sits; the head of the eagle with the upper part of the hand is together broken.

B.18. Seal. Find Place: Doliche.

Published in: Winter (2004): 115; Weiss (1992): 175.

This seal shows Iupiter Dolichenus on the left side with Antonius Pius (138-161) in *dexiosis*. According to Weiss, Antonius Pius is shown in the iconography typical for him (1992:175). The god is bearded and wears a muscle- cuirass and carries conical cap with four horns. The identification of the attribute that he holds is difficult, Weiss (1992:175) states that in the left hand, the god holds a six-sided thunderbolt which is slightly engraved. The bearded emperor also wears a muscle-cuirass.

APPENDIX C

Iupiter Dolichenus in the West:

C.1. Bronze Statuette. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.No: M.1.

Find Place: Mauer an der Url. Height: 32 cm.

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr. 116; Merlat (1960): Nr. 149; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.291.

Date: ?

A bulky bull stands on a pedestal with an inscription on the front, facing to the right. A girth strap is tied round his body. Iupiter Dolichenus stands on the bull and is frontal. He is dressed with a short leather cuirass with *cingulum* and a cloak lies over the shoulders (Kan 1943: 83). On the head he carries the Phrygian cap under which spiral wavy hair gushes; his feet are in the half-boot (*perones*). His beard is also arranged in spiral locks. He holds in the right hand probably an axe of which only the handle is preserved; and in the left a thunderbolt which is spirally twisted.

C.2. Marble Statuette. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum.

Find Place: Harbour of Marseille. Height: 62 cm, Width: 35cm.

Published in: Cook (1914): Fig.480; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 35; Kan (1943): Nr. 256; Merlat (1960): Nr. 296; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 602.

Date: ?

The statuette portrays the god as a beardless young warrior with helmet. His usual attributes are missing. However, he probably holds in upraised right hand an axe and in the left a bolt. An eagle appears on the ground beneath the bull and a pillar rises from the ground behind the God's back. He wears a military cloth. His cuirass is decorated on the breast with a head of Medusa. The base is inscribed as follows:

Deo Dolicheno

Oct(avius) Paternus ex iussu eius pro salute
sua et suorum.

C.3. Marble Sculpture. Capitoline Museum Inv.No: 9753.

Find Place: Dolichenum in Aventine. Height: 1,60 m.

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 25; Kan (1943): Nr. 160; Merlat (1960): Nr. 186; Schwertheim (1987): 232, Nr. 366.

Date: Severan Period.

The god stands on a bulky bull whose face turned to viewer. He wears tight trousers short boots and a cuirass which is decorated on the breast with the head of Medusa: also a strap on which a sword is fastened at the back. Long tongue-shaped tabs are fastened to the lower edge of the cuirass. On his head he wears a Phrygian cap. The upper part of the spiral bolt which the god holds in the left hand has broken. In the right upraised right hand he probably holds a double axe. Behind the god rises probably a pillar which supports his body in the back. Between the legs of the bull is an eagle with half open wings and head raised to the right.

C.4. Limestone Relief. Komorn (Komáron), Donauländisches Museum.

Find Place: Brigetio, Dolichenum (Pannonia). Height: 1,41 m

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 11; Kan (1943): Nr. 73; Merlat (1960): Nr.

83; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.239

Date: The 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

This relief shows Jupiter Dolichenus facing to the right on his bull. He wears a Phrygian cap and cuirass with partly preserved cloak. On the right side a sword must have been fastened to the strap. The god holds in his left hand probably a bolt on which an eagle is recognized. In the right, he holds the handle of a double axe. The tunic is shown as if filled by the wind.

C.5. Marble Statuette, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.No: 100.

Find Place: Stari Sklamen-Acumincum. Height: 0,90m.

Published in: Cook (1914): Fig. 481; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 5; Kan (1943):

Nr.58; Merlat (1960): Nr. 62; Schwertheim 1987: Nr.207

Date: Between the end of the 2nd century A.D and the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

The god is depicted frontal standing on a bull who marches towards the right. The god wears a cuirass over a short *tunica* and a *Paludamentum* which is laid over the left, forward stretched arm, and wears a Phrygian caps. The frontal representation of an eagle that turns the head to the left with half stretched out wings adorns the cuirass. The right arm of the God is lost. Between the horns of the bull, an eagle sits whose head is lost. All four legs of the bull are broken. A trunk is visible behind the head of the bull. Another prop is seen between the neck of the bull and the left knee of the God.

C.6. Marble Sculpture, Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Inv.Nr: 4.1933.90.

Find Place: Ószöny-Brigetio (Pannonia). Height: 0,50m.

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr.76; Merlat (1960): Nr.86; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 242.

Date: ?

Iupiter Dolichenus is shown frontal, the legs turned to the right. Instead of the usual cuirass, the god wears Persian national costume; a long sleeved *tunica* which is girded twice, and a coat which falls down up to the nape of the animal; his legs are in long trousers, the feet are in high boots. The right arm is lost today. It presumably swung the double axe, the left one is put on up to the elbow to the body, the forearm is stretched out. The bull is turned to the right, his head faces to the viewer. Under the belly of the animal, a *Cippus* is seen as a prop. A Rosette appears on the forehead of the bull.

C.7. Relief. Museum Carnuntinum. Inv. Nr: 31.

Find Place. Carnuntum (Austria). Height: 1,55 m.

Published in: Cook (1914): Fig. 484; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.50; Kan (1943): Nr. 41; Merlat (1960): Nr. 114; Schwertheim 1987: 148, Nr. 222.

Date: 2nd century A.D.

The monument shows Iupiter Dolichenus frontal on his bull that turns to the right and a belt surrounds the belly. The God wears a *Phrygian* cap and a cuirass, without *Paludamentum* and sword, but with a belt, *lorica*.

C.8. Statue, Museum Carnuntinum. Inv. Nr. 375.

Find Place: Carnuntum. Height: 1,12m

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.9; Kan (1943): Nr.85, 86; Merlat (1960):

Nr. 106, 121; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.217/230.

Date: 128-138 A.D.

The god is depicted as supporting his left foot on the back of the bull which is shown in the left side of the deity in crouching position, whose head is turned to the right side. He wears a broad tunic tied in the belt; a topcoat hangs down in his left shoulder and he has a Phrygian cap on the head. He holds in his right hand a double axe (*bipennis*). The attribute in his left hand can't be identifiable, though, it is probably lightning.

C. 9. Marble Statuette. Museum Carnuntinum.

Find Place: Dolichenum in Carnuntum. Height: 1,59m.

Published in: Cook (1914): Fig.485; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 54, 10; Kan (1943):

Nr. 39, 45; Merlat (1960): Nr.115, 116; Schwertheim (1987): Nr: 223-224.

Date: A.D 180-183.

The god stands on an altar, frontal, and is dressed in usual emperor's garment and wears no cap. A long sword is fastened in the right side of the God. His right hand holds a double-axe, his left probably a thunderbolt. His cloak hangs down over the left arm. It is difficult to identify the figure near the left leg of the god. However, it must have been a bull as a similar example, the bull near the left side of the god, also appears. The inscription on the altar is read as follows:

C.10. Bronze Figure. Museum Carnuntinum, Inv Nr. 11978.

Find Place: Carnuntum. Height: 0,10 m.

Published in: Schwertheim 1987: 153, Nr. 233.

Date: 3rd century A.D.

Unusually, the bull is turned to the left. The God who stands on his back wears the usual military garment and a Phrygian cap. The attributes are lost. He was probably holding in upraised right hand an axe and in his left thunderbolt. The back side is hollowed out.

C.11. Bronze Statue. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Find Place: Hungary? Height: 0,09 m.

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr.52; Merlat (1960): Nr.124; Schwertheim 1987: Nr. 280

Date: ?

The statue shows Jupiter Dolichenus frontal on a bull standing to the right. His legs are modeled excessively thickly. The god wears a military Garment without *Paludamentum* and a Phrygian cap. On his left side, a sword is fastened in a *balteus*. He was probably holding in his upraised right hand an axe. He holds in his stretched left hand a thunderbolt, upper part of which is lost.

C.12. Relief. Capitoline Museum. Inv. Nr. 9756.

Find Place: Dolichenum in Aventine. Height: 0,85m, Width: 0,61m

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr. 172; Merlat (1960): Nr. 183; Schwertheim (1987): Nr: 363.

Date: 183 A.D.

The god is depicted frontal on the bull that faces to the right. The feet, tail, and horns of the bull are partly preserved. The legs of the god up to the garment hemline are broken. The god wears usual military garment with *Paludamentum*. He holds in his upraised right hand a double axe; the left hand is stretched forward, the hand is lost.

C.13. A Silver Plaque. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv.Nr. M 7

Find Place: Mauer an der Url. Height: 0,254 m.

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr. 122; Merlat (1960): Nr.155; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 298;

Date: ?

The god wears the usual military garment (without a *Paludamentum*) and a Phrygian cap on the head. Standing on the back of the bull, the god is depicted frontal but the head is slightly turned to left. He holds in his upraised right hand a double axe and in his left a lightning. The bull leads towards right and a strap surrounds the belly of the bull. The inscription is seen within *tabula ansata* and is read as follows:

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno

Maria ex voto

posuit.

C.14. Bronze Sculpture Group. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. Nr. M.2

Find Place: Mauer an der Url (near Amstetten, Lower Austria). Height: ca. 0,362 m.

Published in: Kan (1943): Nr. 117; Merlat (1960): Nr.150; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.292.

Date: ?

Standing on a bull, the god is depicted frontal wearing cuirass. The coat is shown by the material stripe which hangs down from the right shoulder up to the hip. Around the Phrygian cap he wears, is a wreath. Iuno standing on a hind and she is dressed with *Chiton* falling to the back of the animal. Her mantle falling to knee height covers the head. She holds in her stretched forward right hand a shallow bowl while in her upraised left hand is a scepter.

C.15. A Limestone Relief. Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum, Inv. No. 152.

Find Place: Lamprechtskogel (Noricum-Austria). Height: 0.60m, Width: 0.60 m.

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 16; Kan (1943): Nr.112; Merlat (1960): Nr.143; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 347.

Date: ?

Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena are shown between the two columns with Corinthian capitals of a small temple. On the left side Iupiter Dolichenus stands on a bull leading to the right. He wears a cuirass with *Paludamentum* and Phrygian cap on the head. The attributes that he holds is difficult to identify. Yet he probably holds an axe in his upraised right hand. On the left, beside the God, Iuno Dolichena is shown on an animal which is probably a hind. She wears a long garment. Her mantle covers like a veil her back of the head and also her left arm; with the left hand she holds the folds of her tunic. Her right arm is raised. Two medallions appear over the capitals; the left one shows the head of the sun-god who is surrounded rays, the right one, the head of the Luna with a crescent. An eagle with half stretched out wings is shown in Acroter.

C. 16. Marble Relief. Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. 9744

Find Place: Dolichenum in Aventine. Height: 0,59m, Width: 0,56m.

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.16; Kan (1943): Nr.18; Merlat (1960): Nr.190; Schwertheim (1987): Nr.371.

Date: 2nd century A.D

Iupiter Dolichenus stands on his bull which has a raised tail and head lowered in an attack position. The god who is depicted frontal in step position wears cuirass without *Paludamentum* and short boots. The sword on his right side seems to hang in a *cingulum*. A Tiara covers the head and long plait fell at the back. He holds in his upraised right hand a kind of pickax, and in the left thunderbolt in spiral form. On the right side, Iuno Dolichena stands on a hind. The goddess whose ungainly body is shown in profile wears a long, short sleeved garment; her long hair is bound to a braid and is decorated with a diadem whose tapes flutter behind her head in the air. She has laid the left hand on the breast, and holds a mirror in her upraised right hand. Below the hind, on the lowered right part, a small man who leads a bull with the left hand is shown.

C.17. Fragment from a Triangular Plaque. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Bomford Collection.

Find Place: Unknown. Height: 0,16 m, Width: 0,22m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 587.

Date: the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

The clumsy representation of the Iupiter Dolichenus and his spouse Iuno Regina is shown on the fragment of the triangular tablet. The god stands in step position on a bull, the body is frontal, the head is in the profile. He is bearded, wears

a Phrygian cap and the cuirass with leather stripe, *Paludamentum*, and boots. The sword is fastened on his right side within a *balteus*. He holds in his right hand an axe and in his left a thunderbolt in spiral form. Iuno Dolichena stands facing towards the God on the back of a hind. She wears a long girded *Chiton* and a veil covers her head. She holds a mirror in her right hand and scepter in her left. Between the figures a fire altar appears. The god and the goddess are framed by trees.

C.18. Limestone Relief. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Inv.No. 10.1951.250.

Find Place: Hungary? Height: ca. 0,535m, Width: 0,395m.

Published in: Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.14; Kan (1943): Nr. 51; Merlat (1960): Nr.123; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 279.

Date: ?

On the left Iupiter Dolichenus stands in the military garment on a bull that leads to the right whose head is turned to the viewer. The god has turned his head to the right; the left leg is put in step position on the back of the animal. He holds in his upraised right hand a double axe with long handle and thunderbolt in spiral form in his left. Between the god and the left border stands an eagle which has spread the wings turning to the god and carries a wreath in the beak. On the right side of the tablet, Victoria turns to the god in the manner putting a wreath on the head of the god. She wears a long *Tunica* which is girded in the waist. The object that she holds in her left hand can be a palm branch.

C.19. Marble Statue Group. Negotin Museum.

Find Place: Dolichenum in Egeta (Moesia Superior). Height: 0,42m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): 74, Nr. 89.

Date: ?

Iupiter Dolichenus is depicted frontal, bearded man on his bull whose head is turned to the viewer, Iuno Dolichena on a hind and the figure shown between their heads is probably Nike who wears a long Chiton and her wings touch to the god and the goddess, her head is lost. She touches with the right hand the cap of the god. The god wears usual military garment. The right and left hands of the god are lost. Between knee and neck of the bull a small prop appears. The figure shown between the horns of the bull is probably an eagle, with half stretched out wings. Iuno Dolichena wears a long *Chiton*. Her head and the bottom part of her left arm are lost. She supports the base of Nike and holds probably *patera* with the right hand. In her left upraised hand, she holds a scepter. An eagle appears near the left leg of the goddess on the back of the bull. Under the bellies of the animals, a pilaster is shown.

C.20. Triangular Plaque. Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum, Inv. No. 6775.

Find Place: Heddernheim (Germania Superior). Height: 0,49m, Width: 0,195m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 512; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.19; Kan (1943): Nr.277; Merlat (1960): Nr.322.

Date: ?

At the top of the triangular plaque a bust of the Sol is shown. The main scene shows Iupiter Dolichenus frontal standing on a bulky bull that walks to the right and whose head returns to viewer. The god wears cuirass and trousers as well as Phrygian cap on the head. A massive sword is hanged in *balteus* on his left side, and becomes visible on the right side. In the upraised right hand, Iupiter Dolichenus holds a big double axe, on the left a lightning with six rays. Over the head of the god is Viktoria,

dressed with long, girded *Chiton*. She holds a wreath with his right hand over the god's head; in the left she carries a palm leaf. The representation in the lower picture stripe, in the middle of the scene is probably Iuno Dolichena depicted frontal on a hind walking to the right. She holds a scepter in the left hand, while the right one carries a *Sistrum*. She wears a long garment. A disc between two feathers forms the headdress. Castores dressed with muscle cuirass are shown on the both sides of the goddess. Their lower bodies are shown in several spiral shaped ornaments. On the head of the Castores, the busts of the Sol and Luna appear. Both Castores raise the arms and holds probably lightning with tree rays.

C.21. A Triangular Plaque. Vidin Museum.

Find Place: Iasen (Moesia Superior). Height: ca. 0,38m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr.103. Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.2; Merlat (1960): Nr.8; Kan (1943): Nr.41.

Date: 3rd century A.D.

In the left, Iuno Dolichena stands on a hind. She wears a long *Tunica* and a veil seems to cover her head. In the lefts she holds a sceptre, in the right ones a mirror. In the middle, between the Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena a wreath appears. The central figure of the representation in the lower part is a bearded figure with long hair. He wears a short girded tunic with sleeves and is shown frontal. He holds in his left hand a kind of cup and he reaches his hand to the altar in a manner giving victim. The scene is framed by two standards, decorated in the base with a half moon, on the point an eagle with half-stretched out wings sit. In the corners, figures wear Phrygian cap and cuirass. Their lower part is shown as pyramidal bases which are split in three horizontal friezes. On every side of the base bulls are shown. The figure at the right

side holds a palm leaf in both hands, though the attribute that the figure at the left side holds is difficult to identify.

C.22. A Triangular Plaque. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum.

Find Place: Kömlöd (Pannonia). Height: 0,36m, Width: 0,27m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 201; Cook (1914): Fig. 487; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.6; Merlat (1960): Nr. 65

Date: 3rd century A.D

The triangular is ornamented at the top by a like lily-shaped flower. Below the flower motive, on the left the bust of the Sol is shown, with rich national costume and a garment which is fastened on the right shoulder. Behind his head rays are engraved clumsily. On the right the bust of the Luna is to be seen. Her hair is ornamented with a half moon. Iupiter Dolichenus is shown in the central part of the scene. He stands on a bull and wears a muscle cuirass, high boots; the cap that the god wears does not reveal so much detail whether it concerns a Phrygian cap, a round cap or a helmet. He holds in his right hand a double axe and in his left a thunderbolt. On the left, beside the God Victoria appears holding in her right hand a wreath: she wears a long *Chiton* girded in the waist. On the right beside the head of the god, above his thunderbolt, a star is engraved. A fire altar appears near the head of the bull. In the lower corners of the plaque, two busts are recognized which are shown frontal, but leaning towards each other. The left bust shows the bearded Hercules whose upper part of the body is undressed. In the partly lost hand he holds the club which is visible on the right beside his head. The figure at the right corner is identified as Minerva because of the helmet she wore. The inscription in *tabula ansata* at bottom is read as follows:

Iovi Dulcheno P(ublius) Ael(ius)

Lucilius c(enturio) coh(ortis) I Alp(inorum) ped(itatae)

C. 23. Triangular Plaque. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum.

Find Place: Kömlöd (Pannonia)

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 202; Cook (1914): Fig.488; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr.7; Kan (1943): 28b; Merlat (1960): Nr.66

Date: ?

The plaque is divided into five superimposed bands. The top of the scene shows a flower. Below the flower within second band, an eagle with half stretched wings which turns the head to the right appears. The third band shows the busts of Sol and Luna. Over the left shoulder of the Luna a torch is engraved. The symbols between the Sol and Luna are difficult to identify, though they may be whips. The fourth band shows Iupiter Dolichenus in the left standing on the bull. The *Paludamentum* falls over the right arm of the god. He probably holds in his upraised right hand a double axe and in his left a thunderbolt. Iuno Dolichena stands on the right side of the picture stripe frontal on an animal which resembles a goat. She wears a long, sleeveless garment girded under the breast which ends in a wave-shaped hemline. A long coat is laid around her body which is covered the head like a veil and is led by the right hip over the upraised left arm. She rests a scepter on her hip. Between Iupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena, a fire altar appears. The forth lower band shows a small tabernacle which is formed from two columns and a canopy. In the both sides of tabernacle, Standards appears and the eagle sits top of the Standards. Under the canopy stands a bearded man who wears cuirass with *Paludamentum* and boots. He holds in his right hand a scepter and a thunderbolt in his left. On the left

beside the figure a fire altar is shown. This middle scene is flanked by two militarily dressed, bearded figures who stand on bull decorated with rosette and wear cuirass. The figures differ only by the attributes: the right one holds with the right hand a round object, maybe a sacrificial bowl, in the left a palm branch; the left one holds with his left hand a thunderbolt and with his right hand a scepter.

C.24. Triangular Plaque. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. M.4.

Find Place: Mauer an der Url. Height: 0,63m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 294; Kan (1943): Nr.119; Merlat (1960): Nr.152.

Date: ?

The picture field is divided into four superimposed bands. At the top, an eagle whose head turns back appears. Underneath, the busts of Sol and Luna are shown. The sun-god is undressed; over his right shoulder a whip is to be recognized. The middle band shows Jupiter Dolichenus with cuirass, Phrygian cap, as well as high boots. He stands on his bull and is turned to Iuno Regina who stands on the right on an animal which is to be recognized in spite of the damage at this point as a Hind. The goddess who is shown frontal and turns her head to the left carries a long *Tunica* and a coat which also covers her back of the head like a veil. She holds in his right hand a bowl. The figures of the Dioscure which stand right and left side of a standard appear at the lowest band. They are naked and shown frontal looking at the middle of the scene, and hold a lance in one hand, with the others the reins of the horses.

C. 25. Marble Relief, Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. 9747.

Find Place: Dolichenum in Aventine.

Height: 0,66m, Width: 1,33m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 365; Demircioğlu(1939): Nr. 27; Kan (1943): Nr.174.

Date: Second half of the 2nd century A.D.

In the middle of the scene a burning altar decorated with garland appears. At the left, Iupiter Dolichenus stands on a mighty bull. He wears usual military garment with *Paludamentum*, boots, the Phrygian cap. A sword is fastened on his right side. In his hands, he holds his usual attributes, double axe and a thunderbolt. At the right, Iuno Dolichena stands on a mighty hind which resembles a horse and she wears a long garment. In the right, the goddess holds a big mirror, with the lefts she rests on a long sceptre which cuts through partly the frame of the picture field. Over the altar appears an eagle with stretched out wings, in the claws a flash bundle, whose head turns to Iupiter Dolichenus. Over the eagle, the busts of Isis and Serapis appear. Serapis is bearded and wears a *tunica*, and *Kalathos* on the head. Isis likewise seems to carry a Kalathos, however, this is not to be ascertained because of a break in the stone certainly. Her mantle is fastened on the breast by knots. In the upper corners of the relief appear the small busts of the Castores. Their coats are fastened on the right shoulder and cover the upper part of the body. The Pilos covers the head.

C.26. A Relief. Capitoline Museum, Inv. No. 9750.

Find Place: Dolichenum in Aventine.

Height: 0,56 m, Width: 0,58 m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): 253, Nr. 386; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 28; Kan (1943): Nr. 175; Merlat (1960): Nr. 206.

Date: 3rd century A.D.

On the left Iupiter Dolichenus stands in the military garment, with half-boots as well as a sword which is fastened on his right side. A conical cap covers the head. He holds double axe in his right hand and probably thunderbolt in his left hand. On the right side of the relief, Iuno Dolichena is depicted frontal, wearing a short-sleeved tunic with a mantle. She is smaller than Iupiter Dolichenus and the animal that she stands on is a probably hind. She holds in the upraised left hand a scepter and in the right a mirror. Isis and Serapis are shown between the divinities at the level of the animals. Serapis stands frontal, however, turns the head to Iupiter Dolichenus. He wears a long garment with short sleeves; a *Kalathos* covers the head. In the left hand he holds a scepter; he raises the right hand with open palm to Iupiter Dolichenus. Isis whose head also turns to Iupiter Dolichenus stands on the right beside Serapis. In the lowered left hand the goddess holds an object which can be a Situla. Over the heads of the Egyptian gods, Castores stand symmetrically. They are depicted naked wearing *Pilos* on the head. They hold with right hand the bottom of the scepter and with left hand the reins of the horses. The left upper corner of the relief shows the bust of the Sol which is covered partly by the cap of the Iupiter Dolichenus. In the upper right corner the bust of the Luna which has directed her look to the picture frame is to be seen.

C.27. Relief. Capitoline Museum, Inv. Nr: 9770

Find Place: Aventine in Rome. Height: 0,84m; Width: 0,55m

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 364; Merlat (1960): Nr.184; Kan (1960): Nr. 173.

Date: the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D

The relief depicts the Iuno Dolichena frontal standing on a hind. She rests with the left hand on a scepter on which a peacock, the holy animal of Iuno, is shown from profile. The object she holds in her right hand must have been mirror which is the main attribute of Iuno rather than poppy capsule. The wavy hair is seen under the diadem. She wears sleeveless *tunica* which is fastened at the shoulders by a fibula and girded under the breast.

C.28. Marble Relief. Villa Ludovisi.

Find Place: Unknown. Probably Dolichenum in Aventine. Height: 0,78m; Width: 0,38m.

Published in: Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 405; Seyrig (1933): Nr.3; Kan (1943): Nr.194; Merlat (1960): Nr. 222.

Date: ?

Between two columns which rest on attic bases and carry a level curve decorated with oak leaves stands Iuno Dolichena on a deer with high antlers; left, front legs of the animal have broken off. The goddess carries a full-length, twice girded chiton and a mantle on it. A veil covers the back of the head and a diadem sits on the forehead. Her right hand is broken from the elbow. She holds in her upraised left hand a scepter which is decorated at the top with the goddess of Victory who carries a palm leaf in her left hand and a wreath in her right hand.

C.29 Silver Votive Tablet. British Museum. Inv. Nr. 224

Find Place: Heddernheim. Height: 0,24m.

Published in: Cook (1914): Fig. 492; Demircioğlu (1939): Nr. 21; Kan (1943): Nr.274; Merlat (1960): Nr. 315; Schwertheim (1987): Nr. 517

Date: The 2nd century A.D

Here, the god is represented as Roman Jupiter with his scepter, thunderbolt, wreath and eagle. He stands in a distyle building, looking to his right and holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and scepter in his left. The gable of the shrine contains wreath. He has rough hair and beard, and wears a *himation* round his waist, hang down over left shoulder. On the ground at his feet is an eagle. Beneath the building is the votive inscription, above it, a big lily.

FIGURES

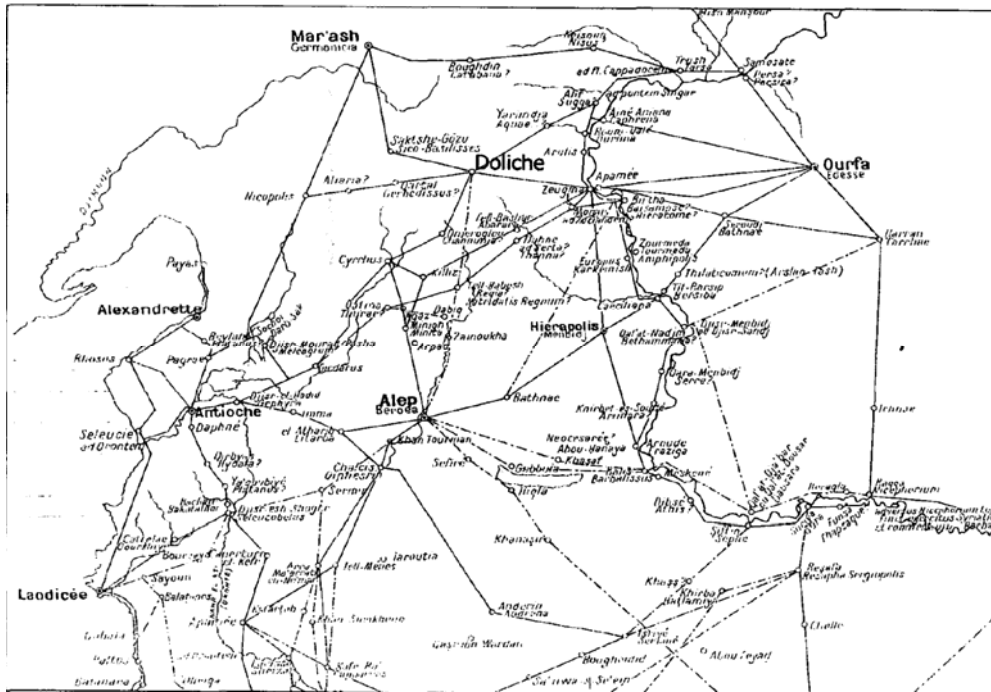


Fig.1

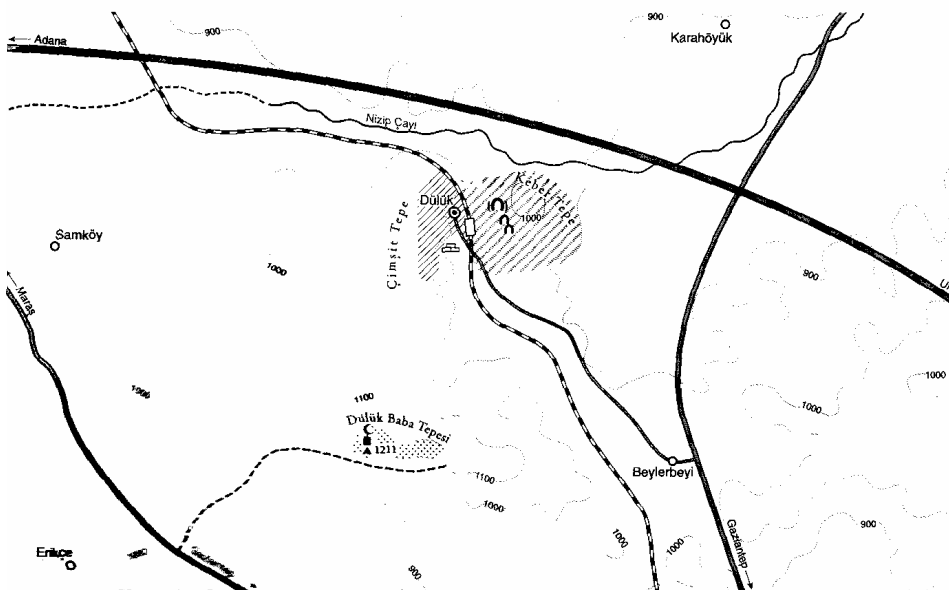


Fig.2



Fig.3

FIGURES- A



A.1



A.2



A.3



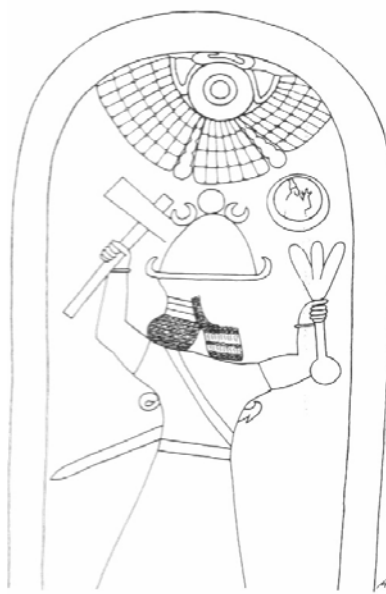
A.4



A.5



A.6



A.7a



A.7b

FIGURES- B.



B.1



B.2



B.3



B.4



B.5



B.6



B.7



B.8



B.9



B.10



B.11



B.12



B.13



B.14



B.15



B.16



B.17



B.18

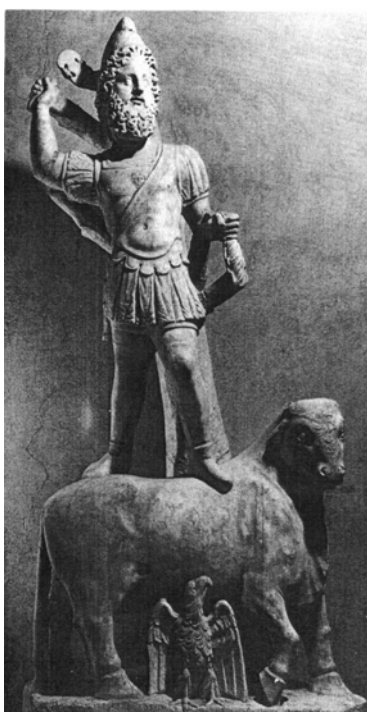
FIGURES-C



C.1



C.2



C.3



C.4



C.5



C.6



C.7



C.8



C.9



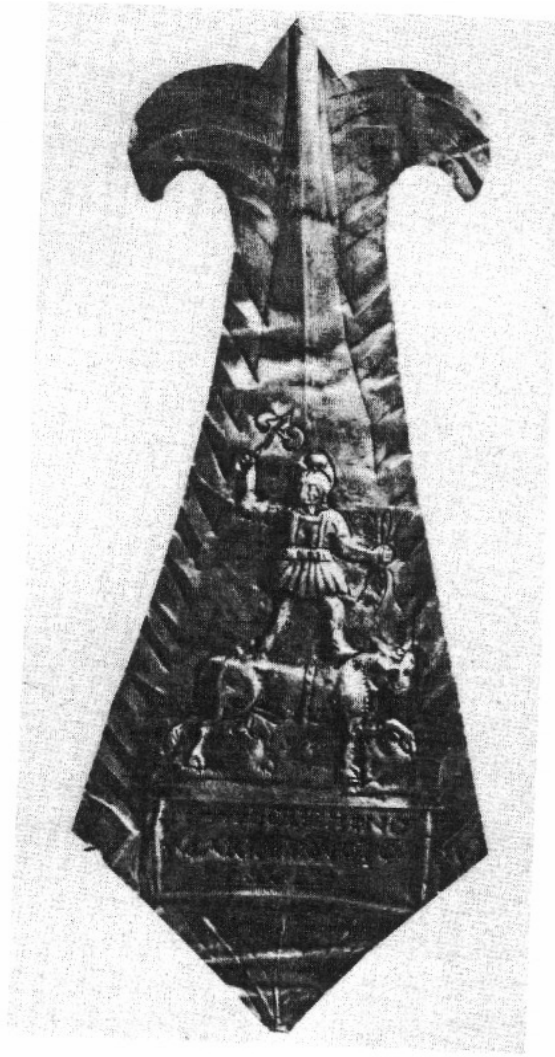
C.10



C.11



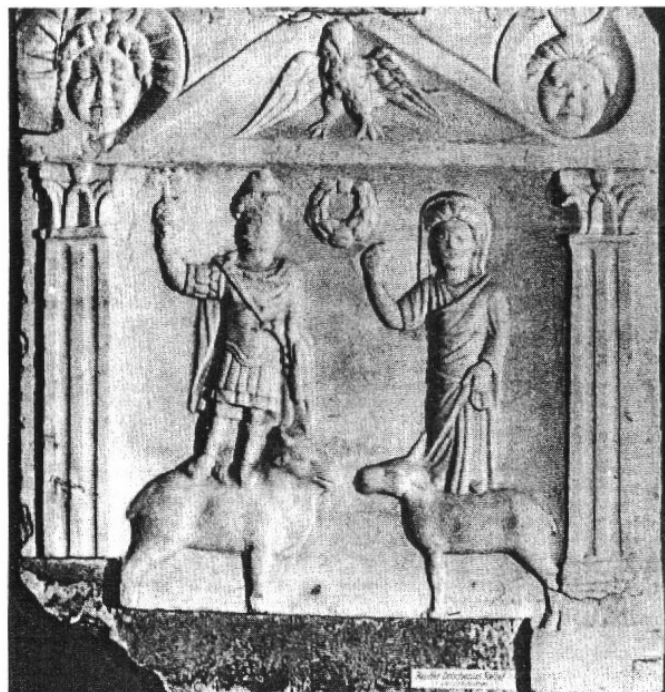
C.12



C.13



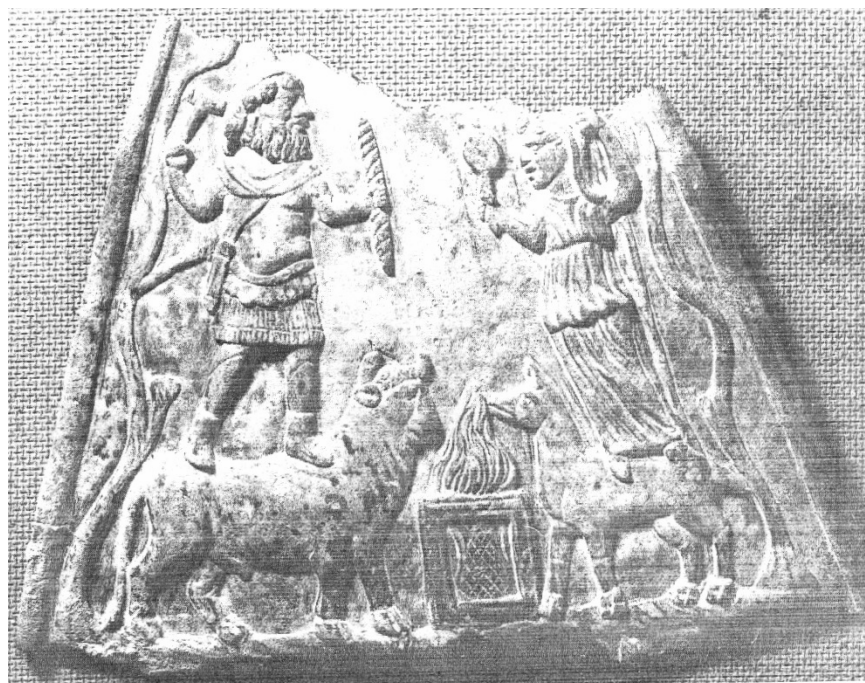
C.14



C.15



C.16



C.17



C.18



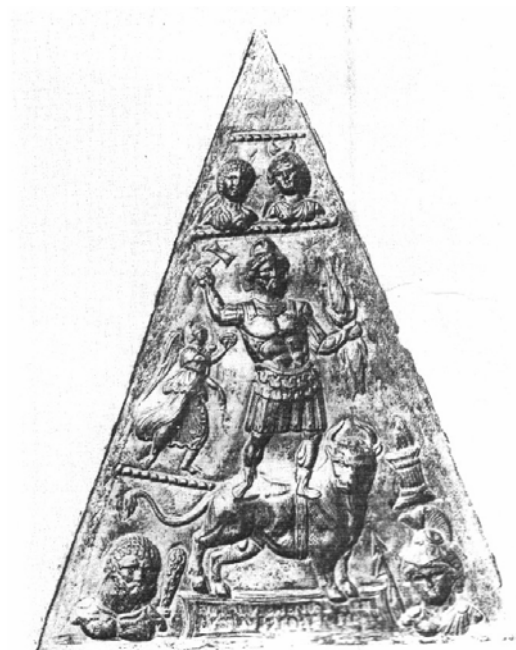
C.19



C.20



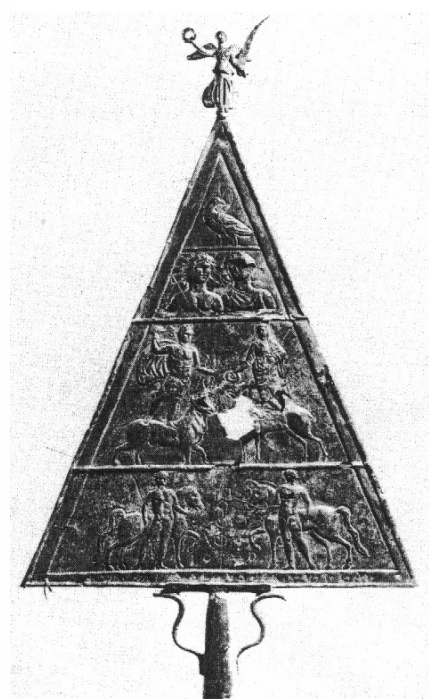
C.21



C.22



C.23



C.24



C.25



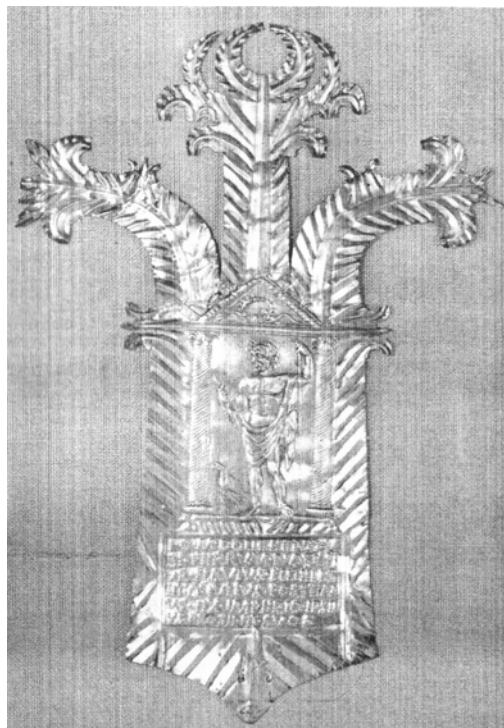
C.26



C.27.



C.28



C.29