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SYRIAN PRIESTHOOD IN THE TERRITORY OF DANUBE LIMES OF MOESIA SUPERIOR: FUNERARY MONUMENT DEDICATED TO JUPITER DOLICHENUS AND DEA SYRIA FROM GLAMIJA

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Abstract – In 1982, during archaeological excavations in the Danube Limes, a funerary stela was found in the locality of Glamija I (in the village of Rtkovo), inside the Roman fortress, dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria. The dedicant is the priest of the divine couple. The monument from Glamija I represents one of only a few monuments dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria, particularly since the dedication is made by the priest of the gods. This paper discusses the question and role of Syrian priesthood in the territory of the Danube Limes and the Central Balkan Roman provinces, in the context of the cults of Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria, along with the hypotheses regarding the possible sanctuaries of the deities, their worshippers and the period when their cults existed in the aforementioned territories.

Key words – Danube Limes, Dea Syria, Jupiter Dolichenus, priesthood, sanctuaries

During archaeological excavations in the Danube Limes locality of Glamija I (in the village of Rtkovo), in 1982, inside the late antique smaller Roman fortification (*burgum*), a limestone monument was found (Fig. 1).¹ The only preserved part of the *stela* is its middle part with an intact inscription, while the upper and the lower parts of the monument are, unfortunately, missing. Therefore, it is unknown whether the stele contained some iconographical motifs/scenes, which could additionally contribute to a better analysis and interpretation of the monument in question. The saved part of the stele is 57 cm high and 71 cm wide, the inscription field is 49 cm wide and the letters are 4.5–5.5 cm high (Fig. 2). The text of the inscription reads:

*D(is) M(anibus) | in memoria(m) Iul(ii) Apollina | ris sacerdo | tis I(ovis) Dol(icheni) et | deae Syriae | - - - XXI*²

The monument is dedicated to the Manes (the spirit-gods, the spirits of the dead) in memory of Julius Apollinaris, the priest of the gods Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria.

Unfortunately, from the text of the inscription nothing more can be said about the reason for its dedication or about the dedicant himself (his origin, profession, social status etc.). From his name *Julius Apollinaris* we can only presume his origin from the Hellenised East, which is suggested by his name Apollinaris.³ The name

¹ The stele was used as *spolia*, in the south-western corner of the late-antique fortress' wall, Gabričević 1987, 143.

² At the end of the inscription, M. Gabričević reads "XXI", while M. Mirković reads the inscription without the recognition of the number XXI on the monument, Gabričević 1987, 143; Mirković 2015, 100.

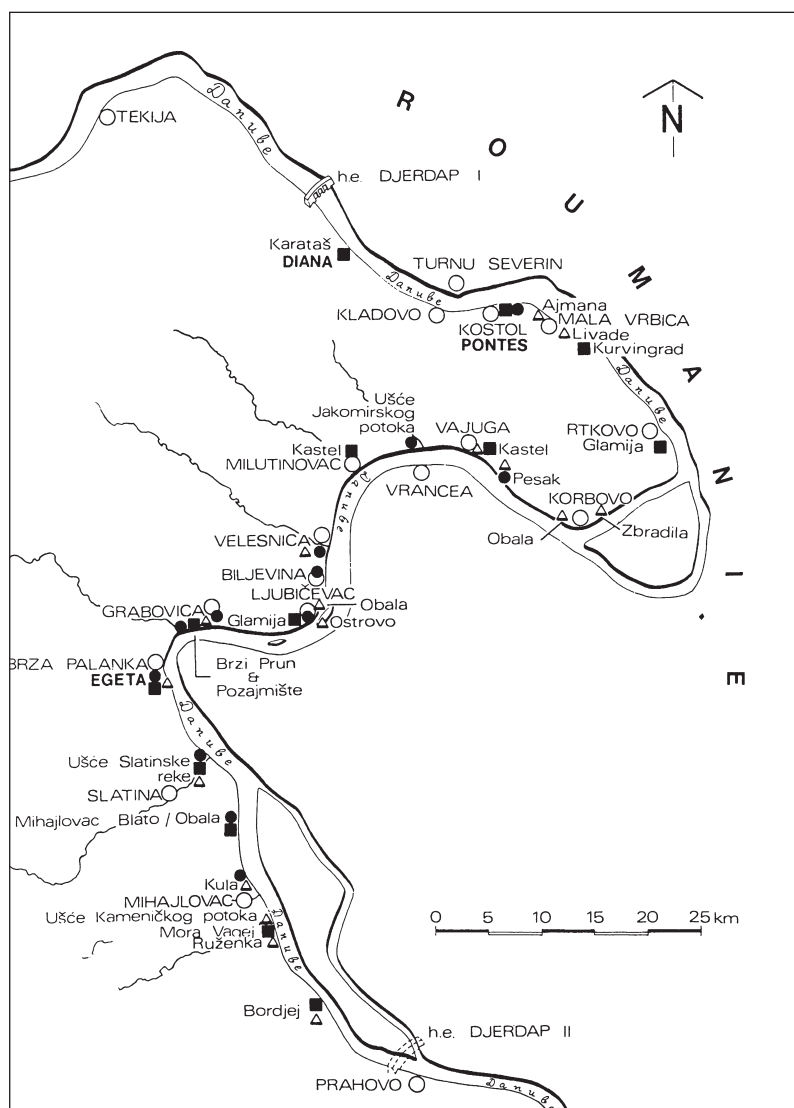


Fig. 1. Map of the localities in the Danube Limes province of Moesia Superior (Cahiers des Portes de Fer IV)

Сл. 1. Карта локалитетна на дунавском лимесу провинције Горње Мезије (Бергајске свеске IV)

Apollinaris has been confirmed on several Danube Limes localities, such as Taliata, Viminacium, Aquincum, Burgenae, Sirmium and Ritium, which is not unusual since many individuals employed in military service stationed on the Danube Limes or persons who were in civilian service, were of Greek or Eastern origin.⁴ P. Merlat considered that the name *Apol(l)inaris*, known from a few monuments dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, was a name of Graeco–Oriental origin, while M. Speidel referred to the name *Apollinaris* as a name that worshippers of Jupiter Dolichenus “often bore in honour of Apollo”.⁵ The name *Apollinaris* does not appear only among the names of Dolichenus’ worshippers, like is the case, for example, with two votive monuments from Rittium dedicated to the god by Marcus Aurelius Apollinaris, municipal decurion of Mursa.⁶ It is often the name of the priests of the god as well.

Elaborating on the important role of the priesthood in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, M. Speidel writes that priests were usually of oriental origin, with names like

³ The nomen *Julius* is very common in the imperial period, while the cognomen *Appollinaris* is probably Greek by origin (there are opinions in the literature of its Latin origin as well), Tuck 2005, 46.

⁴ Taliata, *IJug* 2, 477; Viminacium, *IMS* 2, 138; Aquincum, *CIL* 3, 10498, *CIL* 16, 136; Burgenae, *CIL* 3, 10243; Sirmium, *AE* 1994, 1403; Ritium, *CIL* 3, 10243a, 10243b.

⁵ P. Merlat names several forms of names derived from the name Apollo, among which is the name *Apollinaris*, Merlat 1951, 397. M. Speidel writes about the “Dolichenian Pantheon”, that is of the gods who were included to the Dolichenian circle of gods. In his opinion, one of these deities was the god Apollo, who appears with Jupiter Dolichenus on the altar from the Aventine *Dolichenum* and in the relief from the temple at Corbridge, Speidel 1978, 23–24.

⁶ Merlat 1951, n. 63, n. 64; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, n. 208.



Fig. 2. Monument from Glamija I, 3rd century (Gabričević 1987, 145)

Сл. 2. Надгробни сѝоменик са локалѝиѝа Гламија I (3. век) (Gabričević 1987, 145)

Marinus, Aquila, Barhadados and Apollinaris.⁷ Besides the Glamija monument, the name *Apollinaris* as the name of Dolichenus' priest, is known from a votive monument from Narona (dedicated by two priests, Flavius Faladus and Domitius Apollinaris),⁸ a bas-relief from Dolichenum in Aventine hill⁹ and from a monument found in Corbridge, where the dedicant Apollinaris was a centurion of the legion VI Victrix and possibly a priest of the god's cult as well.¹⁰

An interesting detail, however, about the funerary stele from locality Glamija is that the dedicant, Julius Apollinaris, is not only the priest of the god Jupiter Dolichenus, but the priest of the divine couple – the god Jupiter Dolichenus and his parda Dea Syria. The pairing of Jupiter Dolichenus with the goddess Juno Dolichena is not infrequent and is known from epigraphic dedications, as well as from statuary finds.¹¹ However, the pairing of Jupiter Dolichenus with Dea Syria is very rare and obviously based on a much older model of partnership, made between the Syrian god Hadad and the Syrian goddess Atargatis (Fig. 3). As it is well known, the supreme god of Doliche was, upon the Roman conquest, identified with the Roman god Jupiter, as the main Syrian goddess Atargatis was, in the period of Roman reign, known by the name of Dea Syria.¹² A local god of storms, Hadad (Zeus Hadados), is known from the Bronze Age period, through the

⁷ Speidel 1978, 46.

⁸ Merlat 1951, n. 55; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, n. 124.

⁹ Ibid, n. 190; Ibid, n. 371.

¹⁰ Ibid, n. 271; Ibid, n. 565; Jolliffe 1941, 36–61; M. A. Marwood thinks that the name *Apollinaris* of the dedicant of the Corbridge monument could imply his service as a priest of Dolichenus' cult, because of the fact that serving soldiers could be at the same time in active military service and priests of the Syrian god (successfully argued previously by M. Seidel, Speidel 1978, 46 etc.), Marwood 1984, 322.

¹¹ *CIL* 3, 1128; *CIL* 13 7411; *CIL* 13, 11779a, b; *AE* 1956, 210; *AE* 1920, 60; *CIL* 6, 465; *CIL* 6, 367; *AE* 1940, 73; *AE* 1940, 79; *AE* 1940, *AE* 1998, 1430; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, n. 75, n. 332, n. 337, n. 364, n. 405, n. 415, n. 416, n. 509.

¹² The name of Syrian goddess, Dea Syria is in Greek and Latin sources known in different forms – as *Συρία θεά*, *Συρία θεά*, *ή θεος ή Συρία*, *Δειασυρία*, *Dea Syria*, *Syria Dea*, *Dea Suria*, *Suria dea*, *Diasuria*, *Diasura*, *Dasyra*, *Iasura*, which are actually Latin forms of the name of the Syrian goddess Atargatis (*Αταργατίς*, *Αταργάθη*, *Αταργάτη*), Drijvers 1986, 355. The name *Συρία θεά* or *Dea Syria*, first appeared in the period of Hellenism, Van Berg 1972, 13. J. L. Lightfoot mentions the possibility that the name of the goddess *Atargatis* contains the notion of *Gad* (atar-gade), that it is the notion of personified Good Fortune who was (among other functions) a city goddess Tyche and as such, crowned with a *corona muralis*, which is sometimes the attribute of Dea Syria, Lightfoot 2003, 23–24. In that context, it is well known that the goddess Atargatis in Syria assumed the role of Tyche and that, for example, the Tyche of Palmyra was presented with lions, Atargatis' animals par excellence, Cumont 1926, 111. Detailed theology and ritual practices or Atargatis' cult are not well known, but according to Lucian's work from the 2nd century "De Dea Syria", the goddess had a famous



Fig. 3. Relief of Hadad and Atargatis, 2nd or 3rd century, Temple in Dura-Europos (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/4217>)

Сл. 3. Релефна представљава боја Хадага и бојинње Атаргатијис (2–3. век), храм Дура-Еуројос (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/4217>)

Iron Age up to the Roman period (early 2nd century), when his cult was syncretised with the cult of the supreme Roman deity and became the cult of the god Jupiter Dolichenus, which spread from Doliche, Hierapolis (Membij), Damascus and other near eastern localities, and through the western empire, particularly along the Rhine and Danube Limes.¹³ Regarding the Syrian goddess Atargatis who was a local fertility goddess with her main sanctuary in Hierapolis,¹⁴ during Hellenism she became identified with the Greek goddess Tyche as a tutelary deity and a protectress of urban centres. Her iconography and cultic characteristics often blended with the iconography and cult dimensions of various local Syrian goddesses, the Asia Minor goddess Kubaba, the Arab goddess Allath, the goddesses Astarte and Artemis Azzanathkona and with the Greek female deities Cybele, Hera and Aphrodite.¹⁵ It is probable that the influence of the previously mentioned

goddesses' cults and iconographic traits reflected in the image of Dea Syria as a universal goddess who was *omnipotens* and *omniparens* and whose main sanctuary was in Hierapolis, where she was venerated together with the god Hadad, from where her cult was

temple in Hierapolis where she was worshipped as a fertility goddess (confirmed by fertility symbols in shape of *phalli* found near her temple). The cult of Dea Syria was associated through myth and her identification with other goddesses, with animals that are considered to be her sacred animals: fish (which was considered the goddess' sacred food, rarely eaten by her worshippers, but consumed during the ritual banquets of the goddess by her priests and initiates), doves, pigeons, lions etc., Krill 1978, 34–35.

¹³ Thanks to the archaeological research conducted on Duluk Baba Tepesi, the hill in the locality of Doliche where the oldest sanctuary dedicated to the god Jupiter Dolichenus was discovered, the continuity between the cult and iconography of the ancient local god of Doliche from the early Iron Age and the god worshipped in the Roman period has been confirmed. As M. Blömer concludes, the sanctuary of the ancient local supreme god of Doliche became more popular in the Persian era and by the Roman period it was a well known cultic place in Doliche of the local Syrian storm god. With the Roman domination, iconography of the local god from Doliche was slightly adapted to the conquerer's taste and the god was identified with the supreme Roman deity Jupiter, Blömer 2015, 129–143.

¹⁴ Although in his work "De Dea Syria", the Greek writer Lucian in describing the cult and the temple of the supreme Syrian goddess calls her "Hera", he adds that the goddess and her consort Hadad had other names given by the Syrians. The goddess he describes is actually the Semitic goddess Atargatis, who belonged to the type of Mother goddesses associated with fertility, nature, animals (*potnia theron*), rivers and life in general. She was *Κορία*, the mistress of the people's fate and lives, but also *επίσκο*, the one who carefully listens to the prayers of her devotees. Her iconography, even in the earliest phase (images from coins found in Hierapolis, dated to the late 4th and early 3rd century B. C.) was linked to the image of the Anatolian Mother of gods, Cybele, as Atargatis was also represented seating in the throne flanked by two lions (rarely sphinxes), riding on a lion or accompanied by a lion, Drijvers 1986, 355–357. Atargatis' iconography represents her dressed in a long chiton, with a veil and *modius*, *corona muralis* or crescent moon on her head and attributes like a tympanum, ears of corn, leaf, mirror, spindle, a scepter, a plate, a cup or a staff. Her main temple was in Hierapolis, where she was worshipped with her paretros Hadad, which is confirmed by the relief from the temple of Atargatis, Hadad and Adonis, where the divine couple is presented seated on their thrones, flanked by their cult animals – two bulls (Hadad) and two lions (Atargatis/Dea Syria). The iconography of the goddess is described in Lucian's "De Dea Syria" chapters 15 and 32, Strong 1913. Depending on a local goddess with whom Atargatis was identified, she was represented differently – with a *corona muralis* and flanked by doves, as in the relief from the temple at Dura Europos, Bilde 1990, 175, fig. 7 or as the "fish-goddess" (with two fishes above her head) as on a relief from the temple at Khirbet et-Tannur, Glueck 1937, 368–372.

¹⁵ Hörig 1983, 1541–1546; Drijvers 1986, 355; As J. L. Lightfoot argues, comparing the iconographies and attributes of the goddess Atargatis and goddesses Tyche, Allath, Astarte and Cybele, Lightfoot 2003, 24–35.



Fig. 4. Basalt stele from Dolichenum, 1–2nd century, Duluk Baba Tepesi (Blömer 2011, T. 19, 1)

Сл. 4. Базалитна сџела из долихенума (1–2. век), локалџиџей Дулук Баба Теџеси, Долиха (Blömer 2011, T. 19, 1)

spread through Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and finally reached Rome.¹⁶

As M. Blömer points out, the cult continuity between the ancient storm god Hadad from the Iron Age and Jupiter Dolichenus can be presumed an unbroken ritual practice which implies religious continuity,¹⁷ but can the same be assumed for Juno Dolichena regarding the connection between her and the goddess Atargatis / Dea Syria (with a probable degree of influence of other local goddesses, like Kubaba)? P. Merlat

and R. Turcan thought that similar to Jupiter Dolichenus, his paredra Juno Dolichena was of Syrian or Syrio-Hittite heritage – as the goddess Hebat (Hepet) associated to Teshub, Juno Dolichena was presented standing on the back of a hind, a goat, a deer, and sometimes a lioness, wearing a *calathus* or a diadem on her head, veiled, holding a sceptre, a *paterna* or a mirror. A basalt stele dated to the 1st–2nd century A. D. was discovered in 2007 on the sacred area at the locality of Duluk Baba Tepesi, representing the divine couple of Doliche, analogous to the deities' representations from the Iron Age, which could imply the previously considered question (Fig. 4). Both deities are represented standing on the backs of their cult animals – the male deity stands on a bull's back, while the female deity stands on the back of a stag.¹⁸ E. Winter concludes that the analysis of the divine couple's iconography from Doliche's stele, particularly the image of the goddess, implies that traits of the goddesses Kubaba and Atargatis / Dea Syria are incorporated in the iconography of the supreme female deity of Doliche. Additional finds from the cult space of Duluk Baba Tepesi dated to the period from 1st to the 2nd century, such as the representation from a votive altar of a goddess similar to Dea Syria or the representation of a doe on another votive altar found in the locality, also contribute to the

¹⁶ Beside Hieropolis, other important cult centres of Dea Syria were Dura-Europos, Palmyra, Edessa, Khirbat et-Tannur, Ashkelon, Hatra, Damascus, Delos etc. The cult of Dea Syria is confirmed in Italy, Dacia, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, Thracia and Britannia. For the cult of Dea Syria see Drijvers 1980, 76–121; Hörig 1983, 1536–1581; Morin 1960; van Berg 1972; Drijvers 1986, 355–358; Bilde 1990; Lightfoot 2003.

¹⁷ Blömer 2015, 136.

¹⁸ Ibid, 135–137. The damaged basalt stele was found in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus in the locality of Duluk Baba Tepesi in 2007 which was, as the found material implies, occupied in continuity from the early Iron Age to Late Antiquity. The stele dates from the Roman period and it is divided in two parts – a longer, upper part and a smaller lower part. In the upper part, a divine couple of Doliche is represented, while in the lower part a sacrificial scene is shown. In it, two priests are sacrificing around the altar, with a branch or bundle of branches in their right hands. As for the main upper scene, both the male and female deity are shown in a way as they were presented in the Iron Age period – the god has a horned cap on his head, a long pigtail and a belted kilt, holding a lightning bolt in one hand and a double axe in other hand. As M. Blömer emphasises, a particularly ancient iconographic element is represented by the horn crown of the god. The goddess is dressed in an ankle-length belted robe, with a cloak and raised hands, in which she holds a mirror and an unknown round object, perhaps a pomegranate, Blömer 2011, 69–104.

hypothesis regarding a local version of Atargatis in Doliche, who was worshipped alongside Hadad of Doliche in the Roman period and was known as Jupiter Dolichenus.¹⁹ As M. Blömer emphasises, with the Roman domination over Doliche and the spread of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, over time, the iconography of the god changed and adapted to Roman taste. However, in his hometown of Doliche, the indigenous population continued to worship the god in a traditional way, keeping intact some of the local beliefs and some older iconographical traits from the Iron Age tradition.²⁰ A similar situation is presumed for the goddess Juno Dolichena, who was presented wearing a diadem and holding a sceptre like the goddess Juno, but sometimes holding a mirror as well, which made her more akin to the Dea Syria in the eyes of her oriental worshippers.²¹ Nobody could know more about or was more attached to the ancestral religion and traditional iconography of the homeland deities, ritual practices and beliefs, than the priests of the Syrian deities, who were mostly of oriental origin and who spread the religion of their gods and goddesses all over the Roman Empire, devoted to their traditional ways.²² After this brief but, in our opinion, important digression for the understanding of the role of Syrian priests in the Danube Limes area and the Central Balkan provinces in the Roman period, we return to the priestly dedication from the locality of Glamija.

In the territory of the Danube Limes and, more generally, the Central Balkan Roman provinces, priests of the god Jupiter Dolichenus are known from several inscriptions discovered in the localities of Karataš (*Diana*), Arčar (*Ratiaria*), Vidin and the village of Kličevac near Viminacium.²³ At all these localities, the existence of Dolichenus' sanctuaries, *dolichena*, can be presumed as well, not only by the epigraphic testimonies, but also by archaeological finds, which is not surprising since the migration of the Orientals in the Danube Limes' areas of Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior happened in several waves.²⁴ The presence of Syrian migrants, however, is attested primarily in bigger centres like Sirmium,²⁵ Singidunum, Viminacium (where closed communities of Syrian immigrants could have existed, *IMS* II, 213), Scupi or in the localities along the Danube Limes border. In the locality of Karataš (*Diana*), a votive altar dedicated to Juppiter Dolichenus was discovered in a niche, *extra muros* of a military fort (below a bridge on the Danube). The monument was erected in honour of the emperor Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna, by a certain Restutum and priests of the god, on the orders of the provincial governor L. Marius Perpetuus.²⁶ In the

area of Arčar (*Ratiaria*), four votive monuments dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus have been found, of which one monument is dedicated by two priests. The votive monument from Kličevac (*Viminacium*) is quite interesting, because the dedicant, the priest Aurelius Iulianus, names as his homeland *Syria Coele*, the region of *Cyrrhastica*, the village of *Capersin(?)*.²⁷ A votive monument dedicated by two priests of Jupiter Dolichenus was also discovered in the interior of the Central Balkan Roman provinces, in the locality of Ulpiana.²⁸

The votive monument from the locality of Karataš (*Diana*) is particularly interesting, since it was, as already mentioned, dedicated to Juppiter Dolichenus and erected upon the orders of the provincial governor L. Marius Perpetuus, by a certain Restutum and priests of the god, *pro salute* of the emperor Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna. The monument was probably erected between 211–214. and was found in the presumed sanctuary of the god.²⁹

¹⁹ Winter 2011, 8. However, unlike in the Atargatis–Hadad partnership in the temple of Hierapolis, where the goddess was dominant and the god was subordinated, in the partnership of Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena, the god is the central figure, while the goddess is merely occasionally his companion.

²⁰ Blömer 2015, 139.

²¹ Turcan 1996, 161.

²² As was already mentioned, votive inscriptions confirm that priests of Jupiter Dolichenus could have been at the same time in active military service or veterans or in some other profession, like for example, a civilian priest who was a wine-merchant, Speidel 1978, 47–50.

²³ Mirković 1977, 443–448; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, 71, n. 87, 82, n. 104, 85, n. 112; Gavrilović 2010, n. 86, n. 89, n. 97, n. 100; Mirković 2011, 129–130.

²⁴ As I. Popović elaborates, the migration of the Orientals happened: after Trajan's Dacian wars, then during the 2nd century (particularly during the period of the Severan dynasty) and finally at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century, Popović 1993, 75–76;

²⁵ A certain Stygius named on the stone slab from the bank of the River Sava in Sremska Mitrovica is mentioned on it as the one who was born in Syria, while the monument of a certain Aurelius names him as *civis Syrus*, Popović 2005, 102.

²⁶ Mirković 1977, 443–448; Mirković 2011, 126.

²⁷ Gavrilović 2010, 156–157, 164.

²⁸ Вулић 1931, n. 510; Gavrilović 2010, 300, n. 97.

²⁹ The votive monument was found in the area of the presumed sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus, in the locality of Karataš (*Diana*). M. Mirković suggests that since the name of Geta is not mentioned beside the names of his mother and brother, Julia Domna and Caracalla on the monument from Karataš (*Diana*), the votive monument could have been erected in 214, on the occasion of Caracalla's visit to the Roman fortress in Diana, Mirković 1977, 443–448.

In the case of the goddess Dea Syria, however, there are no epigraphic monuments dedicated to the deity found in the Danube Limes area of the former Roman province of Moesia Superior – the closest geographical analogy are two votive monuments from the locality of Dolno Nerezi (*Scupi*), dedicated to the main goddess of Syria.³⁰ The first monument is interesting, because its dedicant, who was the city decurion, honoured the goddess by building her a temple. Unfortunately, the remains of the Dea Syria's sanctuary haven't been yet archaeologically confirmed in the area of Scupi. However, priests of the goddess are known also from the neighbouring province of Dacia, from the locality of Porolissum, where the *sacerdos* Aurelius Gaius (also a city decurion) dedicated a votive altar to the goddess in the first decades of the 3rd century.³¹ On a votive plaque discovered in the locality of Napoca and dated to 214, we again encounter the name of the provincial governor L. Marius Perpetuus, known by his dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus found in the Danube Limes locality of Karataš (Diana), as the dedicant of a Dea Syria's monument, where it is implied that the temple of the goddess was erected by two brothers.³² With this dedication, it is clear that the provincial governor L. Marius Perpetuus paid considerable attention to the supreme deities of the Syrian pantheon, which is not surprising bearing in mind the fact that he governed in the period of the reign of the Severan emperors, Septimius Severus and Caracalla.³³

As was already mentioned, what makes the monument from Glamija rare is the fact that it is dedicated by a priest of the Syrian deities – Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria. As far as we know there are only two more votive inscriptions dedicated to the divine couple Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria – one from the locality of Apulum (Alba Iulia) and one from Rome.³⁴ Therefore, the inscription from the locality of Glamija would be the third known priestly dedication to the supreme Syrian god and goddess in the whole territory of the Roman Empire. However, the two inscriptions discovered in Apulum and Rome present analogies only in the context of the dedications that are made to the deities, because the inscription from Apulum is dedicated to Dea Syria, identified with the goddess Caelestis, while the monument from Rome is dedicated to *Juno Asyria*. The identification of Dea Syria with the goddess Caelestis on the votive monument from Apulum is not surprising, since the two goddesses shared the same position as supreme deities (one of Syria and the other of Carthage), iconography and the same paredros – Baal.³⁵ In the

context of the iconography, as with Dea Syria and Magna Mater, the goddess Caelestis was presented with lions, frequently riding side-saddle on a lion's back and, like the Syrian goddess and Anatolian Mother, she also had similar clergy, a ceremony similar in nature to the Magna Mater's spring celebrations and

³⁰ *IMS* VI 1982, n. 15, 16 and 17, but n. 17 is disputable, because the inscription is in too fragmentary a state and B. Dragojević-Josičević presumed that the monument is dedicated to the goddess Dea Syria with the epithet *Sanctissima*, which would make the dedication from Scupi a unique one, since it would be the only monument in the whole territory of the Roman empire where a goddess is referred to by the epithet *Sanctissima*. The first monument (n. 15) found in the locality of Dolno Nerezi is actually a marble plate in the form of a *tabula ansata* and it is dedicated by a decurion and a duovir of the *colonia Scupi*, who built a temple to the goddess Dea Syria. The second monument (n. 16) was found near the place where the first monument dedicated to the goddess was discovered and it is dedicated to Dea Syria by a certain Aurelius. Unfortunately, both monuments have disappeared.

³¹ *AE* 1977, 662.

³² *AE* 1960, 226. The votive monument from Napoca was probably dedicated in 214, by L. Marius Perpetuus who was at the time the governor of the province *tres Daciae*, where he went immediately after his governorship in Moesia Superior, Mirković 1977, 443–448.

³³ During the reign of the African born emperor Septimius Severus and his sons, Oriental cults came more into the focus, but not at the expense of the traditional Roman gods. However, being of Syrian origin, from Emessa and as a daughter of the priest of Elagabal, Septimius Severus' wife Julia Domna was inclined towards the traditional gods of her homeland, which can be confirmed by her affinity towards Dea Syria and the goddess of Carthage, Dea Caelestis. A visible orientalisation can be seen in some of the presentations of Julia Domna, like in the Arch of the Argentarii in the Forum Boarium, where she is presented sacrificing in a similar way to that shown in a monument from Dura Europus, and her right hand is raised palm forwards, like in the statue of a young woman of the royal dynasty of Hatra, Levick 2007, 22, 134–136; Birley 2002, 72–73. Prior to the Severan dynasty, as Suetonius confirms, emperor Nero was inclined towards the cult of Dea Syria, but soon developed contempt towards her as he despised other deities as well, Suetonius VI.56.

³⁴ The votive inscription found in the locality of Apulum reads thus: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et deae | S< y =U> riae Magnae | Caelesti pro salu|te perpetui imperi(i) | Romani et leg(ionis) XIII | Gem(inae) Flavius Bar|hadadi s(acerdos) I(ovis) D(olicheni) ad | leg(ionem) S(upra) s(criptam) v(oto) l(ibens) m(erito)*, *AE* 1965, 30a; The votive inscription from Rome read thus: *Iovi Opt <i =U> mo Max(imo) | Dolicheno | sacrum | L(ucius) Fab(rius) L(uci) (ibertus) Philoti|mus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)|| Iunoni Assy|riae Reg(inae) Dolichenae*, *CIL* 6, 465.

³⁵ The goddess Caelestis or, in the Roman period *Dea Caelestis*, is the supreme female deity of the city of Carthage, known as Tanit (Tinnit). Greeks assimilated her with the goddess Aphrodite and she was known as Aphrodite Ourania, during the Roman reign of Venus Caelestis or Virgo Caelestis, Halsberghe 1984, 2203–2208.

ritus of taurobolium.³⁶ The cult of Dea Caelestis is confirmed in Rome at the end of the 1st century and like Dea Syria, the goddess was identified with the Roman goddess Juno, becoming more popular during the reign of Septimius Severus, due to the already mentioned affinity of the empress Julia Domna towards the goddess' cult.³⁷ As for the votive inscription from Apulum, it is dedicated by the priest Flavius Barhadadi,³⁸ who was of Syrian origin and paid respect to the deities of his homeland, probably at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century, maybe even in the period of Caracalla's visit to Dacia.³⁹ The second analogy to our monument, the bronze tablet from Rome, is somewhat disputable by certain authors, but nevertheless it represents a very interesting cult monument, because next to the dedication of the *libertus* Lucius Fabirius to Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Assyria Regina, there is a scene of the divine couple standing on their cult animals and holding in their hands different attributes.⁴⁰ What makes this monument unique among Dolichenus' epigraphic monuments so far, are the epithets of the goddess "Assyria" and "Dolichena" used together,⁴¹ but, as M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim rightly point out, referring to the goddess as "Assyria" and not "Syria" should not be surprising, since the terms "Assyria" and "Assyrians" were used by the ancient writers Lucian (who calls Dea Syria "Hera Assyria") and Herodotus (who uses the term "Assyrians", a barbaric name for Greek Syrians).⁴² Although the bronze tablet from Rome, if its authenticity is accepted, is not dedicated by a priest of the divine couple but by a *libertus*, his most probable Semitic origin (judging by his name *Philotimus*) and conservative way of addressing his *dii patria*, are clear. The same can be assumed for other known dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus or to the divine couple of Syrian deities, where the name of the dedicant and the way that he addresses Jupiter Dolichenus or him and his *pare-dra*, implies the conservative attitude of the dedicant, in the context of his loyalty to the gods of his homeland, his respect to the tradition and his keeping the memory of *dii patrii*, intact.

Returning to the monument from Glamija and the question of the presence and role of the Syrian priesthood in the area of the Danube Limes and the Central Balkan Roman provinces, it is necessary to discuss all known priests of Jupiter Dolichenus' or Dea Syria's cult, in the aforementioned territory. On four monuments dedicated to the god Jupiter Dolichenus, the dedicants are his priests⁴³ and three of the localities where those monuments were found, represented the areas of Roman

³⁶ Lightfoot 2003, 21; Halsberghe 1972, 91–94;

³⁷ The goddess Caelestis, worshipped in Carthage beside the god Baal-Hammon, later Saturn, was venerated as the celestial deity, goddess of fertility and animals, and as the personification and deification of the natural forces and mother of all things on earth and in the heavens. Besides the goddesses Iuno and Venus, she was identified with the goddesses Ceres, Luna, Urania, Fortuna and Magna Mater, Halsberghe 1984, 2203–2209; Halsberghe 1972, 94. Dea Caelestis was worshipped under the epithets *sancta*, *sanctissima*, *aeterna*, *domina* etc. As for the connection between the empress Julia Domna and Dea Caelestis see Levick 2007, 133–136.

³⁸ The name Barhadadi is of Semitic origin and means "the son of Hadad" (from other inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, similar names such as Barsemon, Barsemes, Barlaha, Barsemias, Barhadados etc., are known), Merlat 1960, 15; Berciu, Popa 1978, 4–7, n. 3.

³⁹ Berciu, Popa 1978, 6. As A Collar suggests, Apulum was one of the earliest centres of Dolichenus' cult in the Danubian provinces, Collar 2013, 101–102, 111, 125. C. Szabo writes that during the period of Septimius Severus' reign, several groups from Asia Minor and Syria came to Apulum and, at the end of the 2nd century, formed a new layer of settlers in the centre of the gold-mining district. Many Syrians are attested in votive and funerary monuments of Apulum, among them adepts of Dolichenus' cult, who were soldiers from the legio XIII Gemina and who were probably connected to the *Dolichenum* (one of two existing in Apulum) built near the *castrum* of the legio XIII Gemina and *mithraeum* in the southern part of the city with other sanctuaries of oriental deities. The text of Dolichenus' monument from Apulum implies that the group of Dolichenus worshippers, in which Flavius Barhadadi was a priest, consisted of Syrian soldiers and veterans of the Legio XIII Gemina, Szabo 2018, 66–67, 162–163.

⁴⁰ Authors like A. H. Kan disputed the authenticity of the bronze tablet because of the attributes in the deities' hands and the way they are presented with them: Juno Dolichena is holding a scepter and a discoid object (maybe a mirror) in her hands, while Jupiter Dolichenus is holding a double axe in his left hand and a sceptre in his right hand, which is not the usual way of presenting the deities. However, P. Merlat does not exclude the monument from his corpus of Dolichenus monuments, nor do M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, Merlat 1951, 244–245, n. 244; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, n. 430.

⁴¹ As N. Belayche points out, there was a need by freedman Philotimus to emphasise his devotion and loyalty to the goddess Dea Syria with two epicleses by origin ("Assyria", "Dolichena") and one theological epiclesis "Regina" which is mutual to both goddesses, Belayche 2006, 247. Unlike the epithets "Assyria" and "Dolichena" in the bronze tablet from Rome, the epithet "Regina" is frequently used as the epithet of the goddess Juno in the monuments of Jupiter Dolichenus, as is also the case with the epithet "Sancta", *AE* 1920, 60; *AE* 1939, 274; *AE* 1998, 1430; *CIL* 6, 365; *CIL* 13, 7411; *CIL* 13, 11779; Merlat 1951, 328, n. 338; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, n. 65.

⁴² *Ibid*; Lightfoot 2003, 287–288.

⁴³ The first monument was found at the Roman *castellum* of the locality of Ratiaria and the dedicants are two priests by the names of Pecta and Flavius Guga who are, perhaps, indigenous inhabitants. The second monument in the form of a *tabula ansata*, was found in the Roman *castellum* near Vidin and was dedicated by Aurelius Bassus (possibly of Thracian or Semitic origin), who declares his loyalty to Juppiter Dolichenus, by declaring that he is



Fig. 5. Bust of priest from Palmyra, 2nd century, Singidunum
(<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/557742735082112294/?lp=true>)

Fig. 6. Relief of Jupiter Dolichenus (a priest is presented under the divine couple), Dolichenum, Aventine, Rome (Blömer 2011, T. 23, 3)

Сл. 5. Биста свештеника из Палмире (2. век), Сингидунум
(Фото-документација Народног музеја Београда)

Сл. 6. Рељефна представа Јупитера Долихена (свештеник је приказан испод божанског пара), долихенум, Авенин, Рим (Blömer 2011, T. 23, 3)

castra, that is *castella*. This fact raises a question – were the priests of Jupiter Dolichenus maybe at the same time in military service? The priests of Jupiter Dolichenus who were in active or passive military service are already confirmed elsewhere, like in the case of Marcus Ulpius Chresimus who was a cavalry man and whose name is known from the marble relief dedication discovered in Rome, or Ulpius Amandianus, a soldier from the votive monument found in Carnuntum.⁴⁴ Also, since the remains of two (possibly three) *Dolichena* in the Danube Limes area of Moesia Superior⁴⁵ were discovered in close connection with the Roman *castra*, the presence of Dolichenus’ priests there, would be expected.

However, no claim about their certain Syrian origin can be made, as nothing more can be presumed about their appearance, which could easily differ from

other Dolichenus worshippers by the headdress and clothes priests wore (like in the example of two sculptures of Palmyrian priests from Singidunum, Fig. 5),⁴⁶

“servius eius”. The third monument is from the locality of Karataš Diana (already mentioned in the paper) and it is dedicated by Dolichenus’ priests and a certain Restuum on the orders of the provincial governor L. Marius Perpetuus. The fourth monument was found in the Kličevac area (near Viminacium), where remains of the road which led from Viminacium to Lederata and further on to the Iron Gate limes were found, with different archaeological material (architectural plastics, coinage, fragmented sculptures etc., Gavrilović 2010, 157–164; Mirković 1986, 22, 49, 56.

⁴⁴ Merlat 1951, n. 239, n. 108; Hörig, Schwertheim 1987, n. 419, n. 232; Speidel 1978, n. 25, n. 26, 47–48.

⁴⁵ The localities Karataš (Diana), Brza Palanka (Egeta) and possibly Čezava.

⁴⁶ Popović 1993, 71–76; Gavrilović Vitas in press 2019.

or it could not differ at all (like with the priest Themes who is presented as a soldier on the fresco in the temple of the Palmyrian gods in Dura-Europos, Fig. 7).⁴⁷ There are no written or archaeological testimonies regarding the ritual practices of Syrian priests in the localities along the Danube Limes of Moesia Superior or the territory of the Central Balkan Roman provinces, so it can only be presumed that they were similar to the rituals held in honour of both deities, in other parts of the Roman Empire.⁴⁸

In that context, but regarding the fact that the monument from Glamija was found in the area of a Roman fortification, we would presume that Julius Apollinaris paid his respect to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria in their *omnipotens* capacity, as to the gods who protect and shield their worshippers from all harm and ensure their victory on the battlefield.⁴⁹ In the fortification on the Danube border, where the majority of worshippers of the Syrian divine couple were soldiers whose lives were constantly in danger, it is probable that Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria were venerated in the mentioned way. Another argument for the proposed hypothesis would be that, in the case of Dea Syria, unlike other Syrian goddesses whose cults are also known in the area of the Danubian limes (for example, the goddess Balti(s) whose cult is confirmed in several localities in Pannonia Inferior),⁵⁰ she represented a homeland deity to Syrian worshippers and, as an *omnipotens* goddess, she was regarded as a protectress in the most general sense of the word.

Finishing our discussion, we are, however, left with one dilemma regarding the context of the place where the monument was found, the locality of Glamija.⁵¹ The locality, the full name of which is Rtkovo–Glamija I, is situated near the village of Rtkovo, on a natural hill, which made an excellent location for the building of the oldest fortification, which was primarily a watchtower.⁵² The antique remains of the Glamija fortifications were first mentioned by Marsigli and later by F. Kanitz and other researchers. The first archaeological excavations in the locality were carried out from 1980 to 1982 and confirmed the older, smaller fortification of a square foundation (*burgum*), surrounded by a later, larger, outer fortification (*castellum*), built for stationing auxiliary troops in the 6th century. The analysis of the archaeological material (*fibulae*, lamps, glass ware, etc.) and coinage from the older fortification confirmed two building phases – the first building phase was determined by the coins of Valentinian I, Theodosius I, Honorius and Arcadius and belongs to the 4th century, while the second, later building phase was determined

⁴⁷ T. Kaizer assumes that the priest *Themis*, who was presented on the fresco of the sacrifice by Julius Terentius from the north wall of the *pronaos* of the temple of the Palmyrene gods in Dura-Europos, was at the same time a *sacerdos* and a member of the imperial army, Kaizer 2006, 151–159; About the appearance of Syrian priests see Stuckey 1976, 127–140; Drijvers 1980, 49.

⁴⁸ Similarities in ritual practices in the cults of Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria allow us to presume that the priest who led ritual processions was also at the top of the hierarchy of the religious community of the *cultores* of the gods (the so-called brothers, *fraters*), who were joined together in ritual practices and liturgical banquets, celebrated in honour of the gods. Besides the main sacrifice, which constituted a sacrificial animal offered to the deity /deities, the ritual of sacrifice included fire sacrifices (pouring incense and wine on a fire lit on the altar). After the animal sacrifice, a liturgical banquet took place, in which the right shank of the animal (in the case of Dea Syria fish, dove and pork were forbidden for consuming, but meat of bull, goat and lamb was acceptable, as in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus) was set aside for the god, some part of the carcass was reserved for the priest, while the *extra* (the best parts of the animal, like the liver, heart etc.) was boiled or grilled and eaten by the god's worshippers, thus symbolising their absorption of the divine essence, Pöllath, Peters 2011, 50–57; Ekroth 2016, 329. As for the atmosphere in which ritual practices were conducted, we cannot lean on Lucian's description of the quite barbaric and luxurious rituals of Dea Syria's cult in Hierapolis. Rituals held in the goddess' honour in other parts of the Roman empire were probably without much pomp and noise and consisted of the purification ritual and the mentioned sacrifices by the priests, perhaps (as in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus) the idol of the goddess was carried in a litter around her sanctuary, Morin 1960, 118–121; Turcan 1996, 164. The previously written is, of course, only a hypothetical reconstruction of the rituals that were held in honour of the Syrian deities in the Danube Limes area of Moesia Superior, because we agree with P. Merlat's observations that the cult practice depended on the particular local characteristics in certain Roman provinces and that the rites and cult practices differed from province to province. Also, differences possibly existed between cult rituals conducted in sanctuaries in military centres and those held in sanctuaries in civil centres, Merlat 1960, 205.

⁴⁹ The attribution of responsibility for “heaven and earth” to Hadad and Atargatis by Macrobius is well known, Macrobius I, XXIII, 20. However, here we are referring to Dea Syria's dimension of the protectress of the soldiers' lives, not only during their service and on the battlefield, but also in their journey to the death. As I. Skupinska-Lovset argues, it is very possible that the believers of the goddess would turn “to her for protection while passing the barrier of death”, Skupinska-Lovset 2005, 382.

⁵⁰ The goddess Balti(s), whose name is translated as “my lady”, is mentioned on several dedications from Danubian Limes' localities, on monuments from Aquincum, even together with the goddess Dea Syria, *AE* 1982, 803; *CIL* 3, 10393. On the monument from Alba Julia, the goddess Balti(s) is mentioned together with *Caelestis* which, bearing in mind the close connection between Dea Syria and Dea *Caelestis*, again confirms a link between not only those two deities but a certain closeness between all three goddesses. Balti(s) was the goddess who was worshipped as the goddess of love and fertility in North Mesopotamia, under different names such as al-Uzza, Aphrodite, the Star etc., Drijvers 1980, 184–185.

⁵¹ I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr Miloje Vasić for the fruitful conversation and discussion with him, regarding



Fig. 7. Priest Themes (behind Julius Terentius who is sacrificing), fresco of Julius Terentius sacrificing, 239 A.D., Temple in Dura-Europos (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/4961>)

Сл. 7. Свешћеник Темес (иза Јулија Теренција који жртвљује), председава жртвовања Јулија Теренција (фреско-сликарство, 239. година), храм Дура-Еуројос (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/4961>)

by the coins of Anastasius I and Justin I and dates at the beginning of the 6th century. The first phase of the older fortification ended with its destruction, which happened at the beginning of the 5th century and the fortification was then partly restored during the reign of Anastasius I. As for the later, larger fortification, it represented a characteristically early Byzantine fortification dated to the 6th century. It was partly excavated (north-western, south-western and north-eastern towers, as parts of the walls on the northern, western and southern side of the fortification) and it was probably never finished (this assumption is made because of the absence of building rubble and archaeological material).⁵³

Archaeological material has confirmed, besides a military presence, the presence of civilians and women in the smaller fortress of the first phase to which the funerary monument would chronologically belong.⁵⁴

the possibility of Glamija's monument being brought from some other Danube Limes locality and for his kind remarks about the possible locations.

⁵² Gabričević 1986, 71–74; Špehar 2010, 22–23.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Besides lamps, *fibulae*, different kinds of weapons and military equipment, archaeological material from the older phase of Glamija's fortification included: fragmented earrings, bracelets, pins and whorls, which confirm the presence of women inside the fortification in the late antique period, Gabričević 1986, 72. The involvement of women in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is usually connected to their position in the family, they appear within the family structure, as A. Collar remarks, and are rarely dedicants to the god, judging by the thus far known dedications from Mauer-an-der-Url, Trieste, Belgia and Britannia, Collar 2011, 242. As for the cult of the goddess Atargatis / Dea Syria, women were active participants in the rituals and banquets honouring the goddess, but again within their communities and families, never leading the cult processions or sacrificing to the goddess, Finlayson 2013, 61–86.

It is well known from other Roman provinces that women, were also among the worshippers of both Syrian cults. However, what puzzles us, beside the fact that traces of no sanctuary have been detected by the archaeological excavations in Glamija, is that the monument dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria was used as *spolia* in the wall of the older fortification at the site and that the locality itself is not such a prominent Limes locality where a larger group of worshippers or some closed group of devotees of Syrian gods would be expected.⁵⁵ There is also the question of the dating of the monument from Glamija: the older phase of the fortification which was primarily used as a watchtower is dated to the 4th century, which is, in our opinion, a late period for the date of erecting a monument to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria in the Danube Limes part of Moesia Superior, bearing in mind the fact that the latest Dolichenus monument from this area, a *tabula ansata* dedicated to the god from the locality of Brza Palanka (Egeta), is dated to the middle of the 3rd century.⁵⁶ In that context, our opinion tends towards the possibility that the monument was actually erected in some other locality where Syrians were present, where cult of Jupiter Dolichenus or cult of Dea Syria or both cults were confirmed and from where in some moment, the monument was transferred and used as building material for the fortification at Glamija.⁵⁷ Further developing such a hypothesis, the locality which could be the primary place of the erection of the monument of Julius Apollinaris, would be the locality of Drobeta, the site where the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is well confirmed epigraphically and archaeologically and from where transportation by river would be easy.⁵⁸ The possibility of Drobeta being the original site from where the monument dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria was transferred to Glamija could be strengthened by the fact that a similar dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus, erected by three *sacerdotes militares* probably during the reign of Septimius Severus and / or Caracalla, was found in Drobeta.⁵⁹ Also, the period of the reign of the Severan dynasty seems more fitting for the dedication of the Glamija monument by a priest of the Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria cults, to whom the emperor Septimius and his spouse Julia Domna were inclined to, than the period of the 4th century, when the older fortification in Glamija is dated.

The second locality which could also be a place from where the monument might have been transported is the locality of Karataš (Diana), which is already mentioned as a cult site of Jupiter Dolichenus, where a sanc-

tuary with *sacerdotes eiusdem loci* existed.⁶⁰ However, with the current level of research, the previously mentioned opinion remains in the domain of a hypothesis.

Conclusion

The funerary monument from Glamija, dedicated by the priest of two supreme deities of Syrian provenience in the Roman period, Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria, is of great importance since it represents only the third thus far known dedication made to the divine couple by the mentioned names in the whole Roman Empire. Although the cult of Dea Syria in the Danubian provinces has been differently interpreted in the literature in the context that some authors thought that the goddess' worshippers simply reproduced the cult as it was in their homeland without any alterations⁶¹ and some authors thought that the followers of Dea Syria's cult adapted to a foreign environment so that her cult became more universal and therefore more accepted by Orientals and non-Orientals alike,⁶² we are of the opinion that in the particular case of the monument from Glamija, neither attitude can be applied.

⁵⁵ Gavrilović 2010, 298–299.

⁵⁶ Ibid. We should also emphasise the importance of the formula *DM* on the funerary stela from Glamija, as a possible chronology marker, because it is the abbreviation of the formula *Dis Manibus*, which began to regularly appear in Roman epitaphs from the 2nd century, Noy 2009, 423.

⁵⁷ In this context, we will mention an interesting analogy in the funerary monument from Salona of Aurelius Germanus Barlaha, who was sacerdos of Jupiter Dolichenus and who erected the monument for himself and his Syrian wife, *CIL* 3, 8785. It confirms not only the existence of Syrian migrants in Salona and the worship of Syrian deities in the city, but also perhaps a religious mission of Dolichenus priests in Salona with the goal of spreading the cult of the god and thus gaining more and more worshippers of his cult.

⁵⁸ A votive monument dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus by three sacerdotes of the cohors I Sagittariorum, was found in the area of the Roman *castrum* in Drobeta and may be connected to the existence of a god's sanctuary. All three priests belonged to the cohors I Sagittaria, which was stationed at Drobeta in the first part of the 3rd century, *AE* 2006, 1125; C. Petolescu discusses the possibility of the existence of a *dolichenum* at Drobeta, Petolescu 2004, 44; Ţentea 2012, 62.

⁵⁹ Besides the votive monument dedicated by three priests to Jupiter Dolichenus, a marble head (30 cm) of Jupiter Dolichenus was found inside the Roman *castrum* at Drobeta, belonging to a full size sculpture of the deity and representing a rare find in Dacia in connection with the god's cult, for more details see Popa, Berciu 1978, 22–23, n. 20.

⁶⁰ Mirković 2015, 92–93, n. 39.

⁶¹ Drijvers 1980, 186.

⁶² Lightfoot 2003, 81.

The monument of Julius Apollinaris represents an important testimony by the priest, therefore a person who is or should be very well acquainted with the theology and rituals of the cults of both deities – Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria. The priest would not casually use the name “Dea Syria” for the goddess in the context of thinking of her as just the consort of the god Jupiter Dolichenus – in that case he would, of course, name her Juno Dolichena. Therefore, we think that Julius Apollinaris, who was most probably of Syrian origin, possessed enough education and knowledge to be aware of the religious continuity between the ancestral deities of Doliche, Hadad and Atargatis, who, in the period of Roman domination, become syncretised with the supreme Roman god and goddess Jupiter and Juno and whose iconographies were adapted, to a degree, to Roman taste, but still held the same values and meaning (along with particular iconographical oriental details) that they had in their homeland for their Syrian worshippers.

When analysing the possibility of the existence of a religious community of Syrian deities in a small locality such as Glamija, where the monument dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and Dea Syria was found used as *spolia* and where no other oriental cult was confirmed, and the possibility of the monument being transported at some time from some other locality where a religious community of Syrian deities existed in continuity, such as, for example, Drobeta, we are, at this moment, more inclined to the latter suggestion.

As a priest, Julius Apollinaris was certainly religiously motivated and eager to spread the cults of the deities of his homeland in a foreign environment. By partnering Jupiter Dolichenus, a very popular military deity, with the Syrian supreme goddess Dea Syria who was Romanised enough to be acceptable to non-Orientals as well, he left undoubted testimony to the existence and cult practice of the two main Syrian deities in the area of the Danube Limes’ Roman province of Moesia Superior.

Translated by the author

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СИРИЈСКО СВЕШТЕНСТВО НА ТЕРИТОРИЈИ ДУНАВСКОГ ЛИМЕСА МЕЗИЈЕ СУПЕРИОР: НАДГРОБНИ СПОМЕНИК ЈУПИТЕРА ДОЛИХЕНА И ДЕА СИРИЈЕ ИЗ ГЛАМИЈЕ I

Кључне речи – Дунавски лимес, Деа Сирија, Јупитер Долихен, свештенство, светилишта

Током археолошких ископавања на локалитету Гламија – Ртково 1982. године пронађен је у југозападном углу зида римске фортификације, као спелија, вотивни споменик посвећен божанствима Јупитеру Долихену и Деа Сирији. Дедикант споменика је извесни Јулијус Аполинарис, свештеник култа божанског пара, чије име *Айолинарис* имплицира његово оријентално порекло, али представља и често име поштовалаца култа Јупитера Долихена, вероватно изведено из имена бога Аполона који је и епиграфски и скулптурално потврђен као члан Долихенове божанске заједнице.

Посвете Јупитеру Долихену и Деа Сирији изузетно су ретке. Осим споменика из Гламије, позната су још само два споменика са територије целог Римског царства на којима се изражава пошта божанском пару. Први споменик је пронађен у Апулumu и посвећен је Јупитеру Долихену и сиријској богињи, уз чије име стоји и име картагинске врховне богиње Целестис, што не чуди ако се има у виду да су те две богиње често биле изједначаване услед истоветних иконографских и култних карактеристика. Други споменик потиче из Рима и посвећен је Јупитеру Долихену и Јунони Долихени асиријској, где епитет „асиријска” заправо представља архаичан термин истога значења као „сиријска”.

Удруживање Јупитера Долихена са Деа Сиријом засновано је заправо на старијем моделу божанског пара локалног бога Долихе, Хадада и сиријске богиње Атаргатис, чији се култни центар налазио у Хијераполису. Откриће вотивне стеле са представом пара најзначајнијих сиријских божанстава у светилишту бога Јупитера Долихена, на локалитету Дулак Баба Тепеси у Долихи 2007. године, довело је до сазнања о непрекидном култном континуитету божанстава од периода гвозденог доба па све до периода римске доминације. Тада локални бог Долихе бива синкретизован са врховним римским богом Јупитером у обличју Јупитера Долихена, а локална богиња Долихе, сродна богињи Атаргатис, бива поистовећена са врховном римском богињом Јуноном у лику Јуноне Долихене.

Будући да је споменик из Гламије посветио свештеник култова Јупитера Долихена и Деа Сирије, отвара се питање о присуству и улози сиријског свештенства на простору дунавског лимеса провинције Горње Мезије и римских провинција централног Балкана. За разлику од култа Деа Сирије, који је потврђен још само на територији Скупа, дедикације Јупитеру Долихену познате су од стране још неколико све-

штеника, и то са локалитета као што су Арчар (*Ratiaria*), Видин, Кличевац поред Виминацијума (*Viminacium*) и Караташ (*Diana*). Поред војске, трговаца, робова и ослобођеника који су представљали главне носиоце оријенталних култова, сиријски свештеници су свакако били присутни у центрима где су култови сиријских божанстава потврђени и где су постојали њихови војни и цивилни поштоваоци, а који су били активни учесници у свечаним процесијама и ритуалним банкетима одржаним у част божанстава.

Чињеница да је споменик из Гламије посветио свештеник који је био изузетан зналац теологије и ритуалних радњи божанстава у чију част се и подиже споменик, као и то да га посвећује богињи Деа Сирији, а не Јунони Долихени, паредри Јупитера Долихена, јасно имплицира не само његово оријентално порекло већ и конзервативност и приврженост традицији и обичајима отаџбине божанског пара. Откриће споменика унутар римске фортификације на локалитету Ртково – Гламија такође упућује на могућност да је свештеник Јулијус Аполинарис истовремено био у активној војној служби или да је пак био можда ветеран, што није био редак случај широм Римског царства, као што потврђују натписи са споменика Јупитера Долихена из Рима, Карнунтума итд.

С обзиром на то да је на локалитету Ртково – Гламија подигнуто мање утврђење, у којем нису потврђени други култови нити светилиште иједног божанства, као и да је вотивни споменик Јупитера Долихена и Деа Сирије пронађен као спелија у зиду старијег утврђења из 4. века, поставља се питање о могућности преношења споменика с неког другог оближњег локалитета на коме су култови сиријских божанстава били познати. У том случају би као претпостављени локалитети одакле је споменик могао бити пренесен дошли у обзир најпре Дробета и Караташ (*Diana*), где је потврђен не само култ сиријских божанстава већ и постојање светилишта са свештеницима који су бринули о свечаностима и ритуалним радњама извођеним у част Деа Сирије и Јупитера Долихена, чија популарност доживљава врхунац у периоду владавине династије Севера, да би већ током друге половине 3. века споменици посвећени божанствима постали ретки. Ипак за сада, у светлу тренутних сазнања, могућност преношења споменика Јулијуса Аполинариса са неког другог оближњег локалитета на локалитет Гламија остаје само у домену претпоставке.