

3.Gün / Third day

4TEMmuz 2000 SALI / 4 JULY 2000 TursDAY

I.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI / CHAIRMAN : Prof.Dr. Ramazan ÖZGAN

- 09.00 – 09.30 Dr. Taciker SİVAS
"New Phrygian Rock Monuments from the Eskişehir / Kütahya/
Afyonkarahisar Region and Their Cult Function"
- 09.30 – 10.00 Dr. Feriştah SOYKAL
"Götterverein auf ephesesischen Metterreliefs und seine
Verbreitung"
- 10.00 – 10.30 Garance Fiedler
" A Rock-Cut Phrygian Façade near Yalvaç"
- 10.30 – 10.45 ARA / Cafe-break
- 10.45 – 11.15 Prof.Dr. Ahmet TIRPAN
"Logina Heakate Kutsal Alanında Hıristiyanlık İzleri"
- 11.15 – 11.45 Solange BIAGI
"A propos des milliaires – dédicases en Asie Mineure"
- 11.45 – 12.15 TARTIŞMA – DISCUSSION
- 12.30 YEMEK – LUNCH

II.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI / CHAIRMAN : Prof.Dr. Hawva İŞİK

- 14.00 – 14.30 Prof. Constantin Zuckerman
"Men"
- 14.30 – 15.00 Doç. Dr. Mustafa ŞAHİN
"Silvanus: Roma'da Anadolu bir tanrı"
- 15.00 – 15.30 Yrd.Doç.Dr. Celal ŞİMŞEK
" Lycos Vadisi ve çevresindeki inançlar"
- 15.30 – 16.00 Dr. Maurice BYRNE
"The Frieze on the Temple of Augustus"
- 16.00 – 16.30 ARA / Cafe-break

III.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI / CHAIRMAN : Prof.Dr. Mehmet ÖZSAİT

- 16.30 – 17.00 Dr. Hakan MERT
"Antiocheia Erken Roma Mimari Bezemeleri 1: Stil ve İkonografi
İncelemeleri"
- 17.00 – 17.30 Yrd.Doç.Dr. Asuman BALDIRAN
"Kybele"
- 17.30 – 18.00 Erguen LAFU
"Religious Scenes and Representations on the Sagalassos Roman Relief
Ware Found in the Excavations at Seleuceia Sidera in Pisidia in 1993"
- 18.00 – 18.30 TARTIŞMA – DISCUSSION
- 20.30 YEMEK - Dinner



ACIŞ OTURUMU / OPENING CEREMONY

- 10.00 Saygı Duruşu ve İstiklâl Marşı
 10.05 Sinevizyon Gösterisi/Cinevision Demonstration
 10.15 Açılış Konuşmaları

I.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI/CHAIRMAN : Prof. Christine M.THOMAS

- 13.30 - 14.00 Prof.Dr.Hava İŞKAN
 "Yunanistan Örneğinde Kültür Turizmi"
 14.00 - 14.30 Dr. Liza BURR
 "An Archaeological View of Christian Pagan Contact in the Fifth Century Eastern Empire"
 14.30 - 15.00 Dr. Esin OZANSOY
 "Saint Lazarus and the Monastery at Galesion"
 15.00 - 15.30 Prof. Peter PILHOFER
 "Antioch and Philippi:Two Roman Colonies on Paul's Road to Spain"
 15.30 - 16.00 Prof. William TABBERNEE
 "In Pursuit of Pepouza: Searching for the Archaeological Remains of the Phrygian Center of Montanism"
 16.00 - 16.30 ARA / Cafe-break

II.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI /CHAIRMAN: Prof. Thomas DREW-BEAR

- 16.30 - 17.00 Prof. Christine M.THOMAS
 "Unmarked Places : Spatial Discourse in Early Christianity At Ephesos and Elsewhere"
 17.00 - 17.30 Prof. Mark WILSON
 "The First Christian Churches in Anatolia: Antioch or Cilicia ?"
 17.30 - 18.00 Susanne BERNDT - ERSÖZ
 "The cult Iconography of Phrygian Matar and Her Attendants"
 18.00 - 18.15 TARTIŞMA - DISCUSSION
 18.30 - 19.30 KOKTEYL
 20.30 YEMEK - Dinner

AZİZ PAVLOS PANELİ

Tarih : 02.07.2000 Saat: 14.30 Yer: B Salonu

- Panelistler : • Prof.Dr.Ekrem Sarıkçıoğlu
 "St.Paul'un ortaya koyduğu inanç sistemi ve karşıt görüşler"
 • Prof.Dr.Ömer Faruk Harman
 "St.Paul'un hayatı ve faaliyetleri"
 • Prof.Dr.Mehmet Aydın
 "St.Paul ve Hristiyanlığın doğuşu"

LOTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI / CHAIRMAN : Prof.Dr.Levent ZOROĞLU

- 09.00 - 09.30 Prof. Lynn ROLLER
 "The Religious Character of Central Anatolia: Continuity and Change"
 09.30 - 10.00 Prof.Dr. Haluk ABBASOĞLU
 "Perge"
 10.00 - 10.30 Dr. Maya VASSILEVA
 "The Great Mother Goddess in Phrygia and Thrace"
 10.30 - 10.45 ARA / Cafe-break
 10.45 - 11.15 Prof.Dr. Mehmet ÖZSAIT
 "Pisidia Antiocheia'sı çevresindeki yerleşmeler"
 11.15 - 11.45 TARTIŞMA - DISCUSSION
 12.00 YEMEK - LUNCH

II.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI / CHAIRMAN : Prof.Dr.Bayram KODAMAN

- 14.00 - 14.30 Dr. Christine Hoët-van CAUWENERGHE
 "Une epigramme d' Antioche de Pisidie"
 14.30 - 15.00 Prof. Thomas DREW-BEAR
 "A Statue of the Divine Claudius Erected By Carostanius Fronto"
 15.00 - 15.30 Prof.Dr. Levent ZOROĞLU
 "Aziz Paulus ve Tarsus"
 15.30 - 16.00 Dr. Guy LABARRE
 "Une salle de banquet pour Men et les Wolumnii d'Antioche de Pisidie"
 16.00 - 16.30 ARA / Cafe-break

III.OTURUM

OTURUM BAŞKANI / CHAIRMAN : Prof.Dr. Fahri İŞİK

- 16.30 - 17.00 Dr. Mehmet TAŞLALAN
 "The Journeys of St.Paul to Pisidian Antioch"
 17.00 - 17.30 Hasan DEDEOĞLU
 "Lydia'da Thealarnene Kültü"
 17.30 - 18.00 Sylvie LALAGUE - DULAC
 "Héphaistos dans le monnayage des cités grecque À l'Époque impériale: schéma artistique convenu ou Reflet de culles locaux?"
 18.00 - 18.30 TARTIŞMA - DISCUSSION
 20.30 YEMEK - Dinner

SATURNUS: An Eastern God in Rome

Dr. Mustafa Şahin*

Saturnus, the Roman god, who is the subject of this study, is not widely depicted in descriptive art. For this reason, he is not generally considered to be very important. With this in mind, the paper attempts at examining the cult and the origin of Saturnus with the help of iconography and the available specimens of descriptive art.

The function of Saturnus is various and complex. Sometimes an Etruscan noble god and sometimes an ordinary villager. Cicero strives to reveal the god's connection with astrology and time and Virgil attempts at revealing the connection only to astronomy¹. Yet, it seems to be agreed that Saturnus and his wife Ops were the protectors of harvest and farmers in the beginning².

In some ways Saturnus exhibits different characteristics. M. Crawford considers his being from Rome ahead of all his other characteristics³. G. Lugli indicates that the city treasure was protected in the cellar of the temple dedicated to Saturnus⁴. However, for Fausto Zevi the protection of the city treasure is considered to be more important than worship in the temple⁵.

Contrary to M. Crawford's claim, it can be said that the function of the god to protect the city treasure is not a Roman characteristic, but rather proves the fact that he is of Eastern origin. Architectural monuments in Rome were generally built in either Dor or Korinth orders. However, the temple of Saturnus in the Forum Romanum was built in Ionic order (fig. 1), the reason of which is that traditionally treasure buildings were only built in sacred areas and only in Ionic order, as is the case with the sanctuaries in Delphi and Olympia. This means that this tradition, which is thought to be Roman by M. Crawford, actually comes from the culture of the East where the sun rises from.

In Italy, Saturnus, as a protector of harvesting, is the continuation of Kronos, who is not well known, because of his not being among the twelve great gods. Scholars virtually agree on this point. The continuity exposes a deity who is both Hellenic and Latin type of god. Another common feature of these two gods is the similar festivals which are organized in their names: Kronia in Athens and Saturnalia in Rome⁶.

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The abbreviations used in the footnotes are taken from the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 611-628.

Akurgal	E. Akurgal, <i>Spaethethitische Bildkunst</i> (1949).
Grimal	P. Grimal, <i>Mitoloji Sözlüğü. Greek and Rome</i> Translated by S. Tamgüç (1997).
Nilsson	M. P. Nilsson, „The Sickle of Kronos“, <i>BSA</i> 46, 1951.
Orthmann	W. Orthmann, <i>Untersuchungen zur spathethitischen Kunst</i> (1971).
Simon	E. Simon, <i>Die Götter der Römer</i> (1990).

¹ Vergil, *Aeneis* 6, 792 pp.; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (1962), 73 pp.

² E. Hamilton, *Mitologya*, translated by Ü. Tamer (1983), 31. Grimal, 576 see Ops.

³ M. Crawford, *RRC*, 719.

⁴ G. Lugli, *Monumenti minori del Foro Romano* (1947), 29 pp.

⁵ F. Zevi, *Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica* 15, 1987, 122.

⁶ Simon, 193.

Saturnus goes to Italy as he is invited by Janus⁷, who was migrated there from the East, and settles in the area of Capitol where Rome would be established later. There, he sets up a village called Saturnalia, and teaches cultivation of the soil to the people and shows them how to prune the vines. For this reason the finding and the widespread of agriculture are related to him. The god is usually depicted with a sickle or a pruning knife. Therefore, a sickle at his side is an attribute of Saturnus.

Hesidos mentions a legend concerning different races that follow each other: In the beginning there was a golden race. This was at the time of Kronos' domination of the sky. At that time people lived carefree, without grief and misery just like gods. They did not know what ageing was, they were continually youthful and spent their time at feasts and festivals. Then, when the time of death came they fell into a sweet sleep. They were not bound by laws of labor. All the goods automatically belonged to them. The soil itself produced products in abundance and they lived in their arable fields in luxury. The gradual annihilation of this race began with the start of the domination of Zeus. Subsequently, the most brilliant period in human annals was said to have been a golden age (See Theogonia, 106 pp.).

A similar golden age was also relevant for Rome were Saturnus was identified with Kronos. This brilliant period prevailed during the domination of the god in Italy which was known as Ausonia. Gods and mortals lived together during this golden age. Gates had not yet been invented in those years as the people did not own any stealhable goods. For this reason there was not any theft. The people simply nourished themselves with vegetables and fruits. As nobody had any notion of killing, the race developed and Saturnus instructed the people in cultivating the soil and gave them sickles⁸. Thus, various negative events started to take place in the world such as labor, work, misery and disaster. Consequently the golden age was over.

As a reminder of those brilliant days feasts known as Saturnalia were held in Rome by later generations on the 17th of December every year⁹. In these feasts the feet of the cult statue of Saturnus were bound and hierarchical order of social classes was reversed. In this way, slaves gave commands to their masters and the masters served them at tables¹⁰. The center for these feasts was the temple of Saturnus, which was found in Forum Romanum¹¹.

An embossed design etched on the surface of a marble candlestick from the age of Augustus which emphasizes the occurrence of the feast in December is worth noting. (fig. 2)¹². The design depicts Saturnus sitting calmly on Centaur. Centaur holds a captured animal in the left hand and a weapon in the right as if to indicate his affinity with hunting. The god has his right hand on his head in a thoughtful manner. He may be thinking about the golden age when everything was so much better. He is holding a scepter of Jupiter in his left hand which represents power and there is an eagle next to him. The dates of these feasts, which were in honor of the god are emphasized by the Centaur. As it is known, Centaur represents the month of the feasts, December, in astrology. The figure of the crab Sol-Apollo depicted on the

⁷ Grimal, 312 pp. see Janus.

⁸ Grimal, 60 see Golden Age

⁹ RE II A 1 (1921), 201 pp. see Saturnalia (M.P. Nilsson).

¹⁰ Also see for Saturnus: Servius Vergilius, Komanteri I (1881-1902), 235 pp.; H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt* (1970), 88 pp.; F. Graf, *Gnomon* 51, 1979, 214.

¹¹ Simon, 193 pp. figs. 248-249.

¹² Simon, 197 fig. 254.

other side of the relief describing the month of July, also proves the fact that the Centaur was intentional¹³. Centaurs were warriors. For this reason they were generally portrayed in the shape of a horseman. However, here the anatomical features of the legs and the tails of the figure imply a donkey instead of a horse. Centaur was portrayed in the shape of a donkey not a horse because of the god's desire for peace (Vergilius, Aeneis 3, 537 pp.)¹⁴.

The cult statue that was found in the temple of Saturnus has not survived to the present day. According to archeological data it is possible to mention the existence of two separate cult statues. The first one had been used until the late republic. In this one the head of Saturnus is uncovered. It can also be observed on the coins of the republican era (fig 3)¹⁵. The god who is pictured as bearded and without head cover, looks to the right. There is a sickle or a *harpe* as some claim it to be behind his head¹⁶. The *harpe* represents not only the device which was used to castrate his father, but also represents the weapon that was used to cut Perseus and Medusa's heads off. In other words, it represents the spilling of blood. For this reason Nilsson thinks this tool is a sickle used to collect crops from the arable fields by the people¹⁷. In this way it must be intended to show the relationship between the god and agriculture. A similar result can be derived from the description on a Macedonian bowl from Hellenistic period (fig. 4)¹⁸. On this bowl Kronos is naked and is sitting on some rocks. He is clearly holding a sickle in his right hand. Another important characteristic of this bowl is that the god's head is uncovered as on the one found in Rome. A Cilicia coin from the classical period also indicates that the god has an uncovered head¹⁹. Vase paintings also depict Kronos bare-headed (fig. 5)²⁰. Therefore, the god in the first type can not be considered to be of Roman origin.

Julius Caesar who sacked the temple of Saturnus is the turning point in the god's iconography. After the sacking, again with the order of the dictator, the construction of a new temple had started and the expense of construction had been paid by an important ally of Octavius, L. Munatius Plancus²¹. Then a new cult statue was erected for the newly-built temple. The written sources and archeological data on this statue give valuable clues²². A bronze figurine from the early imperial era can be taken as an example (fig. 6). The god's covered head by the coat's end is the most important observable difference of the new statue. The God is raising his *chimation* over his head with his left hand. It must have been intended to emphasize power with this posture. It is said that his coat was purple²³. The upper half of his naked body is covered with ivory. The right leg is over the left leg. This must be to hide the bound leg. The side of the *chimation* forms a belt over his knees and the ends trail down between his legs. In the creation of the figurine the style of the cult statue of Jupiter in the Capitol must have been considered²⁴. As it is understood from the surviving piece, he continues to hold a sickle in his right hand. It is possible to further increase the evidence indicating the use of the sickle as an attribute in the new cult statue. For example, on the surfaces of a marble altar from the middle of the first century of the late Nero age, the god is

¹³ Simon, 31 fig. 27.

¹⁴ Simon, 199.

¹⁵ Simon, 195 fig. 250.

¹⁶ Simon, 194.

¹⁷ Nilsson, 122 pp.

¹⁸ LIMC VI, 1992 144 no. 4.

¹⁹ P.R. Franke-M. Hirmer, Die griechische Münze (1972), 140 no. 667 pl. 193.

²⁰ LIMC VI 1992, 145 no. 21 pl. 65.

²¹ E. Simon, Augustus. Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende (1986), 242.

²² E. Simon, op.cit., 92 pp.

²³ Simon, 196.

²⁴ B.H. Krause, „Jupiter Optimus Maximus Saturnus“. TrWPr 5, 1983, 12 pp.; Simon, 196.

described with covered head and a sickle (fig 7)²⁵. On a wall fresco from Pompey²⁶ dated 4th style, it is possible to see the pictured god with a cover over his head. This time he is apparently holding a sickle in his hand.

Hesiod mentions in *Theogonia*²⁷ the intrigues of the gods. After defeating Uranus, Kronos swallows his own babies to secure the future of his newly-usurped sovereignty. Just as Gaia, Rhea becomes sorry for the children swallowed by her husband. A marble pedestal from the Hadrian era is important in that it shows this story was taken from Greek religion to be used in Rome (fig. 8)²⁸. Saturnus and Cybel are on the pedestal. They symbolise Kronos and Rhea. Mother Earth is depicted on this pedestal giving her child to Saturnus who swallows it because he does not wish to lose his sovereignty. The swaddling clothes are tightly wrapped to indicate that there is no baby inside. The way it is depicted is the implication of the fact that she did not give her last child, Jupiter, to Saturnus, and so instead of the baby she wrapped up a stone. A similar story can be seen in the Kronos Myths which proceeded the end of the domination of Saturnus.

As it can be understood from the Pedestal of the Hadrian period, Ops who appears to have been Saturnus' wife in the early days changes her identity when the influences from the east begin to be deeply felt. The same figure transformed into Cybel, who came to be a symbol of various characteristics such as abundance and reproduction, has been shown as Saturnus' wife. On the wall fresco from Pompey dated 4th style (fig. 9)²⁹, Saturnus is depicted sitting on a throne carved into a rock. Both arms are on the arms of the throne, and while his right hand is empty he holds a baton, the symbol of the kingdom, in his left. His *chimation* which does not cover the top part of his body is painted in light purple. The colour of the *chimation* and the way it is wrapped are reminiscent of the cult statues from the early Augustus period³⁰. A woman is pictured near the throne. The intention of showing the relationship between herself and Saturnus is achieved by the fact that her left hand is on his right. Also the veil in her hand is reminiscent of the sacred marriage. However, her plump and fleshy appearance and her mature age in no way reflects Juno's appearance. In Roman art she is shown as being youthful and slender³¹. Lions on the pilasters and a plump woman's figure in the background indicate that she is Cybel³². In this picture the start of the golden age, namely the marriage of Kronos and Rhea or Saturnus and Cybel is portrayed. Everything is started anew and the three naked figures in the foreground are witness to the new beginning³³.

With the help of the examples in *Theogonia*³⁴, the traces of Saturnus or Kronos can be followed in the Eastern Myths. In *Theogonia*, Gaia (the earth) appears from Chaos and gives birth to Uranus (the sky). In the following lines Kronos' courage in preventing the massacre of his own descendants is portrayed. Uranus exhibits the kind of courage Kronos had previously shown and shows the same tough manner as Kronos who defeated his father. In the end Zeus defeats his father, Kronos, and attains total domination.

²⁵ Simon, 196 fig. 252.

²⁶ LIMC VI, 1992, 144 no. 13 pl. 65.

²⁷ See Hesiodos, *Theogonia*, from line 126 onwards.

²⁸ Simon, 199 fig. 256.

²⁹ Simon, 198 pp. fig. 255.

³⁰ Simon, 13 fig. 3.

³¹ Simon, 13 fig. 3.

³² L. Curtius, *Festschrift für P. Clemen* (1926), 95 pp.

³³ Simon, 199.

³⁴ See footnote 27.

Kumarbi Mythology of Hittites which was found among the written tablets in Boğazköy shows that the stories of the generations of gods were originated in Anatolia³⁵. This mythology portrays the battles fought between these generations for the domination of the universe. It means that the legends created in the West about both Kronos and Saturnus can be compared with those of the Hittites³⁶. This leads us to the question if this mythical relationship with the East is also relevant for the iconography of gods.

As we have attempted to document above, one of the most important attributes of Saturnus is the sickle which is always present either in his hand or nearby. Up until this time there is no mention of any god carrying a sickle on any of the statues or reliefs in Eastern art, but if we scrutinise our study on the iconography of god Tarhundaš we see a very different story³⁷.

The place in which the sickle is first seen is Yazılıkaya's B chamber, the famous Hittite rock temple. Here there are twelve gods standing together side by side with tools in their hands. As these tools are bigger we may be mistaken in calling them '*sichelswert*'³⁸ or '*krummschwert*' in German³⁹. As these tools may be related to agriculture and not hunting or combat we could assume that they are a kind of sickle and therefore a relationship between the twelve gods and agriculture could be found⁴⁰.

The holiness of the sickle is proven quite clearly in the origins of Kudurru relief from Babylon which is dated as 11th century BC⁴¹. Here, among the attributes of the sky god such as the pedestal in the form of the body of an animal, the altar and the thunderbolts, a sickle with a birds head design on the handle is found. This shows the holiness of the sickle in a very clear way.

In this context a variety of examples can be given. An ivory relief which is a part of the throne decoration and dated as the first part of the 8th century BC was found in the North-western palace in Nimrud. Asshurnaširpal II is depicted on the relief in a belted ceremonial robe⁴². He

³⁵ The equivalence for Kumarbi, the Hurri God, is Kronos: H.G. Guterbock, *AJA* 52, 1948, 123. We do not mention it in detail as it will exceed the content of our subject. See H. Guterbock, *Kumarbi Mythen vom churritischen Kronos*, *Istanbuler Schriften* 16, 1946, 1 pp.; S. Alp, *Kumarbi Efsanesi*, *TTKY* 11 (1945), 1 pp.; A. Götze, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69, 1949, 178; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I* (1955), 486 no. 2.

³⁶ S. Eyüboğlu- A. Erhat, *Hesiodos Eseri ve Kaynakları* (1991), 200 pp.

³⁷ M. Şahin, „Neue Beobachtungen zum Felsrelief von İvriz/Konya. Nicht in den Krieg, sondern zur Ernte: Der Gott mit der Sichel“, 4th Iron-age Symposium – Mersin, *AnatSt* 49, 199, 165-176.

³⁸ K. Bittel et al, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (1975), 160 pl. 8.2.

³⁹ M. Cremer, „Der bewaffnete Dionysos“, *IstMitt* 38, 1988, 183.

⁴⁰ This time another sickle, on the same style but smaller, is seen in the hand of the woman pictured in the same monument in Chamber A: A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (1932), pl. 92; K. Bittel et al, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (1975), 141 pl. 22.3-4. These examples point out that the gods were described with sickles in the Hittite Art.

⁴¹ U. Seidl, *BaM* 4, 1968, 165 fig. 15 no. 82.

⁴² M.E.L. Mallowan, „The Excavations at Nimrud (1951)“, *Iraq* 14, 1952, 9 pl. 1; M.E.L. Mallowan-L.G. Davies, *Ivories in Assyrian Style. Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963) Fasc. II* (1970), 2 pp. pl. 1; M.E.L. Mallowan, *The Nimrud Ivories* (1978), 16 fig. 7. See for the similar ritual costumes: E.A.W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum. Reign of Ashurnasirpal* (1914), pl. 35; G. Contenau, *L'Art de L'Asie Occidentale Ancienne* (1928), pl. 33; T.A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (1970), 67 pl. 35.2-3; M.E.L. Mallowan-L.G. Davies, *Ivories of Assyrian Style. Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963) Fasc. II* (1970), 16.

is seen to be carrying a symbolic bowl used for libation with the finger tips of his right hand at a ceremony⁴³. He holds a bird-headed sickle in his right hand⁴⁴. The existence of another statue depicting the same king with a kind of sickle in his hand indicates that these examples will further increase in the future⁴⁵.

In Mallowan's view, the reason for the bird headed sickle in the king's hand in the Assyrian examples is that it is related to the harvest festivals in the Autumn. On the first day of the festival the king reaps the first grain of the harvest with his sacred sickle in god's name⁴⁶. The king having himself portrayed as joining the festival with the sacred sickle in his hand in god's name indicates that the sickle had been used as a sacred symbol in religious ceremonies. Symbols used in descriptive art were not chosen at random, because in religious ceremonies the king's attire and accessories had to be carefully selected according to the kind of festival celebrated⁴⁷. H. Th. Bossert does not mention it for gods, but it would not be wrong to think of this rule as suitable for the portrayal of gods as well.

In accordance with these conclusions it is time to take a fresh look especially at the two reliefs depicting the libation of Sulumeli, king of Malatya, in front of the god⁴⁸. In both examples the god has a sword at his waist and a number of thunderbolts in his up-raised left hand and he is holding an L shaped object in his right. The common view is that this is either a curved stick or a boomerang⁴⁹. It is possible to come across with other examples of such a curved stick of Assyrian origin on statues and reliefs⁵⁰. A relief⁵¹ and a sculpture⁵² from Tell Halaf and a relief⁵³ from Zincirli are just a couple of examples of this Eastern art. E. Akurgal maintains that

⁴³ See for similar examples: G. Contenau, *L'Art de L'Asie Occidentale Ancienne* (1928), pl. 33; T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (1970), pl. 34.1.

⁴⁴ See for sickle: M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 12 (1928), 71 pp. see Sichel. See for the similar form of sickle used in the daily life: W. M. F. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (1917), pl. 54 no. 11. Hrouda described this kind of sickle as curved sword (*Krummschwert*). However, he had no description where and how this type of a sword was used: B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (1965), pl. 22. During the Assyrian age, silver and gold were not only the merchandise but also the origin of money and sickle also existed among them and was used as money in exchange: A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients. Kleinasien. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 3.1.3.3.1 (1957), 78 n. 15.

⁴⁵ B. Hrouda, *Der alte Orient. Geschichte und Kultur des alten Vorderasiens* (1991), 326.

⁴⁶ M. E. L. Mallowan, *Iraq* 14, 1952, 9; M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (1966), 58.

⁴⁷ „Der König hat sich, wie wir im weiteren Verlauf unserer Untersuchungen noch deutlicher sehen werden, zu jedem Kultakt ein besonderes Kostüm, zu der auch die Haar- und Barttracht passen musste, ausgewählt“. H. Th. Bossert, *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske* (1959), 6. Also see S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (1983), 192 pp. The King is told here in details how he had prepared for the KILAM ceremony „[Der König] legt [den goldenen Ohring] an. Die schwarzen Schuhe zieht er sich an...“. Also as an example at the „Nuntariyashas Ceremony“: O. R. Gurney, *Some aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977), 31 no. 4. God Telepinu is in the shape of a farmer: H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974), 43. The king, king and queen or less frequently the son of the king were the leading persons of the ceremony: H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wiesbaden) 13, 1971, 11 Rs. IV.

⁴⁸ L. Delaporte, *Malatya I* (1940), pls. 20.1 and 24; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), fig. 778; A. Vanel, *L'Iconographie du Dieu de L'Orage* (1965), 181 no. 63; Orthmann, figs. 40.b and 41 pp.; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1976), figs. 104 the second on top and 105 the top one.

⁴⁹ See Akurgal, 96; Orthmann, 238 pp. Cremer thinks that this tool is an ax: M. Cremer, „Des bewaffnete Dionysos“, *IstMitt* 38, 1988, 183.

⁵⁰ See L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylinders. Musée du Louvre* (1920), pl. 93 no. 16; W. Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien* (1927), 10 fig. 8; G. Contenau, *L'Art de L'Asie Occidentale Ancienne* (1928), pl. 38.

⁵¹ Orthmann, *Tell Halaf* no. Ba/5 pl. 12.e.

⁵² Orthmann, *Tell Halaf* no. Bc/4 pl. 13.a.

⁵³ G. Contenau, *L'Art de L'Asie Occidentale Ancienne* (1928), pl. 38.

the tool which he thought to be a curled stick has a resemblance to lion-headed creatures; and so, he claims that this tool could be used as a weapon by 'hunting demons'⁵⁴. Yet, including the example from Malatya which is used in Akurgal's own study, the club type weapons resemble a simple mace as they thicken towards the end. They have nothing to do with the L shape form held by the god⁵⁵. Therefore, the two types of tool should be evaluated separately. In the Malatya example the carrying of a curved stick or a boomerang seems to be pointless as it would be carried in a hunting or countryside situation⁵⁶. Considering all this, the tool held up in the right hand of the god in the Malatya relief should be thought of as a sickle than a weapon⁵⁷. The god joins in the harvest season in order to hand this duty of cutting the first crop over to the king. The god must have come down to earth for this reason. This kind of reasoning expresses the god as providing abundance through his relationship with agriculture⁵⁸.

The sickle which was very rarely found in Eastern art later passed over to the West. At first the sickle continued its existence with Kronos and then with Saturnus and this is not coincidental as Kronos and Saturnus were both harvest gods⁵⁹. The harvest festivals were arranged in their names. For this reason the sickle was used to represent the harvest god⁶⁰.

Consequently, it would not be mistaken to think of the transferring of the Kumarbi myths into Western beliefs is like bringing the god over there to life in the personage of Kronos. While still being an Eastern motif⁶¹ the sickle coming from the same source represented the personality of Kronos and Saturnus⁶². The god Saturnus who created terror in the early period by eating his own children had gone through an important change especially in the imperial period and protected the state treasury during the course of time and the harvest became a symbol of peace. Festivals annually held in December which reversed the hierarchical order of social classes continued throughout the Christian period for many years. As it has reserved a place in the harvest depictions in churches, it is quite remarkable to see the sickle as being a link in the chain of cultures over thousands of years.

⁵⁴ Akurgal, 96 n. 49-50.

⁵⁵ See F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli III. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* 13 (1902), 224 pp. figs. 126, 128; M. A. C. L. Woolley- T. E. Lawrence, *Carchemish I* (1914), pl. B14b; M. F. von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf* (1931), pl. 33.a; A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (1932), pl. 16; Akurgal, 24.a.

⁵⁶ For the God being illustrated as a hunter with a curved club and a bird in his left hand see O. W. Muscarella, in *Studies in Honor of N. Özgüç* (1993), 435 pp. pl. 75.

⁵⁷ For the similar sickles see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne VI* (1978), pl. 12.1.

⁵⁸ For the examples of real curved clubs see G. Contenau, *L'Art de L'Asie Occidentale Ancienne* (1928), pl. 38; A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf III* (1955), pls. 19-20; R. Mayer-Opificius, *Hethitische Kunstdenkmäler des 13. Jhr.v.Chr.* in *Studies in Honor of T. Özgüç* (1989), 357 pp. pls. 66-67.

⁵⁹ *RE XI.2* (1922), 1987 pp. see Kronos; Nilsson, 121.

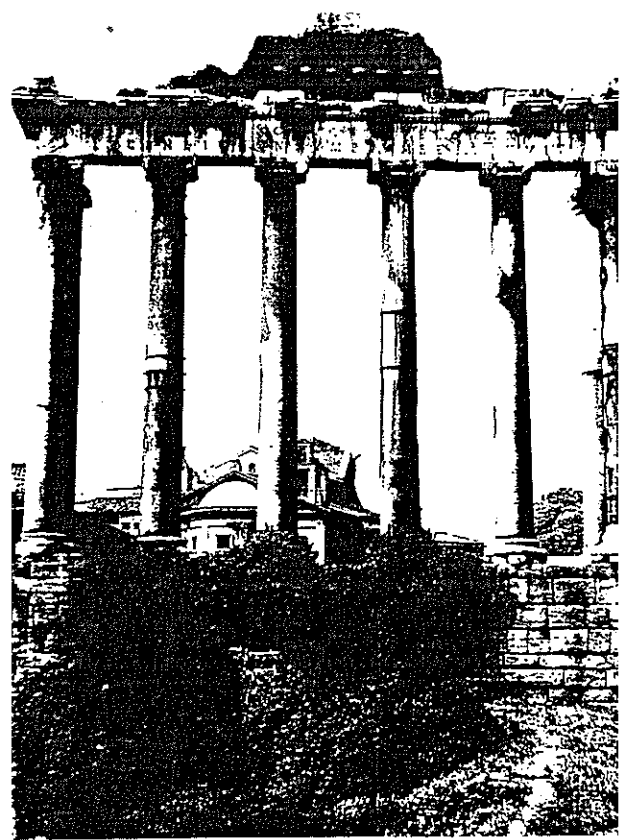
⁶⁰ Nilsson, 124.

⁶¹ W. Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde* (1942), 69; Nilsson, 121.

⁶² As the symbol of Kronos see Nilsson, 121-124; LIMC VI, 1992, see Kronos 142 pp. pls. 64 pp.

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Res. 1



Res. 2



Res. 3



Res. 4



Res. 5



Res. 6





Res-3