

**THE GODDESS DIANA IN ROMAN SPAIN.
TOWARDS A NEW INTERPRETATION**



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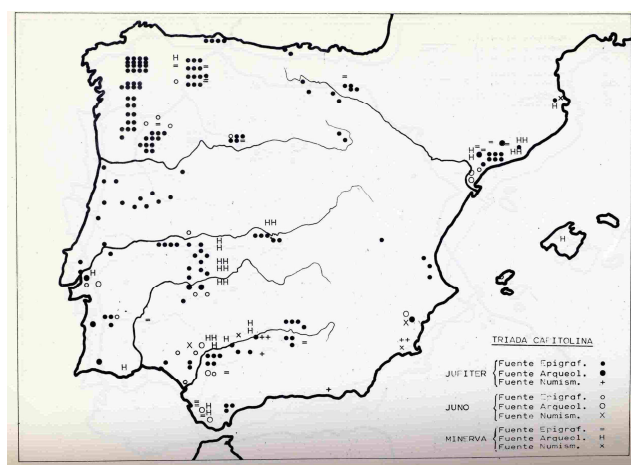
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The study of Diana's Goddess cult in Hispania, as the all of every roman divinities in our Península was very difficult because this cult, according to the fonts, was inverted in relation of the logic of our investigation(¹).

So, when I study the Jupiter's cult, and the Capitoline Triade we finds this inversion:

-Much romanization- less evidences of romans cults(Map n° 1)



Mapa n° 1. Cult of Capitoline Triade in Hispania , sg.Vázquez Hoys 1974(1982)

¹ See VAZQUEZ HOYS, A.M^a: *Diana en la religiosidad hispanorromana.I (Las diferentes diosas)*. Madrid, UNED, 1995, 1^a edición: id.: *Diana en la religiosidad hispanorromana II. Diana de Segóbriga*. Madrid, UNED, 1999. For the roman religion in Spain cfr. *La religión romana en Hispania. Fuentes epigráficas, arqueológicas y numismáticas*. Tesis Doctoral. Madrid, Noviembre 1974 (Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad Complutense) (2 tomos).. Madrid 1982. Colección Tesis Doctorales. Universidad Complutense, Madrid, n° 114/82. Depósito legal M-18177-1982.; id. 'La Religión romana en Hispania', *Historia Universal de España y América*. Ed. Rialp. Madrid, 1987, pp. 405-445 y 458-460. II; id. 'La religión romana en Hispania. Análisis estadístico I', en *Hispania Antiqua* VII, Valladolid 1977, pp. 4-45; id.: 1979 'La religión romana en Hispania. Análisis estadístico II', en *Hispania Antiqua* IX, Valladolid 1979, pp. 57-125; id.: 'La serpiente en el mundo antiguo I. La serpiente en las religiones mediterráneas', en *Boletín de la Asociación de Amigos de la Arqueología* n° 14, Dic. 1981, pp. 33-39; id.: 'Consideraciones estadísticas sobre la Religión Romana en Hispania', *Simposio sobre la Religión romana en Hispania*. Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura 1981, pp. 165-176; id. 'Divinidades celestes en la Hispania Romana', en *Universidad y Sociedad* 3, 1981, pp. 171-200; id. 'Cultos y ritos de fecundidad y su simbología: Las aguas en la Hispania romana', en *Universidad y Sociedad* 1, Madrid, pp. 167-184 etc.

and we arrive to the conclusion that the origin of these inversion can be the persistence of phoenician and oriental cults, as resistance against the romanisation , because when Roma arrive, much of Iberian territory was carthaginian. And, as we know, Carthage was an oriental country, now in the economical and cultural wave of Hellenism.

Also, looking the complet evidences relation of roman cults, we cant see that the goddess Diana was the firts femenine divinitie, after Jupiter, in hispanorroman Pantheon, when we wait see in this place Junon or Minerva, the female divinities of Capitoline Triade(²) (Fig. 2-6).

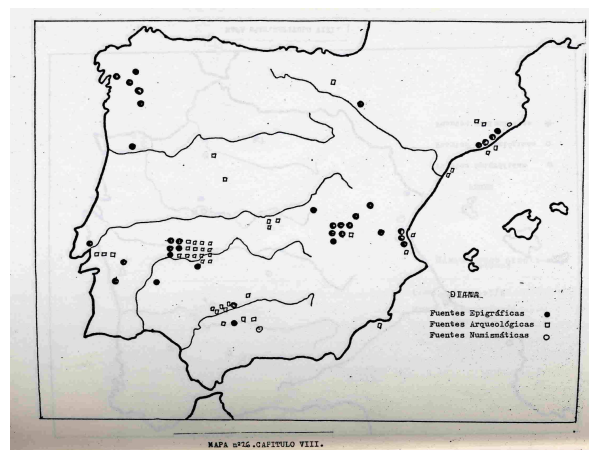


Fig.2.Cult of Diana in Hispania, sg.Vázquez Hoys 1974(1982), mapa n°26 cap.VIII

² **Diana II**, p. 259, fig. 130 y p. 223, cit. the article of VAZQUEZ HOYS, A.M^a: "El culto de Júpiter en Hispania", *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica* XVIII, 1983, pp. 83- 205.

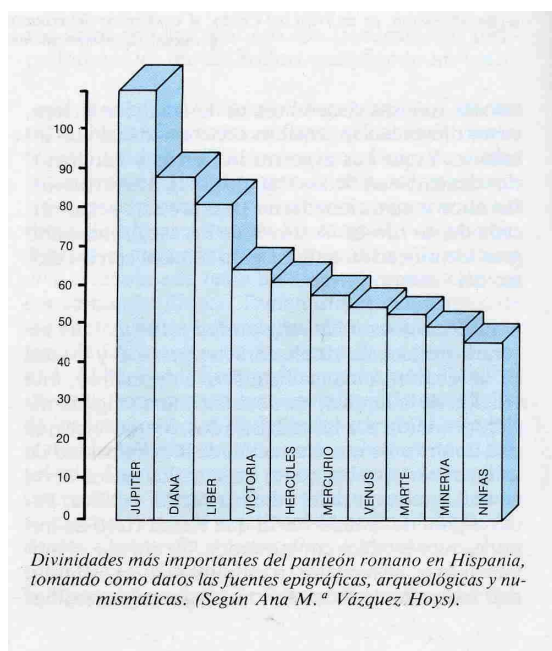


Figura 5. First Roman deities in Spain , Vázquez Hoys 1987

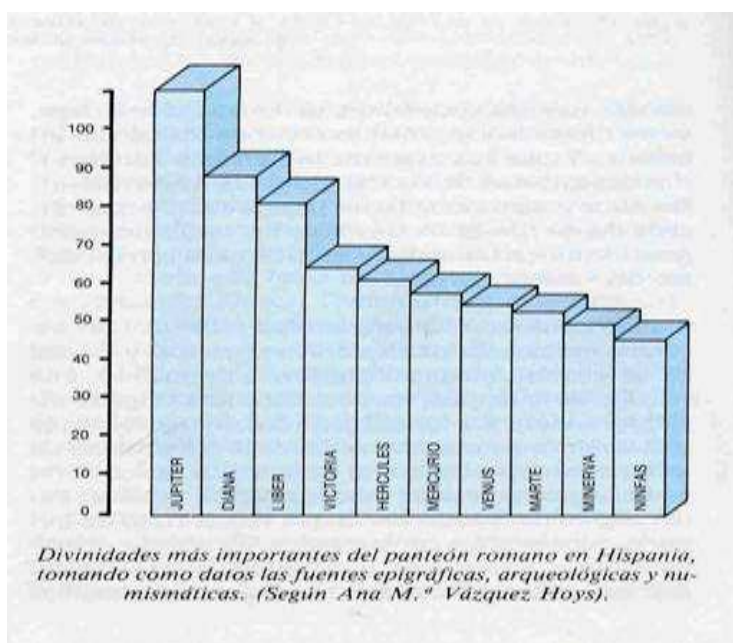


Fig.6. First Roman Deities in Spain in epigraphie..Vázquez Hoys 1987

I. The fonts and differentes ambitos of Diana´s cult in Hispania

Our information about Diana´s hispanic cult was emplaced , geographically, around tree areas:

A. In Norwest of Tarraconensis, near Legio VII Gemina (Ac. León), wen we know , between others, the northafrican's Tullius Maximu's ephitaph, Imperator's Legatus dedicated to DIANA VIRGO TRIFORMIS (**Fig. 7**)



Fig. 6a. Dedicación a Diana hecha por Q. Tulio Máximo, León, Museo de San Marcos, nº 28.20. *CIL* II 2660, 4a. Obsérvese el creciente lunar con las puntas hacia arriba en el frontón.



Fig. 6b. La misma dedicación vista por detrás, 4 b.



Fig. 6c. Dedicación de Q. Tulio Máximo, lateral izquierdo, 4 c.



Fig. 6d. Dedicación de Q. Tulio Máximo, lateral derecho, 4 d.

Fig.7. Dedication of Tullio Maximo, *Legatus Augusti Propraetore provinciae Thraciae* in 162 B.C. to Diana. *CIL* II 2660 a-d. ,Vázquez Hoys, 1995, p.115

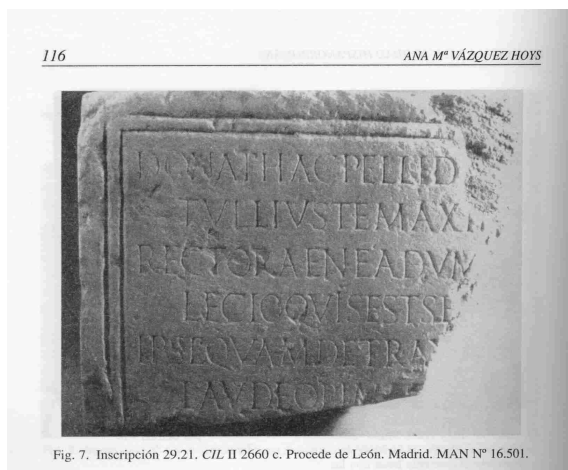


Fig. 7. Inscripción 29.21. *CIL* II 2660 c. Procede de León. Madrid. MAN N° 16.501.

Fig.7.bis. The second inscription of Tulio Maximo. Museo Arqueologico Nacional. *CIL* II 2660 c. Madrid. Vázquez Hoys 1995, p.116, n° 29.21. see study in pages 67-68. Image in p.116

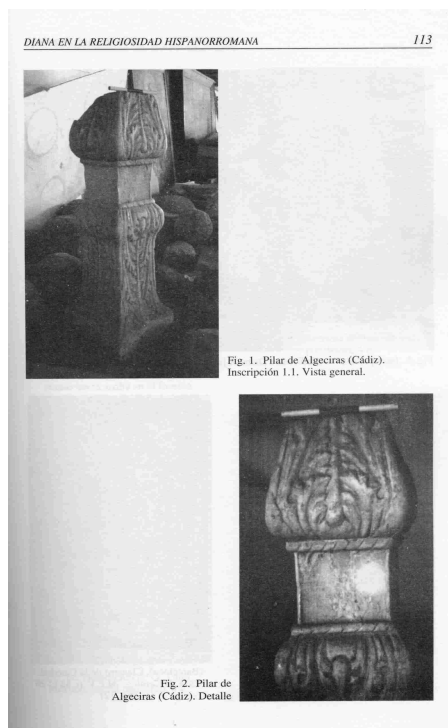


Fig. 2. Pilar de Algeciras (Cádiz). Detalle

Fig. 8. Pedestal of Algeciras dedicated to Diana with inscription Vázquez Hoys 1995, p.113

B. In Sudwest, in Lusitania and Betica, where we know the beautiful pedestal of Algeciras Archaeological Museum(**Fig.8**),

between other important inscriptions, too different.

In this zone we know other important find: The Dian's sculpture of Italica (**Fig.9**), today in the Archaeological Museum of Sevilla.



Fig.9. Diana of Itálica, Sevilla

C. The third zone of cult of Diana is placed in the center of Peninsula, extended to Cataluña and the mediterranean zone. The mayor area of cult, según the finds, was in Segóbriga, one roman endroit, before celtiberical(**Fig.10-11-12**)

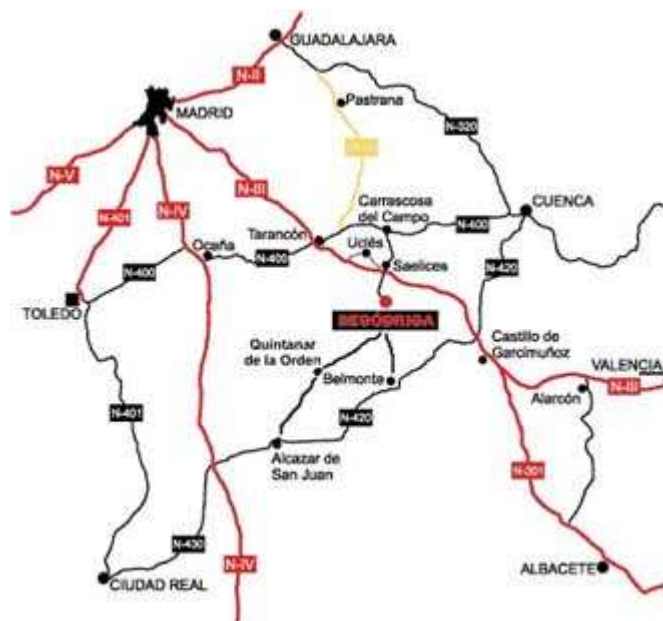


Fig.10-11. Situation of Segobriga



Fig.11. Segóbriga(Cuenca, Spain) .



Fig.12. Situation of Segobriga in Hispania, Castilla –La Mancha



Fig.13. Segobriga, Saelices, Cuenca, España

Near this town, the little delubrus of Diana is carved in the mountain,

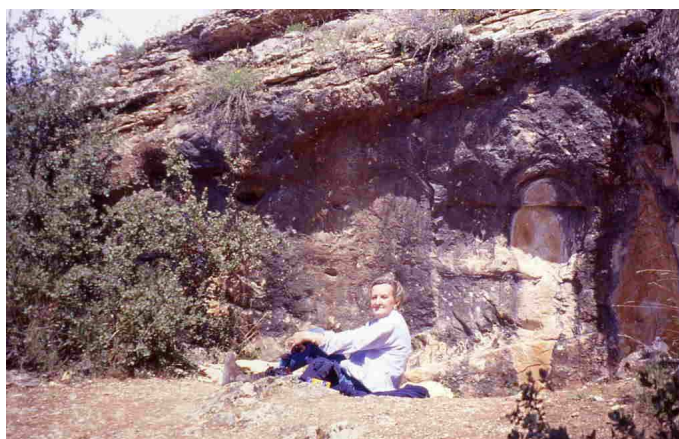


Fig.14. Dr.Vázquez Hoys in delubro of Diana, Segobriga, Saelices, Cuenca

in the route to Carthago Nova, near a river, in the "limit" of human habitated area, like other Artemis/Diana temples or cult places. **(Fig.13-15)** .



Grabado de J.A. Cornide (circa 1794) del santuario de Diana de Segobriga.

Fig.15. Delubro of Diana sg.Cornide



Fig.16. Delubro of Diana, Segobriga, Cuenca, España. Foto Vázquez Hoys



Fig.17. Delubro.Panels 3-4-5



Fig.18. Delubro of Diana ,Segobriga

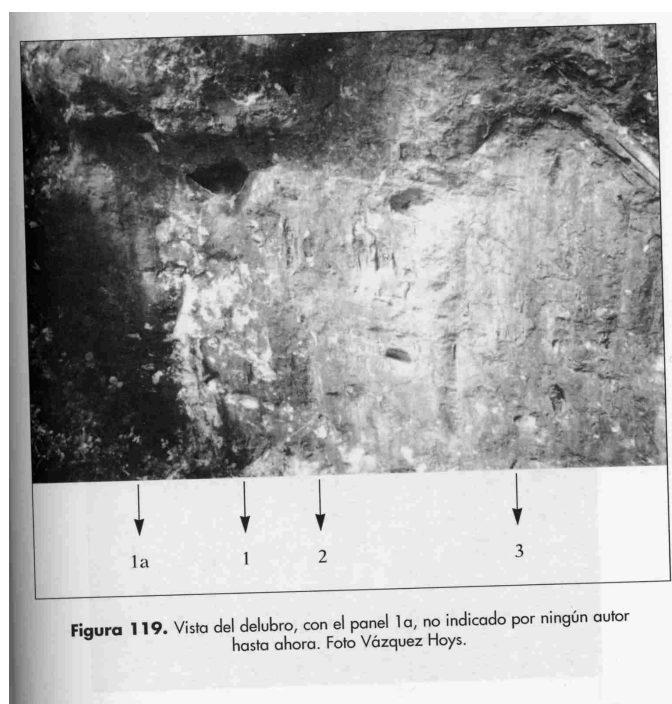


Figura 119. Vista del delubro, con el panel 1a, no indicado por ningún autor hasta ahora. Foto Vázquez Hoys.

Fig.19. Diferents panels of Delubro of Diana of Segobriga, Spain sg.Vázquez Hoys

III. The interpretation of *delubrus*

This little sanctuary or "*delubrus*", with some dedication to the Diana goddess,

CUADRO 7. Diversas lecturas de las inscripciones, según los diferentes autores antiguos (incluida una de Almagro Basch).

Autores	Panel primero	Panel segundo	Panel tercero	Panel cuarto	Panel quinto
1 Morales: Año 1574. Memorias, III, p. 229. Cano, I. A., p. 102.	DIANAE CA SEIA...AV AV...V.S.L. A.	ARTEMISAE POSTVNA	DIANAE QVINTIA MYCORILLA VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO	-	-
2 Hipsarte: Año 1586? Hist. de Toledo I, 5, 18. 2, 5, 48.	DIANAI CASEIA HAVA V-A	-	DIANAI OVINIA M. COCCLII VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO	-	-
3 Códice Valenciano: Anterior al año 1620. Fol. 21.	DIANAE CASEIA HAYCA V-A	-	DIANAE QVINTIA M. COCCLII VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO	-	-
4 Abinet: Año 1765 hebr. xlii, 355. Cano, I. A., p. 104	-	..AE AGRYM... ...AVERTE... ..NI. POSTV...S	-	LAESEMRYLCATI	
5 Cornide: Año 1790. Memorias, III, 1799, p. 174.	-	AE SACKVM I AAPE...ST NI. POSTVM...S	ESI	LAEISC	
6 Palomares y Fernández: Año 1790. Coinciden.	-	..VAE SACKVM SIBI ..TAARTE...ST ..NI. POSTVM...S	ESI	ACHSCATI	
7 Capistrano: Año 1790. Muskeo, año 1797, coincide con Capistrano.	-	VAE SACKVM LISN ITA ARTE VS-TE NI. POSTVM...S	-	I-AE C-IVLIVS IS BA S I	S E M T C S SEM RYLAE CATI
8 Quintero y Fita: Año 1889. Uché, pp. 59-62. BRAH, XV, p. 119.	JAEA-ARTE...STNI. POSTVM...S ..V S L.	DIANAE SACKVM LI A-ARTE...ST NI. POSTVM...S	EVS	JAEISS	NICE IT IVL CATI L
9 Hubner: Año 1869. CIL II, 3091, 3092.	DIANAE CASEIA HAYAV VEL H	-	DIANAE QVINTIA M. COCCLII VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO	-	-
10 Hubner: Año 1892. CIL II, 3074.	-	DIANAE SACKVM LI TAARTE VS-TE NI. POSTVM...S	EVS	DIANAE VIS S....	DIANAE SAC.... SACITE M LAE CATI f. C
11 Almagro, en marzo de 1975.	E V.S.L.H.	..JAE SACKVLLISER... ..TAARTE VS-TE ..NI. POSTVM...S	-	DIANAE NICE.L.LI.SE.V L.IVLIVS IS BA S I	DIANAE NICE SEM RYLAE CATI...F.C.

Fig.20. Latin inscriptions of Delubro of Diana, Segobriga Vazquez Hoys, 1999, p. 171

CUADRO 8. Lectura de las inscripciones por los diferentes autores y según Alföldy, 1985.

Autores	Panel primero	Panel segundo	Panel tercero	Panel cuarto	Panel quinto
1 Morales, 1573/1577 (Interpretación)	DIANAE CA SEIA...AV AV...V.S.L. A	ARTEMISAE POSTVNAE	DIANAE QVINTIA MYCORILLA VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO		
2 Hipsarte, en 1680 (Interpretación)	DIANAI MYNDEN CASEIA HAVA V-A		DIANAI MYN OVINIA M/-COCLII VALERI I SERVA EX VOTO		
3 Códice Valenciano, en 1620 (Interpretación)	DIANAE CASEIA HAYCA V-A		DIANAE QVINTIA M/-COCLII VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO		
4 Abinet, 1765 (Interpretación)		AE AGRYM AVERTE NI-POSTV		LAE	SEM RYL CATI
5 Palomares, 1790 (Interpretación)		W-SACKVM SIBI TAARTE...ST NI-POSTVM/RYV	E S	AC S B	H SE RYLA CATI
6 Capistrano, 1790 (Interpretación)		VE SACKVM LISN ITA ARTE VS-TE NI-POSTVM...S		I-AE C-IVLIVS IS BA S I	S NICE SEM RYLAE CATI
7 Cornide, 1799 (Interpretación)		E-SACKVM I AAPE ST NI-POSTVM S	E V S I	LAE LS	IVL CATI
8 Hubner, CIL II 3091-3093 (Letras I y 3 reconstruidas en literatura anterior)	DIANAE CASEIA... HAYAV... V S L H	Repetición de lecturas anteriores	DIANAE QVINTIA M/-COCLII VALERINI SERVA EX VOTO	Repetición de lecturas anteriores	Repetición de lecturas anteriores

(continúa en la página siguiente)

EL SANTUARIO DE DIANA (DELUBRO, SACELLVM Q LVCVS) 173

CUADRO 8. Lectura de las inscripciones por los diferentes autores
y según Alföldy, 1985 (continuación).

Autores	Panel primero	Panel segundo	Panel tercero	Panel cuarto	Panel quinto
9 de la Rada-Fita, 1889 (Interpretación. Subrayadas las letras que no se pueden leer)	DIANAE CASSIA AVIA// V S L M	DIANAE SACRVM LI// //A-A ^o TE//IS-T NI-POSTVMI V-S		////NAE// V/////IS S/////	NICE///// S/V///// IVL///// CATI-I//
10 Hibner, CIL II 5874 (Según Fita)		DIANAE SACRVM LI// ...TA-ARTE//VS-TE RNI-POSTVM//IS	 V 1 M-S	dianae VIS S...	dianae SAC// SALVE M LAB- CATTI f. c
11 Quintero, 1889/1913 (Interpretación)	IAE VSL	NE SACRVM LI// //A-APTE//IS-T NI-POSTVMI V-S		////NAE// V/////IS S/////	NICO///// SIV///// IVLA///// CATI-I//
12 Almagro, 1975 (Interpretación)	E V.S.L.M.	NE SACRVM-LIBER ITA ARTE VS-TE RNI-POSTVMIVSLI VS		DIANAE NICE T-LI ME V L IVL-TANVS IS BASVS IVL	DIANAE NICE SEM RVLAE-M CATI-P-C
13 Almagro, 1984 (Interpretación)	[DIANAE] /E / V.S.L.M.	[DIANAE SACRVM LIBER.../ ...ITA ARTEMIVS TE.../ ...RNI POSTVMIVS LI(bens) V. S.		DIANAE / NICE I.LI.ME.V / L(uetus) IVLI- ANVS ...IS / BASVS IV.L	DIANAE / NICE .../ SEM... / RVLAE.M.../ CAT.F(acien- dum) C(urauit)
14 Alföldy, 1985 a) Lectura	DIANAE CASSIA MA[R]GA[RIT]E V S L M	[DIA]NAE SACRVM-LIB TI [TVRN]IA-ARTE[MO]NIS-TIT [V]RNI-POSTVMI [LI]B V S	DIANAE QVINTIA M/-[---] VALERIANI (?) SERVA EX VOTO	D[IA]NAE FRVGIFE[R]IAE PTVL[L]IVS[PAR]IS LIB V S L M	[DIAN]AE NICE[PHORIS] (?) SEMP[RON ME] RVLAE-A[---] CATI-LIB V S]
b) Interpretación	Dianae Cassia Ma[r]ga[r]ic[e] u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) l(ietate) q(erito)	[Dian]ae sacrum lib(ens) Ti- [turn]ia arte[m]olis tit- [u]rni postumi l(i)b(erta) u(otum) s(oluit)	Dianae Quintia M(anii) [---] Valeriani (?) serva ex voto	D[i]anae Frugife[r]iae P. Tul[i]us [Par]is lib(ertus) u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) q(erito)	[Dian]ae Nice[phoris] (?) Semp[roniorum] Me- rulae, A[---], Cati l(i)b(erta) u(otum) s(oluit)]

Fig.21. Last interpretations of inscriptions of Delubro of Diana in Segobriga, Vázquez Hoys 1999, pp.171-173

can be interpreted in relation with different appreciations:

- The situation**, end of limits, where is worshipped Diana, similar to other sanctuaries of the Goddess, adored in the mountains, in the river, as fecundity goddess and in many places related with mental sickness, female diseases (hysteria) and other abdications (sea, land, forests, beasts, hunter, etc.).

- The problem of the different goddess and the Moon and astral symbols:** Luna, Hecate, Astarte,

- In relation between Hispanic Diana with Hercules and the economy in Ancient world.** This god was in Spain the heritier of phenician and oriental good Melkart, the "Harokel" (mercader), patrón of commerce.

- In relation with Venus-Astarte and prerromanic female deities**



Fig.22. Ritual spring, Segobriga, near Delubrus

III. These sanctuary can be also a place of female initiation, relationed with the bear, as I can see in the next stone-quarry, similar to the cultic place of Cenicientos, both (Segobriga and Cenicientos) in the borders of roman Province of Tarraconense o Brauron in Atica., relationed also with the bear.



Fig.23. Location of Cenicientos, near Madrid .

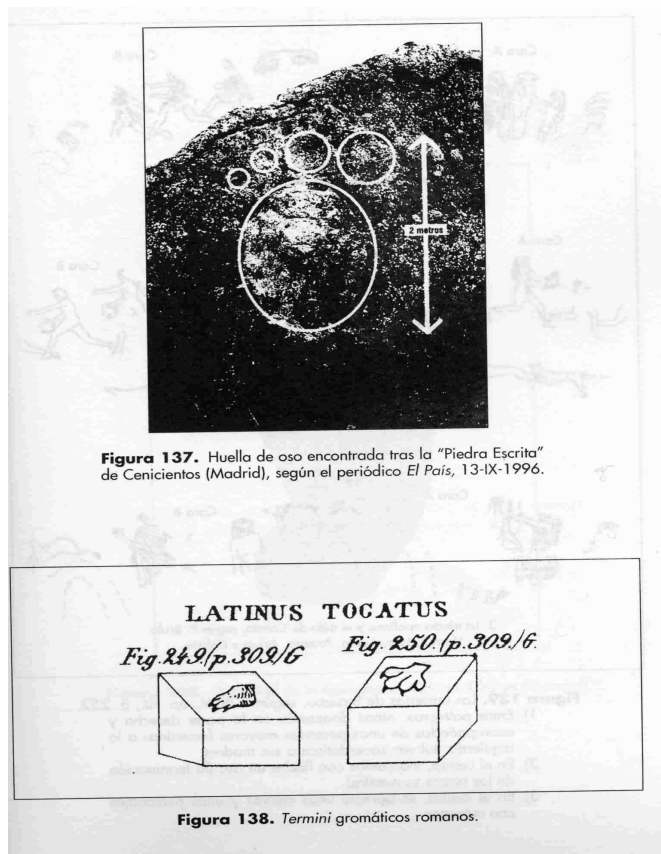


Fig.24. Bear's footstep in Cenicientos rock, Spain and in roman *gromatici termini*

IV. Coincidence between the Thracian military precedence of Tullius Maximus and the existence of rupestrian reliefs with Diana's images in Philippi (Macedone, near Thrace) .

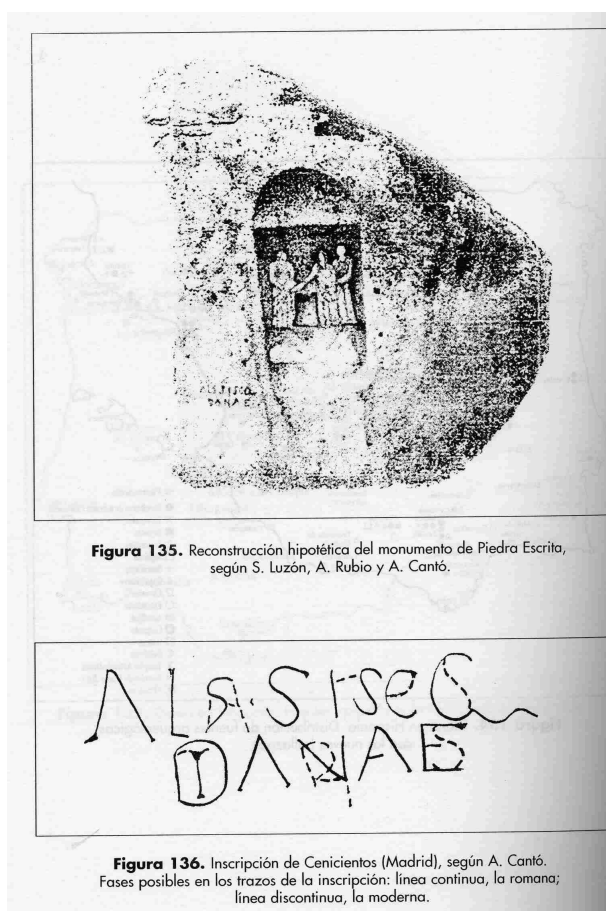


Fig.25. Inscription and relief of Cenicientos, Spain. Vazquez Hoys , 1999, figs.135-136.



Fig.26. Diana and his animals Delubro of Segobriga, Spain

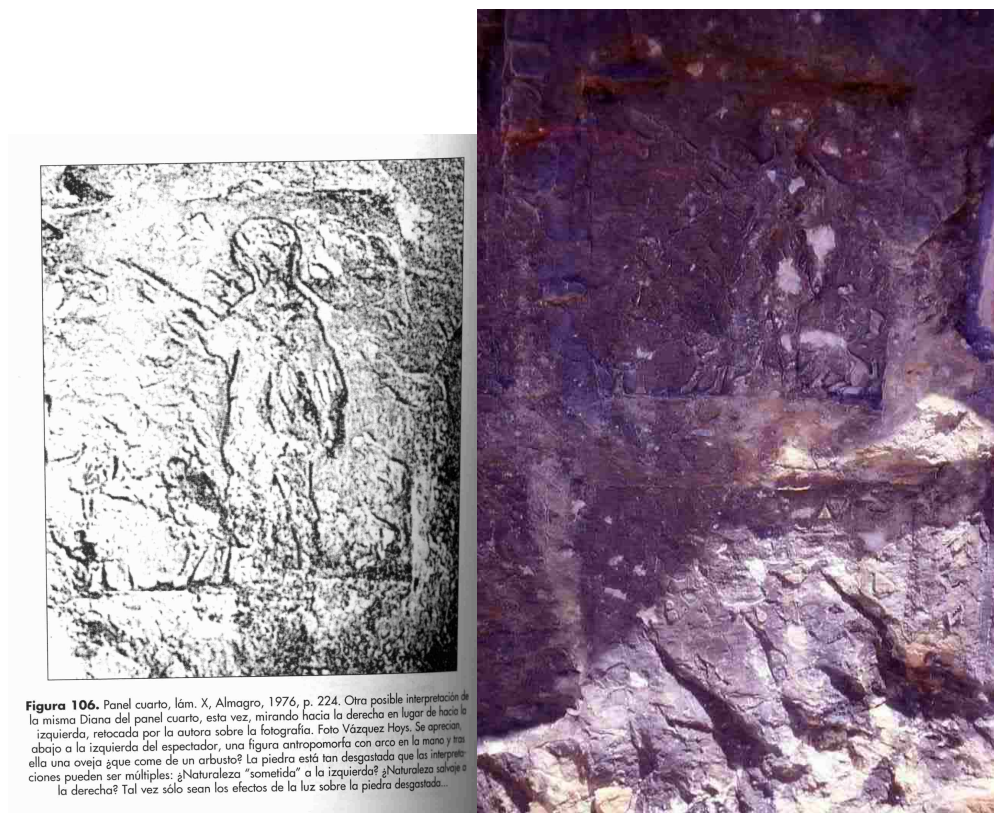


Fig.27. Possible figure of Diana of Segobriga,sg.Vázquez Hoys and the original panel of delubro and inscription



Fig.28. Brauron Sanctuary of Artemis, Ática.



Fig.29. Brauron Hill. Attica.

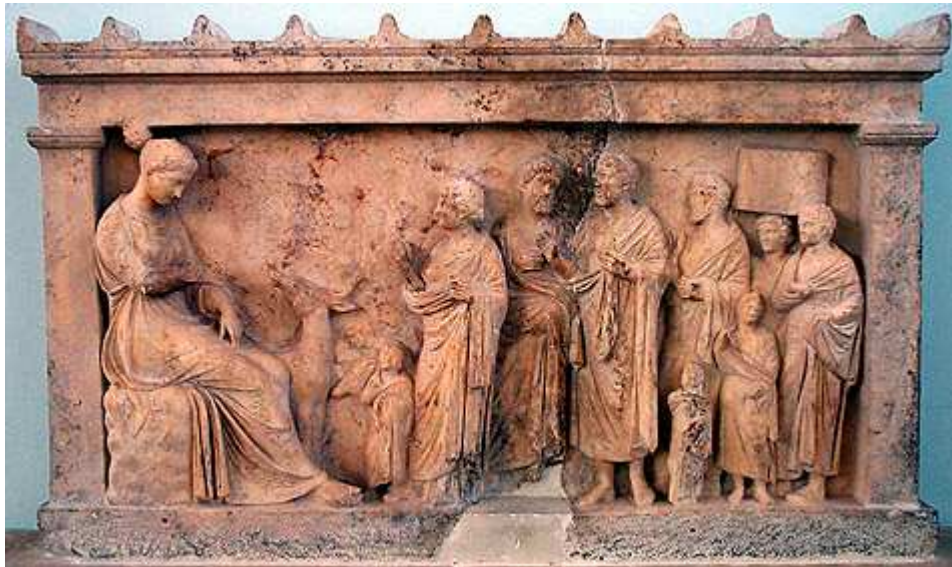


Fig.30.

Dedication to Artemis

Relief showing Artemis (and deer) at left. A group of worshippers approach from the right.

Bibliography

John M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, fig. 119.



Fig. 31. Votive offering to Artemis at Brauron, statue of a young *arktos* with a rabbit (sacred to Aphrodite)



Fig. 32. Remains of pottery cups from Brauron portraying with dancing *arktoi*, (slide) *footraces*, and a (slide) complete cup probably given as a souvenir of the occasion

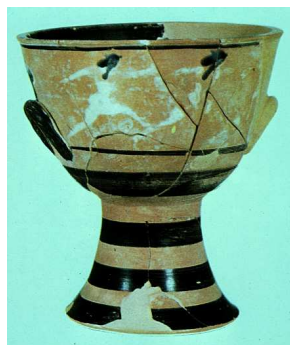


Fig.33. Another set of pottery fragments that seems (lower left fragment) to show a priest (in a bear mask), who with a priestess may have led the *arktoi* in initiation rites .

Arkteia or Bear Festival at Brauron (*arktos* or bear (plural = *arktoi* or bears)

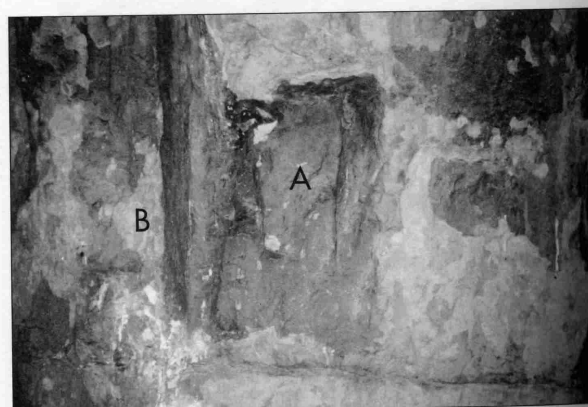


Figura 124. Cantera 1. Grupo número 1. Sin resaltar con dibujo.

A) Cabeza de animal: Oso o lobo.

B) Figura fálica con casco. Con la mano derecha sujeta su falo erecto y levanta la mano izquierda en señal de salutación al animal que tiene enfrente, cuya cabeza está enmarcada.

Fig.34. Animal head(possible bear or wolf)(A) and itiphalic men figure(B) in the "cantera", in front of Delubro of Segobriga.Vázquez Hoys 1999,fig.124.



Fig.35.Dolls of terracotta. Museo of Brauron



Fig.36. Children with bear. Museo of Brauron



Fig.37.Dr.Vázquez Hoys in Museo of Brauron