

The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Outer Limits of the Roman Empire:  
A Comparison Study of Dolichena

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# **Abstract**

The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Outer Limits of the Roman Empire:

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Catherine R.K. Leisser

The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus originated in Doliche, modern Dülük Baba Tepesi, located in southeast Turkey, and spread westward during the 2nd century CE.

The cult's popularity spread quickly, reaching its zenith in the late 2nd century CE; its demise was equally quick: many temples were destroyed by the mid-3rd century CE. The destruction of the temple in Doliche by King Shapur I of Persia in 253 CE is often considered the final death-blow for this cult: who could have faith in this most powerful god, if his own temple was sacked and destroyed?

While certain aspects of this cult have been extensively studied, such as its epigraphy, less attention has been paid to possible regional differences of the temples in the Roman border provinces, and to differences between temples serving civilian or military cult communities.

This thesis examines a sample group of Dolichenian temples and their archaeological contents from the Roman frontier provinces of Pannonia Superior, Noricum, Raetia, Germania Superior and Britannia, located in modern Austria, Germany and Great Britain.

A comprehensive site catalogue provides an up-to-date artefact catalogue of both published and unpublished artefacts. This data is analyzed in Chapter 3, interpretations of the processes involved in this cult are discussed in Chapter 4.

This study provides a synthesis of evidence by examining, and interpreting a wide range of data covering broad geographical and chronological spans within the sample group. The result points toward a difference in urban versus rural cult communities, rather than regional differences.

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# Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	x
List of Plates .....	xii
Abbreviations .....	xiv
Preface.....	xv
1. Introduction .....	1
Jupiter Dolichenus: The Deity and the Cult .....	1
1.1 Jupiter Dolichenus.....	1
1.2 Origins of the Cult .....	1
1.3 Doliche.....	3
1.4 Geographic Distribution.....	4
1.5 Chronological Distribution .....	5
1.6 Primary Evidence.....	6
1.6.A Ancient Documents.....	6
1.6.A.i Ancient Texts.....	6
1.6.A.ii Maps and Itineraries .....	6
1.6.B Archaeological Evidence.....	6
1.7 Secondary Evidence .....	7
1.7.A Modern Scholarship .....	7
1.8 The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithraism .....	10
1.9 Figures.....	11
2. Site Catalogue .....	13
Site 1. Pannonia Superior: Carnuntum.....	14
2.1.A Name.....	14
2.1.B Location.....	14
2.1.C Occupation History .....	15
2.1.D Construction History .....	17
2.1.E Excavation History.....	20
2.1.F Restorations/Conservation.....	21
2.1.G Physical Characteristics.....	21
2.1.H Artefacts .....	25
2.1.I Bibliography .....	26
2.1.J Artefact Catalogue.....	27
2.1.K Site Figures .....	39
Site 2. Noricum: Virunum .....	43
2.2.A Name.....	43
2.2.B Location.....	43
2.2.C Occupation History .....	44
2.2.D Construction History .....	45

2.2.E	Excavation History.....	46
2.2.F	Restorations/Conservation.....	47
2.2.G	Physical Characteristics.....	48
2.2.H	Artefacts .....	49
2.2.I	Bibliography .....	50
2.2.J	Artefact Catalogue.....	50
2.2.K	Site Figures .....	57
Site 3. Raetia: Vetoniana.....		59
2.3.A	Name.....	59
2.3.B	Location.....	59
2.3.C	Occupation History .....	60
2.3.D	Construction History .....	60
2.3.E	Excavation History.....	61
2.3.F	Restoration/Conservation .....	63
2.3.G	Physical Characteristics.....	63
2.3.H	Artefacts .....	65
2.3.I	Bibliography .....	65
2.3.J	Artefact Catalogue.....	66
2.3.K	Site Figures .....	72
Site 4. Germania Superior: Saalburg.....		75
2.4.A	Name.....	75
2.4.B	Location.....	75
2.4.C	Occupation History .....	76
2.4.D	Construction History .....	76
2.4.E	Excavation History.....	78
2.4.F	Restorations/Conservation.....	78
2.4.G	Physical Characteristics.....	79
2.4.H	Artefacts .....	82
2.4.I	Bibliography .....	83
2.4.J	Artefact Catalogue.....	83
2.4.K	Site Figures .....	90
Site 5. Britannia: Vindolanda-Chesterholm.....		92
2.5.A	Name.....	92
2.5.B	Location.....	92
2.5.C	Occupation History .....	93
2.5.D	Construction History .....	94
2.5.E	Excavation History.....	95
2.5.F	Conservation - Restoration .....	95
2.5.G	Physical Characteristics.....	96
2.5.H	Artefacts .....	101
2.5.I	Bibliography .....	101
2.5.J	Artefacts .....	102
2.5.K	Site Figures .....	106

3. Analysis of Archaeological Evidence .....	110
3.1 Introduction .....	110
3.2 Location.....	110
3.3 Physical Characteristics.....	112
3.4 Iconography .....	120
3.4.A Jupiter Dolichenus and his Attributes.....	121
3.4.B Juno and her Attributes .....	122
3.4.C Victoria.....	123
3.4.D Eagle.....	124
3.4.E Sol and Luna.....	125
3.4.F The Cosmic Triad.....	126
3.4.G. The Dioskouroi (Castor and Pollux) .....	126
3.4.H Fire Altar .....	127
3.4.I Other Symbols .....	127
3.5 Ritual Artefacts .....	128
3.5.A Stone Objects.....	128
3.5.B Stone Sculpture .....	131
3.5.B.i Free-standing Sculpture .....	131
3.5.B.ii Relief Sculpture.....	132
3.5.C Metal Sculpture.....	133
3.5.C.i Free-standing Sculpture .....	134
3.5.C.ii Relief Sculpture.....	135
3.5.D Metal Objects .....	135
3.5.D.i Votive Plaques.....	135
3.5.D.ii Triangular Votive Plaques .....	135
3.5.D.iii Small Silver Votive Plaques .....	138
3.5.D.iv Coins.....	138
3.5.D.v Other Metal Artefacts .....	140
3.6 Inscriptions .....	141
3.6.A Names and Epithets.....	143
3.6.B Dedicatory Formulas.....	146
3.6.C Dating of Inscriptions.....	147
3.6.D Ritual Community (Dedicants, Worshippers, Cult Personnel).....	148
3.6.C.i Military Dedicants .....	149
3.6.C.ii Civilian Dedicants.....	150
3.6.C.iii Cult Members .....	152
3.7 Inscribed Terracotta Objects.....	154
3.8 Items of Personal Adornment.....	154
3.9 Figures .....	156
4. Jupiter Dolichenus: The Cult in Practice .....	162
4.1. Dolichenian Rituals .....	162
4.2. Connections to Mithras .....	164
Conclusions .....	168



Bibliography.....	172
Plates .....	191

## List of Figures

1. Location of Sample Sites (Generated by the author using “Á-la-carte” download at Ancient World Mapping Center, [http://awmc.unc.edu/awmc/applications/alacarte/?jsonGet={"zoom":2,"center":{"lon=20.113864047493,lat=50.238868402658"},"pids":{"pid":"197583"},"pid":"128376"},"pid":"119020"},"pid":"109297"},"pid":"89313"}}\).](http://awmc.unc.edu/awmc/applications/alacarte/?jsonGet={)
2. Location of Dolichenian Temples (Kandler 2011, foldout map).
3. Location of Carnuntum and Virunum (<http://www.limes-oesterreich.at/mapview/index.php>).
4. Carnuntum - Plan of Dolichenian *temenos*, Excavation and Test Trenches (Dell 1893, pl. 1).
5. Carnuntum -Dolichenum and Other Cult Sites (Gugl and Kremer 2011a, 102-103, fig. 48).
6. Carnuntum - Dolichenum Buildings (Dell 1893, pl. 1).
7. Carnuntum - Plan of Room d (Dell 1893b, 177, fig. 14).
8. Virunum - Location of Dolichenum and Other Structures (Vetters 1977, fig. 2).
9. Virunum - Dolichenum (Egger 1914, fig. 24).
10. Location of Vettoniana (Mediatus 2015, [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kastell\\_Pf%C3%BCnz#/media/File:Kastell\\_Pf%C3%BCnz%26B%C3%B6hming.svg](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kastell_Pf%C3%BCnz#/media/File:Kastell_Pf%C3%BCnz%26B%C3%B6hming.svg)).
11. Vettoniana - Dolichenum, Fort, *vicus* (detail from Winkelmann 1901, pl. 1).
12. Vettoniana - Dolichenum (Merlat 1960, fig. 20).
13. Location of Saalburg (<http://www.taunus-wetterau-limes.de/saalburh.htm>).
14. Saalburg - Dolichenum (Jacobi 1904, pl.7).
15. Saalburg - Dolichenum, Fort, *vicus* (Jacobi 1937, pl. 1).
16. Location of Vindolanda (© Vindolanda Trust).
17. Vindolanda - Plan of 3rd Century fort and *vicus* (© Vindolanda Trust).
18. Vindolanda - Excavated Structures in Fort (© Vindolanda Trust).
19. Vindolanda - Dolichenum, Phase 1 (© Vindolanda Trust).
20. Vindolanda - Dolichenum, Phase 2 (© Vindolanda Trust).
21. Vindolanda - Dolichenum, Phase 3 (© Vindolanda Trust).
22. Distribution of Dolichena.
23. Proximity to Settlements and Roads.
24. Proximity to Other Cult Structures.
25. Proximity to Burials.
26. Dolichena: Physical Characteristics.

27. Dolichena: Room Types.
28. Overview of Ritual Artefact Classes in Study.
29. Artefact Overview by Site.
30. Ritual Artefacts (stone) in Study.
31. Altar and Base Shapes in Study.
32. Stone Used for Altars, Bases, and Stelai in Study.
33. Ritual Artefacts (metal) in Study.
34. Total Inscriptions by Site.
35. Material of Inscribed Objects in Study.

## List of Plates

All photographs are the author's unless otherwise indicated.

- 1 Carnuntum - ABCDaria: Marble (cat. 1.4, top), Brick (cat. 1.13, bottom) (Kremer 2012, pl. 197; Schön 1988, 85, no. 93, fig. 15).
- 2 Carnuntum - cat. 1.6: Inscribed Votive Relief stele , cat. 1.6 (lupa 6675).
- 3 Carnuntum - Statuary Arm Fragments, cats. 1.8, 1.25 (Humer 2004c, nos. 46, 47, pls. 127, 128).
- 4 Carnuntum - Statue, cat. 1.10 (lupa 6676).
- 5 Carnuntum - Statue, cat. 1.17 (lupa 6840).
- 6 Carnuntum - Dolichenus Figurine, Appliqués : Luna, Sol, cats. 1.20, 1.26, 1.27 (Humer and Kremer 2011, 151-152, nos. 18, 24, 25).
- 7 Virunum - Building Inscription, cat. 2.1 (lupa 5760).
- 8 Virunum - Offertory Box, Handle Fragment, cats. 2.11, 2.12 (Egger 1914, 53-54, pl. 33, pl. 34).
- 9 Virunum - Inscribed Altar, cat. 2.16 (lupa 5876).
- 10 Vetoniana - *tabulae ansatae*, cats. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3: (Winkelman 1901, pl. 9, nos. 3, 5, 6).
- 11 Vetoniana - Victoria Statuettes, cat. 3.4: (Winkelman 1901, pl. 12, nos. 32, 33).
- 12 Vetoniana - Rings and Bracelet, cats. 3.9a, 3.9c, 3.13 (Winkelman 1901, pl. 5, nos. 1, 6, 7).
- 13 Vetoniana - Chain with Pendants, cat. 3.12 (Winkelman 1901, pl.13, nos. 9, 9a).
- 14 Saalburg - Inscribed Altar Fragments, cat. 4.1 (Jacobi 1897, Pl. 24, no. 3; lupa 7127).
- 15 Saalburg - 13 Inscribed Altar Fragments, cat. 4.11 (Merlat 1951, fig. 74).
- 16 Saalburg - Inscribed Altar Fragment with Relief Decoration, cat. 4.12 (Jacobi 1897, pl. 24, no. 1).
- 17 Saalburg - Reconstructed Ceramic Vessels, cat. 4.20 (Jacobi 1897, fig. 65; Moneta 2010, fig. 174).
- 18 Vindolanda - Dolichenum (door and *aedicula*).
- 19 Vindolanda - Dolichenum (looking west).
- 20 Vindolanda - Dolichenum (looking east).
- 21 Vindolanda - Inscribed Altar with Relief Decoration, cat. 5.1(© Vindolanda Trust, photos by Adam Stanford).
- 22 Vindolanda -Inscribed Altar Fragment, cat. 5.2 (Tomlin 2010, fig. 5).

- 23 Triangular Votive Plaque (© Archäologische Staatssammlung München, Inv. No. 1998,2161).
- 24 Triangular Votive Plaque (© Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. No. M4).
- 25 Triangular Votive Plaque (© Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. No. M5).
- 26 Dolichenian Hoard from Mauer an der Url (© Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities).
- 27 Mithraic Tauroctony Scene from Carnuntum (Kremer 2012, pl. 52)
- 28 Mosaic Pavement Displaying Mithraic Grades, Mithraeum of Felicissimus, Ostia (August 12, 2012).
- 29 Doliche - Stone Stairway, Entrance to Dolichenum *temenos* (Schwarzer 2012, pl. 1.1).

## Abbreviations

<i>AÉpigr</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>CCID</i>	<i>Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987)</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptorum Latinorum</i>
<i>CSIR</i>	<i>Corpus signorum Imperii Romani: Österreich: Carnuntum Supplement 1, Götterdarstellungen, Kult- und Weihedenkmäler aus Carnuntum. (Kremer, 2012)</i>
<i>DLK</i>	<i>Deutsche Limeskommission (Henrich, 2014)</i>
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans L'Empire Romain</i>
<i>FMRD</i>	<i>Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland</i>
<i>HN</i>	<i>Historia Naturalis (Pliny)</i>
<i>lupa</i>	<i>Ubi Erat Lupa (Harl and Harl 2015)</i>
<i>OCD III</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary (Hornblower and Spawforth, 1996).</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RIB</i>	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain (Collingwood and Wright, 1965)</i>
<i>RLK</i>	<i>Reichslimeskommission</i>
<i>Russel 2013</i>	<a href="http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/docs/Stone_Quarries_Database.pdf">http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/docs/Stone_Quarries_Database.pdf</a>
<i>SbBerlin</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist.Klasse</i>

## Preface

How Roman imperial culture continues to permeate contemporary Western civilization fascinates me and prompted my pursuit of graduate studies. The general idea for this thesis project germinated in my BA Honours thesis research on military settlements on the Raetian Limes, at which time I began to focus my interests on Roman provincial archaeology of the northwestern Roman provinces. An introduction to Roman religion during my MA coursework ultimately provided the catalyst for recalling three isolated encounters I had had with Jupiter Dolichenus, in three Roman provinces in Austria, Germany, and England within the last decade. These recollections, in combination with my interest and experience in Roman provincial archaeology, provided the genesis for this research project.

The aim of this project is to understand the differences and similarities between sanctuaries connected with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus situated in five provinces along the northwestern frontier of the Roman Empire. More specifically, I examine whether regional variations influenced the Dolichenian cult and whether there was a marked difference in how the cult was practiced in military and civilian communities. My research methodology involved a comparison of the cult's temples and related artefacts in five Roman provinces.

The sample group of Dolichenian temples chosen for this study represent the provinces in which most of the cult's evidence has been found. Five temples were chosen, one each in the Roman provinces of Pannonia Superior (Carnuntum, now in Austria), Noricum (Virunum, now in Austria), Raetia (Vetoniana, now in Bavaria), Germania Superior (Saalburg, now in Germany), and Britannia (Vindolanda, along Hadrian's Wall in northern England) (fig. 1). Temples and a broad selection of artefacts were found at each of these sites, and are therefore appropriate for the scope of this study. Germania Inferior is not represented in this study due to a dearth of material evidence, as explained below in Chapter 2.

This thesis contains four chapters. An introduction to the deity, his origins, the chronological and geographical distribution of the cult, the sanctuaries and their material contents, as well as a review of research on the

cult comprise the Introduction (Chapter 1). A comprehensive catalogue of the five sites and their published artefacts is contained in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 provides an in-depth analysis of the archaeological evidence presented in the previous chapter, and a discussion of Dolichenian rituals and a possible connection to the cult of Mithras are provided in Chapter 4. Conclusions of this research as well as questions for future investigations are provided at the end.

Each site contained in the site catalogue (Ch. 2) is identified by a site number: Carnuntum (site 1), Virunum (site 2), Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5). The artefacts for each site are listed by sub-numbers (e.g., cat. 1.3 for Carnuntum artefact no. 3). Figures within the text are numbered consecutively and placed at the end of the pertinent chapter. Plates are also numbered consecutively but are collected at the end of the thesis. The inscriptions documented in the catalogue are taken from the *CCID*, with occasional corrections or supplemental interpretations provided from other sources.

For the purposes of this study, the term Near East and Near Eastern will be employed to define regions bordering the eastern Mediterranean area, from Anatolia in the north, to Egypt in the south, and lands situated east of the sea's eastern shoreline. They replace other terms such as "Oriental", "Eastern" and "Syrian-Phoenician".

Jupiter Dolichenus had several different names in antiquity (Ch. 3.6.A), but his full name is Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. An alternate spelling, Iuppiter, is often used in modern scholarship in languages other than English. For the purposes of this study, the shortened and most frequently used English version of his name (Jupiter Dolichenus) and the abbreviation often seen on inscriptions (IOMD) will be used.

Several words are commonly used to describe the spaces used for the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, such as temple, cult space, and sanctuary; these terms will be employed interchangeably, in addition to the term Dolichenum, thought to have been invented by archaeologists, but already appearing on two maps of 4th century Rome, the *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV* and the *Notitia urbis Romae XIV* (Arnold 1889, 182; Platner 1929, 292; Birley and Birley 2012, 232).



The most ubiquitous of Latin terms (e.g. *patera*, *stele*), *Dolichenus*, *Dolichenum/Dolichena* and *IOMD* will not be italicized. Only those words deemed by the author to be less well known will be italicized. All dates are Common Era (CE) unless otherwise indicated.

This thesis focuses on how archaeology can contribute to a better understanding of the Dolichenian cult by comparing five Dolichena and their related artefacts and temples. Ancillary disciplines, such as but not limited to prosopography, epigraphy, history, ceramic studies, and architecture are addressed in this thesis. Examples from other Dolichena, for example at Rome, Doliche, and Mauer an der Url, are incorporated in this study to support the analysis of sample artefacts which are the focal point of this study.

# 1. Introduction

## Jupiter Dolichenus: The Deity and the Cult

### 1.1 Jupiter Dolichenus

Jupiter Dolichenus is most commonly identified as a Roman military god, yet many civilians, including women, also dedicated altars to him. He is most often portrayed wearing Roman military dress and a Phrygian cap, standing on a bull, holding an axe and a lightning bolt, yet he sometimes also appears almost nude or in Near Eastern attire of a tunic and baggy pants.

His cult is often identified as a Near Eastern mystery cult, yet there is no evidence to prove it was a mystery cult and it seems mysterious today because so little is known about it. An increase in datable inscriptions indicates that the cult rapidly gained popularity through the 2nd century CE, peaking in the first decade of the 3rd century CE, but many of the cult's temples were no longer functioning by the end of the 3rd century CE (Pahl 2010, 314, chart 1). Jupiter Dolichenus was viewed as the undefeated god of the sky/universe, rain, and thunder and was likely linked to the Capitoline Jupiter Optimus Maximus because of this similarity. The Dolichenian Jupiter was also honoured as the protector of soldiers and the grantor of victory (Czysz 1995, 281-282; Turcan 1996, 160; Deppmeyer and Erkelenz 2013, 257).

Most of the evidence for this cult has been found in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, including Britain, and particularly along the Rhine-Danube frontier. In comparison, few temples or associated evidence have been found in the region of the cult's origins (fig. 2).

### 1.2 Origins of the Cult

The roots of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus lie in the ancient Syrian town of Doliche, modern day Dülük, in what is now southeastern Turkey (Pingitzer 2003, 16; Blömer and Winter 2005, 85). The precise chronological development of the cult and its deity remains unclear, although the results of recent

excavations at the temple site on nearby Dülük Baba Tepesi mountain have contributed to a better understanding of it.

The image of a storm and weather god standing on a bull and holding a lightning bolt and a double-bladed axe occurs in art as early as the end of the second millennium/beginning of the first millennium BCE (Green 2003, 284; Winter 2006, n.p.; Kusseven 2007, 9). The Hurrian-influenced Hittite storm god Teshub and the Syrian storm god Hadad are portrayed in this way and have long been considered the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age forefathers of Jupiter Dolichenus (Hörig 1984, 2139; Jobst 1992a, 21; Green 2003, 126 170; Pingitzer 2003, 17; Blömer and Winter 2005, 85; Fowlkes 2012, 8). Eventually, these storm gods were assimilated with each other and embodied in the Baal of Doliche, the patron and principle god of the site (Green 2003, 170, 284; Pingitzer 2003, 16; Hensen 2005, 220). It is this god, yet untouched by the process of *interpretatio Romana*, who may have preceded Jupiter Dolichenus (Winter 2008, 54; Pahl 2010, 17). The epithet Doliche in the deity's name thus might signal the place of origin as well as the Romanization of the local storm god cult (Beard et al. 1998, 275; Fowlkes 2012, 7). While his appearance changed over time, his "essential essence" did not (Demircioglu 1939, 107).

The first scholar to suspect that a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus was located on the summit of Dülük Baba Tepesi mountain was O. Puchstein in 1890, followed by Franz Cumont in the early 20th century (Hörig 1984, 2138; Winter 2008, 55). In 2003, a temple to the god was confirmed through the excavation of a building and several artefacts, including a small, inscribed votive plaque. Furthermore, a tombstone from a necropolis located ca. 1 km from the temple identifies a priest of Jupiter Dolichenus (Winter 2006, n.p.; Winter 2008, 56, 57-58).

The existence of an important pre-Hellenistic cult site for Teshub/Hadad on Dülük Baba Tepesi mountain is indicated by seals (Winter 2006, n.p.; Winter 2008, 54). There was until recently no evidence from the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods and thus a lacuna existed between the representations of the local storm god cults and the Roman Jupiter Dolichenus. (Hörig 1984, 2140; Blömer and Winter 2005, 81, 85; Kusseven 2007, 27; Pahl 2010, 17; Erdil-Kokaman and Ögüt 2011, 518).

The results of recent excavations on the summit of Dülük Baba Tepesi mountain confirmed the existence of a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus. The stratigraphic evidence confirms continuous worship at the site back to at least the 6th century BCE (Blömer and Winter 2005, 81). The 2007 excavation campaign at Dülük Baba Tepesi revealed a basalt stele depicting the older storm god in Syro-Hittite style but also incorporating Roman stylistic elements. This stele seems to bridge the long-standing gap in the representation of the god (Blömer 2011, 95, 100; Erdil-Kokaman and Ögüt 2011, 518, fig. 6).

### **1.3 Doliche**

Doliche was located between the Euphrates River and the Taurus Mountains, in the Kingdom of Commagene (Schwertheim 1981, 193; Jobst 1992a, 21; Pingitzer 2003, 17). It is situated ca. 10 km from Gazientep. Dülük Baba Tepesi, a 1200 m hill, rises from the plain on which nearby Doliche lay and it was visible for more than 20 km in every direction; its summit was the site of cult and funerary spaces, including the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (Winter 2008, 53; Fowlkes 2012, 8; Collar 2013, 85).

Doliche was founded in ca. 300 BCE (Winter 2003, 53). The town was not large, but was situated close to the intersections of important trade routes and military roads that connected it with Edessa, Carrhae, Samosata, Antioch, and other destinations well beyond the Near East (Demircioglu 1939, 94-95; Schwertheim 1981, 93; Hörig 1984, 2137). It became a juncture of Mesopotamian, Syrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman influence, and the sanctuary to Jupiter Dolichenus and his Syro-Hittite predecessors likely contributed significantly to the city's development (Winter 2008, 53; Fowlkes 2012, 8; Collar 2013, 84).

Commagene remained independent after its Roman conquest by Pompey in 63 BCE, but was annexed by the emperor Tiberius in the year 18 CE after the death of King Antiochus III. The royal house was restored by the emperor Caligula, but was finally and irrevocably annexed under the emperor Vespasian, at which time it became part of the province of Syria and an important mustering point for military activity in the area (Jobst 1992a, 21; Pingitzer 2003, 17). Doliche, including its temple to Jupiter Dolichenus on Dülük Baba Tepesi,

was attacked and destroyed in 253 by the Persian King Shapur I (Hörig 1984, 2138; Winter 2008, 54).

## **1.4 Geographic Distribution**

The development and prosperity of Doliche is likely linked to the westward spread of the cult (Winter 2008, 54). Precisely how, or when the Romanized cult spread westward from Doliche, and by whom, remains as yet unknown (Deppmeyer and Erkelenz 2013, 257).

Scholars have long thought that the initial spark for firing the flame of westward transmission lay in Commagene's absorption into the Roman Empire under Vespasian in 72 (Swoboda 1964, 170; Deppmeyer and Erkelenz 2013, 257). After Roman annexation, the roads and therefore lines of communication from east to west, and vice versa, were open and more easily navigable for the military, traders, travellers, and the transmission of social and religious practices, including the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus as well as mystery and salvation cults, such as that of Mithras and Cybele (Schwertheim 1981, 195-196; Schön 1988, 11; Winter 2008, 55).

The military seems to have played a role in the cult's transmission and it is considered the "cultural bearer" of the cult due to the nature of their employment, yet exactly how this happened is also not known (Schwertheim 1981, 195; Stoll 2007, 452). One theory attributes the dissemination to the cohorts mustered in Commagene (Schwertheim 1981, 197), while Blömer (in Franckowiak et al 2009, 3) asserts that it was Roman soldiers, not auxiliaries, who were responsible for transmission of the cult. Stoll (2007, 469); Collar (2013, 92) suggests that social networking or connectivity between high ranking officers in the army was the reason for the cult's rapid dissemination. Stoll argues that the cult's transmission cannot be solely attributed to the military. He sees no trace of the cult in Egypt, despite considerable military presence there, whereas the northwestern boundary provinces preserve an abundance of evidence (Stoll 2007, 468). It is also thought that the cult's spread may be linked in large part to Syrian civilians and military, as Syrian populations are known at towns and military settlements, such as Carnuntum, Brigetio, Savaria, and Aquincum (Toth 1973, 113-115; MacMullen 1981, 118; Schwertheim 1981, 196-

197). Yet many non-Syrian names also appear in the epigraphic evidence. Rapid transmission of the cult from Doliche to the West was very likely caused by a combination of military, commercial, and social activities (Speidel 1980, 11; Pingitzer 2003, 17-18).

Most of the evidence for this cult is found close to military settlements and occurs substantially along the Rhine-Danube frontier of the Empire (fig. 2; Schwertheim 1981, 195; Beard et al. 1998, 301; Pingitzer 2003, 18). Sites and artefacts in Italy are mostly located in the area of Rome. Limited evidence for the cult has been located in the Near East and North Africa, and it does not seem to have taken hold in Egypt, Hispania, or Gaul (Schwertheim 1981, 195-196).

## 1.5 Chronological Distribution

Seal impressions found near Doliche show Jupiter Dolichenus in a *dexiosis* scene with an emperor and date to the early 1st century. These are the oldest representations of Jupiter Dolichenus (*CCID*, no. 12; Hörig 1984, 2139; Turcan 1996, 159) known to date. The earliest evidence in the western provinces comes from in Lambaesis, in North Africa, in a building inscription of 125/126 (*CCID*, no. 619; Kandler 2011, 4; Fowlkes 2012, 9). Carnuntum, one of the sites examined in this study, provides the next evidence: an inscribed block dedicated by a Dolichenian youth group between 128-138 commemorates the construction of a gate and portion of wall for a sanctuary (cat. 1.1; Kandler 2011, 4).

The cult reached its height of popularity during Severan rule but largely ceased activity shortly after the middle of the 3rd century (Swoboda 1964, 170). Toth (1973, 115; 2000, 104) ascribes this to pogrom-style attacks encouraged by the emperor Maximinus Thrax after the murder of Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea in 235. The cult's demise may also have been connected with increasing Germanic attacks, internal problems with the administration of the Empire, and the destruction of the Dolichenian temple in Doliche by King Shapur I in ca. 253 (Pingitzer 2003, 21; Collar 2011, 244).

## 1.6 Primary Evidence

### 1.6.A Ancient Documents

#### 1.6.A.i Ancient Texts

The only surviving literary reference to Jupiter Dolichenus is by the 6th-century author of a geographical dictionary, Stephanus of Byzantium, who noted the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus in Doliche in his *Ethnica, D* (ἔστι καὶ Δολίχη πόλις τῆς Κομμαγενῆς; ἔθνικὸν Δολιχαῖος Ζεὺς · οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δολιχηνοὶ λέγονται) (Meinecke 1849, 235, 12-13; Sanders 1902, 85-86; Demircioglu 1939, 95; Cellini 1997, 21; Kusseven 2007, 1; Billerbeck and Zubler 2011, no. 107). Birley and Birley (2012, 246) propose that the cult was all but finished by the time Christian writers, such as Firmicus Maternus (mid-4th century), initiated attacks against pagan cults.

The earliest literary reference to the town of Doliche occurs in the 2nd century geographical dictionary of Claudius Ptolemaios, the *Geography* (V 15, 10) (Demircioglu 1939, 94; Hörig 1984, 2138; Turcan 1996, 159; Kusseven 2007, 1).

#### 1.6.A.ii Maps and Itineraries

A *Dolocenum* and *templum* are indicated in region XIII of the Aventine Hill area in the *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV* and the *Notitia urbis Romae XIV*, both dating to the 4th century (Arnold 1889, 182; Platner 1929, 292; Dudley 1967, 26-28; Cellini 1997, 21). Platner (1929, 292) also indicates a shrine to Dolichenus on the Esquiline Hill and in district XIV. Current scholars, such as but not limited to Fowlkes (2012, 9) and Schwarzer (2012, 174-176), consider the term *Dolichenum* to be of modern derivation, despite its origins in antiquity.

The town of Doliche is recorded in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (Cellini 1997, 22).

### 1.6.B Archaeological Evidence

There is a large variety of primary evidence for the Dolichenian cult. The most common artefact classes include inscribed votive altars, stone plaques, as well as sculpture, both reliefs and statuary. Metal objects, in particular triangular votive relief plaques, small silver votives, and sculpture are also

known, as are the contents of hoards such as coins and jewellery, which may also have had a ritual connection. While there is a dearth of primary evidence in the form of ancient literary sources, maps or itineraries referring to the cult, or Dolichenian temples, there is a wealth of information to be gleaned from over 400 inscriptions.

The attributes of Jupiter Dolichenus and the Dolichenian iconography are relatively consistent across all regions and media (Beard et al. 1998, 302; Fowlkes 2012, 7). Jupiter Dolichenus is most often depicted standing on the back of a bull, mostly in Roman military dress and wearing a Phrygian cap, wielding a *bipennis* (double-axe) in his raised right hand and holding a lightning bolt in his left hand; variations of this standard occur and will be discussed in Chapter 3. The iconography associated with this cult includes figures and motifs such as, but not limited to Juno, the *paredros* of Jupiter Dolichenus, Victoria, the Dioskouroi, Sol and Luna, eagles, wreaths, fire altars, paterae and jugs.

The primary evidence from each temple site in the sample group is listed in Chapter 2, and all types of evidence contained in the Dolichenian corpus are discussed in Chapter 3.

## **1.7 Secondary Evidence**

### **1.7.A Modern Scholarship**

A small number of isolated finds associated with Jupiter Dolichenus were found prior to the 19th century, but interest in the increased number of artefacts related to the cult started in the second half of the 19th century, when the first temples dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus (Dolichena) were discovered.

The first collection of monuments was compiled by Johann Braun in 1852 and published in 1856. In 1854, two collections by Johann Seidl were printed (“Über den Dolichenus Cult” and “Nachträgliches über den Dolichenus Cult” in *SbBerlin* 12 and 13, respectively). Doctoral dissertations on the subject were circulated in 1877 by Felix Hettner (*De Iove Dolicheno*) and in 1901 by Albertus Kan (*De Iovis dolicheni cultu*), which was revised and re-published in 1943. The work of Halil Demircioglu (*Der Gott auf dem Stier. Geschichte eine Religiösen Bildtypus*, 1939) included a partial catalogue, and examined the history of image of a god standing on a bull; although it does not deal with Jupiter Dolichenus



exclusively, it was considered the predecessor of Pierre Merlat's works from the mid-20th century.

A great deal of information from excavations was published in the first 100 years of interest in Jupiter Dolichenus, but a cohesive and global corpus was not undertaken until Pierre Merlat's *Répertoire des Inscriptions et Monuments Figurés du Culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (1951) and *Jupiter Dolichenus. Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse* (1960) were brought out. Merlat catalogued, described, and analyzed 381 inscriptions and sculptures from all areas of the Roman Empire in the first volume and provided a deeper insight into all aspects of the cult in the second.

In the years following Merlat's first publication, he and other scholars continued to disseminate reports of successive finds and on topics related to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in a variety of monographs, international and regional journals, and in the *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans L'Empire Romain (EPRO)* series, for example Michael Speidel's *The Religion of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army (EPRO 63)*. On the suggestion of and with the guidance of Maarten J. Vermaseren, a renowned scholar in the field of Roman oriental religions and of Mithraism in particular, the *Corpus Cultus Ioveni Dolicheni (CCID)* was produced, also as part of the *EPRO* series, by Monika Hörig and Elmar Schwertheim, in 1987. Long considered the most comprehensive corpus, it provided updates on Merlat's catalogue and encompassed all newly released Dolichenian discoveries since 1960.

A prevailing feature of the now abundant scholarship on Jupiter Dolichenus is a tendency to focus on the inscribed stone artefacts. Objects of bronze or other metals, such as the triangular votive plaques, and sculpture in other materials have also been incorporated in surveys. Occasionally "show pieces" of pottery have also been included. It seems that pottery that could not be securely associated with the cult was often not considered, even if found within the temples or temple precincts. This is also often the case with building materials such as roofing tiles, plaster, and flooring materials. It is possible, however, especially in regard to the earlier discoveries in the 19th and early 20th century, that many of the ubiquitous pottery sherds and building materials were disregarded and discarded during excavation. While an interest in material

culture has always been at the heart of archaeology, the focus of earlier archaeologists seems to have been on complete “show pieces” rather than fragmentary vessels or ordinary supplies.

The work of Franz Cumont did not focus on Jupiter Dolichenus, but his interpretations regarding the demise of polytheism and the rise of Christianity played a large and important role in the handling and interpretation of numerous finds, and remained largely unchallenged for many years (Ulansey, 1989; Fowlkes-Childs 2012, 2). The scholarship of Cumont dominated the study of oriental religions for many decades; Cumont, was, in fact, the first to classify cults from Syria, Persia, Egypt and Anatolia as Oriental, and this term continues to be commonly used, although the terms Near Eastern and Syrian-Phoenician are now also common. Interest in oriental religions, as attested by the very large *EPRO* series, has been attributed to him (Fowlkes-Childs 2012, 2-3). Cumont attributed the spread of oriental religions throughout the Empire to their appeal to worshippers because “they required personal engagement and addressed psychological needs in opposition to the Roman state religions” (Fowlkes-Childs, 2012, 2). In recent years, other avenues of research have also been pursued.

Most research on Jupiter Dolichenus produced until the late 20th century mainly focussed on the recording and cataloguing of find-spots and artefacts as well as on interpreting individual pieces. While such work is of vital importance, the more recent interpretations of specific topics on a larger, more global scale are equally crucial. Since the publication of the *CCID* in 1987 research on the cult had seemed to stagnate until the excavations of the original Dolichenum at Dülük Baba Tepesi began in 2001, and in 2003 securely identified the site of the original Dolichenum. This new research has acted as a catalyst for a flurry of innovative approaches for investigating the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus. A sample of recent graduate research includes an overview of Eastern religious influences on the Roman army (Chomiak 2008), the historical progression of the cult’s iconography and symbolism (Kusseven 2007), new interpretations about its westward diffusion (Collar 2008 and 2013), an update to the Dolichenian corpus and statistical study of the cult’s diffusion, self-perception, and decline (Pahl 2010), and an in-depth analysis of Syrian-Phoenician cults in Rome and their ties to the Near East, with special emphasis on Jupiter Dolichenus (Fowlkes 2012).

Proceedings of a conference, held in 2010, dedicated solely to Jupiter Dolichenus (*Iuppiter Dolichenus. Vom Lokalkult zur Reichsreligion*, published in 2012) features papers that use all available data to propose new interpretations on the cult, such as Witschel's investigation of Oriental religions, and Kreikenbom's study on female dedicants in the Dolichenian cult. Fieldwork reports include results from the Dülük Baba Tepesi Dolichenum excavations and from the site of Vindolanda on Hadrian's Wall, where a Dolichenum was discovered in 2009. Other important contributions include articles in the journal *Asia Minor Studien* (including one volume dedicated entirely to the site of Doliche).

## **1.8 The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenum and Mithraism**

The Dolichenian cult is often associated with the cult of Mithras for several reasons. Temples to both gods are often located close to one another and both cults were widely accepted in military and civilian spheres. Both cults are also considered mystery religions and there is evidence to suggest that both hosted festive meals. Despite the similarities, there is evidence for both cults that indicates how dissimilar they actually were.

## 1.9 Figures

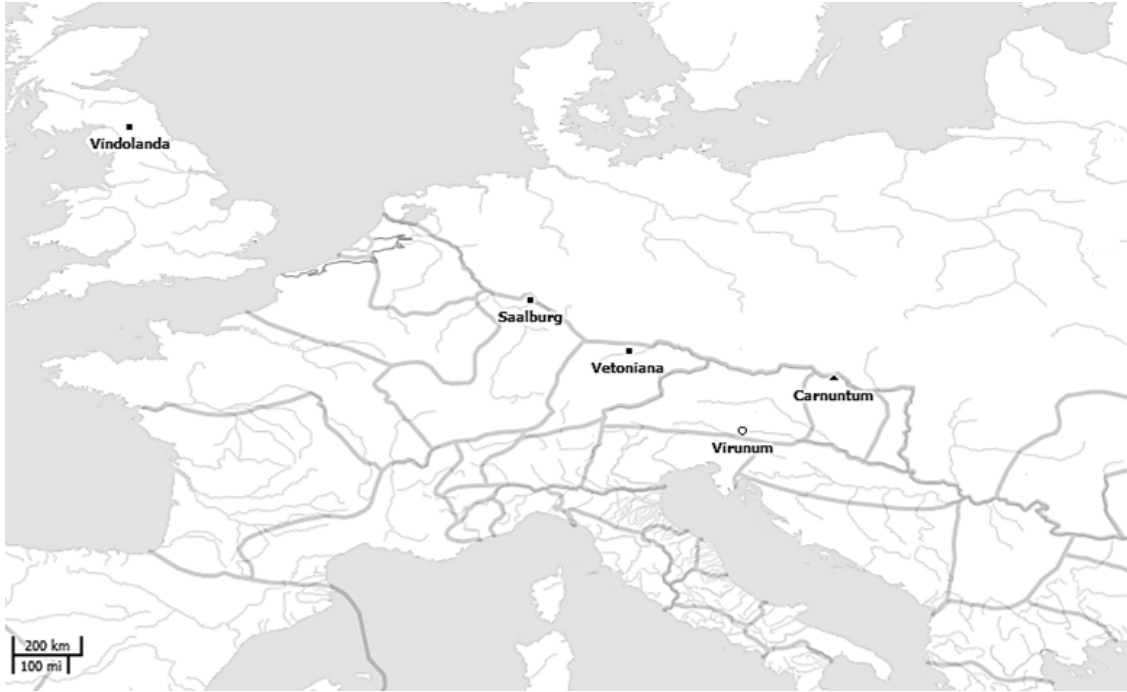


Fig. 1: Location of Sample Sites.

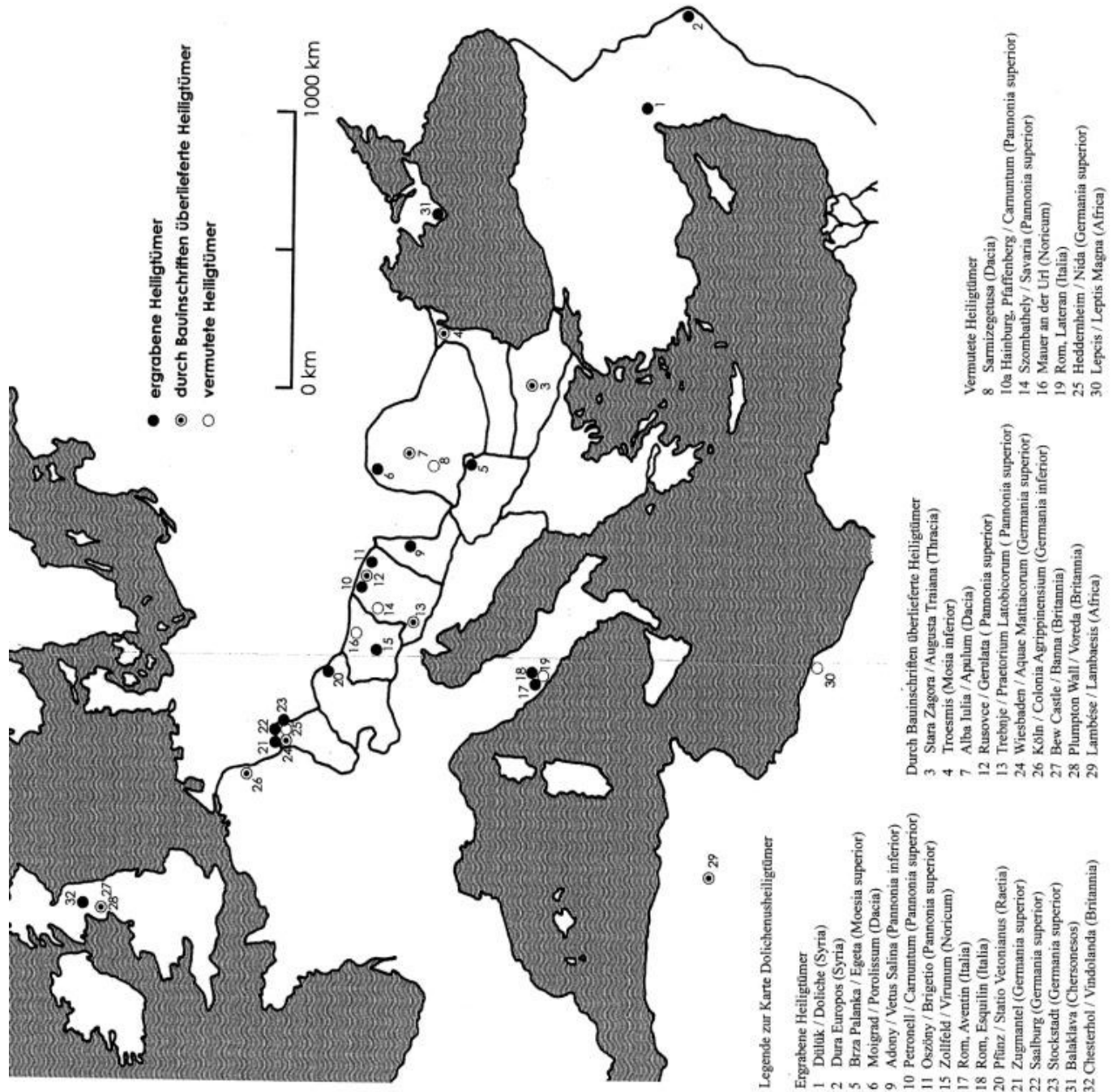


Fig. 2: Locations of Dolichenian Temples: Excavated (black dot), Attested by Building Inscriptions (black dot in circle), Presumed (circle).

## 2. Site Catalogue

To date, the existence of sixteen Dolichena has been archaeologically identified by architectural, epigraphic, cultic and other forms of material evidence (fig. 2). Although more sites are either attested by building inscriptions, or suspected by one or the other form of archaeological evidence, the number of actual temples found to date is rather modest (Schwarzer 2012, fig.1; Collar 2013, 96-97). This is especially evident in comparison with the several hundred cult spaces known to have been dedicated to Mithras (Vermaseren 1956, foldout map; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2013, 206-207), another popular mystery cult/deity contemporary to and considered to have been similar to Jupiter Dolichenus. The Dolichena are, for the most part, situated along the Empire's northwestern boundary, although a limited number were located elsewhere, such as in the Roman provinces of Syria (Doliche, Dura Europos) and Dacia (Porolissum) (fig. 2). The architectural evidence is disparate: there is no consistent pattern in the size and/or layout of the temples. The archaeological evidence, however, appears to be consistent, and similar cult furniture and other artefacts have been found at each of the sites.

The Dolichena chosen for this study (Carnuntum (Pannonia Superior), Virunum (Noricum), Vetoniana (Raetia), Saalburg (Germania Superior), Vindolanda (Britannia)) represent the provinces in which most of the cult's evidence has been found to date (fig. 1; Schwarzer 2013, map: 294-295). The evidence below is arranged by province, starting with Pannonia Superior in the east, moving westward. The province of Germania Inferior is not represented in this study as the evidence, limited to less than six items derived from four unconfirmed sites, is insufficient for comparison. The selected sites comprise a great variety of artefacts and evidence of a Dolichenum structure, providing a comprehensive survey. They are representative of each province, thereby illustrating the similarities and differences that might be attributed to their location in a particular province and to the communities they may have served.

Each site is numbered (sites 1-5), and its artefacts assigned a sub-number. For the sake of brevity and clarity with respect to the artefact catalogue entries,

only the site and artefact number will be used. For example, “cat. 1.1” refers to the first artefact listed in Site 1 (Carnuntum); it can be found in Chapter 2.1.J. Directional descriptions of artefacts are from the reader’s viewpoint, unless otherwise indicated. All dates are Common Era (CE) unless otherwise indicated.

## **Site 1. Pannonia Superior: Carnuntum**

### **2.1.A Name**

The name Carnuntum is given to an area that encompasses a legionary fortress and its *canabae legionis*, an auxiliary cavalry fort, and an autonomous city; a variable spelling is Karnuntum (fig. 5; Kandler 2004a, 164). The name is thought to have pre-Roman origins and the first syllable suggests stony or craggy terrain (Kandler 1997, 258). Carnuntum was first named in the writings of the historian Velleius Paterculus (II, 109.5), who served under Tiberius in Pannonia (Genser 1986, 576; Kandler 1997, 258; Kuttner 2013). Carnuntum is attested in the writings of ancient authors, such as Pliny (*HN* IV, 80; XXXVII, 45) (Genser 1986, 576) and is indicated on the *Itinerarium Antonini* (247.4, 262.9) as well as on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IV, 2) (Genser 1986, 576; Kuttner 2013). In 1962, the modern day village of Petronell changed its name to Petronell-Carnuntum to acknowledge its Roman past (Strasser, pers. comm.; <http://www.petronell.at/system/web/zusatzseite.aspx?menuonr=218447631&detailonr=218447616>).

### **2.1.B Location**

Carnuntum is situated on the south side of the Danube River, close to where the river approaches the foothills of the Little Carpathian Mountains (Kandler 1997, 258). Approximately 40 km east of Vienna, Austria, it is located around and beneath the towns of Petronell-Carnuntum and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg in the province of Lower Austria (fig. 3; *CCID*, 142, fig. 12). Its placement was strategic, located close to the river that marked the boundary between the Empire and *Barbaricum*, it was also set close the intersection of two important roads and trading routes, the Limes road (which roughly followed the course of the Danube River) and the Amber road (Baltic Sea coast to Aquileia on

the Adriatic, crossing the Danube River close to Carnuntum) (Kandler 1997, 258; Kuttner 2013; Humer et. al. 2014, 37, fig. 27). The pre-Roman site of Carnuntum, part of the Celtic kingdom of Noricum, is thought to lie nearby, but has not been located (Kandler 1997, 258; Lauermaun 2014, 24).

The precise placement of the Dolichenum and its precinct is no longer known, as the coordinates-grid used by the excavator does not correspond to the current cadastral grid (Kandler 2011, 20). It was situated in a field identified as the Pfaffenbrunnwiese and this was located approximately 300 m east of the St. Petronella church, between the north side of the town's main road and the Danube River escarpment (fig. 5; Kandler 2011, 8, 19). The results of recent salvage excavations (2002, 2008, below) have shed some light on its approximate position underneath the Limesgasse street itself and just to the north of it, not far from Limesgasse 311 and Lot 285/32 (Kren 2009, 33; Kandler 2011, 2, 21).

The Dolichenum was originally considered to be set within the limits of the civilian city (Jobst 1983, 176-182; Kandler 2011, 22). It is now known, however, that the boundary between the civilian city and the *canabae legionis* was located along the Langegasse street, which lies well west of the Dolichenum site; this and the close proximity of the auxiliary fort (its northwest corner was just 75.0 m away) therefore prove that the Dolichenum was erected in an area connected to the military (Gassner 2003, 139; Kandler 2011, 22). The Limes road, which was also the *decumanus maximus* within the civilian city, skirted the northern boundary and access gate of the Dolichenum *temenos*, a very prominent setting (fig. 5; Kandler 2011, 22-23).

### **2.1.C Occupation History**

Carnuntum was first occupied by the Romans when Tiberius established a winter marching (or temporary) camp while on campaign against Marbod and the Marcomanni in 6 CE (Kandler 1997, 258; Humer 2004, 8-9). Roman occupation continued until the dissolution of the Roman authority in the area by 433, at which time it was ceded to the Huns (Kandler 1997, 258; Humer 2004, 8-9). The occupation history at Carnuntum is the most complex in this thesis,



given the number of habitation areas it encompassed and the extent of the excavations.

A stamped and inscribed brick identifying *Legio XIII Gemina* was found at the site of the Dolichenum (cat. 1.13; *CCID*, no. 216; Schön 1988, 85, no. 93), and dedications by members of the military as well as civilians from the temple indicate a mixed ritual community (*CCID*, no. 216; below). An inscribed block naming Jupiter Dolichenus by a youth group dedicated to his worship was found in a nearby religious precinct, on the Pfaffenberg hill, located east of the *canabae legionis* (cat. 1.1; Swoboda 1964, 118; Jobst 1992a, 22). While Schwarzer (2012, 156) asserts that a second Dolichenum was situated at this hilltop location, it is unknown whether this block indicates a second Dolichenum or simply that it was re-used. It does, however, confirm the existence of the dedicatory group sometime between 128 and 138, a very early date for Dolichenian evidence at this site and in the western provinces in general (Jobst 1992a, 22; Gugl and Kremer 2011, 101).

While *Legio XV Apollinaris* (later *Pia Fidelis*) was stationed in the Carnuntum area from about 14 until 62/63, it seems that a continual Roman presence here is not attested until the middle of the 1st century (Jobst 1983, 45; Kandler 1997, 258; Farnum 2005, 23; Gugl 2006, 223; Kandler 2008, 11). They were replaced by *Legio X Gemina* (later *Pia Fidelis* {*Domitiana*}) from 62/63 until 68/69, by *Legio VII Gemina* (originally *VII Galbiana*, later *Felix*) and by *Legio XXII Primigenia* (later *Pia Fidelis* {*Domitiana*}) from 68/69 until about 71-74 (Farnum 2005, 21-25, 29; Gugl 2006, 223). *Legio XV Apollinaris* then returned to Carnuntum and stayed there until 118/120; they were replaced by *Legio XIII Gemina* (later *Martia Victrix*), who remained stationed at Carnuntum until the early 5th century (Jobst 1983, 45; Kandler 1997, 258; Farnum 2005, 23, 29; Gugl 2006, 223).

Various regiments of auxiliary cavalry were also stationed at Carnuntum, separate to the legions; they are attested by funerary inscriptions, military diplomas and from stamped bricks they produced (Kandler 2008, 12). The earliest presence of the cavalry (*Ala I Pannoniorum*) is indicated by a gravestone dating to the Claudian period, or shortly thereafter (Kandler 2006, 261, 269). Other cavalry regiments confirmed at Carnuntum include *Ala I Hispanorum*

*Aravacorum* (early Flavian period–80), *Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, *Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana victrix* (ca. 90–101/102), *Ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria* (ca. early 2nd century–118/119), and lastly *Ala I Thracum victrix* who arrived at Carnuntum in ca. 118/119 and remained there until sometime after the middle of the 3rd century (Kandler 2006, 261–263; Kandler 2008, 13–14).

Civilian settlements included the *canabae legionis* as well as the autonomous civilian city, which was established as a result of the military presence in the area (Kandler 1997, 258; Gugl and Kremer 2011a, 94). The city was raised to the official status of *municipium* (city) by Hadrian in ca. 124 and was further promoted by Septimius Severus when its status was raised again; it was thereafter known as *colonia Septimia Aurelia Antoniniana Carnuntum* (Pleyel 1994, 55; Kandler 1997, 259; Humer 2004b, 8). Carnuntum experienced its heyday in the 3rd century, flourishing in industry, trade, construction, and the arts (Kandler 1997, 258; Humer 2004b, 8). Most areas of the Empire seem represented in its population and a high number of Syrian civilians, traders and crafts/tradespeople are attested in Dacian and Pannonian cities, including Carnuntum. This is considered a possible reason for the popularity and proliferation of Near Eastern cults there (Swoboda 1964, 167; Schwertheim 1981, 197; Kandler 2004b, 45). Despite its rapid growth and development into a city of approximately 50,000 inhabitants, Carnuntum suffered a damaging earthquake around the middle of the 4th century and began its decline; by the second half of the 4th century it was described, by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Rerum Gestarum*, 5.2) as "deserted and in ruins" (Pleyel 1994, 55; Scherrer 1997, 102).

#### **2.1.D Construction History**

There is no evidence for the date of the Dolichenum's initial construction, yet inscriptions naming Commodus can assign an approximate date in the late 2nd century (Merlat 1960, 139; Jobst 1992a, 22; Kandler 2004b, 45). The earliest evidence for some form of Dolichenum construction dates to the late Hadrianic period (128–138), with the dedication from a youth group (cat. 1.1) of a gate and portion of wall (Jobst 1992a, 22; Gassner 2003, 140; Gugl and Kremer 2011a, 101). This inscription was found at the Pfaffenberg *temenos*, some distance

from the Dolichenum and it is the only building inscription connected to Dolichenus, found in the Carnuntum area, dating to the early 2nd century (Jobst 1992a, 22; Gugl and Kremer 2011a, 101). More recently, scholars have suggested that the Dolichenum was constructed in the early 2nd century and that this plaque may indicate the building of a simpler, anterior structure, or perhaps the demarcation fence of the Dolichenum precinct (*CCID*, no.227; Gugl and Kremer 2011a, 101). A stamped brick (cat. 1.13) found in the Dolichenum area naming *Legio XIII Gemina* connects the legion to both possible construction dates because of their long occupation in Carnuntum (*CCID*, no. 216).

The construction of the first permanent legionary fortress during the reign of Claudius was one of the first steps in the military defensive development of the middle Danube River frontier (Jobst 1983, 45; Kandler 1997, 258-259). Although there is evidence for several subsequent ill-defined alterations and renovations, the first turf and timber structure was built by *Legio XV Apollinaris* (Kandler 1997, 258; Gugl 2006, 222). The fortress was then rebuilt in stone around the beginning of the 2nd century, most likely by *Legio XV Apollinaris*, and it underwent several subsequent modifications (Gugl 2006, 222, 228). According to Kandler (1997, 261), the legionary fortress was not destroyed in the 4th century, as previously believed. The fortress and surrounding area was apparently inhabited into the early Middle Ages; although precise demographics are not known, a Slavic population and/or a mixture with inhabitants who remained after its abandonment by the Roman army has been suggested (Jobst 1983, 75; Kandler 1997, 261).

The presence of auxiliary cavalry is attested in the Carnuntum area as early as the middle of the 1st century, and several temporary marching or practice camps, which may have housed them, are known in the Carnuntum area through aerial observations, the results of geophysical prospection and, recently, a salvage excavation in which the author took part (August 24, 2013; Konecny, pers. comm.; Konecny 2014, 10-13). The first auxiliary fort, however, a turf and timber construction, was built during Domitian's reign (81-96) and represents the first of four identified construction phases (Kandler 2008, 15-16). It was gradually rebuilt in stone in successive periods and was then abandoned after the middle of the 3rd century (Kandler 2004b, 44; Kandler 2008, 18-19, 24-

25, 26, 30). It is uncertain whether the fort was occupied after that time, although, it appears that the bath house was still intact well into the 4th century (Kandler 2008, 30).

The civilian city also underwent continual development during its history. There is no city-wide homogeneity in its building phases; for example, one excavated house in the city has seven distinct building periods, yet a neighbouring house has only five, and the nearby bath house has no clearly defined building phases (Konecny, pers. comm.). Some general trends, however, can be noted, for example, in the construction of its streets, which must indicate large-scale public works. These are Period I – late 1st century (Domitian), Period II – 2nd century (particularly Hadrian), Period III – late 2nd and 3rd third centuries (Severan), Period IV – early 4th century (Tetrarchy and early Constantinian era), Period V – mid-4th century or shortly thereafter (Valentinian I, after the earthquake) (Humer 2004b, 38-39; Kandler 2004b, 44; Konecny, pers. comm.).

These construction phases can also be generally connected with the high points of Carnuntum's social and historical development. From ca. 100, there is evidence of widespread urban development at the time when Carnuntum became the capital of the newly formed Upper Pannonia, between 103 and 107 (Humer 2004b, 7). Increased construction and civic improvements also followed after the town's elevation to *municipium* under Hadrian and later to *colonia* under Severus, at which time the city was surrounded by a fortification wall. These events were also marked by the construction of grander structures that incorporated more of the Roman "standards", such as underfloor heating, mosaic pavements, and a widespread replacement of turf and timber structures with those in stone (Humer 2004b, 7;). Another high point in the history of Carnuntum that must have prompted building, or at least improvement, is the three-year period in which the emperor Marcus Aurelius took up residence in Carnuntum, as well as the period leading up to the Emperor's conference in November 308 (Humer 2004b, 8).

### 2.1.E Excavation History

The discovery of the first of two Mithraea in the Carnuntum area in 1852 marked the beginning of modern interest in the Roman site (Gugl and Kremer 2011b, 164), and excavations in the civilian city, the legionary fortress, and the auxiliary fort have taken place intermittently since that time.

The Dolichenum was first discovered and excavated by Josef Dell in 1891 (Swoboda 1964, 77; Kandler 2011, 8; Schwarzer 2012, 154). Originally searching for traces of the antique road network and adjacent buildings, Dell marked out a 1.0 m x 50.0 m test trench and almost immediately struck the remains of walls, as well as many painted fresco fragments and brick *tesserae* (Kandler 2011, 8). The excavation technique practiced at that time was to follow walls once they were discovered; within two days, Dell uncovered more adjoining walls and several artefacts, listed below, that led him to believe he had discovered a Dolichenum (Kandler 2011, 8; Schwarzer 2012, 154). The excavation was completed within two weeks and all trenches were then backfilled (Kandler 2011, 10). Three pages of field notes and sixteen annotated drawings as well as a floor plan were the basis for a preliminary summary of the excavation, published as a supplement to a guidebook by Kubitschek and Frankfurter in the same year; the official excavation report was published in 1893 (Kandler 2011, 10).

Prompted by the discovery of the Mithraeum located on Langegasse street, the more northerly room-structure of the Dolichenum site was re-investigated by Carl Tragau in 1894, when its *pronaos* was discovered (Kandler 2011, 14). A revised plan of the Dolichenum and other results were published in 1895 by Reichel and Bormann (Kandler 2011, 14).

The first house was built on the Pfaffenbrunnwiese area in 1936, and in the 1960s the entire area was eventually subdivided and developed as a housing estate (Kandler 2011, 19-20). Salvage excavations took place in 2002 and 2008, the results of which have contributed to re-establishing the general Dolichenum *temenos* area (Kren 2009, 33; Kandler 2011, 21).

### 2.1.F Restorations/Conservation

No trace of the Dolichenum structure remains above ground. The Museum Carnuntinum in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg houses the sculptures and inscriptions. Smaller artefacts, namely *tesserae*, pottery and fresco fragments were not preserved, in keeping with the excavation standards of the day.

Several other areas within the Carnuntum region have been restored or conserved, such as an *insula* (VI) in the civilian city, the military and civilian city amphitheatres, the Heidentor *quadrifons* arch, the palatial bath complex known as the Palastruine, and a portion of the water supply and drainage channels connected to the auxiliary cavalry fort. Around *Insula VI*, all excavated structures have had partial or full reconstructions erected upon their original foundations. The partial reconstruction of House V, the last remaining conserved ancient structure close to *Insula VI*, commenced in Summer 2014.

### 2.1.G Physical Characteristics

The Carnuntum Dolichenum was situated within a walled *temenos* that includes some of the boundary walls discovered during the excavations (fig. 4; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2004c, 127). The Dolichenum consisted of two joined yet independent one-room structures, each with its own *pronaos* or entrance hall, but lacking any doorway between them (Schön 1988, 76). Other room-like buildings were situated to the east and southeast of the two main structures (Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2004c, 127).

Room d, the almost square, central room on Dell's original plan (figs. 6, 7) measured 8.80 m x 7.90-8.20 m, with an interior measurement of 6.0 m x 5.25-5.5 m (CCID, no.216; Merlat 1960, 136; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2011, 10). Its walls of undressed stones were extremely thick (1.20 m-1.30 m) in comparison to the walls of the neighbouring structure, Room e (0.80 m), and stood up to a preserved height of 1.0 m in some places (CCID, no. 216; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2011, 10). The foundation of the south wall was made of large dressed blocks (0.35 m x 2.75 m x 0.60 m) (CCID, no. 216). An 0.80 m opening on the south side of the east wall that widened inwards was interpreted as the doorway by Dell (CCID, no. 216; Dell 1893, 178; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2011, 11). A large ashlar block (2.6 m x 0.60 m) was incorporated into the foundation at this

opening, and the wall also features a large pillar-like protrusion (1.23 m x 0.55 m) located in the middle (CCID 216; Merlat 1960, 138; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2011, 11). Opposite and aligned with this protrusion, slightly more than halfway towards the west wall, was a free-standing rectangular, undressed stone and brick pier (0.97 m x ca. 0.60 m) (CCID, no. 216; Merlat 1960, 138; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2011, 11; Schwarzer 2012, 154). The very thick walls, protrusion, and large, free-standing pier led Dell and more recent scholars to suspect that the structure contained a second floor that might have functioned as a meeting room or sacristy, with the ground-floor level used for cult worship. This interpretation is supported by an inscription (cat. 1.12; CCID, no. 221; CIL III, nos. 11131, 13447) mentioning a *scriba* and two *curators* (CCID, no. 216; Schwarzer 2012, 154); Merlat (1960, 138) suggests that this Dolichenum had an administration and possibly an archive. The floor of Room d was covered in square (0.31 m) brick tiles, laid directly on the sterile earth that abutted the walls (Kandler 2011, 11). This room was filled with a great deal of rubble, composed mainly of undressed stone, fresco fragments (many decorated), brick mosaic *tesserae*, and pottery; the altars, reliefs and sculptures were also found in this room, which led Dell to surmise that the second level had, at some point, caved in (CCID, no. 216; Merlat 1960, 138; Schön 1988, 76; Kandler 2011, 11; Schwarzer 2012, 154).

To the east of Room d was a narrower (3.0 m-4.0 m wide) room interpreted by Schwarzer (2012, 154) as a type of *pronaos*; its masonry walls were less massive than those in Room d, and it contained remains of interior walls, which indicated three areas and an opening in its north-east corner that corresponds to that of the ashlar block found in the opening of Room d (fig. 6; Kandler 2011, 11; Schwarzer 2012, 154).

Room e was located north of Room d (fig. 6). Almost square in shape, its walls were also not as massive as those in Room d, and its long side ran parallel to Room d (Kandler 2011, 11). Its outer dimensions measured 9.60 m x 8.40 m and its entrance was located in the centre of the east wall. Inside this opening, a large flat stone (1.80 m x ca. 0.50 m) acted as a step down into the room's interior (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). A rectangular apse, located on the west wall, opposite the room's opening, measured 4.5 m wide and protruded

1.5 m towards the outside (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The walls of this apse extended eastward, down the length of the room, and terminated ca. 0.60 m from the east wall (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). These walls formed a central 3.0 m wide aisle flanked by two 1.25 m-1.50 m deep platforms constructed of undressed stone and filled with earth (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The sides of each platform facing the central aisle featured two small stone piers or pedestals that jutted out into the central aisle; these are interpreted by Schwarzer (2012, 155) as platforms used for the deposition of ritual vessels or instruments. A large (0.80 m x 0.54 m x 0.45 m), dressed ashlar block (fig. 6: O) was located immediately in front (to the east) of the west wall and identified as a plinth or footing for an altar (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The north wall of this room extended towards the east and also formed the north wall of its *pronaos*. The east wall ran southward to about the midpoint of Room e's width and then continued to the east (Kandler 2011, 14-15; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The south-east end of the this *pronaos* was open on its east side and was later narrowed by approximately half its width of 3.5 m by an extension of the east wall (Kandler 2011, 14-15; Schwarzer 2012, 155).

This room was the first tri-partite structure discovered in Carnuntum, but its artefacts did not aid in its interpretation (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). In 1894, however, a Mithraeum was identified in Carnuntum with a similar tri-partite layout. Soon after Cumont's ground-breaking publication on Mithras in 1896, Room e was recognized as a Mithraeum based solely on its plan (Kandler 2011, 14; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The identification of this room as a Mithraeum persisted until as recently as the publication of the *CCID* in 1987; Schön (1988, 23) seems to have been the first to suggest that its identification as a Mithraeum might be incorrect in her doctoral dissertation submitted in 1984, and subsequent scholars have pointed out that several other Dolichena display similar multi-room layouts, such as those at Dura-Europos, Rome (Aventine Hill), and most recently in the 1990s at Balaklava Krim, near Sevastopol in Crimea (Kandler 2011, 14-15, Sarnowski and Savelja 2000, 35-51, 69-74; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The excavations of the Balaklava Dolichenum



confirm that this room was very likely rather part of the Dolichenum (Gassner 2005, 87; Kandler 2011, 15).

South and south-east of the Rooms d and e two other rooms have been identified (fig. 6; Dell 1893a, 50; Kandler 2011, 16). The west building, which does not seem to have been labelled by the excavator, was attached to the south side of the *pronaos* of Room d (Dell 1893a, 48, fig. 23L; Kandler 2011, 16-17; Schwarzer 2012, 155). It was a square structure measuring 5.5 m, and its 1.50 m wide entrance is thought to have been located at its north-east corner. The base of a quern (grinding/mill-stone) was found, presumably *in situ*, in the northwest corner of this structure, which suggested that this was a utility room or possibly a kitchen where the festive cult meals may have been prepared (Dell 1893a, 48; Gassner 2003, 140; Kandler 2011, 16-17; Schwarzer 2012, 155). The east rooms (Rooms g and h) were considerably larger, but only the west wall remained intact. A T-shaped hypocaust was discovered underneath the floor and several hypocaust pillars were still intact along the west wall; this suggests that the *praefurnium* was situated to the east of this room (Kandler 2011, 17; Schwarzer 2012, 155). This area is interpreted as the living/sleeping area for the priests associated with the Dolichenus cult (Kandler 2011, 17; Schwarzer 2012, 155).

A 10.0 m wide yard was located east of the two cult structures, Rooms d and e (Dell 1893a, 51; Kandler 2011, 17). At the yard's west end, directly in front of the entrance hall of Room d, the presence of roof tiles indicates a collapsed roof (Dell 1893a, 51; Kandler 2011, 17).

A 30.0 m long test trench, running north-west to south-east and located west of the two cult rooms (d and e) identified one of the precinct boundaries (fig. 4; Kandler 2011, 17-18). The eastern boundary of this wall is disputed: Dell (1893a, 51) interpreted this boundary as the "corner" meeting of two walls located some 80.0 m east of the cult rooms, while Kandler (2011, 18) considers that this wall likely belonged to a neighbouring parcel of land and that traces of a wall some 19.0m east and running parallel to the cult rooms was a more likely boundary for the *temenos* (fig. 4).

A 3.0 m-long span of ashlar masonry lay along the north boundary, somewhat to the west of what Kandler considers the eastern boundary of the *temenos* and may have been a gate to the precinct (fig. 4; Kandler 2011, 18).

Similar ashlar constructions were used as gates in the eastern area of the *canabae legionis* for precincts attributed to *Liber* and *Libera* as well as to *IOM Heliopolitanus* (Kandler 2011, 18). The Limes Road, as described above, led from the *canabae legionis* to the civilian city and was located just north of this northern boundary (fig. 5; Kandler 2011, 18).

The walled *temenos* of Jupiter Dolichenus was irregularly shaped and measured ca. 65.0 m x 67.0 m x 56.0 m x 50.0 m (N-W-S-E) (fig. 4; Kandler 2011, 18). The neighbouring walled area measured 60.0 m x 50.0 m x 43.0 m x 44.0 m (also N-W-S-E); the walled areas here can be compared with similar examples on the eastern boundary of the *canabae legionis*, where other cult precincts were found, such as *IOM Heliopolitanus*, *Liber* and *Libera* (Kandler 2011, 18).

The date for the demise of the Dolichenum is disputed. Some consider that its destruction was linked to an earthquake in the mid-4th century, but it is not confirmed that the Dolichenum was still in use at this time (Gassner 2003, 140; Schwarzer 2012, 155-156). The discovery of 3rd and 4th century burials in the Dolichenum area suggests that the temple was no longer functioning as such after the middle of the 3rd century (Dell, 1893b, 186; Gassner 2003, 140; Schwarzer 2012, 156).

### 2.1.H Artefacts

An assortment of altars and dedicatory inscriptions were found in the Dolichenum, as were a stamped brick and many remnants of brick flooring tiles and brick mosaic *tesserae*; many of these finds are now housed at the Museum Carnuntinum in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg and are described below.

All but two of the sculptures and inscriptions were found in the north part of Room d, particularly in the northwest part (Kandler 2011, 23). Other artefacts include fresco and pottery fragments, as well as pieces of chainmail, a quern (grinding/mill-stone) a pair of scissors inscribed with feathers, a bone needle, five coins, a ribbed, sheet-bronze rosette, two sheet-bronze discs, and two pottery sherds, one stamped with *Cristo F* and the other with *Titianu* scratched on its surface. These items were briefly documented during Dell's excavation in 1891 but do not seem to have been preserved or researched further; their precise findspots were often not noted (cat. 1.22; Dell 1893a, 49;

Dell 1893b, 184; Gassner 2003, 140; Kandler 2011, 11 and no. 13; Pollhammer, pers. comm.).

Other areas of the fortress, *canabae legionis*, auxiliary fort, and civilian city revealed a broad range of artefacts in keeping with their long and varied history, including but not limited to, weapons, armour, tools, sculpture, inscriptions, glass, iron, bronze and other metal-alloy implements both domestic and industrial, as well as a wealth of pottery wares. A full range of small finds, including coins, jewellery, toiletry and medical items, are also represented in the holdings of the Museum Carnuntinum.

Many of the artefacts listed below are indicated on Dell's detailed plan of Room d by a capital letter (fig. 7); this letter is indicated in round brackets ( ) in the Findspot information.

### 2.1.I Bibliography

Ammanianus Marcellinus, *Rer Ges* 5.2; *CCID*, 143-154; *CIL III*, nos. 11131, 13447; Collar 2013, 96-97; Dell 1893a, 41-69, fig. 23L; Dell 1893b, 178, 184, 186; Farnum 2005, 21-25, 29; Gassner 2003, 140; Gassner 2005, 87; Genser 1986, 576; Gugl 2006, 222-223, 228; Gugl and Kremer 2011a, b, 94, 101, 164; Humer 2004b, 7-9; Humer et. al. 2014, 37, 38, 39, fig. 27; *Itinerarium Antonini*, 247.4, 262.9; Jobst 1983, 45, 75, 176-182; Jobst 1992, 22; Kandler 1997, 258-259, 261; Kandler 2004a, 164; Kandler 2004b, 44-45; Kandler 2004c, 127; Kandler 2006, 261-263, 269; Kandler 2008, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18-19, 24-25, 26, 30; Kandler 2011, inside cover, 2, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, no. 13; Konecny, pers. comm.; Konecny 2014, 10-13; Kren 2009, 33; Merlat 1960, 136, 138, 139; Pleyel 1994, 55; Pliny (*HN* IV, 80; XXXVII, 45; Pollhammer, pers. comm.); Sarnowski and Savelja 2000, 35-51; Scherrer 1997, 102; Schön 1988, 23, 76-92; Schwarzer 2012, 154, 155, 156, fig. 1; Schwertheim 1981, 197; Swoboda 1964, 77, 118, 167; *Tabula Peutingeriana*, IV 2; Velleius Paterculus, II 109.5; Vermaseren 1956, map; <http://www.petronell.at/system/web/zusatzseite.aspx?menuonr=218447631&detailonr=218447616>; Kuttner 2013, <http://www.limes-oesterreich.at/php/site.php?ID=344#>;

## 2.1.J Artefact Catalogue

### Cat. 1.1

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed block (found 1912)
<b>Findspot</b>	Pfaffenberg <i>temenos</i> , Carnuntum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 369
<b>Material</b>	Calcareous sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.46 m x W. 0.72 m x Th. 0.38 m; Letter Ht. 0.04-0.06 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 128-138
<b>Description</b>	Inscription framed by a profiled border; traces of red pigment visible. Original provenance uncertain. Date narrowed to latter part of Hadrian's rule, as he received the title <i>pater patriae</i> in 128. Inscription: <i>Pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris) C- aes(aris) Tra(iani) Hadri(ani) Aug(usti) p(atris) p(atriciae), porta(m) et muru(m) per pedes lon(gum) C, altu(m) p(edes) VII iuvent(us) colen(s) Iove(m) Doli- chen(um) inpe(n)sa sua fec(it).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 217, pl. 42; Schön 1988, 91, no. 102, pl. 28, Jobst 2012, 281, fig. 1; Kremer 2014, 135, no. 153; lupa 13713.

### Cat. 1.2

<b>Item</b>	Fresco fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, in turf level
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Painted plaster
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Red, blue, green, red with black borders, yellow with red borders
<b>Bibliography</b>	Dell 1893b, 178; Kandler 2011, 8.

### Cat. 1.3

<b>Item</b>	Mosaic <i>tesserae</i>
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, turf layer
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Smoothed brick
<b>Dimensions</b>	0.04 m cubes (average)
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Large number found, some still embedded in mortar.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Dell 1893a, 49-50; Dell 1893b, 183; Kandler 2011, 8.

#### Cat. 1.4

<b>Item</b>	2 inscribed marble slab fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese (found 1891)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 414
<b>Material</b>	Fine-grained marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.315 m; Pres. W. 0.30 m and 0.47; Pres. Th. 0.03 m; Letter Ht. 0.082-0.09 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 180
<b>Description</b>	Well-cut “Abcedarium” inscription on slab in two fragments. Inscription: (centred) A B C (D E F G) H I K L M N (O P Q R S) T V X Y Z <i>Ex visu</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 1;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 218; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11186; Dell 1893b, 178, figs. 15, 15a; Schön 1988, no. 87; Kandler 2004c, 128-129, no. 40, fig. 121; Humer and Kremer 2011, 160, no. 32; Kandler 2011, 8; lupa 6848.

#### Cat. 1.5

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (B) (found 1891)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 4327
<b>Material</b>	Coarse-grained white limestone or marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.98 m; Pres. W. 0.57 m; Pres. Th. 0.29 – 0.35 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Heavily weathered and worn. Dedicated to the god by Caius Sollius Optatus. Profiled and offset base, top adorned with a garland, no longer visible. Sides are smoothed, reverse is rough, suggesting it was attached to a wall. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno)</i> <i>C(aius) Sollius</i> <i>Optatus et</i> <i>Soll(ius) Siro fil(ius)</i> <i>iussu dei</i> <i>d(onum) d(ederunt)</i> <i>sub sac(erdote) Antonio</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 219, pl. 43; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11133; Dell 1893b, 179, fig. 16; Schön 1988, no.88; Kandler 2004c, 128-129, no. 39, fig. 120; Kandler 2011, 8, 24, fig. 15; lupa 6678.

### Cat. 1.6

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed votive relief stele
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (E/E1) (found 1891)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No.31
<b>Material</b>	White, conchiferous (shelly) limestone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 1.55 m; W. 0.66 m (bottom) – 0.20 m (top); Th. 0.20 m (midpoint)
<b>Date</b>	2nd century, ca. 180
<b>Description</b>	In two fragments, but complete. Base is most likely cat. 1.7. A sturdy, muscular, frontal Jupiter Dolichenus stands atop a disproportionately small bull, facing right. Wearing a Phrygian cap, <i>tunica</i> , armour, and <i>cinctorium</i> (sword belt), but lacking cloak, axe; sword's pommel in the shape of an eagle's head is visible. Lightning bolt held in right hand; dowel hole in raised left hand likely for holding an axe. The bull wears a <i>dorsualis</i> (abdominal band). Cut inscription fills the background space; traces of red paint in cut lettering and blue paint on background. Stele sides and back unfinished, likely embedded in a wall. Dedicant: first a centurion from <i>Legio XIII</i> , then "Evocatus" of <i>Legio X</i> , was born in middle Italy (Marruvium). Alignment of tribe and location with the deity's head may be intentional. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)</i> <i>Doliceno</i> <i>Atilius</i> <i>Primus c(enturio) leg(ionis)</i> <i>XIII G(eminae)</i> <i>ex evo-</i> <i>cato leg(ionis)</i> <i>X G(eminae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i> <i>ex</i> <i>viso</i> <i>pro salute</i> <i>[sua] et suorum</i> <i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)</i> <i>domo Sergia</i> <i>Marsis.</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 2;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 222, pl. 44; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11129; Dell 1893b, 182, fig. 20; Schön 1988, no. 84; Kandler 2004c, 130-131, no. 41, fig. 122; Humer and Kremer 2011, 158, no. 30; Kandler 2011, 8, 24, no. 16; lupa 6675.

### Cat. 1.7

<b>Item</b>	Votive relief base
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum
<b>Material</b>	White, conchiferous (shelly) limestone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.82 m; W. 0.72 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 180
<b>Description</b>	Base thought to belong with relief stele (cat. 1.6). The smoothed front may have had a painted inscription. Narrow sides and back are unfinished, likely embedded in a wall.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 222; Dell 1893b, 182-183, fig. 20; Schön 1988, no. 84; Humer and Kremer 2011, 158, no. 30; Kandler 2011, 8.

### Cat. 1.8

<b>Item</b>	Statuary arm with hand holding lightning bolt
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (K) (found 1891)
<b>Repository</b>	Originally Abensperg-Traun collection, now Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 22613
<b>Material</b>	Bronze and silver
<b>Dimensions</b>	2/3 life size (Dell), length of forearm: 0.11 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Solid casting, with traces of silver gilding. The lightning bolt is winged, with ends shaped as three-sided spearhead. Arm covered in thin, close-fitting sleeve, suggesting a Near Eastern style. Two dowel holes in upper arm for attaching to body.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 3</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 226; Dell 1893b, 181-182, fig. 19; Schön 1988, no. 86; Kandler 2004c, 134-135, no. 46, fig. 127; Kandler 2011, 8, 27, fig. 17.

### Cat. 1.9

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar/base
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (G) (found 1891)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 4
<b>Material</b>	Limestone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.94 m; W. 0.70 m
<b>Date</b>	180-183
<b>Description</b>	Altar, or altar-style base with stepped base and crown. Back is flat, lacking profile. Cut letters bear traces of red paint. The date is secure as the emperor did not yet employ Pius in his title. Currently the base for cat. 1.10. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)</i> <i>Dolicheno</i> <i>pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris)</i> <i>Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Commo(di)</i> <i>Aug(usti) C(aius) Spurius</i> <i>Silvanus c(enturio) leg(ionis) X G(eminae)</i> <i>et Val(eria) Digna</i> <i>v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 223; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11134; Dell 1893b, 182, fig. 21; Schön 1988, no. 91; Kandler 2004c, 132-133, no. 43, fig. 124; Kandler 2011, 29-30, fig. 20; lupa 4901.

### Cat. 1.10

<b>Item</b>	Statue
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (H),
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 3884
<b>Material</b>	White marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 1.59 m; W. 0.82 m; Th. 0.32 m (average); attached plinth Ht. 0.8 m x W. 0.32 m x Th. 0.15 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 180–early 3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Found broken in several pieces, but complete. Jupiter Dolichenus stands frontal, supporting right leg, left leg slightly bent and forward. Beside him, to the right, an attached rock-formation support in which only the bull's skull and horns are represented. Dressed in imperial garb, not wearing the Phrygian cap, long haired and bearded. A long sword hangs from his <i>cinctorium</i> , left. Wearing a <i>paludamentum</i> , holding the double-axe in raised left hand and a lightning bolt in bent right; top of lightning bolt broken off. .

**Bibliography** Pl. 4; *CCID*, no. 224, pl. 44; Dell 1893b, 182, fig. 22; Schön 1988, no.85; Kandler 2004, 130-131, no. 42, fig. 123; Humer and Kremer 2011, 158, no. 29; Kandler 2011, 27-29, fig. 19; lupa 6676.

### Cat. 1.11

**Item** Inscribed altar  
**Findspot** Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (C) (found 1891)  
**Repository** Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 314  
**Material** Yellow-grey, porous limestone (Leithakalk)  
**Dimensions** Pres. Ht. 0.90 m; Pres. W. 0.455 m; Pres. Th. 0.44 m  
**Date** 2nd century  
**Description** Almost square base has protruding stepped base and 3-tiered crown. Inscription cut on shaft face, bears traces of red paint; left narrow side displays eagle on globe, grasping wreath in its beak; right narrow side depicts a handled jug. The altar top has a four-sided indentation/hollow terminating in a drainage channel to the front.  
Inscription:  
I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno)  
C(aius) Secun-  
dius  
sacer(dos)  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)

**Bibliography** *CCID*, no. 220, pl. 43; *CIL III*, no. 11132; Dell 1893b, 180, fig. 17; Schön 1988, no. 89; Kandler 2004c, 128-129, no. 38, fig. 119; Kandler 2011, 30-31, fig. 21; lupa 6677.

### Cat. 1.12

**Item** Inscribed altar  
**Findspot** Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (D)  
**Repository** Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 292  
**Material** Limestone  
**Dimensions** Ht. 0.88 m x W. 0.34 – 0.45 m; Letter Ht. 0.045-0.05 m  
**Date** 181 or 183  
**Description** Protruding profiled base and crown. Right narrow side decorated with a patera, the left with a jug. Inscription covers the front of all altar parts. Altar top has a *focus* (round indentation/hollow). Back roughly finished.  
Inscription:  
I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)  
Dol(icheno) et Hel(iopolitano)  
Pro sal(ute) Aug(usti)  
G(aius) Iul(ius) Dioni-  
cus et M(arcus) Fol-  
nius Primu(s)  
cur(atores) et Q(uintus) Ga-  
vius Zosimus  
scriba ded(icaverunt) ex vot(o)  
[imp(eratore)] Comm[od]o Aurelio co(nsule)  
[s]ac(erdotibus) [B]asso et Crispo

**Bibliography** *CCID*, no. 221, pl. 43; *CIL III*, no. 11131, 13447; Dell 1893b, 181, fig. 18; Schön 1988, 90; Kandler 2004c, 132-133, no. 44, fig. 125; Kandler 2011, 31, fig. 22; lupa 6673.



### Cat. 1.13

<b>Item</b>	Stamped brick
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum
<b>Material</b>	Brick
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Terracotta brick slab with production stamp of <i>Legio XIII Gemina</i> ; also inscribed is an alphabet.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 1</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 227; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11453; Schön 1988, 85, no.93, fig. 15.

### Cat. 1.14

<b>Item</b>	5 slab fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Pfaffenbrunnwiese, Room d (J)
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	White marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.70 m; Pres. W. 0.75 m; Pres. Th. (edge) 86.0 mm
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Face finely smoothed, surrounded by a profiled frame along edges. Face likely decorated with a painted inscription. Likely attached to a wall.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 225; Dell 1893b, fig. 23; Schön 1988, no.94; Kandler 2011, 32, fig. 23.

### Cat. 1.15

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Petronell, Dolichenum area (found 1816)
<b>Repository</b>	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Inv. No. KH III/16
<b>Material</b>	Sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.57 m x W. 0.34 m x Th. 0.28 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Stout altar with thick profiled cornice, top and bottom. Sides and top smoothed. Four 2 cm (average) holes located on front side of top of cornice. Traces of red paint. Dedication to the <i>genius</i> of the deity. Inscription: <i>Genium</i> <i>I(ovis) o(ptimi) m(aximi) D(olicheni)</i> <i>sub sacer(dotibus)</i> <i>Antioco et</i> <i>Marino.</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 229; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 4401; Schön 1988, no. 95; lupa 9546.

### Cat. 1.16

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed votive slab
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum <i>temenos</i> (M), Pfaffenbrunnwiese (found 1891)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 301
<b>Material</b>	Conchiferous (shelly) limestone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.45 m x W. 0.47 m x Th. 0.09 m
<b>Date</b>	2nd century
<b>Description</b>	Almost square with recessed face framed by wide profile moulding. Likely attached to a wall. Spelling mistake: <i>inpendio=impedio</i> Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) Luca(nius)</i> <i>Attilus</i> <i>iussu dei</i> <i>inpendi(o) suo</i> <i>fec(it).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 228; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11136; Dell 1893a, pl. 1; Dell 1893b, fig. 23 (M); Schön 1988, no. 92; Kandler 2004c, 132-133, no. 45, fig. 126; Humer and Kremer 2011, 160, no. 33; Kandler 2011, 16, fig. 11; lupa 6674.

### Cat. 1.17

<b>Item</b>	Statue with inscribed, attached plinth
<b>Findspot</b>	Caldarium of the military baths near Bad Deutsch-Altenburg (found 1875)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 375
<b>Material</b>	Conchiferous (“shelly”) limestone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 1.12 m; W. 0.50 m; Th. 0.38 m
<b>Date</b>	Early 3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Lower part of the deity and bull carved in high relief, the upper part carved in the round. Dolichenus stands in a frontal position, right foot resting on a reclined bull. Bull’s head looks left; hind quarters not visible. Dolichenus is bearded, wears a Phrygian cap and has a stern expression. Near Eastern in style, Dolichenus wears a belted <i>tunica</i> and <i>paludamentum</i> , yet his legs are bare. Holding a double-axe, with disproportionately large blades in his lowered left hand, he holds a lightning bolt in his right, also lowered, hand, both unusual as only one other example, from Brigetio ( <i>CCID</i> , no. 242), is known. Pedestal inscribed with one word: <i>Diis</i> , meaning ‘to/for the gods’, seen to reflect the syncretic philosophy at the time.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 5</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 230, pl. 42; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11106; Schön 1988, no. 96; Humer and Kremer 2011, 158, no. 31; lupa 6840.

**Cat. 1.18**

<b>Item</b>	3 inscribed slab fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, near the <i>forum</i> of the <i>canabae legionis</i> (found 1885)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, not located
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Contradictory information published by two authors in 1987 and 1988. Very damaged fragments, seemingly provide a list of worshippers' names. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) [o(ptimo)] m(aximo)</i> <i>Dolic[he]no</i> <i>M(arcus) Corn(elius) [---]</i> <i>C(aius) Val(erius) [---]</i> <i>C(aius) V[al(erius)---]</i> <i>P(ublius) V[al(erius)---]</i> <i>s[ub sac(erdotibus ?) ----]</i> <i>et Mari[no]</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 231; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11130; Schön 1988, no. 99; lupa 23438.

**Cat. 1.19**

<b>Item</b>	4 inscribed slab fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, near the <i>forum</i> of the <i>canabae legionis</i> (found 1885)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 63
<b>Material</b>	Sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 1.26 m; Pres. W. 0.30 m
<b>Date</b>	235-238
<b>Description</b>	Rectangular, high, narrow plaque with triple profiled frame. Extremely corroded in certain areas. Inscription: <i>[I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)]</i> <i>Dolich(eno)</i> <i>pro sal(ute)</i> <i>[imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)] C(aii)</i> <i>[Iul(ii) Ver(i) M]ax-</i> <i>[imini P(ii) F(elicis)</i> <i>[invic(ti) Au]g(usti)</i> <i>[----]</i> <i>[Ulp]us</i> <i>[A]mandianus</i> <i>mil(es) leg(ionis)</i> <i>XIII G(eminae)</i> <i>librarius</i> <i>numeri s(uprascripti)</i> <i>cus(tos) arm(orum)</i> <i>signif[er]</i> <i>optio</i> <i>o[cta]v[i]</i> <i>pr(incipis) pr(ioris)</i> <i>candidatus</i> <i>numini</i> <i>cum U[l]pio</i> <i>Amando</i> <i>[ve]t(erano) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i> <i>P[osuit?]</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 232; CIL III, no. 11135; Schön 1988, no. 98; Iupa 6845.

**Cat. 1.20**

<b>Item</b>	Figurine
<b>Findspot</b>	Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Burgfeld area of the fortress site (found 1967)
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 11978
<b>Material</b>	Sheet silver
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.1 m x Di. 0.01 m (average)
<b>Date</b>	1st 3rd, 3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Relief figurine of Dolichenus standing on a bull, bull faces left. Dolichenus holds a lightning bolt in his lowered right hand and a double-axe in his raised left. Wearing military dress. Hollowed out reverse and numerous solder marks suggest that it was attached to a metal surface such as, possibly, a triangular votive plaque. Earlier analysis identified the metal as bronze
<b>Bibliography</b>	Pl. 6; CCID no. 233, pl. 45; Schön 1988, no. 97; Humer and Kremer 2011, 154, no. 18.

**Cat. 1.21**

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Carnuntum area, ploughed field (found 1973)
<b>Repository</b>	Private collection
<b>Material</b>	Calcareous sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.54 m x W. 0.25 m x Th. 0.35 m; Letter Ht. 0.04 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 96–3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Unusually greater in thickness than in width, and inscribed on both front and back. Sides roughly hewn; a square hole on one side possibly for a wood beam. Profiled moulding visible on top and bottom of both front and back of altar. Inscribed areas heavily worn, some plough damage. Traces of thin plaster layer on inscribed surface; traces of red pigment in cut lettering. Circular depression on top surface of altar. Lack of dedicant name and dedication formula, possibly part of a larger altar. Inscription on reverse added at a later date, 3rd century. This would be the earliest evidence, if the dedication to Nerva were firm. Inscription, front: <i>I(ovi)</i> <i>o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno)</i> <i>[p]ro [sal(ute)] Nervae</i>  Inscription, back: <i>Deis</i> <i>Deabus</i> <i>H (-?) Q (-?)</i>  Interpreted Inscription: <i>[I(ovi) o(optimo) m(aximo) (.....) et] I(ovi)</i> <i>o(ptimo) D(olicheno)</i> <i>[et] ...[p]ro [sal(ute) im(eratoris)] Nerva ... [pos(uit)]</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 639; Weber 1979, 149-151; Schön 1988, no. 100, pl. 12; lupa 16773.

**Cat. 1.22**

<b>Item</b>	Varia
<b>Findspot</b>	Petronell, Dolichenum area
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Assorted, see below
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	a) iron chainmail fragments (uncertain whether found in Room d, or outside the Dolichenum); b) scissors with inscribed feather decoration (Room d); c) bone needle; d) 5 coins; e) ribbed, sheet-bronze rosette; f) 2 sheet-bronze discs; g) pottery sherd, stamped <i>Cristo F</i> ; h) pottery sherd, <i>Titianu</i> scratched on surface; i) brick paving slabs: 0.31m square; Th. 0.045m; laid directly on earthen floor of Room d (no hypocaust); j) great number of bones of domestic animals (undetermined), and horses in particular; k) quern (grinding/mill-stone).
<b>Bibliography</b>	Dell 1893b, 176-187; Gassner 2003, 140; Kandler 2011, 41-42, citing Dell's unpublished excavation notes (for cats. 1.22c, d, e, f, g, h).

## Finds possibly connected to the Dolichenus cult in Carnuntum

### Cat. 1.23

<b>Item</b>	Victoria statuette
<b>Findspot</b>	Carnuntum – no specific findspot indicated
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 11953
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.078 m x W. 0.036 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 2nd–3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Cast bronze statuette of a winged Victoria wearing a sleeveless garment, cinched at the waist. Her feet rest on a globe and an attachment device is located on the bottom of the globe. Raised, bent left arm; lowered right arm likely held a wreath and palm branch, respectively.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Fleischer 1967, 100, no. 122, pl. 68; Jobst 1992b, 66, no. 4; Humer and Kandler 2004, 106, no. 6, fig. 80; Humer and Kremer 2011, 153, no. 15.

### Cat. 1.24

<b>Item</b>	Victoria statuette
<b>Findspot</b>	Carnuntum – no specific findspot indicated
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 22600 (T 7)
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.064 m x W. 0.034 m
<b>Date</b>	Ca. 2nd–3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Cast bronze statuette of a winged Victoria wearing a sleeveless garment, cinched at the waist. Her feet rest on a globe and an attachment device is located on the bottom of the globe. Raised, bent left arm; lowered right arm likely held a wreath and palm branch, respectively. This statuette was not cast in the round, rather, its reverse was hollowed out.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Fleischer 1967, 100, no. 121, pl. 68; Humer and Kandler 2004, 106, no. 7, fig. 81; Jobst 1992b, 66, no. 5.

### Cat. 1.25

<b>Item</b>	Statuary arm with hand holding <i>bipennis</i> axe
<b>Findspot</b>	Presumably Carnuntum, gift from private source
<b>Repository</b>	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. AS VI 5449
<b>Material</b>	Bronze, silver
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.03 m; Pres. W. 0.055 m (arm)
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Cast, solid bronze forearm and hand, broken off before the elbow and tips of index and small finger also broken off. Hand holds a cast silver <i>bipennis</i> axe. Likely similar in size and composition to two statuettes from Mauer an der Url ( <i>CCID</i> , nos. 291, 292, figs. 54, 55).
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 3</b> ; Gschwantler 2004, 134-135, no. 47, fig. 128.

**Cat. 1.26**

<b>Item</b>	Sol appliqué
<b>Findspot</b>	Carnuntum – no specific findspot indicated
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 11971
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.042 m
<b>Date</b>	2nd–3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Crudely executed bust of Sol with a five-point radiate crown. Such appliqués could be affixed to various items, including the triangular plaques often identified with this cult. Sometimes used in combination with Luna and/or an eagle.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 6</b> ; Fleischer 1967, 106, no. 134, Pl. 73; Jobst 1992b, 66, no. 2; Humer and Kremer 2011, 155, no. 24; Humer et. al. 2014; 88, no. 6.

**Cat. 1.27**

<b>Item</b>	Luna appliqué
<b>Findspot</b>	Carnuntum – no specific findspot indicated
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 12029
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.074 m
<b>Date</b>	2nd–3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Luna is identified in this bust appliqué by the crescent moon placed above her head. Such an appliqué could be affixed to the triangular plaques often associated with this cult. Almost always used in combination with a depiction of Sol, sometimes also an eagle.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 6</b> ; Fleischer 1967, 107, no. 135, fig. 73; Jobst 1992b, 66, no. 3; Humer and Kremer 2011, 155, no. 25; Humer et. al. 2014; 88, no. 7.

**Cat. 1.28**

<b>Item</b>	1 relief fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Carnuntum – no known findspot
<b>Repository</b>	Museum Carnuntinum, Inv. No. 3891
<b>Material</b>	White marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.125 m; Pres. W. 0.125-0.1 m; Pres. Th. 0.03-0.05 m
<b>Date</b>	2nd – 3rd century
<b>Description</b>	Top edge fragment of a votive relief plaque showing part of a male head and shoulder. A Phrygian cap tops the head and the position of the shoulder indicates that the figure's right arm (viewer's left) was raised. Identified as Cautes (cult of Mithras), there is evidence of a beard on the chin of the otherwise worn face; this could, therefore, have been Jupiter Dolichenus, brandishing his axe.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Vermaseren 1956, no. 1703, fig. 442; Schön 1988, 43, no. 33; Jobst 1992c, 50, no. 7; lupa 23442.

## 2.1.K Site Figures



Fig. 3: Location of Carnuntum and Virunum.

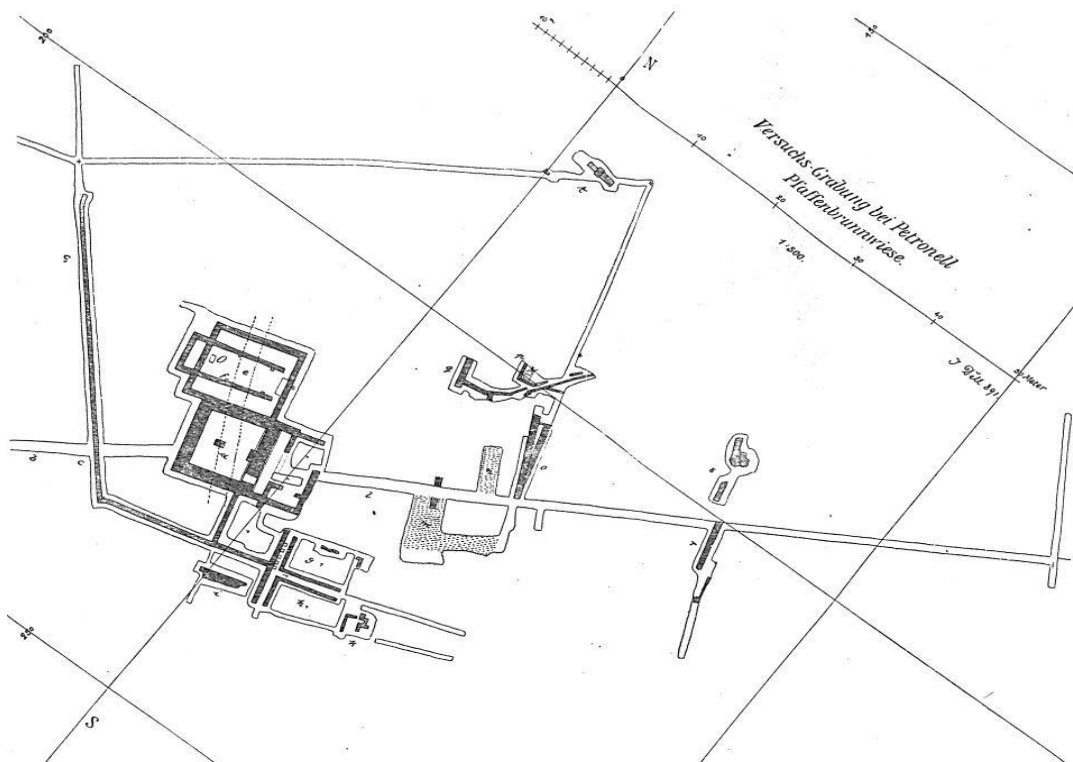


Fig. 4: Carnuntum - Plan of Dolichenian *temenos*, Excavation and Test Trenches as of 1891.



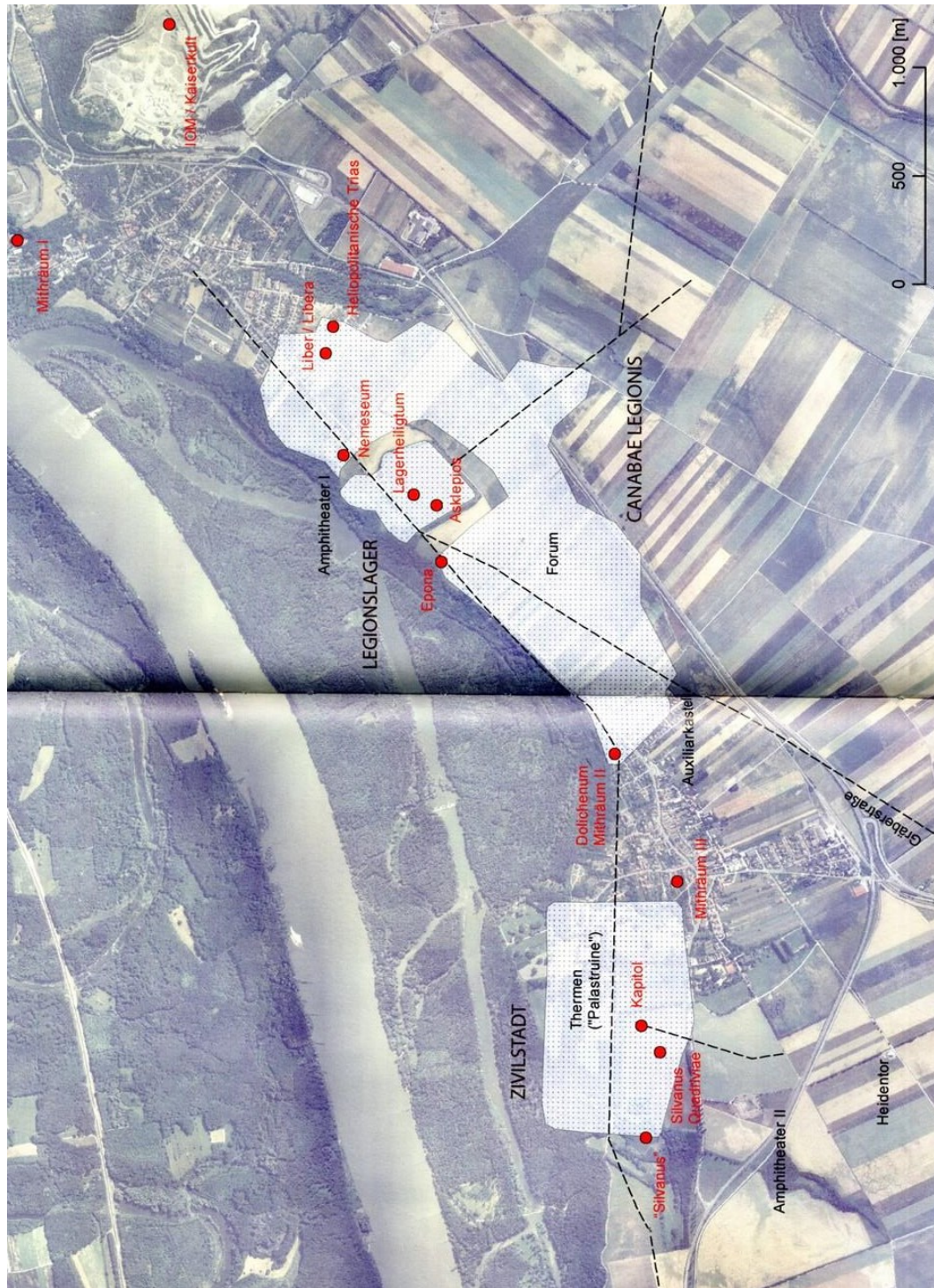


Fig. 5: Carnuntum -Dolichenum and Other Cult Sites.

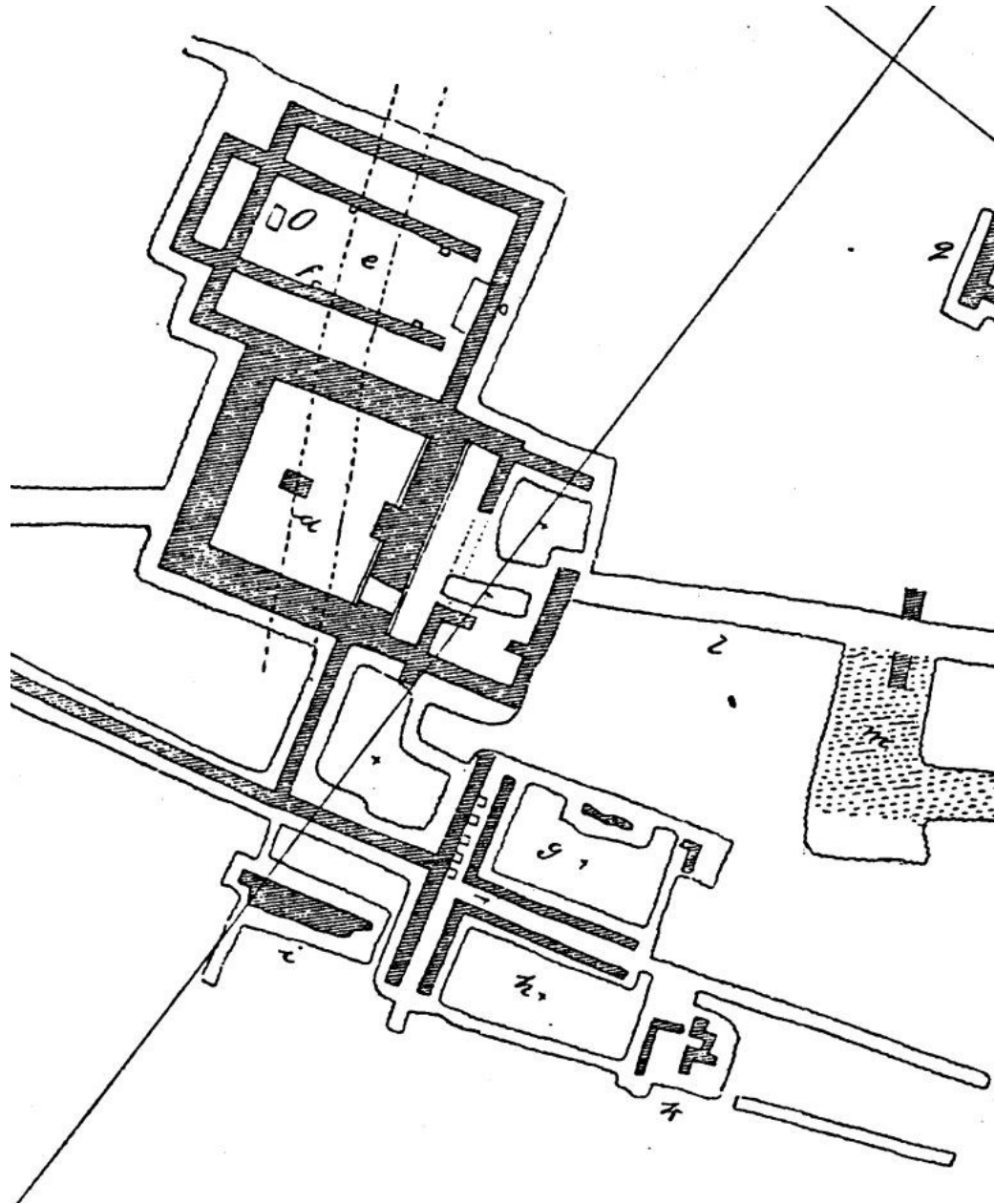


Fig. 6: Carnuntum -Dolichenum Buildings, Detail of fig. 4.

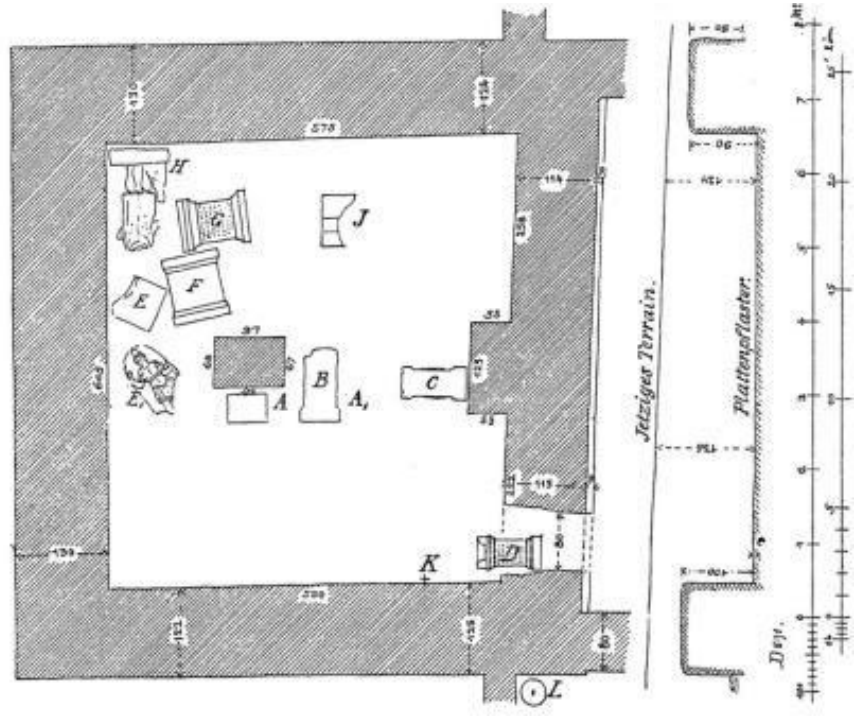


Fig. 7: Carnuntum - Plan of Room d with Placement of Artefacts.

## Site 2. Noricum: Virunum

### 2.2.A Name

Municipium Claudium Virunum was a Roman city located in the province of Carinthia, Austria. Its name has Celtic origins (Vetters 1961, 245; Vetters 1977, 303). The city is listed in Pliny (*HN III*, 16) and in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (276, 5); Virunum is indicated as Varuno on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* IV/V (Vetters 1961, 244 and 1977, 304). It is now identified simply as Virunum.

### 2.2.B Location

Virunum is situated in south central Austria (fig. 3; *CCID*, 182, fig. 15), in an area identified as Zollfeld near the modern day town of Maria Saal im Zollfeld, Klagenfurt-Land County, in the Austrian province of Carinthia (Kärnten) (Vetters 1977, 302; Schwarzer 2012, 159; Virunum lay on a plain between the Glan River and the Töltschacher Hill (Dolenz 1999, 11).

The city's location was strategic: it was placed at the crossroads of several important trading routes which predate Roman occupation in the area (Vetters 1977, 304). These routes were improved and further developed upon the peaceful annexation, in 15 BC, of the Kingdom of Noricum (Vetters 1977, 304). It was situated on the road that led from Aquileia on the Adriatic Coast to Lauriacum on the Danube River; another road led west to the *via Claudia Augusta* via Teurnia, and yet another led east to Celeia as well as Poetovio, where it joined the Amber Road (Ch. 2.1.B; Vetters 1977, 304).

A grid-like street pattern developed from the intersection of the *decumanus maximus*, the main north-south oriented street, and the east-west oriented *cardo maximus*, the second most important street; both led to the *Forum* and *Capitolium* area (fig. 8; Dolenz 1999, 18). The area to the north of the forum was reserved for the Capitoline Triad, while other temples or religious precincts were located in the north of the city (Dolenz 1999, 22).

The Dolichenum was situated at the north end of Virunum (fig. 8), just outside the built-up urban area and slightly northeast of the existing "Prunnerkreuz" niche-chapel (Vetters 1977, 313; Schön 1988, 178). According to the excavation map provided in Fuchs (1997), it seems that the Dolichenum was

located just west of the *decumanus maximus* and about two city blocks north (ca. 250 m) of the *Capitolium* and the adjoining *Forum* (Fuchs 1997, 23 and map insert). According to a more detailed map provided in Vettters (1977, 312, fig. 2), the Dolichenum was placed two blocks east of the *decumanus maximus* (fig. 8).

### 2.2.C Occupation History

*Municipium Claudium Virunum* was the official name of the ancient town now identified as Virunum. It was the residence of governors and the provincial administration for the province of Noricum for approximately 130 years until the provincial administration was moved to Ovilava (Wels, Austria) in 170 (Dolenz 1999, 15-16). Towards the end of the 3rd century, Diocletian divided the province of Noricum; Virunum then became the administrative centre for the newly formed *Noricum mediterraneum* (Dolenz 1999, 16).

A building inscription (cat. 2.1) provides a foundation date of 189 for the Dolichenum (CCID, no. 330; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Dolenz 1999, 31; Schwarzer 2012, 159). An altar (cat. 2.13) indicates that the temple was in use during the Severan era, yet precisely how much longer is not known (Egger 1914, 56). A substantial burnt layer places its destruction during the 3rd century (Schön 1988, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 159). Some coins (cat. 2.17) were found strewn throughout the Dolichenum, yet their precise physical findspots were not documented (Egger 1914, 54, 57; Schön 1988, 178). The latest coins date to the time of Valentinian, although Schön (1988, 181) asserts that these cannot be used for providing a *terminus ante quem* since the cult is unlikely to have continued this late.

Religions in general are well represented at Virunum. As a major city and therefore replicating elements of Rome, the state and Imperial cults were practiced; for example, there is evidence for the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva) in Virunum's capitol (Vettters 1977, 333-334; Gugl 1999, 78). The site also preserves inscriptions attesting to other cults and deities, such as *Aesclepius*, *Hygieia*, *Genius Augusti*, *Isis*, *Nemesis*, and *Fortuna Respiciens* (Vettters 1977, 334; Piccottini 2002, 112-113). Although the temple itself has not yet been discovered, a large bronze inscribed plaque found in 1992 describes the construction and inauguration of a Mithraeum sometime between 182/183-

184 (Piccottini 1994, 7; Schwarzer 2012, 160). Another inscription describing the renovation of a Mithraeum and fragments of a tauroctony relief and snake-pot also indicate that at least one Mithraeum, if not two, served the Virunum community (Piccottini and Dolenz 1993, 250-252; Piccottini 1994, 7).

As a result of more recent excavations, the site's artefacts indicate a high standard of living and an increase in population. Stratigraphic data shows that Virunum's heyday occurred during the Severan/late-Severan period, and its decline started sometime in the 5th century (Dolenz 2002, 124; Piccottini 2002, 105). By the 6th century, Virunum was abandoned, largely as a result of the mass-migrations (*Völkerwanderungszeit*) which were occurring throughout most of Europe at this time (Jernej 1999, 42; Piccottini 2002, 105).

Until very recently, little was known about a military presence in Virunum. The presence of *cohors I montanorum* and a vexillation unit of *Legio VIII Augusta* are known for the romanized Celtic settlement (sometimes considered "old Virunum") on nearby Magdalensberg mountain, yet by the Claudian era at the latest, these units can no longer be attested there (Vetters 1961, 279). It was a long-held belief by most scholars that no military unit was ever stationed at Virunum (Vetters 1961, 279). This view has only recently been disproven with the results of geophysical scans performed in 2013 (Ch. 2.2.E; Gugl and Jernej 2014, 72; Gugl et. al., in press, 151-162). The presence of some military personnel can be proven by inscriptions, such as a dedication from a member of *ala I Thracum* from the Nemesium of the amphitheatre (Piccottini 2002, 112). Inscriptions attesting members of *cohors III Tungrorum* and *cohors I Thracum* have also been found (Hainzman and Schubert 1987, nos. 784 and 826).

#### **2.2.D Construction History**

The building inscription (cat. 2.1) confirms the construction of a Dolichenum by 189; it describes the structure with a *triclinium* (Schön 1988, 178, 181; Dolenz 1999, 31; Schwarzer 2012, 159).

Virunum was a planned city, built upon virgin soil during the Claudian period (Vetters 1977, 303; Dolenz 1999, 11). Aerial photographs indicate that Virunum was a densely built-up urban area of approximately 1.5 km<sup>2</sup> (Dolenz

1999, 16; Jernej 1999, 42). According to Vettters (1977, 311-312), the siting of the city on a plain between river and mountain was ideal and Vitruvius' guidelines were followed (1. IV 5, VI 1); for example, the placement of roads and city blocks were arranged in a grid fashion but at an angle that prevented the prevailing north-west winds from being a nuisance (Dolenz 1999, 16). Although a portion of the city was planned, multiple building periods and renovations may have occurred throughout the *insulae*. For example, two main building phases have been identified in *Insula IV* and four phases in *Insula I* (Vettters 1977, 320-324), although these conclusions are based on old excavation records (Vettters 1977, 325).

As the result of a new excavation launched in 1992, excavators proved that Virunum underwent a substantial expansion in the second half of the 2nd century (Piccottini 1994, 7). This excavation confirmed that an area on the west side of Virunum was not part of the original planned settlement and, rather, that it was sparsely occupied by simple and small structures of seemingly agrarian nature at the time of its foundation. It was not until the latter half of the 2nd century that this area was redeveloped as part of the urban settlement (Dolenz 2002, 123; Piccottini 2002, 105). Virunum's heyday is also indicated in the rebuilding and/or renovation of large public structures, such as the theatre and amphitheatre (Piccottini 2002, 105).

Virunum, an un-walled and therefore unprotected city, was largely abandoned by the 6th century, after which time it seems to have fallen victim to extensive stone robbing (Jernej 1999, 42; Piccottini 2002, 105).

### **2.2.E Excavation History**

Although the Dolichenum's building inscription (cat. 2.1) was found north of the Prunnerkreuz chapel in 1838, the Dolichenum itself was not discovered until 1913 during excavations, led by Rudolf Egger, in the same general area (Egger 1914, 45-56; Dolenz 1954, 139; Merlat 1960, 139-143; Schön 1988, 178; Dolenz 1999, 31; Schwarzer 2012, 159). This Dolichenum structure is the only known example in Noricum, although others, such as Mauer an der Url, are attested by inscriptions and related finds.

Excavations in the Zollfeld area began in the 19th century and continued sporadically until World War I, and again resumed briefly after the war ended (Vetters 1961, 245). Most of ancient Virunum was never built over, and as a result, aerial photography from 1976 has been able to indicate large areas of urban development not yet excavated (Piccottini 1994, 7; Dolenz 1999, 11).

Systematic excavations resumed in 1992, a campaign which focussed on two *insulae* situated on the west side of the site and lasted until 1998 (Piccottini 2002, 105). Another planned excavation, which concentrated on the amphitheatre, ran from 1998 until 2001 (Piccottini 2002, 107; Dolenz 2010, 1).

Salvage excavations as a result of railway line construction were carried out by the Bundesdenkmalamt (BDA) from 1994-1996 (Piccottini 2002, 107). These confirmed the placement of some roads as well as the burial area which flanked the main road leading out of the city's north end (Piccottini 2002, 107).

In mid-November 2013, the Austrian Academy of Science, in collaboration with the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Archaeological Prospection and Virtual Archaeology, performed a geophysical survey in the eastern area of ancient Virunum. Preliminary interpretative results of these ground-penetrating scans confirm that a Roman fort did indeed exist in Virunum (Gugl and Jernej 2014, 72; Gugl et. al., in press, 151-162).

#### **2.2.F Restorations/Conservation**

Much of the ancient city was destroyed due to stone robbing in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The area grew over in the succeeding centuries and more damage occurred as a result of intensive cultivation and fertilization (Dolenz 1999, 11-12). Most of what remains under the surface are foundation walls as well as deeper-lying structures, such as drainage channels and hypocausts (Dolenz 1999, 11-12).

Currently, the only visible structure belonging to Virunum is the amphitheater (Gugl, pers. comm.; Dolenz, 2010, 1). As the result of a local employment initiative, parts of this structure were conserved and other, badly damaged parts reconstructed (Dolenz 2010, 3-5).



### 2.2.G Physical Characteristics

The Dolichenum (fig. 9) was an almost square building, constructed of undressed stone and with outer dimensions of 17.70 m x 11.60 m (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178, 180, fig. 30; Fuchs 1997, 23; Dolenz 1999, 31; Schwarzer 2012, 159). It consisted of four rooms: two larger rooms were situated in the south part of the building and two smaller rooms to the north (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178, 180, fig. 30; Fuchs 1997, 23; Dolenz 1999, 31; Schwarzer 2012, 159). It was oriented southwards, with its entrance leading into Room I (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178; Fuchs 1997, 23; Schwarzer 2012, 159). Parts of two walls, located just outside and perpendicular to the south wall of the Dolichenum, formed a kind of corridor; these two walls are thought to belong to a later building (*CCID*, no. 329; Schwarzer 2012, 159).

Room I, located in the southwest portion of the building measured 7.85 m x 6.45 m (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178; Schwarzer 2012, 159-160). It had a terrazzo floor, a pavement of water-resistant mortar with crushed-brick temper (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178; Schwarzer 2012, 159-160). A small, L-shaped wall extended 1.35 m from the north wall, close to the northwest corner and then continued in a west-east direction for 1.60 m. Its height at the time of excavation was 0.50 m, and the presence of a votive platelet fragment (cat. 2.14) previously found in that area led Egger to interpret this wall's function for displaying votives (*CCID*, no. 329; Merlat 1960, 141; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160). Artefacts from this room suggest that it was a cult room (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178; Schwarzer 2012, 160). These items were found in a pit measuring 3.5 m x 2.0 m and located on both the inner and outer sides of the west wall. The pit was originally interpreted as the result of a modern robbery-excavation, but it may be connected with the temple's destruction (Schön 1988, 178). Schön (1988, 178) notes that the pit also contained traces of an ancient burnt/destruction layer in addition to some of the fourteen coins, the most recent of which is for Valentinian. This last scenario, however, is problematic, as by Valentinian's rule the cult was most definitely no longer active in this area, and it is more likely that the contents were placed in the pit sometime at the end of, or after, the Valentinian era.

Room II, in the southeast corner of the Dolichenum, was almost the same size as Room I, measuring 7.80 m x 6.20 m (fig. 9; *CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160). The floor in this room was tamped earth, and a variety of artefacts found within it suggests cult activity (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160). Merlat (1960, 141) describes this as a private cult room, perhaps for those already initiated into the cult.

Room III, located in the northeast corner of the Dolichenum, measured 7.80 m x at least 3.50 m; its north wall is not preserved (fig. 9; *CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160). The floor in this room consisted of a slate-slab pavement resting on small hypocaust pillars (*CCID*, no. 329; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160). The heating system and a lack of artefacts in this room led Egger (1914, 47) to suggest that it is the *triclinium* indicated in the building inscription found in 1838 (Merlat 1960, 141; Schön 1988, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160).

Room IV, located in the northwest corner of the Dolichenum, measured 7.85 m x 3.25 m (fig. 9). The room's floor was made of tamped earth. This room was interpreted as a sacristy based on its artefacts, such as an offertory box, a candelabrum fragment, a lamp, and a handle fragment (cats. 2.12, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11), (*CCID*, no. 329; Merlat 1960, 141; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 160).

## **2.2.H Artefacts**

The site of the Virunum Dolichenum has revealed altars, dedicatory inscriptions, sculptural elements, and a variety of artefacts such as coins, ceramics, and hardware.

Other areas of the city have also revealed a broad range of artefacts in keeping with its long and varied history, such as weapons, tools, sculpture, inscriptions, glass, assorted metal crafts, both domestic and industrial, as well as a great variety of ceramics. These finds are complemented by a range of small finds including coins, jewellery, toiletry and medical items.

## 2.2.I Bibliography

*CCID*, nos. 329-330, 333,338,339-341; Dolenz 1954, 139; Dolenz 1999, 11-12, 15-16, 18, 22, 31; Dolenz 2002, 123-124; Dolenz 2010, 1, 3-5; Egger 1914, 45-56, 54, 57; Fuchs 1997, 23, map insert; Gugl 1999, 78; Gugl and Jernej 2014, 72; Gugl et. al., in press, 151-162; Hainzman and Schubert 1987, nos. 784, 826; *Itinerarium Antonini* (276, 5); Jernej 1999, 42; Merlat 1960, 139-143; Piccottini 1994, 7; Piccottini 2002, 105, 107, 112-113; Piccottini and Dolenz 1993, 250-252; Schön 1988, 178, 181; Schwarzer 2012, 159, 160; *Tabula Peutingeriana* IV/V; Vettors 1961, 244-245, 279; Vettors 1977, 302-304, 311-313, 320-324, 325, 333-334; Vitruvius 1. IV 5, VI 1.

## 2.2.J Artefact Catalogue

### Cat. 2.1

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed slab fragments, building inscription
<b>Findspot</b>	Virunum, near the Prunnerkreuz chapel area of the later-discovered Dolichenum (found 1838)
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 68
<b>Material</b>	Limestone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.335 m
<b>Date</b>	189
<b>Description</b>	Square hole, 2.8 cm deep, in centre of text. Inscription within a profiled, offset frame. Line 1 is placed close to the top of frame, lettering in Line 2 (naming the deity) approximately three times larger than other lettering. Naming of consulships provides secure date of 189; Commodus' name appears to have been erased. Alternate interpretation of part of the last two lines by Kan (I, 54, no.53) as: <i>s[acerdos] / triclinic(um)</i> . Inscription: <i>Duobus Silanis I [-----]</i> <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolic[heno]</i> <i>[[pro sal(ute)---]]</i> <i>[[-----]]</i> <i>[[-----]]</i> <i>Bellicus Marini fil(ius) s[acrar(ium) cum]</i> <i>triclin(io) omni impend(io) suo iu[ssu dei feci.]</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 7</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 330; <i>CIL III</i> , nos. 4789, 5006; Pichler 1888, 62; Egger 1914, 45-47, 48, fig. 25; Schön 1988, no. 207.

### Cat. 2.2

<b>Item</b>	Round, inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room I, pit
<b>Repository</b>	Lost (disintegrated after photography)
<b>Material</b>	Stone, probably limestone or sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Badly burned state, disintegrated (crumbled) soon after photography. Originally set in a four-sided base, also found in the pit. The inscribed area was recessed (0.015 m) and set within a profiled frame on the round shaft. Last line of the dedication formula located underneath the bottom of the frame. One of only a few known dedications to Juno Regina. Inscription: <i>Iunoni Reginae iussu dei Dolicheni Cl(audius) Rufinus et Octavia Comsilla pro se d(e)d(icaverunt) OR d(ono) d(ederunt).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 331; Egger 1914, 49-50, fig. 27; Schön 1988, no. 199.

### Cat. 2.3

<b>Item</b>	2 inscribed, round altar fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room I
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 45
<b>Material</b>	Stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Inscription preserved in 1 line: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) [--].</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 332; Egger 1914, 49-50, fig.28; Schön 1988, no. 200, fig. 31.

### Cat. 2.4

<b>Item</b>	6-sided inscribed altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room IV
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 76
<b>Material</b>	Unknown stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Profiled top part including only the uppermost portion of the inscribed area. At the time of discovery, traces of red paint still visible in the letters. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) [m(aximo) D(olicheno)---].</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 333; Egger 1914, 50, fig. 29; Schön 1988, no. 205.

### Cat. 2.5

<b>Item</b>	Small, inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room II, southeast corner
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt
<b>Material</b>	Unknown stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Traces of an inscription, so badly damaged by fire as to be illegible. Profiled crown and base.
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 334; Egger 1914, 50-51, fig. 30; Schön 1988, no. 202.

### Cat. 2.6

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed slab/altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room II, near southeast corner
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Unknown stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Inscription partially preserved; interpreted as an altar. Line 2 thought to identify Commodus. Inscription: <i>[--Mar]inus</i> <i>[--]COM</i> <i>[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus)] m(erito).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 335, Egger 1914, 51, fig. 31a; Schön 1988, no. 203, fig. 33.

### Cat. 2.7

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed columnar altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Virunum Dolichenum, Room II, near southeast corner
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 51
<b>Material</b>	Stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Fragment filled with cut inscription, no traces of frame or other decoration. Inscription: <i>--] AN [--</i> <i>--] ANUS [--</i> <i>--] ROMA [--</i> <i>-- ex v] oto [--</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	CCID, no. 336; Egger 1914, 51, fig. 31b; Schön 1988, no. 204, fig. 34.

### Cat. 2.8

<b>Item</b>	18 sculptural fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room I, strewn around altar dedicated to Juno Regina (cat. 2.2)
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. Nos. 53, 54, 75
<b>Material</b>	Unknown stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Parts of 3 sculptures, possibly from a group depicting the Dolichenian couple. 7 fragments of a bull sculpture, two of which belong to the base and include part of the bull's hoof. 5 other pieces show body parts; remnants of its horns identify the bull. 6 fragments of a statue of Jupiter Dolichenus wearing a military costume; lightning bolt in left hand resting on bent knee. Right, raised hand/arm held a double-axe. 6 fragments of a gowned figure, presumably Juno Dolichena.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 337; Egger 1914, 52; Schön 1988, no. 201-a,b,c.

### Cat. 2.9

<b>Item</b>	Candelabrum fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room IV, near cats. 2.10, 2.11, 2.12 in burnt layer on tamped earth floor
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 58
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.085 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Upward-bent stem bearing four three-part leaf groups ending in a bud resembling a pine cone.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 338; Egger 1914, 52; Schön 1988, 184, no. 206-1.

### Cat. 2.10

<b>Item</b>	Lamp
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room IV, near cats. 2.9, 2.11, 2.12
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 59, or lost
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	0.105 m (upper, max. diameter)
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Round oil reservoir with 3 wick nozzles, foot ring adorned with two decorative inscribed lines. The slightly recessed top had 3 holes and a larger hole in the middle. Part of the bronze chain used to suspend the lamp was still attached to 3 rings on it.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no.339; Egger 1914, 52, fig. 32; Schön 1988, no. 206-2.

### Cat. 2.11

<b>Item</b>	Handle fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room IV, near cats. 2.9, 2.10, 2.12
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 60 or 74
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. W. 0.085 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Right side of a handle in the rare shape of a hybrid sea serpent (“Seepanther”), decorated on the front, with hollow back. Mane rendered with stamped dots in circular lines; fish body has scales; two vertical lines of stylized matted fur separate the mane and fish scales. In its left paw it holds a medallion decorated with a female head. The tail fin fashioned like a rudder.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 8</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 340; Egger 1914, 53, fig. 33; Schön 1988, 184, no. 206-3.

### Cat. 2.12

<b>Item</b>	Offertory/money box
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Room IV, same layer as bronze items (cats. 2.9, 2.10, 2.11)
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 61
<b>Material</b>	Terracotta
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.078 m; Est. Diam. 0.29 m; coin slot 0.02 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Grey, with coin slot in recessed centre at top, partly broken away
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 8</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 341; Egger 1914, 53-54, fig. 34; Schön 1988, 184, no. 206-4.

### Cat. 2.13

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar with profiled base and cornice
<b>Findspot</b>	Töltschach/Zollfeld (found 1691)
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, Inv. No. 98
<b>Material</b>	Local marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.98 m; Pres. W. 0.37 m; Th. 0.295 m; inscribed surface: Ht. 0.44 m; W. 0.28 m
<b>Date</b>	1st ½ of the 3rd century.
<b>Description</b>	Part of cornice broken off. Two dowel holes located on top front of cornice; likely used for affixing a votive statue. <i>Legio II Italica</i> was stationed in Lauriacum (Enns); the epithet <i>Severiana</i> was given them during the rule of Alexander Severus, dates this altar to that time or later. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno)</i> <i>Severinius</i> <i>Silvinus</i> <i>et Aur(elius)</i> <i>Boniatius</i> <i>mili(tes) leg(ionis) II</i> <i>Ital(icae) Severi(anae)</i> <i>v(otum) s(olverunt) l(aeti) l(ibens) m(erito).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 342; Egger 1914, 48, no. 26; Schön 1988, 186, no. 208; lupa 4657.

**Cat. 2.14**

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed platelet/lamella (tabula ansata?)
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area (found 18th century)
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Metal (bronze?)
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Inscription: <i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) D(olicheno)</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 343; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 6015, 4; Egger 1914, 48; Schön 1988, 186-187, no. 209.

**Cat. 2.15**

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Virunum area (found 1974)
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, no inv. number
<b>Material</b>	Local, fine-grained white marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 1.05 m; Pres. W. 0.32 m; Pres. Th. 0.30 m
<b>Date</b>	175 – 225, more specifically 197 - 207
<b>Description</b>	Fragment, right side of altar, broken in two. Inscription within profiled, recessed area on shaft front. Very badly preserved but traces indicating a stepped cornice and base remain. Eagle within frame on the right narrow side, with half-opened wings its head looks left, its body facing right. Inscription: ..... <i>[I(ovi) o(ptimo)] m(aximo) D(olicheno)</i> <i>[pro s]alute</i> <i>[imp(eratoris)] Aug(usti)</i> <i>[n(ostri) et disp(ensatoris)] monet-</i> <i>[ae Aug(usti) F]ortu-</i> <i>[natus v]ik(arius) fecit.</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 344, pl. 65; Schön 1988, 188, no. 212, fig. 37; Piccottini 2002, 112, no. 2.

**Cat. 2.16**

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Near Dolichenum (found 1974)
<b>Repository</b>	Landesmuseum Klagenfurt, or Schloss Toeltschach
<b>Material</b>	Local, coarse-grained white marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.435 m; W. 0.26 m; Th. 0.19 m - 0.21 m; Lettering: Ht. 0.028 m; W. 0.018 m (average)
<b>Date</b>	131–230 (?); mid-2nd century ( <i>CCID</i> )
<b>Description</b>	Smoothed shaft with profiled base and crown. <i>Elia</i> in line 4 is interpreted to mean <i>Aelia</i> . Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno)</i> <i>Egronjus</i> <i>Primianus</i> <i>et Elia Vale-</i> <i>ria ex voto</i> <i>posuit.</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 9;</b> <i>CCID</i> 345, pl. 64; Schön 1988, no. 211, fig. 36; Piccottini 2002, 112, no. 1; Iupa 5876.



**Cat. 2.17**

<b>Item</b>	14 coins
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, strewn across the site
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	69 – 375 (rules of Vespasian to Valentinian)
<b>Description</b>	The coin inventory list provided by the excavator does not distinguish between coins found in the Dolichenum and those from other, nearby excavation areas, covered in the same publication.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Egger 1914, 54, 57; Schön 1988, 178.

**Finds possibly connected to the Dolichenus cult in Virunum****Cat. 2.18**

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Near Dolichenum (found 1965)
<b>Repository</b>	Private collection
<b>Material</b>	Local marble
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.38 m; Pres. W. 0.25 0.27 m; Pres. Th. 0.255-0.30 m; Letter Ht. 0.038 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Right hand side top portion with profiled cornice. Only the final letters of some lines visible on its front side; interpretation is disputed and identification of Jupiter Dolichenus is not secure. Narrow side and back worked but not smoothed. Inscription: <i>[D(eo)] D(olicheno) O(ptimo)</i> <i>[Au]g(usto) sac(rum)</i> <i>[p(ro) s(salute) A]ur(elii) Alexan</i> <i>[dri I]mp(eratoris)</i>  OR  ..... <i>[M(ercurio)] d(eo) o(mnipotenti)</i> <i>[au]g(usto)</i>  OR  <i>[D(is)] d(eabusque) o(mnibus)</i> <i>[Genio lo]c(i) sac(rum)</i> <i>[M(arcus) A]ur(elius) Alexan[der]</i> <i>[-----]</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	Pahl 2010, 108, no. 34, pl. 11; lupa 11389.

## 2.2.K Site Figures

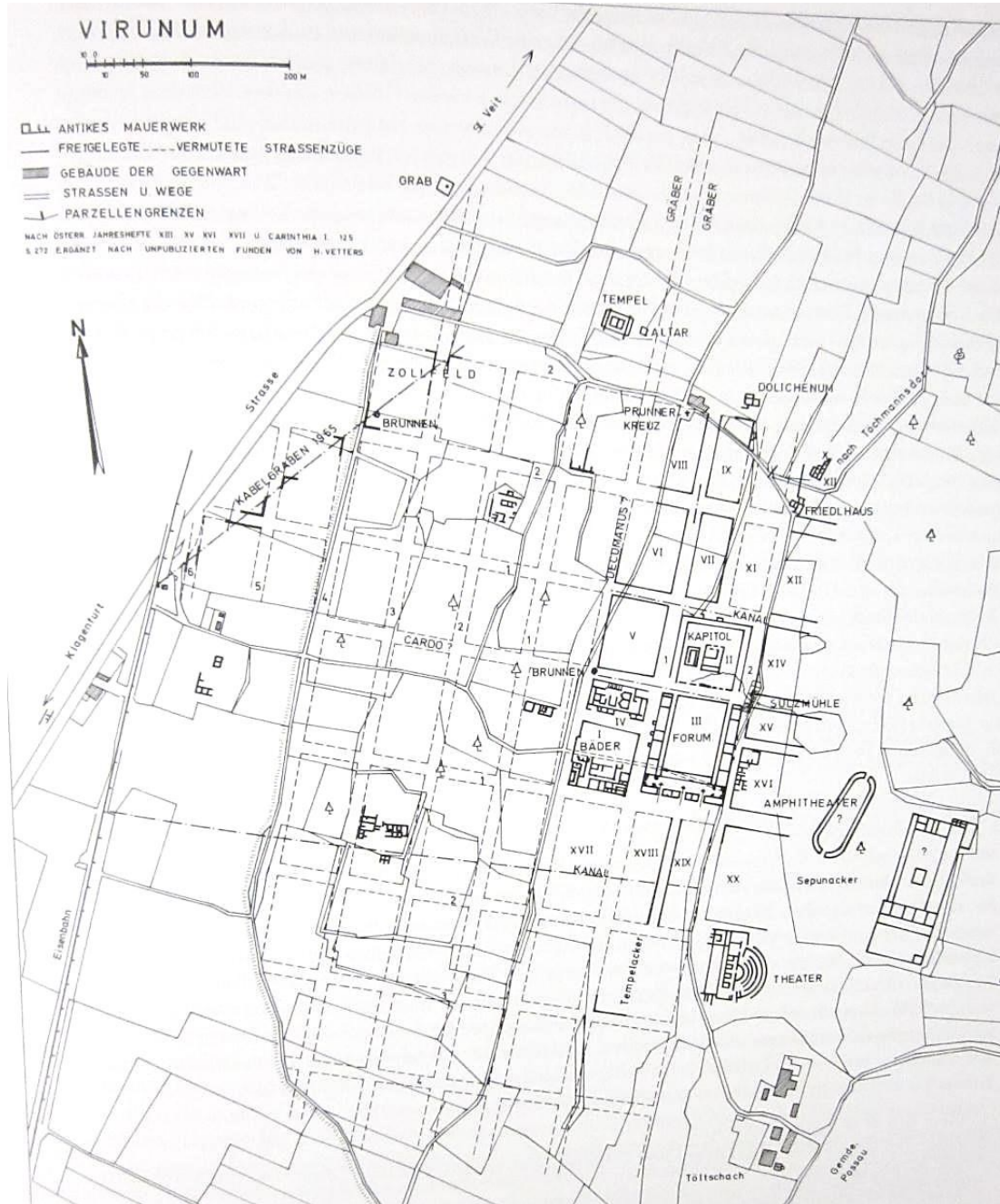


Fig. 8: Virunum - Location of Dolichenum and Other Structures.

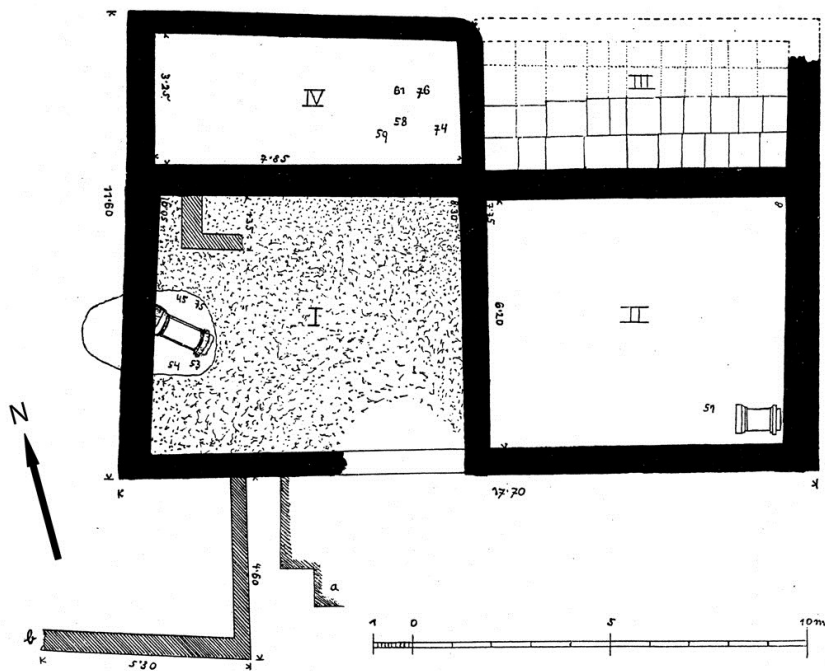


Fig. 9: Virunum - Dolichenum.

## Site 3. Raetia: Vetoniana

### 2.3.A Name

The auxiliary fort and accompanying *vicus* of Vetoniana are most frequently identified as site number 73 in the *Obergermanisch-rätische Limes* (Winkelmann 1901; von Elbe 1977, 319; Baatz 2000, 308; Fassbinder 2008, 164). The exact spelling of the fort's name is uncertain; the *Tabula Peutingeriana* identifies it as Veronianus. Variant spellings include Vetonianis and Vetonianae (Popp 1889, 124; Herzog 1993, 8; Fassbinder 2008, 163). The village's name is thought to be derived from the Latin word *pons* and possibly derives from the Bajuvars (*Baiuvarii*) of the 6th century (Arnold 1889, 184; Eiden 2001, 10).

### 2.3.B Location

Vetoniana is located on the Kirchberg hill south of the modern village of Pfünz (fig. 10; *CCID*, 302, fig. 18; Fassbinder 2008, 163; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 139). The fort and its *vicus* are situated on a promontory of Jurassic bedrock 42 m above the Altmühl River valley, which is flanked by steeply descending valleys on three sides (fig. 11; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 94; Czysz 2005, 500; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 139). This strategic and defensive location was likely a determining factor in the fort's location.

A steep road from Pfünz winds up to the fort and there joins one of the two Roman roads that converged at Vetoniana (von Elbe 1977, 320; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 94). From the fort's south gate, the road led straight through the southern portion of the *vicus* towards the *vicus* of Scuttarensum; it joins up with the modern road to Pietenfeld just south of Vetoniana (von Elbe 1977, 319-320; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 94). A second Roman road ran from the region southeast of Vetoniana (from the direction of the settlements Germanicum (Kösching), Böhmfeld, Hofstetten) and crossed the Altmühl River at Vetoniana on its way to Biriciana (Weissenburg) (Winkelmann 1901, 3; von Elbe 1977, 319-20; Baatz 2000, 310; Fassbinder 2008, 163). This route was presumably controlled by watchtowers and is still partially preserved as a footpath (von Elbe 1977, 319-20).

The Limes lay 17 km east of Vetoniana following the course of Altmühl River, where it crossed the river at Kipfenberg; in a straight line, the distance was 10.2 km (fig. 10; Winkelmann 1901, 3; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 94; Fassbinder 2008, 163; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 139).

### **2.3.C Occupation History**

Several inscriptions indicate that the *Cohors I Breucorum Civium Romanorum* was stationed at Vetoniana (Popp 1889, 118, 124; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98; Baatz 2000, 308; Fassbinder 2008, 164; Neugebauer 2010, 141). The unit's name indicates that its original members were Breuci, a tribe from the southwestern region of Pannonia, who were mustered during the Pannonian uprising of 6-9 AD (von Elbe 1977, 319; Spaul 2000, 315-316). The unit was a *cohors quingenaria equitata*, a partially mounted infantry regiment consisting of approximately 120 cavalry and 380 infantry (Günther n.d., 1; von Elbe 1977, 113; Johnson 1983, 34; Herzog 1993, 8). Their presence in Raetia by the early 2nd century is indicated on a military diploma, dated 107, from Weissenburg (*CIL III*, no. 866; *CIL XVI*, no.55). There is no mention of the unit after 233; it is believed that it was completely destroyed during the Alemannic attack on the fort (Herzog 1993, 7; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 141).

### **2.3.D Construction History**

The year in which the Dolichenum was built is unknown, but the Severan period is most likely (Arnold 1889, 194; Herzog 1993, 8). The cult is considered to have reached its prime in terms of popularity and dissemination during this period, and the coin hoard found within this Dolichenum is also Severan (Schwertheim 1974, 212; Schwarzer 2012, 161-162).

The fort was built in ca. 90 by the *Cohors I Breucorum Civium Romanorum* after Domitian's wars against the Chatti (83-85 and 88-89), when the Roman frontier was advanced north of the Danube River (Winkelmann 1901, 4; von Elbe 1977, 319; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98; Herzog 1993, 7; Baatz 2000, 308). According to an inscription, this first fort was later rebuilt of stone during the rule of Antoninus Pius (*CIL III*, no. 11930; von Elbe 1977, 319; Johnson 1983, 283, 335; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98).

The fort was badly damaged during the Marcomanni wars in 174-175, but was rebuilt in 183/184 during the rule of Commodus (*CIL III*, no. 11933; von Elbe 1977, 319; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98; Herzog 1993, 7; Baatz 2000, 308).

While no precise date for the construction of the *vicus* is known, it likely developed soon after the fort. It is probable that the *vicus* experienced some damage during the Marcomanni wars and that both the *vicus* and fort were destroyed in a sudden attack and resulting fire by the Alemanni in 233 (Winkelmann 1901, 5, 7; von Elbe 1977, 319; Baatz 2000, 308; Czysz 2005, 501; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 141). It is also possible that the attack was carried out by Maximinus Thrax (Toth 1973, 114).

It is uncertain whether the fort was fully re-occupied after this time. Artefacts dating to the period after the attack (ca. 233) until the fall of the Limes (and territory) in 260 are scarce (Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 99; Herzog 1993, 7). Baatz (2000, 308) suggests that this meagre evidence indicates that the fort and *vicus* were occupied until the fall of the Limes, but with a reduced population. More recent scholarship indicates a level of uncertainty as to the totality of the destruction, due to the limitations of the old excavations and their results (Unruh 1992, 35).

### **2.3.E Excavation History**

Prompted by the results of earlier intermittent excavations led by Friedrich Winkelmann (1884 -1891), large portions of the fort and *vicus* were excavated by the Reichslimeskommission organization (RLK) from 1884-1900 under the direction of K. Popp, F. Ohlenschlager, H. Arnold, and F. Winkelmann (Winkelmann 1901, 2; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 97; Herzog 1993, 8; Czysz 2005, 500; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 139). The fort's perimeter wall, towers, and gates were excavated, and several test trenches were cut across the ramp, wall, and ditches (Popp 1889, 117-118). Interior buildings, such as the *principia*, *horreum*, and other stone structures, were documented, but wooden structures, mainly half-timbered buildings, were not recognized during the original excavations (Czysz 2005, 501).

The RLK uncovered 137 structures in the *vicus* area (fig. 11, "Lagerdorf" area; Winkelmann 1901, 9), including domestic and workshop (industrial)

buildings, a bath complex, and three temples (Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98; Czysz 2005, 501). One temple was identified as the Dolichenum; another temple located further south and comprising three cult niches is thought to have been dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and the third temple, a small structure with *cella* and *pronaos*, remained unattributed (Winkelman 1901, 9-10, pl. 3; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 50, 98; Czysz 2005, 501). A 70 m test trench uncovered 187 burials south of the *vicus*, most of which were sparsely furnished with poor-quality grave goods (Winkelman 1901, 17; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98).

Toward the end of the excavation season in 1888, Winkelman struck the wall of what would turn out to be the Dolichenum (Winkelman 1901, 11; Herzog 1993, 8). This identification was initially based on two *tabulae ansatae* (cats. 3.1, 3.2) found early on, inside the Dolichenum (Winkelman 1901, 11; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 50; Herzog 1993, 8; Czysz 2005, 501). These artefacts also provide two more spelling variations of the deity's name (Ch. 2.3.A; Arnold 1889, 182). Excavation of this structure resumed in 1889, when a coin hoard (cat. 3.8) and other isolated coins (cats. 3.6, 3.11) were found inside it (Arnold 1889, 192; Winkelman 1901, 12; Herzog 1993, 7-10).

Excavation results have been sparingly published during the last century. A salvage excavation, prompted by the installation of municipal high-pressure water piping in 1998, examined the *fossae* (ditches) surrounding the fort and discovered that the south end of the fort had only a single, much deeper and wider ditch, as opposed to the other three sides, which had two (Czysz 2005, 501). More recent investigations include two geophysical examinations. In 2000, the fort's interior, and the placement of buildings in particular, was re-examined; the results were published in 2007 and call into question the results of the earlier excavations (Fassbinder 2008, 164). In 2010, the *vicus* area located east of the fort was examined. Aided by aerial photographs, the results of the geomagnetic examinations re-investigated the excavated bath complex and discovered a *mansio* and possibly four small structures (Mischka 2011, 13).

### 2.3.F Restoration/Conservation

No trace of the Dolichenum structure remains above ground, and no other *vicus* structures have been conserved or reconstructed. The Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg in Eichstätt, near the Vetoniana site, houses many of the associated artefacts, yet some of the smaller objects were not preserved, in keeping with the excavation standards of the day.

As late as the 1970s, original portions of the fort's walls, tower foundations, and north, south, and west gates were still visible, if in a fairly deteriorated state (von Elbe 1977, 319-320; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 94). A site visit on July 5, 2008 confirmed that the only preserved remnants of foundations still visible were at the south gate and possibly the lower courses of stones on the west gate, upon which a partial reconstruction had been added.

A complete reconstruction of the fort wall spanning from the northwest corner to slightly past the north gate towers was commissioned by the Historical Society of Eichstätt and took place from 1988-1989 (Baatz 2000, 308).

### 2.3.G Physical Characteristics

Most of the *vicus* and the cemetery were situated south of the fort, flanking the road which led from the fort's *porta decumana* to the *vicus Scuttarensium* (Winkelmann 1901, pl. 1; Herzog 1993, 8). This *vicus* is still considered to be one of the best documented *vici* in Bavaria; a great number and wide variety of structures were discovered and excavated (e.g., temples, market place, domestic buildings, bath complex, and meeting hall) (Ulbert and Fischer 1983 50; Baatz 2000, 309).

The Dolichenum (fig. 12) was located 50 m south of the fort's *porta decumana* and ca. 15 m to the east of the road leading out from the same gate toward the *vicus* of Scuttarensium (fig. 11; Winkelmann 1901, 12, pl. 3, no. 78; Herzog 1993, 8; Czysz 2005, 282). The Dolichenum measured 21.45-21.10 m long by 18.0-18.20 m wide and was vaguely rectangular (Winkelmann 1901, 11; Herzog 1993, 8; Czysz 2005, 282). The perimeter walls were 0.90 m thick and portions of them were still standing 0.20-0.50 m high at the time of the excavation in 1889 (Winkelmann 1901, 11; *CCID*, 305, no 479; Herzog 1993, 8).



The *cella* was open and therefore possibly oriented to the east; located almost at the midpoint of the west wall, the *cella* (space A, fig. 12) was square; its length and width measured 4.8 m and its walls were 0.60 m high at the time of excavation (Winkelmann 1901, 11; Herzog 1993, 8). Two walls were built onto the *cella* wall, forming another area (space B, fig. 12) between the north wall and the *cella*. This has been interpreted as a sacristy (Arnold 1889, 186; *CCID*, 305, no. 479; Herzog 1993, 8). It was not confirmed whether the remnants of other walls found within the temple were part of the temple or if they belonged to earlier structures that were razed to allow for the temple's construction. It is possible that one part, close to the north wall, may have been a pier (Winkelmann 1901, 11; Herzog 1993, 8). A rectangular pit (D, fig. 12), which measured 2.50 m by 1.9 m by 1.7 m deep, may also have no connection to the Dolichenum, as it was devoid of any finds other than construction debris, and it did not display any evidence of burning (Winkelmann 1901, 11). It may have been a cellar or cistern (*CCID*, 305); Merlat (1960, 144) suggested it may have been used for lustrations. Hypocaust pillars were found outside the temple, close to the west wall, but do not appear on the excavation plan (Winkelmann 1901, pl. 3). Another pit (Winkelmann 1901, pl. 3: no. 80), located close to the north wall, also contained only construction debris (Winkelmann 1901, 11). A cistern (Winkelmann 1901, pl. 3: no. 79), also outside and close to the northeast corner, contained pieces of urns and jugs and thus its use may have been connected with the temple (Winkelmann 1901, 11).

This temple and all other structures of the *vicus* and fort were destroyed by fire after a sudden and devastating attack by the Alemanni in 233 CE, or possibly by Maximinus Thrax (Toth 1973, 114). The severity of the attack and fire are indicated in the strata and the finds: the upper of two disturbance layers is dated to the 3rd century and indicates a fire of considerable intensity, due to the very large amount of incendiary remains, including a charred, chained-up human skeleton (Winkelmann 1901, 7; von Elbe 1977, 319; Herzog 1993, 7). A coin from the hoard (cat. 3.8) dates to 232, providing the *terminus ante quem* for the destruction (Herzog 1993, 7; Czysz 2005, 501).

### 2.3.H Artefacts

The finds from Vettoniana belong to the Historischer Verein Eichstätt and most are housed at the municipal museum (Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg) in Eichstätt (von Elbe 1977, 113-114; Herzog 1993, 7). A full inventory is provided in Winkelmann 1901. The finds include building inscriptions, items of daily use, such as pottery, cooking implements, and construction tools, including a rare iron *groma* (surveying instrument); numerous items of a military nature, such as weapons and armour, were also found (Popp 1889, 121; Winkelmann 1901, plates; von Elbe 1977, 113-114; Johnson 1983, 42).

Excavations in the *vicus* yielded finds typical of domestic, possibly industrial, and cult contexts as well as military artefacts such as parade armour, cavalry helmets, jewellery, bronze containers, and arms, all of which are typically found in such *vici* (Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 99).

Finds from the Dolichenum include *tabulae ansatae*, jewellery, statuettes, the coin hoard, and several other items, listed below. The coin hoard was found in a ceramic container covered with carefully fitted slate slabs; these items were not fully documented or retained, as they were likely considered to have little value in comparison with their contents (von Elbe 1977, 319; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 99).

### 2.3.I Bibliography

*CCID*, 305, no. 479; Arnold 1889, 182, 184, 186, 194; Baatz 2000, 308-310; Czysz 2005, 282, 500-501; Eiden 2001, 10; Fassbinder 2008, 163-164; Fischer and Riedmeier-Fischer 2008, 139, 141; Günther n.d., 1; Herzog 1993, 7-10; Johnson 1983, 34, 42, 283, 335; Merlat 1960, 144; Mischka 2011, 13; Neugebauer 2010, 141; Popp 1889, 117-118, 121, 124; Schwarzer 2012, 161-162; Schwertheim 1974, 212; Spaul 2000, 315-316; Toth 1973, 114; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 50, 94, 97, 98-99; Unruh 1992, 35; von Elbe 1977, 113-114, 319-320; Weinig 1999, 150; Winkelmann 1901, 2-5, 7, 9-12, 17, pls. 1, 3.

### 2.3.J Artefact Catalogue

Please refer to the Dolichenum plan (fig. 12) for the location of upper and lower case letters indicated in some of the Findspot descriptions below.

#### Cat. 3.1

<b>Item</b>	<i>Tabula ansata</i>
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Sheet bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.07 m; W. 0.116 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Small votive plaque dedicated by a priest, Demittius/Domitius. Attachment holes located top and bottom centre. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)</i> <i>Doloceni(o)</i> <i>Demittius</i> <i>sacerdos</i> <i>d(onum) d(edit)</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 10;</b> <i>AE</i> 1889, 67; <i>CCID</i> , no. 480; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11926; Arnold 1889, 186-187, fig. 2; Winkelmann 1901, 11, pl. 9-5; Demircioglu 1939, no. 73; Kan 1943, no. 134; Merlat 1951, no. 169; Czysz 2005, 282.

#### Cat. 3.2

<b>Item</b>	<i>Tabula ansata</i> fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Sheet bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.03 m; Pres. W. 0.09 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Bottom of plaque missing. Initials T and E (or perhaps F) appear on the left and right “wings” of the plaque, possibly the initials of the dedicant. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) M(axio)</i> <i>Duliceno</i> <i>ubi fe(r)rum</i> <i>[nascit]ur</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 10;</b> <i>AEpigr</i> 1889, no. 68; <i>CCID</i> , no. 481; <i>CIL III</i> , no. 11927; Arnold 1889, 187, fig. 1; Winkelmann 1901, 11, pl. 9-6; Demircioglu 1939, no. 74; Kan 1943, no. 135; Merlat 1951, no. 170.

### Cat. 3.3

- Item** Platelet (*lamella?*) fragment  
**Findspot** Dolichenum *cella*, near e  
**Repository** Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)  
**Material** Bronze  
**Dimensions** Pres Ht. 0.08 m; Pres. W 0.05 m  
**Date** Unknown  
**Description** Only three letters preserved; interpreted as: *Io]v[i—D]ol[icheno]*.  
Inscription:  
----V  
---OL
- Bibliography** **Pl. 10**; *CCID*, no. 482; *CIL III*, no. 11928; Arnold 1889, 191; Winkelmann 1901, 11, pl. 9-3; Demircioglu 1939, no. 75; Kan 1943, no. 136; Merlat 1951, no. 171.

### Cat. 3.4

- Item** 2 Victoria statuettes  
**Findspot** Dolichenum, near g (temple entrance) and h (*cella* entrance)  
**Repository** Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt, stolen in 1945  
**Material** Tin-plated bronze  
**Dimensions** Ht. 0.089 m (“near g”); Ht. 0.078 m (near h)  
**Date** Unknown  
**Description** Both statuettes dressed in a robe and tunic cinched at the waist. Both hold a wreath in their raised left hand and likely a palm branch in their lowered right hand. Their feet rest on what is thought to be a globe; one tapered at the bottom and the other with a possible attachment device at the bottom.
- Bibliography** **Pl. 11**; *CCID*, no. 484; Arnold 1889, 191, no. 4, pl. 16-1, 2; Arnold 1889, 191; Winkelmann 1901, 63, no. 8, pl. 12-32, 33; Kan 1943, no. 137; Merlat 1951, no. 173, figs. 35-1, 35-2; Schwertheim 1974, 172d.

### Cat. 3.5

- Item** Victoria statuette  
**Findspot** Dolichenum area (found 1997)  
**Repository** Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no. inv. number)  
**Material** Bronze  
**Dimensions** Ht. 0.70 m  
**Date** Unknown  
**Description** This statuette is similar to cat 3.4: robe and tunic cinched at waist, statue’s right hand holds a palm frond; statue’s left arm is missing, yet the stump indicates a raised arm. Feet resting on a globe with remnants of an attachment device below the globe.
- Bibliography** Rieder 1997; Weinig 1999, 150; Günther 2005, 77; Schwarzer 2012, 161.

### Cat. 3.6

<b>Item</b>	Coins, <i>denarii</i>
<b>Findspot</b>	Pfünz Dolichenum, near d
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Silver
<b>Dimensions</b>	Assorted
<b>Date</b>	218-232
<b>Description</b>	4 <i>denarii</i> : one of Elagabal, and three of Iulia Maesa (grandmother of emperors Elegabal and Alexander Severus). Found in a thin carbon layer, with some particles of wood (cat. 3.7).
<b>Bibliography</b>	Arnold 1889, 191, no. 1; Winkelmann 1901, 12; Herzog 1993, 7-56.

### Cat. 3.7

<b>Item</b>	Carbonized wood fragments,
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near d
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Wood
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Found with cat. 3.6 in a thin carbon layer. Interpreted as a small wooden box.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Arnold 1889, 191; Winkelmann 1901, 12.

### Cat. 3.8

<b>Item</b>	Coin hoard
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near k
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Silver
<b>Dimensions</b>	Assorted
<b>Date</b>	149/152-232
<b>Description</b>	95 coins with assorted jewellery (cat. 3.9) found in a small uncovered heap on top of the surface, less than 2 m away from the location of the empty urn (or urn-shaped vessel). Only one coin not from Severan era (Empress Faustina Minor). All in almost-mint condition. Herzog remains the most detailed and comprehensive study. <i>Denarius</i> of Severus Alexander used to provide <i>terminus ante quem</i> of 232.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 483f; Arnold 1889, 192; Winkelmann 1901, 12; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 99; Herzog 1993, 7-56.

### Cat. 3.9

<b>Item</b>	Jewellery, assorted
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near k
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	See below
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	The following were found with the coin hoard (cat. 3.8), plate numbers in round brackets are in Winkelmann 1901: a) finger ring with key, white metal/silver b) 2 bracelets, white metal/silver (pl. 12-4, 63) c) silver signet ring with carved carnelian. Carving of bird standing in nest holding a frog (?) in its lowered beak. Described by excavator as quickly, unskilfully and inaccurately rendered. d) carnelian polished but not carved, without setting.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 12;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 483b; Winkelmann 1901, 12, 62, pl. 5-1, 7, pl. 12-4, 63; Herzog 1993, 8-9.

### Cat. 3.10

<b>Item</b>	Vessel
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near i
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Terrcotta, slate
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	An empty urn-shaped vessel, dug into the ground and covered tightly with close-fitting slate slabs. Vessel interpreted as a safe for the coin hoard and jewels and coin hoard found near it. Vessel and slate slabs were not further documented.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 483e; Arnold 1889, 192; Winkelmann 1901, 12; Merlat 1951, no. 174; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 99; Herzog 1993, 8-9.

### Cat. 3.11

<b>Item</b>	Coin, <i>denarius</i>
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near e
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Silver
<b>Dimensions</b>	NA
<b>Date</b>	217-218
<b>Description</b>	Of Macrinus.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Arnold 1889, 191; Winkelmann 1901, 12; Herzog 1993.

### Cat. 3.12

<b>Item</b>	Chain with pendants
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near d
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Chain: bronze wire; round pendant: silver; crescent pendant: bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Chain of two attached unequal lengths consisting of round double-links connected by oblong links. Crescent moon shaped pendant still attached. Round pendant with raised ball/knob in centre.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 13;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 483a; Arnold 1889, 191; Winkelmann 1901, 11, pl. 13-9, 9a; Merlat 1951, no. 172a.

### Cat. 3.13

<b>Item</b>	Bracelet with attached medallion
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near f
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Round medallion with portrait busts of Sol and Luna in relief, framed by a circle of embossed dots. Sol wears radiate “crown”; head of Luna surmounted by sickle moon.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 12;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 483c; Arnold 1889, 191, no. 3, pl. 16-3; Winkelmann 1901, 12, pl. 5-6; Merlat 1951, no. 172c, fig. 34.

### Cat. 3.14

<b>Item</b>	The letter C
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Gold-plated copper sheet
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 483d; Winkelmann 1901, 63, pl. 14-10; Merlat 1951, no.172d.

### Cat. 3.15

<b>Item</b>	2 feet of a container
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Two feet in the shape of lion’s claws belonging to an unknown vessel.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Winkelmann 1901, 12, 63, pl. 14-88, 89.

**Cat. 3.16**

<b>Item</b>	Arrowhead
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Early Bronze Age
<b>Description</b>	Perhaps <i>in situ</i> or found and kept by someone with access to the temple.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Winkelmann 1901, 12, 63.

**Cat. 3.17**

<b>Item</b>	Large button/knob
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt(no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	0.06 m diam.
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Flat, smooth
<b>Bibliography</b>	Winkelmann 1901, 12, 63.

**Cat. 3.18**

<b>Item</b>	Shield boss (?)
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte auf der Willibaldsburg, Eichstätt (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	
<b>Bibliography</b>	Winkelmann 1901, 12, 63.

**Cat. 3.19**

<b>Item</b>	Urn and jug fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Well 79, outside northeast corner of Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Ceramic
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	The well was filled with “a number” of ceramic fragments of urns and jugs.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Winkelmann 1901, 11.



2.3.K

Site Figures

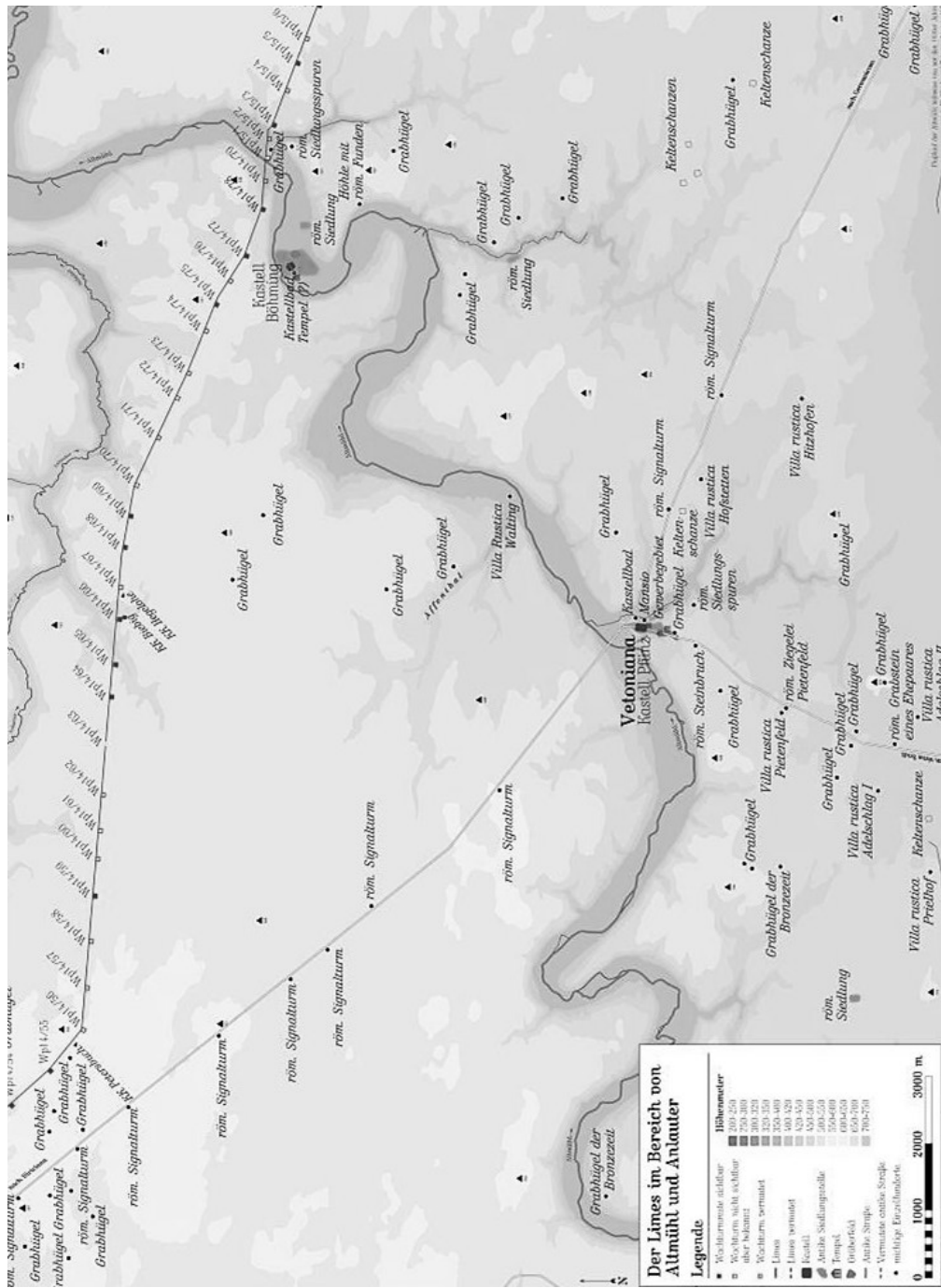


Fig. 10: Location of Vettoniana, with Limes Boundary.

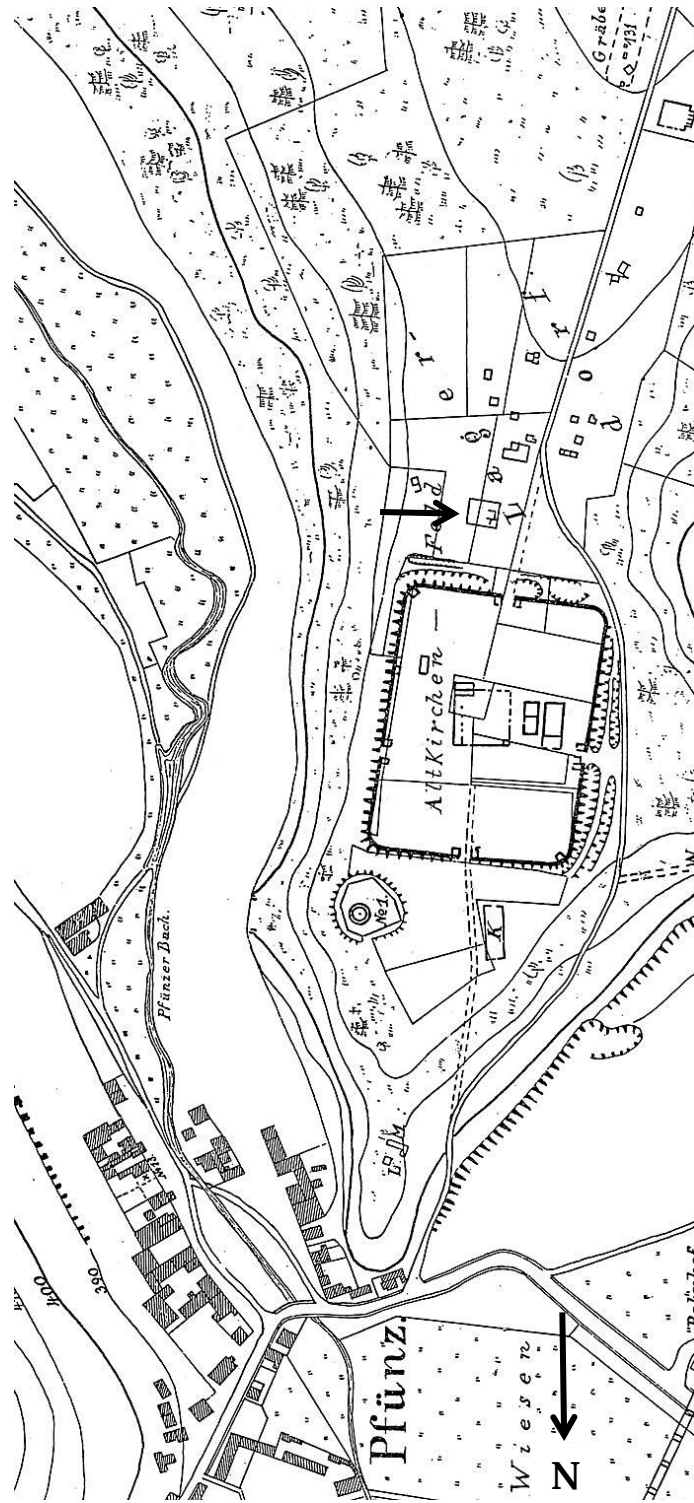


Fig. 11: Vettoniana - Dolichenum (arrow), Fort, vicus.

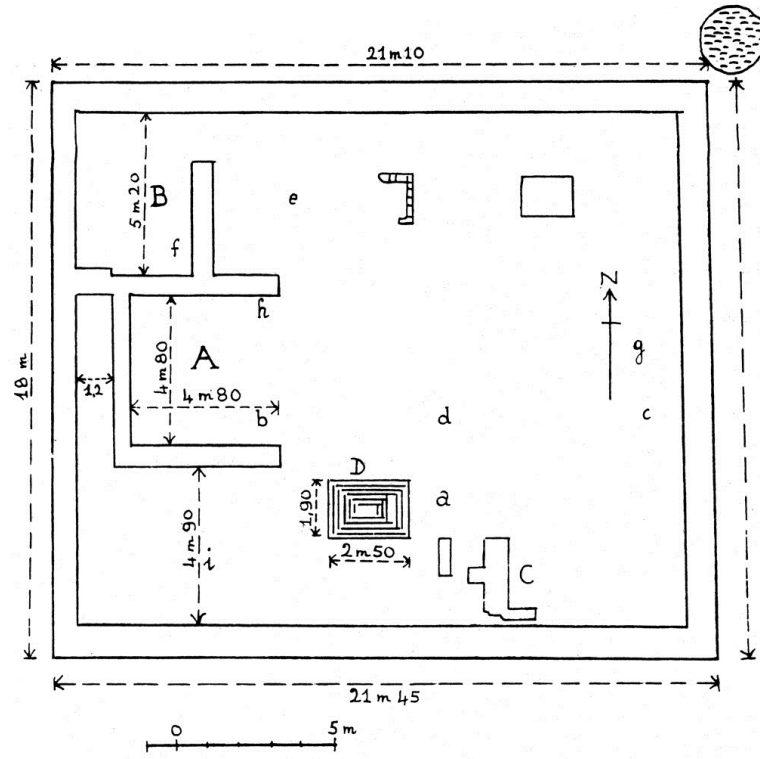


Fig. 12: Vettoniana - Dolichenum.

## Site 4. Germania Superior: Saalburg

### 2.4.A Name

The Roman name of the auxiliary fort and accompanying *vicus* of the Saalburg is unknown (Jacobi 1927, 8; von Elbe 1977, 342; Klee 2000, 12). The name Saalburg does not appear until 1604 (Jacobi 1927, 8; von Elbe 1977, 342). Klee (2000, 12) notes that there is insufficient evidence for a link between the fort *Arktaunon* mentioned by Pomponius Mela and Ptolemaios and the Saalburg fort. Several explanations for the name exist, yet none seems satisfactory (von Elbe 1977, 342). Jacobi (1897, 22-27) provides the most exhaustive investigation into the site's name.

### 2.4.B Location

The Saalburg is located on a pass crossing the crest of the Taunus mountain range, ca. 29 km north of Frankfurt and 5 km north-west of the town of Bad Homburg vor der Höhe, in the Hochtaunuskreis county of the German state of Hessen (fig. 13; *CCID*, 310, fig. 20; von Elbe 1977, 342; Baatz 2002, 469; Schwarzer 2012, 163). The fort and its accompanying *vicus* are situated alongside State Road 456. Its location was strategic, placed 220m behind the Limes fortification wall (Jacobi 1908, 10; Jacobi 1927, 7). Several major Roman roads and trading routes also converged there: from Mogontiacum-Mainz in the west along the pre-Roman "Lindenweg" path, from the Wetterau region east of the Saalburg, from Nida-Hedderheim, the capital of Civitas Taunensium, leading north-east in a straight line, then skirting the Saalburg on the east side before leading into non-Roman territory, and another road that intersected the fort from east to west (fig. 15; Jacobi 1908, 11; Jacobi 1927, 7; Baatz 2002, 472; Moneta 2010, 17).

The largest part of the *vicus* was located in front of the fort, on the south side, where it flanked both sides of the road leading from the fort's south gate in the direction of Nida-Hedderheim (fig. 15). The areas outside the fort to the east and west were less densely populated (von Elbe 1977, 344; Baatz 2002, 472; DLK). The Dolichenum was located in the *vicus*, ca. 100 m east of the fort, between the east gate and the fort's south side (Jacobi 1937, 50; von Elbe 1977,

344; *CCID*, 314; Moneta 2010, 92, no. 4700). It was situated on the highest point of terrain in an exposed area, and this placement and the temple's great size are interpreted as indicators of the cult's importance at the Saalburg, only recently challenged by Moneta (2010, 93) (Ch. 2.4.G; Jacobi 1929, 47; Jacobi 1937, 50; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Schwarzer 2012, 163). The remains of the Dolichenum currently lie beneath the Ussinger Chaussee road (Jacobi 1929, 47; Jacobi 1937, 50; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Schwarzer 2012, 163).

#### **2.4.C Occupation History**

Nothing is known about the military unit(s) that first occupied the Saalburg (Baatz 2002, 472). By 89/90, a *numerus* unit, possibly from Britannia, may have been stationed there, but this unit's identity is unknown (von Elbe 1977, 342; Baatz 2000, 137; Baatz 2002, 472; DLK). *Cohors II Raetorum civium Romanorum (equitata)* was a 500-man, partially mounted, infantry unit originally stationed at Butzbach, then Wiesbaden. By 130/135, the cohort was stationed at the Saalburg (von Elbe 1977, 345; Klee 2000, 83-84, 85; Spaul 2000, 280; DLK). This cohort is attested by military diplomas, dedicatory inscriptions, and several styles of brick stamps bearing its name. Other bricks bearing the stamps of several units, including *Legio XXII Primigenia* (Mogontiacum-Mainz), *Legio VIII Augusta* (Argentorate-Strasbourg), and *cohortes IV Vindilici* (Augusta Vindelicum-Augsburg), have been found at the Saalburg (Klee 2000, 86). There is, however, no evidence that these units occupied the fort; rather, their bricks were simply shipped there (von Elbe 1977, 345; Klee 2000, 86).

The *vicus* population is thought to have decreased in size after an Alemannic attack in 233, and both the fort and *vicus* were abandoned by about 259/260 as a result of the further invasions in the area (von Elbe 1977, 343). This chronology is confirmed by artefacts dating to 260 and as late as 270, found only in the fort (Moneta 2010, 16).

#### **2.4.D Construction History**

There is no secure evidence for the construction date of the Dolichenum. Moneta (2010, 16, 92) proposes that it was built between 135 and 150/170 (her Period II), while others suggest it was built during the Severan period (Schwarzer

2012, 190, fig. 2). Its destruction date is also uncertain, but a connection with the general destruction of the *vicus* between 233 and the third quarter of the 3rd century, at the latest, is accepted (CCID, 314). Moneta (2010, 92) suggests a much earlier date, in the third quarter of the 2nd century, based on her chronology for pottery found in a post ditch (cat. 4.15); this date remains uncertain.

The construction of two earthworks (earth, wood, and wattle) seem to be the first military installations at the Saalburg site; these are identified as Schantze A and Schantze B and are located side by side, ca. 76 m east of the reconstructed fort (Jacobi 1937, 13; Baatz 2000, 137). Originally assigned a much later construction date based on Trajanic and Hadrianic artefacts, the consensus now places them in Domitian's rule, most likely during the Chatti War, 83-85 (Baatz 2000, 137; DLK). There is evidence for the erection of a turf and timber fort by ca. 89/90, to accommodate a *numerus* unit (von Elbe 1977, 342; Baatz 2000, 137, 141; Klee 2000, 26; Baatz 2002, 472). This 0.7 ha fort, with its north-facing *Porta Praetoria*, was razed to accommodate the construction of the larger cohort fort with a south-facing *Porta Praetoria* (von Elbe 1977, 342; Baatz 2000, 137; Klee 2000, 26). The much larger (3.2 ha) fort was constructed around 135 by *cohors II Raetorum civium Romanorum*. This cohort was also responsible for several rebuilding phases that saw the fort transform from a turf and timber structure to one constructed mainly of mortared stone in its final phase (von Elbe 1977, 342-343; Klee 2000, 30, 34; Baatz 2002, 472; Neugebauer 2010, 91; DLK). The fort may have been damaged in 233 due to the Alemannic attacks that almost destroyed the *vicus*, although forces under the direction of Maximinus Thrax may also have been responsible for this first destruction (Toth 1973, 114). The fort remained in use until the final Alemannic attacks in the area around 259/260 (von Elbe 1977, 343; Baatz 2002, 472; Neugebauer 2010, 89).

As with the fort, precise dating of the *vicus* and its development is not possible (Jacobi 1929, 36). It is thought to have developed during the relatively peaceful early 2nd century (von Elbe 1977, 343; Baatz 2002, 472; Moneta 2010, 16, Table 1). The *vicus* seems to have undergone a minimum of four building phases, with some subdivisions, which are aligned approximately with the fort's

phases (Moneta 2010, 16, Table 1). The *vicus* seems to have been badly damaged by fire during the Alemannic attacks in 233 and was only partially rebuilt thereafter, due to a reduction in population (von Elbe 1977, 343; Moneta 2010, 160; Moneta 2011, 27).

Both the fort and *vicus* were abandoned by the third quarter of the 3rd century. The withdrawal of the cohort and remaining citizens seems to have been orderly (von Elbe 1977, 343; Moneta 2010, 160). From the Middle Ages until the early 19th century, stones from the fort and *vicus* were harvested and re-used elsewhere; the Landgrave of Hessen-Homburg, for example, used them for the construction of his palace in Bad Homburg (von Elbe 1977, 343; Klee 2000, 8). The land was purchased by a local nobleman in 1820 and the dismantling of structures was subsequently prohibited (Klee 2000, 8).

#### **2.4.E Excavation History**

Excavations at the Saalburg site have been ongoing for more than 150 years, beginning in the early 19th century and finishing in large part by the start of World War II (Batz 2000, 137; Batz 2002, 472; Moneta 2010, 25).

As early as September 1816, objects associated with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus were found in the eastern part of the *vicus*, during road construction (*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1897, 7; Jacobi 1937, 50; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Moneta 2010, 93; Schwarzer 2012, 164). Further ritual items were discovered in the same vicinity in 1884 and indicated the presence of a Dolichenum nearby (Jacobi 1897, 7; Jacobi 1937, 50; Moneta 2010, 93; Schwarzer 2012, 164). A structure discovered on February 1, 1902 was subsequently excavated in March 1904 and identified as a Dolichenum; a further excavation campaign took place during October 1907 (*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1937, 50; Moneta 2010, 323; Schwarzer 2012, 163). The excavation was limited in scope and duration due to the modern road system in the area (Schwarzer 2012, 164).

#### **2.4.F Restorations/Conservation**

No trace of the Dolichenum structure remains above ground. The museum at the Saalburg site houses many of the associated artefacts, yet some of the smaller objects were not preserved, in keeping with the excavation

standards of the day. Some of the first artefacts found were either kept by the workers and/or given away as presents by the landowner (Jacobi 1897, 7; Schwarzer 2012, 163).

In 1897, Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, who already had a previous interest in the Saalburg, publicly encouraged the reconstruction of the fort (von Elbe 1977, 343; Klee 2000, 10, 12; Neugebauer 2010, 91; DLK). The good condition of several buildings is thought to have prompted the reconstruction campaign, and some of the buildings were destined to house artefacts from the site's excavations (Baatz 2002, 472). The museum was first opened to the public in 1907 and the planned reconstructions were concluded shortly before World War I (von Elbe 1977, 343; Klee 2000, 10, 12; DLK). Only the principal structures within the fort, including the *principia*, *fabrica*, *horrea*, and *praetorium*, as well as the fort's perimeter wall, for example, were recreated and represent the fort's stone-mortar (and last) building phase; a sample barracks block was also built in the fort (von Elbe 1977, 343; Baatz 2000, 139; Klee 2000, 21; Baatz 2002, 472; [http://www.saalburgmuseum.de/arch\\_park/arch\\_park.html](http://www.saalburgmuseum.de/arch_park/arch_park.html)). In recent years, more period-style buildings have been constructed to accommodate the museum administration, research institute, and library/archive holdings (<http://www.saalburgmuseum.de/geschichte/kastellgeschichte.html>).

The Saalburg continues to be the only extensively reconstructed fort along the obergermanisch-rätische Limes. It is also the only ORL site whose *vicus* is partially visible with conserved, *in situ* building remains, such as the civilian and military bath house, a *mansio*, and private homes; an early 20th century reconstruction of a Mithraeum is also located on site (Klee 2000, 21; DLK).

#### **2.4.G Physical Characteristics**

The Saalburg Dolichenum was situated in the *vicus* (fig. 15; Jacobi 1937, 52). A burial ground of fifty-nine graves was located nearby and may have been associated with the Dolichenum population (Jacobi 1937, 52), although these graves may also be later (Schwarzer 2012, 164). In addition to the Dolichenum, a *metröon* of Kybele and a Mithraeum were located in the *vicus*, although more



recent scholarship questions the identification of the Mithraeum (von Elbe 1977, 344; Moneta 2010, 190; Schwarzer 2012, 164). The Dolichenum consisted of one large, asymmetrical, vaguely rectangular structure, 37.9 m in length and 16.0m in width (fig. 14; Schwertheim 1974, 56; *CCID*, 314; Moneta 2010, 92; Schwarzer 2012, 163).

The inner portion of the structure was a long and narrow room or *cella*, 30.5 m in length and 16.0 m in width (Schwertheim 1974, 56; Schwarzer 2012, 163). This inner structure was constructed of posts clad with half-timbered walls (*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1937, 51; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Moneta 2010, 92, 93, no. 4724; Schwarzer 2012, 163). Postholes set in an 11 x 5 arrangement were unusually large at 1.0 m in diameter and more than 1.0 m deep (*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1937, 51; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Moneta 2010, 92, 93, 324, no. 4724; Schwarzer 2012, 163). The plan of the Dolichenum does not illustrate this 11 x 5 arrangement, but Jacobi (1937, 51) noted that not all postholes and post ditches were identified and documented during the excavation.

A square pit, excavated October 16, 1907, was situated close to the centre of the *cella*; this was interpreted as an offering pit due to two ceramic lamps (cat. 4.18h) found either in or beside the pit (*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1937, 51; Moneta 2010, 93, 324, no. 4724). Many ceramic fragments, an intact small jug, a phallus-shaped urn, and metal strips joined with a hinge and silver post were also found in the area of the pit (Moneta 2010, no. 4724, citing the unpublished excavation report). Jacobi (1937, 51) suggests that this feature could be linked to a cross-wall that would have divided the *cella* into two almost equal parts, and that the building was very possibly designed as a “double-temple” where Juno Dolichena, the *paredros* of Jupiter Dolichenus, may also have been worshipped in tandem (also *CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1927, 47; Schwertheim 1974, 56;).

The *cella* was surrounded on the north, east, and south sides by shallow, narrow ditches interpreted as post ditches for half-timbered walls, as confirmed by deposits of burnt, loamy earth found in them (Jacobi 1937, 51). At ca. 0.20 m wide, the walls were not nearly as massive as the *cella* walls; this may indicate that they were not as high as those of the *cella*, thereby giving the building, according to Jacobi (1937, 51), a “basilical look” (*CCID*, 314; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Moneta 2010, 92). These walls created a hallway or portico measuring 3.7 m

in width (*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1937, 51; Schwertheim 1974, 56; Moneta 2010, 92; Schwarzer 2012, 163). An alternate interpretation is that these ditches were for a fence or drainage channel (Moneta 2010, 92). Moneta (2010, 92) suggests that the three sides were covered with a roof and that the west-facing side was not, thereby indicating an entrance. In contrast to the other three sides, furthermore, there is no shallow ditch on the west side, but three postholes, one each lined-up with the north and south wall-ditches with the third located between them. Schwarzer (2012, 164) also reconstructs a westward orientation, yet earlier scholars indicated an eastward one (Jacobi 1937, 51; Kan 1943, 149). The type of roof for this hallway is uncertain, and excavation notebooks do not record any associated roof tiles or slates; it is possible that the roof was made of organic materials (Moneta 2010, 92). This lack of evidence may also indicate a roofless space.

Traces of hypocaust heating (west side of north wall and centre of east wall), date to a later period, after the Dolichenum was destroyed; no dateable artefacts were found therein (Moneta 2010, 92; Schwarzer 2012, 164)

It is not known if the Dolichenum had a yard, or if it was part of a *temenos* enclosed by a perimeter fence (Schwarzer 2012, 164). Some nearby wells (Jacobi 1937, nos. 6, 7, 59) and a wood-lined cellar close to the north-west corner of the Dolichenum may have been associated with it, but this remains uncertain in all except Well 7, in which an altar (cat. 4.2), and two inscribed altar fragments (cat. 4.3), naming Jupiter Dolichenus were found (*CCID*, 316; Moneta 2010, 17, no. 27). Well 6 and Well 59 both contained artefacts that may be interpreted as ritual in function, such as a Dragendorff 32 shallow bowl, which is similar in shape to a shallow bowl found in one of the post ditches (cat. 4.15), a lion-head-shaped spout (which may have been part of a Dragendorff 45 mortarium), an iron cauldron or mortarium chain with inscribed decoration on its hook, and burned animal bones (Moneta 2010, 16-17; Jacobi 1897, 158). Another anomaly is observed in a cellar whose location, according to Jacobi (1897, 432), was between well no. 6 and the path leading out of the *porta principalis dextra*, ca. 100 m east of the fort. This would place the cellar within ca. 20 m of the Dolichenum discovered later. An unspecified number of sherds comprising ca. thirty ceramic vessels of varying shapes and sizes, twenty-three

of which were reconstructed (cat. 4.20) were found in this cellar and may also be considered ritual in function (Jacobi 1894, 432; Jacobi 1937, 51; Moneta 2010, 320, no. 4683). Jacobi (1937, 52) distinguishes this cellar from another, which he linked to the Dolichenum because of its unusual wood-clad interior and its close proximity to the north side of the Dolichenum. Schwertheim (1974, 56, 311) is uncertain of this connection, although he believes that all Dolichena in Germany had some kind of cellar or cellar-like depression close to the temple or within a *temenos*; this interpretation is not shared by all scholars (*CCID*, 314; Schwarzer 2012, 164). Moneta (2010, 94) cites Schwertheim (1974, 311) yet fails to mention any nearby cellars; she furthermore makes no connection between the “30-vessel” cellar (her no. 4683), the wood-lined cellar (her no. 4681), and the Dolichenum.

The date of 233/235 for the temple’s destruction is based largely on a coin hoard (cat. 4.16) found in the vicinity of the Dolichenum that provides a *terminus ante quem* at the end of Alexander Severus’ rule (*CCID*, 314; Toth 1973, 112). This date and, indeed, the identification of this structure as a Dolichenum, is disputed by Moneta (2010, 92-95), although her arguments negating the existence of finds possibly connected with the Dolichenum, and in some instances ignoring features such as the cellars, are not supported (Schwarzer 2012, 163).

#### **2.4.H Artefacts**

The site of the Saalburg Dolichenum has revealed altars, dedicatory inscriptions, sculptural elements, and a variety of other artefacts such as jewellery, figurines, coins, hardware, and ceramics. Some finds, such as sandstone fragments, a cleaver, phallus-shaped urn, lamps, and an incense burner, were briefly mentioned in Jacobi (1897, 432; Jacobi 1937, 51) and Moneta (2010, 324-327), but do not seem, in large part, to have been preserved or researched further. These are presented below (cats 4.18 a-i). Most objects were discovered prior to discovery of the Dolichenum, yet a few finds (a coin and terra sigillata fragments, including an almost-intact shallow, ceramic bowl, (cat. 4.15), were discovered in the post ditches associated with the building and

seem to provide a much earlier (and thus contested) end date of the late Aurelian era for the Dolichenum (Moneta 2010, 92).

Other areas of the fort, and *vicus* revealed a broad range of artefacts appropriate for camp and village life, such as weapons, armour, tools, wooden fragments (such as well-lining), sculpture, inscriptions, glass, iron, bronze and other metal-alloy implements both domestic and industrial, as well as a wealth of ceramics, including a great deal of well-preserved, mostly Gaulish Sigillata. A full range of small finds, including coins, jewellery, toiletry, cult and medical items are also represented in the holdings of the Saalbug Museum.

#### 2.4.I Bibliography

*CCID*, 314; Jacobi 1897, 7, 22-27, 158, 432; Jacobi 1908, 10, 11; Jacobi 1927, 7, 8, 47; Jacobi 1929, 36, 47; Jacobi 1937, 13, 50-52; Kan 1943, 149; Garnsey 1970, 45; Toth 1973, 112, 114; Schwertheim 1974, 56, 311; von Elbe 1977, 342, 343, 344, 345; Campbell 1978, 153; Baatz 2000, 137, 139, 141, 469; Phang 2001, 115; Baatz 2002, 472; Klee 2000, 8, 10, 12, 21, 26, 30, 34, 83-84, 86, 121; Spaul 2000, 280; Moneta 2010, 16, Table 1, 17, 25, 92, no. 4700, 93, 94-95, 160, 190, 320, no. 4683, 324, no. 4724, 324-327, 343; Neugebauer 2010, 89, 91; Schwarzer 2012, 163, 164, 190, fig. 2; DLK Saalburg; [http://www.saalburgmuseum.de/arch\\_park/arch\\_park.html](http://www.saalburgmuseum.de/arch_park/arch_park.html); <http://www.saalburgmuseum.de/geschichte/kastellgeschichte.html>.

#### 2.4.J Artefact Catalogue

##### Cat. 4.1

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar from 2 reconstructed fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area (found 1816, 1884)
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Grey sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.67 m; Pres. W. 0.43 m; Pres. Th. 0.41 m; Letter Ht. 0.03-0.04 m
<b>Date</b>	2nd ½ 2nd to end 2nd century
<b>Description</b>	2 joined fragments. Inscription only partially legible. Top decorated with two rosettes. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)</i> <i>Dolichen[o]</i> <i>[T]ib(erius) Cl(audius) Tib(erii) filiu[s]</i> <i>[---] Candidu[s]</i> <i>[v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)]m(erito).</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 14;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 499; <i>CIL</i> , nos. 7453, 7455; Seidl 1854, 13; Jacobi 1897, 7, 278-279, no. 14 (illus), Pl. 24, no. 3; Jacobi 1937, 52; Schwertheim 1974, 57, a; Klee 2000, 85; Moneta 2010, 93, no. 27.7; lupa 7127.

#### Cat. 4.2

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar, reconstructed
<b>Findspot</b>	Well 7, Dolichenum area (found 1884)
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Local sandstone (Vilbel quarry)
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.62 m; W. 0.41 m; Th. 0.37 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Inscription on exterior face. Long-handled dish (patera?) and jug decorate left narrow side, the right only a long-handled dish (patera?). <i>CCID</i> and Merlat describe an axe with the dish on the left side; the image databank shows a jug: <a href="http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=22294">http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=22294</a> . Inscription: <i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) [m(aximo)] Dolich[eno] Ti(tus) Fl(avius) Sil[vanus OR vinus] cornic[ul(arius)] [-----] v(otum) s(usceptum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)].</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 500; <i>CIL XIII</i> , no. 7456; Jacobi 1897, 159, 279 no. 15; Jacobi 1937, 52; Schwertheim 1974, 58, b; Merlat 1951, 322, no. 326; lupa 22294.

#### Cat. 4.3

<b>Item</b>	2 inscribed altar fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Well 7, Dolichenum area (found 1884 and 1894)
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Local sandstone (Vilbel quarry)
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.25 m; Pres. W. 0.21 m; Pres. Th. 0.08 m; Letter Ht. 0.05 m (right fragment); left fragment unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Two fragments provide partial, disputed interpretation of its inscription. Inscription: <i>I(ovi) [o(ptimo)] m(aximo) Do[lich]eno [sacru]m coh(ortis) [II Rae]t(orum) [c(ivium)] R(omanorum) cu[i] [praeest---].</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 501; <i>CIL XIII</i> , no. 7457 a, b; Jacobi 1897, 279, no. 16, 283, fig. 40, no. 12a, 12b; Schwertheim 1974, 58, c.

#### Cat. 4.4

<b>Item</b>	Fibula fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area, with cat. 4.1 (found 1816)
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Amethyst and metal
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. L. ca. 0.132 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Decorated with grape-shaped amethysts, possibly part of temple hoard linked to the Dolichenum.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 502; Jacobi 1897, 7; Schwertheim 1974, 52, d; Moneta 2010, 93.

#### Cat. 4.5

<b>Item</b>	Signet ring
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area, with cat. 4.1 (found 1816)
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Gold, amethyst
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Set with an amethyst engraved with a centaur restrained by Amor, possibly part of temple hoard.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 503; Jacobi 1897, 7; Schwertheim 1974, 52, item d; Moneta 2010, 93.

#### Cat. 4.6

<b>Item</b>	Statuette
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area, near cat. 4.1
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht. 0.225 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Statuette of a god wearing a Phrygian cap (Dolichenus?).
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 504; Schwertheim 1974, 52, d.

#### Cat. 4.7

<b>Item</b>	3 finger rings
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area, east of the building, near cat. 4.1 (found 1904)
<b>Repository</b>	Lost
<b>Material</b>	Gold
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Two rings depicting Leda and the swan: larger ring composed of four intertwined snakes, whose heads surround the setting; one undecorated ring.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , nos. 505a, 505b; Schwertheim 1974, 52, d; Moneta 2010, 93, no. 4700, 3.

#### Cat. 4.8

<b>Item</b>	2 figurines
<b>Findspot</b>	In or near well 7, Dolichenum area
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Basalt
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Two pigeon/dove figurines, one in fragments.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 506a; Jacobi 1897, 159; Jacobi 1937, 51; Kan 1943, 149; Moneta 2010, 93.

#### Cat. 4.9

<b>Item</b>	2 statuary fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Well 7, Dolichenum area
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Local sandstone (Vilbel quarry)
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Left hand and head of a <i>genius</i> .
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 506b; Jacobi 1897, 159; Jacobi 1937, 51.

#### Cat. 4.10

<b>Item</b>	Altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Stone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Relief of Victoria holding a wreath in one hand, located on narrow side of altar (left or right not specified). Her stance similar to depiction on a fibula (pl. 51, fig. 9).
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>CCID</i> , no. 507; Jacobi 1937, 52; Schwertheim 1974, 59, 52, f; Moneta 2010, 93, no. 4762,1.

#### Cat. 4.11

<b>Item</b>	13 inscribed altar fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Well 80 (located within the fort) (found 1908)
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Basalt
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	205
<b>Description</b>	Fragments with poorly preserved inscription may be linked to Jupiter Dolichenus. Bull (running left), capricorn (running right), and two rosettes decorate the cornice; narrow sides with bands of cross-hatching. Inscription: <i>[I(ovi) o(ptimo)] m(aximo)</i> <i>[Dolich]en[o dii]s de-</i> <i>[ab]usq[ue omnibus--]</i> <i>[----pr]o se</i> <i>[et suis vexil(latio)] leg(ionis)</i> <i>[XXII] pr(imigeniae) [p(iae) f(idelis)--]</i> <i>[----] domum[---]</i> <i>[----- res]tituit [-----]</i> <i>[-----]</i> <i>[---]col[legis s]ui[s]</i> <i>M(arco) Antonino II [et]</i> <i>G(eta) Caes(are) co(n)[s(ulibus)].</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 15;</b> <i>CCID</i> , no. 508; <i>CIL XIII</i> , no. 11950; Jacobi 1909, 7, pl. 3,1; Merlat 1951, 357, no. 359, fig. 74; Moneta 2010, 43, no. 92,1.

#### Cat. 4.12

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	<i>Praetentura</i> (front area) of the fort (found 1874)
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.67 m; Pres. W. 0.10 m; Pres. Th. 0.34 m; Letter Ht. 0.03 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Right hand side portion of an altar. Narrow side displays sacrificial knife within an <i>aedicula</i> . Only the final letters of each line visible on its front side. Inscription: <i>[I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)]</i> <i>[Dolichen]o</i> <i>[et Iuno] ni</i> <i>[Reg(inae)---]i</i> <i>[-----]us</i> <i>[-----]A</i> <i>[----o]ptio</i> <i>[---posu]it</i> <i>[-----]CI</i> <i>[-----]II</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 16</b> ; <i>CCID</i> , no. 509; Jacobi 1897, 278, illus. no. 13, pl. 24, no.1; Merlat 1951, 358, no. 360, fig. 75.

#### Cat. 4.13

<b>Item</b>	Coin, Sestertius
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, east side, posthole
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum, Inv. No. S561
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ca. 0.032-0.034 m
<b>Date</b>	153-156
<b>Description</b>	Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius (corroded).
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>FMRD</i> , no. E368; <i>Moneta</i> 2010, 92, no. 4701, 1.

#### Cat. 4.14

<b>Item</b>	East Gaulish Sigillata base fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, west side, posthole
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum, Inv. No. 1099
<b>Material</b>	Terracotta
<b>Dimensions</b>	Est. base diam. 0.098 m
<b>Date</b>	90-150
<b>Description</b>	Base fragment of a dish/shallow bowl, Dragendorff 18/31, stamped <i>[Regin]usf</i> . Production centre linked to this stamp is in Blickweiler.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<i>Moneta</i> 2010, 92, 324, no. 4701, 2, pl.46,3.



#### Cat. 4.15

<b>Item</b>	8 Gaulish Sigillata fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, north side, shallow ditch
<b>Repository</b>	Saalburg Museum (no inv. number)
<b>Material</b>	Terracotta
<b>Dimensions</b>	Est. rim diam. 0.027 m; est. base diam. 0.0116 m; est. Ht. 0.06 m
<b>Date</b>	90-150
<b>Description</b>	Dish/shallow bowl, Dragendorff form 18/31R with rouletted pattern inside. Likely from an east Gaulish workshop.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Moneta 2010 92, 325, no. 4730, 1, pl. 46.4.

#### Cat. 4.16

<b>Item</b>	Coin hoard
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area (found 1816)
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Assorted
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Vespasian to Severus Alexander
<b>Description</b>	550 mostly silver coins in clay vessel found near altar (cat. 4.1), jewellery (cats. 4.4, 4.5, 4.6) and relief plaque (cat. 4.19); possibly part of Dolichenum hoard.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Jacobi 1897, 7, 391, 393; Jacobi 1937, 51; Moneta 2010, 322, no. 4698.

#### Cat. 4.17

<b>Item</b>	30-40 nails
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, posthole no. 4720
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Iron
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	T-shaped nails (“Kreuzhacken”/“Kreuznägel”) used to affix brick revetment tiles in heated rooms.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Moneta 2010, 93, 324.

#### Cat. 4.18

<b>Item</b>	Miscellaneous
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, assorted postholes and pits, nos. 4701-4722 (a-c), 4724 (d-g), 4740 (i),
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Assorted, see below
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	a) sandstone fragments; b) complete Terra Sigillata cup (production centre unknown); c) metal cleaver; d) numerous pottery fragments; e) small complete jug; f) phallus-shaped urn; g) metal strips with hinge and silver post; h) 2 lamps – found near post pit in <i>cella</i> centre; i) chalice-shaped incense burner (Räucherkelch/ <i>turibulum</i> ).
<b>Bibliography</b>	Jacobi 1897, pl. 37, 2.5; Jacobi 1937, 51; Moneta 2010, 324ff, nos. 4701-4722, 4724, 4740.

**Cat. 4.19**

<b>Item</b>	Relief plaque
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area, near cat. 4.1
<b>Repository</b>	Unknown
<b>Material</b>	Bronze
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ca. 0.24 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Image depicting a small/young Ganymede found in 1816. Jacobi (1924, 36) disagreed with this identification and interpreted it to represent Jupiter Dolichenus, due to the figure wearing a Phrygian cap.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Jacobi 1897, 7; Jacobi 1937, 51; Moneta 2010, 93.

**Cat. 4.20**

<b>Item</b>	30 ceramic vessels, fragments
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum area, cellar on north side of the Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	?
<b>Material</b>	Terracotta
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Fragments of ca. 30 vessels, of which 23 were reconstructed. Local pottery: jug, mortarium, cooking pot, small handled pitcher, plate, 2 indented beakers. Terra Sigillata (production centre(s) unknown): 5 bowls, 2 mortaria, 2 plates, 5 beakers and 2 cups.
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 17</b> ; Jacobi 1897, 432, fig. 65; Jacobi 1937, 51; Moneta 2010, 320-322, no. 4683, fig. 174.

2.4.K

Site Figures

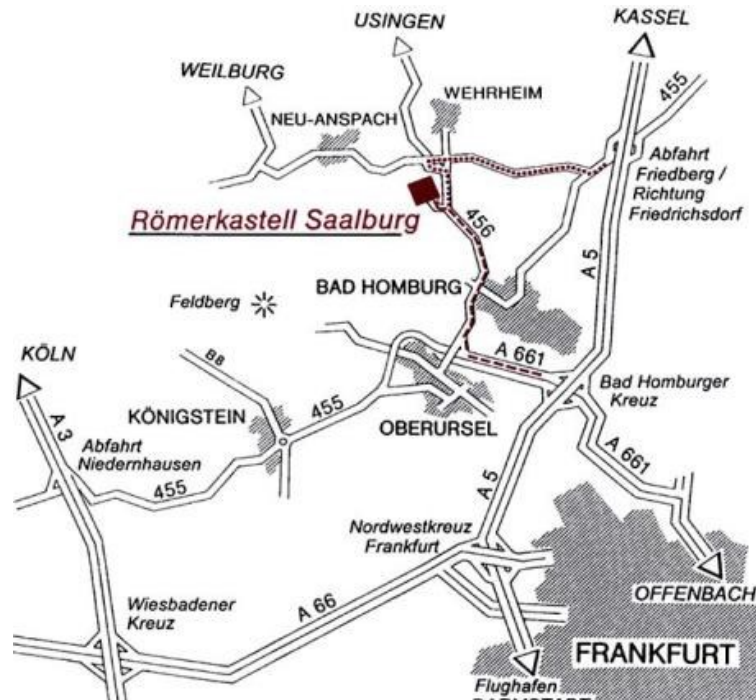


Fig. 13: Location of Saalburg.

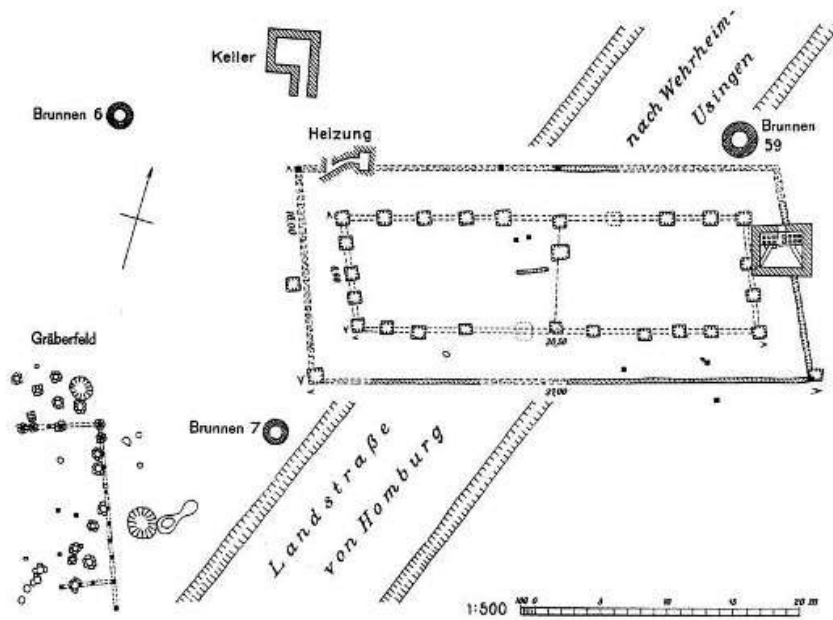


Fig. 14: Saalburg - Dolichenum.

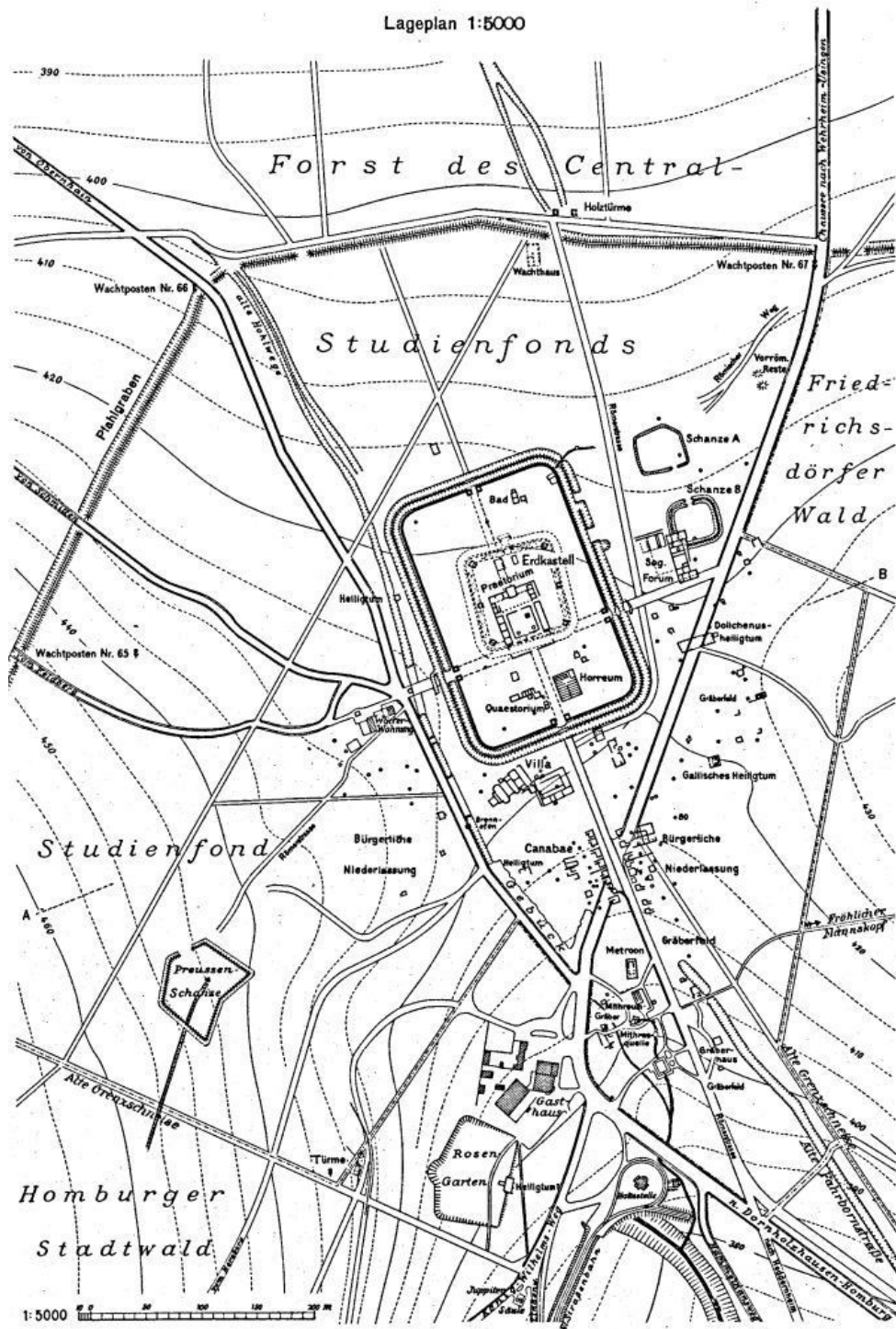


Fig. 15: Saalburg - Dolichenum, Fort, vicus.

## Site 5. Britannia: Vindolanda-Chesterholm

### 2.5.A Name

The auxiliary fort and accompanying *vicus* located near Hadrian's Wall in Britain is identified as Vindolanda-Chesterholm. The exact spelling of the fort's name was uncertain until 1914, when an inscription found in the *vicus*, 100m west of the fort, named the site as Vindolanda (*RIB I* no. 1700, 535; Breeze 2006, 431; Birley 2009, 26). Variant spellings exist: the Vindolanda Tablets include Vindol. and Vindolande, the latter also used to identify the site in the *Ravenna Anonymus, Cosmographia* (Breeze 2006, 431). Vindolandesses is recorded on an inscription found in the *vicus* (Breeze 2006, 431). The name is thought to mean "white enclosure" or "white lawn" (Breeze 2006, 431). There were several post-antique names for the site, and Chesterholm is still frequently used in place of or in conjunction with the Latin name.

### 2.5.B Location

Vindolanda is situated 1.6 km south of Hadrian's Wall Turret 38a, 3.2 km southwest of Housesteads Fort (Vercovicium), and very close to the village of Bardon Mill, Henshaw Parish, Northumberland County (fig. 16; *RIB I*, no. 529). It is located on the so-called Stanegate, the east-west military road skirting Hadrian's Wall to the south (Birley and Birley 2012, 231; Schwarzer 2012, 166). It is set on uneven terrain surrounded on three sides by steep slopes leading down to streams in ravines (Birley 2009, 43).

The Dolichenum is located at the north end of the fort, between the north gate (*porta praetoria*) and the northwest corner tower (figs. 17, 18; Birley and Birley 2012, 233; Schwarzer 2012, 166; Haynes 2013, 193-194). It was approached from the south by a wide lane between two barracks blocks. The south end of this lane, where it joined the *via principalis*, shows evidence of a gate or an arch; this is interpreted as emphasis on the importance and possible processional character of this lane that led to the temple, and that it may have provided a large enclosed area (Birley, pers. comm.; Haynes 2013, 193-194, fig. 12.1).

### 2.5.C Occupation History

Vindolanda was occupied and built upon from the Flavian era to the end of Roman rule in Britain by either auxiliary infantry and/or cavalry units (Birley and Birley 2012, 231). The Vindolanda tablets have shed some light on the units garrisoned there in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries, and inscriptions have provided information for later periods; a great deal, however, remains unknown (Breeze 2006, 431; Birley and Birley 2010, 36).

The occupation and construction history of Vindolanda is complex. Table 5 in Breeze (2009, 434) and Appendix 1 in Birley (2009, 183) best illustrate the progression of occupying forces and building phases. Although the period and dating chronology used by Breeze differs slightly from that of Birley, both indicate that the four main identifiable occupation forces of the fort were *cohors I Tungrorum* and *cohors VIII Batavorum* until about the middle of the 2nd century and *cohors IV Gallorum* as well as possibly two cohorts of Nervians from this time onwards. Both scholars also agree that detachments of other units, such as cavalry and legionaries, were also at the fort at various times and that for some periods of the fort's existence the military units remain unidentified (Breeze 2009, 432; Birley 2009, Appendix 1).

The units associated with the Vindolanda Dolichenum are the *cohors III Gallorum* and the *cohors II Nerviorum* (Birley and Birley 2010, 36, 42; Birley and Birley 2012, 240-243; Birley, pers. comm.). *Cohors III Gallorum* is first recorded in Vindolanda in 213 on a dedication slab for Caracalla (*RIB I*, no. 1705) and then again on a building inscription (*RIB I* no. 1706) naming Severus Alexander and Claudius Xenophon, then governor of *Britannia Inferior* in 233 (Birley and Birley 2010, 36, 42; Birley and Birley 2012, 240-241). This unit is also recorded on several altars dedicated by its prefects: *RIB I* nos. 1685-1687 were found in the *praetorium* of the second stone fort. The provenance for *RIB I* nos. 1688 and 2062 is uncertain but they are thought to most likely come from Vindolanda (Birley and Birley 2010, 42). Lastly, the unit is named in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Occ. XL*, 41; Breeze 2006, 432; Birley and Birley 2010, 42).

The exact movements and garrisoning of *cohors II Nerviorum* cannot be confirmed (Birley and Birley 2012, 242). The unit is not recorded at Vindolanda,

except on the altar found in the Dolichenum; it has been recorded, although not dated, at Segedunum-Wallsend and at nearby Brocolitia-Carrawburgh, where a Mithras temple is located (Breeze 2009, 220; Birley and Birley 2010, 42). It is uncertain if any or all of *cohors II Nerviorum* was ever stationed at Vindolanda (Birley and Birley 2010, 43); they may have visited Vindolanda while accompanying a shipment of silver or lead from their base at Whitley Castle, or they may have made social visits there for activities such as hunting (Birley and Birley 2010, 43). It is possible that vexillation units from each formed a bond with one another and may even have been initiated into the cult while in the area of Habitancum-Risingham. This theory is reinforced by the fact that the spelling of the deity's name, Dolocheno, as opposed to Dolicheno on an inscription, occurs also at Risingham (*RIB I*, no.1220), apart from one other occurrence at Rome (Birley and Birley 2010, 43).

#### **2.5.D Construction History**

The first fort was built during the Flavian period and was later incorporated into the Hadrian's Wall system (Birley and Birley 2012, 231). Vindolanda had a minimum of ten building periods, with a possible eleventh (Birley 2009, Appendix I; Birley and Birley 2012, 231).

The five earliest forts were of turf and timber construction (Breeze 2009, 434, Table 5; Birley 2009, pl. 6). The first stone fort was built during the Antonine era; it was demolished and replaced by a number of round stone huts, beside which was placed another fort with an irregular layout (Birley and Birley 2012, 233). This odd and unexplained arrangement dates to the early 3rd century and was not used for long before being levelled to make way for the second stone fort (Birley 2012, 233-234).

The fort currently visible is the second and last stone fort (Phase VII) and was constructed by *cohors III Gallorum*; it resumed the approximate position of the Phase VIA fort and was built on top of it (Birley 2009, 141; Birley and Birley 2012, 233). The earliest evidence for this fort is the dedication slab *RIB I* no. 1705 (Birley and Birley 2010, 26; Birley and Birley 2012, 234).

The Dolichenum was built sometime after the construction of this second stone fort; the northwest area of the fort held a number of clay ovens and some

were cleared to make way for the temple while others to the west of the temple remained in use (Birley and Birley 2010, 26; Birley and Birley 2012, 234). Modifications were made and extensions added to the Dolichenum during the course of its existence; these have been organized into three phases (Birley and Birley 2012, 234; Schwarzer 2012, 167). The exact dates of each phase are unknown but Phase 1 dates to ca. the first half of the 3rd century; Phase 2 dates to ca. the last quarter of the 3rd century, and it is possible that the Phase 3 structure was in use into the early 4th century (Wilson 2010, 356; Birley and Birley 2012, 234, 236, 238; Schwarzer 2012, 167).

### **2.5.E Excavation History**

Vindolanda was first explored in the early 18th century, and the first archaeological excavations took place sporadically between 1818 and 1834 (Breeze 2009, 431; Birley 2009, 17-26). Other discoveries were made as a result of agricultural work, as in the case of the discovery of *RIB I* no. 1700, in 1914 (Ch. 2.5.A; *RIB I*, no. 535; Breeze, 2009, 431; Birley 2009, 26). Eric Birley purchased part of the farm upon which Vindolanda is situated and excavated there from 1930-1936 (Breeze 2009, 431). Between 1949 and 1969, Eric Birley's son, Robin, excavated intermittently. The Vindolanda Trust was established in 1970, and excavation campaigns have been running annually ever since, first under the direction of Robin Birley and currently under the direction of his son, Andrew Birley (Breeze 2009, 431; Birley 2009, 32; Birley, pers. comm.). Large portions of the fort and *vicus* have been uncovered since 1970 (Breeze 2009, 431). The Dolichenum was discovered in 2009 and is now completely excavated, along with most of northwest portion of the fort (Birley and Birley 2010, 25; Wilson 2010, 356; Schwarzer 2012, 166).

### **2.5.F Conservation – Restoration**

A visit to the site (September 10, 2013) found the Dolichenum on display in its most recent phase (Phase 3) (Pls. 18-20). It appears that all *in situ* masonry and other architectural features have been conserved and that only the altars, described below (Ch. 2.5.J), were moved from their findspots to the site museum where they are on display. The excavated areas in and around the *in situ*



Dolichenum structure have been levelled and covered in pea-gravel, making it accessible to the public.

Many structures in the *vicus* and fort belonging to the second stone phase have been uncovered and conserved, such as the fort's perimeter wall, military and civilian domestic buildings, as well as the *praetorium* and baths (Breeze 2009, 445, 447). Replicas built on virgin soil have also been erected at Vindolanda (Birley 2009, 36-37). Preservation of certain classes of artefact was uncommonly successful at Vindolanda: anaerobic conditions in the lowest levels yielded an invaluable selection of artefacts, including the wooden tablets and environmental samples such as leaves; waterlogged areas yielded a great deal of preserved wood structures and leather goods (Birley 2009, 44).

### 2.5.G Physical Characteristics

The Dolichenum was located inside the fort, an unusual location (figs. 17, 18). Typically, cults practiced within the confines of a fort were reserved for cults of the official Roman state religion, to which Jupiter Dolichenus did not belong (Hoey 1939, 456-457; Johnson 1983, 111-112). Most evidence for cult practices within forts is focused on the imperial cult and that of the *signa*, the veneration of the military standards. Images of the emperor were often housed in the *sacellum* located in the *principia*, along with the military unit's standards (Hoey 1939, 456-457; Johnson 1983, 111-112). All known Dolichena situated near forts are extramural (Birley and Birley 2012, 233). Two other sites associated with Dolichenus, but where no Dolichenum has yet been located, also claim an internal placement, but on vague evidence (Birley and Birley 2010, 25; Birley and Birley 2012, 232). At Aalen, Germany, a stone base with a dedication inscription to Jupiter Dolichenus (*CCID*, no. 476) was re-used in a church nearby. As well, part of a triangular votive plaque was found in the cellar below the *sacellum* of the auxiliary fort's *principia* with coins and jewellery. The suggestion made by Planck (2005, 14-15, cited by Birley and Birley 2012, 232) that a Dolichenum existed within the fort based on this one artefact seems untenable, and it is more likely that the plaque was placed there for safe keeping (Birley and Birley 2012, 232 citing Hoey 1939, 462). At Alteburg, Germany, the only finds connected to Dolichenus were two adjoining pieces of

an altar found in the *principia* of the fort there. As the building was re-used and shows evidence of medieval alterations, this also seems unlikely (Hoey 1939, 462; Birley and Birley 2012, 233 citing Baatz and Hermann 1982, 343-345). The Vindolanda excavators suggest that a Dolichenum may originally have been located some distance from the fort. Two different structures suspected to have cult associations have been suggested as possible earlier Dolichenum sites by Birley and Birley (2010, 26; Birley and Birley 2012 233; Schwarzer 2012, 167).

The Phase 1 structure was built into the rampart but was not attached to the fort wall; there was approximately 1.0 m space between them (fig. 19; Birley and Birley 2010, 27; Birley and Birley 2012, 234; Schwarzer 2012, 167). It was an 80.0 m<sup>2</sup> rectangular structure consisting of one room with an *aedicula* located in the area west of the door (Pl. 18). This structure measured 17.73 m x 4.52 m; the wall thickness was 0.62 m with clay-bonded rather than lime-mortared walls, a feature that was consistent with other contemporary structures within the fort. The *aedicula* and doorway, however, were lime-mortared, as were buildings in the fort, such as the *principia* and *praetorium* (Birley and Birley 2010, 27; Birley and Birley 2012, 234).

The wall thickness could have supported a wall height of up to 7.0 m, and a two-story structure or one with very high ceilings was thus possible; the *aedicula* may have had its own roof (Birley and Birley 2010, 27; Birley and Birley 2012, 234; Schwarzer 2012, 167). A drain ran below the temple from the rampart area and out to a cistern located east of the temple, just south of the gate. This was probably required to divert water collecting on the clay rampart between wall and temple (pl. 19). It may also have had some significance to this cult of a weather-god (Birley and Birley 2010, 27; Birley and Birley 2012, 234; Schwarzer 2012, 167). The door was located in the middle of the south wall and was quite narrow, measuring only 0.90 m in width; the extant masonry suggests that it was similar in date and style to that of the *aedicula* and that it was flanked by pilasters (Birley and Birley 2010, 28-29; Birley and Birley 2012, 235; Schwarzer 2012, 167). The floor of the temple was paved with a combination of flagstones and cobbles (Birley and Birley 2010, 26, 29; Birley and Birley 2012, 235; Schwarzer 2012, 167). There is evidence that some resurfacing occurred in antiquity and a number of flags removed, which could have occurred because of

subsidence from building part of the temple on top of a filled-in ditch (Birley and Birley 2010, 29; also citing Birley 2009, 141-168).

The *aedicula*, located northwest of the door and opening to the east, dominated the interior of the temple, while two altars (cats. 5.1 and 5.2) were found *in situ* in front of its entrance (Pl. 18; Birley and Birley 2010, 29; Birley and Birley 2012; 235; Schwarzer 2012, 167). The *aedicula* was characterized by four stone piers: two very sturdy ones at the rear corners (northwest: 0.38 m x 0.30 m; southwest: 0.47 m x 0.36 m) and two more delicate ones at the front corners (northeast: 0.37 m x 0.28 m; southeast: 0.34 m x 0.25 m); the open front entrance was framed by two different styles of pilaster (Birley and Birley 2010, 29-30; Birley and Birley 2012; 235; Schwarzer 2012, 167). A large free-standing stone (0.45 m.x.0.30 m x 0.58 m Ht.) was aligned 0.32 m behind the *aedicula*; it is interpreted as a statue base or base for an architectural feature (Birley and Birley 2010, 30; Birley and Birley 2012; 235; Schwarzer 2012, 167). Well-dressed stones filled the space between the larger corner stones on three sides (N-S-W), and the 3.2 m<sup>2</sup> interior contained a layer of clay, coated with thin flagstones (40 – 60 mm thick) (Birley and Birley 2010, 30; Birley and Birley 2012, 236; Schwarzer 2012, 167). One step was placed in front of the opening (Birley and Birley 2010, 31). The stones were all differently carved, which suggests that they were re-used from other, earlier structures (Birley and Birley 2010, 30; Birley and Birley 2012, 236). The excavator suggests that the sturdier back (west) wall likely held some kind of statue or carved relief and that there was sufficient space opposite the *aedicula*, to the northeast of the temple doorway, for some kind of dedication to Juno Regina (Birley and Birley 2010, 29-30; Birley and Birley 2012, 236; Schwarzer 2012, 167).

In Phase 2, an extension (ca. 7.5 m) was added to the west wall of the Phase 1 building, thus increasing the temple's area to ca. 124 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 20; Birley and Birley 2010, 31; Birley and Birley 2012, 236; Schwarzer 2012, 167). The addition was constructed in similar style to the Phase 1 part, with walls 0.64 m thick and the floor paved in thick flagstones (Birley and Birley 2010, 31; Birley and Birley 2012, 236). It was open to the *intervallum* road on south side, and a small drain, placed beside the north wall, exited to the east of nearby northwest corner tower. This drain had a clay foundation and was lined and covered with

roofing slates (Birley and Birley 2010, 31; Birley and Birley 2012, 236; Schwarzer 2012, 167).

Coins of Hadrian, Gallienus and Victorinus were found in this drain and four radiates (or copies) were found between the flagstones comprising the pavement of this new room. The excavator expressed uncertainty about the validity of these coins for dating, as similar coins had been found in 4th century layers within the fort (Birley and Birley 2010, 31; Birley and Birley 2012, 236). The room is interpreted as a stable or barn, either for worshippers to leave their horses or to house animals intended for sacrifice, although there are no animal remains. The walls were thick enough to carry a second floor, and this potential space is interpreted as possible accommodation for a priest or senior member of the cult (Birley and Birley 2010, 31; Birley and Birley 2012, 236; Schwarzer 2012, 167).

Interpretation of the final and most recent Phase 3 is unclear because of a combination of Roman-era demolition and more recent stone robbing and agricultural activity, and it is not clear if the space was still being used for cult purposes during this phase (fig. 21; Birley and Birley 2010, 32; Birley and Birley 2012, 237). A heated room was added to the temple: most of it occupies the west end of the Phase 1 room, while the rest of the space was taken from the Phase 2 addition (pl. 20). This space encroached on the *intervallum* road to the south by 1.53m (Birley and Birley 2010, 32-33; Birley and Birley 2012, 237). The walls were between 0.80m and 0.90m thick, which suggest a second story or very high ceiling (Birley and Birley 2010, 32; Birley and Birley 2012, 237; Schwarzer 2012, 168). The hypocaust itself was located northwest of the heated area and accessed by a corridor in the Phase 2 stable-room (Birley and Birley 2010, 33; Birley and Birley 2012, 238). Many of its columns were found *in situ*, but most of the flagstones were robbed out (pl. 20; Birley and Birley 2010, 33; Birley and Birley 2012, 238). A new second doorway was added to the west of the *aedicula* on the south side; this was placed at the center of the building but there is no evidence to suggest that the original door was blocked (Birley and Birley 2010, 32; Birley and Birley 2012, 237; Schwarzer 2012, 167). As the cult is connected to feasting, the space is interpreted as a heated dining room (Birley and Birley 2010, 32; Birley and Birley 2012, 237; Schwarzer 2012, 168). One coin

of Constantius II was found in the only sealed context, beneath the flagstones, and two other coins found in the vicinity of the temple date to 324-330 and 335-341. These finds corroborate the dating of the single coin and suggest that the building was accessible until just after the mid-4th century, although it was not necessarily in use as a temple at that date (Birley and Birley 2010, 33; Birley and Birley 2012, 238; Schwarzer 2012, 168).

The entire temple complex was deliberately demolished and subsequently burned, possibly by an accidental fire. The *aedicula* and surviving interior walls show signs of severe fire damage, and tool marks are purple-black from exposure to fire. Such damage was also documented on the walls of buildings on the other side of the *intervallum* road, facing the Dolichenum (Birley and Birley 2010, 33-34; Birley and Birley 2012, 238; Schwarzer 2012, 168).

After demolition and burning, the site was covered in clay and soil, and there is no evidence to indicate subsequent construction on top of the site; this is surprising because space was limited and this area of the fort was valuable real estate (Birley and Birley 2010, 33-34; Birley and Birley 2012, 238; Schwarzer 2012, 168). In comparison, Wilson (2010, 356) indicates that almost all other late-Roman levels in the northwestern quadrant of the fort were capped with debris from subsequent habitation. There may have been early Christian involvement or that of other rival religious groups in the destruction (Birley and Birley 2010, 33-34; Birley and Birley 2012, 238; Schwarzer 2012, 168). In contrast, Christian sanctuaries elsewhere were sometimes built on top of razed pagan temples, such as at Santa Prisca and San Clemente, both in Rome (Merritt 1966, 24-25; Boyle 1989, 8-9).

The exact date of the destruction of the Dolichenum at Vindolanda is not known at present, but it is thought to have occurred sometime in the mid-4th century, as there are no coins on the site dating later than the mid-4th century (Birley and Birley 2010, 33). Although the cult had long since disappeared in other parts of the Empire, it seems possible that it continued longer in Britain: a recently discovered inscription (*RIB III*, no. 3299) indicates that an unlocated Dolichenian shrine, somewhere near Chesters Fort, was still in existence in 286 (Wilson 2010, 356; Birley and Birley 2012, 246). It cannot be ascertained,

however, as to whether the cult at Vindolanda was still being actively practiced at the time of its destruction (Birley and Birley 2012, 247).

### **2.5.H Artefacts**

A wide assortment of artefacts were uncovered in the Dolichenum although no hoards or artefact-filled pits were found (Birley and Birley 2010, 34; Birley and Birley 2012, 239). Coins, altars, bones, and a variety of other finds were discovered, and those published in preliminary reports and conference proceedings are included below (Ch. 2.5.J). Many more items will likely be revealed in the forthcoming final excavation report (anticipated publication, 2015) (Birley, pers. comm.).

The finds from Vindolanda belong to the Vindolanda Trust and most are housed at the onsite museum, sometimes also referred to as the Chesterholm Museum (Breeze 2009, 445). Finds from other areas of the fort and *vicus* include a broad range of artefacts in keeping with their long and varied history and include weapons, armour, tools, wooden objects, leather goods, textiles, wigs, and also sculpture, inscriptions, glass, iron implements both domestic and industrial, as well as a wealth of ceramic wares. A full range of small finds including coins, jewellery, and toiletry and medical items are also represented (Breeze 2009, 445). Perhaps the most important, certainly the most famous, discovery at Vindolanda are the cache of wooden writing tablets; most of these are housed in the British Museum in London, with some on display in the Vindolanda Museum (Breeze 2009, 431).

### **2.5.I Bibliography**

*RIB I*; nos. 529, 1700; Birley 2009, 17-26, 36-37, 43-44, 141, 183, Appendix. 1, pl. 6; Birley and Birley 2010; 25-52; Birley and Birley 2012, 231-257; Boyle 1989, 8-9; Breeze 2009, 220, 431-445, 447, Table 5; Haynes 2013, 193-194, fig. 12.1; Hoey 1939, 456-457, 462; Johnson 1983, 111-112; Merritt 1966, 24-25; *Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XL*, 41; Schwarzer 2012, 166-168; Tomlin 2010, 444-446; Wilson 2010, 356-358.

## 2.5.J

## Artefacts

### Cat. 5.1

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, in front of <i>aedicula</i>
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum, SF13,600
<b>Material</b>	Buff sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Ht.1.05 m; W. 0.49 m; Th. 0.48 m; shaft: 0.39 m x 0.42 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Found, <i>in situ</i> , knocked over and next to cat.5.2. Altar is complete with the exception of the capital, which is mostly destroyed except for a band of cross-hatching. Lettering well cut, well preserved; Ht: 42 mm (average). Imagery carved in high relief. Imagery on left: Dolichenus standing on bull, both facing to the right. He holds thunderbolt in his left hand and an axe in his right; the axe is not the usual <i>bipennis</i> (double axe). Clothing is simpler than usual, without sword or Phrygian cap. Imagery on Right: jug and handled patera.

Inscription (text is centred on recessed panel on face):

*I O M*  
*DOLOCENO*  
*SVLPICIVSPV*  
*DENS PRAEF*  
*COHIIIGALL*  
*V S L M*

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Doloceno | Sulpicius Pu|dens praef(ectus) | coh(ortis) IIII*  
*Gall(orum) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 21</b> ; Birley and Birley 2010 25-51, fig. 7; Pahl 2010, 273, no. EC98; Tomlin 2010, 444-445, no.4; Birley and Birley 2012, 232-257, fig. 10; Schwarzer 2012, 166-168; Haynes 2013, fig. 12.2.
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### Cat. 5.2

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, in front of <i>aedicula</i>
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum, SF13,601
<b>Material</b>	Dark buff sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.58 m; Pres. W. 0.48 m; Pres. Th. 0.43 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Found, <i>in situ</i> , next to cat. 5.1. The upper part of the altar is destroyed; the base is almost complete, except for the lower part of the corner, front right. Two parts of the die remain: a triangular portion of the lower front upon which three lines of text are visible; on the lower portion on the viewer's left a wreath, round disc and patera are carved. Well-cut lettering, Ht. 50mm (average), narrower than on cat. 5.1.

Inscription:

[...] *IVS V* [...] [  
[.] *PRAEFECT* [...] [  
*COH II NERVIOR*

<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Pl. 22</b> ; Birley and Birley 2010, 36-38, figs. 8-1, 8-2; Pahl 2010, 273, no. EC99; Tomlin 2010, 445 no. 5; Birley and Birley 2012, 232-257, fig. 12; Schwarzer 2012, 166-168.
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### Cat. 5.3

<b>Item</b>	Inscribed altar fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, outside temple door
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum, SF13642
<b>Material</b>	Dark buff sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.42 m; Pres. W. 0.23 m; Pres. Th. 0.17 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Lettering Ht. 25 mm (average). Text is not clear: some damaged on left side and some worn away on right side. Deity to which deity this altar was dedicated is not known. Inscription: <i>AEXAN</i> <i>RA[...]</i> <i>. V . S . L . [M]</i>
<b>Bibliography</b>	This may have been dedicated by a woman: the “A.EXAN RA” is interpreted as “Alexandra”. However, due to damage and weathering it is impossible to confirm this interpretation; Birley and Birley suggest it may also read <i>aram</i> , meaning altar. Birley and Birley 2010, 38-39, fig. 8-3; Tomlin 2010, 446, no. 6; Birley and Birley 2012, 232-257; Schwarzer 2012, 166-168.

### Cat. 5.4

<b>Item</b>	Decorated stone fragment
<b>Findspot</b>	<i>Intervallum</i> road, 2 m southwest of Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Pres. Ht. 0.080 m; Pres. W. 0.240 m; Pres. Th. 0.190 m
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Two wheels/rosettes divided by a column carved inside a recessed panel on the face. Heavy fire damage.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley and Birley 2010, 34; Birley and Birley 2012, 232-257.

### Cat. 5.5

<b>Item</b>	3 Coins
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Phase 2, drain beneath new extension
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Various, see below
<b>Description</b>	3 single coins, one each of Hadrian, Gallienus, Victorinus.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley 2010, 31.



### Cat. 5.6

<b>Item</b>	Radiate coins
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Phase 2, new extension
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Quantity not known. Found between the flagstones. Similar coins found in 4th-century contexts within the fort. Based on their location, it is possible that these coins were deposited after the end of the 3rd century.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley 2010, 31; Birley 2012, 232-257.

### Cat. 5.7

<b>Item</b>	Coin of Constantius II
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, Phase 3, hypocaust level
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	353-358
<b>Description</b>	Only coin found in sealed context, beneath the flagstone pavement covering the hypocaust system, Phase 3 addition to the temple. Two coins found recently in the area surrounding the temple date to 324-330 and 335-341 support this hypothesis.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley 2010, 33; Birley 2012, 232-257.

### Cat. 5.8

<b>Item</b>	Two Keys
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Found in the demolition debris of the temple, suggesting temple door could be locked.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley and Birley 2010, 34; Birley and Birley 2012, 239.

### Cat. 5.9

<b>Item</b>	Two Rings
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, near <i>aedicula</i>
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Jet; copper-alloy
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Jet finger-ring found 0.5 m east of the <i>aedicula</i> , possibly associated with a female presence. The copper-alloy ring was found near the jet ring.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley and Birley 2010, 34; Birley and Birley 2012, 239.

**Cat. 5.10**

<b>Item</b>	Knife blades and grindstones
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Unknown
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	One knife blade found in the Phase 2 stable/barn area, two near the Dolichenum. Hones or whetstones (quantity not provided) found surrounding the <i>aedicula</i> , possibly for ceremonial/feasting use.
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley and Birley 2010, 34; Birley and Birley 2012, 239; Schwarzer 2012, 168.

**Cat. 5.11**

<b>Item</b>	Animal bones
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum
<b>Repository</b>	Vindolanda Museum
<b>Material</b>	Bone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Most bones found north of the <i>aedicula</i> . Remains of at least eight cows with a high number of juveniles in comparison to faunal remains from other areas of the fort and <i>vicus</i> . Bones of at least two slaughtered goats/sheep found in the hypocaust room west of the <i>aedicula</i> . Bones of at least one pig found east of the <i>aedicula</i> .
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley and Birley 2010, 34; Birley and Birley 2012, 239; Schwarzer 2012, 168.

**Cat. 5.12**

<b>Item</b>	2 pilasters
<b>Findspot</b>	Dolichenum, main room
<b>Repository</b>	<i>in situ</i>
<b>Material</b>	not identified, but likely sandstone
<b>Dimensions</b>	Unknown
<b>Date</b>	Unknown
<b>Description</b>	Two dissimilar pilasters flanking the entrance sides of the <i>aedicula</i> .
<b>Bibliography</b>	Birley and Birley 2010, 28-29; Birley and Birley 2012, 235; Schwarzer 2012, 167.

2.5.K

Site Figures

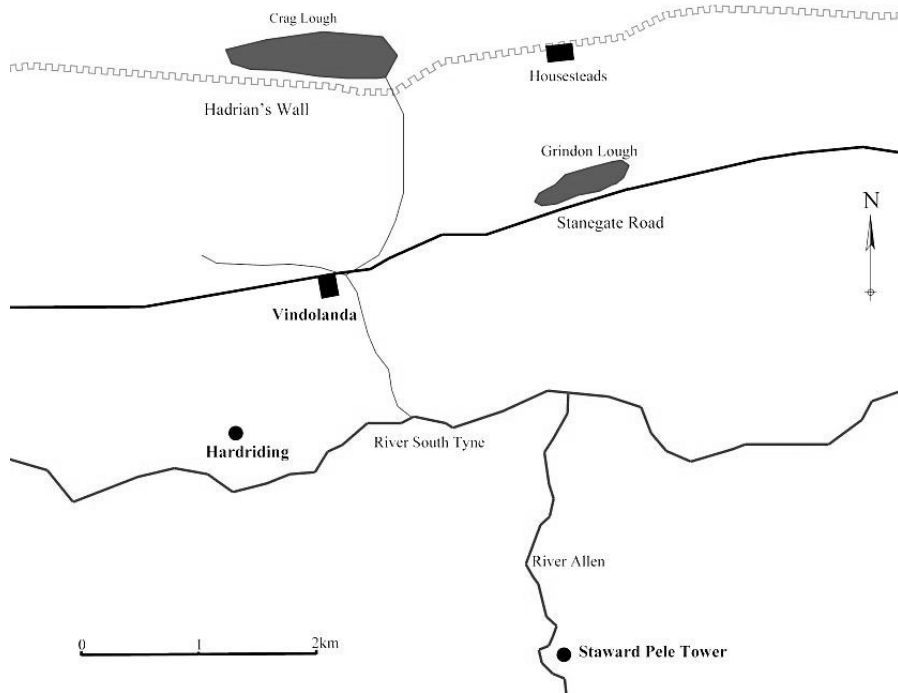


Fig. 16: Location of Vindolanda.



Fig. 17: Vindolanda - Plan of 3rd Century Fort and *vicus*.

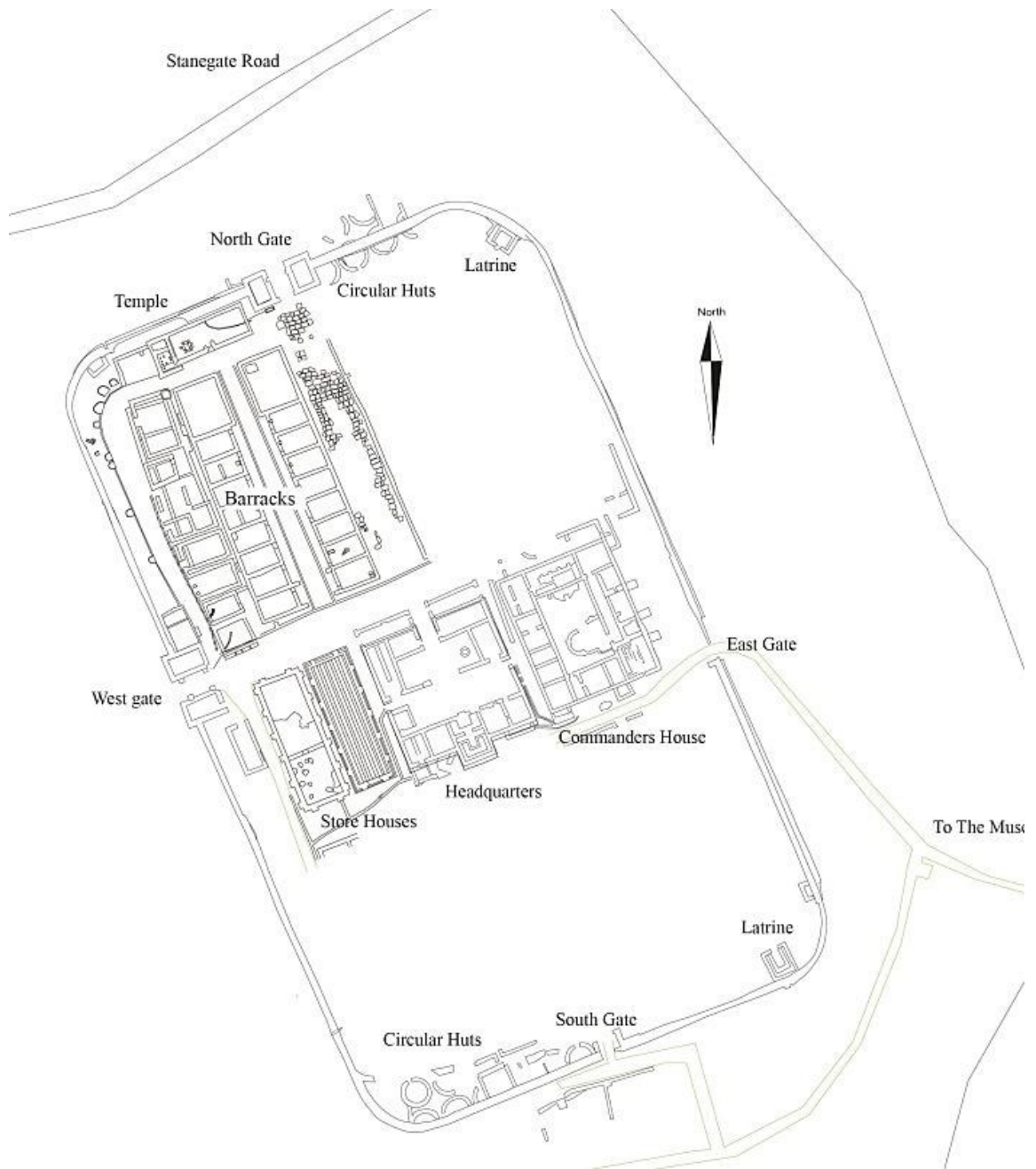


Fig. 18: Vindolanda - Excavated Structures in Fort.

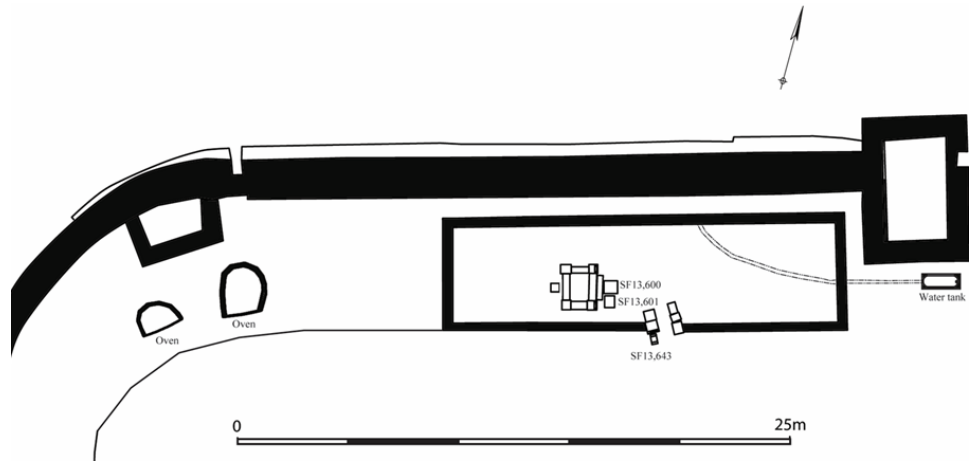


Fig. 19: Vindolanda - Dolichenum, Phase 1.

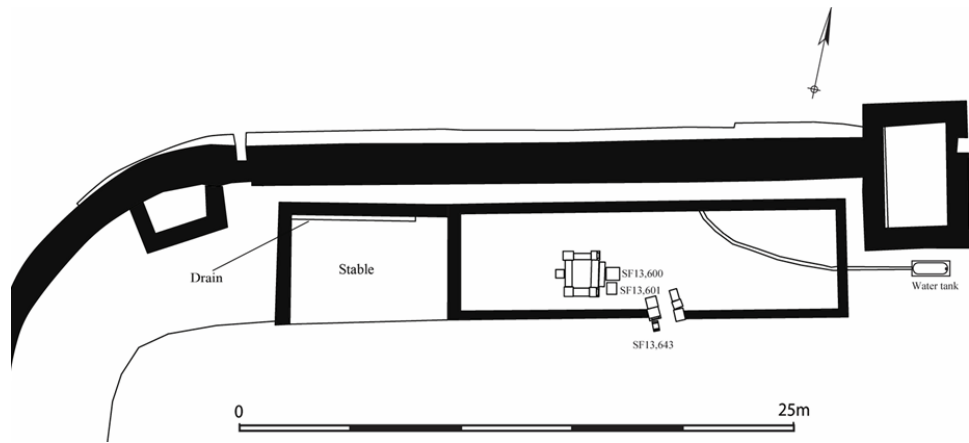


Fig. 20: Vindolanda - Dolichenum, Phase 2.

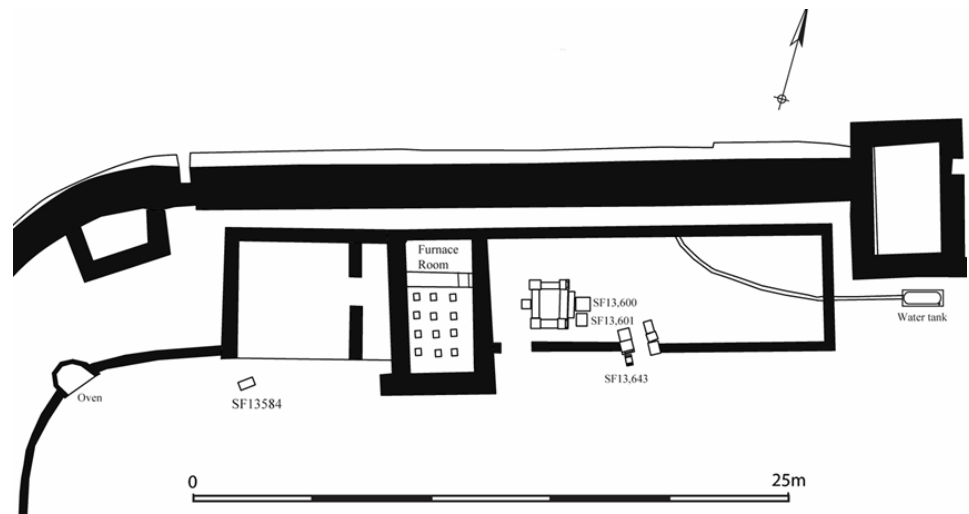


Fig. 21: Vindolanda - Dolichenum, Phase 3.

## 3. Analysis of Archaeological Evidence

### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to understand the differences and similarities between Dolichena situated in five provinces along the northwestern frontier of the Roman Empire. The following analysis is based on the contents of the catalogue but will occasionally also include examples from other Dolichena for the purpose of clarification and explanation. Certain anomalies and differences in excavation and documentation practices and the fact that much lies undiscovered may contribute to some opacity in determining the extent of the regional variation.

### 3.2 Location

The selected Dolichena are located in the provinces of Pannonia Superior, Noricum, Raetia, Germania Superior, and Britannia, where most of the evidence related to this cult has been found (fig. 1). Half of the sixteen excavated Dolichena are situated in these provinces; half of the ten Dolichena that are identified only by building inscriptions without known associated temples also occur here (fig. 2). These provinces also contain other evidence for the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, such as inscriptions and associated artefacts (figs. 2, 22; Schwarzer 2013, map: 294-295).

The five Dolichena were located at or near military installations (fig. 23). The Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5) temples were situated at or very near auxiliary forts, while that at Carnuntum (site 1) was found close to an auxiliary fort and a legionary fortress. The Virunum Dolichenum (site 2) was located near a structure that is thought to have housed the *singulares*, the governor's guard. These Dolichena were also placed on or very close to major transportation and trade routes and/or major crossroads.

Both the Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4) Dolichena were situated in the fort's *vicus*, on or near a road leading out of the fort and within 100 m of fort gates. At Vindolanda (site 5), the Dolichenum was set within the fort itself, immediately west of its main gate; this is an unusual location and raises the

question as to whether it may originally have been located in the fort's *vicus*. Only one of the Dolichena addressed in this study, that at Carnuntum (site 1), was close to a major city that was also a provincial capital. This temple was positioned in the nearby *canabae legionis*, with the north end of its *temenos* skirting the south side of the Limes road leading from the legionary fortress through the civilian city (the *decumanus maximus*) on its way westward to Vindobona and beyond. Virunum (site 2) was also a provincial capital, but it was considerably smaller than Carnuntum (site 1) (ca. 1/10th its size). Its Dolichenum was placed at the northern edge of the city itself, not far from the *decumanus maximus*.

There is also a connection between these Dolichena and water sources: Vindolanda (site 5) and Saalburg (site 4) were located near creeks, and Vetoniana (site 3) and Virunum (site 2) near smaller rivers; the South Tyne River is ca. 2 km south of Vindolanda (site 5). Only Carnuntum (site 1) was situated near a large and navigable river, the Danube.

Two Mithraea were found near the Carnuntum Dolichenum (site 1) (fig. 24): one was situated ca. 0.5 km away, the other ca. 3 km away (Gugl and Kremer 2011b, 164; Kandler 2011, 14). The Dolichenum at Saalburg (site 4) lay less than 0.5 km from a structure originally interpreted as a Mithraeum. Recent interpretations of this structure, however, suggest a funerary function, either as an elaborate burial or tomb enclosure (Schwarzer 2012, 164; Moneta 2010, 109-110). At least one Mithraeum is attested by inscriptions at Virunum (site 2), and a Mithraeum is also suspected at Vindolanda (site 1) on anecdotal evidence, in a steep ravine east of the fort (Piccottini 2002, 112-113; Birley, pers. comm.).

Furthermore, evidence for cult spaces dedicated to other eastern, as well as Roman cults has been identified near each Dolichenum (fig. 24), yet no pattern between the location of Dolichena and the other ritual areas is evident. For example, at Saalburg (site 4), a *metroon* (cult building for the worship of Cybele) has been identified and there is evidence for the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva) at Virunum (site 2) and possibly at Vetoniana (site 3) (Jacobi 1937, 46; Ulbert and Fischer 1983, 98; Pleyel 1994, 284). At Carnuntum (site 1), Saalburg (site 4) and Vindolanda (site 5), cult spaces have been classified as Gallo-Roman or Celtic (Breeze 2009, 445; Jacobi 1937, 46; Gugl and Kremer



2011a, 102). Carnuntum (site 1) also displays the richest variety of cult spaces in this study: sanctuaries dedicated to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, *Jupiter Heliopolitanus*, *Asclepius*, *Liber* and *Libera*, *Isis* and *Serapis*, and *Silvanus*, *Nemesis*, as well as the emperor cult have been identified there (fig. 5). Buildings recognized as ritual in function but without known dedication were located in the vicinity of all five Dolichena, as were burials (figs. 24, 25).

Four of the Dolichena had topographically prominent locations: Carnuntum (site 1) was close to the Danube escarpment; Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4) were located on a steep promontory above the Altmühl River and on a pass through the Taunus Mountains, respectively. Vindolanda (site 5) was surrounded on three sides with ravines. Virunum (site 2) was positioned on a plain and differs from the others as well in that it was not located on or close to the Limes itself. Vetoniana (site 3) was located ca. 17 km away from the Limes, Vindolanda (site 5) was 1.6 km away, whereas Carnuntum (site 1) and Saalburg (site 4) were within a few hundred meters of the Limes. The original Dolichenum was situated on the summit of Dülük Baba Tepesi mountain, which offered great visibility. It seems likely that topographically prominent settings were often sought in the planning of these temples.

### **3.3 Physical Characteristics**

There is a great deal of variety in the elements incorporated into Roman cult, but a sanctuary in general consists of an open area with an altar, a temple, and perhaps other structures. Dolichena differ from this model in that altars seem to have been situated within the temples (Scheid 2003, 73).

Relatively few Dolichena, or temples for the Dolichenian cult, have been identified and excavated, and there are multiple interpretations of their appearance and identification. I support Kandler (2011, inside cover; fig. 2), who counts sixteen excavated temples, ten temples not yet located, but attested through building inscriptions, and seven sites where Dolichena are suspected on the basis of other artefacts, but not yet confirmed (figs. 2, 22). Here too, different interpretations result in a variation in numbers: for example, Collar (2013, 96-97) counts twenty-three “archaeologically attested temples, of which eight are less certain,” while Schwarzer (2012, 189) counts fifteen

“archaeologically attested”, fifteen “epigraphically attested,” and eight “possibly located” temples.

The excavated temples follow no pattern and range in size, shape, and configuration: the smallest example is ca. 13.5 m<sup>2</sup>, and the largest is 606 m<sup>2</sup> (Schwarzer 2012, 190, table 2). They are square, rectangular, and circular, and some have yards (Birley and Birley 2010, 31; Schwarzer 2012, 143-210). There is also no set pattern for the number of rooms, their orientation, or the use of hypocaust heating: the minimum amount of rooms is one, the maximum is six, and the temples displayed orientation in all four major compass directions, as well as southeast and southwest. Some Dolichena contained *triclinia*, benches associated with feasting rooms, which are more commonly known from temples dedicated to Mithras. Because the sanctuaries do not adhere to a specific pattern, they can be difficult to recognize. Most are identified by the material evidence contained within them (Hensen 2005, 221; Fowlkes 2012, 9).

Four of the five Dolichena in this study, Carnuntum (site 1), Virunum (site 2), Vetoniana (site 3), and Saalburg (site 4), were established in the second half of the 2nd century or early 3rd century. The start date for Vindolanda (site 5) was later, in the first half of the 3rd century. Virunum (site 2) is the only temple with a datable building inscription, of 189. At Carnuntum (site 1), an inscribed block (cat. 1.1) indicates the presence of the cult in the area by the early 2nd century, which is unusual because of its early date of 128; only one artefact, an inscription found at Lambaesis in Africa, predates this block as evidence for the spread of the cult so far westward within ca. 50 years of the Romans’ initial contact with the cult in Doliche (*CCID*, no. 217, pl. 42; Kandler 2011, 4; Kremer 2014, 134, no. 153). This block is not, however, considered to be proof of the temple’s construction; rather, it commemorates the construction of a gate and a length of wall in honour of the emperor Hadrian. It was found at the Pfaffenberg hill site for the Imperial Cult and the Capitoline Triad, located ca. 2 km away from the Dolichenum (site 1). The block is connected to Jupiter Dolichenus, as the sponsor was identified as a youth group (*iuventus*) under the protection of the deity (Kandler 2011, 4; Kremer 2014, 134-135, no. 153). The location of this gate and wall is unknown. On the basis of the block’s findspot, it is possible that a second Dolichenum existed on the Pfaffenberg hill (Schwarzer 2012, 156-157).

It is, however, possible that this plaque referred to the walled *temenos* described in this study, where walls and a possible gate have been located.

The Vindolanda (site 5) temple was constructed of soft, buff, fine-grained sandstone, which may have come from one of several nearby quarries (Birley, pers. comm.). One source, at Barcombe Down, was ca. 4 km away from Vindolanda (site 5) (Russell 2013). The types of stone employed in the construction of the other four Dolichena (sites 1, 2, 3, 4) are not known. Limestone from nearby quarries (within 25 km) was used in many buildings within the settlements of three temples (sites 1, 3, 4), and locally-mined shale was commonly used in Virunum (site 2) (Gugl, pers. comm.); it seems likely that the Dolichena were constructed of the stone most commonly used at each settlement. The Saalburg Dolichenum (site 4) was the only temple lacking stone foundation walls. There, square postholes measuring 1 m outlined the *cella* and supported thick half-timbered walls that may have been in-filled with undressed stone. Half-timbered walls with a stone in-fill are usually associated with a stone levelling course to inhibit the transfer of moisture from the ground to the wooden posts (Adam 1994, 122-124); this stone levelling course was not documented at the Saalburg Dolichenum, yet the massive postholes indicate a more substantial wall structure than one made primarily with clay. The lack of this levelling course could also be due to the energetic harvesting of stone at Saalburg in the 18th and 19th centuries. Shallow, ca. 0.20 m wide post ditches surrounded all but the *cella's* western wall, thereby creating a corridor-like space.

At Carnuntum (site 1), three and possibly more quarries were located within 10 km of the site, and, at Vetoniana (site 2), one quarry was found within 1 km of the *vicus* (Winkelmann 1901, pl. 1; Russell 2013). At Virunum (site 2), several antique quarries are known: two are located close to Virunum (at Tentschach and Kraig), as well as at Spitzelofen in the Lavanttal valley and at Gummern; marble from a quarry within 20 km of Virunum was also used for the settlement (Vetters 1977, 313; Gugl, pers. comm.). Sources for the slate, quartzite, sandstone, and basalt seen in the Saalburg fort and *vicus* (site 4) were situated less than 20 km away (Jacobi 1908, 46).

The layouts of the five Dolichena vary (fig. 26). There is no consistency in the orientation of the Dolichena: Carnuntum (site 1) and Vetoniana (site 3) faced the east; Virunum (site 2) and Vindolanda (site 5) the south; and Saalburg (site 4) the west.

Carnuntum (site 1) is the only temple in the study with a yard and *temenos* (figs. 4, 26). The Saalburg Dolichenum (site 4) has several wells and pits around it that are thought to have been associated with the temple, thus possibly indicative of a *temenos* (fig. 14, 26). The *cella* was surrounded by a corridor-like space, but it is uncertain whether this area was covered (to form a portico) or whether it was roofless. Two of the Dolichena (sites 4, 5) were rectangular (fig. 26). The Dolichenum at Vetoniana (site 3) was almost square. The temple at Virunum (site 2) was only slightly elongated. The overall shape of the Carnuntum Dolichenum (site 1) was irregular, although the two cult rooms, not including their *pronaoi*, were almost square. The Saalburg Dolichenum (site 4) was the largest (37.9 m x 16.0 m), followed by Vetoniana (site 3) (21.1 m x 18.2 m), Carnuntum (site 1) (8.8 m x 8.2 m and 9.6 m x 8.4 m), Virunum (site 2) (17.7 m x 11.6 m), and Vindolanda (site 5) (25.0 m x 4.52 m) (fig. 26). At Carnuntum (site 1), only the two principle cult rooms are included in this calculation, but two associated rooms were situated within its *temenos*.

The number of rooms contained in each of the Dolichena varied (fig. 26). The following discussion is based on the maximum number of rooms constructed at each Dolichenum, regardless of building phases, as Vindolanda is the only site at which building phases were documented during excavation. Carnuntum (site 1) and Virunum (site 2) had four rooms, while Vindolanda (site 5) had three. Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4) were one-room structures with traces of interior divisions that separated the space without creating individual rooms. Saalburg (site 4) was interpreted as a double temple for both Jupiter Dolichenus and his *paredros*, Juno Dolichena, yet evidence for a wall dividing the *cella* in half is lacking.

Vindolanda (site 5) is unique in that it contained an *aedicula* close to its entrance, which measured 3.2 m<sup>2</sup> (ca. 4% of the temple's area) (figs. 19-21, 26; pl. 18). It is possible that one of the interior divisions at Vetoniana (site 3) (space A, fig. 12), identified as the *cella* by the excavator, may have served such a

purpose, although this *aedicula* would have been quite large (23 m<sup>2</sup>, ca. 6% of the temple) and lacks any distinct entrance way. The L-shaped wall attached to the north end of Room I (fig. 9) of the Virunum Dolichenum (site 2) may also be interpreted as a very small *aedicula*, measuring only slightly more than 1 m<sup>2</sup>, ca. 2% of the room's area. It also lacked a front entrance.

The Carnuntum Dolichenum (site 1) contained a cult room and a banqueting room, each with its own *pronaos*, as well as two adjacent rooms (figs. 6, 26). None of the other four Dolichena (sites 2, 3, 4, 5) had a *pronaos*. Carnuntum (site 1) is also the only temple in this study to have had an apse centred on the west wall and benches (*triclinia*) flanking the long sides of the northern cult room (Room e, figs. 6, 26), which was interpreted as the banqueting room (fig. 27). An inscription (cat. 2.1) indicates *triclinia* at Virunum (site 2) although none were noted during its excavation.

Three Dolichena, at Virunum (site 2), Vetoniana (site 3), and Saalburg (site 4), contained a pit or small cellar inside the structure. The pit at Virunum (site 2) was located on both the inner and outer sides of the west wall. Artefacts associated with the cult were found in and around the pits at Virunum (site 2) and Saalburg (site 4); the pit inside the Vetoniana (site 3) temple was empty, although some artefacts associated with the cult were discovered near it.

An extramural pit at the Vetoniana Dolichenum (site 3) contained construction debris, yet it is uncertain whether its contents were connected with the temple. It is also unknown whether a wood-lined pit, located just north of the Saalburg Dolichenum (site 4), was associated with the cult or what it may have contained.

Water sources in the form of wells or cisterns are known at Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5), with ritual artefacts found in the first two. At Vetoniana (site 3), a well located outside the northeast corner of the temple contained fragments of a number of urns and jugs that may have been connected with the cult (cat. 3.19). Inscribed altars and fragments of statues and figurines related to the cult were found at Saalburg (site 4) in Well 7, placed ca. 5 m away from the temple's southwest corner (cats. 4.2, 4.3, 4.8, 4.9).

A drainage channel was situated beneath the east room at the Vindolanda Dolichenum (site 5) in all three building phases; it drained into a cistern east of

the temple (figs. 19-21; pl. 19). Another drain was located in its west room, but only in the temple's second building phase (fig. 20). Three coins (cat. 5.4) were found in it, but no connection has thus far been made between this channel and the temple or cult. A drainage channel was placed just west of the *temenos* wall at Carnuntum. It contained a large number of animal bones but is not clearly associated with the Dolichenum (Dell 1893, 185; Kandler 2011, 21-22).

A singular aspect of the Carnuntum (site 1), Virunum (site 2) and Vindolanda (site 5) Dolichena is that hypocaust heating was installed in some of their rooms and is discussed below. Hypocaust heating pillars at Vetoniana (site 3) were located just outside the Dolichenum and are dated to an earlier construction that was razed in order to make way for the temple construction. At Saalburg (site 4), the hypocausts were situated above the Dolichenum strata and are therefore thought to belong to a structure built after the destruction of the temple.

There is evidence for a second, upper storey at both the Carnuntum (site 1) and Vindolanda (site 5) Dolichena in the form of walls sufficiently thick to support a second floor. At Carnuntum (site 1), for example, the wall thickness of Room d (fig. 7) measured between 1.20–1.30 m thick, whereas the average wall thickness of the adjoining Room e was an average of 0.80 m thick. Room d contained a protrusion in the middle of its east wall and a sturdy pier in the centre of the room aligned with it, which also suggest an upper level. The west end walls of the temple at Vindolanda (site 5) were ca. 0.80 m thick, yet still considered sturdy enough to support an upper level; the average wall thickness of this temple's other walls measures 0.60 m; according to the excavator these were also considered to have sufficient load-bearing capacity for a room height of 7 m (Birley and Birley 2012, 234). At Vetoniana (site 3), the outer walls were ca. 0.90 m thick, and at Virunum, the wall thickness was between 0.60-0.80 m thick, yet no upper level has been identified for either structure.

Floor pavements within three Dolichena (sites 1, 2, 5) varied greatly, but no evidence for surface treatments was documented at the Vetoniana (site 3) or Saalburg (site 4) temples. Brick mosaic *tesserae* and square brick floor tiles were found at Carnuntum (site 1), while Vindolanda (site 5) showed flag and cobble stones. Virunum (site 2) displayed the most variety of floor pavements: tamped

earth floors in two of the four rooms, and terrazzo and slate slab in the other two rooms.

Carnuntum (site 1) is the only temple at which wall treatments (frescoes) were documented, yet it seems likely that the other temples contained similar wall decoration. Roof tiles have only been documented at the Carnuntum Dolichenum (site 1), although some roof tiles seem to have been used at Vindolanda (site 5) to line the drainage channel beneath the main cult area in the eastern part of the temple. Roof tile fragments were also preserved in Well 59 near the Saalburg Dolichenum (site 4), yet the well's connection to the temple remains uncertain. The use of roof tiles or other roofing materials, however, is expected at all sites. Decorative stonework was found at Vindolanda (site 5) and some remains *in situ*: the doorway of the *aedicula* was flanked by pilasters on either side, which differed in their decoration (cat. 5.12; pl.18). Another fragment, displaying rosettes (cat. 5.4) was found in the *intervallum* road, 2 m from the temple. A collection of nails was preserved from the Saalburg Dolichenum (cat. 5.4).

Three temples were comprised of multiple rooms used for cult and other functions related to temples. First, Carnuntum (site 1), Virunum (site 2), Vindolanda (site 5) all contained at least one room interpreted as a cult room (fig. 27). These rooms contained inscribed altars dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, which allow these spaces to be identified as ritual in function. The artefacts from these rooms are addressed below. Two Dolichena each show one cult room: room d at Carnuntum (site 1; fig. 6) and the east room at Vindolanda (site 5; figs. 19-21). At Virunum (site 2), two rooms (Rooms I and II, fig. 9) were identified as cult rooms; Room II seems to be a more private room for selected participants (Schön 1988, 181). Altar fragments were excavated from the Saalburg Dolichenum (site 4) area before the temple itself was discovered and others were found later. Altars were also located in nearby wells (fig. 14). No altars were discovered at Vetoniana (site 2), yet this temple preserves other objects linked to Jupiter Dolichenus (cats. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3).

Room e at Carnuntum (site 1) (fig. 6) contained the *triclinia*, which is identified as the banqueting room. The northeast room at Virunum (site 2) (Room III, fig. 9) and the Phase 3 middle room at Vindolanda (site ; fig. 21) are

also interpreted as banqueting rooms because they were heated, with hypocausts covered by slate slab and flags, respectively. The presence of a hypocaust, nonetheless, cannot securely confirm a banqueting room: the heated room at Carnuntum (site 1) does not seem to have been the banqueting room (Room e, fig. 6); rather, the southeast room in the *temenos* was heated and interpreted as accommodation for priests or temple staff (figs. 6, 27). While pottery was found at all five sites, no dining shapes or wares were documented in the three banqueting rooms. A fragment of one shallow bowl (Dragendorff Form 18/31) (cat. 4.14) was discovered in a posthole located on the northwest side of the Saalburg temple (site 4); the shallow ditch on the north side of the temple yielded an almost complete shallow bowl of the same type, in eight fragments (cat. 4.15). A metal cleaver (cat. 4.18c) was preserved in one of the postholes (Moneta 2010, 324, no. 4701-4722). A nearby cellar, which may be associated with the temple, contained fragments of ca. thirty vessels, twenty-three of which have been reconstructed (cat. 4.20). Many of these vessels were linked to food production or consumption, such as plates, a mortarium, jugs, and beakers (Jacobi 1937, 51). Two wells connected with the temple (Wells 6 and 59, fig. 14) contained part of an iron cauldron or mortarium chain, and ceramics, including a shallow bowl (Dragendorff Form 32) (cat. 4.15; Ch. 2.4.G). Animal bones, some burnt, indicate meals and/or sacrifices at Carnuntum (site 1), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5). Full faunal analyses are lacking for two of these sites, and is in preparation at Vindolanda (site 5), but the remains of cows, pigs, goats, and horses have been identified. Also indicative of sacrifice are knives and several whet stones (cat. 5.10) found at the Vindolanda temple: two of the three knives were found in the main cult room, while the whetstones were found strewn around the *aedicula*. Carnuntum (site 1) is the only Dolichenum that has a utility room or kitchen (fig. 6, southeast of Room d), based on a quern base (cat. 1.22k) found *in situ*. This room was interpreted as a utility room or kitchen, but was not assigned an identification letter, as was the case with other rooms and spaces at this Dolichenum. Other tools from Dolichena come from Carnuntum: a pair of scissors with an inscribed feather decoration (cat. 1.22b), found in Room d (fig. 6), and a bone needle (cat. 1.22c) of unknown findspot.



The west room in Phase 2 and the most westerly room in the three-room configuration of Phase 3 at Vindolanda (site 5) are interpreted as stables or barns (figs. 20, 21, 27). Living quarters may have occupied an upper level above the west room in Phase 2 (fig. 27). An upper level is also suspected at Carnuntum (site 1); a sacristy may have occupied the second floor of thick-walled Room d (figs. 6, 27). Sacristies have also been identified at Virunum (site 2) and Vetoniana (site 3). Artefacts from Virunum (site 2), Room IV (fig. 9) also suggest a sacristy: an offertory box (cat. 2.12), a bronze lamp (cat. 2.10), part of a bronze candelabrum (cat. 2.9), and a bronze handle fragment of an unidentified container (cat. 2.11); an altar fragment comes from Room IV (cat. 2.4). The Saalburg temple preserves lamps (cat. 4.18h). The northwest, walled-off corner of the Vetoniana temple (site 3) (space B, fig. 12) seems to be a sacristy on the basis of a bronze bracelet with an attached medallion displaying busts of Sol and Luna found there (cat. 3.13).

All five Dolichena suffered some sort of destruction, some possibly by fire. Fires at Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4) may have been connected to attacks by the Alemanni, a Germanic tribe, but this is uncertain. Destruction by fire also occurred at Virunum (site 2) and Vindolanda (site 5), but these events cannot be connected to known invasions or enemy attacks. At Carnuntum (site 1), no evidence of fire was documented. Another explanation for the destruction of all Dolichena in the northwestern provinces points to the emperor, Maximinus Thrax and his methods of revenue gathering (Toth 1973, 109-116). Destruction occurred by the middle of the 3rd century for all but Vindolanda, whose ruin occurred in the middle of the 4th century. A mid-3rd century date would also correspond to the destruction of the Dolichenum at Doliche by King Shapur I.

### **3.4 Iconography**

Dolichenian iconography is relatively consistent in all regions and across all media, including the sample group (Beard et al 1998, 302; Fowlkes 2012, 7). Three examples of triangular votive plaques, one from the Archäologische Staatssammlung museum in Munich (pl. 23) and two from the Kunsthistorisches

Museum in Vienna (pls. 24, 25) best exemplify the iconographic fusion occurring in this cult and are referred to below.

### 3.4.A Jupiter Dolichenus and his Attributes

In all sculpted artefacts (stone and metal), Jupiter Dolichenus is most often portrayed standing on a bull, which typically faces towards the viewer's right; he holds a *bipennis* (double-bladed axe) in his raised right hand and a lightning bolt in his left (Demircioglu 1939, 88; Schwertheim 1981, 193; Czysz 1985, 282; Pingitzer 2003, 22).

The earliest examples, mainly from Commagene and neighbouring areas, display a strong Near Eastern influence: the hair is arranged in a long braid, and he wears a tall, conical hat or a tiara-style crown, occasionally with bull horns (CCID, no. 371; Demircioglu 1939, 83; Hörig 1984, 2142-2143; Pingitzer 2003, 22).

In general, there is great consistency in his portrayal. He usually appears with a beard and curly hair, wearing a Phrygian cap, yet otherwise is shown in Roman military dress: kilt, *paludamentum*, greaves, cuirass, a *balteus* across his chest, and sword or dagger (Swoboda 1964, 170; Hörig, 1984, 2140; Pingitzer 2003, 22; Hensen 2005, 221; Collar 2013, 88). He frequently wears short boots or sandals, or can be represented barefooted. The god assumes a frontal or slightly oblique pose (Merlat 1960, 31; Pingitzer 2003, 220).

Jupiter Dolichenus is almost always represented with his three attributes: the lightning bolt, *bipennis*, and bull. The lightning bolt symbolizes the god's power over the weather and its destructive force and is always held in his left hand (Cumont 1956, 147; Merlat 1960, 32; Hörig 1984, 2140; Kusseven 2007, 25; Kandler 2011, 4). The *bipennis* is always held in the right hand, which is usually raised; its long history reaches back to ancient Anatolia as a symbol of divine power and superiority, and symbolizing the gods' mastery over lightning (Cumont 1956, 147; Merlat 1960, 32; Hörig 1984, 2140; Turcan 1996, 159; Kusseven 2007, 25; Kandler 2011, 4).

The use and significance of the bull in ritual imagery can be traced to the end of the 3rd century BCE (Will 1955, 126). It was common in the Hittite and Hurrian cultures, where it accompanied their indigenous gods Teshub and

Hadad, and was later adopted by the Romans (Schwertheim 1981, 193; Schön 1988, 53; Pingitzer 2003, 24; Price and Throneman 2011, 180).

The bull was thought to symbolize the fury of storms and wind and his bellow the thunder, but it is also a symbol of fertility and strength: standing on the bull, the gods, including Jupiter Dolichenus, signalled their power and displayed their control over these forces (Schwertheim 1981, 194; Turcan 1996, 160; Jobst 1992a, 21; Kandler 2011, 4). The bull is usually shown facing toward the viewer's right, sometimes with a belt or strap (*dorsualis*) around its belly (Pingitzer 2003, 24). This strap is interpreted as a symbol of the taming of or control over the bull, storms, or weather by the god; it may also represent the ligature of a sacrificial animal (Merlat 1960, no. 1; Fleischer 1967, 35; Hörig 1984, 2141; Pingitzer 2003, 24).

Demircioglu (1939, 87) presents a typology for the bull's representation in these depictions: Jupiter Dolichenus with his *bipennis* and lightning bolt are seen standing: a) on a standing bull; b) on a lying bull; c) with his foot resting on a lying bull; d) standing beside a lying bull; and e) the god alone. In one example (cat. 1.10) only the bull's head and horns are visible and blend into a rock cliff formation.

### **3.4.B Juno and her Attributes**

Juno Dolichena shares Syro-Hittite origins with Jupiter Dolichenus and, like her Capitoline counterpart, she ruled the earth, thus complementing Jupiter who ruled the heavens (Turcan 1996, 160). Juno Dolichena presided over aspects relevant to women, such as marriage and birth (Kusseven 2007, 49). She is rarely represented without Jupiter Dolichenus, which reinforces her role as his *paredros*; the motif of a married couple has its roots in earlier periods (Merlat 1960, 35; Hörig 1984, 2143). She normally holds one of her attributes, such as a mirror, patera, fruit, or flower blossom, in her right hand and a sceptre in her left hand (Turcan 1996, 160-161; Pingitzer 2003, 24; Kusseven 2007, 48; Fowlkes 2012, 7).

Like her partner, Juno Dolichena is also represented standing on an animal, but her animal varies (Merlat 1960, 36). It is usually a hind or doe, but she is also portrayed standing on goats, cows, and ibexes. The animal always

faces toward the viewer's left, and Juno's stance is either frontal or slightly oblique, like that of her husband (Merlat 1960, 35-36; Turcan 1996, 160-161; Pingitzer 2003, 24; Kusseven 2007, 48-49; Fowlkes 2012, 7). The depictions show Juno wearing a long robe-like *chiton* belted beneath the breast as well as a veil and diadem (Merlat 1960, 35; Fowlkes 2012, 7).

### 3.4.C Victoria

The winged goddess of victory is often portrayed with Jupiter Dolichenus or the Dolichenian couple. She is represented alone or with an eagle (Schön 1988, 280; Pingitzer 2003, 28; Kusseven 2007, 58-59). Victoria is the symbol of the Capitoline Jupiter Optimus Maximus and symbolizes military triumph; she is also associated with the cosmic power of Jupiter Dolichenus (pl. 24; *CCID*, 189-191, no. 294, pl. 57; Schön 1988, 280; Pingitzer 2003, 28; Kusseven 2007, 58-59).

Victoria is depicted winged and wearing a long, belted, sometimes-sleeveless *chiton*. She holds a wreath of victory in her raised right hand and a palm branch in her lowered left hand (Merlat 1960, 78; Schön 1988, 280; Pingitzer 2003, 28; Humer and Kandler 2004, 106). The prototype for this rendition of Victoria is a statue commissioned by Augustus in 29 BCE in gratitude for victory at the Battle of Actium that was erected in the *curia Iulia* in the *Forum Romanum*. By the 2nd century, this prototype had become a universally recognized representation of victory, and this image was often employed by the Antonines on coinage after the Marcommanic Wars (Pingitzer 2003, 28; Humer and Kandler 2004, 106).

A wreath or crown of laurel, oak leaves, or other vegetation occasionally replaces Victoria and reinforces the victory by its placement between Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena. It can also be held by an eagle (Turcan 1996, 163; Kusseven 2007, 64). In Dolichenian iconography, Victoria often appears standing on a globe, which represents the earth and further emphasizes the message of Roman supremacy. She is represented on altars and particularly on the triangular votive plaques, both decorating the surface of the plaque in relief or as a freestanding finial on top (pl. 24; Merlat 1960, 78; Schön 1988, 280; Pingitzer 2003, 28). In two of the three Victoria statuettes from Vetoniana (cat.

3.4), she grasps a wreath in her raised left hand; another example from the same site shows her holding a palm frond in her right hand (cat. 3.5). The two examples from Carnuntum (cats. 1.23, 1.24) display a similar stance, yet the wreaths and palm fronds that were likely part of these statuettes have been lost. An altar fragment from Saalburg displays a relief Victoria on one of its narrow sides (cat. 4.10).

#### **3.4.D Eagle**

The eagle has Syrian roots and embodies the eternal celestial omnipotence of Jupiter Dolichenus. In Roman culture, it is the symbolic representation of the Capitoline Jupiter Optimus Maximus and is thus associated with victory (*CCID*, 98-99, no. 142, pl. 30; Turcan 1996, 160; Kusseven 207, 59).

The eagle is often shown with Jupiter Dolichenus, appearing beneath the bull's belly or on the deity's cuirass and thus emphasizing a direct association with the god (Merlat 1960, 205). The eagle's pose is normally frontal with spread wings, and it sometimes holds a wreath in its beak (pl. 25). It is depicted, inscribed and in relief, on the triangular plaques, and on stone altars and plaques, but it also occurs in three-dimensional form in metal statuettes. One such statuette was used as a finial most likely on a triangular votive plaque, as a small portion of the plaques tip is still attached (*CCID*, no. 486, pl. 107). Other eagle statuettes, mounted on flat bases, were used for other decorative purposes (*CCID*, 309, nos. 37a, b, c, pl. 13; Pingitzer 2003, 27-28; Kusseven 2007, 60).

Reliefs of eagles occur twice in the sample group: one from Carnuntum appears standing on a globe with a wreath in its beak on the narrow side of an inscribed altar (cat. 1.11), and another, with no wreath or globe but set within a recessed frame, occurs on the narrow side of an inscribed altar fragment from Virunum (cat. 2.15).

### 3.4.E. Sol and Luna

The sun god Sol and his sister Luna, the moon goddess, symbolize eternity, but are also a figural representation of Jupiter Dolichenus' eternal, astral omnipotence (pls. 23, 24, 25). They represent night and day and are also associated with other cults, such as that of Mithras, Sabazios, and Jupiter Heliopolitanus (*CCID*, 99, no. 142; Turcan 1996, 161; Sorrenti 1996, 369; Pingitzer 2003, 27). When appearing with deities, Sol and Luna indicate the “eternity and cosmic quality” of those gods (Speidel 1978, 25). According to Turcan (1996, 161), the Baal of Doliche was the “master of time, whose cyclic phases were marked by the stars”; Sol and Luna are considered the Graeco-Roman embodiment of this.

The attribute of Sol is a radiate aureole. The crescent moon and a torch belong to Luna; the moon is often placed on Luna's head in such a way as to resemble horns, like those, for example, on triangular votive plaques: from Mauer an der Url (pl. 25), and from Heddernheim (Germany) (*CCID*, no. 511, pl. 108). In Dolichenian iconography, Sol and Luna are generally portrayed as busts; an exception to this are two altars from the Aventine temple in Rome (*CCID*, nos. 356, 357, pls. 70, 71) where their full figures are portrayed. In one example of a triangular votive plaque from Mauer an der Url (pl. 25; *CCID*, no. 295; Noll 1980, 47, no. 5; Pingitzer 2003, 27), both Sol and Luna are depicted in the same *quadriga*; Sol, reinforcing this theme, is occasionally depicted holding a whip (pl. 24; *CCID*, 9-10, nos. 202, 294, 511, pls. 39, 57, 108).

Sol and Luna occur in various forms within the sample group. Two bronze relief appliqués from Carnuntum (cats. 1.26, 1.27) depict Sol and Luna in bust form. These were very likely soldered onto a triangular votive plaque (Ch. 3.5.D.ii). The crescent moon adorning this Luna (cat. 1.27) is also placed to look like horns. Jewellery found in the Vetoniana Dolichenum also display these gods: a medallion attached to a bracelet displays the couple in bust form (cat. 3.13), and two pendants found with a chain, one each of crescent moon and a disc, highly suggest Sol and Luna (cat. 3.12).

### 3.4.F The Cosmic Triad

In Dolichenian iconography, the combination of the eagle, Sol, and Luna represent the cosmic triad, thereby symbolizing the eternal, celestial and astral omnipotence of the god (*CCID*, 99, no. 142; Merlat 1960, 40-44; Pingitzer 2003, 27; Kusseven 2007, 52). Two triangular votive plaques from Mauer an der Url (pls. 24, 25) display the eagle in the top, triangular register with the busts of Sol and Luna in the register directly below; these two top registers also form a triangle and further reinforce the triad concept. One of these plaques (pl. 25) also shows the sun and moon gods driving a *quadriga* in a lower register, as described above (*CCID*, no. 295; Noll 1980, no. 5). An eagle is not displayed on some examples, such as an inscribed and punched triangular plaque from Bulgaria, now lost (*CCID*, no. 80); I agree with Merlat's theory that an eagle statuette very likely topped this example, whose finial was broken off (Merlat 1951, 341, no. 346, note 3).

### 3.4.G. The Dioskouroi (Castor and Pollux)

The twins of Zeus and Leda are represented in the repertoire of artistic depictions connected with Jupiter Dolichenus and named in inscriptions (Hörig 1984, 2144; Kusseven 2007, 56). They are thought to symbolize the two hemispheres of the world, and their egg-shaped caps are interpreted as representing the earth and the sky (Hörig 1984, 2145; Turcan 1996, 161-162). The *Castores Dolicheni* are also associated with victory and were viewed as protectors of the army (Merlat 1960, 103; Kusseven 2007, 57).

The twins are shown in various poses: they are depicted as male youths, often nude, leading reined horses, as shown on a triangular plaque from Mauer an der Url (pl. 24), or, each in his own chariot, pulled by horses (Hörig 1984, 2145; Pingitzer 2003, 25, 27). The twins are also shown in semi-aniconic form with human upper bodies attached to a pyramid, a step-pyramid shape, or a cluster of rocks that symbolize cliffs or mountains. The human upper bodies can be attached directly to bull protomes, and bull protomes occasionally flank each side of their aniconic lower halves as is seen in the Munich votive plaque (pl. 23; Hörig 1984, 2144-2145). A third, Near Eastern incarnation of the twins is as old, bearded men wearing Phrygian caps and armour similar to that of Jupiter

Dolichenus. These figures often carry the same attributes, double-axe and lightning bolt, or a palm branch (Hörig 1984, 2144; Pingitzer 2003, 25, 27). These older, scraggly personifications are thought to represent a mountain *genius* or Jupiter Dolichenus himself (Pingitzer 2003, 27). The Dioskouroi are not represented in the sample group.

#### **3.4.H Fire Altar**

Sacrifices were burned on fire altars, sometimes called flame altars, which represent the celestial fire of Jupiter Dolichenus. Such altars topped with flames are frequently (and almost exclusively) represented on the triangular votive plaques associated with his cult, as on one plaque from Mauer an der Url (pl. 25), and another from Munich (pl. 23; Turcan 1996, 161; Pingitzer 2003, 28). The altars are often shown between Jupiter Dolichenus and his *paredros* and represent a symbol of a sacrifice offered to them or of the god's eternal flame (Kusseven 2007, 63). None of the sample artefacts display this image.

#### **3.4.I Other Symbols**

Snakes and stars appear infrequently in Dolichenian iconography, yet trees, such as on two triangular votive plaques from Aalen (Germany) and Corbridge (Great Britain)(*CCID*, nos. 475, 568, pls. 106, 125) bearing fruit or symbols suggesting abundance occur with more frequency (Merlat 1960, 50; Speidel 1978, 42-43; Kusseven 2007, 61, 62). It may be that foliated decorative borders or ivy vines, as seen on the triangular votive plaque from Munich (pl. 23), were also employed to reinforce the life-giving nature of trees.

Other items considered symbolic and ritually significant in this cult and represented on associated artefacts are the patera, *aedicula*, jug, sacrificial knife, rosette, wreath and mirror (MacMullen 1981, 91). Such symbols occur on altars or altar fragments from the sample group, always placed on one of the narrow sides. Wreaths are represented three altars, one each from Carnuntum (cat. 1.11), Saalburg (cat. 4.10), and Vindolanda (cat. 5.2). Rosettes decorate two fragmentary altars from Saalburg (cats. 4.1, 4.11). Jugs appear on four examples: two from Carnuntum (cats. 1.11, 1.12), and one each from Saalburg and Vindolanda (cats. 4.2, 5.1). Paterae frequently accompany jugs on such reliefs,



for example, one each from Carnuntum, Saalburg, and Vindolanda (cats. 1.12, 4.2, 5.1); they are also used with other items as on a Vindolanda altar which also include a wreath and a disc (cat. 5.2). It has struck me that paterae look very much like a certain style of pocket mirror, such as one example from Coddensham (Great Britain) (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, pl. 21-f), yet the general consensus favours the patera as it is a ritual object. Juno Dolichena, however, is sometimes portrayed with mirrors, for example on the triangular votive plaque from Bulgaria (*CCID*, no. 80, pl. 22), and a relief from the Aventine Dolichenum (*CCID*, no 364, pl. 76); it may be that some relief items identified as paterae were actually such mirrors, thus indirectly representing her.

Roman legionary standards, identified by their *phalerae* and sometimes a *vexillum*, are occasionally depicted on the triangular votive plaques, such as examples from Munich and Mauer an der Url (pls. 23, 24). Speidel (1978, 57-63) and Merlat (1960, 47) discuss whether they are indeed military standards, which would strengthen the military connection with the cult, or whether they are ritual standards known from other eastern cults; the answer remains unknown.

### **3.5 Ritual Artefacts**

Several groups of material evidence are recognized in the Dolichenian cult. Ritual objects include stone altars, plaques and sculpture, as well as small and large metal plaques, and statuary and figurines of votive hands and related deities and most of these groups are represented at the sample sites (figs. 28, 29; Koch 2009, 250). Many of the objects depict iconography and attributes associated with the cult, just described. Descriptions and discussion of the artefact classes follows.

#### **3.5.A Stone Objects**

Altars as well as inscribed architectural blocks and plaques are the most ubiquitous indicators of the Dolichenian cult throughout the Empire, and at the sample sites (fig. 30). They have helped to identify buildings as Dolichena and have indicated the possible presence of temples not yet found. At Saalburg, for example, altar fragments with dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus were discovered several decades before the building itself was located (Ch. 2.4.E).

Altars range in size from small *cippi*, or stone markers just a few centimeters high to larger ones measuring almost two meters in height; monumental altars, such as the Ara Pacis in Rome are much less frequent (*OCD III*, 68). Altars are normally made of stone and are usually quadrangular, although round and hexagonal examples also occur, as discussed below. (*OCD III*, 68).

These altars usually contain three parts: the base, shaft (or die), and capital (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, 195). The capital can be decorated or plain and often has a *focus*, or central hollow, on top. A drainage spout or hole was sometimes incorporated into its decoration, which often included bolsters flanking the *focus*; these bolsters are thought to represent a stick or piece of wood, or bundles of sticks needed for the sacrificial fire (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, 195). The capital and base are often similar in size and are frequently decorated with a stepped or tiered decoration, diminishing in size toward the shaft, or die, in the middle. The surfaces of the shafts are often smoothed to receive an inscription on the front and relief decoration on the narrow sides. The back face can be unfinished if it was not intended for viewing, depending on the placement of the altar.

Altars, blocks identified as statue bases, and one votive stele form the largest group of inscribed artefacts at the sample sites (figs. 28, 30): the Dolichenum at Virunum (site 2) preserved nine altars/bases; eight were found at Carnuntum (site 1); six at Saalburg (site 4); and three at Vindolanda (site 5). There are no altars, bases, or stelai identified at Vetoniana (site 3) (fig. 29).

Most of the altars and statue bases are square or rectangular and have a profiled cornice and base (fig. 31). These measure an average of ca. 1.0 m high and 0.50 m wide. Other shapes are the hexagonal (cat. 2.4) and three round (cats. 2.2, 2.3, 2.7) altars from Virunum; this is also the only temple which preserved marble altars (cats. 2.13, 2.15, 2.16). An altar with a fire-damaged, illegible inscription (cat. 2.5) was also found in the Dolichenum; it is not included in the statistical data for the sample group.

Four sites contained sandstone altars (cats. 1.15, 1.21, 2.2, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.12, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3), but other materials also occur, such as basalt (cats. 4.10, 4.11) (fig. 32). Limestone was used chiefly at Carnuntum (cats. 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 1.9,

1.11, 1.12, 1.17) and includes an example of either limestone or coarse-grained marble (cat. 1.5). Five other altars from Virunum are identified simply as made from stone (cats. 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7).

A small number of altars and statue bases were not inscribed or were inscribed but do not identify Jupiter Dolichenus. A plain base (cat. 1.7) supporting an inscribed stele (cat. 1.6) comes from inside the Carnuntum Dolichenum; its smoothed front may have either contained a painted inscription or been left blank intentionally. The text on an altar from Vindolanda does not refer to Jupiter Dolichenus, but it is considered part of the temple inventory due to its findspot immediately outside the temple door (cat. 5.3). The texts of these inscribed artefacts are addressed below (Ch. 3.6).

An altar fragment (cat. 4.10) located close to the Saalburg temple is uninscribed, but displays a relief of Victoria holding a wreath; its findspot and the subject matter are thought to link it to the Dolichenum and the cult.

Inscribed stone plaques and blocks are often decorated with a profiled edge that frames the inscription. Blocks are usually almost as thick as they are wide (below; cat. 1.1); stone plaques are much thinner. These items were often set into a wall or other architectural structure and therefore often displayed undressed narrow sides or back (below, cat. 1.1).

Stone blocks and thinner plaques either inscribed or with a surface prepared for a painted inscription, were discovered at two sites: six at Carnuntum (cats. 1.1, 1.4, 1.14, 1.16, 1.18, 1.19) and one at Virunum (cat. 2.1) (fig. 29). The limestone plaque at Virunum (cat. 2.1) is unique in this study as its inscription provides a firm date of 189 for the construction of the Dolichenum there, based on the naming of a consulship (cat. 2.1). A sandstone block inscribed with the dedication by a Dolichenian youth group (cat 1.1) found within 2 km of the Carnuntum Dolichenum (site 1) describes the construction of a gate and length of wall of unknown location.

All other stone plaques in this study were found at Carnuntum (site 1), and a variety of stone types was employed. Two plaques are marble. The front face of one is uninscribed and unadorned (cat. 1.14), but finely smoothed, suggesting a painted inscription. The fragments of the second plaque preserve the only stone alphabet inscription (ABCDaria) in this study (cat. 1.4). An

inscribed, almost square plaque is limestone (cat. 1.16), and the fragmentary remains of another inscribed plaque (cat. 1.19) were carved from sandstone. A fragmentary inscribed plaque is made from an unknown stone (cat. 1.18).

In general, it seems that stone objects were created from locally sourced stone. There are exceptions, however, such as at Carnuntum where a statue (cat. 1.10), an ABCDarium plaque (cat. 1.4), and the fragments of an uninscribed slab (cat. 1.14) were marble. The marble quarries nearest to Carnuntum were located in the Wachau Valley, ca. 160 km away. This leads to the assumption that the donors were wealthy and able to afford both the expense of commissioning items made of non-local materials and the related transportation costs.

### **3.5.B Stone Sculpture**

Stone statues and reliefs portraying Jupiter Dolichenus by himself and groups of the god with the bull and Juno Dolichena were made of both local and imported stone. The statue bases or stele backgrounds were occasionally inscribed. The statues range in size from life-size to ca. half life-size.

#### **3.5.B.i Free-standing Sculpture**

##### **3.5.B.i.a Statuary**

The total number of statues from the five temples is modest (figs. 29, 30). Two statues from Carnuntum, one near life-size marble statue of Jupiter Dolichenus (cat. 1.10) and another of limestone at roughly half life-size and carved partly in the round and partly in high relief (cat. 1.17) are extant.

Eighteen sculptural fragments thought to represent the Dolichenian couple and bull (cat. 2.8) come from Virunum. These fragments were found strewn around an altar dedicated to Juno Dolichena (cat. 2.2) in Room I (fig. 9). The fragments belong to three individual statues that were most likely part of an ensemble (cat. 2.8). Jupiter Dolichenus and a bull are clearly identified. Six of the eighteen fragments portray a gowned female figure, presumably Juno Dolichena.

Four artefacts from Saalburg (site 4) have been associated with Jupiter Dolichenus (fig. 29): two sandstone statuary fragments, a hand and a head of a *genius* (cat. 4.9), have been connected to the Dolichenian cult on the basis of

their findspot, close the temple, as were two basalt figurines (cat. 4.8), described below.

### 3.5.B.i.b *Statuettes/Figurines*

Two basalt pigeon/dove figurines (cat. 4.8) were also discovered near the temple, but without precise findspot: these figurines, one whole and the other fragmentary, were found either in or near Well 7 (fig. 14). These birds are considered attributes of a Syrian goddess and may therefore be linked to Juno Dolichena in her role as *paredros* to Jupiter Dolichenus, but they may also be connected to the Syrian Artemis (*CCID*, no. 506a).

### 3.5.B.ii Relief Sculpture

A number of inscribed altars display relief decoration, mostly on their narrow sides. Eagles are depicted three times: an eagle with outstretched wings appears on the right narrow side of a marble altar from Virunum (cat. 2.15); an eagle's head shapes the deity's sword pommel on the stele from Carnuntum (cat. 1.6); and an eagle perched on a globe grasps a wreath in its beak on the left narrow side of another altar from Carnuntum (cat. 1.11). A third wreath, placed beside a disc and a patera, is carved on the lower left narrow side of an altar fragment (cat. 5.2) from Vindolanda.

The patera is another common theme on these altars, as on the right narrow side of an altar (cat. 1.12) from Carnuntum (site 1). A long-handled patera (or possibly a mirror) and a jug decorate the right narrow side of an altar (cat. 5.1) from Vindolanda, and two long-handled paterae decorate each narrow side of a Saalburg altar (cat. 4.2), while the left narrow side displays a jug; this object has been identified as an axe by Merlat (1951, 322) and *CCID* (316, no. 500). Jugs also appear on two altars at Carnuntum (cats. 1.11, 1.12).

The left narrow side of a Vindolanda altar (cat. 5.1) portrays Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a running bull. The deity holds a lightning bolt in his left hand and wields, unusually, a single-bladed axe, not a *bipennis*, in his right hand. This is the only example of the deity in this location on an altar. The front of a stele from Carnuntum (cat. 1.6) is decorated with a relief of Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull, which is significantly smaller than the deity.

Jupiter Dolichenus holds a lightning bolt in his left hand and his raised right hand likely held a *bipennis* axe, no longer extant. The god is carved in high relief, whereas the bull is not. This technique seems to further diminish the bull's stature. The background of the stele is covered by an inscription; this is also unique in this study. Traces of red pigment are visible in parts of the lettering, and the background was painted blue.

Other relief decorations include traces of a garland carved on the top of an altar from Carnuntum (cat. 1.5), and a sacrificial knife within an *aedicula* on the right narrow side of an altar from Saalburg (cat. 4.12). Carved rosettes embellish the top of another fragmentary altar from that site (cat. 4.1). The cornice of a third Saalburg altar (cat. 4.11), possibly linked with the cult, was found in the fort and is decorated with a bull, a capricorn, and two rosettes. The bull and capricorn may link the dedicant(s) of this altar to *Legio XXII Primigenia* (Mogontiacum-Mainz); it is not known, however, if a unit from this legion was stationed at the fort, but bricks bearing their stamp were found elsewhere at Saalburg.

An almost life-size marble relief fragment of a head with a Phrygian cap (cat. 1.28) from Carnuntum has also been associated with Jupiter Dolichenus. Originally recognized as Cautes and thus connected with the cult of Mithras, this figure shows traces of a beard, and the remains seem to indicate a raised left arm. Both these features suggest an identification of Jupiter Dolichenus, especially if the figure held the *bipennis* axe.

### 3.5.C Metal Sculpture

Metal relief plaques, cast appliqués, statue fragments, and statuettes representing Jupiter Dolichenus or an aspect of his cult also exist. Bronze and tin-plated bronze was used frequently, and silver was less common.

### 3.5.C.i Free-standing Sculpture

Free-standing sculpture, comprising statuary and statuettes/figurines, forms the largest group of metal ritual artefacts in this study (fig. 33).

#### 3.5.C.i.a *Statuary*

Two cast-bronze statuary fragments with traces of silver gilding (cats. 1.8, 1.25) from two separate figures come from Carnuntum. Both are approximately two-thirds life size and display attributes associated with Jupiter Dolichenus. One fragment shows a hand holding a *bipennis* axe and a forearm broken off below the elbow (cat. 1.25); the other fragment is a hand grasping a lightning bolt, with a forearm that includes the elbow and a small portion of the upper arm (cat. 1.8).

#### 3.5.C.i.b *Statuettes/Figurines*

A bronze statuette of a god wearing a Phrygian cap (cat. 4.6), now lost, was identified as Dolichenus because of its findspot near the Saalburg Dolichenum.

Metal votive hands were not exclusive to the Dolichenian cult but several identify him with inscribed messages (Kusseven 2007, 39; Collar 2013, 97). These votives display an open right hand and a figural reference to Jupiter Dolichenus is attached to the palm of some examples, such as a globe, Victoria standing on globe, or a bull (*CCID*, 327; Turcan 1996, 163-164; Kusseven 2007, 40). Near Eastern in origin, these objects symbolize the protective and welcoming hand of the deity, as well as justice, protection, and the god's omnipotence (Kan 1943, 32; Nash-Williams 1952, 75; Turcan 1996, 164; Kusseven 2007, 40). The hands were hollow and pierced at the wrist, possibly indicating their placement on poles to be carried in ritual processions (Turcan 1996, 164; Kusseven 2007, 40). Such a hand is used as a finial on a pole displaying five *phalerae* on the triangular votive plaque from Munich (pl. 23).

Another class of figurine, also thought to be used as finials topping votive plaques mounted on poles, is discussed below (Ch. 3.5.D.ii).

### 3.5.C.ii Relief Sculpture

One metal relief plaque is known from Saalburg, but can no longer be located (cat. 4.19; fig. 29). It depicted a figure wearing a Phrygian cap and its identification as either a young Ganymede or possibly Jupiter Dolichenus is not secure.

Another class of metal relief sculpture are metal appliquéés thought to decorate votive plaques are discussed below (Ch. 3.5.D.ii).

### 3.5.D Metal Objects

Inscriptions on metal artefacts occur at Virunum (site 2) and Vetoniana (site 3) (fig. 29). Two bronze *tabulae ansatae* (cats. 3.1, 3.2) and a bronze platelet fragment (cat. 3.3) from Vetoniana represent the only inscribed artefacts found at that site in any material. One metal platelet, possibly of bronze (cat. 2.14), was discovered at Virunum.

#### 3.5.D.i Votive Plaques

Inscribed metal plaques were generally made of bronze, which was sometimes gilded with tin or silver; one plaque found in Bulgaria, but now lost was described as being gilded with gold (*CCID*, no. 80). In addition to the relief plaque described above (Ch. 3.5.C.ii), there are several classes of metal plaques associated the cult.

Of particular importance for the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus are two groups of metal artefacts whose decorative and epigraphic elements link them to the cult: triangular votive plaques and small, silver votive plaques.

#### 3.5.D.ii Triangular Votive Plaques

Triangular votive plaques are characteristic of the Dolichenian cult (Cüppers 1990, 222). The majority of these were found in the western provinces of the Empire and in temples close to military settlements, although some examples, such as that from Mauer an der Url (pl. 24; *CCID*, no. 294), was dedicated by a civilian. These plaques do not appear at temples located in strictly civilian settings, such as the Aventine Dolichenum, the site of the most abundant variety of artefacts in the Dolichenian corpus (Kan 1943, 26; Kuseven



2007, 42). They range in height from ca. 0.12 m to 0.49 m and were made of bronze, which was sometimes tin-plated, or less often gilded with silver and exceptionally with gold. The largest examples are two plaques from Mauer an der Url which preserve their mounting hardware: one (pl. 24; *CCID*, no. 294, pl. 57) measures 0.63 m, the other (pl. 25; *CCID*, no. 295, pl. 58) 0.54 m (Will 1955, 38; Turcan 1996, 163-164; Kusseven 2007, 39, 41). The plaque portion only of another example, rarely published and from Munich (pl. 23) measures 0.42 m high and 0.265 wide (Schutze, pers. comm.; Wamser 2000, 404, no. 177, pl. 197; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2013, 299, no. 191).

Early scholarship proposed the interpretation that groups of these plaques were used to form pyramids, symbolizing mountains, but this can be discounted as many are decorated on both sides (Turcan 1996, 163). Their shape, however, does hint at mountains and may therefore have represented the home of the god in the Taurus Mountains (Nash-Williams 1952, 751; Turcan 1996, 163; Kusseven 2007, 41).

A nearly complete plaque from Mauer an der Url in Roman Noricum (pl. 24) preserves the mounting hardware still attached to the base of the plaque and a figurine of Victoria affixed to its apex (*CCID*, no. 295, pl. 57). This strongly suggests that the plaques were mounted on poles, possibly for ritual processions (Turcan 1996, 163-164; Kusseven 2007, 41).

These plaques often display a variety of decorative techniques, including repoussé, inscribed and punched decoration, and occasionally cast elements that were soldered onto the substrate, such as on two examples from Doliche (*CCID*, nos. 5, 6, pls. 2, 3). Some examples were also cast solid, such as two examples from Frankfurt-Heddernheim (*CCID*, nos. 511, 512, pl. 108). The double-sided plaques consist of two decorated, bronze sheets attached to one another by folding over the edges, which were then sometimes crimped (pls. 23, 24; Flügel et al 2000, 404, cat. 177a). Repoussé is used chiefly on one-sided plaques, where the reverse is left uncovered, such as one example from Mauer an der Url (pl. 25).

These plaques represent the most in-depth examples of this cult's ritual imagery: "The Dolichenian (triangular) votive plaques bear an iconography which gathers together and syncretizes in a minimum of space a maximum of

significant motifs and attributes” (Turcan 1996, 163). The imagery on these plaques is normally arranged in several registers and depicts Jupiter Dolichenus, sometimes accompanied by Juno Dolichena, images of fire altars, wreaths, eagles, Victoria, Sol and Luna, the Dioskouroi, and the Cosmic Triad, discussed above (Ch. 3.4). These fields were often delineated by a corded band or a running foliated scroll, often of ivy (Ch. 3.4.I; Flügel et al 2000, 404).

No such plaques were identified at the five sample sites, yet decorative metal objects, statuettes, and relief appliqués, possibly once attached to them, occur at Carnuntum (site 1) and Vetoniana (site 3) (fig. 29).

Three Victoria statuettes were found at Vetoniana (site 3): two made of tin-plated bronze (cat. 3.4) were found in the Dolichenum during excavation; another, of bronze, was discovered in the vicinity of the site in 1997 (cat. 3.5). Two bronze Victoria statuettes (cats. 1.23, 1.24) come from the Carnuntum area, although their precise findspots are unknown. All five Victoria statuettes are similar in style to an intact example found on top of a triangular votive plaque from Mauer an der Url in Roman Noricum (pl. 24; *CCID*, no. 294, pl. 57). It therefore is very likely that the Carnuntum and Vetoniana statuettes also topped such triangular plaques.

Two bronze relief appliqués of unknown findspots, one depicting Sol (cat. 1.26) and the other Luna (cat. 1.27), were found at Carnuntum. Such appliqués are known to have been attached to Dolichenian triangular votive plaques, such as two from Doliche itself (*CCID*, nos. 5, 6, pls. 2, 3). Representations of Sol and Luna, however, were also commonly used in other Roman cults such as Mithraism and the Imperial Cult. A silver relief figurine of Jupiter Dolichenus with a hollowed-out reverse (cat. 1.20) was found in the fortress area, where it may also have decorated a votive plaque.

As Toth has suggested, (1973, 109-116) these triangular plaques, which were associated with an eastern deity, may have been confiscated and their metal recycled, whereas the statuettes of Victoria, belonging to the Roman pantheon of gods, may have been spared (Ch. 3.3).

### 3.5.D.iii Small Silver Votive Plaques

Small, hammered silver votive plaques have been found in Dolichenian contexts in the western Empire, but are not exclusive to this cult (pl. 26; Merlat 1960, 183-188; Kusseven 2007, 46). These small, thin plaques are frequently in the shape of a palm or lily and display three or five floriated terminals at the top. The palm is seen as a fitting link to the god of victory, and the lily is sometimes interpreted as a symbol for lightning (Merlat 1960, 183-188; Turcan 1996, 163; Kusseven 2007, 46).

These votive offerings were sometimes decorated with representations of Jupiter Dolichenus framed by the entrance of a shrine, but were more frequently inscribed with messages framed within a *tabula ansata*, or a rectangular frame, at the bottom, which occasionally identified Jupiter Dolichenus (*CCID*, nos. 299, 200, 301; Merlat 1960, 183-188; Turcan 1996, 163). Some examples contain small holes that suggest they were attached to, or hung from something; these may also have been used in processions (*CCID*, 197; Kusseven 2007, 46).

Because of their delicate nature, not many of these votives have survived. Twenty-six such examples were discovered in the Dolichenian hoard (pl. 26) at Mauer an der Url in Roman Noricum, and five were found at Nida-Heddernheim in Roman Germania Superior (*CCID*, nos. 298-319; 514-518; Merlat 1960, 183-184). All five examples from the latter site indicate military dedicants, whereas those from Mauer an der Url represent civilian dedicants, including ten examples dedicated by women (Collar 2013, 98).

### 3.5.D.iv Coins

All five temple sites preserve numismatic evidence. Five coins (cat. 1.22d) came from the *temenos* at Carnuntum (site 1), without further data. Radiate coins (cat. 5.6) are preserved at Vindolanda, but have not yet been fully published. They were found between the flagstones of the Phase 2 temple extension (fig. 20), and it is possible that they were deposited after the end of the 3rd century, as similar coins have been found in 4th century contexts within the fort. Three other coins, one each of the emperors Hadrian, Gallienus, and Victorinus (cat. 5.5) were discovered in a drain beneath the same Phase 2 temple extension. Only one coin, of Constantius II, dating to 353-358 (cat. 5.7), comes

from a sealed context, found in a part of the hypocaust cavity of the Phase 3 addition to the temple and sealed by flag stones still *in situ* (fig. 21). This discovery confirms that the temple area was still accessible in the mid-4th century, before it was destroyed, burned, and covered with clay. The date for the final phase of the site is further strengthened by two similar coins found elsewhere in the fort, but the use of the temple for the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus at such a late date remains unknown.

Fourteen coins (cat. 2.17) were found strewn about the Virunum Dolichenum but their precise location within the temple was not recorded. These coins range in date from the rule of Vespasian to the rule of Valentinian, but do not supply a *terminus ante quem* for this site because it is suspected that the latest coins may be linked to a late-antique robbing of the temple (Schön 1988, 178).

Single coins as well as coin hoards were discovered at both Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4). A silver *denarius* dating to Macrinus (cat. 3.11) lay in the north part of the temple at Vetoniana, and three others (cat. 3.6), of Julia Maesa, grandmother of Elagabal, and one of Severus Alexander (cat. 3.6) were found in the middle of the temple within a thin carbon layer interpreted as a burnt, small wooden container (cat. 3.7) in which the coins were contained. A hoard consisting of ninety-five coins (cat. 3.8), assorted jewellery (cat. 3.9a-d), and a gold-plated copper letter C (cat. 3.14) was also discovered within this Dolichenum. The coins display seventy-five different designs; all but one of the coins date to the Severan dynasty; the exception is a coin of the empress, Faustina Minor. The only members of the Severan house not represented are Macrinus and his son, Diadumenianus; this may have been a deliberate omission by the individual who collected the coins, as Macrinus and his son were not favoured in the Empire and were murdered and replaced by Elagabal (*CCID*, no. 483f). On the other hand, the single coin of Macrinus (cat. 3.11) was located in the temple, within 10 m of this hoard. A terracotta vessel (cat. 3.10) was submerged in the ground 2 m away from the hoard. This vessel was empty and covered with tight-fitting slabs of slate. Because of its proximity to the hoard, Arnold (1889, 192) suggested that this container was the temple safe, from

which, or to which, the hoard was being hurriedly moved before the attack that destroyed the temple.

More substantial in number is the hoard from Saalburg (cat. 4.16). Excavated in 1816, it consisted of 550 coins, mostly of silver, assorted items of jewellery (cats. 4.4, 4.5), and a bronze relief plaque portraying Dolichenus, or Ganymede (cat. 4.19). The coins were found in a terracotta vessel near altar fragments (cat. 4.1) in the temple area, prior to the discovery of the Dolichenum. They range in date from the rule of Vespasian to that of Severus Alexander, from ca. 69 CE to 235 CE. The coins are not preserved at the Saalburg museum; Jacobi (1897, 7, 391, 397) recounts that some coins were given to the workers employed at the excavation, among others. One *sestertius* of Marcus Aurelius (cat. 4.13) was found in a posthole on the east side of the temple, which corresponds with the accepted establishment of the temple in the 2nd century. Both the Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4) coin hoards are thought to provide a *terminus ante quem* of approximately 235 for the Dolichena at these sites.

The significance of coins in relation to the cult cannot be confirmed. The coins may represent temple treasuries, as offertory boxes have also been found in temple contexts, for example, at Virunum (cat. 2.12). The single coin finds may, however, simply represent lost items and the hoards may also have been placed in the Dolichena by an individual seeking a safe hiding place.

### 3.5.D.v Other Metal Artefacts

Aside from the metal artefacts listed in Physical Characteristics and above, few other metal artefacts were recorded at the five temples. A small segment of iron chainmail (cat. 1.22a) was discovered at Carnuntum and three bronze items were found at Vetoniana: a large button or knob (cat. 3.17), a shield boss (cat. 3.18), and a Bronze Age arrowhead (cat. 3.16). These seem to be isolated finds and do not appear to have any relation to the cult.

### 3.6 Inscriptions

Ritual inscriptions and sculpture are the objects often used to identify a temple or cult space. The most ubiquitous indicators of the Jupiter Dolichenus cult are inscriptions. Over 400 inscriptions are linked to Jupiter Dolichenus, many of which are fragmentary. Collar (2013, 98) indicates that 308 inscriptions are “explicitly to Jupiter Dolichenus”, but it is difficult to determine a precise number. Inscriptions nonetheless form a large body of evidence for the Dolichenian cult. These occur mainly on stone altars and plaques, but a number of statue bases were also inscribed. Inscriptions also appear on metal objects, such as votive plaques and figurines, and on a small number of inscribed terracotta objects, ranging from tiles to terra sigillata bowls.

A total of thirty-six inscribed artefacts were found at the Carnuntum (site 1), Virunum (site 2), Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5) temples (fig. 34). These inscriptions occur mainly on stone monuments such as altars, statue bases, plaques, as well as one stele; there is also one dedicatory architectural block (fig. 35). The five Dolichena sites also preserve inscribed metal and terracotta objects indicating the cult’s presence.

The dedicatory inscriptions on altars, statue bases, plaques, and blocks are formulaic. These generally include, but are not limited to, the names of the deity and dedicant, a verb signalling the dedication, and end with an abbreviated formula. Occasionally an emperor or the genius of the deity is named. Not all inscriptions provide full information, as many are fragmentary.

The inscriptions were cut in uppercase letters and employ either the monumental or rustic style. Each line was usually centered on the stone, with the text reading from left to right. Monumental lettering was originally “crisp and severe” (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, 194), showing attention to the overall composition. Ligatures appear rarely in the 1st century, but they became more common by the 3rd century. These ligatures can be difficult to read depending on the combination of letters, the quality of stone and carving, and the state of preservation (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, 194). Rustic lettering is a modified version of the monumental style, but with letters that are narrower and elongated with prominent serifs, resulting in a more fluid effect (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, 194).

Of the thirty-six inscriptions included in this study fourteen are from Carnuntum (cats. 1.1, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.9, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.15, 1.16, 1.17, 1.18, 1.19, 1.21), eleven from Virunum (cats. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.18), three each from Vettoniana (cats. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3) and Vindolanda (cats. 5.1, 5.2, 5.3), and five from Saalburg (cats. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.11, 4.12) (fig. 34). Twenty of these inscriptions have a high state of preservation, whereas eight inscriptions are categorized as having a low state of preservation.

Thirty-one of all sample inscriptions securely identify Jupiter Dolichenus with his name or part of his name, and/or a findspot within the Dolichenum. In one example, the inscription is securely linked to Jupiter Dolichenus because of its appearance on a statue base of the god (cat. 1.17). Five inscriptions do not meet these criteria. The discussion below will focus on the information provided by the securely identified, well-preserved samples in order to provide an accurate overview of the individuals or groups who participated in this cult.

Dolichenian inscriptions occur mostly on stone and this is reflected in the sample group; the number of inscriptions appearing on metal objects in this study is slightly lower than what is seen in the entire corpus (fig. 35). Fewer than five objects attributed to this cult were inscribed on terracotta. Most of the sample inscriptions appear on stone monuments (Ch. 3.5.A), and all but two, which are building texts (cats. 1.1, 2.1), are votive in nature. Few inscriptions in this study appear on other materials: four inscriptions occur on metal votive plaques (cats. 2.14, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3), and one on a stamped and inscribed brick (cat. 1.13; fig. 29).

The sample inscriptions contained a minimum of three and a maximum of twenty-five lines. Three exceptions to this are the two ABCDaria (cats. 1.4, 1.13), which contained only two lines each; only one line was inscribed on the attached base of a statue of Jupiter Dolichenus (cat. 1.17). This data conforms with the overall inventory of Dolichenian inscriptions.

The minimum height recorded for the lettering is 2.5 cm and the maximum is 6 cm; one ABCDarium (cat. 1.4), unusually, displays letters ranging in height from 8.2 to 9 cm.

Eleven examples, the greatest number of well-preserved inscriptions with a secure connection to the Dolichenian cult, come from Carnuntum (cats. 1.1,

1.5, 1.6, 1.9, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.15, 1.16, 1.17, 1.19). Three others (cats. 1.4, 1.18, 1.21) are poorly preserved but can still be considered alongside them. The three inscriptions from Vetoniana also identify Jupiter Dolichenus, although only two of three are well preserved (cats. 3.1, 3.2), as are two of the five inscriptions from Saalburg (cats. 4.1, 4.2); the remaining three inscriptions from this site are too poorly preserved for assessment. Four of eleven inscriptions at Virunum are well preserved (cats. 2.1, 2.2, 2.13, 2.16); the other seven much less so. All but one of the eleven inscriptions (cat. 2.18) is securely associated with the cult; a twelfth, illegible inscription from Virunum (cat. 2.5) is not included in this sample group. Vindolanda preserves three inscriptions, one of which (cat. 5.1) is well preserved; two of the three (cats. 5.1, 5.2) can be securely linked to the cult.

### 3.6.A Names and Epithets

Jupiter Dolichenus' full name, *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*, borrowed the epithets (i.e. best and greatest) from Capitoline Jupiter; the name was often abbreviated in inscriptions as *I.O.M.D.* (Beard et al 1998, 281). A frequent variation of this abbreviates all but the place name, *Dolichenus*, which was misspelled in various ways (e.g., *Dolichenius*, *Dolychenus*, *Dolochenus*, *Dolicenus*, *Dolcenus*, *Dulcenus*, *Dolucens*). *Dolichenus* was also shortened to *Dol.* or *Dolic.* (Seidl 1854, 5; Birley and Birley 2010, 40). The god was sometimes addressed as *deus Commagenorum*, or *deus Commagenus*, or by his Greek name, *Zeus Dolichaios* (Swoboda 1964, 195; Winter 2006, n.p.).

The I.O.M.D. abbreviation is the most common in the sample inscriptions, occurring on sixteen examples of the thirty-six inscriptions (cats. 1.5, 1.6, 1.9, 1.11, 1.12, 1.15, 1.16, 1.18, 1.21, 2.1, 2.3, 2.13, 2.16, 3.1, 3.2, 5.1); parts of this abbreviation or single letters appear on six others (cats. 2.4, 2.14, 2.15, 2.18, 3.3, 4.11). Four inscriptions contain the place name spelled out: in two examples from Saalburg (cats. 4.1, 4.3), *Dolicheno* is recorded, with one and four letters missing, respectively. A third inscription from Saalburg and one from Carnuntum (cats. 4.2, 1.19) display the same long abbreviation of *Dolich.*

Seven inscriptions contain no direct reference to Jupiter Dolichenus, yet they are securely connected to the cult through findspot (cats. 1.1, 1.4, 1.13, 1.17, 2.6, 2.7, 5.2). Two ABCDaria were found in the cult's temple and *temenos* at



Carnuntum (cats. 1.4, 1.13); a building inscription sponsored by a Dolichenian youth group (cat. 1.1), and a statue of Jupiter Dolichenus with *Diis* (to/for the gods) inscribed on its attached base (cat. 1.17) are also firmly connected with the cult. Two fragments from Virunum (cats. 2.6, 2.7) bear no trace of the god's name, yet were found within the Dolichenum. A similar situation occurs at Vindolanda, where a damaged altar (cat. 5.2) was found in the Dolichenum, in front of the *aedicula* and beside another altar clearly associated with Jupiter Dolichenus in that it represents the god and is also dedicated to him (cat. 5.1). Two further inscriptions cannot be securely connected to the cult and lack any reference to Jupiter Dolichenus. An altar from Vindolanda (cat. 5.3) was found outside the temple. The *praetentura* of the fort at Saalburg preserves an altar fragment (cat. 4.12). Only the last letters of each line are preserved, and the proposed interpretation naming Jupiter Dolichenus and his *paredros* on the basis of the last *o* of his name and the last *ni* in hers is hopeful at best.

The name of Juno Dolichena appears infrequently in the corpus of inscriptions for this cult. Variations on her name occur seventeen times in the overall corpus, as recorded by the *CCID* (1987, 404b), but only once in the sample group: a round altar from Virunum (cat. 2.2) was dedicated to her at the behest of Dolichenus.

The names of other deities occur only twice in the sample group and both reconstructions are doubtful. Aside from the aforementioned fragment from Saalburg (cat. 4.12), an altar at Carnuntum was dedicated to both Dolichenus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus (cat. 1.12), but the reconstruction of the name Heliopolitanus is not secure: it has been suggested that the *H* was a spelling mistake, intended to be an *R* (*CCID*, no. 221).

Emperors are named in six of the thirty-six sample inscriptions; five come from Carnuntum (cats. 1.1, 1.9, 1.12, 1.19, 1.21) and one from Virunum (cat. 2.1). A commemorative building inscription sponsored by a Dolichenian youth group at Carnuntum names Hadrian (cat. 1.1). The inclusion of *pater* in his title narrows the date of this inscription to 129-138, thus providing some of the earliest evidence for the cult in the western provinces. Two altars name Commodus. One can be dated to 180-183, prior to the use of *Pius* in his title,

and the other to 181/183, based on a reference to his consulship (cats. 1.9, 1.12; Schön 1988, 83, no. 90).

Less securely attributed to Jupiter Dolichenus is an altar fragment possibly naming Nerva (cat. 1.21): the letters are cut using ligatures and the inscription overall is very poorly preserved, thus making the text difficult to read. If the emperor's dedication is accurate, however, this inscription would be the earliest evidence for the cult in the western provinces, predating even the earliest known evidence in the western provinces from Lambaesis in Africa (*CCID*, no. 620), dated 125/126. A building inscription from Virunum indicates the erased name of Commodus (cat. 2.1), but the naming of a consulship provides a secure date of 189 for this dedication. Another questionable affiliation to Jupiter Dolichenus comes from a poorly preserved inscription that has been reconstructed with the name of the son of Maximinus Thrax, who was appointed Caesar in 236 (cat. 1.19; *CCID*, no. 232; Campbell 1994, 32, no. 41). A variation on the usual dedication is found in an altar from Carnuntum (cat. 1.15), which is dedicate to the *genius* of Jupiter Dolichenus.

The deity was frequently invoked with one of several common epithets, such as *sanctus*, *invictus*, or *conservator* (Demircioglu 1939, 96; Collingwood and Richmond 1969, 197; Pahl 2010, 19). Other epithets were more specifically connected to Dolichenus or Capitoline Jupiter: *conservator totius poli* (preserver/protector of the entire world), *totius poli* (of the whole universe), *exibitor* or *nutrior* (giver of blessings to the earth, sustainer of the people), *exibitor invictus* (unconquered sustainer), *aeternus*, or *exsuperantissimus* or *praestantissimus* (Demircioglu 1939, 96; Schwertheim 1981, 195; Birley and Birley 2010, 40; Pahl 2010, 19).

The epithet *natus ubi ferrum nascitor* (or *exoritur*) (born where the iron is born) is used only for Jupiter Dolichenus; Birley and Birley (2010, 40) describe it as an “enigmatic phrase”. This epithet may derive from the iron ore deposits located in Commagene, although none of these have been found at either Doliche or Dülük Baba Tepesi. The epithet has also been interpreted as indicating a connection between the god and metallurgy in Commagene, which would be relevant to members of the military because of their metal weapons (Schwertheim 1981, 195). References to this epithet appear frequently, in almost

every scholarly work on Jupiter Dolichenus, yet it occurs infrequently among the epigraphic corpus: four times in over 400 inscriptions related to this cult (Hörig 1984, 2139, note 14). Cumont (1903, 1279) proposed that this term was not connected with iron ore mining or processing in Commagene, but rather that this was a Semitic epithet related to a now-lost myth (Birley and Birley 2010, 47, note 44). If this is accurate, it would be the only known reference to the story of Jupiter Dolichenus. This epithet might also simply refer to the material of the *bipennis* axe.

Epithets are rare in the sample group of inscriptions. The word *sacrum* occurs on one fragment from Saalburg (cat. 4.3), but this is reconstructed from a single letter, the m. One of the *tabulae ansatae* at Vetoniana (cat. 3.2) displays a reference to *ubi ferrum nascitur*.

### 3.6.B Dedicatory Formulas

Standard phraseology for inscriptions includes terms such as *ex iussu (dei)*, *pro salute*, and *pro salute et incolumitate* (Turcan 1996, 168; Birley and Birley 2010, 40, 46). Customary abbreviations for verbs are *D. (dedit)*, *P. (posuit)*, *F. (fecit)*, *D. D. (dono dedit)*, and *REST. (restituit)*. The most common abbreviation in this cult was *V.S.L.(L.)M. (votum solvit libens [laetus] merito, or paid a vow willingly [joyfully] and deservedly)* (Collingwood and Richmond 1971, 198).

The abbreviation *VS(L)LM* occurs most often in the sample group. Four inscriptions show *VSLM* (cats. 1.9, 4.1, 5.1, 5.3), while four others record *VSLLM* (cats. 1.6, 1.11, 2.6, 2.13). *Pro salute* is present in seven examples (cats. 1.6, 1.9, 1.12, 1.19, 1.21, 2.1 2.15), although it is also used in connection with the naming of emperors. *Dedit* or *dono dedit* appears four times in the sample group (cats. 1.5, 1.12, 2.2, 3.1), and two terms occur three times each: *ex voto* (cats. 1.12, 2.7, 2.16), and *posuit* (cats. 1.19, 2.16, 4.12)—or variations thereof—are used on three inscriptions each. Although some of the following formulae occur frequently within the entire corpus, they are recorded just once in the sample group: *iussu dei* (cat. 1.5), *iussu dei fecit* (cat. 2.1), *fecit* (cat. 1.16), *(donum) restituit* (cat. 4.11); *ex viso/u* (cats. 1.4, 1.6) is recorded twice. There is no noticeable pattern or consistency in the use of these phrases, which were likely to be left to the donor's personal preference.

### 3.6.C Dating of Inscriptions

The earliest inscription associated with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus comes from Syria (50 CE), and the latest is from Pannonia Superior in the early 4th century (310) (Pahl 2010, 281-282). The earliest confirmed example in the western provinces of the Empire occurs in North Africa, an inscription from Lambaesis dated to ca. 125/126 (*CCID*, no. 620).

Of the thirty-six inscriptions in the sample group, nine present a firm date or a date range of ten years (cats. 1.1, 1.4, 1.6, 1.9, 1.12, 1.19, 2.1, 2.15, 4.11), while seven provide a date range of more than a decade (cats. 1.11, 1.16, 1.17, 1.21, 2.13, 2.16, 4.1). No date has been assigned to the remaining twenty sample inscriptions. Carnuntum (site 1) preserves the largest number of well-dated inscriptions: six of the fourteen inscriptions have a fairly precise date, and four provide a date range of more than ten years. Four of eleven inscriptions from Virunum (site 2) provide dates and of the five inscriptions from Saalburg (site 4), only one preserves a firm date. Neither the three inscriptions preserved at Vetoniana (site 3), nor the three at Vindolanda (site 5) provide dates.

Nine inscriptions present a secure date or date range of ten years or less, six of these come from Carnuntum (site 1), two from Virunum (site 2), and one from Saalburg (site 4). The Saalburg inscription, from 205 CE, is problematic because it is poorly preserved and not securely associated with the cult (cat. 4.11). Five of the eight better dated inscriptions are from the latter half of the 2nd century, from the reign of Commodus (cats. 1.4, 1.6, 1.9, 1.12, 2.1). Another dates to 197-207 (cat. 2.15), and two other inscriptions, from Carnuntum, may represent the start and end dates for the cult in general: a building inscription commemorated by a Dolichenian youth group, dated to the later part of Hadrian's rule, ca. 128-138 (cat. 1.1). This is the second-earliest known inscription from the western provinces, preceded only by that of Lambaesis noted above. An altar, thought to be dedicated to the son of Maximinus Thrax provides a date of 235-238, the accepted end date of the cult in the western provinces; due to the poorly preserved state of this altar, its interpretation is questionable (cat. 1.19). Seven inscriptions display a date range from more than

ten years to a span of two centuries, which is too broad for assessment. These inscriptions do, however, fall into the median period for this cult, from the late-2nd century to early 3rd century.

The datable inscriptions in the sample group conform in general to the timeframe of the entire corpus, yet the peak of datable inscriptions in the sample group predates that of the entire corpus, which, according to Pahl (2010, graphic 1), occurs from 200-209. The inscriptions providing less secure or less precise dates fall within the accepted time range for the cult.

### **3.6.D Ritual Community (Dedicants, Worshippers, Cult Personnel)**

The majority of Dolichenian inscriptions, apart from those found at Rome, come from the northwestern provinces of the Empire, including Britain, and indicate a range of worshippers (Birley and Birley 2012, 44). The Dolichenian cult is often described as a military cult, yet its veneration went far beyond military personnel, and this cultic community is characterized by the joint practice of both military personnel and civilians, some of whom are identified with Near Eastern names (Goldsworthy 2003, 112; Stoll 2007, 469; Kreikenbom 2012, 135). Kreikenbom (2012, 135) describes this dual veneration as a “functional dichotomy”, which seems appropriate.

Fewer than 40% of the entire corpus of Dolichenian inscriptions can be attributed to military personnel or units (Seidl 1854, 27; Demircioglu 1939, 96; Turcan 1996, 164; Beard et al 1998, 275; Stoll 2007, 469). This terminology, however, may be problematic: Birley and Birley (2012, 244) assert that a military community should consist not only of serving soldiers but also of the civilians and retired military personnel associated with the soldiers; this interpretation of military communities is also adopted in this thesis. *Vicus* populations were normally comprised of the families of the soldiers, as well as the craftsmen, merchants, and traders who supplied the soldiers and their families (Klee 2000, 121). Although the families of these soldiers were not officially recognized until the marriage ban was rescinded, probably in the Severan age, many soldiers' families did indeed live close by (Garnsey 1970, 45; Campbell 1978, 153; Phang 2001, 115). Retired soldiers often elected to settle in the *vicus*, and some of

these veterans as well as current soldiers are recorded as priests in the Dolichenian cult (Szabo 2003, 234; Stoll 2007, 452). On one altar from Carnuntum (cat. 1.19), both a veteran and a current soldier are dedicants.

Religious observance in the army was two-fold: official, state-sanctioned cults included the imperial cult, the cult of the standards, the veneration of the Capitoline Triad, and the broader Roman pantheon of gods. Military personnel could also observe private cults, namely, those from the area of recruitment, deployment, or current garrison (Stoll 2007, 452). Collective dedications by entire units suggest that the Dolichenian cult must have achieved a fairly high level of acceptance and popularity within the military and, as a result, had an official character that would normally only be seen with the *dei patria* of the Roman pantheon (Blömer 2012, 41-43; Haensch 2012, 112-114; 2012, Deppmeyer and Erkelenz 2013, 259). The majority of dedicants did not possess a direct connection with Doliche or Commagene (Deppmeyer and Erkelenz 2013, 259).

The Dolichenian inscriptions record civilians, both men and women, individual members of the military, entire units, as well as higher officials and cult members identified by specific titles. Twenty-four of the thirty-six sample inscriptions name individuals or groups, of which thirty are civilian and thirteen are military.

### 3.6.C.i Military Dedicants

Three of the thirteen inscriptions name military units (cats. 1.13, 4.3, 4.11). The ABCDarium from Carnuntum (cat. 1.13) identifies the unit by a brick production stamp. The two Saalburg inscriptions (cats. 4.3, 4.11) connected with military dedications are problematic. One of these (cat. 4.3) is thought to have been dedicated by the second cohort of Raetians. Another inscription (cat. 4.11) identifies a *vexillation* unit of *legio XXII primigeniae piae fidelis* as well as the names of two consuls, Marco Antonio and Geta Caesar, which assigns a date of 205. Both inscriptions are very poorly preserved and much of their texts are lost; neither of these artefacts was found within the Dolichenum, although the altar fragments associated with the Raetian cohort (cat. 4.3) come from the Dolichenum area.

Ten military individuals have been identified on eight inscriptions from this study (cats. 1.6, 1.9, 1.19, 2.13, 4.1, 4.2, 5.1, 5.2). Two centurions are known from Carnuntum: Caius Spurius Silvanus and Attilius Primus, both of *legio X gemina pia fidelis*, the latter formerly of *legio XIII Gemina* (cats. 1.6, 1.9). Another inscription from Carnuntum (cat. 1.19) lists a soldier, also from *legio XIII Gemina*, Ulpus Amandus, and a veteran, Ulpus Amadus. The unit of the latter is identified as “the above-mentioned”, yet it is unclear which legion is implied. The many titled accomplishments of Ulpus Amandus are listed on the inscription and include *librarius*, *custos armorum*, *signifer*, *optio* (clerk, armourer, standard-bearer, orderly of the second centurion in the 8th cohort) and *candidatus*, which may refer to a cult position or to his promotion to centurion (Campbell 1994, 32, no. 41). Two soldiers from *legio II Italica Severiana* are recorded at Virunum (cat. 2.13), although it remains unclear whether members of this legion were part of the *Singulares* stationed there. One inscription from Saalburg (cat. 4.1) is classified as military, although it lacks the rank of the dedicant, who may have been the son of one Tiberius Claudius Candidus, named in another inscription from Tarragona (*CIL II*, no. 4114), and identified as leader of the troops in the German campaigns (*praepositus copiarum expeditionis germanicae*) (*CCID*, no. 499; Jacobi 1937, 52; Klee 2000, 85; Moneta 2010, 93). Titus Flavius Silvanus/Silvinus, a *cornicularius* is also known from Saalburg (cat. 4.2). Lastly, two prefects are recorded at Vindolanda (cats. 5.1, 5.2). Sulpicius Pudens came from the *cohors III Gallorum* (cat. 5.1), and the other prefect, perhaps Caerellius Victor, belonged to the second cohort of Nervians (cat. 5.2). No inscriptions identifying military members were found at Vetoniana (site 3).

The sample inscriptions indicate a variety of military positions, from regular troops to centurions as well as higher positions of both the auxiliary and legionary forces, which is consistent with the corpus as a whole. No trend or pattern, however, can be discerned.

### 3.6.C.ii Civilian Dedicants

The majority of civilian dedications in the Dolichenian corpus are made by male individuals. These texts sometimes include the names of other (usually

male) family members, but sometimes also record those of female family members (Kreikenbom 2012, 13). This male emphasis is reflected in the sample group: fifteen civilian males, not identified as cult personnel, are attested on nine inscriptions (cats. 1.5, 1.16, 1.18, 2.1, 2.2, 2.6, 2.15, 2.16, 4.11). Three dedicants include the names of their sons (cats. 1.5, 2.1, 4.1). One civilian group, a Dolichenian youth group is also attested on a commemorative architectural block (cat. 1.1).

The names of female dedicants are rarely recorded in the Dolichenian cult: there are about thirty published inscriptions listing female donors in contrast to the over 500 listed male donors (Kreikenbom 2012, 135). The woman's name normally occurs in combination with a man's name, usually a family member, often the husband, as is the case with the two inscriptions from the sample group (cats. 1.9, 2.2). One exception is an inscription from the Aventine Dolichenum (*CCID*, no. 382), which gives the name of Memmia Florida in her own right and independent of male associations (Zappata 1997, 142; Kreikenbom 2012, 137).

While no military men in Italy seem to have named their wives in votive inscriptions, this is not the case in the provinces; indeed, a centurion of *legio X Gemina*, stationed at Carnuntum includes his wife Valeria Digna in such an inscription (cat. 1.9) (Kreikenbom 2012, 138-139). The only other example naming a woman in the sample group occurs at Virunum (cat. 2.2). On this altar, unusually dedicated to Juno Dolichena, the name of Octavia Comsilla is given with that of Claudius Rufinus (Egger 1914, 49-50). Most evidence for female dedications occurs on small silver votive plaques, particularly at Mauer an der Url, and on a number of stone altars (*CCID*, no. 382; Schwertheim 1981, 203).

A high concentration of archaeological evidence for this cult occurs in areas displaying a combination of military and Near Eastern populations from names found on inscriptions, but indigenous and Roman civilians also participated (Schwertheim 1981, 197; Deppmeyer and Erkelenz 2013, 257). Twenty-eight of the forty-three persons/units named in the sample group are identified as having Roman or Latinized names, and five with non-Roman or Latinized names; the nationality of ten dedicants is unknown.



### 3.6.C.iii Cult Members

An inscribed marble plaque found within the Aventine Dolichenum in Rome (*CCID*, no. 373) indicates individual's names as well as titles identifying a variety of positions within the cult; this inscription provides the most detailed listing of positions known within the cult. Many of the names on this plaque also appear on another inscribed plaque found in the same location; the two are thought to represent *alba* (membership lists) (Fowlkes 2012, 52, citing Rüpke 2008, 51).

The “functional dichotomy” described by Kreikenbom (2012, 135) seems also to apply to the internal division of roles within the cult, based on the interpretation of the Aventine inscription (*CCID*, no. 373). Pahl (2010, 33-35) suggests that two separate branches existed within the cult, one religious and one administrative, and each with its own hierarchical arrangement (Schwertheim 1981, 203-205).

Cult members, including but not limited to the following are described in the inscriptions as followers/worshippers, i.e. the regular members (*cultores/colitores*), and brothers, (*fratres*) which is how cult members addressed one another and which implies that the members were exclusively male, although votive dedications from women are known. Also listed are temple managers/caretakers (*curatores templi*), scribes (*scriba*), and priests (*sacerdotes*). Other recorded titles identify small groups accepted for learning more about the cult, perhaps with the hope of becoming a priest (*candidatori/candidati*). The person responsible for each small group of *candidati* was the *patronus*, whereas the person responsible for their instruction was the *pater candidatus* (Schwertheim 1981, 204; Pahl 2010, 34-35). Other positions known from inscriptions include the *notarius* (lay position, who was responsible for legal/official transactions), *principes* (business manager/director), and *lecticari dei* (litter-bearers for the god) (Schwertheim 1981, 204; Pahl 2010, 35). The reference to litter-bearers, in particular, suggests some form of processional activity within the cult. Hörig (1984, 2172-2173) suggests that the positions of *curatores* and *scriba* were more likely administrative than religious. The hierarchical arrangement of both branches is unclear and relies upon either a vertical (Kan, Merlat, Schwertheim) or horizontal (Rüpke) interpretation of the

inscription's six columns (Pahl 2010, 32-33). The prevailing scholarly opinion interprets the hierarchy of the religious branch progressing from *colitor* to *candidatus* to *sacerdos* to *pater candidatorum*; much less is known about the administrative hierarchy, yet some suggest that the *notarius* may have been the highest ranking position (Schwertheim 1981, 203-205; Pahl 2010, 33-34).

Some of the above-mentioned and other ranks appear only in a small number of inscriptions originating in Rome and particularly at the Aventine Dolichenum, yet the position of *sacerdos* (priest) is ubiquitous in the Dolichenian cult throughout the Empire (Schwertheim 1981, 203). The equally frequent term *sub sacerdos/sacerdotibus* (during the priesthood of...) suggests a rotation in priestly duties; in the provinces, *sacerdos* appears as the highest religious rank within the Dolichenian cult (Schwertheim 1981, 203). According to Pahl (2010, 35), much of the terminology appearing at the Aventine Dolichenum is not found at the military-based Dolichena located at Rome, which suggests that the organizational complexity differed from the Aventine to the more military Esquiline Dolichenum.

While the Aventine plaque speaks to the organization of that community, several positions also occur in the sample group inscriptions. Priests (*sacerdos*), above all, are indicated eight times on six inscriptions, most of which are from Carnuntum (cats. 1.5, 1.11, 1.12, 1.15, 1.18, 3.1). While two priests were dedicants (cats. 1.11, 3.1), the other inscriptions name the priests with the phrase *sub sacerdos/sacerdotibus*, which seems to indicate a priest's possible term of service. This may also have been written to imply that the dedicant was encouraged by the priest to make the dedication.

In one example (cat. 1.12), however, the priests' term is indicated in combination with the consulship of Marcus Aurelius, thereby confirming a date of 181 or 183 for that inscription. This same votive plaque provides the only example in this study in which cult personnel, other than priests, are named: two *curatores* and a *scriba*. The two examples in which the dedicant is a priest occur at Carnuntum (cat. 1.11) and Vetoniana (cat. 3.1). According to Kandler (2011, 31), it is unclear whether the *sacer* occurring in line four is part of the dedicant's name or an abbreviation of his job title. The text on the bronze

*tabula ansata* from Vetoniana clearly identifies the priest, Demittius, as the donor (cat. 3.1).

### **3.7 Inscribed Terracotta Objects**

While a small number of stamped ceramic fragments were found in pits and wells near the sample Dolichena, only one inscribed terracotta object in this study is interpreted as possibly ritual in function (fig. 35). A brick (cat. 1.13) at Carnuntum displays a production stamp of *Legio XIII Gemina* and has an alphabet scratched onto its surface (ABCDarium).

### **3.8 Items of Personal Adornment**

Jewellery was discovered at the Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5) temples. Two undecorated jet finger rings (cat. 5.9) are preserved at Vindolanda and three gold finger rings (cat. 4.7) were found immediately east of the Dolichenum at Saalburg. A fibula fragment (cat. 4.4) and a gold finger ring set with an engraved amethyst (cat. 4.5) were recorded in 1816 with the Saalburg coin hoard and altar fragments (cat. 4.1) that first identified Dolichenum there, but before the temple itself was discovered.

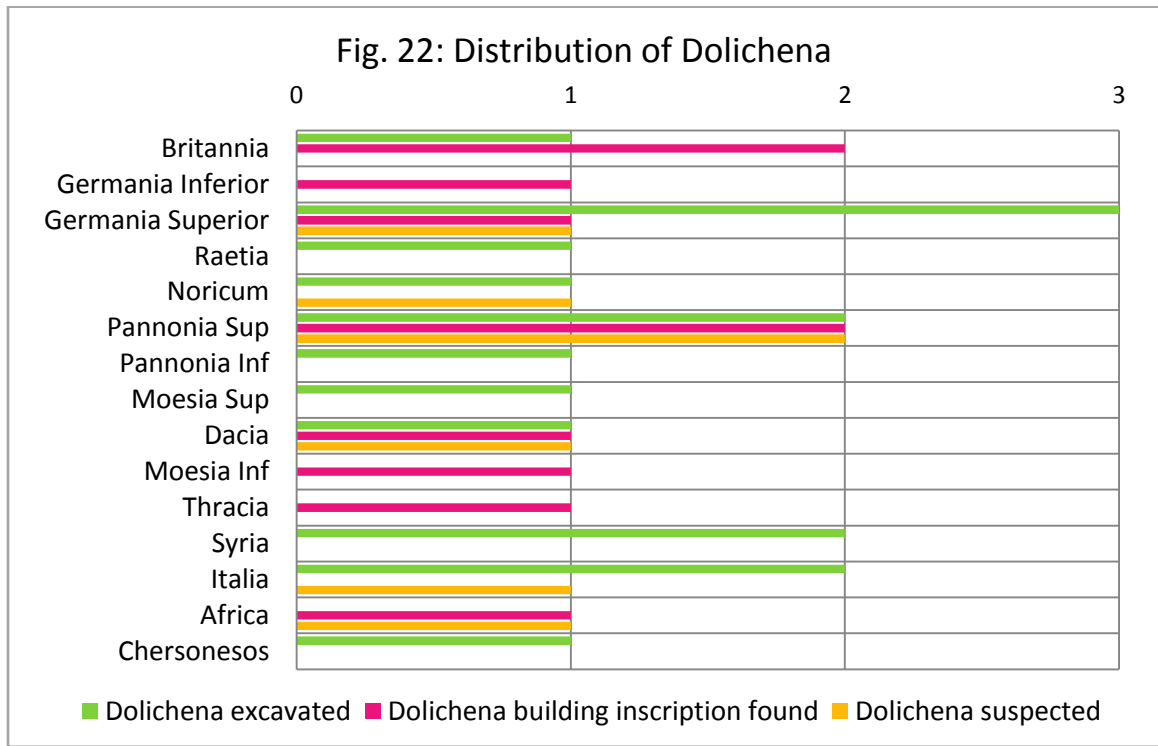
Vetoniana (site 3) preserved the greatest amount of jewellery in this study. A finger ring with attached miniature key, two bracelets, a finger ring set with a decorated carnelian, all of silver or white metal, as well as a polished, undecorated, and unset carnelian (cat. 3.9a-d) were discovered with the coin hoard (cat. 3.8) inside the temple. Also found inside the Vetoniana Dolichenum were a bronze bracelet (cat. 3.13) and a chain with pendants (cat. 3.12); the iconographic representation on these items may link them to the cult. A bronze medallion attached to the bracelet (cat. 3.13) was decorated with portrait busts of Sol and Luna. A bronze crescent-moon shaped pendant was still attached to the bronze chain (cat. 3.12), and a round, silver pendant was found with, but not attached to, it. These pendants seem to suggest Sol and Luna in more abstract form.

No other pieces of the jewellery display iconographic representations that would connect them directly to the cult. The coin hoards and the items found with them may have been part of the temple treasury; these hoards may simply

have been hidden in the temples for safe keeping, as temples would have been regarded as one of the safest and securest places in a city or *vicus*. The jewellery from the temples is significant because it confirms the presence of women in the temples, therefore reinforcing the participation of females in this cult.

Jewellery decorated with or suggestive of Sol and Luna may have had specific ritual importance in this cult, as motifs of them appear on most of the triangular votive plaques exclusively used by this cult. This, however, cannot be confirmed, as images of both Sol and Luna are linked to other cults present at the sample sites, such as Mithraism and the Imperial Cult.

### 3.9 Figures



**Fig. 23 Proximity to Settlements and Roads**

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Adjacent settlement (civ/mil)	X		X	X	
Inside settlement (civ/mil)		X			X
Major Roman roads within 1 km	X	X			
Roman roads within 1 km			X	X	X

**Fig. 24 Proximity to Other Cult Structures**

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Mithraeum nearby	X	X	X	X	
Mithraeum suspected					X
Other cult structures	X	X	X	X	X

Fig. 25 Proximity to Burials

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Burials within 1 km	X	X	X	X	X
Burials within 500 m	X	X	X	X	

Fig. 26 Dolichena: Physical Characteristics

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Orientation	E	S	E	W	S
Construction: stone wall	X	X	X		X
Construction: post & half-timbered wall				X	
<i>Temenos</i>	X			?	
Yard or outside space	X			?	
Shape	irregular	rectangular	square	rectangular	rectangular
Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	331	205	440	606	113
Number of rooms	4	4	1	1	3
Interior divisions, not necessarily rooms		X	X		X
<i>Aedicula</i>		?	?		X
<i>Pronaos</i>	X				
Apse	X				
Benches inside ( <i>triclinia</i> )	X				

Fig. 27 Dolichena: Room Types

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Cult room	X	X			X
Sacristy	X	X	X		
Banqueting room	X	X			X
Living area	X				X
Utility room/kitchen	X				
Stable/barn					X

Fig. 28: Overview of Ritual Artefact Classes in Study

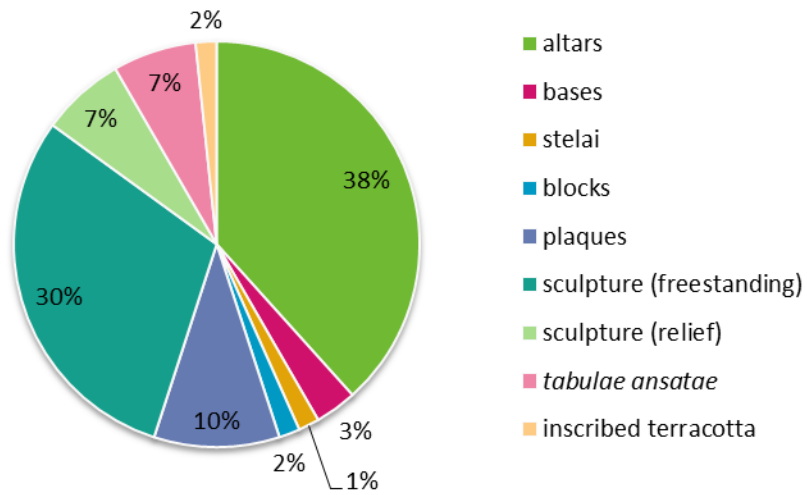
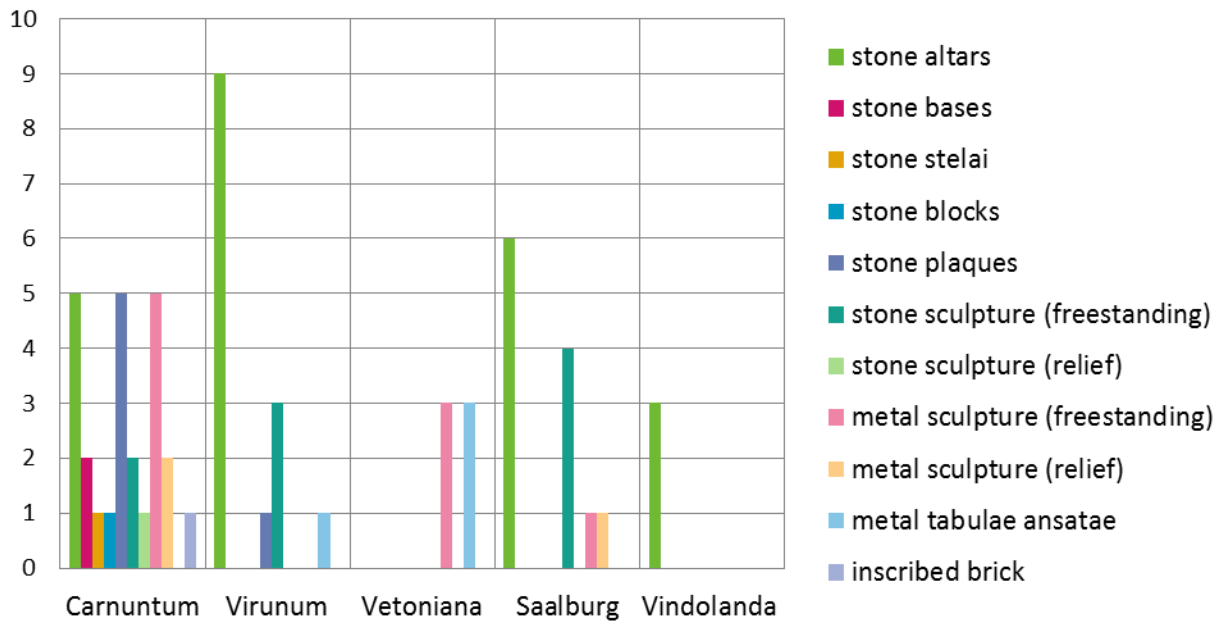
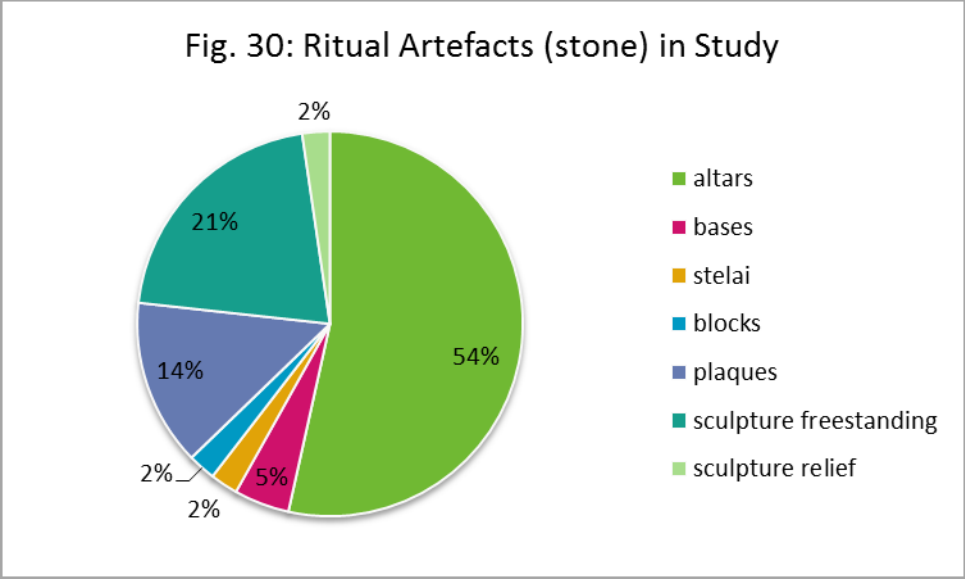


Fig. 29: Artefact Overview by Site





**Fig. 31 Altar and Base Shapes in Study**

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Square	2			1	2
rectangular	6	4		1	1
Round		3			
hexagonal		1			
Unknown (fragments)		1		4	

**Fig. 32 Stone Used for Altars, Bases, and Stelai in Study**

	Carnuntum	Virunum	Vetoniana	Saalburg	Vindolanda
Sandstone	2	1		4	3
Limestone	7				
Marble		3			
Basalt				2	
Unknown stone		5			



Fig. 33: Ritual Artefacts (metal) in Study

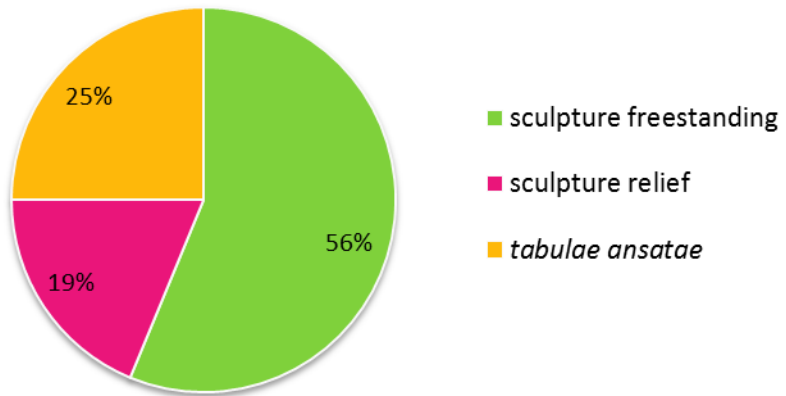


Fig. 34: Total Inscriptions by Site

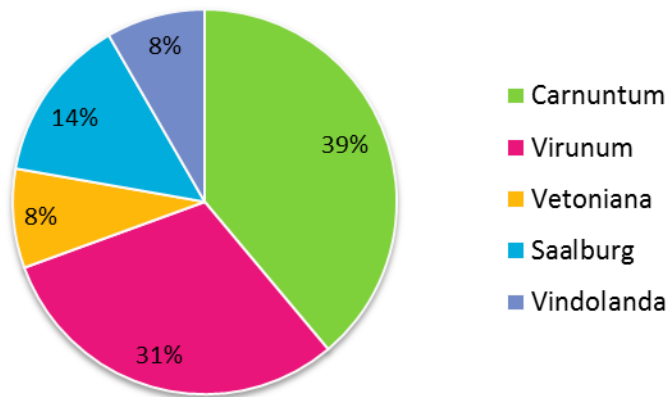
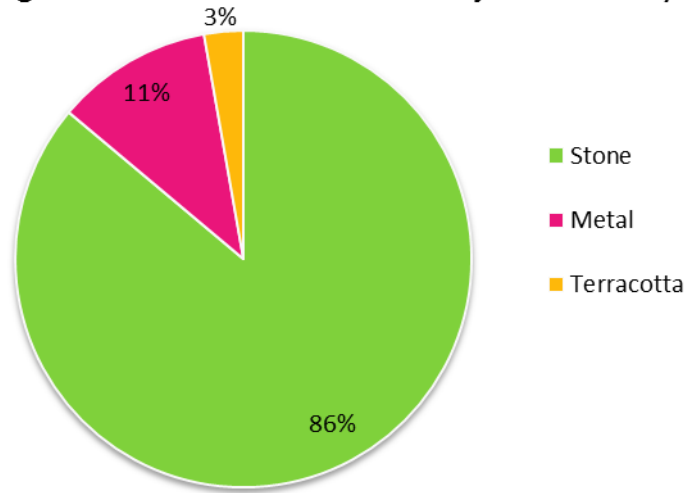


Fig. 35: Material of Inscribed Objects in Study



## 4. Jupiter Dolichenus: The Cult in Practice

### 4.1. Dolichenian Rituals

No information survives about ritual practices in this cult and it is uncertain whether any was ever recorded. Archaeological evidence however, provides some scope for a reconstruction of the cult's organization and rituals; Merlat (1960) continues to be the authority on the interpretation of all Dolichenian elements.

The presence of many altars in the Dolichenian corpus and in the sample group (fig. 28) confirms that sacrifices were performed, and there are numerous examples from four of the sample sites, although no altars were found at Vetoniana (site 3). Statues of Jupiter Dolichenus as well as his *paredros* form the second largest group of ritual artefacts in the sample group. While their precise function is unknown, statues of deities are commonly found in temple settings.

As with other mystery religions, representations of additional deities appear at Dolichenian temples, including those not considered part of the traditional Greco-Roman pantheons. The relationship between Dolichenus and these other deities remains unknown, and it is unclear whether such inclusion represented attempts to attract new worshippers to the cult, or for worshippers and priests of other cults to broadcast an affiliation with Jupiter Dolichenus (Speidel 1980, 12; Pingitzer 2003, 21). Sculpture depicting deities belonging to the Roman pantheon of gods or of other Eastern, possibly mystery, cults are known in Dolichenian cult. For example, the Aventine Dolichenum in Rome displayed a variety of deities including but not limited to Isis and Serapis (Merlat 1951, 61; Speidel 1978, 21; MacMullen 1981, 91). Dolichenus, in keeping with a military theme, is sometimes found alongside Hercules, Mars, and Minerva (Turcan 1996, 162; Kusseven 2007, 53).

Inscriptions, the most numerous class of artefact in the Dolichenian cult, show the need for votive dedications as part of its ritual. These inscriptions also name several titles within the cult that shed light on its personnel and administration. These texts confirm the participation of priests (*sacerdotes*), cult members (*cultores*), brothers (*fratres*), as well as candidates (*candidatorī*) who were, presumably, waiting for acceptance into the cult. The mention of *scriba*

(scribes) and *lecticari dei* (litter bearers of the god) suggests an administrative element within the cult, and the existence of some form of procession, respectively.

The mention of *triclinia* and the use of the adjective *cenatorium* suggest that ritual meals were part of the Dolichenian cult. This is reinforced by the evidence of a *triclinium* at the Carnuntum temple (site 1, Room e). While no such benches were found at Virunum or Vindolanda, both these temples did have heated rooms that may have served such a purpose. A *triclinium* is also indicated on the building inscription from Virunum (cat. 2.1). Articles that may have been used for sacrifice or the preparation, serving, and consuming of meals have been found in the Carnuntum, Vetoniana, Saalburg and Vindolanda temples (Ch. 4.2; cats. 1.22b-c-g-h-j-k, 3.19, 4.14, 4.15, 4.18b-c-d-e, 4.20, 5.10, 5.11).

The consistent appearance of triangular votive plaques and votive hands supports the interpretation of cult processions, which are also suggested by the mention of *lecticari dei* in inscriptions. A complete triangular votive plaque, including its mounting hardware, and a Victoria finial from Mauer an der Url in Norican Austria (pl. 24), proves that these objects were mounted on poles, in all likelihood for display during processions, a function that is reinforced by their often-substantial size. The scenes depicted on such plaques, some almost 0.5 m high and 0.25 m wide, would surely be been visible to many. The iconography displayed on these plaques provides the only clue to the mythology of this cult (Ch. 3.4). While a number of votive hands seem to have been used alone (*CCID*, no. 520, pl. 114), other such hands may also have been mounted on poles: a triangular plaque at the Archäologische Staatssammlung Museum in Munich displays a hand-shaped finial crowning a military standard of five *phalerae* (pl. 23); another example is a votive hand thought to have been attached to a pole on the basis of nail holes (*CCID*, no. 40, pl. 13). The sample group contains no such artefacts. The only connection to the triangular votive plaques may be five Victoria statuettes found at Carnuntum and Vetoniana (cats. 1.23, 1.24, 3.4, 3.5), which were clearly used as finials.

Oneiromancy, a system of dream or “vision” interpretation, and oracular practices using alphabets are attested in the Dolichenian corpus through certain

inscribed dedicatory formulae and by the presence of ABCDaria (Merlat 1960, 207-208). The terms *ex iussu* (at the behest, by the command of the god; by order of) and *ex visu* (from/of/by a vision) signal that the inscribed artefact, often an altar, was donated because of a dream or vision in which the god made a directive (Merlat 1960, 208). These formulae occur at Carnuntum, twice for *ex visu* and once for *ex iussu* (cats. 1.4, 1.5, 1.6). ABCDaria, or inscribed alphabets, are known at a number of Dolichenian sites, yet are not considered typical of this cult (*CCID* nos. 426, 443, 465, 466). Two such examples were found at Carnuntum (cats. 1.4, 1.13). Eastern in origin, ABCDaria are perceived as having magical and/or astrological importance (Merlat 1960, 208-209). They were also used as oracles, or to enable the deity to choose his own words; the marble ABCDarium from Carnuntum (cat. 1.4) is thought to be cult related because of the accompanying formula, *ex visu*. Such alphabets are sometimes just examples of writing practice; this may be the case with the inscribed and stamped brick, also from Carnuntum (cat. 1.13), yet its findspot in the Dolichenum leads me to believe it was ritual in nature.

Merlat (1960, 206) suggests that ablutions and lustrations were likely part of the Dolichenian ritual although there is little evidence for this. No such evidence has been found at the sample sites. A channel beneath the Vindolanda temple (site 5) drained water accumulated from the fort wall to a cistern east of the temple; while the water from this cistern and from wells located at the other sample sites may have been used for such a purpose, they may also have been used simply for drinking and cooking water.

#### **4.2. Connections to Mithras**

There are several major differences between the cults of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus, despite the fact that temples to both gods were often located close to one another, were widely both accepted in military and civilian spheres, and both identified as mystery religions. Images of Mithraic mythology are represented in the tauroctony scenes which have been found in all Mithraea, were usually placed at the front of the cult space, close to one or more altars (Clauss 2001; Bowden 2010, 187-188). The tauroctony, a sacrificial scene involving a bull and normally rendered in relief, is the most important narrative

and symbolic image in Mithraism, and its presentation and meaning are consistent in all examples (pl. 27; Clauss 2001; Bowden 2010, 187-188).

Other regular pictorial references to the cult of Mithras and its processes come with the visualization of the hierarchical organization of its cult membership into steps or grades. At the Mithraeum beneath the Santa Prisca Church in Rome, frescoes portray members of the different ranks, and at the Mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia, a black and white stone mosaic, still *in situ*, clearly outlines the progression from potential candidate to priest with symbols that include planetary signs (pl. 28; Bowden 2010, 192). Such visual references do not exist in the Dolichenian corpus.

There is also considerable literary evidence about the practices of the Mithraic cult. The Roman poet P. Papilius Statius, writing in ca. 90, describes a Mithraic scene, and Porphyry (234-305), discusses Mithraea in *de Antro Nympharum*, explaining that they were made to look like caves since this “conveys an image of the cosmos” (Ulansey 1989 citing Cumont 1899; Bowden 2010, 195, 206). Tertullian (160-220), an early Christian writer, describes the initiation ceremony of the *Miles* (soldier) grade, and a letter written by St. Jerome (340-419) refers to the Mithraic grades (Tert. *de Cor.* 15.3; Jer. *Ep.* 107.2 cited in Bowden 2010, 192). No such evidence exists for the Dolichenian cult (Ch. 1.6.A.i.)

No coins bear imagery connected with the Dolichenian cult, yet a coin from Tarsus, minted under Gordian III depicts the Mithraic tauroctony (Vermaseren 1965).

Many, if not most, Mithraea are partially submerged in the ground or somehow constructed to emulate a cave-like, subterranean atmosphere. Dolichena, on the other hand, are most often situated in topographically prominent settings and most often completely above-ground. For example, a large and prominent flight of stone stairs led to the *temenos* entrance of the Dolichenum located on the summit of Dülük Baba Tepesi mountain, close to Doliche (pl. 29). In the sample group, all temples except Virunum were placed in prominent locations.

A great deal of archaeological evidence for cultic meals has been found in pits located inside and near several Mithraea, such as at Tienen (Belgium) and

Linz-Lentia (Austria), where large quantities of faunal and floral remains, as well as pottery for food preparation, service, and consumption were found. Shared meals are also represented in scenes of Mithras sharing a meal with Sol after sacrificing the bull (Clauss 2001, 115-116; Bowden 2010, 189-190).

There are no such artistic representations of shared, festive meals in the Dolichenian cult and there is much less archaeological evidence for shared meals at all. There is a dearth of archaeological evidence in the sample group for meal preparation, service, or consumption. A quern (cat. 1.22k) and scissors (cat. 1.22b) were found at Carnuntum, and the excavator indicated the presence of many ceramic fragments throughout the temple excavation site, but these were discarded without research; only two stamped fragments were recorded separately (cats. 1.22g, 1.22h). The bones of many domestic animals, particularly horses (cat. 1.22j), were located outside but very close to the *temenos* wall. A well located close to the Dolichenum at Vetoniana was filled with an unspecified number of ceramic fragments, particularly of urns and jugs, but these were also not investigated further (cat. 3.19).

Saalburg presents a metal cleaver and less than ten ceramic vessels associated with food service and consumption that can be securely associated with the cult (cats. 4.14, 4.15, 4.16b-c-e-f). A cellar located close to the north side of the Dolichenum yielded fragments of ca. thirty vessels, twenty-three of which were reconstructed, including locally produced wares as well as East Gaulish and unspecified terra sigillata implements for food preparation, such as a mortarium and cooking pot, food service, such as jugs and pitchers, and food consumption, such as plates, beakers, and bowls (cat. 4.20). This cellar, however, is not securely associated with the Dolichenum despite its location a few meters away; most recent scholarship all but ignores a possible connection. No such evidence was recorded at Virunum (site 2), while at Vindolanda (site 5), the final excavation report has not yet been published. Of the few artefacts so far published from there, knife blades, whetstones, and animal bones are documented (cats. 5.10, 5.11).

While the sample group yields minimal proof for festive meals at the temple, other sites do provide some evidence: a hoard found in 1937 at Mauer an der Url in Norican Austria contained, in addition to a wealth of votive

plaques and other ritual sculpture, a selection of metal food preparation utensils, such as cooking pots, pans, a sieve, cleaver and knife blades, as well as a cooking grate (pl. 26). A more recent excavation at Balaklava, in 1996-1997, produced a large number of items related to food preparation, service, and consumption: ca. half of all ceramic vessel fragments found fall into the categories of cookware and tableware (Sarnowski and Savelja 2000, 105-107).

The shape and arrangement of Mithraea are fairly consistent: most are rectangular in shape and display a tri-partite arrangement, often attributed to the existence of *triclinia*. Such rooms further indicate the occurrence of ritual feasts and most Mithraea had them.

The shape and arrangement of Dolichena is completely disparate and surviving examples are round, square, and rectangular. Only five Dolichena displayed *tricilina*: in the sample group, one room in the Carnuntum *temenos* (site 1, Room e) contained such benches. A *triclinium* was indicated on the building inscription of the Virunum Dolichenum (cat. 2.1), and one is suspected at Vindolanda (site 5). The presence of *triclinia* represents one of the few similarities of these cults.

In sum, Mithraea and Dolichena have very few common features. The strongest connections between the two cults seem to be the fact that they are both described as mystery religions, that they both employed a bull as the primary attribute of the god (yet in very different ways), and that they were often located close to one another, although this is a feature of many cult spaces and temples.



## Conclusions

This thesis focuses on the archaeological analysis of five Dolichenian temples located in the Roman frontier provinces of Pannonia Superior, Noricum, Raetia, Germania Superior and Britannia, located in the modern countries of Austria, Germany and Great Britain, respectively. The motivation behind this selection of sample sites was to investigate and illuminate whether regional differences played a determining factor or role in the architectural and artefactual components of the temples, and to establish what differences, if any, may have existed in temples variously serving military, civilian, or mixed populations.

A study at a local level, the site and artefact catalogue in Chapter 2 surveyed each temple and its contents, thereby providing a synthesis of a wide range of data which covers broad geographical and chronological spans. This data was analyzed in Chapter 3, and interpretations and reconstructions of the processes involved in the Dolichenian cult were discussed in Chapter 4.

The results of this comparison analysis illustrate how disparate Dolichena and their contents could be while still displaying common elements, regardless of their location. For example, all temples were located near a river or stream, and four were situated in topographically prominent settings. All five temples were also placed near both civilian and military settlements. Inscriptions, identifying Jupiter Dolichenus, were also found at all sample temples.

Not one artefact category, ritual or otherwise, has been found at all five sample sites (fig. 29), although the major classes of ritual artefacts are extant at most. For example, no stone monuments of any kind were discovered at Vetoniana (site 3), yet altars or altar fragments were excavated at Carnuntum (site 1), Virunum (site 2), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5); *tabulae ansatae* or similar objects, however, were only found at Vetoniana (site 3) and Virunum (site 2).

The results presented here are obviously contingent upon available evidence; excavation and documentation methods have not always been

consistent. The absence of most ritual classes of artefacts at Vindolanda, for example, is very likely due to the fact that the excavations were only recently concluded and the final excavation report is in progress. The other four sample sites were excavated within forty years of one another but much earlier, spanning the late 19th to early 20th centuries.

A focus on the *minutiae* of material evidence such as thousands of tiny fragments was not a priority for most excavations until the last ca. fifty years. This likely explains why fragmentary pottery, flooring and roofing tiles as well as painted wall fragments were more or less discounted or only briefly indicated in the excavation reports of the sample Dolichena. Along these lines, the complete absence of stone monuments at Vetoniana (site 3) is perplexing: most stone monuments, as seen in Chapter 2, were of fairly substantial size and would therefore not have been easily or quickly moved. As Vetoniana (site 3) apparently fell victim to a sudden attack and resultant fire, it seems likely that parts of it may have been robbed-out in late antiquity or soon thereafter, as parts of the fort and *vicus* were never completely covered by changes to the topography. At the other four temple sites it seems that the surrounding settlements remained somewhat populated after their destruction; perhaps those remaining were reticent (or unable) to remove the normally large stone ritual items.

The results of this thesis do not indicate the anticipated regional or provincial variation; rather, they point toward a difference in urban or cosmopolitan cult communities versus more rural and isolated cult communities. This is more a tale of two cities versus three remote outposts. Carnuntum (site 1) and Virunum (site 2) were civilian cities, near or in which military settlements co-existed. These two sites represent the majority of finds and the largest number of securely associated altars, sculpture, and inscriptions. Although Vetoniana (site 3) produced no stone monuments, three small inscriptions in the form of *tabulae ansatae* can be counted in this category. Vindolanda (site 5) preserved three inscribed altars related to Jupiter Dolichenus, but the inscribed altars and altar fragments at Saalburg (site 4) are much less securely attributed to the cult. Stone sculpture was found only at

Carnuntum (site 1) and Virunum (site 2). Thus, large and virtually immovable objects prevailed only at these two sites.

The temples at Vetoniana (site 3) and Saalburg (site 4) produced significant evidence for portable artefacts that were possibly but not necessarily ritual in nature; these are, nonetheless, associated with the cult. Hoards of coins and jewellery were found at both these sites, whereas such evidence does not exist for Carnuntum (site 1) or at Virunum (site 2), where a collection of fourteen coins, not a hoard, were found strewn across the site. Only several coins have been published at Vindolanda (site 5) in preliminary excavation reports. These three sample sites, best described as remote frontier outposts, were considerably smaller than Carnuntum and Virunum. They were also located further away from major roads than Carnuntum and Virunum which were both situated at the intersections of several important transportation routes. The two cities also lay beside navigable rivers whereas Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5) did not.

It can thus be concluded that the two more cosmopolitan temple sites feature a wealthier and larger array of artefacts, while the three smaller and more rural temple sites display much less of this type of evidence. The larger number of portable finds found at these three temples may imply that they were less stable and secure, or that these were all their Dolichenian communities could afford.

Various levels of civilian and military society participated in this cult in all reaches of the Empire, as well as in Rome itself (Speidel 1978, 76; Fowlkes 2012, 229). Evidence from the sample group reveals that civilian and military populations acted together in the cult: the temples and related artefacts from Carnuntum (site 1), Vetoniana (site 3), Saalburg (site 4), and Vindolanda (site 5) all indicate mixed populations. This is also the case at Virunum (site 2) where a detachment of *singulares* is now known to have been stationed, and which hosted dedications by members of the military as well as by civilians. As important cities, Carnuntum (site 1) and Virunum (site 2) were home to legions, governor's guards, and in some instances emperors; it seems possible that the presence of a wealthier, more cosmopolitan and prominent population in these

cities, in comparison to the three rural settlements, contributed to this urban vs. rural variation.

While Speidel discussed the military-versus-civilian issues at length in 1978, later reinforced by Fowlkes (2012) with her study of temples in Rome, the need for re-evaluation on a larger scale is evident and necessary, especially as more information is obtained from the ongoing excavations at Doliche.

This thesis has presented a preliminary examination and example of the ways in which a comparative approach can be applied to the archaeology of ancient religious, social as well as historical subjects; I believe this study reinforces its potential as a method for future analysis. Understanding how the similarities and differences revealed in this study may be connected to an overall understanding of the cult as a whole can aid the incorporation and further development of ideas by viewing them from this perspective.

I hope to have shown that future comparative archaeological studies of Dolichena and their contents, in a broader scale, can only help to gain a better understanding of this cult in which religious life at local and regional levels intersects with the development of Roman religions throughout the Empire. A more in-depth investigation of military religious observance would also be instrumental in gaining a more profound insight into this and other cults favoured by the military.

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## Plates



Pl. 1: Carnuntum - ABCDaria: Marble (cat. 1.4, top), Brick (cat. 1.13, bottom).



Pl. 2: Carnuntum -Inscribed Votive Relief Stele, cat. 1.6.





Pl. 3: Carnuntum - Statuary Arm Fragments, cat. 1.8 (left), 1.25 (right).



Pl. 4: Carnuntum - Statue, cat. 1.10.



Pl. 5: Carnuntum - Statue, cat. 1.17.

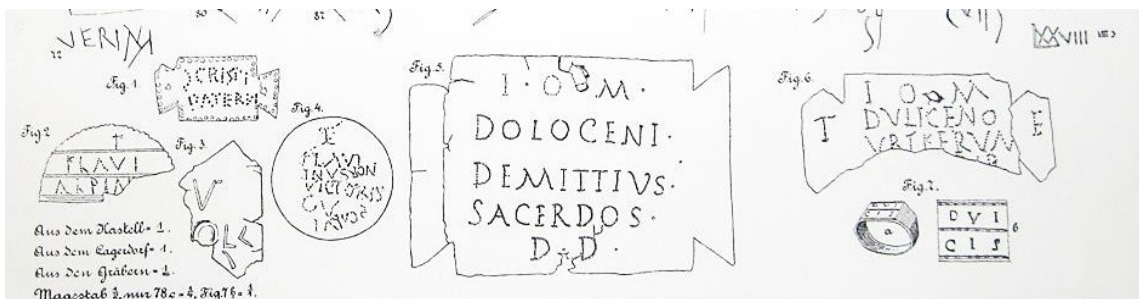


Pl. 6: Carnuntum - Dolichenus Figurine, Appliqués: Luna, Sol, cats. 1.20, 1.26, 1.27.





Pl. 9: Virunum - Inscribed Altar, cat. 2.16.



Pl. 10: Vetoniana - *tabulae ansatae*, cats. 3.1 (no.5), 3.2 (no. 6), 3.3 (no. 3).



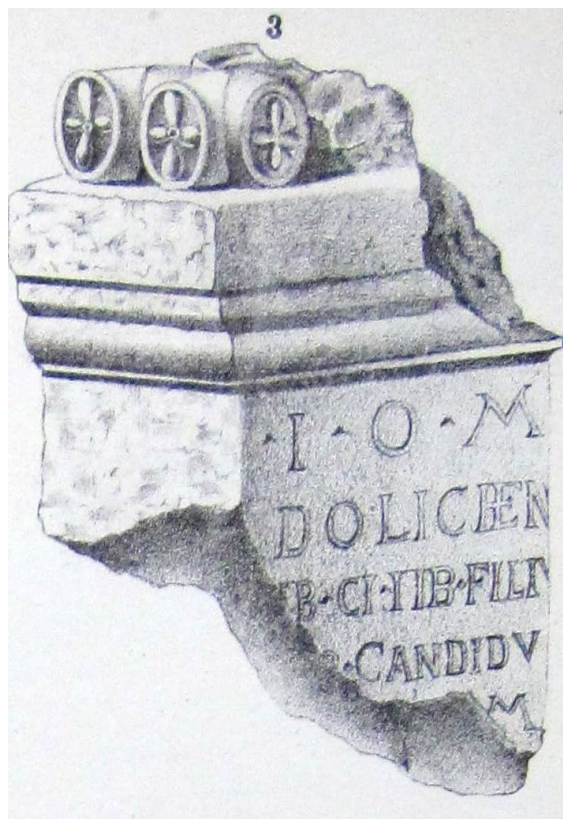
Pl. 11: Vettoniana - Victoria Statuettes, cat. 3.4.



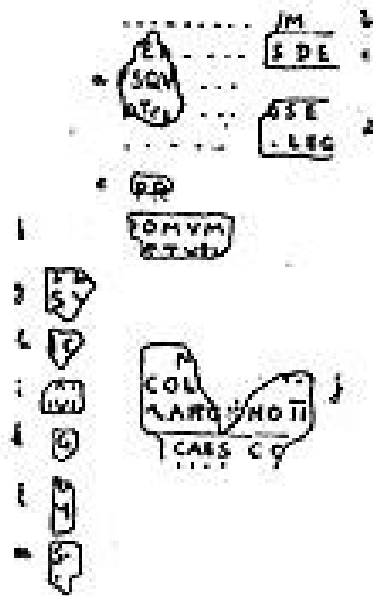
Pl. 12: Vettoniana - Rings and Bracelet, cats. 3.9a (no.1), 3.13 (no. 6), 3.9c (no.7).



Pl. 13: Vetoniana - Chain with Pendants, cat. 3.12 (nos. 9, 9a).



Pl. 14: Saalburg - Inscribed Altar, cat. 4.1, reconstruction, original drawing.



Pl. 15: Saalburg - 13 Inscribed Altar Fragments, cat. 4.11.



Pl. 16: Saalburg - Inscribed Altar Fragment with Relief Decoration, cat. 4.12.



Pl. 17: Saalburg - Reconstructed Ceramic Vessels, cat. 4.20.



Pl. 18: Vindolanda - Dolichenum (left side of door in foreground, *aedicula* in background).





Pl. 19: Vindolanda - Dolichenum (looking west, drainage channel in foreground).



Pl. 20: Vindolanda - Dolichenum (looking east, hypocaust pillars in foreground).



Pl. 21: Vindolanda - Inscribed Altar with Relief Decoration, cat. 5.1.



Pl. 22: Vindolanda - Inscribed Altar Fragment, cat. 5.2.



Pl. 23: Triangular Votive Plaque.



Pl. 24: Triangular Votive Plaque.



Pl. 25: Triangular Votive Plaque.



Pl. 26: Dolichenian Hoard from Mauer an der Url.



Pl. 27: Mithraic Tauroctony Scene from Carnuntum (reconstruction with original fragments).



Pl. 28: Mosaic Pavement Displaying Mithraic Grades, Mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia.



Pl. 29: Doliche - Stone Stairway, Entrance to Dolichenum *temenos*.