I.—THE TEMPLE OF MITHRAS AT CARRAWBURGH.

BY I. A. RICHMOND AND J. P. GILLAM, WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY ERIC BIRLEY.

INTRODUCTION

The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh, seventh fort from the east along the line of Hadrian's Wall, lies just over 30 yards south of the south-west angle of the fort, on the east bank of the little marshy valley in which the well-known holy spring of Coventina[1] rises (fig. 1). The swampy nature of the spot is due to the barring of the valley by a low neck of land a few yards below the site. This tends so to block the flow of the stream as to demand nowadays a straightening and deepening of the stream-bed, and it must be supposed that comparable measures had to be taken in Roman times in order to keep the valley floor dry and viable. Between the fourth century A.D. and recent times this kind of care was not undertaken, with the result that the building, already buried partly in its own ruins (see p. 39) and partly in late-Roman rubbish tipped over and round it (see p. 40), was flooded and engulfed in peat as the water-table in the valley rose. Originally, however, the building stood free. It was not dug into the hillside as if to simulate a cave, but lay along the contour without any attempt at half-underground concealment. Nor can any significance be attached to its orientation. It faces neither sunrise nor the mid-day sun, nor any cardinal point. Its position appears to be related solely to the natural contour of the hillside.

[1] See J. Clayton, *Archæologia Aeliana*, second series, viii, 1-39: coins, C. Roach Smith, *ibid.* 40-49. Hereinafter referred to as *AA*, with number for series.

The circumstances which led to the recognition of the building as a temple are well known. The tops of the walls were roughly visible, like those of many buildings outside forts on Hadrian's Wall. But in 1949 a severe drought, drying the swamp, so shrank the peaty ground within the building as to reveal the top of an altar at its northern end. This

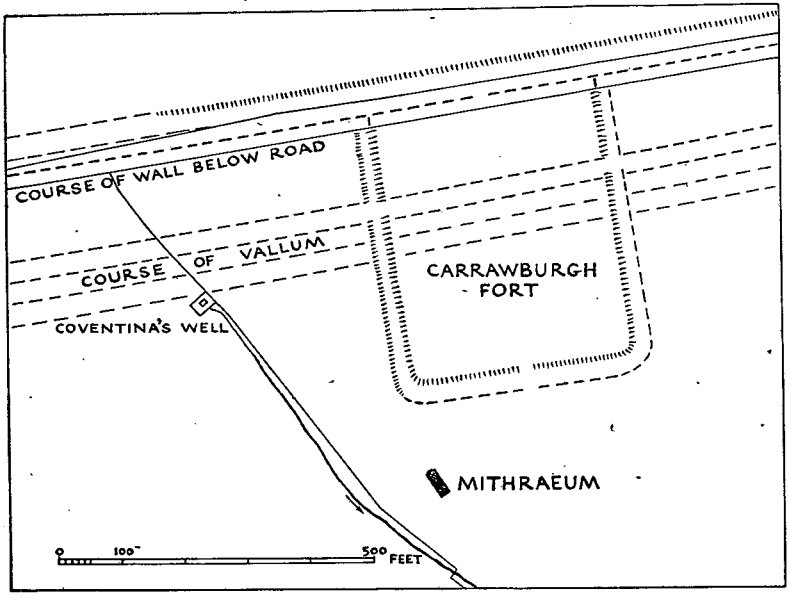


FIG. 1. Site of the *mithraeum*.

was recognized by our member, Mr. Noel Shaw, when walking across the site on 1 October, 1949. Mrs. W. J. Benson of Newbrough Hall, the owner of the site, was promptly asked for permission to investigate further, and a fortnight later the spade showed that the stone was the middle and tallest member of a trio of altars dedicated to Mithras and a first reading of the texts was made. It was also noted that the stones were associated with timber work. Further attempt at immediate exposure was then abandoned in expectation that a

systematic examination of the temple would reveal much more. Permission to do this was generously given by Mrs. Benson, and the work itself was undertaken by the Excavation Committees of Durham University and of this Society, with the two writers in charge. The work began on 30 May, 1950, and finished eleven weeks later, on 16 August.

Owing to the delicate nature of the exposed remains and the need to protect them from interference by the curious, who had as a rule no conception of their frail condition, continual watchful occupation of the site had to be maintained. This was undertaken both in and out of working hours by University graduates and students, among whom may be particularly mentioned Messrs. D. J. Smith, B.A., of King's College, R. P. Pierce-Price, B.A., of University College, and Iain MacIvor, of Hatfield College, all of whom also, with Mr. J. Thornborrow of South Shields, devoted patient labour to exposing the woodwork. Skilled labour was also provided by the D.U.E.C. foreman, Mr. T. Batey, and by Mr. Thomas Hepple, whose long and honoured connexion with work on the Wall made him particularly keen to help on this remarkable excavation. The washing, marking and listing of finds was undertaken in large part by Miss B. Swinbank, B.A., of St. Aidan's Society, with numerous short-term helpers.

On the technical side of preservation, Mr. Noel Shaw gave the greatest possible help in dealing with certain of the wooden remains and in conserving the carved stone-work. To Mr. William Bulmer the warmest thanks are due for his skilful work on the iron and bronze objects, and to Mr. Percy Hedley for his identification of the coins. Dr. F. C. Frazer, of the British Museum (Natural History), kindly identified the mammalian bones (see Appendix V), while Miss M. I. Platt, of the Royal Scottish Museum, took infinite trouble with the bird remains (Appendix VI, VII). Dr. Kathleen Blackburn, of King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, identified samples of growing trees, timber, charcoal and pine

cones (Appendix I), while the fuel made from pine cones was studied and, it is believed, recognized for the first time by Dr. J. A. Smythe, of King's College (see Appendix II, III), who also made a special study of the tin cup (Appendix IV).

As already indicated the site was heavily water-logged and the first requirement was to drain it. A preliminary determination of levels showed that, by digging a deep open drain 20 yards long to join the main stream below the site, a five-foot lowering of the water-table at the site could be obtained. The hope that this operation would suffice to keep the site high and dry was fulfilled. Even when the excavation had reached a depth quite beyond the first expectations, it remained possible to keep the water under control by deepening and lengthening the drain and finally by periodical baling. This obviated the continual pumping which might well have rendered the more delicate work impossible and would greatly have added to the anxiety of the task.

MITHRAEUM I.

The earliest *mithraeum* (Pl. I and fig. 2) measured externally 18 feet 3 inches wide by 26 feet long. Its front and back walls, which were 2 feet thick, and its side walls, 19 inches thick, were well built in clay-bound rubble, faced with hammer-dressed freestone blocks in five-inch courses (Pl. II A). This carefully laid masonry was of better quality than any that followed it in the building. The front wall was pierced by a single doorway 4 feet 2 inches wide, of which the west jamb lies 7 feet 3 inches east of the south-western internal corner. The door is thus 1 foot 9 inches out of the middle position which it might have been expected to occupy. An asymmetrical planning also marks the nave of the building, which was a gravelled strip 50 inches wide and about 14½ feet long, running between a platform at the north end or back of the building and a small ante-room which occupies the space immediately inside the door (Pl. II B). The long axis of this nave lies 15 inches east of the true axis of the building.

A reason for this irregular plan seems to be offered by the provision, detected in later stages of the building (see p. 19), of space for initiation ceremonies to left of the door and free of the opening. Too little space would have been available if the door had been placed in the middle of the building.

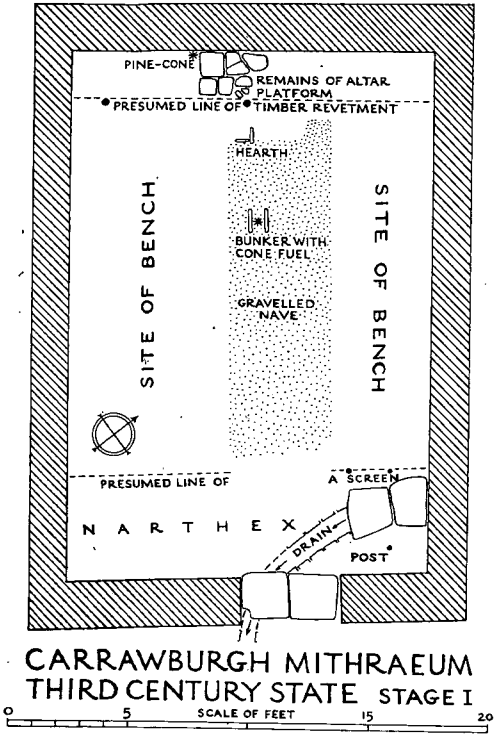


FIG. 2.

The ante-room, or *narthex*, measuring 4 feet 2 inches from back to front and 15 feet wide, had originally possessed an earth floor. It was paved here and there with flagging, continuous only where a drain ran below it, curving from its north-east corner to the west side of the doorway, and carrying a small feeder spring down to the main valley. By lifting

one of the flags which covered this drain, it would have been possible to draw running water for ritual use; but there is no proof that this was in fact done and it would certainly have been impossible to do it at any except this first stage in the history of the building, since at all other stages the drain and its flagged covering were completely concealed by later floors. The ante-room had been divided from the main part of the temple by a wooden screen, of which the stumps of two uprights remained in position at the eastern end. All others appeared to have been removed in the first reconstruction. A third stump, 18 inches out from the east wall, seems to have belonged to a minor partition or cupboard, perhaps for ritual equipment or costume.

The main chapel beyond the ante-room measured 15 feet wide by 17½ feet long. At its back a two-foot strip was marked off by timber posts, perhaps for curtains, to serve as a sanctuary, of which the middle contained remains of a low stone platform, presumably the bench or *suggestus* for an altar and perhaps for other ritual furniture as well. At 5 feet 3 inches from the west wall the bench came to a straight finish (Pl. III A), and in the angle which it made with the back wall was placed a natural cone of the Mediterranean stone pine (*pinus pinea, L.*, see Appendix I), as if to hallow the platform or to ward off evil influences. In Egypt of Roman days pine-cones[2] were much used for sacrifice and formed an acceptable present among friends. They were purchased in tens or sixteens for the purpose and even in Egypt large ones cost in the later third century a *denarius* each. In Britain they must have been much dearer and their presence has been detected, from characteristic seeds, only once for

[2] We are much indebted to Professor E. G. Turner, of University College, London, for drawing attention to this point and indicating where evidence existed. *Pap. Oxyrhync.*, 1142, 6, of the late third century A.D., refers to large cones at a *denarius* apiece, while 1211, 6, of the second century A.D., cites sixteen cones among other items in a sacrifice to the Nile; *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, 362, 1, 7 cites cones for 1 and 3 January, A.D. 215, while 801, 17-18 of the second century A.D., cites ten cones for sacrifice, as a present. A pine-cone burning on a sacred fire is figured by Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 202, fig. 13.

certain, at the Triangular Temple[3] in Verulamium (St. Albans). At the north end of the nave, 18 inches in front of the platform and to the left-hand side, lay a little hearth, 6 inches square, bordered by upright slabs to east and south (see Pl. II B). It contained much charcoal and three chicken bones. Three feet farther south and slightly farther towards the middle of the nave two parallel upright slabs lay crushed over one another (see Pl. II B). In their collapsed condition they covered a little pile of hazel charcoal and many fragments of a second cone of the stone pine. These fragments, however, were heavily charred, a condition the more puzzling because it seemed unthinkable that a highly inflammable pine-cone, so rich in resin and other gaseous substances, should ever have got into this state and not have been consumed in flame. It was later shown by Dr. J. A. Smythe, sometime Reader in Metallurgy at King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, that the cone had been deliberately carbonized, by being roasted in a retort or other container, in order that it might serve as fuel (Appendix II). Tests on small fragments demonstrated that such fuel burns steadily and slowly, with a dark red glow, until all is consumed, leaving only a thin white ash. It has a characteristic smell; not the perfume of incense but a pungent aroma of pine, unmistakable for anything else. It might indeed be described as bracing and awakening rather than relaxing or soporific. In a later phase of occupation of the building (see p. 20), the material was used as altar fuel, and it can well be appreciated how in a darkened building the glow and pungency of such a combustible on the altars would make its special effect. The stone container in which this remarkable cone-fuel was found had not been used as a hearth: not the least sign of burning marked either the side-stones or the gravel between them. It is therefore to be concluded that the receptacle served as a store or bunker: and it may be suggested, in view of later

[3] R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium, a Belgic and two Roman cities*, 118-120. It may be doubted if they were exclusively connected with Cybele. Those exhibited and stored in Reading Museum, presumably from Silchester, are not so well authenticated.

arrangements in the temple, that the fuel from it was in fact supplied not only to the main altars, but to minor altars ranged along the sides of the nave, hard against the benches of the worshippers.

The spaces occupied by the benches were found, but of the benches themselves no remains survived. Like the later benches (see p. 24), they were presumably built up of clay revetted with wattle-work, but since they did not occupy the same position as these, it must be supposed that they were completely removed when the alterations took place. If their wooden revetment consisted, as in the later benches, of hurdling or wattling woven round stakes, it could be torn up without leaving any detectable trace in the waterlogged and muddy ground now existing at this level; and an attempt to seek for stake-holes was in fact unsuccessful, owing to continual rapid infiltration of water. It can only be said that the sharp and definite edge of the gravel nave is entirely consistent with the original presence of wattling or boarding at this point, if it does not actually demand it. No trace of posts supporting the roof was found, and it may be supposed that the irregular position of the nave excluded the possibility of structural connexion between the roof and subdivisions of the floor-space. The building may be visualized as covered by a simple gabled roof. Its clay-built walls would best serve as sills for a timber-framed superstructure resting upon wooden sole-plates, the end walls being built thicker in order to sustain the higher and heavier timber-work of the gable-ends. Lighting is not an important question in a *mithraeum*, where many ceremonies were held in darkness or torch-light; but ventilation would be needed and would most readily be provided by vertical slit windows placed near the top of either gable and thus ensuring, together with the necessary ventilation, a little light and complete privacy.

This early *mithraeum* is one of the smallest known.[4] The

[4] It may be compared with Poetovio I (5·60 by 5·57 metres), see Abramic, *Poetovio* (Vienna, 1925), 163, Abb. 115; or *Dura I* (4·65 by 5·80 metres), see *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, VII-VIII (1939), 64, fig. 32, hereinafter cited as *Dura VII-VIII*.

benches of the nave, only 15 feet long, could not have held many worshippers, whether kneeling in devotion or reclining at sacred feasts. A round dozen of votaries would about fill the temple to capacity and when it is recalled that, apart from the officiating *pater* or head of the cult, there were six grades in initiation (see p. 58), it will be seen that there is hardly room for more than two complete sets of initiates. The cult may well have started as modestly as this at Carrawburgh, inspired by a commandant of the regiment and expected to appeal to senior ranks only. The next stage in its growth tends to show that the appeal was successful.

MITHRAEUM II: PHASE A.

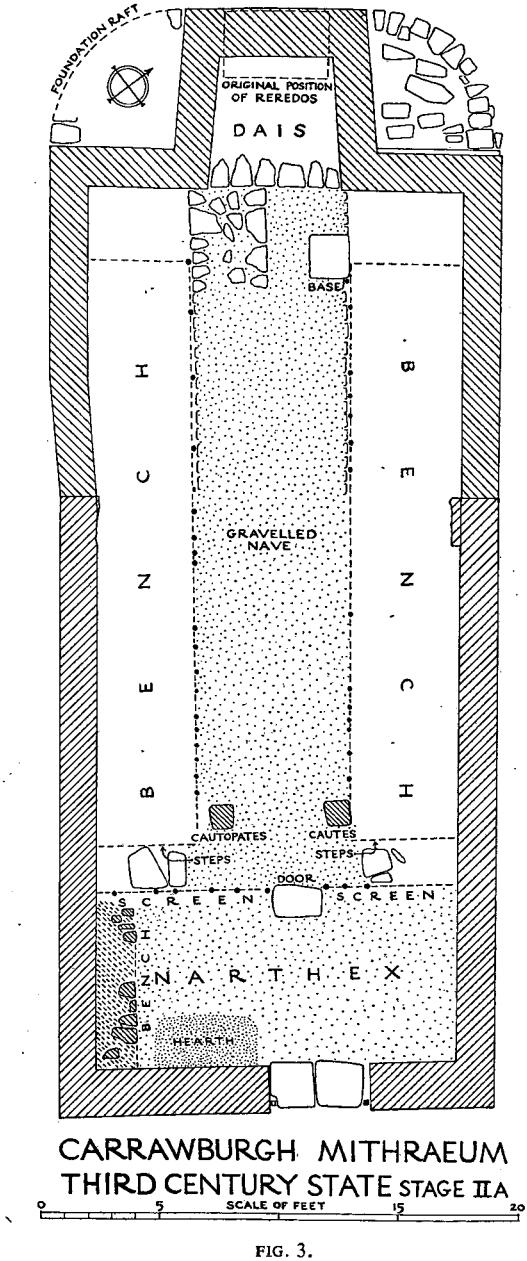
The second *mithraeum* (fig. 3) was made by adding to the first a northward extension 14 feet 3 inches long, beyond which an apse carried the building yet 6 feet farther north. Internally the whole building now measured 15 feet wide by 36 feet long. The apse at the north end (see Pl. XI B) was three-sided and very nearly square in proportion. It measured internally 5 feet 7 inches across the front opening, 5 feet 6 inches in depth, and 4 feet 9 inches across the back. In the latest reconstruction of the building (see p. 29), the apse was largely demolished and reduced to a small niche. In the back wall of that niche was incorporated a large horizontal slab, which carried the upper part of the wall and projected as a shelf on the inside of the sanctuary; and in this final state the slab also projected uselessly for six inches on the outside. The same slab, however, exactly fits the back of the three-sided apse now under consideration, and does so without the unnecessary external projection while still providing on the inside a shelf of the same size as later. It is accordingly reasonable to presume that this was the position in fact originally designed for the slab and actually occupied by it, and that its function was to serve as a shelf or bracket for the carved relief in stone, at the back of the sanctuary, nor-

mally portraying the scene of Mithras killing the bull.[5] The slab is therefore shown on the plan as if in position, but in broken outline. Another structural feature of the apse is the foundation for a step or dais running across its front (see Pl. XII A). Even the foundations of the sanctuary were thus higher than the floor-level of the nave which led towards it.

The walls of the new building were less well built than those of the original structure: their facing stones are hammer-dressed but the work has been done more roughly, while the stones themselves have been less carefully associated and laid. The builders of the extension, who seem to have worked round in anti-clockwise direction, made the north end of their building eight inches too wide. The west wall had therefore to be adjusted (see Pl. II A) as the original north-west corner of the temple was approached in order to make the new work fit on to the old. In another age medieval church builders sometimes made similar mistakes.[6] The main side walls of the new building appear to have stood in normal fashion upon a single foundation course underpinned by a rubble foundation packed in a trench. The apse, however, was carried upon a large curved foundation (see fig. 3), built partly of freestone and partly of whinstone used at random, which begins from the northern angles of the main building and swings round so as to run just outside the northern angles of the apse. This part of the building thus rests upon a sort of raft. A rather similar foundation was provided for the floor of the new extension of the nave. The original north wall of the building was cut down to just below the new floor level and the floor was laid on a kerbed raft of stone extending northwards as far as the mouth of the apse. The new nave, however, was placed medially within the building. It was 6 feet wide by 29

[5] This stock scene is so well known that examples need hardly be quoted. The complete piece nearest to Newcastle is in the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York. A well-known British published example is the London stone (*JRS* ii, 143, fig. 14), now in the London Museum.

[6] As, for example, the north arcade of the nave of Carlisle Cathedral.


FOUNDATION RAFT
ORIGINAL POSITION OF REREDOS
DAIS
BASE
BENCH
BENCH
GRAVELLED NAVE
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CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE IIA
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FIG. 3.

feet long, and opportunity was now taken to supply a larger ante-room, 7 feet 3 inches from back to front, with a stone bench 18 inches high and 21 inches wide across its western end. It was separated from the nave by a wooden screen, of which the stumps of eight posts remained in position, six to west and two to east of a narrow two-foot doorway set one foot east of centre at the south end of the nave. Many bones from ritual meals covered the floor of the anteroom. The most common meat had been pork, followed in frequency by lamb or kid and occasionally by veal (Appendix V). Both nave and ante-room were at this time floored with a thin surfacing of fine yellow gravel, so tightly compacted as to suggest that it had originally been cemented with mortar. But the extremely acid peaty soil, which accumulated inside the building after its destruction, had utterly destroyed the lime content. Stone flagging appeared only at the main doorway, where it seems to have continued in use from the earliest period, and at the doorway between ante-room and nave. At the north end of the nave, however, the foundation-raft of stone was restricted solely to the west half for a strip 4 feet long, as if access to the sanctuary had been at one side only, while the east side was occupied by a stone slab 18 inches square, plainly intended to hold a piece of ritual furniture,[7] such as an altar, laver or brazier. At this level was found a well-preserved *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius,[8] dated to A.D. 140-144, in somewhat worn condition. Other furnishings of this period were two stone pedestals, each a foot square by 31 inches high, which faced one another across the nave, at the south ends of the benches. Access to the benches was obtained by steps just behind the screen wall, flagged foundations for the steps still remaining in position on each side. The benches themselves had been revetted with timber-work along the edge

[7] See notes 28 for a laver and 49 for fire-containers.

[8] The type is Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 702, hereinafter referred to as *RIC*, and Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain, communément appelées Médailles Impériales*, 904, hereinafter referred to as *Cohen*.

of the nave. The remains comprised small stout vertical birch stakes, frequently oblong in section, with the widest face turned towards the nave, as if to hold boarding rather than wattling woven round them. They were, however, so intermingled with remains of a similar kind belonging to later stages of construction that none of the horizontal elements associated with them remained (see Pls. VII B, VIII B). The front and sides of the stone pedestals at the south ends of the benches had been originally covered down to floor-level with orange-coloured plaster, but their backs, which had been left rough, had evidently been intended to stand against the benches and to form a single structural unit with them. It may therefore be inferred that the fronts of the benches, whatever the precise nature of their timber reinforcement, had been faced with plaster work. At the latest stage in the development of the building altars were similarly embodied in the fronts of the benches (see p. 33).

No trace was found of wooden revetments at either the north or south ends of the benches. The south ends so closely coincided with the stone foundations for steps that they were probably held in position by the steps themselves, while it seems clear that the north ends were swept away when later benches took their place and had therefore lain farther north, if the benches did not in fact run right up to the new north wall.[9] The original north wall of the first *mithraeum* had meanwhile been taken down to a level just below the tops of the benches and was entirely hidden by them. Before it was sought by excavation, the only visible hints of its presence were broken ends and straight joints in the side walls.

The general aspect of the building in this period is uncertain. Since there is no trace of uprights dividing the roof into separate elements over the nave and aisles, it may be supposed that the previous roofing system was simply extended farther north, with a separate gabled roof over the apse. Narrow windows, supplying ventilation rather than

[9] As at Dura in Mithraea I, II and III, see *Dura VII-VIII*, figs. 32, 34.

light, could appropriately have been situated on either side of the apse, in each side wall opposite the steps to the benches and in the south gable. Inside the building it seems clear that the screen dividing ante-room from nave was a simple wattled structure. Its uprights are thin round posts, and those flanking the door are not sufficiently solid to have served as responds against which a plaster face could be brought to a finish. Nor are they stout enough to have carried a door hung in the narrow opening, where the most probable provision is a single or double curtain. Inside the nave the benches had plastered fronts and presumably boarded floors, covered with rugs or cushions. The plastered stone pedestals standing at their ends were plainly intended to carry objects later removed. It may be suggested that these were statues of the two torch-bearing attendants of Mithras, Cautes and Cautopates, since such statues in fact occupied corresponding positions in the final version of the building (see p. 32) and do so in many others.[10] The apse at the end of the nave contained the sanctuary with its altar and the carved relief of the bull-killing (see p. 10) on the back wall above them. Immediately in front of the sanctuary on the right was other furniture,[11] either a brazier or a second altar with holy fire. That the internal walls of the nave were at this time rendered in plaster is shown by a surviving fragment, decorated with red and green painting, in a pattern now indistinguishable, adhering to the extended west wall, close to the north-west corner. The furnishing of the ante-room was simpler. The stone bench occupying its western end has already been noted. Immediately adjacent to it, against the heavily calcined south wall, lay a large hearth. Anyone using the bench would be uncomfortably hot when a fire of any size was there kindled and it may well have been used for ordeals (see p. 19). No trace of the drain below the building would be observable, since the cover slabs were now hidden by the gravel floor.

[10] For example, Carnuntum I, Sarmizegethusa, Königshofen.
[11] See notes 28 and 49 below.

MITHRAEUM II: PHASE B.

The third stage in the development of the *mithraeum* (Pl. IV and fig. 4) represents an internal refitting, as opposed to a total reconstruction of the temple. There is no evidence that the external walls were in any way altered, but almost every internal fixture appears to have been reconstructed. Nor was there any drastic change of plan: the general scheme of ante-room and nave remained unchanged, though the depth of the ante-room from back to front was reduced to $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. This gave more room in the nave for circulation between the screen and south ends of the benches, which occupied the same position as before. There is no doubt that the front and ends of the benches, as now rebuilt, were reinforced with wattling. Numerous stakes, some of oak and some of birch, were found along the fronts: five were found at the south end and three at the north end of the east bench (see Pl. VIII A), seven at the south end and four at the north end of the west bench, each end being opposite. As before, the pedestals for statues of Cautes and Cautopates stood at the ends of the benches and faced one another across the nave though they were probably moved backwards; but the corners of the benches just behind the statues were occupied by very large posts, as if the nave, and perhaps the ends of the benches themselves, had been curtained off at this point.[12] Large posts also occur in front of the benches, six being noted on the west side and three on the east. They are not regularly spaced and do not correspond one to the other across the nave. It is difficult, nevertheless, not to think of them as roof supports. Possibly a previous gabled roof now needed strutting and these posts represent a reinforcement rather than a reconstruction of the roof. It will be observed that the line of stakes for the wattling changes direction at the second post from the north on the west bench and that therefore the posts were not an afterthought,

[12] This would allow access to the benches without a view of what was going on in the nave.

but had presumably been set in position before the fronts of the benches were erected: so they belong to this stage from the first. Not all the posts have survived, particularly on the east, but they may easily have been removed in the next refitting or in the total reconstruction that was yet to come.

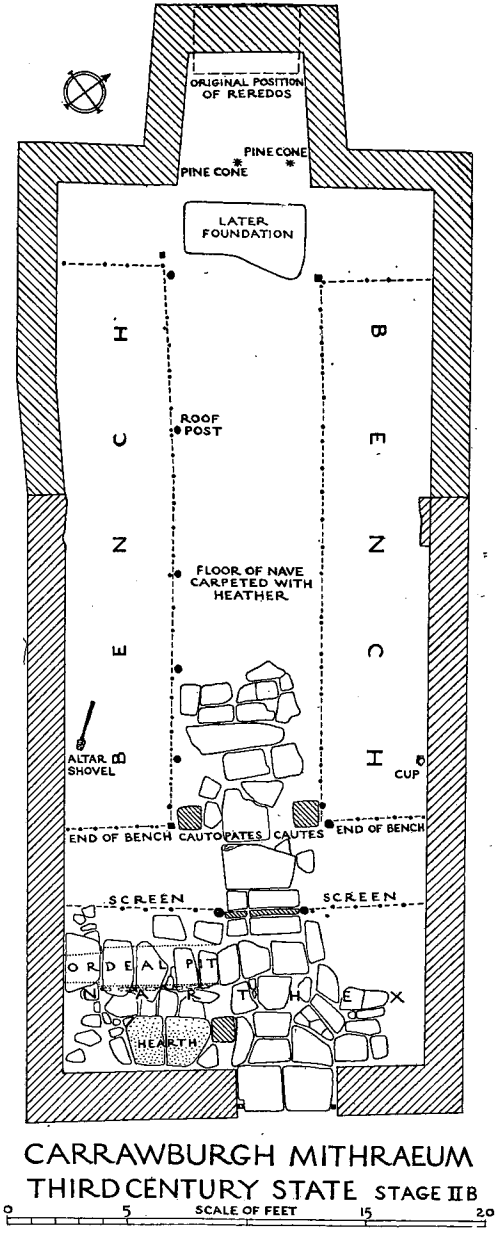
The floor of the nave was paved with flagging for a distance of ten feet northwards from the screen. Between that point and the sanctuary the paving took the form of rather knobby cobbling, much less accommodating to the feet. Whether this change in the character of the paving was accidental or related to ritual must be left to conjecture. But before the end of this phase, and possibly throughout it, both kinds of paving had been covered with a thick layer of heather or ling (*calluna vulgaris*) which was certainly softer to the feet and, once bedded down, must have reduced footfalls to the merest rustling (Pl. V A). If, as undoubtedly happened in some uses of the Mithraic ritual,[13] the initiate had to lie naked on the ground, such a floor-covering will certainly have been more comforting than cold flagging or hard and knobby cobbles. Amongst the heather were found leg-bones and wing-bones of chickens. Bird-sacrifices are directly connected with Mithraic ritual at two points. The Zend-Avesta prescribes[14] offerings of fowls to Mithras; there was also a moment in the ceremonies of initiation[15] when the hands of the initiate were bound with chicken-gut and unloosed with the stroke of a sword. It may be added that if chickens were sacrificed in honour of the god, they were no doubt also eaten at his ritual banquets[16] and that this will

[13] *Cf.* Minto, *Notizie degli Scavi*, xxi (1924), 361, for such scenes in the *mithraeum* at Capua Vetere.

[14] Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, part ii, Mihir Yasht xxx, 119 (*The Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1883, vol. xxiii): "Small bird, sheep and fish bones" were found at Dura, *Dura VII-VIII*, 75.

[15] Ambrosiaster, *Quaest. vet. et nov. Test.*, Migne 34, p. 2214, alii autem, ligatis manibus intestinis pullinis, proiciuntur super foveas aqua plenas, accedente quodam cum gladio et inrumpente intestina supra dicta qui se liberatorem appellet. For this source, see Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature chrétienne* (edn. 2), 384-388.

[16] For actual expense accounts of ritual meals, see *Dura VII-VIII*, 124-126. That cooking was done in the building is shown by the discovery of two soot-coated vessels, see p. 64 and p. 76 below.



CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE IIB

0 5 SCALE OF FEET 15 20

FIG. 4.

best account for the presence of the leg-bones and wing-bones amongst the floor-covering. The carpeting of heather continued right into the apse, though later cut away in front of it by a foundation-trench below the altars of the fourth-century sanctuary and also removed towards its back by the rearward wall of the fourth-century niche. On each side of the apse, one foot within its mouth, a natural cone of the Mediterranean pine (*pinus pinea L.*) was found lying on top of the heather matting. This is very reminiscent of the pine-cone found at the corner of the altar platform in the first temple, the function of such cones[17] being presumably to hallow or to purify the sanctuary.

Reference has already been made to the increased space afforded by the new planning between the south ends of the benches and the screen. This no doubt gave room to step on to the benches at this point. They were not high and it is possible that no flight of steps was provided. The screen dividing the nave from the ante-room was represented by four upright posts on the west and six on the east. The doorway, now 3 feet wide, was furnished with two posts 5 inches thick, while the opening itself received a stone threshold with raised check on the transverse axis. It is thus evident that a single-leaf or two-leaved door was provided at this stage and the plan suggests that the latter would have been much the more convenient provision. The stone threshold was built up of re-used blocks, the long one on the south side of the sill being a disused gutter-stone turned upside down (see Pl. VI A). The ante-room was paved with flagging, except at its north-east corner, where, however, flagging may have been later removed. The floor level now stood at the top of the bench of the previous ante-room and at the same height as the original threshold of the main doorway, from which there was no longer a step down into the building. As previously, a large hearth occupied the south side of the room to west of

[17] It is difficult to suppose that these cones, which, incidentally, were not carbonized, can have been used as altar fuel and they were too precious to have been left lying about casually.

the main doorway, and a raised stone stob or bollard prevented anyone entering the door from unwarily stumbling into the fire.[18]

At a distance of 15 inches to north of the hearth a structure appeared which supplied the reason for the rise in floor level. This was an oblong stone-lined receptacle (Pl. VI A), 19 inches wide and 7 feet long over all, which cut right through the western bench of the previous phase, being there narrowed to 13 inches. It was 18 inches deep and was covered with thin stone slabs level with the floor (Pl. VI B). It was entirely empty except for a small layer of silt and a few bones (Appendix V) that had gathered upon its floor, which was paved at random with light flagging. In shape and size the feature strongly resembles a coffin. Actual experiment shows that it will in fact exactly contain a man, with his head placed in the narrower westward end. So disposed and covered with the stone slabs (Pl. VI B), an initiate could be subjected to the ordeals of heat and cold which were another part of the Mithraic tests[19] of endurance, to which may be added terror,[20] here induced by being in effect entombed. It is difficult to see what other purpose a pit of this kind and in such a position could have served, and the ante-room might indeed seem the appropriate place in which to carry out such tests. It may be added that the western bench of the previous period could well have been used for comparable ordeals. It lies close to the hearth, and an initiate laid upon it could be subjected to tests of heat, cold and hunger. Such a use, however, cannot be inferred from the character of the bench with the same certainty as from the pit now described. There seems no doubt that the pit

[18] Incidentally, it would prevent profane language in the hallowed precinct.

[19] Suidas, *s.v.* Μίθρου. *οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἰς αὐτὸν δυνήσαιτό τις τελεσθῆναι εἰ μὴ διά τινων βαθμῶν παρελθὼν τῶν κολάσεων δείξει ἑαυτὸν ὅσιον καὶ ἀπαθῆ. cf. Zend-Avesta*, part ii, *Mihir Yasht*, xxx, 122: Gregory Nazianzen, *adv. Iul.*, i, 70, *τὰς ἐν Μίθρου βασάνους καὶ καύσεις ἐνδίκους τὰς μυστικάς. Op. cit.* 89, refers to an ordeal by hair-pulling.

[20] *SHA, Commodus*, 9: sacra Mithraica homicidio vero polluit, cum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat. Dieterich's remarks *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (edn. 1), 165, are to the point.

represents the provision for a grim and rigorous application of ordeals, and the purpose of the earlier bench must be gauged in the light of this discovery.

The pit was not the sole find connected with the temple ritual which belongs to this phase. On the east bench, against the wall (see fig. 4) was found a small Castor ware cup or goblet (see p. 67, no. 16). On the west bench, 3 feet from its south end and close to the west wall, a long and solid iron object was found, which under skilful treatment by Mr. William Bulmer proved to be a fire-shovel (see p. 84). It is a well-made utensil, 24 inches long, of wrought iron, comprising a long shank with twisted lower stem terminating in a shovel and an elaborately shaped junction between shovel and shank reminiscent of a gigantic Roman spoon (Pl. XV B). The shovel had guarded edges, like a Victorian drawing-room fire-shovel, and is functionally designed for feeding a fire with fuel. The basin of the shovel contained a mass of material which Dr. J. A. Smythe, who examined it, determined as mostly ferric oxide and limonite, but containing also a residuum of the pine-cone charcoal-fuel, as found in Mithraeum I (Appendix III). There is thus no doubt that the implement was in fact a fire-shovel (*vatillum*), used for feeding altars or braziers with the sacred fuel. Rarely has scientific analysis afforded a more curious proof of purpose.

There is no reason to think that the aspect of the temple differed much from that of the building in its previous phase. The most important change was the introduction of roof-posts on each side of the nave. But their irregular spacing forbids their interpretation as a systematic revision of the roof-plan by the insertion of a clearstory. It is easier to explain the posts as props for a roof which was sagging. As to the nature of that roof, the fortunate discovery of an iron thatch-hook[21] (Pl. XV B) among the debris covering the heather floor and itself sealed by the clay flooring of the next

[21] For the use and design of thatch-hooks, see A. R. Powys, *Repair of Ancient Buildings* (London, 1929), 142-143, fig. 33. We are indebted to Mr. J. H. Napper, of the School of Architecture, King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, for the reference.

phase, reveals that the material employed was thatch (see p. 84). Such a roof might well be deteriorating and in need of the irregular strutting which seems implied by the posts described above.

MITHRAEUM II: PHASE C.

The fourth stage (fig. 5), like the third, represents a complete internal refitting of the *mithraeum* but not a total reconstruction. On this occasion, however, the heightening of the floor-level was not due to the need of fitting an underground feature like the ordeal pit. This pit had in fact been abandoned and no comparable underground structure took its place. The new ante-room measured 6 feet 3 inches from back to front. It contained, as in the earlier phases of this building, a hearth to left of the doorway; but the stone stob which had kept the unwary from blundering on to the hearth was now buried in the floor almost to full height. The floor, which was of clay, covered the threshold of the doorway between ante-room and nave so that the top of the sill now served as a threshold; while the earlier threshold of the main external doorway was also covered by the new floor and received a new sill or threshold at its outer edge, formed by three thin slabs set on end and held firm by the new clay floor on the inside, and by three wooden pegs on the outside. As already observed, there was no ordeal pit, but the north side of the room, between the doorway to the nave and the west wall, was occupied by a stone bench, one foot wide, built against the screen. The bench, which lay $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet away from the hearth, was sufficiently long to take a recumbent figure, but perhaps hardly quite wide enough; and it may be supposed either that the bench had a wider overhanging top in stone or timber, later removed, or, less probably, that anyone reclining upon it lay on his side. Once again there were the bones from ritual meals, pork being most common, followed by lamb or kid (Appendix V).

The screen separating the ante-room from the nave was

of wattle (Pl. III B). The lowest withies of the wattling, twined about the stumps of seven uprights, remained in position to east of the doorway. To west were still preserved five uprights and about three-quarters of the wattling, in broken condition owing to pressure from the stone bench already described. The screen had been erected quite independently of the door-posts, which were still in position on either side of the stone sill, the west post being larger than the east and in line with the sill, whereas the east post lay slightly to north of it. There was no clue as to the nature of the door: the entrance may, for that matter, have been closed by a leather curtain. The width of the opening was, as before, 3 feet.

In the nave, a space 3 feet 4 inches wide separated the screen from the statues of Cautes and Cautopates at the south ends of the benches, which were, however, defined only by a single upright, on the west side. The fronts and north ends, on the other hand, were exceptionally well preserved almost throughout their length on the east and for about three-quarters of it on the west. They had been revetted with wattle-work woven between small stakes, some of birch and some of hazel, of which traces everywhere remained (Pl. VIII A and B). The wattles cover a front now about 8 inches high, while the stakes penetrate for another 5 inches into the made earth below the level of the nave flooring (fig. 6). The north outer corners of each bench were not right-angles but had been laid off each in a sweeping curve. The east curve remained tolerably complete (Pl. VIII A); the west curve (Pl. VIII B), like much of the west side, had collapsed, having been squeezed out of position by pressure of the later floor above it. The roof-posts of the final reconstruction, set in stone-lined post-holes (see p. 33), had also been driven through the wattling (see Pl. VII A) at three points on the east side and at four points on the west, destroying it or distorting its remains. But, in spite of these later interferences, it is a remarkably complete line of wattling that can be set down upon a plan (fig. 5). While this wattle-work was in process of erection, limbs and other portions of birds, now represented by bones

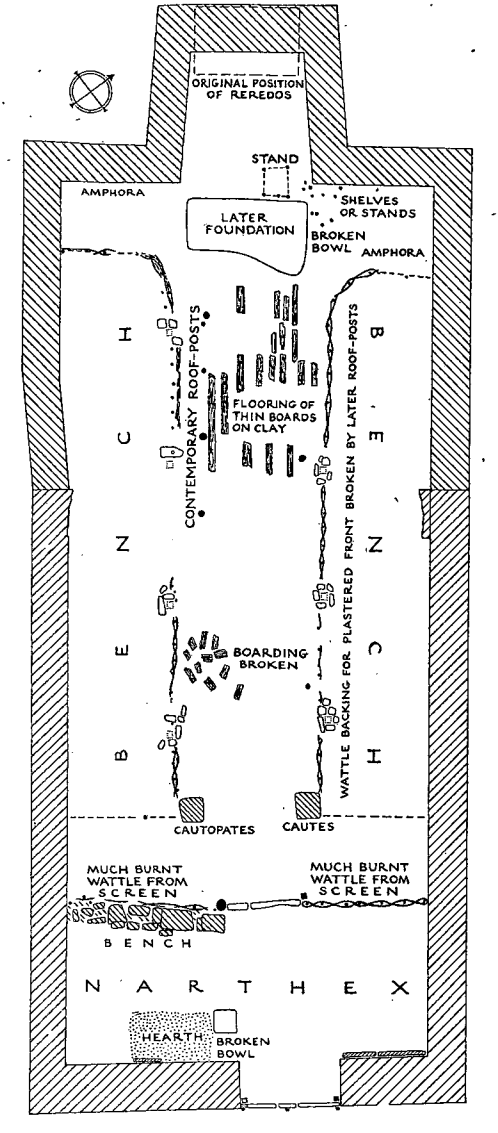

ORIGINAL POSITION OF REREDOS
STAND
AMPHORA
LATER FOUNDATION
SHELVES OR STANDS
BROKEN BOWL
AMPHORA
CONTEMPORARY ROOF-POSTS
FLOORING OF THIN BOARDS ON CLAY
WATTLE BACKING FOR PLASTERED FRONT BROKEN BY LATER ROOF-POSTS
BENCH
BENCH
BENCH
BOARDING BROKEN
CAUTOPATES
CAUTES
MUCH BURNT WATTLE FROM SCREEN
MUCH BURNT WATTLE FROM SCREEN
BENCH
NARTHEX
HEARTH
BROKEN BOWL
CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEVM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE IIC
0
5
SCALE OF FEET
15
20

FIG. 5.

from almost every part of the body, and also three backbones of a pig (Appendix V) were interspersed among it. This had probably been done during each of the phases of period II, but it was less easy to prove an actual connexion between bones and wattling in the earlier phases. In the third phase, however, examples abounded, the birds represented being the domestic fowl, of male sex where identifiable, and the domestic goose (see Appendix VI). It seems evident that the actual work of erection of the structures had been hallowed by sacrifices of birds, and the appropriate nature of the offering is emphasized by the Greek designation of the cock as "the Persian bird". The floor of the nave, like that of the ante-room, was of clay, but its surfacing differed. It was covered throughout with quarter-inch oak boarding, in planks from 3 to 4 inches wide (Pl. V B). At the south end of the nave this thin wooden covering was disturbed and broken at so many points that it was difficult to get a clear idea of the original dimensions of the planks; but nearer the sanctuary one example 4 feet long was observed and the strict parallelism of the planks in position hereabouts suggests that other boards as long as this may well have been used. There is no doubt that the boarding was in position and was in truth flooring. It does not occur except in the nave: not, for example, on the benches, nor to right and left of their ends, as would certainly have been the case if the boarding had represented shingles fallen from the roof. It is, moreover, closely matched by the floor of oak planks and small birch logs, bedded on stone-chippings, recorded by Bosanquet in the *mithraeum* at Housesteads.[22] Like the heather matting this floor must have been kindly to the bare feet or body of the initiate. The surface of the boarding was covered here and there with a considerable number of bones (Appendix V) from ritual meals, comprising ribs of sheep or goat and fragments from the head, shoulder and trotters of pigs. There was also the limb of a water-vole. Between the floor and the benches there survived on the west side three

[22] *AA*[2] xxv, 260.

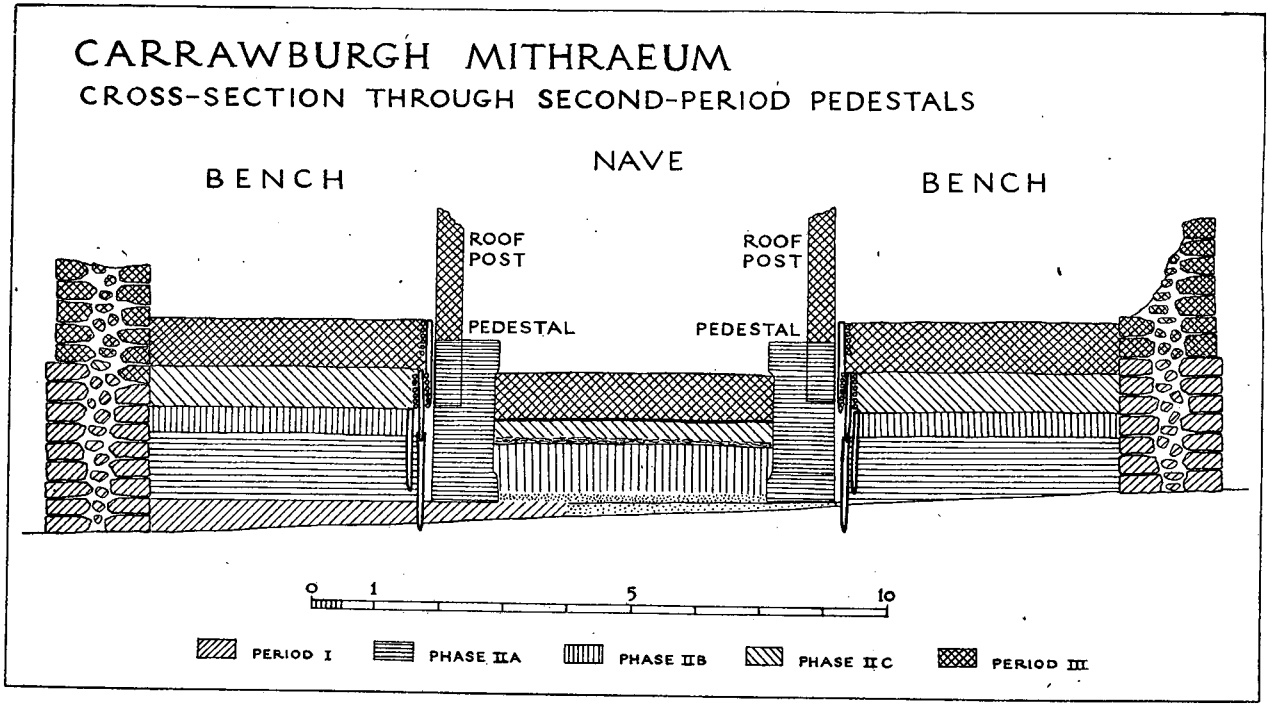

CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
CROSS-SECTION THROUGH SECOND-PERIOD PEDESTALS
BENCH
NAVE
BENCH
ROOF POST
ROOF POST
PEDESTAL
PEDESTAL
0
1
5
10
PERIOD I
PHASE IIA
PHASE IIB
PHASE IIC
PERIOD III

FIG. 6.

roof-posts and on the east side two. Those on the west side are set from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet apart, while those on the east fit a multiple of a 3-foot interval. Both sets appear to have been placed so as to line up with the fronts of the statues of Cautes and Cautopates; they were formed of cherry-tree[23] trunks or branches, left in natural state like roof-posts of a rustic summer-house and clearly obtained locally since the stump and roots of a cherry-tree were found at Roman level in cutting the open drain. It is thus clear that in this refitting the roofing arrangements of the building were altered, either by the introduction of supports or, as seems more likely, by a complete renewal of the roof and the introduction of a low clearstory. It will be borne in mind that the floor-level had been steadily rising and that headroom must by now have been some 14 inches less in a building which is never likely to have been a high one. Again, the advantages of a clearstory in providing adequate ventilation, some light and complete privacy would be appreciated in a cult whose ceremonies were for the initiated only. But the use of artificial illuminants was proved by the discovery of a plain but much burnt pottery lamp at the foot of the north end of the east bench: also an iron candlestick, described below (p. 84).

Beyond the benches lay the sanctuary, which retained its previous form. The foundation-pit below the later altars had destroyed some of the posts belonging to timber fixtures of this period. But within the sanctuary, on the right-hand side, can be recognized the wooden stand[24] for a laver or brazier (Pl. XII A). On the right lie two groups of posts suggestive of

[23] The cherry-tree was a large one and the variety probably *prunus avium*, the gean. The fact that a large cherry-tree was growing at Carrawburgh at the beginning of the third century, less than eighty years after the foundation of the fort, must be set against the statement of Pliny, *NH* xv, 102, that the cherry was a Roman introduction. Pliny, however, means the eating cherry, *prunus cerasus*.

[24] As inferred from the form of the laver but not actually found at Königshofen, see R. Forrer, *Das Mithra-Heiligtum von Königshofen bei Strassburg* (Stuttgart, 1915), 33, fig. 12; hereinafter referred to as *Königshofen*. For baptism with water, see note 28 below: for baptism with fire, Porphyrius, *de antro nympharum*, 15, *ὡς μύστῃ καθαρτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ πυρὸς οἰκεῖα νίπτρα προσάγουσι παραιτησάμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς πολέμιον τῷ πυρί*: *cf. Dura VII-VIII*, 127, where this passage is connected with the *graffito* *πυρωτὸν ἄσθμα τὸ καὶ μάγοις ἢ νίπτρον ὁσίων*.

side-tables or stands, one against the wall and one clear of it. Jars for water or other liquids[25] are represented by fragments of *amphorae* found in both spaces to right of the benches. Thus, while it is not possible to reconstitute in detail the furnishings of the sanctuary, it can be seen that many of them were of timber.

This building came to a violent end. The screen between ante-room and chapel was burnt down, deposits of burnt wattle littering the floor and benches[26] in its vicinity. The *amphorae* already mentioned were broken and fragments of each of two mortaria of Samian ware with lion-head spouts[27] were found at different ends of the building, showing that they had been broken at one end and thrown in part to the other. A fine stone laver[28] was broken across and its larger part found a resting-place upside down in the ante-room, where it supported the base of a later roof-post (see Pl. III B). Destructive pillaging may also well account for the disturbed condition of the wooden flooring of the nave, perhaps because it was expected to find treasure concealed below it. But although the screen was burnt, this was not the fate of the building as a whole. No sign of general burning appeared and the nave floor was free from any deposit of ashes. This will suggest that the roof was not now made of material so readily inflammable as thatch. Oak shingles, for example, would less easily catch fire.

[25] The liquids in use were water, Justin, *Apol.* i, 66, ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος: wine, see *Dura VII-VIII*, 124-126, commonly supposed to have been substituted for *haoma* in the West: honey, of which Porphyrius, *de antro nympharum*, 15-16, explains the use for initiation of *leones* and *Persae*. But an *amphora* is not a suitable container for honey and this liquid may therefore be excluded.

[26] On the west bench was found a burnt and much worn *sestertius* of Trajan, dated to A.D. 103-111, of the type *RIC* 497 or *Cohen* 463.

[27] This was no doubt the feature which led to their choice in a *mithraeum*, where lion-symbolism of various kinds bulked large, see p. 39 and p. 59. The *leones* were first among the higher group of initiates. Mortars were used to prepare the sacred drink *haoma, Zend-Avesta*, part ii, *Nyayis* v, 7, but this is not supposed to have been made in the West.

[28] *Cf. Königshofen*, 32, Taf. ix, 2, where, however, the laver is supplied with lateral lugs for pivots as well as a rearward handle for tipping it towards the recipient. For water as a medium of initiation see Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, 5: et sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur, Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae. The laver represented a spring, Porphyrius, *de antro nympharum*, 17.

Before describing the next building, which is associated with a total reconstruction, the three phases of development in Mithraeum II may be considered in relation to one another. The first represented an enlargement and complete internal reconstruction of Mithraeum I, with a view to accommodating a larger number of worshippers. The second phase might be explained by the need to raise the floor-level in order to fit in the ordeal pit. But that is hardly a justification for the total reconstruction of the nave and all its fixtures. As in the case of the third phase also, the operation involved is a total reconditioning of the interior. In order to take into account the time-factor involved, the conclusions of the next section (see p. 49) may be anticipated to the extent of stating that Mithraeum II seems to have begun its existence not long before A.D. 222 and was destroyed in A.D. 296-297. A space of about seventy-five years is therefore available for the two reconditionings. It is certainly conceivable that every twenty-five or thirty years a building of this kind required renovation. But it seems on the other hand doubtful whether a renovation would have demanded such thorough reconstruction. An explanation inherently much more likely may be sought in the highly restricted membership of the cult, whose appeal was limited not only to educated men but to those among them for whom this form of religion had an attraction. The number of such potential votaries can never have been large at Carrawburgh and, once more to anticipate later information (see p. 45), the instigation and interest of a commanding officer seems always to have been the motive force in establishing or re-establishing the cult. In such circumstances worship may well have lapsed, the building remaining for a while deserted[29] though unmolested.

[29] Evidence from natural history is not easy to evaluate, but it should be recorded that a skull and femur of the water-vole (*arvicola amphibia*) were found among the wattling now destroyed. Whether this supports desertion of the building or whether the vole was intrepid is difficult to decide.

MITHRAEUM III.

The destruction of the second *mithraeum* recorded in the last section was followed by a total reconstruction of the building (fig. 7) at an altogether new and higher level, above which the main walls were completely rebuilt (Pls. IX, II A, XI B). A new outer doorway was provided, with an entirely new threshold formed of two massive blocks 9 inches deep, in which small square holes were cut for pegs or dowels to hold the jambs of a wooden door-frame. The new entrance was narrower than the old one, being 3 feet 5 inches wide as against 4 feet 3 inches, and affording even more room than before to west of the door. The new walling in clay-built masonry which began at this height was worse built than the earlier work, though it contained many older blocks. The old straight joints between the first and second *mithraea* were now obliterated except below the level of the new masonry (Pl. II A). The new plan further so curtailed the old apse as to make of it a mere niche, 18 inches deep (see Pls. XI B, XIII A). While the full internal dimensions of the building were therefore the same as before, the sanctuary was scarcely separated from the main part of the chapel and in fact occupied part of it.[30] The ante-room was now bigger than ever before, measuring 8 feet 2 inches from back to front. But the hearth to left of the door was smaller than hitherto, though it had been much used and had calcined the new south wall. It stood upon a slightly raised platform of stones and clay, three feet broad, extending from the doorway to the west wall. The floor of the ante-room was paved with random pitching, mostly re-used building-stones, where traffic was heavy. Elsewhere it was of clay. The ante-room was divided from the main chapel by a screen supported by very substantial posts. These, however, did not extend more

[30] As at all three Mithraea at Dura, see *Dura VII-VIII*, figs. 32, 34. It seems very possible that the Housesteads sanctuary as recorded by Hodgson (see *AA*[2] XXV, 257, fig. 22) fitted into Bosanquet's building, *ibid.*, 259, fig. 31, in much the same way as the sanctuary of Dura III.

than 3 feet to west and 2 feet to east of the posts of a central doorway, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, opening into the nave, but the posts were themselves from 4 to 5 inches square and sufficiently solid to have carried a boarded or lath-and-plaster partition and this may be reasonably inferred. In the corner formed by the screen and the east wall of the temple, stood a small pedestal of stone, 16 inches high, at the foot of which was found the fallen statue of a seated Mother-goddess (Pl. X A), also 16 inches high and of broad, ungainly proportions, enfolding in her arms a basket which rests on her knees. Beyond the pedestal stood also the base of a sizeable jar, presumably for offerings. The occurrence of a Mother-goddess in a *mithraeum*, where only males were worshippers, calls for remark. It will be observed that she is, so to speak, excluded from the main chapel and holds sway in the ante-room only; and this provision is not without a striking parallel. At the *mithraeum* of Dieburg, near Darmstadt, a Mother-goddess nursing a child was found in the corresponding ante-room to the nave.[31] A general clue to the association is no doubt to be sought in the fact that in the West local deities were not infrequently brought into Mithraic cults.[32] At Carrawburgh the statue had plainly been used previously elsewhere, and in the open air, before being brought into the *mithraeum*: for while the statues of the *mithraeum* were unweathered, this one was heavily eroded. There is thus no doubt that a local deity is here involved. The special theological basis of the assimilation is presumably to be found in the aspect of Mithras as a god of fertility[33] and in the

[31] F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg* (Berlin, 1928), 35, no. 14, (*Abb.* 39). Whether the goddess had graced the Carrawburgh ante-room in previous periods cannot be determined.

[32] To take named examples only, Mercury at Stockstadt (Lehner, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxxix, 57, 4); Epona and Matronae at Allmendigen (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, ii, 472, no. 420a), also at Heddernheim and Friedberg (Drexel, *Bericht R.G. Komm.*, 1922, 62); Sucellus and Nantosvelta at Saarburg (Lehner, loc. cit.) and Stockstadt (*ORL* 33, 81); Cissonius, *Königshofen*, 49-50.

[33] Porphyrius, *de antro nympharum*, 6, ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου: also 24, ὁ ταῦρος δημιουργὸς ὢν ὁ Μίθρας καὶ γενέσεως δεσπότης.

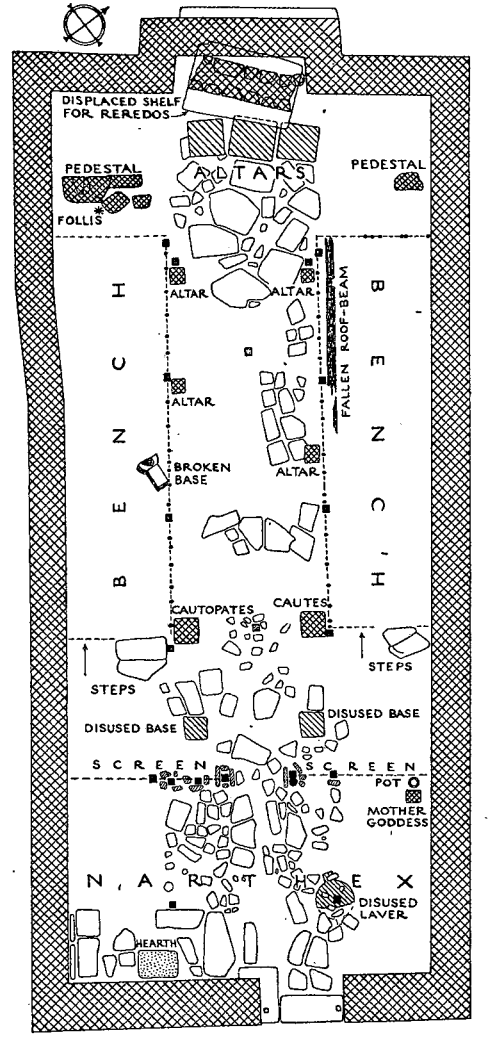

DISPLACED SHELF FOR REREDOS
PEDESTAL
FOLLIS
ALTARS
PEDESTAL
ALTAR
ALTAR
ALTAR
ALTAR
FALLEN ROOF-BEAM
BROKEN BASE
BENCH
BENCH
CAUTOPATES
CAUTES
STEPS
STEPS
DISUSED BASE
DISUSED BASE
SCREEN
SCREEN
POT
MOTHER GODDESS
NARTHEX
DISUSED LAVER
HEARTH
CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
FOURTH CENTURY STATE
0
5
SCALE OF FEET
15
20

FIG. 7.

existence among the stages of initiation of the grade of *nymphus*[34] or bridegroom.

Within the nave the ever-rising floor-level had now reached the point when only the capitals of the pedestals which had once carried the statues of Cautes and Cautopates on high projected above the floor. These pedestals were accordingly disused and torch-bearers (*dadophori*) without separate pedestals (Pl. X B) were placed at the ends of the new benches, situated six feet north of the screen. There is no doubt that these statues had been damaged and a strong likelihood that they had served in another part of the shrine before being allotted this position. The head of the statue of Cautes had been broken off and re-set by dowelling.[35] The back of the stone still exhibits the initial trimming with adze and pick, and was plainly never intended to be seen. The inference would be that this piece was intended to stand against a wall, not free, as in the nave; and, as may be noted in passing, it does not fit the earlier stone pedestal. It follows that in Mithraeum II the pedestals carried similar but different statues, which perished in the destruction that befell the screen, while this pair occupied another position, presumably in the sanctuary, with their backs against the walls of the apse. It may be recalled that the Housesteads *mithraeum* was equipped with two pairs of *dadophori*.[36] These benches were ascended by stone steps from the south, of which portions remained (see Pl. VII A). The new benches were much shorter than those which they superseded, their length of 16 feet corresponding closely to the 15 foot benches of Mithraeum I. Their fronts, like those of the previous period, were reinforced with wattling 9 inches high, of which exiguous traces remained here and there, mostly in the form

[34] Jerome, *Epist.* 107, *ad Laetam*: quibus corax, nymphus, miles, leo, perses, heliodromus, pater initiantur. The manuscripts read *nymphus*, not *cryphius*, and this is so strongly supported by the Dura *graffiti*, see *Dura VII-VIII*, 123, as to render it beyond doubt.

[35] Two holes for affixing the head are visible at the top of the torso, see Pl. X B.

[36] *AA*[2] XXV, 261.

of impressions in the clay packed behind them, sometimes coated with unbelievably frail traces of rotted wood. The 16-inch hazel stakes which held them were, on the other hand, not ill preserved. The bench fronts were incorporated in a line of oak roof-posts, set at 5-foot intervals, which ran from the sanctuary to the south end of the building and formed a unit with the screen. These were 5-inch square timbers, with carefully trimmed square bases (see Pl. VII B), set in stone-lined post-holes. There can be no doubt that they formed pillars separating nave and aisles, as at Dura,[37] the greater part of the aisles being occupied by the benches. The north ends of the benches were not rounded but squared and their position is given by six posts belonging to the east bench (Pl. VIII A), though none had survived on the west. Along the front of the benches were also ranged small altars, from 15 to 20 inches high, two to each side, of which one pair lay opposite, the other staggered. There was also a rough pedestal, broken in half, of which the lower half lay tumbled across the west bench, the upper half being missed. One at least of the altars had already been in use elsewhere and was much weathered, whereas those which had been cut specifically for the *mithraeum* only were quite unweathered, never having been exposed to the elements. The re-used altar[38] had been dedicated to the Matres, but when it was put to service in the *mithraeum* its inscribed face was turned towards the bench (see Pl. XIV A) and deliberately hidden from sight.[39] The fact that these altars had slid forward with the fronts of the associated benches showed that they had been incorporated in the outer facing of clay and plaster, though the plaster survived only in small sparse fragments much disintegrated by the destructive effect upon it of the

[37] *Dura VII-VIII*, 80-81.

[38] The text is read by Mr. R. P. Wright as *Matribus Albinius* (*centuria*) *Q Vari mil*(*es*) *d*(*edit*).

[39] It may be asked whether a similar explanation may not account for the small altars dedicated to Cocidius (*AA*[2] xxv, 280, fig. 41) and to Mars and Victoria (*ibid.*, 281) from the Housesteads *mithraeum*. They are respectively 18 inches and 17 inches high.

very acid peaty soil.[40] The floor of the nave was strewn with bones from ritual meals. Pork and lamb or kid were about equally represented, beef being very rare (Appendix V).

The long axis of the nave was occupied by two timber posts in stone-lined post-holes. These were not squared at the bottom but roughly pointed as if for driving in (Pl. V B). They do not lie opposite the roof-posts and cannot therefore be regarded as extra struts. It is perhaps easiest to think of them as having formed the single legs of small tables of offering, analogous to the stone tables of Königshofen.[41] Two extra posts, each close to the northernmost roof-posts in the eastern and western lines, are similarly inacceptable as extra struts, and may be regarded as the uprights for a framework holding a sanctuary-veil or curtain. This shuts the sanctuary off in the manner of the last sanctuary at Dura.[42]

The floor of the nave, like that of the ante-room, was paved with random flagging in well-marked patches. Whether these had anything to do with positions assumed in ritual can hardly be guessed, except in the case of the sanctuary, where the space in front of the altars was completely paved. A date for this paving is afforded by five coins. The make-up of the pavement in front of the altars contained an illegible *denarius* of the Severan age; on the flooring itself lay slightly worn coins of Victorinus (A.D. 268-270), Claudius II (A.D. 268-270) and Tetricus (A.D. 270-273) and a fresh *follis* of Maximianus I (296-308). The most important coin is the last, which associates this reconstruction with the third structural period[43] on Hadrian's Wall, dated

[40] The plaster was so disintegrated that it had to be soaked at once in size. For the effect of the acid upon the calcite-grit in a pot, see p. 75 below.

[41] *Königshofen*, 35, Taf. viii, 3 and 5.

[42] *Dura VII-VIII*, 79-81; if there were side-curtains the resemblance would be complete. As Rostovtzeff remarks (*ibid.*) the Housesteads sanctuary (*cf.* *AA*[2] xxv, 257, fig. 22) must have been somewhat similarly related to the main building.

[43] The coin of Victorinus is *RIC* 57, *Cohen* 90; that of Claudius II is unrecognizable; that of Tetricus is *RIC* 113, *Cohen* 119; the *follis* has no mint-mark, reads on the obverse IMP. MAXIMIANVS PF AVG, with laureate cuirassed bust right, and on the reverse GENIO POPVLI ROMANI with genius standing left: it resembles Leeds, *Fyfield Hoard*, pl. viii, 89, in general, but is not identical.

to A.D. 297-367. During the earliest part of this period the worn third-century radiate coins were still circulating in abundance.[44] But the total absence of Constantinian issues suggests that the *mithraeum* did not remain in use far into the century.

The altars (Pl. XI A) were the principal surviving feature of the sanctuary. They stood where they had been placed in antiquity, a trio in line across the front of the niche, but the central and eastern stones had been tilted forward (Pls. XI B, XIV B) by the slipping of the back wall of the niche and the collapse of the stone shelf against them (see p. 41). It is probable that they would have slipped much farther and fallen on their faces if they had not been supplied with a firm foundation of rubble,[45] carefully packed in a specially excavated pit (fig. 8). The bottom of the pit, below the rubble, contained a ritual deposit (Pl. XII A). The most carefully secreted object was a small Castor ware beaker (no. 32, fig. 11, p. 73), standing upright in a little kist of three stones on end. It contained two large lumps of the sacred pine-

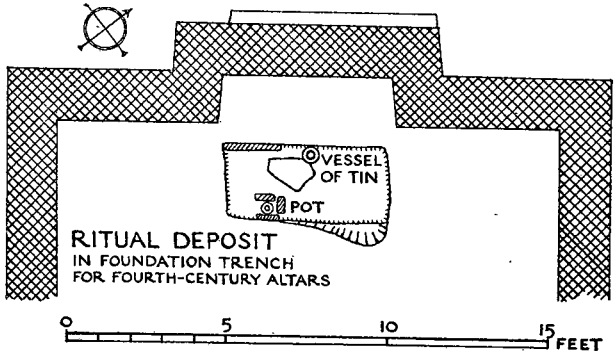


FIG. 8.

[44] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, 73-75.

[45] Below the rubble, but dissociated from the ritual deposit, occurred a worn and illegible *as* of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), of which the type is unidentifiable.

cone fuel, together with the head and two cervical vertebræ of a domestic fowl[46] (Appendix VII). It was placed against the front side of the pit. Almost opposite it, lying centrally upside down against the back of the pit, was a little tin cup[47], very similar in form to that from High Rochester in this Society's collection (Appendix IV). This vessel had been overturned when the rubble foundation was packed above it. It had contained a small quantity of pine-cone fuel, but no bones.

Although the altars were found placed in a single row, they were uniform neither in design nor in the date of their original dedication. The central altar is plain, except for the rich and well-carved mouldings on base and capital. It has an exceptionally large focus, 8 inches in diameter across the basin, which is quite unburnt and must have held a metal chafing dish, as on the altar of Astarte now at Carlisle. The east altar is decorated on the capital with a frieze of three eggs,[48] the topmost portion, above the capital, which was formed by a separate stone, being missing. The west altar bears a relief of Mithras. Its top, found detached (see p. 40), was flat and roughly trimmed, like that of the eastern altar, showing that both had possessed crowning features carved on a separate piece of stone. These may have been statues or containers for fire or water.[49] As our colleague, Mr. Eric Birley, points out in a special section which he has kindly contributed below (p. 45), the difference in date is indicated by certain points in their texts, which he cites in full. The east altar is dedicated by a prefect, who names the regiment, the First Cohort of Batavians, in full, and mentions as his home town a *colonia* entitled *Sept(imia) Aur(elia)*,

[46] The sex of the bird cannot be determined though the skull with which it was compared is that of a cock, see Appendix VII.

[47] *Durham University Philosophical Society*, x, 48-55.

[48] *Cf.* the three swords and wreath of the *miles* on the Mithraic altar of Sentius Castus (*CIL* vii, 544) from Rudchester, now in the Blackgate Museum, see *NCH* xii, 38-39. The significance of the wreath and sword is mentioned by Tertullian, *de corona militis*, 15.

[49] For lavers see note 28: for fire-containers see *Königshofen*, 32-34, Taf. ix, 1, 4, 5, no. 4 having a spout. The Dura altars of Mithraeum I bore evidence of fire, *Dura VII-VIII*, 66.

with reference to the joint Emperors Septimius Severus and M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla). It will have belonged with this reference on Hadrian's Wall to the period A.D. 205-211. On the central altar the First Cohort of Batavians receives the title *Antoniniana*, which belongs in Northern Britain to the years 213-222. On the third altar, the name of the cohort is taken for granted and left unmentioned and the style of the lettering is distinctly later and inferior. It is, then, necessary to assume that the altars were dedicated originally in the order described and belonged to different phases in the history of the temple. It seems reasonably certain that the altar of Cluentius Habitus went with Mithraeum I. The stone of Simplicius Simplex would then go either with the final rebuilding or with one of the two refittings.

While the altar of Marcus Simplicius Simplex is epigraphically the least distinguished of the three, it is artistically much the most interesting, even if the execution of finer points as the transitions from neck to head and shoulder lacks ability. The front panel, on which the lettering had been painted red, contains a torso of Mithras, 16 inches high, boldly cut in relief (Pl. XII B). The powerfully built and muscular young god is naked, except for a cloak, once painted scarlet, which is fastened over his right shoulder with a pennanular brooch and completely covers his left arm and hand. His right hand carries a whip,[50] indicative of his identity with Sol or Helios, the Sun-god. His youthful face has been considerably marred by weathering, but not so completely as to have destroyed minute fragments of gesso in the deepest cutting, showing that the whole of his skin had originally been plastered white and painted. His curly hair is wreathed in a radiate halo, of which the individual rays are pierced so that they might be illuminated by a lamp placed in a flat-bottomed ogival receptacle carved in the back of the stone, for use at an appropriate moment in the cere-

[50] Compare the relief of Sol from Corbridge, *AA*[3] v, 321, fig. 5, *cf. AA*[4] xxi, pl. vii, 2.

mony. Accessory adornment is represented by a fragment of a long and richly decorated scarlet fillet[51] which hung down the right-hand side of the niche containing the bust. The corresponding feature on the left-hand side has perished in an accident by which in relatively recent times the top of this altar was broken off and deposited on the modern surface 7 feet southwards. The subject depicted by the relief is undoubtedly the epiphany of the god, as invoked in the opening prayer to Mithras preserved in a Greek papyrus of the early fourth century A.D. from Roman Egypt, published by Dieterich.[52] "Thou shalt see a young god, fair of aspect with flaming locks, clad in a white robe and scarlet cloak and having a crown of fire."

If the relief had included the lower limbs of the god the white robe would no doubt have appeared. Even as it is, however, the exactitude of representational correspondence between the papyrus from Roman Egypt and the Carrawburgh relief is a striking testimony to the uniformity of Mithraic fundamental belief. A word may be added on the painting of the cloak. Little of the actual coating of paint remained. The existing residuum was a deep scarlet stain which had soaked into the granular structure of the sandstone. A minute fragment of what appeared to be actual paint was taken for analysis by the chemical staff of the Associated Lead Manufacturers, Ltd., but did not in fact yield any information of significance. The substance may have been gesso[53] rather than paint.

Two further items in the sanctuary deserve mention. Beyond the north ends of the benches remains of stonework, sparse on the east but substantial on the west, mark the seat-

[51] For the meaning of fillets as binding the dedicated object or being to the god see the comment of Servius upon *Aeneid*, ii, 134.

[52] A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1903); edited anew by Wünsch in 1910, p. 10, lines 28-30. For pierced rays at Sarmizegethusa see Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, ii, fig. 144; also *Bolletino comunale*, lxviii (1940), 70, in Rome, at S. Prisca.

[53] Traces of gesso often escape notice: for example, the well-known tombstones of Favonius Facilis and Longinus at Colchester carry minute traces.

ings of two pedestals, the western at least 3½ feet long (Pl. VIII A). In scale and situation these invite comparison with the bases of lions[54] crouching over their prey which flanked the sanctuary of the Königshofen *mithraeum*, outside Strassburg. Such lions served as guardians[55] of the holy place and its mysteries. But of the statues themselves at Carrawburgh there remained no trace. Almost all trace had also vanished even of the great stone tableau which formed the reredos of the sanctuary: those who removed it had left only a single fragment in the form of a stone horn belonging to a bull carved in high relief, as commonly upon such pieces, to attest its original existence. These statues are attested only by fragmentary remains of the foundations which held them.

This strange contrast between the preservation of the altars and the disappearance of the principal sculptures in the sanctuary raises the question of the ultimate fate of the building. It has already been observed that the final restoration undoubtedly belongs to the turn of the third and fourth centuries, that is, to the period of occupation on Hadrian's Wall which begins in A.D. 297-305. But the total absence of Constantinian coins seems to indicate that the building did not continue in use for very long into the century. What then happened is reasonably clear (Pl. XIII). The water-level in the surrounding area rose with rapidity and constancy; in the ante-room and nave deposits of water-borne silt and fine clean sand lay immediately below the lowest layers of the peat which now began to build up in the deserted ruins. This peat completely filled the nave up to the top of the benches, engulfing and preserving the bottom of the roof-posts, while the rest of them was either sawn off higher up or left to rot. The roof seems to have been stripped: only a few scattered remnants of shingles lay in and below the peat at the north end of the nave, and these were accompanied by a fallen

[54] *Königshofen*, 40, Taf. i and xiii.

[55] For such lions as guardians compare the Heddernheim relief on which a lion guards the sacred cup from the serpent of Ahriman: conveniently figured, Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, pl. xii.

longitudinal oak beam, eight feet long as remaining, which had been closely associated with the eastern line of roof-posts (Pl. XIV A). If the whole roof had collapsed together with these remnants it is clear that the peat would have preserved very much larger and more numerous remains. The fact that the building had become roofless is further demonstrated by the collapse of its side walls which, being clay-bound only, were undermined and disintegrated by the water that rose about the building. There was a general westward slide and collapse towards the side of the deeper water which brought the east wall down in ruin on to the east bench and into the nave and caused the west wall similarly to collapse outwards into the pond.

By this time also the building had become incorporated in a refuse-tip which was being formed on the edge of the pool. Animal bones, mostly of oxen and sheep, were dumped in great quantity downhill from the east, first against and presently over the eastern edge of the ruins, amongst the peat which was everywhere enveloping them. In the peat at this stage was found a bronze coin of Magnentius (A.D. 350), which had been in excellent condition when lost, but had since been considerably corroded by the acid soil in which it lay. If this state of affairs was obtaining by the fifties, the absence of Constantinian issues in the building becomes easier to explain, since the temple had manifestly by then been abandoned for a longish period.

The invasion of the building by water and the removal of the roof indicate plainly that it was no longer in any kind of use and wholly disregarded. Oblivion was complete when the rubbish-tip smothered the half-submerged ruin. But before these stages were reached busy and selective hands had been at work amongst the sacred appointments. The altars were left in position. All damage which they suffered was long subsequent to Roman days. It was when the building was as deeply buried as in 1949 that the top was roughly prised off the capital of the altar of Simplicius, perhaps by a farm-cart, and deposited on the modern surface 7 feet south

of the altar. The crowning features both of this altar and of the altar of Cluentius, which was a separate piece of stone, could have been lifted off at any time in equally recent days. But the collapse of the niche at the back of the building (Pl. XIV B), which caused the incorporated stone shelf to slip forward, pushing the altars of Cluentius and Proculus out of plumb, is due to the sliding of the building caused jointly by the raised water-level and the new earth pressure on the uphill side. This action did not, as might have been expected, bring down the stone panel of Mithras in ruin over the altars.[56] It is evident that this relief had already been removed, leaving behind it only a single stone horn from the head of the bull. Again, at the north end of the benches the objects on lateral pedestals, presumably statues of lions (see above, p. 39), had also been lifted away together with much of their stone foundations. At the south end of the benches, however, the statue of Cautopates had been violently broken off at the shins, leaving only the pedestal and booted crossed legs in position. The corresponding and opposite statue of Cautes was beheaded[57] and remained standing for a little while in the roofless building, so that the exposed cross-section of the neck and most of the statue became weathered (Pl. X B), a process which need not in fact have taken very long, for the piece is of soft-grained sandstone. After that the statue toppled over on to its face and bedded itself upon some 6 inches of accumulated peat (Pl. XIII). Another act of destruction was the breaking of the pedestal on the west bench. The statue of the Mother-goddess in the north-east corner of the ante-room, on the other hand, was left undisturbed until the adjacent east wall of the building collapsed against it, knocking it off its pedestal and throwing the pedestal itself to the ground. Both objects collapsed into a soft bed of peat and remained unharmed.

Three types of fate thus befell the sculptured stones. Some were deliberately removed, and one was damaged in

[56] As at Housesteads, *AA*[1] i, 288-289.
[57] The Housesteads statues had been similarly decapitated, *AA*[2] xxv, 261.

the operation. Some were broken on the spot, the pieces detached in the process being removed. Others were left to their fate in the ruins. This clearly implies that the removal was not the work of votaries of the cult, who, even supposing that the main relief from the sanctuary was accidentally damaged by them in removal, would never have left the statues of Cautes and Cautopates to face desecration. It must therefore be assumed that the removal was the work of either stone-robbers or enemies of the cult. But stone-robbers would hardly have left the altars untouched and the lion-statues would have been of as little use to them as those of Cautes and Cautopates, which they mutilated and left. It is thus necessary to assume that the removal and destruction represents a deliberate profanation of the building before the collapse of its walls or the accumulation of peat in its nave, in which lesser statues were defaced or smashed while major pieces were annihilated, in the literal sense of the word.

There can be little doubt as to the general circumstances of this drastic action. Since it had taken place long before A.D. 350, it is not due to the barbarian sack which overwhelmed the forts on Hadrian's Wall and their extramural settlements in A.D. 367. Nor was the Roman world in general so early taking action against Mithraism, even though Christianity had become the Emperor's religion. It was only in A.D. 377 that a Christian *praefectus urbi*, Gracchus, formally desecrated a Mithraic temple in Rome.[58] But in a frontier post, where the commandant was in general fashion responsible for the supervision of religious observance, a Christian commanding officer might well take or incite action against a cult which was regarded as specifically opposed to Christianity, sometimes in its aspect as a State religion, as in the struggle[59] between Constantine and Licinius in 324, sometimes in dogma and liturgy, wherein Mithraism was stigma-

[58] Jerome, *Epist.* 107, *ad Laetam*. For later survival in Rome see CIL vi, 754 = ILS 4269, assignable to A.D. 382-392.

[59] *Cf.* CIL iii, 4413 = ILS 659, ascribed to A.D. 307, where the Emperors dedicate to Mithras as *fautor imperii sui*; for the situation later and the Constantinian view, see *Cambridge Ancient History*, xii, 696-697.

tized[60] as a Satanic mimicry of Christian faith and worship. It is a further and curious fact that there are cases in which such systematic desecrations actually discriminated between the Mithraic and non-Mithraic contents of the shrine. At least four *mithraea*[61] on the German frontier, at Stockstadt, Saarburg, Königshofen and Neuenheim, exhibit a savage destruction of Mithraic beliefs and statues, coupled with respect for the associated imagery of other cults. At Carrawburgh the desecrators did no harm to the local Mother-goddess, and spared even the altars of Mithras, whose soberly lettered texts or Sun-god relief had not in their eyes the evocative and diabolical symbolism of the hated principal imagery of the cult. When these points are taken into account and in particular the date of 324, when the first major clash between the two religions as political symbols occurred, it becomes reasonable to see the desecration at Carrawburgh as the work of Christian hands, even if perpetrated on political rather than purely religious grounds. If the cult at the moment in question lacked worshippers and was dormant, as seems to have happened more than once before (see p. 28), then the task was the easier.

The marked rise in water-level which so soon followed the desecration sets another and different problem, susceptible of formulation rather than solution. It was not the ruin of the building but some external cause which had the effect of converting this portion of the little valley into a pond. How high an actual rise in the water-level this meant cannot now be wholly clear since nothing is known of the Roman level of the stream at the narrow neck of land which controls the outfall (see p. 1). But that level was certainly not higher than now and a rise as high as the latest threshold of the Mithraeum would give a head of four to five feet of water. The level later rose higher, but this cannot have happened

[60] Justin, *Apolog.* i, 66, "as evil spirits in imitation taught to be done in the mysteries of Mithras", with reference to bread and water as a sacrament, see note 25 above; *cf.* Tertullian, *de praescr, haer.*, 40: qui (diabolus) ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis aemulatur.

[61] *Königshofen*, 79.

quickly, for a rise of only 13 inches more would have drowned the access to the sacred spring of Coventina, which was frequented[62] until at least 383. But even such a rise as in fact took place can hardly have been due to mere blocking of drains or silting of channels. It seems to represent deliberate human action rather than chance; such action, for example, as the construction of a water-mill on the stream. But this is beyond present knowledge and the problem must so be left. It is the existence of the pond rather than the cause of its formation that is important for the history of the *mithraeum*.

[62] *AA*[2] viii, 45.

THE PREFECTS AND THEIR ALTARS.

BY ERIC BIRLEY.

I propose to take the three altars in what seems to be their chronological order: for whereas A. Cluentius Habitus gives the cohort's name in full, and accords to the town of his origin the titles *Septimia Aurelia* (which suggest that the inscription was cut when *Septimius* Severus was still alive, reigning jointly with his son M. *Aurelius* Antoninus—known to posterity as Caracalla), L. Antonius Proculus abbreviates the name of the cohort and adds the title *Antoniniana*, assignable on British inscriptions to the period 213-222, while M. Simplicius Simplex omits the cohort's name altogether, as though it need not be mentioned again, with two adjacent altars already proclaiming it.[1]

1. A. CLUENTIUS HABITUS.

D(eo) in(victo) M(ithrae) s(acrum), Aul(us) Cluentius Habitus pra(e)f(ectus) coh(ortis) I Batavorum, domu Ultin(i)a Sept(imia) Aur(elia) L(arino), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito): "Sacred to the unconquered god Mithras. Aulus Cluentius Habitus, prefect of the first cohort of Batavians, whose home is the Septimian-Aurelian colony of Larinum, in the tribe Voltinia, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." The dedicator bears the names of a famous—or notorious—client of Cicero's, a leading citizen of Larinum, a town near the

[1] Additional abbreviations used in this section are as follows: AE = *l'Année Épigraphique*; ILS = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*; RE = Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*; Schulze, LE = Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*. Volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are referred to by roman capitals, without the prefix CIL.

east coast of Italy and on the borders of Samnium and Apulia (its name survives, on an adjacent site, in the modern Larino); Cicero's speech, which served to win his case against great odds, is still extant, and the whole story can be read in it or between its lines. It may seem remarkable enough to find the namesake of a man of Cicero's day attested as late as the time of Severus; what is even more noteworthy is that there are no traceable intervening links. No Cluentius qualified for inclusion in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, and the only other bearer of the *nomen* in my index of officers of the Roman army is a centurion of *legio III Augusta*, attested by a first-century inscription from Africa.[2] Larinum itself has only produced one or two records of the name;[3] elsewhere, it occurs of course in Rome,[4] in the north of Italy,[5] in Latium[6] and Campania,[7] while two Cluentii are attested in Dalmatia[8] and three more in Africa.[9] The list might be lengthened slightly if we took into account instances of *Cluventius* or *Cloventius;* but it is not certain that they represent the same name, for they are best regarded as derivatives of the simpler form *Cluvius*, while *Cluentius* is perhaps derived from the place-name Cluentum in Picenum, a little farther up the east coast of Italy.[10] We must suppose that the Cluentii of Larinum had somehow lingered on, never rising to sufficient affluence to make their mark in the world, until this representative of them obtained the command of a cohort from Severus.

[2] AE 1927, no. 42 = Merlin, *Inscr. lat. de Tunisie*, 1944, 465 (from Ammaedara, the modern Haidra).

[3] IX 742 and perhaps 754.

[4] VI 7002 and 15856.

[5] V 2785 = ILS 6694, 3569, 4570 and 7178.

[6] XIV 3750-3751.

[7] X 8047, 6 and 7, and 8059, 121.

[8] III 1864 (Narona) and 12970 (Salonae).

[9] VIII 20279 (Satafis, Mauretania Caesariensis), 25657 (Simitthus); *Inscr. lat. de Tunisie* 1109 (Carthage).

[10] Schulze, LE 483, footnote 8, only mentions the name casually and does not discuss its origin. For Cluentum cf. Eduard Norden, *Alt-Germanien*, 1934, 226; he cites the name as one of Illyrian origin, but quotes no authority for it: it is not referred to in RE or, for example, in Julius Jung, *Grundriss der Geographie von Italien*, 1897.

An Aulus Cluentius Habitus could afford to abbreviate the name of his home town, Larinum, to its initial; no educated reader (and the votaries of Mithras were necessarily men of some education) could fail to identify it. That left him room to place on record a recent change in the status of the town, for which this altar provides the first evidence: namely, that it had been given the rank of a colony by Severus and Caracalla, receiving their names as part of its titles. In Cicero's day Larinum was a *municipium*, and it has customarily been supposed that it remained in that condition;[11] it must be left open whether Severus actually settled veterans in the town, or whether he merely conferred on it the title of a colony, now regarded as the highest status that a chartered community could receive: but in either event the emperor's action provided a convenient occasion for one of the leading citizens of Larinum to attract his notice, and as a result to be given a prefect's appointment in Britain.

A chartered town, whether *colonia* or *municipium*, was enrolled in one of the 31 "rustic" tribes, the voting divisions in which Roman citizens, up to the closing years of Augustus, went to the poll. It has hitherto been supposed that Larinum belonged to the tribe *Clustumina*, attested by three inscriptions found there.[12] But there is no case in which Larinum is specified as a man's *origo* and Clustumina as his tribe (which would prove the point); and the Carrawburgh altar shows that, at least after its receipt of a charter from Severus, the town belonged to the Voltinian tribe.[13] The spelling *Ultinia*, in place of *Voltinia*, occurs spasmodically elsewhere;[14] on the present altar the stone-cutter no doubt intended to extend the last upright of the N, to produce the ligature NI, but omitted to do so, thus leaving *Ultina*.

[11] Cf., however, RE XII, 839, citing *Lib. colon*, 260 for a colony there; so few inscriptions have been found at Larinum that its status between the time of Augustus and that of Severus cannot be established. [12] IX 731, 737 and 755.

[13] The possibility cannot be excluded that two distinct communities shared the citizenship of Larinum, one enrolled in Voltinia and the other in Clustumina; such was the case at Tuder in Umbria, most of whose citizens belonged to the latter tribe, but one or two (as in XI 4748) to Voltinia.

[14] E.g., III 7397.

Altogether, the first of the altars proves to be one of the most interesting yet found on the line of the Wall. The other two have less important information to give us, but each of them has something useful to provide.

2. L. ANTONIUS PROCULUS.

D(eo) inv(icto) M(ithrae), L(ucius) Antonius Proculus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) Antoninianae v. s. l. m.— "To the unconquered god Mithras, Lucius Antonius Proculus, prefect of the first cohort of Batavians, Antoninus's Own, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." The prefect's names are too colourless for us to be able to deduce his origin from them. L. Antonii occur widely throughout the Roman empire, and Proculus is one of the commonest and most widespread of all *cognomina.* There is no reason (for example) to identify our prefect with the L. Antonius Proculus who died at the age of seventy or more, and was buried at the place whose ruins are now known as Henchir Sidi Amara in Africa.[15] But it so happens that there is another record of a man of these three names, whose service in the same equestrian career makes him a possible candidate for such a connection, namely the L. Antonius Proculus attested as *epistrategus Thebaidos* (that is to say, district governor, under the prefect of Egypt, of the Thebaid) by an inscription from Alexandria.[16] The inscription is undated, but its lettering seems to be compatible with a date in the first half of the third century; the post in question came three or four rungs higher on the equestrian ladder, being normally held by men who had completed their *tres militiae*;[17] and it may well be that the official in Egypt was the same man as had commanded the cohort at Carrawburgh, and that the inscription at Alexandria was set up eight or ten years later than the altar with which we are concerned. Its date may be set at

[15] VIII 12160.
[16] *Bull. Soc. Alex.* 7, 1931, 284, cf. *Prosop. Imper. Rom.*[2] I, A 867.
[17] Cf. my paper on "The equestrian officers of the Roman army" (*Durham University Journal*, 1949, 8f.).

A.D. 213-22, in the reign of either Caracalla or Elagabalus, both of whom granted the title *Antoniniana* to units of the Roman army. The *terminus post quem* in other provinces would be A.D. 212, when Caracalla became sole emperor by the murder of his brother Geta; but, as I pointed out some years ago,[18] units of the army of Britain do not appear with that title on any of the inscriptions of A.D. 213—several of which, by their protestations of loyalty to Caracalla, suggest that its attitude to him had recently been an ambiguous one; and it must be supposed that they were not allowed to call themselves "Antoninus's Own" until the emperor had satisfied himself of their loyalty. As between Caracalla and Elagabalus, the balance of probability seems to me to favour the former, since the title is written out in full, as though still a novelty: before long, it was commonly abbreviated, but it may be recalled that it is still given in full on the inscription of A.D. 216 from Bremenium.[19]

3. M. SIMPLICIUS SIMPLEX.

Deo invicto Mitrae, M(arcus) Simplicius Simplex pr(a)ef(ectus) v. s. l. m.—"To the unconquered god Mithras, Marcus Simplicius Simplex, prefect, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." It is not difficult to judge from what part of the Roman empire this prefect came, for all that he does not record his origin: his names give him away. The *nomen* Simplicius belongs to the type, widespread throughout the empire but by far the most common in the Celtic north-western provinces, formed by adding the suffix *-ius* to the root of a *cognomen*, in this case *Simplex* (genitive *Simplicis*). On receiving Roman citizenship, the "regular" custom was to adopt the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the patron who had conferred it (hence the enormous number of Roman citizens who bore the first two names of emperors—P. Aelii, for example, recording grants of citizenship by Hadrian or T. Flavii by Vespasian, Titus or Domitian); but in Gaul and the

[18] AA[4] xi, 129f. [19] VII 1043, cf. NCH xv, 144, no. 2.

Rhineland and, we may add, in Britain, many people preferred to convert their existing single names, or their fathers' names, into new Roman *nomina*, and Simplicius is merely one example of such conversion.[20] The name is, in fact, attested on two other inscriptions found in Britain: Simplicia was the dedicator of a votive offering to a local god equated with Mars, found at Martlesham in Suffolk,[21] and a sarcophagus in York preserves the memory of Simplicia Florentina, the infant daughter of a soldier of *legio VI Victrix*, Felicius Simplex,[22] whose own *nomen* has been formed from the *cognomen* Felix, while he has modified his own *cognomen* to provide a *nomen* for his daughter. We cannot exclude the possibility, therefore, that the prefect at Carrawburgh was of British origin; but Lower Germany seems a more likely home for him. Two Simplicii are recorded on inscriptions from Holland,[23] the derivative *nomina* Simplicinius and Simplicianius occur at Bonn and Cologne respectively,[24] and the basic name Simplex occurs at Cologne and Xanten,[25] all within the territory of *Germania Inferior*; and M. Simplicius Quietus, tribune of *coh. III Batavorum milliaria equitata Antoniniana* in Lower Pannonia (in the period 212-222, as is shown by the title *Antoniniana*), dedicated an altar to the Lower German goddess Vagdavercustis.[26] I have noted outlying bearers of the *nomen* in Italy[27] and Africa,[28] but the weight of the evidence

[20] Cf. Schulze, LE *passim*, particularly 56f.

[21] ILS 4558, improving on the reading given in VII 93a.

[22] VII 247. Schulze, LE 57, footnote 1, suggests that the father came from the Rhineland, as did many of the legionaries of the army of Britain; but the Martlesham dedication will suffice to show that he might equally have been of British origin.

[23] XIII 8726 (Ubbergen near Nijmegen): *Simplicius Ingen(u)us*; and 8805 = ILS 2536 (Hemmen): *Simplicius Super, dec. alae Vocontior. exercituus Britannici*, dedicating to the goddess Vagdavercustis, on whom see below.

[24] XIII 8065 and 8423.

[25] XIII 8203 = ILS 2418, 8223, 8631 = ILS 4789, 10024.34, 12080.

[26] AE 1935, no. 163, from Adony in Hungary, the Roman *Salina vetus*. For other dedications to Vagdavercustis, all from Lower Germany, cf. XIII 12057 = ILS 9000 (Cologne), 8662 (Calkar), 8702-3 (Rindern) and 8805 = ILS 2536 (footnote 23 above)—the latter set up by another Simplicius.

[27] V 6096.

[28] VIII 25441.

points to Lower Germany, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that the prefect at Carrawburgh was a kinsman of the tribune in Lower Pannonia, and that he, too, looked on Vagdavercustis as his patron goddess, when he was not preoccupied with the worship of Mithras.[29]

Our three prefects, therefore, prove to be as varied in their names and in their backgrounds as in the altars which they set up and the lettering which they caused to be cut. Habitus came from Italy, and in his names recalled a man whom Cicero had defended, in a famous case three centuries before; Simplex was from the Rhineland, a member of a family whose Roman surname had only recently been concocted; and Proculus, whose names give us no clue to his origin (though they suggest that his family was one which had possessed Roman citizenship for many generations), was in due course to rise higher in the emperors' service, and to hold important office at the other end of the Roman world, in Egypt. I must leave to another occasion a discussion of the bearing of the Carrawburgh altars on the recruiting of the equestrian service in the Severan age, and on the question of the extent to which Mithraism appealed to the officers and other ranks of the Roman army I should need more space than can be allowed in the present note; but even so, I have perhaps said enough to indicate the remarkable interest of the three principal altars from the Carrawburgh Mithraeum.

[29] It may be added that Simplicius, in view of its meaning, became very popular as a personal name in later centuries, particularly among Christians; ten bearers of it are recorded in RE III A 203f., including a brother of Sidonius Apollinaris and the sixth-century Neoplatonist.

THE BACKGROUND OF MITHRAISM

The Roman world seems first to have come into contact with the worship of Mithras in the first century B.C., when it was introduced to Italy by Cilicians settled there after Pompey's campaigns against the pirates of the Eastern Mediterranean. Foreign religions being to the Roman authorities a matter for careful inquiry, there was no doubt whence this religion came. It was soon widely understood to be of Persian origin. Eastern tradition confirms the point.

The prophet of Mithraism was Zoroaster, and a fuller and wider version and application of his doctrines, as preserved in ancient Persian tradition is current among the Indian Parsees, a remnant of the Persian Zoroastrians who fled to India before the Moslem conquerors of the Middle East. This collection of theological doctrine and elaborate religious precepts is called the *Zend-Avesta*, a composite title derived from the Pahlavi words *Avesta* and *Zend*, meaning "Law" and "Commentary". A more correct title would be the *Avesta*, from Old Persian *Abasta*, meaning "Law". This tradition, however, though preserved by Persians, is not in origin a Persian creation; as antiquity recognized, the Persians received the cult from the Medes, among whom its ritual had been in the hands of the *Magi*, a priestly tribe comparable with the Levites. Hence the language of the tradition is Median, and remained so when the Persians first permitted the cult and finally, under the sixth-century Sassanids, made it their national religion until Mohammedanism destroyed and dissipated it by forceful conquest of the East.

The tradition of the *Avesta* reveals much about the origin of Mithras and the theological background to which he belonged. It describes him as the creation of Ahuramazda

(Ormazd), who was the Lord of Creation, Light and Goodness, in everlasting opposition to Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), the Lord of Death, Darkness and Evil. In litany and prayer, Mithras is invoked as "Lord of Wide Pastures", "All-hearing and All-seeing", "Strong and Unsleeping", "Lord of Light, preceding the Sun", "God of Truth" or "Friend of Truth", "Saviour from Death", "Victorious", "Guardian of Creation", "Giver of Bliss", "Driver of the Heavenly Chariot", "Warrior", "Slayer of Demons and Wild Beasts". These are primitive titles, in which at least three aspects can be discerned. There is a god of herdsmen and protector of flocks, a god of light and creation, and a god of the plighted word. These last two conceptions are implicit in his very name, which, originally meaning "Light", was applied to a neuter conception meaning "contract" or "alliance". Mithras thus became in a very special degree the patron deity of obligations and contractual relationships whose strength and value was sooner or later canonically determined for ascending degrees of relation and kinship.

The *Avesta* tradition cannot naturally be taken to embody the form accorded to Zoroastrian tenets as expressed in the Mithraism of the Roman world. But its contents explain the basis of its attraction for Romans. A valorous and invincible young god, who never slept at his post and was the protector of hearth and home, typified the virtues and valour of the Roman Imperial Army, whose *sacramentum*, or binding oath of loyalty, Mithras might be expected to regard as peculiarly deserving of blessing. This last point trenches upon a second aspect of Mithras, as guardian of contracts and obligations, in whose name undertakings were inviolable. Roman mercantile society attached particular importance to contractual or sworn undertakings and standards of probity were high. Mithras-worship flourished in such circles. Finally, there was in the developed form of the religion a mystical promise of divine revelation, union and companionship which had a special attraction for educated slaves or freedmen, offering them an escape from immediate ills and a sense of present

and future triumph which went far beyond mere equalization. It is, on the other hand, evident that participation in mysteries or secret rites expressive of such conceptions as these could only appeal to men of education. This is reflected in the character of the dedicators to Mithras. In the army they were principally members of the officer class, belonging to senatorial or equestrian families, or centurions who might become equestrians in time. Among merchants, they are the wealthy families settled in the great ports or trading cities of the Empire. The slaves and freedmen are drawn from the intelligentsia of servile society, not from the labouring groups.

The aspects of Mithras evident in ancient Persian Zoroastrianism thus form an important part of the basis upon which his cult appealed to the Roman world. But there is a negative aspect worth note. Unlike most Eastern deities, Mithras had no consort: unlike most classical deities he indulged in no amours. This is odd, and it would be curious that the matter should have passed without remark, if it were not that most of our knowledge about Mithras comes from Christian comments whose aim was not to extol any virtues the god may have had.

In the Roman version of the cult, Mithras took the supreme place, whereas in Parsee doctrine he is one among numerous powers attendant upon Ahuramazda. But while evidence bearing upon the form of the Roman cult is extensive, its content is little known. That its principles, however, were basically Eastern there is no doubt. A fragment of ritual invocation preserved by Firmicus employs the phrase: "Initiate who clasps the right hand of the holy cattle-stealing father." "Clasping the right hand" is an epithet accorded to all the *mystae*, or initiates in the scrawled inscriptions (*graffiti*) of the three temples of Mithras at Dura on the Euphrates, with reference to the hand-shake which symbolized the kinship, alliance or friendship between Mithras and his votary or between votaries themselves. This outward symbol of Mithras in one of his oldest aspects occurs on the Commagene relief of King Antiochus I and Mithras clasping

hands in alliance, just as it appears also upon reliefs portraying the sacred pact of Mithras and the Sun. The second part of the invocation, which deals with cattle-stealing, does not appear in the *Avesta*, which refers only to a tale in which Mithras guided lost or stolen cattle home. As in classical legend, where Hercules was at one time the reiver and at another the rescuer, the thief of one story may well become the herdsman of the next, and there may have existed other Persian versions of the story which did not become part of the received text of the *Avesta*. But the late Professor Cumont, whose knowledge of Mithraism was deep and unrivalled, observed that Anatolia, the highland region whence Mithraism came, is rich in ancient legends which refer to cattle-stealing gods; and it is certain that Anatolia had otherwise much to contribute to Mithraic doctrine. For example, the important central tradition fundamental to Mithraism, that the bull was hunted, caught and finally slain by Mithras in his cave and that all creation sprang from the blood and sperm of the dying creature, forms no part of the *Avesta* tradition. It may well emanate from the groups of Cappadocian *magi*, whose sectarianism lasted long enough to attract the attention of Christian writers. Certainly the art-type of this scene, as Saxl has shown, is based not upon the art of the Middle East but upon an original design of Pergamene type. The grades of initiation, as will appear, also assumed an importance quite out of accordance with the *Avesta*, no doubt in rivalry or imitation of other mystery religions such as those of Cybele or Mēn.

No less distinct from the older Persian tradition is the place of Mithras in the Roman cosmogony. In the *Avesta*, Mithras occupied an important position in a Pantheon related to the universe and to the dual forces of good and evil, but he was in no sense the dominating deity of the cult. In Roman Mithraism, the Pantheon receded into the background, particularly in the outward aspect of the cult, to form a theological setting which combined Persian and Hellenistic beliefs. In this universe, the First Cause was

Chronos, *Aeon* or *Saeculum*, "Time without end", out of which were created Heaven and Earth. Chronos is a swift and inexorable winged figure, both male and female, often portrayed with the head of a devouring lion, and frequently entwined by a serpent signifying the sun's elliptical course. He is not seldom accompanied by the recurrent subdivisions of Time, such as the seasons and the signs of the Zodiac, in a rich symbolic portrayal of the fundamental myth. The good creations of Chronos are inexorably balanced by the evil ones of Arimanius, just as in turn their progeny, the Olympian gods and heroes, were matched by powers of darkness. The stock conventional representation of the inevitable struggle between the two forces is Jupiter's fight with the snake-footed monsters (*anguipedes*) derived from Greek legend; and this cosmic conflict was once mimicked with terrible reality by Commodus, who butchered in the arena deformed cripples disguised as *anguipedes*. This cruel notion was not necessarily directly borrowed from Mithraism. But Commodus did, it appears, defile the Mithraic rites with murder at a stage in the proceedings where something fearsome had to be said or done.

In this universe of everlasting antithesis, the function of Mithras was to intervene for good. As god of Light, he was looked upon as mediator between inexorable Eternity and man. He is wholly distinct from the Sun, though often identified with him in later syncretic worship; and in his own ritual Mithras always ends as the Sun's sworn ally. On the reliefs the Sun does homage and receives from Mithras, as God of Light, his radiant crown. In relation to man, it was Mithras who first subdued untamed creation, typified by the bull, by catching, riding and throwing the bull, and finally, by dragging him, despite innumerable obstacles, in a *transitus invicti dei*, to his cave, thus earning the ritual title of βοοκλόπιος or *abactor boum*. The exact circumstances in which he was advised by the Sun to kill the bull, through a raven messenger, are obscure; but the result of the action was spectacular. From the dying creature's body sprang all useful plants and

herbs, from his marrow came wheat and from his blood the grape-vine. The Serpent and the scorpion, Ahriman's foul creatures, tried in vain to defile the life-giving flow. In particular, the semen, gathered and purified by the Moon, gave birth to all useful animals. The next task of Mithras was to protect the human race from the powers of darkness, but this phase of his activities is completely overshadowed in ritual art by the killing of the bull. Finally, came the reception of Mithras into Heaven, celebrated by a sacred banquet with the Sun, as on the famous relief from Konjica, the type of the sacred meal celebrated by his initiates.

Many other less obviously connected parts of the mysteries appear on the reliefs, for example, the birth of Mithras from the rock. This is again a legend which has no place in the older *Avesta* tradition. In the usual representation Mithras emerges from the rock rather like Venus rising from the waves. But on the very remarkable relief from Housesteads, whose exceptional nature is little realized, he springs like Chronos from an egg, symbolical of the eternal mystery of the first creation, and is surrounded, like Chronos, with the signs of the Zodiac. Just as there was a tendency to fuse Mithras and the Sun, so here the intention, as in the title *saecularis* accorded to Mithras on the Housesteads altars, is to fuse Mithras and Chronos. The phenomenon serves to illustrate how far the Roman Mithras is removed from Mithra of the *Avesta*. In the Roman worship the tendency is towards a dominant and single god; and this explains why Mithras, who is called τριπλάσιος, so dominates the trinity formed of himself and the Torch-bearers, Cautes and Cautopates, as to reduce the Torch-bearers to subordinate attendants. They are coeternal but not coequal.

The *Avesta* tradition came to form part of the national religion of ancient Persia, but Mithraism, unlike some Eastern religions, was never adopted by Rome upon a national basis. Nor is this surprising. The complete Mithraic cosmogony, whose fundamental thesis was the duality of good and evil, had nothing in common with the religion of

the Roman state, whose basis was not a conflict but a contract. Again the very essence of Mithraic theology is that the eternal antithesis is a strife reflected in the human soul, in which each individual takes a part. Hence the importance of Mithras as a guardian and guide of each individual initiate and the emphasis placed in Roman Mithraism upon the grades of purification or of initiation into the mysteries. This method of approach made Mithraic religion a matter of individual attainment, which could be shared only in secret among privileged individuals and was therefore quite unsuited to adaptation for public worship or State ceremonial. It also meant that Mithraic communities were never large. Cumont estimates the biggest as not more than a hundred strong: most, as their buildings show, were far smaller.

Seven Mithraic grades are mentioned in a letter from Saint Jerome to the patrician lady Laeta. They comprise *corax, nymphus, miles, leo, perses, heliodromus* and *pater,* that is, Raven, Bridegroom, Soldier, Lion, Persian, Courier of the Sun, and Father. *Pater, perses, leo, nymphus* and *corax* are specifically confirmed by inscriptions, which mention in addition *cryphius, hieroceryx* and *stereōtes.* The last two are more probably offices in the hierarchy of the cult than actual grades of initiation. The title *hieroceryx* or "holy herald" is well known in other ancient religious groups, while on the analogy of the *liberator*, whose task was to unloose the bonds of chicken-gut with which the initiate was tied in certain ceremonies, the *stereōtes*, or "strengthener", may well have taken some tutelary part in the rites. The bulk of the terms are somewhat clearer in meaning. *Nymphus* (which seems normally to take the place of the rarer *cryphius*), *miles* and *pater* are plainly referable to different stages of initiation and to grades of advancement in experience of life itself. *Corax* and *leo* are borrowed from the Mithraic cosmos. The Raven was sent to advise Mithras at critical moments and also ministered food in the sacred banquet with Helios, similar tasks being allotted to ravens, who are ancient, wise and hardy birds, in other religious

traditions. This title was chosen for the head of the three lower grades of initiate. The Lion, on the other hand, aided Mithras in the hunting down of wild creation, and comes at the top of the upper three grades. It has been suggested that *Perses* may be a title designed to give an antique flavour to the cult, but this is unproved. *Heliodromus* occurs only rarely in inscriptions and in connexion not with Mithras but with Zeus. Its significance seems obscure. Sculptured representations of all seven grades do not appear; but they may well be represented by the seven altars which occur upon many reliefs, and they are certainly related to the seven steps which in some Mithraic temples separate the sanctuary or its holiest part from the main body of the cave. Steps and grades alike may be referred, without much risk of error, to the Seven Gates of Wisdom which occur in the doctrine of the mysteries.

Members of some grades, in some ceremonies at least, wore special costume. A fourth-century source refers to the wings worn and flapped by Ravens; and men wearing raven-head masks appear upon the Konjica relief, together with the *miles*, the *perses* and lion-headed men, whose roaring is also mentioned. The initiates thus attired are ministering at the sacred banquet of Mithras and Helios. It is not unreasonable to conclude that the same dress was worn for the sacred banquet partaken by worshippers as one of the culminating sacraments. But, just as the banquet marks the climax of the earthly work of Mithras, so it probably marked the last stage of initiation, in which full participation came only when the initiate had passed through all degrees of purification. At this stage the presiding official of the cult was the *pater* in the West, while in Eastern versions *sacerdotes* and *magi* took a principal place.

Tradition, however, has preserved only the merest shreds of information about Mithraic ritual, which was secret and esoteric even in antiquity. These details, too, come almost wholly from Christian adversaries of the cult, who, with the devotion to types and allegories characteristic of their time,

considered many of its features a devilish imitation of Christian trials and sacraments. But the details preserved have a ring of authenticity. Tertullian records that the *miles*, or soldier of Mithras, had to stretch across a sword-blade for his crown—a burlesque of martyrdom—and, having won it, was warned to put it on his shoulder, never to wear it more, avowing Mithras as his crown. Porphyry knew that the *leones* had their hands washed and tongues anointed with honey instead of water, and that water was herein avoided as being the antithesis of purifying fire; while honey, also given to the *perses*, was peculiarly sacred, in that its makers, the bees, were born of a bull's carcass. The sacred honey, explains Porphyry, washed away all evil, hurt and defilement. The binding with chicken-gut has already been mentioned, presumably as the prelude to some form of ordeal, but of the ordeals little is known. Saint Gregory Nazianzen speaks of tortures and brandings of initiates. Suidas and Nonnus mention ordeals by fire and water, heat and cold or fasting and journeying. The water echoes the *Avesta*, and was used, as Tertullian remarks, to "wash away sins": while the terroristic murder by Commodus shows at least that terror, however induced, was one of the weaknesses to be overcome by the initiate.

Finally the mysteries involved the ritual use of bread and water, employed in a manner which Justin Martyr mentions as being a point of common knowledge, while Tertullian describes the rite as an oblation of bread (*panis oblationem*). In the Avesta ritual, the water was mixed with *haoma* or ὄμωμι as Plutarch calls it, a holy plant of the Magi unknown to the West, in order to make a sacred drink imparting strength and wisdom. The Konjica relief, which shows a sacred banquet in progress (graced by a dish of small round loaves of Pompeian type, scored for breaking into quarters) and the statements of expenses for food and drink incurred by Mithraists at Dura indicate jointly that this meal had much in common with many gild feasts of the Roman world and that bread and wine were involved. To Christians, how-

ever, the institution was an abomination, since its superficial resemblance to the Eucharist, enhanced by the fortifying properties ascribed to the Mithraic holy food, tended diabolically to obscure their complete difference of intention and meaning.

It is now evident why the cult of Mithras demanded a special type of building for its practice. This was provided by a shrine which imitated a cave (*specus, spelaeum* or *spelunca*), in memory of the cavern where Mithras stabled and eventually slew the bull. Adversaries of the cult singled out these *mithraea*, as the shrines were less specifically called, and their symbols for condemnation; "*Sacra vero eius in speluncis abditis tradunt, ut semper obscuro tenebrarum squalore demersi*", says Firmicus; "*insuper et furem adhuc depingitis esse, cum si deus esset, utique non furto vivebat*", sings Commodianus. Eventually, they were the target of such desecrations as that described by Saint Jerome in A.D. 377; "*specum Mithrae et omnia portentosa simulacra . . . subvertit, fregit, excussit*". The action is explained partly by dislike of secrecy, partly by the fact that a cave was as necessary to Mithraism as a church to Christianity. While differing in size, all *mithraea* follow the same pattern, of a long narrow hall, flanked by divans for worshippers and terminating in a sanctuary, where the shrine displayed the cardinal legend of Mithras slaying the bull and associated altars recorded dedications to local taste. Subsidiary paintings or reliefs presented a selection of cosmological or eschatological scenes. These shrines were sometimes completely or half underground, sometimes wholly above ground, but always of standard form, wherever they occur. They are frequent in the important commercial and cosmopolitan centres of the Empire, and on the frontiers. They were becoming common on the Danube and in the Rhineland by the middle of the second century, but the heyday of the religion is the third century, to which the dated examples on the British frontier belong.

THE POTTERY FROM THE MITHRAEUM

Key to references used for parallels in this section.

Bewcastle	CW² xxxviii, p. 195.
Birdoswald	CW² xxx, p. 169.
Cardurnock	CW² xlvii, p. 78.
Carlisle—Tullie House Catalogue	CW² xvii, p. 2.
Corbridge, 1911	AA³ viii, p. 137.
Corbridge, 1938	AA⁴ xv, p. 243.
Corbridge, 1947	AA⁴ xxviii, p. 152.
Edlington Wood	*Numismatic Chronicle* 5, xv, p. 202.
Leicester	*Research Report Soc. Ant. Lond.* xv.
Milecastle 9—Chapel House	AA⁴ vii, p. 143.
Milecastle 48—Poltross Burn	CW² xi, p. 390.
Milecastle 50—High House	CW² xiii, p. 297.
Newstead	J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, etc., 1911.
Norton	*Roman Malton and District Report* vii.
Throlam	*Roman Malton and District Report* iii.
Turret 7*b*—Denton Hall	AA⁴ vii, p. 143.
Turret 50*b*—Appletree	CW² xiii, p. 297.
Wroxeter	*Research Report Soc. Ant. Lond.* i.

The pottery found in the course of the excavation falls into two categories. The first category comprises a number of vessels, most, though not all, in fine fabrics, some found complete (nos. 16 and 32) others represented by large fragments or many fragments (*cf.* nos. 6 and 26). These were evidently part of the furnishings of the *mithraeum*. Some were found where they had been placed, as containers for votive offerings, and others were found near where they would seem to have been used in sacred ceremonies during one or other of the periods when the building was in commission. There are fragments missing from some of these vessels, and in some instances even a complete section is not preserved (*cf.* nos. 8, 24 and 42), but there is no need to doubt that the vessels were used in the *mithraeum*. Fragments may well have been lost during Roman reconstructions, and it is not to be excluded that some small pieces may have eluded eye and finger in the thick, wet, black soil. The vessels that seem to be part of the furnishings also include a number of coarse pots. Some had been used for ceremonial (e.g. no. 42), while others may have been used for ordinary cooking, whether with religious significance or not. The interest of the vessels in this category lies mainly

in their use, though there is the added interest that the vessels found in the successive levels reflect the current developments in ceramic fashions.

The second category comprises a number of fragments of vessels (*cf.* nos. 14 and 36), that had found their way into the *mithraeum* as rubbish during the successive periods of temporary disuse, or after the final abandonment. They are mostly of the ordinary types found in the barracks and rubbish dumps of Roman forts, and their interest lies mainly in their value as indicators of date. The outline of the history of the *mithraeum* is firmly fixed on the evidence of the sequence of building and modification, the inscriptions and coins. The stratified fragments of pottery of datable type usefully corroborate this evidence, while conversely, from the point of view of the study of pottery, it is now possible to increase the number of published examples of vessels from sealed and dated third-century levels on Hadrian's Wall from 63 to 101.

The pieces are dealt with group by group, according to the level at which they were found, beginning with the earliest. Periods I to IIc are numbered to correspond with the plans on figs. 2 to 5, while Period III refers to the fourth-century level. To avoid ambiguity it is necessary to point out that these are the periods special to the *mithraeum*, and that the numbers used for them do not correspond with those used for the periods of occupation of Hadrian's Wall as a whole and given in *Archæologia Aeliana* (4th series, vol. vii, p. 169). Within the groups the pieces are arranged in the class order outlined in *Archæologia Aeliana* (4th series, vol. xxviii, p. 183).

Pottery from the level of Periods I and IIa (fig. 9).

Pieces 1 to 6 and 8 to 15 were all found inside the *mithraeum*, south of the north wall of Mithraeum I. None was sealed by structures of Period I.

1. Fragment from the rim of an *amphora*, in buff fabric with grey core. Found below the flagging of Period II*b*.

This piece is from a globular *amphora* of the kind used in the second century for imports from southern Spain. It is a stray, that is, a piece which has survived as rubbish. Stray fragments of Samian ware vessels of Dragendorff's forms 33, 37 and 38 were associated with it. Fragments of the walls of *amphorae* were found at all levels in the *mithraeum*. The rim fragment, no. 39, found in the level of Period III, was associated with numerous large body fragments and seems to have belonged to a vessel in actual use.

2. About thirty fragments, forming much of a wheel-made cooking pot, with a true cavetto rim, in light grey fabric. It has a silvery grey-fumed and burnished surface, with an unburnished zone, decorated with right-angled cross-hatching lightly scored with a blunt-ended tool.

Most fragments were found in the make-up of the flooring of Period II*b*, a few in the level of Period II*a*.

This is a typical third-century cooking pot: *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 24, A.D. 297; Corbridge 1947, no. 34, A.D. 197; Milecastle 48, pl. IV, no. 24, A.D. 200-297; Turret 7*b*, no. 13, A.D. 200-297.

3. Fragments from the upper part of a wheel-made cooking pot, with a somewhat straighter rim than no. 2, in grey fabric with burnished black-fumed surface, decorated with acute-angled cross-hatching.

Most fragments came from a low level on the east side of the building, below the foundation of the wattle screen of the narthex, while others came from the west bench of Period II*a*.

Like no. 2 this is a typical third-century cooking pot. Acute-angled cross-hatching survived until at least as late as the end of the second century: *cf.* Corbridge 1947, no. 21, A.D. 197.

4. A number of fragments from a cooking pot in grey-fumed fabric decorated with acute-angled cross-hatching in deeply scored fine lines. The vessel is caked with soot and has evidently been used for cooking, and since a large portion survives it was probably so used within the *mithraeum*.

Most of it was found with no. 3, below the foundation of the screen, but one small fragment came from the same deposit as no. 1.

This vessel was made either late in the second century or, more probably, early in the third: *cf.* Corbridge 1947, no. 24, A.D. 197; Milecastle 48, pl. IV, no. 28, A.D. 200-297.

5. A single small fragment of a cooking pot with a beaker rim in black-fumed fabric; the piece is cross-hatched.

Found on the floor of Period II*a* in association with a fragment of the cooking pot no. 3.

This is probably a stray fragment of second-century pottery: *cf.* Corbridge 1938, fig. 9, no. 8, A.D. 139-163.

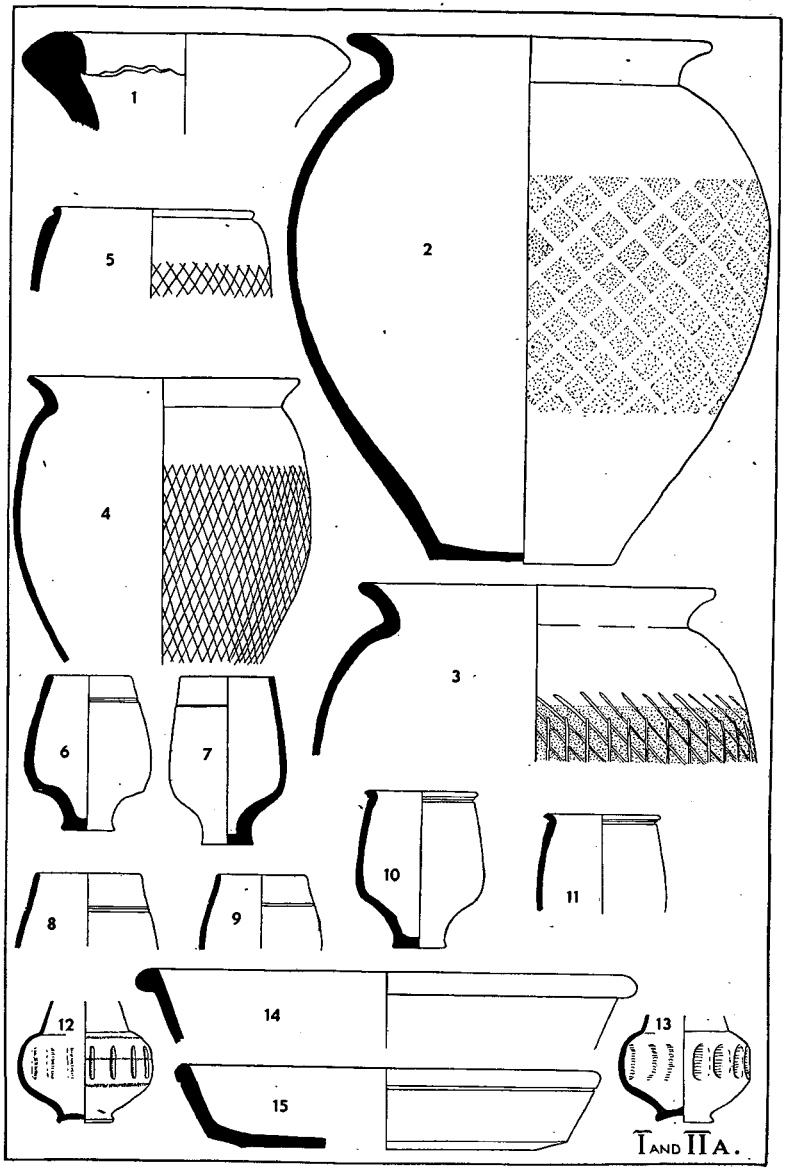


FIG. 9. Pottery from the *mithraeum* ($\frac{1}{4}$).

6. Fragments making up an almost complete Castor-ware cup, of the so-called bag shape, with plain lip and a double groove half an inch below the rim. It is in thick greyish-white fabric coated in light reddish brown.

Some pieces came from the level of the flags of Period II*b*, and others from below the east pedestal of Cautes, having slipped into this position during Roman alterations. This cup was probably used for ceremonial purposes.

The dating of these and similar cups is discussed on p. 80.

7. A similar cup from Edlington Wood, near Doncaster, kindly drawn by Mr. Philip Corder.

8. Fragment of a similar cup in white fabric with dark-grey coating. From below the screen with nos. 3 and 4.

9. Fragment of a similar cup in white fabric with orange coating. Found in the make-up of the west bench. With it was found a fragment of a hexagonal green glass bottle, with sides each about an inch wide. These vessels were produced in the Rhineland during the first three quarters of the third century.

10. Several fragments making up an almost complete Castor-ware cup, of the same general shape as no. 6, but with the distinctive grooved and moulded rim of the Castor-ware hunt cups. It is in greyish-white fabric with orange-brown coating.

Found just inside the north wall of the *mithraeum* of Period I, at the same level as the large pine-cone (see p. 6). This cup was probably used for ceremonial in the earliest *mithraeum*.

11. Fragment of a similar cup in buff fabric with red-brown coating. Found below the screen with nos. 3, 4 and 8.

12. A large fragment comprising the base and the greater part of the side of a bulbous cup with inward sloping neck, sometimes called a funnel neck. The body is decorated with shallow vertical indentations, at 20-degree intervals, and also with horizontal bands of light rouletting. It is in a fine, hard, red fabric with a highly polished black coating. The fabric differs from that of the Castor-ware cups; it is of the type usually called Rhenish.

Found in the make-up of the east bench.

13. Fragments of a very similar cup, with somewhat broader indentations and in the same fabric.

Found in the make-up of the west bench.

These two very similar cups were found at the same level, and had been symmetrically disposed one on either side of the building. They were clearly used as a pair in the ceremonies.

14. A fragment of bowl or platter, with a rounded rim, in dark grey-fumed fabric, undecorated.

Found on the east side of the building at a low level, below the

foundation of the wicker screen of the narthex, and associated with nos. 3, 4, 8 and 11, and also with many fragments from the sides of a large, square, green glass bottle, and a scrap of Samian ware with the letters MARI scratched through the glaze.

This is a typical third-century rim, *cf.* Birdoswald, no. 80, A.D. 200-297; Corbridge 1947, fig. 10 (bottom right), A.D. 200-297.

It is represented several times in the *mithraeum* (*cf.* nos. 20, 38 and 50); typologically, it is later than the down-turned rims of the late second century, *cf.* Corbridge 1947, nos. 77 and 84, A.D. 197; but it is earlier than the flanged rims which came into vogue late in the third century and lasted until the end of the Roman period, *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 28, A.D. 297.

15. Two fragments of a platter with a grooved rim and a chamfered base, in black-fumed fabric without decoration.

Found below the heather flooring of Period II*b*.

This fragmentary vessel is probably a second-century stray.

The group as a whole is of third-century date. Second-century vessels are represented only by fragments which are almost certainly strays, or rubbish from the second-century occupation of the fort, already on the site when Mithraeum I was built. On the other hand the group belongs to the earlier part of the third century. Cooking pot no. 2, the most advanced type present, has more in common with late second-century cooking pots than with late third-century pieces such as nos. 29 and 30. The group is not itself sufficiently large to provide close dating for Periods I and II*a*. But it supports the conclusion reached on other grounds that Mithraeum I and Mithraeum II were both built during the first quarter of the third century.

Pottery from the level of Period IIb (fig. 10).

The pieces numbered 16 to 20 are either from the level of Period II*b*, the period of the heather flooring, or from the body of structures belonging to Period II*c*.

16. A Castor-ware cup, of the same type as no. 6, complete and undamaged. It is a dark purple colour, slightly iridescent, but matt and unpolished. Where the colour coating is scratched a white body is revealed.

Found on the east bench, and indicated on the plan of Period II*b* (fig. 4).

17. Fragment of a Castor-ware cup, similar to no. 10, in a white fabric with a dark red-brown colour coating.

Found among the wattling at the north end of the west bench; these wattles are of Period II*c*, and the cup therefore probably belongs to Period II*b*.

18. Two small conjoined fragments of a mortarium, of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 118, in hard white fabric, conveniently called pipe-clay fabric; no grit survives.

One piece was found among the wattling of the west bench, and the other in the heather level in the central alley. The pieces probably found their way into the *mithraeum* during an intermission between Periods II*b* and II*c*.

This is a typical third-century mortarium; it belongs rather to the later half than to the earlier half of the century: *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 12, A.D. 297; Corbridge 1938, fig. 7, no. 8, A.D. 200-297; Corbridge 1947, fig. 10 (bottom centre), A.D. 200-297.

Both the Corbridge examples were immediately sealed by early fourth-century structures.

19. Several fragments of a plain-rimmed platter in polished black-fumed fabric with a pattern of intersecting arcs lightly burnished on the already burnished surface. The proportion of the vessel (height as a percentage of diameter, *cf. Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. xxviii, p. 183) is 20. The outside is caked with soot.

Found with no. 17 among the wattles at the north end of the west bench.

These simple vessels are not easy to date closely; the chamfered base suggests a date in the second century rather than in the third. The pieces may be from a vessel that had survived long in use; they are too well preserved to be strays.

20. Three large fragments of a platter with rounded rim, in dark grey fabric with back-fumed surface, undecorated.

Found with no. 19.

Like no. 14 this is a typical third-century vessel.

The group as a whole is of third-century date, one piece being perhaps of earlier type. But the latest piece in the group, the mortarium no. 18, is typologically later than anything in the group of Periods I and II*a*; its presence in the deposit of Period II*b* suggests that Period II*c*, the board floor period, is unlikely to have begun before the middle of the third century at earliest.

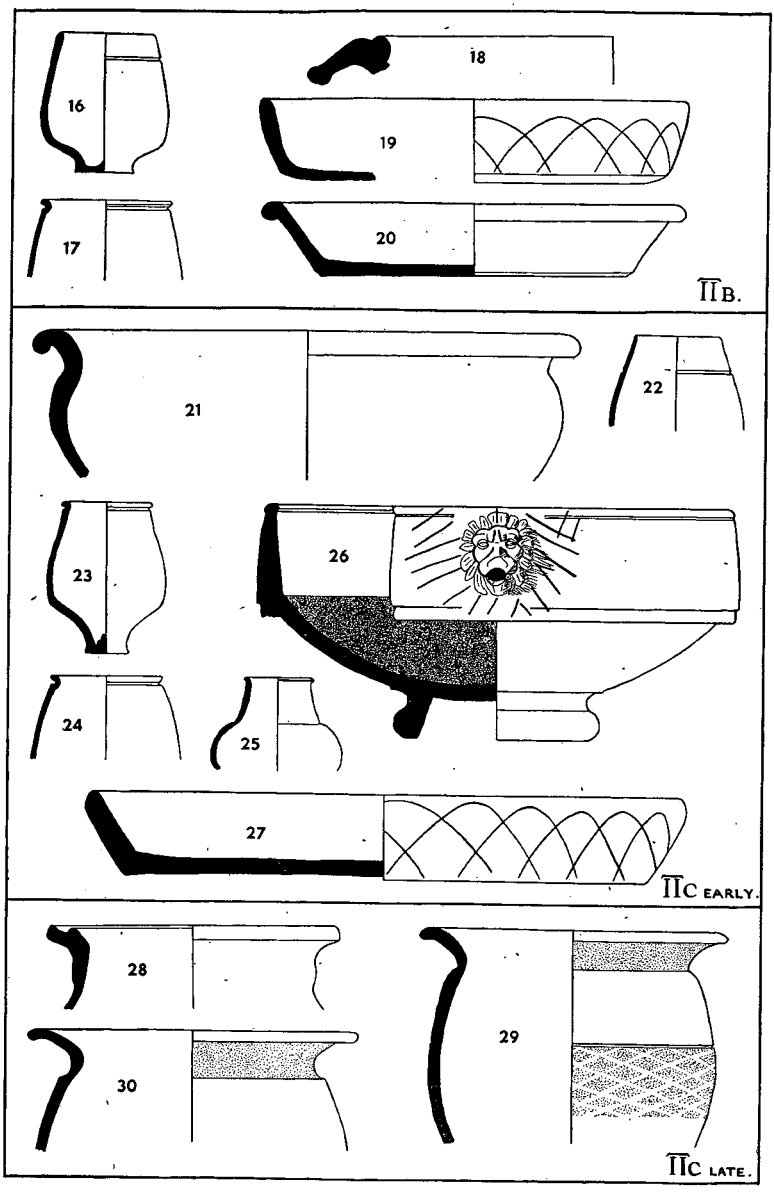


FIG. 10. Pottery from the *mithraeum* ($\frac{1}{4}$).

The earlier group of pottery from the level of Period IIc.

Pieces 21 to 27 all come from the level of Period IIc, the board level, and nearly all of them seem to represent vessels actually in use in the *mithraeum* in this period.

21. A large fragment of a wide-mouthed jar, in light grey fabric with darker grey, fumed and polished surface.

Found just inside the door at lower level than the threshold of Period III, in a deposit which conflates with a deposit of Period IIc in the apse.

This piece can only be dated from its context.

22. Two conjoined fragments of a Castor-ware cup of the same type as no. 6, in pinkish-white fabric with dark brown matt coating.

From the board level in the apse.

23. A Castor-ware cup of the same type as no. 10, almost complete but broken into many fragments. It is in fine pinkish-white fabric with salmon pink coating.

From the board level in the apse.

24. A fragment of a similar cup in white fabric with purple-brown coating.

From the board level in the apse.

25. One large fragment of a small cup, generally similar to no. 12, in fine red fabric with a grey core, and a highly polished black colour coating, resembling Japanese lacquer, or the background of Greek red-figure vases.

From the board level in the apse.

26. This figure has been drawn by conflating two almost identical Samian mortaria of Dragendorff's form 45 in a good red glaze comparable with Lezoux products. Though much broken both vessels are nearly complete; one lacks the foot-ring, and the other the lion-head spout. The wall-sided rim of the latter is half an inch deeper than that which has been drawn and is not grooved. Both vessels are in excellent condition and had received very little wear, either before or after they were broken.

Fragments of both vessels were found in each of two separate deposits: some came from just inside and to west of the door, at the level of the hearth of Period IIc, and others came from the board level in the apse.

The vessels were probably made in central Gaul in the second century. While fragments of Samian ware are quite commonly found in deposits of a later date than A.D. 200, odd pieces being found in deposits of as late as the close of the Roman period, it is nevertheless unusual to find such excellent specimens as these in

actual use in the latter part of the third century. The use to which they were put was probably ceremonial rather than domestic, and it may be remarked that their lion-head spouts no doubt gave them a special attraction in the eyes of Mithraists.

27. Several fragments making up the greater part of a plain-rimmed platter in black-fumed fabric with highly polished surface; decorated on sides and base with lightly scored arcs. The proportion is 12 (for reference, see no. 19).

Found at the board level in the apse; two fragments from small Castor-ware cups, which join neither one another nor any of the cups here drawn, were also found in this deposit.

It is no easier to obtain a close dating for this vessel than for no. 19. The flat base suggests a date in the third century rather than in the second: *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 30, A.D. 297.

The interest of this group lies in the fact that the vessels, with the possible exception of no. 21, were used in worship in the *mithraeum*. It would be a most difficult group to date if the context were unknown.

The later group of pottery from the level of Period IIc.

Pieces 28 to 38 come from deposits formed at the moment when Mithraeum III was being built.

28. Fragment of a narrow-mouthed jar of unusual form, in hard black fabric with goose-flesh surface.

Found in association with the foundations of the demolished apse of Mithraeum II.

This piece cannot be dated from its shape, but the fabric was common in the late third and early fourth centuries: nos. 31 and 53 are in similar fabric.

29. Several fragments making up the greater part of a cooking pot in black-fumed fabric with highly polished surface: it is decorated with a narrow band of obtuse-angled cross-hatching, bounded above by a shallow scored line.

Some pieces were found to west of the west pedestal and ten inches below its top, between the wattling of periods IIc and III; the remainder were found immediately below the paving of Period III in the nave.

This is a typical cooking pot of the turn of the third and fourth centuries: *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 57, A.D. 300-343; Turret 50*b*, no. 92, A.D. 200-297.

30. Fragment from a very similar vessel, with slightly more

developed rim, in grey fabric with lightly burnished black-fumed surface.

Found in association with the foundations of the demolished apse.

This is a typical early fourth-century cooking pot: *cf.* Birdoswald, no. 19, A.D. 300-367.

31. Fragment of a wide-mouthed jar, in hard light grey fabric with dark grey goose-flesh surface.

Found just inside the door, immediately below the flagged floor of Period II.

Like no. 28, this piece can only be dated by its fabric to approximately the turn of the third and fourth centuries.

32. Castor-ware cup, of the same type as nos. 6 and 16, complete and undamaged. It has a light pinkish-brown coating, slightly iridescent, but matt and unpolished. Where the coating is scratched a white body is revealed.

Found containing bones of a domestic fowl in the ritual pit below the altars in the sanctuary of Mithraeum III.

33. A similar cup, almost complete but broken, in pinkish-white fabric coated with dark reddish brown.

Found immediately below the flagged floor of Period III.

34. An almost complete cup of the same type as no. 10, in fine pinkish-white fabric with a dark purple-brown coating.

Found immediately below the flagged floor of Period III.

35. Two conjoined fragments of a similar cup in white fabric with a bright orange colour coating.

One fragment came from immediately below the paved floor of Period III, the other from the filling of the later west bench.

36. Two small conjoined fragments of a mortarium of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 186, with reeded hammer-head rim, in pipe-clay fabric; no grit survives.

Found in association with the foundations of the demolished apse.

This mortarium is typical of the very end of the third century and the first two-thirds of the fourth: *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 15, A.D. 297; Birdoswald, no. 11, A.D. 300 to 367; Milecastle 48, pl. V, no. 3, A.D. 300 to 367.

37. A fragment of a straight-sided flanged bowl or platter, in smooth light grey fabric.

Found immediately below the flagged floor of Period III.

This type of rim first came into general use late in the third century, though there are some supposed cases of its appearance in much earlier deposits. Once established it became the standard type of rim for bowls and platters throughout the British provinces, until

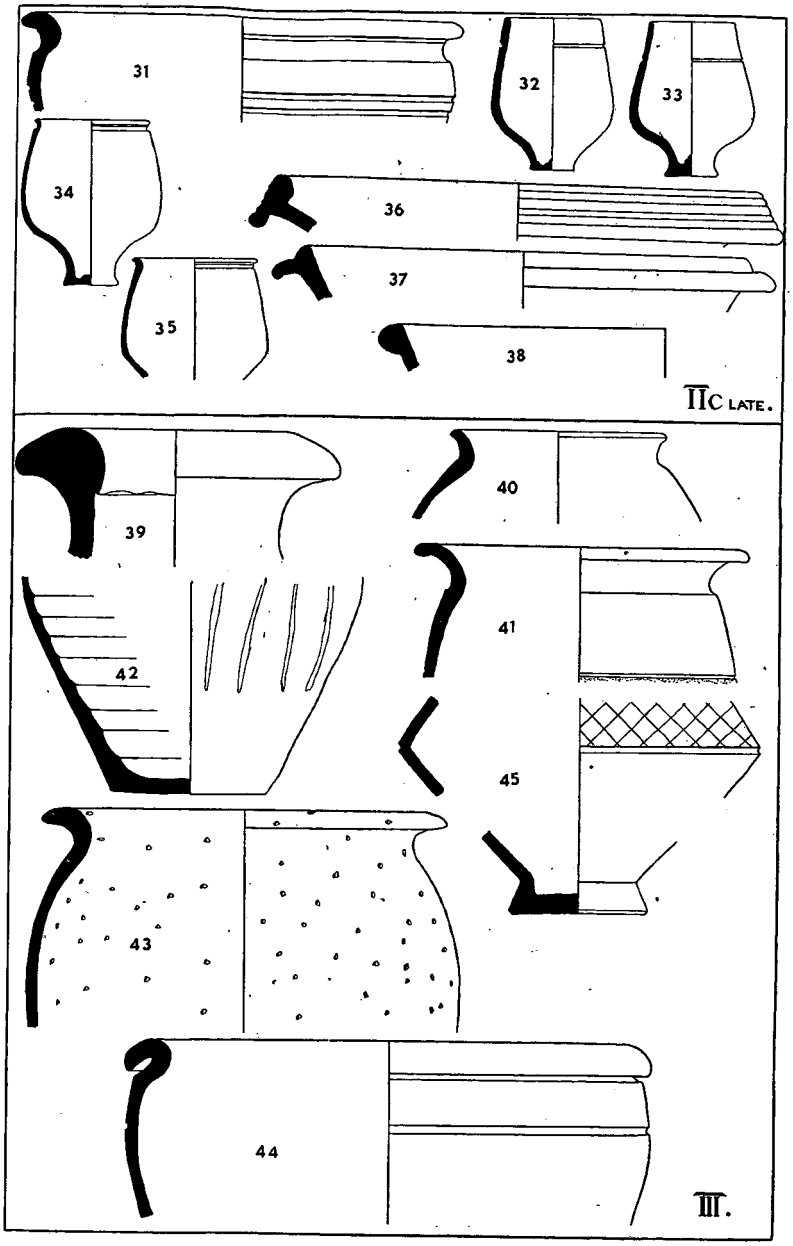


FIG. 11. Pottery from the *mithraeum* ($\frac{1}{4}$).

the end of the Roman period. There are minor variations of detail, some of which are of chronological significance. *Cf.* Bewcastle, no. 52, A.D. 300-343; Birdoswald, no. 91, A.D. 300-367; Milecastle 48, pl. V, no. 18, A.D. 300-367.

38. A small fragment from the rim of a bowl or platter, of the same type as no. 14, in black-fumed fabric.

Found immediately below the flagged floor of Period III.

This early third-century fragment must be regarded as a stray in the present context.

The group as a whole belongs to the very end of the third century. It consists of vessels of types that remained fashionable well into the fourth century. The pieces sealed by structures inside the *mithraeum* confirm the conclusion from coin evidence (see p. 34) that the final reconstruction came in the fourth century. The pieces from the foundation of the demolished apse clearly found their way there at the time of its demolition and not at the time of its initial construction. They thus add to the evidence for the fourth-century date of the last reconstruction.

Pottery from the levels of Period III.

Some of the pieces numbered 39 to 51 came from the floor level of Period III. Others came from immediately outside the walls of the building, at a higher level than the line of complete rebuilding (that is the horizontal division between the well-laid early courses of masonry and the rougher later work), but lower than the tops of the walls as they have survived. Fragments can only have found their way into this position after the drastic reconstruction at the beginning of Period III had taken place, and before the ultimate silting was at all advanced, that is, during and immediately after Period III.

39. More than half the rim of an *amphora*, in buff fabric with a pink core.

Found on the latest flagged floor at the west side of the sanctuary, in association with numerous body fragments. Unlike no. 1 this piece is part of a vessel which survived in use.

40. Fragment of a cooking pot in light self-coloured orange fabric, unburnished.

Found at the lower level of peaty accumulation over the raft of stones outside the north-east corner of the *mithraeum* (*cf.* fig. 3).

In shape this vessel resembles second-century cooking pots and is probably a stray; Birdoswald, no. 18*d*, A.D. 125-197.

Cooking pots in orange fabric, instead of the usual black- or grey-fumed fabric, are not infrequent; they seem to be made of the same clay as the others, but to lack the deliberate darkening of the surface, and to have been fired in oxidizing conditions.

41. Large fragment of a cooking pot of the same type as nos. 29 and 30, in lightly burnished black-fumed fabric, with a scored line above the zone of decoration, of which little survives.

Found in the same deposit as no. 40.

Like nos. 29 and 30 this is a typical cooking pot of the turn of the third and fourth centuries.

42. Large fragment, comprising the base and much of the sides of a jar or wheel-made cooking pot in hard light grey fabric, decorated externally with lightly scored vertical lines and displaying very distinctly the internal rilling of wheel-made vessels.

Found near the pedestal of the Mother-goddess, and shown on pl. X A. No other pieces of the vessel were found.

In the absence of the rim close dating is not possible. The fabric is consistent with a date in the third or fourth centuries.

43. One large and several small pieces of a cooking pot in a muddy grey fabric, once doubtless heavily charged with calcite grit, but pitted with holes from which the grit has been entirely dissolved, as has most of the plaster in the building, by the highly acid peaty soil.

Found on the flagged floor of Period III on the east side of the nave.

Calcite-gritted cooking pots had a long life. They are found throughout the Roman period in East Yorkshire and the north-east Midlands, but hardly ever appear on or near the line of the Wall before the fourth century. The present example has a curved rim which contrasts both with the straight rims of the third-century Knapton-ware cooking pots, and with the distinctive thick out-turned and internally grooved rims of the high-shouldered late fourth-century Huntcliff type of cooking pots. The present piece is then almost certainly of early fourth-century date: *cf.* Bewcastle, no. 72, A.D. 343-367; Cardurnock, no. 17, probably A.D. 300-367; Milecastle 48, pl. V, no. 8, A.D. 300-367; Milecastle 50, no. 122, A.D. 300-367.

44. Large fragment of a wide-mouthed jar in hard grey polished fabric.

Found in the silt immediately above the foundations of the demolished apse, at a slightly higher level than nos. 28, 30 and 36.

Similar vessels were made in the kilns at Throlam in East Yorkshire, probably early in the fourth century: Throlam, no. 25, probably A.D. 300-367.

45. Large part of the wall of a carinated vessel; also a base which belongs either to it or to a very similar piece.

The wall fragment came from the floor of Period III, near the north end of the west bench; the base was unstratified.

This seems to be a product of the kilns at Norton in East Yorkshire which were active in the third century and possibly in the fourth: Norton no. 10*a*, third or fourth century.

46. Small fragment of a mortarium of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 186, in pipe-clay fabric with small black grit.

Found in the same deposit as no. 44.

Like no. 36 this mortarium is typical of the very end of the third century and the first two-thirds of the fourth.

47. Fragment of a straight-sided bowl or platter, with flanged rim, in grey fabric fumed black and decorated with lightly scored arcs.

Found in the same deposit as no. 40.

This vessel is of the same type as no. 37; it is quite different from the late fourth-century straight-sided flanged bowls, *cf.* Crambeck type 1*b*, both in fabric and decoration.

48. Large fragment of a straight-sided flanged bowl, generally similar to no. 47, in grey-fumed fabric.

Found immediately outside the east wall of the *mithraeum*, in black silt, above the line of rebuilding, but below the top of the wall.

Like nos. 37 and 47 this is an early fourth-century type.

49. Fragment of a similar vessel, with the flange nearer the lip, in black-fumed fabric; undecorated. It is caked with soot.

From the same deposit and of the same date as no. 48.

50. Small fragment from the rim of a bowl or platter of the same type as nos. 14, 20 and 38, in dark grey-fumed fabric.

Found in the same deposit as no. 40.

This is probably a third-century stray.

51. Several large pieces of a platter with a groove below the lip, in light grey fabric, fumed dark grey and undecorated. The proportion is 23 (for reference see no. 19).

Found just inside the door, lying on the paving of Period III.

Vessels of this class are not easy to date closely, but similar ones were in use early in the fourth century; Bewcastle, no. 59, A.D. 300-343; Birdoswald, no. 84, A.D. 300-367; Milecastle 48, pl. V, no. 22, A.D. 300-367.

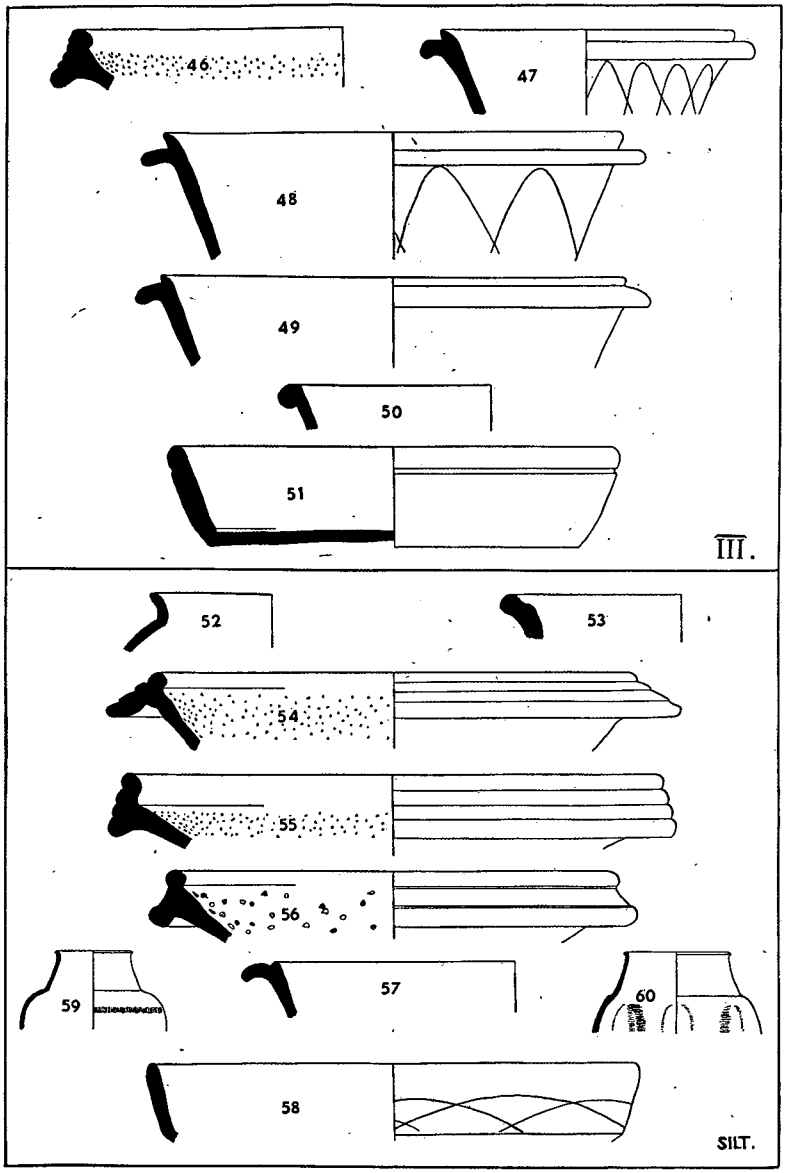


FIG. 12. Pottery from the *mithraeum* ($\frac{1}{4}$).

The group as a whole belongs to the early years of the fourth century. Strays from the second and third centuries are present, but no late fourth-century piece occurs. It thus appears that the use of the Mithraeum in its final phase began in the fourth century, but, so far as negative evidence goes, did not last for long. It is interesting to note that already in the Constantian epoch pottery made in East Yorkshire (nos. 43, 44 and 45) was beginning to compete successfully in the northern market, though it had not yet, as after the disasters of the sixties, achieved a virtual monopoly.

Pottery from the silt covering the remains.

The pieces numbered 52 to 58 were all found in the black silt covering the floor of Period III inside the building, at a slightly higher level than nos. 39, 42, 43, 45 and 51. The find-spots of individual pieces are not given.

52. Small fragment of a grey cooking pot.

This is probably a stray from the second century or from the early third.

53. Small fragment from the rim of a cooking pot with a depression running round the inner edge of the rim. It is in a very hard light grey fabric with a goose-flesh surface, similar to that of nos. 28 and 31.

This tiny scrap happens to be closely datable. Not only is the fabric typical of the late third and early fourth centuries, but a piece similar both in shape and fabric was found in 1949 in the stokehole of the early fourth-century tile-kiln at South Shields, in association with a mortarium of the same type as no. 54, and a cooking pot of the same type as no. 29. There are also two published parallels from the Wall: Milecastle 50, nos. 117 and 118, A.D. 200-297.

54. Fragment of a mortarium of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 174, in pipe-clay fabric, with small black grit.

This is a variant of the reeded hammer-head rim, contemporary with nos. 36 and 46. Morphologically it is intermediate between them and no. 18, but this is probably without chronological significance. Bewcastle, no. 10, A.D. 297; Milecastle 48, pl. V, no. 1, A.D. 300-367.

55. Fragment of a mortarium of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 206, in pipe-clay fabric with small black grit.

Though this differs in detail from no. 54, it probably does not differ in date: Milecastle 48, pl. v, no. 4, A.D. 300-367; Milecastle 50, no. 115, A.D. 200-297.

56. Fragment of a mortarium of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 182, in buff fabric with large multicoloured grit.

This vessel is aberrant from the hammer-head type, and is either contemporary with it or slightly later: Bewcastle, no. 66, A.D. 343-367.

57. Scrap of a bowl or platter in black-fumed fabric, with flat rim grooved on the inner edge, so creating an incipient flange.

This vessel is typologically earlier than nos. 37, 47, 48 and 49, and though of a different type from nos. 14, 20, 38 and 50, is probably contemporary with them: Bewcastle, no. 28, A.D. 297; Birdoswald, no. 78, A.D. 200-297; Corbridge 1938, fig. 7, no. 12, A.D. 200-297.

58. Fragment of a plain-rimmed platter, with chamfered base, in black-fumed fabric, decorated with lightly scored arcs.

The chamfered base suggests that this is a second-century piece, and therefore probably a stray.

In addition to the pieces drawn there were also found in the silt a fragment of a rim similar to no. 53, a fragment of a Dales-ware cooking pot (*cf.* Milecastle 48, pl. v, no. 17), a fragment of Derbyshire ware, and several rims of *mortaria* of reeded hammer-head type, in pipe-clay fabric. These are all late third-century and early fourth-century types.

The group as a whole belongs to the first half of the fourth century, though there is a high proportion of strays from the second and third centuries. The striking feature is the complete absence of the distinctive types of pottery that came into general use on the Wall in about A.D. 370. This makes it as certain as negative evidence can that the silting of the abandoned building was well advanced if not complete by the third quarter of the century, and that the abandonment of the *mithraeum* came earlier, perhaps much earlier, than this. Late fourth-century pottery is not entirely absent from Carrawburgh. Mr. Noel Shaw has found several fragments of Crambeck ware and a rim of a Huntcliff-type cooking pot in rabbit scrapes in and near the fort. It corroborates the coins from Coventina's Well, which go down to A.D. 383.

Pottery from the topsoil.

Many pieces of pottery were found in the topsoil, some of them well preserved and interesting in themselves. They range in date from the middle of the second to the middle of the fourth century, the later pieces predominating. The only post-Roman pottery found on the site was the bowl of a clay pipe of seventeenth or eighteenth-century style. As it would not further the object of this report to publish these pieces, they are all omitted from consideration, with the exception of two fragments of cups found in excavated earth which probably once formed part of the furnishings of the *mithraeum.*

59. A complete rim and a wall fragment of a small cup of the same type as no. 12, in red fabric with a highly polished black surface.

60. A fragment of a cup of the same type in fine hard red fabric with a grey core and a black highly polished colour coating. The cup has been indented; two indentations survive, at an angle of sixty degrees to each other, so that there were probably six originally.

The dating of the small cups.

Nineteen cups in colour-coated fabric were found in the *mithraeum* and have been drawn; there were fragments of two others. The cups fall readily into three types:

A. A cup whose greatest diameter is below the middle, and whose sides slope inwards towards the top in a straight line, or with a very slight concavity, to a mouth whose diameter is greater than that of the base, which is a very narrow pedestal. This form is sometimes described as bag-shaped. The lip is plain except for one, or perhaps two, scored lines close together about half an inch below it. Experiment with the complete examples shows that despite their narrow base the vessels are fairly stable, perhaps because of the solidity of the base and the low centre of gravity of the bulge. Type A is always made in white fabric with a colour coating in matt finish.

B. A similar bag-shaped cup with a moulded and under-

cut rim, without the scored line. The type is always made in the same fabric as type A.

C. A cup of bulbous form with neck that springs from a distinct junction with the body and slopes inwards to a mouth whose diameter is once more greater than that of the base. This tall inward sloping neck is sometimes called a funnel neck. The lip has a simple beading. The base, which is narrow, is flatter than that of types A and B and is neatly moulded. The sides are usually indented, the indentations varying in number, size and character from vessel to vessel, and they are sometimes lightly rouletted. Type C is always made in a very fine hard red fabric with a highly polished black coating; it is an excellent example of the Roman provincial potter's technique.

Vessels of these types are very sparsely represented in excavation reports on Wall sites. Rough-cast beakers, which are perhaps the forerunners of types A and B, are much better represented; examples from second-century deposits at Birdoswald, Chesterholm, Corbridge, Haltwhistle Burn, Throp, Milecastle 48 and Turret 49*b* have been published, and there are unpublished specimens from Turrets 29*b* and 50*b*. But for the types under immediate consideration we have only an unstratified fragment of type A or B from Milecastle 9, no. 30, an example of type B from a second-century deposit at Corbridge, 1911, no. 73, and an almost complete example of type C from the early fourth-century deposit at Birdoswald, no. 45. In addition Mr. Thomas May figures an example of type A from Carlisle, of type B from near Haltwhistle, and of type C from a grave in Carlisle, in his *Catalogue of Roman pottery in Tullie House Museum*; they are respectively nos. 115, 113 and 119 in the catalogue. Seven examples of type A, of which two are complete and undamaged and two almost complete, seven of type B, of which three are almost complete, and five of type C have now been found in the course of a single excavation. This provides an opportunity, not hitherto available, for the study of the types. An excavation report is not the most

appropriate vehicle for such a study, and the following remarks are intended to serve only as a prolegomenon.

One of the principal purposes for which the cups were used is revealed by the Mithraeum excavation. They were used ceremonially as drinking-cups, and this may go so far towards explaining their absence from the barracks, turrets and milecastles of the Wall, and the discovery of at least one in a grave in Carlisle.

Type A appears to be an exclusively third-century type. It was absent from Period III in the *mithraeum*, though it was used, like the pine-cone fuel, throughout Periods I and II, and was still in use when the altars were moved to their final position. It is a smaller variant of those Castor-ware beakers (*cf.* Leicester, fig. 32, no. 20) that are decorated with tendrils and leaves in a barbotine technique below the colour coating; these also belong to the third century. Type 3 was certainly made at Castor, whether it was made elsewhere or not, for a complete and almost undamaged specimen was found by Artis early in the last century at a Roman pottery kiln site in the Normangate field just north of the river Nene, and almost exactly half-way between Castor and Water Newton. There is an excellent perspective drawing of the cup on plate XLVII of his work, *The Durobrivae of Antoninus.*

Type B appears in the second century at Corbridge. Like type A it was used throughout the third century in the *mithraeum.* It is a smaller variant of those Castor-ware beakers (*cf.* Curle's Newstead type 45) that are decorated with hunting scenes in barbotine technique below the colour coating; these also belong to the late second century as well as to the third. Type B was probably also made at Castor.

There were rather fewer examples of type C in the *mithraeum* than of the other two types. It appears there in the third, and at Birdoswald in the fourth century. It is a smaller variant of those Rhenish-ware beakers (*cf.* JRS. xl, 113, fig. 26) with designs or inscriptions in white slip trailed above the colour coating. The clay from which type C was

made is much richer in iron than the clays used for Castor ware. There is no reason to doubt that these cups were imported from the Rhineland.

It is to be expected that slight changes took place in the form of the cups as they developed throughout the century or more of their continued manufacture. The earlier examples are usually said to be more squat and bulbous than the later ones in the same series, and it is thought that their proportions may thus serve as an indication of date. This is doubtless generally true, in the same way that the angle of cross-hatching on a cooking pot is of some value as an indication of date; no. 4 may be compared with no. 29. But such rules are only general and are subject to particular exceptions; no. 2 may be compared with no. 3, which is almost certainly of the same date.

The study of proportions was elevated to the rank of an exact science by May, in his *Catalogue of Roman pottery from Silchester*. The table below is based on a simplification of May's method: it shows the proportions of the four most complete cups of type A from the *mithraeum*, and of that from Edlington Wood, near Doncaster, which had been a container for a hoard of silver coins, the latest coin, which was in "fine" condition, being an *antoninianus* of Philip II. The proportion used here is the width of the bulge expressed as a percentage of the height. The cups are set out in typological order with the widest, and presumed earliest at the top; the stratification, and the approximate date indicated by it, are given for comparison.

Number in report.	*Proportion.*	*Stratification.*	*Approximate Date.*
16	91	II*b*	A.D. 250
6	82	I/II*a*	A.D. 220
32	81	II*c*	A.D. 300
33	80	II*c*	A.D. 300
7	71	Edlington Wood	A.D. 250

It will be seen that there is a slight tendency for the

vessels to become elongated as time goes on, but no more than that.

IRON OBJECTS FROM THE MITHRAEUM.

1. Altar Shovel (pl. XV B).

This remarkable example of an altar shovel (*vatillum*), whose purpose is indicated by Dr. Smythe's analysis of the contents of its bowl (Appendix III), is made of wrought iron and is 24 inches long. The bowl was originally oblong, about 6 inches by 4 inches, with rounded top towards the handle, and had guarded edges, still partly surviving. The shaft, which has been welded on to a tongue at the head of the bowl, is itself made in two pieces, joined by a scarf weld half-way up the shaft, which is three-eighths of an inch square, beaten out at the top to a tang seven-eighths of an inch broad. The ornamental treatment, comprising six twists in the lower part of the shaft and the tongue at the head of the bowl, is reminiscent of a spoon. Found on the west bench of Phase II B.

2. Thatch-hook (pl XV B).

This rare object has been severely bent in the middle but was originally straight. It is an almost circular beaten rod, $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and one quarter of an inch in diameter, sharpened at both ends, of which one is hooked and the other right-angled. The right-angled spike, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, was for hammering into a main roof-beam, while the hooked end, of similar length, held down one of the principal basic units of the framework to which a thatch is woven. A diagram showing the use of such hooks is in A. R. Powys *Repair of Ancient Buildings* (London, 1929), 142-3, fig. 33, see note 21, p. 20. Found on the heather carpeting of Phase II B in the mouth of the apse, sealed by clay flooring of Period IIc.

3. Candlestick (pl. XV B).

This remarkable little object, which originally stood

about $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, has a four-sided stem of wrought iron $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high and quarter of an inch square in section of which the top $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches has been beaten out and turned into a socket intended for a candle half an inch in diameter. The lower half of the stem is decorated with collars, formed by filing a chamfer across each angle of the stem, while the sides are punched with five or six round holes, three or four on the stalk and one on each collar. The stem is then riveted right through three elements, which it holds together. The topmost comprises three symmetrical conventionalized leaves with tapering points, each originally 2 inches long and half an inch wide at broadest, hammered out to one thirty-second of an inch in thickness. They curved upwards and outwards, then sharply down and would serve for handles as well as for decoration. Below this came a round basin for grease droppings, 2 inches in diameter with sharply upturned edge, three sixteenths of an inch high. Finally came three stout legs made in one piece, each three-eighths of an inch wide, a sixteenth of an inch thick and three-quarters of an inch high, terminating in small inturned feet with rounded ends, the foot being half an inch long in the surviving example. The whole object is as neat an example of Roman small-scale smithing as could be desired.

Unfortunately, the precise find-spot of this piece is unknown. It was found in mud-caked condition on the spoil-heap.

4. Iron Mounting (pl. XV B).

This mounting has originally been symmetrical, and some $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a medial grip, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, half an inch thick and about 3 inches long, through which a quarter-inch rivet secured the perishable wooden object that projected from each end and was gripped by a half-inch collar. One end, almost complete, is now, and was perhaps always, bent back upon itself into a concave semicircle. The other, of which only a fragment remains, seems to have gripped a solid semicircular object. What kind of function

the mounting performed is to some extent governed by its find-spot, the sanctuary of Period II*a*. It might perhaps be suggested that it linked to the top of a pole a banner, statue or other ritual object.

APPENDIX I.

Report upon the natural pine-cones from the temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh.

BY DR. KATHLEEN BLACKBURN.

The four cones found in the temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh belonged to the *Stone Pine, Pinus Pinea, L.*, the name of which is derived from the hard coat round the edible seed. This tree is found in Italy and the Mediterranean region generally both in Europe and in Africa and Asia Minor; also in Portugal, Madeira and the Canary Islands. It has been much planted for centuries single and in forests. The wood is whitish and much used in Italy and Southern France for joinery. The edible seeds are much used in Italy by the peasants. The plant was introduced into England before 1548, when it is mentioned in Turner's *Book of Herbs.* A Roman sacred pine-grove at Bovillae occurs in *Année Epigraphique*, 1927, no. 115.

The iron-stained charcoal associated with the portions of carbonized cone and seed from Mithraeum I, consisted chiefly of Hazel.

APPENDIX II.

Report upon pine-cone fuel from the Mithraeum at Carrawburgh.

BY DR. J. A. SMYTHE.

This material is black, with the appearance of animal charcoal rather than of wood charcoal. Its vegetable origin, however, is

apparent, since it contains identifiable fragments of charred pine-cones.

When kindled at one point by gentle heating the material glows flamelessly like tinder, the glow spreading slowly through the mass without the further application of external heat. Specimens selected free from dirt leave only a trace of ash when combustion is complete. A pleasant pine-like aroma accompanies the glowing.

The material has obviously been prepared from pine-cones which have been carbonized, or submitted to a process of "destructive distillation", such as is used in the coking of coal, i.e. strongly heating in the absence of air, whereby the volatile products (tar and gas) are driven off, leaving a residue, the "fixed carbon" of the chemist, greatly enriched in carbon.

An outline of the method used in the carbonization process is probably somewhat as follows: a capacious fireclay jar is charged with cones, covered with a lid, loosely fitting or perhaps luted with clay, and heated in a strong fire. The escaping "volatiles" burn around the edge of the cover, and the "drop" of the flame indicates the completion of the process. The jar is then removed from the fire and cooled in air. The conditions are such that very little air enters into the jar and the charcoal is soon cooled below its temperature of ignition, so that it is preserved from combustion.

APPENDIX III.

Report upon the deposit found in the bowl of the iron altar-shovel from Carrawburgh.

BY DR. J. A. SMYTHE.

"I have examined the stuff from the Iron Shovel and find it to be essentially the usual sandy clay, cemented with limonite (oxide of iron) and calcite (calcium carbonate). There is a definite trace of vivianite (ferrous phosphate), the phosphorous of which is derived from bones.

The interesting thing about it is that it contains some carbonaceous material, which has the properties of pine-cone charcoal, glowing like tinder and giving off the characteristic odour.

The use of the shovel seems clearly indicated."

APPENDIX IV.

Report upon the tin cup from Carrawburgh.

BY DR. J. A. SMYTHE.

Dimensions (in inches) and comparison with the High Rochester cup:

	Carrawburgh	*High Rochester*
Diameter of top	3·7 × 3·4	3·6
Diameter of base	1·6	1·75
Height	1·6	1·5
Weight	90 grams (3·16 oz.)	
Specific gravity (of cup as a whole)	6·4	

The metal is covered uniformly with a thin, grey scale. There is a large gap in the thin metal of the side and, close by, a small perforation. Closely associated with both are patches of iron rust, and the metal in contact is brittle and completely corroded. Elsewhere the metal is strong and devoid of brittleness. These observations suggest that the perforations are the result of local chemical action, which may possibly be due to contact of the cup with objects of iron, many of which were found in the immediate neighbourhood.

Apart from these local effects the corrosion in general is of the ordinary type, that is, conversion of the tin into stannous and stannic oxides. A cross-section of a small fragment shows, under the microscope, that corrosion has affected the whole section to a much greater degree than would be expected from the strength of the metal. Chemical examination of minute fragments of metal and scale have disclosed only tin and its oxides. Though completely satisfactory proof of the purity of the metal is not obtainable without the destruction of part of the cup, there can be little doubt that the tin is pure, or nearly so, and as such, according to our experience of such ancient objects, should be susceptible to the tin disease. Apart from the rusty spots, however, the metal is tough, smooth to the touch on both inside and outside surfaces, and free from excrescences or blisters, all of which are so well marked on the cup from High Rochester, which has undoubtedly suffered from the disease (see I. A. Richmond and J. A. Smythe, *Durham Univ. Phil. Soc.* (1938), x, 48-53).

In this connexion it may be noticed that the specific gravity, 6·4, is intermediate between that of white (ordinary) tin, 7·28, and grey tin, 5·76, into which the white tin is transformed by the tin disease; but this cannot be adduced as evidence in favour of the disease,

since there is a considerable amount of the specifically lighter corrosion products, both as scale and, as shown in the micro-section, in the body of the metal itself.

It may thus be concluded that the cup is made of tin, not alloyed to any appreciable extent with lead, or any other heavy metal, and that it has not fallen a victim to the disease which usually affects ancient objects of tin. Its immunity from this is possibly to be ascribed to the uncommon conditions of burial in a peat bog.

APPENDIX V

Report upon mammalian bones from the Mithraeum at Carrawburgh.

BY DR. F. C. FRASER,
British Museum (Natural History).

From the nave, phase II C.
Sheep or *goat.*
3 radius fragments.
Pig.
Humerus fragment.
Metapodial—young.
2 phalanges.
Skull fragment.
Water Vole.
Humerus.

From the Ante-room (narthex), phase II A.
Ox.
2 Metacarpals—young.
Sheep or *goat.*
4 skull fragments.
Lower jaw fragment.
Metatarsal—young.
Terminal phalange.
Pig.
2 lower jaws—right side—young.
Upper jaw fragment.
3 scapulae—young.

Atlas fragment.
Humerus—distal epiphysis.
Fibula.
Radius—young.
Metapodial—young.
2 femora—young.

From wattling of phase II C.
Water Vole—Arvicola amphibia.
Fragmentary skull.
Femur:
Pig.
3 incomplete thoracic vertebrae of young animal.

From the ordeal-pit.
Sheep or *goat.*
Rib.
? Sheep radius—worked fragment.

From the ante-room, phase II C.
Pig.
Scapula fragment.
Lower incisor.
Astragalus.
Metapodial fragment.
Tibia of very young animal.
Thoracic vertebra.
Sheep or *goat.*
Ulna.
Femur fragment.

From the nave, Period III.
Ox.
Lower incisor.
Sheep or *goat.*
Scapula of young animal.
Metacarpal.
Metacarpal—young
Pig.
Femur—young.
Fibula.
Tibia—young.
Scapula—young.
Metapodial—young.

APPENDIX VI.

Report upon Bird Bones from the wattle-revetments of benches in Mithraea II and III at Carrawburgh.

BY MISS M. I. PLATT,
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

The majority of these remains are parts of the skeleton of the Domestic Fowl, *Gallus bankiva var. domestica.* Almost every part of the skeleton is present with the exception of the limb-bone extremities. Tarsometatarsi are the most numerous, and at least six fowl are represented. None of the bones are of any great length, and their general dimensions indicate only rather small birds. They are quite adult, however, some possessing remains of a large spur consistent with a male bird.

Domestic Goose: Two birds are represented by fragments of two left humeri; a right tibio-tarsus; three pieces of a large sternum; a left clavicle (left half of furcula), and a fragment of radius. As in the case of the Fowl so the Goose appears to have increased in size through time as a result of domestication. These goose bones are about the same size as the Pink-footed Goose (*Anser brachyrhynchus*).

APPENDIX VII.

Report upon the skull of a common fowl from the ritual deposit below the altars of Mithras, Carrawburgh.

BY MISS M. I. PLATT,
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

An imperfect skull of the common fowl from which many of the more delicate bones have been broken off, is seen side by side with the fowl's skull from the shrine of Mithras (pl. XV A). The latter is of smaller size than R.S.M. 1931, 43, but in shape etc. very like it in all respects.

The anterior part of both skulls is missing—i.e. the premaxillae and parts of the maxillae, which are normally incased with a sheath

of horny beak. The large swollen cranium is quite characteristic of the genus Gallus, it is slightly longer and less compact than that of the pheasant, and with less prominent orbits.

From the ventral aspect (seen in the photograph) the coalesced vomers are distinct, projecting forward from the median point of the cranium proper. Other prominent features are the buttresses of bone extending from the squamosals, and meeting processes from the post-orbitals, forming a small canal at each side which communicates with the posterior external and basal portion of the orbital cavity. The wall of this canal appears as a small earlike projection at a position anterior to the middle of the cranium seen from the ventral side. The internal auditory region appears behind this canal in each skull. The foramen magnum, from which the spinal cord emerges in life, is seen in a median position at the posterior extremity of the cranium. In size, position and orientation this is exactly the same in both skulls.

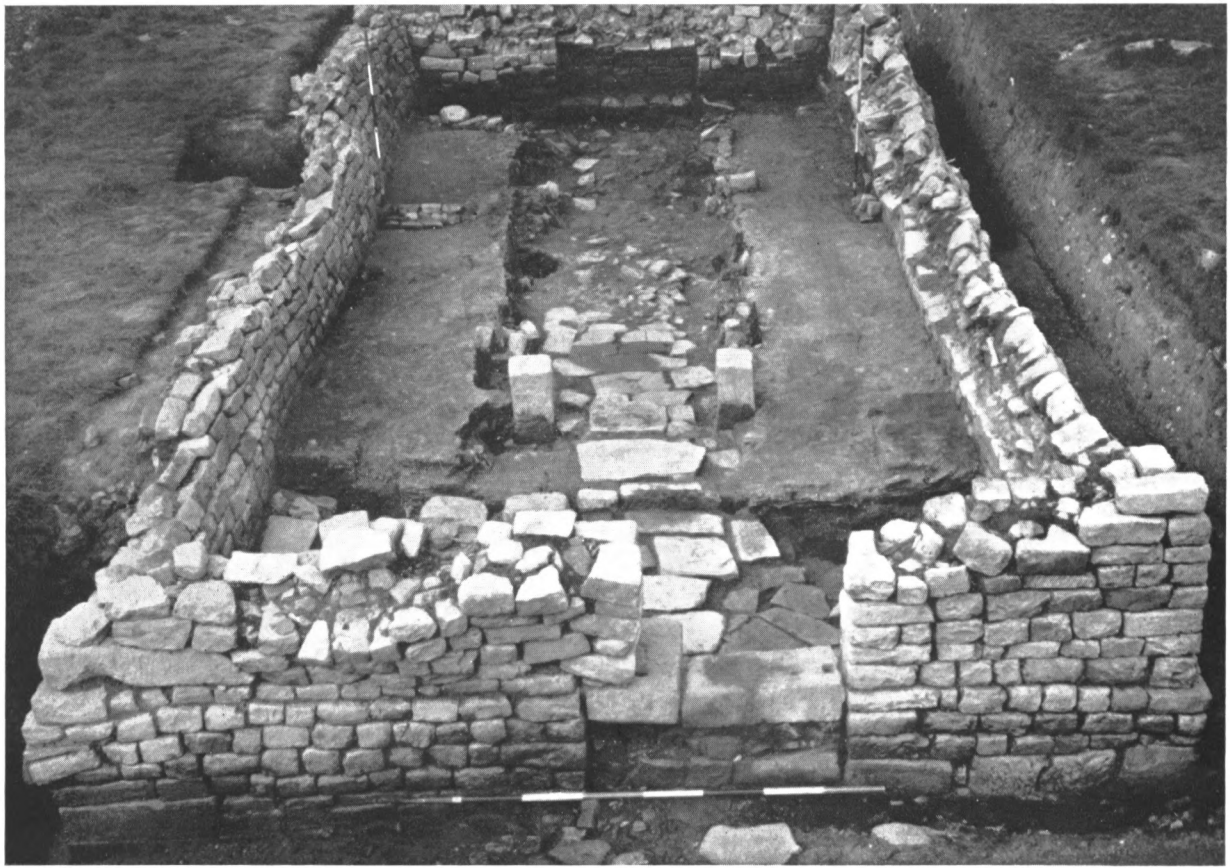
The *Mithraeum* at stage I, looking N.

A. N.W. junction of *Mithraea* I (right) and II (left), with walling of period III obliterating the vertical joint.

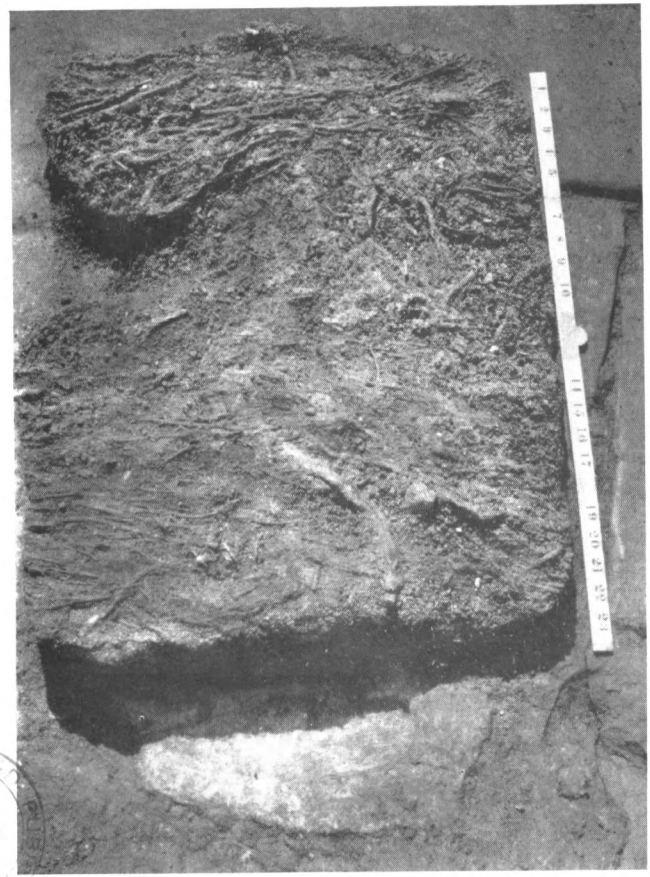
B. Gravelled nave of *Mithraeum* I, with altar-platform, hearth and bunker, looking S.

A. N. wall of *Mithraeum* I, looking E., with natural pine-cone as found.

B. E. half of wicker screen in ante-room of phase II*c*, with broken laver, supporting post of period III, in foreground.

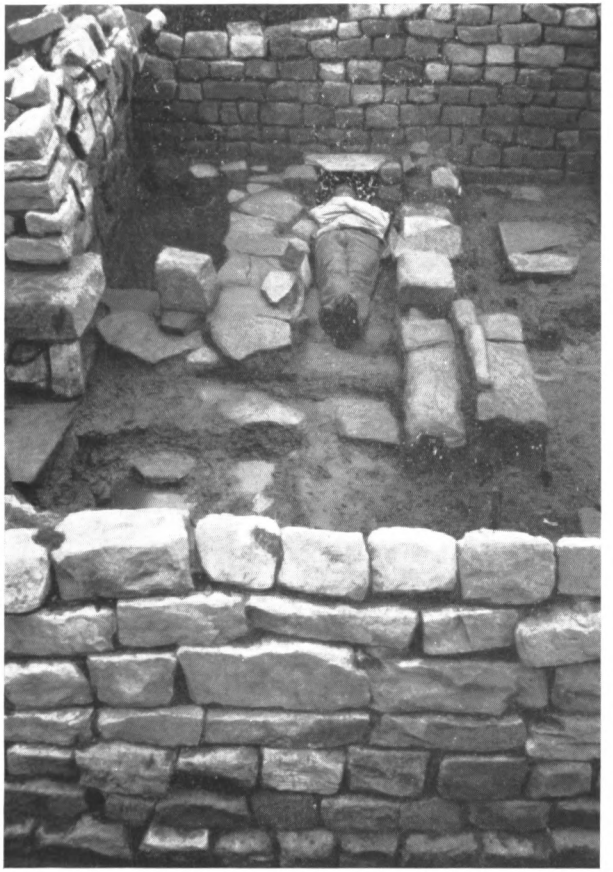


The *Mithraeum* at stage II*b*, looking N.



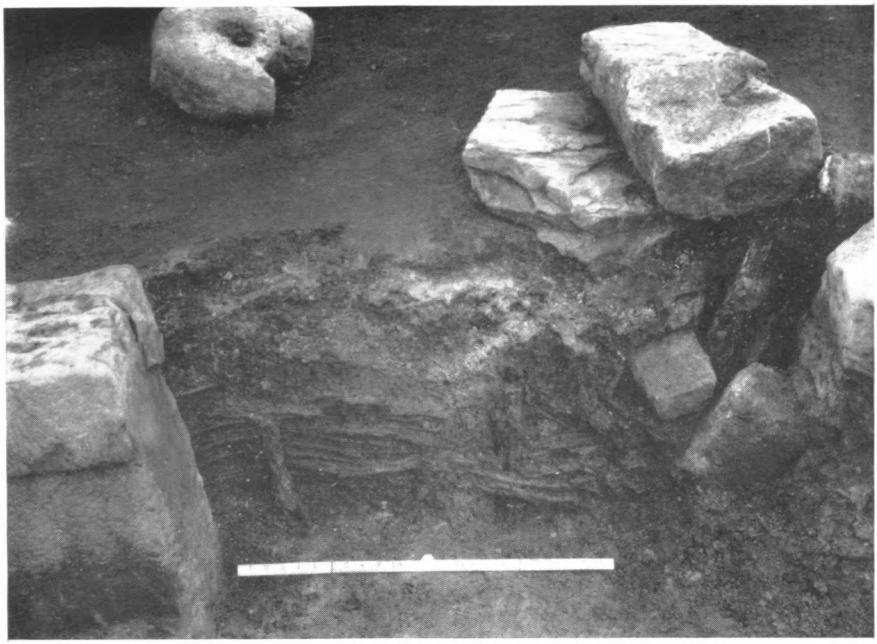
A. Carpet of heather (*calluna vulgaris*), phase II*b*.

B. Board flooring of phase II*c*, and upright for table of period III.



A. Ordeal pit occupied, cover-slabs removed, looking W.

B. Ordeal pit, cover-slabs and hearth in position, looking W.



A. Wattling of W. bench in phase IIc, broken by stone-lined post-hole of period III, with stone steps of period III in background.

B. N. bay of W. bench, with roof-posts of period III and wattling-stakes of periods II*a*, *b*, *c*, and III.

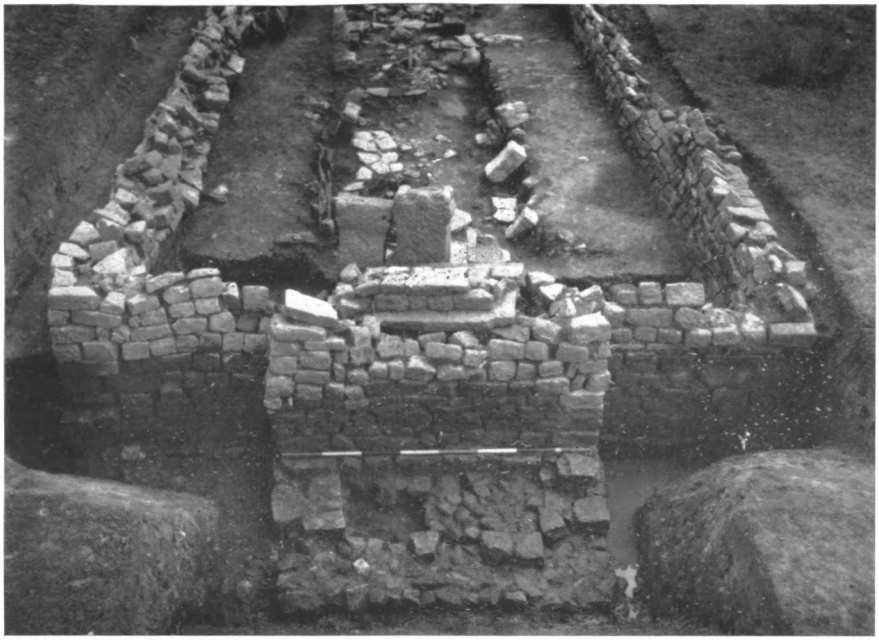
A. Curving N. end of W. bench and roof-post of period II*c*, with part of stone foundation for pedestal of period III.

B. N. end of E. bench, showing stakes of phases II*a*, *b*, *c*, and period III, with wattling removed.

The *Mithraeum* of fourth-century period III, looking N. Pegs denote posts of screen and table.

A. Statue of Mother-goddess with votive pot at base.

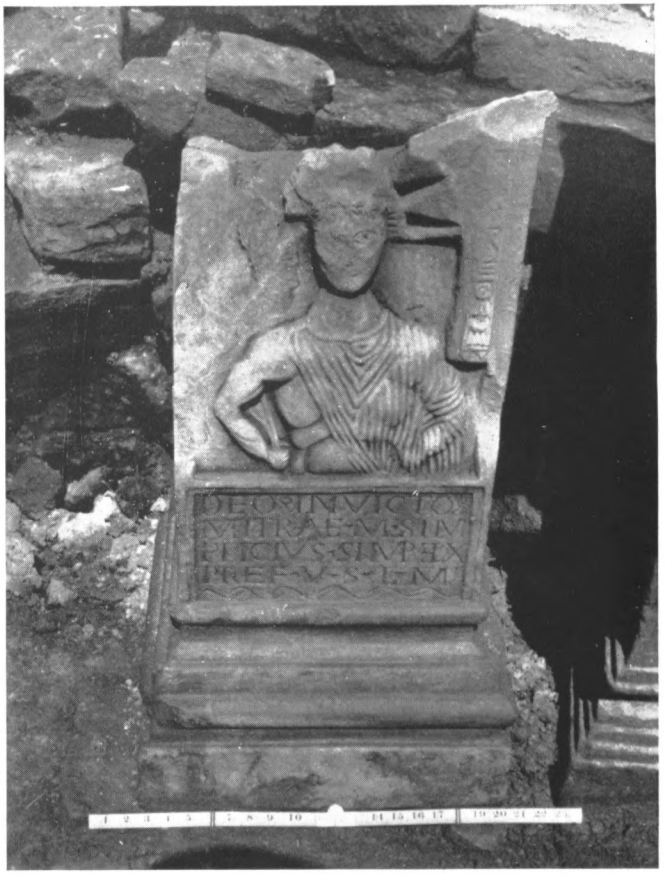
B. Statue of Cautes, with dowel-holes for replacement of head.



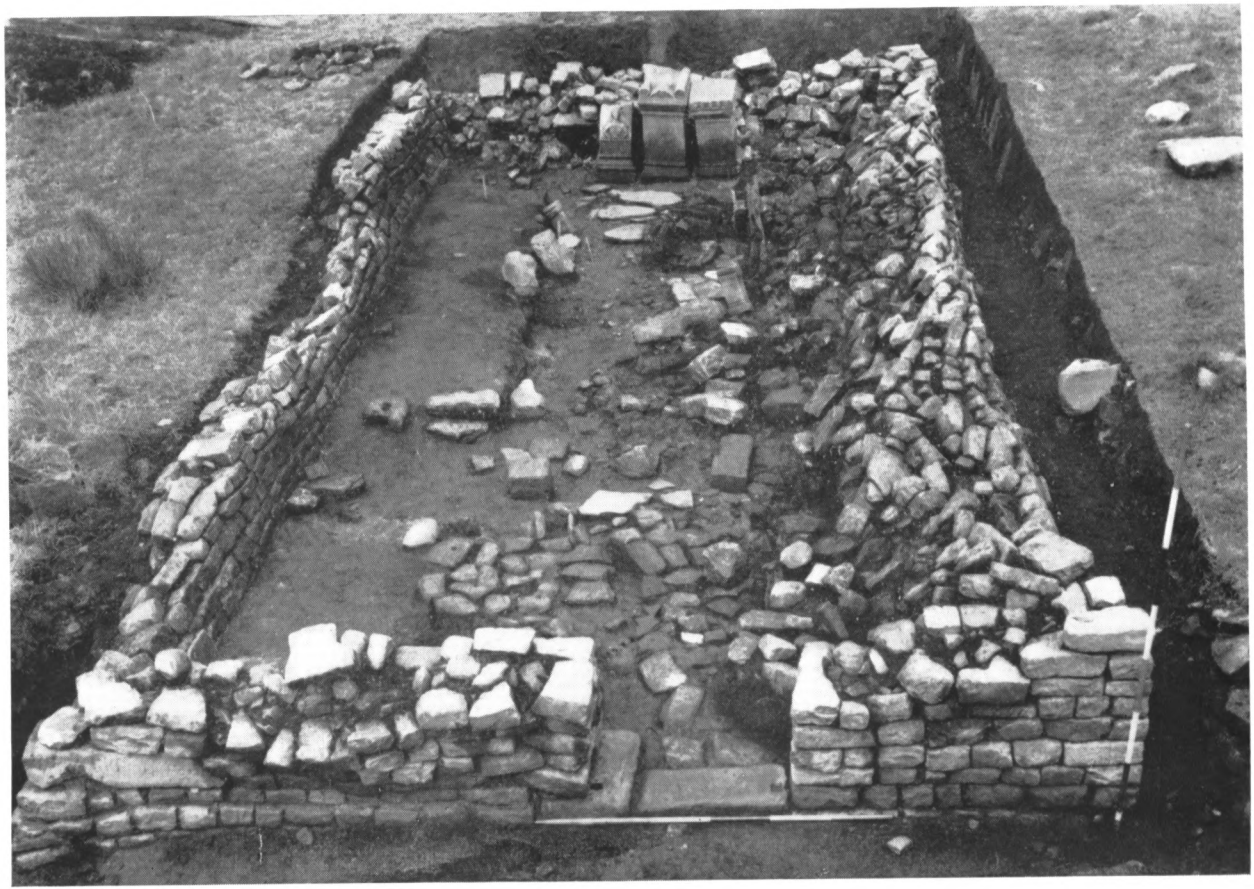
B. *Mithraeum* III, looking S., with demolished apse of period II in foreground.

A. The three altars, as placed in period III.

A. Ritual deposit below altars of period III, with two votive cups in position: also posts for wooden stand of phase IIc.

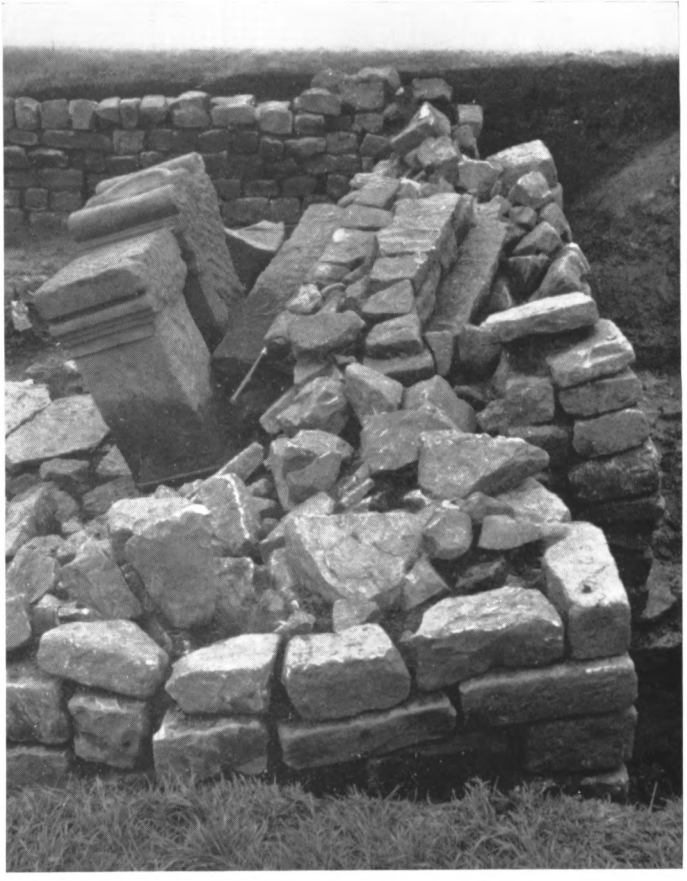


B. Altar of Mithras, with radiate halo pierced for illumination.

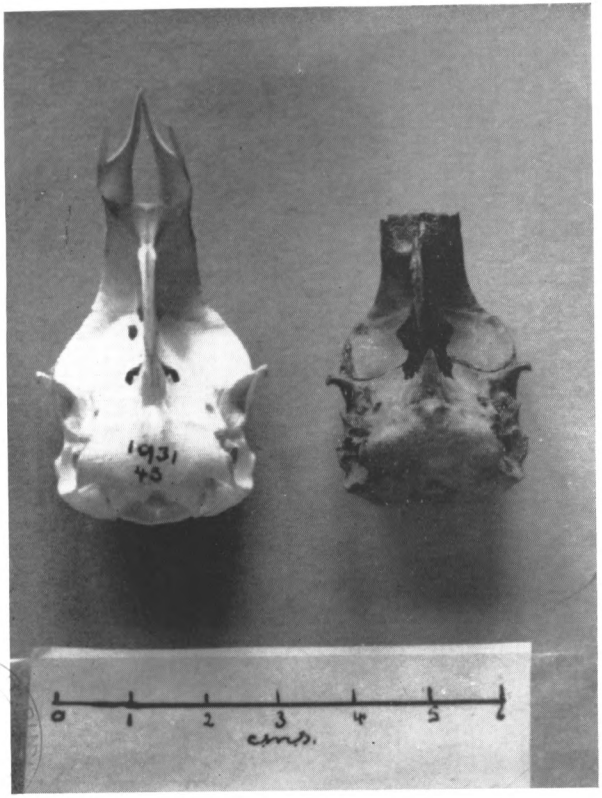


The *Mithraeum* in final state of ruin, looking N.

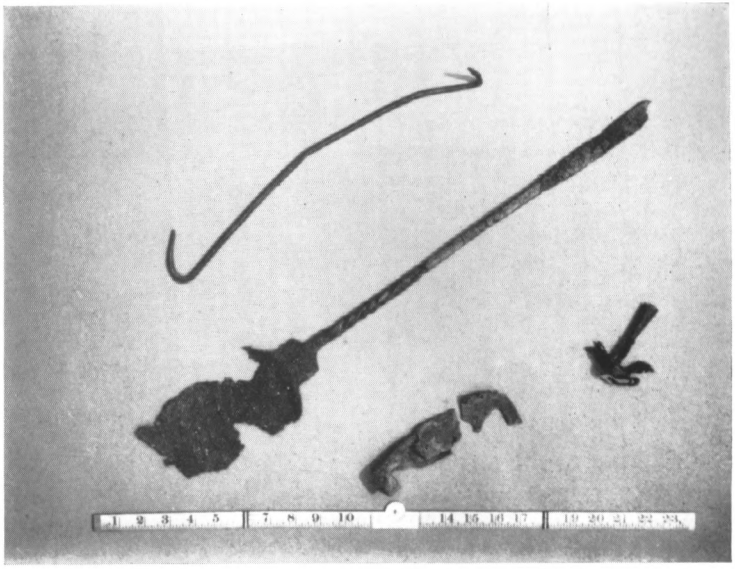
A. Fallen roof-beam of period III with altars, large and small, and collapsed roofing shingles, in background.



B. Collapsed shelf for reredos in sanctuary of period III, looking W.



A. Skull of domestic fowl (right) from the ritual deposit below the altars of period III and a modern example (left).



B. Iron objects from the *Mithraeum*, comprising thatch-hook, altar-shovel, mounting and candlestick.