



IV

A Dolichenum at Vindolanda

Andrew Birley and Anthony Birley

SUMMARY

In 2009, two large altars were excavated side by side in the north-west quadrant of the third-century stone fort at Vindolanda, evidently inside a temple. One, with a relief of a god standing on a bull, was dedicated to I.O.M. Dolicheno (sic) by a prefect of cohorts IIII Gallorum. The other, now fragmentary, was dedicated by a prefect of cohorts II Nerviorum. A third, smaller altar was found just outside the temple. The relief on the main altar is a notable addition to the inscriptions and images of the Dolichenus cult in Britain. Also interesting is the presence, side by side, of altars set up by prefects of the Second Nervians and of the Fourth Gauls. This article deals first with the excavation (I); then the altars (II); gives a brief account of the cult in general, with particular reference to Britain (III); and finally, offers some reflections on the two cohorts (IV).

The first author was responsible for Section I, the second author for Sections II–IV, and the Introduction was composed jointly.

INTRODUCTION

TWO LARGE ALTARS WERE FOUND SIDE BY SIDE IN JUNE 2009, during excavations in the north-west quadrant of the third-century stone fort at Vindolanda, evidently *in situ*. They were in a building which can only have been a temple. The better preserved one has a dedication to the god known to the Romans as Jupiter Best and Greatest of Doliche, with a relief of the god standing on a bull on one side. This altar was dedicated by a prefect of *cohors IIII Gallorum*. The other one, of which the top two-thirds and much of the inscription were missing, was set up by a prefect of *cohors II Nerviorum*, probably to the same god. A third altar, much smaller and cruder, the text of which is not easy to decipher, was found just outside the temple door.

The two large altars were found in front of an *aedicula* (a miniature temple or niche-like structure flanked by columns) within what one may describe as a *Dolichenum*.¹ Not only have very few Dolichena been located and excavated anywhere,² but an unusual feature of the Vindolanda one is that it was inside the fort; other examples associated with forts or fortresses were usually all outside the walls. The Vindolanda Trust is currently engaged in a campaign of excavations with the aim of determining to what extent the third-century fort wall at Vindolanda was the 'great divide' or barrier between those who lived at the site in this period. One of the most obvious divisions in the use of space by the military community has been in the location of temples and shrines. It has generally been assumed that shrines for non-traditional cults practised by officers and men in the Roman army had to remain in the extramural area. The discovery of a *Dolichenum* within the walls of the third-century fort at Vindolanda is thus exceptional and adds a new and welcome dimension to the archaeology of the northern frontier of Roman Britain.



The temple was constructed above demolished ovens set into the rampart mound of the second stone fort at Vindolanda, period VII.³ The earliest dated record from this second stone fort is an inscription in honour of Caracalla set up *pro pietate ac devotione communi* by *cohors IIII Gallorum* in AD 213 (RIB I, 1705).⁴ Since the temple was secondary, it was probably not constructed until at least a few years after that. It is, of course, theoretically possible that an original Vindolanda Dolichenum had been located outside the fort. A 'Romano-Celtic' temple was excavated in 2001–2 134 m west of the stone forts; after being used as a tomb, it was demolished in the early third century.⁵ Some 71 m south-west of that, two buildings, associated with fragments of statuary, column tops and plinths, were excavated in 2005–6, in what may be described as a 'religious complex' or *temenos*, with a boundary wall. They have been identified as 'temple-tombs', although the larger one might have been a small temple. The dating can only be approximate: respectively, from, at earliest, AD 161, followed by substantial rebuilding; and in use from the later second century until possibly as late as the third century. Within this area, considerable quantities of broken statuary were recovered, some of it of an unusually high quality for the frontier zone.⁶ It could be that at some time in the third century the worshippers of Dolichenus, including, no doubt, the garrison commander, chose to move the shrine into the fort for protection. However this may be, the relief on the main altar makes it a notable addition to the three dozen or so inscriptions and images of the Dolichenus cult in Britain. Also of interest is the presence at Vindolanda of a dedication by a commander of the Second Nervians alongside one by a prefect of the Fourth Gauls.

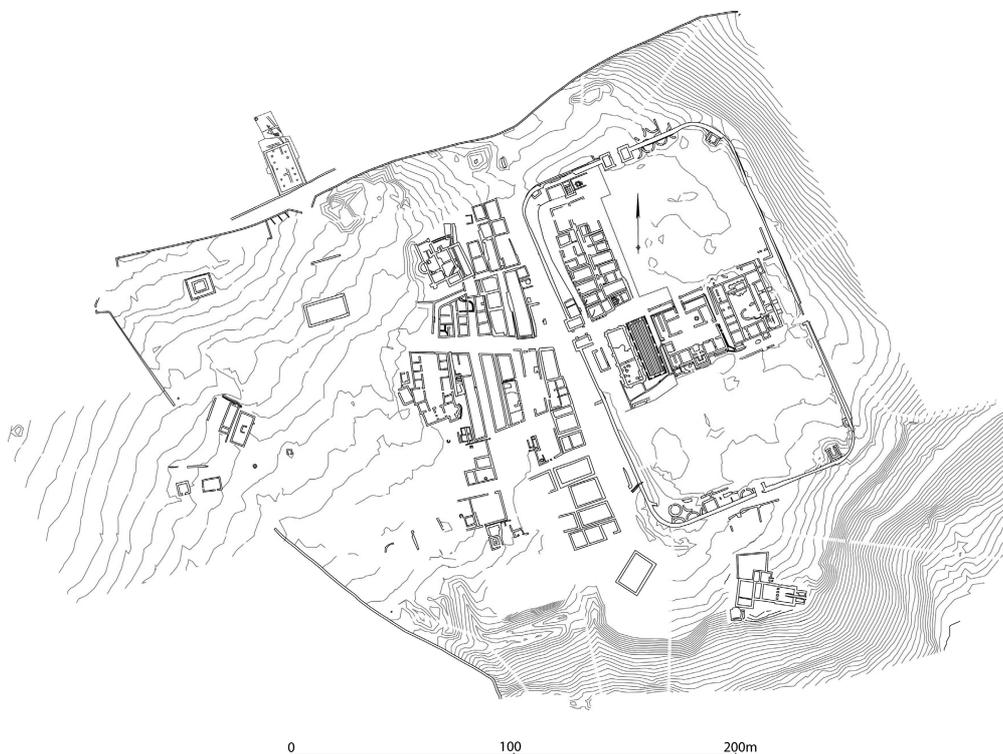


Fig. 1 A plan of the visible remains at Vindolanda.

I. THE EXCAVATION

The temple was built into the northern rampart of the second and last stone fort at Vindolanda, near the north gate (fig. 1). This was a prime location inside the fort, and the temple would have been immediately visible, along with the *principia*, to anyone who entered the fort by the north gate, the *porta praetoria*. It was probably constructed in the early part of the third century, shortly after the primary construction of the second stone fort was carried out by the 4th cohort of Gauls, c. AD 213 (Birley 2009, 141). The temple foundations were placed over the partially demolished remains of clay ovens which had initially been the dominant feature of the earliest rampart occupation. The ovens, four of which have been identified, were situated between the north gate and the north-western corner tower. The construction of the temple involved the demolition and clearing of the most easterly ovens, near the north gate, to make way for the new building. Those ovens that were situated to the west of the new temple, close to the north-western angle tower, appear to have been retained and remained in use during the lifetime of the temple. The temple may have continued in use into the fourth century, and the building was extensively extended and modified during its lifetime (as shown in fig. 2).

This section examines the three main phases of construction and occupation of the temple, and its destruction and abandonment. A comprehensive discussion of the site, with the corresponding material culture datasets and occupation analysis, will follow in the publication of the main excavation report, once work is completed in 2012. The authors are grateful to Dr Deb Bennett (animal bones) and Dr Richard Brickstock (coins) for providing some of the preliminary results from their specialist reports for inclusion in the present article.

Temple, Phase 1: first half of the third century

The first temple phase saw the construction of a stone-built rectilinear building with dimensions of 17.73 m by 4.52 m which enclosed a space of over 80 sq m of former rampart mound (fig. 2), with an *aedicula* set into the western half of the cult-room.

The four walls of the initial phase of construction at Vindolanda (fig. 3) had a standard width of 0.62 m, and were clay-bonded rather than lime-mortared. The basic style of construction that was used (except for the large and well-cut masonry of the *aedicula* and doorway) was in keeping with that in other nearby structures from third-century contexts within the fort. The same style can be seen in the nearby barracks, which had wall-widths of 0.64 m and were also clay-bonded, while the *praetorium* had a lime-mortared wall between 0.66 m and 0.80 m wide, and the *principia*, also lime-mortared, had an average wall width of 0.68 m.

The buildings had load-bearing capacities which were capable of allowing for structures that could have been two or even three storeys high. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the temple walls may have stood up to 7 m in height, enough for two storeys or a high vaulted ceiling. This would have created a tall open space in which the *aedicula* was situated, possibly with its own pointed or domed roof under which a statue or relief of Jupiter Dolichenus might have stood. The northern wall of the temple was separated from the adjacent fort wall by almost a metre of unenclosed rampart. This would have enabled the roof of the temple to be considerably higher than the fort wall, creating a space between the fort defences and the temple. With a clay rampart foundation, the gap between the fort wall and temple could have allowed water to collect and perhaps damage the temple building or create problems with

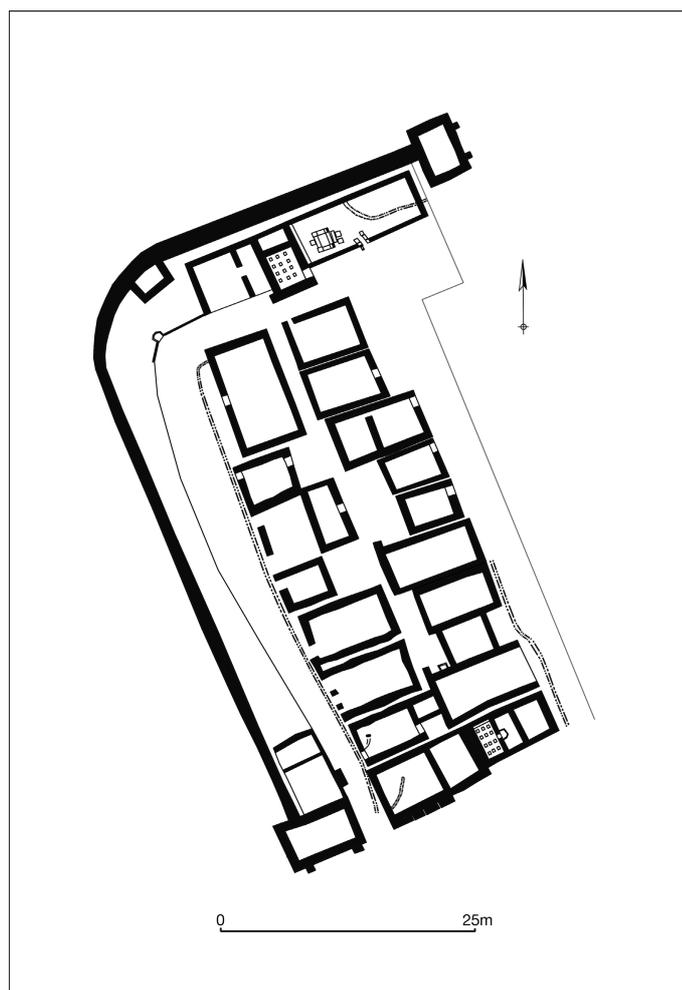


Fig. 2 The 2009 excavations; the Dolichenum is on the northern rampart.

damp. The solution appears to have been to insert a covered drain beneath the temple floor, starting from the north wall and exiting out beneath the east wall towards the gate tower. The water then fed into a water tank to the south of the north-western guard-chamber. It is possible that this tank and its water supply could have had a religious significance, having come from the ground beneath the temple itself. Heavy rain or thunder showers, associated with the deity (as a weather god) would then replenish the supply from behind and below the temple to the adjacent water tank (fig. 3).

In the primary phase of the temple, a single doorway was situated in the middle of the southern wall, 0.90 m wide, leading onto the intervallum roadway. Although this doorway was narrow and would only allow for one person to pass into the temple at a time, the remaining masonry suggests that the surrounding architecture was of a similar date and style to that used in the construction of the *aedicula*. A moulded pilaster base used to frame the western side of the main doorway is almost identical to one of those used in the construction

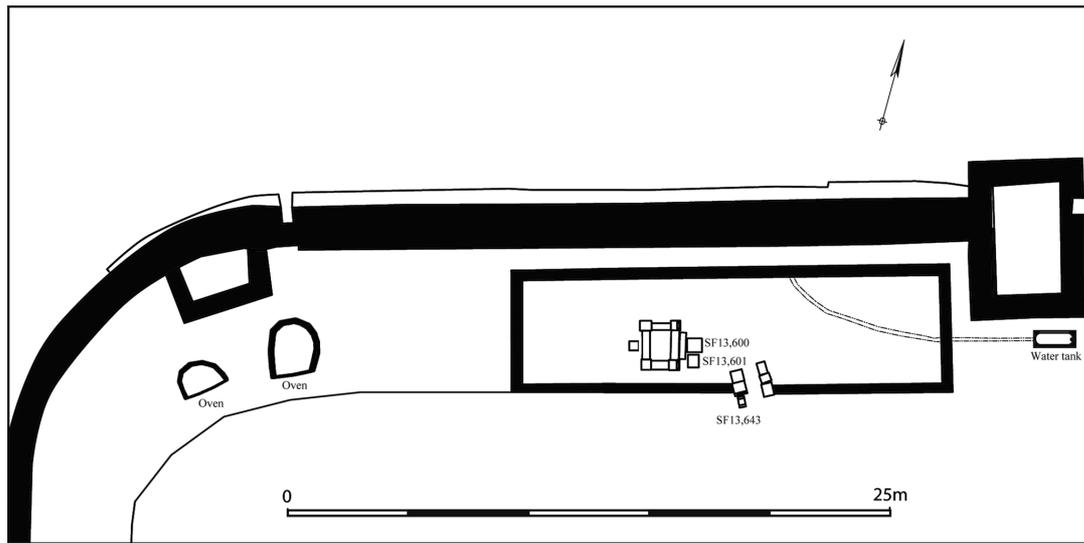


Fig. 3 Temple, Phase 1: first half of the third century.

of the *aedicula*. This style of masonry is not representative of the surviving stonework normally found elsewhere inside the fort. Fluted columns and moulded stones were recovered from a late bathhouse, added to the *praetorium*, which has been dated to *c.* AD 370 (Birley and Blake *et al.* 1998, 27–48). It is possible that the destruction of the *Dolichenum* was tied in to refurbishments elsewhere inside the fort during this period.⁷

The floor of the temple was a mixture of flagstones and smaller cobbles, placed into the boulder clay and the remains of the rampart ovens. It was obvious that many of the original flagstones that once covered the temple floor had been removed in antiquity. There was evidence of re-surfacing in places, which may have become necessary due to subsidence, as the area between the west of the shrine and the west wall was built over a filled-in fort ditch of the Severan period VIB, running north-south beneath the temple floor.⁸

The single room of the temple would have been dominated by the *aedicula* (fig. 4) which was placed to the north-west of the door and faced east (fig. 3). Two of the three altars (SF13,600 and SF 13,601) that were recovered in the 2009 excavations remained *in situ* in front of this *aedicula* (fig. 3). The third altar (SF13,642) was recovered from outside the door. The plan shows that there may have been enough space inside the temple, to the north-east of the door, for a dedication to the god's consort, Juno, mostly called Juno Regina, to have been situated opposite the *aedicula*. However, this must remain speculative.

THE AEDICULA (FIG. 4)

The *aedicula* was situated almost immediately to the west of the door into the temple's cult room and was constructed with the first phase of the *Dolichenum*. Two large squared stone uprights supported the enclosed rear of the *aedicula* on the western side, measuring 0.38 by 0.30 m (north-west) and 0.47 by 0.36 m (south-west), and two smaller and ornately carved pilasters, slightly differing in their design, framed the open front of the *aedicula*, measuring

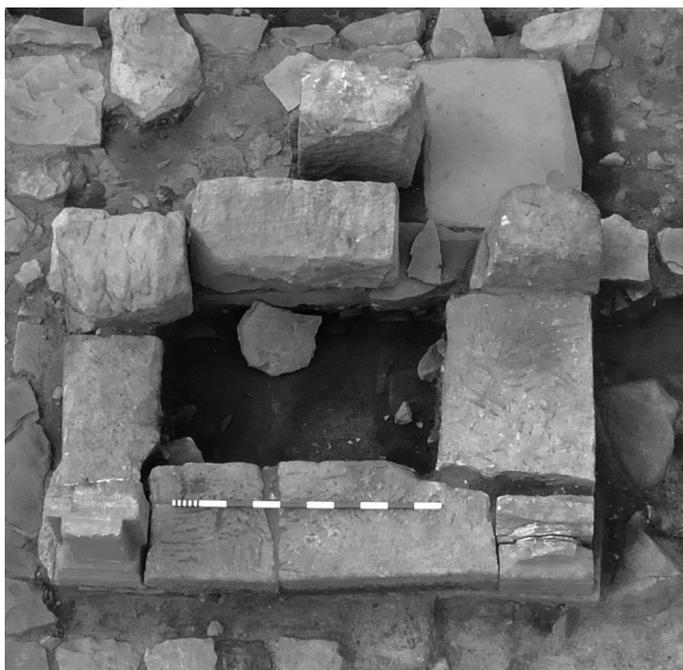


Fig. 4 The *aedicula*.

0.37 by 0.28 m (north-east) and 0.34 by 0.25 m (south-east). The north-eastern pilaster had been torus-moulded with a recessed edging to the front and a flat surface to the back, and the south-eastern pilaster was chamfered with a plain rectangular shaft and also with recessed edging to front and a flat surface at the back.

A single large freestanding stone, well dressed on its south side, was set behind the *aedicula*. Although it is uncertain what the placing of this stone represented it may have been used as a base for the statue or for some other unknown architectural feature associated with the building. This stone stood upright on the flagstone floor of the main cult room to a height of 0.58 m, with dimensions of 0.45 by 0.30 m. The stone was set 0.32 m behind to the rear wall of the *aedicula* and was perfectly aligned with it. The four walls that made the base of the *aedicula* were linked with large well-dressed stones, enclosing an area roughly 3.2 m square. This provided an enclosed stone-lined platform, filled with clay and capped by thin flagstones (40–60 mm thick). It is probable that the platform was used as a base on which a statue or an altar might have stood.

Given the style of construction, and the nature of the pilasters with their flat surfaces behind, it is likely that the *aedicula* was only open at the front and had solid walls at the sides and rear. It is possible that a carved relief may have been mounted on the back and side walls, framing a statue or altar on the platform below. This may explain the larger masonry used on the western side, perhaps required to take the extra weight of a carved relief. None of the masonry used in the surviving construction of the *aedicula* appears to have been uniformly carved, and it is possible that the *Dolichenum* was built from the remains of a variety of earlier monuments, either temples or tombs, which were robbed of their stones for this purpose. This point is further emphasised by the southernmost of the base stones between the front two pilasters, which had a recess carved in the western side for a doorway. It is unlikely that the



aedicula would have needed such a feature. A single step was placed in front of the eastern opening to the shrine for access, perhaps to elevate a priest in front of his congregation or so that the cultists could better view the contents of the *aedicula*, and make the appropriate offerings.

The shape and style of the Vindolanda Dolichenum has more in common with the approximately rectilinear Mithraeum at Rudchester⁹ than with the possible Dolichenum at Piercebridge. That had, however, initially been only about 25% larger than the Vindolanda temple, being a rectangular structure measuring 14.5 m by 7.17 m, before an extension to the south 'squared' the building and almost doubled its size.¹⁰ But the fact is that none of the previously known provincial Dolichena resembles any of the others and none of them were particularly large; most were simple rectilinear structures. In the recently discovered example at Balaclava in the Crimea, an outpost fort beyond the frontier, manned by a detachment from the army of Moesia inferior, the Dolichenum lay some 100 m outside the postulated area of the fort. Its main cult-room measured, within the walls, 8.75 by 5.80 m, and was joined to an entrance hall, 2.50 by 5.80 m, with two columns between the side walls; the width of the outside walls was between 0.70 and 0.80 m. An Ionic capital and the lower part of a column with its base, found *in situ*, has led to the interpretation of the building as a small classical temple *in antis*.¹¹ It is worth noting that all the known Dolichena associated with military bases in the Rhine and Danube provinces were situated outside fortresses or forts.¹² Two supposed exceptions, of Dolichena within forts, hardly stand up to further scrutiny.¹³ The only real parallel in the west seems to be the Mithraeum in the house of the *tribunus laticlavus* inside the legionary fortress of II Adiutrix at Aquincum.¹⁴

Temple, Phase 2: last quarter of the third century

The second phase in the development of the temple saw an extension abutted to the western wall of the primary structure (fig. 5), expanding the footprint of the building from just over 80 sq m to half as large again at 124 sq m. This new extension was soundly constructed in a similar style to the existing structure, with walls 0.64 m wide, a heavily flagged floor and an open street-front on the south side. The extension measured 6.9 m, east to west, and 6.3 m from north to south. A small drain, excavated and capped with reused roofing slates, was inserted next to the north wall and appears to have exited via a drainage channel to the east of the adjacent angle tower. The drain was lined and capped with old roofing slates and had a clay foundation. A single coin of Gallienus was recovered from the drain as well as single coins of Hadrian and Victorinus. The contents of the room in which the drain was situated included four radiates or radiate copies. It remains uncertain how long the radiate coins and radiate copies remained in circulation, and considerable numbers have been found on undoubted fourth-century surfaces elsewhere in the fort (report by Richard Brickstock, forthcoming). As the radiates in this room were found between the flagstones on the floor surface they may have been deposited there some time after the end of the third century.

The most likely explanation for the use of this space is that it was a stable or barn, an area where worshippers could either leave their horses while they attended the temple, or where the sacrificial animals were kept before they were sacrificed. But no animal bone was recovered from inside this room, nor was there evidence for either butchery or for the dumping of animal waste. The wall, 0.64 m thick, could have carried a second storey which could have provided accommodation for a priest or senior cultist.



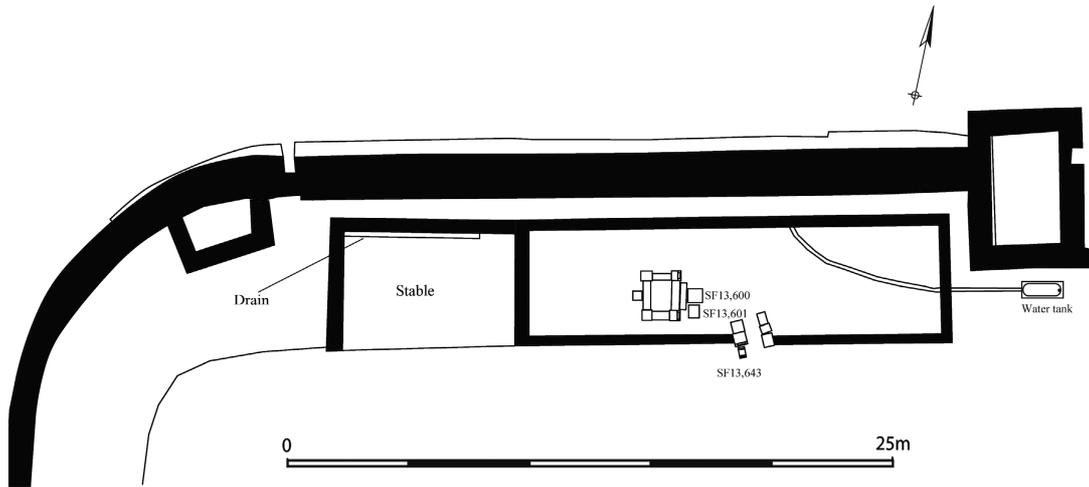


Fig. 5 Temple, phase 2: later third century.

Temple, Phase 3: early fourth century: the addition of a possible feasting room

It must be noted that the interpretation of the final phase of occupation has been obscured by a combination of demolition, within the Roman period, and subsequent stone-robbing and agricultural work. The adjacent northern fort wall and the northern guard-chambers had been heavily robbed for stone, probably when the nearby Smiths Chesters croft was constructed in the seventeenth century, and signs of ploughing were evident on many of the larger surviving stones. In the final phase of the modifications to the temple structure, it is uncertain whether the building was still being used for religious purposes (see section III for discussion of the decline and disappearance of the cult). However, it is clear that the *aedicula* remained unmolested by changes to the superstructure of the building during this phase, as its position and form were respected (fig. 6). It is probable that the shrine remained enclosed by the original north, south and east walls of the temple, despite a new door being placed to the west of the original doorway. This new entrance once more centralised access to the building, although the original entrance may have also remained in use, as there was no evidence to suggest that it had been blocked.

A substantial addition in this period was that of a heated room, 3.9 by 7.2 m, built mostly within the western side of the first phase of the temple and protruding slightly out onto the intervallum road to the south. The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is associated with feasting and it is possible that this new room was added to provide a comfortable heated dining-room for worshippers to carry out such activities. Situated to the immediate west of the *aedicula*, the clay-bonded walls of this room were 0.8–0.9 m wide, suggesting that it was an extremely robust structure and that it possibly supported more than one storey or had a high ceiling. In the first two phases of the temple its builders carefully respected the space afforded to the intervallum road to the south. With the addition of the heated room the builders moved the

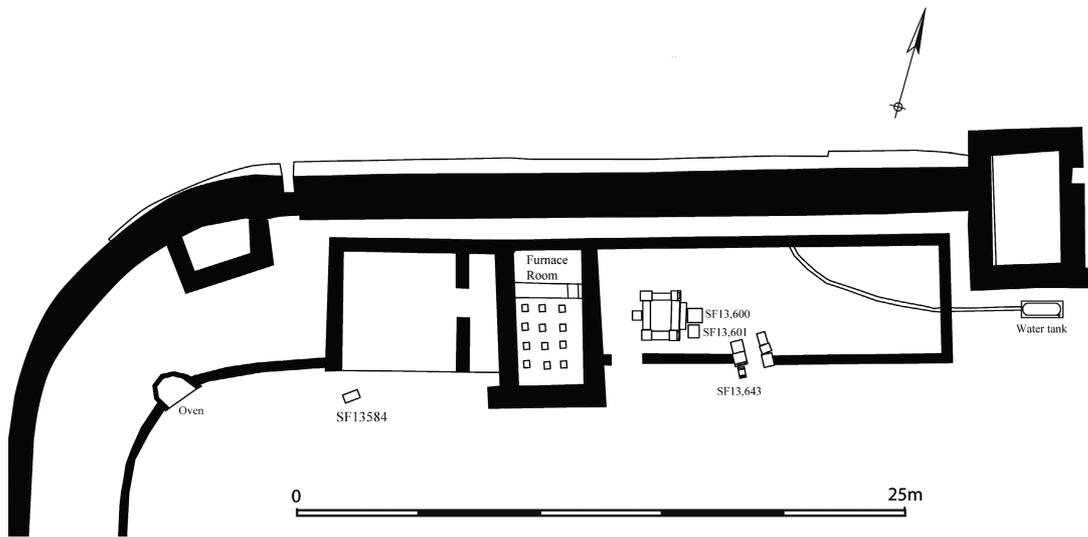


Fig. 6 Temple, Phase 3: probably early to middle fourth century.

foundations 1.53 m out onto the street, extending the structure's footprint over the cobbled road surface. This is a feature which appears to be commonly associated with the early fourth-century re-building inside the fort.

Inside the new room the majority of the hypocaust columns have survived *in situ*, although the heavy flagstone floor that once covered them had been heavily robbed out, bar a small section in the north-eastern part of the room. The furnace which fed heat into the new building was situated to the north west of the hypocausted room and was accessed by a corridor that was constructed within the stable or barn added in Phase 2. A single coin of Constantius II (AD 353–8) was recovered from the only sealed context where surviving flagstones covered the basement of this heated room, suggesting that the building was at least accessible, if not in use, up to or shortly after the middle of the fourth century. This find is supported by the two latest coins from the area immediately surrounding the shrine, both of which were issues of the House of Constantine, dating to AD 324–30 and 335–41 respectively.

The addition of the corridor reduced the area available for the stable or barn, and as the drain in the north of the room had probably been blocked by this stage, it is possible that the use of this space also changed during the final years of the building's life.

Destruction or abandonment?

The date of the end of the occupation of the temple is a matter of educated speculation until the dating of all of the coins and pottery from the area is established. However, there is a clear absence of coinage from this area of the site later than the middle of the fourth century, suggesting that the building did not survive long beyond that point. The final phase of the building — with three main rooms and the *aedicula* — would appear to have been demolished

all at the same time and with deliberate intent. The evidence for the demolition comes from the masons' tool-marks, such as those left by chisels on stones which were subsequently turned purple and blackened by the heat of an intense fire. The *aedicula* and all of the surviving interior walls of the three main rooms were heavily burned and it would appear that the fire also damaged the facing-stones of the buildings immediately adjacent to the temple on the south side of the street. The thorough demolition must have been deliberate but the fire — which left its mark not only on the scarred stones from the *aedicula*, on the altars, and on adjacent buildings — may not have been so.

Amongst the scattered rubble from the building lying on the intervallum road to the southwest of the Dolichenum, was a small badly-burned stone, which had evidently had an inscription on one surface — so worn as to be completely illegible — and two circular symbols, wheels or rosettes, carved on one side. (See section II, below.)

After the demolition and the fire the Dolichenum was covered with clay and soil, perhaps as a deliberate attempt to restore the rampart mound, and there is no evidence to suggest that it was built upon again after this event. This last point is unusual, as space inside the fourth-century fort was a valuable commodity and elsewhere buildings crowded in together, blocking roads and filling rampart mounds.¹⁵ The absence of this type of re-occupation on the northern rampart, particularly at a prime location next to the north gate, therefore contrasts with the occupation elsewhere inside the fort. Is it possible that, once the temple and *aedicula* had been destroyed, the ground upon which they had been constructed was regarded as tainted and, as a consequence, it was avoided for future building? In such a scenario, it cannot be ruled out that the Christians, or a rival religious group, were responsible for the destruction of the temple and the defacement and partial destruction of the *aedicula* and the altars within it, as was the case with pagan temples elsewhere.¹⁶

Material culture from the temple site

Although no pits or hoards of religious artefacts were discovered in the excavations at the temple, the assemblage of artefacts and animal bones recovered consisted of a reasonably broad collection of material. The two keys, found amongst the demolition debris, surely demonstrate that this building could be locked and provide a private space (for members of the cult). The possibility that those members may have included women was supported by the finding of a jet finger-ring on the floor 0.5 m to the east of the *aedicula*, a category of artefact that may be associated with female occupation.¹⁷ This finger-ring was complemented by a simple copper-alloy ring found nearby.

Three knife-blades were recovered; one from the stable or barn, and two from the area surrounding the shrine. Alongside the knives, a number of whetstones or hones were found, with a concentration from the area surrounding the *aedicula*. It is possible that these implements were used as part of the ceremony or in associated feasting.

The majority of animal bones were recovered to the north of the *aedicula*. Here there were the remains of at least eight cows and unusually high proportions were from juveniles (as opposed to other contexts on the site). Alongside the cattle bones, at least two goats or sheep had been slaughtered, and their bones dumped into the hypocaust or feasting room to the west of the *aedicula*; the bones of at least one pig were found to the east of the *aedicula*.

The complete lists of finds and of context-descriptions will be available in the forthcoming research report.

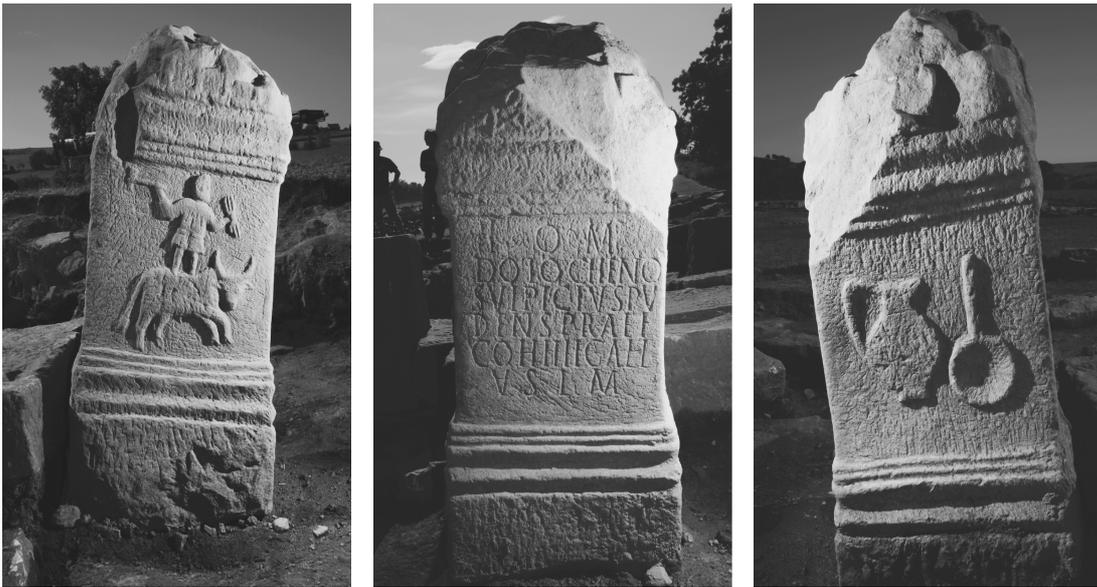


Fig. 7 Altar to Jupiter Dolichenus.

II. THE ALTARS

1. The larger of the two main altars (fig. 7) was found toppled flat on its face, concealing the inscription; the sides showing the reliefs were clearly visible. It is made of buff sandstone, 0.49 by 0.48 m, and 1.05 m high; the die measures 0.42 by 0.39 m; the lettering, which is well cut and shows little signs of weathering, is an average of 42 mm high. Most of the capital had been destroyed, except for a decorated band of XXX-pattern, but the altar is otherwise complete. On the left side the god is shown in traditional guise, carved in high relief, holding an axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, standing on a bull; both god and bull face to the right. The axe is not the *bipennis* or double axe, with each blade of equal size, found on more elaborate versions, and the god's clothing is rather simple: he is not wearing a sword, and he seems to be bare-headed. On the other side of the altar, a jug and a patera are carved.

The text reads:

I O M
DOLOCHENO
SVLPICIVSPV
DENS PRAEF
COHIIIGALL
V S L M

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

'To Jupiter Best and Greatest of Doliche, Sulpicius Pudens, prefect of the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.'



For comment on the spelling *Dolocheno*, instead of the normal *Dolicheno*, see section IV. As mentioned above, the Fourth Cohort of Gauls is first attested at Vindolanda in AD 213 (see section IV, on its previous whereabouts). Sulpicius Pudens is surely the same man as the prefect of the same cohort called Pudens, known from an altar reused in the medieval tower of Staward Pele, 4 miles SSE of Vindolanda. He was thought to have had the *praenomen* L(ucius), but his *gentilicium* could not be fully deciphered, the stone already being much weathered.¹⁸ The inscription was first read after the altar fell from the tower in 1948.¹⁹ In *RIB* I, 1688 the following reading was offered by R. P. Wright, who drew the stone in 1950: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | [c]oh(ors) IIII G[al]l(or)um | [cu]l[us] p[rae]f[ec]t[us] L(ucius) II | g[ai]us Pud[en]s | p[rae]f[ec]t[us] | [a]r[am] p[ro]s[er]v[at] | v[otum] l[ibens] m[erito] s[ol]vit*. In *CSIR* I, 6, no. 44, E. J. Phillips could not supply a better attempt at the prefect's name but offered a slightly variant reading: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | [c]oh(ors) IIII G[al]l(or)um | [cu]l[us] p[rae]f[ec]t[us] L(ucius) II | g[ai]us Pud[en]s | p[rae]f[ec]t[us] | [a]r[am] p[ro]s[er]v[at] | v[otum] s[ol]vit l[ibens] m[erito]*. This reading of the last line, although conforming to the conventional order of this formula, is probably mistaken. The order of words is certainly odd, but Wright's drawing is unambiguous and the initial reading made by E. Birley in 1948 likewise put S at the end of the line.²⁰

In October 2009, the second author inspected the stone, by kind permission of Col. Michael Bell of Staward Manor. It has evidently stood outside for many years in its present position in the garden, and it was at once obvious that the lettering is now almost completely weathered away, all that is still legible being *IIII* in line 2. But it was at least possible to verify the damage at the right-hand end of line 1, after the *M*, as shown in R. P. Wright's drawing in *RIB*; it seems large enough to have accommodated an original *D*. The *bucranium* (bull's head), on the right-hand side of the altar is still visible. This might perhaps be associated with the cult of Dolichenus.²¹ In the light of the new altar, as well as the *RIB* drawing and the reading in *CSIR*, one may offer a slightly revised text: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [?D(olicheno) or D(olocheno)] | coh(ors) IIII G[al]l(or)um | [cu]l[us] p[rae]f[ec]t[us] [Sul]p[ici]us Pud[en]s | p[rae]f[ec]t[us] | [a]r[am] p[ro]s[er]v[at] | v[otum] l[ibens] m[erito] s[ol]vit*. It is impossible to be sure whether the altar, along with other stones of Roman appearance visible in the tower at Staward, came from a shrine nearby, or had been removed from Vindolanda in post-Roman times as building material and transported up the Allen valley. Such an effort seems disproportionate, when other sources of stone were much nearer. This journal's referee points out that these stones of Roman appearance are 'blocks which display features such as band anathyrosis and lewis holes which are typical of construction in *opus quadratum*, in Northern Britain almost exclusively associated with Roman bridge construction'.²² If there was a Roman bridge over the Allen, 'the existence of a fortlet or small fort to control it is possible and might have been the source of the altar'.

The prefect's names are unfortunately much too common for any inferences to be made about his origin.²³ But it would not be surprising if he came from Italy, as one other prefect of *cohors IIII Gallorum* known at Vindolanda explicitly stated that he did, from Brixia (Brescia); and a second one was very probably from the Sabine town Reate (Rieti).²⁴

2. Next to the altar of Sulpicius Pudens stood another altar (fig. 8, 1 and 2), of dark buff sandstone, of which only the lower part survives, measuring 0.48 by 0.43 m and 0.58 m high. The lettering is, on average, 50 mm high. The stone is a base which is complete except for the lower front right corner, above which is preserved a triangular section of the die, with three lines of text. On the left side of the die there is a carving of a round disc between a wreath and

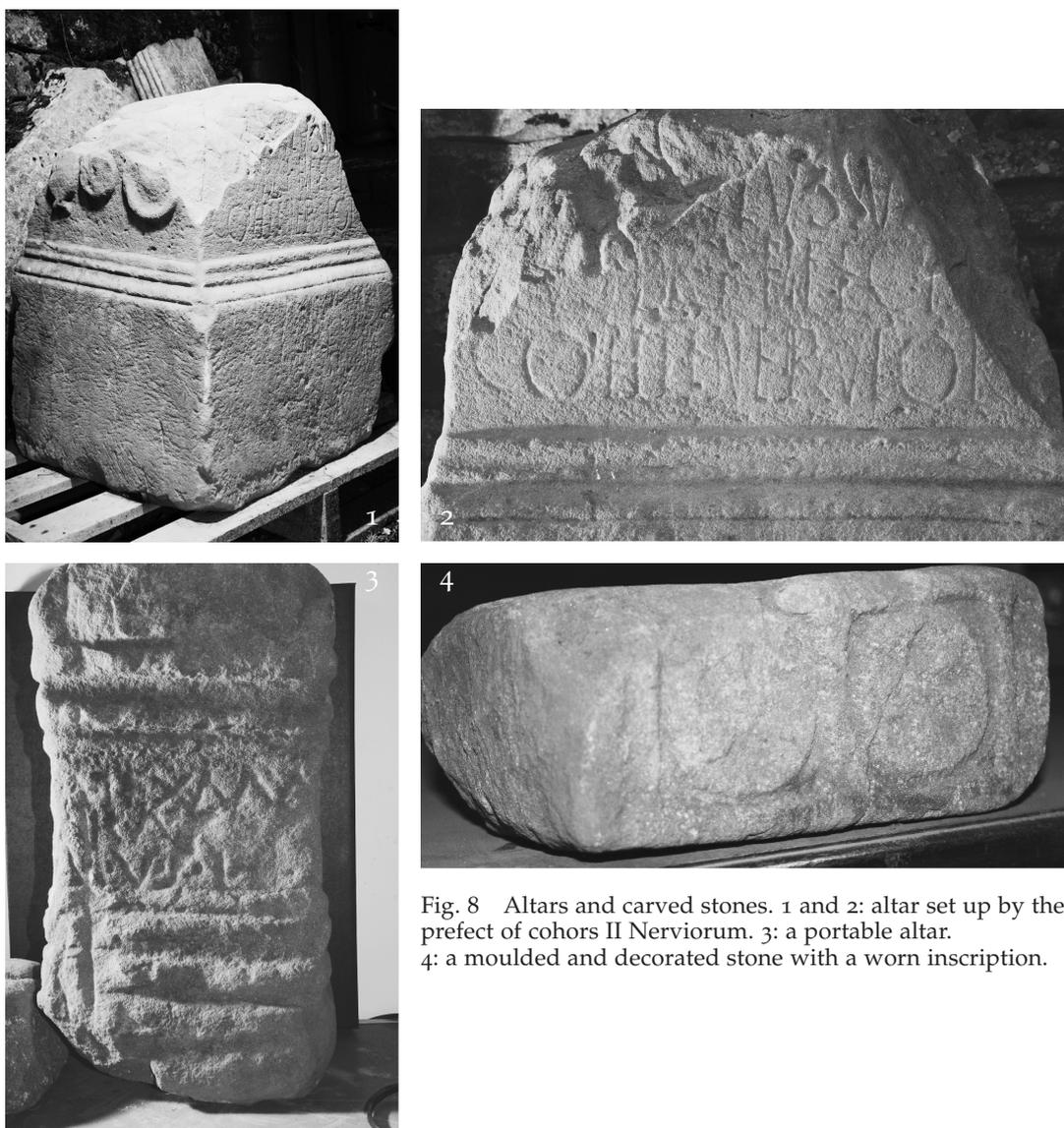


Fig. 8 Altars and carved stones. 1 and 2: altar set up by the prefect of cohors II Nerviorum. 3: a portable altar. 4: a moulded and decorated stone with a worn inscription.

a patera. The first two lines of the inscription are fragmentary, but the third is evidently complete. The lettering is well cut, although the individual letters are narrower and slightly higher than on the other altar.

It can be read as follows:

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

[...]ius V.[.]|[...] praefect[us] | coh(ortis) II Nervior(um)



Fig. 9 A view of the Dolichenum in its final phase, looking northwest from inside the fort immediately to the west of the north gate.

This man might be the same as the prefect of *cohors II Nerviorum* known from an altar found at Hardriding, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles SW of Vindolanda, *RIB I*, 1683: *Deo Cocidio Decimus Caerellius Victor pr(aefectus) coh(ortis) II Ner(viorum) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. But of course, apart from the complete uncertainty over the *gentilicium*, there are several other *cognomina* of about the right length beginning with the letter V, as well as Victor: e.g. Valens, Verus, Viator, Vindex, Ursus.²⁵

3. Outside the door of the shrine was found another altar (fig. 8, 3), small and rather crude, of dark buff sandstone, 0.23×0.42 m and 0.17 m deep; the lettering is, on average, 25 mm high. The three lines of text are damaged on the left by a deep vertical score and some lettering may possibly have been worn away in the right half of line 2, and after the L in line 3. There is no indication to which deity the altar was dedicated. Conceivably this was originally carved on the capital, e.g. I O M D.

At all events, one might read the text as follows:

A.EXAN
 .RA [...]
 . • V • S • L • [M]

The second letter in line 1 looks like a T without the right-hand side of the cross piece, or an upside down L; and what follows the X could equally well be MA. But it is tempting to read

the surviving lines as *Alexan | [d]ra [...]| . v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*.²⁶ It is perfectly feasible that the altar was dedicated by a woman. If it was intended for the Dolichenum, that is not a problem: women are regularly attested making dedications in this cult (see section III). On the other hand, a possible reading of line 3 might be *[a]ra[m ...]*, ‘altar’. There appears to be the trace of a letter before the V in the bottom line, but it is unclear what it might have been.

4. Another stone (fig. 8, 4) was found on the intervallum road, 2 m to the south-west of the Dolichenum (see section I). It measures 240 by 80 mm, and 190 mm deep, with a carving of two wheels or rosettes, within a panel, separated by a column, on the face. It may have originally been part of another altar, for there had evidently been an inscription on top, but this was so worn as to be completely illegible.

III. THE CULT OF JUPITER DOLICHENUS²⁷

The original cult centre was a shrine about 3 km from a small town in Commagene, Doliche, modern Dülük in southern Turkey, on a hill now called Dülük Baba Tepesi, 1211 m high.²⁸ The mountainous territory west of the middle Euphrates emerged into history in the ninth century BC, after the break-up of the Hittite empire, as the ‘neo-Hittite’ kingdom of Kummuh. It was conquered by Assyria in 708 BC, and was a province of that empire for a century; it then fell under Persian rule for over 250 years, until conquered by Alexander. In due course it was incorporated into the Seleucid empire, but in 162 BC, after a successful rebellion, it became an independent kingdom again. It was initially annexed by Rome in AD 17 but was given back to its king in 38, only to be annexed again, this time for good, by Vespasian in 72 and attached to the province of Syria. Doliche was a relatively small town, not mentioned in ancient literature until Ptolemy’s *Geography* (5.15.10), but it lay on one of the most important trade routes between east and west, and was one of the four city territories into which Rome divided the country.²⁹

The god of Doliche was a local version of a very ancient storm-god, going back to the Hittites, who took over the cult of the god called Teshub (with a consort called Hebat) from the Hurrians at the end of the fifteenth century BC.³⁰ The resemblances, above all in the iconography, between the Roman Jupiter Dolichenus and earlier forms of the oriental storm-god, have long been recognised. As summed up by Bunnens, discussing a stele recently found at Tell Ahmar, a new image of the storm-god or ‘smiting god’, developed from a Bronze Age tradition, was created early in the first millennium BC: he already had the axe and thunderbolt, and is sometimes shown standing on a bull. This version ‘is found in a large area that includes the north/central part of the Euphrates valley and the area immediately to the west of it.’ A long gap is still left between this deity and the god of Doliche.³¹ All the same, the recent excavations and fieldwork by a team from the University of Münster have discovered remains at the sanctuary near Doliche which go back to the early first millennium BC.³²

Perhaps because the cult did not survive long enough — it seems to have died out in the later third century AD — there are no literary references to Dolichenus, unlike other eastern cults that became popular in the Roman Empire, such as those of Isis and Serapis, the Syrian Goddess, or Mithras. Hence no evidence has survived for any Dolichenus myths, liturgies or rituals. All that we know about the religion has to be based on the surviving inscriptions, sculptures and other pieces of decorative art from different parts of the Roman Empire, some

600 items. Quite a few dedications state that the worshipper had set them up 'by the command of the god'.³³ It is not certain how this command was transmitted: sometimes it was through a dream, but Dolichenus had priests in his service, who seem to have spread the cult and passed on the god's commands to their converts.³⁴ Perhaps these priests preserved some kind of tradition, passed down over the centuries: for example, myths associated with Teshub. The deity had an important role in the Hittite myths, derived from the Hurrians, notably in the Kumarbi Cycle. Its central theme is the competition for kingship over the gods between Kumarbi, god of the underworld, and the celestial storm-god Teshub. Teshub's bull, called Seri, plays a part in the myth, and his consort Hebat is also mentioned. However this may be, as concluded by Bunnens, 'the similarities [of Dolichene iconography] with the earlier tradition, very close in some cases, point to a continuity in the tradition.'³⁵

The likeliest trigger for the rapid spread of the cult in the second century AD is the presence in Syria of large numbers of legionaries and auxiliaries, and their officers, transferred from the European provinces for Trajan's Parthian War, AD 114–7. Many are likely to have passed through Doliche on their way to and from the Euphrates crossing at Zeugma, under 50 km distant. If there were any surviving tradition among the priests at Doliche that their storm-god was also, like his predecessor at Tell Ahmar, the 'storm-god of the army',³⁶ this may have captured the imagination of some Roman officers and legionaries. When these men returned to the west in AD 117–8, they no doubt brought the cult with them. It was soon found all over the empire, with some notable shrines at Rome, but was especially popular in the frontier provinces, being favoured by the officers and men of the army. The earliest dated attestation is a temple outside the legionary fortress of Lambaesis in Numidia, dedicated to the god Dolichenus 'for the health and safety of the emperor Hadrian' by the legate of III Augusta, Sextus Julius Major, who was in office in AD 125–6. Also under Hadrian, the 'young men who worship Jupiter Dolichenus' at Carnuntum in Pannonia superior paid for the building of a gate and wall, presumably part of a religious precinct, *pro sal(ute)* of Hadrian, now *pater patriae*, hence not before AD 128.³⁷ Dedications under Antoninus Pius soon followed,³⁸ and a peak was reached in the Severan period.³⁹

The god was clearly regarded as all-powerful and was identified with the chief Roman god, *Jup(p)iter Optimus Maximus*, Jupiter Best and Greatest: in dedications the name is mostly abbreviated *I.O.M.*, with the additional *Dolichenus*. This name was also very often abbreviated *D.*, sometimes *Dol.* or *Dolic*. When it was written out in full, the usual spelling was *Dolichenus*, sometimes with the H omitted. But a few specimens each of several other forms are also found: e.g. *Dolchenus*, *Dolychenus*, *Dulc(h)enus*, *Dulicenus*, *Dolecenus*, and *Dolochenus* — as at Vindolanda.⁴⁰ The god is generally portrayed standing on a bull, holding an axe in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other. When his consort, identified with Juno and mostly given Juno's title *Regina*, Queen,⁴¹ is portrayed, she stands on a hind, or sometimes on a stag, as at Chesters.⁴² Apart from identifying the god from Doliche with the Roman Jupiter, who was of course also the Lord of Heaven, a sky and thunder god, some of his worshippers called him *aeternus*, 'eternal', *exsuperantissimus* or *praestantissimus*, 'most pre-eminent', *conservator totius mundi* or *totius poli*, 'preserver of the whole world' or 'of the whole universe', *ex(h)ibitor invictus*, 'unconquered sustainer'.⁴³ On a few occasions an enigmatic phrase, *natus ubi ferrum nascitur* or *exoritur*, 'born where the iron is born', occurs after his name.⁴⁴ Dolichenus and his consort are often associated with other deities, notably the Dioscuri, Sol, Luna — who is generally portrayed with Sol, although never named in an inscription — Apollo, Diana, and Victoria.⁴⁵ Inscriptions and other finds from Dolichena, notably that on the Aventine at Rome

(CCID 355–405) and from outside the fort at Mauer an der Url in Noricum, where a hoard of metal objects had been buried (CCID 290–319), supply some information about cult practices: for example, the holding of banquets, no doubt with processions, the dedication of votive hands and triangular plaques. The worshippers at Rome are labelled in some cases *candidati*, ‘candidates’, a term which scarcely occurs elsewhere; and only at Rome are ‘patrons’ mentioned.⁴⁶ Although all the known priests are men, women were not excluded from the cult, as was the case with that of Mithras, and numerous inscriptions record their dedications, sometimes with a husband or father, sometimes on their own.⁴⁷

The distribution of the cult is telling. Apart from the Dolichena at Rome, the overwhelming bulk of the evidence comes from the northern frontier provinces, particularly the Danubian ones and Upper Germany. To be sure, many worshippers were civilians, not least easterners, at Rome, in particular, as were many priests. But the majority of worshippers surely derived from the military community, even the women, as did many of those men who were not serving soldiers, veterans or officers.⁴⁸ The dedications to Dolichenus in Britain all come from the military zone — one from the legionary fortress at Caerleon, the rest from northern Britain — and the dedicators are almost all officers or soldiers.⁴⁹ Further evidence for the cult in Britain is provided by sculptures and reliefs: apart from the impressive examples from Chesters and Corbridge,⁵⁰ a small group can be assembled from various other sites.⁵¹

For some reason the cult never attracted the hostile attention of Christian writers. The assumption is that it had disappeared from view before fanatics like Firmicus Maternus (who wrote his attack on pagan religions in the 340s) sharpened their pens. A strongly favoured hypothesis has been that the capture and destruction of Doliche and its cult centre in AD 253 or 256 by the Persian ‘King of Kings’, Shapur I, when he invaded the empire, resulted in disillusionment. As Speidel put it: ‘The ruin of the main sanctuary...at the hands of the Persian army may well have discredited the god forever amongst the ranks of the army and apparently amongst civilians as well’.⁵² All the same, the shrine at Chesters on the Wall, where a fine statue of Juno Regina has long been the pride of the Clayton Memorial Museum, is now known (from a recently discovered inscription) still to have existed in AD 286.⁵³ Maybe the news of the disaster to Doliche had not reached the far west. The Vindolanda shrine may have continued in existence for some decades more; it seems to have gone on into the fourth century, although one cannot tell if the cult was being actively practised. It seems to have been destroyed in the mid-fourth century. One of the two large altars was two-thirds broken off, the other overturned and its top smashed, and the building was torched. It was never built on again.

IV. COHORS IIII GALLORUM AND COHORS II NERVIORUM

The history of the *cohors IV Gallorum equitata* stationed in Britain is complicated by the simultaneous existence of several other cohorts with the same name and number based in other provinces, at least one of which was also *equitata*, part-mounted. The British cohort is recorded at five different forts. The earliest so far known is evidently Castleford.⁵⁴ Not long after this it was at Templeborough, near Rotherham. Tombstones of its soldiers with the funerary formula not abbreviated to *D.M.* — *RIB* I, 619 (*Dis M.*), and 620 (*Dis manibus*) — should be quite early: a date under Trajan at latest seems probable. The cohort’s name is also found on antefixes from this fort, (*RIB* II, 4, 2458.9–10), and on tiles (2472.1–2).⁵⁵ Under

Hadrian, the cohort may have been stationed on the Wall at Castlesteads, where two altars set up by its prefects have been found (*RIB* I, 1979–80), but that dating is rather uncertain.⁵⁶ The first of these is one of only two inscriptions giving the cohort the title *eq(uitata)*. Under Antoninus Pius it was on the Antonine Wall, at Castlehill, where its prefect dedicated an altar to the *Campestres* and *Britannia* (*RIB* I, 2195). It was no doubt later than this that it was at Risingham (*Habitancum*) on Dere Street, where the tombstone of a soldier from the cohort has been found (*RIB* I, 1249), and, much more interesting, the cohort, here called *eq(uitata)* — the only other attestation of this title — set up a dedication slab to the *Numinib(us) Augustor(um)* (*RIB* I, 1227), adorned with fine reliefs, including figures of *Victoria* on the left and *Mars* on the right. Because *Augustor(um)* is written out almost in full rather than being abbreviated *Augg.* — and because it is assumed that the dedication was for living emperors, not their deified predecessors — the inscription has been dated to the time of the first co-emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, 161–9, or at latest to the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, 176–80.⁵⁷ An inscription from High Rochester (*Bremenium*), found in the 1980s, was probably set up while the cohort was based at Risingham: *vex(illatio) coh(ortis) IIII Gall(orum) et vex(illatio) coh(ortis) II Nerv(iorum) fecerunt*.⁵⁸ It is perfectly possible that this vexillation was engaged in building as late as the reign of Severus. Of course, it must have left Risingham at latest in the first decade of the third century, since in the reign of Severus, under the governor Alfenus Senecio, in office between 205 and 207,⁵⁹ the garrison was the milliary part-mounted *coh. I Vangionum* (*RIB* I, 1234); it was still there under Caracalla (*ibid.* 1235), and probably longer, given the number of commanding tribunes attested there.⁶⁰ It is striking how similar the style of carving is on the Risingham dedication slabs of *coh. IIII Gallorum* (*RIB* I, 1227) and of *coh. I Vangionum* (*RIB* I, 1234). Both have unusual designs for the inscribed face — octagonal in 1227 and round in 1234 — and both have carvings of *Mars* and *Victoria* on either side (damaged on 1234). This might suggest that *coh. IIII Gallorum* was at Risingham not very long before the years 205–7.

It is naturally not certain if *cohors IV Gallorum* moved straight to Vindolanda from there. It might have been stationed at Castlesteads for a few years first. As mentioned above, its earliest record at Vindolanda is the dedication slab for Caracalla (*RIB* I, 1705), dated to AD 213; the next is a building inscription (*RIB* I, 1706) now lost, naming Severus Alexander and the governor of Britannia inferior, Cl(audius) Xenophon, who was in office in AD 223.⁶¹ *RIB* I, 1710 has been restored to read [...] *coh. [IIII Gall(orum)] Probia[na eq.]*, but the name of a different cohort could theoretically be supplied. The cohort is also recorded on the following altars of its prefects: *RIB* I, 1685–7, all from the *praetorium* of the second stone fort; and two altars thought to derive from Vindolanda: from Staward Pele (*RIB* I, 1688; see above) and (*RIB* I, 2062), provenance uncertain but probably from Vindolanda. Finally, the cohort is named in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Occ. XL 41*, under the Duke's list, in the section headed *item per lineam ualli: tribunus cohortis quartae Gallorum Vindolan(d)a*. Of course it is far from clear just when this section of the *Notitia* was compiled.

As for *cohors II Nerviorum*, Jarrett commented that its 'movements cannot be defined with any precision'.⁶² It is recorded at Wallsend (*Segedunum*), making a dedication to Mercury (*RIB* I, 1303) and at Carrawburgh (*Brocolitia*), a vexillation of the cohort dedicated to the *Genius loci* (*RIB* I, 1538). Neither can be dated. An inscription, now lost, recorded that a vexillation of a Nervian cohort, the number of which was missing, did some building at Risingham (*RIB* I, 1240), presumably at the same period as the vexillation was brigaded with that from *coh. IV Gallorum* which was building at High Rochester. In the year 213, the cohort set up a dedication

to Caracalla at Whitley Castle, at the same time as *coh. IV Gallorum* did the same at Vindolanda, likewise *pro pietate ac devotione communi* (RIB I, 1202+add).⁶³ Whitley Castle is assumed to have remained its base from then onwards, although the only other definite record of the Nervians there is an altar to Apollo, dedicated by a man from the cohort (RIB I, 1198, with pl. XVI); its name is restored in RIB I, 1203, from the year 216. It no doubt had an important role in controlling the lead mines close by. No fewer than 31 out of the 187 lead sealings found at Brough-under-Stainmore bear the abbreviated name of this cohort, five with the added reverse legend *metal(la)*, 'mines'.⁶⁴

In section II the altar from the Vindolanda Dolichenum dedicated by a prefect of *coh. II Nerviorum* was discussed, and the possible identity of the dedicator with Decimus Caerellius Victor (RIB I, 1683), whose altar to Cocidius was found at Hardriding, 1¼ miles (2.8 km) SW of Vindolanda. Exactly what route was used in Roman times to travel between Whitley Castle and Vindolanda is not quite certain. It is probable enough that it went close to Hardriding, where there was a well-attested ford over the River South Tyne in the early modern period, and from there along the river, to join the road south, the Maiden Way, which led to Whitley Castle. The distance involved would be a little under 24 km. One further record of the Nervians at Vindolanda needs to be mentioned, an altar to Mars Victor, supposedly dedicated by the Third Cohort. But of the three surviving lines only the first, reading *Marti Victor[il]*, could be deciphered by Collingwood when he made his drawing in 1927; for line 2, he could only see the last letter of the *coh. III Nerviorum* transmitted by eighteenth-century antiquaries.

The new finds prompt renewed attention to the relations between the Fourth Gauls and the Second Nervians. As has been seen, vexillations from the two cohorts were brigaded together and engaged in building at High Rochester; possibly both cohorts, or parts of them, were based at Risingham at the time. One wonders if members of the two units were initiated into the cult of the god there. It may be more than a coincidence that the only other spelling of the god's name in the same way as on the altar of Sulpicius Pudens, apart from one at Rome, is precisely at Risingham: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] | Dolocho | C. Iul(ius) Publ. | Pius trib(unus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (RIB I, 1220).⁶⁵ Perhaps the fragmentary dedication from the same site (RIB I, 1219), should be restored accordingly: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | D[olocho] — not D[olicheno]*.

It remains uncertain whether *coh. II Nerviorum*, or part of it, was ever based at Vindolanda — of course, it might perfectly well have been there in the later Antonine period. Their prefects — or prefect, if [...]ius V[...], who dedicated an altar in the Dolichenum is indeed the same as Decimus Caerellius Victor who dedicated the altar to Cocidius — might just have gone on social visits to Vindolanda: for example, to join a hunting-party, of the kind that was popular in the Trajanic period.⁶⁶ One could also envisage that a detachment from the Whitley Castle garrison might have escorted a consignment of lead and silver to Vindolanda.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors are grateful to Robin Birley, Richard Gordon, Elizabeth Greene, Nick Hodgson, Alex Meyer and Roger Tomlin, as well as to the Editor of *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Humphrey Welfare, and the journal's anonymous referee, for advice and comments, but are responsible for any remaining errors of fact or interpretation.

ADDENDUM

Roger Tomlin has kindly drawn our attention to a fragmentary tile-stamp (SF 13252), found during the 2009 excavations, which he reads as CIINII[...], taken to be *c(ohors) II Ne[rv(iorum)]*. It came from a sealed context (V09-55A): between a post-Roman building on the intervallum road and the late fourth-century road surface, inside the western wall of the stone fort, in the north-west quadrant. It no doubt belonged to reused building material, perhaps from a second-century structure. This might support the idea that the Nervians were based at Vindolanda in the Antonine period.

NOTES

See notes 1 and 40, on the variant spellings of the god's name.

¹ See *CCID*, no. 355, p. 221, citing two fourth-century works, the *Notitia regionum Urbis XIV* and the *Curiosum Urbis regionum XIV*, which refer to a building on the Aventine hill at Rome as *Doliolum* (clearly a scribal error) and *Dolocenum* respectively. The inference that the term referred to a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus was proved correct by excavation in 1935, producing a good many finds of inscriptions and sculptures relevant to the cult, *CCID* nos 355–405.

² As noted by Merlat 1960, 129. Not many have been discovered subsequently, cf. n. 12 below for a list of examples from military contexts.

³ For a recent account of the relevant Vindolanda periods, VIB, the short-lived Severan fort with the strange associated circular stone huts, and VII, the second stone fort, see Birley 2009, 135–68.

⁴ It is dated by Caracalla's *trib. pot. XVI*; he was not yet *Germ. max.*, the title he acquired in October of that year. The inscription was found in October 1933 during the clearing of a room on the west side of the *principia* courtyard, reused in a secondary drain. In 2008 two further fragments were found (as yet unpublished), one in rubble in the channel of the eastern granary, the other in rubble on the north side of the *via principalis*. They clearly belong above the first line of *RIB* I, 1705, and formed part of Caracalla's fictive ancestry going back to Nerva.

⁵ Blake 2003, 2–10: turned into a temple-tomb by the mid-second century; demolished early in the third century, *ibid.* 11–3.

⁶ Blake in Birley and Blake 2007, 79–91; for the dating, 84, 88. On the sculptural fragments: Patricia Birley, *ibid.* 138–143.

⁷ Birley, Blake *et al.* 1998, 46–8.

⁸ See n. 3 above.

⁹ Gillam and MacIvor 1954, 182–3: the 'main body' or nave was 42½ feet by 26 feet, i.e. 12.954 × 7.9248 m, giving a space of over 102 square metres.

¹⁰ Scott and Large 2008, 101–4, with fig. 5.18.

¹¹ For the location, about 100 m from the fort, see Sarnowski and Savelja 2000, 31, fig. 4; for the dimensions of Rooms A and B, *ibid.* 37, with plan, 39, fig. 6; the reconstruction, *ibid.* 44–51, with figs 14–8. See further n. 50, below. The inscriptions from Balaclava are also published as *AE* 1995.1351; 1996.1358=1999.1349; 1998.1154–63; 1999.1348.

¹² Merlat 1960, 129–167, discusses the Dolichena known to him. For plans of provincial Dolichena associated with forts see *CCID*: pp. 123–4 and Abb. 11, *Vetus Salina*, Pannonia inferior, some 80 m from the SW corner of the fort; 143 and Abb. 13, *Carnuntum*, Pannonia superior, on the Pfaffenberg, a religious precinct well away from the fortress and town; 156–7 and Abb. 14, *Brigetio*, Pannonia Superior, 'near the fortress'; 305–6 and Abb. 19, *Statio Vetonianis*, Raetia, 'south of the fort'; 310–11 and Abb. 21, *Zugmantel*, Raetia, 'just outside the east gate of the fort'; 314–5 and Abb. 22, *Saalburg*, Germania superior, '100 m east of the fort'; 331–2 and Abb. 23, *Stockstadt*, Germania superior, outside the fort, 'a few metres NE of the first Mithraeum'. That at Virunum, Noricum, *ibid.* 210–2 and Abb. 16, is not relevant, as Virunum was a civil town. The Dolichenum at Dura-Europos, *ibid.* 33–5 and Abb. 3, was in a temple precinct in the town, hence is hardly comparable. See on this Stoll 2001, 354–9.

¹³ At Aalen in Raetia, garrisoned by the *ala II Flavia milliaria*, there is not only a stone base with a dedication to Dolichenus, CCID 476, found in 1973, re-used in the Johanneskirche, but part of a gilded bronze votive triangular plaque, 475, showing Dolichenus, his consort and other deities, that was found, together with coins and jewellery, in the cellar below the *sacellum* of the *principia*. Planck 2005, 14–5, argues that base and plaque both originally came from the *sacellum* (at Aalen called the *Capitolium*). However, as pointed out long ago, it is much likelier that the plaque was deposited below the *sacellum* for safety, e.g. ‘for protection before an invasion’: thus Hoey 1939, 462 n. 30, citing earlier discussions. Richard Gordon, to whom is owed the reference to Planck, kindly adds (pers. comm.): ‘we have no good reason to think the temple, assuming there was one, was actually in the fort, as Planck thinks’. The second supposed exception is from the *numerus*-fort at Alteburg-Heftrich in the Taunus, where the joining fragments of an altar ([In] *h(onorem) d(omus) [d(ivinae) | [I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)] Do[lichenol]*), CCID 497, were, it is true, found in the *principia*. But the building had been reused and altered in mediaeval times: see Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 343–5, summarising L. Jacobi’s excavation of 1893. Hence the true provenance of this altar is doubtful.

¹⁴ For a brief description see Polenz (ed.) 1986, 88–90, with fig. 29 (M. Németh), and 215–7, with figs 79–81, for the altars. For the inscriptions see Kocsis 1989, whence *AE* 1989.814–820. Richard Gordon kindly offers the following comment: ‘I incline to stress *AE* 1989.814, which makes clear that a slave named Acmazo was the co-dedicator. This is not an altar, but a plaque, found *in situ* in the back wall. . .Kocsis, in my view rightly, thought this was the foundation-stone. This suggests to me that the impulse came from the slave, and that the Mithraeum actually served the tribunes’ household. Kocsis also thought some of the altars were weathered, and had at first been erected in the courtyard outside.’ Cf. Stoll 2001, 194–5, stressing that whereas in the west unofficial shrines were almost always outside forts and citing as a rare exception, 195 n. 291, this Mithraeum inside the Aquincum fortress, this restriction did not apply in the east and Egypt.

¹⁵ Birley and Blake 2007, 44.

¹⁶ See Sauer 2003.

¹⁷ Allason-Jones 2009, 431–2.

¹⁸ He is listed by Devijver as *PME* P 136.

¹⁹ Birley 1950, 133.

²⁰ Birley 1950, 136–7 had read *VVS*^L, interpreting this as *u(t) v(overat) s(olvens) l(ibenter)*, citing *ILS* 3210 for a parallel. This was rejected by Wright.

²¹ For *bucrania* in the Dolichene pediment at Corbridge, see Richmond 1943, 189 (and pl. VIII, 1), 190 (and pl. VIII.2); for one on the side of an altar to *I O M Dol(ichenus)* at Lambaesis, see *CIL* VIII 18223=CCID no. 627.

²² Bidwell 1997, 22.

²³ Kajanto 1965, 264 counted well over 300 bearers of the name Pudens. The lists covering N. Italy and the European Latin provinces in *OPEL* III 171 comprise about 100 persons, a third of which come from N. Italy; but all told twice as many are found in Rome, the rest of Italy and North Africa. Sulpicii are especially common in Italy and the Spanish provinces.

²⁴ Q. Petronius Urbicus (*PME* P 31) stated on his altar that he was *ex Italia domo Brixia*, *RIB* I, 1686; the very rare *gentilicium* of Pituanus Secundus, *RIB* I, 1685, is almost confined to Reate, cf. *PME* P 37.

²⁵ As shown by the indexes of *PME*, these *cognomina* are all attested for equestrian officers. Caerellius Victor is registered as *PME* C 35, with suggested dating to the second half of the second century. Victor was the tenth most common *cognomen* according to Kajanto 1965, 29 f., who counted 1,699 examples. Caerellius, by contrast, was rather rare, except at Rome, in some parts of Italy and (in a handful of cases) in N. Africa.

²⁶ For a few women called Alexandra or Alexandria in the European Latin provinces and N. Italy, see *OPEL* I, 41–2. An altar was set up in AD 207 to *I.O.M. D(olichenus)* [or perhaps to *D(epulsor)*] by Didymus *Augg. lib(ertus)* for his own welfare and that of Aurelia Alexandria, *CIL* III, 4035=*ILS* 1499=CCID 283, Poetovio, Pannonia superior.

²⁷ There is now an extensive literature, of which only a fraction can be cited here. *CCID*, replacing Merlat’s *Répertoire* of 1953, provides comprehensive coverage of finds relevant to the cult published

up to the early 1980s; more recent epigraphic items are registered in *AE*. Hörig 1984, one of the editors of *CCID*, gives the most recent introduction. Merlat 1960 is far fuller, but is naturally outdated; his work, published posthumously, was unchanged from the version presented as a doctoral thesis in 1948. For valuable comments see now Bunnens 2004. Richmond 1943, 179–196, and Harris 1965, 55–73, remain the fullest accounts of the cult in Britain, both now requiring revision.

²⁸ Hörig 1984, 2138, written before the excavations at the site, for which see n. 30.

²⁹ For a brief summary of Commagene's history see *OCD*³ 373.

³⁰ See Taracha 2004, 452–4, with further references: the great storm-god of the city of Halab, which in Hellenistic and Roman times was called Beroea, and is now Aleppo, became the chief god of the ruling Hittite dynasty under the Hurrian name Teshub.

³¹ For resemblances see e.g. Merlat 1960, on 'Les prototypes', 52–98; briefly, Speidel 1978, 1; now above all Bunnens 2004, who notes at p. 57 the problem that 'the latest representations of the North Syrian/Anatolian Storm-god date from the eighth or seventh century B.C.', whereas the earliest representations of Jupiter Dolichenus appear more than half a millennium later. Speidel 1980, 8, Abb. 3, has a drawing of a weather-god on a stele from Til Barsib in Syria, dated to the 11th century BC: it shows a bearded god holding axe and thunderbolt and standing on a bull. Bunnens 2004, 57–8, with fig. 1A, discusses a newly found stele from the same place, on the Euphrates in northern Syria, now Tell Ahmar, known to the Luwians as Masuwari: 'the most elaborate of its kind, ... about three metres high. It depicts the Storm-god standing on a young bull. ... In his left hand he is holding a trident-like thunderbolt and, in his right, an axe. ... the stele should be dated to about 900 B.C.'

³² See Blömer and Winter 2005; Winter 2008. The latest information and further bibliography may be found under <http://www.uni-muenster.de/AsiaMinor/Doliche>.

³³ E.g. *iuss[u] del[i]*, *RIB I 1131=CICD 565*, Corbridge; *ex iussu ipsius*, *RIB I 1022=CCID 576*, Piercebridge; In *CCID*, there over 30 similar formulas, mostly *iussu* or *ex iussu*, five being the equivalent in Greek, 9, 54, 428, 466, 467, or *ex praecepto*; 525 has *iubente deo* and 517 *ex imperio*. See 105, 158, 228, 274, 287, 291, 293, 300, 331, 356, 362, 375, 376, 379, 380, 381, 383, 385, 408, 414, 416, 428, 453, 455, 521, 540, and add *AE 1991, 500*. 158=*CIL III 1684*, Dacia and 586=*RIB I, 320*, Caerleon, were set up respectively *somno monitus*, advised by a 'dream', or *monitu*, 'at the bidding (of the god)'. 218 and 222, Carnuntum, were set up *ex visu*, or *ex viso*, 'in accordance with a vision'.

³⁴ On priests see e.g. Speidel 1978, 46–54. Over sixty inscriptions in *CCCD* refer to *sacerdotes* (another five in Greek have *hiereus*), see Index, p. 405.

³⁵ For a translation from the Hittite of some Hurrian myths see Hoffner 1998, 40–77 (using the spelling Tessub). Continuity: Bunnens 2004, 67–70, noting, at 68, that 'various Storm-gods were still worshipped in classical times' and hence not all images of storm-gods standing on a bull portrayed Jupiter Dolichenus; 'the god's iconography is much less homogeneous than is often assumed'. But he concludes, at 70: 'When this particular Storm-god, in the form of Jupiter Dolichenus, was adopted in the West, Roman artists portrayed him in a way that showed that some of these artists, at least, still had a direct knowledge, and often also understanding, of how the god was traditionally portrayed in the East.'

³⁶ Bunnens 2004, 62.

³⁷ *CCID 620=CIL VIII 2680=18221=ILS 4311a*, Lambaesis; 217=*AE 1936.132*, Carnuntum.

³⁸ *CCID 151, 356, 357, 564*—this latter, from Benwell on Hadrian's Wall, *RIB I, 1330*, an altar dedicated for the welfare of Antoninus Pius by M. Liburnius Fronto, centurion of II Augusta, is the earliest British example. Also Antonine is the altar from Great Chesters dedicated by L. Maximus Gaetulicus, centurion of XX Valeria Victrix, *RIB I, 1725*, also known at Newstead with an altar to Apollo, *ibid.* 2120: as revealed by a dedication from at Novae in Moesia inferior, *AE 1985. 735*, set up in AD 184, he had been recruited into XX Valeria Victrix 57 years earlier, i.e. in AD 127. See further below, n. 49, on the British worshippers.

³⁹ This is clear from the index of emperors and the imperial family and of consular dates, *CCID* p. 406–7. But while the Severan period is so important for the cult, this does not mean that it was

officially sponsored; and the claim, still often repeated, that Julia Domna and then Julia Mamaea were identified with Juno Caelestis, is without foundation: see Mundle 1960; Speidel 1978, 65; *CSIR* I.6, 45.

⁴⁰ The totals in the inscriptions collected in *CCID* are as follows: *D.*, 111; *Dolichenus* and *Dolicenus*, 101—if one adds *Dolic.*, 6, *Dolich.*, 3, *Dolice.*, 1, the total likewise reaches 111 (note also a single *Dolichenius*); *Dol.*, 28. The remaining spellings are very much in the minority: *Dolc.* 2; *Dolchenus*, 3; *Dolecenus* and *Dolechenus*, 1 each; *Dolichinus*, 1; *Dolychenus*, 3; *Dulc.*, 1; *Dulcenus*, 4; *Dulchenus*, 2; *Dulic.*, 1; *Dulicenus*, 4. The spelling on the Vindolanda altar, *Dolochenus*, is found on two other altars only, *CCID* nos 362 (*CIL* VI 411+30761=*ILS* 4314), Rome, and 557 (*RIB* I, 1220), Risingham; see further below, section IV. Note also [*Dollo.*, 1; *Dolocenius*, 1; *Dolocenus*, 1; *Dolochinus*, 2—and the name attached to the Aventine shrine in the fourth-century work cited in n. 1 above, *Dolocenum*.

⁴¹ She is called *Regina* in *CCID* 65, 303, 307, 331, 403, 430, 493, 509(?), 529. In 430 she is addressed as *Iunoni Assyriae Reg(inae) Dolichenae*: the last name seems only to be found on this bronze tablet from Rome, *CIL* VI 465*, which may be a forgery.

⁴² Chesters: *CCID* 563 and *CSIR* I 6, 117, pp. 44–5; cf. for other depictions of Juno on a stag *CCID* 80, 405, 428, 430; on a hind: *CCID* 43, 89, 103, 292, 294, 296, 364, 365, 371, 512, 587.

⁴³ See the index to *CCID*, pp. 403–4.

⁴⁴ *CCID* 151=*CIL* III 1128=*ILS* 4303, Apulum, Dacia; 427=*CIL* VI 423=*ILS* 4302, Rome; 481=*CIL* III 11927=*ILS* 4301, Statio Vetonianis, Raetia; 517=*CIL* XIII 7342b=*ILS* 9284, Nida, Germania superior. Cumont 1903, 1279, may be right in supposing that these mysterious words refer to one of the myths of this god, rather than to a connection with iron-mining near Doliche.

⁴⁵ Speidel 1978, 20–37; 1980, 12–13; Hörig 1984, 2166. See the index of ‘andere Gottheiten’ in *CCID*, p. 405 and the iconographic index, pp. 409–413. Inside the Balaclava temple were altars to Hercules and Vulcan as well as dedications to Dolichenus: Sarnowski and Savelja 2000, catalogue, nos 23 and 27.

⁴⁶ Candidates: *CCID* 373, 375, 376, 381–3, Rome and 453, Brescia; no. 232, Carnuntum, surely refers to the man’s military status, not his position in the cult. Patrons are also mentioned in these Rome inscriptions, as well as possibly in 380 and 385.

⁴⁷ *CCID* 223, 276, 283, 289, 346, 363, 382, 402–3, 455, 546, 622, 626 (with a male kinsman or partner); 298–9, 301, 303–5, 307, 314–6, 445–6 (alone). The case of 560=*RIB* I, 1726, Greatchesters, is uncertain.

⁴⁸ A count of the entries in *CCID*, together with subsequent finds reported in *AE* up to 2006, shows for the Pannonian and Moesian provinces, Dacia and Noricum 293; Raetia, the Germanies and Britain score 109, Rome 80, the eastern provinces 49, Italy 30, Africa 18, and all the rest (Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Gaul, Dalmatia, Spain) together 38. Stoll 2001, 131, insists that less than 40% of worshippers were soldiers. But more important than counting serving soldiers is noting a connection to the military community.

⁴⁹ Birley 1986, 81–3, lists 19 inscriptions, to which one may add the new one from Chesters and the graffito from the fort at Brancaster. These are, in the *RIB* order, with *CCID* references in brackets: *RIB* I, 320, Caerleon (*CCID* 586); 587, Ribchester (?) (*CCID* 581); 895, Old Carlisle (?) (omitted from *CCID*); 916, Old Penrith (*CCID* 577); 992, Bewcastle (*CCID* 559); 1022 (*CCID* 576), 1023 (*CCID* 574, retaining the reading in *CIL* VII 419; Birley 1986, 82, n. 423 suggests [*I.O.*]M. *Dolliceno pro sal. i*]mp. *C(aesaris) C. [Iuli Maximini]*) and *JRS* 57 (1967) no. 16=*AE* 1967. 259=*RIB* III 3253, Piercebridge (*CCID* 575); *RIB* I 1131, Corbridge (*CCID* 565); 1219 (omitted in *CCID*), 1220 (*CCID* 557), Risingham; 1330, Benwell (*CCID* 564); 1452, Chesters (*CCID* 562) and now *Britannia* 36 (2005), 480, no. 8=*AE* 2005.923=*RIB* III, 3299; 1725 (*CCID* 561) and 1726 (*CCID* 560), Greatchesters; 1782, Carvoran (*CCID* 573); 1896, Birdoswald (*CCID* 572); 2099, Birrens (*CCID* 555); 2158, Croy Hill (*CCID* 554). *CCID* 556 also includes *RIB* I 969, Netherby, relying, however, on the reading in *CIL* VII 956, rejected by *RIB* and Birley 1986, 63. Note further *RIB* II.8, 2503.122 (*CCID* 582), a graffito, [*. . .D*]olice[*o. . .*], on a Castor ware fragment from the fort at Brancaster. Overlooked by Birley 1986 and *CCID* is *RIB* I 1142, Corbridge, an altar, now lost, set up by an equestrian officer. The transmitted text is: [*. . .*] *LEGA*[*. . .*] | *Q*(uintus) *Calpurnius*⁴ | *Concessini* | *us, praef(ectus) eq(uitum)*, | *caesa Cori/onototar* | *um manu, pr* | *aesentissimi* | *numinis dei v(otum) s(olvit)*. Wright, *ad loc.*, conjectured that the missing top

line and line 2 could be restored as *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Do]lich[eno]*, citing *CIL VI 406+30758=ILS 4316 [=CCID 381]*, Rome, for the similar description, *numini praestantiss(im)o*, applied to this god; he also suggests emending *dei* in the last line to *deo*.

⁵⁰ Chesters: *CCID 563*, Chesters, the statue of Juno Regina (Harris 1965, 63 ff.; *CSIR I.6*, 44–5, no. 117). Corbridge: Hodgson 2008, 2009 and forthcoming, has shown that none of the seven buildings on the edge of the military compounds were temples, as claimed by Richmond 1943. Hodgson 2009 and forthcoming, argues, from his reconstruction of the decorated cornice fragments, that there were at least six individual classical temples at Corbridge, but that they were in a ‘temple zone’ or ‘sacred area’ some distance from the centre of the site. One of these must have been the Dolichenum, for which, as he notes, Richmond’s 1943 discussion of the sculptures, 179–196, remains largely valid (cf. Harris 1965, 55–60, with plates XIII–XIV; *CSIR I.1*, nos 51–7, pp. 17–21, with plates 15–6; *CCID 565–571*, pp. 352–6, with plates CXXXIII–CXXVI). Hodgson notes the relevance for Corbridge of the recently discovered Balaclava Dolichenum (Sarnowski and Savelja 2000), which ‘shows that a Dolichenum could, externally, take the form of a classical pedimented temple, in this case with a distyle ionic order *in antis*, with façade 6.50 m wide. The building was incorporated into a walled court or compound, and the interior was fitted out with benches and tables for ritual meals. Yet the exterior appearance of this building shows that in principle any of the groups of architectural fragments at Corbridge could have come from the unlocated Dolichenum.’

⁵¹ *CCID* includes the following: 558, Risingham, a lost relief showing one of the Dioscuri (cf. Harris 1965, 62 n. 5); 563, Chesters (see previous note); 566–571, Corbridge (see previous note); 571, Lanchester, a fragmentary relief of one of the Dioscuri (Harris 1965, 62 n. 5D); 579–580, York, reliefs resembling one from the Corbridge Dolichenum (Harris 1965, 62 nn. 5C, 5B); 584, near Water Newton, a Castor ware fragment with a possible portrayal of Dolichenus (Harris 1965, 73); 585, Cirencester, a small bronze head, perhaps from a statuette of Dolichenus (Harris 71–2). Two items of unknown origin, 587, Ashmolean Museum, a triangular bronze relief depicting Dolichenus and his consort, and 588, British Museum, part of a marble of a bull and part of the god (Harris 1965, 65 n. 5), should no doubt be excluded as extraneous.

⁵² Speidel 1978, 75. He quotes the relevant part of the Greek text of Shapur’s great inscription at Naksh i Rustam (his so-called *Res Gestae*), section 17: ‘We burned and laid waste (and took prisoners) and conquered...the city of Doliche with its territory, the city of Dura with its territory’. See also Speidel 1980, 20, for an eloquent version in German, with the heading ‘*Götterdämmerung*’. Sauer (2003, 133) is sceptical: ‘The end of a geographically widespread religion in the Roman Empire as a result of the misfortunes of one particular site would, however, be without parallel, as far as I am aware, and Speidel himself considers it as no more than a working hypothesis.’ Winter 2008, 64 notes that archaeological evidence has not yet been found for the destruction of the temple by the Persians.

⁵³ *Britannia* 36 (2005), 480, no. 8 = *AE* 2005.923 (suggesting alternative restorations in some parts) = *RIB III*, 3299.

⁵⁴ It stamped tiles there in the local fabric (now in Wakefield Museum). For the date, probably Flavian, within Castleford Phase I, c. 71/4–86, see Cool and Philo 1998, 231–2. This reference (to tile-stamps not reported in *RIB II* or in *Britannia*) was kindly supplied by the late Dr Vivien Swan.

⁵⁵ For a convenient account of the cohort’s presence in Britain, see Jarrett 1994, 60, no. 29. Spaul 2000, 163–5, believes that this cohort is identical with the one of the same name and number recorded on diplomas in Moesia Inferior of the years 75, 97 and 105, and from Thrace on one of 114; in the latter it was clearly part-mounted. But a further diploma, not available to Spaul, shows that a part-mounted *coh. IV Gallorum* was in Cilicia on 19 August 121: Pferdehirt 2004, no. 19. As she notes, this was surely the one previously in Thrace, which can hardly have been moved to Britain in time to feature on the British diploma of July 122 (*CIL XVI* 69). The *coh. IV Gallorum* on that diploma had probably been in Britain since at latest the Flavian period, see previous note.

⁵⁶ The Hadrianic date was doubted by Stephens and Jarrett 1985, 77–80; likewise Jarrett 1994, 60, partly on the grounds that *RIB I* 1980 has the abbreviation *c(ui) p(raeest)*. This, together with the poor lettering and spelling may well indicate a third-century date: the commander, Volcaci

Hospes, is called PRIIFEQ, i.e. apparently *pr(a)ef(ectus) eq(uitum)*, which is very odd for the commander of a cohort; in *PME* V, 123 this is interpreted as *pr(a)efeq(tus)*, which would certainly be curious spelling.

⁵⁷ Thus Jarrett 1994, 60.

⁵⁸ As noted by Jarrett 1994, 60, on *Britannia* 14 (1983), 371, no. 12. The inscription is now *RIB* III, 3491.

⁵⁹ Birley 2005, 188–192.

⁶⁰ Jarrett 1994, 50. To be sure, several tribunes did not register the name of their regiment: *RIB* I, 1210 and 1214 (C. Valerius Longinus), 1212 (Julius Severinus), 1220–1 (C. Iulius Publ. Pius, on whom see further below), 1222 (name not properly preserved), and theoretically they could have commanded a different milliary cohort. Inscriptions registering tribunes of *coh. I Vangionum*: 1215, 1234 (Aemilius Salvianus), 1216 (Aemilius Aemilianus), 1208, 1217, 1224 (Iul. Victor).

⁶¹ Birley 2005, 345–346.

⁶² Jarrett 1994, 63; cf. Spaul 2000, 220.

⁶³ Birley 2005, 204–5 offers a slightly modified text of this lengthy inscription, known only from a drawing in the Camden Bodleian MS and readings by the antiquary Richard Bainbrigg.

⁶⁴ See now Bidwell and Hodgson 2009, 60–2 (Brough), 128–30 (Whitley Castle). For the lead sealings: *RIB* II.1, 2411.110–41, nos 123–7 with *metal(la)*.

⁶⁵ This officer dedicated another altar, also lost, to Mars Victor — or perhaps to Mars and Victoria, to judge from the relief shown in the drawing, with both deities, *RIB* I 1221. These deities also feature on the dedication at Risingham by the *coh. IIII Gallorum*, *RIB* I 1227, cf. above. *Publ.* is expanded as a second *gentilicium* in *RIB*, *Publ(ilius)*; in *PME* I 102, the expansion *Publ(ilia tribu)* is preferred.

⁶⁶ Cf. Birley 2002, 147–51.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, 1888–

ALLASON-JONES, L. 2009. 'The Small Finds', in Rushworth, A. (ed.) *Housesteads Roman Fort: The Grandest Station*, 2. *The Material Culture*, Swindon, 430–87

BAATZ, D. and HERRMANN, F. R. 1982 *Die Römer in Hessen*, Stuttgart

BIDWELL, P. 1997 'Roman roads and bridges in Tynedale', in T. Corfe (ed.) *Before Wilfrid. Britons, Romans and Anglo-Saxons in Tynedale*, Hexham *Historian* 9, 18–28

BIDWELL, P. and HODGSON, N. 2009 *The Roman Army in Northern England*, Newcastle upon Tyne

BIRLEY, A. and BLAKE, J. 2007 *Vindolanda Excavations 2005–2006*, Bardon Mill

BIRLEY, A. R. 2002 *Garrison Life at Vindolanda. A Band of Brothers*, Stroud

BIRLEY, A. R. 2005 *The Roman Government of Britain*, Oxford

BIRLEY, E. 1950, 'A Roman altar from Staward Pele, and Roman remains in Allendale', *AA*⁴, 28, 132–51

BIRLEY, E. 1986 'The deities of Roman Britain', in Temporini, H. and Haase, W. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin-New York, II.18.1, 3–112

BIRLEY, R. 2009 *Vindolanda. A Roman frontier fort on Hadrian's Wall*, Stroud

BIRLEY, R., BLAKE J. et al. 1998 *The 1997 Excavations at Vindolanda. The Praetorium Site*, Greenhead

BLAKE, J. 2003 *Vindolanda Research Report 2003*, II. *The Romano-Celtic Temple Tomb and other sites*, Greenhead

BLÖMER, M. and WINTER, E. 2005 'Jupiter Dolichenus — Der Gott auf dem Stier: Ein orientalischer Kult und seine Ursprünge', *Antike Welt*, 79–85

BUNNENS, G. 2004 'The storm-god in northern Syria and southern Anatolia from Hadad of Aleppo to Jupiter Dolichenus', in Hutter, M. and Hutter-Braunsar, S. (eds.), *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, Münster, 57–81

CCID = HÖRIG, M. and SCHWERTHEIM, E. 1987 *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, Leiden

CIL = T. MOMMSEN et al. (eds) 1862-, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin

COOL, H. E. M. and PHILO, C. 1998 *Roman Castleford I: The Small Finds*, Wakefield



- CSIR I.1 = PHILLIPS, E. J. 1977 *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Great Britain, I.1. Corbridge and Hadrian's Wall East of the North Tyne*, Oxford
- CSIR I.6 = COULSTON, J. C. and PHILLIPS, E. J. 1988 *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Great Britain, I.6. Hadrian's Wall West of the North Tyne and Carlisle*, Oxford
- CUMONT, F. 1903 'Dolichenus', in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5, columns 1276–81
- GILLAM, J. P. and MACIVOR, I. 1954 'The temple of Mithras at Rudchester', *AA*⁴, 32, 176–219
- HARRIS, E. and J. R. 1965 *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden
- HODGSON, N. 2008 'The development of the Roman site at Corbridge from the first to the third centuries AD', *AA*⁵ 37, 47–92
- HODGSON, N. 2009 'The reconstruction of legionary temples at Corbridge, on the northern frontier of Britain', in Morillo, A., Hanel, N. and Martín, E. (eds.), *Limes XX. Estudios sobre la frontera romana. Roman Frontier Studies*, III, Madrid, 1125–34
- HODGSON, N. forthcoming 'Roman architectural fragments at Corbridge: a survey and study', *Arbeia Journal*
- HOEY, A. S. 1939 'Official policy towards oriental cults in the Roman army', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 70, 456–81
- HOFFNER, H. A. 1998 *Hittite Myths*, 2nd ed. by G. M. Beckman, Atlanta
- HÖRIG, M. 1984 'Iupiter Dolichenus', in Temporini, H. and Haase, W. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin-New York, II.17.4, 2136–79
- ILS = DESSAU, H. 1892–1916 *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin
- JARRET, M. G. 1994 'Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: part one, the units', *Britannia* 25, 35–77
- KAJANTO, I. 1965 *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki
- KOCSIS, L. 1989 'Inschriften aus dem Mithras-Heiligtum des Hauses des tribunus laticlavus im Legionslager von Aquincum aus dem 2.-3. Jahrhundert', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 41, 81–
- MERLAT, P. 1960 *Jupiter Dolichenus, Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse*, Paris
- MUNDLE, I. 1961 'Dea Caelestis in der Religionspolitik des Septimius Severus und der Iulia Domna', *Historia* 10, 228–37
- OCD³ = *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, Oxford 1996
- OPEL I–IV = *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, ed. B. Lörincz, I, 2nd. ed., Budapest 2005; II, Vienna 1999; III Vienna, 2000; IV, Vienna 2002
- PFERDEHIRT, B. 2004 *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz
- PLANCK, D. (ed.) 2005 *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg* (2nd edn), Stuttgart
- PME = DEVIJVER, H. 1976–2001, *Prosopographia Militarium Equestrum I–VI*, Leiden
- POLENZ, H., (ed.) 1986 *Das römische Budapest. Neue Ausgrabungen und Funde in Aquincum*, Münster/Lengerich
- RIB I = COLLINGWOOD, R. G. and WRIGHT, R. P. 1965, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, I. Inscriptions on Stone*, Oxford; reprinted with *addenda* and *corrigenda* by R. S. O. Tomlin, Stroud 1995, pp. 751–838
- RIB II.1–8 = COLLINGWOOD, R. G. and WRIGHT, R. P. 1991–5 *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, II. Instrumentum Domesticum (Personal Belongings and the like)*, ed. by S. S. Frere and R. S. O. Tomlin, Stroud
- RIB III = TOMLIN, R. S. O., WRIGHT, R. P. and HASSALL, M. W. C. 2009 *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, III. Inscriptions on Stone*, Oxford
- RICHMOND, I. A. 1943 'Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples and religious cults', *AA*⁴ 21, 127–224
- SARNOWSKI, T. and SAVELJA, O. J. 2000 *Balaklava: römische Militärstation und Heiligtum des Iupiter Dolichenus*, Warsaw
- SAUER, E. 2003 *The Archaeology of Religious Hatred in the Roman and Medieval World*, Stroud





- SCOTT, P. and LARGE, S. 2008 'The northern vicus', in Cool, H. E. M. and Mason D. J. P. (eds.), *Roman Piercebridge. Excavations by D. W. Harding and Peter Scott 1969–1981*, Durham, 81–121
- SPAUL, J. 2000 *Cohors². The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army*, Oxford
- SPEIDEL, M. P. 1978 *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army*, Leiden
- SPEIDEL, M. P. 1980 *Jupiter Dolichenus. Der Himmelgott auf dem Stier*, Aalen
- STEPHENS, G. R. and JARRETT, M. G. 1985 'Two altars of *cohort IV Gallorum* from Castlesteads', *CW²* 85, 77–80
- STOLL, O. 2001 *Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung: Die Religion des Römischen Heeres im Nahen Osten. Studien zum Verhältnis von Armee und Zivilbevölkerung im römischen Syrien und den Nachbargebieten. Mainzer Althistorische Studien 3*, St. Katharinen
- TARACHA, P. 2004 'Fremde Gottheiten und ihre anatolischen Namen. Betrachtungen zur hethitischen Religion der Großreichszeit', in Hutter, M. and Hutter-Braunsar, S. (eds.), *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, Münster, 451–60
- WINTER, E. 2008 'Doliche, das Heiligtum des Iuppiter Dolichenus und die Grabung auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi', in Winter, E. (ed.), ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΡΟΦΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΗ . *Neue Funde und Forschungen zwischen Taurus und Euphrat. Asia Minor Studien 60*, Bonn, 53–68



