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SACRIFICING – FEASTING – CURSING

RITUALS IN THE MAGNA MATER SANCTUARIES OF KEMPRATEN (SWITZERLAND) AND MAINZ (GERMANY)

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Summary: During rescue excavations between 2009 and 2013 carried out at the periphery of the *vicus* at Kempraten (municipality of Rapperswil-Jona, St. Gallen, Switzerland) a Gallo-Roman sanctuary, dating from the second quarter of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century AD, was unearthed. The excavation included intense sampling for geoarchaeology and archaeobiology, which prompted the Archaeology Department of Canton St. Gall (KASG) to launch an interdisciplinary project. Four curse tablets attest to the cult of Magna Mater in the sanctuary at Kempraten.

This paper presents the first results of the interdisciplinary study and compares them to the Magna Mater sanctuary at Mainz (Germany), focusing on 1. the layout of the sanctuary, 2. sacrificing, 3. feasting and 4. cursing. The comparison between both sites showed that there was no strict setting of rituals in the cult of Magna Mater, but the importance of cursing and of burnt sacrifices is characteristic for both sites. Summing up: The temple precinct at Kempraten had a specific setting, which showed on one hand local and regional influences, for instance in terms of the temple architecture and the choice of food offerings. On the other hand, distinct differences between the Kempraten sanctuary and local Gallo-Roman sanctuaries can be observed, for instance in relation to cursing, the composition and the importance of the burnt offerings.

Key words: Roman Imperial period, interdisciplinary project, archaeology, Germania superior, Switzerland, geoarchaeology, zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, *vicus*, cult Magna Mater, ritual, sanctuary, Gallo-Roman ambulatory temples, grove, sacrificing, burnt offerings, feasting, curse tablets, Kempraten, Mainz

1. INTRODUCTION AND PROJECT AIMS

A Gallo-Roman sanctuary with two ambulatory temples was unearthed between 2009 and 2013 during rescue excavations carried out by the Archaeology Department of Canton St. Gall (KASG) on the western periphery of the Roman settlement at Kempraten (Rapperswil-Jona, Switzerland; fig. 1, Seewiese).¹ Despite its relatively small size,

¹ On the temple precinct see *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 87 (2004) 384–385; *Jahrbuch Archäologie Schweiz* 93 (2010) 254–255; *Jahrbuch Archäologie Schweiz*

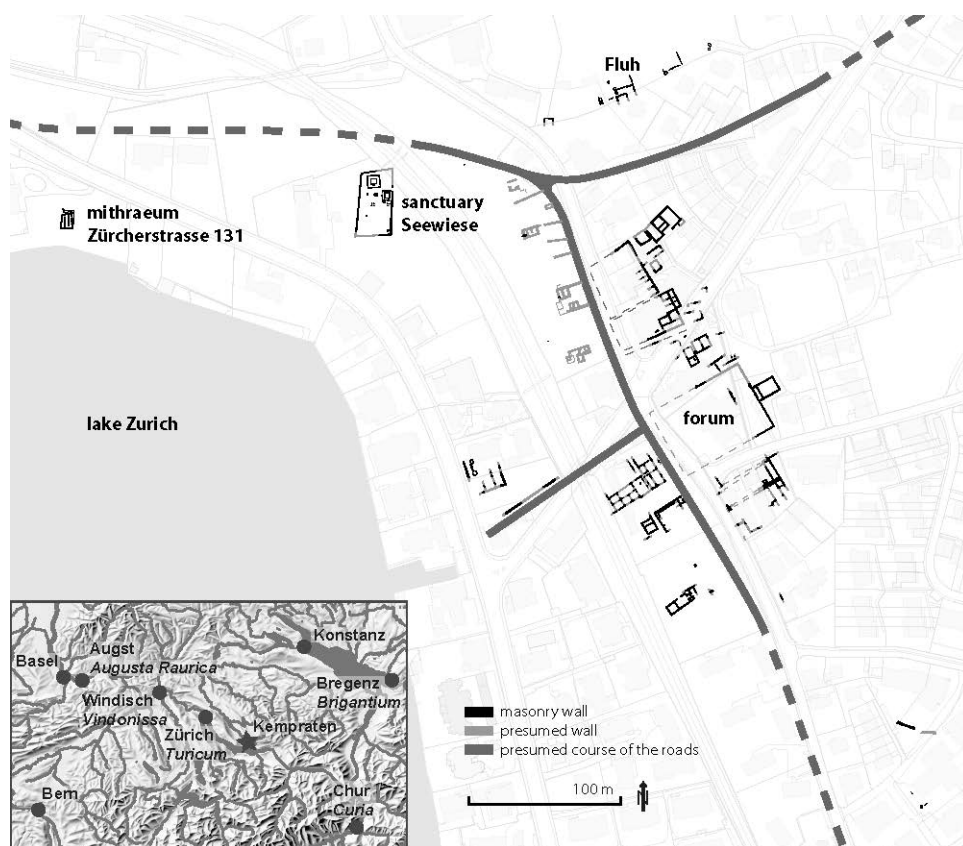


Fig. 1. Rapperswil-Jona, Kempraten: Overall map of the *vicus* in the 2nd/3rd centuries AD. Sc. 1:5000 (Map: KASG).

the temple precinct's layout and location on the edge of the settlement is comparable to numerous other sanctuaries in Roman towns and cities throughout the Provinces of Gaul and Germania.² The temple precinct at Kempraten is a representative candidate for the study of Gallo-Roman sanctuaries for a number of reasons:

- Almost the entire expanse of the temple precinct was unearthed and examined.
- The Roman-period deposits had largely survived except in the southern half of the site, where post-Roman erosion had caused a certain amount of damage.

94 (2011) 256; *Jahrbuch Archäologie Schweiz* 96 (2014) 241–242; KOCH, P. – SCHINDLER, M. P.: Rapperswil-Jona SG, Kempraten, Seewiese, Archäologische Ausgrabung 2009–2013. In *Denkmalpflege und Archäologie im Kanton St. Gallen 2009–2013*. St. Gall 2014, 106–110; see also the KASG archive, site no. 53.055.

² Cf. Lausanne/CH, Schleithem/CH, Vindonissa/CH, Augusta Raurica/CH, Avenches/CH, Staden-Petinesca/CH; cf. FAUDUET, I.: *Les temples de tradition celtique en Gaule romaine: Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée*. Paris 2010; FLUTSCH, L. – NIFFELER, U. – ROSSI, F. (eds): *Bäder – Reben – Legionen. Die Römerzeit in der Schweiz*. Basel 2002, 310–315.

- The excavation was carried out in keeping with modern criteria,³ including extensive sampling for bioarchaeological and geoarchaeological analyses.
- Some of the sunken features (pits and ditches) exhibited wetland preservation.

Given the ideal preconditions, the temple precinct may serve as a relevant case study for the research into Roman sanctuaries and the rituals that were practiced in such places throughout the Gallic and Germanic provinces of the Roman empire.⁴ This prompted the KASG to launch an interdisciplinary project to investigate the site.⁵

Four curse tablets found at the Kempraten sanctuary attest to the cult of Magna Mater, since they are all dedicated to her (in one instance she is addressed as *Mater Deum*).⁶ The cult of Magna Mater was first introduced to Rome in 204 BC by means of a meteorite.⁷ She was originally one of the “foreign” deities in the Roman pantheon.⁸ Having been established in Rome for more than 300 years, however, her cult had become a permanent feature of Roman religious practice and can be viewed as having been Romanised.⁹ Inscriptions attest to the spread of the cult throughout the Roman empire, including the Provinces of Gaul and Germania.¹⁰ In the region around Kempraten, however, evidence pointing to her cult has only been found in the larger towns and cities (cf. Avenches).¹¹ In Mainz, the capital city of the Province of

³ All finds were therefore retrieved and stored according to stratigraphic units.

⁴ Many of the sanctuaries that had previously come to light had only partially been examined, had been discovered early on, or had been poorly preserved.

⁵ The project under the leadership of Pirmin Koch aims to publish the results in monograph form (dissertation project at the University of Cologne). The multidisciplinary team includes experts on general archaeology, epigraphy (Sebastian Geisseler), numismatics (Andrea Lanzicher), zooarchaeology (Sabine Deschler-Erb and Heide Hüster-Plogmann), archaeobotany and palynology (Örni Akeret and Lucia Wick) and geoarchaeology (Christine Pümpin). Many thanks to the whole contributors, I owe them a lot of the results, I discuss in this paper.

Due to space restrictions, no statements can be made here on the methods and data being used; this will be discussed in detail in the planned monograph.

Preliminary bio- and geoarchaeological results have been presented in KOCH, P. – AKERET, Ö. – DESCHLER-ERB, S. – HÜSTER-PLOGMANN, H. – PÜMPIN, C. – WICK, L.: Feasting in a Sacred Grove: A Multidisciplinary Study of the Gallo-Roman Sanctuary of Kempraten, Switzerland. In LIVARDA, A. – MADGWICK, R. – RIERA MORA, S.: *The Bioarcheology of Ritual & Religion. Session at the EAA September 2014*. Oxford–Philadelphia 2018, 69–85.

⁶ On the curse tablets see FREI-STOLBA, R. – KOCH, P. – LIEB, H.: Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Kempraten (Kt. St. Gallen/CH). In SCHOLZ, M. (ed.): *Lesen und Schreiben in den römischen Provinzen. Schriftliche Kommunikation im Alltagsleben. 2. Internationales Kolloquium DUCTUS im RGZM, 15.–17. Juni 2011*. Mainz 2015, 119–129.

⁷ Still relevant VERMASEREN, M. J.: *Cybele and Attis, the Myth and the Cult*. London 1977.

⁸ Earlier scholars had counted the cult of Magna Mater amongst the so-called oriental or mystery cults due to her origin. For a current critical discussion of these categories, also in view of the history of scholarship, start with: BONNET, C. – RÜPKE, J. – SCARPI, P.: *Religions orientales – culti misterici: Neue Perspektiven – nouvelles perspectives – prospettive nuove*. Stuttgart 2006.

⁹ The significance of the foreign and Roman features in the cult of Magna Mater was examined by ALVAR, J.: *Romanising Oriental Gods. Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras* [RGRW 165]. Leiden 2008 and VERSLUYS, M. J.: *Orientalising Roman Gods*. In BRICAULT, L. – BONNET, C. (eds): *Panthée: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire* [RGRW 177]. Leiden 2013, 235–259.

¹⁰ VERMASEREN (n. 7) 131–140.

¹¹ FLUTSCH ET AL. (n. 2) 326.

Germania superior, and its surroundings, her worship, on the other hand, is well attested to.¹² The evidence for the worship of Magna Mater at Kempraten in a Gallo-Roman temple precinct came as a surprise – if it were not for the naming of Magna Mater, one would be more likely to expect a local variation of the god Mercury to have been venerated there¹³ – and remains unique. The curse tablets from the temple precinct, however, allow us to conclude that the veneration of Magna Mater had a permanent place at the sanctuary.¹⁴ Judging by where the curse tablets were found, the larger, northern Temple A was perhaps dedicated to Magna Mater.¹⁵ Besides the Magna Mater sanctuary at Mainz (Germany), the Kempraten site is therefore the only archaeologically confirmed sanctuary dedicated to this deity in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire to have been examined using modern excavation methods.

Based on the insight gained so far with regard to Kempraten, four central themes can be defined, which will be discussed here using the results from the Mainz Magna Mater sanctuary for comparison: 1) the layout of both sanctuaries, 2) sacrificing, 3) feasting and 4) cursing; in other words, the ritual acts performed at both sites. The comparative approach selected allowed us to identify similarities and differences with regard to the cult of Magna Mater and thus to explore the question of its supra-regional uniformity or local peculiarities in view of the archaeological material chosen.¹⁶

2. THE *VICUS* AT KEMPRATEN

The Roman site of Kempraten is located on the northern shore of Lake Zurich and has been known since the first half of the 19th century (fig. 1, down left). It was not until the 1940s, however, that it became clear that it had been a small-town, Roman settlement (*vicus*).¹⁷ Thanks to large-scale and systematic monitoring by the KASG of the busy construction activities carried out since 2005, we now have a fair indication of the development and size of the *vicus*. Today we assume that the Roman town was spread over an area of at least 11 ha. It was founded around 30/40 AD, probably

¹² With further references: BLÄNSDORF, J.: *Die Defixionum Tabellae des Mainzer Isis- und Mater Magna-Heiligtums* [Mainzer Archäologische Schriften 9]. Mainz 2012, 16.

¹³ Cf. FAUDUET (n. 2) 207–214.

¹⁴ Curse tablets found at sanctuaries are usually addressed mainly to the deities that were worshipped on site and to whom the temples were dedicated, as shown impressively by the examples from Bath/GB (TOMLIN, R. S. O.: *Tabellae Sulis. Roman Inscribed Tablets of Tin and Lead from the Sacred Spring at Bath*. Oxford 1988), Uley/GB (WOODWARD, A. – LEACH, P.: *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire 1977–1979*. London 1993) and Mainz/D (BLÄNSDORF [n. 12]).

¹⁵ DTK 2 came to light in Temple A and DTK 1 had been deposited directly to the east of the temple. DTK 3–5 were also found in the northern half, in the vicinity of Temple A.

¹⁶ This contribution therefore follows a similar approach to that chosen by RIEGER, A.-K.: *Lokale Tradition versus überregionale Einheit: Der Kult der Magna Mater*. In BONNET, C. (ed.): *Religioni in contatto nel mediterraneo antico. Mediterranea IV*. Pisa 2007, 89–120. On the state of research with regard to Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in general see FAUDUET (n. 2).

¹⁷ On the history of research and the site in general see ACKERMANN, R.: *Der römische Vicus von Kempraten, Rapperswil-Jona: Neubetrachtung anhand der Ausgrabungen Fluhstrasse 6–10 (2005–2006)*. Archäologie im Kanton St.Gallen 1. St. Gall 2013.

because the land route towards the north to the Danube border via Vitudurum, which branched off the main east-west artery,¹⁸ had by then become more important. The *vicus* was therefore part of the final phase of Roman territorial expansion on the Swiss Plateau.¹⁹

Little is known about the timber-built settlement that lined the streets, though it has been shown to have gone through several phases of alteration. The wooden houses were replaced by stone buildings around 120 AD (fig. 1). A public building, which was surprisingly monumental for the region and for the type of settlement, stood in the centre (*forum*).²⁰ The dwellings known so far ranged from luxurious (courtyard) houses with smaller buildings in the backyards in the centre of the settlement to strip houses on the (northern) periphery. A mithraeum was discovered in 2015 outside of the settlement's perimeter, approx. 200 m south-west of the temple precinct.²¹ From what we know so far, the settlement's demise is dated to the 4th century AD.²² The coin sequence, however, suggests that settlement activity continued up to the turn of the 5th century. We also presume that the site continued to exist into the Middle Ages, although the transition from the Roman period to the Early Middle Ages has so far proved rather elusive.²³

3. COMPARING THE TEMPLE PRECINCTS AT KEMPRATEN AND MAINZ

3.1 *Layout of the temple precincts*

The temple precinct, which was surrounded by a ditch/wall, was some 900 m² in size (fig. 2). Two Gallo-Roman ambulatory temples of the *fanum* type stood in the northern half of the precinct. This type of temple was particularly widespread in the Provinces of Gaul and Germania²⁴ and consisted of a raised *cella*, which was surrounded by an open ambulatory/portico.²⁵ Two simple post constructions, which were interpreted as chapels, were the only buildings that came to light in the temple precinct. Whilst the poorer state of preservation in the southern half of the site made it

¹⁸ This (water)way from the Graubünden mountain passes via *Vindonissa* to Gaul/Germania was the main transportation route in the region.

¹⁹ ACKERMANN (n. 17) 217 and SCHUCANY, C.: *Oppida, camps romains et agglomérations secondaires sur le Plateau Suisse*. In OUZOULIAS, P. – TRANOY, L. (eds): *Comment les Gaules devinrent romaines*. Paris 2010, 97–108.

²⁰ MATTER, G.: Jona SG, Kempraten, Parzelle 4239, Grabung 2002. Ein repräsentativer Architekturkomplex im Zentrum des römischen Vicus Kempraten. In *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 86 (2003) 178–185; ACKERMANN (n. 17) 214–215.

²¹ Excavation Rapperswil-Jona SG, Kempraten, Zürcherstrasse 131, site no. 53.204; *JbAS* 99 (2016) 206–207; *JbAS* 100 (2017) 240–241 and the contribution by S. LO RUSSO, R. ACKERMANN and H. FLÜCK in this volume, on pp. 199–216.

²² ACKERMANN (n. 17) 220.

²³ ACKERMANN (n. 17) 216–218.

²⁴ FAUDUET (n. 2) 12.

²⁵ FAUDUET (n. 2) 99–107.

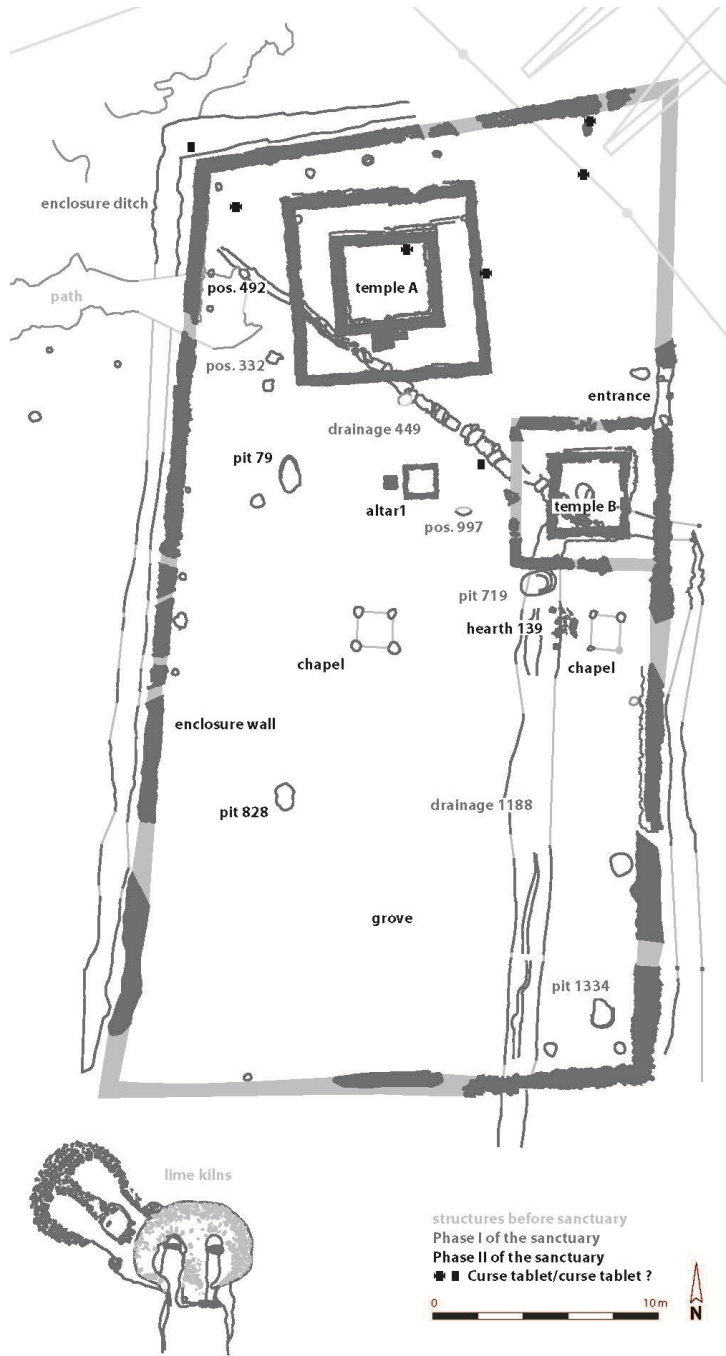


Fig. 2. Rapperswil-Jona, Kempraten Seewiese: The sanctuary with its main Roman-period structures. Sc. 1:250 (Map: KASG).

difficult to reach any definitive conclusions, the area certainly seemed to have remained free of development. Based on the enclosures, the features within the precinct were divided into two construction phases (I and II), although it was not possible, due to later disturbances, to associate all of the features with a particular phase.

Prior to construction of the temple precinct, the terrain was prepared by digging two drainage ditches (Pos. 449 and 1188) (phase Ia). During Phase Ib the sanctuary was enclosed by a ditch, which, according to the geoarchaeological analyses, remained open. The *cella* of Temple A was built in this phase, though very few remains of the associated ambulatory have survived.²⁶ Construction of the *cella* was dated by a coin found in its southern wall to the second quarter of the 2nd century.²⁷ Due to later alteration work, only fragments have survived of Temple B. During construction of the sanctuary two pits (Pos. 719 and 1334) were dug down to groundwater level. These were probably open wells as attested to by wall reinforcements.²⁸ A stone-lined hearth (Pos. 139) was located south of Temple B probably from as early as Phase Ib. Other concentrations of charcoal may represent simple hearths or may have been redeposited material (e.g. Pos. 332 and 997).

Towards the end of the 2nd century, the enclosing ditch was replaced by a wall. This probably occurred in conjunction with alteration work on Temple A and the construction of Temple B, which was built onto the perimeter wall. According to the geoarchaeological analyses, the two ambulatories exhibited different types of construction: Temple A had an open portico, while the ambulatory of Temple B was closed. This is an important piece of evidence, since the reconstruction of ambulatories still leads to much debate among experts on ambulatory temples. A place of sacrifice for burnt offerings (Pos. 1) was constructed on the ground and enclosed by stones in the centre of the area in front of the temples. Hearth Pos. 139 and pit Pos. 828 also served as places of sacrifice for burnt offerings from this phase onwards, if not before. Various other concentrations of charcoal throughout the site can probably also be interpreted as places of sacrifice. Well Pos. 79 probably replaced well Pos. 719.

Towards the end of the 3rd century, the temple precinct was probably damaged by a fire, and afterwards Temple A was in fact subsequently rebuilt. Coins attest to the site continuing to be used until the second half of the 4th century.²⁹ However, how much longer the temple precinct remained in use after that cannot be ascertained due to the scarcity of other types of finds (pottery or glass).

Analysis of pollen samples from pits Pos. 79, Pos. 719 and Pos. 1334 attested to the presence of a grove of elm (*Ulmus* spec.) and Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) trees at the sanctuary or in the immediate vicinity. Unlike the Kempraten sanctuary, the temple precinct of Isis and Mater Magna at Mainz was located in the centre of the settlement. Prior to construction of the sanctuary the area had not been developed.

²⁶ Some of the posts, Pos. 976, Pos. 1277 and Pos. 1315, probably belonged to this phase and the geological analyses suggested that the exterior was covered by some sort of roof.

²⁷ Inv. 53.055.1074.001: sestertius of Hadrian (123–128 AD).

²⁸ Pos. 719, for instance, contained remnants of a perforated barrel, which had probably been placed in the pit to reinforce its walls.

²⁹ Inv. 53.055.0010.001: aes of Valens (364–375 AD).

However, because of several phases of alterations, the construction features of the temple precinct were sometimes difficult to identify. Simple timber-clay buildings were erected along the access path to the sanctuary. A perimeter wall marking the *temenos* of the sanctuary was found adjacent to these. Unlike the Kempraten site, the Mainz sanctuary therefore consisted of two spatially and probably also functionally separate units.³⁰

The original complex founded in the Flavian period included a walled cult precinct with two square ritual buildings (3.5 m by 3.5 m and 4 m by 4 m), each with an adjacent shaft for depositing sacrificial offerings.³¹ During later alteration work both shafts were filled in. Three consecutive rectangular places of sacrifice for burnt offerings surrounded by stone walls or enclosures were found on top of the eastern shaft.³² In terms of construction, these can be compared to the place of sacrifice Pos. 1 at Kempraten.

The area was reorganised around 130 AD by demolishing the earlier constructions, enlarging the *temenos* and covering the place of sacrifice with a layer of broken tiles.³³ A multi-section structure (16 m by 11 m) was erected in the western corner of the sanctuary in the 2nd century and subsequently experienced several phases of alteration. Its function remains unclear.³⁴ Nor were the excavators satisfied that the sanctuary was unearthed in its entirety, particularly towards the north-west, since further Roman features are still expected to come to light in the neighbouring plots in the north-east. The final building erected in the sanctuary was a small rectangular structure with two large foundations on its narrow side. This appears to have been followed by a phase of gradual decline. Evidence from the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries, however, show that settlement continued at the site.³⁵

3.2 Burnt offerings

The Kempraten temple precinct allowed us to carry out a detailed study on the practice of making burnt offerings based on the charred remains, the features (places of sacrifice/hearths) and the geoarchaeological analyses. In Phase I, layers containing charcoal (Pos. 894, Pos. 1069), concentrations of charcoal (Pos. 249, Pos. 332, Pos. 997

³⁰ According to WITTEYER, M.: *Rituelle Niederlegungen im Heiligtum für Isis und Magna Mater in Mainz*. In SCHÄFER, A. – WITTEYER, M. (eds): *Rituelle Deponierungen in Heiligtümern der hellenistisch-römischen Welt: Internationale Tagung Mainz, 28.–30. April 2008*. Mainz 2013, 317–352, for a ground plan see Abb. 4. The separation of the two areas, however, does not appear to have been very strict, since evidence of ritual acts found in the forecourt was similar to the finds and features discovered inside the *temenos*.

³¹ WITTEYER (n. 30) 321.

³² WITTEYER (n. 30) 340–344.

³³ WITTEYER (n. 30) 344.

³⁴ WITTEYER (n. 30) 321, with a reference to so-called banqueting houses. However, because the site has not yet been published it is not possible to comment on this interpretation. The architectural remains could also be interpreted as a Gallo-Roman double temple.

³⁵ WITTEYER (n. 30) 323.

and Pos. 1064) and perhaps hearth Pos. 139 attest to the practice of making burnt offerings.³⁶ The place of sacrifice for burnt offerings Pos. 1, constructed in Phase II, provided a clear focal point in a central location in front of the two temples. The geological analyses carried out on the feature confirmed that it had been used as a place for making burnt offerings. However, more modest facilities such as pit Pos. 828, which was used for burning, hearth Pos. 139 and a concentration of charcoal, Pos. 492, also continued to be used. The charred plant remains and burnt bones were mainly found in samples from the vicinity of the altar for burnt offerings Pos. 1 and hearth Pos. 139, while other features were relatively devoid of finds, probably because of their poor state of preservation and less intense use.

The high proportion of cultivated plants amongst the charred plant remains attests to their importance for the practice of making burnt offerings – besides various cereals they included walnut (*Juglans regia*), grape (*Vitis vinifera*) and stone pine cones (*Pinus pinea*; ten seeds and six scales). Charred amorphous fragments were found in large numbers (5,326 frgs). They included larger pieces which had originally been round and had a diameter of approx. 3 cm. Such fragments are usually interpreted as the remnants of bread, baked goods, fruit pulp or resin. However, the analysis of thin sections showed that most of them represented a cereal-based substance such as pastries, bread or porridge.

Most of the burnt bones came from birds, fowl in particular. Mammals only played a minor role in the burnt offerings. The structure of the chicken bones shows that the animals were in the laying phase (spring to early autumn) when they were slaughtered. Because all skeletal elements were represented among the burnt chicken bones (trunk n=21; fore n=11; hind legs n=16; head n=4),³⁷ we may assume that whole animals were burnt (*holocaust*). A small number of eggshells attested to the fact that eggs were also among the offerings.³⁸

Numerous features uncovered at the site in Mainz also attested to the practice of making burnt offerings within the walled *temenos*. In terms of their form, they ranged from small, shallow and large, deep pits to places of sacrifice for burnt offerings set in clay tiles or stones. Some of the features were repeatedly used. The pits were refilled after each use, which resulted in homogeneously mixed fills interspersed with charcoal fragments. The places of sacrifice were not clustered around a central location within the sanctuary, although one group of features exhibited a spatial link with the two ritual buildings.³⁹

Having made a burnt offering, the remnants were either left in situ or disposed of elsewhere. It was not always possible therefore to ascertain for each charcoal concentration whether it was intentionally redeposited remnants of a burnt offering or whether it was “sacrificial waste” worked into the levelled ground. Such remnants

³⁶ Some of the concentrations of charcoal can be identified as simple hearths. However, there is also a possibility that these were concentrations of redeposited material.

³⁷ Compared to other sites this is an unusual selection of skeletal elements.

³⁸ The small number can be explained by the fact that eggshells rarely survive being burnt at high temperatures.

³⁹ According to WITTEYER (n. 30) 323, 331–344.

were also dumped in the shafts behind the two ritual buildings. The southern shaft contained a fill which attested to a complex sequence of various incidents of use.⁴⁰

The composition of the burnt offerings was strictly standardised, since 90% of the burnt bones came from fowl, mainly adult cocks. The range of skeletal parts retrieved suggested that whole animals were burnt (*holocaust*). A small number of songbirds were also identified (mainly different types of finch). The composition of the bones from the burnt offerings was very different from that of the finds from outside of the enclosure (see below), underlining the differences in how both areas were used.⁴¹

The botanical remains were more diverse; the high proportion of pine trees (represented by kernels and cones), figs, dates and cereals was striking. Other remains were identified as grapes, various types of fruit, nuts and pulses.⁴²

Almost all the places of sacrifice at Mainz yielded lamps, suggesting that lamps also played a key role in the context of making burnt offerings. The lamps generally bore no secondary traces of burning, which meant that they were deposited at the places of sacrifice after (or before) the offerings were actually burnt. Some of them had traces of soot on the nozzles, which allowed the excavators to conclude that they had been used during the ritual acts.⁴³

3.3 Feasting

The hand-retrieved medium/large bones from the Kempraten sanctuary bore hardly any evidence of burning and had probably come from ritual meals following the animal sacrifices. The animals were probably brought into the sanctuary alive, killed, butchered, cooked and then consumed on site, since every major anatomical part was present and almost 10% of the fragmented animal bones exhibited butchering marks.

The main species butchered were cattle and pigs. The cattle were remarkably young (70% were infantile, probably less than six months old). The pigs, on the other hand, were at an ideal age for slaughtering (between 1 and 3 years). Sheep/goats were found less often and only a small number of wild animal and dog bones were identified. The significance of a very high proportion of horse bones with butchering marks compared to other Roman sites has not yet been explained. It is a striking

⁴⁰ According to WITTEYER (n. 30) 323, 331–344.

⁴¹ According to HOCHMUTH, M. – BENECKE, N. – WITTEYER, M.: Cocks and Song Birds for Isis Panthea and Mater Magna: The Bird Remains from a Sanctuary in Mogontiacum/Mainz. IN GRUPE, G. – PETERS, J. (eds): *Feathers, Grit and Symbolism: Birds and Humans in the Ancient Old and New Worlds*. Rhaden 2005, 319–329 and HOCHMUTH, M. – WITTEYER, M.: Holocauste et autres offrandes alimentaires dans le sanctuaire d'Isis et de Magna Mater à Mayence. In LEPETZ, S. – VAN ANDRINGA, W. (eds): *Archéologie du sacrifice animal en Gaule romaine: Rituels et pratiques alimentaires*. Montagnac 2008, 237–255.

⁴² According to ZACH, B.: Vegetable Offerings on the Roman Sacrificial Site in Mainz, Germany: Short Report on the First Results. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 11 (2002) 101–106.

⁴³ After WITTEYER (n. 30) 331–344.

observation, since eating horse flesh was taboo during the Roman period, and horses played hardly any role in religious practices.

Fish also had a part to play at the sanctuary – probably in the ritual feasting.⁴⁴ Worth mentioning here were the relatively high quantities of pike (11%, *Esox lucius*) by the standards of the time and for the region. Moreover, the pike were of a relatively uniform age in that they had generally been caught prior to sexual maturity. This suggests that they were deliberately targeted.

Cooking vessels with remnants of soot and food show that the meals were probably prepared in the temple precinct. However, no hearths used exclusively for cooking were actually identified.⁴⁵ No differences were identified between the cooking vessels from the sanctuary and those from the secular contexts at the settlement. Significant quantities of mortaria (ancient Roman pottery kitchen vessels) were also found.

Because the Mainz temple precinct has not yet been studied and published in detail, the statements on feasting remain limited to a few observations for the present. Several features suggest that the buildings in the forecourt served as “banqueting halls”, including the fact that significantly higher numbers of cooking vessels (cooking bowls, pots and lids) were found there when compared to other sections of the excavation.⁴⁶ The number of mortaria, most of which were badly worn, was highlighted by the excavators. Most of the animal bones were unburnt and – in contrast to the bones from inside the *temenos* – were predominantly mammal bones. Finally, various hearths also attest to the preparation of food.⁴⁷

3.4 Cursing

Five lead tablets came to light in the Kempraten temple precinct. They were identified as so-called curse tablets.⁴⁸ Two other lead objects may also have been curse tablets.⁴⁹ So far, only DTK 1 and DTK 2 has been fully translated and published (fig. 3).⁵⁰ The

⁴⁴ Since only a few of the fish remains were burnt, they do not seem to have been sacrificed.

⁴⁵ Therefore, it is also possible that the food was cooked elsewhere and brought into the temple precinct in cooking vessels. Arguments against this possibility include the fact that the meat was actually prepared on site and that the cooking vessels were treated the same as every other type of vessel (tableware and ritual vessels).

⁴⁶ WITTEYER (n. 30) 323.

⁴⁷ WITTEYER (n. 30) 323.

⁴⁸ Generally defined, after JORDAN, D. R.: Survey of Greek Defixiones not Included in the Special Corpora. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985) 151–97: “Defixiones, more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will.” See also the introduction in KROPP, A.: *Magische Sprachverwendung in vulgärlateinischen Fluchtafeln (defixiones)*. Tübingen 2008, 67, 72, 111–121, who differentiates between the public curse and the secret/private *defixio*.

⁴⁹ Inv. 53.055.0113.001 and 53.055.1076.001.

⁵⁰ FREI-STOLBA ET AL. (n. 6) and GEISSELER, S. – KOCH, P.: Diebstahl am Zürichsee: Eine Fluchtafel aus dem Magna Mater-Heiligtum in Kempraten (Kt. St. Gallen, Schweiz). *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie*

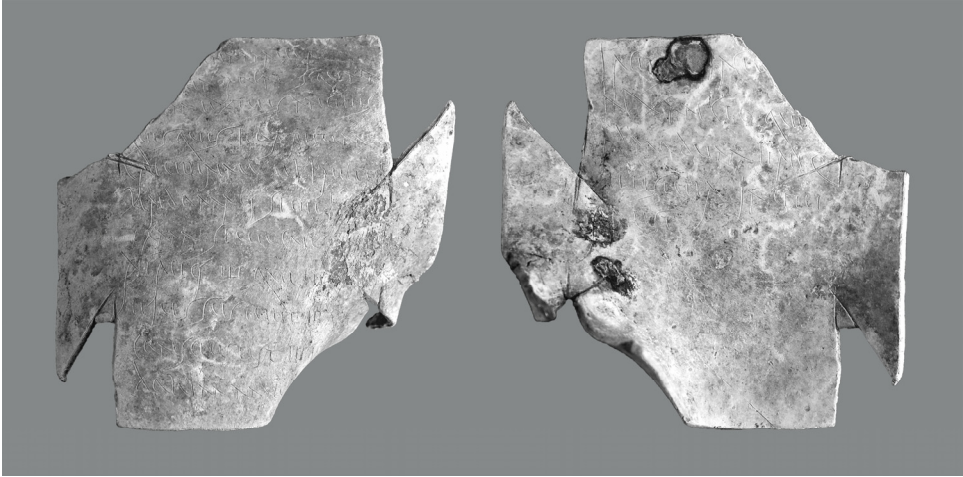


Fig. 3. Rapperswil-Jona, Kempraten Seewiese: Curse tablet DTK 1 (front- and backside). Width: 10 cm, height: 10.2 cm (Photograph: KASG).

decipherment of the other tablets remains fragmentary. Certain similarities with regard to textual content can, nevertheless, be identified. All tablets were addressed to the goddess Magna Mater: on DTK 1 as *magna mater*, on DTK 2 as *mater deum* and on DTK 3 and DTK 4 probably as *mater magna*. In all instances the goddess appears to have been called on to intercede in cases of theft, as seen in the texts on DTK 1 (theft of a lamp and a break-in at a *horreum*) and on DTK 2 (theft of a coat) and in the verbs deciphered so far on DTK 3 (*involavit* – seize on/take away) and on DTK 4 (*sustulit* – remove/take away). These were therefore *defixiones criminales*, “criminal curses” against thieves.⁵¹ They could also be categorised as “prayers for justice” (“Gebete für Gerechtigkeit”, “supplications juridiques”), although this category has sparked controversy.⁵²

The tablets were all found in the northern half of the site in the vicinity of Temple A (fig. 2). DTK 3–5 were recovered from among the debris of the collapsed northern section of the perimeter wall. It is therefore possible that they had been

und *Epigraphik* 207 (2018) 298–307. An examination of the materials the curse tablets were made of and a comparison with other sanctuaries can be found in: KOCH, P.: «... in templo tuo ponat». Les tablettes de malédiction de Kempraten et la pratique rituelle dans les sanctuaires. In BERTRAND, I. – RAUX, S. – VAN ANDRINGA, W. (eds): *Mobiliers et sanctuaires dans les provinces romaines occidentales (fin I^{er} av. – V^e ap. J-C.)*. La place de l'artisanat et des productions manufacturées dans les espaces sacrés et dans les pratiques religieuses. In print.

⁵¹ Term coined by DREHER, M.: Gerichtsverfahren vor den Göttern? – „judicial prayers“ und die Kategorisierung der *defixionum tabellae*. In THÜR, G. (ed.): *Symposion 2009. Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* 21. Wien 2010, 303–337.

⁵² VERSNEL, H. S.: Beyond Cursing. The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers. In FARAONE, C. A. – OBBINK, D. (eds): *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, Oxford 1991, 59–106 and criticised by DREHER (n. 51).

attached to the wall or slotted into cracks in the wall. DTK 1 was probably buried in what would then have been the courtyard (in a level of Phase II).⁵³ It was found very close to Temple A, approximately in the middle of the building. DTK 2 was recovered from the *cella* of Temple A and had already been deposited in the ground during construction of the building. This showed that the practice of depositing curse tablets in the temple district existed from the very beginning.

The tablets were individually designed. Three of them were carefully cut into rectangles (DTK 1, DTK 3 and DTK 5). DTK 1 also had two *ansae* – quite an unusual feature compared to similar artefacts. DTK 2 and DTK 4 were irregular in shape. After adding the texts to the tablets, DTK 2 was perforated using a pointed object and DTK 5 was folded. Both DTK 1 and DTK 5, as well as one of the other lead objects, exhibited what can be considered traces of burning.

A total of 34 inscribed curse tablets were found at the Isis and Mater Magna sanctuary at Mainz.⁵⁴ Five of them were addressed to *mater magna*,⁵⁵ one to *mater deum*,⁵⁶ two to her and her companion Attis,⁵⁷ one to Attis alone⁵⁸ and one to the *dii deaeque*⁵⁹ in general.

Most of the lead tablets (23) were found in the eastern shaft (8), in the later places of sacrifice for burnt offerings (10) and in a later levelled layer of broken tile (5) located in the same area. The fill of the shaft contained a total of five curse tablets.⁶⁰ It remains unclear in this case if the objects were deposited in their original context. Three further lead tablets were deposited there at a later date.⁶¹ Other curse tablets were found in the places of sacrifice for burnt offerings.⁶² Evidence of burning on some of the curse tablets show that they were thrown on the fire like the offerings.⁶³ Two of the curse tablets even made an analogy between the melting lead of the tablet and the sacrifice, thus referring textually to the burning of the tablets.⁶⁴ The tablets were often found in association with burnt animal and plant offerings, lamps, and glass balsamaria. The tablets from the contexts described have been dated archaeologically between 65 AD and 130 AD.

Three further curse tablets were found north-east of the context described above, in a later place of sacrifice which, according to coins found there, dated from the 3rd century AD.⁶⁵ Unlike the lead tablets described above, numerous other, blank lead

⁵³ This was presumed to have been the case based also on the text inscribed on the tablet. However, it is also possible that the tablet was affixed to the temple.

⁵⁴ BLÄNSDORF (n. 12).

⁵⁵ DTM 1; DTM 3; DTM 4 and DTM 6.

⁵⁶ DTM 2.

⁵⁷ DTM 4 and DTM 6.

⁵⁸ DTM 5.

⁵⁹ DTM 7.

⁶⁰ DTM 5; DTM 22; DTM 23; DTM 31; DTM 34. WITTEYER (n. 30) 338.

⁶¹ DTM 1; DTM 9; DTM 18.

⁶² DTM 2; DTM 6; DTM 10; DTM 11; DTM 12; DTM 15; DTM 19; DTM 20; DTM 25; DTM 32.

⁶³ WITTEYER (n. 30) 340–343

⁶⁴ DTM 10 and DTM 11.

⁶⁵ BLÄNSDORF (n. 12) V and fig. 3.

tablets were found scattered throughout the entire site, including the forecourt of the enclosed sacred site.⁶⁶

The comparison of the four themes allowed us to identify some parallels between the sanctuaries at Kempraten and Mainz, which will now be discussed further. The findings, however, do not point to a uniform ritual practice at both sites.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Layout

In terms of their architecture, the temple districts at Kempraten and Mainz were not modelled on classic examples from Rome or Ostia (Italy).⁶⁷ Both sanctuaries followed their own architectural paths. The sacred building at Kempraten was a Gallo-Roman ambulatory temple, which was the predominant type of religious building in the region.⁶⁸ The builders, particularly of the temple edifices, thus decided to draw on a familiar and widespread type of sacred architecture.

Pollen analyses carried out at Kempraten suggested that there had been a grove of trees in or near the temple precinct which, however, was difficult to prove due to the poor state of preservation.⁶⁹ Besides elm trees, the grove consisted of Scots pine, which may have been chosen as a substitute for pine trees, an important component in the cult of Magna Mater. We know from written sources that the trunk of a pine tree was once put on display in the temple precinct of Magna Mater on the 22nd March (*arbor intrat*) in honour of Attis, her ritual companion.⁷⁰ Because pine trees do not grow north of the Alps, Scots pine was probably chosen by the people of Kempraten due to its similarity. It has not been possible to find direct evidence for the actual use of the trees as part of the cult at Kempraten. One of the curse tablets found at Mainz makes reference to this ritual, which led the excavators to conclude that the “planting” of a pine tree trunk was also practiced there.⁷¹ Pine cones were shown to have been

⁶⁶ WITTEYER (n. 30) 344.

⁶⁷ RIEGER, A.-K.: *Heiligtümer in Ostia: Architektur, Ausstattung und Stellung öffentlicher Heiligtümer in einer römischen Stadt* [Studien zur antiken Stadt]. Munich 2004 and RIEGER: *Lokale Tradition* (n. 16).

⁶⁸ Cf. FLUTSCH ET AL. (n. 2) and FAUDET (n. 2).

⁶⁹ Examples have been found at Biesheim/F (SCHLUMBAUM, A. – WICK, L. – SCHUCANY, C. – SCHWARZ, P.-A. – BOCKIUS, R.: *Die Ulmen und andere besondere Gehölze aus dem Römischen Tempelbezirk und der Zivilsiedlung*. In REDDÉ, M. [ed.]: *Oedenburg II. Fouilles Françaises, Allemandes et Suisses à Biesheim et Kunheim, Haut-Rhin, France. L'Agglomération civile*. Mainz 2011, 73–102) and at Empel/NL (GROENMAN-VAN WAATERINGE, W. – PALS, J.-P.: *De vegetatie op en rondom het heiligdom*. In ROYMANS, N. – DERKS, T. [eds]: *De tempel van Empel: Een Hercules-heiligdom in het woongebied van de Bataven*. 's-Hertogenbosch 1994, 72–81).

⁷⁰ The college of tree-bearers (*dendrofori*), who carried the tree in a procession, was also attested to in the north-western provinces by inscriptions (cf. probably from Avenches/CH found at Amsoldingen/CH, *CIL* XIII 5153 and Hedernheim/D, *AE* 2001, 1543).

⁷¹ The conclusion was drawn on the basis of the text on curse tablet DTM 7, which refers to the ritual in the future tense (BLÄNSDORF [n. 12]).

burnt as part of the ritual at both Mainz and Kempraten, though this is often found to have been the case in ritual contexts and was not solely associated with the cult of Magna Mater.⁷²

Besides these differences, both temple districts had structural commonalities: separation from the secular sphere by means of a wall, two temple edifices and a courtyard where the ritual acts were performed.

4.2 Burnt offerings

The features and the remains of burnt offerings uncovered at both sites bore testimony to the importance of the practice of making such offerings. Special features worth mentioning for both sanctuaries were rectangular hearths constructed directly on the ground and set in stone, which have rarely been found at other sites.⁷³ The hearths were used to sacrifice whole animals (*holocaust*), mainly birds (fowl). The specific preference for fowl and the practice of burning whole animals is rarely attested to in the Gallic and Germanic provinces and, except for the Fortuna sanctuary at Nijmegen (Netherlands),⁷⁴ was quite uncommon in Gallo-Roman temple precincts. Bone finds from two Isis sanctuaries at Belo (Spain) and Pompeii (Italy) can be cited as parallels from the Mediterranean region.⁷⁵ However, in contrast to these sites, hens were sacrificed at Kempraten instead of cocks. This observation is, in fact, in keeping with the guidelines known from written sources, which state that only female animals should be offered to female deities. However, as shown, this is not borne out by evidence from Magna Mater sanctuaries in general.

4.3 Feasting

Because only a few results have been made accessible in relation to the Mainz sanctuary, it is difficult to compare the structure of the ritual feasting at both sites. Unlike Kempraten, ritual meals at Mainz appear to have taken place in a separate area in the

⁷² KISLEV, M. E.: Pinus pinea in Agriculture, Culture and Cult. In KÜSTER, H. (ed.): *Der prähistorische Mensch und seine Umwelt: Festschrift für Udelgard Körber-Grohne zum 65. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart 1988, 73–79; VANDORPE, P. – JACOMET, S.: Remains of Burnt Vegetable Offerings in the Temple Area of Roman Oedenburg (Biesheim-Kunheim, Haut-Rhin, Alsace): First Results. In WIETHOLD, J. (ed.): *Carpiologia: Articles réunis à la mémoire de Karen Lundström-Baudais*. Glux-en-Glenne 2011, 87–100 and ZACH (n. 42).

⁷³ Burnt offerings in pits, however, are occasionally found.

⁷⁴ ZEILER, J. T.: Offers en slachtoffers: Faunaresten uit de Fortunatempel te Nijmegen (2e eeuw n.Chr.). *Paleo-aktueel* 8 (1997) 105–107.

⁷⁵ LIGNEREUX, Y. – PETERS, J. – BUBIEN-WALUSZEWSKA, A. – SILLIÈRES, P.: Sacrifice d'oiseaux en l'honneur d'Isis au I^{er} siècle après Jésus-Christ à Bélo en Bétique (Bologna, Cadix, Andalousie). *Revue de Médecine Vétérinaire* 146 (1995) 575–582. The burning of cocks can be associated with the cult of Isis: VAN ANDRINGA, W. – VAN HAEPEREN, F.: Le Romain et l'étranger: formes d'intégration des cultes étrangers dans les cités de l'Empire romain. In BONNET, C. – PIRENNE-DELFORGE, V. – PRAET, D.: *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romains: cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique*. Brussels 2009, 23–42.

forecourt of the sanctuary. Mortaria, which served as vessels for making thick sauces and cream cheese in Roman Mediterranean cuisine, were also used at Kempraten (and probably at Mainz) to prepare the food served at the feasts.⁷⁶ They might have been used to prepare particular types of dishes associated with the cult practised at the site. Written sources attest to the significance of *moretum* in the cult of Magna Mater because it would have been associated with the simple cuisine from the homeland of the goddess.⁷⁷ A corresponding explanation for Kempraten and Mainz, however, remains speculative.

At Kempraten the cattle bones were predominantly from young animals. This is remarkable, given the fact that the same was not observed at Mainz and that the bones found at other sanctuaries throughout the Gallic and Germanic provinces were often predominantly from young pigs.⁷⁸ Unlike the banquets held as part of the cult of Mithras, where mainly chicken and pork were served,⁷⁹ there appears to have been no specific preference for any particular species in the cult of Magna Mater. While the written sources bear witness to the sacrifice of young cattle in the cult of Magna Mater,⁸⁰ the high proportion of cattle bones at Kempraten was probably more likely to have been associated with local dietary habits and the regional economic structure, as suggested by the – albeit still incomplete – results from the analyses of the bones from the *vicus*.⁸¹ Like the choice of architecture for the temple precinct, the choice of food for the ritual meals would probably have been influenced by the local setting and habits.

4.4 Cursing

The deposition of curse tablets was practiced both at Kempraten and Mainz. Apparently, Magna Mater's divine intercession was sought for everyday worries. With the notable exceptions of Bath and Uley in Great Britain,⁸² similar artefacts have only

⁷⁶ BAATZ D.: Reibschüssel und Romanisierung. *Acta Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum* 17–18 (1977) 147–158. Studies from Great Britain, however, show that they were used to make a broad range of dishes (CRAMP, L. J. E. – EVERSHERD, R. P. – ECKARDT, H.: What Was a Mortarium Used for? Organic Residues and Cultural Change in Iron Age and Roman Britain. *Antiquity* 85 [2011] 1339–1352).

⁷⁷ Ovid, *Fasti* IV 367.

⁷⁸ Comparisons and a broad analysis of the bone material in question can be found in DESCHLER-ERB, S.: *Tier und Kult: Spezielle Tierknochendeponierungen der Spätlatène- und Römerzeit aus Aventicum/Avenches (CH) im nordalpinen Vergleich* [Documents du Musée Romain d'Avenches 27]. Avenches 2015. For a discussion on the Kempraten sanctuary see KOCH ET AL. (n. 5).

⁷⁹ Cf. LENTACKER, A. – ERVYNCK, A. – VAN NEER, W.: Gastronomy or Religion? The Animal Remains from the Mithraeum at Tienen (Belgium). In O'DAY, S. – VAN NEER, W. – ERVYNCK, A. (eds): *Behaviour behind Bones: The Zooarchaeology of Ritual, Religion, Status and Identity*. Oxford 2004, 77–94 and LENTACKER, A. – ERVYNCK, A. – VAN NEER, W.: The Symbolic Meaning of the Cock. The Animal Remains from the Mithraeum at Tienen (Belgium). In MARTENS, M. – DE BOE, G. (eds): *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds*. Brussels 2004, 57–80.

⁸⁰ Ovid, *Fasti* IV 335.

⁸¹ DESCHLER-ERB, S.: Untersuchungen zu den römischen Tierknochen. In ACKERMANN, R.: *Der römische Vicus von Kempraten, Rapperswil-Jona: Neubetrachtung anhand der Ausgrabungen Fluhstrasse 6–10 (2005–2006)* [Archäologie im Kanton St.Gallen 1]. St. Gall 2013, 197–210.

⁸² TOMLIN (n. 14) and WOODWARD–LEACH (n. 14).

rarely been found in the sanctuaries of the north-western provinces. We may therefore assume that the deposition of curse tablets can be identified as an adequate ritual for communicating with the deity at the two Magna Mater sanctuaries, and was similar to the *vota* attested to at both sites in the form of votive altars.⁸³ At Mainz it was shown that the deposition of curse tablets was deeply influenced by the practice of making burnt offerings at the sanctuary. The archaeological context at Kempraten was not as clear in this respect, since evidence of burning on the tablets was not sufficiently distinct. However, the deposition of votive offerings at or in walls is attested to by two coins concealed in the *cella* wall of Temple A, pointing to the specific practice of depositing offerings.⁸⁴

5. CONCLUSION

The temple precinct at Kempraten had a specific setting, which was exposed on one hand to local and regional influences, for instance in terms of the temple architecture and the choice of food offerings. The latter, in particular, appears to have been determined by the local economic structure.⁸⁵ On the other hand, there were also distinct differences between the Kempraten sanctuary and local examples, for instance in relation to cursing and the composition of the burnt offerings. The latter, in particular, was reminiscent of the Mainz sanctuary, though the devil here is in the detail, for instance in the selection of the sex of the animals sacrificed. It is almost impossible to ascertain, given the lack of comparisons in the region, whether this was an expression of a specific pattern of communicating with the deity as part of the cult of Magna Mater, or whether the practice of sacrifice was strongly influenced by Mediterranean tradition. There were, however, links to the cult of Isis. The fact that the Fortuna sanctuary at Nijmegen (Netherlands) also exhibited a similar setting is, however, remarkable.

The pottery, which has only been mentioned in passing here, also differed from the Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in the region in that incense burners and kraters with applied lizard decorations were found at Kempraten.⁸⁶ Similar vessels but with serpentine appliques are characteristic of mithraea though none were found at the Kempraten Mithraeum.⁸⁷

⁸³ For Kempraten: inv. 53.055.167.001 and 53.055.1061.001. For Mainz WITTEYER (n. 30).

⁸⁴ Inv. 53.055.1027.001/2 (sestertii of Antoninus Pius 138–139 AD and of Commodus 186–188 AD).

⁸⁵ As suggested by comparisons with the temple precinct at Empel/NL (SEIJNEN, M.: *Dierebotten en rituele maltijden*. In ROYMANS, N. – DERKS, T. [eds]: *De tempel van Empel: Een Hercules-heiligdom in het woongebied van de Bataven*. 's-Hertogenbosch 1994, 162–174) or the ritual cave at Zilis/CH (DESCHLER-ERB, S. – STOPP, B.: *Die Tierknochen aus der Kulthöhle in Zillis*. In prep.).

⁸⁶ Whilst incense burners are typically found at sanctuaries, they were quite rare in the sanctuaries of the south-eastern region of the Province of Germania superior (i.e. the area around Kempraten).

⁸⁷ For an overview on the so-called snake-decorated vessels see HÖPKEN, C.: *Les vases aux serpents: approche taxonomique et contextuelle*. In RIVET, L. (ed.): *SFECAG 2015 – Actes du congrès de Nyon, 14-17 mai 2015. Céramique et religion en Gaule romaine – Actualité des recherches céramiques*.

The cult of Magna Mater at Kempraten thus combined different local and “foreign” influences. This duality can also be seen in Magna Mater herself and in how she was venerated in her homeland; exhibiting foreign and exotic elements on one hand, while being considered the “progenitress” of the Romans and thus profoundly Roman on the other.⁸⁸

The comparison between both sites showed that there was no strict pattern that would have applied to all Magna Mater sanctuaries. The cult, in fact, underwent a process of vernacularisation in reaction to its specific surroundings.⁸⁹ The differences between Kempraten and Mainz are almost impossible to explain by purely archaeological means; they probably harked back to local preferences or may have been the result of the decisions made by individuals or groups of people at each site. It should also be borne in mind that both Kempraten and Mainz were double sanctuaries. Finally, special mention should be made of the innovative power of Roman cults and religion to spread over vast areas, as was typical of Roman polytheism.*

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Marseille 2015, 163–167. On the Kempraten Mithraeum see the contribution by S. LO RUSSO, R. ACKERMANN and H. FLÜCK in this volume, on pp. 199–216.

⁸⁸ Cf. RIEGER (n. 16), VERSLUYS (n. 9) and ALVAR (n. 9).

⁸⁹ GOLDBERG, M.: The Dichotomy in Romano-Celtic Syncretism: Some Preliminary Thoughts on Vernacular Religion. In DRIESSEN, M. – HEEREN, S. – HENDRIKS, J. – KEMMERS, F. – VISSER, R. (eds): *TRAC 2008: Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archeology Conference*. Amsterdam 2009, 37–52.

* Translation: Sandy Hämmerle (Galway, Ireland).