

# LVMEN IN TENEBRAE



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A COMPARISON OF IMAGES ON CERAMIC OIL LAMPS FROM THREE  
MILITARY CAMPS ON THE FRONTIER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE  
LOWER RHINE AREA

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*Figure front page: Collection of picture lamps from Velsen 1 (photo by author).*

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## Table of contents

<b>Prologue</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>6</b>
1.1 Research background .....	6
1.2 Research gap.....	7
1.3 Plan of action .....	9
1.4 Theory .....	10
1.5 Outline of the thesis.....	11
<b>2 History of Roman picture lamps</b> .....	<b>13</b>
2.1 Lamps in the Roman Empire.....	13
2.2 Roman picture lamps in the period 20 BC-AD 70 .....	16
2.3 Picture lamps in archaeological research.....	19
<b>3 The sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern and their picture lamps</b> .....	<b>23</b>
3.1 Nijmegen Kops Plateau .....	23
3.1.1 Historical characterization .....	23
3.1.2 Picture lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau.....	26
3.2 Velsen 1 .....	27
3.2.1 Historical characterization .....	27
3.2.2 Picture lamps from Velsen 1 .....	29
3.3 Haltern.....	30
3.3.1 Historical characterization .....	30
3.3.2 Picture lamps from Haltern .....	34
3.4 Towards a site comparison.....	35
<b>4 Classifications of picture lamp motifs</b> .....	<b>36</b>
4.1 Grouping and meaning.....	36
4.2 Regional comparisons .....	38
4.3 The work of Eckardt .....	39
4.3.1 Research set-up .....	39
4.3.2 Correlations between place and motif .....	40
4.3.3 Classification method.....	40
<b>5 A comparison of picture lamp motifs from the northern Rhine region</b> .....	<b>44</b>
5.1 Motifs identified at Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1, and Haltern .....	44
5.2 An inter-site comparison of motif categories .....	48
5.2.1 Deities.....	51
5.2.2 Cupids & Myths.....	52
5.2.3 Daily/rituals and objects .....	53
5.2.4 Erotic scenes .....	54
5.2.5 Gladiators .....	55
5.2.6 Entertainment .....	58
5.2.7 Animals.....	59



5.2.8 Rosette & Wreath .....	60
5.3 A comparison with other sites in the Roman Empire .....	61
5.4 Equivalents in Roman art .....	64
5.5 Amulets.....	69
5.6 Depositions .....	72
<b>6 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>74</b>
6.1 Aims restated.....	74
6.2 Research questions .....	74
6.3 Methodology .....	76
6.4 Results .....	77
6.5 Ideas for subsequent research .....	77
<b>Epilogue.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>List of figures .....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>List of tables .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>Appendix I: Eckardt 2002, 128, table 11 .....</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>Appendix II. Motifs in Eckardt's work.....</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>Appendix III. Categories and motifs in Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern.....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Appendix IV. Images on picture lamps Nijmegen Kops Plateau.....</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>Appendix V. Database categories and motifs Nijmegen Kops Plateau.....</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>Appendix VI. Images on picture lamps Velsen 1.....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>Appendix VII. Database categories and motifs Velsen 1.....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>Appendix VIII. Images on picture lamps Haltern.....</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>Appendix IX. Database Haltern.....</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>Appendix X: Similarities in size and shape: amulets?.....</b>	<b>213</b>

## Prologue

It is dark outside, extremely dark. The lighting moon and stars only appear when the sky is clear. A few campfires cast their glow. Inside the barracks the arrangement of furniture and personal belongings is strictly organized. The lighting of an oil lamp creates a shimmering circle of light in the darkness: *Lumen in Tenebrae*. The soldier demands illumination for his daily activities, including dining, writing, the cleaning of equipment, administration and gambling. But what remains of the darkness? In the obscurity one fears noises, shadows, ghosts, demons and other dangers. The life of a soldier characterizes itself by both a permanent fear for illness, wounds and death and the hope of prosperity, happiness, wealth and wellbeing. To ensure protection and support one needs an amulet. A relief becomes visible on the disc of the lamp. It slowly appears above the oil level. A squall suddenly takes away the light. Only the smell of the wick is sensible. Surrounded again by darkness; yet the image is impressed in memory.



*Figure 1. The relief lightens up in the oil mirror of a replica of a picture lamp from the British Museum in London (photo by author).*

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Research background

From the first century BC until the fifth century AD the Roman Empire controlled a big part of Europe, North Africa and the Near East centred around the Mediterranean Sea. The Empire's northern border was secured by the rivers Rhine and Danube. For further protection, military camps with thousands of soldiers were situated at several places along this natural border.

Among the most abundant and enigmatic personal objects archaeologists have found in these military camps are picture lamps, ceramic oil lamps decorated with an image relief on the upside discus (Fig. 1 and 2).



*Figure 2. An Amazone with a double ax on a picture lamp from Nijmegen Kops Plateau (photo by author).*

Picture lamps – also referred to as *Bildlampen*, given the high number of publications that have appeared in German – were produced during the period of 20 BC until AD 70, starting with the reign of Emperor Augustus and ending with the development of the Roman factory lamp (Goethert 1997, 14-15). Oil lamps helped people illuminate their rooms and tents, spaces which were often dark due to the absence of (large) windows. With light it was possible to work, to dine or to recreate during the evening or the night. Originally, such lamps were probably produced by potters in the north of Italy, from where they reached the northern camps via existing trade routes. Later, copies of the lamps were produced locally, in the surroundings of the camps.

Of special interest are the decorative images printed on a proportion of the oil lamps archaeologists have found. Interestingly, many of these images portray Roman cultural archetypes. These can also be observed in relation to *gemstones* (precious or semi-precious carved stones), *terra sigillata* (a specific type of plain and decorated tableware with glossy surface slips ranging from pale orange to bright red), wall paintings, and figurines. Furthermore, they are seen in mosaics, carved reliefs and a large amount of everyday objects, such as ceramics, lamps, glasses, handles of knives, *medallions contorniates*, coins, pieces of bone games, and walls of the sarcophagus (Bozet 2010, 153). As such, these figurative elements provide valuable insights into the history of Roman art and culture. In the case of lamps, decorative motifs are also informative about aspects of production, as well as instrumental for archaeological typologies.

## 1.2 Research gap

Studies of Roman picture lamps recovered from military camps, especially those focusing on their decoration, typology and production, have provided insights into the spiritual and material life of Roman soldiers (e.g. Bailey 1980; Mlasowsky 1993; Kirsch 2002; Cahn 2011). Most of these studies have investigated lamps from museum collections<sup>1</sup> (e.g. Ivány 1935; Deneauve 1969; Heres 1972; Bailey 1980, 1988; Goethert-Polaschek 1985; Mlasowsky 1993; Goethert 1997; Kirsch 2002; Bémont and Chew 2007). While several studies have proposed classifications of these lamps (e.g. Evelein 1928; Leibundgut 1977; Bailey 1980, 1988; Goethert-Polaschek 1985; Mlasowsky 1993; Goethert 1997; Eckardt 2002; Kirsch 2002), without archaeological contextual information it is difficult to interpret the meaning of these lamps in relation to their place of recovery (Bailey 1980, 1; Kirsch 2002, 1). Thus far, picture lamps have only sporadically been investigated in context (e.g. Rudnick 2001, 49-54, and 164-166). A notable example comes from Eckardt, although she did not find a correlation between motif types or distributions and site context (Eckardt 2002, 133). Similarities in motifs throughout the Roman Empire, independent of site type – i.e. the absence of localized patterns in the (military) frontier

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<sup>1</sup> These collections are held by museums in places such as Asberg, Berlin, Cartago, London, Haltern, Hannover, Mainz, Neuss, Nijmegen, Trier, etc.

regions – may hint at a perceived importance of keeping alive a certain kind of shared memory of the cultural heartland.

In the Netherlands, picture lamps are seldom investigated or discussed in archaeological research. Those that have been found are often described in not more than a single paragraph (see e.g. Evelein 1928, 5-27; Vermeulen 1932, 77-87; Bosman 1997, 203-208; Zandstra and Polack 2014, 147-148). Their underrepresentation is striking, as in the Netherlands various sites have yielded an abundance of picture lamps, an integral study of which has the potential to provide hitherto unknown insights. This thesis will address this lacuna through a focused analysis of some 700 picture lamps dated between 20 BC and AD 70 that have been archaeologically recovered from the former military camp Nijmegen Kops Plateau (East Netherlands, fig. 3). Their comparison with picture lamps found elsewhere in the northern Rhine region, such as at Velsen 1 (West Netherlands, fig. 3) and Haltern (West Germany, fig. 3), will assess these lamps within a broader shared cultural framework. In doing so, this work seeks to add to our current understanding of Roman pottery in the Netherlands, as well as broader aspects of Roman military life in the empire's north-western frontier region.

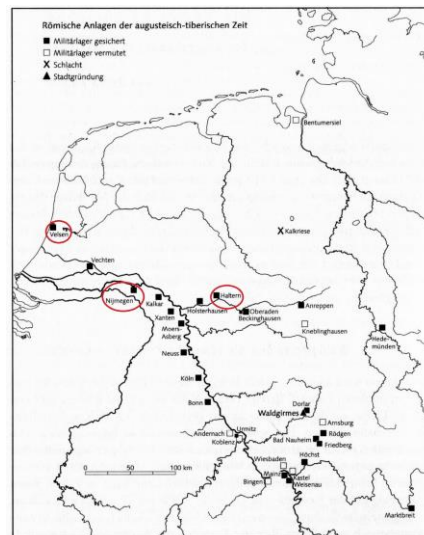


Figure 3. The location of Velsen, Nijmegen Kops Plateau and Haltern (After Becker et al. 2008, 98, Fig. 1).

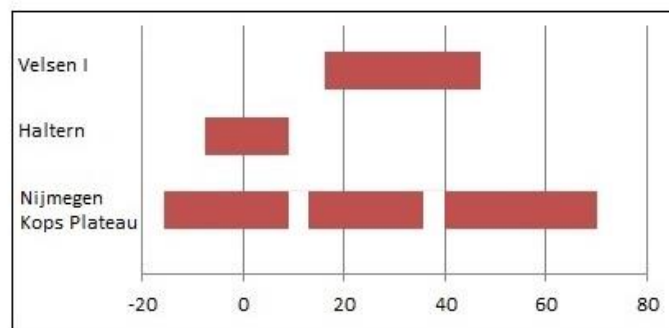


### 1.3 Plan of action

In order to meet the goals of this research, the following questions will serve as the study's guiding principles:

1. Which types of motifs can be identified on picture lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1, and Haltern, and what did these mean?
2. How uniform are picture lamp motifs in Roman military camps across the northern Rhine region?
3. How do motifs on picture lamps from the northern Rhine region compare to those found in other parts of the Roman Empire?
4. Do the picture lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern show traces of reuse?

The main purpose of this study will be to make a classification of the motives on oil lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern following the method of Eckardt, and search equivalents on monuments, frescoes, terra sigillata, coins, etc. The three sites are all military camps located in a remote corner of the Roman Empire during the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Fig. 4).



*Figure 4. Timetable of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern.*

They have been almost completely excavated and all have yielded a considerable number of picture lamps. Furthermore, many picture lamps that date to the same period are available for comparative purposes.

The oil lamps of Kops Plateau in Nijmegen – excavated by the State Archaeological Service (ROB) in the years 1986-1995 – have been subject of study by the author earlier as part of an internship. He also studied the oil lamps of Velsen 1, published by Bosman (1997), repeating the survey specifically for the picture lamps. For comparison, he visited the museums of Herne and Haltern in Germany.

The images from these sites are often very fragmentary. Yet, thanks to their extensive distribution and high degree of uniformity throughout the Roman Empire, complete motives may very well be inferred from lamps known from other places.

Images will be summarized into motive groups, as many researchers have done before (e.g. Bailey 1980, Goethert-Polaschek 1985, Kirsch 2002, and Cahn 2011). The classification method that will be used here is directly taken from Dr. Hella Eckardt, who did the most extensive and recent categorization thus far (Eckardt 2002). The images of the three sites studied here will be compared to a range of other sites throughout the Roman Empire, all investigated by Eckardt. Using her same categorization, therefore, will also provide the best means for comparison.

#### 1.4 Theory

The theoretical foundations of this study will center around the life cycle of ceramic oil lamps, or the cultural biography of objects more generally, and interpretative archaeology.

The cultural biography of objects is one of the items that can lead to explanation of the values of an archaeological site. This discipline is developed from the interpretative archaeology. Interpretative archaeology is a continuation of the post processual and contextual archaeology from the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This interpretative approach opened the archaeology for a wide range of new interpretations from the social and textual sciences. It is an assortment of theoretical approaches favouring ideas about individual experience such as symbolism and the role of material culture in social relationships rather than general processes (Greene and Moore 2010, 282-292).

The following up cultural biography of objects is a term that reflects the dynamism and versatility of a culture. Igor Kopytoff, who wielded the concept as first, referred to cultural biography on the life of material objects, which built as it were, their own life, which gives them an exceptional value. This concept does not look like a closed, static data with a

beginning and an end, but as a dynamic process of many 'stories', which also are never 'finished'. Therefore the cultural biography is based, that an object has a story to tell and that it never can be painted as a complete picture: the concept generates an infinite process of historical writing and reinterpretation. That means not that therefore nothing can be said about the identity of the object: that the infinitely big story never can be told, but that everything what you can say about identity, is time-bound and relatively (Kopytoff 2006). A picture lamp is not only an instrument to lighten the darkness but also bearer of an image which is in itself an object with a cultural biography. It could be questioned what the origin of an object is and what can be said about the producer. It can tell how the object is used. At the end of the period of usefulness it can change and become a new purpose (Kopytoff 2006, 66-67).

### 1.5 Outline of the thesis

The next chapter starts with a description of the history of ceramic oil lamps in the Roman Empire. The manufacturing, distribution and main use of the picture lamps will be discussed for the specific period of 20 BC until AD 70, when Nijmegen Kops Plateau functioned as a Roman military settlement. Furthermore, the chapter present an overview of picture lamps as part of previous archaeological investigation.

The third chapter provides historical characterizations of the three sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern and their picture lamps. This chapter forms the basis for the inter-site comparison discussed further on in this thesis.

The fourth chapter has as main subject the classifications of picture lamp motifs, which can be grouped in various ways. Over the past century about a dozen studies have appeared that have all proposed different classifications, about motif meaning or significance. This leads to a discussion of the difficulties involved in comparative analyses. The classification by Hella Eckardt, based on a large-scale comparison of motifs throughout the Roman Empire, will be introduced as the most appropriate to be used for this thesis, after which the main findings of her research will be highlighted.

Chapter five provide the comparative analysis of picture lamp motifs from the northern Rhine region, especially the sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern.

Furthermore, a comparison will be made for each of the various motifs related to the three sites. This will be followed by a comparison with other sites in the Roman Empire. The chapter ends with a description of some equivalents of Roman art on other image bearers in the Empire. A main focus in this last section will be the reuse of picture lamp images as amulets and their assumed ritual deposition.

Finally, chapter six will present a brief review and the main conclusions of this thesis research. It ends with some suggestions for future research.

## 2 History of Roman picture lamps

### 2.1 Lamps in the Roman Empire

“*Lumen in Tenebrae*” means: light in the darkness. Before human use of electrical power, people depended on fire for activities that needed light. This could be an open fire, torches or chips of resin-rich wood, candles or metal or clay oil lamps (Goethert 1997, 10). Initially campfires were the most used form of illumination both within and outside the house. Over time the candle or oil lamp gradually replaced the campfire for lighting inside. The first oil lamps were formed by hand from clay in the Near East already in 3000 BC (Provoost 1976, 23). These were open dishes with a compressed nozzle. In Greece since the late 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century BC lamps were made on the potter’s wheel, which provided them with a half-round nozzle and a deck plate. Until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC production facilities were restricted to the Greek East. From that time lamps were produced in moulds made in series, in a connected upper and lower part (Fig. 5). This process was later adopted by the Roman potters (Goethert 1997, 10). Only gradually production also started in Italy, but it would take until the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC before a distinctively Italic-Roman lamp was developed (Kirsch 2002, 5). This form dispersed along the Mediterranean trade routes.

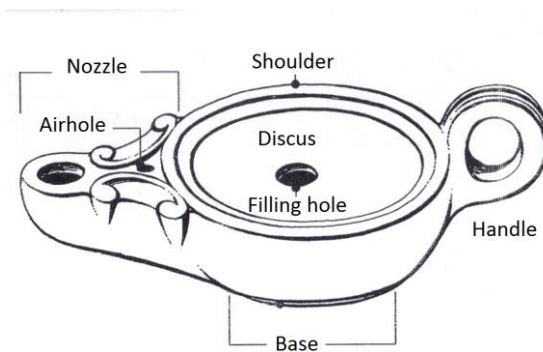


Figure 5. The most important parts of a ceramic oil lamp (after Goethert 1997, 32, fig. 14).

The many different lamps Romans used for their evening activities were made of either clay or metal (bronze, iron, or lead). The clay lamps can be subdivided into picture lamps (*Bildlampen*), factory lamps (*Firmalampen*) and open lamps (Fig. 6). Picture lamps are oil lamps with a picture or image on their discus (Eckardt 2002, 179; Goethert 1997, 15). The



lamp's nozzle has a round or angular form accompanied by volutes (Fig. 6, types I-VIII). Factory lamps – thus named for being mass-produced – first appear around AD 75 (Evelein 1928, 41) as copies of bronze lamps. They usually bear a stamp at their base of the place where the lamp was produced (Fig. 6, types IX-X). Open lamps, lastly, are not covered with a discus and can take various forms. Their generally larger size enables the input of much more fuel so that they are able to burn longer (Fig. 6, types XI-XIV).



*Figure 6. Form types of clay lamps found in Vindonissa. Numbers I-VIII picture lamps, IX-X factory lamps, XI-XIV open lamps (Loeschcke 1919, Table I).*

Primitive lightning was more important in Roman daily life than we can imagine. Probably having learned about their use from the Etruscans (Blümner 1911, 135) and Italic people (Goethert 1997, 10), candles and oil lamps were illuminated many Roman households. Lamps were used during the meal, study, administration, as night lamp, at the *thermae*, the theatres, the temples, and also in graveyards (Goethert 1997, 19). A wall painting in Pompeii shows some of these evening activities for which a lamp was necessary (Fig. 7). But also the dead were accompanied by lamps in their graves for illuminating the afterlife and to protect against evil ghosts.



Figure 7. Wall painting (1.03 x 0.72) in Pompeii, probably in the House of Julia Felix, showing money and writing equipment ([http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompei\\_-\\_House\\_of\\_Julia\\_Felix\\_-\\_MAN.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompei_-_House_of_Julia_Felix_-_MAN.jpg) accessed on 15.12.2014<sup>2</sup>)

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<sup>2</sup> The painting is nowadays in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (inv.nr. 8598). The painting is published amongst others in Croisille, J.-M., 1965. *Les natures mortes campaniennes*. Brussel-Berchem, p. 28-29, nr.8, pl. CX.208 (friendly announcement by drs. Louis Swinkels, curator of Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen).

These various uses of lamps resulted in the creation of many different forms, decoration patterns and production materials. Still, the use of ceramic oil lamps is not efficient. The container needs to be refilled often, it smells and leaves soot. In fact, oil lamps have been called “nasty foreign inventions that burn expensive imported food, cover everything they touch in oil and the ceiling with soot” (Reece 2004, 354).

For Roman soldiers specifically, writing was an important activity that needed artificial light.



Figure 8. Artistic impression of the lit up contubernium (Petruț, Gui and Trîncă, 2014, 87, fig. 12).

A number of soldiers from each legion had fulltime jobs in the *officia* and *tabularia* to record all incoming information (Derks and Vos, 2015, 21-22). Their activities often continued during the evening hours, so having lamps at their disposal was essential. Picture lamps must have been among these lamps, being used in other areas of the camps, such as the barracks, as well (Fig. 8; Petruț 2014).

## 2.2 Roman picture lamps in the period 20 BC-AD 70

Roman picture lamps were among those lamps that consisted of a connected upper and lower part (Goethert 1997, 10). The use of moulds facilitated their easy and instant reproduction. Moulds made the production of lamps proficient and organized, resulting in

large volumes of goods of equal quality. Moulds could be made from either clay or plaster. Clay moulds were more difficult to produce because they needed firing, in contrast to plaster ones which could be left to dry. On the other hand, plaster moulds wore out more quickly, as the surface would degrade faster through frequent use. The production of moulds followed a standard sequence, which Goethert (Goethert 1997, 16) has reconstructed on the basis of experiments she did with a potter in Trier (Germany). First, the potter took an original lamp (Fig. 9, a), pressing it into a piece of clay or plaster in order to make the lower mould. The second mould is made from the imprint of the upper part of the lamp (Fig. 9, b). After the clay has dried half a day, the original lamp is taken out of the moulds and the two pieces are fired (Fig. 9, c). For the production of a new lamp, then, two thin clay discs are placed inside the two parts of the mould (Fig. 9, d). By pressure of the fingers both parts of the lamp are moulded into their definitive form. On moulds that have been recovered archaeologically these fingerprints are still visible sometimes. The lamp shrinks upon drying after which one can remove the mould (Fig.9, e). Another idea, however, is that both parts are being dried separately for one day before they are glued together with clay.

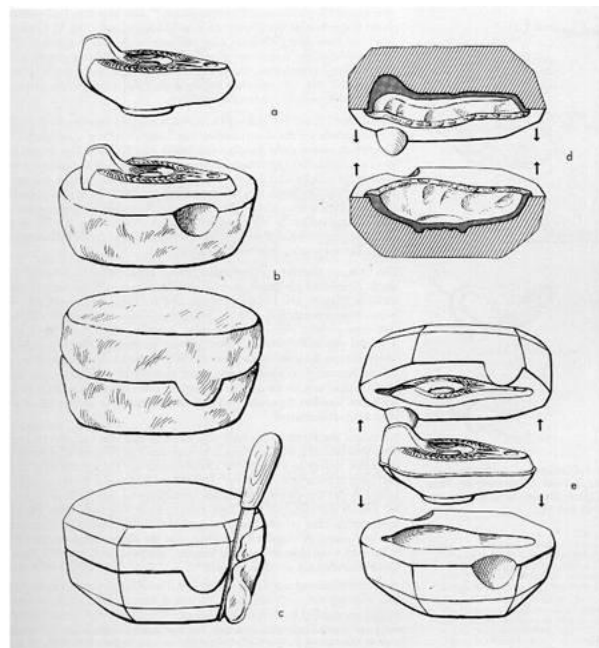


Figure 9. Producing a mould and an oil lamp (Goethert 1997, 17, fig. 4).

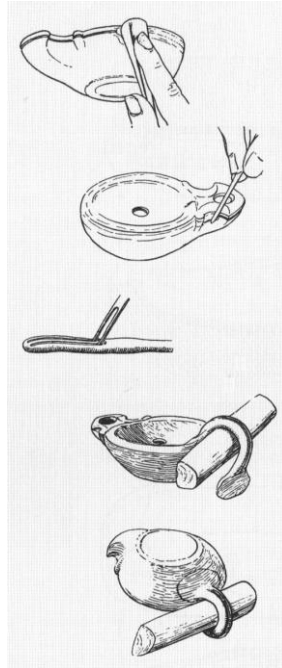
Finally, with soft clay the handle and holes of the lamp are made. For the handle the potter uses a roll of clay which he scratches with a fork (Fig. 10). The rim is decorated using some clay mud. Afterwards, the semi-finished lamps were dipped in or rubbed with a slip coating called engobe. This engobe could have different colours depending on the metals the clay contained. After filling with a vegetable oil they could be lighted up.

As fuel for their picture lamps, soldiers mostly used olive oil. Usually they did not use olive oil of high quality, as this was expensive and needed for cooking and had to be imported from southern areas such as Spain (Rottländer 1992, 225). Hence, the use of olive oil for oil lamps was generally reserved for high-ranking officers and this would signify a substantial level of prestige and prosperity (Eckardt 2002, 15). For lower-ranking soldier's common alternatives were naphtha and bitumen. Also used was dried grass greased by fat, wax or sulphur, as were cannabis, hemp, mullein and papyrus (Blümner 1911, 134-138).

The Roman economy knew a widespread system of branch workshops with a sizeable interprovincial trade. Clay could be found almost everywhere and the manufacturing technique of lamps was not difficult (Harris 1993, 19). Because of this, it is likely that the simple terracotta lamps were made in the surrounding of the places where they were sold.

During the second half of the first century AD, the production of picture lamps completely came to a halt. Two main reasons have been given for this. First of all, there was less demand for lamps from military legions, because of changes in their social and ethnic structures, with more auxiliaries, or locally born soldiers, and less soldiers of Roman origin. These auxiliaries were less familiar with oil lamps and preferred hearths, torches, or chips of resin-rich wood (Leibundgut 1977, 103). Furthermore, from the Flavian period on there is a certain degree of standardization, which could have resulted in the introduction of a new type of lamp, the so-called *Firmalampe*, which could be produced in greater numbers through optimisations of the production process. This type of lamp, more plain and simple than picture lamps, gradually took over the military market as well. There is no consensus on when these lamps were first produced. According to Loeschke *Firmalampe* were probably produced from AD 75 on (Loeschke 1919, 268). However, Fremersdorf thinks such lamps could have been produced already from AD 60 onwards (Fremersdorf 1922, 124-125).





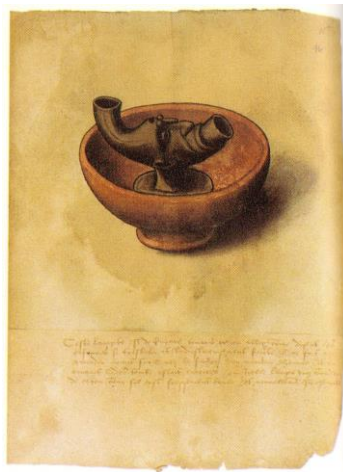
*Figure 10. Finishing of a ceramic oil lamp (after Fremersdorf 1922, 66, fig. 45).*

The production of picture lamps for civil purposes went on for amongst others religious connotations. They are mentioned as 'late antique' lamps and were produced until the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Mlasowsky 1993, 434-449).

### 2.3 Picture lamps in archaeological research

Picture lamps were very fragile so they probably had a short life and had to be easily replaceable. The clay lamps from the first century were thin and fragile. In some cases there are "archaeological complete" lamps, although the size of most sherds is only a couple of cm<sup>2</sup>. Almost complete lamps often have a broken or missing nozzle. This seems logical, since when such lamps fall, they usually fall on their nozzle. Moreover, lamps could also burst due to big differences in temperature. A third fragile point was the handle. This is evident, since there were many handles found separately in the excavation pits. Furthermore, the disc is often missing between the remains of the lamp. It is possible that the discs were taken to be used as a mould for new lamps or possibly to be used as an amulet. However, this claim needs to be investigated further. Despite the absence of many discs, numerous images of picture lamps did survive and were identifiable.

In the past, oil lamps have been found throughout the northern Roman Empire, along the river Rhine and the North Sea, in nowadays Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Britain and France. The first documented excavation took place in Saventhem near Brussels in 1507. It concerned an excavation of a *tumulus*, a Gallo-Roman grave mound, 17-18 m high and with a diameter of 40 m (Fig. 5). Inside they found a grey stone cave, a sarcophagus, and several kinds of pottery. Special in this regard was the finding of a bronze oil lamp shaped like Priapus, the Greek fertility god, with a phallus on its nose (Fig. 11). The original manuscript in which the excavation was recorded and the lamp image has survived. It is currently kept by the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Lemaire de Belges 2001, VII; XII; plate IV).



*Figure 11. Cup and oil lamp (Lemaire de Belges 2002, plate IV).*

A second early documented excavation with oil lamps was conducted by archaeological pioneers Bartoli and G. Biondi in Rome in 1691. Their findings marked the start of the collection and study of Roman oil lamps (Eckardt 2002, 17). In the Netherlands, scientific excavations started with Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvers (1793–1835), a Dutch Associate Professor of archaeology at Leiden University and first Director of the Leiden National Museum of Antiquities (RMO). Reuvers conducted important pioneering work, excavating, for example, the Roman settlement *Forum Hadriani* (Voorburg) and a temple complex at *Ulpia Noviomagus* (Nijmegen) (Van Enckevort *et al.* 2014, 44). Although he may not have found any picture lamps (both sites are dated later than AD 70), he did investigate many

terra *sigillata* images, which he recognized as an important iconographic source of Roman life (Brongers 2002, 103; 105). Evelein, following earlier work by Loeschke, created one of the first systematic descriptions of picture lamps from a sample collected at a graveyard in Nijmegen (Evelein 1928, 25-27).

Furthermore, there is still a wealth of data to be gathered from picture lamps awaiting analysis in archaeological depots. After the Second World War, the number of archaeological excavations increased dramatically. In the post-war decades of rebuilding and urbanization archaeologists were much occupied with rescue excavations. Time for data processing, let alone writing, was limited, resulting in only a small amount of publications published until the 1990s (e.g. Vermeulen 1932; Holwerda 1943; Schnurbein 1974; Haalebos 1977; Morel 1988). Examples of picture lamp research carried out in this period include the works of Vegas and Goethert-Polaschek in Germany. Vegas (Vegas 1966) described 248 pieces of picture lamps from the Roman camp Novaesium II (Neuss), while Goethert-Polaschek's study focuses on picture lamps found in Trier (Goethert-Polaschek 1985). In the Netherlands, Bosman completed a dissertation about the cultural findings of Velsen I, in which he devoted one chapter to Roman picture lamps found in the site's harbor (Bosman 1977, 203-208).

Since the nineties, however, the amount of archaeological publications significantly increased (Lendering and Bosman 2012, VI). This might be explained by the fact that since 1992, based on the Malta Convention, archaeologists are required to present a publication of their findings within two years after closing an excavation site (e.g. Driessen and Besselsen, 2014). Moreover, in the Netherlands, the Dutch government started in 2008 to stimulate publications about important excavations of the past that had not been examined before. In one of the most recent publications Kloosterman, Polak and Zandstra included a chapter on Roman oil lamps recovered from the site Canisius College in Nijmegen during the years 1987-1997 (Kloosterman, Polak and Zandstra 2014, 137-196). Other advances were made as well. For instance, all archaeological data from the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen were collected in a digital database made freely accessible via the digital archive system DANS-EASY (e.g. Van Enckevort *et al.* 2014, 9).

Also abroad a great number of catalogues of or comprising picture lamps were published. In Germany, Liesen catalogued the lamps from Asciburgium, an Auxiliary fortress and vicus

near Moers-Asberg (Liesen 1994), Rudnick for Haltern (Rudnick 2001), and Cahn for *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (Cologne), the capital of *Germania Inferior*, including 274 drawings (Cahn 2011). Likewise, Eckardt has tried to describe all the lamps from Britain, based on a great number of excavated sites (Eckardt 2002). For France, Rivet described the picture lamps found in Golfe de Fos (Rivet 2003), while Bémont and Chew produced a catalogue of picture lamps in the *Musée d'archéologie nationale Saint-Germain-en-Laye* (Bémont and Chew 2007). In order to add to this current body of research, the next chapter will deal with the archaeological sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern.

### 3 The sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern and their picture lamps

#### 3.1 Nijmegen Kops Plateau

##### 3.1.1 Historical characterization

Nijmegen is situated in the east of the Netherlands and is known as its oldest city (Fig. 12). It was the first Roman settlement in the Netherlands and is one of two former Roman military camps in the Netherlands, the other being *Forum Hadriani* at present-day Voorburg.



Figure 12. The situation of the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen (Van Enckevort and Wildenberg 2009, 5).

In the last decade of the first century BC, Nijmegen was located at the west end of a row of castra along the Lower Rhine that had been erected for the Roman offensives against Germania. In 12 BC, Drusus created a basic camp in Nijmegen at the time he led his army over the Insula Batavorum against the *Usipetes*, an ancient Celtic tribe who moved into the area on the right bank of the lower Rhine, and the *Sugambri*, the people who lived between Lippe and Wupper. The Roman fort was established on a flat area more than 60 m above sea level at the eastside of the Hunerberg hill, the end moraine of the last highest and dry hill at the Southside of the Rhine delta (Fig. 13).



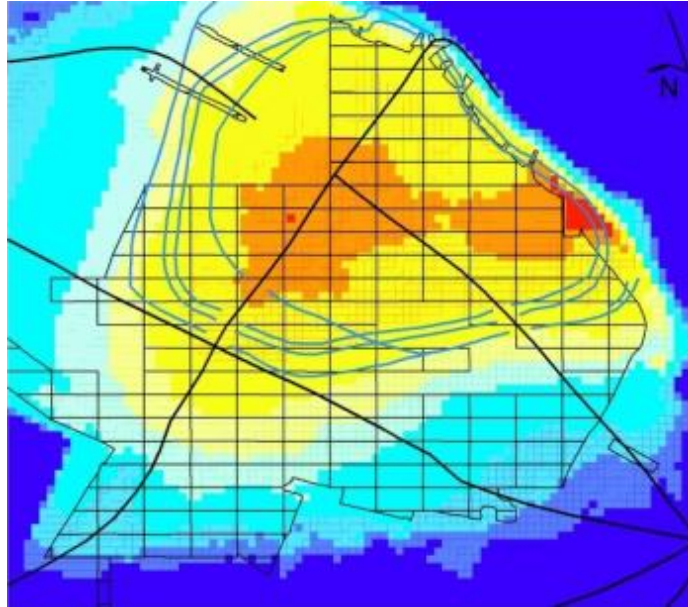


Figure 13. Elevation model of the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen. The colour scale proceeds from *blue (low elevation) to red (high elevation)*. Base map: *Lidar-based digital elevation model (AHN: Actueel Hoogtebestand Nederland, [www.ahn.nl](http://www.ahn.nl), Beijaard 2015, 56, Fig. 4.4).*

The camp's location provided excellent strategic, logistic, infrastructural and hygienic advantages (Driessen 2007, 67). The location of Nijmegen was also important as it provided key logistics on the river Waal between the rivers Meuse and Rhine and their hinterlands (Fig. 14). These rivers played an important role in trade and providing provisions to the Roman armies, i.e. building materials, wine, olive oil, *garum* (fermented fish sauce) and luxury goods (Driessen 2010, 60).

Three periods of use can be discerned. In the first period, the Plateau was deforested. The timber this yielded was used to build the fort. The triangular ground plan follows the altitude lines and covered a surface area of 3.5 hectares, with two V-shaped ditches surrounding the fort.

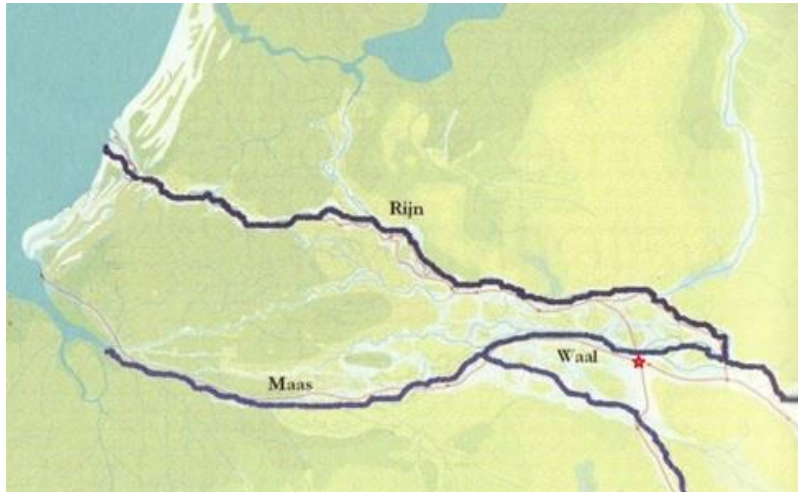


Figure 14. Nijmegen (red star) along the Waal river. Palaeogeographical map of the coastal river delta in The Netherlands around 500 BC (after Vos and De Vries 2013, downloaded on 26 July 2015 from [www.archeologiein nederland.nl](http://www.archeologiein nederland.nl)).

The second period of occupation of the Kops Plateau started after the battle of Kalkriese in AD 9. During this period, the Roman soldiers benefited from so-called *first location advantages*: facilities had been installed, local field circumstances experienced, basic necessities assessed and probably a trust relationship with local villages had been established (Driessen 2007, 68). Nevertheless, another, V-shaped ditch was dug leaving the north side of the Plateau open (Fig. 15). Here, the steep slope offered protection (Van Enkevort 1997, 559). Walls continued to be made of wood, earth and turf. The fort was enlarged to 4.5 hectares and expanded with three army annexes outside the fort's walls. In AD 13, Germanicus, the son of Drusus, took over command. It is unclear how long the fort was in use during this second period (Van Enkevort 1995, 47).

The third period starts in AD 39/40 when a new, smaller fort less than 3.5 hectares was built after the first was destroyed by the Frisians (Van Enkevort 2014, 122). Possibly the fort was occupied by the famous *ala Batavorum*, a Batavian rider unit, in the service of the Roman army, who stayed until shortly before the Batavian Revolt in 69/70 (Bots and Willems 2005, 69).

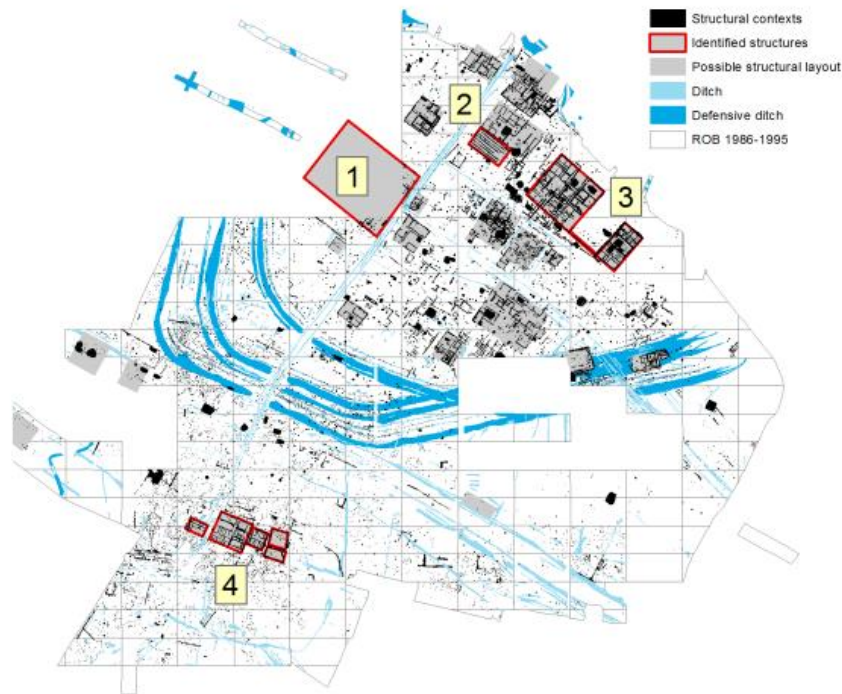


Figure 15. Map of contexts related to structures: 1. *Principium*, 2. *Horreum*, 3. *Praetorium*, 4. Stable complex (Beijaard 2015, 15, Fig. 1.4).

In 1972, the Nijmegen Institute of Ancient History and Archaeology excavated at the foot of the north side of the Kops Plateau (Bogaers and Haalebos 1975). Since then, much of the former camp has been reconstructed, such as roads, defensive works, the *principium* (camp headquarters), the *praetorium* (residence of the commanding officer), latrines, a drainage system, a *horreum* (grain depot), stables, kilns, and a grave yard (see Van Enckevort 1997, 2014; Van Enckevort *et al.* 1995, 1998; Willems *et al.* 1987, 1991).

### 3.1.2 Picture lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau

The picture lamp collection from Nijmegen Kops Plateau is under the guardianship of the Gelders Archaeologic Centre (GAC) and housed in the depot of Museum Kam in Nijmegen (Appendix IV and V). There have been three major excavations at the Nijmegen Kops Plateau: the first was conducted by Holwerda between 1915 and 1921, the second by the University of Nijmegen in 1975 and the third by prof. dr. W.J.H. Willems the director of the State Archaeological Service (ROB) in extensive field campaigns between 1986 and 1995.

The oil lamps described in this thesis were found during this last period. Two thirds of the fort has now been excavated. The rest is protected by law as an archaeological monument.

The history of the excavations on the Kops Plateau started in 1914 with the accidental discovery of some Roman shards on the northern slope of the Plateau. Holwerda from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden excavated the site and it was the first of many incidental excavations conducted by several scientists over a hundred year period (Van Enckevort 2014, 43-62; 77-83; 103-105). The objects found in the first years were published in 1931 by Breuer. In this publication only two picture lamps were identified (Breuer 1931, 61 and plate VII, Fig. 22 and 27). From the excavation of 1937 only one picture lamp was identified (Holwerda 1943, 43, Fig. 21-I and 52, nr. 2; Bogaers 1988, 22, Fig. 12).

In the period after the Second World War several excavations took place on the Kops Plateau, due to laying new foundations of houses, the construction of roads and the sewer system. The publications in several Annuals of the State Archaeological Service (Jaarboek ROB) about these excavations provide no clues about the presence of picture lamps.

Kam published a catalogue with all the findings from the Kops Plateau. He describes only two lamps, including one picture lamp (Kam 1965, 19 and plate 5).

The ROB excavated almost the entire Kops Plateau from 1986 to 1995. During these excavations, 734 fragments of oil lamps were found, of which 179 were parts picture lamp images. Of these, 61 parts (34%) were indeterminable because they were too small or unclear. The remaining collection of 118 (parts of) images were supplemented with the four lamps found in earlier excavations, resulting in a total of 122 images for the site.

## 3.2 Velsen 1

### 3.2.1 Historical characterization

The site of Velsen, located at the North Sea in West Netherlands, comprised a military outpost and harbour complex, which together provided a new logistical set-up for the

coastal delta during the Tiberian-Claudian period (Fig. 16). At this time, Velsen most likely functioned as a supply centre for the military campaigns in the north (Driessen 2014, 225).



Figure 1. Locations of Velsen 1 (phase 3) and Velsen 2 at the left bank of the Oer-IJ (blue), the fort terrain (red) and the annex (yellow) (based at Bosman 2012, 357).

Several phases in the construction of the fort and harbour can be distinguished (Fig. 17). The first phase consisted of the construction of a 1 ha triangular-shaped fort, with one of its sides being formed by the riverbank, as well as a wood-earthen wall, watchtowers, and a V-shaped ditch surrounding the fort. In the river a harbour platform and a number of light dams were constructed. Two shipping houses and a bath house may have been present as well.

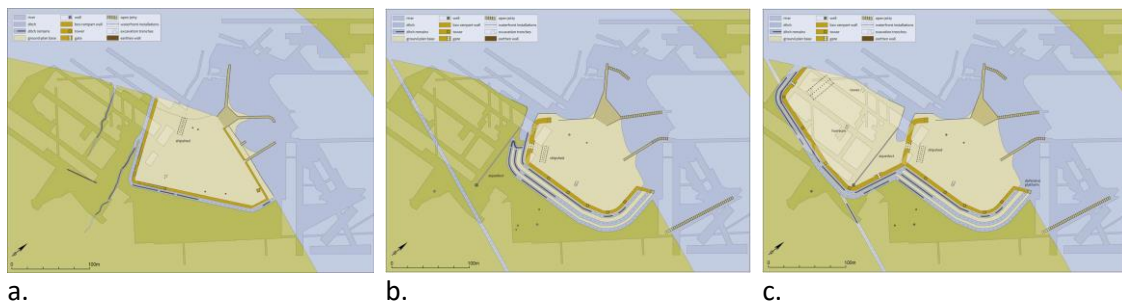


Figure 2. Military outpost and harbour: a. Phase 1b (16-22); b. Phase 2b (25-28); c. Phase 3 (28-45/47) (Drawing: J. Kaarsemaker in Driessen 2014, 211-213).

During the second construction phase the Velsen outpost was strengthened into a walled trapezium-shaped fort with three defending ditches. Furthermore, an annex was built outside the walls. The absence of large structures and the recovery of vast amounts of tent pins suggest that the Roman soldiers were encamped in tents (Fig. 18).



*Figure 3. Reconstruction of a tent for eight legionnaires made by re-enactment group Ermine Street Guard in Westfälisches Römermuseum in Haltern (Van Driel-Murray 1990, photo by author).*

Archaeological evidence points towards an occupation from AD 15 to 28 (Bosman 1997; Morel 1988), placing it next in time to the forts of Oberaden, Haltern and Hofheim along the Lippe River (Bosman 1997, 321). The Romans returned to the fort around AD 39 (Bosman 1997, 18) and constructed a new fort 600 m to the west. The purpose of this was to prepare for the invasion of Britain and to protect against the northern tribes, such as the Chauks. The campaigns of Gabinius in AD 40 and Corbulo in AD 47 were meant to counter pirate raids on the northern flank (Bosman 2012, 359-362)

### 3.2.2 Picture lamps from Velsen 1

The collection from *Velsen 1* is in guardianship by the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University (Appendix VI and VII). The Velsen fort was excavated from 1972 to 1990 and in 1994 by the Archaeological Workgroup Netherlands (AWN Velsen) and the former Institute of Pre- and Proto history at the University of Amsterdam. Most finds from Velsen 1 were washed away in the Middle Ages as a result of the formation of the Wijkermeer. Small and

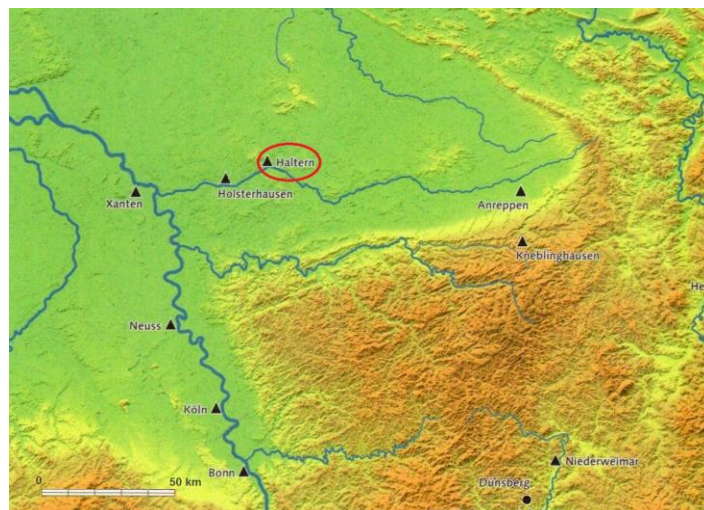


deteriorated fragments were discovered in a secondary position on the abrasion surface at the bottom of the *Dirty Sands* (Bosman 1997, 9). However, many (parts of) picture lamps have been excavated in the harbour of Velsen 1. The remains of the lamps discovered were thrown into the harbour along with other garbage. They are commonly of type Loeschcke I A: lamps with volutes at both sides of the nozzle and dating from Augustan-Tiberian period. The relative thin sides of the lamp are often broken in small particles and the image is mostly unclear. During these excavations 2810 pieces of oil lamps were found, of which 285 can be ascribed to picture lamps. From these, 29 parts (10%) were impossible to determine. This leaves a total study collection of 256 (parts of) images.

### 3.3 Haltern

#### 3.3.1 Historical characterization

Haltern-am-See is situated on the northern elevated bank of the Lippe River in Germany, on a strategic point, some 40 m above sea level looking over the Lippe Valley to the southwest and southeast and with a clear view of the opposite hills (Von Schnurbein 1974, 5). It is located some 54 km east of Xanten. During the German wars (12 BC-AD 16), Emperor Augustus set up several military complexes along the Lippe River (Mattern 2008, 117) among which also Haltern (Fig. 19).



*Figure 4. The location of Haltern at the border of the hills and the low land (based on Becker and Rasbach 2007, 103).*

Haltern played an important role during the governorship of Tiberius and Varus (Kühlborn 2007, 80). The site has traditionally been identified with the Roman occupation base *Aliso*, but this association is strongly debated (Rummel 2008, 144). After failed attempts to incorporate the area as far east as the Elbe River, the Romans wanted at least to control the right riverbank of the Rhine as far as the Lippe frontier. As river transport was much cheaper and easier than road transport, a location close to a river was highly desired for a large military settlement (Fig. 20).

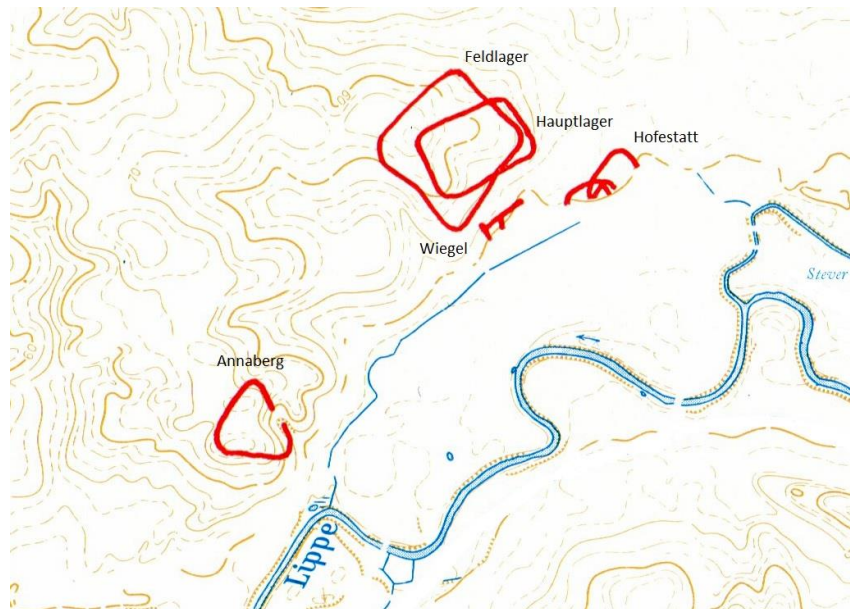


Figure 5. Plan of the excavations in Haltern on a hill in the “Halterner Bucht” (based on Von Schnurbein 1974, Table 1).

Roman occupation of the site started with a field camp on the Silverberg on the northern terrace of the Lippe (10 m above the river). This camp, which could accommodate two legions of about 11,000 men, measured ca. 34.5 ha and was surrounded by a simple ditch and a wall. The soldiers resided in tents during the campaigns of Drusus or Tiberius (Kühlborn 2007, 81). During this same period, also a naval base at Hofestatt was constructed (Fig. 21). The base most likely had an open front harbour, with ship sheds that appear similar to those at Velsen 1 (Kühlborn 2007). Both Haltern and Velsen were bases with a specific function, which resulted in an explicit, extremely practical layout (Morel 1988, 338).



Due to the relatively small size of the base and width of the river, it is unlikely that the naval base was a station of the *Classis Germanica* (Rummel 2008, 180).

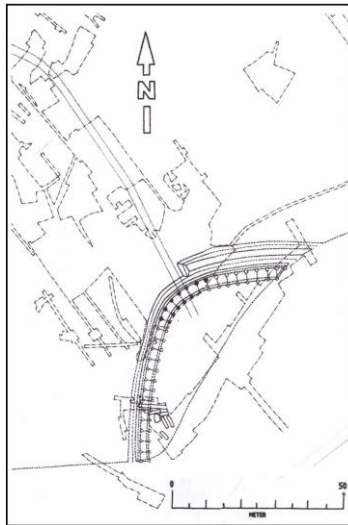
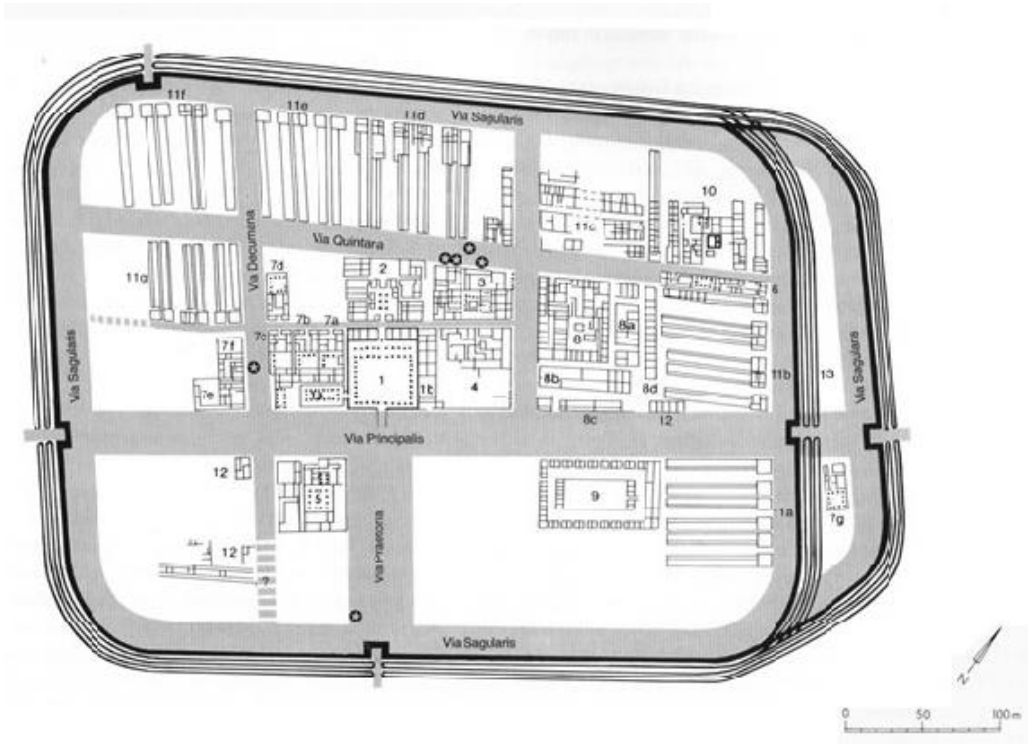


Figure 6. First phase of the naval base Hofestatt (based on Morel 1988, Fig. V-4).

The fieldcamp was superseded by the main fort (“*Hauptlager*”) in 7 -5 BC (Fig. 82; Kühlborn 2007, 86; Morel 1988, 331; Von Schnurbein 1981, 44). This fort eventually measured 18 ha (Kühlborn 1995, 88; Mattern 2008, 141-142). The size sufficed for one legion, or 5,300 soldiers, probably being the XIX<sup>th</sup> Legion coming from Etruria and the plains of the river Po (Italy). In this fort a number of residences and office buildings pertaining to high ranking officers were found (Fig. 22). These include at least ten tribune houses, suggesting this fort was the actual headquarters of Tiberius and Varus (Mattern 2008, 142). Among other remains, archaeologists found roads, pottery kilns, and a landing for cargo (dis)embarkment. Also 24 male skeletons were found, probably victims of a battle near the fort’s southern entrance (Kühlborn 1995, 94; 2007, 83).

There have been traces found both north and south of the main fort of garbage ditches, and drainage canals. This indicates the presence at the fort of a *canabae legionis*, or a civilian settlement with the purpose of housing the soldier’s wives and children as well as civilian suppliers who service the base. The burial remains of women and children interred with their *fibulae* and hairpins confirms this assumption (Kühlborn 2007, 85; Mattern 2008, 143).

The Haltern cemetery is located immediately west of the fort and extends over 450 m to the east. More than 80 graves have been found in two parallel lines (Mattern 2008, 143).



*Figure 22. Simplified and schematic plan of the main fort of Haltern: 1 principia, 2 praetorium, 3 and 5-7 officer houses, 4 incomplete block, 8 fabrica, 9 hospital (valetudinarium), 10 sanctuary? 11 barracks, 12 other buildings, 13 storage at east gate, A porta principalis dextra B porta principalis sinistra, C porta praetoria, D porta decumana, \*pottery kiln (based on Aßkamp 1989, 36, Fig. 21 and Von Schnurbein 1974, Appendix 6).*

Because of its high number of large houses, Haltern possibly played an important role in the administration of the conquered areas. It is likely that at least some civil services responsible for tax collection and similar activities stayed in Haltern. Indications of other possibly civil activities are present inside the fort, such as the pottery furnaces found in the streets. Pottery was baked in quantities surpassing the requirements of only one army. More likely, Haltern produced for the whole region, as an emporium in the newly formed province.

The military demise of the Haltern fort coincided with the loss of the Varus Battle (clades Variana) in AD 9 (Kühlborn 1995, 86), when it was hastily abandoned (Von Schnurbein 1981, 40). Interestingly, Haltern continued to be inhabited after the Varus Battle, providing strong evidence it belonged to the area still under control by Tiberius and Germanicus.

### 3.3.2 Picture lamps from Haltern

Albrecht, Aßkamp and Rudnick published about the lamps from Haltern (Albrecht 1943, Aßkamp 1989, and Rudnick 2001).

The picture lamp collection from Haltern is in guardianship in Germany by the 'LWL-museum für Archäologie, Westfälisches Landesmuseum' in Herne and the 'LWL-Römermuseum' in Haltern-am-See (Appendix VIII and IX). The largest part of the collection is in the depot of 'Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe' in Münster, which was not available for investigation.

The first one who investigated the ceramic types of Haltern-am-See was S. Loeschcke (Loeschcke 1909). Later excavations stretched over many decades (Rudnick 2001, 3-6)<sup>3</sup>. For this thesis project the author received the opportunity to investigate the picture lamps in both the museums of Herne and Haltern-am-See. In addition to this, information was also used from Rudnick's publication about the kilns in and around the main fort of Haltern (Rudnick 2001, 49-54; 134; 164-166; 179; 321, Table 1; 326, Table 2; 331, Table 3; 336, Table 4; 340, Table 5; 354, Table 12; 358, Table 13; 362, Table 14; Table 20, Table 29-33). The production of ceramic oil lamps in Haltern was primarily concentrated in kiln 6, south of the *porta praetoria*. Only kiln 1 and 2 are exceptions with parts of oil lamps and failed bakeries also being found there. The lamps that were found include: *Warzenlampen*, *Vogelkopflampen* and *Volutenlampen* of type Loeschcke I A and III (Fig. 23). Mostly fragments of lamps were found; no more than two lamps were archaeologically complete.

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<sup>3</sup> An overall publication did not come out of the press, since Dr. Bernhard Rudnick and his wife Ute moved to Xanten and ended their investigations. The overall publication of oil lamps from Haltern, Oberaden and Anreppen is now done by the Provinzialrömische Referat, LWL-Archäologie in Münster. The author was not given access to these records.



Figure 23. Examples of the types of oil lamps used at Haltern. 27. Prachtlampen, 33. Warzenlampen, 34. Vogelkopflampen, 35a-b. Volutenlampen (after Rudnick 2001, Table 20 and Loeschcke 1909, 101-322, Table XI).

After these excavations 292 pieces of picture lamps were mentioned in the publications. From these parts 69 (24%) were unidentifiable because they were too small or unclear. The remaining collection of 223 (parts of) images was used for the purposes of this study.

### 3.4 Towards a site comparison

Now that the three sites and their picture lamp collections have been introduced, the next step will be to determine the various motifs depicted on the lamps. For comparative purposes it will not be the quantities, but the percentages of found lamps that will be taken into consideration, given the significant difference in sample size that exists between Nijmegen Kops Plateau on the one hand and Velsen 1 and Haltern on the other hand. As stated before, the classification that will be used for the grouping of motifs in this thesis will be the one proposed by Eckardt. In order to come to the best understanding of the method and approach taken here, the next chapter will discuss in more detail the work of Eckardt.

#### 4 Classifications of picture lamp motifs

##### 4.1 Grouping and meaning

Picture lamps have been classified in numerous ways, based either on form, typology, chronology, or, indeed, motifs. Picture lamp images or motifs themselves have also been grouped in various ways. Research of first century AD picture lamp motifs has been concerned with their identification, comparison, and classification. Over the past century about a dozen studies have appeared that have proposed different classifications, some of them still foregrounding form and chronology rather than motif meaning or significance (Loeschcke 1919, Fremersdorf 1922, Evelein 1928, Vegas 1966, Ivány 1935, Deneauve 1969, Menzel 1969, Leibundgut 1977, Bailey 1980, Goethert-Polaschek 1985, Eckardt 2002).

The problem with grouping is that an image can have several meanings. A picture of a bull, for instance, could be a symbol of power to protect against the evil, a symbol of fertility, but also just the representation of an animal.

*Table 1. Categories of images on oil lamps in Switzerland (Leibundgut 1977, 190).*

Categories	N	%
Goddesses and demigods	138	8.8
Gods, heroes and their attributes	138	8.8
Amor	92	5.8
Bacchic scenes	34	2.2
Mythological animals	33	2.1
Masks and heads	68	4.3
Scenes from the cultural and daily life	139	8.8
Erotic symplegma	159	10.1
Gladiators and arms	198	12.6
Horsemen and race drivers	75	4.8
Theatre, grotesques	21	1.3
Animal fighting groups	92	5.8
Animals (233 = 14.8%):		
Lions	71	4.5
Deer	39	2.5
Horses	31	2.0
others	92	5.8
Fishes	49	3.1
Birds	74	4.7
Plants	30	1.9
Total	1573	99.9

Consider, for example, Table 1 and Figure 24, which illustrate a classification into 19 groups of more than 400 motifs from a total of 1573 images on picture lamps from Switzerland, 89 % of which come from the site of Vindonissa (Leibundgut 1977, 189).

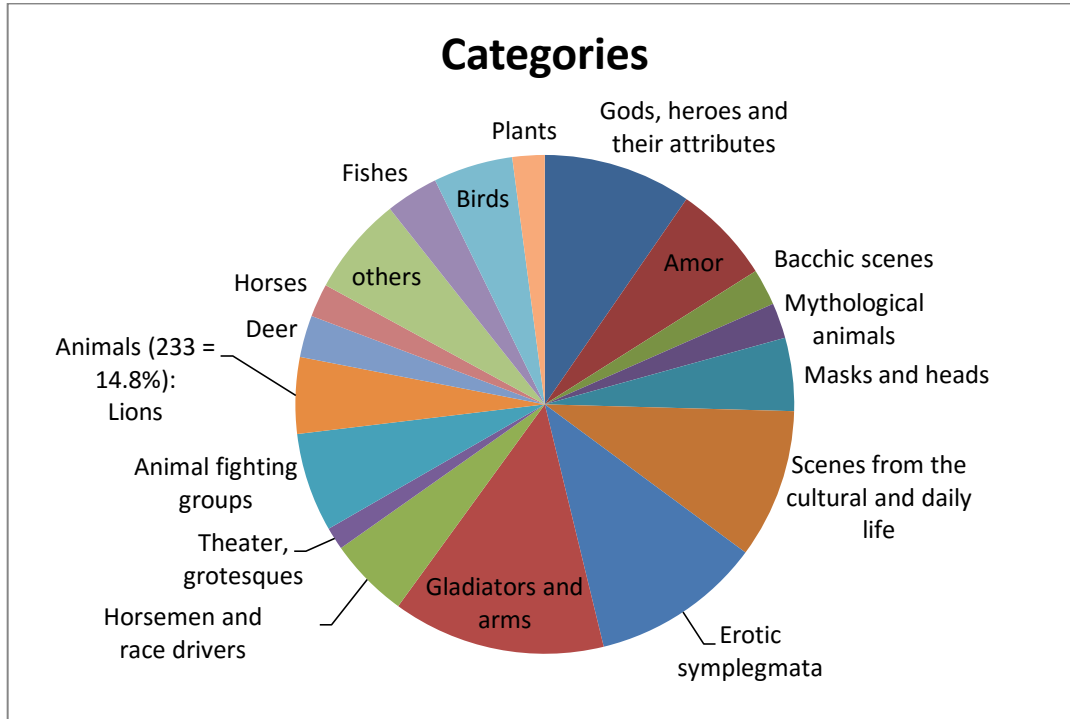


Figure 24. Categories of images on oil lamps in Switzerland (after Leibundgut 1977, 190).

A close examination of the image motifs used on the picture lamps can help us to better understand Greek-Roman antiquity (Goethert 1997, 7). The potters used a great number of shared motifs. Possibly the potters had at their disposal a kind of design book based on relief art and paintings (Kirsch 2002, 24; Leibundgut 1977, 196-197). Moreover, some motifs can even provide clues about long lost sculptures or statue groups which were depicted as motifs on the lamp mirror (Kirsch 2002, 1).

One can find similar images on glyptic art (engraved gemstones), toreutics (metal engraving), coins, statuettes, stone engravings and the ceramic art of *terra sigillata* (Kirsch 2002, 24; Leibundgut 1977, 196). It is sometimes difficult to recognise to what extent the images are based on Roman traditions (Goethert 1997, 39). Most of the images of gods used on pottery in the Augustan era were brought to Rome by Greek artisans who were familiar

with Greek mythology. The artistic repertoire of Greek artisans and their use of legends soon could be found in all dimensions of Roman art and literature. By creating these images the Greek artisans were able to stamp their own culture on the Roman Empire. For instance, there are images of the legend of “Leda and the Swan” and the “Cowering Venus” (Goethert 1997, 39). Most potters followed the style laws of their time and the reliefs on the lamps are their artistic expression of a simple world in the complex context of Roman art (Leibundgut 1997, 203).

During the Augustan period, artisans choose certain motifs in order to promote the Emperor and the glory of his reign to the people. Citizens were confronted on a daily basis with such propaganda images. Also coins people used when paying for goods or lighting a lamp in the evening were fitted with references to the Emperor. Good examples of this are images of the “Altar with the Laurel”, the Cornucopia, “Victoria with her round shield” and images of Marcus Curtius (Fremersdorf 1922, 88-90; Leibundgut 1977, 194-195; Goethert 1997, 39; Eckardt 2002, 117-118).

#### 4.2 Regional comparisons

Because of the overlap in meaning that a lot of the grouped motifs show, a real consensus on how to classify picture lamps has never been reached (see more recent classifications used by Mlasowsky 1993, Liesen 1994, Kirsch 2002, Rivet 2003, Bémont and Chew 2007, Cahn 2011).

Apart from the fact that these classifications are all different, the authors commonly only used a specific classification for a specific site. This makes it difficult to compare the findings of various sites with each other. A scholar who applied her classification in a rigid scientific and comparative way to various sites in Britain, Switzerland, Pannonia, Trier, Carthage, Benghazi, Italy, Aquileia, and Cyprus is Hella Eckardt. As her classification is also focused on the iconographic meaning of images of picture lamps, her classification system seems very relevant in the context of this research. Furthermore, the excavated material found at the three sites investigated for this current study create a valuable opportunity to look at how the oil lamp motifs varied from those used in other parts of the Roman Empire. In order to conduct such an examination a collection first has to be established for the various sites. For

that reason Eckardt's work is a valuable resource, since publications and catalogues do not usually provide this type of information. Hence, in the following paragraph Eckardt's approach will be explored in further detail.

### 4.3 The work of Eckardt

#### 4.3.1 Research set-up

Hella Eckardt is a contemporary archeologist specialized in studying artifacts of the Roman period in the northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire and is one of the leading scholars in picture lamp research. Her research focuses on theoretical approaches to material culture, Roman objects and Roman lightning equipment. In 2002 Eckardt published the results of a typological, chronological and spatial analysis of findings of picture lamps in Britain, which she compared with various other Roman sites in Europe (Appendix I). She investigated whether there are regional preferences for certain motifs by comparing the proportional representation of motifs across the empire. For that purpose she studied the basic data in the catalogues of those areas, taking into account the wide range of categories into which the material has been grouped by lamp specialists. In many cases these categories are highly idiosyncratic, so she had to make a simplified motif list (Eckardt 2002, 127). Some of her classifications are striking and may be open to question. For instance, in the category 'Deities' she includes 'Bacchic scenes', or 'Gladiators' are separated from 'Entertainment' or 'Erotic scenes' are separated from 'Daily/ritual life & objects'. Nevertheless, the scope of her project and her examination of a vast amount of picture lamps is very useful for this thesis.

Several questions can be raised in this context. Eckardt poses the question, "For example, are certain deities more or less common here than elsewhere in the empire? Or even, are deities, as opposed to gladiators or animals proportionally better represented in the three sites than in other provinces? The identification of regional patterns would be a strong argument against a purely producer-led view of the Roman lamp making industry and suggests that some choice was exercised" (Eckardt 2002, 122).



#### 4.3.2 Correlations between place and motif

One of the main goals of Eckardt's research has been to investigate whether there exists a link between motifs found on picture lamps and the find contexts of the excavated picture lamps. This, because Eckardt assumed that in the tradition of post-processual archaeology, the meaning of objects can be related to the contexts in which object have been found, and that this meaning can therefore explain something about people's daily life. However, Eckardt found little relation between the type of finding place, *id est* military or civilian, and the motives found on the picture lamps, and by extension gemstones. For instance, Eckardt does find specific kind of images on picture lamps which are used more often in a military context, such as gladiators. On the other hand, she found that in a civilian context, for instance images relating to entertainment and erotic scenes prevail (Eckardt 2002, 123). In addition, Eckhard takes note that mythological scenes and rosettes occur in similar proportions in militararian as well in civilian contexts. However, although Eckardt found little relation between the motifs on picture lamps and its surrounding context, she found that generally more picture lamps were used at military camps than in a civilian context (Leibundgut 1977, 191). Moreover, she found that more picture lamps were found in legionary fortresses compared to auxiliary fortresses, which could be an indication that in auxiliary fortresses the soldiers identified themselves less with the idea of *Romanitas* (Eckardt 2002, 37).

#### 4.3.3 Classification method

*Table 2. Categories of images on picture lamps (after Eckardt 2002, 123).*

CATEGORY	EXAMPLES
<i>Deities</i>	Luna, Hercules, Jupiter, Bacchic scenes, Anubis, Victory, Diana, Mercury, Minerva, Sol, Other deities,
<i>Cupids &amp; myths</i>	satyr, maenad, Silenus, gorgon
<i>Daily/ritual scenes &amp; Objects</i>	Altar, Crater and vine, Ship
<i>Erotic scenes</i>	
<i>Gladiators</i>	
<i>Entertainment</i>	Circus and theatre, Animal fights
<i>Animals</i>	Horse, Birds, Eagle, Other birds, Dog, Bear, Lion, Dolphin, Deer, Hare/Rabbit, Rare animals, Mussel
<i>Rosette &amp; wreath</i>	

Table 3. Percentages of categories of picture lamps (in red) higher than the mean relative value of each category across the Empire (After Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11).

Category	%									
	Britain	Switzerland	Pannonia	Trier	Carthage	Benghazi	Italy British Museum	Aquileia	Cyprus	Mean
Deities	21,85	20,34	15,83	17,25	23,69	15,27	27,95	10,13	19,75	19,12
Cupids & Myths	10,46	7,95	9,89	13,54	16,92	12,81	12,99	12,05	16,00	12,51
Daily/ritual & Objects	11,38	12,52	19,96	12,43	8,92	11,33	8,27	22,37	11,60	13,20
Erotic scenes	4,62	10,11	0,00	4,27	8,31	1,97	11,02	2,29	4,39	5,22
Gladiators	6,77	12,59	7,91	13,36	9,23	12,32	7,87	11,28	10,34	10,19
Entertainment	2,46	11,95	5,04	9,28	6,15	7,39	9,45	8,41	3,45	7,06
Animals	27,69	22,63	33,09	22,45	20,31	24,63	15,75	25,05	25,08	24,08
Rosette & wreath	14,77	1,91	8,27	7,42	6,46	14,29	6,69	8,41	9,40	8,62
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

In order to conduct an iconographic analysis across the Roman Empire, Eckardt has grouped all motifs according to the same categories (Table 2 and appendix II). Moreover, she first compared settlements in Switzerland and Britain. At this early stage (AD 43-70) the settlement pattern in Britain was dominated by military sites, including Colchester and London (Eckardt 2002, 43). At these sites we may expect to find a significant number of picture lamps (Eckardt 2002, 39). After studying the lamps, Eckardt's first impression was that the proportional representation of certain motif groups was strikingly similar for both Switzerland and Britain. Depictions of 'Deities', 'Cupids & myths', 'Daily/ritual scenes & objects' as well as 'Animals' occur in roughly the same proportion in these places. Such homogeneity may suggest that the range of images on lamps is actually surprisingly uniform across the Empire. On the other hand, 'Rosettes & wreaths' are proportionally much more common in Britain than in Switzerland, while scenes from the circus and arena as well as 'Erotic scenes' are relatively more common in Switzerland. Moreover, depictions of

‘Gladiators’ are relatively rare in Britain (Leibundgut 1977, 127). Table 3 shows the results from Eckardt’s investigation about the various finds from Britain and Switzerland. In this table the categories which are above the mean level are coloured in red. Obviously there is not a lot of similarity that can be established between the various sites. That is not so surprising since there are numerous categories of images, depending on the consumer’s desire or the range of trade offered by the potters (supply and demand). Nevertheless, there is a commonality of all the categories which are present at the various sites with a few exceptions. For instance, in Pannonia, all the categories are present, except ‘Erotic scenes’. While in Switzerland a limited number of “Rosettes & wreaths’ were found or in Benghazi no “Erotic scenes” were found on oil lamp fragments.

*Table 4. The percentage of categories of picture lamps (in green) higher than the mean relative value of each site across the Empire (After Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11).*

Category	%									
	Britain	Switzerland	Pannonia	Trier	Carthage	Benghazi	Italy British Museum	Aquileia	Cyprus	Mean
Deities	21,85	20,34	15,83	17,25	23,69	15,27	27,95	10,13	19,75	19,12
Cupids & Myths	10,46	7,95	9,89	13,54	16,92	12,81	12,99	12,05	16,00	12,51
Daily/ritual & Objects	11,38	12,52	19,96	12,43	8,92	11,33	8,27	22,37	11,60	13,20
Erotic scenes	4,62	10,11	0,00	4,27	8,31	1,97	11,02	2,29	4,39	5,22
Gladiators	6,77	12,59	7,91	13,36	9,23	12,32	7,87	11,28	10,34	10,19
Entertainment	2,46	11,95	5,04	9,28	6,15	7,39	9,45	8,41	3,45	7,06
Animals	27,69	22,63	33,09	22,45	20,31	24,63	15,75	25,05	25,08	24,08
Rosette & wreath	14,77	1,91	8,27	7,42	6,46	14,29	6,69	8,41	9,40	8,62
Mean	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50	12,50

In Table 4, the mean percentage for each site is coloured in green. What is striking is that some categories have clearly an advantage of the others. ‘Deities’ and ‘Animals’ are popular

all over the Empire, while the preference for 'Cupids & Myths' seems to be divided about fifty/fifty. How this works out for the three excavation sites studies for this thesis will be discussed in the next chapter.

*Table 5. Motifs of the picture lamps found at the Nijmegen Kops Plateau.*

Category	Motif	N	subtotal	Category	Motif	N	subtotal				
Deities	Apollo	1	12	Entertainment	Desultor	1	13				
	Hercules	1			Cavalryman	1					
	Victoria	1			Fighters	4					
	Mercure	1			Chariot racing	3					
	Bacchus scene	8			Theatre	2					
Cupids & Myths	Cupid	1	9		Animals	Human figure		1	17		
	Griffin	4				Lion and mule		1			
	Pegasus	3				Animal		2			
	Seahorse	1				Bear		1			
Daily & ritual & objects	Daily life	2				15		Boar		1	35
	Hunting	4						Panther/leopard		1	
	Cornucopiae	7						Lion		2	
	Vase	1						Dolphin		3	
	Boatman	1		Deer			1				
Erotic scenes		3	3	Horse		1	17				
				Monkey		1					
Gladiators		16	16	Mussel/shell		3	35				
				Mule		1					
				Rosette & wreath	18						
				Fan	10						
				Wreath	1	35					
				Twig or leaves	6						
Total				120							

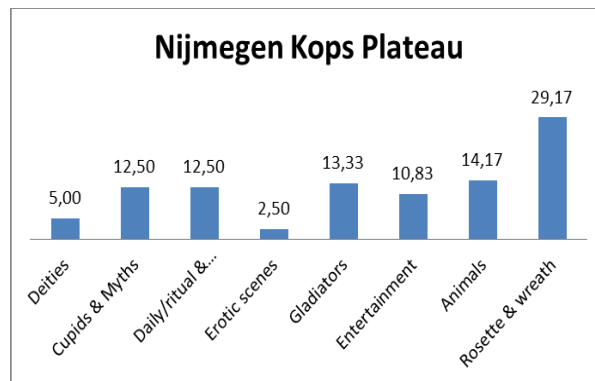
## 5 A comparison of picture lamp motifs from the northern Rhine region

### 5.1 Motifs identified at Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1, and Haltern

The motifs of the identifiable images recovered from the three sites Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1, and Haltern have been identified and grouped according to the classification used in the work of Eckardt. The results of this analysis are presented in the tables 5-10 and figures 25-27.

*Table 6. Categories of the picture lamps from the Nijmegen Kops Plateau.*

Category	N	%
Deities	6	5,00
Cupids & Myths	15	12,50
Daily/ritual & Objects	15	12,50
Erotic scenes	3	2,50
Gladiators	16	13,33
Entertainment	13	10,83
Animals	17	14,17
Rosette & wreath	35	29,17
Total	120	100,00



*Figure 25. Percentage of categories of picture lamps from the Nijmegen Kops Plateau.*

Table 7. Motifs of the picture lamps found at Velsen 1.

Category	Motif	N	subtotal	Category	Motif	N	subtotal
Deities	Venus	1	14	Entertainment	Animal trainer	1	6
	Mercure	1			Fighters	3	
	Minerva	1			Rider on horse	1	
	Victoria	5			Chariot racing	1	
	Medusa	2		Animals	Bird	5	
	Bacchus scene	4			Boar	3	
Cupids & Myths	Amor	5	15	Lion	4	27	
	Seahorse	4		Deer	3		
	Curtius	2		Dog	3		
	Achilles?	1		Dolphin	1		
	Pegasus	1		Horse	4		
	Amazon	1		Shell	4		
	Eagle on globe	1		Rosette & Wreath	Rosette		25
	Daily/ritual & Objects	Cornucopiae			2		Twig
Boatman		1	Leaves		3		
Shepherd		2	32				
Altar		1					
Kantharos		3					
Erotic scenes	Bed	10	9				
	Doggy style	10					
	Woman on man	27					
	Dwarfs	5					
	Leg above head	17					
	69						
Gladiators	59	59	Total	231			

Table 8. The categories of the picture lamps found at Velsen 1.

Category	N	%
Deities	14	6,06
Cupids & Myths	15	6,49
Daily/ritual & Objects	9	3,90
Erotic scenes	69	29,87
Gladiators	59	25,54
Entertainment	6	2,60
Animals	27	11,69
Rosette & wreath	32	13,85
Total	231	100,00

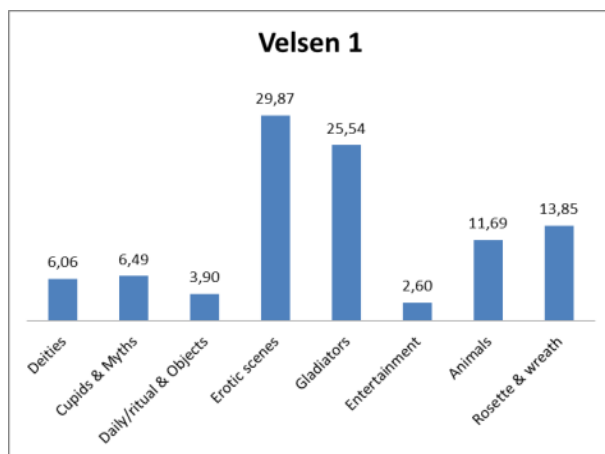


Figure 26. The percentage of categories of picture lamps found at Velsen 1.

Table 9. Motifs on the picture lamps found at Haltern (based on Rudnick 2001, 53-54, Fig. 17-18, 120-121, Fig. 34-35, 130-131, Fig. 39, 165, Fig. 49).

Category	Motif	N	subtotal	Category	Motif	N	subtotal
Deities	Athena/Erinyes	21	52	Entertainment	Biga	20	52
	Odysseus/Polyphemus	21			Quadriga	23	
	Hercules	2			Desultor	4	
	Bacchus scenes	8			horse driver	4	
			men with animal masks		1		
Cupids & Myths	Triton	1	26	Animals	Horse	2	28
	Boy at hippocamp	13			Bird	1	
	Amor	5			Dog	1	
	Gorgon	1			Dolphin	1	
	Griffin	3			Boar	1	
	Hippocampus	1			Bull	22	
	sea" dog"	2					
Daily/ritual & Objects	human figures	9	13	Rosette & Wreath	Rosette	2	3
	woman/water basin	2			Grape leaf	1	
	two figures/goat	1					
	Offering scene	1					
Erotic scenes	0	0					
Gladiators	49	49					
Total						223	



Table 10. Categories of picture lamps found at Haltern.

Category	N	%
Deities	52	23,32
Cupids & Myths	26	11,66
Daily/ritual & Objects	13	6,00
Erotic scenes	0	0,00
Gladiators	49	21,97
Entertainment	52	23,32
Animals	28	12,56
Rosette & wreath	3	1,35
Total	223	100,00

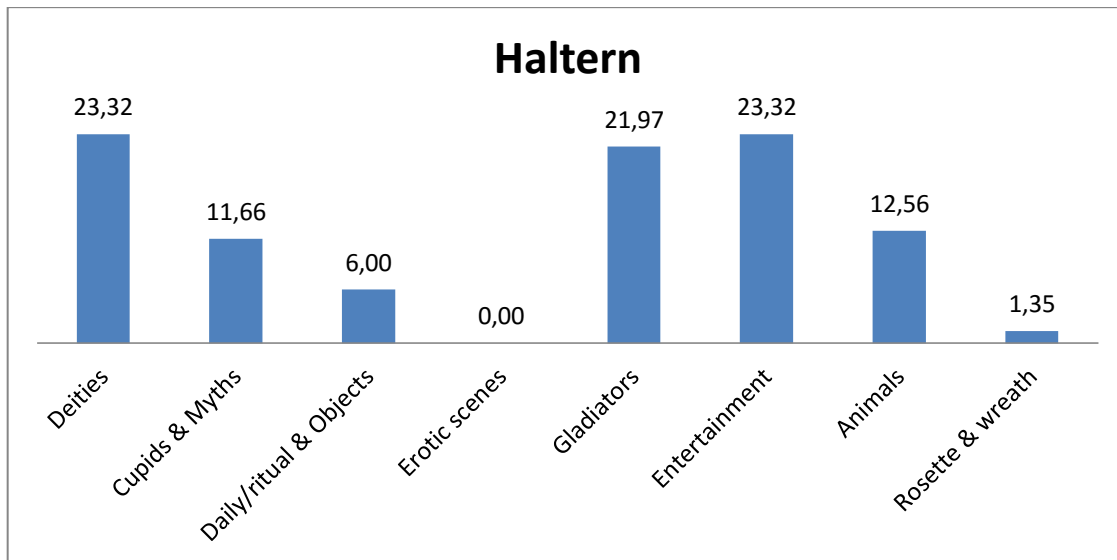


Figure 27. Percentages of categories of picture lamps from Haltern.

## 5.2 An inter-site comparison of motif categories

Table 11 provides a comparison of the quantity of finds at the three sites. The first impression is the relative paucity of picture lamps compared with Eckardt's sites in the previous paragraph. That needs some prudence for comparison.

Table 11. Number of picture lamps from the three sites.

Overall

Category	Nijmegen KP	Velsen 1	Haltern
Deities	6	14	52
Cupids & Myths	15	15	26
Daily/ritual & Objects	15	9	13
Erotic scenes	3	69	0
Gladiators	16	59	49
Entertainment	13	6	52
Animals	17	27	28
Rosette & wreath	35	32	3
Total	120	231	223

In order to make a good comparison the table will be converted to percentages (Table 12).

The addition of each column is not always 100,00%, due to making rounding adjustments.

Table 12. The percentage of picture lamps found at the three sites.

Overall in %

Category	Nijmegen KP	Velsen 1	Haltern	Mean
Deities	5,00	6,06	23,32	11,46
Cupids & Myths	12,50	6,49	11,66	10,22
Daily/ritual & Objects	7,47	3,90	6,00	5,79
Erotic scenes	2,50	29,87	0,00	10,79
Gladiators	13,33	25,54	21,97	20,28
Entertainment	10,83	2,60	23,32	12,25
Animals	14,17	11,69	12,56	12,81
Rosette & wreath	29,17	13,85	1,35	14,79
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Figure 28 shows a comparison of the three sites according to the presence of the eight main motif groupings. The percentages are rounded to integers for easier visibility. Seven peaks have percentages higher than 20%. These include the Rosette & wreath images found at the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, the Deities, Cupids & myths at *Velsen 1* and the Deities, Gladiators, and Entertainment at *Haltern*. While the category Daily/ritual & Objects was hardly found at any of the sites, Gladiator images were abundant at all three sites. In other words, this motif category has a high mean value. If the categories are ranked from lowest to highest mean value according to the three sites, then this ranking would be: Daily/ritual & Objects, Cupids & myths, Erotic scenes, Deities, Entertainment, Animals, Rosette & wreath, followed by Gladiators with the highest mean. The large difference in the presence of Erotic scenes at the various sites seems remarkable. While the large number of Deities found at Haltern is due to the existence of a mould which was used to shape the same imprints.

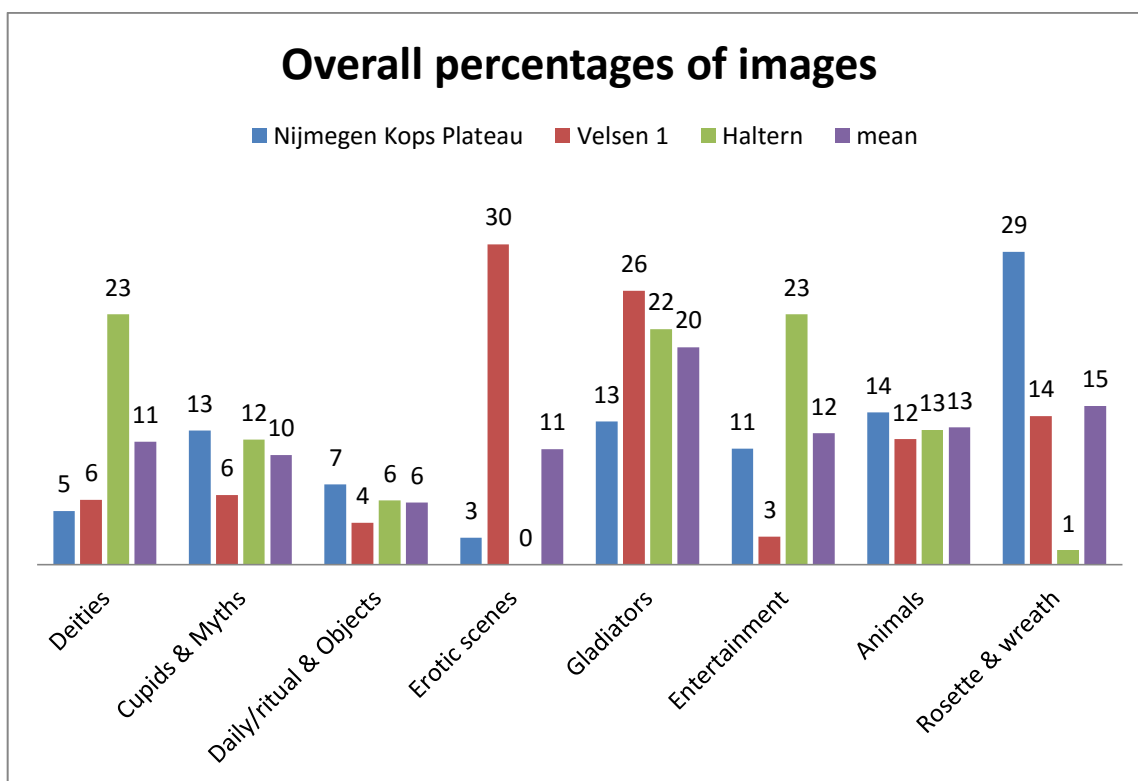


Figure 28. The round percentages of images on picture lamps excavated from the three sites and their mean value.

### 5.2.1 Deities

Table 13. Number and percentage of the category Deities (Appendix III).

Deities	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	9	14	52
%	8	6	23

In order to compare the deity images used on the picture lamps found at the three various sites, one must focus on the following figures: Luna, Hercules, Jupiter, Bacchus, Anubis, Victory, Diana, Ceres/Luna, Mercury, Minerva, among others. These deity images have been investigated by Eckardt (Eckardt 2002, 130). However, only a few of them have been recognized among the spectrum/ratio of deity images found at the three sites in Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern (table 13).

On the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, there were four deities found. They are recognized as Apollo, Hercules, Mercury, and Victory. These images make up 3% of the total images found on the lamps. From the Bacchic scenes Medusa (2), Silenus, and a satyr is present.

Another group of oil lamp fragments with eleven deity images were excavated from the former harbour at *Velsen 1*. The deity images found there include: Sol, Venus, Mercury, Minerva, and Victoria (5) and Hercules. From the Bacchic scenes a Dancing Maenad (3), satyr and maenad, and Medusa are present.

In *Haltern*, the 40 deities found on the fragments were completely different. They included: Athena, Odysseus, and Triton. These represent 23% of the total images at that site. From the Bacchic scenes gorgon, maenad (3) and Silenus are present.

Comparing the deities found at *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, *Velsen 1* and *Haltern* with other collections inside the Roman Empire, it is evident that the first two sites at the border has the lowest percentage of deity finds in contrast to *Haltern* which had the highest percentage of deity finds. This creates the possibility that the further the soldiers were living from Rome, the less important the belief in deities was in their lives. However, in contrast, almost the same percentage of deity find numbers was found in Britain as in *Haltern* which questions this hypothesis (Fig. 29).

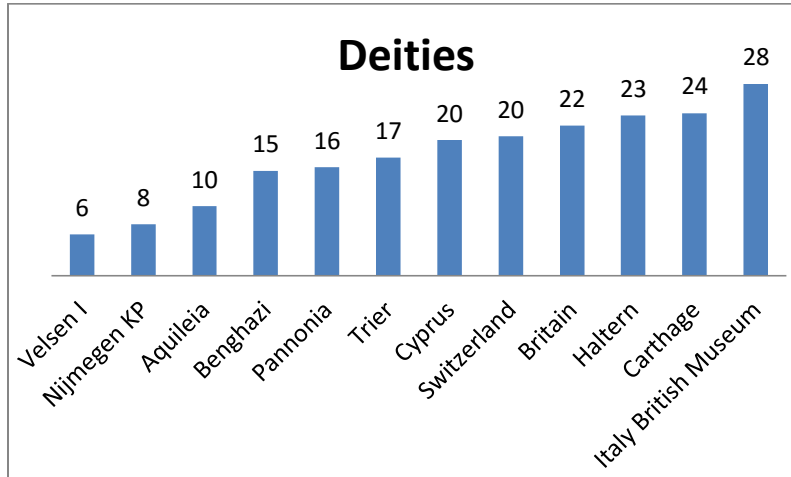


Figure 29. Percentages of category 'deities' compared (after Eckardt 2002, 128, table 11).

### 5.2.2 Cupids & Myths

Many other images other than deities were important in the Roman world. Heroes and cupids were the subjects of legends and myths. Their stories stem from Rome's monumental cultural inheritance. However, the distinction between this world and the world of deities is sometimes hard to understand, as was suggested in the previous section.

Table 14. Number and percentage of the category Cupids & Myths (Appendix III).

Cupids & Myths	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	12	15	26
%	10	6	12

Among the images found on the picture lamps excavated at *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, 12% had a cupid, myth or legend as their subject. The following subjects were identified: Amor with a shell, griffin (4), Pegasus (3), and cupid on a seahorse (table 14).

Eight percent of the images found on picture lamps excavated at *Velsen 1* have a cupid, myth or legend as its subject. The images on some lamps are very unclear or in small pieces, so they are hard to determine. Nevertheless, the following subjects have been identified: Amor with trident and dolphin, Amor playing the *kithara* (2), Amor with Hercules club, and

Amor with shell, boy on hippocampus (4), Marcus Curtius (2), eagle on a globe, Pegasus, Amazons, and finally a warrior (Achilles?).

There were many image motifs found in *Haltern*, including cupid (5), *hippocampus* (4), triton, and griffin (2). Some of the images are very clear, since the lamps have been restored.

Comparing the three sites and the Eckardt sites it is obvious that there is no great difference between the highest and the lowest column. The three sites are spread over the left side of the graph in figure 30. Amor or Cupid and sea horse or hippocampus is both present on all three sites.

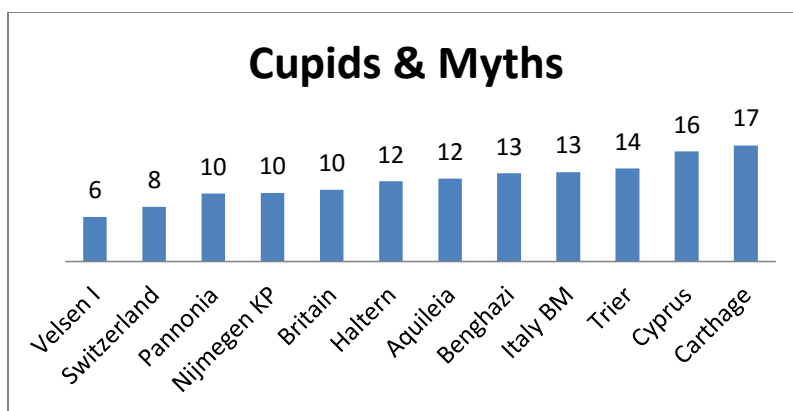


Figure 30. Percentages of category Cupids & myths compared.

### 5.2.3 Daily/rituals and objects

Table 15. Number and percentage of the category Daily/ritual & Objects (Appendix III).

Daily/ritual & Objects	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	15	9	13
%	13	4	6

This category of motifs found at the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* includes *cornucopiae* (7), boatman, shepherd, woman portrait, hunting scenes (4) and probably a *kantharos*.

There were also several motifs of Daily/ rituals and objects found at *Velsen 1*. These images include an altar, a boatman, *cornucopiae* (2), *kantharos* (3) and a shepherd (3).

In *Haltern*, the following motifs of Daily/ rituals and objects were identified: women with a water basin (2), offering scene (2), and a philosopher on a chair.

Comparing this three sites there is obvious a resemblance in the presence of cornucopiae and kantharos. Haltern has another collection of this category. Strikingly the percentage of this category is very low according to Eckardt's sites (Fig. 31, table 15).

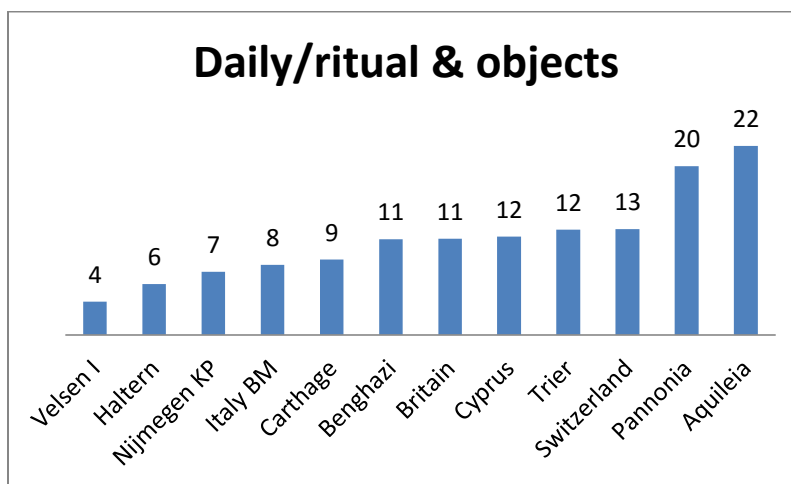


Figure 31. Percentages of category Daily/ritual & Objects compared.

#### 5.2.4 Erotic scenes

Table 16. Number and percentage of the category Erotic scenes (Appendix III).

Erotic scenes	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	3	69	0
%	3	30	0

At the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, only two kinds of erotic scenes were found. These include images of a man reclining and a woman approaching him (2) and an image of a man reclining and a woman on her hands and knees facing away from him (table 16).

The finds at *Velsen 1* show a significant number of erotic images. The following motifs were identified: man reclining, woman approaching (27), man holding woman's leg above head (17), man reclining, woman on her hands and knees looking away from him (10), part of a bed (10), male dwarf reclining, and female dwarf sitting away from him (5).

In *Haltern* no images of erotic scenes were found.

Comparing the three sites gives great differences in the percentages of this category (Fig. 32). *Haltern* has no erotic scenes, *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* a minority, but *Velsen 1* is extremely high. In the last site could be a question of deposits in the harbour, since many fragments have the same size and the same part of an image, too big for random. Relating to the *Eckardt* sites the same structure is visible. This could simply be the result of collectors' preferences and prudery (*Eckardt* 2002, 128).

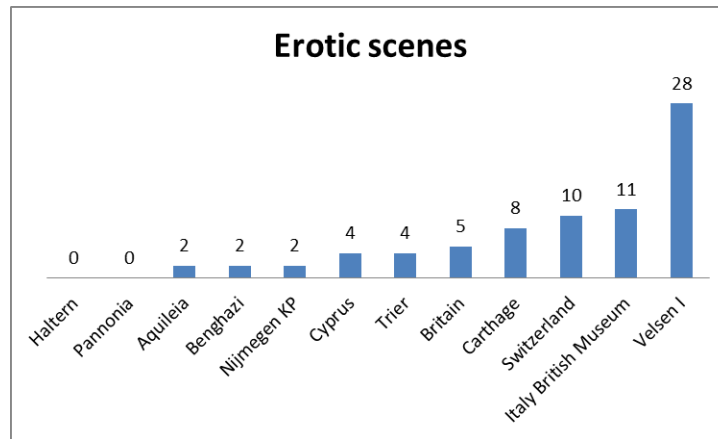


Figure 32. A comparison of the percentage of 'erotic scenes' found (after *Eckardt* 2002, 128, Table 11).

### 5.2.5 Gladiators

Table 17. Number and percentage of the category *Gladiators* (Appendix III).

Gladiators	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	16	59	49
%	13	26	22

The images of gladiators on picture lamps excavated at *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* are almost all different. Only four pair of find numbers portrays the same images. Sometimes both gladiators are present, while at other times only one is portrayed. Two of the images found show military or gladiatorial equipment (table 17).



During the excavations at *Velsen 1* no single archaeologically complete picture lamp was discovered at the bottom of the harbour. Therefore, only parts of the images are recognizable. Nevertheless, 58 gladiators have been identified among the find numbers. These images include a number of different motifs, including gladiator, feet, legs (7), Thracian (7), *Hoplomachus* (4), *Murmillo* (5), gladiator helmet (6), gladiator kneeling (3), gladiator looking backwards, gladiator with dagger and shield (2), shield of Samnite has fallen down, gladiator with crown and palm twig, a *hoplomachus* has won, as well as a number of undeterminable gladiators (20). The gladiator helmets are from a *Hoplomachus*.

In *Haltern* gladiator images are dominant (Rudnick 2001, 51). 13 picture lamps have the same images as the lamps excavated at the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* and *Velsen 1*. However, 8 lamp images found at *Haltern* are unique and another 22 lamp images were indeterminable, since they were too small to identify. The following motifs were identified: a fallen shield, Samnite down, Thracian winning (11), gladiator walking away (2), gladiators standing on the left, kneeling on the right (2), kneeling gladiator to the left (2), legs from Thracian and *Hoplomachus* (2), *Retiarius* (4), Thracian (4), two gladiators, right one missing shield (2), two leg protections, two swords (2), gladiator winning battle with *hoplomachus*, one standing gladiator and one horizontal gladiator, gladiator with a round shield in a diagonal position, gladiator raising shield, two gladiators (6), and a helmet of a gladiator.

Comparing these three sites stand out the great number of different kinds of gladiator (Fig. 33). Especially *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* and *Velsen 1* has a high value of percentages. *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* is belonging to the middle. Two kinds of gladiator (Baily 1980, Q 780 and Cahn 2011, nr. 132) are the same (Table 18).

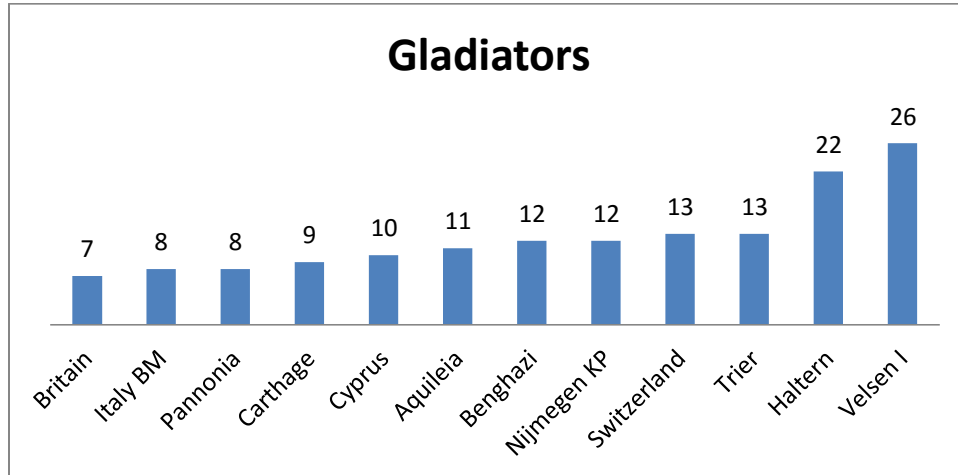


Figure 33. Comparison of motifs from Gladiators in the three sites.

Table 18. Comparison of motifs from Gladiators in the three sites.

	Nijmegen + Velsen	Nijmegen + Haltern	Velsen + Haltern	Nijmegen + Velsen + Haltern	N=
C 132	C 132	C 132	C 132		3
M 90					9
M 92			M 91		4
		M 95			2
M 107					6
Q 780	Q 780	Q 780	Q 780		3
					9

### 5.2.6 Entertainment

Table 19. Number and percentage of the category Entertainment (Appendix III).

Entertainment	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	13	6	52
%	11	3	23

There were several motifs excavated at the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* for this category, including the theatre and the arena (table 19). In the theatre one can see performances of figures with animal masks, and a stake dancer. In the arena one may expect: a cavalry man, chariot races with a biga (3), a Desultor on two horses, fist fighters (5) and an animal fight. One figure was unidentifiable, but it was assigned to the 'entertainment' category (Breuer 1931, 61 and plate VII, Fig. 27).

There were three kinds of motifs excavated at *Velsen 1* for this category, including an animal trainer, fist fighters (3) and a Desultor riding two horses.

At *Haltern*, the motif of chariot racing was found. The images have been separated according to the following categories: a biga (1) and quadriga (6), a horse driver with uplifted sword (2), two men with animal masks, and a horse driver standing on a rampant horse (indeterminable).

Comparison this category in the three sites it is strikingly that Velsen 1 has very low percentages according to other sites in the Roman Empire. Haltern has a very high level of percentages (Fig. 34).

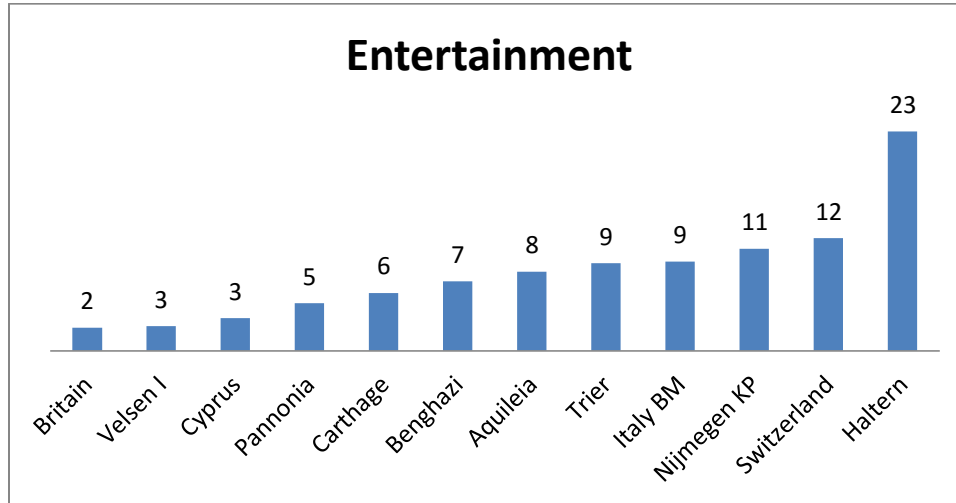


Figure 34. Comparison of motifs from Entertainment in the three sites.

### 5.2.7 Animals

Table 20. Number and percentage of the category Animals (Appendix III).

Animals	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	17	27	28
%	14	12	13

At *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, 17 animal images were found on excavated picture lamps. These images include: bear, boar, deer, dolphin (3), horse, lion (3), monkey, panther or leopard, and shell (3) and two indeterminable animals (table 20).

Since the fragments of the picture lamps excavated from *Velsen 1* are all small, the 30 images are more difficult to identify. The animals which could be identified include: bird (5), boar (3), deer (3), dog (6), horse (4), dolphin (1), lion (4) and shell (4).

At *Haltern* only 5 images of animals were excavated on picture lamps. These images include: a dog attacking a boar, two dolphins swimming in opposite directions, a horse standing on all four feet, a pig/boar standing on a baseline and a bird on the left side of a twig with three leaves and a pomegranate before its beak.

Comparison of the three sites show an amazing low level of the category of animals compared with the Eckardt sites. A dolphin, a deer jumping to the right, and a shell is visible in Nijmegen Kops Plateau and Velsen 1, but not in Haltern (Fig. 35).

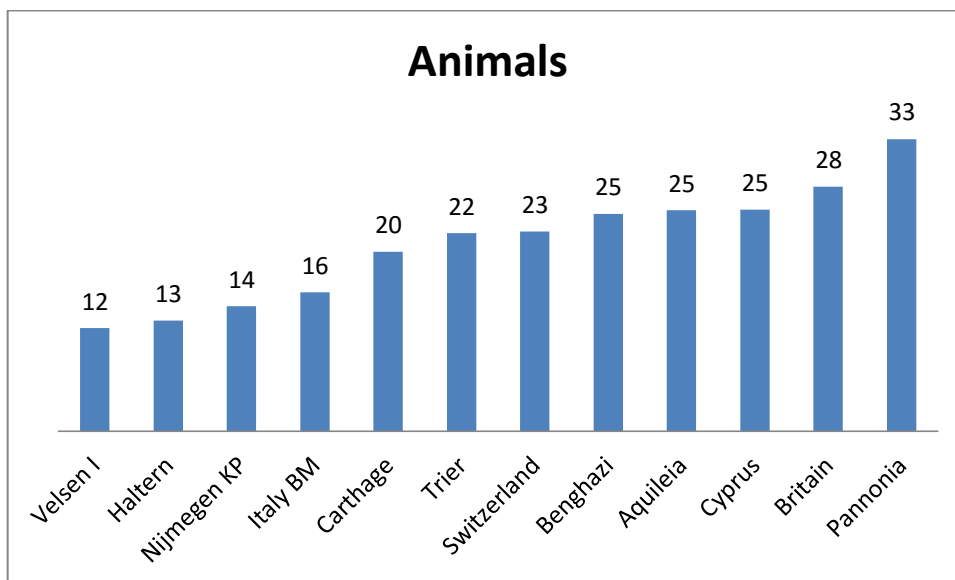


Figure 35. Comparison of motifs from Animals in the three sites.

#### 5.2.8 Rosette & Wreath

Table 21. Number and percentage of the category Rosettes & Wreath (Appendix III).

Rosette & wreath	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern
N	35	32	3
%	29	14	1

Since only a small piece of an image is all that is needed to identify a rosette, this has resulted in a great number of them being identified in the various collections (table 21). At the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, 35 images were identified. Since rosettes and fans represent almost equal images, they have been grouped together in this category. On the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* the following images were identified: rosettes (18), fans (10), wreath (1) including some twigs (4) and leaves (2).

At *Velsen 1*, many rosettes (25) were also identified because they are so easy to recognise. In addition to the rosettes, other images related to plants were also excavated including a leaf (3) and twigs (4).

At *Haltern*, only three numbers were identified for this category, including a rosette with 18 leaves, a rosette with 5 acanthus leaves and an image of a single leaf.

Comparison of the three sites gives information that the rosettes and wreath are very low represented in *Haltern*, but much more in *Velsen 1* and extremely high in *Nijmegen Kops Plateau* (Fig. 36).

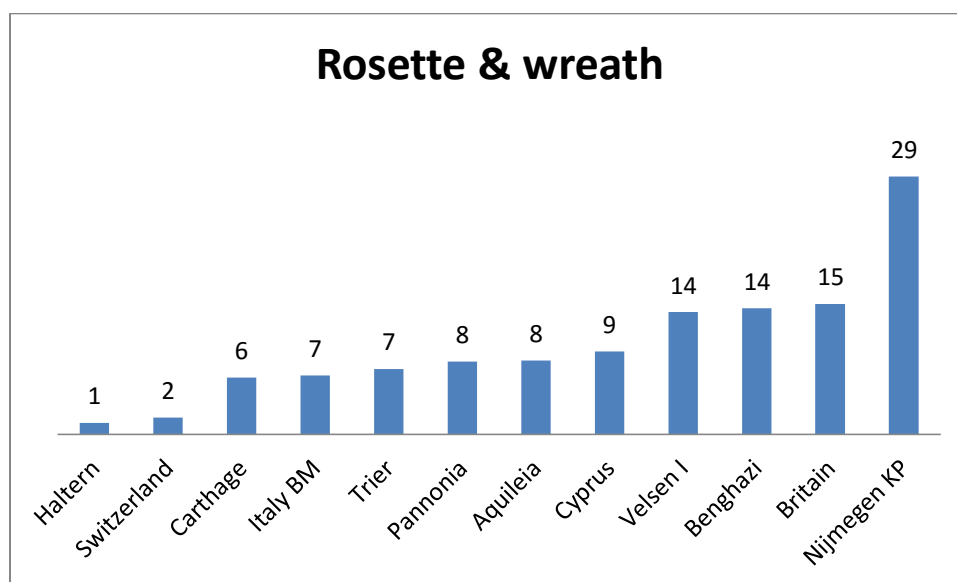


Figure 36. Comparison of motifs from *Gladiators* in the three sites.

### 5.3 A comparison with other sites in the Roman Empire

When the three sites studied for this thesis are compared to the sites Eckardt investigated, there seem to be no similarities between the different categories (table 22). No pattern can easily be discerned. Each site seems to have its own top categories, i.e. *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*: 'Rosette & wreath'; *Velsen 1*: 'Erotic scenes'; *Haltern*: 'Deities' and 'Entertainment'; Britain, Switzerland, Pannonia, Trier, Benghazi, Aquileia and Cyprus: 'Animals'; Carthage and Italy BM: 'Deities'. The category 'Animals' seems to be a category which is very popular, but it was concluded earlier that animals are often also included as part of an allegoric image.

Therefore, they could also be classified as a deity (an eagle) or as part of a hunting scene (a dog). When the lowest percentage of categories is compared it seems that with *Velsen 1*, Britain, Carthage, and Cyprus the category ‘Entertainment’ is the lowest. While at the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*, *Haltern*, Pannonia, Trier, Benghazi, and Aquileia the category of ‘Erotic scenes’ is the lowest and in Switzerland and Italy BM the category of ‘Rosettes & wreath’ is the lowest.

Table 22. The percentage of categories of picture lamps (in blue) higher than the mean relative value of each site across the Empire (After Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11).

Category	%												
	Nijmegen KP	Velsen I	Haltern	Britain	Switzerland	Pannonia	Trier	Carthage	Benghazi	Italy British Museum	Aquileia	Cyprus	Mean
Deities	7,50	6,06	23,32	21,85	20,34	15,83	17,25	23,69	15,27	27,95	10,13	19,75	17,41
Cupids & Myths	10,00	6,49	11,66	10,46	7,95	9,89	13,54	16,92	12,81	12,99	12,05	16,00	11,73
Daily/ritual & Objects	7,47	3,90	6,00	11,38	12,52	19,96	12,43	8,92	11,33	8,27	22,37	11,60	11,35
Erotic scenes	2,50	29,87	0,00	4,62	10,11	0,00	4,27	8,31	1,97	11,02	2,29	4,39	6,61
Gladiators	13,33	25,54	21,97	6,77	12,59	7,91	13,36	9,23	12,32	7,87	11,28	10,34	12,71
Entertainment	10,83	2,60	23,32	2,46	11,95	5,04	9,28	6,15	7,39	9,45	8,41	3,45	8,36
Animals	14,17	11,69	12,56	27,69	22,63	33,09	22,45	20,31	24,63	15,75	25,05	25,08	21,26
Rosette & wreath	29,17	13,85	1,35	14,77	1,91	8,27	7,42	6,46	14,29	6,69	8,41	9,40	10,17
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

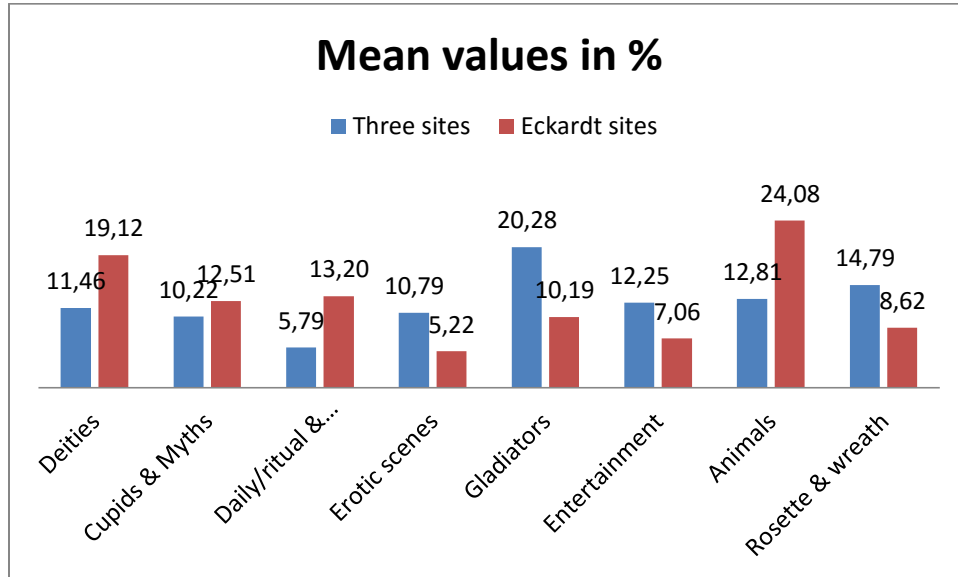


Figure 37. A comparison of the mean values of the three sites and Eckardt's sites.

According to figure 37, the difference in the mean values seems to apply for the Eckardt sites especially to the categories 'Deities', 'Daily/ritual & Objects' and 'Animals' much more than for the three sites examined for this thesis. The category 'Cupids & myths' is almost the same. While the category 'Erotic scenes' is much less.

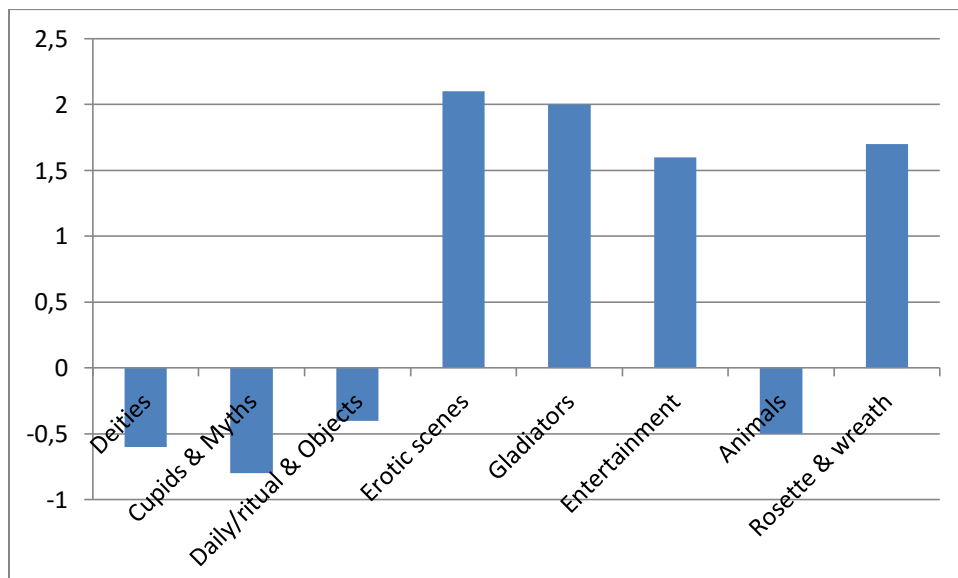


Figure 38. Quotient values of the categories of images from the three sites and Eckardt's sites.



In figure 38 the percentages of the three sites are divided by the percentages of Eckardt's sites. If the quotient is lower than 1 it is given a negative balance. The categories 'Deities', 'Cupids & myths', 'Daily/ritual & objects' and 'Animals' are in the minority at the three sites and 'Erotic scenes', 'Gladiators', 'Entertainment' and 'Rosettes & wreath' are in majority.

#### 5.4 Equivalentents in Roman art

The range of images on lamps is surprisingly uniform across the empire (Eckardt 2002, 127). The historical function of this imagery is obvious, since easy to understand and as communication system an urgent need in a large and heterogeneous nation like the Roman Empire (Hölscher 1987, 75). The images on the picture lamps preserve the culture of the homeland of the Roman Empire. The Romans began the conquest of cultural superior Greece in the 2nd century BC to acquire Greek works of art and philosophical ideas, since they learned to appreciate the elegance of the Greek way of life over the old gnarled tradition of the Latins. With mythological blends the Romans tried to connect their origin with the Greeks and ennoble (Mlasowsky 1993, 56). The images on the picture lamps demonstrate that there are hardly differences between motives of each category of each site. Furthermore, the motives cannot be connected to the specific context of a site.

Material culture plays an active role in structuring individual and group experience. The choice and selection of particular objects can play an important part in the creation of social differentiation (Eckardt 2002, 26).

In this paragraph a selection is made of examples from lamps with images related to sculptures, wall paintings, vases, coins, and so on. In succession an image of Apollo sitting on a chair playing the kithara, Victoria on the globe, Medusa, an ecstatic dancing Maenad, some erotic scenes, a satyr attacking a Maenad, and a bath scene will be presented.

1. 'Apollo is playing the kithara sitting on a chair'. The image of the picture lamp is *Apollo Citharoedus*, Apollo sitting on a curly chair with high chair-back turned to the right (Fig. 39). He is naked until his cloak lying over his belly and has shoes on his feet. His hair is dressed like a female with a bun in his neck. In his left hand he has the cithara, playing with his right hand. The same image is a well-known monumental fresco of the Palatine Antiquarium from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The image is also copied on a vase in Museum Het Valkhof in Nijmegen. The British Museum collected the saucer with an image of a woman in the same position. The Octavian denarius shows Apollo sitting on the rock of Actium.



Nijmegen Kops Plateau



Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen



Museo Palatino, Rome



National Roman Museum



British Museum, London from Attica 480-470 BC



Octavian AR Denarius, Brundisium or Rome, 32-29 BC

Figure 39. Various sculptures and paintings from Apollo.

- Victoria was one of the deities whose power and favor for Octavian in fight against Antonius particularly in the battle of Actium in 31 BC had been found (Fig. 40). Victoria strides in floating gear on a globe so that the wind her dress dissolves in long parallel curving folds around her hips and legs. Her wings are outstanding to both sides (Hölscher 1987, 6; Sutherland 1974, 119 and 121, fig. 213).



Velsen 1



Library of Hadrian, Athens



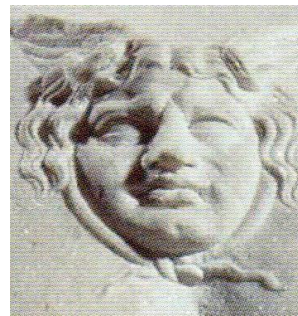
Coin of Octavianus,  
Caesar Divi Filius

*Figure 10. Several images of Victoria.*

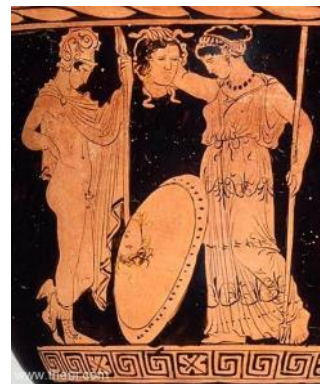
3. Medusa was in Greek mythology one of the three monstrous sisters (Stheno & Euryale), Gorgons, with snake hair, fangs and metal claws whose appearance people froze (Reimer 1967, 73). Medusa was mortal, slain by Perseus and given to Athena to put it on her shield to freeze the enemy. Medusa has often a place on the breast curas of a soldier (Fig. 41).



Nijmegen Kops Plateau



Rijksmuseum  
voor Oudheden,  
Leiden



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
(400 – 385 BC)



Didyma, Turkey (1000-391 BC)



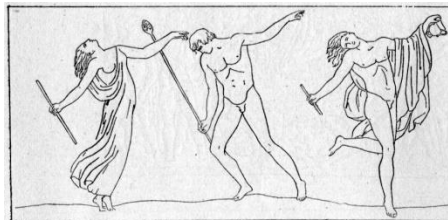
Selinus, Sicily,  
late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

*Figure 11. Images of Silenus.*

- Maenads are female followers of Dionysus. They are portrayed as ecstatic dancing women dressed in animal skins with loose hair and knife in hand (Fig. 42). In wild rage, they wandered through woods and fields; tore young deer and goats live apart and devoured the raw chunks (Reimer 1967, 35).



Haltern.



Uffizi sarcophagus.



Museo Arqueológico,  
Seville Spain.

*Figure 12. A Maenad is dancing in trance.*



5. Erotic scenes (Fig. 43).



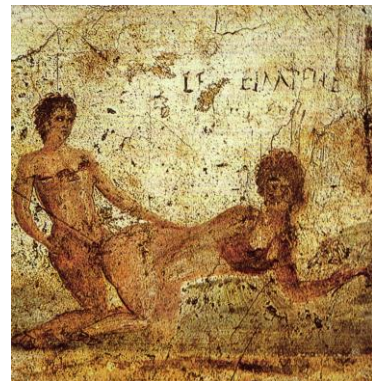
Nijmegen Kops Plateau



Casa del Centenario, Pompeii, 1st century (Dierichs 1997, 66, fig. 76a).



Nijmegen Kops Plateau



Museo Nazionale, Pompeii, 1st century (Dierichs 1997, 126, fig. 146).

*Figure 13. Concealing nothing.*

6. A satyr wearing a leopard skin is attacking a Maenad, grabbing her foot with his right hand. The maenad, with a thyrsus in the right hand, wears a transparent chiton and a himation with rich folds; she is defending herself against the satyr by stretching his long beard with her left hand, and beating him with her *thyrsus* (Fig. 44).



Nijmegen Kops Plateau



Ferrara, Archaeological Museum,  
490 BC



British Museum,  
London

Figure 14. A Maenad is attacked by a lusty satyr.

7. Two naked women are bathing before an Aphrodisia scene. They are pouring their bath. The gilt bronze mirror back shows the left woman filling the water basin (*louterion*) near a pillar with a statue of Venus (Fig. 45).



189 H 09.45

Haltern



Museum of Fine Arts Boston,  
2<sup>nd</sup> century

Figure 15. Bathing ladies.

### 5.5 Amulets

From cultural-anthropological studies it is known that in many non-Western societies a distinction can be made between regular 'household waste' (rubbish) and specifically discarded objects (refuse). The latter are deposited according to particular patterns denoting special meaning. Such studies show how in special deposition or dismissal

processes materials may play an important role. Offerings thus serve to create and maintain relationships between humans and supernatural actors. Often the sacrifice is intended to make contact with supernatural actors, to propitiate them and to pray for services and/or to thank them for received favours (Driessen 2014, 167).

Peña has described the life of pottery in his book on Roman pottery (Fig. 46). He has drafted a model consisting of eight stages which a ceramic oil lamp can go through in its life cycle. The first stage is the manufacturing of the lamp from clay. The second phase is the distribution of the lamp to the person who will use it. The third stage is the primary use phase. The fourth phase consists of re-use of a part of the lamp. The fifth phase is maintenance or repair of the lamp. The sixth stage is the recycling of the lamp or parts of it as a raw material in a novel manufacturing process. The seventh phase is the intentional disposal of the lamp. The eighth phase is the retrieval of the lamp, or parts of it after it has been thrown away (Peña 2007, 8-9). Not all the phases are recognizable at the ceramic oil lamps from the three sites. Repair of the lamp is almost impossible since the lamp is vulnerable; recycling was not detected in the archaeological material of the investigated sites, even so the retrieval after thrown away.

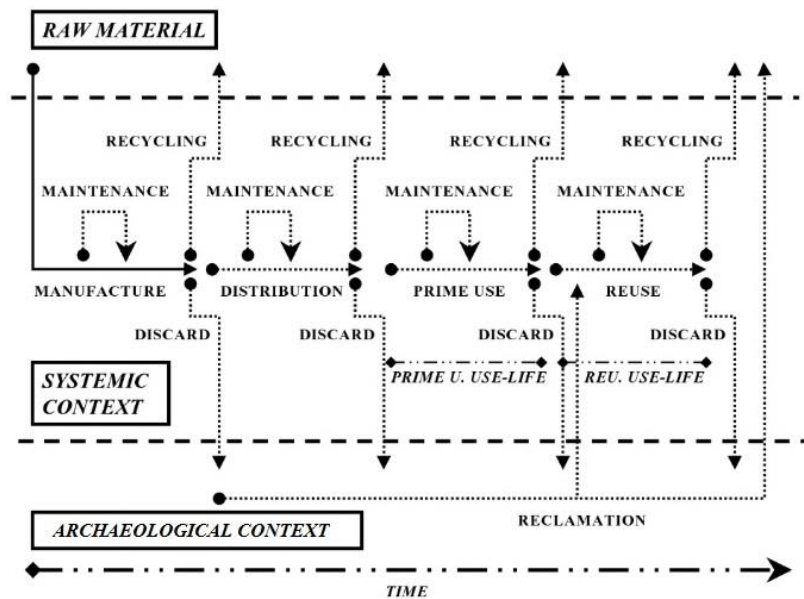


Figure 46. Flow diagram representing the life cycle of Roman pottery (Peña 2007, 9).

Many of the picture lamp fragments that have been found show a major part of the image, while the rest of the lamp is generally absent. These shards are often of similar size and show signs of wear and cracks on the surface, but above all on the edges. Because the image is the thickest part of the disc, it is possible that it survives in the archaeological record more often than other parts of the lamp. However, not always the whole image remains. Sometimes, parts of the image are missing as a result of breakage caused by wearing or erosion. It could be suggested that these images were too valuable to the owner to discard them along with the rest of the lamp. Appendix X shows a number of fragments that exhibit striking similarities in size and shape. Possibly these left-over images were given a new function after their initial period of use: an amulet (Fig. 47).



*Figure 47. Head of Silenus from Nijmegen Kops Plateau (photo by author).*

The use of amulets dates to the time that magic responded to the spiritual needs of man. Soldiers often lived in misery during the day and in fear and anxiety at night. In their minds invisible, hostile creatures, devils, demons, and evil spirits threatened their existence (Wallis Budge 1978, xv).

The Roman life was full of popular superstitions and practices. One seeks contact with supernatural forces, both good and evil spirits, which are both good and evil to mortals.

In addition to magical practices, which arrange temporary contact, one is in principle permanently assured of supernatural help by wearing amulets.

The problems and dangers of daily life decide on the purpose for which the amulets are intended: averting the evil eye, disease, jealousy or evil speakers, ensuring livelihoods, winning love or affection, gaining healing, etc. Amulets are worn around the neck, on the



arm, on the hip, in the hair, or were hung on doors and walls of houses, horses and chariots (Fodor 1990, 2).

### 5.6 Depositions

Among the shards of Velsen 1 17 fragments were found that portray an erotic scene of a man holding high the ankles of a woman so as to spread her legs. This way, the man's arm and the woman's leg together form a triangle (Fig. 48).



*Figure 48. A man holding high the ankles of a woman. In the red circle the part of the picture lamp often found in the harbour of Velsen 1 (after Goethert 1997, 208, M 134).*

This triangle is remarkably often found in the harbor basin of Velsen 1 (Fig. 49). Their broken state could have been caused by erosion or even deliberately by prudish researchers or modern censorship (Eckardt 2002, 128). The image as such is hardly recognizable but possible to infer through comparing it to known motifs. Given their find location, it may be possible that the images were ritually deposited here after breaking of the oil lamp.



*Figure 49. Some of the fragments of an erotic performance from the port of Velsen 1 (photo by author).*

Moreover, water plays an important spiritual role and has previously been selected as deposition context for other objects as well. Depositions in open water in or close to a settlement are often used as examples of symbolic acts (Driessen 2014, 168).

Intentional depositions in ports are, however, more common. The water can be seen as the boundary between the supernatural world and the underworld. An offering may signify the ritual vow. One could ask the god for a favor. If this favor was granted, a sacrifice in the form of food, objects or an altar could be donated to the deity. These fragments from the harbor of Velsen 1 could point at a prayer for fertility.

## 6 Conclusion

### 6.1 Aims restated

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the images on picture lamps, Roman ceramic oil lamps, excavated at the site of Nijmegen Kops Plateau. Results of this research would be compared to earlier research of the author of the collection of Velsen 1, after which both would be compared with Haltern, a site similar to Velsen 1, situated in a time period just before the Romans withdrew themselves behind the Limes. The additional aim was to make a superficial comparison with sites elsewhere in the Roman Empire. For this purpose the work of Eckardt was leading, because she succeeded to collect and categorise enough quantitative data of selected areas of the Roman Empire. Problematic to this thesis research was on the one hand the readability of the artefacts: they are at most times fragmentary or worn. On the other hand, it is difficult to rely on the quality of the photographing or the correctness of drawn interpretations in catalogues and publications. Finally, this research has succeeded to determine the images to be reliable to use as reference material.

### 6.2 Research questions

One could describe picture lamps as Roman lamps for burning oil which main function is to provide light in the darkness (*Lumen in tenebrae*). Picture lamps are from clay and are made with moulds. The disc typically portrays a relief of a specific motif. Most images appear in the same position, most likely because they are formed out of similar moulds or for easy recognition. Parts of group images were sometimes copied after which they became an image of their own. The central question of this thesis was what motifs on picture lamps from the period 20 BC – AD 70 can tell us about aspects of Roman military life in the northern Rhine region. In the early Roman Empire legionnaires from Mediterranean regions arrived in the region fast. They did know and recognised the stories the motifs and designs represented. The soldiers at Nijmegen Kops Plateau who had been recruited from the region between Saone and Rhine and from north of the Rhine were less interested in and had other means of lighting. There are no clues that native themes were used with the images of picture lamps, although unconsciously this could certainly have been the case if certain supernatural perspectives were shared.

In relation to the first question it has been argued that based on findings in picture lamp research, one can make the assumption that the motifs on the discs of the oil lamps are very diverse. These motifs tell us that soldiers in those days believed in a supernatural world, since several deities and cupids are pictured. Also myths and legends received a place on the disc of the picture lamp. Furthermore, aspects of daily life were visible, as well as animals and plants. A special subject was the gladiator as well as the chariot race, showing strength and cunning, being important characteristics for a soldier. Last but not least is the presence of many erotic scenes on lamps at some sites of the Roman Empire. Concealing nothing and without shame several sexual positions are demonstrated, man and wife enjoying equal power. Homosexuality is also recognized, but not on the picture lamps on the frontier of the Roman Empire in the Lower Rhine Area.

The discussion of the second question has illustrated how picture lamps vary across sites. In spite of the presence of a central Roman authority there is no uniform standard image file available. A visible heterogeneity exists determined by consumer's choice or by selection of pottery or traders, a simple matter of supply and demand. The picture lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern are by no means the same. Each site has its own collection of motifs without a specific motif dominating. Exception is Velsen 1 for its great number of erotic scenes.

In answering the third question it has been demonstrated how the comparison of the three sites at the northern border of the Lower Rhine area with other sites in the Roman Empire does not provide any distinctive patterns. No site is characterized by specific conspicuousities. Also, no site has the same range of subjects.

Depictions on grave reliefs, temples, mosaics, triumphal arches and pillars, buildings as an arena and circus played an important role and made the legionnaires proud of their ancestry. The soldier was able to show this by buying these picture lamps. But also on coins, gems and terra sigillata these pictures appeared, by which the legionnaire was able to remember the greatness of the Roman society.

The fourth question regarding it can be noted with some caution that a number of fragments of the sites Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern consisted of striking images, worn

in a certain way and showing a nearly complete picture. Perhaps these shards can be considered as amulets, a function they received when the owner of the formerly complete lamp found the image too valuable to throw away. From a number of fragments found at the Port of Velsen 1 it can be determined that the image formed part of the same erotic scene. Perhaps this may signify a ritual deposition, wherein the offeror begs for fertility.

### 6.3 Methodology

The theoretical approach of this study has been cognitive archaeology, in which something can be said about the ideology, religious thought, and cosmology or other beliefs of the studied culture. These motives can be seen as symbols for the world of the supernatural or the transcendental. Cognitive archaeology has its root in structuralism, in which the mind structures the world in terms of *binary oppositions (dichotomies)*. This appeared more difficult than expected, since oppositions were hardly found between the subjects of the images. Only an interpretation of the author could indicate these dichotomies. Thenceforward, the concepts of interpretive archaeology and the cultural biography of objects and their relevance for picture lamp research were examined.

Furthermore, a literature study was conducted to discover what is known about the production, use, distribution and decline of Roman picture lamps. The classification system of Eckardt appeared highly relevant in the context of this research. The sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern were selected for several reasons: all completely excavated, situated near the northern frontier of the Roman Empire, same context and the availability of many lamps from the same period.

Data-gathering took place in the field as well as by desk research of the three sites, as well as the sites investigated by Eckardt. Strikingly the museum collections and the findings from excavations were ascribed the same credibility, although the find context of the museum objects was hardly known.

All lamps were photographed and many data were collected in an Excel database. In the data-analysis an iconographic comparison was made not only for the categories of the three sites and those of Eckardt, but also between the two datasets. The methodology was very time-consuming as a result of the distance to the artefacts, photographing under several

light directions, the measurements and the subjective decisions made for the database and the problem of availability of a great part of the picture lamps from Haltern.

#### 6.4 Results

An important part of the research on the images of the picture lamps of Nijmegen and the comparison with other sites in the Roman Empire happened intuitively, although supported by consulting numerous catalogs on this topic. Very often had to be deduced what might be the right interpretation, due to unclear relief, to a too small part of an image or the lack of parallels. All in all, it may be established that the material of Nijmegen after years at depot is unlocked now and available for further research. Moreover, it is important establishing too that the causes of the choice for purchasing or manufacturing of the images on picture lamps are not very clear. Only interpretation from a contemporary thought world makes it possible to interpret the range of images. However, this range is limited given the fact that various related catalogs come to a finite number of motives. The various sites that have been consulted for comparison show great differences and this conclusion is expressed in the found picture lamps. Virtually all categories are represented and only as an exception a specific category is missing.

#### 6.5 Ideas for subsequent research

It was not possible to analyse the lamps described in this thesis in a laboratory, so the original workshop of the lamps of Nijmegen is not known. Laboratory analysis has to overcome considerable financial and organizational difficulties.

Eckardt had to pay attention to the kind of the collection from a museum or an excavation. Moreover, the choice of consumer or producer could have impact for the presence of certain images. Many of the lamps are imported and while traders probably had a good idea of the demand for lamps, it could be questioned if they were able to select certain images for a specific market. Chronology could be another factor of importance that makes it difficult to compare collections, since certain images could be popular in an early time while others in a later period. Discus designs are subject to significant changes through time. One could understand that there was a certain degree of homogeneity across the whole empire but there are some interesting differences, with regard to gladiatorial and erotic scenes and

animal fights as well as with regard to attractiveness of certain deities or animals. This could be a subject for future investigations.

## Epilogue

A soldier puts his oil lamp on a shelf at the head of his bed. The flickering flame casts a shadow on the wall behind him. Goosebumps are crawling on his arms when he thinks of ghosts and the supernatural. He mumbles a prayer. He is not careful and accidentally knocks the lamp off. The lamp lies broken on the ground. The nozzle has broken off and the lamp is no longer usable. What a shame, such a precious object is not easy to replace. His eyes fall on the image of Apollo. It remains intact. He thinks he cannot just throw such a statue away. That would be sacrilege! That would be the ultimate jinx! He carefully separates the image from the cup, the handle and the broken nozzle by breaking small pieces off until he has only the image remaining. He wipes off the oil with a piece of cloth. Sensibly, he has salvaged it. Such a precious amulet will protect him from evil and misfortune. After all, Apollo is responsible for watching over him!



## List of figures

Figure front page: Collection of picture lamps from Velsen 1 (photo by author).....	5
Figure 1. The relief lightens up in the oil mirror of a replica of a picture lamp from the British Museum in London (photo by author). .....	5
Figure 2. An Amazone with a double ax on a picture lamp from Nijmegen Kops Plateau (photo by author).....	6
Figure 3. The location of Velsen, Nijmegen Kops Plateau and Haltern (After Becker et al. 2008, 98, Fig. 1).....	8
Figure 4. Timetable of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern. ....	9
Figure 5. The most important parts of a ceramic oil lamp (after Goethert 1997, 32, fig. 14).13	
Figure 6. Form types of clay lamps found in Vindonissa. Numbers I-VIII picture lamps, IX-X factory lamps, XI-XIV open lamps (Loeschcke 1919, Table I).....	14
Figure 7. Wall painting (1.03 x 0.72) in Pompeii, probably in the House of Julia Felix, showing money and writing equipment ( <a href="http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompei_-_House_of_Julia_Felix_-_MAN.jpg">http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompei_-_House_of_Julia_Felix_-_MAN.jpg</a> accessed on 15.12.2014) .....	15
Figure 8. Artistic impression of the lit up contubernium (Petruț, Gui and Trîncă, 2014, 87, fig. 12). .....	16
Figure 9. Producing a mould and an oil lamp (Goethert 1997, 17, fig. 4). .....	17
Figure 10. Finishing of a ceramic oil lamp (after Fremersdorf 1922, 66, fig. 45). ....	19
Figure 11. Cup and oil lamp (Lemaire de Belges 2002, plate IV). ....	20
Figure 12. The situation of the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen (Van Enckevort and Wildenberg 2009, 5). .....	23
Figure 13. Elevation model of the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen. The colour scale proceeds from blue (low elevation) to red (high elevation). Base map: Lidar-based digital elevation model (AHN: Actueel Hoogtebestand Nederland, <a href="http://www.ahn.nl">www.ahn.nl</a> , Beijaard 2015, 56, Fig. 4.4). .....	24
Figure 14. Nijmegen (red star) along the Waal river. Figure. Palaeogeographical map of the coastal river delta in The Netherlands (around 500 BC) 1. Nijmegen, 2. Velsen (after Vos and De Vries 2013, downloaded on 26 July 2015 from <a href="http://www.archeologieinnederland.nl">www.archeologieinnederland.nl</a> ). .....	25
Figure 15. Map of contexts related to structures: 1. Principium, 2. Horreum, 3. Praetorium, 4. Stable complex (Beijaard 2015, 15, Fig. 1.4).....	26
Figure 16. Locations of Velsen 1 (phase 3) and Velsen 2 at the left bank of the Oer-IJ (blue), the fort terrain (red) and the annex (yellow) (based at Bosman 2012, 357). .....	28
Figure 17. Military outpost and harbour: a. Phase 1b (16-22); b. Phase 2b (25-28); c. Phase 3 (28-45/47) (Drawing: J. Kaarsemaker in Driessen 2014, 211-213). .....	28
Figure 18. Reconstruction of a tent for eight legionnaires made by re-enactment group Ermine Street Guard in Westfälisches Römermuseum in Haltern (Van Driel-Murray 1990, photo by author). .....	29
Figure 19. The location of Haltern at the border of the hills and the low land (based on Becker and Rasbach 2007, 103). .....	30

Figure 20. Plan of the excavations in Haltern on a hill in the “Halterner Bucht” (based on Von Schnurbein 1974, Table 1).....	31
Figure 21. First phase of the naval base Hofestatt (based on Morel 1988, Fig. V-4). .....	32
Figure 22. Simplified and schematic plan of the main fort of Haltern: 1 principia, 2 praetorium, 3 and 5-7 officer houses, 4 incomplete block, 8 fabrica, 9 hospital (valetudinarium), 10 sanctuary? 11 barracks, 12 other buildings, 13 storage at east gate, A porta principalis dextra B porta principalis sinistra, C porta praetoria, D porta decumana, *pottery kiln (based on Aßkamp 1989, 36, Fig. 21 and Von Schnurbein 1974, Appendix 6). 33	
Figure 23. Examples of the types of oil lamps used at Haltern. 27. Prachtlampen, 33. Warzenlampen, 34. Vogelkopflampen, 35a-b. Volutenlampen (after Rudnick 2001, Table 20 and Loeschcke 1909, 101-322, Table XI). .....	35
Figure 24. Categories of images on oil lamps in Switzerland (after Leibundgut 1977, 190). .	37
Figure 25. Percentage of categories of picture lamps from the Nijmegen Kops Plateau. ....	44
Figure 26. The percentage of categories of picture lamps found at Velsen 1. ....	46
Figure 27. Percentages of categories of picture lamps from Haltern. ....	48
Figure 28. The round percentages of images on picture lamps excavated from the three sites and their mean value. ....	50
Figure 29. Percentages of category ‘deities’ compared (after Eckardt 2002, 128, table 11). 52	
Figure 30. Percentages of category Cupids & myths compared.....	53
Figure 31. Percentages of category Daily/ritual & Objects compared.....	54
Figure 32. A comparison of the percentage of ‘erotic scenes’ found (after Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11). .....	55
Figure 33. Comparison of motifs from Gladiators in the three sites. ....	57
Figure 34. Comparison of motifs from Entertainment in the three sites. ....	59
Figure 35. Comparison of motifs from Animals in the three sites. ....	60
Figure 36. Comparison of motifs from Gladiators in the three sites. ....	61
Figure 37. A comparison of the mean values of the three sites and Eckardt’s sites.....	63
Figure 38. Quotient values of the categories of images from the three sites and Eckardt’s sites.....	63
Figure 39. Various sculptures and paintings from Apollo.....	65
Figure 40. Several images of Victoria. ....	66
Figure 41. Images of Silenus.....	67
Figure 42. A Maenad is dancing in trance. ....	67
Figure 43. Concealing nothing.....	68
Figure 44. A Maenad is attacked by a lusty satyr. ....	69
Figure 45. Bathing ladies. ....	69
Figure 46. Flow diagram representing the life cycle of Roman pottery (Peña 2007, 9).....	70
Figure 47. Head of Silenus from Nijmegen Kops Plateau (photo by author). ....	71
Figure 48. A man holding high the ankles of a woman. In the red circle the part of the picture lamp often found in the harbour of Velsen 1 (after Goethert 1997, 208, M 134).....	72

Figure 49. Some of the fragments of an erotic performance from the port of Velsen 1 (photo by author). .....	72
Figure 50. Minerva (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 200, M 28). .....	97
Figure 51. Furious Maenad butchering an animal (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 211, M 59). ...	97
Figure 52. Amor with shell and reverse torch (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 195, M 11).....	98
Figure 53. Milking shepherd with a flock of sheep (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 241, 143). ...	99
Figure 54. Two cornucopiae, horns of plenty (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 204-205, M 39)...	99
Figure 55. Erotic symplegma (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 238, M 134). .....	100
Figure 56. Two gladiators: Thracian and Hoplomachus (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 221, M 86).....	100
Figure 57. Tomb plaque from the necropolis in Laghetto picturing a duel (4 <sup>th</sup> century BC). Paestum, Museo Archeologico, inv. 5014 (Jacobelli 2003, 5, Fig. 1). .....	101
Figure 58. Part of the Zliten mosaic from Libya (Leptis Magna), dates to 2nd century AD ( <a href="http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gladiator#/media/File:Gladiators_from_the_Zliten_mosaic_3.JPG">www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gladiator#/media/File:Gladiators_from_the_Zliten_mosaic_3.JPG</a> accessed at 4.11.2015). .....	103
Figure 59. Graffiti from Tomb 14 EN in Pompeii, necropolis at the Nucernian Gate. V=vicit, victory, M=missus, defeated, but spared, P=perit, dead (Jacobelli 2003, 51, Fig. 43). .....	104
Figure 60. Chariot race with a biga (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 232, nr. M 118).....	104
Figure 61. Magician with monkey, cat and objects (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 241, nr. M 142).....	104
Figure 62. Campana tile with a relief scene of chariot race. Terracotta. 1st century A.D. (Paris, Louvre Museum). .....	105
Figure 63. Eagle (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 259, M 194). .....	106
Figure 64. Lion (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 256, M 185). .....	106
Figure 65. Rosette (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 274, M 241). .....	107
Figure 66. Wreath of oak leaves (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 268, M 223). .....	107

## List of tables

Table 1. Categories of images on oil lamps in Switzerland (Leibundgut 1977, 190). .....	36
Table 2. Categories of images on picture lamps (after Eckardt 2002, 123). .....	40
Table 3. Percentages of categories of picture lamps (in red) higher than the mean relative value of each category across the Empire (After Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11). .....	41
Table 4. The percentage of categories of picture lamps (in green) higher than the mean relative value of each site across the Empire (After Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11). .....	42
Table 5. Motifs of the picture lamps found at the Nijmegen Kops Plateau. ....	43
Table 6. Categories of the picture lamps from the Nijmegen Kops Plateau. ....	44
Table 7. Motifs of the picture lamps found at Velsen 1. ....	45
Table 8. The categories of the picture lamps found at Velsen 1. ....	46
Table 9. Motifs on the picture lamps found at Haltern (based on Rudnick 2001, 53-54, Fig. 17-18, 120-121, Fig. 34-35, 130-131, Fig. 39, 165, Fig. 49). .....	47
Table 10. Categories of picture lamps found at Haltern. ....	48
Table 11. Number of picture lamps from the three sites. ....	49
Table 12. The percentage of picture lamps found at the three sites. ....	49
Table 13. Number and percentage of the category Deities (Appendix III). ....	51
Table 14. Number and percentage of the category Cupids & Myths (Appendix III). ....	52
Table 15. Number and percentage of the category Daily/ritual & Objects (Appendix III). ....	53
Table 16. Number and percentage of the category Erotic scenes (Appendix III). ....	54
Table 17. Number and percentage of the category Gladiators (Appendix III). ....	55
Table 18. Comparison of motifs from Gladiators in the three sites. ....	57
Table 19. Number and percentage of the category Entertainment (Appendix III). ....	58
Table 20. Number and percentage of the category Animals (Appendix III). ....	59
Table 21. Number and percentage of the category Rosettes & Wreath (Appendix III). ....	60
Table 22. The percentage of categories of picture lamps (in blue) higher than the mean relative value of each site across the Empire (After Eckardt 2002, 128, Table 11). .....	62
Table 23. Armor of some gladiators (Jacobelli 2003, 7-15). ....	102.

## **Abstract**

LVMEN IN TENEBRAE (Light in the darkness) presents a comparative study of images on ceramic oil lamps from three military camps, Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern (Germany), located in the Lower Rhine Area, on the frontier of the Roman Empire. This thesis starts with descriptions of the manufacture, distribution and main uses of picture lamps for the specific period of 20 BC until AD 70, when Nijmegen Kops Plateau functioned as a Roman military settlement. The discussion proceeds with the main topic, picture lamp motifs, and introduces the classification system of Hella Eckardt, the base method used for the cross-site comparison of motifs in this thesis.

The central question of this research is what motifs on picture lamps can tell us about aspects of Roman military life in the northern Rhine region. From their analysis it has been found that soldiers in those days believed in a supernatural world, evidenced by the depiction of several deities and cupids. Also myths and legends illustrated the picture lamps' discs. Furthermore, aspects of daily life were visible, as were animals and plants. A special subject was the gladiator, as well as the chariot race, showing strength and cunning, important characteristics for a soldier. Last but not least, also many erotic scenes were spotted on the lamps from some Roman sites.

In spite of the presence of a central Roman authority, no uniform standard image file can be discerned. A visible heterogeneity exists, determined by consumer's choice or by the selection of pottery or traders, a simple matter of supply and demand. The picture lamps from Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern are by no means the same. Each site has its own collection of motifs without a specific motif dominating. Only Velsen 1 can be seen as an exception for its great number of erotic scenes. Finally, some equivalents are highlighted of Roman picture lamp motifs in other artistic media across the Empire.

It has been demonstrated that comparing the three sites at the northern border of the Lower Rhine area with other sites in the Roman Empire does not provide any distinctive patterns. No site is characterized by specific conspicuities. Also, no site has the same range of subjects.

With some caution it can be noted that a number of fragments from the sites of Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern yielded striking images, worn in a certain way and showing a nearly complete picture. Perhaps these shards can be considered as amulets, a function they received when the owner of the formerly complete lamp found the image too valuable to discard. From a number of fragments found at the Port of Velsen 1 it can be determined that the image formed part of the same erotic scene. Perhaps this may signify a ritual deposition, wherein the offeror begs for fertility.

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Appendix I: Eckardt 2002, 128, table 11

Motif	N								
	Britain	Switzerland	Pannonia	Trier	Carthage	Benghazi	Italy British Museum	Aquileia	Cyprus
Deities	71	320	88	93	77	31	71	53	63
Cupids & Myths	34	125	55	73	55	26	33	63	51
Daily/ritual & Objects	37	197	111	67	29	23	21	117	37
Erotic scenes	15	159	0	23	27	4	28	12	14
Gladiators	22	198	44	72	30	25	20	59	33
Entertainment	8	188	28	50	20	15	24	44	11
Animals	90	356	184	121	66	50	40	131	80
Rosette & wreath	48	30	46	40	21	29	17	44	30
Total	325	1573	556	539	325	203	254	523	319

Category	%								
	Britain	Switzerland	Pannonia	Trier	Carthage	Benghazi	Italy British Museum	Aquileia	Cyprus
Deities	21,85	20,34	15,83	17,25	23,69	15,27	27,95	10,13	19,75
Cupids & Myths	10,46	7,95	9,89	13,54	16,92	12,81	12,99	12,05	16,00
Daily/ritual & Objects	11,38	12,52	19,96	12,43	8,92	11,33	8,27	22,37	11,60
Erotic scenes	4,62	10,11	0,00	4,27	8,31	1,97	11,02	2,29	4,39
Gladiators	6,77	12,59	7,91	13,36	9,23	12,32	7,87	11,28	10,34
Entertainment	2,46	11,95	5,04	9,28	6,15	7,39	9,45	8,41	3,45
Animals	27,69	22,63	33,09	22,45	20,31	24,63	15,75	25,05	25,08
Rosette & wreath	14,77	1,91	8,27	7,42	6,46	14,29	6,69	8,41	9,40
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

## Appendix II. Motifs in Eckardt's work

### Deities



Figure 50. Minerva (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 200, M 28).



Figure 51. Furious Maenad butchering an animal (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 211, M 59).

One very important motif found on picture lamps are motifs connected to deities. These deities originate in Greek mythology and in believe of Etruscans and other Italic peoples. There is an array of Latin Gods that appear on picture lamps, including: Amor, Amazons, Artemis, Athena, Bacchus, Diana, Dionysus, Fortuna, Hercules, Hermes, Jupiter, Luna, Mercury, Minerva (Fig. 50), Priapus, Venus, Victoria, and Zeus. Some of the gods are recognized by their attributes. For instance, the eagle belongs to the three highest gods: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The half-moon belongs to Luna who is associated in Rome to the goddess of hunting Diana. Mercury has a helmet with wings, Mars wears a war helmet, and the sun god Sol has an aura (Bailey 1988, 3-21; Fremersdorf 1922, 85-86; Mlasowsky 1997, 56-57). The main character is often Medusa, a Satyr, a Silenus, a Bacchant, a Maenad (Fig. 51), a Pan figure, a Thyrsus, which are all the noisy followers of the god Dionysus (Mlasowsky 1997, 82). The Satyrs and Silenus's are half man, half animal. Originally they are natural demons with unbridled animalistic desires and are presented with phallic symbols (Mlasowsky 1993, 83). Maenads were the female followers of Dionysus. Their name literally translates as 'raving ones'. Often the maenads were portrayed in a state of ecstatic frenzy brought about by a combination of dancing and intoxication. These women were portrayed

in mythology as 'mad women'. They went into the mountains at night and practiced strange rites (Fremersdorf 1922, 86).

#### Cupids, myths and legends



*Figure 52. Amor with shell and reverse torch (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 195, M 11).*

Other important motifs found on picture lamps are cupids, myths and legends. Cupids were believed to be the children of the goddess Venus. Cupids have wings and are almost entirely naked. Augustus traced his ancestry to them (Mlasowsky 1993, 125). They are portrayed with various objects in different situations; for example there are cupids with torch and shell (Fig. 52), cupids riding a dolphin, embracing a goose or a lion, transporting a carrier with a fawn, or with a club and quiver, a kithara, or removing a thorn from their foot. (Fremersdorf 1922, 88; Mlasowsky 1993, 124-143).

Myths are traditional or legendary stories, usually concerning some being or hero or event, that tries to explain some practice, rite, or phenomenon of nature. The Centaurs, Griffin, Nereid, Nessus, Pegasus, Sphinx, and Theseus are other subjects of myths (Bailey 1988, 35-40; Fremersdorf 1922, 96-97; Goethert 1997, 198-199; Mlasowsky 1993, 156-175).

In addition, Eckardt found examples of legend as a motif on picture lamps. A legend is a story of human actions taking place within human history and possessing certain qualities that give the tale the appearance of truth. A legend, for both its active and passive participants, does not include any occurrences that would be considered outside the realm of "possibility," but which might include miracles. Some of the subjects used for legends

include: Actaeon, Marcus Curtius, Leda, Meleager, Odysseus, Omphale, and Telephus (Bailey 1988, 42-43; Fremersdorf 1922, 86-88; Goethert 1997, 198-199; Mlasowsky 1993, 144-155).

#### Daily and ritual scenes or objects



*Figure 53. Milking shepherd with a flock of sheep (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 241, 143).*



*Figure 54. Two cornucopias, horns of plenty (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 204-205, M 39).*

In addition, also daily and ritual scenes or objects are often found as a motif on picture lamps. Most of the daily or ritual scenes on the picture lamps represent a nostalgic yearning of the over cultured city-dweller for a more simply life of farmers and herdsmen (Fig. 53). For instance, an old man with a walking stick is portrayed behind over feeding a little rabbit wine grapes or another type of fruit. Another important kind of image that is often portrayed is the production and transportation of wine and olive oil in amphoras (Bailey 1988, 43-53).

Ritual scenes are represented by altars with people offering gifts, Herms or Thyrsus staffs (Goethert 1997, 198-199). A Herm is a carved head of Hermes that appears on a column used as a road marker. This column also includes a carved penis. A thyrsus was a staff of giant fennel covered with vines of ivy and always topped with a pine cone used by the servants of Dionysus (Mlasowsky 1993, 224-235).

Another object that is commonly found is the cornucopia or the horn of plenty (Fig. 54). It is a symbol of abundance and nourishment. It is most commonly portrayed as a large horn-shaped container overflowing with produce, flowers or nuts (Fremersdorf 1922, 88-90).

## Erotic scenes



*Figure 55. Erotic symplegma (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 238, M 134).*

Moreover, many picture lamps have motifs based on erotic scenes (Fig. 55). The Roman's open portrayal of erotic motifs on the lamps results from their different understanding of eroticism compared to our present time. The depiction of naked warriors with their weapons created a heroic impression on viewers. The feeling of shame was not common among Romans. They had a very aesthetic and philosophical understanding of the human body and also about eroticism (Mlasowsky 1993, 220). The erotic symplegma usually takes place on a bed with two persons, mostly often husband and wife. There are several other different sexual positions also portrayed by the people (Bailey 1988, 64-65; Fremersdorf 1922, 94).

## Gladiators



*Figure 56. Two gladiators: Thracian and Hoplomachus (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 221, M 86).*

In addition, gladiators and weapons were often used as are very popular motif on picture lamps especially in a military context. The images of gladiators and weapons are very popular subjects on picture lamps especially when found in a military context (Fig. 56). The gladiators are pictured alone or engaging in man-to-man combat. The combats were designed to remind the public on the courage of Rome's soldiers, the men who has made Rome the great power it was. The brave gladiators incarnated the ideals and the virtues expected of a Roman: courage, moral fibre and disdain for death. In short, all these qualities the Roman saw as the reasons for the greatness of the Roman Empire (exposition Gallo-Roman Museum at Tongeren, January 2016). According literary sources, the origin of gladiator fights can be traced to the Etruscan period. Based on archaeological sources the origin of the games comes from Lucania (Southern Italy). The oldest depiction of gladiatorial combat was discovered in painted tombs in Capua and Paestum which date back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 57). These paintings are scenes of duels which were held during the funerals of prominent local figures. Gladiatorial games were originally associated with funeral rites (Jacobelli 2003, 5-6; Kazek 2010, 195-196).



*Figure 57. Tomb plaque from the necropolis in Laghetto picturing a duel (4<sup>th</sup> century BC). Paestum, Museo Archeologico, inv. 5014 (Jacobelli 2003, 5, Fig. 1).*

However, gladiatorial contests soon became widespread at funeral rites. As a result, some people wrote in their will that they wanted games to be offered that would render their ceremony unforgettable in people's minds in order to perpetuate their memory. Eventually, the games started to lose their original ceremonial association to become spectacles in their

own right. Gladiatorial games were also used as important means of political propaganda by the Emperor (Jacobelli 2003, 6).

The gladiators were mostly prisoners of war, slaves selected by their owners, as well as criminals who were condemned to death. Gladiators were trained how to fight in gladiator schools. Romans' could even hire them for feasts (Mlasowsky 1997, 176).

One can identify more than twenty types of gladiators (Kazek 2010, 199). These fighters include, among others, the Samnite, Hoplomachus, Thracian, Secutor, Retiarius, Murmillo, Provocator, Eques, as well as other kinds of gladiators including the Venator gladiator who fought animals. Female gladiators also fought against each other. Not all these gladiators existed at the same time. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century, Samnite, Hoplomachus, Thracian and Murmillo gladiators were the most common (Jacobelli 2003, 7-17). Each type of gladiator is identifiable by their weaponry (Table 23).

Table 23. Armor of some gladiators (Jacobelli 2003, 7-15).

Gladiator	Shield	Protection	lance
Samnite	large, round or rectangular	Legging	yes
Hoplomachus	small, round	high leggings	no
Thracian	small, convex, squarish	two high leggings, armbands	no
Murmillo	curved, rectangular	subligaculum, armbands, short leggings	no

	Sword	Helmet
Samnite	Short	visor, crest, feathers
Hoplomachus	Short	impressive, feathers, upturned brim
Thracian	short, curved or angled	tall crest with a griffin's head, feathers
Murmillo	Short	visor, angular crest, feathers or horse hair

The Samnites are the oldest type of gladiator fighters. When the Romans had defeated the Samnites in 309 BC, the splendid arms they left behind on the battlefield were eventually given to the gladiator fighters, who then assumed the name *Samnites* (*Ibid.* 7). They had a large round or rectangular shield and a short sword or a lance. They wore a leather legging on their left leg and their head was protected by a helmet decorated with feathers. The Hoplomachus gladiator (Fig. 58) has a round curved shield and a sword (*gladius*). The Thracians or Thraex are named after the tribe of Thracia (modern-day Bulgaria). A Thracian

gladiator has a curved sabre, a small rectangular shield and has bandages around his ankle and leg for protection. He is wearing a face helmet on his head with a crest or feather hedge (Fig. 58). The Murmillo is named after the sea fish *murma*. The Murmillo gladiator has a pointed weapon and a big rectangular shield (Fig. 19). His upper body was almost entirely naked and his waist was covered by a loincloth (Fremersdorf 1922, 91-93; Bailey 1988, 55-59; Jacobelli 2003, 7-17; Mlasowsky 1997, 176-191).



Figure 58. Part of the Zliten mosaic from Libya (Leptis Magna), dates to 2nd century AD ([www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gladiator#/media/File:Gladiators\\_from\\_the\\_Zliten\\_mosaic\\_3.JPG](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gladiator#/media/File:Gladiators_from_the_Zliten_mosaic_3.JPG) accessed at 4.11.2015).

In figure 59, three gladiator fights are visible in the amphitheatre of Nola. The first scene shows the highly anticipated fight between the most famous of the *Neroniani* (*Princeps Neronianus*) and his defeated rival *Creunus*. To the right of the fighting gladiators, trumpeters are making music. While on the left side, the sponsors are seated (*munus*). A second drawing shows the fight between a young gladiator, *Marcus Attilius*, a free man, against the *Neronianus Hilarus*, an imperial gladiator who had fourteen fights and twelve victories under his belt. However, in *Attilius'* first match he defeated *Hilarus*. The last encounter presents once more the gladiator *Marcus Attilius*, matched against a new rival, *Recius Felix* (*twelve fights, twelve victories*). He too was defeated by this boy wonder of the arena (Jacobelli 2003, 50-52).





Figure 59. Graffiti from Tomb 14 EN in Pompeii, necropolis at the Nucernian Gate. V=vicit, victory, M=missus, defeated, but spared, P=perit, dead (Jacobelli 2003, 51, Fig. 43).

#### Entertainment



Figure 60. Chariot race with a biga (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 232, nr. M 118).



Figure 61. Magician with monkey, cat and objects (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 241, nr. M 142).

In addition to gladiators, Eckardt adds the category 'entertainment' to her classification to classify motives with other forms of entertainment, such as spectacles in the theatre and arena which were important moments of pastime. Such spectacles, including horse races, chariot races, animal fights, fist fights, comical theatre, dances, grotesques and magicians (Fig. 60) were intended by politicians to satisfy the needs of their populace in order to gain popularity. Of these events, especially chariot races were particularly popular in the Roman

Empire (Fig. 61). Chariot races were organized in circuses in honor of special events and during religious festivals. Races were possible between two-, three- and four-horse chariots (*bigae, trigae, quadrigae*, Fig. 62). They took such encouragement that the scenes of it appeared on picture lamps (Mlasowsky 1993, 192). Frequently, these spectacles were combined with providing free food. For instance, in Rome magistrates distributed free food like cereal and oil and organized spectacles on regular basis to gain popular support. Often, masks were used by the actors. For instance, on lamps grotesque masks are showed with a flat nose and a wide teared open mouth. Magicians are visible feeding a monkey with a banana and training a cat on a ladder (Mlasowsky 1993, 213-214).



*Figure 62. Campana tile with a relief scene of chariot race. Terracotta. 1st century A.D. (Paris, Louvre Museum).*

## Animals



Figure 63. Eagle (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 259, M 194).



Figure 64. Lion (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 256, M 185).

Motifs of animals such as predators, including eagles (Fig. 63), panthers, dogs, bears, boars and lions (Fig. 64), are also commonly portrayed on picture lamps. Predators are usually pictured alone, or sometimes in a fight with a prey. Some sea animals are also picture. For instance a dolphin is pictured being ridden by a boy. The "great scallop" or "king scallop", is a species of scallop that is also commonly found on the picture lamps (Bailey 1988, 85-88; Fremersdorf 1922, 101-102). Another common idyllic scene found on lamps is the picture of a bird on a twig eating an olive. Domestic animals are also pictured including: a bull, a goat, a pig, a rabbit, or a horse (Fremersdorf 1922, 97-99). Sometimes there is a symbolic meaning behind the picture. For example a dolphin pictured with an anchor could be used as part of Augustean propaganda to remember the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. Similarly, we might interpret the bull as the seducer of the princess Europa or the eagle as the transporter of the kid Ganymede to the gods (Mlasowsky 1993, 236-237). Also, regularly the image of a dog hunting a rabbit or hare can be found on picture lamps.

## Rosette & wreath

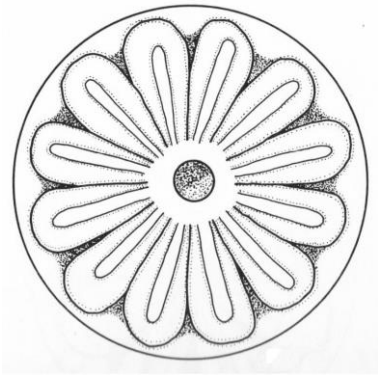


Figure 65. Rosette (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 274, M 241).



Figure 66. Wreath of oak leaves (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 268, M 223).

The last motif Eckardt uses to classify images on picture lamps is the motif of rosette & wreath. The motif of rosettes manifests itself in several different presentations. Sometimes the flower petals are heart shaped and can appear in any combination. The filling hole is most often at the centre of the flower (Fig. 65). The rosette is sometimes fan like. Other rosettes have short flower petals around several concentric circles.

A wreath is a collection of leaves in a circle (Fremersdorf 1922, 102-104). A wreath of the ivy or grape vine may refer to the god Dionysus since his followers the satyrs and maenads wear wreath crowns. The oak wreath is related to the god Jupiter (Fig. 66). At the start of the Roman imperial era the oak was used as a representation of the authority of the Emperor (Bailey 1988, 89-92; Fremersdorf 1922, 94-95; Mlasowsky 1993, 236).

### Appendix III. Categories and motifs in Nijmegen Kops Plateau, Velsen 1 and Haltern

#### Deities

##### Nijmegen Kops Plateau

Apollo is vividly portrayed as *Apollo Citharoedus* or (Apollo with a lyre). He is sitting on a chair with a high curved back. He is turning to the right. His chest is bare and he has a cloak lying over his waist. He also has shoes on his feet. His hair is pulled back in a bun at his neck. He holds the *kithara* (lyre) in his left hand and is playing with his right hand (Bailey 1980, 11 and plate 37, nr. Q 1057; 327 and plate 68, nr. Q 1297; Heres 1972, 15-16 and Table 5, nr. 20). Hercules is represented by his clubs. Mercury is partly recognizable because he is standing with his staff (*caduceus*) and wearing a winged helmet. A Bacchic scene is represented by Silenus. He is usually referred to as the oldest of the Satyrs. He is portrayed as a man beginning to grow old. He has a snub nose and a balding head. He is also pictured having a big belly and is always riding a donkey. After all, he had an inordinate passion for wine and was therefore often in a semi-drunken state. His pupil was Dionysus. Victoria is presented with wings, wearing a coronet of beams and holding a palm twig hovering over a globe.

From the Bacchic scenes Medusa is present. She was a Gorgon. A gorgon is a woman with poisonous snakes as hair. All of those who would come under Medusa's gaze would turn to stone. Medusa was beheaded by the hero Perseus, who gave it to the goddess Athena to place on her shield (Bailey 1980, 38 and 225 and plate 37, nr. Q 1065; Leibundgut 1977, 154 and Table 33, nr. 129?; Rivet 2003, 98 and 174, nr. 424). The head of Medusa is also commonly portrayed on the chest cuirass of Roman soldiers. A Silenus was also found at the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*. He is walking to the right while holding a *kantharos* (vessel used to hold wine) near his neck.

In addition to these images, there was also the image of a satyr found that is trying to undress a maenad. The god Dionysus is rarely depicted; instead his followers are pictured including the maenads and satyrs who often are intoxicated dancing in the woods. The image on this lamp is of a satyr that is trying to tear off the gown (*chiton*) of a maenad or nymph. The satyr stands naked with an erect penis on the left side of the disc. The maenad

is trying to defend herself by pulling his beard. She tries to hold the cloth around her waist, but her upper body is already exposed (Bailey 1980, 19, 140 and plate 4, nr. Q 793; Bailey 1988, 8-9, nr. Q 1890; Fremersdorf 1922, 89, type 9; Vegas 1966, 88, 104 and Table 6, nr. 51).

#### Velsen 1

On one fragment only Venus' bent legs are visible while she is bathing. Mercury is also present with his characteristic winged helmet and staff (*caduceus*). Minerva is sharply portrayed. She is holding a spear and a shield (*aegis*) and is wearing a helmet. Victoria is presented in three ways. She is pictured with wings, holding a coronet of beams and a palm twig, while hovering over a globe. Other times she is pictured with her shield or riding on a chariot. On Find number J 62: the god Sol is represented riding on a chariot with an aura. Two horses are running to the right from probably a biga [Leibundgut 1977, 138 and Table 26, nr. (32); Menzel 1969, 48, Fig. 39, nr. 263; Vegas 1966, 86, 110 and Table 6, nr. 136. A Bacchic scene which was found twice at Velsen includes a 'Maenad dancing with rattlesnake in her right hand'. The maenad is holding a Thyrsus staff and a rattlesnake in her hands while dancing in ecstasy (Deneauve 1969, 290). Another Maenad is also dancing in ecstasy with a knife and a fawn (Bailey 1980, Q 787; Leibundgut 1977, 100; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 59). Another image pictures the motif 'satyr and maenad'. The image shows them embracing, both standing apparently nude and both holding a Thyrsus staff. The satyr has a cup or a small wreath (Bailey 1980, 138, Q 782). There were three images of Medusa found, including a shield with her face and a rudder with a dolphin. Medusa had a love affair with Poseidon, the god of the sea. This could explain the presence of the image of a dolphin placed on a rudder (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 43).

#### Haltern

What is remarkable are the large number of equal images of the couple Athena and Erinyes that were found, as well as the discovery of a mould with place for producing several placates at the same time. The story of Athena and Erinyes took place in Athens. A lawsuit was lodged against Orestes. Apollo served as his lawyer, the Furies or Erinyes (female chthonic deities of vengeance) served as prosecutors and Pallas Athene was a judge.

Orestes was eventually acquitted. The image on the picture lamp about Odysseus represents the story of this god and the giant cyclops Polyphemus. The image shows the moment when Odysseus hands over the bowl with some strong and undiluted wine given to him earlier on his journey. In his left hand, Polyphemus grabs the leg of one of Odysseus' co-travellers before eating him. Triton is represented as half man, half fish. He rode over the water with horses and sea monsters and blew a shell in order to calm the waves. Hercules is also pictured fighting a snake. He is wearing his lion-skin while undertaking some of his labours in the Garden of the Hesperides. The tree of the Golden Apples is not visible (Bailey 1980, Q 856).

From the Bacchic scenes the gorgon that was found is vividly characterized. It has been broken apart from the disc. It was probably it is used as an amulet or deposit (Mlasowsky 1993, 160-161, nr. 135). In another image two maenads are dancing with a knife and a part of a fawn (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 59). Another maenad is dancing with a Thyrsus staff and an animal skin (Bailey 1980, Q 774; Deneauve 1969, plate XXXVI, nr. 291). Finally, among the images a Silenus has been identified. He is walking to the right with his head backwards and carrying a *kantharos* at his neck and a stick in his hand (Rudnick 2001, Table 54, Gr. 65/31/60-63; Stieren 1943, Table 22d).

#### Cupids & Myths

#### Nijmegen Kops Plateau

Amor has a shell in its left hand and in his right hand he is probably wearing a torch (Bailey 1988, 11-12, nr. Q 3047; Deneauve 1969, 151 and plate LX, nr. 587-588; Eckardt 2002, 374-375, Fig. 131, nr. 37; Evelein 1928, 17 and plate IV, nr. 18; Goethert 1997, 200, nr. M 11; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 195 (M 11) and Table 23-24, nr. 91, 184, 227, 233, 243, 255, 373; Table 45, nr. 333; Table 50, nr. 404; Heres 1972, 47 and Table 26, nr. 211; Leibundgut 1977, 147 and Table 30, nr. (87); Loeschcke 1919, 173 and Table V, nr. 22-24; Rivet 2003, 71 and 144, nr. 183; Vegas 1966, 112 and Table 6, nr. 149). The centaur represents the standard presentation of half man, half horse. One of centaurs is playing a *kithara*. At times the Griffin and the Pegasus are difficult to separate especially when the images are shabby. The griffin has the body of a lion including its back legs and tail, the head and wings of an eagle, and the eagle's talons as its front feet. Because the lion was traditionally considered the king of

the beasts and the eagle the king of birds, the griffin was thought to be an especially powerful and majestic creature. In the Roman period, it was a symbol of divine power and a guardian of the divine (Deneauve 1969, 112 and plate XXXVII, nr. 308; Griffin stepping to the left: Deneauve 1969, 112, nr. 310 and plate XXXVII, nr. 310; Goethert 1997, 210, nr. M 162; Leibundgut 1977, 152, nr. 115 and Table 33, nr. 115; Liesen 1994, 40-41, nr. 128; Loeschcke 1919, 400, nr. 472 and Table XII, nr. 472). Pegasus has the body of a horse with wings.

The image of a seahorse, also called a *hippocampus*, was found. This image of a seahorse also includes a naked boy, cupid, riding on its back. They are moving to the right with the head of the seahorse turning towards the boy (Leibundgut 1977, 136 and Table 25, nr. 25; Loeschcke 1919, 176 and Table VI, nr. 52-53). Another image includes a winged Amor offering a *kantharos* for drinking to a lion or a bear. The animal is sitting down. On the right of the disc, there is a large *kantharos* in the background and on the left side a pillar with a mask on top. Next to the pillar is a *Thyrsus* staff. This staff is topped by a pine cone and decorated with grapevines and ivy. Situated on the left side, another Amor is striking the back of the animal. The scene is inspired by the Bacchus tradition [Deneauve 1969, 161 and plate LXVI, nr. 662; Leibundgut 1977, 144 and Table 29, nr. (70)].

#### Velsen 1

Not all of the images that were found are complete. For instance, from the image 'Amor with trident and dolphin' only the head, wing and arm are visible, so the presence of trident and dolphin is not sure. Most likely this image has a relation with the sea (Leibundgut 1977, 76). The 'Amor playing the kithara' has been identified because of the wing, its sitting position and the direction of the right arm (Deneauve 1969, 719). Moreover, the 'Amor with Hercules club' shows the possible cutting of a bow from a club of Hercules or a rope lifting up the club (Leibundgut 1977, 75). The 'Amor with shell' pictures a torch direct downwards, representing the symbol death (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 11). There were several images of the 'boy on hippocampus' found at *Velsen 1*. The *hippocampus* or *hippocamp* is a mythological creature. It is also referred to as a seahorse. It has typically been depicted as having the upper body of a horse with the lower body of a fish (Leibundgut 1977, 25). There



were also two images found that represent the legend of Marcus Curtius. On one fragment only the flying shawl is visible. Marcus Curtius was a mythological young Roman who sacrificed himself to the gods of Hades by jumping in a deep hole on the Roman Forum in order to prove that arms and courage of Romans were the most precious possessions of Rome (Leibundgut 1977, 245). An 'Eagle on a globe' is the next image in Cupids & Myths. An eagle was a prominent symbol, especially as the standard of a Roman legion. Despite the presence of an eagle, this image is not identified as 'animal' because of the existence of the globe (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 159b). Another image that was found was the winged Pegasus. The winged horse is running to the left (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 163). From another image the legs of a warrior are visible. There is also a piece of cloth visible between his legs. He is naked and he has a beard. In his left hand, the warrior has a spear and a round shield and on his head is a helmet with a feather. This image probably portrays Achilles or a Greek fighting an Amazon (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 217, M 77). There is also the image fragment of an Amazon falling down and his comrade assisting him (Bailey 1980, 164, Q 877).

#### Haltern

Five images of cupid have been identified: two cupids with a palm twig and two cupids with a torch and tibia and a cupid embracing a goose (Mlasowsky 1993, 136-137, nr. 119).

The image of a torch pointing downwards is a symbol for death (Cahn 2011, 312, nr. 28; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 1; Stieren 1943, Table 22c; Stieren 1943, 83, Fig. 2b). The *hippocampus* is driven by a boy to the right (Leibundgut 1977, 25). Another image shows only a single hippocampus (Bailey 1980, Q 784, Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3e). Another image that was found is a young triton. A triton is a mythological creature with the torso of a man but the tail of a fish (Bachofen 1958, Table 1, Fig. 3). In the image of a young triton found at *Haltern*, the triton is carrying a child in the curve of his fish abdomen. There was also the image of a single griffin found which is galloping to the right (Bailey 1980, Q 901), as well as a second circle image of two griffins following a deer (Deneauve 1969, plate XXXVII, nr. 311; Leibundgut 1977, 113; Stieren 1943, Table 23d).

## Daily/rituals and objects

### Nijmegen Kops Plateau

A cornucopia is a horn of plenty, a large horn-shaped basket overflowing with produce, flowers or nuts. It has a rams head at the base. The stamp dates to the Augustean period. It is used as a symbol of luck and abundance and originated in Egypt as representation of a king couple (Bailey 1988, 52, Q 3031; Deneauve 1969, 171 and plate LXX, nr. 738; Fremersdorf 1922, 6 and 9, Fig. 3.1, 3.3 and 3.8; 10, Fig. 4.16; 43, Fig. 47; 89, type 10; Goethert 1997, 202, M 39; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 204-205, nr. M 39; 23 and Table 17, nr. 32; Kirsch 2002, 75-76 and Table 2, nr. 15-21; Leibundgut 1977, 144 and Table 29, nr. 68; Loeschcke 1919, 171 and plate IV, nr. 5-6; Rivet 2003, 72 and 145, nr. 192). In the image of the boatman, he is carrying an oar in his hand. In another image found during excavation, a naked shepherd is reclining under an acanthus. He is sleeping on his back with his right hand behind his head and his left arm out-stretched. His dog or a sheep is asleep behind him. The shepherd might be Endymion who was considered the most beautiful of men. The legend holds that he was loved by the moon goddess Selene. She descended with her chariot to kiss him every night. He begged Zeus to be allowed to sleep forever and to stay young. His wish was heard (Bachofen 1958, table 52, nr. 2; looks like Bailey 1988, 43-44, Fig. Q 1938-1939; also Deneauve 1969, 109 and plate XXXV, nr. 285; also Heres 1972, 38 and Table 19, nr. 143<sup>4</sup>). The head of a woman looking to the left has an early Imperial hairstyle with a hair bun at her neck. A lock of hair falls down behind her ear. The hair on her head is separated by a ribbon and is characterized by parallel lines. She has a short dressed bust (Bailey 1980, 43, Fig. 47, nr. Q 807; 143 and plate 5, nr. Q 807; Deneauve 1969, 121 and plate XLII, nr. 371; Evelein 1928, 23 and plate VI, nr. V2; Goethert 1997, 96-97, nr. 68; 210, nr. M 151; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 243-244, nr. M 151; 156, 158-162, 164, 168, 172-173 and Table 70-71, nr. 641-732; Heres 1972, 52 and Table 29, nr. 235-236; Kirsch 2002, 181, nr. M 49; 96-97 and Table 12, nr. 147-148). The motifs found also include three different kinds of hunting scenes. In one scene, a dog is following a hare to the right (Bailey 1988, 74-75, Q 2359-2360; Heres 1972, 30 and Table 14, nr. 95; Loeschcke 1919, 193 and plate XVI, nr.

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<sup>4</sup> He suggests this is a shepherd in his sacred sleep after a Dionysian sacrifice.

278). Another less clear image was found. It is probably also a hunting scene with a hare and a dog. The hare is on the left side of the decoration with its four legs out-stretched. The dog has grabbed the hare at its chest (Goethert 1997, 45, nr. 6 and 211, nr. M 168; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 28 and table 18, nr. 57; 250, nr. M 168). The third kind of image is a dog running accompanied by a hunter. He is part of a hunting scene. The hunter has a spear and is leading a dog [Bachofen 1958, Table 22, nr. 4; Leibundgut 1977, 158 and Table 35, nr. (150); Loeschcke 1919, (181) and Table IX, nr. 102)]. Finding number H or I, J 89a, J 92: The *kantharos* is fully filled with wine tendrils. The image is not clear (look-a-like: Bailey 1988, 49-50, nr. Q 1509; handle less: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 40-41 and table 41, nr. 103; 266, nr. M 217; with grapes: Leibundgut 1977, 187 and table 52, nr. (354-355)].

#### Velsen 1

The altar motif is not clear and difficult to recognise (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 63 and table 14, nr. 220; 218-219, nr. M 81?). The images of a boatman, cornucopiae are described in the previous section. The *kantharos* is fully filled with wine tendrils. The shaft has diagonal crossing lines. The base is decorated with parallel lines. The vase has two elegantly shaped handles. From the top of the *kantharos* two vines with two leaves are curling downwards (Heres 1972, 43 and table 23, nr. 186; look-a-like: Bailey 1988, 49-50, nr. Q 1509; handle less: Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 40-41 and table 41, nr. 103; 266, nr. M 217; with grapes: Leibundgut 1977, 187 and table 52, nr. (354-355)].

The shepherd is leaning on a staff and is surrounded by goats. One of the goats is eating from a tree (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, table 2, nr. 12; 102 and table 57, nr. 403; 241-242, nr. M 144).

#### Haltern

Among the common motifs found on the lamps are naked women bathing before an Aphrodisia scene. They are pouring their bath. In one image a woman is filling the water basin (*louterion*) near a pillar (Bachofen 1958, Table 24, nr. 4; Deneauve 1969, 615; Mlasowsky 1993, 68-69; Stieren 1943, Table 23b). In addition, two different offering scenes were found. One shows a figure in an offering scene (Rudnick 6/25) and the other an offering scene with two figures and an animal. The male figure is holding the animal's head

and body between his legs on the right side, while on the left side the female figure (wearing a long garment) is holding a bowl out-stretched to the animal (Liesen 1994, 38-39, nr. 122). The animal is probably a goat. Finally, there is an image of a bald-headed philosopher sitting in a chair folded in a wide pallium. He is looking up in contemplation. He has his left hand under his chin and his right arm is holding a wax tablet (*diptych*) (Bachofen 1958, plate 51, nr. 3).

Erotic scenes

Nijmegen Kops Plateau

The image of a man reclining and a woman approaching is an erotic scene (*symplegma*). A man is lying on his back on a pillow with his legs bent on the right side of the bed. He is resting on an elbow and his left leg covered by rumpled sheets. The woman is sitting straddled over the man with her right arm on her right hip. Both are nude [Bailey 1980, 69 and fig. 71, nr. Q 934; 178 and plate 18, nr. Q 934; Deneauve 1969, 138 and plate LI, nr. 492; 162 and plate LXVI, nr. 679; Fremersdorf 1922, 94, type 24; Kirsch 2002, 91 and Table 10, nr. 113; 181, nr. M 50; Leibundgut 1977, 162 and Table 37, nr. (173); Loeschcke 1919, (208) and Table VIII, nr. 423; Rivet, 177, nr. 470)]. The second image that was found on the disc is also an erotic *symplegma*. The man is reclining behind the woman on a bed or bench (Bailey 1980, 65-66 and plate 18, nr. Q 935-936; 228 and plate 37, nr. Q 1082; Deneauve 1969, 116 and plate XXXIX, nr. 336; Heres 1972, 44 and table 24, nr. 194; Leibundgut 1977, 163 and table 38, nr. 179; Liesen 1994, 32-33, nr. 80 and front page; Loeschcke 1919, 206-207 and table VIII, nr. 402-405). His chest is turned to the viewer with his right hand leaning behind him and his left hand is resting on the back of the woman. She is looking forward and is kneeling on her hands and knees.

Velsen 1

The images of 'man reclining, woman approaching' and a 'man reclining with a woman on her hands and knees looking away from him' are described above with regard to the *Nijmegen Kops Plateau*. The image of a 'man holding woman's leg above head' creates a rather awkward position. It is striking that many fragments of the image 'leg above head' are the same size. The man's hand is holding the woman's ankle thereby creating a triangle.

One could imagine that this part of the image was deliberately broken off so that it can be thrown in the harbour as a votive offering asking for fertility (Bailey 1980, Q 828, Q 880, Q 922, Q 1078; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 134).

It is difficult to identify a 'part of a bed', since the fragment could be a piece of furniture which has nothing to do with an erotic scene. While the 'male dwarf reclining with female dwarf sitting away from him' is very similar to the 'man reclining with a woman on her hands and knees facing away from him', but the female is sitting up waving with her head turned. Bailey calls them entertainers (Bailey 1980, 69 and Q 1079; Q 924; Q 916; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 135).

Haltern

No images of erotic scenes were found.

Gladiators

Nijmegen Kops Plateau

Find number 416.254 shows two gladiators at the end of a fight. These Thracian gladiators were considered lightly armoured. They carried a square shield called a *parma* and a sword that is very curved called a *sica*. On their heads are metal helmets with a large crest representing a mythological beast called a *griffon*. They wore leg guards on both legs covering to the top of the thighs. The gladiator on the left is the conqueror. The decoration is possibly a combination of two pictures (Bémont and Chew 2007, 101, nr. D 152, IT 3 and 438, plate 13; Heres 1972, 28 and Table 13, nr. 82). Find numbers 298.132 and 416.037 show the image of a gladiator, a *hoplomachus*, on the disc. We are looking at his back. His right hand is uplifted holding a short sword and in his left hand is a shield (*hoplon*). On his head he is wearing a bronze helmet with a plume, which makes him a centurion. He is also wearing a loincloth. For protection he uses heavy padding on his legs and a pair of high greaves reaching to mid-thigh. Around his arm fits a *manica* of skins and leather straps. He wears no shoes for a better grip in the sand of the arena. His rival, the *murmillio*, is not used in this image (Eckardt 2002, 118, 120, Fig. 55a and 376-377, Fig. 132, nr. 2312; Fremersdorf

1922, 58, Fig 57; Goethert 1997, 207, M 107; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 68-69 and Table 32, nr. 154 and 254; 229, nr. M 107). Find number 401.057 is a fragment of an image of a foot and a shield. This image most likely showed two gladiators, probably *Myrmillones*. This image is similar to other images found. On the left side, a gladiator stands with a helmet without crista, a short sword in his right hand and an oval shield in his right hand. He is wearing an undergarment (*subligaculum*) and a girdle (*balteus*). Before him the loser is kneeling on his right knee with his back to the conqueror and his oval shield on the ground, hands on his back, probably bounded or pressing both of his hands to a wound. His head is bowing to the left (Bailey 1980, 52-53, nr. 780-781; 138 and plate 3, nr. Q 780-781; Leibundgut 1977, 165 and Table 39, nr. (194); Rivet 2003, 100 and 175, nr. 445; Vegas 1966, 104 and Table 7, nr. 55). Find numbers 424.209 and 263.130 shows an image of what looks to be a gladiator (*hoplomachus*) with a shield on his left side parallel to his body and with his right arm stretched out downwards (Bailey 1980, 54, Fig. 56, nr. Q 131; 215 and plate 33, nr. Q 1031; Deneauve 1969, 113 and plate XXXVII, nr. 316; Fremersdorf 1922, 92, type 19; Goethert 1997, 83-84, nr. 54, Fig. 44 and 206, nr. M 98; 205, nr. M 88; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 50, 221-222 and Table 30, nr. 150; 111 and Table 54, nr. 451; Leibundgut 1977, 168 and Table 41, nr. 215). Find number 430.090 shows an image of a figure standing alone on the lamp (Kirsch 2002, 146, 177 and Table 26, nr. 485). It is a gladiator looking to the right with a sword in his right hand above his head and a rectangular shield in his left hand. On his head he is wearing a helmet and around his hips he has a loin cloth. His arms and legs are protected. The figure is a *hoplomachus* (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 50-51, 63 and plate 33, nr. 153 and 221; 230, nr. M 111; Leibundgut 1977, 168 and Table 41, nr. 210). He is looking upwards. He is standing with his back to the spectator. His rectangular shield is resting on the floor. In his right hand he has a sword. He is wearing a helmet with a plume. His legs and arm are protected. In Loeschcke, two figures act on an image (Deneauve 1969, 112 and plate XXXVII, nr. 313; Loeschcke 1919, (183) and plate IX, nr. 124). Find number 426.244 shows an image of a frieze of military equipment on the disc. There is a circular shield that is covering an unknown object and a legionary helmet (Bailey 1980, 50, 206 and plate 28, nr. Q 1005; Eckardt 2002, 179-182, 376-377, nr. 800; Heres 1972, 38, 142 and Table 18, nr. 142; Vegas 1966, 94, 103 and Table 1 and 7, nr. 39). Find number 394.170 shows part of an image of a frieze of gladiatorial equipment in a circle round the filling hole. This equipment most

likely belonged to arm-guards. The image displays: two pair of greaves, two helmets, two rectangular shields, one round shield and one sword (Bailey 1980, 55, nr. Q 776; 137 and plate 3, nr. Q 776). Find number 305.128 shows two gladiators on the disc. The figure on the right has a *sica* (a curved sword) in his left hand, which probably means he is a Thracian. He has a helmet on his head, his upper body is naked and he is wearing a loin cloth. The figure on the left has a Batavian shield in his left hand and probably a sword in his right hand above his head (not visible). He also wears a loincloth. Both gladiators have heavy padding on their legs and a pair of high greaves reaching to mid-thigh for protection (Deneauve 1969, 113 and plate XXXVII, nr. 314; Goethert 1997, 206, M 95; Kirsch 2002, 80 and Table 4, nr. 41). Find numbers 292.208 and 416.235 show an image of a duel between two gladiators. The conqueror's image remains. He is facing to the left; he has won the fight. He is wearing a helmet, a jacket with an open front, a loincloth and sandals. He has no leg protection. He is holding a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left hand. The loser is down on one knee to the right of him. On the image we see his right hand is bandaged or covered with a *manica* with a short sword. In his left hand he is most likely holding a rectangular shield. On his head, he is wearing a helmet without plumes. Around his hips he is wearing a *subligaculum* (Bailey 1980, 51, paragraph III(c)); Bailey 1980, 51-52, Fig. 55 and plate 1, nr. Q 762; Goethert 1997, 205, nr. M 89; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 72-73 and Table 30, nr. 276; 222, nr. M 89; Loeschcke 1919, 183 and Table IX, nr. 126). Find number 429.070 shows an image of a rectangular shield and the plumes from a helmet of a fallen gladiator on the disc. He is defeated and kneels on the ground looking to the right with his shield in front of him and begging for mercy. Behind him stands the triumphator (Eckardt 2002, 377, nr. 90; Goethert 1997, 206, nr. M 92; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 223, nr. M 92; 133 and Table 64, nr. 570; Leibundgut 1977, 165 and Table 39, nr. 191-193; Liesen 1994, 34, nr. 88; 44, nr. 189). A second possibility is a fallen gladiator sitting on the ground, looking to the right with his shield in front of him (Deneauve 1969, 134 and Table XLIX, nr. 459-460; Fremersdorf 1922, 132, Fig. 86-87, nr. 28; Leibundgut 1977, 169 and Table 42, nr. (220); Loeschcke 1919, (210) and Table X, nr. 444-447; Goethert 1997, 206, nr. M 104; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 118 and Table 54, nr. 488; 126 and Table 54, nr. 535; 228, nr. M 104). Find numbers 433.206 and 456.030 show the profile of two gladiators on the disc. One is walking dejected from the scene to the left. He is the *Hoplomachus*, also called *Murmillo*. He is

wearing a rectangular shield before his body. On his head he has a helmet probably with plumes. Around his hips he has a loin cloth (*subligaculum*). On his left leg he should have a greave and on his right leg a padding (Fremersdorf 1922, 91, type 16; Goethert 1997, 205, nr. M 90; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 27 and Table 17, nr. 55; 222, nr. M 90; Heres 1972, 23 and Table 9, nr. 50; Leibundgut 1977, 166-167 and Table 40, nr. (202); Vegas 1966, 91, 107 and Table 7, nr. 86; single gladiator: Deneauve 1969, 113 and plate XXXVIII, nr. 321; Goethert 1997, 207, nr. M 106; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 228-229, nr. M 106; Heres 1972, 20 and Table 7, nr. 31). Find number 269.111 shows a man wearing a short tunica. He is kneeling while turning his body so that his front is visible. He has a dagger raised in the left hand to protect himself, while he tries to defend himself with the other hand. To the left, behind his legs a trident cross is on the ground. The gladiator is according to his cloth a Retiarius or a Secutor (Cahn 2011, 340, nr. 132).

#### Velsen 1

Find number 9.4 shows the image of a gladiator, a *hoplomachus*, on the disc. We are looking at his back. In his right uplifted hand he has a short sword and in his left hand a shield (*hoplon*). On his head he is wearing a bronze helmet with a plume, which makes him a centurion. He is also wearing a loin cloth. He uses heavy padding on his legs and a pair of high greaves reaching to mid-thigh for protection. Around his arm fits a *manica* of skins and leather straps. He wears no shoes for a better grip in the sand of the arena. His rival, the *murmillio*, is not used in this image (Eckardt 2002, 118, 120, Fig. 55a and 376-377, Fig. 132, nr. 2312; Fremersdorf 1922, 58, Fig 57; Goethert 1997, 207, M 107; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 68-69 and Table 32, nr. 154 and 254; 229, nr. M 107). The find numbers 2, 11a, 11b, 762, K 80 and L 75 are all remarkably similar. The fragments from these five images all are of an equal size. In these pictures is the image of two gladiators, probably *Myrmillones*. Only the one on the left is visible. He stands with a helmet without crista, a short sword in his right hand and an oval shield in his left hand. He is wearing an undergarment (*subligaculum*) and a girdle (*balteus*). The loser is kneeling before him on his right knee. He has with his back to the conqueror and his oval shield is lying on the ground. He has his hands at his back. His hands have probably been bound together or he is holding both his hands over a wound. His head is bowed to the left (Bailey 1980, 52-53, nr. 780-781; 138 and plate 3, nr. Q



780-782; Leibundgut 1977, 165 and Table 39, nr. (194); Rivet 2003, 100 and 175, nr. 445; Vegas 1966, 104 and Table 7, nr. 55). Find numbers 171-174, 181, J 108 and M 82 show two gladiators in profile. The gladiator on the left walks to the left dejected from the scene. He is a *Hoplomachus*, also referred to as a *Murmillo*. He wears a rectangular shield before his body. On his head he has a helmet probably with plumes. He has a loin cloth (*subligaculum*) around his hips. He has a greave on his left leg and padding on his right leg. The right gladiator is a Thracian. He is wearing a short robe and leg protection. He is also wearing a helmet with a curved top and bush. He is holding a curved sword in his bandaged left arm and a small square shield in his right hand. He is leaning on a slightly angled leg (Fremersdorf 1922, 91, type 16; Goethert 1997, 205, nr. M 90; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 27 and Table 17, nr. 55; 222, nr. M 90; Heres 1972, 23 and Table 9, nr. 50; Leibundgut 1977, 166-167 and Table 40, nr. (202); Vegas 1966, 91, 107 and Table 7, nr. 86; single gladiator: Deneauve 1969, 113 and plate XXXVIII, nr. 321; Goethert 1997, 207, nr. M 106; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 228-229, nr. M 106; Heres 1972, 20 and Table 7, nr. 31). Find numbers 762 A and 1411 belong to the right figure on this image. The figure is kneeling with his back to the viewer. His arms are lowered holding a shield and a sword. He carries leg protection, a *subligaculum* and a *manica* on the right arm and a helmet with a forward curved tip and bush. His armaments are similar to a Thracian (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 223, M 91; Heres 1972, Table 13, nr. 86). Find number 1727 A shows only a helmet which probably belonged to a hoplomachus (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 224, M 93). Find numbers 55 (left), ?13 and M 87:2 (right) show a Thracian gladiator who is seen from behind in attack position. He is holding in his left hand a small shield protecting his body and a weapon in his right hand. He has a helmet with a long feather and a forward curved tip and bush, a *subligaculum* and leg protection. He also has a band that crosses over his back. His defeated opponent is a hoplomachus who looks back at him from the left. His long rectangular shield has fallen to the ground, but he holds a straight dagger in his bandaged right hand. He is wearing a helmet with a long bush. He carries a *subligaculum* and a *fascia* at his right leg and has protection on his left leg (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 224, M 94; 230, M 112; Heres 1872, Table 9, nr. 53). Find numbers E 77 and K 72 shows the right backside of a gladiator who is carrying a helmet with a forward curved top and bush, a *subligaculum* and leg protection. In his raised right hand he holds the small shield; in the bent left forearm, provided with the

*manica*, he has a short dagger. His armaments and clothing identify him as a Thracian (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 227, M 103). Find number 5079 shows a gladiator stepping to the left. He carries a short armed tunic and holds a long rectangular shield before the left side of his body. In his right hand he holds a short straight dagger which he keeps in the high. His head is covered with a helmet with a bush and a long feather [Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 229-230, M 109; Leibundgut 1977, 169, nr. (217)]. Find number T 70 shows the rectangular shield and the feet of the gladiators. On the left side the defeated *hoplomachus* is standing wearing a *subligaculum* and balteus. In his right hand he has a short sword. His shield is on the ground. The winner is standing on the right side. It is most likely a Thracian holding a shield in an attacking position (Bailey 1980, 52, Q 785; Leibundgut 1977, 166, nr. 196). Find number 1988 shows the helmet of an attacking Thracian (Cahn 2011, 337, nr. 122). All that remains of find number V 65 are the shield and leg protection of a Thracian (Cahn 2011, 338, nr. 124). Find number ?16 shows a man wearing a short tunic. He is kneeling on the left, while turning his body around so that his front is visible. He has a dagger raised in his left hand to protect himself, while he defends himself with his other hand. A trident lies on the ground behind his legs. According to his cloth, the gladiator is a Retiarius or a Secutor. Find number AB 75 is not that clear. It shows a shabby figure covered in a loin cloth who has leg protections. He stands with his front to the viewer. He puts a wreath on his head with his right hand and holds a big palm twig with his left hand. The gladiator is probably a Thracian or a Hoplomachus because of his leg protection (Cahn 2011, 341, nr. 133). Find numbers Dijkput 5.7.75 and M 79 show a gladiator with his back to the viewer. His arms are bandaged and his legs are protected. In his right hand he has a dagger and in his left hand a shield (Leibundgut 1977, 229). Find number L 76 shows a winning hoplomachus who turns back against his defeated opponent with his left leg forward holds in the right hand a short sword and in the left hand a long rectangle shield. He carries a helmet without bush and the *subligaculum*. His right forearm appears to be protected by a *manica* (Bailey 1980, 52, 131 and plate 1, nr. Q 762; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 72-73 and table 30, nr. 276; 222, nr. M 89).

Haltern

Find number Ofen 6.32 shows a fallen shield, Murmillo/Provocator or Thracian/Hoplomachus [Cahn 2011, 55-56 and table 17, nr. 247; 334, nr. 111; Leibundgut 1977, 165 and table 39, nr. (189); Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 101 and table 54, nr. 397; 117 and table 54, nr. 481; 224, nr. M 94; Mlasowsky 1993, 186, nr. 168; Heres 1972, 23 and table 9, nr. 53]. Find number 1931, 5 shows the profile of two gladiators on a disc. The gladiator on the left walks to the left dejected from the scene. He is a *Hoplomachus*, also referred to as a *Murmillo*. He is wearing a rectangular shield before his body. On his head he has a helmet probably with plumes. He has a loin cloth (*subligaculum*) around his hips. He has a greave on his left leg and leg padding on his right. The gladiator on the right is a Thracian wearing a short robe, leg protection and a helmet with a curved top and bush. He is holding a curved sword in his bandaged left arm and a small square shield in his right hand. He is slightly leaning on an angled leg (Fremersdorf 1922, 91, type 16; Goethert 1997, 205, nr. M 90; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 27 and Table 17, nr. 55; 222, nr. M 90; Heres 1972, 23 and Table 9, nr. 50; Leibundgut 1977, 166-167 and Table 40, nr. (202); Vegas 1966, 91, 107 and Table 7, nr. 86; single gladiator: Deneauve 1969, 113 and plate XXXVIII, nr. 321; Goethert 1997, 207, nr. M 106; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 228-229, nr. M 106; Heres 1972, 20 and Table 7, nr. 31). Find number Ofen 6/33 shows the rectangular shield and the feet of the gladiators. The defeated *hoplomachus* is standing on the left side wearing a *subligaculum* and a *balteus*. He is holding a short sword in his right hand. His shield is on the ground. The winner is standing to the right. It is probably a Thracian who is in an attacking position with a defending shield (Bailey 1980, 52, Q 785; Leibundgut 1977, 166, nr. 196). Find numbers 192, 25/29/915 and 25/29/916 show the image of a foot and a shield. This is most likely the image of two gladiators, probably *Myrmillones*. A gladiator stands on the left side of the disc. He has a short sword in his right hand and an oval shield in his right hand. He is wearing an undergarment (*subligaculum*) a girdle (*balteus*), and a helmet without a crista. The loser is kneeling before him on his right knee with his back to the conqueror and his oval shield on the ground. He has his hands at his back. His hands are probably bound or he is pressing both hands to a wound. His head is lowered to the left (Bailey 1980, 52-53, nr. 780-781; 138 and plate 3, nr. Q 780-782; Leibundgut 1977, 165 and Table 39, nr. 194; Table 40, 195; Rivet 2003, 100 and 175, nr. 445; Vegas 1966, 104 and Table 7, nr. 55). Find numbers Ofen 10/10, 25/29/ 113, 25/29/114, ?21 and Haltern 1964 Arminiusstr. 13 Grube 1 Wellmann show the

image of two gladiators on a disc, but sometimes only one is projected. The gladiator on the right has a crooked sword (*sica*) in his left hand, which probably makes him a Thracian. He has a helmet on his head, his upper body is naked and he is wearing a loin cloth. The person on the left has a Batavian shield in his left hand and most probably a sword in his right hand above his head. He is also wearing a loincloth. Both gladiators have heavy padding on their legs for protection and a pair of high greaves reaching to mid-thigh (Deneauve 1969, 113 and plate XXXVII, nr. 314; Goethert 1997, 206, M 95; Kirsch 2002, 80 and Table 4, nr. 41; 179, M 44). Find numbers Gr. 9/90/4 and SF91 III/4684 are fragments that belong to the figure on the right in this image. He kneels with his back to the viewer. His arms are lowered. He is holding a shield and a sword. He carries leg protection, on the right arm a *subligaculum* and a *manica* and on his head a helmet with a forward curved tip and bush. His armaments are similar to a Thracian (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 223, M 91; Heres 1972, Table 13, nr. 86). Find number Ofen 11/1 shows a man wearing a short tunica. He is kneeling on the left while turning his body around so that his front is visible. He has a dagger raised in the left hand to protect himself, while he tries to defend himself with the other hand. There is a trident cross on the ground to the left behind his legs. According to his cloth, the gladiator is a Retiarius or a Secutor (Cahn 2011, 340, nr. 132). Find number Haltern 1953 Steltern Grube 10 shows the image of a single gladiator with his back to the viewer. The victor – a Thracian - holds a sword in his right hand directed downwards and a short rectangular shield in his left upraised hand. He is wearing a helmet with a forward curved tip without a bush, a *subligaculum*, and leg protection. He also has a manica in his right arm (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, M 96; Vegas 1966, Table 7, nr. 59). Find number Ha 56 253a shows a gladiator walking away on the right. He is the loser. He is holding a round shield. The gladiator on the left is the winner. He is moving forward in attacking position with his sword and shield upraised (Vegas 1966, Table 7, 84/85; right figure: Leibundgut 1977, 209). Find number SF 91 III/4684 shows a Murmillo standing from the front with his short sword raised upward for a fatal jab. In his left hand he is holding a long rectangular shield (Cahn 2011, 119). Find numbers 1931 Gr. 68/1 and Ofen 6/36 shows two swords and two crossed leg protections. The sabre on the left probably belongs to a Thracian, while the straight sword on the right probably belongs to a Murmillo (Bailey 1980, Q 764; Cahn 2011, 140; Heres 1972, Table 7, nr. 33). Find number 1932, 58 shows two gladiators engaged in battle.

The gladiator on the right one, who probably is a Thracian, has fallen down, the gladiator on the left (Murmillo) holds his shield high as the winner and pulls out his sword for the apparent death shock (Heres 1972, 23 and Table 9, nr. 47-48).

Entertainment

Nijmegen Kops Plateau

Theatre: Find number 417.040 shows the image of two men wearing animal masks. Both men are wearing a *subligaculum* and are bound together with a girdle (*balteus*). They are moving to the left. The man on the right is wearing the mask of a donkey because of his two long ears and he is holding a staff in his back hand. They were expected to imitate the gladiators as a *Mimus* in a burlesque way (Leibundgut 1977, 173-174 and Table 44, nr. 256). Find number 416.227 shows the image of what might be a stake dancer running to the left engaged in a grotesque performance. Above his head he is holding a stick, just as in his right hand. There are several other sticks located on the floor (Bailey 1988, p. 62, Q 2842, Q 2843 and Q 2986).

Arena: Find number 412.074 show the image of a *Desultor* with a pointed hat made of felt (*pilaeus*) galloping to the right on a horse without a saddle. He will change during the course of his entertainment. He has a stick in his right hand. A second horse is accompanying him at his left side. The *Desultor* jumps from one horse to the other (Fremersdorf 1922, 91, type 15; Goethert 1997, 208, nr. M 122; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 131 and plate 64, nr. 564; 234, nr. M 122; Heres 1972, 28 and Table 13, nr. 84; Kirsch 2002, 77 and Table 3, nr. 25-26; 175, nr. M 31; Leibundgut 1977, 172 and Table 44, nr. 249). Find number 440.64/67 shows the image of a charioteer (*bigarius*) on the disc with two horses running in front of the *biga*. The charioteer is moving to the left. He is holding the horse bridles with his left arm; his right arm is behind his back. The tails of the horses are almost horizontal to indicate speed (Leibundgut 1977, 173 and Table 44, nr. 252; Vegas 1966, 110 and Table 7, nr. 131; 117 and Table 7, nr. 214; Left horse with head up: Evelein 1928, 16, 25 and plate IV, nr. 1; Fremersdorf 1922, 90, type 14; Goethert 1997, 207, nr. M 119; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 120 and Table 55, nr. 499; 233, nr. M 119; Heres 1972, 45 and Table 25, nr. 202 (upper half); Leibundgut 1977, 173 and Table 44, nr. 253. Find number 430.096 shows the image of a

charioteer (*bigarius*) on the disc with two horses running in front of the *biga*. The charioteer is moving to the left. He holds the bridles tight. The tails of the horse are almost horizontal. The heads of the horses are almost vertical (Cahn 2011, 346, nr. 155; Evelein 1928, 16, 25 and plate IV, nr. 1?; Goethert 1997, 59, nr. 26; 207, nr. M 120; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 68 and Table 33, nr. 252; 233, nr. M 120; Heres 1972, 29 and Table 13, nr. 88; Leibundgut 1977, 171 and Table 43, nr. (237); Loeschcke 1919, (185-186) and Table X, nr. 157-162). Find number 384.196 shows a *biga* which is a two-horse chariot used for racing, transportation, and ceremonies. It is directed by a driver with a whip in his right hand. His left hand holds the reign to guide the horses to the left. The heads of the horses are parallel and the wheel of the chariot is partly hidden behind the legs of the horses (Vegas 1966, 94, nr. 1, 104 and Table 7, nr. 52. Image of the same driver in a *quadriga*: Heres 1972, 92 and Table 65, nr. 645; Leibundgut 1977, 171 and Table 43, nr. 240). Find number 287.174 shows the image of a cavalryman on the disc riding his horse to the left getting ready to jump. The cavalryman moves his head backwards, his hair is flying up. In his right hand he is holding a sword and in his left hand a rectangular Gallic shield. The man is probably Curtius before he crashed in the chasm (Deneauve 1969, 114 and plate XXXVIII, nr. 326-327; Goethert 1997, 207, M 116). Find number 421.107 shows two pugilists competing on the disc. The figure on the left has been copied on several other lamps, but with other opponents. He is in an aggressive pose; his left arm is extended and his right arm ready to strike. He has protection around his lower arm and is wearing "brass knuckles" (*caestus*). He is also wearing a loin cloth. The figure on the right is dropping down with his shoulders hanging down as the loser (standing with different persons: Bailey 1980, 59, 212 and plate 32, nr. Q 1023; Loeschcke 1919, (185) and Table X, nr. 149; standing alone: Rivet 2003, 57 and 129, nr. 52). Find number 416.227 shows the image of two nude pugilists opposite each other (Evelein 1928, 13, 25 and plate II, 77). Find numbers 255.212 and 433.142 show the image of a fighter with a loincloth (*subligaculum*) on the disc. His upper body is naked. In his right hand he draws a double axe. He is moving to the left while looking back (Evelein 1928, 11, 25 and plate I, nr. 21). Find number 255.076 shows the image of a lion attacking a mule. They are running to the right. The lines on the animals are remarkable (Evelein 1928, 19, nr. 56; Bailey 1980, 161-162 and plate 11, nr. Q 866; Bailey 1988, 68, nr. Q 1526; Bergès 1989, 64 and 82, Fig. 32, nr. 47; Goethert 1997, 211, M 169; Heres 1972, 27 and Table 12, nr. 76; Leibundgut 1977, 177-178

and Table 46, nr. 274; Loeschcke 1919, 213 and Table XII, nr. 484-488; Rivet 2003, 103 and 178, nr. 486; Vegas 1966, 107, nr. 96, 109-110, nr. 124, 118, nr. 222, Table 8, nr. 96/124/222, Table 11, nr. 96).

#### Velsen 1

Find number I-71 shows the image of an animal trainer, or a magician, sitting on his haunches, while trying to train a monkey to his right side and a wild animal (possibly a cat?) which is climbing a ladder. He is surrounded by two juggling rings, a squat pot, a loaf of bread and a bell. In his right hand, he holds a circular object and in his left hand a stick (Bailey 1980, 61, Fig. 65, 160 and plate 10 and 94, Q 861; Cahn 2011, 349, nr. 166; Fremersdorf 1922, 93-94, type 23; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 241 and Table 57, nr. M 142; Kirsch 2002, 183, M 55, Table 26, nr. 491; Leibundgut 1977, 175-176, Table 45, nr. (263); Mlasowsky 1993, 218, nr. 209; Rivet 2003, 101 and Table 176, nr. 457-458; Vegas 1966, 95 and Table 7, nr. 192).

Find number L 70 shows two fist fighters. The fighter on the left has his right fist upraised and is grabbing his opponent who has already fallen to the ground by the throat. Both carry a *subligaculum* (Bachofen 1958, Table 34, nr. 3; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 234-235 and Table 34, nr. M 125; Leibundgut 1977, 167 and Table 41, nr. 207; Vegas 1966, 93-94 and Table 7, nr. 140). Find numbers 1151 and DD 5 show the image of a standing fist fighter. His face and head are turned to the right. He has his left leg rectangular raised. His right arm is also raised and angled back ready to pull out. The left arm is out-stretched. He carries a *subligaculum* and both arms are bandaged (Deneauve 1969, Table 39, nr. 331; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 235 and Table 34, nr. M 127). Find number M 82 shows the image of a *Desultor* riding a horse without a saddle to the left. He will change horses during the course of his show. The head of horse in the back is horizontal and the head of the horse in the front is vertical (Deneauve 1969, 114 and plate XXXVIII, nr. 328; Leibundgut 1977, 173 and Table 44, nr. 252).

#### Haltern

Find numbers Haltern 63 Grube 3 and 329 h 19.25 29.910 (=25/29,910) show an image of a *quadriga* galloping to the left (?). Find numbers Ha 68 Pl. L Gr 538, H 1925 29.911 332 (= 25/29, 911) and Ofen 6/42 show the image of a *quadriga* galloping to the left. The driver has a horsewhip in his right hand (Cahn 2011, 345, nr. 151; Heres 1972, 92 and Table 65, nr. 645; Mlasowsky 1993, 208-209, nr. 200). Find numbers Ha 56213 Eru Arm (=Gr. 213/56/1), Ofen 11/2, Ofen 10/4154 and SF 91 II/106 show the image of a *biga* which is a two-horse chariot used for racing, transportation, and ceremonies. It is directed by a driver with a whip in his right hand. His left hand is holding the reins guiding the horses to the left. The heads of the horses are parallel and the wheel of the chariot is partly hidden behind the legs of the horses (Vegas 1966, 94, nr. 1, 104 and Table 7, nr. 52). Find numbers 1932, 65 and 12/13, 3 shows the image of a *Desultor* with a pointed hat made of felt (*pilaeus*) riding a horse without a saddle. He will change horses during the course of his show. A *Desultor* jumps from one horse to the other while the horses are moving. He has a stick in his right hand. A second horse is accompanying him at his left side while galloping to the right (Fremersdorf 1922, 91, type 15; Goethert 1997, 208, nr. M 122; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 131 and plate 64, nr. 564; 234, nr. M 122; Heres 1972, 28 and Table 13, nr. 84; Kirsch 2002, 77 and Table 3, nr. 25-26; 175, nr. M 31; Leibundgut 1977, 172 and Table 44, nr. 249). Find number Stieren 1943, Table 23a shows the image of two men wearing animal masks who are connect together while moving to the left. The man on the right is wearing the mask of a donkey because of his two long ears and a staff he his holding in his back hand. Both men are wearing a *subligaculum* bound together with a girdle (*balteus*). They were expected to imitate the gladiators as a *Mimus* in a burlesque way (Leibundgut 1977, 173-174 and Table 44, nr. 256). The image on find number 25/29, 118 is indeterminable, since no image of a 'standing horse driver on rampant horse' is available (Stieren 1943, 84, nr. 12).

## Animals

### Nijmegen Kops Plateau

Find number 266.128 shows the image of a lion on the disc. The lion is jumping up to the right with its tail hanging down (Deneauve 1969, 116 and plate XXXIX, nr. 340; Goethert 1997, 212, M 185; Leibundgut 1977, 182 and Table 49, nr. 308; Loeschcke 1919, 213 and plate XII, nr. 489-491; Vegas 1972, 67 and Table 43, nr. 387).



Find number 422.074 most likely shows the image of two dolphins meeting each other with S-formed tails (Goethert 1997, 214, nr. M 209; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 118 and Table 60, nr. 492; 264, nr. M 209).

Find number 378.197 most likely shows the image of a wild animal probably a bear with its head down. It is moving to the left. (Bailey 1980, 73 and Fig. 77, nr. Q 1345; 353 and plate 76, nr. Q 1345).

Find number 378.230 shows the image of a deer that is jumping to the right. In this image the deer's back legs are close together, but in some cases the back legs are more vertical (Bailey 1980, 75-76, plate 37 and 56, nr. Q 1085, respectively Q 1204; Bailey 1988, 70, Fig. 88, nr. Q 1494, Q 1517, Q 2641, Q 2982, Q 2407-2409; Deneauve 1969, 118 and Table XL, nr. 353; 140 and Table LII, nr. 503; 156 and Table LXIII, nr. 624; Goethert 1997, 212, nr. M 177; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 58, respectively 62-63, 66-67, 113, Table 38 and 59, nr. 194, respectively 219, 239, 244, 461, 518 and 539; Heres 1972, 43-44 and Table 23-24, nr. 187 and 190; Leibundgut 1977, 180-181 and Table 48, nr. 295-296; Liesen 1994, 32-35, nr. 81; Rivet 2003, 67 and 140, nr. 147; 103 and 179, nr. 494; Vegas 1966, 107-108 and Table 8, nr. 91/103).

Find number 407.150 shows the image of a panther or leopard with its head and tail down. It is moving to the left. No equivalent image has been found.

Find number 384.234 shows the image of a sleeping lion with his head resting on his left front-paw. His tail is curled under his body (Bailey 1988, 67-68, Fig. 83, nr. Q 1812; Fremersdorf 1922, 30, Fig. 33; Leibundgut 1877, 182 and Table 49, nr. (310); Mirror image: Goethert 1997, 212, nr. M 183; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 255, nr. M 183; 64 and Table 38, nr. 228).

Find number 422.049 shows the image of a wild boar walking to the right on the disc (Bailey 1980, 74, Fig. 79, 131 and plate 1, nr. Q 763; Bailey 1988, 69-70, Fig. 88, nr. Q 2358; Deneauve 1969, 141 and plate LII, nr. 510; Goethert 1997, 211, nr. M 174 and M 174a; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 252 and Table 38, nr. 246; Table 48, nr. 345; Heres 1972, 88 and Table 61, nr. 576; Kirsch 2002, 147 and Table 26, nr. 495; 184-185, nr. M 60).

Find number 475.070 most likely shows part of a scallop shell (Coquille St. Jacques) (Bailey 1980, 84-85, Fig. 99, nr. Q 1006; 207-208 and plate 29, nr. Q 1006; Bailey 1988, 85-87, nr. Q 2673-2675; Deneauve 1969, 144 and plate LV, nr. 536; Vegas 1966, 115 and Table 8, nr. 186).

Find number 267.025 shows a scallop shell decorating the disc. This scallop shell (Coquille Saint Jacques) has 14 ribs. The shell was considered sacred to the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Her Roman equivalent is the Roman goddess Venus. She was especially honoured by Caesar and Augustus since they thought they were her descendants (Bailey 1988, 85-88, nr. Q 2673 –Q 2675; Eckardt 2002, 83, nr. L 1819; Fremersdorf 1922, 102, type 48; Goethert 1997, 215, nr. M 230-232b; Heres 1962, 40 and Table 21, nr. 161; 48 and Table 27, nr. 216).

Find number 378.204 shows what is most likely a shell on the disc (Bailey 1980, 86, Fig. 100, nr. Q 760, Q 857, Q 1003 and Q 1022; Fremersdorff 1922, 103, type 51; Goethert 1997, 217, nr. M 247-248; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 276 and Table 16, nr. 9 and Table 21, nr. 53; 276 and Table 62, nr. 482; Heres 1972, 13 and Table 3, nr. 7; 24 and Table 10, nr. 56-57; Loeschcke 1919, 197, and Table XV, nr. 305-306).

Find number 259.194 most likely shows the image of a lion with its prey (Bailey 1988, 66, Q 3308) or a wild boar (Kirsch 2002, 148 and Table 25, nr. 500) facing to the right. The fragment was possibly used as a mascot after the lamp broke, since its side is polished.

Find number 259.033 shows a part of an animal and a front paw on the disc.

Find number 261.107 shows the image of a dolphin standing vertically with its head pointing downwards. A well-known image is of two dolphins swimming among each other (Fremersdorf 1922, 97, Fig. 33; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 264-265 and Table 61, nr. 491; Leibundgut 1977, 183 and Table 50, nr. 319). Another possibility is that the dolphin is diving to get an octopus, but in this image there are two side fins visible instead of one and the image is not located in the centroid axis of the disc (Bailey 1980, 77-78, 144 and plate 6, nr. Q 814; Rivet 2003, 67 and 141, nr. 148). What is more likely is that the original image on a disc shows four dolphins, playing and diving (Loeschcke 1919, 235 and Table XV, nr. 733 and Fig. 34).

Find number 378.205 shows an image of a monkey with its profile to the right, sitting on a grapevine, reaching out with both hands to grab a large grape (Goethert 1997, 97-98, nr. 96 and 211, nr. M 171; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 127 and Table 58, nr. 541; 165-166 and Table 71, nr. 693; 251-252, nr. M 171; Rivet 2003, 105 and 180, nr. 517).

Find number 399.059 most likely shows an image of a lion moving to the left on the disc (Bailey 1988, 66-67, Fig. 82, nr. Q 1528, Q 1541-1542, Q 1912, Q 2402-2406, Q 2658, Q 3066).

Find number 22 shows two dolphins swimming in the opposite direction. The dolphin on the top of the disc swims to the right. Both dolphins have large heads and long snouts (Cahn 2011, 363-364, nr. 226; 49 and Table 25, nr. 188).

Find number 112.083 shows the image of a sleeping lion with its head resting on its left front-paw. His tail is curled under his body (Bailey 1988, 67-68, Fig. 83, nr. Q 1812; Fremersdorf 1922, 30, Fig. 33; Leibundgut 1977, 182 and Table 49, nr. (310); Mirror image: Goethert 1997, 212, nr. M 183; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 255, nr. M 183; 64 and Table 38, nr. 228).

#### Velsen 1

Find number K 106 most likely shows the backside of a lion walking to the left (indeterminable).

Find number 11 most likely shows the backside of a lion jumping to the left (indeterminable).

Find number 1965 most likely shows four legs of a horse walking to the right (indeterminable).

Find number 199 most likely shows the back legs of a lion (?) walking to the left (indeterminable).

Find number O 94 most likely shows a bird looking to the left (indeterminable).

Find number 1777 most likely shows a bird standing on the right looking up to the right (indeterminable).

Find number 213 shows a bird sitting to the right on a branch that has three leaves and a round fruit. The fruit is most likely a pomegranate that the bird has before his beak (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 262 and Table 41, nr. M 203a; Leibundgut 1977, 184 and Table 50, nr. 327).

Find numbers 370 and Vel 90 show a crane standing from the front. The crane's body is slightly rotated to the left with its head stuck under its breast feathers (Bailey 1988, 80 and Table 83, nr. Q 2736; Cahn 2011, 360-361, nr. 214; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 260-261, nr. M 200, and Table 40-41, nr. 107, 178, 181, 192, 247; Table 64, nr. 569; Heres 1972, 30 and Table 14, nr. 97; Kirsch 2002, 186, nr. M 64 and Table 6, nr. 58; Leibundgut 1977, 186 and Table 51, nr. 341).

Find number O 93 shows a lion walking to the right (Cahn 2011, 63 and Table 29, nr. 299; 357, nr. 198; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 255-256, nr. M 184; Table 38, nr. 146, 197, and 249; Leibundgut 1977, 182 and Table 49, nr. 307).

Find numbers K 66, 90-s 62 and V 80-2 shows a deer out-stretched jumping to the right. It has a two part antler on its head (Bailey 1980, 76 and Table 37, nr. Q 1085; Bailey 1988, 70, nr. Q 1494, Q 2641, Q 2982; Table 64, nr. Q 2407-2409; Cahn 2011, 358, nr. 203; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 253, nr. M 177 and Table 38, nr. 194; 219, 239, 244 and Table 59, nr. 461, 518, 539; Heres 1972, 43, nr. 187; Liesen 1994, 104 and Table 25, nr. 4; Leibundgut 1977, 180-181 and Table 48, nr. 296; Rivet 2003, 67 and Table 140, nr. 147; 103 and Table 179, nr. 494-495; Vegas 1966, 96 and Table 8, nr. 91 and 103).

Find numbers N 91:2, ?2 and ?3 show a boar with shaggy fur and upstanding neck bristles. The boar is jumping to the right because a hunting dog has bitten into its neck (Bailey 1980, 74 and Table 14, nr. Q 897; Cahn 2011, 355, nr. 187; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 249, M 166; 49, Fig. 11; Leibundgut 1977, 177 and Table 46, nr. 271-272).

Find numbers V-I 1977, 255 and le-94 show only a man with a flapping hunting coat running to the left. He is carrying a hunting spear in his left hand and his right hand is on the neck of

a large dog jumping ahead of him (Bachofen 1958, Table 22, nr. 4; Cahn 2011, 330, nr. 95; Deneauve 1969, 163 and Table LXVII, nr. 686; Leibundgut 1977, 158 and Table 35, nr. 150).

Find number 455 shows two dolphins swimming in the opposite direction. The dolphin on the top is swimming to the right side. Both dolphins have a large head and a long snout (Cahn 2011, 49 and Table 25, nr. 188; 363-364, nr. 226).

Find number G 67 shows the back leg of a horse moving to the left (indeterminable).

Find number 17 shows the forelegs of a horse or deer (indeterminable).

Find numbers ?, and 13/K93/NP show a scallop shell (Coquille Saint Jacques) on the disc. This scallop shell has 14 ribs. The scallop shell was considered sacred to the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Her Roman equivalent is the Roman goddess Venus. She was especially honoured by Caesar and Augustus since they believed they were her direct descendants (Bailey 1988, 85-88, nr. Q 2673 –Q 2675; Eckardt 2002, 83, nr. L 1819; Fremersdorf 1922, 102, type 48; Goethert 1997, 215, nr. M 230-232b; Heres 1962, 40 and Table 21, nr. 161; 48 and Table 27, nr. 216).

Find numbers F 61 and K 74 show a scallop shell (Coquille Saint Jacques) with 8 ribs on the disc (Bailey 1980, 85 and Table 2, nr. Q 775; Fremersdorf 1922, 244, type XVII; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 270, nr. M 228; Table 21, nr. 22 and 76; Kirsch 2002, 187, nr. M 71 and Table 1, nr. 9; Leibundgut 1977, 213, nr. 90).

#### Haltern

Find number Ha 68 36a most likely shows a dog attacking a boar (indeterminable).

Find number Ha 1964 Wellm. Gr. 1/11 most likely shows two dolphins swimming in opposite directions (Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 118 and table 60, nr. 492; 264, nr. M 209?; Bailey 1988, Q 2622?, Q 1848?; Leibundgut 1977, Table 50, 320; Rivet 2003, 104 and Table 179, nr. 501-503).

Find number 177 shows a horse standing on all four feet facing left (Bailey 88, Q 2891?).

Find number Gr. 59/31/202 shows what is most likely a pig or boar running on a base line to the right (Pig: Bailey 1980, 74, 140 and plate 4, nr. Q 792; Boar: Q 2358; Stieren 1943, Table 24a; 86, nr. 31).

Find numbers Gr. 25/29, 713 show a bird resting on the left side of a twig with three leaves. It has a pomegranate before its beak (Cahn 2011, 362, nr. 221; Leibundgut 1977, 184 and Table 50, nr. 326; Eckardt 2002, 89-90, nr. L 1864; 379, nr. 1083; Rivet 2003, 105 and Table 180, nr. 518; Bailey 1988, 81 and Table 64, nr. Q 2422-2427; Stieren 1943, 85, Fig. 3d; 86, nr. 32).

### Rosette & Wreath

#### Nijmegen Kops Plateau

Find number 428.064 shows the image of a rosette with an unknown number (28?) of leaves on the disc (Bailey 1980, 86, Fig. 100, nr. Q 760, Q 857, Q 1003 and Q 1022; Fremersdorf 1922, 103, type 51; Goethert 1997, 42, nr. 1; 217, nr. M 247; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 15 and Table 16, nr. 9; 27 and Table 21, nr. 53; 276, nr. M 247; Heres 1972, 13 and Table 3, nr. 7; 24 and Table 10, nr. 56-57; Loeschcke 1919, 197, and Table XV, nr. 305-306).

Find numbers 254.224, 256.043, 378.204, 262.025, 378.222, 407.037, 433.104 shows the image of a rosette with approximately 28/29 up to 30 leaves on the disc (Bailey 1980, 86, fig. 100, nr. Q 760, Q 857, Q 1003 and Q 1022; Fremersdorf 1922, 103, type 51; Goethert 1997, 217, nr. M 247-248; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 276 and Table 16, nr. 9 and Table 21, nr. 53; 276 and Table 62, nr. 482; Heres 1972, 13 and Table 3, nr. 7; 24 and Table 10, nr. 56-57; Loeschcke 1919, 197, and Table XV, nr. 305-306).

Find number 286.223 shows a rosette of probably 33 (!) leaves on the disc (Bailey 1980, 86, Fig. 100, nr. Q 760, Q 857, Q 1003 and Q 1022; Fremersdorf 1922, 103, type 51; Goethert 1997, 217, nr. M 248; Heres 1972, 13 and Table 3, nr. 7, 24 and Table 10, nr. 56-57; Loeschcke 1919, 197, and Table XV, nr. 305-306).

Find number 260.190 shows the image of a rosette of four bilobate petals that is surrounded by a rim (Bailey 1980, 178 and plate 18, nr. Q 936; 208 and plate 29, nr. Q 1008; Deneauve 1969, 192 and plate LXXXII, nr. 901; Eckardt 2002, 184, Fig. 75, nr. 1658; 186, Fig.

76, nr. 716; 380-381, Fig. 134, nr. 1658; Goethert 1997, 216, nr. M 236; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 137 and Table 66, nr. 582; 138-139 and Table 66, nr. 591; 166 and Table 72, nr. 696; 302 and Table 9, nr. 110; Heres 1972, 48 and Table 27, nr. 217; Leibundgut 1977, 186 and Table 51, nr. 345; Rivet 2003, 77 and 150, nr. 243-244).

Find number 262.096 shows the image of a rosette (Bailey 1988, 85-86, Fig. 110, nr. Q 2288).

Find numbers 259.129, 350.475, 411.169, 439.070, 298.090 show a part of a fan on the discs and in one case a fan with 25 beams was excavated (Evelein 1928, 17 and plate VIII, nr. 4; Goethert 1997, 217, nr. M 249; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 112 and Table 62, nr. 457; 267-277, nr. M 249; Rivet 2003, 77 and 151, nr. 250-251; Vegas 1966, 102 and Table 3 and 10, nr. 36-37; 115 and Table 3, nr. 187).

Find number 384.197 most likely shows the image of a wreath of six (?) olive leaves with four (?) fruits on the disc. It is difficult to see if the image is of olive fruits or flowers.

Another possibility is that it is an image of a wreath of laurel or myrtle leaves. The twigs are entwined together near the handle. On the opposite side, the vines grow together in each other's prolongation. The image could represent a laurel wreath. The laurel wreath was used in Rome as a symbol of a successful commander's victory over an enemy during his triumphal procession, *corona triumphalis* (Bailey 1980, 87-88 and plate 11, nr. Q 867; plate 17, nr. Q 925; plate 20, nr. Q 950; plate 22, nr. 964; plate 29, nr. 1010; plate 59, nr. 1227; plate 64, nr. Q 1253-1254; Bailey 1988, 89-90, nr. Q 1030; Q 1237; Q 1244; Q 1510; Q 1552; Q 1915; Q 2362; Q 2448; Deneauve 1969, 157 and Table LXIII, nr. 632; 157 and plate LXXVIII, nr. 787-788; Eckardt 2002, 381-382, nr. 10; Fremersdorf 1922, 35, Fig. 40; 94-95, Fig. 26; Goethert 1997, 215, M 223 (wreath without fruits) or M 224 (olive with fruits); Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 268-269, nr. M 223 or M 224; 25 and Table 21, nr. 43; 48-49 and Table 41, nr. 144; 101 and Table 61, nr. 396; 102 and Table 61, nr. 402; 113 and Table 61, nr. 460; Heres 1972, 41 and Table 21, nr. 169; 58 and Table 34, nr. 294; 84 and Table 57, nr. 534; Leibundgut 1977, 187 and Table 52, nr. 350; Rivet 2003, 69 and 142, nr. 164; 87 and 161, nr. 328 (upside down); 107 and 182, nr. 540).

Find numbers 306.119, 384.233, 378.205 shows a piece of a lamp image that most likely is the start of a twig, probably mistletoe. The image of a twig is often used with a bird sitting at the beginning, but the corner of the first side branch is not similar with the feet of a bird. Besides that the toes are missing. In other cases, the beginning is used as a knot of two equal twigs that surround the disc.

Find number 258.069 shows the image of a palm twig bordering the disc with a central figure, probably Medusa in the centre (Rivet 2003, 64-65 and Table 137, nr. 121-129).

#### Velsen 1

Find numbers 9.3, 5015, ?a show a rosette with approximately 8 tongue-shaped leaves<sup>5</sup> (Cahn 2011, 116 and Table 50, nr. 648; 370, nr. 255; Deneauve 1974, 145 and Table 55, nr. 542; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 119 and Table 62, nr. 496; Loeschcke 1911, 98, nr. 1857).

Find numbers H 5264, 1115, ?b, LV show a rosette with approximately 9 heart-shaped leaves (Cahn 2011, 115 and Table 50, nr. 637; 369-370, nr. 253; Liesen 1994, 114 and Table 26, nr. 28).

Find numbers J 70, wp 89-C9-103 show a rosette with approximately 11 tongue-shaped leaves (Cahn 2011, 145 and Table 59, nr. 823; 370, nr. 257; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 170, 172-173 and Table 73, nr. 716 and 729).

Find number 1728 shows a rosette with approximately 12 tongue-shaped leaves (Cahn 2011, 100 and Table 51, nr. 505; 370, nr. 258; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 274, nr. M 241; Table 42, nr. 85).

Find numbers 821, IV-64.9, L 70 show a rosette with approximately 12 tongue-shaped leaves with a midrib (Kirsch 2002, 149, nr. 507; 190, nr. M 84; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, 37 and Table 42, nr. 85; 274, nr. M 241; Leibundgut 1977, 186 and Table 51, nr. 343).

Find numbers 1794, J 74, M 67, M 77 show a rosette with approximately 18 tongue-shaped leaves (Cahn 2011, 111 and Table 51, nr. 605; 371, nr. 262).

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<sup>5</sup> The number of leaves is estimated by measuring the corner between the heart lines.



Find numbers J 89, V-1, N 101, J 89, N 80, put 03, 1811, LV 6500 show a rosette with approximately 32 tongue-shaped leaves (Bailey 1988, 234 and Table 33, nr. Q 1898-1900; Cahn 2011, 78-79 and Table 32; 372, nr. 266; Heres 1972, 32 and Table 15, nr. 110).

Find numbers H 80, ac 66, Velsen 1-1974 most likely show images of leaves (indeterminable).

Find numbers I-96, L 99, N 94, 1346 most likely show images of twigs (indeterminable).

#### Haltern

Find number 25/29, 116 shows the image of a rosette with five acanthus leaves placed around some concentric circles surrounding the filling hole. The acanthus leaf was commonly used in relief ornaments from the early Roman period. They were found on all sorts of devices from harnesses to reliefs in architectural decoration. So, this motif was adopted in the context of luck- and blessings symbolism (Cahn 2011, 20-21, 171 and Table 8, nr. 12-13 and 1106; 367, nr. 243; Stieren 1943, 85, Fig. 3b; 86, nr. 34).

Find number 25/29, 98 shows the image of a rosette with 9 heart leaves (Cahn 2011, 115 and Table 50, nr. 637; 369-370, nr. 253; Liesen 1994, 114 and Table 26, nr. 28).

Find number Gr. 220/56/6 shows the image of a single leaf (Rudnick 2001, table 76).

## Appendix IV. Images on picture lamps Nijmegen Kops Plateau

### Plate 1: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Deities



Mercure



Victoria?



Hercules clubs



Apollo



Medusa



Silenus



Medusa

Plate 2: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Cupids & Myths

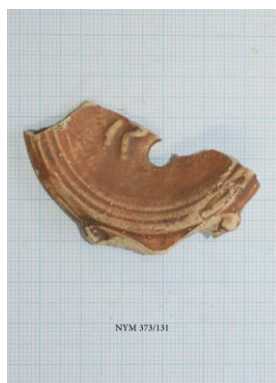




Plate 3: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Daily/ritual life & objects

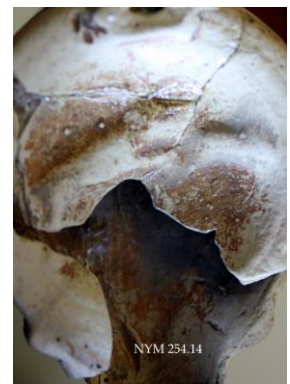
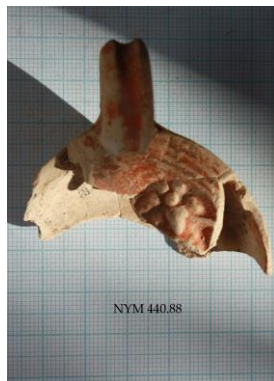
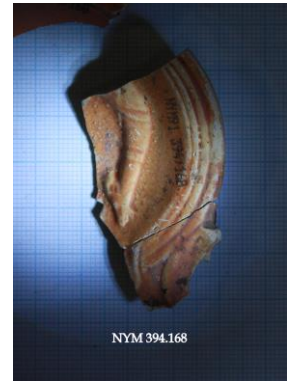


Plate 4: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Daily/ritual life & objects

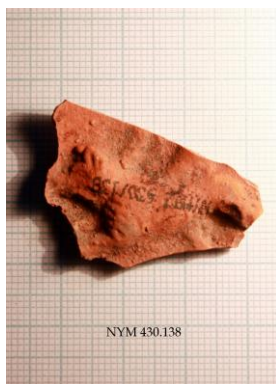


Plate 5: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Erotic scenes



Plate 6: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Gladiators

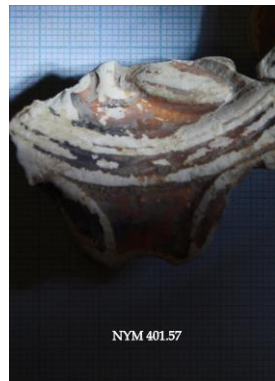
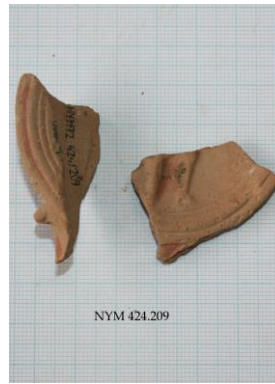




Plate7: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Gladiators

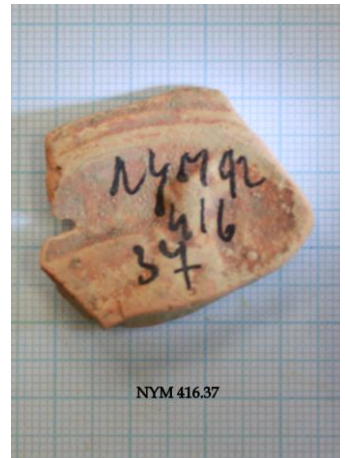
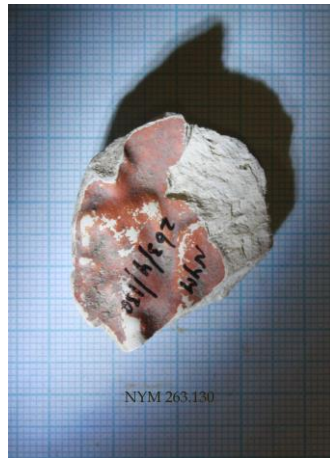




Plate 8:Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Entertainment



Plate 9:Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Entertainment

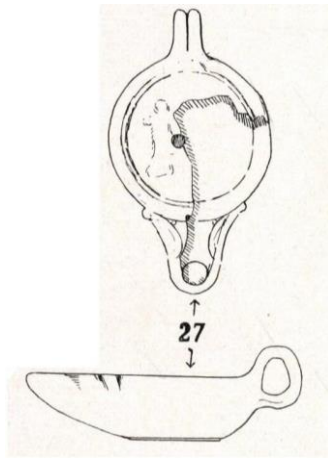




Plate 10: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Animals

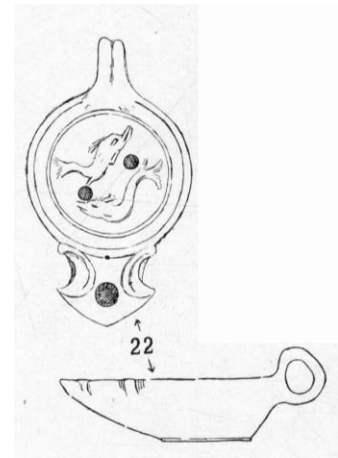
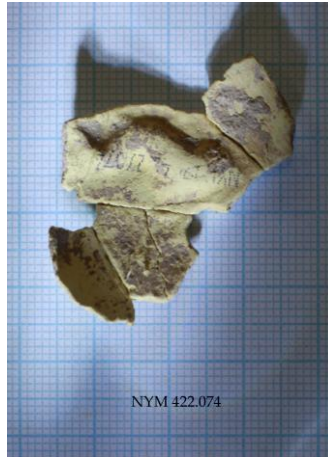


Plate 11: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Animals

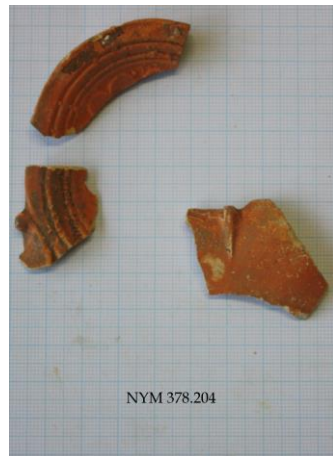
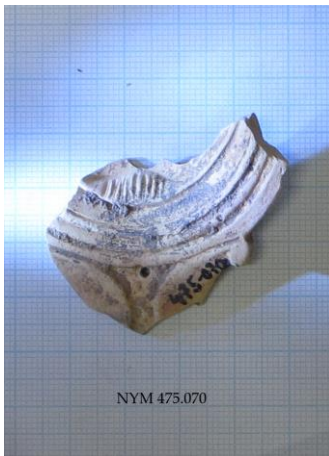




Plate 12: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Rosette & wreath

Rosette:

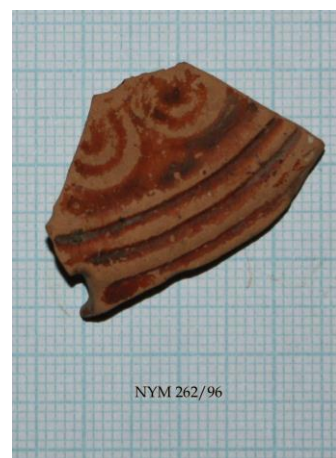
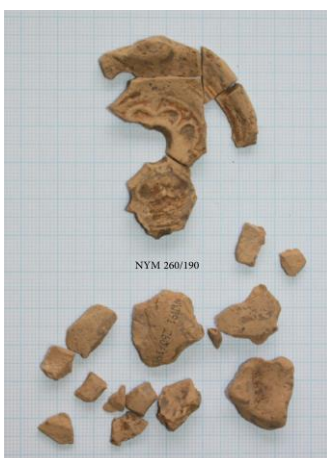
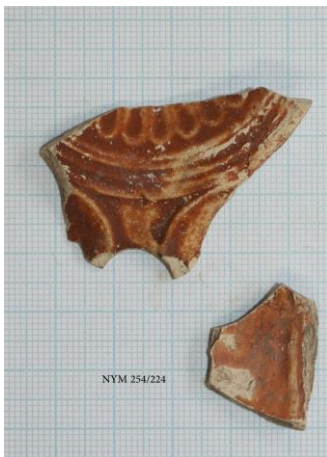
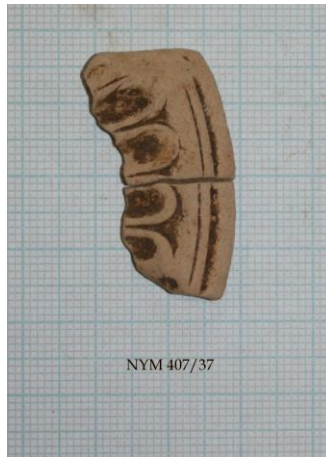


Plate 13: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Rosette & wreath

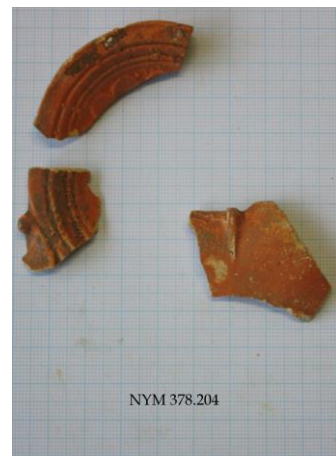
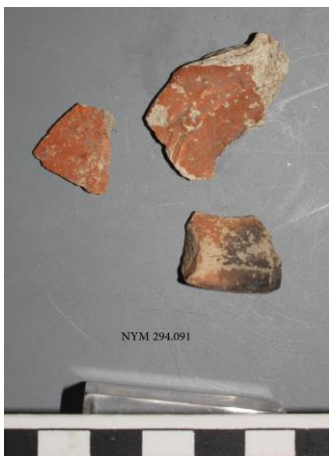
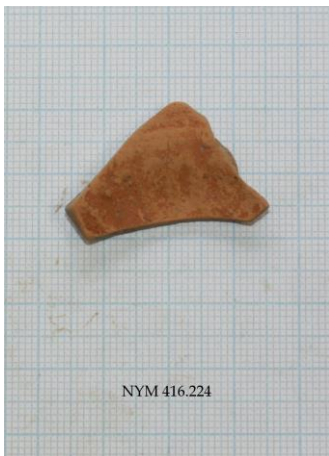
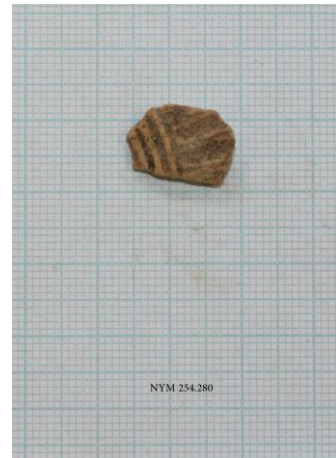
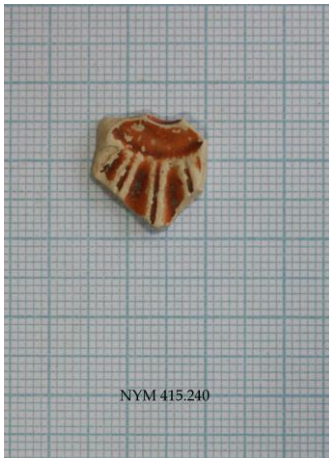




Plate 14: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Rosette & wreath

Fan:

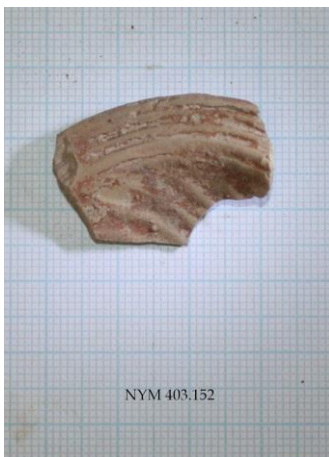
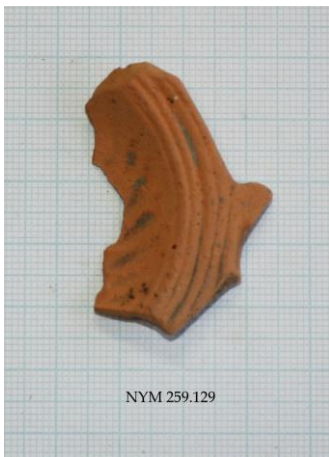
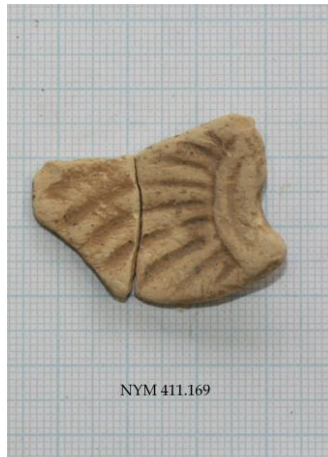
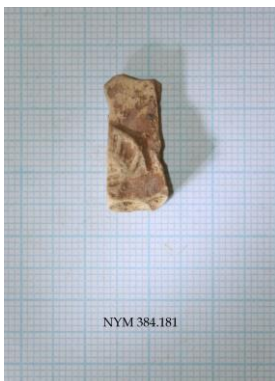


Plate 15: Nijmegen Kops Plateau: Rosette & wreath



Leaf, twig, wreath:





## Appendix V. Database categories and motifs Nijmegen Kops Plateau

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Animals	animal front with frontpaw	indet	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 259.033
3	Animals	animal jumping to the left	Q 1528, Q 1541-1542, Q 1912, Q 2402-2406, Q 2658, Q 3066	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 399.059
4	Animals	bear to the left	Q 1345	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.197
5	Animals	boar running to the right	D 510, H 576, K 495, K M60, M 174, M 174a, Q 763, Q 2358	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 422.049
6	Animals	deer jumping to the right	D 335, D 503, D 624, H 187, H 190, L 295-296, Li 81, M 177, Q 1085, Q 1205, R 147, R 494, V 91/103	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.230
7	Animals	dolphin?	GP 491, L 319, Q 814, R 148	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 261.107
8	Animals	dolphins	C 226			22
9	Animals	dolphins meeting eachother	M 209	KH 7886	L IV	NYM 422.074
10	Animals	horse jumping to the right, tail hanging down	D 340, M 185, L 308, V 387	KH 9517	L I	NYM 266.128
11	Animals	lion laying down to the left	GP 228, L 310, M 183, Q 1812			112.083
12	Animals	lion resting to the left frontal face	L 310, M 183, Q 1812	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 384.234
13	Animals	lion with prey?	K 500, Q 3308	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 259.194
14	Animals	monkey eating grapes	GP 541, GP 693, M 171, R 517	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.205
15	Animals	panther, leopard ?	indet	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 407.150
16	Animals	shell	D 536, Q 1006, Q 2673-2675, V 186	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 475.070
17	Animals	shell	H 7, H 56-57, M 247-248, Q 760, Q 857, Q 1003, Q 1022	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.204
18	Animals	shell with 14 ribs	E L1819, H 161, H 216, M 230-230b, Q 2673 –Q 2675	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 267.025

C = Cahn 2011
D = Deneauve 1969
E = Eckardt 2002
Ev = Evelein 1928
F = Fremersdorf 1922
GP = Goethert-Polaschek 1985
H = Heres 1972
K = Kirsch 2002
L = Leibundgut 1977
Li = Liesen 1994
Loe = Loeschcke 1919
M = Goethert-Polaschek 1985
Q < 1500 = Bailey 1980
Q > 1500 = Bailey 1988
R = Rivet 2003
V = Vegas 1966

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Animals	animal front with frontpaw	indet	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 259.033
3	Animals	animal jumping to the left	Q 1528, Q 1541-1542, Q 1912, Q 2402-2406, Q 2658, Q 3066	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 399.059
4	Animals	bear to the left	Q 1345	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.197
5	Animals	boar running to the right	D 510, H 576, K 495, K M60, M 174, M 174a, Q 763, Q 2358	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 422.049
6	Animals	deer jumping to the right	D 335, D 503, D 624, H 187, H 190, L 295-296, Li 81, M 177, Q 1085, Q 1205, R 147, R 494, V 91/103	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.230
7	Animals	dolphin?	GP 491, L 319, Q 814, R 148	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 261.107
8	Animals	dolphins	C 226			22
9	Animals	dolphins meeting eachother	M 209	KH 7886	L IV	NYM 422.074
10	Animals	horse jumping to the right, tail hanging down	D 340, M 185, L 308, V 387	KH 9517	L I	NYM 266.128
11	Animals	lion laying down to the left	GP 228, L 310, M 183, Q 1812			112.083
12	Animals	lion resting to the left frontal face	L 310, M 183, Q 1812	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 384.234
13	Animals	lion with prey?	K 500, Q3308	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 259.194
14	Animals	monkey eating grapes	GP 541, GP 693, M 171, R 517	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.205
15	Animals	panther, leopard ?	indet	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 407.150
16	Animals	shell	D 536, Q 1006, Q 2673-2675, V 186	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 475.070
17	Animals	shell	H 7, H 56-57, M 247-248, Q 760, Q 857, Q 1003, Q 1022	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 378.204
18	Animals	shell with 14 ribs	E L1819, H 161, H 216, M 230-230b, Q 2673 -Q 2675	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 267.025

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Cupids & myths	Amor with shell	D 587-588; E 37; Ev plate IV, nr. 18; M 11; GP M 11, 91, 184, 227, 233, 243, 255, 373, 333; 404; H 47, H 211; L 147, 87, Loe 22-24; Q 3047; R 183; V 149	KH 9517	L I B	NYM 361.134
3	Cupids & myths	griffin galloping to the left	D 308; D 310; K M13; M 162; L 115; Li 128; Loe 472	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 412.134
4	Cupids & myths	griffin galloping to the left	D 308; D 310; K M13; M 162; L 115; Li 128; Loe 472	KH 9517	L I A	NYM 256.082
5	Cupids & myths	griffin galloping to the left	D 308; D 310; K M13; M 162; L 115; Li 128; Loe 472	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 293.093
6	Cupids & myths	griffin galloping to the right	indet	KH 11891	L I-VIII	NYM 378.230
7	Cupids & myths	Pegasus galloping to the left	C 78, K M12; Li 42; V 69;	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 254.297
8	Cupids & myths	Pegasus galloping to the left	C 78, K M12; Li 42; V 69;	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 373.131
9	Cupids & myths	Pegasus galloping to the right	C 79; M 164	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 412.157
10	Cupids & myths	seahorse with naked boy going right, head backwards	L 25; Loe 52-53	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 286.087
11	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopia		KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 394.168
12	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopia		KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 440.088
13	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopiae		KH 9517	L I A	NYM 269.024
14	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopiae		KH 11891	L I B	NYM 384.173
15	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopiae		KH 7886	L I A	NYM 433.142
16	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopiae		KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 266.110
17	Daily/ritual & objects	cornucopiae		KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 286.188
18	Daily/ritual & objects	daily life: boatman with oar?		KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 443.115
19	Daily/ritual & objects	daily life: shepherd reclining under acanthus and sheep		KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 384.050
20	Daily/ritual & objects	daily life: woman portrait looking to the left		KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 298.148
21	Daily/ritual & objects	hunting scene: dog hunting hare to the right		KH 9517	L I B	NYM 351.072
22	Daily/ritual & objects	hunting scene: hound and hare		KH 12846	L I A	NYM 262.082
23	Daily/ritual & objects	hunting scene: hound and hare running to the right		KH 9517	L I A	NYM 254.014
24	Daily/ritual & objects	hunting scene: hunter and dog running to the left	L 25; Loe 52-53	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 430.138
25	Daily/ritual & objects	kantharos with wine branches?		KH 12846	L I A?	? 1

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Deities	Apollo sitting on a chair playing the cithara	Q 1297	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 384.225
3	Deities	Centaur or Pan? Front hoofs of a horse?	indet	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 258.055
4	Deities	centaur playing harp	D 303		L I C	Bogaers 1988, 22, fig. 12
5	Deities	Centaur with amphora		KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 267.080
6	Deities	Hercules clubs	M 66	KH 7886	L I C	NYM 403.181
7	Deities	lion, amor, kantharos, pillar with mask, Thyrsus staff	D 662; L 70	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 430.153
8	Deities	Medusa		KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 407.196
9	Deities	Medusa: head in front	Q 1065; L 1297; R 424	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 298.187
10	Deities	Mercure?	M 27	KH 9517	L I B	NYM 361.149
11	Deities	satyr trying to undress a maenad	H 571; K 23; L (120)-(121); Lie 42; Q 1689; R 430; V 105 , V 69	KH 7886	L I B	NYM 394.119
12	Deities	Silenus		KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 379.176
13	Deities	Victoria?	M 32	KH 12846	L I A	NYM 262.085
14	Entertainment	cavalryman	D 326-327, M 116	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 287.174
15	Entertainment	chariot race running to the left on a <i>biga</i>	C 155, H 88, L 237, M 120	KH 7886	L I B	NYM 430.096
16	Entertainment	chariot racing ( <i>biga</i> ) to the right	H 645, L 240, V 52	KH 12846	L I A	NYM 384.196
17	Entertainment	chariot racing to the left ( <i>biga</i> )	H 202, L 252, L 253, M 119, V 131, V 214	KH 7886		NYM 440.0648067
18	Entertainment	Desultor with conical cap riding to the left on 2 horses	H 84, K 25-26, K M31, L 249, M 122	KH 7886	L I A	NYM 412.074
19	Entertainment	fighter with double axe	Ev 21	KH 9517	L I B	NYM 255.212
20	Entertainment	fighter with double axe	Ev 21	KH 7886	L I B	NYM 433.142
21	Entertainment	fighters: pugilists, nude, fighting to each other	Ev 77	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 416.227
22	Entertainment	fighters: pugilists, one aggressive, one walking away	Q 1023, R 52	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 421.107
23	Entertainment	mule attacked by a lion	H 76, L 274, M 169, Q 866, Q 1526, R 486, V 96, V 124, V 222,	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 255.076
24	Entertainment	standing character turns to the right	Breuer 1931, 61 and plate VII, fig. 27		L I A	27
25	Entertainment	theatre: men with masks moving to the left	L 256	KH 7886	L I C	NYM 417.040
26	Entertainment	theatre: stake dancer	Q 2842, Q 2843 and Q 2986	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 416.227

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Erotic scenes	erotic scene: couple both kneeling	D 336; H 194; L 179; Li 80; Q 935-936	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 350.069
3	Erotic scenes	erotic scene: woman sitting on man	D 492; K 113; L 173; Q 934; R 470	KH 7886	L I B	NYM 416.227
4	Erotic scenes	erotic scene: woman sitting on man	D 492; K 113; L 173; Q 934; R 470	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 425.313
5	Gladiators	gladiator	D 316; L 215; M 88; M 98; Q 131; Q 1031;	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 263.130
6	Gladiators	gladiator	Q 762; M 89;	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 292.208
7	Gladiators	gladiator	L 194; Q 780-782; R 445; V 55	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 401.057
8	Gladiators	gladiator legs	Q 131; Q 1031; D 316; M 88; M 98; L 215	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 424.209
9	Gladiators	gladiator facing to the left, right hand in manica	Q 762; M 89;	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 416.235
10	Gladiators	gladiator looking to the left	E 2312; M 107;	KH 9517	L I B	NYM 298.132
11	Gladiators	gladiator shield	Q 1005; E 800; H 142; V 39	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 426.244
12	Gladiators	gladiator shield fallen down	E 90; M 92; L 191-193; Li 88; Li 189; D 459-460; L 220; M 104	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 429.070
13	Gladiators	gladiator walking to the left with his head down	M 90; H 50; L 202; V 86; D 321; M 106; H 31	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 456.030
14	Gladiators	gladiator: kneeling down, a triton at his feet	C 132	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 269.111
15	Gladiators	gladiator?	E 2312; M 107	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 416.037
16	Gladiators	gladiators	D 314; M 95; K 41	KH 9517	L I-VIII	NYM 305.128
17	Gladiators	gladiators	BC 152; H 82	KH 12846	L I A?	NYM 416.254
18	Gladiators	gladiators facing and fighting each other	K 485; M 111; L 210; D 313	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 430.090
19	Gladiators	gladiators: the left one disappointed walking away	M 90; H 50; L 202; V 86; D 321; M 106; H 31	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 433.206
20	Gladiators	gladitorial equipment: arm-guards	Q 776	KH 7886	L I-VIII	NYM 394.170

## Appendix VI. Images on picture lamps Velsen 1

Plate 15: Velsen 1: Deities



Victoria on globe



Victoria



Victoria



Victoria on chariot



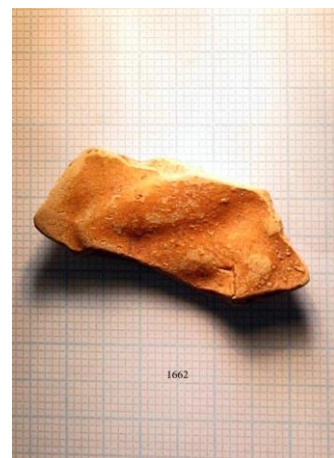
Victoria shield



Mercure



Minerva



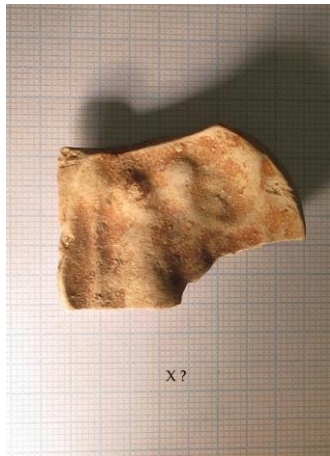
Venus?



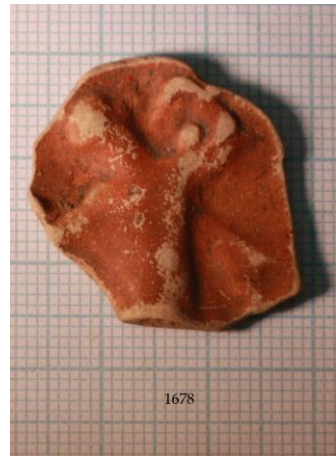
Plate 16: Velsen 1: Deities



Maenad dancing with knife and fawn



Satyr and maenad



Dancing Maenad with rattlesnake



Dancing Maenad with rattlesnake



Medusa



Medusa

Plate 17: Velsen 1: Cupids & myths



U 64  
Amor with Hercules clubs



13  
Amor with cithara



X 73  
Amor with cithara



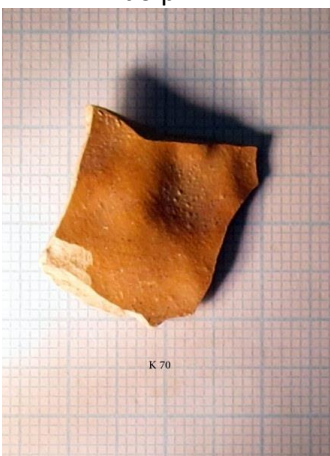
Ic 89  
Amor with trident and dolphin



1883  
Boy on hippocampus



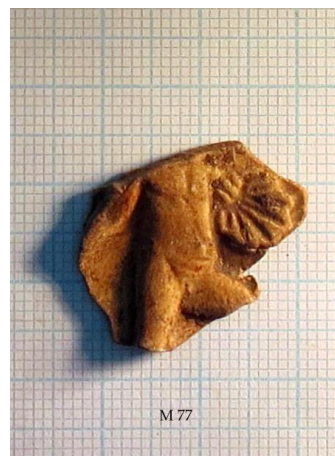
DL 11  
Boy on hippocampus



K 70  
Boy on hippocampus



LV  
Boy on hippocampus



M 77  
Amor with shell



Plate 18: Velsen 1: Cupids & myths



13

Warrior: Achilles?



?

Curtius



C 64

Curtius



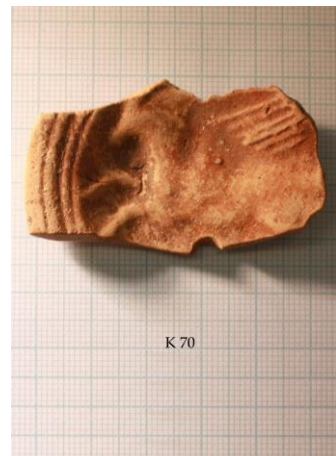
ac 66

Two Amazons



LV 79-2/82

Eagle on globe



K 70

Pegasus

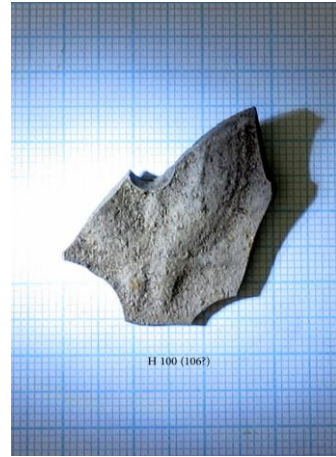
Plate 19: Velsen 1: Daily/ritual & objects



85  
Boatman



?  
Cornucopiae



H 100 (106?)  
Cornucopiae



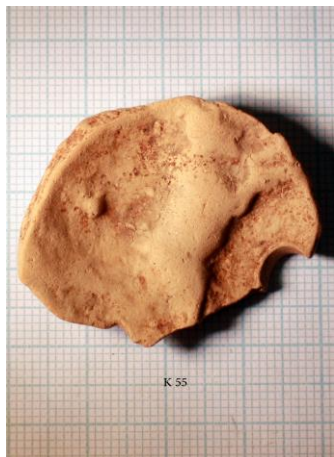
AB 74  
Altar



H or I  
Kantharos



J 89  
Leaf from kantharos



K 55  
Shepherd, goat and tree



M 63  
Shepherd, goat and tree



J 92  
Kantharos



Plate 20: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes



Bailey 1980, 69, Q 934  
Woman sitting on man



621



K 102/H 95



M 102



M 89/1



?



K 82



?



J 93

Plate 21: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes





Plate 22: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes

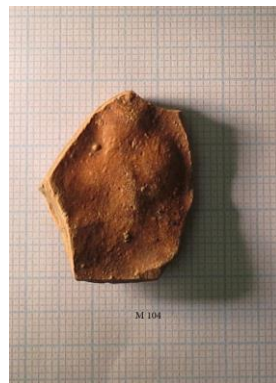
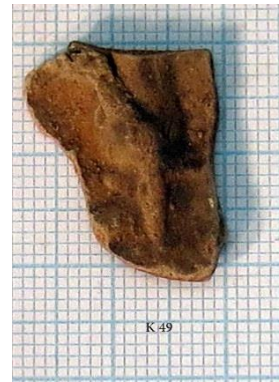
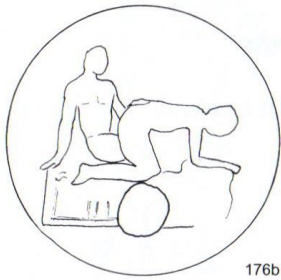




Plate 23: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes



176b

Cahn 2011, 352, fig. 176b  
Man reclining, woman  
kneeling



G 80



671



1973



AC 65



?



LV



233



P 76A



Plate 24: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes



Cahn 2011, 354, fig. 180  
Female dwarf sitting on male



Plate 25: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes



Bed

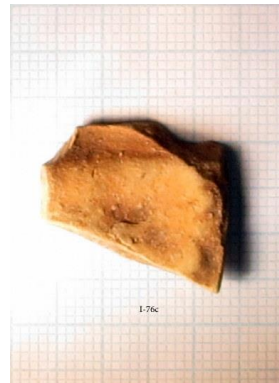
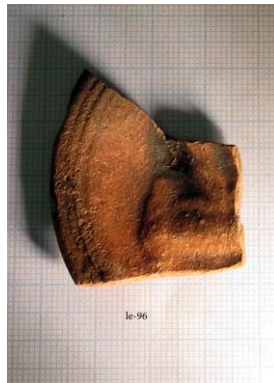




Plate 26: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes

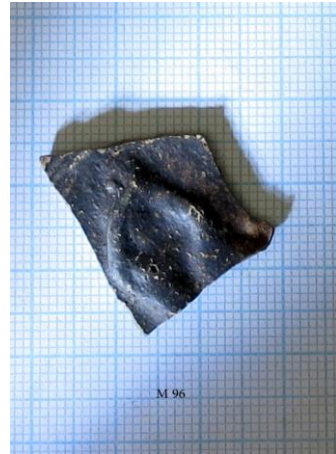


177

Cahn 2011, 353, fig. 177  
Man holding woman's leg  
high



1991 (16617)



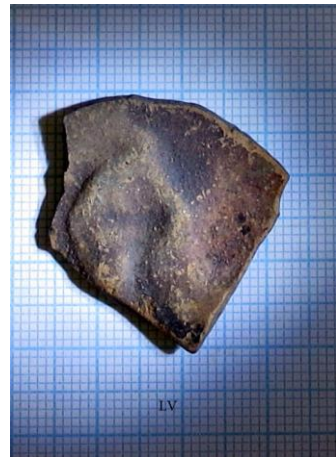
M 96



?



757 ?



LV



1766



C 92



957



Plate 27: Velsen 1: Erotic scenes

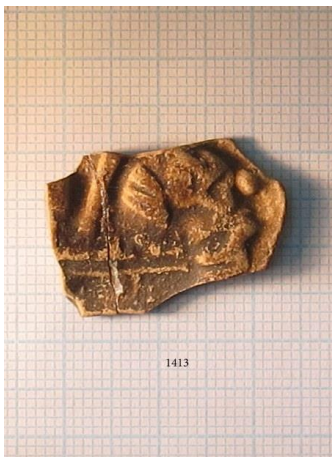
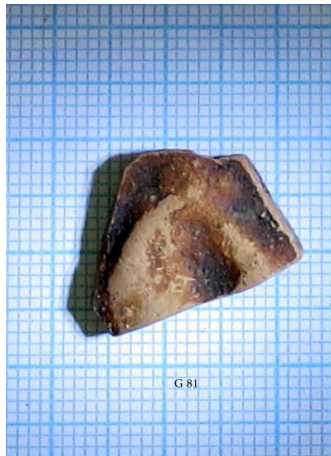


Plate 28: Velsen 1: Gladiators





Plate 29: Velsen 1: Gladiators

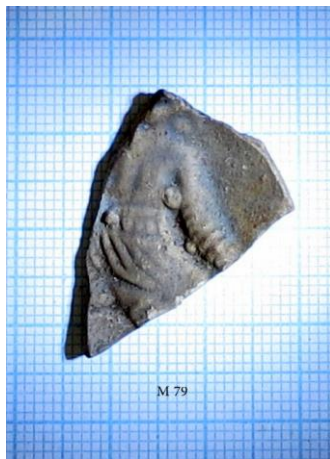
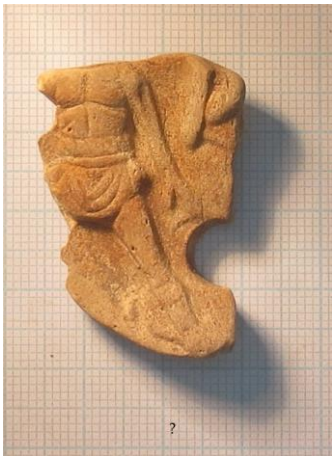
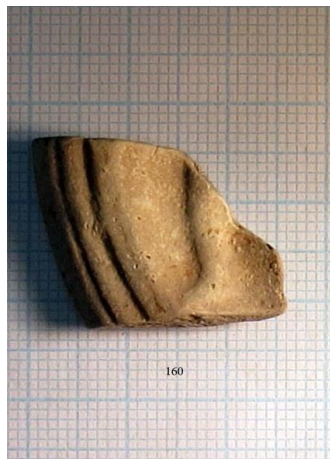


Plate 30: Velsen 1: Gladiators



Animal?





Plate31: Velsen 1: Gladiators

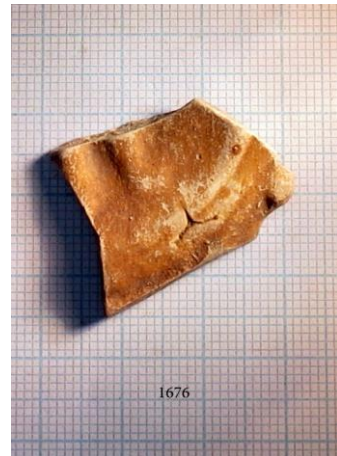
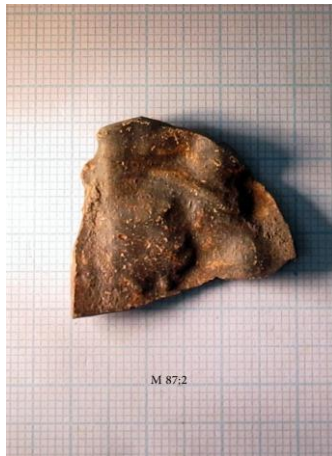


Plate 32: Velsen 1: Gladiators





Plate 33: Velsen 1: Gladiators





Plate 34: Velsen 1: Gladiators



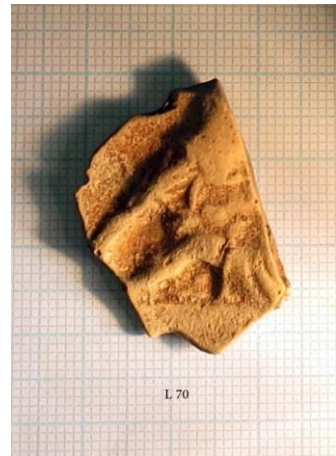
Plate 35: Velsen 1: Entertainment



M 82  
Rider on horse



I 2



L 70

Fighters



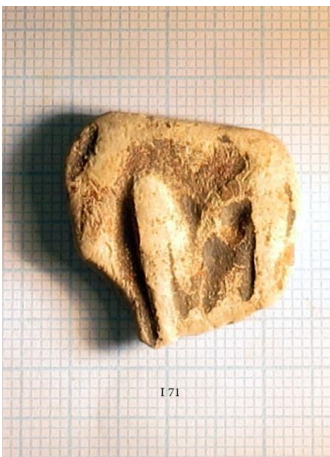
DD5

M 127



I 151

M 127



I 71

Animal trainer





Plate 36: Velsen 1: Animals

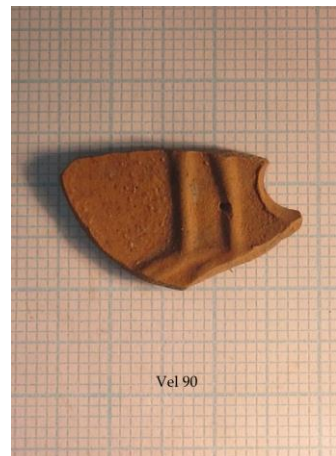
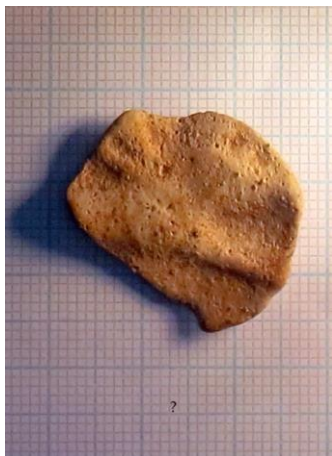
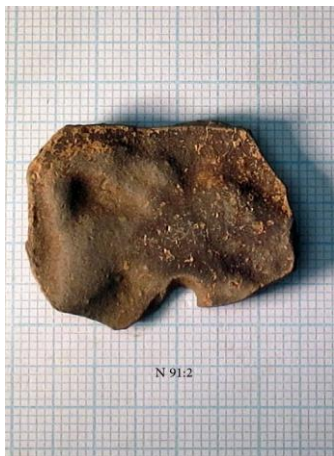
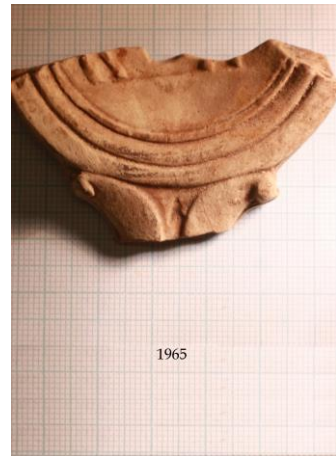
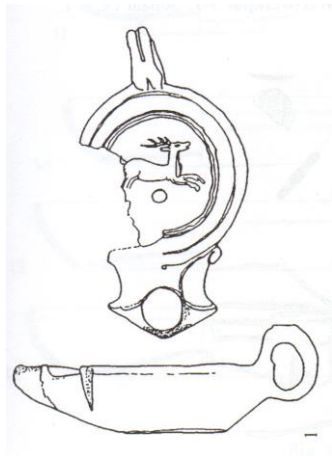


Plate 37: Velsen 1: Animals



Dog hunting boar

Dog hunting boar

Dog hunting boar





Plate 38: Velsen 1: Animals

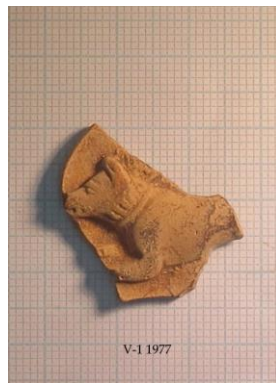
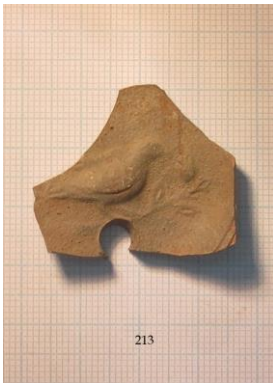
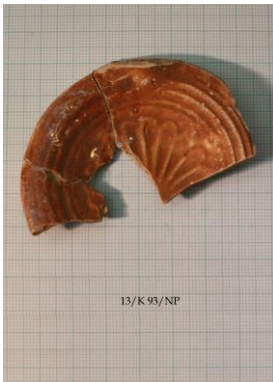


Plate 39: Velsen 1: Rosette & wreath

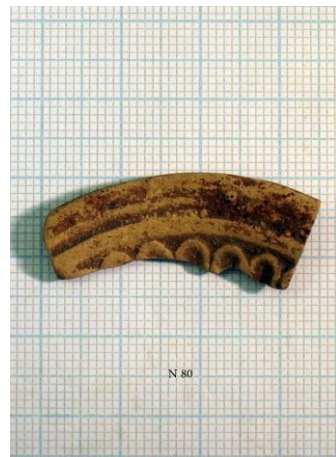
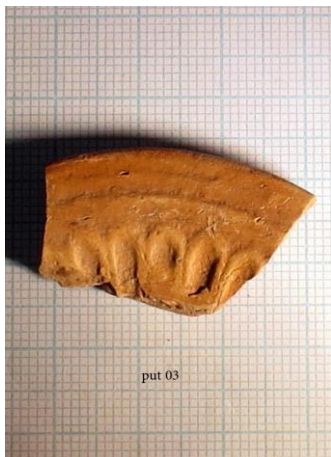
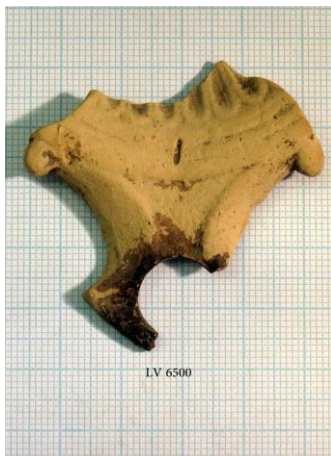
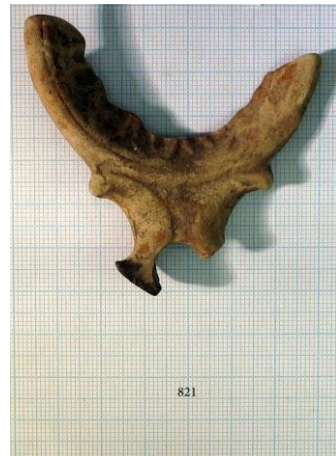




Plate 40: Velsen 1: Rosette & wreath

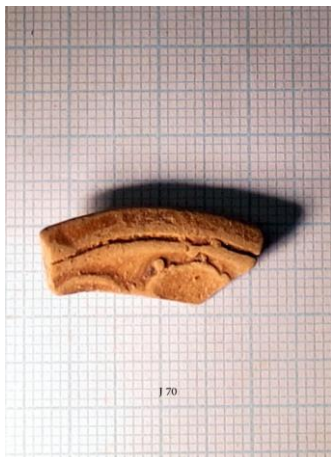
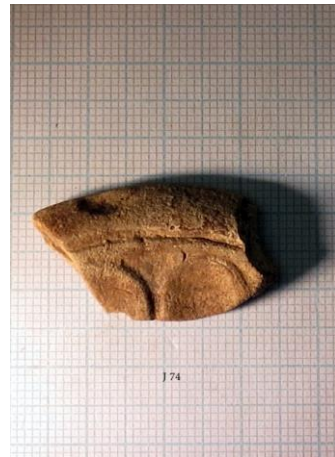
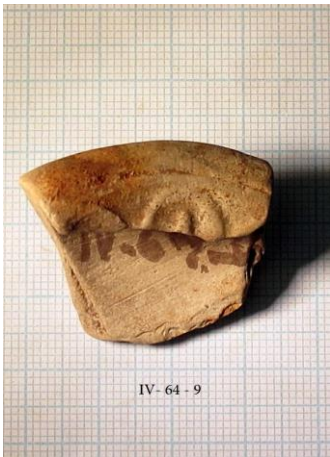
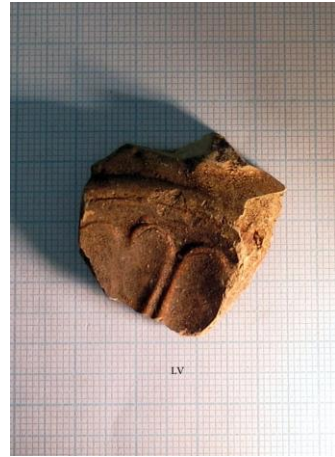


Plate 41: Velsen 1: Rosette & wreath

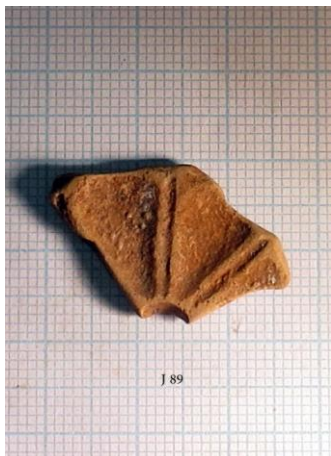
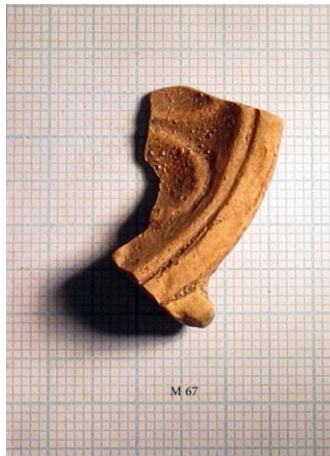




Plate 42: Velsen 1: Rosette & wreath

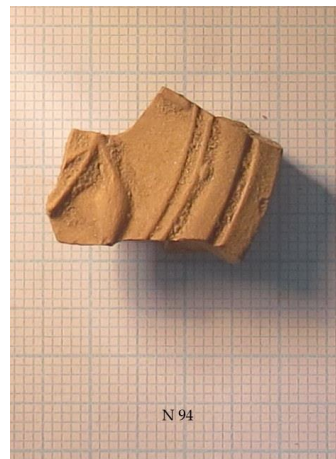
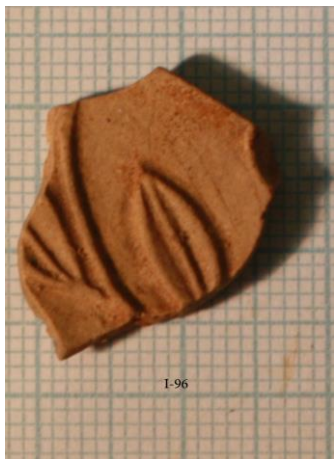
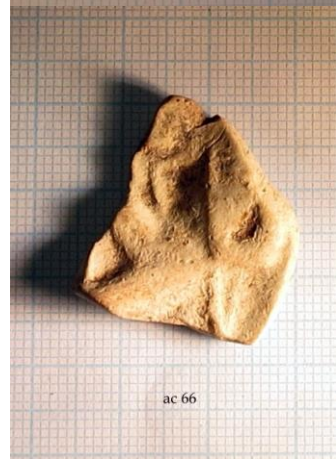
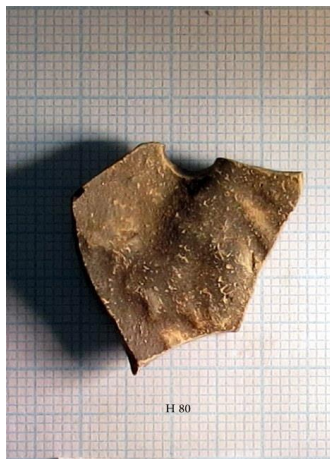


Plate 43: Velsen 1: Indet



Arm upraised with sword?



Q 1389?



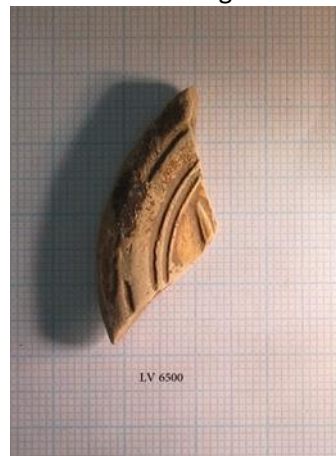
Human leg?



Gladiator legs?



Bed?



LV 6500

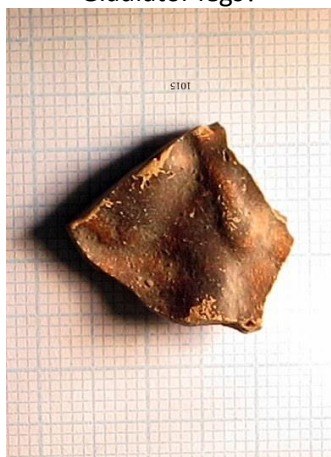


Figure with left arm raised



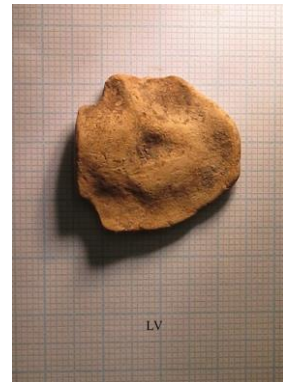
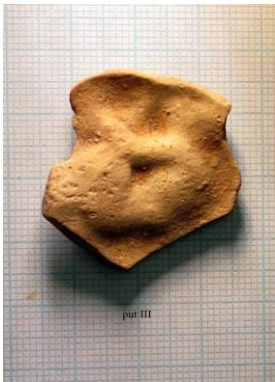
?



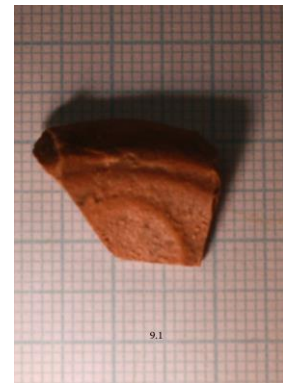
wp IV



Plate 44: Velsen 1: Indet



Deneauve 724?  
Q 907?



## Appendix VII. Database categories and motifs Velsen 1

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Animals	bird	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1777
3	Animals	bird looking to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	O 94
4	Animals	bird on a twig	L 327, M 203a	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	213
5	Animals	boar running to the right is attacked by a dog	C 187, L 271-272, M 166, Q 897	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 2
6	Animals	boar running to the right is attacked by a dog	C 187, L 271-272, M 166, Q 897	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 3
7	Animals	boar running to the right is attacked by a dog	C 187, L 271-272, M 166, Q 897	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 91:2
8	Animals	crane	C 569, H 97, K M64, K 58, L 341, Q 2736	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	370
9	Animals	crane legs	C 569, H 97, K M64, K 58, L 341, Q 2736	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	Vel 90
10	Animals	deer running to the right	C 203, H 187, L 296, Li 4, M 177, Q 1085, Q 1494, Q 2982, Q 2407-2409, R 147, R 494-495, V 91, V 103	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I C	90-s62
11	Animals	deer running to the right	C 203, H 187, L 296, Li 4, M 177, Q 1085, Q 1494, Q 2982, Q 2407-2409, R 147, R 494-495, V 91, V 103	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 66
12	Animals	deer running to the right	C 203, H 187, L 296, Li 4, M 177, Q 1085, Q 1494, Q 2982, Q 2407-2409, R 147, R 494-495, V 91, V 103	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	V 80-2
13	Animals	dog running to the left with hunter	Bach table 22/4, C 95, D 686, L 150	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	255
14	Animals	dog running to the left with hunter	Bach table 22/4, C 95, D 686, L 150	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	te-94
15	Animals	dog running to the left with hunter	Bach table 22/4, C 95, D 686, L 150	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	V-I 1977
16	Animals	dolphin	C 188, 226	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	455
17	Animals	horse back leg walking to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	G 67
18	Animals	horse forelegs?	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	17
19	Animals	horse four legs walking to the right	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1965
20	Animals	horses to the right	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 62
21	Animals	lion backside jumping to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	11c
22	Animals	lion backside walking to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 106
23	Animals	lion to the left?	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	199
24	Animals	lion walking to the right	C 299, L 307, M 184	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	O 93
25	Animals	shell with 14 ribs	E L1819, F type 48, H 161, H 216, M 230-232b, Q 2673-2675	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L IV	? 4
26	Animals	shell with 14 ribs	E L1819, F type 48, H 161, H 216, M 230-232b, Q 2673-2675	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	13/K93/NP
27	Animals	shell with 8 ribs	F type XVII, K M71, L 90, M 228, Q 775	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	F 61
28	Animals	shell with 8 ribs	F type XVII, K M71, L 90, M 228, Q 775	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 74

C = Cahn 2011
D = Deneauve 1969
E = Eckardt 2002
Ev = Evelein 1928
F = Fremersdorf 1922
GP = Goethert-Polaschek 1985
H = Heres 1972
K = Kirsch 2002
L = Leibundgut 1977
Li = Liesen 1994
Loe = Loeschcke 1919
M = Goethert-Polaschek 1985
Q < 1500 = Bailey 1980
Q > 1500 = Bailey 1988
R = Rivet 2003
V = Vegas 1966



	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Cupids & Myths	Amor with citahra	D 719	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	X 73
3	Cupids & Myths	Amor with cithara	D 719	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	13
4	Cupids & Myths	Amor with Hercules club	L (75)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	U 64
5	Cupids & Myths	Amor with shell	D 587-588; E 37; H 211; L 87; M 11; Q 3047; R 183; V 149	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 77
6	Cupids & Myths	Amor with trident and dolphin	L (76)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	le-89
7	Cupids & Myths	Boy at hippocamp	L (25)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1883
8	Cupids & Myths	Boy at hippocamp	L (25)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	DL 11
9	Cupids & Myths	Boy at hippocamp	L (25)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 70
10	Cupids & Myths	Boy at hippocamp	L (25)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
11	Cupids & Myths	Curtius	M60; Q 796	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 5
12	Cupids & Myths	Curtius	M 60; Q 796	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	C 64
13	Cupids & Myths	eagle on a globe	M 159 b, C 73,	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV 79-2/82
14	Cupids & Myths	Pegasus galloping to the left	M 163	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 70
15	Cupids & Myths	two Amazons	Q 877	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AC 66
16	Cupids & Myths	warrior: Achilles?	M 77?	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	13
17	Daily/ritual & objects	altar?	M 81?	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AB 74
18	Daily/ritual & objects	boatman with oar	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	85
19	Daily/ritual & objects	<i>cornucopiae</i>	M 39	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 6
20	Daily/ritual & objects	<i>cornucopiae</i>	M 41	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H 100 (H 106?)
21	Daily/ritual & objects	Kantharos and grape vines	H 186; handle less M 217; with grapes L 354-355	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H or I
22	Daily/ritual & objects	Kantharos and grape vines	H 186; handle less M 217; with grapes L 354-355	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 92
23	Daily/ritual & objects	leaf from kantharos	H 186; handle less M 217; with grapes L 354-355	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 89a
24	Daily/ritual & objects	shepherd with goats and tree	M 144	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 55
25	Daily/ritual & objects	shepherd with goats and tree	M 144	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 63

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Deities	crouching woman twisting her hair: Venus Anadyomene?	D 654	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1662
3	Deities	Maenad dancing with knife and fawn	M 59, Q 787, L (100)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	873
4	Deities	Maenad dancing with rattlesnake in her right hand	D 290	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1678
5	Deities	Maenad dancing with rattlesnake in her right hand	D 290	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	put 06
6	Deities	Medusa shield, rudder, dolphin	M 43	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L VIII	AB 66
7	Deities	Medusa shield, rudder, dolphin	M 43	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	put 03
8	Deities	Mercur	M 28	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	89-1a 4.5
9	Deities	Minerva	H 564, L 14, M 29, Q 962, V 216	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	put 09
10	Deities	satyr and maenad	Q 782	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	X?
11	Deities	Victoria	M 32?	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
12	Deities	Victoria	M 32?	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	V-1 1975
13	Deities	Victoria	M 32	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 88
14	Deities	Victoria on chariot	M 35	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AG 80
15	Deities	Victoria shield	M 36	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	E 75
16	Entertainment	animal trainer/juggler, monkey, cat	C 166, F type 23, K M55, K 491, L 263, M 142, Mlas 209, Q 861, R 457-458, V 192	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	I-71
17	Entertainment	biga: two horses to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1
18	Entertainment	fighters	Bach 34.3, M 125, L 207, V 140	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 70
19	Entertainment	fist fighter	D 331, M 127	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1151
20	Entertainment	fist fighter	D 331, M 127	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	DD 5
21	Entertainment	rider on horse	D 328, L 252	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 82

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	190
3	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	887
4	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1235
5	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	6700
6	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 7
7	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AA 71
8	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	I-76c
9	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	I-83
10	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 88:2
11	Erotic scenes	erotic: bed	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	le-96
12	Erotic scenes	erotic: male dwarf reclining, female dwarf sitting away from him	M 135; Q 1079; Q 924; Q 916	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	339
13	Erotic scenes	erotic: male dwarf reclining, female dwarf sitting away from him	M 135; Q 1079; Q 924; Q 916	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	757
14	Erotic scenes	erotic: male dwarf reclining, female dwarf sitting away from him	M 135; Q 1079; Q 924; Q 916	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	938?
15	Erotic scenes	erotic: male dwarf reclining, female dwarf sitting away from him	M 135; Q 1079; Q 924; Q 916	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 86
16	Erotic scenes	erotic: male dwarf reclining, female dwarf sitting away from him	M 135; Q 1079; Q 924; Q 916	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	O 89:2
17	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	145
18	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	776
19	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	957
20	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1413
21	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1766
22	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 8
23	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1991 (1661?)
24	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	757?
25	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	C 92
26	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	G 81
27	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H 93
28	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 97
29	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 91
30	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 89:2
31	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
32	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 96
33	Erotic scenes	erotic: man holding leg woman above head	M 134; Q 828; Q 880; Q 922; Q 1078	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 78
34	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	47
35	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	69
36	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	621
37	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	755
38	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 10
39	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 9
40	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1154/1765
41	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	19 b
42	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	755A

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H 106
3	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	I-71
4	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	I-79
5	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 93
6	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 94
7	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	D 492; D 679; K 113; K M50; L 173; Q 934; R 470	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 102/H95
8	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 49
9	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 80
10	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 82
11	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 86
12	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 102
13	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 104
14	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 106
15	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 66
16	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 89/1
17	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	O 28
18	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	put 13
19	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman approaches	Q 934	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	T 69
20	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	233
21	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	671
22	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 11
23	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 12
24	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1973 (1923?)
25	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AC 65
26	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	G 80
27	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 77
28	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
29	Erotic scenes	erotic: man reclining, woman on hands and knees away from him	Q 835	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	P 76A

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	501
3	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1388
4	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1727
5	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 13
6	Gladiator	gladiator	M 94	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1674/1675/1687
7	Gladiator	gladiator	M 90 left; M 106; Bach tabel 33, nr. 3	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AL 79
8	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 72
9	Gladiator	gladiator	M 90	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 76
10	Gladiator	gladiator	C 124	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
11	Gladiator	gladiator	M 92	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
12	Gladiator	gladiator	Q 780; Q 781; Q 798	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV 1990
13	Gladiator	gladiator	L (229)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 79
14	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 91
15	Gladiator	gladiator	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	U 73 d
16	Gladiator	gladiator: feet?	M 109	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 93
17	Gladiator	gladiator: helmet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	68
18	Gladiator	gladiator: helmet feathers	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 108
19	Gladiator	gladiator: helmet feathers?	Q 780; Q 781; Q 798	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 82
20	Gladiator	gladiator: helmet of a hoplomachus	M 107	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1727a
21	Gladiator	gladiator: helmet with feathers	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	55
22	Gladiator	gladiator: helmet with feathers	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1988
23	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 14
24	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus	M 90 left; M 106; Bach tabel 33, nr. 3	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	9.4
25	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus	M 89	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 76
26	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus walking to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 15
27	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus walking to the left	M 90?	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 86
28	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus walking to the left	Q 785	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 64
29	Gladiator	gladiator: hoplomachus walking to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
30	Gladiator	gladiator: kneeling down	M 90 left; M 106; Bach tabel 33, nr. 3	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	762A
31	Gladiator	gladiator: kneeling down, a triton at his feet	M 90 right; Q 878	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 16
32	Gladiator	gladiator: kneeling, shield in front	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1411
33	Gladiator	gladiator: leg	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	160
34	Gladiator	gladiator: leg	Q 780; Q 781; Q 798	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 104
35	Gladiator	gladiator: leg protection	M 91 right figure	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H 79
36	Gladiator	gladiator: leg protection	M 94 right; M 112	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 76
37	Gladiator	gladiator: legs of a Thracian	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L IV	428
38	Gladiator	gladiator: looking backwards	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	5079
39	Gladiator	gladiator: shield of Samnite is fallen down, hoplomachus has won	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	T 70
40	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 17

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnr
2	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian	C 132	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	E 77
3	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 72
4	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian	Q 780; Q 781; Q 798	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 82
5	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian	L (229)	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 87:2
6	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian attacking to the left	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	V 65
7	Gladiator	gladiator: Thracian winning from a hoplomachus	M 94 right; M 112	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 70
8	Gladiator	gladiator: two legs ?	M 93	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 18
9	Gladiator	gladiator: vanquished myrmillo	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	K 80
10	Gladiator	gladiator: victorious myrmillo	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	762
11	Gladiator	gladiator: victorious myrmillo	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	11a
12	Gladiator	gladiator: victorious myrmillo	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	11b
13	Gladiator	gladiator: victorious myrmillo	M 103	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 75
14	Gladiator	gladiator: with crown and palm twig	M 90 left; M 106; Bach tabel 33, nr. 3	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	AB 75
15	Gladiator	gladiator: with dagger and shield	M 91 right figure	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	dijkput 5.7.75
16	Gladiator	gladiator: with dagger and shield	Q 780; Q 781; Q 798	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 79
17	Gladiator	gladiator?	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1676
18	Gladiator	gladiator?	M 103?	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 75
19	Gladiator	gladiator?	C 133	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 82
20	Gladiator	gladiators	M 94 left figure	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1064/1148
21	Gladiator	gladiators	C 122	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1148 A

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findr
2	Rosette & wreath	leaf indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	ac 66
3	Rosette & wreath	leaf indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H 80
4	Rosette & wreath	leaf indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	V1-1974
5	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 11 leaves	C 823, C 257; GP 716, GP 729	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 70
6	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 11 leaves	C 823, C 257; GP 716, GP 729	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L II	wp 89-C9-103
7	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 12 leaves	C 505, C 258; GP M 241, GP 85	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L II	1728
8	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 12 leaves with a midrib	GP 85, GP M241; K 507, K M84; L 343	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I B	821
9	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 12 leaves with a midrib	GP 85, GP M241; K 507, K M84; L 343	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	IV-64.9?
10	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 12 leaves with a midrib	GP 85, GP M241; K 507, K M84; L 343	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 70
11	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 18 leaves	C 605, C 262	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1794
12	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 18 leaves	C 605, C 262	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 74
13	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 18 leaves	C 605, C 262	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	M 67
14	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 18 leaves	C 605, C 262	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I A	M 77
15	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1811
16	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 89
17	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	J 89
18	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I B	LV 6500
19	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 101
20	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 80
21	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	put 03
22	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 32 leaves	C 437, C 266; H 110; Q 1898-1900	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	V-I
23	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 8 leaves	C 648, C 255; D 542; GP 496; Loes 1857	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	5015
24	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 8 leaves	C 648, C 255; D 542; GP 496; Loes 1857	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 19
25	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 8 leaves	C 648, C 255; D 542; GP 496; Loes 1857	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	9.3
26	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 9 hart leaves	C 637, C 253; Li 28	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1115
27	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 9 hart leaves	C 637, C 253; Li 28	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	? 20
28	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 9 hart leaves	C 637, C 253; Li 28	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	H 5264
29	Rosette & wreath	Rosette with estimated number of 9 hart leaves	C 637, C 253; Li 28	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	LV
30	Rosette & wreath	twig indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	1346
31	Rosette & wreath	twig indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	I-96
32	Rosette & wreath	twig indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	L 99
33	Rosette & wreath	twig indet	indet	RMO 10575/UL 3220	L I-VIII	N 94



## Appendix VIII. Images on picture lamps Haltern

Plate 45: Haltern: Deities

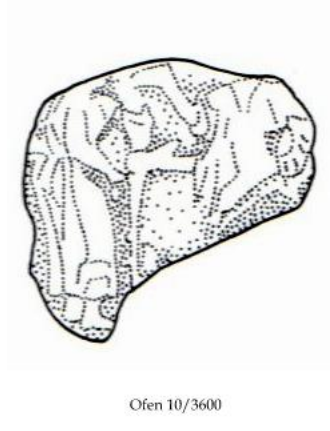
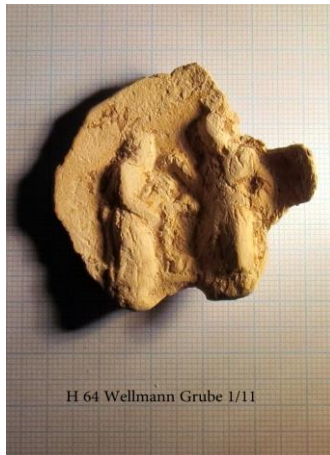
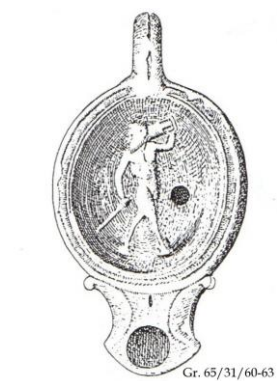
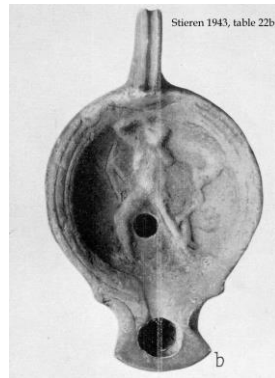


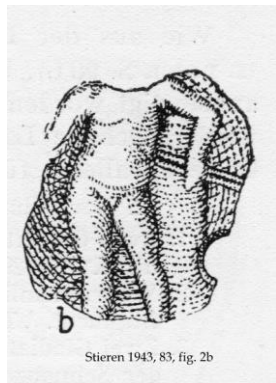
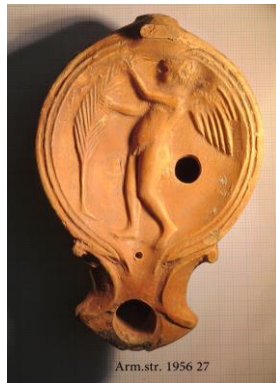
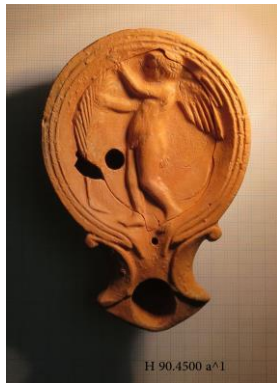
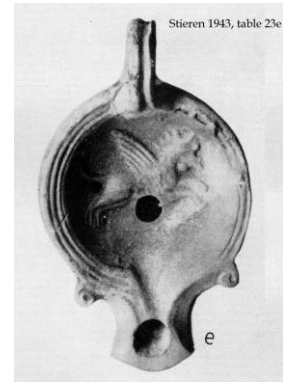
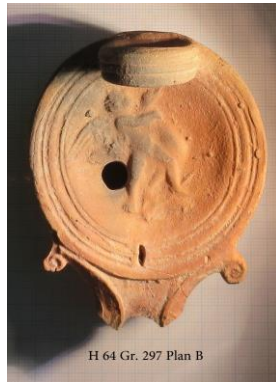
Plate 46: Haltern: Deities



Mould



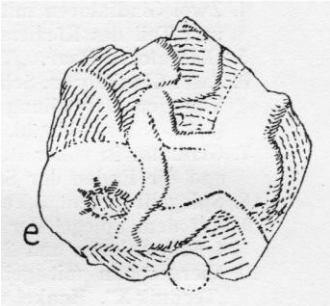
Plate 47: Haltern: Cupids & Myths



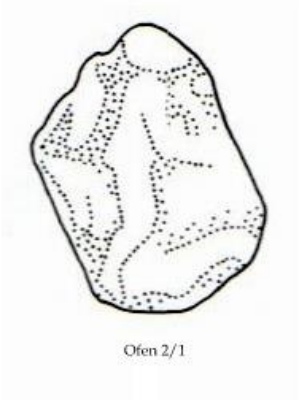
Amor with torch and tibia



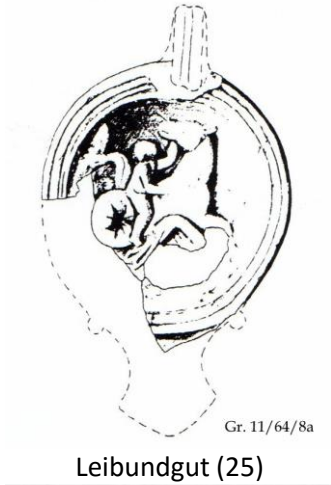
Plate 48: Haltern: Cupids & Myths



Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2e



Ofen 2/1



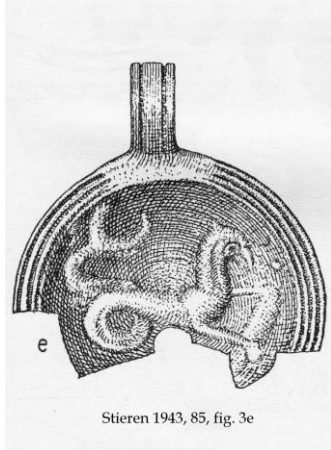
Leibundgut (25)



Gr. 65/31/64



Bachofen 1958, table 1, fig. 3



Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3e

Plate 49: Haltern: Daily/ritual & objects

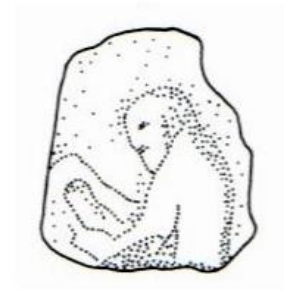


189 H 09.45

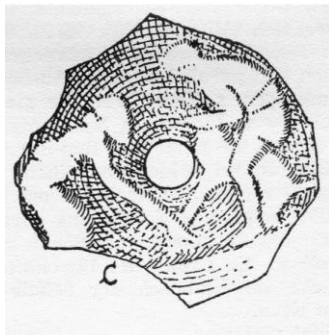


Stieren 1943, table 23b

b



Ofen 6/25



Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3c

Liesen 1994, 38-39, nr. 122



330 07.24 56



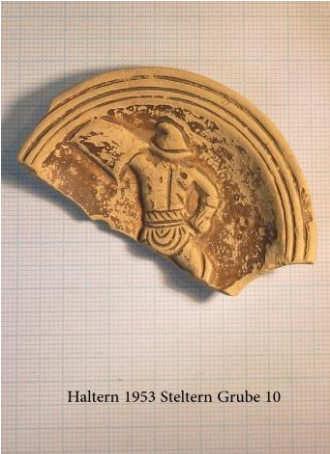
Bachofen 1958, table 51, nr. 3



Plate 50: Haltern: Gladiators



Haltern 1964 Arminiusstr. 13 Grube 1 Wellm.



Haltern 1953 Steltern Grube 10



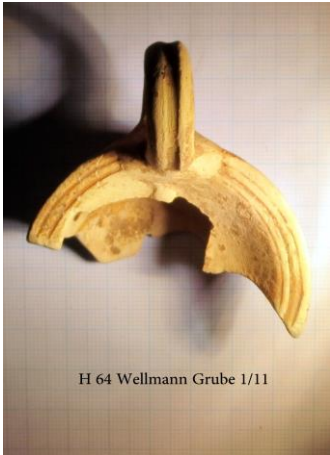
Hal 1954 Wellm. Gr. 91a



?



H 56 253a



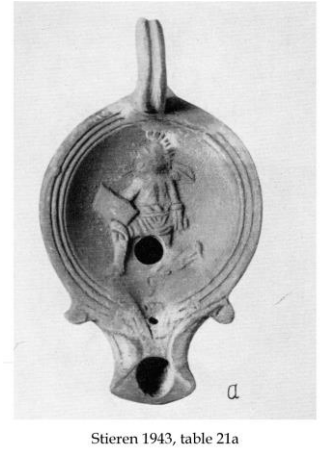
H 64 Wellmann Grube 1/11



192



Stieren 1943, table 21b



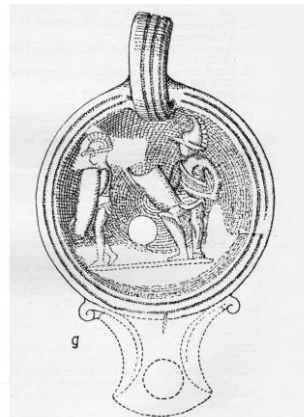
Stieren 1943, table 21a



Plate 51: Haltern: Gladiators

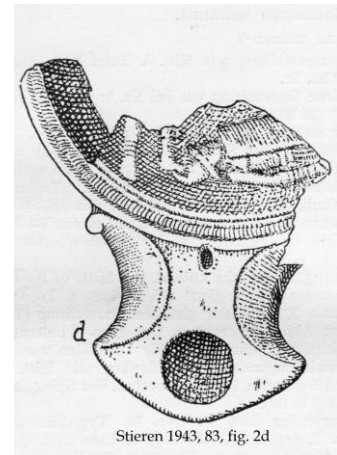


25/29/916



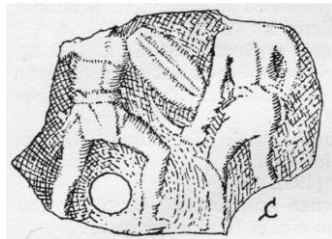
Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2g

1931, 5



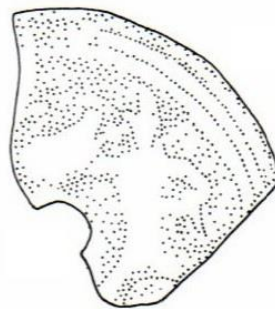
Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2d

1932, 58

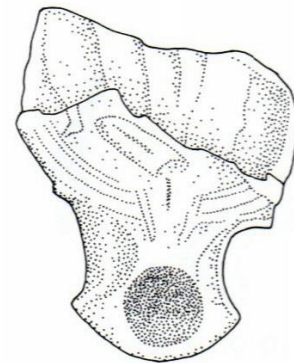


Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2c

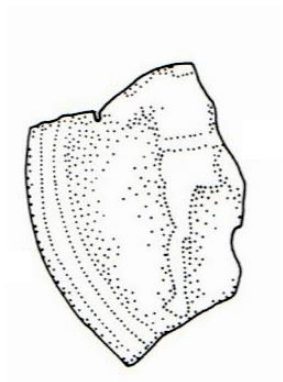
25/29, 114



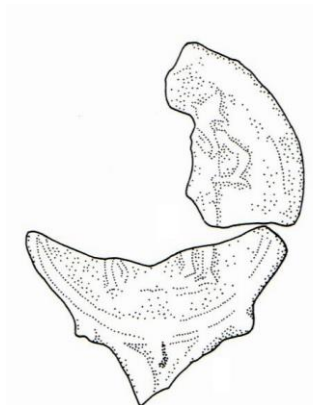
Ofen 6/30



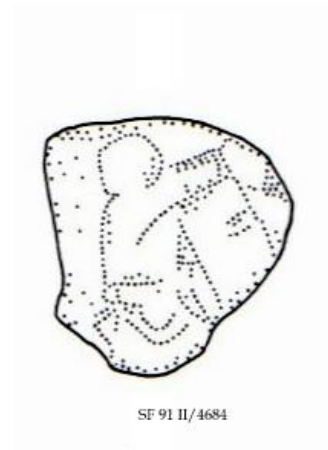
Ofen 4/19



Ofen 10/10

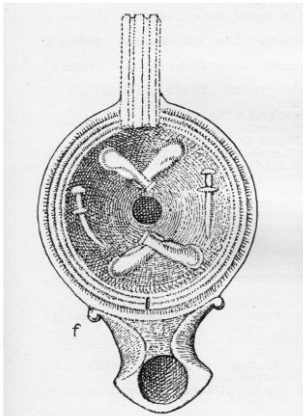


Ofen 6/35

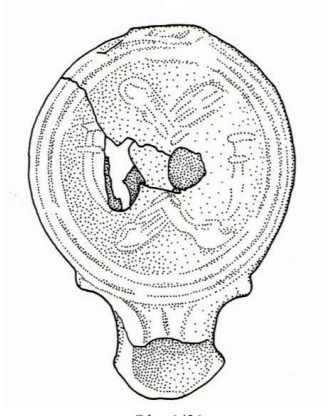


SF 91 II/4684

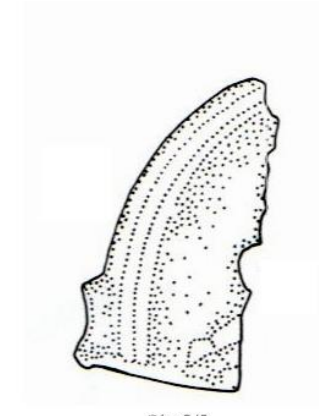
Plate 52: Haltern: Gladiators



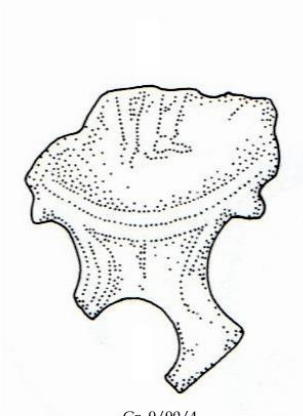
Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2f  
1931, Gr. 68/1



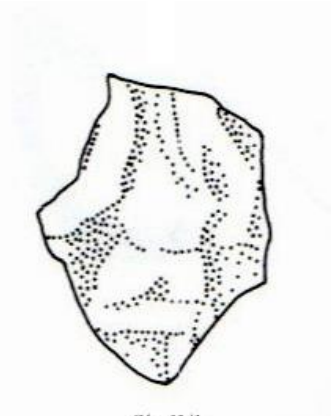
Ofen 6/36



Ofen 5/5



Gr. 9/90/4



Ofen 11/1



Ofen 11/1

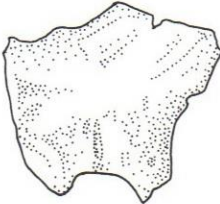


Ofen 6/33

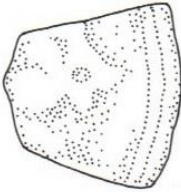


Ofen 10/3601

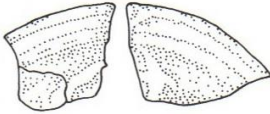
Plate 53: Haltern: Gladiators



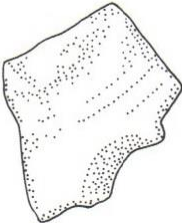
Ofen 6/27



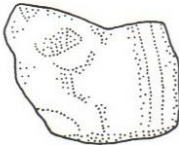
Ofen 6/26



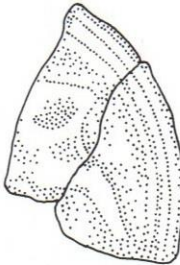
Ofen 6/29



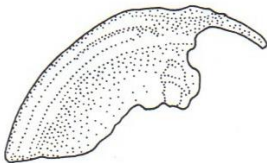
Ofen 6/31



Ofen 6/32



Ofen 6/34



Ofen 5/4

Plate 54: Haltern: Entertainment



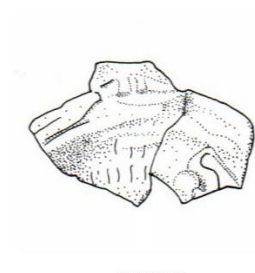
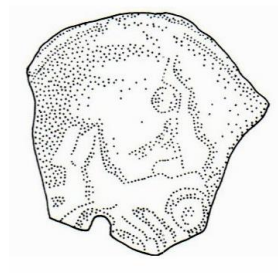
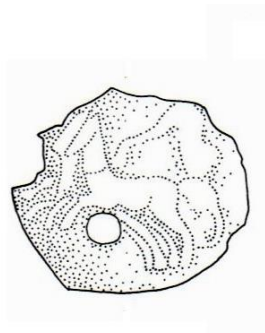
329 h 1925 29.910 Stieren 84, nr. 10



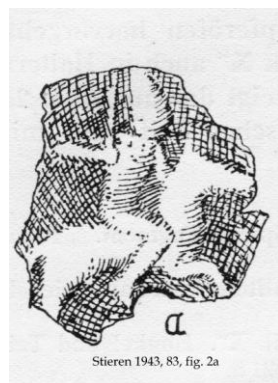
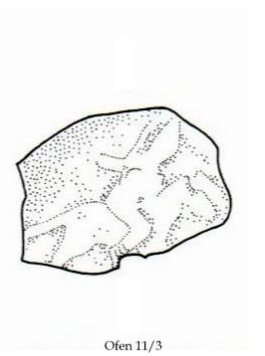
Plate 55: Haltern: Entertainment



H 1925 29.911 332



Ha 56.213 Eru Arm

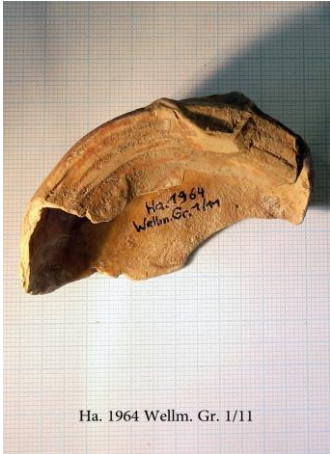


Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2a

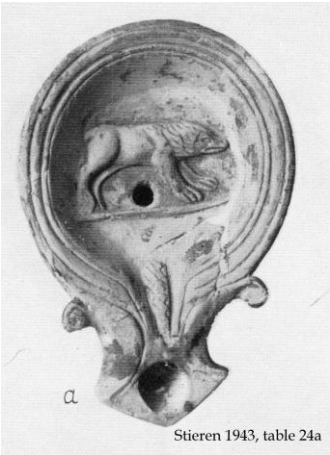


Stieren 1943, table 23a

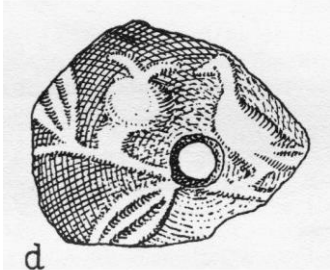
Plate 56: Haltern: Animals



Stieren 1943, table 24a



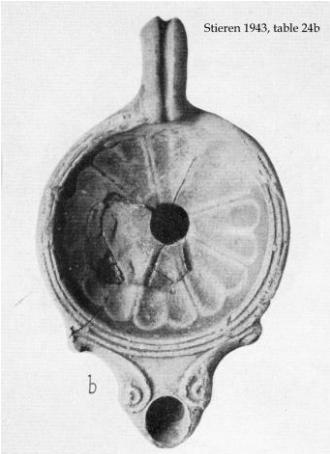
Gr. 59/31/202



Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3d

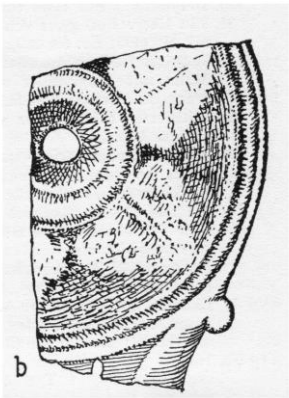


Plate 57: Haltern: Rosette & wreath



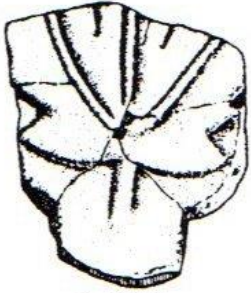
Stieren 1943, table 24b

25/29, 98



Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3b

25/29, 116



Gr. 220/56/6

## Appendix IX. Database Haltern

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Animals	bird on a twig	C 221, E L1864, L 326, Q 2422-2427, R 518, St 32	Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3d; 86, nr. 32	L I-VIII	25/29, 713
3	Animals	boar	Q 792, Q 2358, St 31	Stieren 1943, table 24a; 86, nr. 31; Rudnick 122 and table 54	L I A	Gr. 59/31/202 (1931, Gr. 59, 202)
4	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/22
5	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/23
6	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/24
7	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/25
8	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/26
9	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/27
10	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/28
11	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/29
12	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/30
13	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/31
14	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/32
15	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 218/56/4
16	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/10
17	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/11
18	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/8
19	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/9
20	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/10
21	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/7
22	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/8
23	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/9
24	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 54/64/6
25	Animals	bull	V 113 and ?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 60/64/11
26	Animals	dog and boar	C 111, L 189, H 53, M 94, Mlas 168	Haltern am See 2	L I-VIII	Ha 68 36a
27	Animals	fish/dolphin?	L 320, M 208, Q 2622, Q 1848, R 501-503	Herne	L I-VIII	Ha 1964 Wellm. Grube 1/11
28	Animals	horse	Q 2891	Haltern am See 2	L I A	177
29	Animals	horse	Haehnle 1912, MAK 6, table 13, nr. 10	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/21

References	
C = Cahn 2011	Loe = Loeschcke 1919
D = Deneauve 1969	M = Goethert-Polaschek 1985
E = Eckardt 2002	Q < 1500 = Bailey 1980
Ev = Evelein 1928	Q > 1500 = Bailey 1988
F = Fremersdorf 1922	R = Rivet 2003
GP = Goethert-Polaschek 1985	V = Vegas 1966
H = Heres 1972	Bach = Bachofen 1958 (1867)
K = Kirsch 2002	Mla = Mlasowsky 1993
L = Leibundgut 1977	St = Stieren 1943
Li = Liesen 1994	

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Cupids & myths	amor with goose	Mla 119	Haltern am See 2	L I-VIII	H 64 Gr 297 Plan B
3	Cupids & myths	amor with palm twig	no parallel	Haltern am See 2	L I A	Arm str. 1956 27
4	Cupids & myths	amor with palm twig	no parallel	Haltern am See 2	L I A	H 90.4500 A^1
5	Cupids & myths	Amor with torch and tibia	C 28; M 1	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2b; 84, nr. 17	L I-VIII	1932, 58
6	Cupids & myths	Amor with torch and tibia	C 28; M 1	Stieren 1943, table 22c; 84, nr. 16	L I C	Stieren 1943, table 22c
7	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2e; 84, nr. 18	L I-VIII	1932, 174
8	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/10
9	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/11
10	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick table 76	L I-VIII	Gr. 11/64/08a
11	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 206/56/05 (?)
12	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 218/56/3
13	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/5
14	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/6
15	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/4
16	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/5
17	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 53/64/2
18	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Ofen 2/1
19	Cupids & myths	boy on hippocampus	L 25	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/50
20	Cupids & myths	gorgon	Mla 135	Haltern am See 1	L I-VIII	H 74 E 25
21	Cupids & myths	griffin galloping to the right	Q 901	Stieren 1943, table 23e; 84, nr. 28	L I A	25/29, 706
22	Cupids & myths	griffins hunting a deer	D 311; L 113	Stieren 1943, table 23d; 84, nr. 29	L I B	25/29, 914
23	Cupids & myths	griffins hunting a deer	D 311; L 113; Stieren 1943, table 23d	Haltern am See 2	L I B	Ha 1925 29.914 (180)
24	Cupids & myths	hippocampus to the right with fish	Q 784	Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3e; 86, nr. 30	L I-VIII	1931, 6
25	Cupids & myths	sea 'dog'	Q 784	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/33
26	Cupids & myths	sea 'dog'	Q 784	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/34
27	Cupids & myths	Triton with child detained by tail	Bach table 1, fig. 3	Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3a; 86, nr. 33; Rudnick 122 and table 54	L I-VIII	Gr. 65/31/64

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/14
3	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/15
4	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/4155
5	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 12/6
6	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 4/20
7	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 7/3
8	Daily & ritual & objects	human figures	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/100
9	Daily & ritual & objects	naked women around a water basin	D 615, Mlas 68-69, St table 23b	Haltern am See 2	L I-VIII	189 H 09.45
10	Daily & ritual & objects	naked women around a water basin	D 615, Mlas 68-69, St table 23b	Stieren 1943, table 23b; 84, nr. 27	L I A	25/29, 912
11	Daily & ritual & objects	offeringscene	indet	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/25
12	Daily & ritual & objects	philosopher sitting on a bench	Bach table 51, nr. 3	Haltern am See 2	L I C	330 07.24 56
13	Daily & ritual & objects	two figures and a goat	Li 122	Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3c; 84, nr. 26	L I-VIII	25/29, 715
14	Daily & ritual & objects	two standing men	indet	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/7

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/01
3	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/02
4	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/03
5	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/04
6	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/05a
7	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/05b
8	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/05c
9	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick table 76	L I A	Gr. 1/64/18
10	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 11/64/07
11	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/1
12	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/2
13	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/3a
14	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/3b
15	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 60/64/5
16	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Haltern am See 1	L I A	H 64 Arm. 13 Grube 11
17	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Haltern am See 1	L I-VIII	H 64 Wellmann Grube 1/11
18	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Haltern am See 1	L I-VIII	H 64 Wellmann Grube 3
19	Deities	Athena and Erinys judging Orestes	Ev 44, V 74	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/3600
20	Deities	Hercules fighting against snake	Q 856	Stieren 1943, table 22b; 84, nr. 20	L I C	25/29, 709
21	Deities	Hercules fighting against snake	Q 856	Haltern am See 2	L I-VIII	Ha 84.565 a4
22	Deities	Maenad dancing	M 59	Stieren 1943, table 24d; 84, nr. 19	L I C	25/29, 913
23	Deities	Maenad dancing	M 59	Haltern am See 2	L I A	Ha 1925 29.913 (178)
24	Deities	Maenad dancing	M 59	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Ofen 11/4
25	Deities	Maenad with Thyrsus staff	D 291; Q 774	Haltern am See 2	L I-VIII	Ha Milt AKII Tafel 32,3

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 3/64/4
3	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 60/64/6
4	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Haltern am See 2	L I C	Ha 81.025a^1
5	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/16
6	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/17
7	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/18
8	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick table 32	L I A	Ofen 6/19
9	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/20
10	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/21
11	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/22
12	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/23
13	Deities	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/24
14	Deities	Silenus with kantharos	Albrecht 1943, BAW 6, 84, table 22d	Stieren 1943, table 22d; 84, nr. 21-24; Rudnick 122	L I B	Gr. 65/31/60 (1931, Gr. 65, 60)
15	Deities	Silenus with kantharos	Albrecht 1943, BAW 6, 84, table 22d	Stieren 1943, table 22d; 84, nr. 21-24; Rudnick 122	L I B	Gr. 65/31/61 (1931, Gr. 65, 61)
16	Deities	Silenus with kantharos	Albrecht 1943, BAW 6, 84, table 22d	Stieren 1943, table 22d; 84, nr. 21-24; Rudnick 122	L I B	Gr. 65/31/62 (1931, Gr. 65, 62)
17	Deities	Silenus with kantharos	Albrecht 1943, BAW 6, 84, table 22d	Stieren 1943, table 22d; 84, nr. 21-24; Rudnick 122	L I B	Gr. 65/31/63 (1931, Gr. 65, 63)
18	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 5/3
19	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 9/1
20	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/92
21	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/93
22	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/94
23	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/95
24	Dieties	Odysseus and Polyphemos	C 482, C 517-518, C 616-617, K 112, L 55, M 71	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91/90

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/12
3	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/13
4	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/14
5	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/15
6	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/16
7	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/17
8	Entertainment	biga	V 52	Rudnick 164 and table 76	L I-VIII	Gr. 213/56/1
9	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 52/64/6
10	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 54/64/5
11	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 55/64/3
12	Entertainment	biga	V 52	Herne	L I A	Ha 56213 Eru Arm
13	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/4153
14	Entertainment	biga	V 52	Rudnick table 33	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/4154
15	Entertainment	biga	V 52	Rudnick table 33	L I-VIII	Ofen 11/2
16	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/37
17	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/38
18	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/39
19	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/101
20	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/102
21	Entertainment	biga	V 52?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/103
22	Entertainment	desultor	indet	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/18
23	Entertainment	desultor	indet	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/19
24	Entertainment	desultor	indet	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 1/11/64/20
25	Entertainment	desultor	indet	Rudnick 164	L I-VIII	Gr. 220/56/8
26	Entertainment	horse driver standing on rampant horse	indet	Stieren 1943, 84, nr. 12	no image	25/29, 118
27	Entertainment	horse driver with uplifted stick	indet	Stieren 1943, 84, nr. 14	no image	12/13, 3
28	Entertainment	horse driver with uplifted stick	H 84, K M31, L 249, M 122	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2a; 84, nr. 13	L I-VIII	1932, 65
29	Entertainment	horse driver with uplifted stick	H 84, K M31, L 249, M 122	Rudnick table 33	L I-VIII	Ofen 11/3

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Entertainment	men with animal masks	L 256	Stieren 1943, table 23a; 84, nr. 25	L I A	Stieren 1943, table 23a
3	Entertainment	quadriga with three parallel horses	C 151; H 645; Mla 200	Herne	L I B	Ha 68 Pl. L Gr 538
4	Entertainment	quadriga with four parallel horses	Albrecht 1943, BAW 6, table 21c	Herne	L I A	Halterm 63 Gr. 3?
5	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/12
6	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/13
7	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 4/21
8	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/40
9	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/41
10	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/43
11	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/44
12	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/45
13	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/46
14	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/47
15	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 7/2
16	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/104
17	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/105
18	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/107
19	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/108
20	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/109
21	Entertainment	quadriga	indet	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/110
22	Entertainment	quadriga with four parallel horses	Albrecht 1943, BAW 6, table 21c	Halterm am See 2; Stieren 1943, table 21c; 84, nr. 10	L I B	329 h 19.25 29.910
23	Entertainment	quadriga with three parallel horses	C 151; H 645; Mla 200	Halterm am See 2; Stieren 1943, table 21d; 84, nr. 11	L I C	H 1925 29.911 332
24	Entertainment	quadriga with three parallel horses	C 151; H 645; Mla 200	Rudnick table 33	L I C	Ofen 6/42
25	Entertainment	quadriga driver ?	V 52	Rudnick table 33	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/106

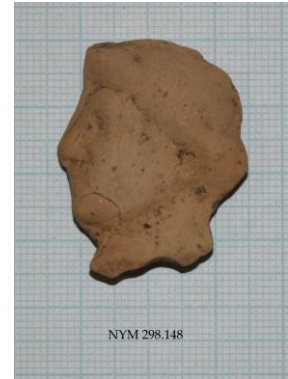


	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Gladiators	arm and leg Thracian	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/32
3	Gladiators	arm and leg Thracian	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/34
4	Gladiators	fallen shield	indet	Rudnick table 31	L I C	Ofen 4/19
5	Gladiators	fallen shield from Samnite, Thracian winning	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/30
6	Gladiators	fallen shield from Samnite, Thracian winning	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/33
7	Gladiators	fallen shield, right side of right figure	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick 49, table 31	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/98
8	Gladiators	foot right figure	indet	Rudnick 49, table 31	L I-VIII	SF 91 II/97
9	Gladiators	foot right figure, stepping out, no shield	indet	Rudnick 49, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 9/2
10	Gladiators	foot right figure, stepping out, no shield	indet	Rudnick 49, table 31	L I B	SF 91/91
11	Gladiators	gladiator raising shield	M 96 left	Herne	L I-VIII	Haltern 1953 Steltern Grube 10
12	Gladiators	gladiator walking away	D 314; K M44; M 95	Herne	L I-VIII	? 21
13	Gladiators	gladiator walking away	D 314; K M44; M 95	Herne	L I C	Ha. 1964 Arm.str. 13 Gr. 1 Wellm.
14	Gladiators	gladiator with round shield in diagonal position	L 194; Q 780, Q 781, Q 782; V 55	Stieren 1943, table 22a; 84, nr. 15	L I A	25/29, 716
15	Gladiators	gladiators	L 209; V 84/85	Haltern am See 2	L I-VIII	Ha 56 253a
16	Gladiators	gladiators	L 196; Q 785	Herne	L I-VIII	Haltern 1954 Wellm. Gr. 91a
17	Gladiators	gladiators	M 112?	Rudnick 49	L I-VIII	Ofen 10/3601
18	Gladiators	head of lonely Thracian, shield low	right figure of L 196; Q 785	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 5/4
19	Gladiators	head, shield	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/29
20	Gladiators	helmet of gladiator?	indet	Haltern am See 1	L I-VIII	H 64 Wellmann Grube 1/11
21	Gladiators	Hoplomachus, Thracian	L 202; M 90	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/35
22	Gladiators	indet	indet	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Gr. 9/90/4
23	Gladiators	indet	indet	Rudnick 164	no image	Gr. 91a/64/8
24	Gladiators	indet	indet	Rudnick table 32	L I-VIII	Ofen 5/5
25	Gladiators	indet	indet	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/26
26	Gladiators	indet	indet	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/27
27	Gladiators	indet	indet	Rudnick 50, table 31	L I-VIII	Ofen 6/31

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Categories	Motif	References	Context number	Type	Findnumber
2	Gladiators	kneeling gladiator to the left	M 91 right	Stieren 1943, 84, nr. 8	no image	1932, 50
3	Gladiators	kneeling gladiator to the left	M 91 right	Stieren 1943, table 21a; 84, nr. 7	LI C	25/29, 712
4	Gladiators	left figure standing, right kneeling	L 194; Q 780, Q 781, Q 782; V 55	Haltern am See 2	LI-VIII	192
5	Gladiators	left figure standing, right kneeling	L 194; Q 780, Q 781, Q 782; V 55	Stieren 1943, table 21b; 84, nr. 3	LI B	25/29, 915
6	Gladiators	left figure, winning hoplomachus	D 314; K M44; M 95	Rudnick table 32	LI B	Ofen 10/10
7	Gladiators	left figure, winning hoplomachus	D 314; K M44; M 95	Rudnick table 32	LI-VIII	SF 91 II/99
8	Gladiators	leg and shield right figure	L 196; Q 785	Rudnick 49, table 31	LI C	SF 91 II/96
9	Gladiators	murmillo with uplifted sword	C 119	Rudnick table 32	LI-VIII	SF 91 II/4684
10	Gladiators	one standing gladiator and one horizontal	H 47, H 48	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2d; 84, nr. 6	LI C	1932, 58
11	Gladiators	Retiarius	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 1/11/64/06
12	Gladiators	Retiarius	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 1/11/64/07
13	Gladiators	Retiarius	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 1/11/64/08
14	Gladiators	Retiarius with trident	C 132	Rudnick table 32	LI-VIII	Ofen 11/1
15	Gladiators	Thracian	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 1/64/19
16	Gladiators	Thracian	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 218/56/2
17	Gladiators	Thracian	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 52/64/3
18	Gladiators	Thracian	indet	Rudnik 164	no image	Gr. 60/64/6
19	Gladiators	two gladiators	F type 16, H 50, L 202, M 90, V 86	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2g; 84, nr. 5	LI B	1931, 5
20	Gladiators	two gladiators with simply helmets	indet	Stieren 1943, 84, nr. 4	no image	25/29, 714
21	Gladiators	two gladiators, right one missing shield	D 314; K M44; M 95	Stieren 1943, 84, nr. 2	LI-VIII	25/29, 113
22	Gladiators	two gladiators, right one missing shield	D 314; K M44; M 95	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2c; 84, nr. 1	LI-VIII	25/29, 114
23	Gladiators	two leg protections, two swords	C 140; Q 764	Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2f; 84, nr. 9	LI B	Gr. 68/31/1 (1931, Gr. 68.1)
24	Gladiators	two leg protections, two swords	C 140; Q 764	Rudnick table 32	LI-VIII	Ofen 6/36
25	Rosettes & wreaths	leaf	indet	Rudnick 164 and table 76	LI-VIII	Gr. 220/56/6
26	Rosettes & wreaths	Rosette of five acanthus leaves	C 12-13, C 1106	Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3b; 86, nr. 34	LI-VIII	25/29, 116
27	Rosettes & wreaths	rosette with 18 leaves	C 637, C 253, Li 28	Stieren 1943, table 24b; 86, nr. 36a	LI A	25/29, 098

## Appendix X: Similarities in size and shape: amulets?

Nijmegen Kops Plateau:

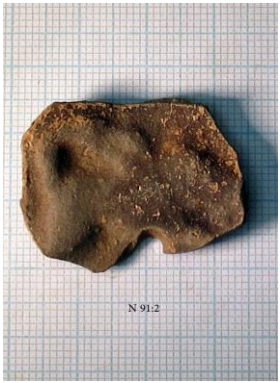


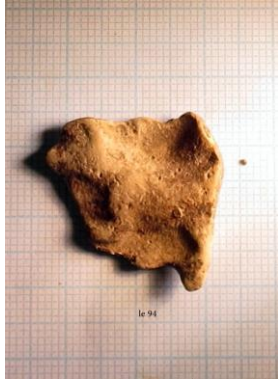


Velsen 1:



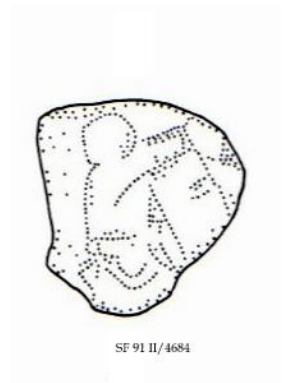
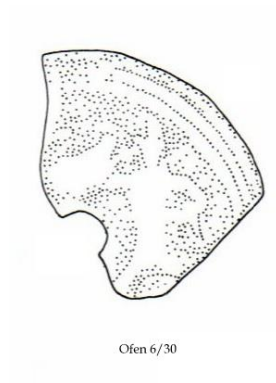
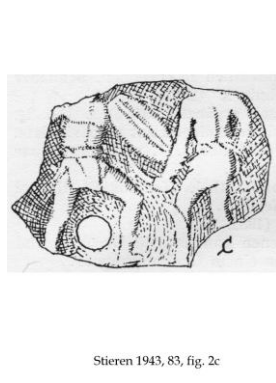
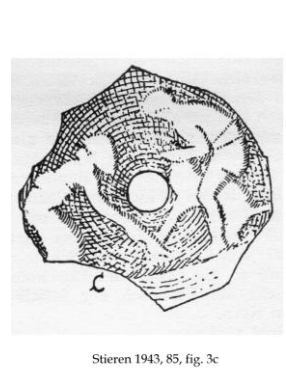
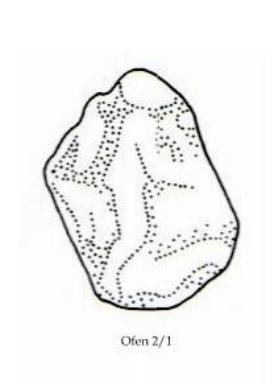
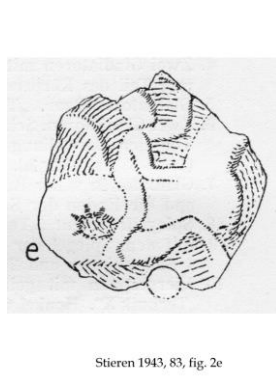
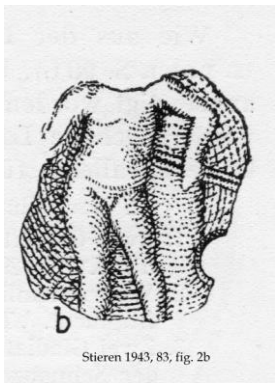
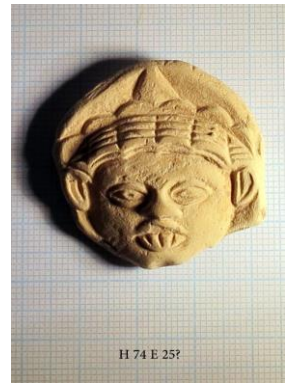
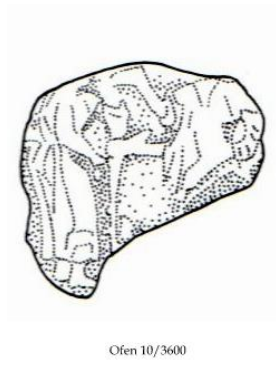
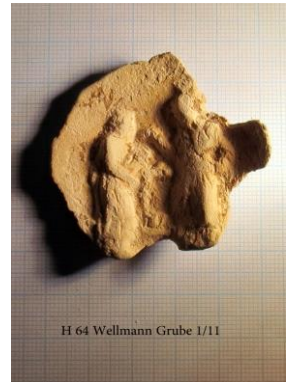
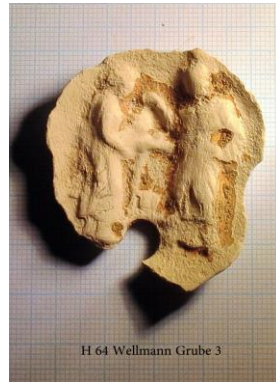


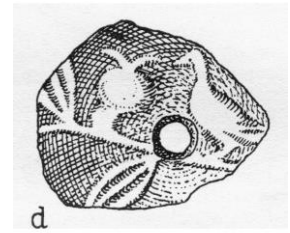
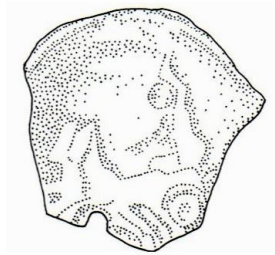
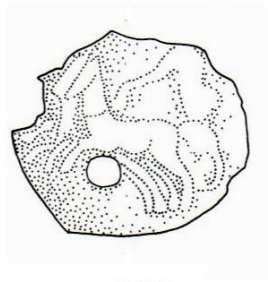
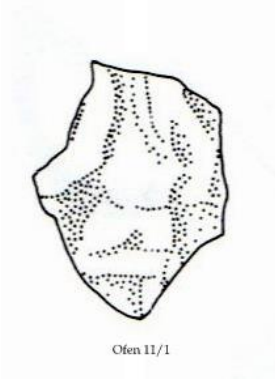




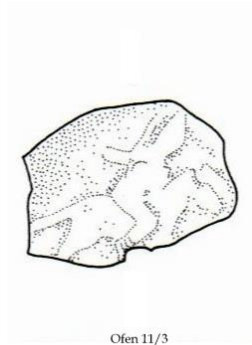


Haltern:





Stieren 1943, 85, fig. 3d



Stieren 1943, 83, fig. 2a



*Author's grandson in Archeon:  
'as the twig is bent the tree is inclined' (photo by author).*