

Roman Religion in Germania Inferior

A case study of The Temple of Empel



Roman Religion in Germania Inferior: A case study of the temple of Empel

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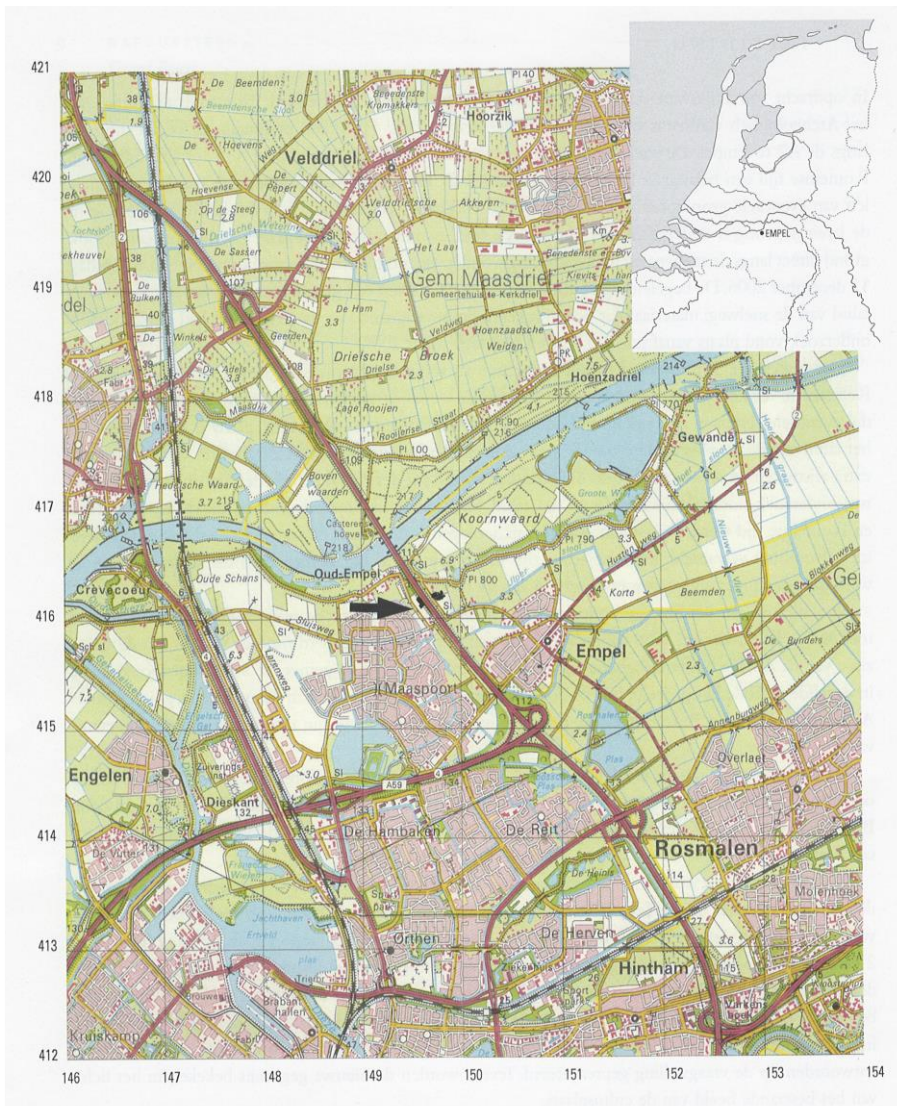


Figure 1: Modern topographic map of the location (Scale 1:50.000). The black area near the black arrow shows the temple location (Renswoude 2010, 2).

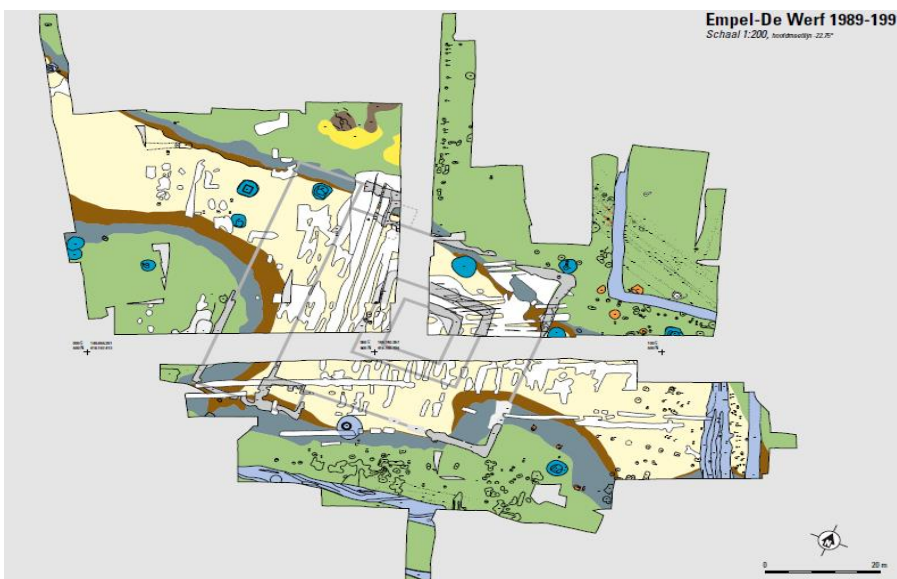


Figure 2: Drawing of the site in Empel. The structure of a temple complex is clearly visible (Hiddink 2018).

1 Introduction

These days, most people know Empel, a small village near 's-Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands, from the infamous Empel interchange ('knooppunt Empel' in Dutch) on the A2 highway. Generally, people negatively associate this place with the serious traffic congestions, which happen every Monday to Friday of the week. The Empel interchange location is a complex traffic solution. Some people state that this a great way solution to bring two highways together, whereas others state that it was awfully built. However, most of the people, waiting in the queue there, are probably unaware of the fact that this is also the location of an ancient Roman temple complex; the temple of Empel. This temple complex is, like the interchange Empel, interpreted differently by different scholars and it thus makes it an interesting research topic. I live near the archaeological site in Empel and in this area no one knows about the multiple interpretation of the temple complex. Everyone assumed one idea and sees this as the truth. Due the local connection towards the site, I would like to understand this site better and see how this archaeological site can be better understand in order to better understand my personal living space.

1.1 The discovery and excavation of the Roman temple site in Empel, the Netherlands

The amateur archaeologist Jan van Bergen thought that this particular location in Empel was an important site in the early 1980s, as he recovered many Roman metal artefacts there, especially after the fields were ploughed (Lotte and Norde 2009, 4). In the years following his early discoveries, even more Roman artefacts were retrieved from this location, which indicated that it might very well be an important archaeological site. The archaeological department of the municipality 's-Hertogenbosch, called *Bouwhistorie, Archeologie en Monumentenzorg* (BAM), nowadays called *Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch*, was afraid that farming would threaten to destroy this archaeological site. Their solution was to excavate the entirety of the site in 1989–1991 in collaboration with the *Instituut voor Prae- en Protohistorie van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (IPP-UvA) (Roymans and Derks 1994, 10). Figure 1 shows the location of the site, marked with black dots, in a modern topographic map (Renswoude 2010, 2).

During the excavation many Roman artefacts, such as statuettes, spears, swords, pottery, coins, seal boxes, and fibulae were retrieved. Moreover, the contours and structure of a large building were revealed in the subterranean layers (Figure 2). These archaeological findings and the found building construction led to the conclusion that this site must have been a Roman temple complex (Roymans and Derks 1994, 48-49). After the excavation, the site became known as the temple of Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 14).

Roymans and Derks, the archaeologists from the IPP-UvA, concluded that the temple of Empel was dedicated to Hercules Magusanus by the Batavian military elite (Roymans and Derks 1994, 24).

Their arguments for this specific dedication were as follows. Firstly, they found a bronze votive inscription from a Roman soldier to Hercules Magusanus (Figure 3). Secondly, they found a small bronze statuette of Hercules *bibax* (Figure 4). The combination of a votive inscription and the statuette of Hercules point to a Hercules worship at Empel according to Romans and Derks (Roymans and Derks 1994, 25). Thirdly, they found an unusually large amount of military equipment for this region: spears, armour, horse gear, helmets, and swords. Roymans and Derks interpreted the presence of military gear as being votive offers for Hercules Magusanus, because according to them Hercules was a military and masculine god (Roymans and Derks 1994, 26). Lastly, in Sint-Michelsgestel, a town situated 10 km south of Empel, another votive stone dedicated to Hercules Magusanus was been found in 1629 (Figure 5). This votive stone was found in a secondary find context which, according to Roymans and Derks, indicates that the stone came possible from Empel, as this was the closest Hercules cult place of the area (Roymans and Derks 1994, 26). Therefore, based on all this evidence, Roymans and Derks concluded that Empel used to have a temple complex for one specific audience, namely the military Batavian elite, dedicated to one specific supreme deity, Hercules Magusanus (Roymans and Derks 1994, 33-35). Roymans and Derks do not researched the possible roles of participation and devotion of other deities.



Figure 3: Votive inscription (5 cm) that was found in Empel. The text on this plate is: *Hercvli/magvsen(o)/ivlivs gen/ialis veter(anus)/leg(ionis) X g(eminiae) p(iae) f(idelis)/v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) t(aetus) m(erito)* (For Hercules Magusanus Iulius Genialis, veteran of Legio X, has honoured the vow of his free will and according to custom) (Roymans and Derks 1994, 22).



Figure 4: Statuette of Hercules *bibax* (8.1 cm) found in Empel (Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch)



Figure 5: The votive stone for Hercules Magusanus from Sint-Michielsgestel. The text: *Dedicated to Magusanus Hercules. Flavus, son of Vihirmas, highest magistrate of the Batavian administrative district, has fulfilled his vow* (Roymans and Derks 1994, 26).

1.2 The practise of Roman religion throughout the Roman Empire

Roman religion was an important element which interconnected with various parts of Roman life and society (Rüpke 2007, 1-2). Roman religion was not one static religion, but a diverse one containing multiple smaller cults and sects. The most central cults, inside the broader Roman religion were the ones worshipping one of the twelve (or thirteen) Olympian deities (Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, Diana, Hercules, Juno, Jupiter, Mars, Mercurius, Minerva, Neptune, Venus, and Vulcan), Roma (patron god of the city of Rome), the Capitoline triad (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva) and the holy emperors. The other cultist deities were mostly used as a type of syncretism to unify different cultures in one empire.

The Roman cult was pragmatic and based on the so-called *do ut des* principle 'I give so that you might give' (Beard 2008, 731). For example, religious rituals were practiced in order to obtain political success or to get a fertile harvest (Derks 1988, 10). Temple complexes were used as religious centres where people from different parts of Roman society came together. In these complexes large public devotions were made for the whole community, but also smaller devotions, by individuals to care for their personal problems. These smaller personal devotions were done in *lararia*. These were house altars where people made daily devotion towards the household deities, the *laras* (Beard 2008, 748). Roman temple complexes on the other hand were locations where various deities can be devoted in multiple ways; there was not one single deity or one typical audience in a temple complex, but usually a mixture of those (Revell 2007, 211; Rüpke 2007, 1-2). Moreover, the devotion in the temple complexes were not only personal, but also collective. Examples were devotion for military or political successions for the whole Roman Empire (Beard 2008, 331).

This diversity of Roman religions is also the result of the expansion of the Roman Empire. During the expansion of the empire, the Romans came in contact with other cultures and religions. After a conquest, a process of cultural transformation took place, where the military system integrated Roman cults into the local society and where the military men adapted and incorporated local religious elements (Beard 2008, 739; Warrior 2006, 14). Some scholars define this process of adaptation as a form of religious 'romanisation'. Others call this *interpretatio Romana* (Warrior 2006, 15). The result is that Roman religion became diverse with multiple deities, rituals, and forms of religion over time, because of the influence of other cultures. Different religious cultures syncretised together were a Roman cult was created with local elements (Webster 1997, 326). Since Roman religion was entangled with most parts of society it was used as a 'social lubricant' to overcome cultural and religious differences between different the great variety of cultures in the Roman Empire. The syncretisation of religion created a more harmonized empire (Ando 2005, 51; Warrior 2006, 18-19). This is perceived as the 'success formula' of the Roman Empire by several scholars, because *interpretatio Romana* fostered the syncretisation of local religions to unify into the Roman Empire after the Roman conquest and created a harmonious and workable society for interaction of different cultures (Revell 2007, 212; Webster 1997, 335).

1.3 Research problem

Roymans and Derks (1994) state that the temple of Empel is a cult place, where Hercules Magusanus was devoted, by the Batavian military elite, as the main god of this temple complex (Roymans and Derks 1994, 33-35). In our current understanding of Roman cults, temple complexes were locations where various types of deities could be devoted in numerous ways. The idea of one main deity in Empel seems to be an anomaly according to the current idea of Roman religions.

The reason why the cult place in Empel is different from others is not properly explained in the publication of Roymans and Derks. Especially, when there is archaeological evidence that explains that multiple deities were possible devoted in Empel. The publication of Roymans and Derks becomes somewhat problematic, because the site in Empel is used in multiple studies on how Roman religion worked in Germania Inferior without doing a peer review on the study of Roymans and Derks (Boer 2017; Hiddink 2018; Houten 2010; Lotte and Norde 2009; Nicolay 2007; Renswoude 2010). None of these scholars explain the way the site used to function in a broader perspective, only used it as an example. Using the temple site of Empel without further investigation could lead to false conclusions about the functioning of Roman religion, because the cult place in Empel may have been wrongly used as an example. For this reason, this thesis will use the temple of Empel as a case study and as an analogy how Roman religions were practiced and how Roman temple complexes on the fringes of the empire fit into this practice.

1.4 Research goal

The temple of Empel has been used in many different studies on Roman religions in Germania Inferior, without a proper investigation of how this cult place functioned in local society. The research goal of this thesis is to provide a further elaboration on this which helps to understand how the cult place in Empel functioned. This research goal is useful, because it provides knowledge and understanding of this temple complex itself. With this better understanding and knowledge about the temple of Empel this site can be used as an example in other further archaeological research on Roman religion in Germania Inferior.

On top of the focus on the archaeological site in Empel, focus this thesis also on the spatial distribution of Roman religion in Germania Inferior. The goal here is to map and understand where Roman religion takes place and in which kind of forms. By mapping out where and in which forms Roman religion can be found helps to understand how Roman religion functioned in Germania Inferior. Moreover, the result of mapping out the spatial distribution of Roman religion in Germania Inferior can also be used as a steppingstone for follow-up research for other archaeologists in their study about the functioning of Roman religion.

The scientific insight and knowledge about religion in Germania Inferior and the temple in Empel from this thesis will contribute to correctly reconstructing the past based on archaeological findings and to obtain a better understanding of the Roman period.

1.5 Research question

Since the understanding of the temple of Empel seems to form an anomaly, a research is necessary to explain why the site in Empel is such an abnormality, in order to better understand Roman religion in Germania Inferior¹.

Therefore, the research question of this thesis will be: *To what extent is the temple of Empel a religious local anomaly according to the current understanding of how Roman religious cult places functioned during the Roman Age?*

This main question wants to explore how a local cult place fits in, or diverge from, the general understanding of Roman religions. To answer this question three sub-questions are formulated. The first sub-question is aimed at understanding what kind of deities were devoted in this area of Germania Inferior. This sub-question is: *Which spatial distribution of deities in locations and artefacts is detectable in Germania Inferior according to the archaeological evidence?* The purpose of this first sub-question is to see how Roman cults used to function in Germania Inferior by analysing diverse archaeological evidence to learn if a spatial pattern in deity, object or location can be found. This is done by using a large dataset with different kinds of archaeological material (see chapter 3). Moreover, the sub-question investigates Germania Inferior on a national scale with the modern borders of the Netherlands to make clear research boundaries. The first sub-question helps to understand which deities, in which places, were devoted on a national scale in Germania Inferior to see if the general understanding of Roman religion is also suitable for Germania Inferior.

The second sub-question analyses the area where the Batavian used to live, the *civitas Batavorum*. According to Roymans, the *civitas Batavorum* is important because Hercules Magusanus was a popular god in this area (Roymans 2009, 238). This sub-question assesses this claim by investigating whether there is a spatial distribution of deities in temple complexes in this area. After this it can be concluded whether there were certain temple complexes dedicated to main deities in the *civitas Batavorum*. This sub-question is: *To what extent is the worshipping of specific deities detectable in*

¹ When Germania Inferior is mentioned in this thesis, this refers to the area of Germania Inferior within the borders of the current Netherlands. The parts of Germania Inferior located in Belgium and Germany are not considered here. This was chosen to define the research area clearly and to make the scale of research more compact, as Germania Inferior as a whole is too large to investigate in one thesis.

temple complexes in the civitas Batavorum according to archaeological data? This sub-question uses the same dataset as sub-question one, but only uses the data relevant to the temple complexes in the *civitas Batavorum*. The information from this sub-question helps to answer the main question by showing how temple complexes in the area of the temple of Empel functioned in order to conclude if the temple of Empel was an anomaly.

The last sub-question is focussed on the site in Empel itself with a local scale. The third sub-question is: *What kind of deities were possibly worshipped in Empel, based on the archaeological evidence that was found on this site?* The goal of this sub-question is to understand how Roman religion functioned inside the temple of Empel. In order to understand if the site could shed more light on the claim of the publication from Roymans and Derks.

The main question: *To what extent is the temple of Empel a religious local anomaly according to the current understanding of how Roman religious cult places functioned during the Roman Age?* consist about the understanding of Roman religion in Germania Inferior, the first sub-question, religion in temple complexes, the second sub-question, and of the temple of Empel itself in the last sub-question. The essence in de understanding of the functioning of the cult place in Empel is the investigation of Roman religion. Roman religion is an intangible element which can make it difficult to study. In order to investigate this a lot of data is necessary, but this data must also be interpreted. Therefore, in the theoretical framework a concept is explained that will help to investigate and interpret Roman religion, namely *interpretatio Romana*. This is all described in the following chapters of theoretical framework and methodology.

2 Theoretical framework

Religion was an important element connected to various layers of Roman society, such as politics, socio-economic aspects, military, personal identities as well as everyday practices (Rüpke 2007, 1–2). The religion's interconnectedness with Roman society makes it an intriguing exercise to investigate Roman religion on its own. One element that sheds light on Roman religion is the mechanism of *interpretatio Romana*. This theory means that local and Roman religion syncretise together, which means that local deities absorb and change into Roman deities (Orlin 2013, 750-751). According to scholar Ando (2005) this mechanism is: “*Interpretatio Romana* resembles many of the other mechanisms with which Romans and their subjects negotiated cultural difference, translation among them; it is likewise emblematic of the myriad problems besetting the study of cross-cultural contact in the ancient world” (Ando 2005, 50). Scholars claim that *interpretatio Romana* is the success factor for the Roman Empire, as thanks to *interpretatio Romana* different kinds of people with different cultural backgrounds can function peacefully next to each other and can communicate better with each other in the social fabric of one Empire (Orlin 2013, 752).

Absorbing local deities was a key concept in the Roman Empire, needed to unify different cultures within the Roman states (Rüpke 2007, 4). Therefore, Roman religion was also used to further peace, to maintain the status quo, to increase trade, and to improve communication between people from different ethnic backgrounds and cultures (Ando 2005, 50; Orlin 2013, 750). For example, the local supreme deity of a region was syncretised with the Roman main god Jupiter. The local people could continue to worship their local supreme god but morphed into the form of the Roman supreme deity Jupiter, which helped to increase and maintain unity, harmony, and the status quo within ever-changing borders of the Roman State. The only difference between a devotion ritual in and in the other parts of the Roman Empire, after *interpretatio Romana*, is that worshipping of Jupiter was performed by the use of local elements (Warrior 2006, 17).

Temple complexes were locations where religion could be expressed and practised in multiple ways. This means that there were special collective rituals for political or military support from the gods, usually done by and in groups, but also smaller personal rituals by individuals such as praying for fertility. Temple complexes were thus multifunctional religious structures, where cults for different deities and devotions by different groups of people could be expressed and practised (Warrior 2005, 16). In some of the larger temple complexes it was visible that certain of deities were more frequently worshipped in a temple complex than other deities (Revell 2007, 211). Moreover, temple complexes were not only places for devotion, but also featured more mundane elements such as trade and communication between people (Warrior 2005, 16-17).

There are multiple theories that help to study Roman religion. For example, ancient literature studies, iconographical studies, or study of Roman expansion (Webster 1997, 329). These methods have

their own advantages in research, as they have a specific focus in order to investigate Roman religion. The main problem is that most of the theories are investigated in a vacuum, they analyse archaeological evidence on one element and mostly in one type of location (Webster 1997, 334-335). For example, the study of Roman religion based on literature only investigated archaeological evidence that corresponded with Roman religion from the written sources. This means that a large amount of archaeological evidence is not studied with this method (Webster 1997, 326).

The strength of using the concept of *interpretatio Romana* is that with this one can see religion expressed in different ways in and areas of society, such as in trade or households, and not only focussed in one element (Orlin 2013, 749-750; Webster 1997, 334). Moreover, Roman cults were not only for religion purpose, but also used as a social structure to overcome culturally differences. *Interpretatio Romana* can captures the dynamic method that the Romans used to integrate different states into the Roman Empire where other methods cannot do this (Ando 2005, 50; Rüpke 2007, 5-6). This has been proven in multiple examples in Gaul, near Germania Inferior, were after the Roman conquest local deities transformed in Roman deities. These transition in deities were only detectable with *interpretatio Romana*, because it was visible in multiple artefacts together, pottery, coins and, statuettes, and in different kind of settings, households, markets, and, cult places (Andringa and Adler 2013; Derks 1998, 3-4; Kamash *et al.* 2010; Moore 1907; Warrior 2005).

The problem with *interpretatio Romana* is that it sometimes can be hard to detect, because it can be found in so many aspects of Roman society; the range in where *interpretatio Romana* can be detectible is wide (Webster 1997, 334-335). This could make *interpretatio Romana* hard to use. A solution for this problem is to make a dataset with clear boundaries when an artefact may enter the dataset and which kind of elements of an artefact are being investigated. The dataset is interpreted with the help of *interpretatio Romana* (see more chapter 3 methodology). Moreover, with a dataset it became clear which elements are investigated of an artefact for other scholars and the same elements are investigated on the same way for every artefact (Eijnatten *et al.* 2013, 56).

This thesis uses the concept *interpretatio Romana*, as it is a useful concept to understand in which way the temple of Empel appears to be, or not, an anomaly regarding Roman religious practices in Germania Inferior. With *interpretatio Romana* the different kinds of religious elements can be investigated to see how Roman religions were practised in Germania Inferior. Moreover, it can also help to understand how cults were put in practise for the Roman period. According to Roymans and Derks, the temple of Empel was a compound devoted to Hercules Magusanus as the supreme god of this cult place by the Batavian military elite (Roymans and Derks 1994, 33-35). When a local community devoted a Roman god it is quite possible that this was the result of *interpretatio Romana*. Using this concept helps to understand the temple complex itself, but also shed further light on how Roman cults functioned in Germania Inferior. In the end, this also helps to see if Empel was a religious anomaly in this region.

3 Methodology

In order to answer the main question if the temple of Empel is an anomaly in Roman religion, two phenomena must be researched. Firstly, how and where Roman cults functioned in Germania Inferior and which deities were devoted in this area. This is necessary to understand how religion functioned in order to conclude if something is an anomaly. The region of Germania Inferior is analysed in the first and second sub-question. The theoretical framework showed that Roman religion is entangled with multiple elements of Roman society. This thesis used the concept of *interpretatio Romana*, because this theory had an overcoming view that could capture the way how Roman religion functioned (Orlin 2013, 749-750; Webster 1997, 334). The second phenomenon is the cult place in Empel itself. This site must be investigated in order to later conclude if this cult place is an anomaly or not. This will be done in the last sub-question. With the information from these sub-questions a conclusion is drawn if the temple of Empel an anomaly in the general idea how Roman religion is functioned in Germania Inferior. The exact methodology how and why this thesis used a specific approach is explained in this chapter.

3.1 Methodology for the first and second sub-questions

The aim of the first sub-question is to investigate whether there is a spatial distribution of deities in Germania Inferior. After the outcome where, who and, how a deity was devoted this will be interpreted with *interpretatio Romana*. This means that there will be looked at the iconography of the deity; is this a syncretisation of Roman or local stylistic characteristics? The iconography is based on other iconographical designs in the Roman Empire. Moreover, according to *interpretatio Romana* religion can be taken place in multiple ways of society. This means that the location in where religion takes place needed to have a closer look; where these all temple complexes or also markets? The second sub-question focus specific on temple complexes. The aim of this sub-question is to investigate how Roman religion functioned in these locations. Here is a close look which deity were devoted and if these deities are syncretised deities.

The problem with *interpretatio Romana* is that it is a wide concept and can be found in many elements of society. To make it more clear which artefacts was used in this research a dataset was created. In this dataset are various elements labelled that later helped to interpret the data with *interpretatio Romana*. Part of the data was derived from the thesis of Roymans and Derks (1994), and the later excavations around the temple complex in 2007 (Renswoude 2010). The data from the excavation in 2007 were not available for Roymans and Derks, but were necessary to understand the cult place in Empel as the artefacts were originally from the cult place but were moved to adjacent areas due the land consolidation. Also, other data were added to the dataset to show the spatial distribution in Germania Inferior. The additional data were obtained from existing datasets (Archis2 and CIL), archaeological reports (Blom and Vos 2008; Bogaers and Hallebos 1993; Brandenburg and Hensing 2005; Chorus 2013; Hees 2010; Langeveld *et al.* 2004; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986; Mulder *et al.* 2004;

Polak and Wynia 1991; Polak *et al.* 2004; Vos 2009, Vos 2012; Waasdorp and Zee 1988; Yazar-Walvis 2017), archaeological studies (Boekel 1983; Bosman 1997; Daniels 1955; Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965; Driessen 2007, Enkevort and Thijssen 2005; Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992; Holwerde 1923, Hondius-Crone 1995; Jacobs, Langerak and van der Leer 2009; Panhuysen 1996; Panhuysen 2002; Panhuysen 2005; Panhuysen 2010; Remouchamps 1924; Stuart and Bogaers 2001; Waasdorp 1998; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta *et al.* 1969), depots (AGE, BOOR, and PZH) and museum collections (NBM, RMO, and VHM). Records were added to the dataset, when these met one of the following two criteria. First, a deity was depicted or described on the artefact. Second, an artefact was used in religious practices according to the source. One of the advantages of a dataset is that these conditions for the dataset were always described in the same way (Eijnatten *et al.* 57-58). The complete dataset can be found in Appendix 1.

In the dataset, the deity, object, place, find context, description of the object, the personal or collective space, whether the deity is depicted with another deity, date of the object, the find year and the source are described. These elements help to see how Roman religion functioned here, because these are the elements where *interpretatio Romana* can be used for interpretation:

1. God/goddess: Here is described which deity was described or depicted on the artefact. This element is necessary to find the spatial distribution of deities, and to see which deity was worshipped where in Germania Inferior.
2. Object: This is the type of artefact on which a god or goddesses is described or depicted. This includes a variety of items, such as altars, statuettes, gems, votive stones, or doorknobs. The type of artefact proved valuable information, as scholars claim that various kinds of artefacts were used in religious settings. Each of these specific types of artefacts can explain elements of Roman religion (Weddle 2010, 1).
3. Place: The current name of the location of a site is noted to show where an artefact was found. Besides the current name is also noted what the function of the location was in ancient times. For this element, several options are possible: cemetery, farm, harbour, *castra*, Roman road, *vicus*, villa area, rural settlement, ship, temple complex and *municipium*. The Netherlands contains two *municipia*: *Forum Hadriani* (Voorburg) and *Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum* (Nijmegen). These *municipia* have different political status than temple complexes, cemeteries, and military forts. This also means that for example a *vicus* or temple complex inside a *municipium* had a different kind of status than a *vicus* or temple complex outside a *municipium*. For this reason, for example a *vicus* in a *municipium* is described with the word *municipium* before the description of type of location to clarify the different political status in this area. The reason for this is that it creates a better balance between the differences in status of the location.

All the locations provide information which can show whether a deity was popular in a certain place. Therefore, this element can explain the spatial distribution patterns for different deities and is thus necessary for use in this thesis.

4. Find context and the primary or secondary state of the find context: This is the context in which an artefact was found. Moreover, there is described if a find context is primary or secondary. This was necessary to state something about the reliability of the find context (Berggren and Hodder 2003, 423). In some cases, the find context is unknown, for example, when an artefact was dredged up or retrieved by fishermen. These are also considered secondary contexts, because the exact layer in which the artefacts were originally situated is unknown. The find context is necessary to state extra elements for religious devotion, because find contexts are useful to claim extra elements applying to religion, for example, the typical deposition of statuettes in religion (Beard 2008, 741). Moreover, find context is necessary to lay claim on something about the reliability of information that the artefact provides.
5. Description: This is a description of how the artefact looked like. Here is a specific attention if the iconography of a deity is local or typical Roman. Moreover, extra information about the artefact can be added here. This element helps to distinguish artefacts found in the same location and later for the interpretation with *interpretatio Romana*.
6. Personal/collective space: This element describes the personal or collective setting in which the artefact functioned. Personal space is in a private context, such as a household, where the artefact was used in a personal relationship with the deity. The collective space includes areas where (almost) everyone was welcome. Such spaces usually had a political or economic context (Beard 2008, 731; Warrior 2006, 18-19). Artefacts found in public areas, such as temples or large monumental buildings, are in the collective space. This element is necessary to determine whether certain deities were worshipped in public spaces or whether the Romans had more personal relationships with the gods (Beard 2008, 732). This helps to see *interpretatio Romana*, because this element is the most visible in the public space (Warrior 2006, 20).
7. Single/multiple deities: In some cases, multiple gods were depicted and/or described on the same artefact. In this case, all the names of the deities were entered into the dataset and linked with this element. This element was added to avoid artificial distinctions between deities and value all the deities in the same way, but it still showed that certain deities were depicted together.
8. Date object: This describes the dating of the artefact, or its approximate period if no exact date was available. This element is necessary to investigate whether the distribution of deities in the whole Roman period was the same or whether a certain deity was only worshipped in certain times.

9. Excavation date/find year: This describes when an artefact was found. This element is important, because modern excavation techniques provide more information about the context (Berggren and Hodder 2003, 421).
10. Source: This is the source of the information about the artefact.

The dataset was a scheme where different artefacts were filled in. In this scheme were several elements described that later help with the interpretation by *interpretatio Romana*. This was the method in this thesis. First, with this dataset were multiple elements separately investigated, such as location, artefact or deity. By describing these elements it becomes easy to see different patterns in these elements (Eijnatten *et al.* 2013, 57). Secondly, these different aspects and/or patterns were interpreted with *interpretatio Romana*. This meant that there was looked at Roman or local iconographical elements by the deities and if the location was a cult location or everywhere in society where religion was used as a social lubricant. This means that find context must be investigated that showed how an artefact was used and functioned in the society. If the find context could not provide useful information, than similar find contexts must be investigated in order to understand how certain artefacts or deities operated in the find contexts (Webster 1997, 334-335). Moreover, the outcome became more reliable because peer reviews can be easily done due to the datasets transparency which elements were interpreted with this theory and which not (Eijnatten *et al.* 2013, 60). In the end, there will be concluded if Roman religion was diverse and in multiple settings of religion, like *interpretatio Romana* claimed it was, or that religion was an autonomic element in society devoted to the Capitoline triad, Roma or the holy emperors. This all leads to the conclusion how Roman religion functioned in Germania Inferior in order to conclude later if the site in Empel was an anomaly in Roman religions or not.

The second sub-question follows a similar methodology as the first sub-question but is on a regional scale. This sub-question sought to understand how the Roman religions were practised in temple complexes in the Batavian *batavorum*, according to the dataset. For this sub-question only the data applicable to temple complexes inside the *civitas Batavorum* is used from the dataset, these are the places studied: Kessel-Lith, Elst (Grote Kerk Elst and Elst-Westeraam), Empel, and Nijmegen (Nijmegen – Maasplein and Nijmegen – Fort Kraaijenberg). The data from this dataset was again interpreted with *interpretatio Romana* to learn how Roman cults functioned. This information was necessary to see if the temple of Empel functioned in a similar way.

3.2 Notes and limitations on the dataset

Unrecognised artefacts, or parts thereof, and coins, were not entered into the dataset. Unrecognised parts of artefacts were objects that cannot properly attributed to a deity, for example, only parts such as arms, feet, or the chest of an artefact which provide insufficient detail to associated these with a specific deity, emperor or common person. Therefore, these objects were not included in the dataset.

Coins are also not included, because coins have their own specific iconography and are also widely used as a tool for communication and commerce. Scholars claim that coins have a different status compared to other artefacts and must be investigated on their own with propaganda and iconographic communications methods (Roymans and Aarts 2009, 9-10). This means that different elements must be ascribed to coins compared to other artefacts. This cannot be done with the existing dataset. Therefore coins were not included in the dataset.

3.3 Methodology for the third sub-question

The third sub-question was on a local scale and focusses on the site of the temple of Empel. Material that was collected in and around the temple of Empel, from the excavations in 1990-1992 (Roymans and Derks 1994) and in 2007 (Renswoude 2010) was used to address this sub-question. The archaeological material collected there was categorized in seven groups; building material, statuettes and figures, weapons, inscription, animal sacrifices, jewellery, and drinking and table wear, to make it easier to investigate these. The artefacts from the temple complexes in Empel will be compared with similar artefacts and/or similar archaeological sites to understand how Roman religion worked. These comparisons were necessary, because the find context of artefacts in Empel only provided limited information. Here the dataset for artefacts in Germania Inferior was used and the academic sources where the artefact came from. When no suitable artefact in Germania Inferior per se can be compared with an artefact in Empel, the scope becomes bigger and similar artefacts in Germany, Belgian, or Great Britain will be included as these artefacts most likely have similar find contexts as in Germania Inferior.

The first and second sub-question investigated how Roman cults functioned in Germania Inferior. The last sub-question investigated how Roman cults functioned in Empel to learn if Empel is an anomaly. The conclusion to be drawn will be based on quantitative data from the dataset and on qualitative information and the interpretation of research literature. This research combination was necessary to understand an intangible element such as religion. Also, this combination could be checked by peer-reviewers.

4 Background information about the temple of Empel

Near the banks of the Meuse and Dieze rivers, Pleistocene sand dunes were formed in Empel. The highest sand dune is known as De Werf and was the highest point in the area around Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 14). In the Iron Age, an open-air cult place emerged at De Werf where locals worshipped their deities. Archaeologists found around 100 prehistoric artefacts there, such as pottery, weapons, as well as fibula from the first century BC during an excavation in 1989–1991. However, the archaeologists could only confirm that this site was a prehistoric cult place, but not which deities were worshipped there (Roymans and Derks 1994, 10-11).

The southern part of the Netherlands became part of the Roman Empire around 58 BC. The Batavian tribesmen lived in the area around Empel and this area was subsequently called the *civitas Batavorum* during the Roman period. The Roman dominance influenced the Batavian's way of life. As a result, the Iron Age cult place in Empel was transformed into a Roman cult place (Roymans and Derks 1994, 12). Around AD 75, a Gallo Roman temple was erected here in stone. A wooden temple might have preceded the stone temple, but no traces of such a temple were found. Only the robber trenches and building material from the stone temple were found at the Empel site (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40-41). Most of the artefacts found dated from the first century AD. This suggests that the temple complex was operating in full during this period (Roymans and Derks 1994, 19). In the third century AD, the temple was destroyed by fire. Evidence in the form of burning marks on building materials was found at the site (Roymans and Derks 1994, 25). The destruction by fire seems to have spelled the end of the cult place. The building materials from the temple that remained after the fire were used to erect other buildings in the area, such as the military fort at Kessel-Lith (Hingley 2005, 94).

In the period between 1949–1955 the area was levelled and the Pleistocene sand dunes were destroyed. This process also largely destroyed most of the archaeological remains from the Roman Age and the early Medieval times. The sand from these dunes was used to fill in lower areas around Empel and was also transported to different locations in 's-Hertogenbosch. As a result, the site of the temple complex in Empel cannot be seen as authentic anymore and artefacts were lost, damaged, or moved (Roymans and Derks 1994, 14). Archaeologists could see the results of the destruction of the dunes, because most of the Roman artefacts were found in the modern sedimentary layer, and were spread out all over the temple complex. Finally, the archaeological traces in the ground were found only at a depth of 20 cm in the soil. Normally these traces should have been deeper, but these were severely affected and damaged by the levelling process (Roymans and Derks 1994, 15–16).

To prevent the widely scattered artefacts from getting lost, a minor excavation was performed when highway A2 was broadened in 2007. This excavation was a collaboration between the excavation teams of the Free University of Amsterdam (VU-HBS) and BAM 's-Hertogenbosch (Renswoude 2010, 41-42). The excavation yielded more artefacts from the temple complex. Most of these artefacts were damaged or broken, but it is fairly safe to assume that these originated from the temple complex. No traces related to the temple complex itself were found in the ground (Renswoude 2010, 5).

5 Spatial distribution of Roman religions in Germania Inferior

Roman religion is a complex element that served multiple purposes in the Roman Empire (Rüpke 2007, 1-2). Different areas worshipped different deities (Roymans and Derks 1994, 25). To determine whether there was a spatial distribution of deities in Germania Inferior, a variety of archaeological evidence from this region must be investigated. It was important to not only look for cult places, as religion was played an important role in many layers of Roman society. The latter given led to the first sub-question: *Which spatial distribution of deities in locations and artefacts is detectable in Germania Inferior according to the archaeological evidence?* Answering this question showed the distribution of religion in Germania Inferior, based on archaeological evidence, and learned how Roman religion functioned.

5.1 Results of the dataset

The dataset contains information on 580 artefacts on which deities are depicted and/or described (Appendix 1). Table 1 shows how many times a specific god of goddess was found on artefacts, and Table 2 shows a pie chart with the proportions of the number of deities compared to each other. Nehalennia is the most common god in Germania Inferior, and was found 111 times. She is followed by Mercurius, found 54 times and Minerva, found 48 times. In total, 36 deities were found. Most of these are Roman gods. Exomna, Haeva, Hurstige, Iseneucaega, Nehalennia, Rura, Sandraudiga, Viradecidis are the only non-Roman goddesses that were found in Germania Inferior (Appendix 1). These non-Roman goddesses were identified only when their name was written/chiselled on the artefact, as it is hard to recognise a local deity from iconography only (Clifford 2005, 49). Moreover, these non-Roman goddesses were often found in combination with Roman deities; they were found in the same context with no clear distinction between them (Appendix 1). This blurred line between Roman and non-Roman deities is an effect of *interpretatio Romana*, because during this process the deities fused and the fact that Roman and non-Roman deities were found in the same context aptly demonstrates this blending process (Warrior, 2005, 19-21). After the blending process, local deities were worshipped in the shape and form of Roman deities (Clifford 2005, 50). This was probably the case in Germania Inferior. However, the iconography of the deities seems to be typical Roman in most of the cases (Appendix 1). The most common found deities were depicted as Roman deities (Orlin 2010, 75). Only the fact that Roman and non-Roman deities were worshipped together is the visible manifestation where the process of *interpretatio Romana* can be confirmed. The problem is that the dataset cannot confirm the exact number of local deities that were morphed into Roman deities (Rüpke 2007, 1-2). It can only be assumed that *interpretatio Romana* is visible. The only thing that clearly can be stated is that Nehalennia is the most commonly found goddesses. Moreover, this is a typical local deity and the fact that a local deity can be devoted during the Roman period is an example of the religious tolerance of the Romans (Tuinman 2012, 13).

Table 1: Result of the dataset for the amount of deities that were found in Germania Inferior.

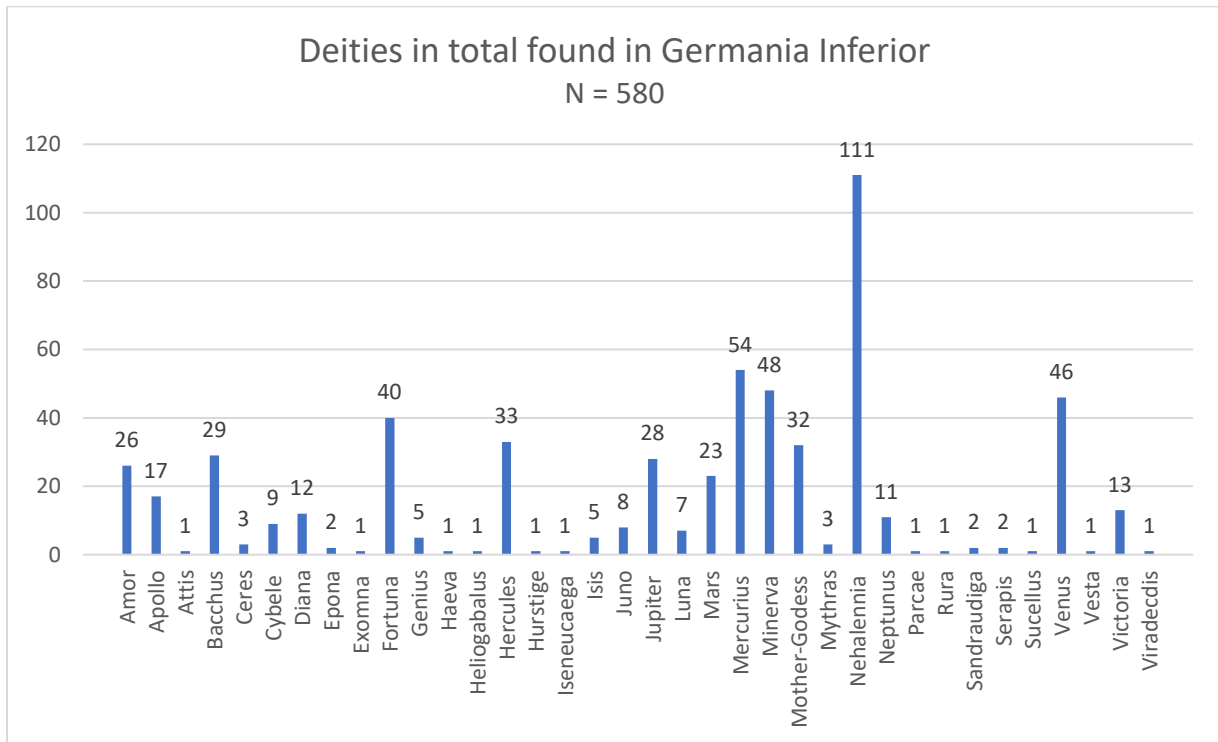
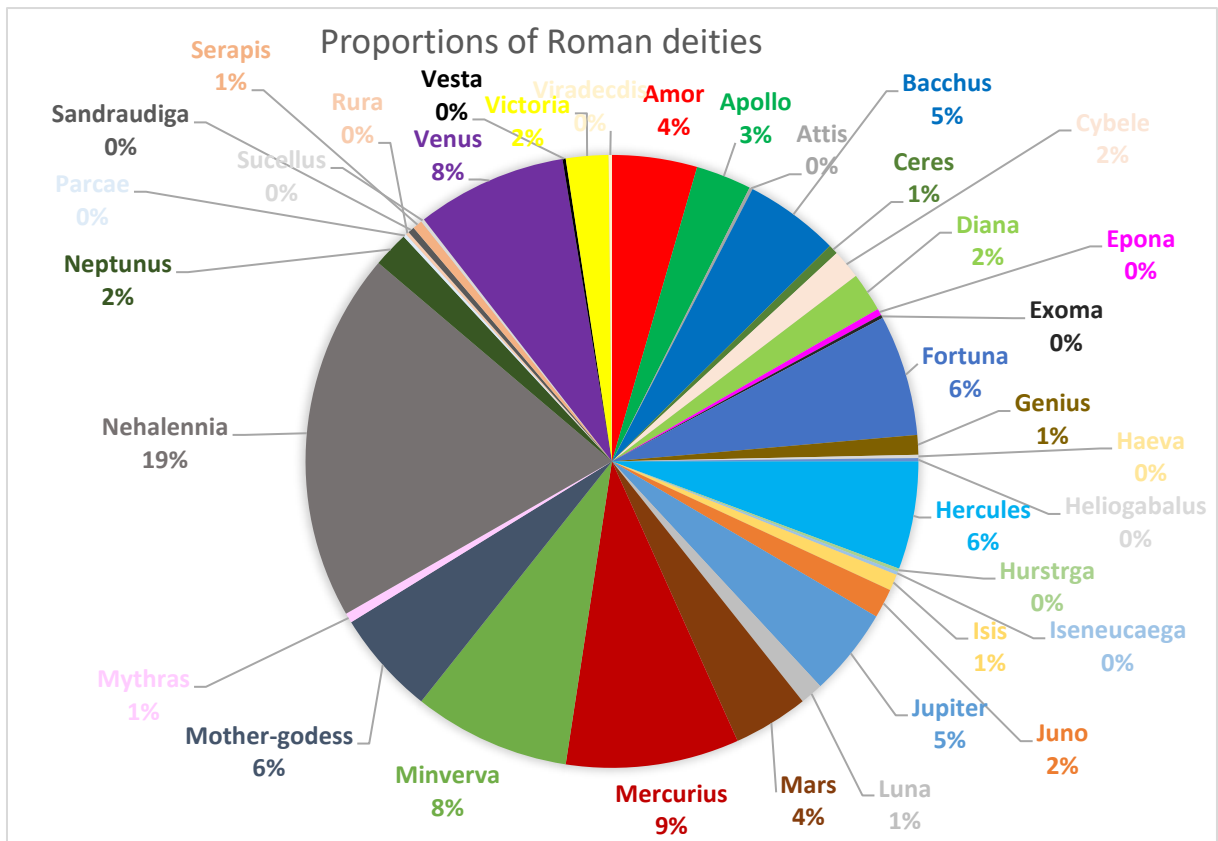


Table 2: A pie chart for the appearances in percentage of deities in Germania Inferior to see the proportion of deities.



To understand the spatial distribution of these deities, it must be examined where these were found. The relation of where which deity was found is shown in Appendix 2. This appendix shows how many times a god or goddess was found in each location. To show the frequencies, pie charts were created for each location (Appendices 12–85). Some of the pie charts in the appendices are of a bigger size to make it easier to see the overall pie charts and the ratios between the different parts of that pie chart. With the combination of deity, location, and the number of times a deity occurs the spatial distribution can be investigated. The pie charts are plotted on a map of the research area, as shown in Figure 6 (a larger version of the map can be found in Appendix 9).

Figure 6 shows a wide variety in deities found in certain places. While Table 1 showed that Nehalennia was the most commonly worshipped goddess in Germania Inferior, she was actually only found in two locations: Colijnsplaat and Domburg. These two locations were temple complexes, situated near ferry points that provided a crossing to *Britanniae* (modern day Great Britain). Many people left offerings to Nehalennia at these locations to guarantee a safe passage to *Britanniae* (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 18-19). Nowadays, these temple complexes are submerged underwater, and are therefore well-preserved, because by virtue of this no one could break down the temple complex to use its building materials (Tuinman 2012, 13). The good state of preservation of these temple complexes contributed to finding a higher number of artefacts dedicated to Nehalennia in comparison with other deities in Germania Inferior (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 20; Tuinman 2012, 13).

Other common deities, such as Fortuna, Mercurius, Minerva and Venus were found in a diverse spatial distribution, with no recognizable pattern in specific regions or types of locations. These deities served many functions in many places in a wide variety (Table 3). Most of these deities were also found in temple complexes (146 times). This is not surprising, because artefacts are mostly classified as religious when found in temple complexes and for this reason entered to dataset (Beard 2008, 732). Inside these temple complexes different kinds of deities were found, which shows that these temple complexes were places where a mixture of deities were worshipped (Appendix 1). Other than temple complexes, most of the other religious artefacts were found in Roman forts (104 times) and in a *vicus* near a *municipium* (61 times). Fortuna and Mercurius were mostly found in *vicus*, especially in those situated near trading spots or crossroads (Appendix 1). These deities were mainly related to trade and traveling and for this reason it is not odd that these deities were found on these spots. Moreover, Fortuna and Mercurius were probably used to overcome cultural difference between traders, especially between Roman and local traders (Boekel, 1983, 63; Panhuysen 1996, 380). This is part of *interpretatio Romana*, where one or more religious elements were used in an economic role (Rüpke 2007, 1-2; Warrior 2006, 17). The rest of the deities found show no pattern in their spatial distribution. Therefore, the spatial

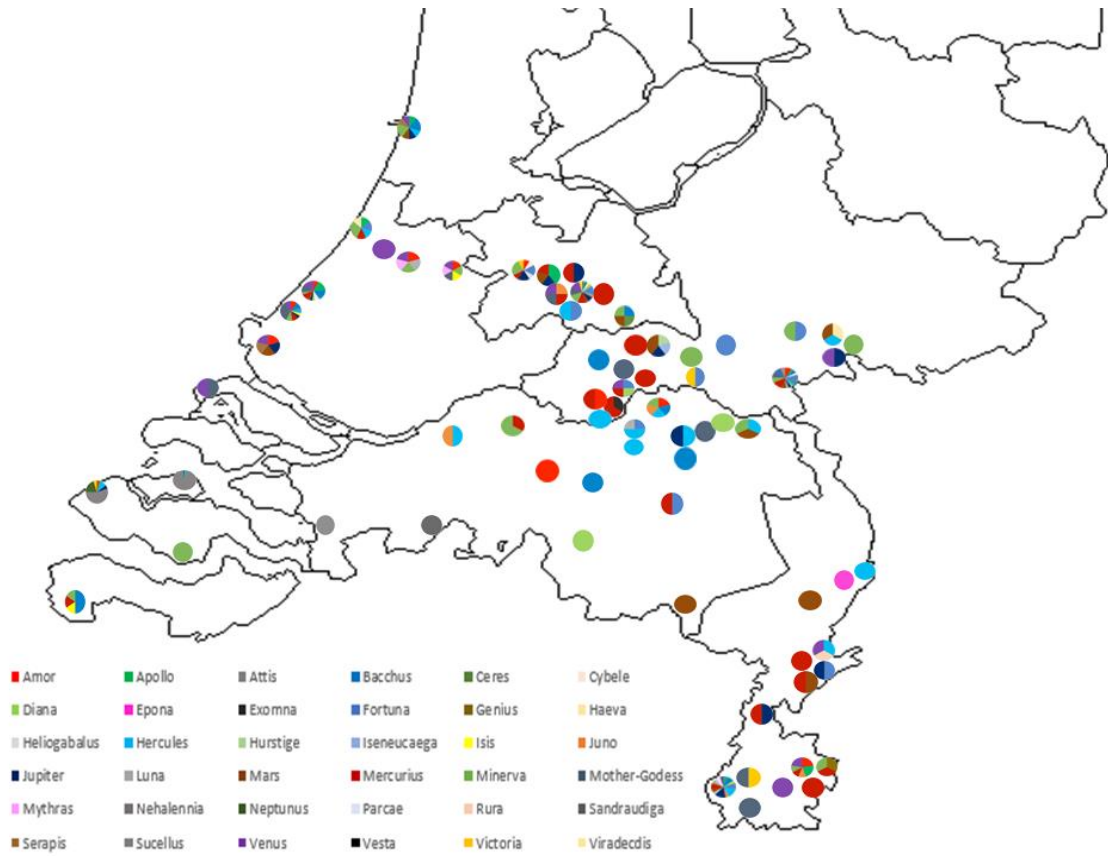
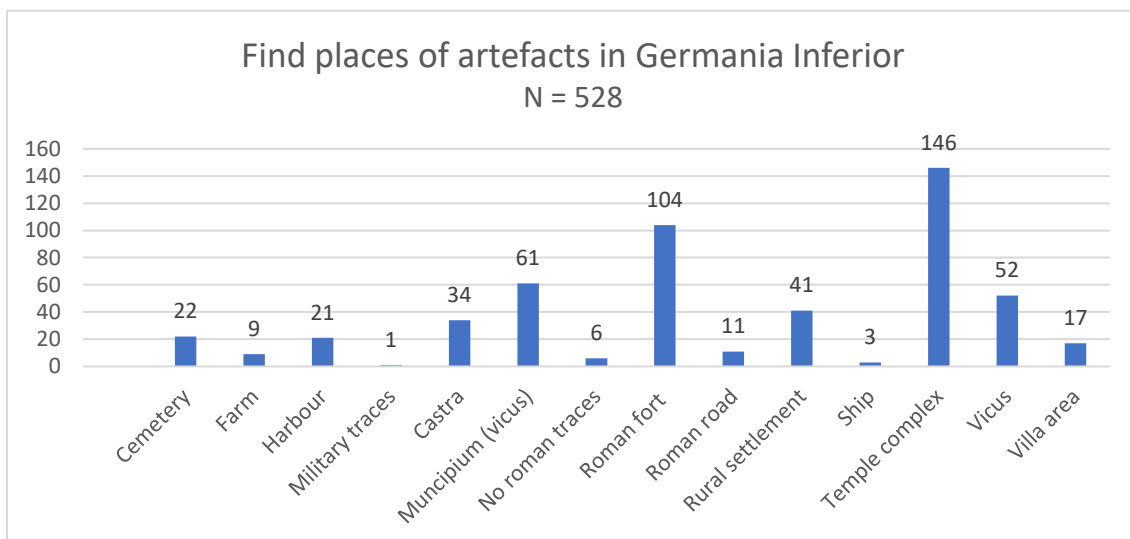


Figure 6: A map of the distribution of deities in Germania Inferior. Each coloured location is a pie chart showing the properties of different deities.

Table 3: Result of the types of find places for artefacts on which deities are depicted or described on in Germania Inferior.



distribution of deities fits the idea of Rüpke of how Roman religion worked, because Roman religion is found in different settings involving a mixture of different deities. For this reason, some of these settings suggest *interpretatio Romana* (Appendix 1; Rüpke 2007, 1-2).

Table 4 below shows that the gods or goddesses are depicted or described on 21 kinds of artefacts. Most of the deities are depicted in terracotta statuettes (148 times), followed by votive stones (132 times) and bronze statuettes (115 times). The next element from the dataset is the space of the object. This is the space in which the artefact functioned and is necessary to show how *interpretatio Romana* worked (Warrior 2006, 18-19). Table 5 shows that most of the artefacts were located in the personal space. Mercurius and Minerva were the gods most commonly found in a private space, probably due to their important roles in trade, as trade occurs between individuals and does not involve the whole community (Warrior 2006, 15). Moreover, 172 artefacts were used in collective spaces, mostly in temple complexes and were in the form of a votive stone or altar (Beard 2008, 733). Nehalennia and Jupiter were the gods most commonly worshipped in collective spaces. Jupiter functioned as the supreme deity throughout the Roman Empire, both for locals and for Romans (Warrior 2005, 17). The finding that most artefacts from the collective space were found in temple complexes is not unexpected, because the religious collective space was mainly centred in temple complexes (Warrior 2005, 18). This is also due to the fact that the religious collective space was mostly researched in temple complexes.

To see if the data is reliable, the find context of the artefacts is important (Table 6 & Table 7). Luckily, most of the artefacts were found in archaeological excavations (279 times). This means that the combination of how an artefact was retrieved, what the find context looked like, and what the site means is known. This makes the conclusions, based on this type of evidence, more reliable. However, some finds were from excavations dating back to before 1960. These excavations provide less information, because the documentation of these digs is less detailed than modern days excavations, due to the lack of archaeological standards in those days (Berggren and Hodder 203, 421). Moreover, some of the artefacts from an excavation were found in the modern layer and thus are found a grouped in the secondary find context. In general, most of the artefacts are found in a primary find context, which is conducive for the reliability of the dataset, because from this context more reliable conclusions can be drawn.

Accompanying tables were also made for all the graphs in this chapter, which can be found in Appendices 4 to 8. These tables are useful for further research.

Table 4: Category of the different types of artefacts, that where found were deities were displayed or described on in Germania Inferior.

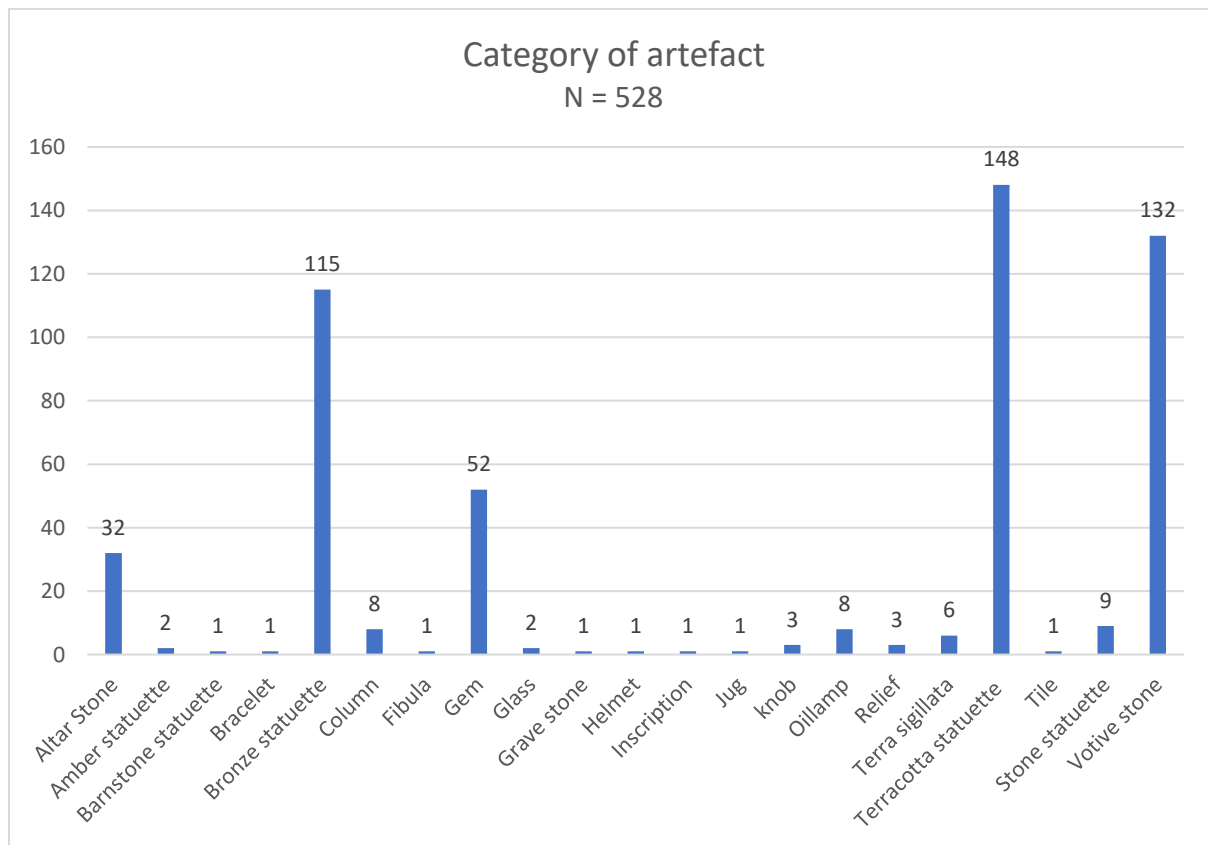


Table 5: The division of the 'space' in which an artefact was used.

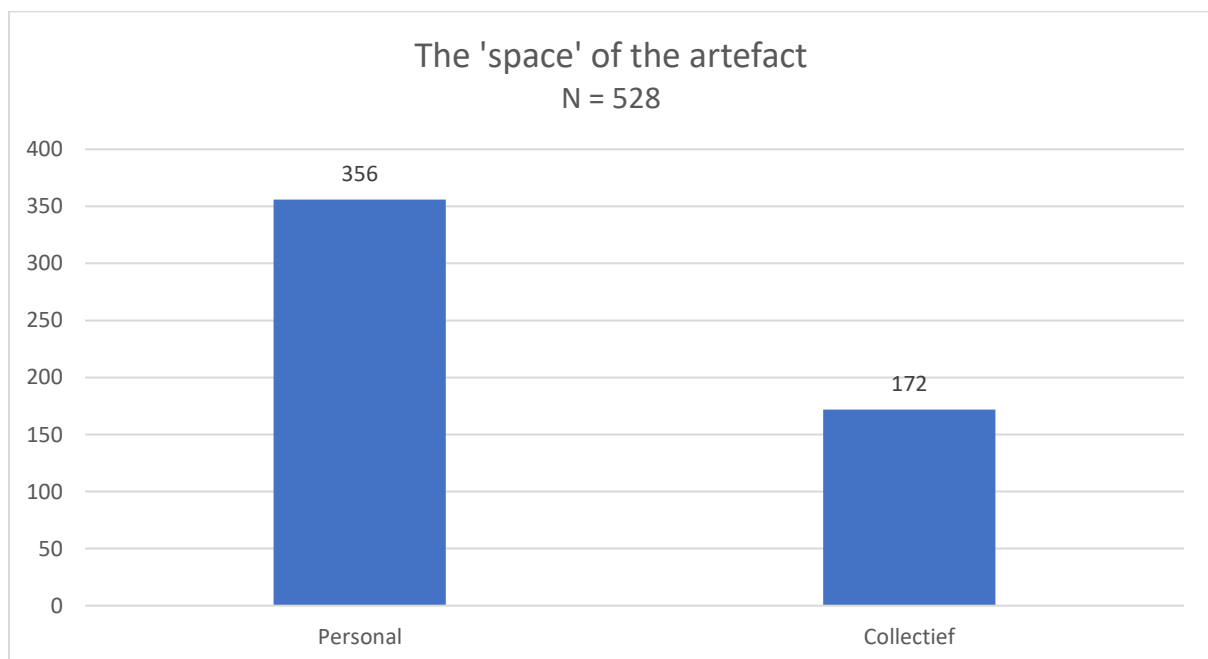


Table 6: The result of the categories of find context in which an artefact was found in Germania Inferior.

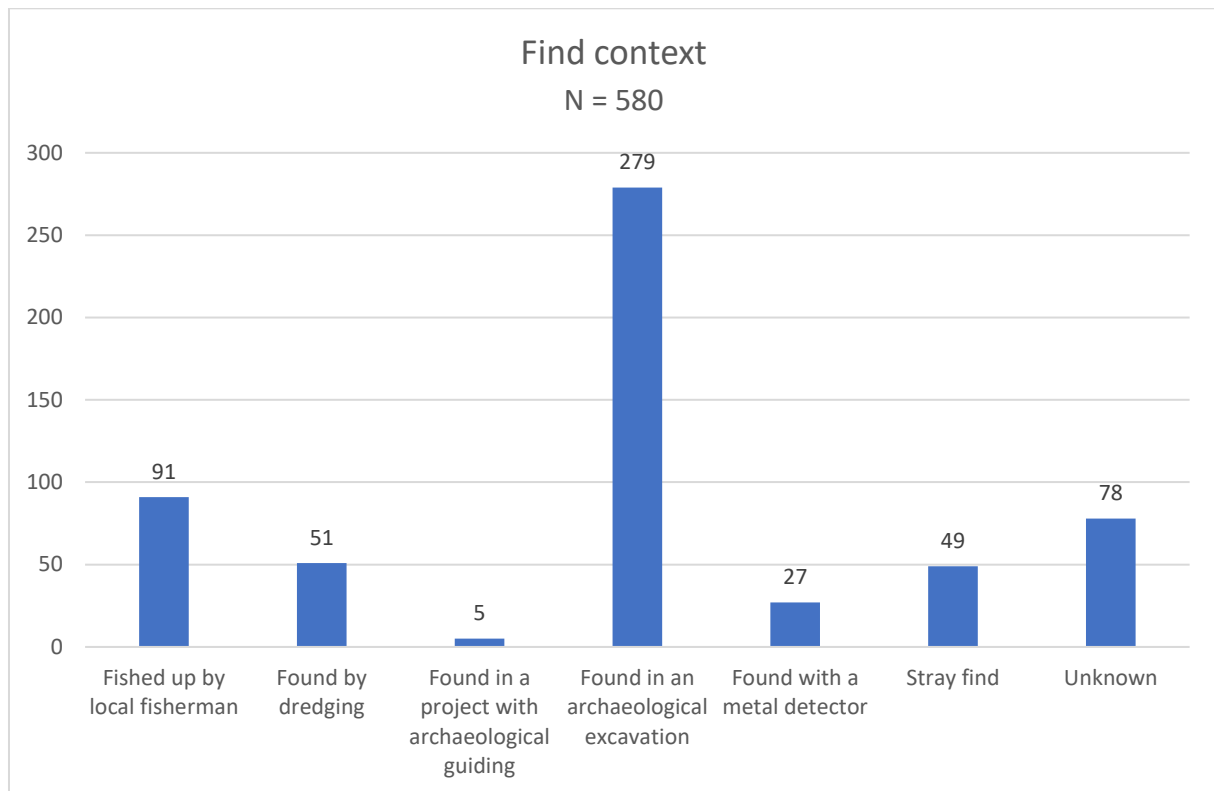
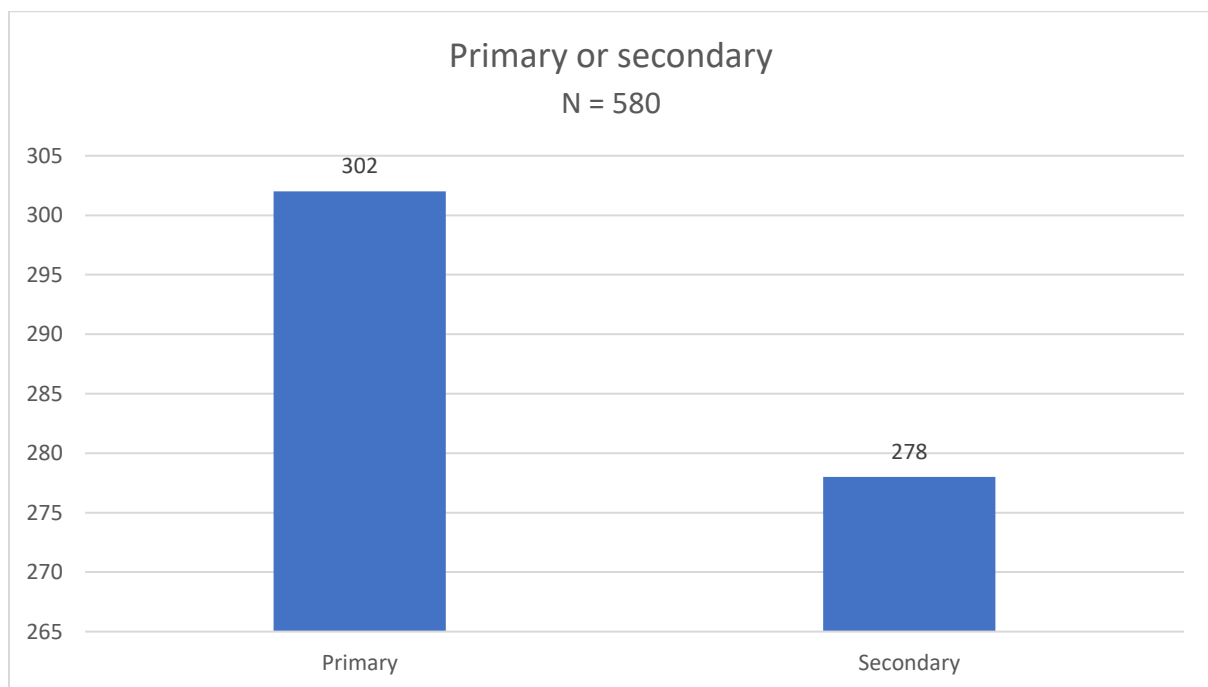


Table 7: The division of the find context was primary or secondary in Germania Inferior.



5.2 Limitations of the dataset used

The spatial distribution is investigated on the basis of a large dataset, as shown in Appendix 1. However, this dataset has limitations that affect the conclusions in this thesis. Firstly, the dataset uses data from archaeological research, reports, databases, depots, and museum collections, but these sources do not include all relevant finds. With 580 hits in the dataset this dataset has a lot of valuable content, but it can never contain everything that has been found. There are always unknown factors in data (Eijnatten *et al.* 2013, 57). These unknowns may consist of multiple issues: sources may not be available through a library or online access, archaeologists might not have completed the reports on new finds, or artefacts have not been classified in a religious context.

Secondly, the dataset does not immediately show when *interpretatio Romana* was used. While the broad perspective, and content, of the dataset is useful for investigating those multiple elements inside society that religion influenced, the exact moment when *interpretatio Romana* occurred is hard to capture, because each artefact must be compared with different elements to see whether the artefact was used in a typical Roman way or in a local way (Clifford 2005, 50). This element is too complex to investigate on a national scale. From the use of the dataset it can only be assumed that there were occurrences of *interpretatio Romana*, but the dataset cannot provide hard numbers or hard evidence as to how many local deities were transformed into Roman ones.

5.3 Conclusions drawn from the dataset on a national scale

The dataset in Appendix 1 showed that a wide variety of deities were worshipped. Most were Roman deities, but some were local goddesses. Most artefacts of deities were spread out over Germania Inferior without proof of a clear pattern. The only exception was Nehalennia, as a high number of artefacts devoted to her were found in two specific locations. However, this may be because these sites were submerged, which created good preservation circumstances (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 20; Tuinman 2012, 13). Artefacts dedicated to Fortuna and Mercurius were commonly found in Germania Inferior in locations related to trade and travel. This was partly due to the religious role of these gods, but also to *interpretatio Romana*, because it showed how religion can be blended in a community where people have different backgrounds, in order for them to work together (Rüpke 2007, 1-2; Orlin 2010, 75). More evidence for *interpretatio Romana* was visible in the mixture of local and Roman deities. Roman and local deities were found in similar contexts, which shows the process of *interpretatio Romana* (Warrior 2005, 20). However, neither the details nor the exact numbers of this process could be clearly shown from the data.

The dataset also showed a wide variety in terms of type of location, type of artefact, and space of the object. A pattern for identifying the most popular deity in Germania Inferior cannot be derived from this dataset. Moreover, the fact that local gods were still worshipped after the Roman conquest is

evidence for *interpretatio Romana* (Warrior 2006, 18-19). This confirmed that Roman religion was an element that worked in different parts of society (Rüpke 2007, 1-2). Therefore, the gods might have functioned as means of communication between different cultures, because the places where these were found were places where lot of interaction between people occurred (Clifford 2005, 50; Warrior 2005, 17; Orlin 2010, 75).

6 Roman religion in the *civitas Batavorum*

The temple of Empel is situated in *civitas Batavorum*. Roymans and Derks state that Hercules Magusanus is the most popular god in this area (Roymans and Derks 1994, 12). However, this is not supported by the diverse religious structure of the Roman Empire (Rüpke 2007, 1-2). The gap between how Roman religion worked and how the temple of Empel worked is visible on a regional scale. This chapter therefore focusses on this gap by investigating a specific region. The subquestion addressed in this chapter is: *To what extent is the worshipping of specific deities detectable in temple complexes in the civitas Batavorum according to archaeological data?* This subquestion aims to provide information on how Roman religion worked in this specific area.

6.1 The *civitas Batavorum*

Caesar and Tacitus stated that the Batavians lived in an area that they called ‘Island of the *Batavi*’ (Caes.Gal.4.10; Tac.Ger.1.29). This is the only written evidence from the ancient period on where the Batavians lived. Scholars state that the island of the *Batavi* these days is situated in the Lower Dutch River area. Archaeologically, there is no direct evidence that confirms where the Batavians lived. Only typical Batavian pottery has found in various rural settlements in this area, which possibly indicates that these settlements were indeed ‘Batavian’ (Roymans 2000, 94; Roymans 2009, 219-220).

Based on this information, most scholars state that the Batavians lived in the Lower Dutch River area (Woolf 2002, 4; Roymans 2000, 93; Roymans and Derks 1994, 32). This river landscape between the Rhine and Waal rivers is named the ‘Island of the *Batavi*’ where the ancient authors wrote about (Caes.Gal.4.10; Tac.Ger.1.29). There were no recognisable borders with markings of the Batavian region, which makes the *civitas Batavorum* hard to reconstruct. The result is that scholars must make assumptions with regard to where the Batavians lived (Woolf 2002, 2-4).

Roymans and Derks adhere to this theory. They established the borders of the region where the *Batavi* lived, as shown in Figure 7. Roymans and Derks also showed that Hercules Magusanus was a god that archaeologists commonly found in this territory (Roymans 2009, 219-220; Roymans and Derks 1994, 32). This thesis uses the same borders as Roymans and Derks do. Despite the fact that the actual whereabouts of these borders are uncertain, the area they indicated is fairly plausible because of the archaeological similarities in pottery found and the area itself has the geographical characteristics of an island, as described by ancient sources (Woolf 2002, 4).



Figure 7: Map of Roymans and Derks with the borders of where the Batavians lived. The big square is a temple complex for Hercules, the small dots are votive stones and the triangles represented bracelets for Hercules (Roymans and Derks 1994, 31).

6.2 Results of the dataset for the civitas Batavorum

Figure 8 shows the borders of the Batavian *civitas* on the current map of the Netherlands using the data of the archaeological evidence from the dataset (see Appendix 16 for a larger map). Roymans and Derks claim that this area was dominated by archaeological finds related to Hercules Magusanus (Roymans and Derks 1994, 31). The area contains 32 finding locations, at Aalburg, Alem, Berghem, Buren, Cranendonck, De Meern, Druten, Empel, Esch, Geldermalsen, Grave, Heerwaarden, Heesch, Houten, IJzerdoorn, Kessel-Lith, Nieuwegein, Nijmegen, Odijk, Opijnen, Oss, Ravenstein, Rossum, Sint-Michelsgestel, Sint-Ouderode, Tiel, Udenhout, Utrecht, Vechten, Veldhoven, Waardenburg, and Wijk bij Duurstede. These locations included 264 finds that depict and/or describe deities on artefacts found (Appendix 1).

Similar to the results for Germania Inferior, this region also showed a diversity of deities worshipped. Table 8 shows that there 26 deities were found in the Batavian *civitas*. Mercurius was the most commonly found god in this area, followed by Fortuna and Venus. This is similar to the deities found in Germania Inferior as a whole and the regional scales are not so different. These deities have a

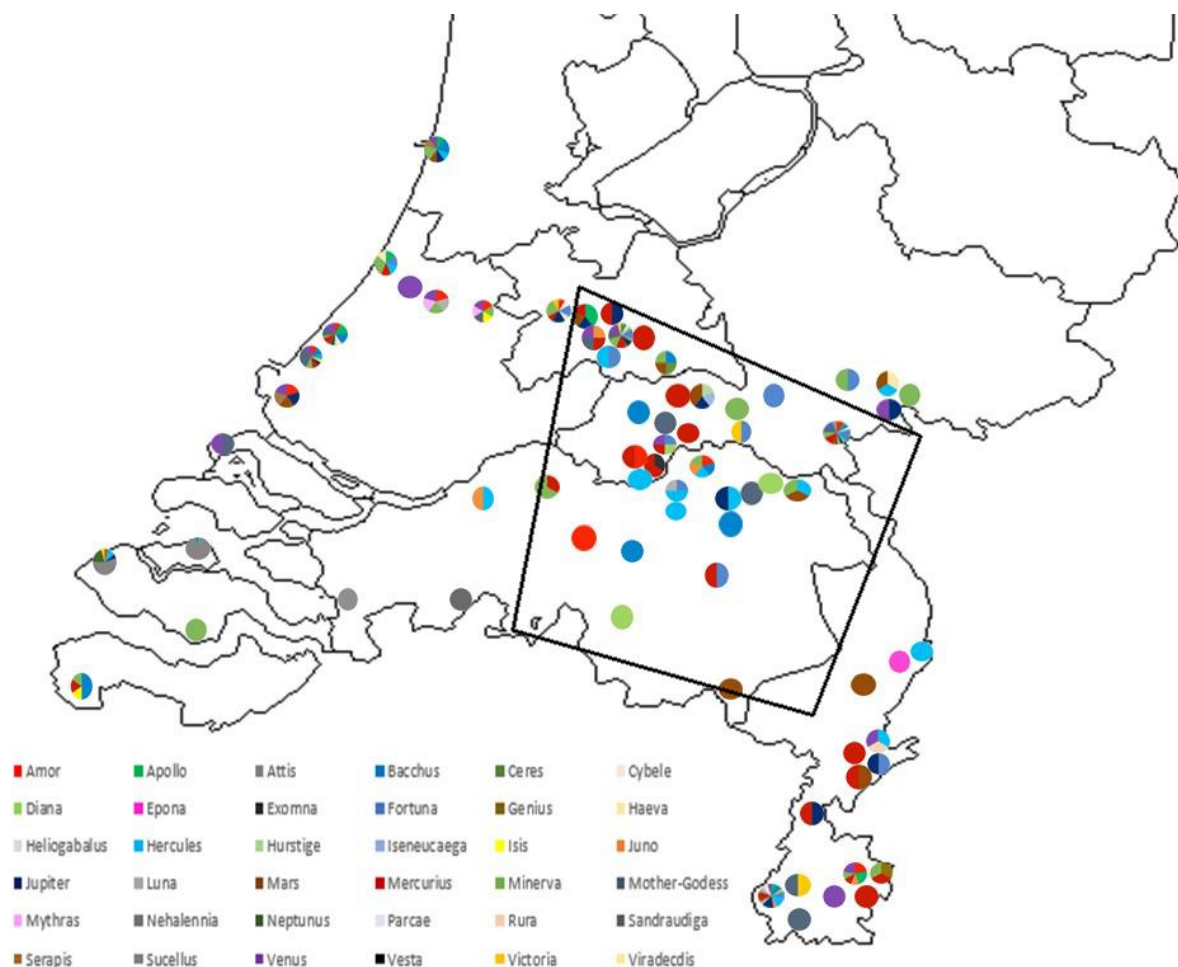


Figure 8: Map with the marking of the civitas Batavorum and, inside the marking, the distribution of deities visible for this region.

typical Roman iconography with not many local elements. For this reason, it is unknown how many of these deities were transformed from local deities into Roman deities as a result of *interpretatio Romana*.

The locations where artefacts were found are shown in Table 9. Here a wide variety in the findings of place and deity is shown. The variety and the apparent lack of a pattern fits in with how Roman religion worked in general, and the *civitas Batavorum* doesn't seem to be excluded from this (Rüpke 2007, 1-2).

Other data supports the complex religious situation in the *civitas Batavorum*. Table 10 shows what the type of places, where the artefacts were found, was. The most common place were Roman forts and the *municipium Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum* (modern day Nijmegen). The type of locations showed that in and around Nijmegen a lot of activities took place, which is also visible in Table 9 were most of artefacts retrieved were found in Nijmegen. In all of these locations, deities are mainly found in the form of statuettes, but this does not provide any further information, as statuettes were found in multiple religious expressions (Table 11). A pattern in location, type of location, or artefact that proves that there was a certain pattern of and in Roman religion could not be found. The only element that can be described is that religion took place in different elements of Roman society. This element therefore suggests that Roman religion had multiple functions and was used in the *civitas Batavorum* to overcome the cultural differences between Romans and Batavians (Orlin 2013, 748). Moreover, this is similar to the previous findings in Germania Inferior, and the Batavian *civitas* is not an anomaly in this region.

Table 12 and Table 13 describe the context. Most of the artefacts were retrieved from a primary context, so a lot of information about the find context is known and the conclusions drawn from the data can therefore be more certain. This also makes several claims more reliable. The data used for the graphs is also available in table format. These are shown in Appendices 10–15 and are useful for further research.

This above means that Roman religion on the regional level of the *civitas Batavorum* is similar as the Roman religion practiced in Germania Inferior. In the Batavian *civitas* Roman religion served multiple purposes and this is visible in the different types of locations, artefacts, and deities. It can be assumed that religion was used to overcome cultural difficulties between Romans and Batavians (Rüpke 2007, 6). However, this is an assumption only, because there is no solid evidence that the deities in the *civitas Batavorum* were the result of a syncretisation of Roman and local deities (Appendix 1).

Table 8: The number of different deities that were found in the civitas Batavorum.

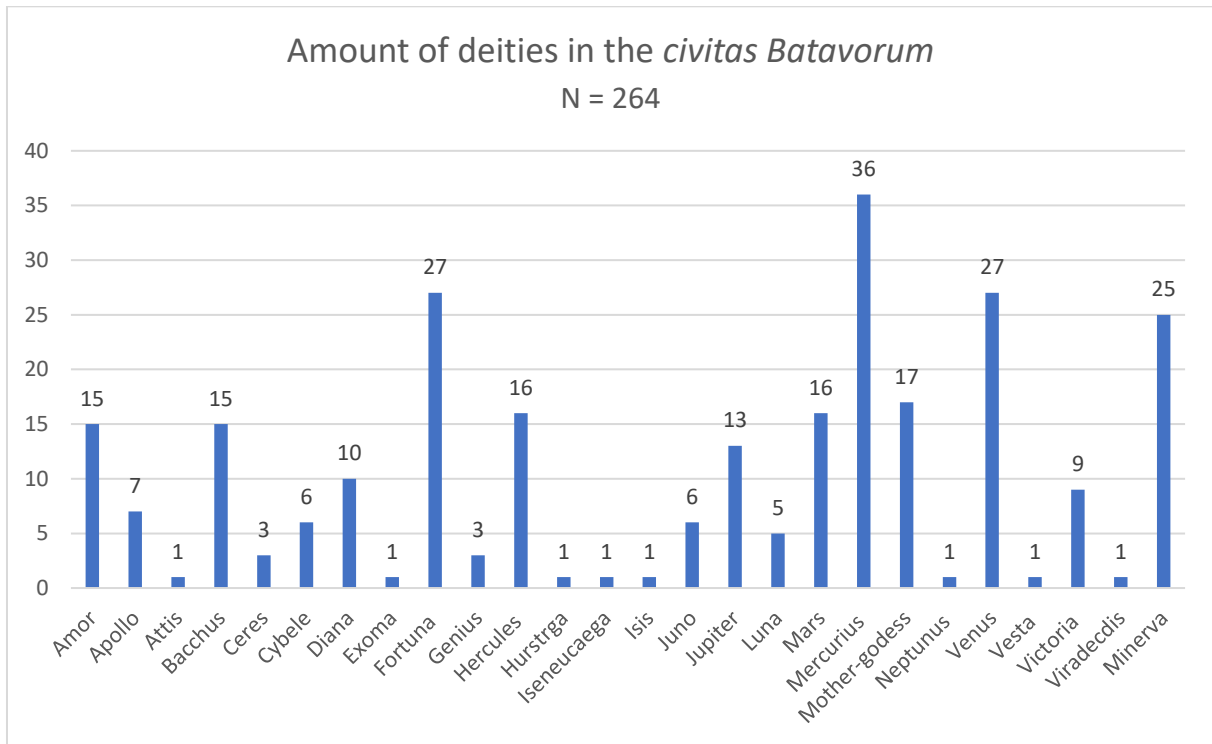


Table 9: The number of deities in each location in the civitas Batavorum.

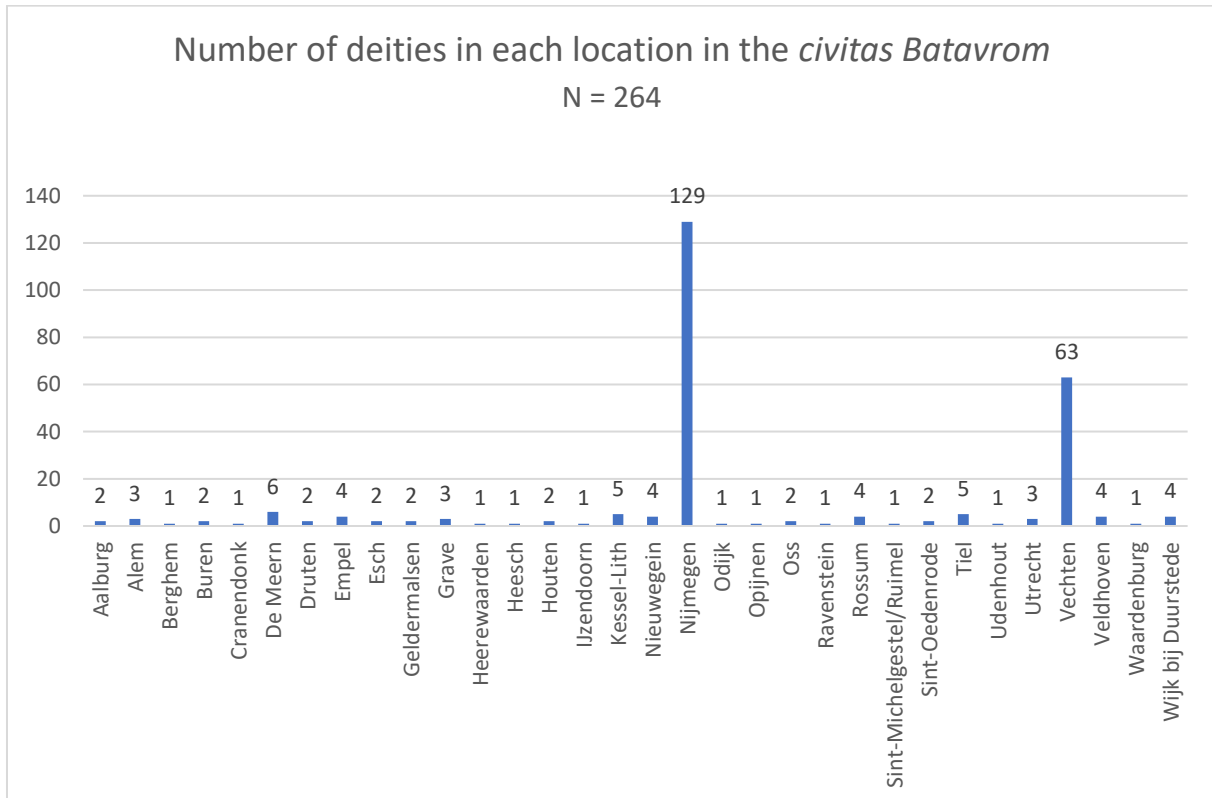


Table 10: Categories of find locations of artefacts found in the civitas Batavorum.

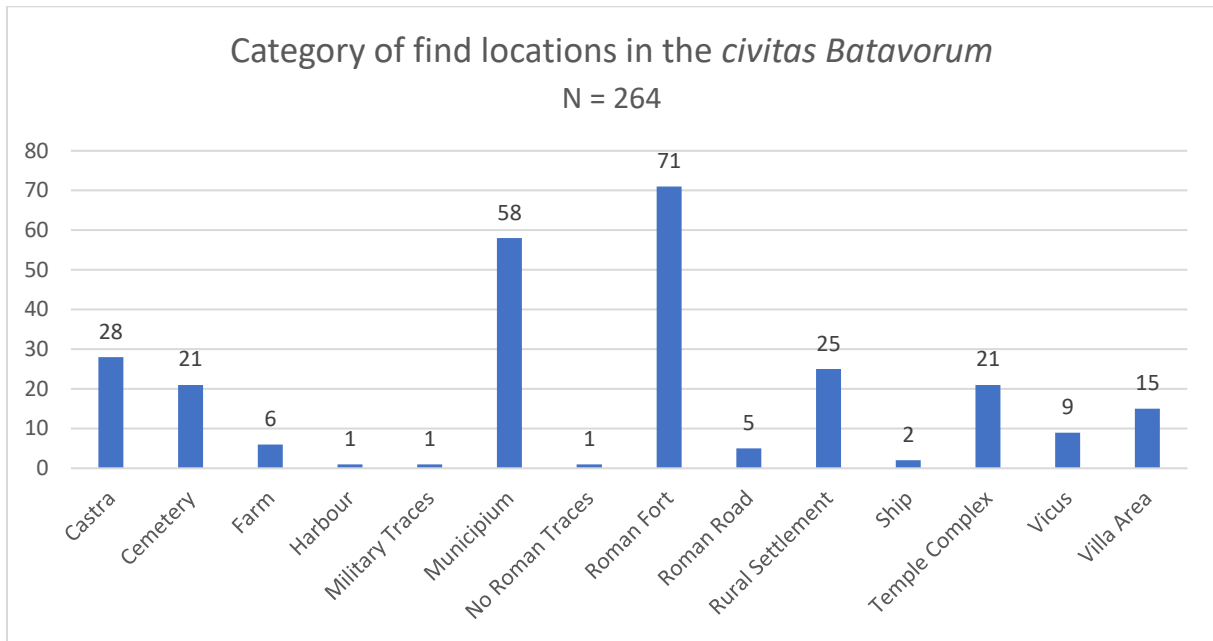


Table 11: The category of the types of artefacts that were found in the civitas Batavorum.

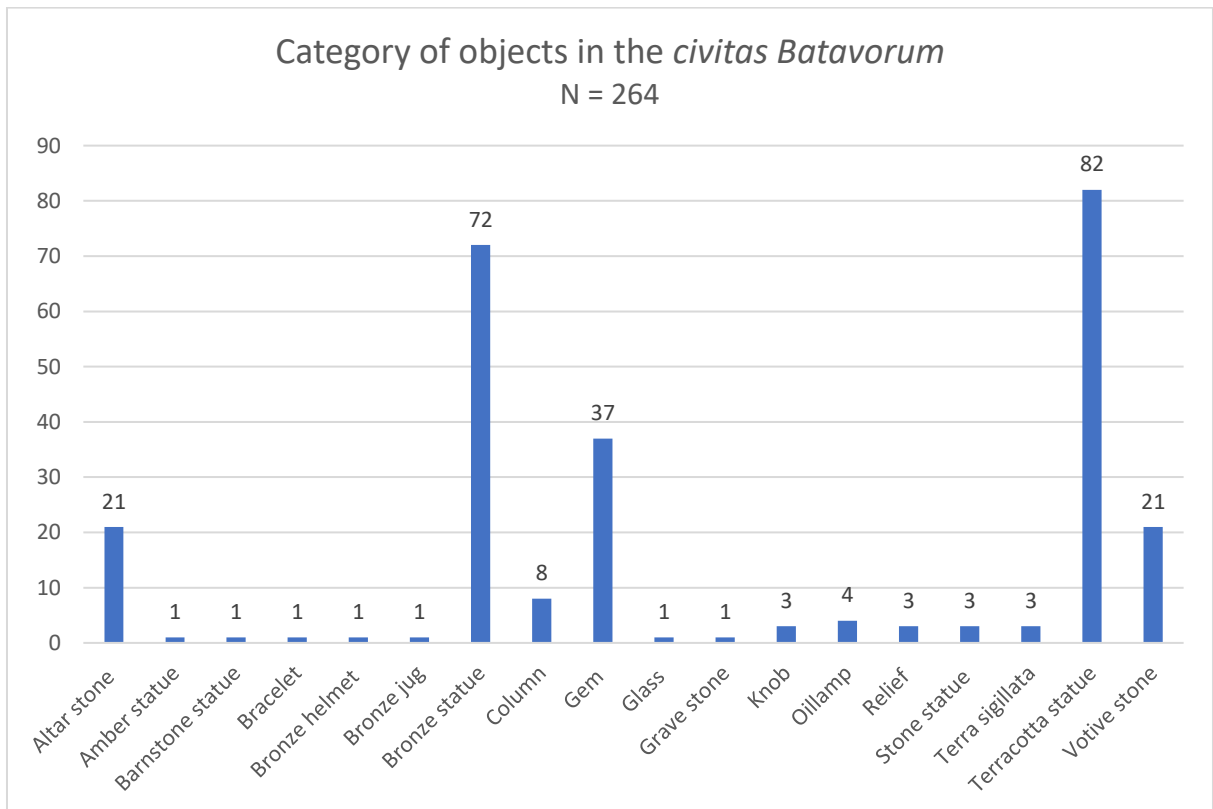


Table 12: The categories of find context of the artefacts that were found in the civitas Batavorum.

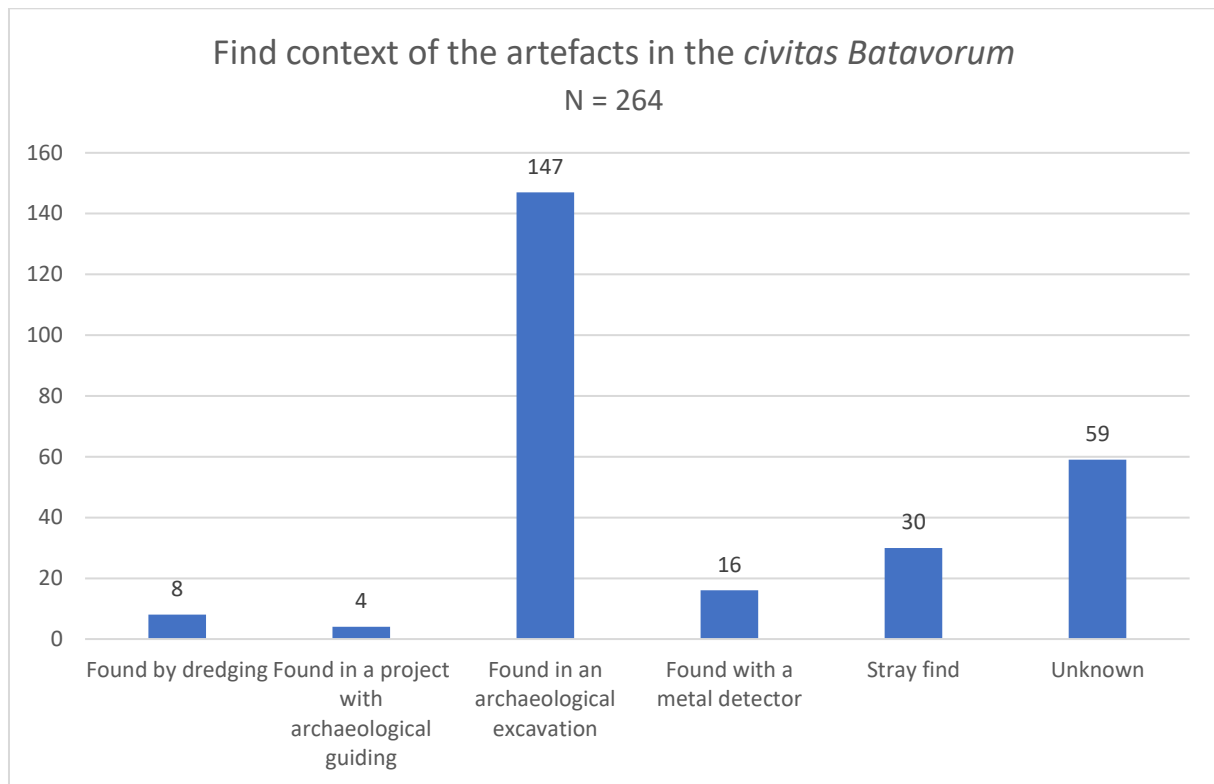
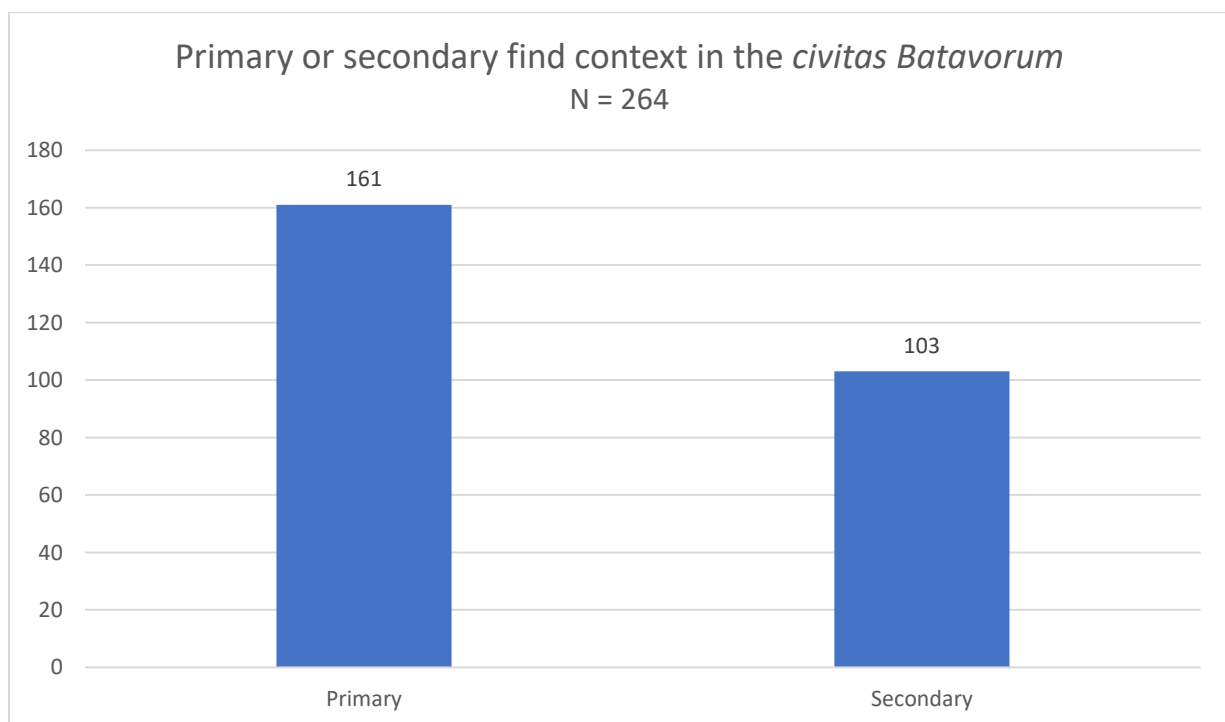


Table 13: The division between primary or secondary find context for the artefacts in the civitas Batavorum.



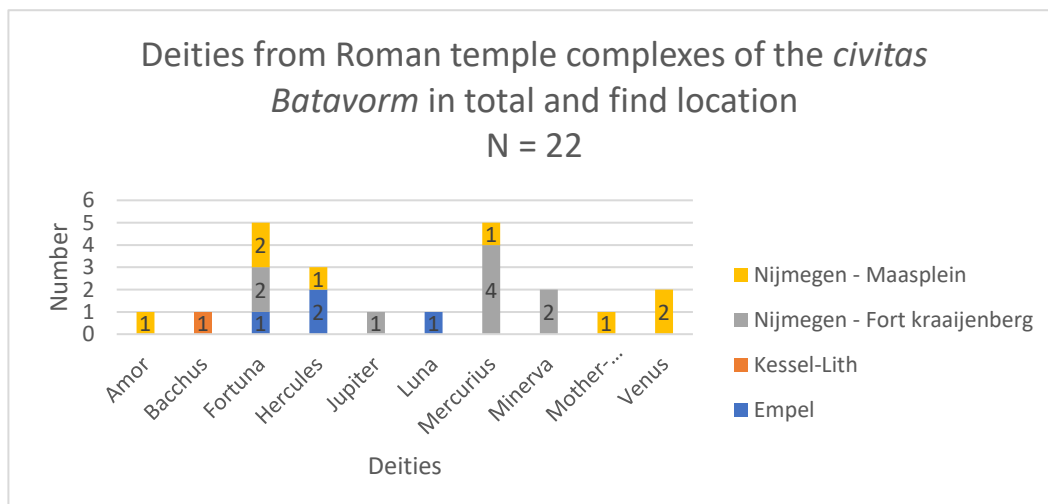
6.3 Temple complexes in the *civitas Batavorum*

The temple of Empel was not the only temple complex located in the Batavian *civitas*. There was also a complex in Kessel-Lith and several in Elst (Grote Kerk Elst and Elst-Westeraam) and Nijmegen (Nijmegen – Maasplein and Nijmegen – Fort Kraaijenberg) (see Appendix 1). In the temples in Elst no artefacts with deities depicted were found. In the other locations, 21 artefacts were found with the characteristics of a recognisable deities (Table 14). In Nijmegen, Mercurius and Fortuna were the most commonly found deities. Other gods found were Amor, Hercules, Jupiter, Minerva, and Venus, which indicates that there was not one dominant deity in *Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum*. The other temple complexes were also seemingly not dedicated to one dominant deity. However, the diversity of deities worshipped there excludes to provide evidence that one single deity was the most popular one or the most dominant deity in the area.

Derks drew four conclusions on how temple complexes in the *civitas Batavorum* worked and their characteristics. First, there is the limited distribution area of temple complexes (Derks 1998, 146). Only six recognisable temple complexes were found, in four locations in the Batavian *civitas*, and these were scattered across the Batavian *civitas*. Elst and Nijmegen were large and important cities in the Roman period, so it is not surprising that more cult places were found in/on these locations (Bogaers 1955, 20). Outside of these locations, there were fewer temple complexes, which shows the limited spatial distribution in locations (see Figure 8). Thus, the limited spatial distribution determined fits Derks' theory.

The second claim on temple complexes in the *civitas Batavorum* is that these complexes were built on older, local, cult places (Derks 1998, 146). However, this is only the case for the temple complexes in Empel and for one of the temple complexes in Elst. In these temple complexes evidence was found of the existence of a prehistoric cult place under the foundations of the Roman temple complex (Bogaers 1955, 41; Roymans and Derks 1994, 12). However, how these prehistoric cults functioned exactly is not known, as most of the associated ground structures are damaged and few

Table 14: Deities from Roman temple complexes in the civitas Batavorum. The pillars resemble how many times a deity was found in total and the different numbers and colours inside a pillar how many times the deity was found in a specific location.



artefacts from this period were found (Bogaers 1955, 42; Roymans and Derks 1994, 12). The other temple complexes do not show archaeological evidence of being built on places of worship from an older period (Driessen 2007, 158; Enkevort and Thijssen 2005, 21). This means that most of the temple complexes were newly built in the Roman Age and not as a continuation of prehistoric cult places.

The next element is that the deities inside the temple complexes are the result of *interpretatio Romana*, where a local god morphed into a non-Roman god (Derks 1998, 146). In all the temple complexes of the *civitas Batavorum*, only Roman gods were worshipped. Moreover, the deities found have a Roman iconography. With only Roman iconography, it is hard to conclude whether a local god took the iconography of a Roman god (Boekel 1983, 92). In Nijmegen a Mother goddess was found. This goddess was used as a collective deity for multiple local Mother goddesses which were fused together into one Roman Mother goddess. This goddess is the only evidence that shows the use of the concept of *interpretatio Romana* (Boekel 1983, 131). However, this particular evidence for *interpretatio Romana* is only found in Nijmegen, and this is not sufficient to conclude whether *interpretatio Romana* occurred. It can only be assumed that this was the case in the other temple complexes.

The last element that Derks describes is that inscriptions show that the temple was built with funds or support from the local elite (Derks 1998, 146). Evidence that indicates who participated in building temple complexes are votive stones, written sources or temple inscriptions. Only in the temple of Empel a readable votive stone was found. Here it clearly shows for which deity the stone was meant for and that the votive stone was left by a Julius Genialis from *Legio X*. He was a veteran from the 10th legion in Nijmegen (Roymans and Derks 1994, 108). This votive stone is only evidence that a (local) person left an offering for Hercules. However, this only shows that locals used the temple, not that it was built by a local group. At the other temple complexes unreadable votive stones are found. Moreover, for all the of the temple complexes it is unknown who built these, because of the lack of other written sources (Bogaers 1955, 21; Enkevort and Thijssen 2005, 8; Roymans and Derks 1994, 108). This means that scholars do not know who built the temple complexes in the *civitas Batavorum* (Bogaers 1955, 20-21; Driessen 2007, 158; Enkevort and Thijssen 2005, 8).

Of Derks' conclusions, only his conclusion regarding the limited distribution is supported by the data. The data shows that the temple complexes contained various deities, who were worshipped by different kinds of people. No pattern of worship was found in the temple complexes in the Batavian *civitas*. Therefore, the temple complexes did not function differently in the *civitas Batavorum* than in the rest of Germania Inferior. This means that temple complexes were used as locations where people publicly worshipped multiple deities (Beard 2008, 730). This idea fits the general idea of Roman religion, where temple complexes were locations with different kinds of religious expressions pertaining to multiple deities, rituals, and artefacts and done by different kinds of people (Warrior 2005, 16).

6.4 The conclusion from the *civitas Batavorum*

Scholars do not know definitively where the Batavian *civitas* was, but it is assumed that it was in the Lower Dutch River area (Woolf 2002, 4; Roymans 2000, 94). This thesis follows that assumption. Roymans and Derks claim that Hercules Magusanus was the dominant supreme deity in the *civitas Batavorum* (Roymans and Derks 1994, 12). However, the data from Appendix 1 contradicts this, showing that Mercurius and Fortuna were the most popular. Moreover, no clear pattern was found in the spatial distribution of deities. The results of the spatial distribution analysis of the data are similar to the results of the spatial distribution in Germania Inferior. This shows that Roman religion was complex, diverse, and without an obvious pattern.

Temple complexes were found in Elst, Empel, Kessel-Lith, and Nijmegen. To understand how the temple of Empel functioned in the *civitas Batavorum* as a cult place, these temple complexes were investigated in order to understand how generally these temples functioned. Again, multiple deities were found in these locations. Fortuna and Mercurius were the most commonly worshipped gods there, which is in line with the most popular deities in Germania Inferior (App. 1). No direct evidence was found for *interpretatio Romana*, nor that the local elite built these temples, because not all of these temples were built on prehistoric cult places or showed direct evidence for the fusion of Roman and local deities (Bogaers 1955, 20-21; Derks 1998, 146; Driessen 2007, 158; Enkevort and Thijssen 2005, 8). The available data on these temple complexes is diverse without an identifiable pattern to show how these worked. The diversity in artefacts, deities, location, and in the people who used these complexes shows that these cult places functioned in a unique way. This diverse and complex image of temple complexes fits with the aforementioned complex religious situation in Germania Inferior.

7 Case study: The temple of Empel

The last sub-question focussed on the site in Empel itself. Roymans and Derks claimed that this temple complex was a cult place, where the military Batavian aristocracy worshipped Hercules Magusanus (Roymans and Derks 1994, 25). A single group worshipping one particular god seemingly opposes the general understanding that Roman religion was very complex and diverse. Generally, various deities were worshipped in cult places by various types of people (Warrior 2005, 17). An explanation as to why the temple of Empel differs from the general understanding of Roman religion is lacking in the publication of Roymans and Derks (1994), which has led to a gap in the understanding of Roman religion. The sub-question addressed in this chapter was: *What kind of deities were possibly worshipped in Empel, based on the archaeological evidence that was found on this site?*

7.1 Architecture of the temple

The temple of Empel is mostly reconstructed by looking at the robber trenches, but those traces are hardly visible in some places, due to the land consolidation in 1949–1955 and due to modern farming activities (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40-41). This is shown in Figure 2 and Appendix 93. It is rather difficult to determine the exact width of the walls based on the reconstruction of the robber trenches, since these trenches are always bigger than the wall themselves. A more accurate measurement of the width of the wall can be attained by looking at the foundation layers (Houten 2011, 19). However, these foundation layers are not visible in Empel, because the traces were not deep enough and were mostly destroyed in 1949–1955 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40-41).

From the size of the robber trenches, it can be concluded that the *cella* must have been about 12 by 12 by 9 meters, with robber trenches of about 1.75 meter wide. The *porticus* is about 18 by 21 meters, with robber trenches of about 0.90 – 1 meter in width. The main hall is circa 13 by 15 meters, with robber trenches ranging from 0.6 to 2 meters in width. The building material was found broken in the robber trenches (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40-41), and as the material was shattered it made it hard to reconstruct the original sizes of various elements of the temple complex. Moreover, the archaeologists only collected the most recognisable pieces of building material. To collect everything would have been too much work and would not fit in the depot available (Lotte and Norde 2009, 5). This means that information may have been lost. From the collected building material, the only recognisable elements are inventoried under numbers 13650, 13649, 4568, 13647, 13646, and 13648 (Figure 9 -Figure 12). This all led to the reconstruction of a Gallo-Roman temple, which is shown in Figure 13.



Figure 9: Stone building fragment from Kapital (picture made by author).



Figure 10: Stone building fragment from Kapital (picture made by author).

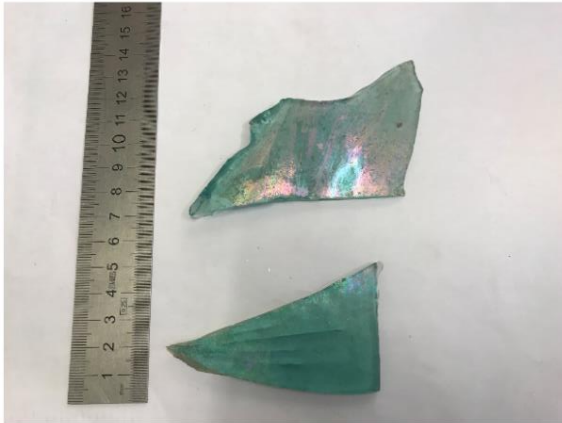


Figure 11: Glass fragments (picture made by author).



Figure 12: Large glass fragment (picture made by author).



Figure 13: Reconstruction of the temple of Empel (Knapen 2018, commissioned by author).

In the publication of Roymans and Derks the temple of Empel was reconstructed on the descriptions by the ancient author Vitruvius (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40). The main question about this reconstruction is whether the writings of Vitruvius can actually be used for a reconstruction of a Gallo-Roman temple. Vitruvius writes about temples in modern day Italy and Greece, and states that the width of the *cella* is twice its length (Vitr.4.4.1, Figure 15). The robber trenches in Empel form a square *cella*. Roymans and Derks therefore reconstructed a square *cella*, while which is not possible by using the writings of Vitruvius. In Additionally, in the temple complexes in Altbachtal, Cuijk, Domburg, Elst, Gournay-sur-Aronde, Kessel-Lith, Nijmegen and Velzeke, square *cellae* were found (Bogaers 1955; Driessen 2007, 158; Enkevoort and Thijssen 2005; Hondius-Crone 1955).

Besides the dimensions of the *cella*, there are other differences between the descriptions by Vitruvius and the temple complex in Empel. In his book, Vitruvius stated that a temple needs to be oriented from east to the west, because “This enables those who approach the altar with offerings or sacrifices to face the direction of the sunrise when facing the statuette in the temple, and thus those who are undertaking vows look towards the quarter from which the sun comes forth, and likewise the statuettes themselves appear to be coming forth out of the east to look upon them as they pray and sacrifice” (Vitr. 4.5.1.). However, the temple in Empel is oriented from the west to the east. Also, Vitruvius states that if a temple is built alongside of a river, the cult statuette must overlook the river (Vitr. 4.5.1.). This is not the case in Empel, where the door of the *cella* is pointed away from the river and where the cult statuette was not placed in view of the river.

Bruneaux describes the temple at Gournay-Sur-Aronde in Gaul, where a lot of research has been performed on this temple complex. This location contained a prehistoric cult place, which later became a Roman cult place (Bruneaux 1985, 48). This is the same situation as in Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 23). In the pre-Roman period in Gournay-Sur-Aronde, it was an open-air cult place, but with a central square structure in the middle (Bruneaux 1985, 49). In the Roman period, the Romans took this square structure as their *cella*, rather than the more typical rectangular shape (Bruneaux 1985, 74-75). In Figure 15 a drawing of a traditional temple complexes derived from Vitruvius is shown, and in Figure 14 the temple complex at Velzeke has been drawn. In figures 14 and 15 the differences in the size of the *cellae* are clearly visible. To explain the difference in the size of the *cellae* in Germania Inferior, scholars have used the theory of Bruneaux to claim that these square *cellae* are of a prehistoric heritage nature in cult places in Gaul and Germania Inferior (Bruneaux 1985, 75; Houten 2011, 20). For this reason, the temple at Gournay-Sur-Aronde is a better source for the virtual reconstruction of the temple at Empel than the works of Vitruvius, because Bruneaux’s theory better fits the idea of how a cult place could transform into a Roman cult place, after the Roman conquest.

Houten further explains the differences between the temples that Vitruvius described and the temples found in Germania Inferior. He claims that signs of the Romanisation could not be found in

every element of local culture. This means that the temples became a blend of Roman and non-Roman architecture (Houten 2011, 20-21). Irrespective of the reasons, the temple of Empel does not fit the model of Vitruvius. Moreover, Vitruvius might not have recognised the temple of Empel as a typical Roman temple.

Thus, the question remains: what did the temple at Empel look like? This is rather difficult to answer, because only pieces of building material and robber trenches were found at the Empel site. Moreover, the archaeologists did not collect all the materials (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40-41). However, the information available does show that the temple complex had a *temenos* wall and a square *cella*. The appearance of the temple of Empel is similar to other temples found in Germania Inferior which fits in the idea of blending local elements with Roman elements to create a temple complex (Bogaers 1955; Driessen 2007, 158; Enkevoort and Thijssen 2005; Hondius-Crone 1955). The structure of the temple complex in Empel is not too dissimilar from other temple structures found in and around Germania Inferior.

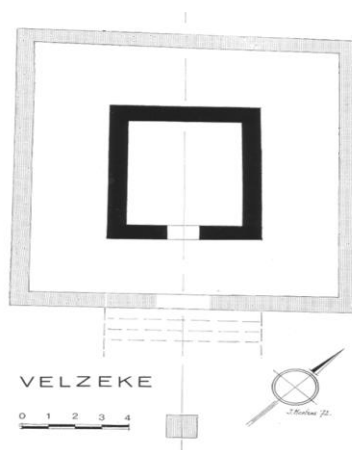


Figure 14: A temple reconstruction from Velzeke, which is a typical Gallo-Roman temple with a square size *cella* (Houten 2011, 53).

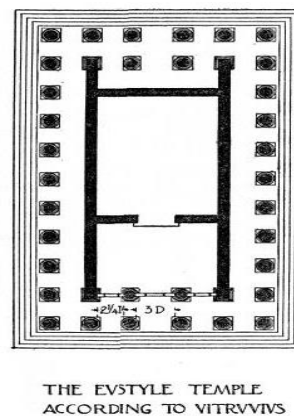


Figure 15: A sketch of the style of a temple according to Vitruvius. This is a typical rectangular *cella* drawing (Morgan 2005, 81).

7.2 Votive inscriptions

A votive inscription is an inscription which shows that a certain promise to a deity is fulfilled and that the person offering this shows his gratitude to that god (Beard 2008, 734). In the temple complex in Empel, one bronze plate, with a votive inscription dedicated to Hercules Magusanus, offered by the veteran Julius Genilius, from *Legio X*, was found (Figure 3). This legion was based in Nijmegen, which is not close to Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 108). Moreover, there seems to be no connection between Nijmegen and this votive inscription in Empel.

This is the only votive inscription found in the temple complex in the modern layers without find context (Roymans and Derks 1994, 108). The inscription says that a veteran named Julius Genilius praised Hercules Magusanus, because Hercules fulfilled a promise to him. What this promise entailed

is unknown (Roymans and Derks 1994, 108). More importantly, this particular inscription does not say whether the temple of Empel was dedicated to Hercules Magusanus, although Roymans and Derks interpreted that in this way. This inscription in Empel is the only evidence found that Hercules Magusanus was worshipped there, but further conclusions are impossible to draw, due to the lack of find context. This may mean that the temple was not devoted to Hercules Magusanus by the evidence of this votive inscription alone but is merely evidence pointing to Hercules devotion in Empel (Beard 2008, 734).

Roymans and Derks state that another inscription come from the temple of Empel. This is the inscription on a votive stone found in Sint-Michelsgestel (Figure 5). The stone was found in the medieval layers, which was interpreted by Roymans and Derks as showing that this votive stone originally came from the temple in Empel but was later brought to Sint-Michelsgestel. According to Roymans and Derks, this votive stone was yet another example of Hercules devotion in Empel by the local elite (Roymans and Derks 1994, 26). However, due the secondary find context it cannot be definitively stated that this votive stone originally came from Empel. It could have come from anywhere. Moreover, no evidence was found on the site in Empel that the Sint-Michelsgestel votive stone originated from Empel. Therefore, the votive stone from Sint-Michelsgestel cannot be seen as evidence for Hercules worship in Empel, and that the only real evidence is the bronze votive inscription found on the site in Empel itself.

7.3 Statuettes and figures

Several statuettes and figures were found in the temple of Empel. These artefacts were commonly used attributes of sacrifice for deities in a cult place (Beard 2008, 730). However, archaeologists cannot confirm which deity was worshipped in a cult place from the presence of small statuettes and figures only. Only larger cult statues can provide important (and definitive) information about the deities worshipped in a temple complex (Weddle 2010, 1–2; Revell 2007, 185–187).

In the fifth chapter of Roymans' and Derks' book, the statuettes and figures found at the Empel site are described. This chapter is titled: '*Een vergoddelijke Hercules en andere bronzen beelden*' (translated: A deified Hercules and other bronze statuettes – book not available in English) (Roymans and Derks 1994, 82). With this title the authors claim that the statuette of Hercules is more important than the other statuettes found. The Hercules statuette (inventory number 1271, Figure 4) was found in the modern layers of the temple complex and has therefore no further find context. This statuette is only 8.1 cm tall and shows a naked bearded man. On his shoulders lies an animal skin, which is interpreted/seen as the skin of the Nemean lion Hercules defeated in the myths. His right hand holds a cup and his left hand is empty. Scholars assumed that this empty hand originally held a club (Roymans and Derks 1994, 83–84).

This composition is known as *Hercules bibax* (Hercules the drinker) and is a reference to the myth in which Hercules acts as a drunk. This image of *Hercules bibax* was known in the entire Roman Empire, and similar statuettes were found in Alife (Winter 1918, 315), Hatra (Downey 1968, 216), Rome (Barry 2011, 21) and Volsinii (Busbey 2007, 35), for example. Also, these statuettes were found in different kinds of settings such as households, military camps or temple complexes and are interpreted as evidence for either private worship or serving as lucky charms (Barry 2011, 21; Busbey 2007, 35-36; Downey 1968, 216; Winter 19818, 316).



In the region of Germania Inferior, another *Hercules bibax* statuette was found in the Roman fort in Velsen (Figure 16) (Bosman 1997, 318). Roymans and Derks have used the find of this statuette to prove that Hercules was worshipped by military men (Roymans and Derks 1994, 85-86). However, these two statuettes are similar in type only. Bosman states that this statuette is proof of personal devotion by a soldier to Hercules, and Bosman sees it more as a lucky charm and not as proof that all soldiers worshipped Hercules or that soldiers were commonly devoted to Hercules (Bosman 1997, 318). Parallels made between the Empel and Velsen statuettes are therefore incorrect.

Figure 16: Statuette of *Hercules bibax* found in Velsen (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)

Roymans and Derks have used the *Hercules* statuette from Empel as one of their main evidences to support their conclusion that Hercules was worshipped in the temple of Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 83). However, this statuette is only 8.1 cm tall and is not a true cult statuette. Scholars state that only cult statues are considered to be evidence that a temple was dedicated to the god a cult statuette represents (Weddle 2010, 1-2; Revell 2007, 185-187). It is more likely that this statuette was from a house altar or used as an object of personal devotion (Weddle 2010, 227). Moreover, the find context of this statuette was lost, and with this a lot of information on how this artefact was used in worship. The fact that this *Hercules* statuette was found in Empel does suggest that Hercules was worshipped there, but there is no definitive evidence that he was the main god of this temple complex.

Besides the *Hercules* statuette, other parts of statuettes were found in Empel. A finger (unknown inventory number), a toe (inventory number 4947, Figure 17) and a shoe (inventory number 4583, Figure 18) were found. The size of the finger and toe suggests that these come from different statuettes. The finger belongs to a life-size statue and the toe to a 30–40 cm tall statuette. The finger shows that it was probably a production error and that it therefore been had cut off from the statue. This confirms that craftsmen working with bronze were present around the Empel temple complex (Roymans and Derks 1994, 86-87). Moreover, the presence of bronze craftsmanship is evidence for the different elements that



Figure 17: Photo and drawing of toe, inventory number 4947 (picture made by author, drawing Roymans and Derks 1994, 87).



Figure 18: Photo of shoe, inventory number 4583 (picture made by author).



Figure 19: Photo of head, inventory number 6255 (picture made by author).



Figure 20: Bust of Luna (Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch).

took place in a temple complex, as this shows that, besides the religious elements around a temple complex, there was also craftsmanship present (Warrior 2005, 18). Another artefact is a part of a 2 cm long foot, which was found in the upper layers when pit 5 was established (inventory number 4947). Therefore, no find context could be established and this partial foot was found on this particular location probably as a result of the land levelling process. The tin remaining on the bottom of this partial foot suggests that it was attached to a pedestal.

Also, a small boot (inventory number 4583, Figure 18) of 4.2 cm was found when pit 8 was established in combination with a bronze head, inventory number 6255. Appendix 91 shows the drawings of pit 8, but no further find context has been found. The objects were found inside the temple complex, near the robber trench of the northern *cella* wall. These shoes were worn by emperors, since emperor Augustus, so this find could have been a part of a statuette of an emperor. However, these shoes were also worn by several deities, such as Mars, Diana, and Bacchus. Therefore, the statuette could have represented a god as well. For this reason, these loose elements of fingers, feet or toes that were found there, do not say much about the cult place in Empel.

A small 1.9 cm tall head (inventory number 6255) of a man was also found in pit 8 (Figure 19). There is no find context pertaining to this object, other than that it was found nearby the construction of pit 8, where the robber trenches of a northern *cella* wall were located (Appendix 91). The style of this head is slightly odd and not in a traditional Roman style. Normally, the Romans cast bronze statuettes in moulds, but this object was modelled by hand. The head that was found in Empel did not belong to a statuette. Traces on the back of this artefact reveal that it was attached to something else, such as a knife, door, wagon, or a belt hook (Roymans and Derks 1994, 89). It is hard to derive much information about religious practices from this object, as it may have been attached to anything, and no ideography is evident. Besides the head of a man, a 6.6 cm bust of Luna was found (Figure 20). This bust, like the head, used to be attached to something (Roymans and Derks 1994, 88-89). Again, here there was no proper find context, making it difficult to draw conclusions therewith. Moreover, the bust of Luna is evidence that, besides Hercules, another god(dess) was found in the temple of Empel.

The next item found is a 2.6 cm tall head of a bull (Figure 21). This head is rectangular and is decorated with stripes and dots. The round ends of the horns indicate a late Iron Age style and this manner/style is found in several areas of Germania. These heads did not belong to statuettes, but were decorative figures attached to objects instead. These artefacts could have been a part of multiple objects, as seen with similar artefacts found in Britain, such as knives and buckets (portable antiquities scheme of Great Britain, number SWYOR-8447B2, LVPL-8F38B0). The style of this bull's head figure, and information from similar artefacts found suggest that this object dates back to the Iron Age. Beside the bull's head, a 2 cm tall bronze statuette of a dog standing on a block (inventory number 4642, Figure 22) was found in the backfilling of a pit. However, there is no description of which pit it concerned.

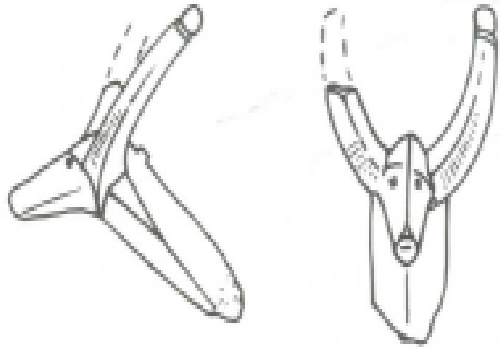


Figure 21: Drawing of the head from bronze bull figure (Roymans and Derks 1994, 86)

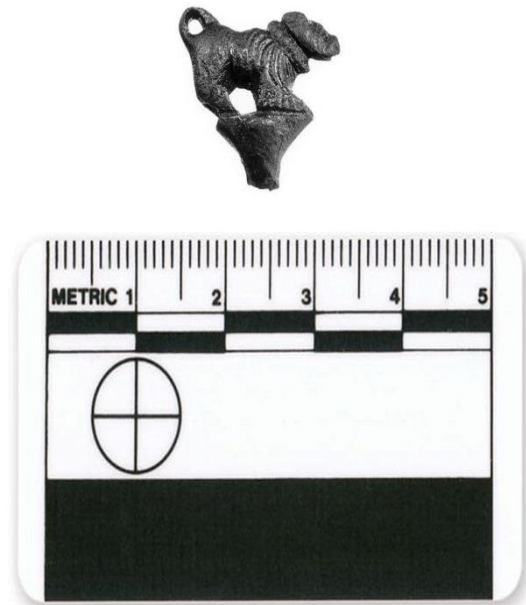


Figure 22: Photo of dog statuette (picture made by author).



Figure 23: Photo and small drawing of tripod from the base of a cult statue (Picture Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, drawing Renswoude 2010, 22).

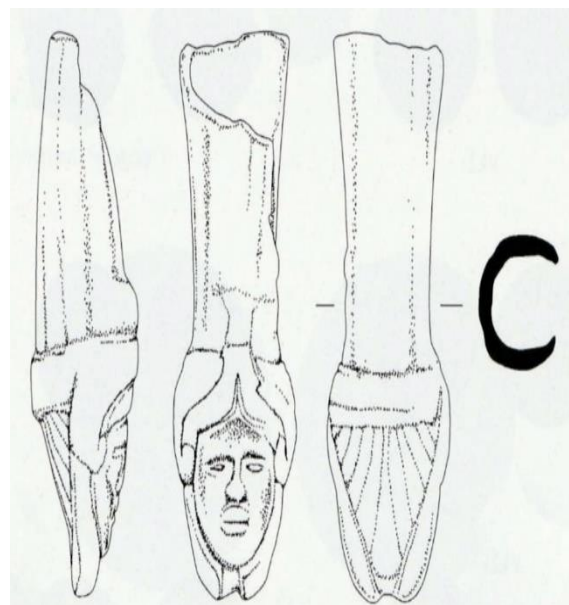


Figure 24: Drawing of the patera (Renswoude 2010, 23).

Therefore, there is no find context of this statuette. The dog's tail is looped so this figure can be worn as a pendant. The dog and the bull's head could represent anything and could be either a sacrificial votive offer or the animal version or companion of a deity, so which deities these objects represent cannot be determined (Smith 1999, 35).

During the excavation of 2007, a 7.4 cm long decorated bronze strip from a pedestal from a large statue (inventory number 24244, Figure 23) was found. This pedestal strip shows several saw marks, which indicates that the pedestal was sawed into pieces and probably reused afterwards for casting other bronze objects (Renswoude 2010, 22). This object was found in the top layers of pit 3 during the 2007 excavation. There is no find context, but this artefact probably belonged to the temple complex. The land consolidation might have moved this artefact to this particular location. On the pedestal, acanthus leaves are the only decorative elements (Renswoude 2010, 22). Acanthus leaves were a popular decoration style in Ancient Greece and during the Roman periods. Unlike some other leaves, acanthus leaves are not associated to a specific god, but were only used as a decorative element (Neer 2017, 206). Renswoude and Derks claim that this was the decorated pedestal on which the cult statue from the temple of Empel was placed (Renswoude 2010, 22). Unfortunately, archaeologists did not find the statue belonging to this pedestal, and therefore this strip alone cannot indicate which god or goddess was displayed on this pedestal in the temple of Empel.

The only other object, with figurative elements found during the 2007 excavation, is the head of a woman on the handle of a *patera* (Figure 24). A *patera* was an object used to offer a libation to the gods. This handle was forcedly broken off the *patera*, which was a common practice in Roman days to make an object unusable for an offering (Flower 2017, 49). The head of the woman is stylistic and not recognisable as a certain goddess (Renswoude 2010, 22). Moreover, decorative *paterae* with the head of a woman are commonly found in the whole Roman Empire, in religious and non-religious contexts (Bromwich 2009, 69). It is hard to compare this *patera* with other *paterae* (Flower 2017, 50). The handle of the *patera* alone cannot determine which god or goddess the libation was meant for. Besides this *patera*, two other *paterae* were found in the modern layers of the temple complex in 1989 (inventory number 1001, 10028). These *paterae* are not decorated and do not have clear marks of offering use (Renswoude 2010, 23).

In conclusion, several statuettes and figures were found, but most of these cannot be used to determine which deity (or deities) was worshipped in the temple complex, other than Hercules and Luna. Additionally, no evidence was found that proves or indicates that Hercules was more important there than other deities. However, the evidence does suggest that, besides Hercules, more deities, such as Luna, were worshipped in the temple of Empel. The worship of multiple deities concords with the general idea of Roman religion (Warrior 2005, 16).

7.4 Weapons, military armour, horse gear and chariots

At the site in Empel, some 150 pieces of military weapons and armour were found. However, again due to the land consolidation in 1949–1955, a lot of artefacts may have been lost, destroyed, damaged or moved. Moreover, the sandy ground in Empel offers rather poor conditions for preserving metal artefacts. The locations in Empel where weapons were found are inside water wells or covered pits, because these are the only places where metal could survive in the ground (Roymans and Derks 1996, 92; Figure 25). Many types of military weapons were found, such as arrowheads, helmets, armour rings, axes, swords, spearheads, belts, shield knobs, pendants and a lot of horse gear. The number of weapons and armour found is relatively high in comparison with other temple complexes (Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 207; Green 1981; Hingley 2006, 216; Moore 1906, 137; Tomlin 2009, 272; Smith 1999, 34).

Most of the gear found is dated to belonging to the first century AD (Roymans and Derks 1994, 92). The only exception was a helmet with a hole in its left side (Figure 27), which was found in water well 303 (Figure 26). The hole in the side of the helmet fits the ritual to sabotage armour in order to sacrifice this to the gods (Flower 2017, 49). The helmet is a Niederbieber type II helmet from the second century AD, which is a typical Roman helmet (Waurick 1988, 338-341). The find location of this well is peculiar, because the well was located inside the main hall of the temple complex. A substantial amount of building material was also found at the bottom of this well and on its sides. This suggests that this well was built when the main hall was already no longer in use and the surplus building material was shoved this well during clean up. This fits chronologically as the temple complexes were no longer in use in the second century, mainly because of the helmet and the well are from a later period of the temple complex. Who sacrificed the helmet is not known and also cannot be assumed due the find context pointing to a temple clean up.

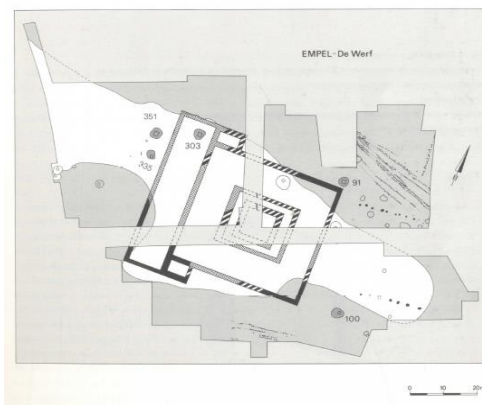


Figure 25: Map of water wells in the temple of Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 59).



Figure 26: Drawing of water well 303.

1. Clay layer around the wooden construction. 2. Location of ecological samples. 3. Links of bucket chain. 4. Staves of bucket. 5. Badly fitting wood construction of the upper and lower part. (Roymans and Derks 1994, 65).

Roymans and Derks claim that, besides the helmet, a shield knob found is also from the second century AD (Roymans and Derks 1994, 94). The shield knob was found in water well 100, which was located outside the temple complex, outside the *temenos* wall, but yet close enough that it could have been used in the temple (Roskams 2013). The shield knob found in this well is a typical Germanic shield knob, called a Zielsing B2 type. These knobs are dated at the end of the first century AD (Zielsing 1989, 45-47). This is a different dating than Roymans and Derks used, but Zielsing's dating fits better with the theory that the temple was mostly used during the first century AD. The other artefacts found in this well were also from the first century AD (Roymans and Derks 1994, 94), so the claim that the shield knob is the only artefact from a different period seems to be implausible.



Figure 27: Helmet that found in water well 303 (NoordBrabants museum).

Giving weapons as votive objects to the gods was a non-Roman tradition dating back to prehistoric times and is visible in various sites in and around Germania Inferior (Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 207; Enkevort and Willem 1994, 137; Green 1981; Hingley 2006, 216; Moore 1906, 137; Nicolay 2007, 235; Tomlin 2009, 272; Smith 1999, 34). In the Roman Age, people normally only possessed weapons while they were active in the military. When they retired, they returned the weapons to the army, or offered these to the gods.

After the Batavian revolution, in AD 69, the Romans enacted laws preventing people from owning weapons (Nicolay 2007, 205). Roymans and Derks argue that this law is the reason why fewer weapons were offered to the gods in the second century AD (Roymans and Derks 1994, 105). This could explain the difference in the number of weapons between the first and second century, but it does not prove that these weapons were offered to Hercules. In contrast, Nicolay claims that the law did not mention that Germanic people could not possess weapons anymore. Instead, he claims that this particular law has been mistranslated, and that archaeological evidence shows that people still possessed weapons in the second century AD (Nicolay 2007, 207-208).

Weapons were found in several sites in Germania Inferior, in a pit or river as a result of offerings (Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 207; Enkevort and Willem 1994, 137; Green 1981; Moore 1906, 137; Nicolay 2007, 235). The weapons found show a transformation in sacrificial rituals between prehistoric times and Roman times because the weapons were probably offered to Roman god instead of a local one. However, it is not clear to which deities these weapons were offered to, because each site shows evidence of being a place where devotees could worship various gods, such as Apollo, Diana, Hercules, Jupiter, Mars or Minerva (Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 207; Green 1981; Hingley 2006, 216; Moore 1906, 137; Tomlin 2009, 272; Smith 1999, 34). Hingley claims that these weapon offerings were done by a

local group in the Roman period and were made to a Roman god who was similar to a local god. This means that weapon offerings were a continuation of religious practices from the Iron Age into the Roman Age (Hingley 2006, 216). Hingley argues that this continuity happened thanks to *interpretatio Romana* (Hingley 2006, 217). This means that the weapons found are possible evidence for *interpretatio Romana* in Empel, because these findings show a continuity in the rituals of weapon offerings from prehistoric times that transformed into rituals for Roman deities in the Roman period.

The weapons found inside the water wells in Empel are probably the result of a temple clean-up, rather than actual offerings, as was the case in similar sites with a similar find context (Enckevort and Willem 1994, 137; Hingley 2006, 216; Moore 1906, 137; Tomlin 2009, 272; Smith 1999, 34). The other weapons unearthed in Empel were found throughout the temple complex, mostly in modern layers (Roymans and Derks 1994, 99). This unfortunately resulted in the lack of find context, as most of the weapons were not found where they would have been originally placed. It is therefore unclear to which deity these weapons were offered to (Green 1981, 266), even when comparing the findings to other sites with proof of weapon offerings, because offers to multiple deities were possible.

Horse gear and parts of chariots were also found in Empel. The horse gear and parts of the chariots were found in different archaeological pits across the temple complex, with no visible spot for deposition and there is thus no information about the find context available. Some of the parts were found in water wells, such as pendants, bells and strap mounts which were found in water well 91 (Figure 28). This well is on the northeast side of the temple complex (Figure 25). The structure of this water well suggests that the objects were deposited there after the well was out of order. The remaining artefacts were found spread across and around the temple complex with no visible spot for offerings (Roymans and Derks 1994, 92-93). The chariots and horse gear found mostly dates back to the Roman period. Only a couple of bridle guides found are from prehistoric times. This means that chariot gear was offered in the cult place in Empel, before the Roman period. (Roymans and Derks 1994, 93-94).

Scholars know, from the example of the horse of *Bassus*, that horses were richly decorated in the Roman Age (Nicolay 2007, 222). The pendants in Empel are an example of decorations for horses, because these showed similarities with the decorations on the horse of *Bassus*. Roymans and Derks claim that these pendants are evidence that military men sacrificed their horses here (Roymans and Derks 1994, 94-95). However, these pendants were also found on draught horses. This means that the offerings may not have been from military men only, but also offerings made by ordinary people (Nicolay 2007, 223). Moreover, two pendants, in the shape of a half-moon, were found in Empel (inventory numbers 561 and 916, Figure 29). These pendants have no find context but were common on horse gear and were a symbol for the goddess Luna. In Roman times, Luna pendants were mainly worn around the necks of women or children to ward off evil. These pendants were also a symbol of the female sex and were associated with fertility, because the moon influences a woman's menstruation

cycle. These Luna pendants had a protective purpose and were often found on horse gear to protect horse and rider from evil and misfortune or as a symbol for the goddess Luna in a religious context (Nicolay 2007, 227). These findings suggest that horses were sacrificed to Luna at the cult place in Empel.

The Luna bust, and parts of a chariot found, show that Luna was worshipped at Empel, because similar examples are found around Nijmegen, Trier, and Xanten. These places indicate that chariot sacrifices were common in the Iron Age and were still practiced in the Roman period (Nicolay 2007, 226). This applies to Empel as well, where bridle guides were found from the Iron Age, which indicates this site was also used for worship in prehistoric times (Roymans and Derks 1994, 94). Tacitus describes a ritual where a sacred chariot was pulled around the village to be offered later to the local goddess Ertha (Tac.Ger.40). These rituals were still practiced in the Roman period (Nicolay 2007, 217).

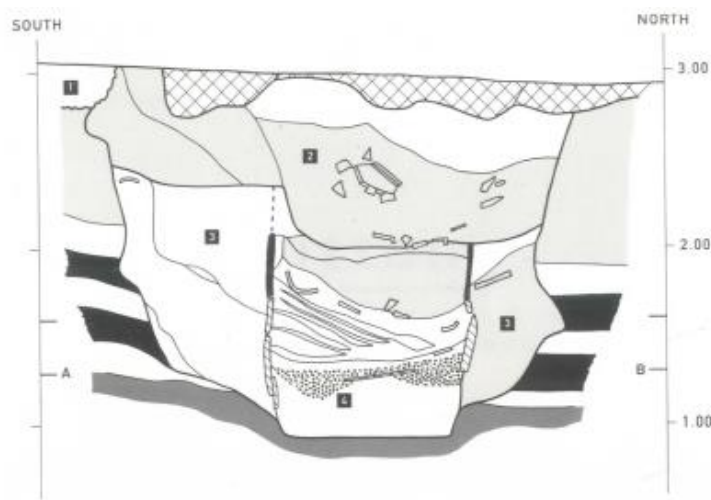


Figure 28: Drawing of water well 91.

1. Robber trench of wall. 2. Upper part of infill. 3. Packing soil. 4. Fine filter of gravel. (Roymans and Derks 1994, 60).

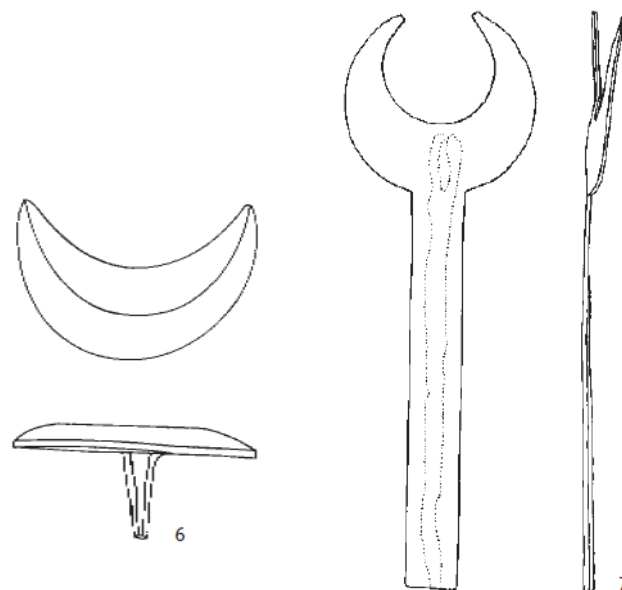


Figure 29: Luna pendants that were found in Empel. Scale 2:3 (Nicolay 2007, 226).

These ritual offerings were later transferred to towards Roman deities, such as Apollo, Hermes, Luna, Mars and Poseidon. All the cult places where wagons and horse gear have been found show evidence of horse chariot offerings. Moreover, all these cult places have an Iron Age origin, when chariot offerings were common (Brown 1950, 32; Hingley 2006, 224-226; King 2005, 339; Nicolay 2007, 217; Pascal 1981, 261-262; Teffeteller 2001, 160, 162). In the sites around Nijmegen, Trier, and Xanten described by Nicolay, the chariot and horse gear offerings were not only sacrifices by soldiers, but also by local civilians (Nicolay 2007, 227). Nicolay claims that the decoration in Empel could have been from a cult wagon for Luna, because the pendants and bust have recognisable Luna characteristics in rituals commonly practiced for Luna (Nicolay 2007, 226). Moreover, this Luna worship ritual is common in the whole of Germania Inferior, especially in the area around Nijmegen, and there is no evidence that this ritual would not have taken place in Empel (Nicolay 2007, 223-224). These elements fit the description of Luna chariots offerings in Empel.

This all leads to the conclusion that the weapon offerings in Empel were a continuation of sacrificial practices from the Iron Age to the Roman Age onwards. During the Roman Age, weapons were offered to a Roman god, instead of a local deity, due to *interpretatio Romana*. However, most of the sites where weapon offerings were found do not clearly show to which deity these weapons were offered to, as there is no compelling evidence for this. Roymans and Derks claim that these weapons were meant for offers to Hercules, but without the find context this is hard to prove. Moreover, no specific weapon rituals for Hercules were found in other, similar, sites. There were also horse gear and chariot offerings in Empel. Chariot offerings were found in similar sites in Germania Inferior and were seemingly dedicated to various deities. In these similar sites a prehistoric ritual was changed into a Roman ritual, towards a Roman god, thanks to *interpretatio Romana*. The evidence showed that this is akin to what happened to the rituals in Empel, where a horse wagon ritual changed into a Luna ritual, because the Luna bust and pendants that were found there were also used in other, similar, sites in Germania Inferior.

7.5 Animal sacrifices

Animal sacrifices were common in Roman religion. However, these were already done before Roman times and are ancient rituals that go far back into prehistoric times (Ekroth 2014, 324; Scheid 2012, 84). In Empel, 3,393 bones of different animals (Table 15) were found in three locations; a pit on the northeast side, a depression in the southwestern swamp and in water wells 91, 100 and 303 (Table 16, Figure 25, Figure 28, Figure 26, Figure 28, Figure 30). Most of the bones that could be identified were found in the water wells, and a smaller number of bones came from a pit and from a depression. A lot of bones were found in the sandy soil surrounding the temple complex, but these were not well preserved, due to the corrosive properties of sandy ground (Roymans and Derks 1994, 163-164). The bones in water well 303 are peculiar, because this water well is situated inside the main hall of the temple

complex (Figure 26, Figure 25). The bottom layers in this water well were full of building material and the bones were found on top of these layers. This indicates that this water well was built after the temple complex was already in use (Roymans and Derks 1994, 164). Most of the bones were found in water well 100 (Figure 30). The clay layer on the bottom of this well suggests that the bones were placed there when the well was no longer in use. However, this well is more than ten meters outside the temple complex and may suggest that this water well was not in use for the temple complex, but for the people outside the temple complex.

1,842 of the bones found can be dated to the Iron Age. Most of these bones came from cows, followed by sheep or goats and pigs. Finding bones from the Iron Age period indicates that this cult place was fully in use in this period. 1,551 bones were from the (early) Roman period. Most bones found from this period were from sheep or goats, followed by cow and pig bones. In Roman times, archaeologists found bones from other animals too, such as bones from birds, hares and mice (Roymans and Derks 1994, 162-164). This can be seen in Table 15 and in Table 16. The bones from animals that could not be fully identified are classified based on the size of the bones. For example, large bones fall in the category of large mammals, such as cattle. The bones suggest that the animals were brought to the temple whilst being alive and were sacrificed on site (Roymans and Derks 1994, 165). However, there is no link between the sacrifice of these animals and the other objects ritually offered. The reason for this is that the find context for most of these bones indicates that there was a temple clean up and that the bones were subsequently dumped into the wells or pits (Haynes 2000, 85).

83 cow sacrifices can be attributed to the Iron Age and 81 cows were sacrificed in the Roman era. Most of these cows were between 15 and 30 months old. 14 sheep/goat bones were found which can be dated to the Iron age and 41 bones to the Roman period. Contrary to cows, the sheep/goats were sacrificed at an adult age, as no bones were found from animals younger than 15 months. For pigs, 34 bones from the Iron Age were found and 106 from the Roman period. Most of the pigs were around two years old when sacrificed (Roymans and Derks 1994, 165-167).

Cows, sheep/goats, and pigs are the most common sacrificial animals found in several cult places in Germania Inferior, which makes it hard to determine to which deity the animals were sacrificed to. This can only be determined for animals that were exclusively sacrificed for a specific deity, but these have not been found in Empel (Ekroth 2014, 330). No further information was found in Empel with regard to which deity these animals were sacrificed for, based on the find context or the animal bones; and the theory that these sacrifices were for Hercules can therefore not be supported.

It is known that the sacrificial animals come mostly from the local region near the temple site (Ekroth 2014, 331; Groot 2008, 148). This explains the large number of cow sacrifices, because livestock in Germania Inferior in those days mainly consisted of cattle (Hynes 2000, 94; King 2015, 2; King 2005, 329). Cattle bones were also commonly found in other settlements in the *civitas Batavorum*

(Groot 2008, 111). Roymans and Derks explain that the high number of pig bones found is evidence that military men worshipped in the temple of Empel, because the military brought pigs to this area (Roymans and Derks 1994, 171). However, pigs are seemingly the only animals that were not slaughtered on-site at the temple complex, because only the hind legs of pigs were found (Roymans and Derks 1994, 167).

Table 15: The amount of animal that were found in Empel (Near Roymans and Derks 1994, 164).

Animal type	Pre-temple period (Iron Age)	Temple period (Roman period)
Cormorant	0	1 (0.1%)
Crow	0	1 (0.1%)
Diving duck	0	2 (0.1%)
Dog	1 (0.1%)	0
Duck	0	1 (0.1%)
Eagle-owl	0	17 (1.1%)
Eel	0	1 (0.1%)
Frog	0	10 (0.6%)
Gallus	0	3 (0.2%)
Goat/sheep	389 (21.1%)	325 (21%)
Goose	0	1 (0.1%)
Hare	0	1 (0.1%)
Horse	1 (0.1%)	5 (0.3%)
Jackdaw	0	8 (0.5%)
Large mammal	183 (9.9%)	209 (13.5%)
Middle size mammal	77 (4.2%)	282 (18.2%)
Mouse	0	4 (0.3%)
Ox	745 (40.5%)	309 (19.9%)
Pig	96 (5.2%)	250 (16.1%)
Vole	0	64 (4.1%)
Total	1842	1551

Table 16: Absolute and relative frequencies of bones from oxen, goats/sheep, and pig in each find spot (Near Roymans and Derks 1994, 165).

Findspot	Ox	Sheep/goat	Pig
Clay layer 25/31 (Iron Age)	310 (59.2%)	143 (27.3%)	71 (13.6%)
Coup 148 (Iron Age)	342 (62.4%)	193 (35.2%)	13 (2.4%)
Several Iron Age traces	93 (58.9%)	53 (33.5%)	12 (7.6%)
Water well 91 (Roman)	105 (52.5%)	57 (28.5%)	38 (19%)
Water well 100 (Roman)	153 (33.4%)	191 (41.7%)	114 (24.9%)
Water well 303 (Roman)	27 (15.3%)	60 (33.9%)	90 (50.8%)
Several Roman traces	24 (49%)	17 (34.7%)	8 (16.3%)
Total	1054	714	346

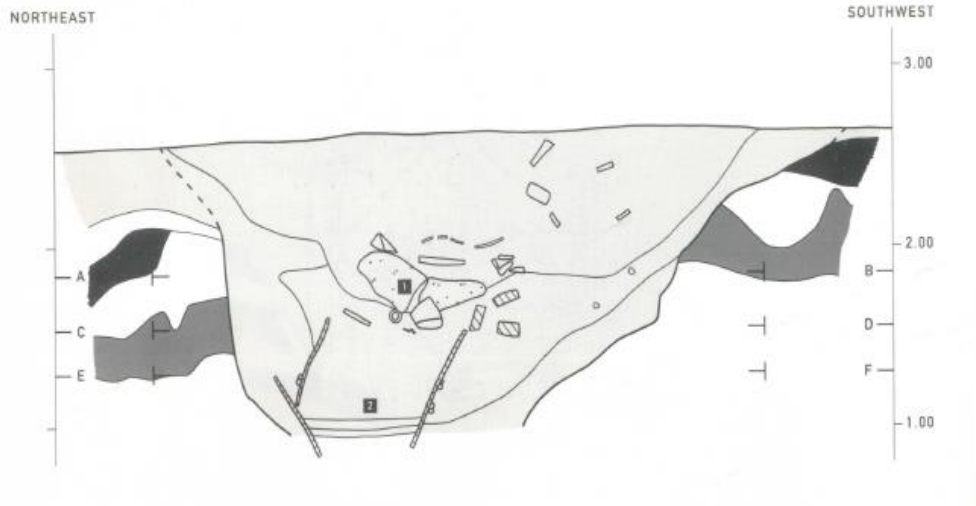


Figure 30: Drawing of water well 100.

1. Pieces of floor concrete. 2. Location of pollen sample (Roymans and Derks 1994, 62).

There is a distinct ritual behind the sacrifice of an animal (King 2010, 346), so it is unlikely that the pig bones found are evidence for sacrifices by military men. Instead it seems more likely that these pigs were not slaughtered but traded near the temple complex. De Groot emphasised that a temple complex was a place where people came together, not only for worship but also for other activities, such as trade (Groot 2008, 111). Trade is a common element around temple complexes, and therefore pigs were likely traded here instead of being sacrificed.

In conclusion, the temple of Empel contained a lot of elements of sacrifices, which indicates that the temple was used in full. However, the find context of the bones found in Empel is useless, because most of the bones were damaged in the sandy soil or found in layers without context (Roymans and Derks 1994, 64). Moreover, the bones could be associated with a find context, inside a pit or well for instance, were probably mainly there due a temple clean-up. This makes it hard to determine to which deity these animal sacrifices were dedicated. Moreover, the three most commonly found remnants of animals (cows, sheep/goats, and pigs), were the same animals commonly found in other temple complexes. This makes the claim that these animals were sacrificed to Hercules unsupported. Moreover, using pigs as evidence that soldiers sacrificed animals in Empel is also not clear, because the presence of pig bones there may simply show that there was trade near the temple complex (Groot 2008, 111).

7.6 Jewellery

Around 500 fibulae were found in the temple of Empel. Although this number is high, most of the artefacts were found in the modern layers, with no find context and were thusly collected as loose finds. The fibulae are from the Iron Age and from the Roman period. Moreover, some fibulae are common in both periods (Heeren and Willemsen 2017, 7). Fibulae were common objects used in the worship of deities and have been found in many temple complexes across Germania Inferior and Britain (Allison 2015, 108; Heeren and Willemsen 2017, 7; Smith 1999, 38-40). The publication of Roymans and Derks only discusses five military fibulae (Roymans and Derks 1994, 132).

Most of the finds in Empel are bow fibulae, nodding fibulae, wire fibulae, and *augen* fibulae (Roymans and Derks 1994, 137). Heeren and Willemsen claim that these fibulae were worn by ordinary people, both by men and by women (Allison 2015, 105; Heeren and Willemsen 2017, 38-39). Four of the findings were typical female fibulae (Roymans and Derks 1994, 137), and many of the others were of the type worn by ordinary people. This means that almost 490 fibulae were worn by ordinary people who could either have been men or women and that this proves that not only military men worshipped at the temple at Empel.

Ten bracelets from both the prehistoric period and from the Roman Age were also found at the temple site, but without find context. Similar bracelets have been found in several other cult places, such as Marcham or Walsingham (Kamash *et al.* 2010, 122; Smith 1999, 40). These bracelets belonged to

women and were therefore probably offered by women (Kamash *et al.* 2010, 122). This is further evidence that women participated in the temple complex worship rituals.

Several rings were also found at Empel. First a silver ring with the inscription MAT, in gold, was found. This inscription is likely to have been an abbreviation for *Matronis* or *Matribus*, which means for *Matres*, the Mother goddess (Roymans and Derks 1994, 26). The ring is evidence for a personal devotion to a Mother goddess in Empel (Richter 1968, 283-284). Moreover, rings and other gems were found there; first a gem was with an unknown symbol (Figure 32), Victoria (Figure 33), a four-in-hand carriage (Figure 34), a rider with two horses (Figure 35), and lastly the goddess Fortuna *Panthea* (Figure 31; Roymans and Derks 1994, 142-143). The gem with the unknown symbol and the rider and the four-in-hand carriage gems could have been used in multiple devotion rituals for the worship of different deities, but it is hard to determine for which specific deity. The Victoria gem and the Fortuna *Panthea* were probably used to worship the goddesses that were actually depicted (Richter 1968, 283-284). This means further evidence to sustain the notion that other deities, besides Hercules, were worshipped in the temple complex in Empel. Moreover, the gem of Fortuna *Panthea* is special, because this goddess figure is an amalgam of different deities together, with the helmet of Minerva, the wings of Victoria, the corn leaves of Ceres and the bow of Diana (Pollini 2003, 877; Roymans and Derks 1994, 143). Fortuna *Panthea* represents property, health, political power, and military success (Pollini 2003, 879). This deity is an example of the syncretism of goddesses thus creating a new goddess that can be used in numerous ways for different cultures, both to communicate and to overcome cultural differences. For example, in Alexandria a similar Fortuna *Panthea* was found that was syncretistic with the Egyptian deity Isis, as in the Northern provinces of the Roman Empire with its various Germanic deities for agriculture, such as images of hunting with corn leaves and hunting bows (Pollini 2003, 880). Fortuna *Panthea* was only found in multiple settings on the borders of the Roman Empire and used to communicate between cultures and thus creating a Roman unity, according to scholars (Pollini 2003, 881). How and by who, and for who these gems were devoted to cannot be stated due the lack of find context at the site.

The fibulae, bracelets, ring, and gems found in Empel show the continuity in offerings between prehistoric times and the Roman Age. The fibulae and bracelets found indicate that multiple people were devoted to the deities in Empel, ordinary women and men and the military. This could mean that most of the fibulae found may have belonged to people from different social statuses and genders, and the temple of Empel is seemingly more diverse in composition of the audience it served than Roymans and Derks claimed. Moreover, the gems and ring suggest that more deities besides Hercules were worshipped here, such as the Mother goddesses and Fortuna. Based on the jewellery found this leads to the conclusion that the temple of Empel was a cult place in continuous use from the Iron Age to the Roman period and served as a cult place for the worship of multiple deities by a diverse audience.



Figure 31: Gem of Fortuna Panthea, scale 2:1 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 143).



Figure 32: Gem of a unknown object, probably a cup. Scale 2:1 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 144).



Figure 33: Part of gem of Victoria, scale 2:1 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 144).



Figure 34: Gem of four-in-hand carriage, scale 2:1 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 144).



Figure 35: Gem of rider with two horses, scale 2:1 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 144).

7.7 Cooking gear and drinking tableware

A variety of table and cooking gear was found in water well 100: bronze jugs, pans, bottles, amphoras, and wine sieves (Figure 30, Figure 36). Some of these objects are typical Roman, while others have more Batavian features (Roymans and Derks 1994, 176). The artefacts in this water well are not primary depositions. They were deposited there in a later period when the temple was no longer used. This is evident from the building material from the temple floor in well 100 (Roymans and Derks 1994, 61). The rest of the cooking and drinking gear was found dispersed around the temple complex: mostly in the modern layers without further find context. In the excavation of 2007, more cooking gear was found, but only on the top layers when a pit was built and with no clear find context (Renswoude 2010, 22-23).

In the publication, this cooking and drinking gear is interpreted as objects for religious banquet during festivals for Hercules, because Hercules drinks from a cup to receive immortality in the Roman myths (Roymans and Derks 1994, 179). This eating and drinking ritual for Hercules is a ritual in a cult in Rome, which is known by historians from written sources (Groot 2008, 106; Hardie 2007, 560-563; Schultz 2000, 291-292). Hardie emphasises that cult places in Rome played a different role than in the rest of the Roman Empire, because in Rome politics played a large role in religion. This situation was

unique for Rome and was not found in other cults (Hardie 2007, 560). Therefore, the comparison between a cult in Rome and Empel cannot be made.

Eating and drinking during religious festivals was common in the Roman Empire and did not point to the worship of a certain deity (Scheid 2012, 93). The artefacts that suggest a religious banquet were held for Hercules in Empel is not odd, because this was common in Roman religion and the evidence does not prove that it was for Hercules (Beard 2008, 758). It cannot be said that these practices were for a certain deity, because each deity in Roman and non-Roman religion had banquets (Groot 2008, 106). Therefore, these finds only show that.



Figure 36: A couple of drinking cups and table wear from the site in Empel, exact scale is unknown (Roymans and Derks 1994, 24).

7.8 Chapter conclusion

The temple of Empel is a challenging and difficult archaeological site, because a lot of evidence and find context have been lost. This is partly due to the land consolidation of the area in the years 1949 to 1955, when archaeological layers and artefacts were damaged then (Roymans and Derks 1994, 40-41). Most of the artefacts retrieved were found in modern layers, without find context, again due to this land consolidation (Roymans and Derks 1994, 14).

Roymans and Derks concluded that the temple complex in Empel was a temple where the military Batavian elite worshipped Hercules Magusanus. This was based on the votive inscriptions found in Empel and Sint-Michelsgestel, the bronze Hercules statuette, and the weapons offerings that were found (Roymans and Derks 1994, 25). However, there are a number of contradictory findings. Firstly the votive inscriptions. The bronze votive inscription from Empel is evidence that Hercules was worshipped there, but not that the temple itself was devoted to this deity which Roymans and Derks assumed. Moreover, the votive inscription from Sint-Michelsgestel that according to Roymans and Derks originated from Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994, 26). This votive inscription might have come

from anywhere, because there is no solid evidence that this particular inscription came from Empel. Therefore, interpreting this inscription must be separated from the context of the archaeological site in Empel. The votive inscription of Sint-Michelsgestel is not evidence for Hercules devotion in Empel.

Secondly, there are multiple depicted deities found that indicates a multiple devotion of deities, besides Hercules. A bust of Luna was found, as well as chariots and Luna pendants. In Germania Inferior, Luna was worshipped by offering chariots (Nicolay 2007, 226). The same seems to have occurred in Empel. This means that Luna was also worshipped there. Moreover, there a ring was found with the inscription MAT which stands for Matres. This ring was probably devoted to the Mother goddess. Gems were also found depicting other deities, such as Fortuna and Victoria. The evidence found relating to Fortuna, Victoria and to (the) Mother goddess(es) is proof that these deities were probably devoted in Empel (Richter 1968, 283-284). This suggests that more deities were devoted in Empel, and this matches the religious diversity in the current understanding of Roman religion.

Thirdly, evidence was found that suggest that people, other than the Batavian military elite, participated in the activities at the temple of Empel, the opposite of what Roymans and Derks claimed. This is visible in the presence of certain fibulae found there, which were worn by non-military people, ordinary men and women, especially. Moreover, the participation of women is visible in the sacrifices of bracelets (Kamash *et al.* 2010, 122). This shows that the temple of Empel had a diverse group of worshippers and deities.

The most important evidence from the site in Empel is that the cult place corroborates the continuity of religious purposes from the Iron Age into the Roman period. There is evidence that the cult place of Empel already existed in the Iron Age, evidence based on the findings of multiple weapons, animal bones, and fibulae. It can be assumed that the prehistoric deities worshipped there morphed into Roman deities in the Roman period, by virtue of *interpretatio Romana*. However, the actual shift from local gods to Roman gods is somewhat less clear, because the prehistoric artefacts found there do not describe or depict deities.

Finally, the temple complex of Empel served non-religious purposes, as evidence was found that shows that trade and craftsmanship conducted around the temple complex. Of the pig bones, only hind legs were found, which showed that these animals were not sacrificed, but probably traded here, because only living animals were sacrificed (King 2010, 346). The bronze finger that were found were basically discards from a production error, which shows that bronze craftsmanship occurred at the temple complex (Roymans and Derks 1994, 86-87).

This leads to the conclusion that many elements of the temple of Empel were incorrectly interpreted, such as indicating that the complex was used to worship Hercules by the military elite only. Artefacts for Hercules, Luna, Fortuna and Mother goddesses were found, which suggests a more diverse worshipping of deities in the cult place. Moreover, the group of people who visited this temple complex

was diverse. Not only the Batavian military elite made use of the complex, but also women and ordinary men. The conclusion is that the activities at the temple of Empel were more diverse and complex than previously thought, and the work of Roymans and Derks needs to be adapted to better fit into the general idea of how Roman religion functioned.

8 Conclusion

The temple of Empel has been seen as a cult place, where the local Batavian military elite worshipped Hercules Magusanus. This was an interpretation which was based on votive inscriptions, a statuette and a large number of weapons found at a local site. But the other hand is there a common understanding of how Roman religions functioned in the Roman Empire. In this understanding cult places were used for acts of devotion, by multiple people and for various deities. The most important phenomenon is that religion was used as a social lubricant, mainly to overcome cultural differences. This is called *interpretatio Romana*. The idea of how the temple of Empel functioned differs from the common understanding of Roman religions. This became problematic when the temple of Empel was used as an example in various studies of how Roman cults worked in Germania Inferior, because these studies took the common understanding of how Roman religions functioned as their basis. This is contradictory to the overall archaeological evidence, and this thesis aimed to investigate how and why the site in Empel was an anomaly with respect to the understanding of Roman religion. The main question was: *To what extent is the temple of Empel a religious local anomaly, according to the current understanding of how Roman religious cult places functioned in the Roman Age?* The goal of this research was to create a better understanding of how Roman religion functioned by researching an anomaly. With the new information this thesis has yielded, the past can be better understood.

The main question consisted of two phenomena: Roman religion in Germania Inferior and Roman religion at the site in Empel. The first sub-question focussed on religion in Germania Inferior and the question was: Which spatial distribution of deities in locations and artefacts is detectable in Germania Inferior, according to the archaeological evidence? The aim was to investigate what kind of pattern of spatial distribution of deities could be identified in Germania Inferior. This was achieved by analysing a variety of archaeological data in a dataset. The results of this analysis showed no clear spatial distribution pattern of deities. The only exception was Nehalennia in the coastal areas of Zeeland. A diverse distribution was visible in the types of location. Artefacts related to religion were not only found in cult places, but in other settings as well. The spatial distribution of deities in Germania Inferior as a whole was similar to the general understanding of how Roman religion worked.

The temple of Empel is situated in the *civitas Batavorum*. Roymans and Derks claimed that Hercules was the most popular god in this area, which can explain the unique situation of Empel. Therefore, this thesis examined the Batavian *civitas*, by analysing archaeological data to learn if this area was unique in Germania Inferior, and how the temples functioned in this area. The second sub-question was: *To what extent is the worshipping of specific deities detectable in temple complexes in the civitas Batavorum, according to archaeological data?* Studying the *civitas Batavorum* yielded the same outcomes as in the previous chapter, with no distinct pattern in the spatial distribution of deities, locations, or artefacts. The *civitas Batavorum* included six temple complexes in Elst, Empel, Kessel-Lith, and Nijmegen. Previous research by Derks theorised that the temple complexes have a limited

spatial distribution in the Batavian *civitas*, as the temples were built on existing prehistoric cult places, where the local elite supported these cult places, and where the local gods were blended with Roman deities. The temple complexes themselves show a spatial distribution, but only one temple in Elst and the temple in Empel were built on older cult places. Moreover, it seems logical to assume that local and Roman deities fused due to the practice of *interpretatio Romana*, but this is difficult to prove, based on the evidence found in the temple complexes alone. There is also no evidence that indicates that the local elite built, or supported, the temple complexes. The temples functioned in similar fashions, and evidence pointing to the worship of different deities by various groups of worshippers was found. This means that temple complexes and the *civitas Batavorum* functioned in concordance with the general idea of Roman religion.

The last sub-question was focussed on the site in Empel itself. The goal of this question was to see how the temple of Empel functioned, in order to answer the main question whether this cult place was an anomaly or not. The third sub-question was: *What kind of deities were possibly worshipped in Empel, based on the archaeological evidence that was found on this site?* The site in Empel is complex due to the levelling of the ground, and the distribution of artefacts without a find context. There are elements that show how cults functioned in Empel. First, multiple deities were found such as Hercules, Mother goddesses, Victoria, Fortuna and Luna. Luna and Fortuna were the result of *interpretatio Romana*, where local deities were morphed into Roman ones. Moreover, the jewellery found at Empel showed that more people worshipped deities in this temple complex, such as ordinary men and women, than just military men. Third, a continuity from prehistoric times into the Roman period is visible in this temple complex, as shown by the weapons, bones and jewellery found there. Due to the lack of find context it is not possible to state to which deities these bones, weapons or jewellery were devoted to, only that there is a continuity. At last it can be concluded that the temple of Empel was more than just a cult place, because trade also happened near the temple complex. This was visible in the find of bronze fingers, which appear to be production errors that indicate bronze craftsmanship, and the finding of hindlegs of pigs which indicate that meat was traded there. All the information gathered leads to the conclusion that the temple of Empel was a diverse cult place, with a broader target audience than Roymans and Derks stated in their thesis.

This further leads to the conclusion that the temple in Empel is not the unique anomaly that Roymans and Derks referred to, because the temple is in concordance with the general idea of how Roman religion functioned. The answers to the first and second sub-questions prove that the general idea of how religions functioned in Germania Inferior is correct. The answer to the final sub-question proves that the site in Empel was a diverse religious site where multiple deities were worshipped. This idea is in line with the general understanding of how Roman religions functioned. In conclusion, the temple of Empel did not prove to be an anomaly in the understanding of Roman religions. The above answers the main research question and therefore the thesis of Roymans and Derks needs to be adjusted.

This thesis was basically a case study of a single site, in order to show how Roman religion worked. Moreover, the findings in this case study were interpreted in the broader perspective of Germania Inferior. This led to new information showing that the understanding of the temple of Empel needs to be adjusted. With this outcome the research goal is attained, is new information about this site came forward and a better understanding of the (local) past was thus obtained. However, the better understanding of the (local) past is only applies to the site in Empel. To obtain a better understanding of all the cult places in Germania Inferior, all these locations must be individually and thoroughly investigated again. For this much more research is needed, but this thesis provides a starting point to better understand Roman religion in a local and in a broader perspective.

9 Abstract

The temple of Empel was interpreted as a religious cult place where Hercules Magusanus was devoted by the Batavian elite. However, Roman religion was very complex in Germania Inferior where religion was entangled in multiple part of society. This results in a diversity of deities, rituals, and audience group. The temple of Empel does not fit in the general idea of Roman religion and there is no explanation why the archaeological site in Empel an abnormality in the general idea of Roman religion is. This thesis wants to give an explanation how a local site functioned in the general idea of Roman religion in order to better understand how Roman religion worked.

When looking at the religion's practises in Germania Inferior, no spatial pattern of religion can be seen. This is in line with the general idea of how Roman religion worked. The regional level on the *civitas Batavorum* is also in line with this general idea of Roman religion: no spatial pattern is detectable. The temple complexes worked in this Batavian *civitas* in the same way of how Roman religion worked, because multiple deities were found, temple complexes work in a broader perspective than only religion, and there is evidence for *interpretatio Romana*. The temple of Empel is not different from this general idea. In this temple complex, not only Hercules Magusanus is devoted, but probably also Luna, Mother-Goddess, and Fortuna. Moreover, not only the military Batavian elite devoted here, but also women and ordinary men according to the jewellery.

This means that the temple of Empel fits in the general idea of how Roman religion worked and this thesis proves why.

Keywords: Temple of Empel, Roman religion, Hercules cult, Luna cult, Matres cult, Fortuna cult, temple complex, Germania Inferior, *interpretatio Romana*.

Samenvatting

De tempel van Empel werd gezien als een religieuze cultusplaats waar Hercules Magusanus werd vereerd door de Bataafse elite. Echter, Romeinse religie was erg complex in Germania Inferior waar religie verbonden is met verschillende delen van de samenleving. Dit resulteert in een diversiteit van goden, rituelen en doelgroep die de goden vereerd. De tempel van Empel past niet in de algemene opvatting hoe Romeinse religie zou moeten werken en er is geen duidelijke verklaring waarom dit zou is. Deze scriptie wil een verklaring geven waarom Empel verschilt om op deze manier een beter begrip te krijgen hoe Romeinse religie werkt in Germania Inferior.

Wanneer er gekeken wordt naar de religieuze praktijken in Germania Inferior is er geen ruimtelijke verspreiding van geloof is zichtbaar. Dit is in lijn met het algemene idee hoe Romeinse religie werkt. Op regionaal niveau in de *civitas Batavorum* is deze zelfde lijn van Romeinse religie zichtbaar; ook hier is geen ruimtelijk patroon in religie zichtbaar. De tempelcomplexen werken in de Bataafse *civitas* op dezelfde manier aan de hand van het algemene idee van Romeinse religie, omdat verschillende goden zijn gevonden, de tempelcomplexen hebben een brede invloed op de omgeving en *interpretatio Romana* is zichtbaar. De tempel van Empel werkt dan ook niet anders dan het algemene idee doet vermoeden. Hierin is de tempel niet exclusief voor Hercules Magusanus, maar ook waarschijnlijk voor Luna, moedergodinnen en Fortuna. Daarbij is de tempel niet alleen voor de militaire Bataafse elite, maar ook voor vrouwen en normale mannen volgens de sieraden.

Dit betekent dat de tempel van Empel past in het normale idee hoe Romeinse religie werkt en deze scriptie laat zien waarom dat precies is.

Sleutelwoorden: Tempel van Empel, Romeinse religie, Hercules cultus, Luna cultus, Matres cult, Fortuna cult, Tempelcomplex, Germania Inferior, *interpretatio Romana*.

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Appendix 1: Database for deities

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
1	Amor	Oil lamp	Aalburg (Rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Secondary	Oil lamp of Amor. This lamp was found on the surface of the Lange Pad.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2004	Archis2 ob.nr. 408827.
2	Amor	Oil lamp	Alphen aan den Rijn (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Flying Amor on an oil lamp. This lamp was found inside the <i>castra</i> near a building.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	2001-2002	Polak <i>et al.</i> 2004, 300.
3	Amor	Bronze Statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Naked Amor who carries grapes. Found in the <i>vicus</i> of Ockenburgh	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1933	Waasdorp and Zee 1998, 73; Zaddonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 4.
4	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of the head and naked body of Venus with Amor. This statuette is badly damaged and only the body is well preserved. This statuette is found on the Scheveningseweg.	Personal	Venus (see no. 522)	0-300 AD	1972	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 24.
5	Amor	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Primary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Flettius Gennalionis. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting on a throne wearing a long garment and a dog and basket with fruits next to her. On both sides of Nehalennia is Amor displayed. On the sides of the altar is Hercules and Neptune displayed. This altar was found inside the water near building material.	Collective	Nehalennia (see no.484), Hercules (see no.153) and Neptune (see no.506)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1995, 34-37.
6	Amor	Amber statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Amor with lionskin holding a torch. This statuette was found in a grave of a man.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1877	Stuart 1986, 49-50.
7	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Venus holding a crescent-shaped wreath in her hand. Naked Amor stand on her left. This state was found on the northern side of the Coriovallumstraat (near the thermae). Near this statuette was also iron tools, coins and pottery sherds found.	Personal	Venus (see no. 523)	200-300 AD	1984	Boekel 1983, 208-209.
8	Amor	Bronze statuette	Kessel (villa area)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Statuette of naked Amor. This statuette was found on the Vicariushof.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2002	Archis2 ob.nr. 406583.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
9	Amor	Bronze Statuette	Naaldwijk (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Amor. In the same trench was also Venus and Mars found. This statuette was found on Naaldwijk Hoogeland	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2008	Archis2 ob.nr. 430689.
10	Amor	Amber statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Amor who plays a lyre.	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	19th century	Stuart 1986, 46-48.
11	Amor	Bronze jug	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Bronze jug with Amor playing lyre depicted.	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	19th century	RMO Inv.nr. e1931/2.1
12	Amor	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Stray find	Primary	Statuette of Amor who is naked dancing. In his right hand he holds a torch. This bronze statuette is found in the area of Hunerberg	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1895	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 2.
13	Amor	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Statuette of sitting naked Amor. This statuette was found inside the temple for Mercurius on the Maasplein.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1949	VHM Inv.nr. Mp1.7.367
14	Amor	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Cornelian gem with nude Amor nailing a butterfly onto a tree. This gem was found in the burchtstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1893	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 31.
15	Amor	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Glass paste imitative of cornelian gem with child Amor holding a bow. This gem was found on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	200- 400 AD	1887	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 100.
16	Amor	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>Municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Naked Venus from behind with draped himation on her arm. Amor holding a helmet is standing next to Venus. This gem was found on the winseling area.	Personal	Venus (see no. 533)	0-300 AD	1896	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 98.
17	Amor	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem on a golden ring of Venus holding a lyre. This gem was found on a cesspit on the Hugo de Grootstraat 41.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2007	Archis2 ob.nr. 347854.
18	Amor	<i>Terra sigillata</i>	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Terra sigillata cup who had a kneeling Amor despicted.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	18th-19th century	RMO inv.nr. PR-ZM 212
19	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Venus holding a crescent-shaped wreath in her hand. Naked Amor standing next to her. This statuette was found inside a burial on the Marialaan and this grave contains also	Personal	Venus (see no. 537)	250- 300 AD	1933	Boekel 1983, 208-209.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						pottery, bronze, iron, and glass objects and a stone palette.					
20	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus wearing a diadem and holding a crescent-shaped wreath in her hand. A naked Venus stands on her left. This statuette was found on the Kronenburgsingle.	Personal	Venus (see no. 538)	150-250 AD	1881	Boekel 1983, 211-212.
21	Amor	Bronze statuette	Udenhout (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Bronze statuette of Amor. The feet are broken off. This statuette was found in the Gommelse straat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2004	Archis2 ob.nr. 401882.
22	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (ship)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus and naked Amor. This statuette was found in the vicinity of the ship north of the fort in Vechten.	Personal	Venus (see no. 558)	200-275 AD	1893	Boekel 1983, 213-214.
23	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	fragment of the back of semi-nude Venus and naked Amor. This statuette was found inside the principia of the fort.	Personal	Venus (see no. 561)	100-250 AD	1967	Boekel 1983, 214.
24	Amor	<i>Terra sigillata</i>	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Fragment of <i>terra sigillata</i> vase with Amor and Bacchus. On the pictures they are sacrifice grapes. This vase was found in a garden the area between Park Arentsburgh and Diaconessenhuis.	Personal	Bacchus (see no. 72)	0-300 AD	2000	Hees 2010, 40.
25	Amor	Gem	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Amor with wings. This gem was found inside the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	100-300 AD	2002-2004	Blom and Vos 2008, 296.
26	Amor	Terracotta statuette	Zwammerdam (ship)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of semi-nude Venus and Amor. This statuette was found during the excavation of the Roman-period ships along the quays of the former southern bank of the Rhine at the Zwammerdam fort.	Personal	Venus (see no. 565)	200-275 AD	1972	Boekel 1983, 215.
27	Apollo	Bronze statuette	De Meern (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze statuette of standing Apollo, but damaged. This statuette was found LR 46. Archaeologist think that the statuette is from a lararium.	Personal	No	0-200 AD	2004	Langeveld <i>et al.</i> 2004, 201.
28	Apollo	Gem	De Meern (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with the profile of Apollo. This gem was found by sieve from LR46 trench 75, level 1.	Personal	No	70-125 AD	2004	Langeveld <i>et al.</i> 2004, 314.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
29	Apollo	Bronze statuette	Heerlen (Roman road)	Unknown	Secondary	Young, naked Apollo standing holding a plectrum and a wreath. This statuette was found outside Heerlen near the Roman road.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	19th century	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 6.
30	Apollo	Terracotta statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing half-naked Apollo with plectrum in his right hand. This statuette was signed by Servandus. The statuette was found on the southern side of the Valkenburgerweg near a Roman house.	Personal	No	250-275 AD	1916	Boekel 1983, 252-253.
31	Apollo	Bronze statuette	Katwijk (Roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Apollo standing on a pedestal wearing a himation and holding a wearing. This statuette was found in the area of Brittenburg when it was washed up on the beach	Personal	No	100-300 AD	1562	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 11.
32	Apollo	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Four god collum with nude Apollo holding a lyre and arrows. This statuette was found under the floor of Vrouwekerk in Maastricht.	Collective	Fortuna (see no.109), Hercules (see no. 162), Jupiter (see no. 201).	150-300 AD	1903	Panhuysen 1996, 364-365.
33	Apollo	Column	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Monumental pillar with different gods: Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, and Diana. On this pillar a naked Apollo holding a lyre. This pillar was found in front of the Valkhof museum.	Collective	Ceres (see no. 74), Bacchus (see no. 60), Diana (see no. 87), Victoria (see no.572)	14-37 AD	1980	Panhuysen 2002, 19-20.
34	Apollo	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Apollo and Mars. This gem was found near a bath complex on the Fort Krayenhoff.	Personal	Mars (see no.240).	0-300 AD	1834	Driessen 2007, 273.
35	Apollo	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	chalcedony intaglio gem with the head of Apollo. This gem was found near the winseling.	Personal	no	100-300 AD	1900	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 93.
36	Apollo	Altar stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for the great and mighty Jupiter, Apollo, the moon (probably Luna), Diana, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria and peace from Quintus Antisius Adventus of the imperial government.	Collective	Jupiter, (see no. 215) Diana (see no. 90), Fortuna (see no. 127), Mars (see no. 247) and Victoria (see no. 577)	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 32.
37	Apollo	Bronze statuette	Vechten (<i>castellum</i>)	Found in a project with	Primary	Head and body of Apollo. On the back is the text SERVANDVS CCAA FECIT written. This	Personal	No	140-175 AD	2011	Archis2 ob.nr. 434557.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
				archaeological guiding		statuette is found in Fort Vechten.					
38	Apollo	Gem	Velsen (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with the head of Apollo wearing a wreath. This gem was found in the harbour basin.	Personal	No	22-28 AD	1992	Bosman 1997, 274.
39	Apollo	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of half-naked standing Apollo. Statuette is found in the harbour.	Personal	No	250- 275 AD	1908-1915	Boekel 1983,257-258.
40	Apollo	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing half-naked Apollo with plectrum in his right hand. This statuette was found by the docs of the harbour.	Personal	No	250- 275 AD	1908-1915	Boekel 1983, 256.
41	Apollo	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Apollo. Found in the harbour Arentsburg.	Personal	No	250- 275 AD	1908-1915	Boekel 1983, 258-259.
42	Apollo	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing half-naked Apollo with plectrum in his right hand. This statuette was found near the harbour area in Voorburg	Personal	No	250- 275 AD	1827-1834	Boekel 1983, 254-255.
43	Apollo	<i>Terra sigillata</i>	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	<i>Terra sigillata</i> with sitting Apollo. This was found on the Hoge Weidelaan.	Personal	No	200- 300 AD	1908	Archis2 ob.nr. 750338.
44	Attis	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (casta)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of the statuette of Attis. This statuette was found in combination with rooftiles.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1916	Daniels 1955, 31.
45	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Aardenburg (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Nude Bacchus holding his hand op. Bronze statuette was found in in Aardenburg surrounded with mussel shells.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1961	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 14.
46	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Aardenburg (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Bacchus on baluster. This object was found in the site Quataert meadow 30 meters from a large Roman Villa.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1961	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 36.
47	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Aardenburg (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Young naked Bacchus in sitting position. Holding a basket of flowers and has a wreath of flowers in his hair. This statuette was found in the Sint Baastraat in a mix layer with Roman and Medieval finds.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1961	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 18.
48	Bacchus	Gem	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Glass gem with standing Bacchus who is holding grapes. The top of the gem is damaged.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1988	Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 35.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
49	Bacchus	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Bacchus which had originally a little stone in his head. This statuette was found in the Roman <i>vicus</i> Ockenburgh	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1938	Waardorp and Zee 1998, 73.
50	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Esch (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Bacchus wearing a goatskin on a pedestal. This object was found in a Roman grave nr. 3.	Personal	No	250-275 AD	1952	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 30.
51	Bacchus	Barn stone statuette	Esch (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Bacchus with flowers. This statuette is found in Roman grave nr.5 which was the grave of a wealth female.	Personal	No	70-250 AD	1952	NBM inv.nr. 09906.33
52	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Geldermaalen (farm)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Head of Bacchus. This was found on the Keizershof.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	2000	Archis2 ob.nr. 809273.
53	Bacchus	Glass	Geldermaalen (farm)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of Bacchus on glass phalera of applied. This object was found on Bergakker.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2006	Archis2 ob.nr. 731156.
54	Bacchus	Knob	Heesch (rural settlement)	Unknown	Secondary	Knob with childish Bacchus wearing a wreath of flowers. On the back is a fastening device.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1899	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 69.
55	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Kessel-Lith (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Jug with head of Bacchus and satyrs on it. In the same trench was also the feet of an unknown statuette. This jug was found in the Lithse Ham where structure of a Roman Temple where found.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2014	Archis2 ob.nr. 702090.
56	Bacchus	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Part of column with leaning Bacchus. This fragment was found outside the Boschpoort on the quay of the Meuse.	Collective	No	125-175 AD	1865	Panhuysen 1996, 353.
57	Bacchus	Column	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	On the base of the column was Bacchus depicted. This column was found on the site of hotel Derlon where a temple complex was located.	Collective	Diana (see no. 86), Fortuna (see no. 108), Hercules (see no. 161) and Jupiter (see no. 200)	200-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 203-204.
58	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Head of Bacchus with wreath of flowers and ivy-leaves in his hair. This statuette had found in the wanseling river in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 26.
59	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Nude Bacchus holding his hand up. This statuette was found in the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	19th century	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 16.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
60	Bacchus	Column	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Monumental pillar with different gods: Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, and Diana. On this pillar is only Bacchus' head visible. The rest is missing. This pillar was found in front of the Valkhof museum.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 33), Ceres (see no. 74), Diana (see no. 87), Victoria (see no.572)	14-37 AD	1980	Panhuysen 2002, 19-20.
61	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Bust of Bacchus wearing a wreath of flowers.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	20th century	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 22.
62	Bacchus	Knob	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Knop with Bacchus with childish face. This knob was found on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1883	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 69.
63	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of Bacchus with a wreath of ears of corn and a flower in his hair. This statuette was found in the river the Rhine outside Nijmegen	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1953	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 28.
64	Bacchus	Gem	Rossum (Rural settlement)	Found by dredging	Primary	Gem of dancing Bacchus with satyr. This gem was found by dredging in the Meuse.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	RMO inv.nr. Rm 6
65	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Bust of Bacchus.	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	1846	RMO inv.nr. f 1987/11.5
66	Bacchus	Gem	Velsen (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with standing naked Bacchus. This gem was found near the <i>castra</i> wall.	Personal	No	0-50 AD	1975	Maaskant-Weibrink 1980, 15.
67	Bacchus	Gem	Velsen (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with the head of Bacchus. This gem was found inside the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	0-50 AD	1975	Maaskant-Weibrink 1980, 15.
68	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Voorburg (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Young naked Bacchus in sitting position holding grapes. This bronze statuette was found in Voorburg	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	1827-1831	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 20.
69	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Unknown	Secondary	Head of Bacchus. This was found on the Arentsburglaan, but without clear find description.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2007-2008	PZH inv.nr. 29218
70	Bacchus	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Bacchus with crossed legs and a sitting panther on his side. This statuette was found in the <i>castra</i> area of Voorburg.	Personal	No	200- 250 AD	1929	Boekel 1983, 262.
71	Bacchus	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i> , harbour)	Unknown	Secondary	Head of Bacchus with long hair and flower in his hair. This head was found in the harbour area of Voorburg.	Personal	No	150- 175 AD	1827-1831	Holwerda 1923, 12.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
72	Bacchus	<i>Terra sigillata</i>	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of <i>terra sigillata</i> vase with Amor and Bacchus. On the pictures they are sacrifice grapes. This vase was found in a garden the area between Park Arentsburch and Diaconessenhuis.	Personal	Amor (see no.24)	0-300 AD	2000	Hees 2010, 40.
73	Bacchus	Bronze statuette	Wijk bij Duurstede (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Head of Bacchus with a wreath of flowers in his hear. The back of the head is hollow, which indicates that the head was attached to an object.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1845	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 24.
74	Ceres	Column	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Monumental pillar with different gods: Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, and Diana. Ceres wearing a long garment and holding a knife. Behind her wheat is displayed. This pillar was found in front of the Valkhof museum.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 33), Bacchus (see no. 60), Diana (see no. 87), Victoria (see no.572)	14-37 AD	1980	Panhuysen 2002, 19-20.
75	Ceres	Gem	Vechten (roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Glass gem with standing Ceres holding a drinking cub. This gem was found on the <i>castra</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 132; RMO inv.nr. MO WM 31
76	Ceres	Gem	Wijk bij Duurstede (roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Onyx gem of Ceres which was found in the shore of Meuse.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	20th century	Stuart 1986, 132.
77	Cybele	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Cybele with mural crown riding a lion. This statuette was found in the river Winseling in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1812	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 38.
78	Cybele	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Cybele standing wearing a <i>stola</i> and crown. She is holding a <i>patera</i> and incense-box. This statuette was found on the board of Nijmegen, close by Wijchen.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1947	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 40.
79	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Cybele wearing a corona <i>muralis</i> . This statuette is found in Heese Veld which was a small cemetery in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	1919	Boekel 1983, 280-281.
80	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Cybele sitting on a throne. She wears a corona <i>muralis</i> and the hair is partly covered by a veil.	Personal	No	50-150 AD	1921	Boekel 1983, 283.
81	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Sitting Cybele on a throne with a lion on her left side. She is holding a <i>patera</i> and a piece of fruit.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 286-287.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
82	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Fragment of the chest of Cybele. This is a stray find in the <i>castra</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1977	Boekel 1983, 285.
83	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Unknown	Secondary	Cybele holding a <i>patra</i> in her right hand sitting on a throne. This statuette was found in the area of Arentsburg.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1827-1834	Boekel 1983, 284-285.
84	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>Municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Head of Cybele wearing a corona <i>muralis</i> . This statuette is found in the <i>vicus</i> area of Voorburg.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	19th century	Boekel 1983, 282.
85	Cybele	Terracotta statuette	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Cybele wearing <i>muralis</i> . This statuette was found inside the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	100-300 AD	2002-2004	Blom and Vos 2008, 170.
86	Diana	Column	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	On the base of the column was Diana with bow and dog depicted. This column was found on the site of hotel Derlon where a temple complex was located.	Collective	Bacchus (see no. 57), Fortuna (see no. 108), Hercules (see no. 161) and Jupiter (see no. 200)	200-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 203-204.
87	Diana	Column	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Monumental pillar with different gods: Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, and Diana. On this pillar Diana wearing a diadem and holding a bow. On her side stands a dog. This pillar was found in front of the Valkhof museum.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 33) Bacchus (see no. 60), Ceres (see no. 74), Victoria (see no. 572)	14-37 AD	1980	Panhuysen 2002, 19-20.
88	Diana	Knob	Ravenstein (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Bronze knob of Diana. The back is badly damaged. This knob was found in the Walstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2005	Archis2 ob.nr. 848079.
89	Diana	Gem	Rossum (rural settlement)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Sitting Diana wearing a long garment holding a leaf. This gem was found by dredging the Meuse	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	RMO inv.nr. Rm 5
90	Diana	Altar stone	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for the great and mighty Jupiter, Apollo, the moon (probably Luna), Diana, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria and peace from Quintus Antisius Adventus of the imperial government.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 36), Jupiter (see no. 215), Fortuna (see no. 127), Mars (see no. 247) and Victoria (see no. 577)	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 32.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
91	Diana	Gravestone	Vechten (cemetery)	Stray find	Secondary	Upperpart of a gravestone with Diana depicted. Unfortunately, the under part is missing and this stone was not found on top of a grave in the crematory near the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	RMO inv.nr. VF* 1
92	Diana	Terra sigillata	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Terra sigillata cup with Diana and Victoria. This cup was found inside waste well from the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	Victoria (see no. 578)	0-300 AD	1868	RMO inv.nr. VF* 435a
93	Diana	Terracotta statuette	Veldhoven (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Diana grasping an arrow. A small dog is sitting next to her. This statuette was found in a pit. Archaeologist thinks this was a buried sacrifice for Diana.	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	20th century	NBM inv.nr. 00568
94	Diana	Terracotta statuette	Veldhoven (rural settlement)	Unknown	Secondary	Chest and head of Diana wearing a chiton. This statuette is found on the site Koningshof which was possible a small <i>vicus</i> .	Personal	No	150- 175 AD	1871	Boekel 1983, 295.
95	Diana	Terracotta statuette	Veldhoven (rural settlement)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Diana wearing a short chiton holding a bow and arrows. A dog sits on her left side. This statuette was found on the site Koningshof which is possible a small <i>vicus</i> .	Personal	No	150- 175 AD	1871	Boekel 1983, 292-294.
96	Diana	Terracotta statuette	Veldhoven (rural settlement)	Unknown	Secondary	Chest of Diana wearing a chiton. This statuette was found Heersche Heide, but the exact findspot is not describe.	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	1929	Boekel 1983, 295.
97	Diana	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Lower part of Diana with a dog on her side. This statuette was found in Arentsburg area.	Personal	No	150- 175 AD	1908-1915	Boekel 1983, 296-297.
98	Epona	Terracotta statuette	Baarlo (Roman road)	Stray find	Secondary	Epona on horseback wearing a long garment and cloak. She is holding a dog on her lap. This statuette was found near a Roman Road.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1873	Boekel 1983, 308-309.
99	Epona	Terracotta statuette	Baarlo (Roman road)	Unknown	Secondary	Epona on horseback wearing a long garment. This statuette was found in a pit near a Roman Road.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	Boekel 1983, 307.
100	Exoma	Votive stone	Alem (rural settlement)	Found by dredging	Primary	Altar stone for Exoma, but the other half is missing. This stone was found by dredging work in the Meuse.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1960	Archis2 ob.nr. 39287

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
101	Fortuna	Bronze statuette	Bennenkom (rural settlement)	Unknown	Primary	Standing Fortuna holding a <i>patera</i> . This statuette was found near a Roman farm.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	AGE inv.nr. 371305
102	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Sitting Fortuna on a throne wearing a long garment. This statuette was found on the Scheveningseweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1972	Boekel 1989, 27.
103	Fortuna	Gem	Druten (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem of carnelian with Victoria crown Fortuna. This gem was found in a villa area of Druten on the brouwersstraat 4.	Personal	Victoria (see, no.569)	0-200 AD	20th century	VHM inv.nr. 4.1970.1.
104	Fortuna	Bronze statuette	Ede (<i>vicus</i>)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Standing Fortuna with long garment. This statuette was found in the Achterstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1970	Archis2 ob.nr. 803461.
105	Fortuna	Gem	Empel (temple complex)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Gem of carnelian with Fortuna Panthea on a golden ring. This gem was on the temple complex of the Werf.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1989	Archis2 ob.nr. 819356.
106	Fortuna	Bronze statuette	Houten (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fortuna wearing a long garment and cloak holding a cornucopia. This statuette was found on the villa area in Houten-Wulven.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1993-1994	RMO inv.nr. f 1997/7.1; Archis2 ob.nr. 834094.
107	Fortuna	Bronze statuette	Katwijk (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Fortuna with helmet and long garment. This statuette was found on Dorpsheuvel.	Personal	No	150-300 AD	1962	Archis2 ob.nr. 812602.
108	Fortuna	Column	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	On the base of the column was Fortuna depicted. This column was found on the site of hotel Derlon where a temple complex was located.	Collective	Bacchus (see, no. 57), Diana (see no. 86), Hercules (see no. 161) and Jupiter (see no. 200)	200-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 203-204.
109	Fortuna	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Four god column with Fortuna wearing a chiton and holding a cornucopia. This statuette was found under the floor of Vrouwekerk in Maastricht.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 32), Hercules, (see no. 162), Jupiter (see no. 201)	150-300 AD	1903	Panhuysen 1996, 364-365.
110	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Melick (cemetery)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Fortuna on a globe wearing a long garment and a cloak. A rudder is standing near her. This statuette was found in the Zwarte Berg.	Personal	No	200-250 AD	1886	Boekel 1983, 333-334.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
111	Fortuna	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Small altar stone for Fortuna, but the name of the giver is not readable. There are no decorations on this altar. This altar was found on the Berg en Dalse weg.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1938-1942	Driessen 2007, 271.
112	Fortuna	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fortuna seated and wearing a chiton with a diadem in her hair. This statuette was found in the football-ground of Sint Caniuscollege in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1921	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 42.
113	Fortuna	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Fortuna wearing a long garment and reaching with her arm.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	RMO inv.nr. e 1947/3.18
114	Fortuna	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	cornelian intaglio gem of sitting Fortuna holding a <i>patena</i> . This gem was found in the area of the winseling.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1900	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 74.
115	Fortuna	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Cornelian intaglio gem of Fortuna wearing a chiton. This gem was found in the Winseling area.	Personal	No	0-200 AD	1897	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 44-45.
116	Fortuna	Gem	Nijmegen (roman road)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Cornelian intaglio gem of Fortuna wearing a long chiton holding a cornucopia. This gem is a stray find near a Roman road on the edge of Nijmegen.	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	1893	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 45.
117	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fortuna with cornucopia and ship's wheel in her hands and standing on a globe. This statuette was found on Fort Krayenhoff.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1824-1830	Driessen 2007, 273.
118	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fortuna standing on a globe and wearing a long garment and cloak. This statuette is found on Fort Krayenhoff near the temple complex.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1824-1830	Boekel 1983, 327-328.
119	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Unknown	Secondary	Fortuna sitting on a throne wearing a garment and a cloak. She is supporting a <i>cornucopiae</i> with her left arm and hold a rudder that stand on a globe in her right hand. This statuette was found on the Hees, which	Personal	No	150- 200 AD	1911	Boekel 1983, 336-338.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						was a small cemetery. The exact context is unknown.					
120	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fortuna holding a cornucopia and staff and stands on a globe. This statuette was found on the cemetery.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1980	Driessen 2007, 271.
121	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Sitting Fortuna wearing a garment and cloak supporting a <i>cornucopiae</i> with her left arm and holding two fruits in her right hand. This statuette was found in a water-well on the Schippersinsternaat which lays outside the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	75-125 AD	1979	Boekel 1983, 344-345.
122	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragments of Fortuna statuette. These fragments were found inside a well on the east side of the area of <i>Cannabea Legionis</i> .	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1980	Driessen 2007, 271.
123	Fortuna	Votive stone	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	The first two sentences of a votive stone for Fortuna. This stone was found inside the temple complex on Maasplein in Nijmegen.	Collective	No	15 BC-450 AD	2009	VHM inv.nr. Mp1.21.179.01
124	Fortuna	Votive stone	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Upper part of votive stone for Fortuna. The inscription is missing. On this votive stone is Fortuna sitting with a cornucopia in her hands.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1925	Driessen 2007, 273.
125	Fortuna	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bad condition votive stone for Fortuna. The rest of the inscription is not readable. This votive stone was found in the area of the Winseling.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1637	Driessen 2007, 274.
126	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Sint-Oedenrode (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Fortuna wearing a high diadem. This statuette was found on De Berg near the Dommel while lifting potatoes. In this field are more traces for Roman habitation found.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1965	Boekel 1983, 329

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
127	Fortuna	Altar stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Altar stone for the great and mighty Jupiter, Apollo, the moon (probably Luna), Diana, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria and peace from Quintus Antisius Adventus of the imperial government.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 36), Diana (see no. 90), Jupiter (see no. 215), Mars (see no. 247) and Victoria (see no. 577)	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 32.
128	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Fortuna wearing a long garment and cloak. She is supporting a <i>cornucopiae</i> with her left arm and holding a rudder in her right hand. This statuette is found in the <i>castra</i> area in Vechten.	Personal	No	125- 150 AD	1868	Boekel 1983, 330-331.
129	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Upper part of Fortuna wearing a garment and a cloak. She supports a <i>cornucopiae</i> with her left arm. This statuette was found in the <i>castra</i> area.	Personal	No	75- 150 AD	1829-1853	Boekel 1983, 346.
130	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Sitting Fortuna wearing a chiton and himation. This statuette was found in the <i>vicus</i> near the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	1970	Boekel 1983, 341
131	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Fortuna sitting on a throne wearing a long garment and cloak. Small rudder to her right. This statuette was a stray find on the <i>castra</i> area.	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	1978	Boekel 1983, 339.
132	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Upper part of Fortuna wearing a trident crown. This is a stray find in the <i>castra</i> area.	Personal	No	150- 300 AD	1977	Boekel 1983, 331-332.
133	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing Fortuna with long garment and a cloak. Rudder on a globe is standing next to her. This statuette was a stray find in the <i>castra</i> area.	Personal	No	200- 275 AD	1978	Boekel 1983, 335.
134	Fortuna	Votive stone	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Fortuna from Antonius Priscus. This stone was found near water pits.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1989	Archis2 ob.nr. 26394.
135	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Woerden (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fortuna sitting on a throne. This statuette was found on the spot of the Sint Jozef pensionaat which had traces of a Roman fort.	Personal	No	75- 300 AD	1978	Boekel 1983, 347.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
136	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Woerden (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Fortuna wearing a helmet. This statuette was found on the border of section B/C on the Kerkplein in Woerden. Next to this head are other pieces of terracotta statuette but are not definable.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2003	Archis2 ob.nr. 56182.
137	Fortuna	Terracotta statuette	Zwammerdam (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Fortuna. This statuette was found on the Hooge Burch.	Personal	No	0-150 AD	1968	Archis 2 ob.nu. 853841.
138	Genius	Bronze statuette	Domburg (temple complex)	Stray find	Secondary	Young Genius standing and wearing a himation and mural crown. In his right hand holding a <i>patera</i> . This statuette was found on the beach near the Nehelennia temple.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1731	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 44.
139	Genius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Genius standing waring a toga which is drawn over his head. Holding a <i>patera</i> and a roll in his hands. This statuette was found on the Hunerberg in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1888	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48.
140	Genius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Bust of Genius wearing a toga. On the back is a fasting device. This object is found on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1895	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 105.
141	Genius	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Genius Loci from soldier Gaius Candidinius Sanctus. This votive stone was found on the Berg en Dalseweg in Nijmegen.	Collective	Jupiter (see no. 209)	185 AD	1655	VHM inv.nr. BA.III.5
142	Genius	Votive stone	Rimburg (farm)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Genius, but the rest of the inscription is not readable. On the votive stone are picture of a Cornucopia. This stone was found on the Stenenbergweg	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1989	Archis2 ob.nr. 846044.
143	Genius	Bronze statuette	Veldhuizen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze statuette of sitting Genius with <i>patera</i> . This statuette was found on south- western section of a Roman house on the corner of the Peppelsteeg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1968	Archis2 ob.nr. 652479.
144	Haeva	Votive stone	Arnhem (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Haeva. It is not known from who this stone was. The votive stone was found in	Collective	No	0-300 AD	17th century	Mulder <i>et al.</i> 2004, 26.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						combination with a votive stone for Hercules.					
145	Heliogabalus	Votive stone	Woerden (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone to Heliogabalus and Minerva from L[ucius] Terentius Bassus, standard bearer of the third cohort van de Breuci. This stone is dedicated to those two gods and is found outside the <i>castra</i> in the old riverbed.	Collective	Minerva (see no. 351)	0-300 AD	1988	SMW inv.nr. m35
146	Hercules	Votive stone	Arnhem (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Hercules Magusanus, but the inscription is bad visible. This stone was found inside the <i>castra</i> .	Collective	No	0-300 AD	17th century	Mulder <i>et al.</i> 2004, 26.
147	Hercules	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Acceptius Bassus. There is no picture of Nehalennia on this votive stone, but on the sides of this stone is a picture of Hercules and Neptune. Both of these gods are recognized by their club and harpoon.	Collective	Nehalennia (see no. 441) and Neptune (see no. 501)	150-250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 107; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.128.
148	Hercules	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is not visible. On this votive stone stands Nehalennia with her foot on a ship. On both sides of the votive stone is Neptune with his harpoon and Hercules with his club visible	Collective	Nehalennia (see no. 431) and Neptune (see no. 502)	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 91; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.14.
149	Hercules	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Bassus. The rest of the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is no picture of Nehalennia, but from Hercules holding his club. This stone was fished up by the local fisherman.	Collective	Nehalennia (see no. 468)	150-250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 107; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.6.
150	Hercules	Gem	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Glass gem with head of Hercules with long curly hair and beard. This gem was found near a wall.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1988	Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 35.
151	Hercules	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is Nehalennia standing with her foot on a boat and holding a basket with fruits. On her side is	Collective	Nehalennia (see no. 481) and Neptune (see no. 151)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 26-27.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						standing a dog. On the sides of the altar is Neptune and Hercules displayed. This altar was found near other votive stones					
152	Hercules	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Iustus Satto. On this votive stone is Nehalennia standing in a long garment with her foot on a boat. On the side of the votive stone is Hercules picking apples from a tree representing the Garden of Hesperides and Neptune holding a trident and cup.	Collective	Nehalennia (see no.482) and Neptune (see no.505)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 28-31.
153	Hercules	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Flettius Gennalionis. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting on a throne wearing a long garment and a dog and basket with fruits next to her. On both sides of Nehalennia is Amor displayed. On the sides of the altar is Hercules and Neptune displayed. With this altar came also building materials.	Collective	Amor (see no.5), Nehalennia (see no.484) and Neptune (see no.506)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1995, 34-37.
154	Hercules	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Upper part of votive stone for Nehalennia. On this stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a basket of fruits next to her. On the sides of the stone is Hercules and Neptune displayed. The inscription is broken off. The stone was found in the fisher net near building material.	Collective	Nehalennia (see no.487) and Neptune (see no.507)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 50-51.
155	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Empel (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Naked Hercules with animal skin around his neck and holding a cup. This statuette was found on the temple complex in Empel.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1989	Roymans and Derks 1994, 93-94.
156	Hercules	Votive stone	Empel (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Inscription from the soldier Julius Genialis to Hercules. This inscription was found near the temple complex in Empel.	Collective	No	100-200 AD	1989	Roymans and Derks 1994, 108.
157	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Grave (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Bronze statuette of Hercules <i>Bibax</i> . He is holding his club and a cup in his hands. This statuette	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2014	Archis2 ob.nr. 780129.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						was found on the Vegetasscheweg.					
158	Hercules	Votive stone	Houten (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Votive stone to Hercules Magusanus, but the rest of the stone is not visible. This stone was found in a Medieval pit with building material. This stone was probably reused as building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	2012	Vos and Houten 2012, 14-15.
159	Hercules	Terracotta tile	Katwijk (roman fort)	Stray find	secondary	Tile with Hercules holding a club. This tile was situated next to an inscription form Caesar Marcus Avrelius Antonius. To the other side of the inscription was a tile of Victoria.	Collective	Victoria (see no. 570)	215 AD	1520	Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 45-46.
160	Hercules	Column	Kessel-Lith (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Pillar with three gods: Hercules, Juno and Minerva. On this pillar is Hercules with a lionskin and holding a club. This pillar was found in the altar of the church.	Collective	Juno (see no. 187) and Minerva (see no. 320)	0-300 AD	1869	Stuart 1986, 33-35.
161	Hercules	Column	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	On the base of the column was Hercules depicted with beard and club. This column was found on the site of hotel Derlon where a temple complex was located.	Collective	Bacchus (see no. 57), Diana (see no. 86), Fortuna (see no. 108) and Jupiter (see no. 200)	200-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 203-204.
162	Hercules	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Four god column with Hercules sitting on a rock and holding a club. This statuette was found under the floor of Vrouwekerk in Maastricht.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 32), Fortuna (see no.109), Jupiter (see no. 201)	150-300 AD	1903	Panhuysen 1996, 364-365.
163	Hercules	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Column near the Roman bridge with four gods. Nude Hercules with animal skin and a club. This column was found near the Roman bridge in Maastricht.	Collective	Mars (see no. 234) and Venus (see no. 528)	210-240 AD	1963	Panhuysen 1996, 368.
164	Hercules	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of altar stone inscription for Hercules Tutela, but the name from the giver is not complete. This fragment was found on the Ubbergse weg inside the <i>castra</i> .	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1923	Driessen 2007, 279; Daniels 1955, 31.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
165	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Bearded, naked standing Hercules holding his penis and a club. This statuette was found on the burial ground in the Hugo de Grootstraat in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1900	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48.
166	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Striding naked Hercules with a lion skin on his left arm. This statuette was found on the Hunerberg in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1886	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 56.
167	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Statuette of standing Hercules. This statuette was found on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	20th century	Driessen 2007, 279.
168	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Statuette of standing Hercules with club. This statuette was found on the Hugo de Grootstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	20th century	Driessen 2007, 279.
169	Hercules	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Gem from carnelian with standing Hercules holding in one hand his club and in the other a lionskin. This gem was found on the <i>castra</i> area in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-200 AD	1886	VHM inv.nr. XXVIII.13.B5.
170	Hercules	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragments of statuette of Hercules. This was found outside the walls of the temple complex of Maasplein.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1992-1993	Driessen 2007, 279.
171	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Oosterhout (no roman traces)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Leaning Hercules on his club that looks like the Herakles Farnese. In his right hand he is holding a drink glass. This statuette was found on the shore of the Waal.	Personal	No	15 BC-450 AD	2017	VHM inv.nr. 2015.136
172	Hercules	Gem	Oss (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Hercules Magusanus with lionskin and club. This gem was found on the Lutterweg.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	2011	Archis2 ob.nr. 684674.
173	Hercules	Stone statuette	Roermond (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of a standing statuette of Hercules holding his club. This statuette was found near a Roman watchtower.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1848-1849	Archis2 ob.nr. 30670.
174	Hercules	Votive stone	Sint-Michelgestel/Ruimel (no Roman traces)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Votive stone for Hercules Magusanus from Flavus, son of Vihirmas. This stone was found in disturb Medieval context and was probably dumped here.	Collective	No	0-100 AD	1679	Groen 2010, 1-3
175	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bearded half-naked Hercules sitting on a rock. This statuette was found during a excavation on the <i>castra</i> .	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 58.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
176	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Velsen (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Hercules (<i>bibax</i>) leaning on his club and holding a cup. This statuette was found in the <i>castra</i> of Velsen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1980	Bosman 1997, 318.
177	Hercules	Bronze statuette	Venlo (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Naked standing Hercules with a lions skin on his head. He is holding a club and ivy-wreath.	Personal	no	0-300 AD	1960	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 54.
178	Hercules	Bracelet	Waardenburg (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Silver bracelet from Pacius to Hercules Magusanus. Found in a rural settlement.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1992	Boagers and Haalebos 1992, 69-71.
179	Hurstrga	Altar stone	Tiel (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Stone altar inscription from Valerius Silvester to hurstrga. This stone was found on the location in Tiel Bergakker.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1955	VHM inv.nr. 12.1967.30
180	Iseneucaega	Votive stone	Tiel (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Stone for Iseneucaega from Ulfenus, son of Publius, from the 30e legion Ulpia Victrix Severiana Alexandriana. On this stone are the same attributes for the goddess Diana. This stone was found by the excavation on a stone factory in Tiel.	Collective	No	222 AD	1930	Stuart 1986, 51.
181	Isis	Bronze statuette	Aardenburg (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Isis wearing a chiton and mantle and ostrich-feathers on her head. This statuette was found on the quartier meadow site near by a small Roman divination place. This statuette was found in a religious context in the <i>Vicus</i> .	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1962	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 68.
182	Isis	Bronze statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Seated Isis with a child on her lap. Isis wears a moon disc with horns on her head. This statuette was found in de Waaldorpse vlakte where a Roman <i>vicus</i> was.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1949	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 58.
183	Isis	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (municipium)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bust of Isis wearing a diadem with a crescent, forming a hole, inserted in the centre. Between the breasts is an 'isis-knot'. This object is found on the Burchtstraat	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1954	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 70.
184	Isis	Bronze statuette	Valkenburg (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Isis wearing a <i>stola</i> and <i>palla</i> . On her head a diadem with three ostrich feathers. She holds a <i>paterna</i> in her left hand.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1962	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 60.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						This statuette is found in the <i>castellum</i> of Valkenburg.					
185	Isis	Terracotta statuette	Zwammerdam (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Isis wearing a girded garment and cloak with a diadem and a lotus-bud on her head. She holds a sistrum in her right hand. This statuette was found near the Spoorlaan where a <i>vicus</i> was placed.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	1958	Boekel 1983, 27-28.
186	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Juno with a high crescent-shaped coiffure. This statuette is found on the Zwarte Veldje, which is close to the north eastern side of the <i>thermae</i> from the Roman period.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1941	Boekel 1983, 38.
187	Juno	Column	Kessel-Lith (<i>villa</i> area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Pillar with three gods: Hercules, Juno and Minerva. On this pillar is Juno wearing a chiton and a peacock on her shoulder and holding a <i>patera</i> . This pillar was found in the altar of the church.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 160) and Minerva (see no. 320)	0-300 AD	1869	Stuart 1986, 33-35.
188	Juno	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Part of altar stone for Juno wearing a long garment and peacock on her side. This stone was used in a building on the Vrouweplein 16-18 in Maastricht.	Collective	No	175-200 AD	1981	Panhuyzen 1996, 372.
189	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Nieuwegein (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Upper part of Juno wearing a sleeved garment and cloak. Her hair is surmounted by a diadem. This statuette was found in the filling of a riverbed. This river was probably used as a refuse dump by inhabitants which was situated on the riverbanks.	Personal	No	100-270 AD	1977	Boekel 1983, 35-36.
190	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Head of Juno with high crescent-shaped coiffure. This statuette was a stray find on the Hees, which was a small cemetery in Nijmegen. The object was found in the modern layers.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1938	Boekel 1983, 39.
191	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Oosterhout (no roman traces)	Stray find	Secondary	Small statuette of Juno with peacock. This statuette is a stray find in Oosterhout.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1985	Archis2 ob.nr. 778522.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
192	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Utrecht (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Juno wearing a crown. This statuette was found in the <i>castra</i> area on the Domplein in trench 3 (V029).	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	1964	Chorus 2013, 102.
193	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Head of Juno wearing a cloak draped over her head. This statuette was found in the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 36.
194	Juno	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of Juno with high diadem and a cloak that is draped over her head. This statuette was a stray find from the old Rhine- bed in the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1972	Boekel 1983, 37.
195	Jupiter	Bronze statuette	De Meern (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Bearded nude Jupiter standing and holding a thunderbolt in his right hand. This statuette was found near the <i>castellum</i> area Hooge Woerd.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1865	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 70.
196	Jupiter	Gem	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Jupiter sitting on a throne. Jupiter is holding a spear and a <i>patera</i> . This gem was found near house construction.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1988	Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 35.
197	Jupiter	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Jupiter from Texquisius. On this votive stone is Jupiter standing holding his sceptre. Next to him is a eagle sitting on a globe. This votive stone was found in a fisher net with other building elements.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 80-81.
198	Jupiter	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Jupiter and Neptune, but the rest of the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is Jupiter standing next to Neptune. Jupiter holdings a sceptre and an eagle is sitting next to his feet. Neptune is holding a trident and a dolphin is sitting next to his foot.	Collective	Neptune (see no.508)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 82-83.
199	Jupiter	Altar stone	Herwen (<i>castellum</i>)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altar stone for Jupiter from the soldier Marcus Valerius Chalchidicus. This altar stone was found by dredging the Bijlandse Waard.	Collective	No	170- 180 AD	2016	VHM inv.nr. 2005.164

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
200	Jupiter	Column	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Column with Jupiter and eagle on top. On the base of the column other gods were depicted. This column was found on the site of hotel Derlon where a temple complex was located.	Collective	Bacchus (see no. 57), Diana (see, no. 86), Fortuna (see no. 108), Hercules (see no. 161)	200-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 203-204.
201	Jupiter	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Four god column with half-nude Jupiter rising his right arm. This statuette was found under the floor of Vrouwekerk in Maastricht.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 32), Fortuna (see no.109), Hercules (see no. 162)	150-300 AD	1903	Panhuysen 1996, 364-365.
202	Jupiter	Terracotta statuette	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Statuette of standing Jupiter with an eagle. This statuette was found on the temple complex Hotel Derlon near the column.	Collective	No	150-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 357-359.
203	Jupiter	Terracotta statuette	Melick (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of sitting Jupiter on a throne. This statuette was found on the Waterschei on a Roman villa area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2008	Panhuysen 2010, 99.
204	Jupiter	Bronze statuette	Naaldwijk (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Jupiter. It was probably attached to a wooden object. This object was found on the Zuidweg Holland college.	Personal	No	50-250 AD	2004	PZH inv.nr. 9423.
205	Jupiter	Altar stone	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for Jupiter from the soldier Caius Ianuarius. This stone was found on the location of the Maartenskliniek.	Collective	No	75-124	1782	VHM inv.nr. BA.III.1, CIL XIII 8719.
206	Jupiter	Relief	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Relief of Jupiter sitting on a throne with a eagle. This relief was on a box with medical instruments in a close find grave of a male.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1921	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969 73.
207	Jupiter	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Votive stone for Jupiter Domesticus from the soldier Brato. This stone was found in the Waal.	Collective	No	70-270 AD	17th century	VHM inv.nr. BA.III.4
208	Jupiter	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Votive stone to Jupiter from Marcus Sabinus Candidus. This stone was found on near the shore of the Waal.	Collective	No	70-270 AD	1655	VHM inv.nr. BA.III.2
209	Jupiter	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Votive stone for Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Genius Loci from soldier Gaius Candidinus Sanctus. This votive stone was	Collective	Genius (see no. 141)	185 AD	1655	VHM inv.nr. BA.III.5

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						found on the Berg en Dalseweg in Nijmegen.					
210	Jupiter	Gem	Oss (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Glass gem of sitting Jupiter on a throne. This gem was found de Hoge Morgen.	Personal	No	150-250 AD	1991	Archis2 ob.nr. 716394.
211	Jupiter	Stone statuette	Sittard-Geleen (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Medium size stone statuette of Jupiter sitting on a throne. This statuette was found on the Houtstraat. Archaeologist interpreted that this was a statuette for a lararium.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1948	Archis2 ob.nr. 641595.
212	Jupiter	Stone statuette	Tiel (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Sitting Jupiter on a throne. This statuette was found on the industrial area Medel in Tiel. More about this site is unknown, because excavations and further research is still going. Archaeologist thinks this was a temple or a villa.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2017	Provoost 2017
213	Jupiter	Bronze statuette	Utrecht (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	bearded standing Jupiter with laureate on his head and holding a thunderbolt in his left hand. This statuette was found on the Oude Gracht in Utrecht outside the <i>Castellum</i> on the Domplein.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1935	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 67.
214	Jupiter	Bronze statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	bearded standing Jupiter with a wreath in this hair. This statuette is found on the <i>castellum</i> area in Vechten.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 78.
215	Jupiter	Altar stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for the great and mighty Jupiter, Apollo, the moon (probably Luna), Diana, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria and peace from Quintus Antisius Adventus of the imperial government.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 36), Diana (see no. 90), Fortuna (see no. 127), Mars (see no. 247) and Victoria (see no. 577)	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 32.
216	Jupiter	Stone statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Head of stone statuette of Jupiter. This head was probably attached on Jupiter column, but this is unclear.	Collective (?)	No	0-300 AD	19th century	Stuart 1986, 34; RMO inv.nr. MO VF* 8

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
217	Jupiter	Votive stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Jupiter from captain Caius Julius Bio. This statuette was found near the A12	Collective	No	100- 250 AD	1915	Archis2 ob.nr. 1110840.
218	Jupiter	Gem	Velsen (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Carmelo Gem with the head of Jupiter with beard and tiara. This gem was found inside the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-50 AD	1975	Maaskant-Weibrink 1980, 35.
219	Jupiter	Altar stone	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar for Jupiter Optimus Maximo, but the rest of the inscription is not visible. This altar was found inside the atrium of a house which indicates that it served as a altar for a household (Lararium).	Personal	No	10 BC- 450 AD	2005	PZH inv.nr. 9423; Oostdijk 2010, 36-37.
220	Jupiter	Gem	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Jupiter sitting on a throne and holding thunder. This gem was found inside the fortress.	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	2002-2004	Blom and Vos 2008, 296.
221	Jupiter	Terracotta statuette	Woerden (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Jupiter Ammon with red paint. This statuette was found inside a pole pit in the Molenstraat.	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	1980	Archis2 ob.nr. 26477.
222	Luna	Oil lamp	Alphen aan den Rijn (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Oil lamp with the head of Luna wearing a moon in her hair. This oil lamp was found inside the <i>castellum</i> near a building.	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	2001-2002	Polak <i>et al.</i> 2004, 300.
223	Luna	Bronze statuette	Empel (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bust of Luna with moon on her head. This statuette was found on the temple complex near the temple in Empel.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1989-1991	Roymans and Derks 1994, 84.
224	Luna	Bronze fibula	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Bronze fibula with the head of Luna. This fibula was found on the Bronckweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1994	Archis2 ob.nr. 232163.
225	Luna	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Luna wearing a chiton a moon on her head. This statuette is found in the civil settlement near the Hunnerpark.	Personal	No	19 BC -125 AD	1992	VHM inv.nr. PDB.2012.1.CA.1992.6203.m
226	Luna	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (Roman road)	Stray find	Secondary	Stray find of bust of Luna with a moon on her head. This statuette is a stray find on the edge of Nijmegen near a Roman Road to Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1863	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 74.
227	Luna	Oil lamp	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Oil lamp with head of Luna with wings around her. This oil lamp was found on the Hunerberg in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-100 AD	19th century	Stuart 1986, 154.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
228	Luna	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Luna wearing a long fluttering garment holding a torch and a <i>patera</i> . This statuette was found in a women's grave with a piece of glass and a coin on the cemetery Hees in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	1911	Boekel 1983, 45-46.
229	Mars	Bronze statuette	Arnhem (Roman fort)	Found with a metal detector	primary	Mars with helmet and Armor holding a shield. The other hand is broken off.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2014	PAN Inv.nr. 00032591.
230	Mars	Gem	Cranendonk (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Glass gem of Mars on a golden ring. This gem was found on the Europalaan.	Personal	No	200- 250 AD	2008	Archis2 ob.nr. 337994.
231	Mars	Bronze statuette	De Meern (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bust of Mars with helmet. This statuette was found in LR 69 in the ditch near the fort. This is the separation from the fort with the <i>vicus</i> .	Personal	No	100- 300 AD	2012	Kerkhoven 2012, 26-27.
232	Mars	Bronze statuette	Grave (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Statuette of naked Mars with his spear and shield in his hands. This statuette was found on the Zaalheuvel.	Personal	No	100- 200 AD	2008	Archis2 ob.nr. 779283.
233	Mars	Bronze statuette	Helden (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	statuette of Mars with helmet, but the arms and legs are missing. This statuette was found on the Schrames in Helden.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2005-2008	Archis2 ob.nr. 329718.
234	Mars	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Column near the Roman bridge with four gods. Mars wearing a clock and helmet. In his hand he holds a lance and shield. This column was found near the Roman bridge in Maastricht.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 163) and Venus (see no. 528)	210- 240 AD	1963	Panhuysen 1996, 368.
235	Mars	Terracotta statuette	Naaldwijk (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Mars wearing armour and helmet. In the same trench where also Amor and Venus found. This statuette was found on Naaldwijk Hoogland.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2008	Archis2 ob.nr. 430689.
236	Mars	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone with two sides. One side is dedicated to Mercurius and the other side to Mars.	Collective	Mercurius (see no.269)	0-300 AD	1751	Driessen 2007, 279.
237	Mars	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for Mars, but it the giver is unknown.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1751	Driessen 2007, 279.
238	Mars	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Nude standing Mars wearing a helmet. This statuette was found on the Hunerberg in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1884	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 88.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
239	Mars	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Nude standing Mars wearing a helmet. This statuette was found in the Waal by Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1890	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1696, 82.
240	Mars	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Apollo and Mars. This gem was found near a bath complex on the Fort Krayenhoff.	Personal	Apollo (see no.34)	0-300 AD	1834	Driessen 2007, 273.
241	Mars	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Mars. This gem was found on the Kops Plateau.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	Driessen 2007, 273; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 62
242	Mars	Gem	Nijmegen (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Mars holding a spear from the side. This gem was found on the Baron D'Osystraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1969	Driessen 2007, 273; Archis2 ob.nr. 798939.
243	Mars	Relief	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Relief of Mars on a throne wearing a himation and holds a shield. Little holes in the relief. This was a relief on a small box with a mirror inside the grave of a male on burial graveyard WW.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1921	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 74-75.
244	Mars	Bronze statuette	Posterholt (Roman road)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of Mars wearing a winged helmet. This statuette was found near the Roman road from Aken to Xanten.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1874	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1696, 90.
245	Mars	Bronze statuette	Tiel (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Mars wearing armour and helmet. This statuette was found in the Heilige straat in Tiel.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1928	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 80.
246	Mars	Bronze helmet	Tiel (<i>vicus</i>)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Helmet with pictures of Mars on the side. This helmet was found by dredging the Meuse.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1999	Archis2 ob.nr. 749362.
247	Mars	Altar stone	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Altar stone for the great and mighty Jupiter, Apollo, the moon (probably Luna), Diana, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria and peace from Quintius Antisius Adventues of the imperial government.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 36), Diana (see no. 90), Fortuna (see no. 127), Jupiter (see no. 215) and Victoria (see no. 577)	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 32.
248	Mars	Gem	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem of jasper with Mars holding a lance and shield. This object was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	15-200 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 132; RMO inv.nr. MO VF* 527
249	Mars	Gem	Velsen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mars wearing a helmet. This gem is found inside an old water put which was used as a grave for a soldier.	Personal	No	28 AD	1980	Bosman 1997, 273.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
250	Mars	Gem	Voorburg (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Carneol gem of head of standing Mars. This object was found on the Arentsburglaan.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2007-2008	PZH inv.nr. 29095.
251	Mars	Bronze statuette	Wijk bij Duurstede (roman fort)	Found with a metal detector	primary	Mars with helmet and spear standing. This statuette was found on the dwarsdijk.	Personal	No	125-225 AD	2013	Archis2 ob.nr. 800935.
252	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Aalburg (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Nude Mercurius wearing his winged head. One leg and arm is missing. This statuette is found on Gansenoische straat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2013	Archis2 ob.nr. 677801.
253	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Aardenburg (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of semi-nude Mercurius seated on a rock. Found inside the walls of the principia of the fort compared with roof tiles.	Personal	No	170-273 AD	1962	Boekel 1983, 59-60.
254	Mercurius	Terracotta statue	Alem (Roman fort)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Head of Mercurius wearing a winged petasos. This statuette was found by dredging work in the Meuse in combination with a altar stone.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1960	Archis2 ob.nr. 39287
255	Mercurius	Votive stone	Alem (Roman fort)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Mercurius from virilis v s l m. More is not visible. This stone was found by dredging work in the Meuse in combination with a head of Mercurius.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1960	Archis2 ob.nr. 39287.
256	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Buren (farm)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Mercurius wearing a cloak and traveling hat. This statuette was found in the Parkstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1993	Archis2 ob.nr. 28732.
257	Mercurius	Stone statuette	Buren (farm)	Found by dredging	secondary	Small stone statuette of Mercurius. This statuette was found by dredging the river in the Enksche Waarden by Buren. Unfortunately, the profiles around the statuette where not visible.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1972	Archis2 ob.nr. 42639.
258	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	De Meern (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Young standing Mercurius with wings on his ankles and winged cap. This statuette was found in a rubbish pit from the <i>castellum</i> .	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1955	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1699, 116.
259	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	De Meern (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Damaged statuette of Mercurius wearing a cape. This statuette was found in the southern <i>vicus</i> area LR49. The archaeologist document this as a statuette for a Lararium.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2004	Langeveld <i>et al.</i> 2004, 224.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
260	Mercurius	Gem	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Glass gem with Mercurius holding a caduceus and (money?)purse. This gem was found near a house construction.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1988	Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 35.
261	Mercurius	Gem	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Glass gem with Mercurius wearing a cap and holding a purse. This gem was found on the edge of the <i>vicus</i> .	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1988	Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 35.
262	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Genderen (no roman traces)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Standing semi-nude Mercurius. This statuette was found on the Lange Pad.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	1995	Archis2 ob.nr. 744133.
263	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Mercurius with wings in his hear and holding a purse up in his right hand. This statuette was found North of the baths near the Roman road from Heerlen to Xanten.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1954	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 98.
264	Mercurius	Altar stone	Horn (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for Mercurius Arvernus from Irmidius Macro, because he devoted this temple to Mercurius. The god was depicted sitting and holding a caduceus and purse. This stone was found inside the Martinis church where in the past was a Roman temple.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1838	RMO inv.nr. GL 414.
265	Mercurius	Gem	Katwijk (Roman fort)	Stray find	secondary	Gem of head profile Mercurius. This gem was found in Veldzicht.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2001	Archis2 ob.nr. 803726.
266	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Sitting Mercurius with wings in his hear and holding a purse. This statuette was found in the Grote Stokstraat in Maastricht.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1954	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 94; Archis2 ob.nr. 768812.
267	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Body of Mercurius wearing a cloak. This statuette was found inside the choir of the church Sint-Martinuskerk.	Personal	No	50-100 AD	1857	Panhuysen 1996, 380.
268	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Nieuwegein (farm)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of Mercurius who is sitting on a rock. This fragment is found in the filling of a creek close to a farm in Nieuwegein.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	1976-1982	Boekel 1983, 60.
269	Mercurius	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone with two sides. One side is dedicated to Mercurius and the other side to Mars. This altar was found on the Hunerberg.	Collective	Mars (see no.236)	0-300 AD	1751	Driessen 2007, 279.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
270	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Young standing Mercurius with wings in his hair. Found on Maasplein in Nijmegen near a temple complex.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1949	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 118.
271	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Mercurius with winged cap and holding a purse in his right hand. This statuette was found on the site Fort Krayenhoff near the Waal in Nijmegen	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1831	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 104.
272	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mercurius holding a purse and winged petasos on his head. This statuette was found on Fort Krayenhoff.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1824-1830	Driessen 2007, 272.
273	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	secondary	Standing Mercurius wearing clamps and winged cap with crescent. In his right hand holding a purse. This statuette was found near the Waal in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1883	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 102.
274	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing nude Mercurius holding a caduceus in his right hand. This statuette was found in the Waal.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1874	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 112.
275	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (Roman road)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing nude Mercurius with wings in his hair and a purse dangling from his right hand. This statuette was found in the area Neerbosch in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1891	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 110.
276	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing nude Mercurius. Traces of wings in his hear. Is found beside the Waal.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1925	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 120.
277	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing nude Mercurius with a winged cap and holding a purse in his hand. This statuette was found in Nijmegen on the shore of the Waal.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1948	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 100.
278	Mercurius	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Glass intaglio imitative of a Nicolo with seated Mercury holding a caduceus. This gem is found in the winseling area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1898	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 49.
279	Mercurius	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Bronze finger-ring with chalcedony intaglio gem with the head of Mercurius. This gem was found on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1900	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 42.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
280	Mercurius	Gem	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Unknown	Secondary	Cornelia intaglio of standing Mercurius holding a caduceus leaning on a column. This gem was found on the edge of Fort Krayenhoff.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1895	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 75-76.
281	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Statuette of standing Mercurius with a inscription on the bottom which says that Eriausio gives this statuette to Mercurius. This statuette was found on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1821	Driessen 2007, 271.
282	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Statuette of Mercurius with winged shoes and holding a caduceus. This statuette was found near the Waal.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1985	Driessen 2007, 271.
283	Mercurius	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Votive stone for Mercurius from Blesio. This votive stone was found on the shore of the Winseling.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1681	Driessen 2007, 274.
284	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Odijk (rural settlement)	Unknown	secondary	Standing nude Mercurius with cap and purse in his right hand. This statuette was found in Odijk.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 106.
285	Mercurius	Altar stone	Opijnen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar for Mercurius Gebrinius. The rest of the inscription is not visible. This altar stone was found on a graveyard in Elsevier Opijnen.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1985	Archis2 ob.nr. 821467.
286	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Posterholt (Roman road)	Unknown	secondary	Bust of Mercurius with winged petasos. The exact location where in Posterholt is unknown.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1874	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 126.
287	Mercurius	Stone statuette	Rimburg (farm)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Stone statuette of Mercurius and Minerva together. This statuette is found on the Worm.	Personal	Minerva (see no. 335)	0-300 AD	1927	Archis2 ob.nr. 757586.
288	Mercurius	Altar stone	Rossum (rural settlement)	Unknown	Secondary	Altar stone in bad condition. The stone is dedicated to Mercurius, but the rest is not visible.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	20th century	RMO inv.nr. e 1960/8.1
289	Mercurius	Glass	Simpelveld (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Glass bottle with Mercurius head on it. On the side are two cocks displayed and on the back a small inscription EVHODIA CA. This object was found on the Stampstraat 51.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1930	Archis2 ob.nr. 741485.
290	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Sint-Oedenrode (roman road)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Standing nude Mercurius with a winged cap. This statuette is found in Sint-Oedenrode, but	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1939	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969 106; Archis2 ob.nr. 30150.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						here a no signs of Roman settlement; only a road.					
291	Mercurius	Stone statuette	Sittard-Geleen (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mercurius with lam, turtle and cock. This statuette was found on the Sint Jansgeleen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1985	Archis2 ob.nr. 698126.
292	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Utrecht (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Standing Mercurius wearing winged cap. This statuette was found on the Rijkstraatweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1998	Archis2 ob.nr. 730212.
293	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Mercurius with clamps and winged cap. He is holding a purse in his right hand. This statuette was found in de <i>castellum</i> area in Vechten.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 108.
294	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Mercurius. This statuette was found near the <i>castellum</i> in Vechten.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 96.
295	Mercurius	Gem	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem of carnelian with standing Mercurius holding a purse with his left hand and in his right hand a caduceus and garment. This object was found on the <i>castellum</i> area in Vechten.	Personal	No	15-100 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 132; RMO inv.nr. VF 855
296	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mercurius wearing a winged petasos. This statuette was found during the excavation on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1868	Boekel 1983, 64-65.
297	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mercurius wearing a winged petasos. This statuette was found during the excavation on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1868	Boekel 1983, 65.
298	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Mercurius with lam in his arms. On the back is the inscription SER(V)ANDVS C.C(.)A.FECIT (...)APRI. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1969	Archis2 ob.nr. 699561.
299	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Mercurius with a part of a lam next to him. This statuette is damaged and found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1969	Archis2 ob.nr. 853481.
300	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mercurius with two wings in his hair. This statuette is found on the <i>castra</i> site.	Personal	No	100-250 D	1977-1978	Boekel 1983, 64.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
301	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of semi-nude Mercurius wearing a chlamys and to wings in his hair. This statuette was found in the harbour site Arentsburg in Voorburg.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1908-1915	Boekel 1983, 63.
302	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of small statuette of Mercurius. The head is missing. He is holding a <i>patera</i> and caduceus in his hands and winged shoes. This statuette was found on the Arentsburghlaan.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	2007-2008	PZH inv.nr. 9364.
303	Mercurius	Bronze statuette	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Mercurius. This statuette was found under a (bicycle)road in Park Arentsburgh.	Personal	No	10-250 AD	1993	Archis2 ob.nr. 765449.
304	Mercurius	Terracotta statuette	Woerden (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of Mercurius sitting wearing a chlamys. This statuette is found in the Wagenstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1984	Boekel 1983, 61.
305	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Aardenburg (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva sitting on a throne wearing a long garment and a cloak. Shield is standing next to her and she holds a <i>patera</i> in her hand. This statuette was found in Arentsburg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1908-1915	Boekel 1983, 91.
306	Minerva	Oil lamp	Alphen aan den Rijn (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Minerva wearing a helmet. This oil lamp was found inside a building in the <i>castellum</i> in Alpen aan den Rijn.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	2001-2002	Polak <i>et al.</i> 2004, 300.
307	Minerva	Stone statuette	Bunde (rural Settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva sitting on a throne. The material is French stone. This statuette was found on Het Hoogveld in Bunde.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2009	Archis2 ob.nr. 419746.
308	Minerva	Gem	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Nicolo gem with Minerva sitting on a throne. She is wearing a long garment and helmet and holding a spear. This gem was found near a wall.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1988	Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 35.
309	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of terracotta statuette of Minerva wearing a helmet. The rest is broken off. This statuette was found in the <i>vicus</i> Ockenburg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1991	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 41.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
310	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Didam (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva wearing a chiton and helmet. This statuette was found by digging pit 44 for sewage system in the extension of pit 36.	Personal	No	200-300 AD	2018	AGE inv.nr. Ddm 44-0-90; Archis2 ob.nr. 343664.
311	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Ede (<i>vicus</i>)	Unknown	secondary	Standing Minerva wearing a long garment, cloak, helmet and aegis. This statuette was found in a Roman farm setting in Ede-Veldhuizen with another bronze statuette of a man.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	1970	VHM inv.nr. PDB.2002.1.EDE.1175
312	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Ellewoutsdijk (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Minerva wearing a triple-crested helmet. This statuette was found in the Westerschelde for Ellewoutsdijk. In this place a small <i>vicus</i> was found.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1961	Boekel 1983, 93.
313	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Genderen (no roman traces)	Unknown	Secondary	Minerva wearing a chiton and helmet. The objects in both hands are missing. This statuette was found in Genderen, but not in an area with roman traces.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	2000	NBM inv.nr. 16274
314	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Genderen (no roman traces)	Stray find	Secondary	Minerva wearing a helmet and <i>stola</i> and holding a spear. In the same trench was an arm from a different statuette. This object was found on the Lange Pad.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	2004	Archis2 ob.nr. 703750.
315	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Grave (military traces)	Found in a project with archaeological guiding	Secondary	Minerva in long garment with helmet holding a spear. This statuette was found by dredging the Meuse where on the shore military traces were found.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1999	Archis2 ob.nr. 39189.
316	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva sitting on a throne wearing a long garment with aegis and Medusa head, a cloak and a helmet. This statuette was found in Beersdal which had trace of Roman settlement.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1920	Boekel 1983, 89-90.
317	Minerva	Bronze statuette	IJzendoorn (farm)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	head of Minerva. This object was attached to another object but is broken off. This object was found Het Hof.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1993	Archis2 ob.nr. 835252.
318	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Katwijk (Roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing Minerva wearing a peplos and holding a globe. This statuette was found on the beach in the area of Brittenburg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1520	Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 48-49.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
319	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Katwijk (<i>castellum</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing Minerva wearing a peplos and helmet. She is holding a owl on her right hand. This statuette was found on the beach on the <i>castellum</i> location.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1562	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 134; Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 48-49.
320	Minerva	Column	Kessel-lith (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Pillar with three gods: Hercules, Juno and Minerva. On this pillar is Minerva wearing a long garment and holding a lance and shield. This pillar was found in the altar of the church.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 160), Juno (see no. 187)	0-300 AD	1869	Stuart 1986, 33-35.
321	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Maastricht (farm)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Head and body of Minerva wearing a helmet. The rest is broken off. This statuette was found in the Savelsbos.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1991	Archis2 ob.nr. 27894.
322	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Margraten (villa area)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Bronze statuette of standing Minerva with helmet. The arms are missing. This statuette is found in Savelsbos.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1991	Archis2 ob.nr. 689474.
323	Minerva	Altar stone	Nijmegen (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for Minerva, but the rest of the altar is not readable. This altar was found inside a pit on the villa area Tienakker near the statuette of Minerva.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1930	Heirbaur 2011, 54.
324	Minerva	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Nicolo intaglio gem of sitting Minerva wearing a peplos and helmet. She is holding a spear and small Victoria. This was found in the winseling area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1897	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 48.
325	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Bust of Minerva wearing a helmet and an aegis. This statuette was found near the Beg en Dalseweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1897	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 136.
326	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Minerva wearing a chiton and shield. This statuette was found Hüsenhoff.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2010	Archis2 ob.nr. 341594.
327	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva wearing a chiton and holding a <i>patera</i> . This statuette had a lot of marks on the back and front which indicated that is often hold. The statuette was found in a pit in the villa area Tienakker near a small altar stone for Minerva.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1930	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 135.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
328	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Statuette of Minerva that was found in Groesbeek.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2010	Archis2 ob.nr. 433494.
329	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Minerva wearing a <i>stola, palla</i> , aegis and helmet. This statuette was found in the Hunerberg in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1884	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 132.
330	Minerva	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of Minerva. This gem was found on the Berg en Dalseweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2000	Archis2 ob.nr. 728163.
331	Minerva	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	lapis lazuli intaglio gem of standing Minerva holding a spear. This gem was found on the site around the Winseling.	Personal	No	200-300 AD	1997	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 90.
332	Minerva	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium, vicus</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Minerva wearing a peplos leaning on a shield. This gem was found in the site around the Winseling.	Personal	No	15 BC-200 AD	1947	VHM inv.nr. BA.VII.65k
333	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen(temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Minerva wearing a triple-crested helmet. This statuette was found in the pitch with many sherds of terra sigillata on the Krayenhoflaan in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	225-275 AD	1981	Boekel 1983, 92.
334	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i> , temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Sitting Minerva with resting left hand on an object. The head is missing. This statuette was found on fort Krayenhoff.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1844	Driessen 2007, 273.
335	Minerva	Stone statuette	Rimburg (farm)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Stone statuette of Mercurius and Minerva together. This statuette is found on the Worm.	Personal	Mercurius (see no. 287)	0-300 AD	1927	Archis2 ob.nr. 757586.
336	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Veldhuizen (settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze statuette of standing Minerva wearing a chiton and helmet. This statuette was found inside a house.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	AGE inv.nr. 371305; Archis2 ob.nr. 652478.
337	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Voortburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing Minerva wearing a long garment and cloak holding a globe and a lance. This statuette was found close to the west side of a Roman building.	Personal	No	180-275 AD	1967	boekel 1983, 85.
338	Minerva	Altar stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Altar stone for Minerva, but the rest of the stone is missing. Only the first sentence is visible. This stone was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1846	RMO inv.nr. VF 83.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
339	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Minerva wearing a peplos, boots and helmet.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1846	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 128.
340	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found with a metal detector	primary	Bust of Minerva. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1985	Archis2 ob.nr. 747582.
341	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva with long garment with aegis and Medusa head. In her right hand holding a lance and a shield in her left. This statuette was found during an excavation on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 83-84.
342	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of standing Minerva with a human head rests on the plinth before her. This statuette was found outside the <i>castellum</i> .	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1867-1869	Boekel 1983, 87-88.
343	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Minerva wearing a triple-crested helmet. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 94.
344	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Minerva wearing a single-crested helmet. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 97.
345	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Minerva wearing a single-crested helmet. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 98.
346	Minerva	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Minerva wearing a long garment and a cloak. A shield is standing on her left side. This statuette is a stray find on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1960	Boekel 1983, 86-87.
347	Minerva	Gem	Velsen (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with head of Minerva-Roma. This gem was found inside the <i>castellum</i> .	Personal	No	0-50 AD	1975	Maaskant-Weibrink 1980, 6.
348	Minerva	Oil lamp	Velsen (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Minerva wearing a long garment and helmet. In her hand she is holding a shield and lance. This lamp was found in trench 9 in the <i>castellum</i> .	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1980	Bosman 1997, 450.
349	Minerva	Bronze statuette	Wijk bij Duurstede (roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing Minerva wearing a peplos, aegis and helmet. She is holding a <i>patera</i> in her right hand. This statuette is found near the river where the	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 130.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						<i>castellum</i> might have been in Wijk bij Duurstede.					
350	Minerva	Altar stone	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for Minerva from the third cohort, but more of this inscription is not visible. The stone was found near the gate of the <i>castellum</i> .	Collective	No	100-250 AD	1983	Blom and Vos 2008, 71-72.
351	Minerva	Votive stone	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone to Heliogabalus and Minerva from L[ucius] Terentius Bassus, standard bearer of the third cohorts van de Breuci. This stone is dedicated to those two gods and is found outside the <i>castra</i> in the old riverbed	Collective	Heliogabalus (see no. 145)	0-300 AD	1988	SMW inv.nr. m38
352	Minerva	Gem	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Minerva holding Victoria in her hand and next to Minerva weapons.	Personal	Victoria (see no. 579)	100-250 AD	2002-2004	Blom and Vos 2008, 296.
353	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Berghem (Roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of mother-goddess wearing a crescent-shaped diadem and singed by Fidelis. This statuette was a stray find on the Lallenweg where trace of habitations where.	Personal	No	100-270 AD	1955	Boekel 1983, 157-148.
354	Mother-Goddess	Altar stone	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone to Mother-Goddess Aufaniae from Q. Vettius Severus who was a aldermen. This altar was found on the Scheveningseweg.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1974	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 18.
355	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mother-goddess with a little crown on her head with pictures of a moon. Beside her head is the head of a dog. This statuette was found in the Roman <i>vicus</i> Ockenburgh.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1933	Waardorp 1998, 73.
356	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of Mother-goddess on a throne wearing a long cloak. This statuette was found on the <i>vicus</i> with coins an basis pottery next to the statuette.	Personal	No	250-300 AD	1985	Boekel 1983, 127.
357	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Upper part of Mother-goddess wearing a garment with sleeves and a cloak. This statuette was	Personal	No	275-300 AD	1973	Boekel 1983, 146-147; Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 41.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						found on the Scheveningseweg in Den Haag.					
358	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mother-goddess wearing a cap. The rest is broken off. This statuette was found on the Scheveningseweg in Den Haag.	Personal	No	175-300 AD	1973	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 40.
359	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mother-goddess wearing a long garment and sitting on a throne. This statuette was found on the Scheveningseweg in Den Haag.	Personal	No	175-300 AD	1973	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 42.
360	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Fragment of chest of a Mother-goddess wearing a cloak and necklace with a pendant. This statuette was a stray find on the road to Wateringen which was a place who held traces of Roman settlement.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1965	Boekel 1983, 140; Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 41.
361	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Heer (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mother-goddess sitting on a throne wearing a long cloak and fruit on her lap. This statuette was found in a pit in front of a villa.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	189-1880	Boekel 1983, 126-127.
362	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Heerwaarden (Roman road)	Found by dredging	Primary	Head of mother-goddess wearing a bonnet. This statuette was found from a dredging-pit on the northern bank of the Meuse in combination with Roman pottery.	Personal	No	250-300 AD	1982	Boekel 1983, 138.
363	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Nieuwegein (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mother-goddess sitting on a throne wearing a long cloak. This statuette was found near a fire pit in front of a house.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1976-1982	Boekel 1983, 128.
364	Mother-goddess	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Altar for Mother-goddess Matres Mopates from the grain trader Nerviër Mercus Liberius Victor. This stone was found in the Winseling.	Collective	No	100-200 AD	1669	Boagers 1970, 7; Driessen 2007, 277.
365	Mother-goddess	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for the Mother-goddess Matres, but the giver is unknown. This stone was found in a pottery Holdeurn on the Berg en Dalseweg. The altar stone has a picture of tool that was used for pottery.	Collective	No	70-270 AD	1940s	VHM inv.nr. BB.1.1

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
366	Mother-goddess	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Mother-goddess on throne wearing a head-dress and holding a basket filled with fruits. This statuette was found on the Hunerberg in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1844	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 92.
367	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Draped Mother-goddess seating in a basket chair and suckling two infants. This statuette comes the site Doddendaal near a Roman cemetery.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1951	Boekel 1983, 151-152.
368	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Unknown	Secondary	Mother-goddess sitting on a throne wearing a cloak and long garment holding fruit. The exact location of this object is unknown, but it is assumed that is found on the cemetery Weurtseweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1920-1922	Boekel 1983, 143; Driessen 2007, 277.
369	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Unknown	Secondary	Lower part of mother-goddess sitting on a throne wearing a cloak and long garment and holding fruits.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	1985	Boekel 1983, 131.
370	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mother-goddess wearing a diadem. This statuette was found in the trench in the Biezenstraat.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1927	Daniëls 1955, 206-207.
371	Mother-goddess	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Votive stone for Matronae Aufaniae from Titus Albinus Januarius. This stone was found in the Winseling area.	Collective	No	70-270 AD	1628	Driessen 2007, 277; VHM inv.nr. BA.III.10
372	Mother-goddess	Votive stone	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Votive stone for Matres, but the giver is unknown. This stone was found on the edge of the Hunerberg.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1541	Driessen 2007, 277.
373	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Rockanje (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of mother-goddess with suckling two infants. This statuette was found in the Stuifakker polder inside a wooden Roman building. Near the statuette laid coins and terra sigillata sherds.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1951	Boekel 1983, 154.
374	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Valkenburg (roman road)	Stray find	Secondary	Mother-goddess sitting on a throne wearing a long cloak and tunic. A small figure is standing on her left. This object was a stray find near a Roman road.	Collective	No	100-250 AD	1941	Boekel 1983, 135-136.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
375	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of Mother-goddess seating on a bench. This object is found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Collective	No	100-250 AD	1978	Boekel 1983, 13-135.
376	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mother-goddess wearing a bonnet. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1868	Boekel 1983, 139.
377	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of standing Mother-Goddess. This statuette was found in the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	1988-1978	Boekel 1983, 157.
378	Mother-goddess	Votive stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in a project with archaeological guiding	Primary	Votive stone for matres from Gaius Julius Respectus. This was probably a soldier from the fort. This stone was found outside the <i>castellum</i> near the A12.	Collective	No	100-250 AD	1995	Archis2 ob.nr. 48605
379	Mother-goddess	Votive stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in a project with archaeological guiding	Primary	Votive stone for the mother-goddess of Noricum from Ann(a)eus Maximus, who was a soldier. This votive stone was found near the A12.	Collective	No	164-235 AD	1928-1929	Stuart 1986, 41; RMO inv.nr. MO VF 80.
380	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mother-goddess sitting on a throne and wearing a long cloak. This statuette was found in the harbour area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1827-1834	Boekel 1983, 130.
381	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Mother-goddess sitting on a throne wearing a long cloak and fruit on her lap. This statuette was found in the site Arentsburg near buildings.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1911	Boekel 1983, 129.
382	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Unknown	Secondary	Mother-goddess wearing a triangular diadem. This statuette was found in the site Arentsburg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1827-1834	Boekel 1983, 150.
383	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (harbour)	Unknown	Secondary	Lower part of standing Mother-goddess wearing a long garment.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1828	Boekel 1983, 155-156.
384	Mother-goddess	Terracotta statuette	Zwammerdam (ship)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Mother-goddess wearing a bonnet. This statuette was found in the ship Zwammerdam.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1974	Boekel 1983, 137.
385	Mythras	Altar stone	Alphen aan den Rijn (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Piece of an altar stone to Mythras. Unfortunately, the part from who this stone devoted to Mythras is missing. This stone was found inside the <i>castellum</i> .	Collective	No	150-300 AD	2001-2002	Polak <i>et al.</i> 2004, 212-2013.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
386	Mythras	Terracotta statuette	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Kneeling Mythras figure, probably with a bull but the bull is missing. This statuette was found inside the temple complex on the site hotel Derlon outside the building structures.	Personal	No	150-300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 383-384.
387	Mythras	<i>Terra sigillata</i>	Zwammerdam (harbour)	Found in a project with archaeological guiding	Primary	<i>Terra sigillata</i> bow with Mythras and snakes. This object was found Hooze Burch.	Personal	No	150-300 AD	1968	Archis2 ob.nr. 854651.
388	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altarstone of Nehalennia who is sitting from Valerius Marcellus who was a trader.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 59; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.7; CIL AE'80.658.
389	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altarstone of Nehalennia who is sitting from Caius Iulius.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 88-89; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.9.
390	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altarstone for Nehalennia from Iuni Silviserius. On the altar is Nehalennia visible who is sitting on a throne holding a ship's wheel. On the sides of the altar is a man and woman display holding a jar.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 81-82; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.6.
391	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altar stone for Nehalennia from Sabinianus, but more of the inscription is not visible. On the altar is Nehalennia visible who standing on a boat. On the side of the altar are the cornucopia visible.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 91-92; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.12.
392	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altar stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is not readable. On this altar is Nehalennia depicted sitting inside a niche with a dog and fruit on her side.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 82-83; RMO inv.nr. i 1971
393	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Altar stone for Nehalennia from Caius Sentius Certus, who was a trader. On the altar stone is Nehalennia visible who is sitting inside a niche with a bowl of fruits in her lap. Next to Nehalennia is a dog sitting.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 71-72; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.68.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
394	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Primanus and Ursulus.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 116; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/12.24.
395	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Silvius Victor. The votive stone is relatively small, but on top is a large statuette of Nehalennia sitting holding a small boat.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 84-85; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.16.
396	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Secundinius for a safe passage to England. On this votive stone is Nehalennia depicted sitting on a throne holding a bowl of fruits and flowers. Beside Nehalennia is lying a dog.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 53-54; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.11.
397	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Quintus Cornelius who was a salt trader. There are no images on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 103; RMO inv.nr i1970/12.25; CIL AE'73.378.
398	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Gratus. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche and have one foot on a boat. Next to Nehalennia is a dog sitting.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 75-76; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.13.
399	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia freio from Palusonis. Freio is a Germanic name. There are no images visible on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 134; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.78.
400	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Sextus Severini. On the votive stone is Nehalennia depicted with a bowl of fruits.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 52-53; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.53.
401	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Commodus Ufentis. This was probably a trader or shipper, because on this votive stone is a boat depicted with different barrels inside.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	P. Stuart and J.E. Bogaers 2001, 58; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.44

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
402	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Gimio Ganeutae.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 135-136; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.27
403	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	This votive stone was originally 3 pieces but reconstructed together inside the museum. Votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Aurelius. One side of the top is missing, but it is still visible that Nehalennia was sitting inside a niche. Next to her sits a dog and stand a basket with fruits.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 60-61; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.123A-C.
404	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Part of votive stone for Nehalennia from Placidus Viduci Filius. This is a Celtic name and not a Roman. Also, this person came from Britannia. On the votive stone is only the lower part of a sitting Nehalennia visible. Next to Nehalennia sits a dog and stands a basket of fruits.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 56-57; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.45.
405	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Tagamas and Tagadianus. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with fruits on her lap. A dog and a basket of fruits is standing next of Nehalennia. Parts of this stone are broken off by the lifting out of the water.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 66-67; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.69.
406	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Ottinius Frequens. This votive stone was decorated with leaves.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 90-91; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.66.
407	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for the all-mighty Nehalennia from Caius Catullinius. This is a Celtic name. The votive stone contains only a inscription and there are no images visible.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	1970	P. Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 130-131; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.22.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
408	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Quintus Iulius Frontinus. He was a salt trader. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche. The image of Nehalennia is damaged and the objects around Nehalennia are not visible anymore.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 54-55; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.74 .
409	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Lower part of votive stone for Nehalennia from Andahianus Severus. More is not visible on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 149- 150; RMO inv.nr. 1971/11.75.
410	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Mercatorius Amabilis. This name is also found on votive stones in Trier. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 105- 106; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.60.
411	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is not visible. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a basket of fruits on both sides.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 70; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.17.
412	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Quintus Castricius. This is a Celtic name and not a Roman name. This votive stone has no further images, only this inscription.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 112; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.55.
413	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Quartius Reditus. On the stone is Nehalennia sitting with fruits on her lap.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 63-64; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.3.
414	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Secundius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia depicted with a Cornucopia. On the other side is a woman depicted who plays a sacrifice.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 77-78; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.5.
415	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Damaged votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcellus. This name was also found on votive stone at Domburg. There are no images on this votive stone and the inscription is badly visible.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 79-80; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.65.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
416	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Varausius. This was a common name under the Germanic people. On the votive stone is Nehalennia depicted sitting inside a niche with fruits on her lap. Next to her is sitting a dog and are baskets with fruit.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001,59-60; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.64.
417	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone in bad condition for Nehalennia but is not visible from who. There are no images on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 130- 131; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.48
418	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Sattonius, who was a trader. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche holding a ship's wheel.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 84-85; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.18; CIL AE'73.367.
419	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for the Holy Nehalennia from Caius Iulius Florentianus Agrippinensis, who was a salt trader. On this altar is Nehalennia standing inside niche visible holding a Cornucopia. On her side stands a dog.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 70-71; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.4.
420	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Vettius Secundus. There are no images visible on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 115; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.58.
421	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Crescentius Florus. This votive stone is decorated with leaves.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 104- 105; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.33.
422	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Titus Tagaduius Adiutor. The whole stone is decorated with leaves.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 107- 108; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.31.
423	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Quintus Phoebius Hilarus, who was a decurio from Nijmegen. The last part of the inscription is missing. Also, there are no images on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 126- 127; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.32.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
424	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Agilius Secundus. The upper part of the stone is missing. For this reason, only the legs of a woman (probably Nehalennia) are visible.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 57-58; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.88.
425	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Artisenius Marius who was a trader that goes to England. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 109- 110; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.86.
426	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Upper part of a votive stone for Nehalennia from Cladius Mar... The rest of the stone is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 138- 139; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.152.
427	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Firmius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a dog and a basket with fruits on her side.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 87-88; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.10.
428	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Part of votive stone for Nehalennia from Quintius. The rest of the votive stone is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 140- 141; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.119a-b.
429	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Vacrenus. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a dog and basket with fruit on her sides.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 61-62; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.59.
430	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone for Nehalennia, but the name of the giver is not visible. Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with two objects next to her.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 80-81; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.43.
431	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is not visible. On this votive stone stands Nehalennia with her foot on a ship. On both sides of the votive stone is Neptune with his harpoon and Hercules with his club visible	Collective	Hercules (see no. 148) and Neptune (see no. 502)	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 91; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.14.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
432	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Titus Tertinius. On the votive stone is Nehalennia sitting and holding a ship's wheel.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 110- 111; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.29.
433	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Upper part of a stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Iustinius. The rest of the votive stone is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 138; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.49.
434	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Upper part of a votive stone for Nehalennia. On this stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a person holding a dolphin on her side. Only the inscription is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 86; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.71.
435	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Senius Secundus. This votive stone is not decorated.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 122; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.42.
436	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone where only the name Nehalennia is visible and parts of the thanks wording. More is not visible.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 132; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.36.
437	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Secururus Serganti. There are no decorations on this stone	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 118- 119; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.70.
438	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone with sitting Nehalennia inside a niche. The votive stone is damaged, and the inscription is not visible anymore.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 65-66; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.15.
439	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Exomnius. This is a Celtic name and not a Roman. There are no images on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 133- 134; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.28.
440	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Volusius Dius. The name Dius is commonly found around Xanten. On the altar is Nehalennia sitting on a throne with a dog and fruits next to her.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 64-65; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.67.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
441	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Acceptus Bassus. There is no picture of Nehalennia on this votive stone, but on the sides of this stone is a picture of Hercules and Neptunus. Both of these gods are recognized by their club and harpoon.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 147) and Neptune (see no. 501)	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 107; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.128.
442	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Amminius Saturnius. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 116- 117; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.23.
443	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Similinius Seranus.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 114; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.26.
444	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Bosiconius who was a captain on a ship. On this votive stone is no picture of Nehalennia.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 127; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.61.
445	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Maximinius and Titus Iulius Tacitus. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 108- 109; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.34.
446	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Ilius, who was a soldier. On this votive stone is Nehalennia visible who is sitting. The upper part of the votive stone is broken off.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 55-56; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.46.
447	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Part of votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius. This name is probably longer, but the rest is broken off. Also it is not visible if there is any decorations on this stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 75; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.148.
448	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Part of a votive stone for Nehalennia. The only elements of the givers name are vin, but more is not visible or broken off.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 145; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.162.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
449	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the name of the giver is not visible anymore. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a basket of fruit on her side. The rest of top of this stone is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 67; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.81.
450	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Candidianus. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 115- 116; RMO inv.nr. 1971/11.62.
451	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Antonius who was a soldier from Vechten. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1971	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 114- 115; RMO inv.nr. i 1971/11.56.
452	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Mercatorius Amabilis, who was a trader. There are no decorations on this stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 104; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.50.
453	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	The inscription is badly visible and the name of the giver is partly visible. This was a votive stone for Nehalennia from Fen... Big parts of the stone are missing and a small leave decoration is visible.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 68; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.95.
454	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Victorinius. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 124- 125; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.110.
455	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Gallicanus. Some part of the inscription is missing and there are no images or decorations on the votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 124; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.20.
456	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	votive stone with a bad inscription. This votive stone is dedicated to Nehalennia from Septiminius Casal... who was a trader. On the votive stone are decoration with leaves.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 112- 113; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.144.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
457	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Parts of votive stone for Nehalennia from lustiserus. This votive stone is decorated with leaves.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 136- 137; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.108.
458	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest is not readable. Also, it is not visible to see if the votive stone has any decorations.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 128; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.160.
459	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Neuto Lucani. There are no decorations on this stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and J.E. Bogaers 2001, 134- 135; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.30.
460	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Upper part of a votive stone for Nehalennia. The rest of the stone is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 141; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.156.
461	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from M. Exingius agricola. He was a salt trader. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1976	CIL AE'73.364.
462	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Vegisonius Martinus. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1976	CIL AE'73.372.
463	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from C. Aurelius Verus who was a trader from England. There are no decorations on this votive stone.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1976	CIL AE'83.722.
464	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Immunius Primus. There are no decorations on this stone	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1976	CIL AE'85.682.
465	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Altar Stone with sitting Nehalennia holding fruits. This altar is dedicated to Nehalennia from Marcus Exingius. The altar was fished up.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 51-52; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.1.
466	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus lustinius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with two persons on her sides. This object was fished up by local fisher mans.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 98-99; RMO inv.nr. i 2017 7.1.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
467	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Optatus, who was a trader. On this stone is Nehalennia depicted sitting inside a niche. A dog and a basket of fruits is standing next to her. This votive stone was fished up by the local fisher man.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 69; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.3.
468	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Bassus. The rest of the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is no picture of Nehalennia, but from Hercules holding his club. This stone was fished up by the local fisher man.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 149)	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 107; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.6.
469	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Lower part of votive stone for Nehalennia from Sentius Atticus. The rest of the stone is missing.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 76; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.5.
470	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Capitius Victor. On this stone is Nehalennia depicted sitting inside a niche. This votive stone was fished up by the local fisherman.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 72-73; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.4.
471	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Partius. There are no decorations on this object. This votive stone was fished up by the local fisherman.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 106; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.2.
472	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Lucius Tertinius Victor. There are no decorations on this stone. This votive stone is fished up by local fisher people.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 109; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.7.
473	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Titus Tertinius Virilis. There are no decorations on this votive stone. This votive stone is fished up by the local fisher man.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 111; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.8.
474	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Quadratus Ianuarius. There are no decorations on this votive stone. This votive stone is fished up by the local fisherman.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 117- 118; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.9.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
475	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Sumaronius Vitalis eques alae Noric. There are leave decorations on the side. This votive stone is fished up by the local fisherman.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 121; RMO inv.nr. 2017/7.10; CIL AE'97.1161.
476	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Upper part of a votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Crescentius. The rest of the stone is missing. This votive stone is fished up by local fisher man.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1994	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 139; RMO inv.nr. i 2017/7.11.
477	Nehalennia	Votive Stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the inscription is not readable. On the votive stone is Nehalennia depicted sitting inside a niche with a dog on her side. This votive stone was fished up by a local fisherman.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 63; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.2.
478	Nehalennia	Altar stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Altar for Nehalennia from Primitius. There are no decorations on this altar. This altar was found in the water near building material of the temple	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	19th century	Stuart 1986, 72-73.
479	Nehalennia	Terracotta statuette	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Statuette of standing Nehalennia with one foot on a small boat. The arms are missing. On the bottom of the statuette is a inscription with indicates that Marcus Assonius Aelius dedicated this statuette to Nehalennia. This statuette was found near votive stones in fisher nets.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 22-23.
480	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Ianuarinus. On this stone is Nehalennia standing with a <i>patera</i> in her hand and a dog on her side. This votive stone was found in Domburg.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 24-25.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
481	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is Nehalennia standing with her foot on a boat and holding a basket with fruits. On her side is standing a dog. On the sides of the altar is Neptune and Hercules displayed. This altar was found near other votive stones in the nets of fisherman.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 151) and Neptune (see no.504)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 26-27.
482	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Iustus Satto. On this votive stone is Nehalennia standing in a long garment with her foot on a boat. On the side of the votive stone is Hercules picking apples from a tree representing the Garden of Hesperides and Neptune holding a trident and cup.	Collective	Hercules (see no.152) and Neptune (see no.505)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 28-31.
483	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Dacinus Liffionis. On this stone is Nehalennia sitting on a throne inside a niche. She wears a long garment and holding a dish of apples. Next to her is sitting a dog and stands a basket with fruits. This stone was found in a net with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1995, 32-33.
484	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Flettius Gennalionis. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting on a throne wearing a long garment and a dog and basket with fruits next to her. On both sides of Nehalennia is Amor displayed. On the sides of the altar is Hercules and Neptune displayed. This altar was fished up with building material.	Collective	Amor (see no.5), Hercules (see no.153) and Neptune (see no.506)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1995, 34-37.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
485	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Servatus Theronis Filius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with fruits on her lap. Next to her sits a dog and stands a basket with fruits. This altar was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 40-41.
486	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Titus Calvisius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a dog and a basket with fruits next to her. This votive stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 42-43.
487	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Upper part of votive stone for Nehalennia. On this stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a basket of fruits next to her. On the sides of the stone is Hercules and Neptune displayed. The inscription is broken off. The stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	Hercules (see no.154) and Neptune (see no.507)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 50-51.
488	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is missing. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with fruit on her leap. This votive stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 52-53.
489	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Marcus Hitarinius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with two baskets with fruits next to her. This votive stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 54-55.
490	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone of Nehalennia from Casanius. This name was probably longer but is missing. On the votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche. This votive stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 55-57.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
491	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone are three sitting women displayed. This votive stone was fished up.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 58-59.
492	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone for Nehalennia from Caius Exomnianius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a basket of fruits on her leap. This stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 60-61.
493	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone for Nehalennia from Fesstius Primus. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche. This stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 64-65.
494	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Ascattinius. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting inside niche with a basket of fruits next to her. This stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 66-67.
495	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Sumaronius Primanus. On this stone is only an inscription. This votive stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 70-71.
496	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Titi Flavi. There is only an inscription on this votive stone. This votive stone was fished up with building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 72-73.
497	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Ammacius. On this altar is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a dog and a basket with fruit on her side. This altar was fished up.	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1908	Stuart 1986, 38-39.
498	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Dacinus. On this altar is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with fruit on her leap. Next to her is sitting a dog and baskets	Collective	No	150- 250 AD	1908	Stuart 1986, 26-27.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						with fruit. This votive stone was fished up in Veere/Domburg.					
499	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Bad condition votive stone for Nehalennia from Primitius. There are no images on this votive stone, only the inscription and small decorations on the side. This votive stone was fished up in Veere/Domburg.	Collective	No	150-250 AD	19th century	Stuart 1955, 72-73.
500	Nehalennia	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Stray find	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Ingenuinius Ianuarius. There is only an inscription on this votive stone. This votive stone was found on the beach at Domburg.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1870	Hondius-Crone 1955, 74-75.
501	Neptune	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Acceptus Bassus. There is no picture of Nehalennia on this votive stone, but on the sides of this stone is a picture of Hercules and Neptune. Both of these gods are recognized by their club and harpoon.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 147) and Nehalennia (see no. 441)	150-250 AD	1974	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 107; RMO inv.nr. i 1974/9.128.
502	Neptune	Votive stone	Colijnsplaat (temple complex)	Found by dredging	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the rest of the inscription is not visible. On this votive stone stands Nehalennia with her foot on a ship. On both sides of the votive stone is Neptune with his harpoon and Hercules with his club visible	Collective	Hercules (see no. 148) and Nehalennia (see no. 431)	150-250 AD	1970	Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 91; RMO inv.nr. i 1970/12.14.
503	Neptune	Terracotta statuette	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Statuette of half-naked Neptune with a cloak. One leg and arm are missing. There is a hole in the back of the statuette which indicates that it was held to a wall. This statuette was fished up.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 84-85.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
504	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Primary	Votive stone for Nehalennia, but the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is Nehalennia standing with her foot on a boat and holding a basket with fruits. On her side is standing a dog. On the sides of the altar is Neptune and Hercules displayed. This altar was fished up with other altars in the same net.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 151) and Nehalennia (see no. 481)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 26-27.
505	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from lustius Satto. On this votive stone is Nehalennia standing in a long garment with her foot on a boat. On the side of the votive stone is Hercules picking apples from a tree representing the Garden of Hesperides and Neptune holding a trident and cup.	Collective	Nehalennia (see no.482) and Hercules (see no.152)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 28-31.
506	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Nehalennia from Flettius Gennalionis. On this votive stone is Nehalennia sitting on a throne wearing a long garment and a dog and basket with fruits next to her. On both sides of Nehalennia is Amor displayed. On the sides of the altar is Hercules and Neptune displayed. This altar was fished up with other building material.	Collective	Amor (see no.5), Hercules (see no.153) and Nehalennia (see no.484)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1995, 34-37.
507	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Upper part of votive stone for Nehalennia. On this stone is Nehalennia sitting inside a niche with a basket of fruits next to her. On the sides of the stone is Hercules and Neptune displayed. The inscription is broken off. The stone was fished up with other building material.	Collective	Hercules (see no.154)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 50-51.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
508	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Jupiter and Neptune, but the rest of the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is Jupiter standing next to Neptune. Jupiter holdings a sceptre and an eagle is sitting next to his feet. Neptune is holding a trident and a dolphin is sitting next to his foot. This votive stone was fished up.	Collective	Jupiter (see no.198)	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 82-83.
509	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Neptune, but the rest of the inscription is not readable. On this votive stone is Jupiter standing in a niche holding his trident. This votive stone was fished up with other building material.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Honidus-Crone 1955, 84-85.
510	Neptune	Votive stone	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Votive stone for Neptune from Octavius Amminus. On this votive stone is no image. This stone was fished up with other building materials.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1908	Hondius-Crone 1955, 86-87.
511	Neptune	Altar stone	Vechten (harbour)	Unknown	Secondary	Altar stone for Neptune from Elagabalus. This altar stone was found in the harbour near the <i>castellum</i> in Vechten.	Collective	No	218- 222 AD	19th century	Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 82.
512	Parcae	Altar stone	Maastricht (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Parcae from Publius Attius Servatus. There are no decorations on this altar. This stone was found on the temple complex at Hotel Derlon.	Collective	No	100- 300 AD	1983	Panhuysen 1996, 386-387.
513	Rura	Votive stone	Roermond (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Rura from the soldier Sextus Opsilius Geminus. This stone was found inside the temple complex near the Meuse.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1963	Archis2 ob.nr. 733556.
514	Sandraudiga	Altar stone	Rijsbergen (temple complex)	Unknown	Secondary	Altar for Sandraudiga from the devoted people of her temple. This altar was found in Rijsbergen in combination with other building material. From this material was concluded that in this place a simple temple was placed. One of this building material was an inscription for Sandraudiga on a wooden beam.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1823	Stuart 1968,37-38.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
515	Sandraudiga	inscription	Rijsbergen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	inscription on wood with the name Sandraudiga. This wood was found in combination with other building material which indicates that a temple was placed here.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	1823	RMO inv.nr. GZ req.
516	Serapis	Bronze statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Half-naked Serapis with Egyptian crown and holding his chiton. This statuette was found on the boarder of Heerlen.	Personal	No	15BC-400 AD	2017	PAN inv.nr. 00020243.
517	Serapis	Bronze statuette	Naaldwijk (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze bust of Serapis. This was probably from a lararium. This object was found on the Zuidweg at Naaldwijk where traces of a <i>vicus</i> and harbour was found.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	2004	PZH inv.nr. 24826.
518	Serapis	Gem	Velsen (Roman fort)	Unknown	Secondary	Gem with head of Serapis with a modius. This gem was found near the walls of the <i>castellum</i> .	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	RMO inv.nr. VF858
519	Sucellus	Bronze statuette	Bergen op Zoom (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze statuette of standing Sucellus holding a <i>patera</i> and staff. This statuette was found in a pit with lots of amphora shreds.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2008	Historiek 2008.
520	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Alphen aan den Rijn (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	primary	Standing naked Venus grasping her hair with her right hand. This statuette was found outside the fort close to the southern ditch.	Personal	No	0-150 AD	1981	Boekel 1983, 191; Archis2 ob.nr. 851371.
521	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Head of Venus wearing a diadem. The rest is broken off. This statuette was found on the scheveningseweg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1972	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 24.
522	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Den Haag (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Part of the head and naked body of Venus with Amor. This statuette is badly damaged and only the body is well preserved. This statuette is found on the Scheveningseweg.	Personal	Amor (see no. 4)	0-300 AD	1972	Ginkel and Waasdorp 1992, 24.
523	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Venus holding a crescent-shaped wreath in her hand. Naked Amor stand on her left. This state was found on the northern side of the Coriovallumstraat (near the thermae). Near this statuette	Personal	Amor (see no. 7)	200-300 AD	1984	Boekel 1983, 208-209.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						was also iron tools, coins and pottery sherds found.					
524	Venus	Bronze statuette	Heerlen (rural settlement)	Found with a metal detector	Primary	Naked Venus statuette with arms broken off. This statuette was found on the Evergunnedijk.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1975	Archis2 ob.nr. 695094.
525	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Heerlen (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Fragment of standing semi-nude Venus. This statuette was a stray find in Heerlen.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1940-1941	Boekel 1983, 204-205.
526	Venus	Stone statuette	Herwen (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Naked Venus was found in Herwen. In the same spot pieces of a gravestone, but no traces of a grave.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1938	Archis2 ob.nr. 3576
527	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Leiden (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Half-naked Venus resting on a pillar. This statuette was found on Roomburg in Leiden.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	1928	Stuart 1986, 129-130.
528	Venus	Column	Maastricht (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Column near the Roman bridge with four gods. Nude Venus sitting and holding a clock in her hands. This column was found near the Roman bridge in Maastricht.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 163) and Mars (see no. 234)	210-240 AD	1963	Panhuysen 1996, 368.
529	Venus	Bronze statuette	Naaldwijk (harbour)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze naked Venus in sitting position. In her hand Venus hold a jar. In the same trench was also Amor and Mars found. This statuette was found on the Hoogland.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2007	PZH inv.nr. 27826; Archis2 ob.nr. 430689.
530	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nieuwegein (rural settlement)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of nude Venus. This statuette was found in the farmyard of a farmstead close to a fire-patch.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1976-1982	RMO inv.nr. U 1970/5.2.
531	Venus	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Bronze Venus that was found during an excavation on Maasplein	Personal	No	0-300 AD	2002	VHM inv.nr. Mp1.4.75
532	Venus	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Naked Venus Victrix with a himation on her legs and holding a spear. This gem was found in the Winseling area.	Personal	No	0-120 AD	1949	VHM inv.nr. BA.VII.65n
533	Venus	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Naked Venus from behind with draped himation on her arm. Amor holding a helmet is	Personal	Amor (see no. 16)	0-300 AD	1896	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 98.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						standing next to Venus. This gem was found on the winseling area.					
534	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus wearing a garment and diadem. This statuette was on the western side of the Krayenhofflaan in combination with pottery. The person of this grave was female.	Personal	No	70-270 AD	1937	Boekel 1983, 180-181.
535	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing naked Venus grasping her hair with her right hand. This statuette was found on the site Hees, which was a small cemetery. This statuette was not inside a grave!	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1906	Boekel 1983, 190-191.
536	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Semi-nude Venus grasping her garment with her left hand and holding her belly with her right hand. This statuette was found on the Hees, a small cemetery in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	75-125 AD	1906	Boekel 1983, 198-199.
537	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing nude Venus holding a crescent-shaped wreath in her hand. Naked Amor standing next to her. This statuette was found inside a burial on the Marialaan and this grave contains also pottery, bronze, iron, and glass objects and a stone palette.	Personal	Amor (see no. 19)	250-300 AD	1933	Boekel 1983, 208-209.
538	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Standing semi-nude Venus wearing a diadem and holding a crescent-shaped wreath in her hand. A naked Venus stands on her left. This statuette was found on the Kronenburgsingle.	Personal	Amor (see no. 20)	150-250 AD	1881	Boekel 1983, 211-212.
539	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus wearing a diadem. With her hand she is covering her breasts and genital. In the same trench was also a jug and two cups found. This statuette was found on the Krayenhofflaan.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1927	Daniëls 1955, 220-221.
540	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>castra</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Fragment of standing nude Venus. This statuette is a stray find from the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	0-250 AD	1929	Boekel 1983, 197.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
541	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Fragment of standing semi-nude Venus with a garment draped over het lower body. This statuette was found in a disturbed soil during constructions on the Barbarossastraat, close to the Hugo de Grootstraat. For this reason the figure came perhaps from the cemetery on the Hunerberg.	Personal	No	75- 225 AD	1952	Boekel 1983, 201.
542	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (temple complex)	Stray find	Secondary	Standing semi-nude Venus with garment draped over the lower body. This statuette was a stray find on the terrain at the corner Ruysdaelstraat and Van Nispenstraat.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1964	Boekel 1983, 185.
543	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Lower part of semi-nude Venus. This statuette was found during the construction of a drain and laying gas pipes and electricity cables in the Kanaalstraat. The soil of the Kanaalstraat is dumped in a gravel pit in Weurt.	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1968	Boekel 1983, 203-204.
544	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Venu Pudica statuette. This statuette was found on field II in Holdreun.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1961	Archis2 ob.nr. 673843.
545	Venus	Relief	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Decorations of Venus on the lid of make-up box. On the box is naked Venus framed by the aedicula like structure. This object was found in the burial of a female on graveyard ww.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1921	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 81.
546	Venus	<i>Terra sigillata</i>	Roermond (<i>vicus</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	<i>Terra sigillata</i> bow with naked Venus between two medallions. This object was found on the Maasnielderbroek.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1953	Archis2 ob.nr. 764125.
547	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Rockanje (rural settlement)	Stray find	Secondary	Head of Venus. This head was found on the beach of Rockanje	Personal	No	50- 250 AD	2010	BOOR inv.nr. 2010/5.1.
548	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Rossum (rural settlement)	Unknown	Secondary	Fragment of the head of Venus. This statuette was found in Rossum.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1842	Boekel 1983, 196.
549	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus with garment draped over the lower	Personal	No	100- 250 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 182.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						body. This statuette was found around the <i>castellum</i> area.					
550	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Lower part of standing semi-nude Venus. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 189.
551	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Lower part of standing semi-nude woman. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1846	Boekel 1983, 188.
552	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus with garment draped of the lower body. This statuette was found on the <i>castellum</i> area outside the fort.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1977-1978	Boekel 1983, 186.
553	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	upper part of standing semi-nude Venus with a garment draped over the lower body. This statuette was found in the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1868	Boekel 1983, 200.
554	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus with garment draped over the lower body. This statuette was found in the <i>castellum</i> area near a watchtower.	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1977	Boekel 1983, 183-184.
555	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of the head of Venus. This statuette was found in the <i>castellum</i> area in Vechten.	Personal	No	75-225 AD	1997	Boekel 1983, 202.
556	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of Venus holding her breast. This statuette was found outside the fort in Vechten.	Personal	No	75-225 AD	1977	Boekel 1983, 216.
557	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Secondary	Fragment of standing Venus. This statuette was a stray find in the <i>castellum</i> area.	Personal	No	75-225 AD	1977	Boekel 1983, 195.
558	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Vechten (ship)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Standing semi-nude Venus and naked Amor. This statuette was found in the vicinity of the ship north of the fort in Vechten.	Personal	Amor (see no. 22)	200-275 AD	1893	Boekel 1983, 213-214.
559	Venus	Gem	Velsen (roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with (naked) Venus with a helmet in her hand.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1975	Maaskant-Weibrink 1980, 35.
560	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Voerendaal (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Semi-nude Venus standing between two twisted columns of an aedicula. This statuette was found was found in building H of a Roman Villa area.	Personal	No	100-200 AD	1979	Boekel 1983, 206-207.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
561	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>castra</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	fragment of the back of semi-nude Venus and naked Amor. This statuette was found inside the principia of the fort.	Personal	Amor (see no. 23)	100-250 AD	1967	Boekel 1983, 214.
562	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg(<i>Municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Lower part of standing naked Venus. This statuette was found in de <i>vicus</i> near Arentsburg. It is speculated that it was in an excavation, but not sure.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	1828	Boekel 1983, 194.
563	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>Municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Fragment of standing nude Venus. This statuette was found in de <i>vicus</i> near Arentsburg. It is speculated that it was in an excavation, but not sure.	Personal	No	100-300 AD	1833	Boekel 1983, 193.
564	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Voorburg (<i>Municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Lower part of standing semi-nude Venus. This statuette was a stray find inside the Roman walls of the <i>vicus</i> .	Personal	No	100-250 AD	1962	Boekel 1983, 197-198.
565	Venus	Terracotta statuette	Zwammerdam (ship)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Fragment of semi-nude Venus and Amor. This statuette was found during the excavation of the Roman-period ships along the quays of the former southern bank of the Rhine at the Zwammerdam fort.	Personal	Amor (see no. 26)	200-275 AD	1972	Boekel 1983, 215.
566	Vesta	Altar stone	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for Vesta from Julius Victor, the head of the potter in the area. This altar was found inside a pottery on the Berg en Dalseweg.	Personal	No	178-200 AD	20th century	Stuart 1986, 111; RMO inv.nr. MO HO* 1
567	Victoria	Terracotta statuette	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Statuette of Victoria holding a wrath in her hand. The head is missing. This statuette was found on the beach at Domburg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	Hondius-Crone 1955, 76-77.
568	Victoria	Terracotta statuette	Domburg (temple complex)	Fished up by local fisherman	Secondary	Statuette of Victoria, but the head and arms are missing. This statuette was found on the beach at Domburg.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	19th century	Hondius-Crone 1955, 78-79.
569	Victoria	Gem	Druten (villa area)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem of carnelian with Victoria crown Fortuna. This gem was found in a villa area of Druten on the Brouwersstraat 4.	Personal	Fortuna (see, no. 103)	0-200 AD	20th century	VHM inv.nr. 4.1970.1.

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
570	Victoria	Terrecotta tile	Katwijk (Roman fort)	Stray find	Secondary	Tile with Victoria wearing a chiton and holding a staff. This tile was situated next to an inscription from Caesar Marcus Avrelus Antonius. To the other side of the inscription was a tile of Hercules.	Collective	Hercules (see no. 159)	215	1520	Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 45-46.
571	Victoria	Bronze statuette	Nijmegen (villa area)	Stray find	Secondary	Winged Victoria in chiton on a globe. She is holding a wreath in her right hand. This statuette is found near Wijchen when laying out asparagus-beds.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1948	Zadonks-Josephus Jitta <i>et al.</i> 1969, 114.
572	Victoria	Column	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Monumental pillar with different gods: Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, and Diana. On this pillar Victoria crowns Tiberius. This pillar was found in front of the Valkhof museum.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 33), Bacchus (see no. 60), Ceres (see no. 74), Diana (see no. 87)	14-37 AD	1980	Panhuysen 2002, 19-20.
573	Victoria	Oillamp	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Unknown	Secondary	Winged Victoria on a globe holding a wreath. This oil lamp was found in Holdeurn near Nijmegen.	Personal	No	70- 105 AD	19th century	Stuart 1986, 154.
574	Victoria	Oillamp	Nijmegen (cemetery)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Winged Victoria holding a globe. This lamp was found on a small cemetery on the Kop plateau in Nijmegen. However, this was not inside a grave.	Personal	No	300- 400 AD	1992	VHM inv.nr. XIX.a.105
575	Victoria	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Gold finger-ring with gem of Victoria wearing a long dress and holding a wreath. This gem was found on the side of the Waal in Nijmegen.	Personal	No	0-300 AD	1958	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 42-43.
576	Victoria	Gem	Nijmegen (<i>municipium</i>)	Stray find	Secondary	Stray find near the Waal in Nijmegen of jasper intaglio gem with Victoria with two horses.	Personal	No	200- 400 AD	1895	Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 64.
577	Victoria	Altar stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Altar stone for the great and mighty Jupiter, Apollo, the moon (probably Luna), Diana, Fortuna, Mars, Victoria and peace from Quintus Antisius Adventus of the imperial government.	Collective	Apollo (see no. 36), Diana (see no. 90), Fortuna (see no. 127), Mars (see no. 247) and jupiter (see no. 215)	0-300 AD	1868	Stuart 1986, 32.
578	Victoria	Terra sigillata	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Terra sigillata cup with Diana and Victoria. This cup was found	Personal	Diana (see no. 92)	0-300 AD	1868	RMO inv.nr. VF* 435a

Nr.	God(des)	Object	Place	Find context	Primary/ Secondary	Description	Personal/ collective	Single/multiple deities	Date object	Date excavation or find year	Source
						inside waste well from the <i>castellum</i> .					
579	Victoria	Gem	Woerden (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Gem with Minerva holding Victoria in her hand and next to Minerva weapons.	Personal	Minerva (see no. 352)	100-250 AD	2002-2004	Blom and Vos 2008, 296.
580	Viradecdis	Votive Stone	Vechten (Roman fort)	Found in an archaeological excavation	Primary	Votive stone for Viradecdis from the shippers from Tongeren who are located in Fectio. This votive stone are common found in Belgium and is probably a local god from that region. The stone was found inside the modern Fort Vechten.	Collective	No	0-300 AD	19th century	Polak and Wynia 1991, 140.

Appendix 2: The distribution of deities in different places.

	Aalburg	Aardenburg	Alphen aan den Rijn	Alem	Arnhem	Baarlo	Bennekom	Bergen op Zoom	Berghem
Amor	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apollo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cybele	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Diana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Genius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hercules	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jupiter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luna	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mars	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Mercurius	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Minerva	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother-Goddess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mythras	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nehalennia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Venus	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vesta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total at each place	2	6	5	3	3	2	1	1	1

	Bunde	Buren	Colijnsplaat	Cranendonk	De Meern	Den Haag	Didam	Domburg	Druten	Ede
Amor	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Apollo	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Attis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cybele	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Diana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Genius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hercules	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	4	0	0
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Juno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jupiter	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0
Luna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mars	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mercurius	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Minerva	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Mother-Goddess	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
Mythras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nehalennia	0	0	89	0	0	0	0	22	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venus	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Vesta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total at each place	1	2	94	1	5	21	1	40	2	2

	Ellewoutsdijk	Esch	Empel	Geldermalsen	Genderen	Grave	Heesch	Heer	Heerewaarden	Heerlen	Helden
Amor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Apollo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Attis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cybele	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Diana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Genius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hercules	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Jupiter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luna	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mars	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mercurius	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Minerva	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0
Mother-Goddess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Mythras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nehalennia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Vesta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total at each place	1	2	4	2	3	3	1	1	1	10	1

	Herwen	Horn	Houten	IJzendoorn	Katwijk	Kessel-Lith	Leiden	Maastricht	Margraten	Melick	Naaldwijk
Amor	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Apollo	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Attis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cybele	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Diana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0
Genius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hercules	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juno	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Jupiter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1
Luna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mars	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mercurius	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
Minerva	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	0
Mother-Goddess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mythras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Nehalennia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venus	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Vesta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total at each place	2	1	2	1	7	5	1	21	1	2	5

	Nieuwegein	Nijmegen	Odiijk	Oosterhout	Opijnen	Oss	Ravenstein	Rijsbergen	Rimburg	Rockanje	Roermond	Rossum
Amor	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apollo	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attis	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ceres	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cybele	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Diana	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Genius	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hercules	0	7	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juno	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jupiter	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luna	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mars	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mercurius	1	17	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Minerva	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mother-Goddess	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Mythras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nehalennia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venus	1	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Vesta	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total at each place	4	133	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	4

	Posterholt	Simpelveld	Sint-Michelsgestel	Sint-Oedenrode	Sittard-Geleen	Tiel	Udenhout	Utrecht	Valkenburg	Vechten
Amor	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Apollo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Attis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cybele	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Diana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
Genius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hercules	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Juno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Jupiter	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	5
Luna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mars	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Mercurius	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	8
Minerva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Mother-Goddess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
Mythras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nehalennia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Vesta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total at each place	2	1	1	2	2	5	1	2	2	64

	Veldhoven	Veldhuizen	Velsen	Venlo	Voorburg	Voerendaal	Waardenburg	Wijk bij Duurstede	Woerden	Zwammerdam
Amor	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1
Apollo	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Attis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bacchus	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Cybele	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Diana	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Epona	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exomna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortuna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Genius	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haeva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heliogabalus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Hercules	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Hurstige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iseneucaega	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Isis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Juno	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jupiter	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
Luna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mars	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Mercurius	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
Minerva	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	3	0
Mother-Goddess	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1
Mythras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Nehalennia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neptunus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parcae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sandraudiga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serapis	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sucellus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Venus	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	1
Vesta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victoria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Viradecdis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total at each place	4	2	10	1	29	1	1	4	12	6

Total gods	
Amor	26
Apollo	17
Attis	1
Bacchus	29
Ceres	3
Cybele	9
Diana	12
Epona	2
Exomna	1
Fortuna	40
Genius	5
Haeva	1
Heliogabalus	1
Hercules	33
Hurstige	1
Iseneucaega	1
Isis	5
Juno	8
Jupiter	28
Luna	7
Mars	23
Mercurius	54
Minerva	48
Mother-Goddess	32
Mythras	3
Nehalennia	111
Neptunus	11
Parcae	1
Rura	1
Sandraudiga	2
Serapis	2
Sucellus	1
Venus	46
Vesta	1
Victoria	13
Viradecdis	1
Total at each place	580

Appendix 3: Amount of found deities in absolute and relative frequencies inside Germania Inferior.

The amount of gods		
Amor	26	4,5%
Apollo	17	2,9%
Attis	1	0,2%
Bacchus	29	5%
Ceres	3	0,5%
Cybele	9	1,6%
Diana	12	2,1%
Epona	2	0,3%
Exomna	1	0,2%
Genius	5	0,9%
Haeva	1	0,2%
Hercules	33	5,7%
Hurstige	1	0,2%
Iseneucaega	1	0,2%
Isis	5	0,9%
Juno	8	1,4%
Jupiter	28	4,8%
Luna	7	1,2%
Mars	23	4%
Mercurius	54	9,3%
Minerva	48	8,3%
Mythras	3	0,5%
Nehalennia	111	19,1%
Neptunus	11	1,9%
Parcae	1	0,2%
Rura	1	0,2%
Sandraudiga	2	0,3%
Serapis	2	0,3%
Sucellus	1	0,2%

Venus	46	7,9%
Vesta	1	0,2%
Victoria	13	2,2%
Viradecdis	1	0,2%

Appendix 4: Table of category in absolute frequencies of what the find places were in Roman Age.

The find place of artefacts	
Cemetery	22
Farm	9
Harbour	21
Military traces	1
Castra	34
Municipium (vicus)	61
No roman traces	6
Roman fort	104
Roman road	11
Rural settlement	41
Ship	3
Temple complex	146
Vicus	52
Villa area	17

Appendix 5: table of artefacts in find category.

The category of artefacts	
Altar stone	32
Amber statuette	2
Barn stone statuette	1
Bracelet	1
Bronze statuette	115
Column	8
Fibula	1
Gem	52
Glass	2
Gravestone	1
Helmet	1
Inscription	1
Jug	1
Knob	3
Oil lamp	8
Relief	3
Terra sigillata	6
Terracotta statuette	148
Tile	1
Stone statuette	9
Votive stone	132

Appendix 6: Table of the absolute frequencies of the diversity between primary and secondary artefacts.

The diversity between primary and secondary	
Primary	302
Secondary	278

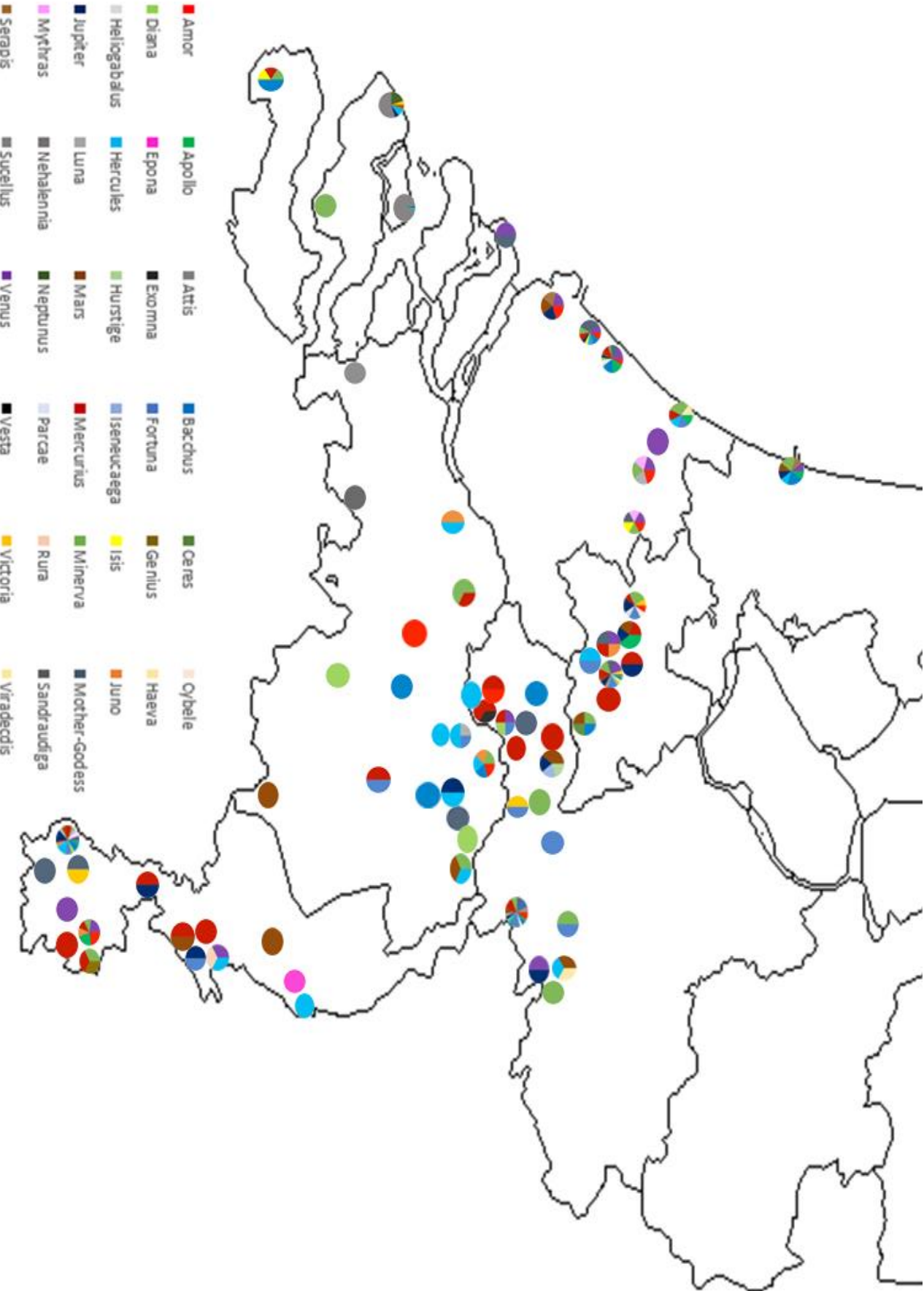
Appendix 7: Table of the absolute frequencies of the diversity in the space in which an artefact was used.

The diversity in personal or collective space	
Personal (private)	356
Collective (public)	172

Appendix 8: Table of the find context of the artefacts.

Find context	
Fished up by local fisherman	91
Found by dredging	51
Found in a project with archaeological guiding	5
Found in an archaeological excavation	279
Found with a metal detector	27
Stray find	49
Unknown	78

Appendix 9: Map of the diversity of the different deities in Germania Inferior.



Appendix 10: Table of the locations in the *civitas Batavorum* and where deities are found in the amount of these deities.

Find places in the area of the Batavian	
Aalburg	2
Alem	3
Berghem	1
Buren	2
Cranendonk	1
De Meern	6
Druten	2
Empel	4
Esch	2
Geldermalsen	2
Grave	3
Heerewaarden	1
Heesch	1
Houten	2
IJzendoorn	1
Kessel-Lith	5
Nieuwegein	4
Nijmegen	129
Odiijk	1
Opijnen	1
Oss	2
Ravenstein	1
Rossum	4
Sint-Michelgestel/Ruimel	1
Sint-Oedenrode	2
Tiel	5
Udenhout	1
Utrecht	3
Vechten	63

Veldhoven	4
Waardenburg	1
Wijk bij Duurstede	4

Appendix 11: Table of the number of deities that were found in the *civitas Batavorum*.

Gods/Goddesses	
Amor	15
Apollo	7
Attis	1
Bacchus	15
Ceres	3
Cybele	6
Diana	10
Exoma	1
Fortuna	27
Genius	3
Hercules	16
Hurstrga	1
Iseneucaega	1
Isis	1
Juno	6
Jupiter	13
Luna	5
Mars	16
Mercurius	36
Mother-goddess	17
Neptunus	1
Venus	27
Vesta	1
Victoria	9
Viradecdis	1
Minerva	25

Appendix 12: Table of the kind of artefact that was found in the *civitas Batavorum*.

Object	
Altar stone	21
Amber statuette	1
Barnstone statuette	1
Bracelet	1
Bronze helmet	1
Bronze jug	1
Bronze statuette	72
Column	8
Gem	37
Glass	1
Gravestone	1
Knob	3
Oillamp	4
Relief	3
Stone statuette	3
Terra sigillata	3
Terracotta statuette	82
Votive stone	21

Appendix 13: Table of the find context of the artefacts that are found in the *civitas Batavorum*.

Find context	
Found by dredging	8
Found in a project with archaeological guiding	4
Found in an archaeological excavation	147
Found with a metal detector	16
Stray find	30
Unknown	59

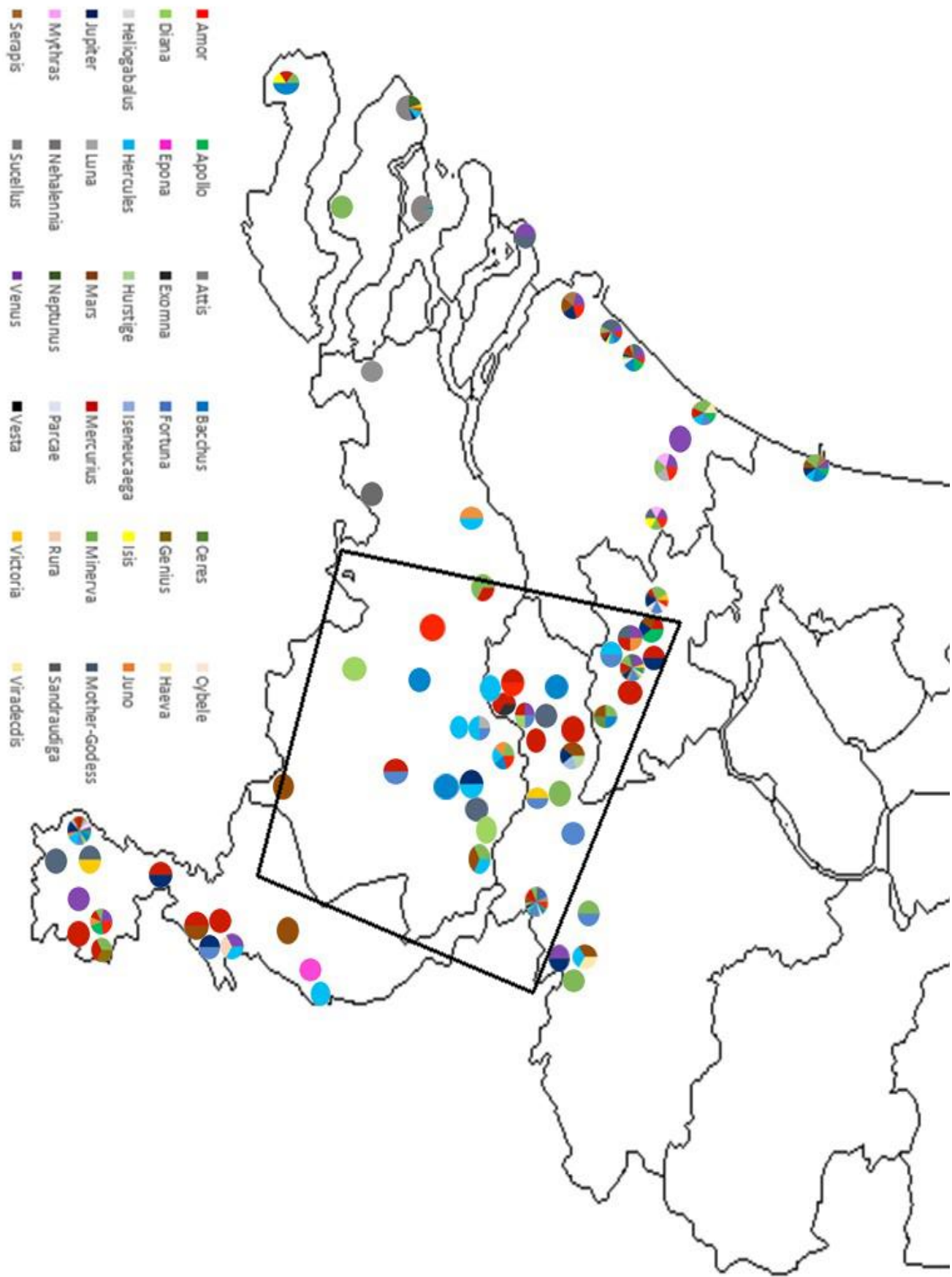
Appendix 14: table of the absolute frequencies of the diversity between primary and secondary artefacts that were found in the *civitas Batavorum*.

Primary of Secondary artefact	
Primary	161
Secondary	103

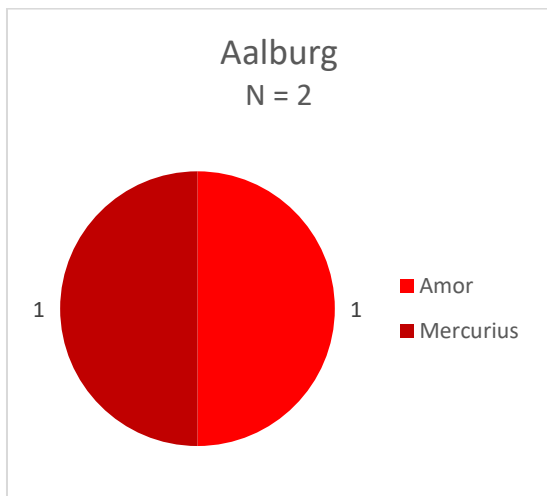
Appendix 15: Table of the space of an artefact that was found in the *civitas Batavorum*.

The space of an artefact	
Collective	50
Personal	214

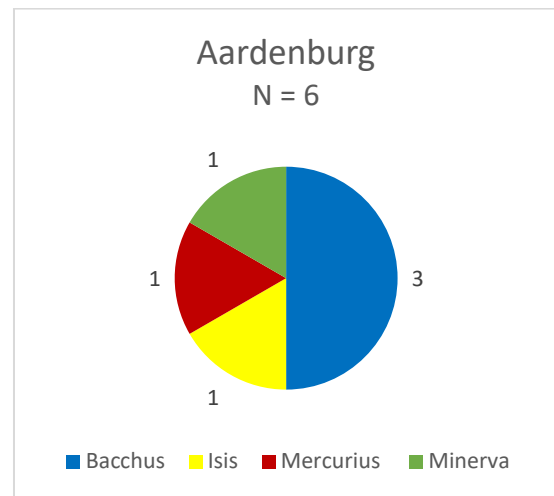
Appendix 16: Map of the diversity of deities in the *civitas Batavorum*.



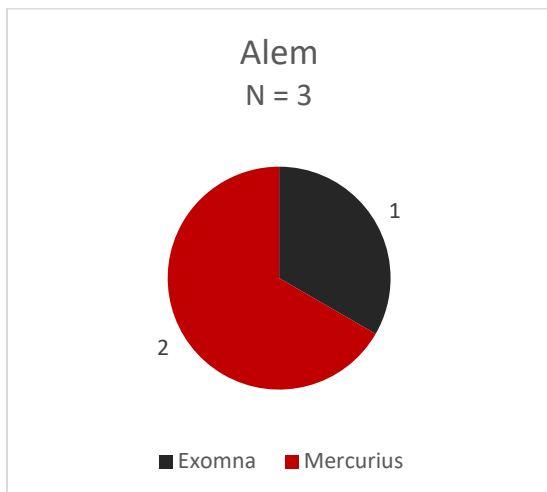
Appendix 17: chart of Aalburg.



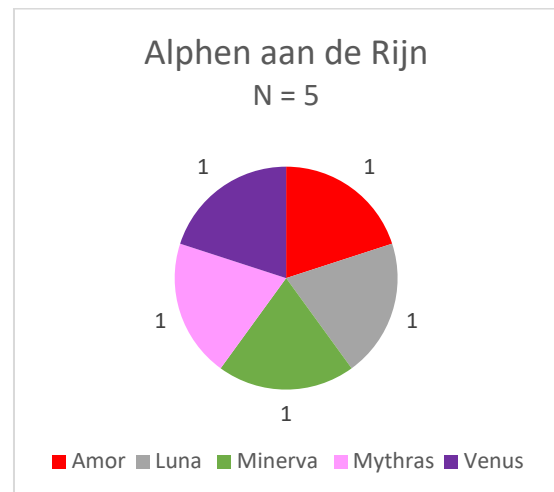
Appendix 18: chart of Aardenburg



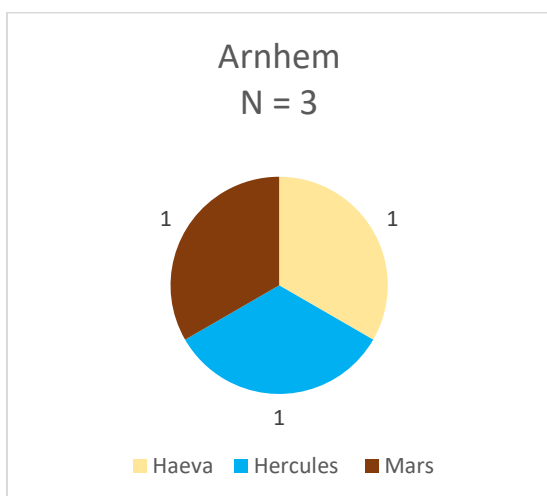
Appendix 19: chart of Alem.



Appendix 20: chart of Alphen aan de Rijn.



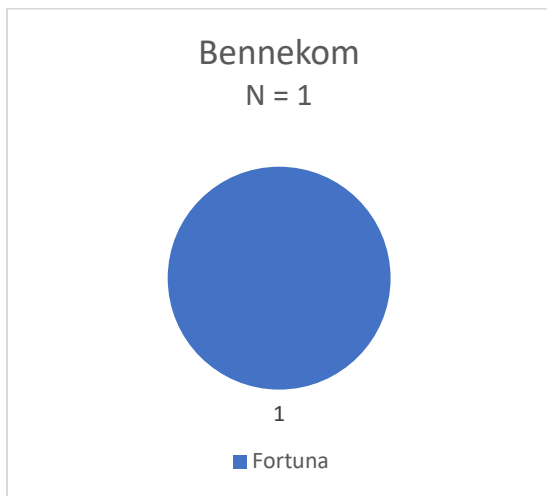
Appendix 21: chart of Arnhem.



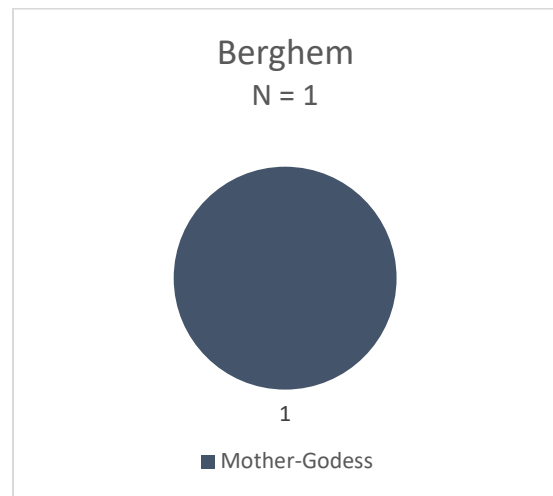
appendix 22: chart of Baarlo.



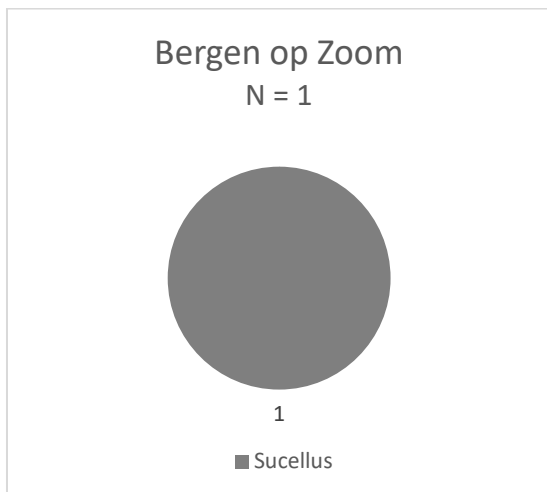
Appendix 23: chart of Bennekom.



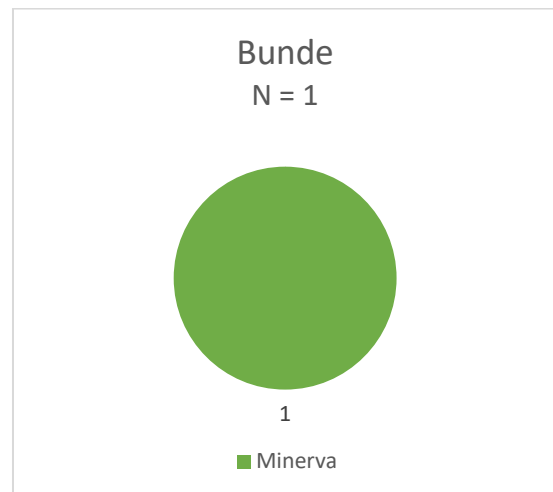
Appendix 24: chart of Berghem.



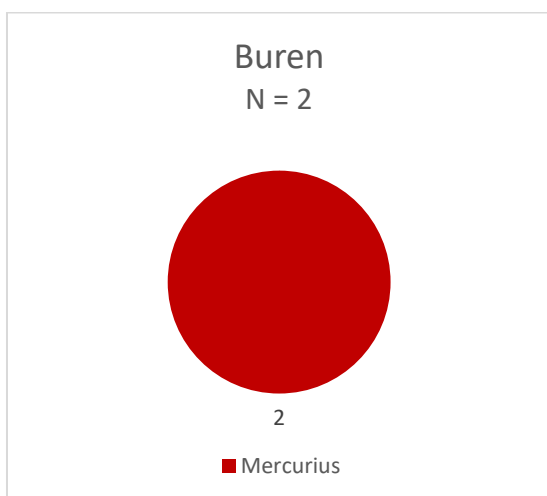
Appendix 25: chart of Bergen op Zoom.



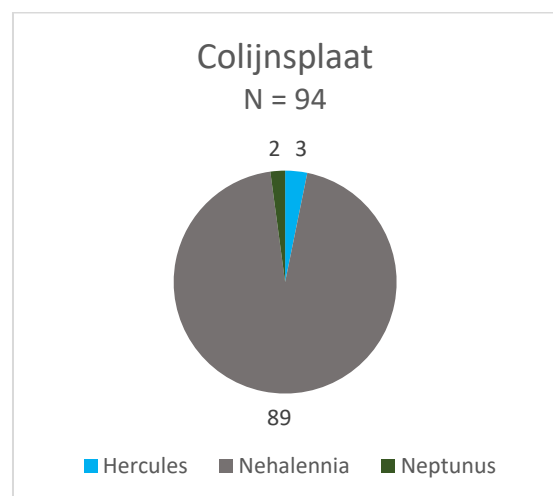
Appendix 26: chart of Bunde.



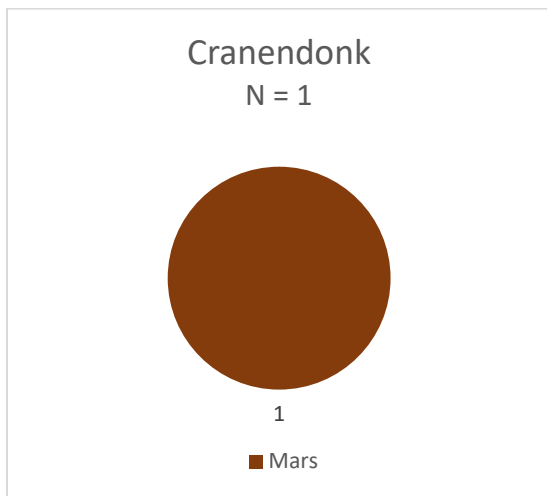
Appendix 27: chart of Buren.



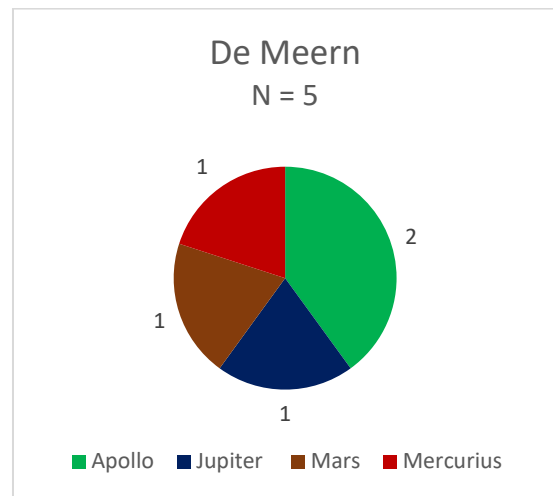
Appendix 28: chart of Colijnsplaat.



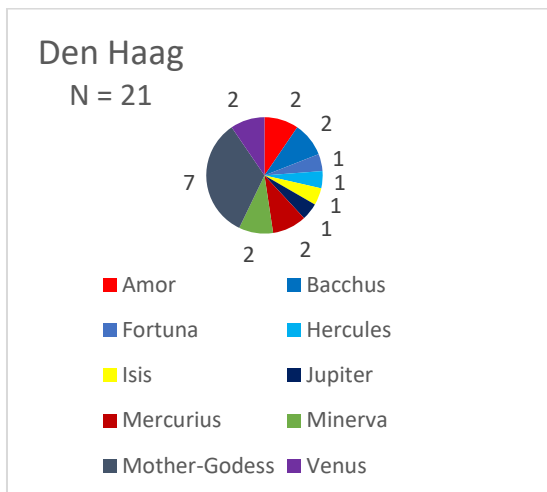
Appendix 29: chart of Cranendonk.



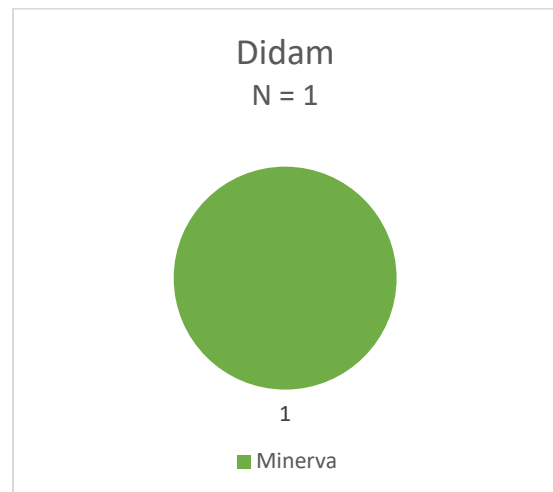
Appendix 30: chart of De Meern.



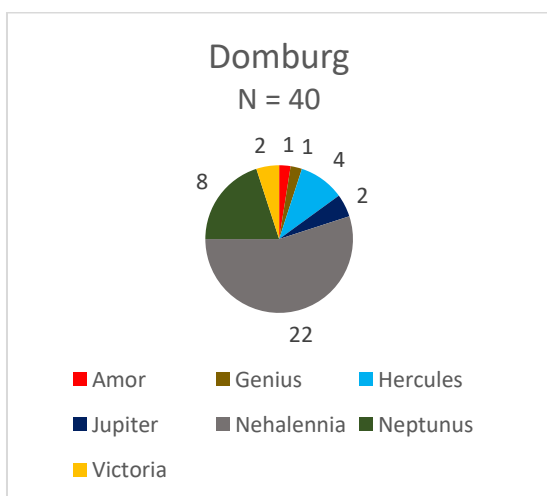
Appendix 31: chart of Den Haag.



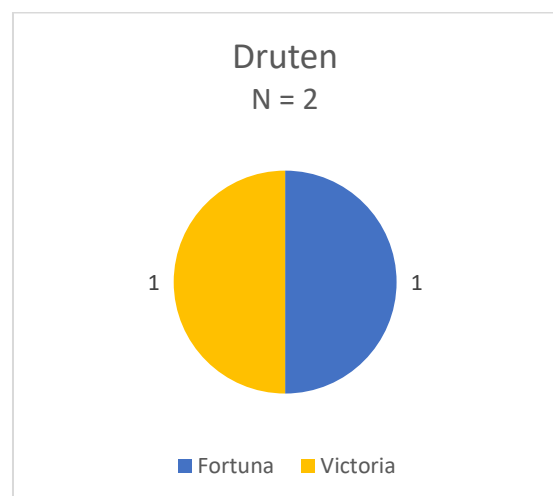
Appendix 32: chart of Didam.



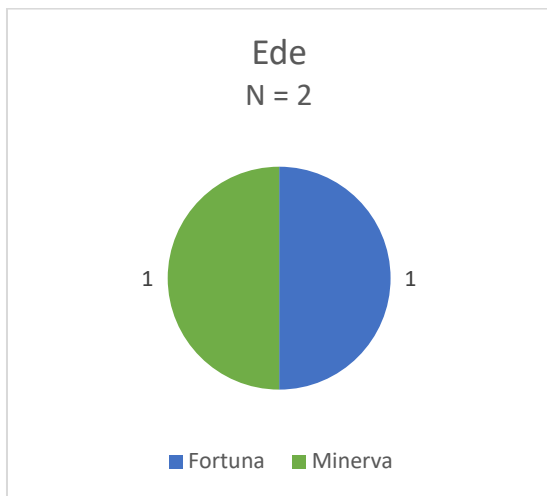
Appendix 33: chart of Domburg.



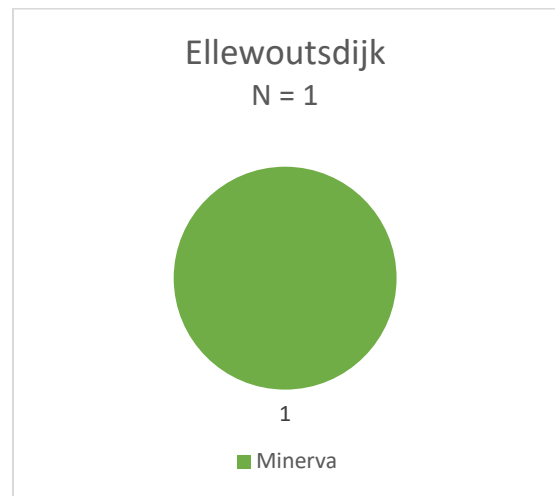
Appendix 34: chart of Druten.



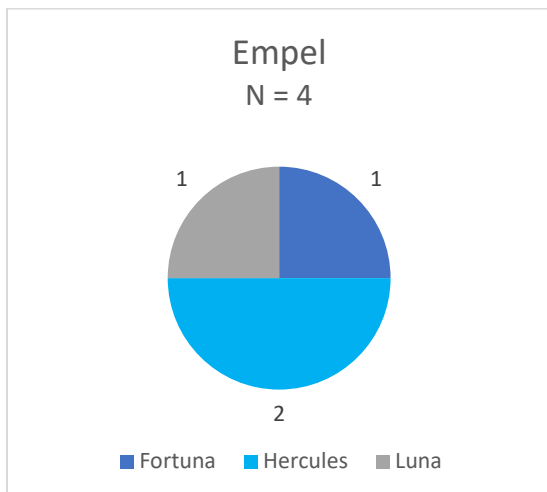
Appendix 35: chart of Ede.



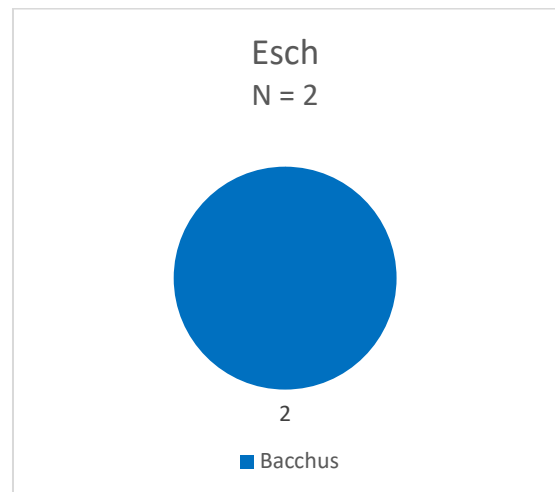
Appendix 36: chart of Ellewoutsdijk.



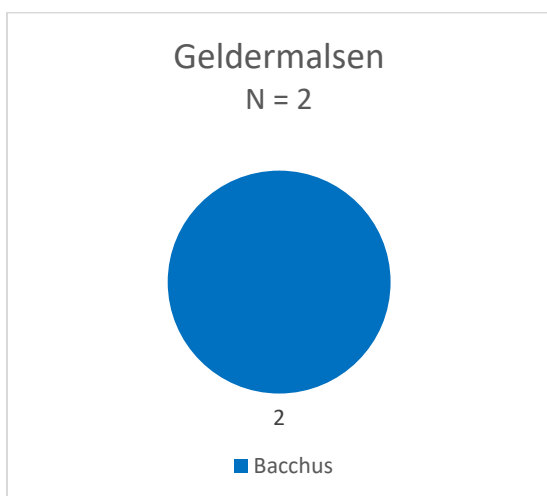
Appendix 37: chart of Empel.



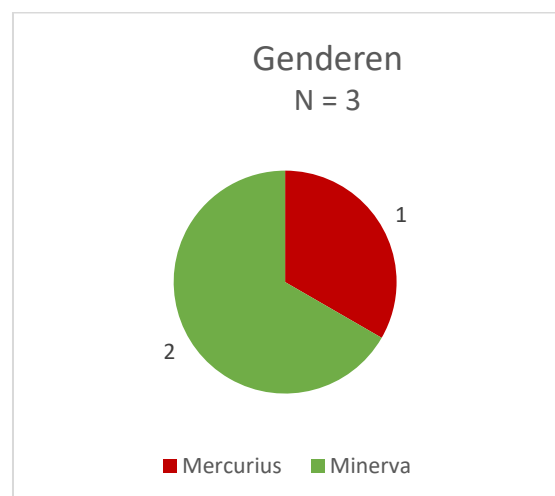
Appendix 38: chart of Esch.



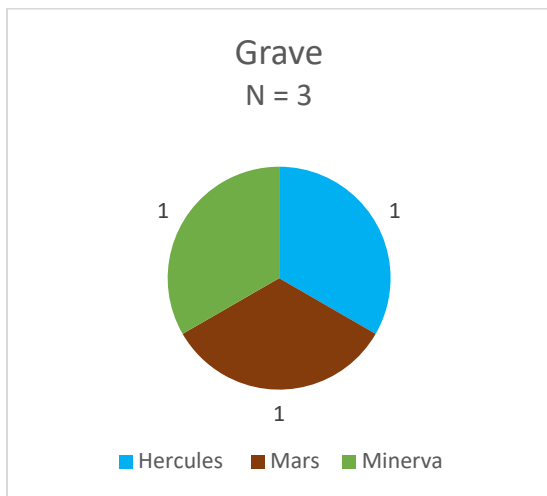
Appendix 39: chart of Geldermalsen.



Appendix 40: chart of Genderen.



Appendix 41: chart of Grave.



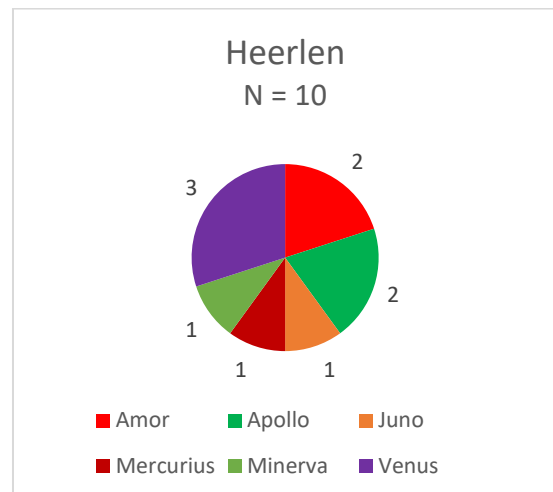
Appendix 42: chart of Heer.



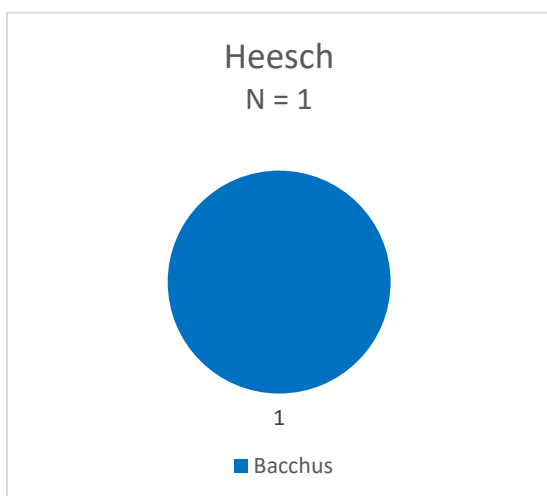
Appendix 43: chart of Heerewaarden.



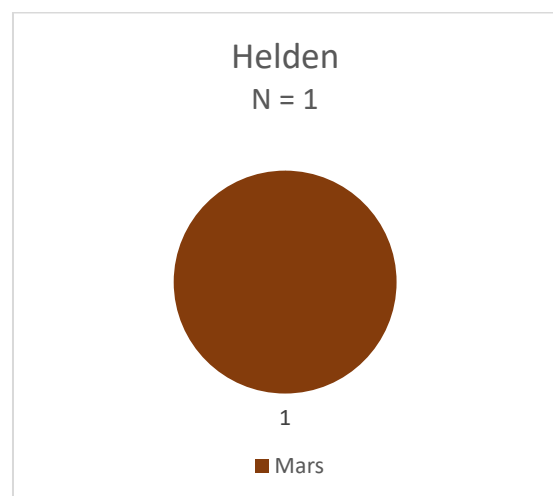
Appendix 44: chart of Heerlen.



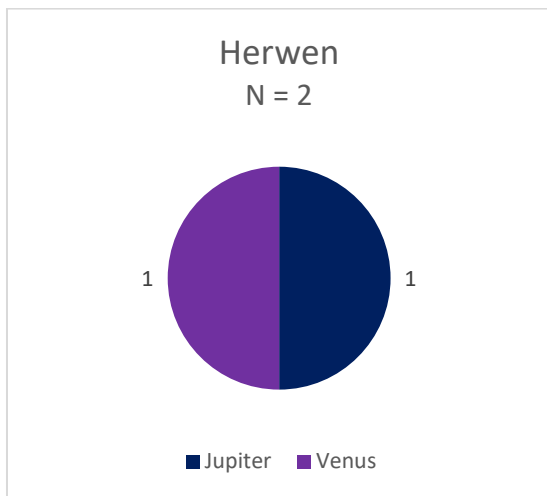
Appendix 45: chart of Heesch.



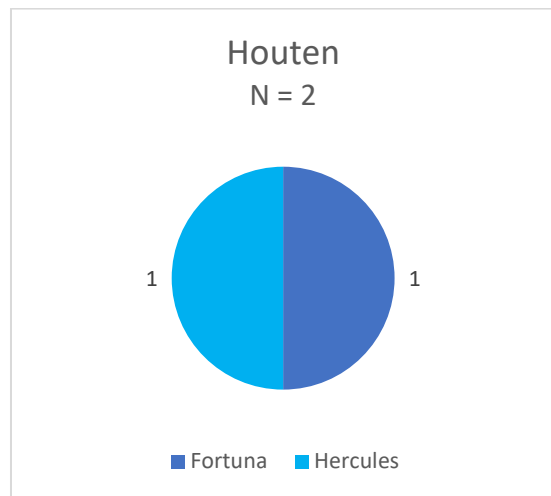
Appendix 46: chart of Helden.



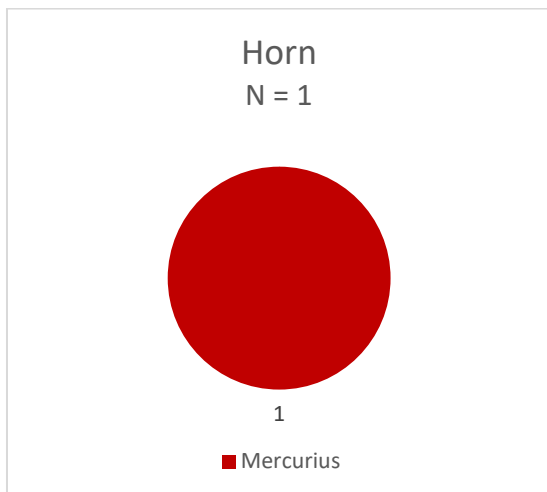
Appendix 47: chart of Herwen.



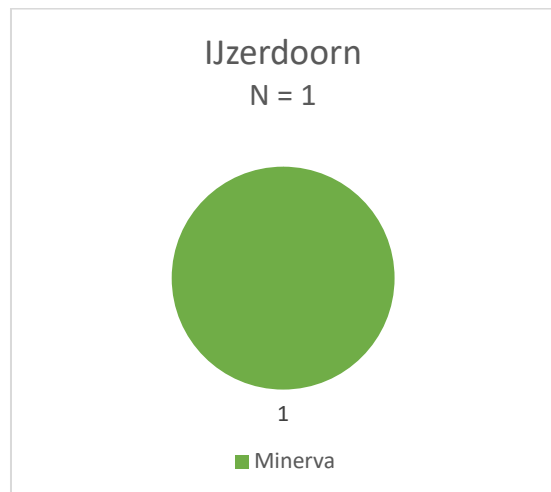
Appendix 48: chart of Houten.



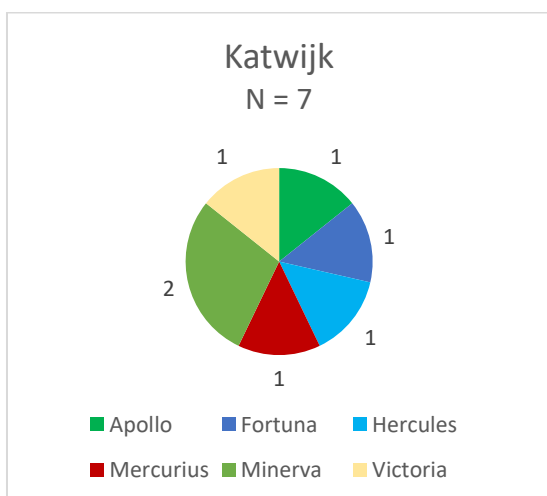
Appendix 49: chart of horn.



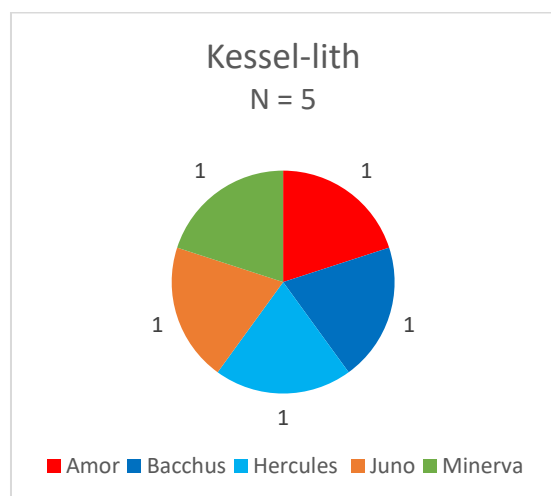
Appendix 50: chart of IJzerdoorn.



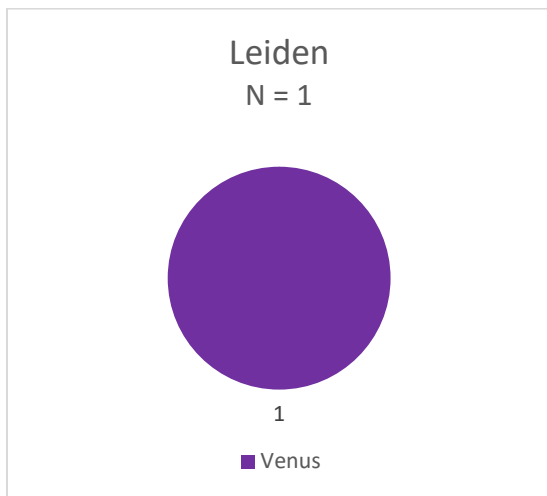
Appendix 51: chart of Katwijk.



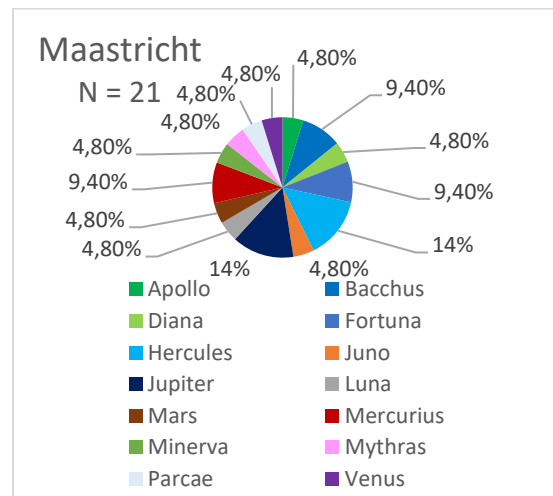
Appendix 52: chart of Kessel-Lith.



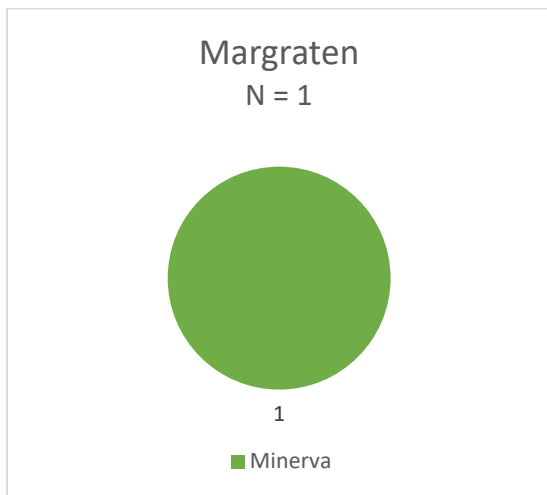
Appendix 53: chart of Leiden.



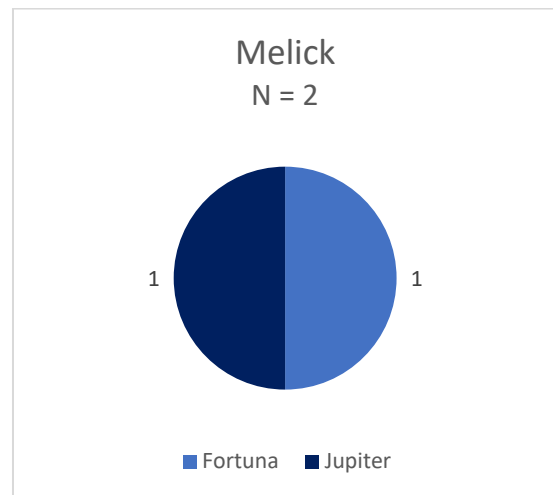
Appendix 54: chart of Maastricht.



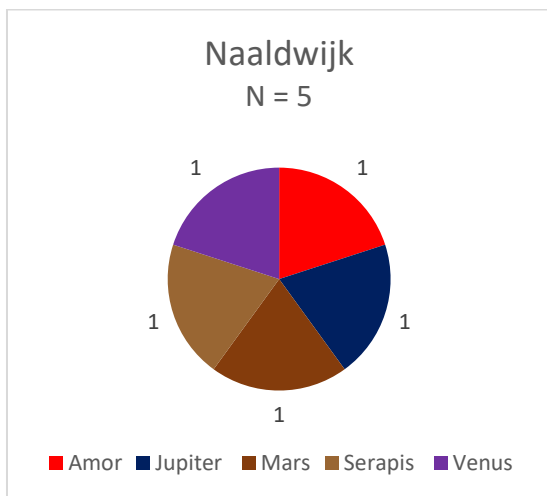
Appendix 55: chart of Margraten.



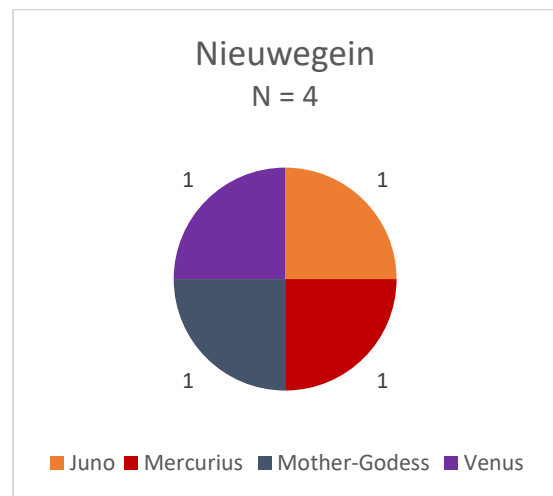
Appendix 56: chart of Melick.



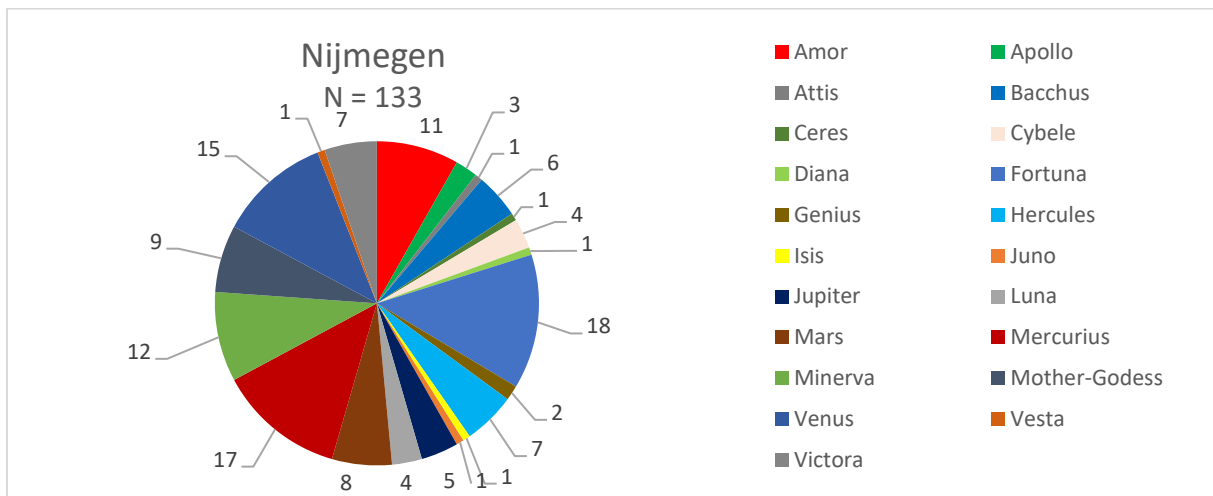
Appendix 57: chart of Naaldwijk.



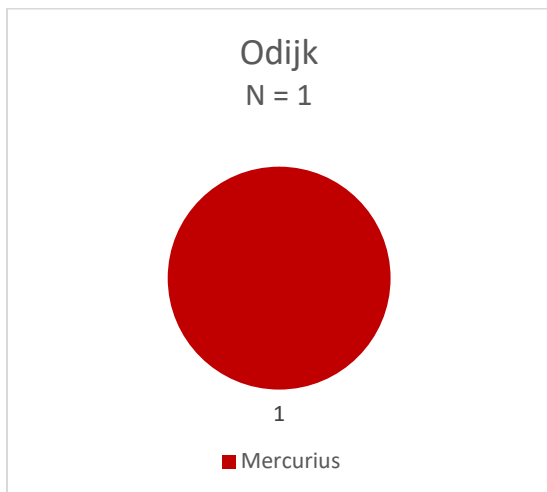
Appendix 58: chart of Nieuwegein.



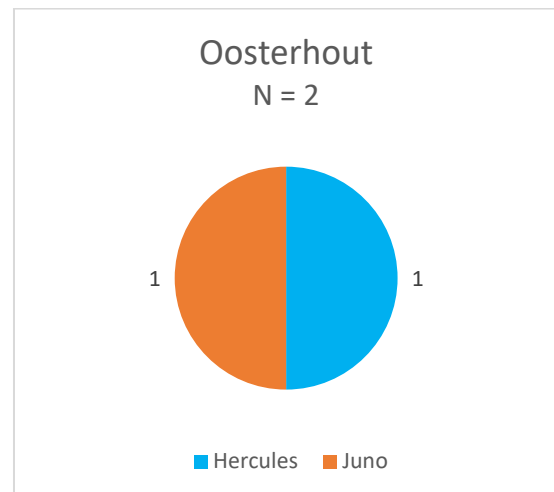
Appendix 59: chart of Nijmegen.



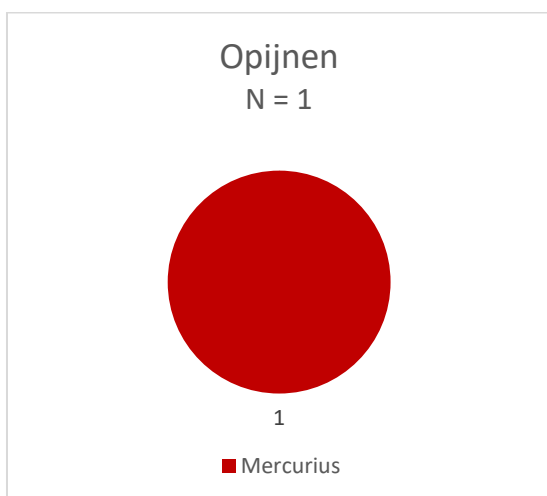
Appendix 60: chart of Odijk.



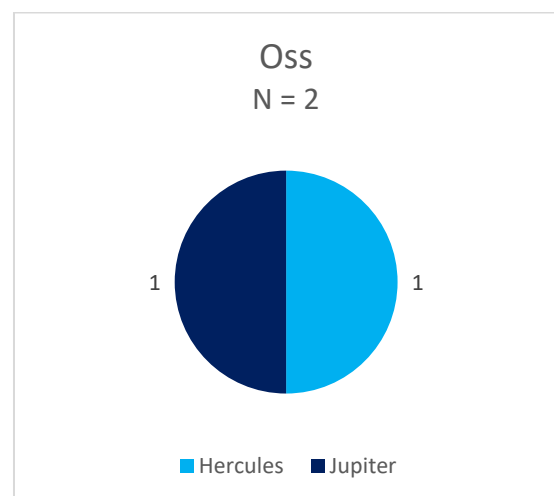
Appendix 61: chart of Oosterhout.



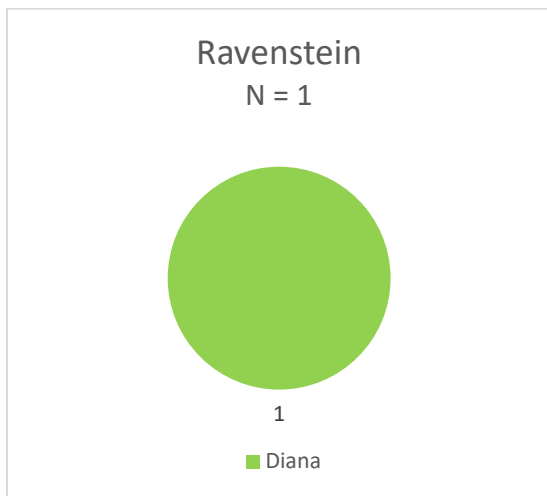
Appendix 62: chart of Opijnen.



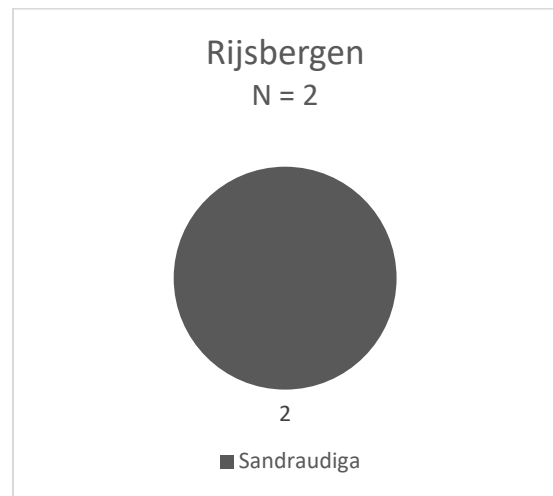
Appendix 63: chart of Oss.



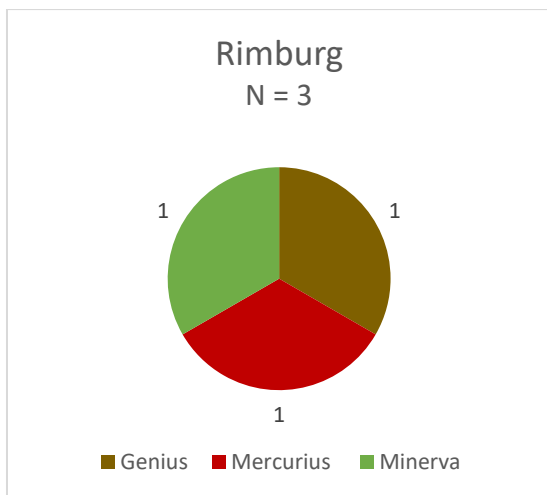
Appendix 64: chart of Ravenstein.



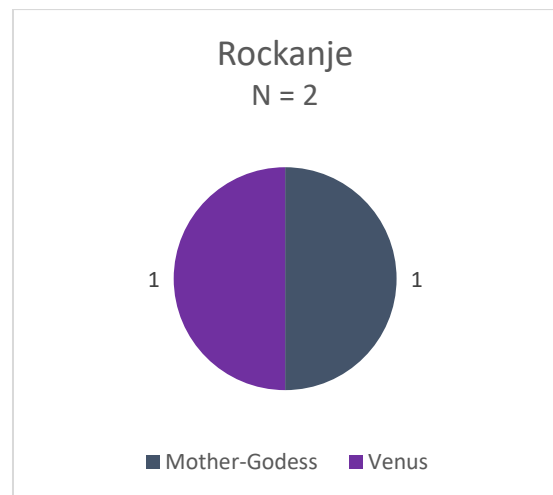
Appendix 65: chart of Rijsbergen.



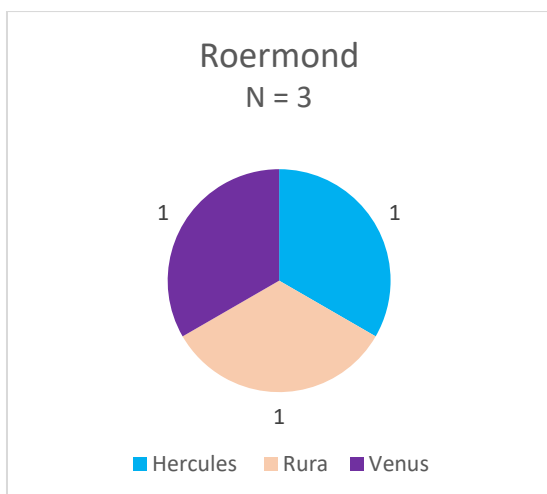
Appendix 66: chart of Rimborg.



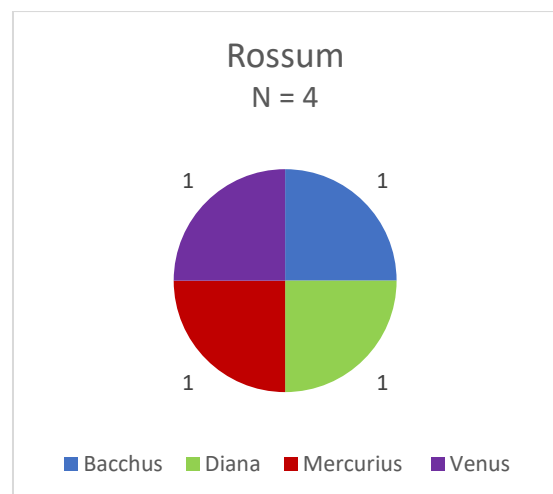
Appendix 67: chart of Rockanje.



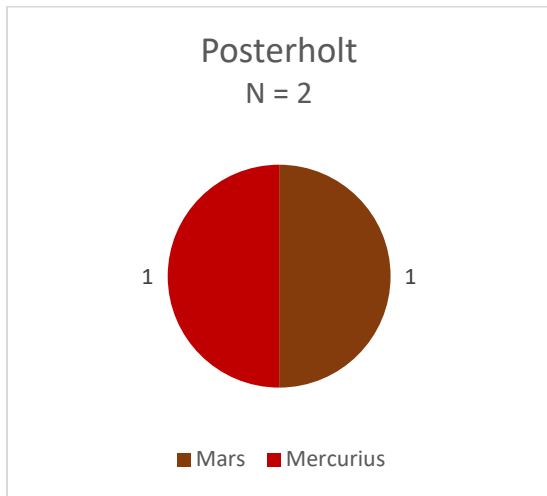
Appendix 68: chart of Roermond.



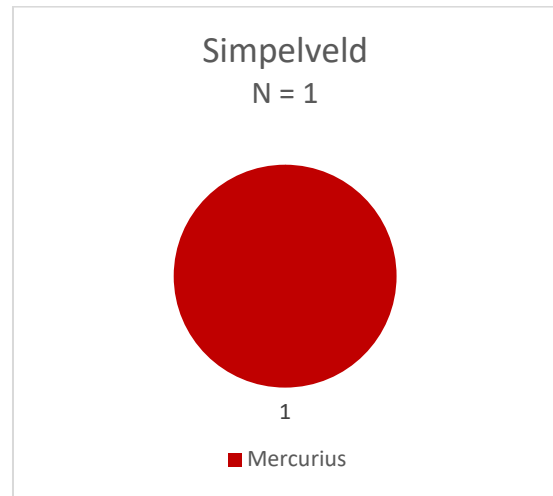
Appendix 69: chart of Rossum.



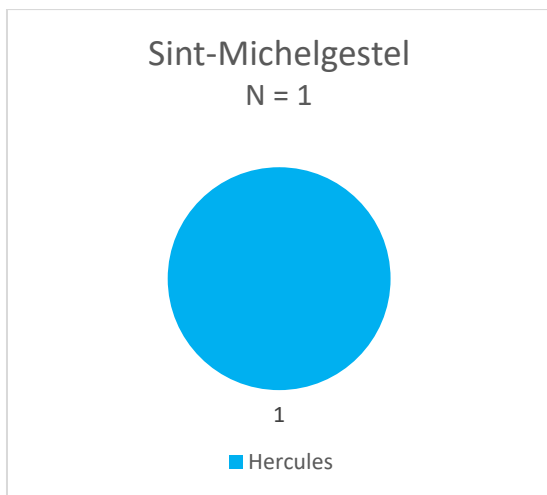
Appendix 70: chart of Posterholt.



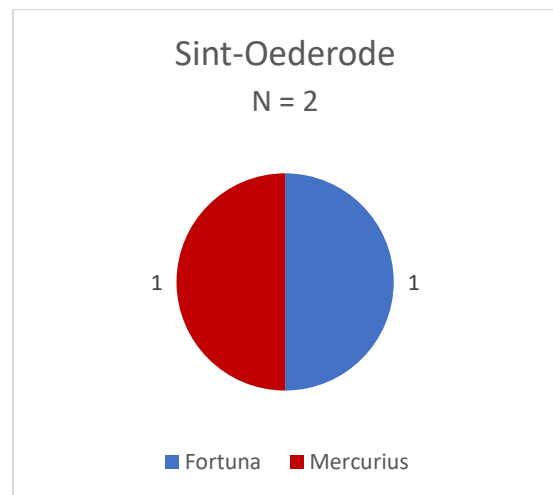
Appendix 71: chart of Simpelveld.



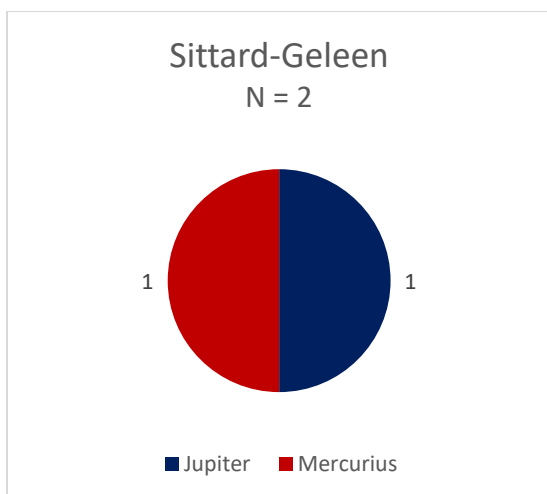
Appendix 72: chart of Sint-Michelgestel.



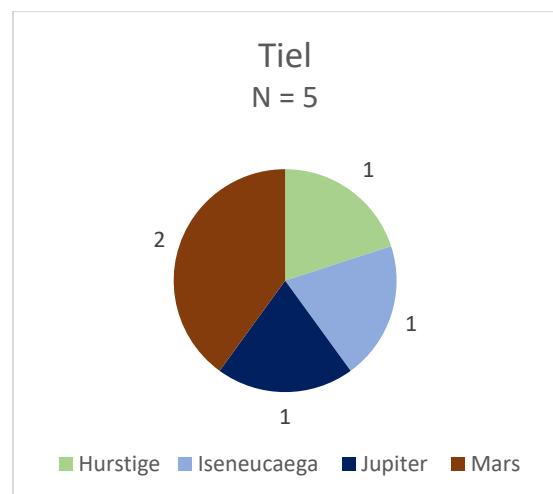
Appendix 73: chart of Sint-Oederode.



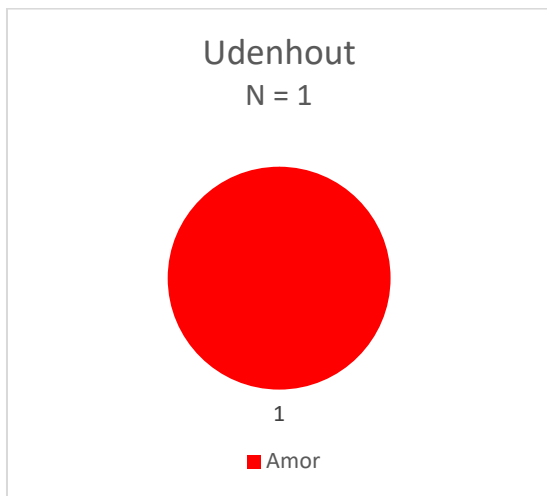
Appendix 74: chart of Sittard-Geleen.



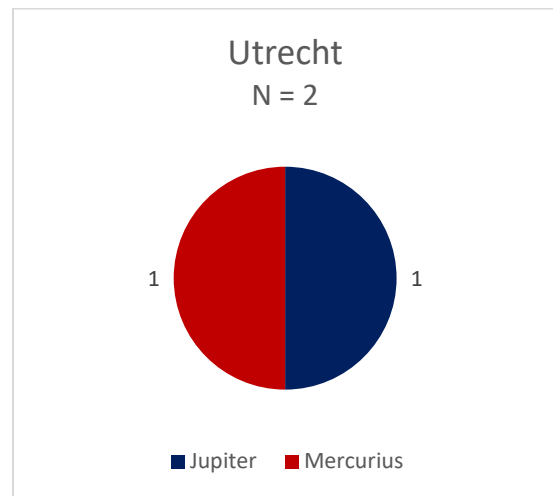
Appendix 75: chart of Tiel.



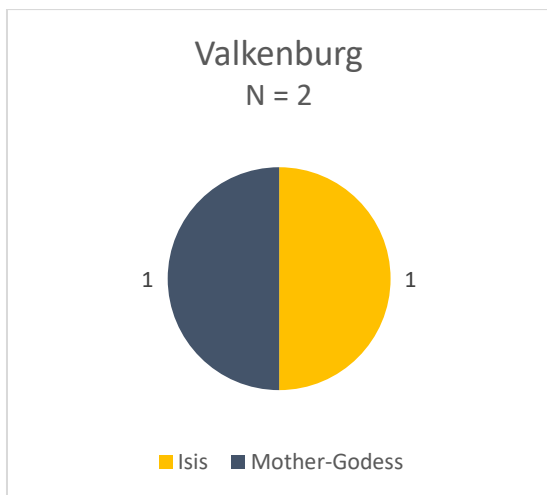
Appendix 76: chart of Udenhout.



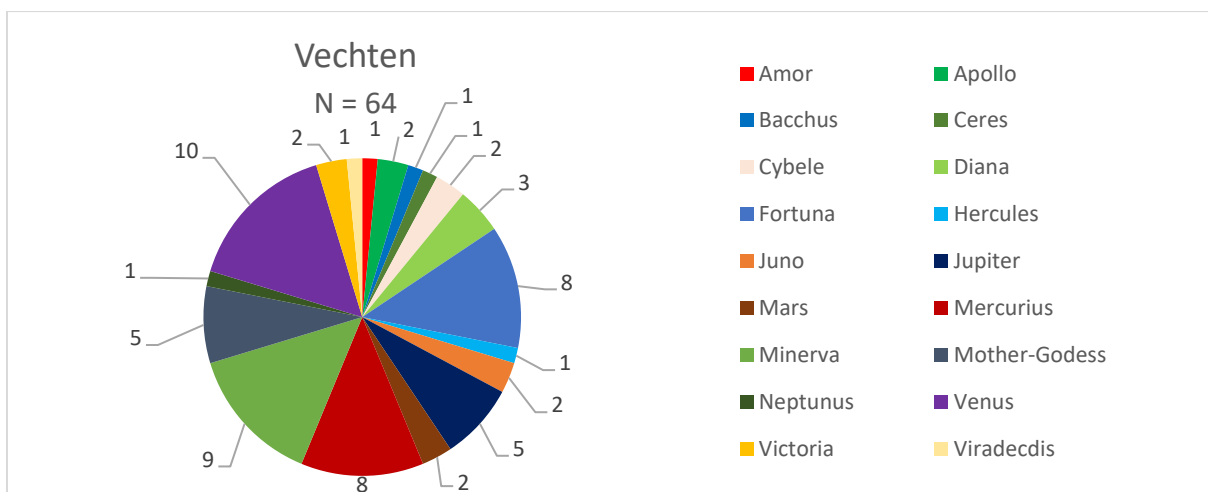
Appendix 78: chart of Utrecht.



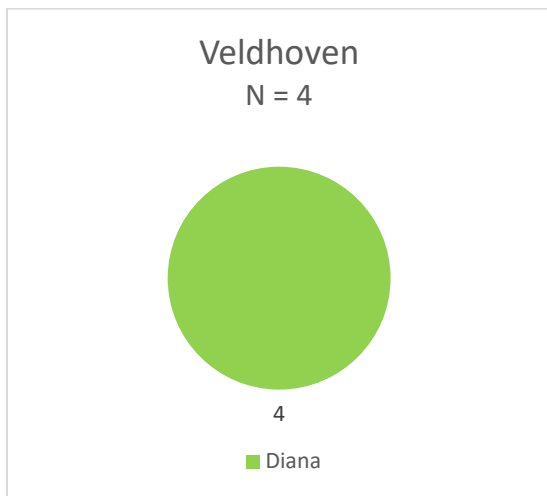
Appendix 79: chart of Valkenburg.



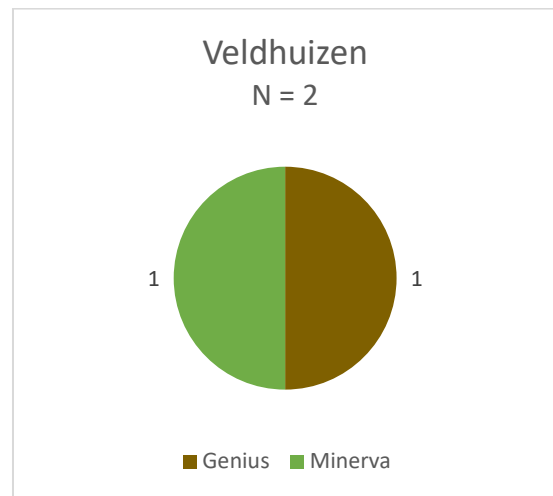
Appendix 80: chart of Vechten.



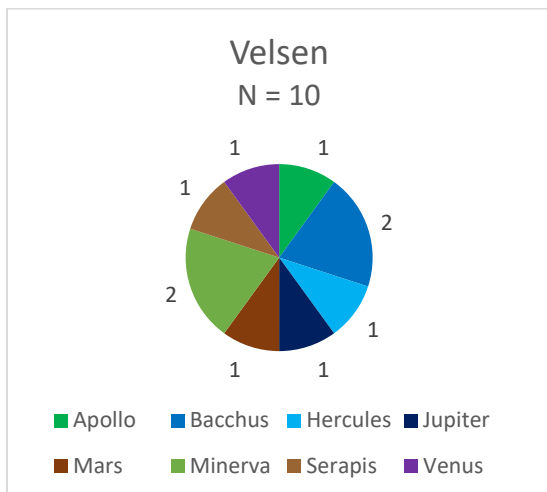
Appendix 81: chart of Veldhoven.



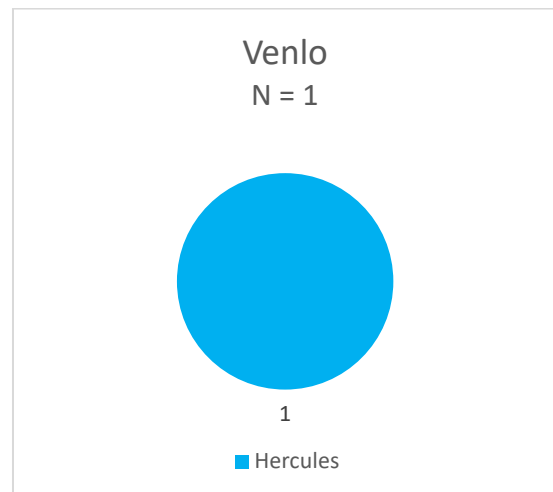
Appendix 82: chart of Veldhuizen.



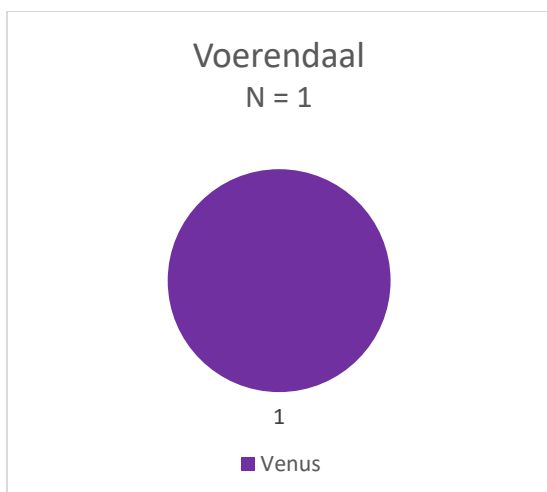
Appendix 83: chart of Velsen.



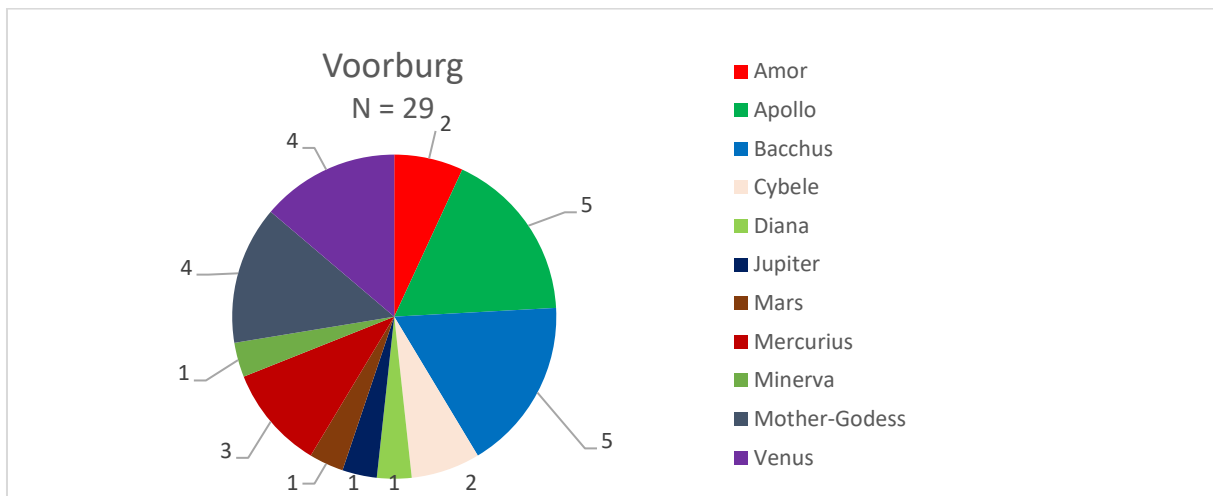
Appendix 84: chart of Venlo.



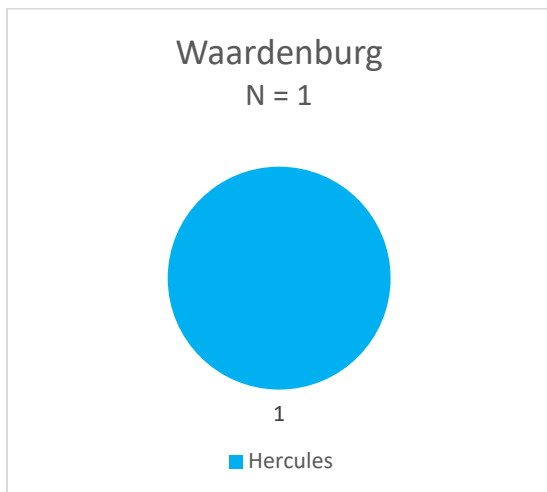
Appendix 85: chart of Voerendaal.



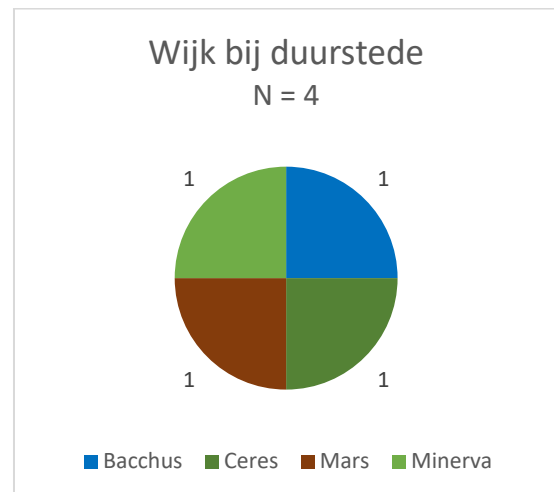
Appendix 86: chart of Voorburg.



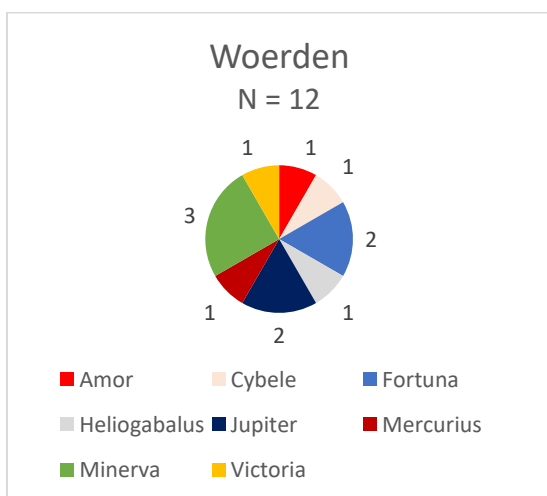
Appendix 87: chart of Waardenburg.



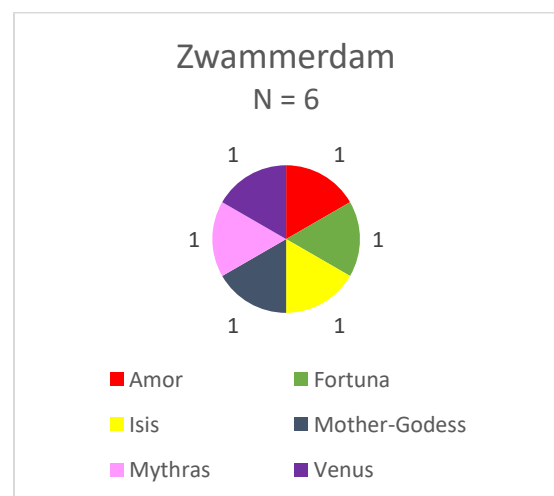
Appendix 88: chart of Wijk bij Duurstede



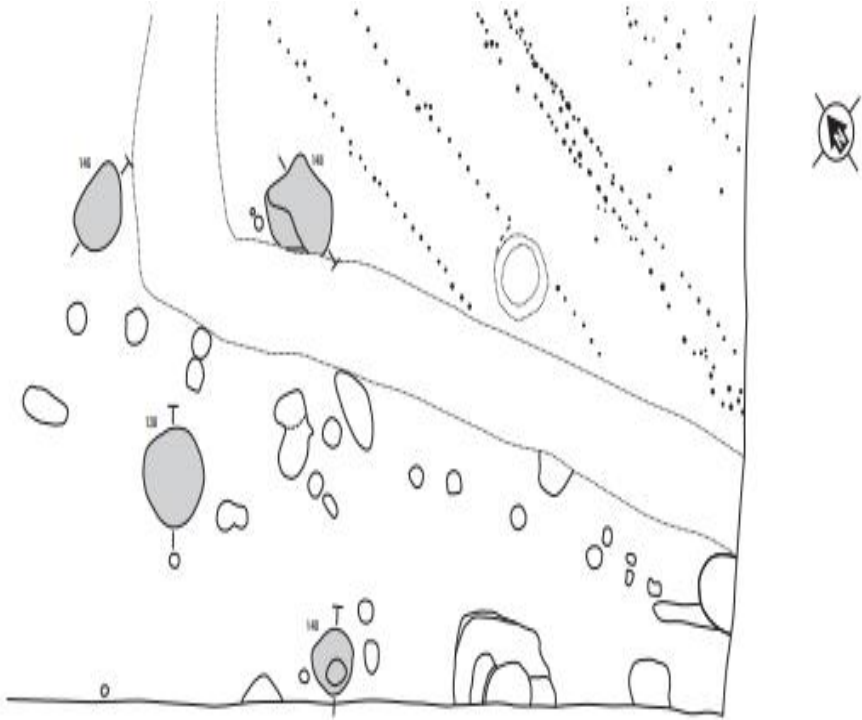
Appendix 89: chart of Woerden.



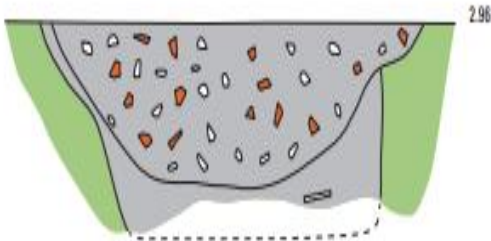
Appendix 90: chart of Zwammerdam



Appendix 91: The drawings of pit 8 (Hiddink 2018, pl.1).



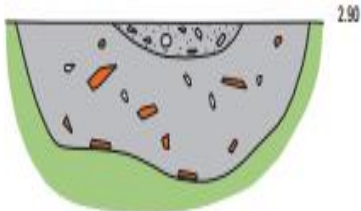
8.138



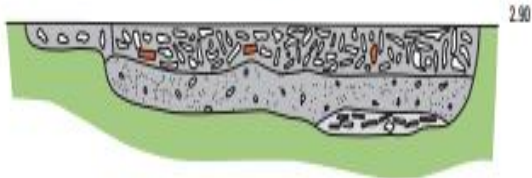
8.148



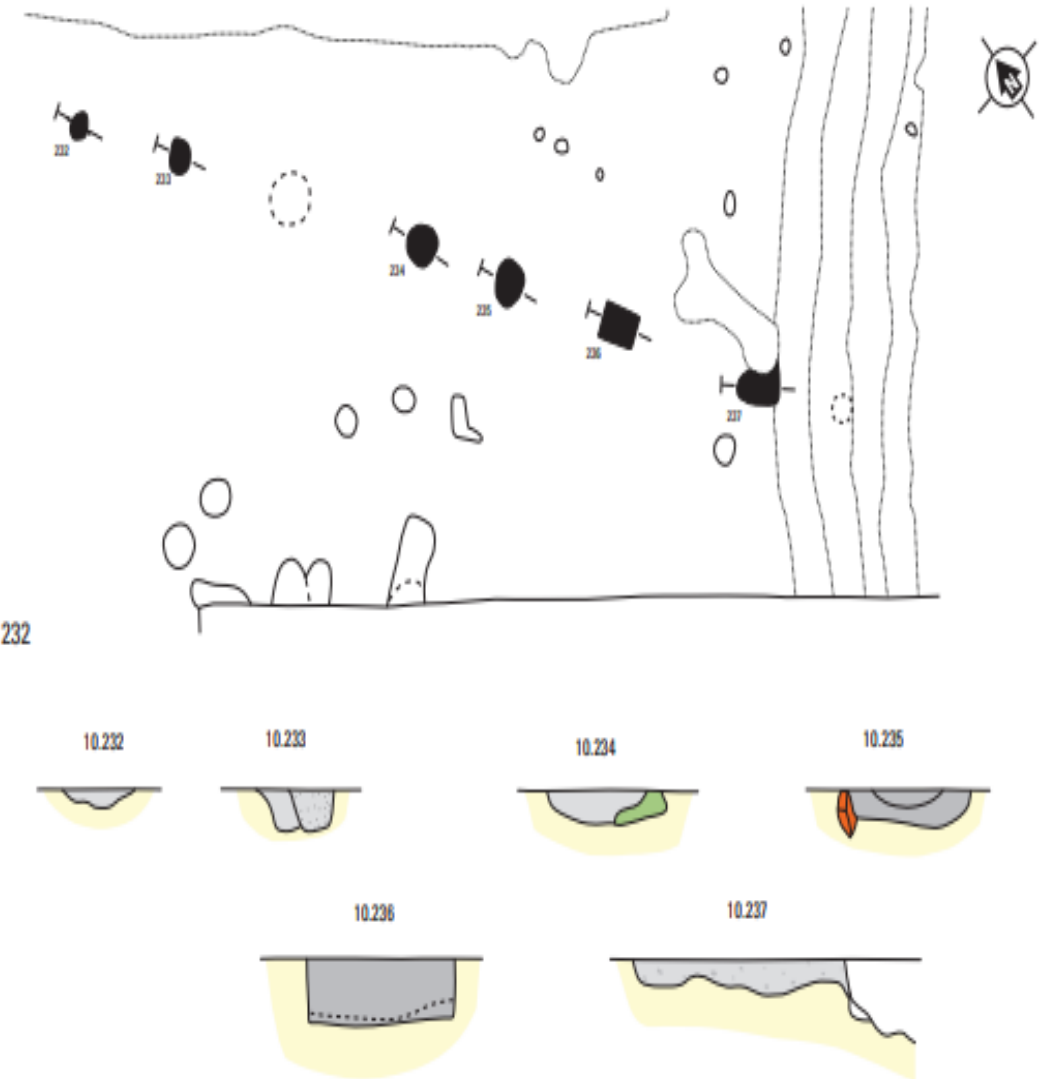
8.140



8.148



Appendix 92: Drawing of pit 10 (Hiddink 2018, pl.1).



Appendix 93: drawing of the site in Empel 'De Werf' (Hiddink 2018, appendix).

