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The Mergence of Jupiter and Trees: An analysis of the regional influences of syncretised Romano-Celtic elements on Jupiter Columns in Northwestern Europe

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Citation

Schreurs, X. (2022). *The Mergence of Jupiter and Trees: An analysis of the regional influences of syncretised Romano-Celtic elements on Jupiter Columns in Northwestern Europe*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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The Mergence of Jupiter and Trees

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*Description front image: Modern reconstruction of a Jupiter Column in Schwarzenacker, Germany
(source: <https://de.wikipedia.org>).*

*The Mergence of Jupiter and Trees. An analysis of the regional
influences of syncretised Romano-Celtic elements on Jupiter Columns
in Northwestern Europe.*

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Master's thesis Applied Archaeology

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Final Version, 4-4-2022, Utrecht/Maastricht



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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank some people before one reads my thesis. Firstly, I would like to thank Mr. Mark Driessen, my supervisor, for his firm but rightful commentary on my work. Additionally, he gave tips to extend my database. His feedback has really helped for my understanding of the topic altogether, which on its turn helped to be able to make a critical and extensive analysis. Secondly, I would like to thank my good friends Rick and Lianne for their quite extensive feedback, helping me perfect my usage of the English vocabulary and keeping my arguments sharp. Moreover, I would like to thank my parents for their support. Not only during the last period of writing, but for their support during all of my Master's and Bachelor's education the last four years. Lastly, I would like to thank my dear friends Rud and Dewi for their support in many ways during the last 2 years, which for several reasons has been tough at times, with the COVID19-pandemic being a major one.

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1. Introduction

The conquests and expansions by and of the Roman Empire caused cultural changes all over the European continent and beyond. From the 1st century CE onwards, new cultural phenomena emerged, both in tangible and non-tangible forms. The tangible forms, in general artefacts and structures, are amongst others to be observed by archaeologists who research cultural material change. Material changes in the Roman Empire also consisted of different cultures (the Roman and 'indigenous' ones) meeting each other and sometimes even blending with each other. The result of this phenomenon was that specific cultural materials could be observed in the Roman provinces. One of these materials were the Jupiter columns. These were common in North-western Europe and have interesting iconographic meanings (Moore 2016, 270-272). In this thesis, these iconographic meanings will be examined and studied in light of the mergence of Roman and indigenous religions.

1.1. The Jupiter cult and material culture in the Northwestern Roman Provinces

If we speak about Northwestern Europe under Roman influence, the northern parts of Gaul (Gallia Belgica), Roman Britain (Britannia) and big parts of current Germany and the Netherlands (Germania Superior and Germania Inferior) are meant. These areas were all conquered in different periods and some of them were reformed somewhat later. First, the mentioned province of Gaul was conquered by Julius Caesar in 50 BCE and got reformed as Gallia Belgica in either 27 or 16/13 BCE (Derks 1998, 36). Second, Britannia was already invaded by Julius Caesar in 55 BCE, but was only organised as a province after the conquests between 40 and 43 CE. In the following decades, the British conquest continued, but was finished under Agricola in 84 CE (Millet, Revell and Moore 2016, xxviii-xxi). Lastly, a conquest for the gain of power in the two Germanic provinces began at the end of the 1st century BCE (Wolters 2020, 29-30). After decades of struggle for power in the regions, the Romans managed to stabilise their control from circa 50 CE onwards. After the Batavian revolt in 68/69 CE, the Romans increased their military control and provincialized both Germanic provinces at the end of this century (Wolters 2020, 45-47).

It is not the aim of this thesis to explain the complex process of the spreading of the Jupiter cult, in its original or modified form (for example, Jupiter Dolichenus), throughout the Roman Empire. For now, it is sufficient to say that an alteration or differentiation of the local cultures took place because of the strong influences of another culture (i.e., the Roman one) caused by the social and cultural contacts that accompanied the Roman conquests (Rüpke 2014, 106). In Chapter 2, the relevant terminology for this process on a regional and local scale will be discussed.

The Jupiter cult was a prominent one in Roman religion. Jupiter was the sovereign god of the Romans after all. His name referred to the 'luminous sky' and he was in multiple ways associated with natural phenomena, like lightning. Moreover, he had a supreme rank and represented the Roman supremacy (Scheid 2012). The provinces in the Empire came in contact with the Jupiter cult through the conquests and the material cultures the Romans and Roman soldiers brought with them. How could this cult become part of the religious sphere in the Roman provinces? First of all, Roman religion was an important aspect of daily life. It also was a way of societies getting connected with the ways of Roman life (Rüpke 2007a, 1-2). In addition, the practice of the religion was compulsory. It was expected that Romans would worship the gods on a regular base, but they had freedom to choose a deity that they found appropriate for their private situation. The indigenous deities were also incorporated into the rich Roman repertoire, because the Romans saw these as an enrichment to their pantheon. These processes caused the merge of Celtic and (Graeco-)Roman religious influences into a 'provincial Roman religion'. Another stimulus was the '*do ut des*'-principle ('I give so that you might give') on which Roman religion was based. This meant that religious practices were done to make positive things happen in their daily life, like getting a fertile harvest (Höpken 2020, 255-256). The citizens in the relevant provinces were thus stimulated to actively worship the deities of this provincial religion. This roughly explains how the Jupiter cult was incorporated in the religious sphere of the Northwestern Roman provinces (for more information on this process, see for example Rives 2007, especially Chapter 2).

The Northwestern provinces provide us with various temples and artefacts with different depictions or inscriptions of Jupiter. Votive altars have been made extensively in the two Germanic provinces and in northern Gaul (Panhuysen 1996, 192). For example, an altar was found in Köln with the characteristic inscription of *IOM* (*Iovi Optimo Maximo*) (see figure 1). Another typical artefact, or rather a structure, in these regions is the Jupiter column (Panhuysen 1996, 192). To a lesser extent, these structures were also present along the northern borders of the Roman Empire, like in Britannia (Woolf 2001, 118). In Chapter 4, a more extensive description of the Jupiter columns and its typologies and depictions will be given.

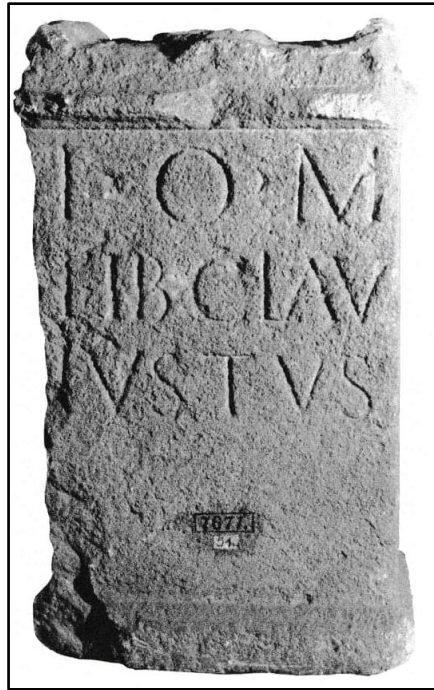


Figure 1. Altar dedicated to
Iupiter Optimus Maximus
(IOM) by Tib. Claudius Iustus.
CIL XIII 8200, Köln (after
Matijević 2020, 295).

1.2. Research Problem

A decent amount of scholarly works has been dedicated to the research of the Jupiter columns in general. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, plentiful artefacts of these structures are available. As shown on figure 2, the distribution in the Germanic provinces was the largest on the mainland (Noelke 1981, 270-271; Noelke 2010/2011, 367). Because the research would become too wide, the main focus of this thesis will not be on the columns in general or on their typologies.

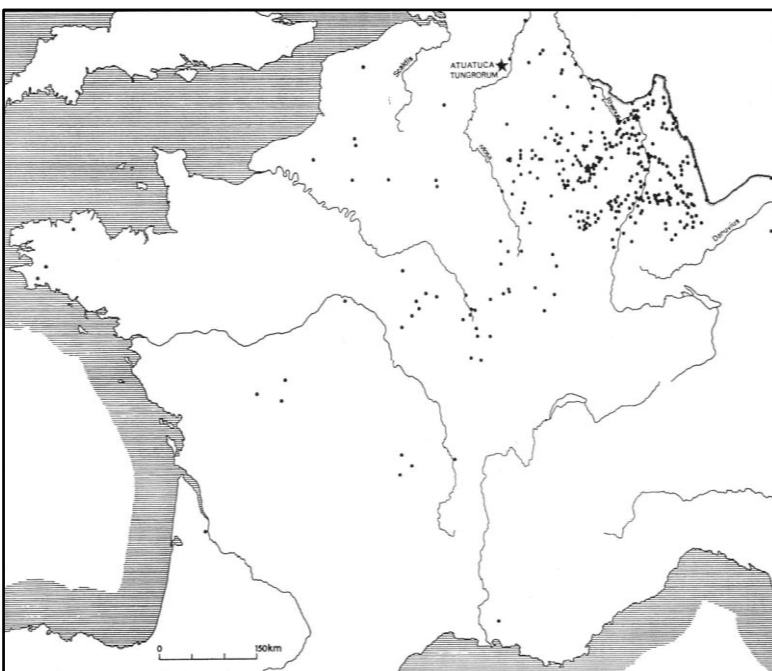


Figure 2. Distribution map of Jupiter columns in
Northwestern Europe (Britannia excluded), until
1980 (after Mertens 2000, 46).

If we look at the studies of the iconographic meanings of these columns, however, we see one general trend in the articles: the focus lies on the depictions of the different Roman deities on these columns (for the most common formations, see Chapter 4). There actually has been some research, for example by Greg Woolf, who asks: “[...] how should we understand the ‘Germanic’ and ‘Gallic’ elements of cults like that of the Jupiter columns [...]?” (Woolf 2001, 120-121). Woolf claims that the columns have often only been analysed in terms of Romanisation, rightly implying that the term is used incorrectly (Woolf 2001, 131). He does not, however, give a clear answer to the question anywhere. Instead, his focus appears to be on the Roman elements and he does not discuss the hybridity (of the Celtic culture at one side and the Roman one at the other side) that took place with this cult too elaborately, nor does he explicitly discuss the regional elements of the columns (Woolf 2001, 125-127). The regional and local elements of Jupiter columns have been underexposed in research, which makes it problematic to have a full understanding of the nature this regional religious cult had.

1.3. Research Goal

The main goal of this thesis is to understand the iconography of the regional elements on the Jupiter columns. This thesis should thus help understand the cultural identity of the columns in the Northwestern Roman provinces.

The hybridity of the cultural elements on the columns makes it difficult to describe an omnipresent iconography. It is not expected that there is one ‘right’ iconographic meaning of an element on a column. Therefore, another goal of this thesis is to describe the iconographic significance from both the Roman and the local points of view. This might also help to understand the process of the merging Celtic, Gallic and Roman cultures into one provincial culture.

In order to describe the local elements of the columns properly, a good overview of these elements is required. There are some overviews of the (parts of the) columns already (see for example Bauchhenß 1981; Noelke 1981; Noelke 2010/2011), but these are not convenient for making a small selection. The final goal of this thesis therefore is to create an appropriate overview of the different local religious elements on the Jupiter columns.

1.4. Research Questions

The regional elements have been notified on the Jupiter columns, but an underlying explanation of the iconography and the process of the merging Celtic and Roman cultures have hardly been discussed. Therefore, the main research question of this thesis is: *What do regional elements and depictions of*

indigenous Celtic deities on Jupiter columns in the Northwestern provinces of the Roman empire tell us about their iconographic and religious meaning in the Roman regional societies?

To answer the main research question, several steps must be taken. Consequently, some sub-questions are drafted to answer the main one in a structured manner. The first sub-question aims to create a convenient overview of the different types of regional elements and is formulated as follows: *What elements of regional religions were present on the Jupiter columns?* Apart from creating an overview of these elements, the same overview should make it easier to put this list next to the list of 'Roman' deities depicted on the columns. That will help in describing what the relation between the regional and the Graeco-Roman deities is exactly. Moreover, creating a list could reveal possible trends or specific choices of (regional) deities, which might also help explaining the iconographic meaning of the columns as a whole.

After the overview has been made, the goal is to determine the iconographic meaning of the elements on their own. Hence, the second sub-question is: *What do the regional religious elements on Jupiter columns mean iconographically, in perspective of the regional cults?* Additionally, the third sub-question is: *what do the regional elements on Jupiter columns mean iconographically, in perspective of the Roman cults?* Answering these two questions will result in a proper understanding of the possible iconography of the regional elements, which could determine one or multiple proper iconographical interpretation(s). One should keep in mind, however, that a high degree of hybridity was present, so the answers should not be answered too strictly within the spectrums of the pantheons used as perspective. The contexts of the locations of the Jupiter columns (for example, in a *vicus*) could play a role in determining which iconography is the most plausible.

Lastly, the information that is gathered by answering the above-mentioned questions can be used to recreate an image on a larger scale than the individual provinces. The last sub-question thus is: *Was there any trend in choosing religious regional elements for Jupiter columns?* This could either be that certain elements were used very often or that the choice of elements was not the prime focus, but the meaning of the elements was more important. In this part, the merging of the different cultural elements of cults will be discussed. The discussion of this merge or fusion shall be put in light of a specific cultural-processual term, the choice of which will be discussed in the next chapter. It is difficult to recreate a process for a considerably large part of the Roman Empire, but it is worth trying to create something of a 'supra-regional model' for the incorporation of regional religious elements for the columns.

These four sub-questions have different focuses. The first sub-question simply focuses on gathering information for creating an overview. The second and third sub-questions emphasize the possible iconographies, while the final sub-question tries to gather all the information and discuss possible trends and processes of culture. Altogether, this should make it possible to find a fitting

answer to the main question. My expectations are that the regional elements were depicted frequently and that the cult altogether had a high hybridity of both Roman and indigenous religious elements. Before getting into the columns themselves, as mentioned above, the relevant terms that describe these cultural processes of merging cults need to be discussed. One of these will be the main focus of the interpretation of specific elements and the columns as a whole. Afterwards, the methodology of answering the question as phrased above will be explained.

2. Theoretical Framework

In describing religious representations of a merged culture, it is important to clearly set out the terminology used for describing this cultural process. There is a wide variety of possible terms that one could use to describe cultural processes. However, those that are in my opinion most relevant for cultural processes in Antiquity were selected.

Beginning with creolisation, a term that is also relevant in cultural anthropology (Stewart 2010, 1). The cultural anthropological definition of creolisation is the 'processes of cultural and linguistic blending [...]' (Welsch 2018). In classical studies, it is specified as 'a term referring to the process by which elements of different cultures are blended together to create a new culture'. Creolisation has been used to make models understanding societies (Stewart 2010, 17). This term is gaining some popularity in archaeology, but there have been some critiques from linguistics and anthropologists (Webster 2012). The main critique is that using creolisation as a 'model of' or a 'model for' does not justify the complexity and contradictoriness of creolisation (Stewart 2010, 17). Additionally, it is claimed that the (old) disadvantages of the models of creolisation would repeatedly return (Heeren 2009, 12). Since this term is still highly debatable to use in archaeology, creolisation will not be used.

A second term that is relatable is 'Romanisation'. Almost traditionally, Romanisation is an arguable term to use. In its 'original meaning' from the late 19th and early 20th century, Romanisation covered the Roman cultural expressions that were observed in different parts of the empire. All these expressions were ascribed to the Romans and thus not to the indigenous. This thought was deeply rooted in the colonial ideologies back then. This discourse described the colonial expansion as needing to bring civilisation to the indigenous, thus this was also reflected on the Roman cultural developments (Heeren 2009, 3-4). Being barely changed, in the 1970s fundamental changes of the term took place. The term was renewed with ideas of acculturation, instead of the one-sided way of cultural change (Derks 1998, 5-6). In the 1990s, a series of studies resulted in a further nuanced term. The new idea was that there were reasons for the acculturation of the indigenous. Beforehand, the cultural changes 'just happened'. It was argued that the adoption and adaption (*aemulatio*) of the Roman habits and material culture was the central process of Romanisation, mainly prompted by the indigenous elites to exploit their status and keep some form of power. Since the military power of the areas shifted to the Romans, this was the best way for the elites to contain power (Heeren 2009, 4). There are still several problems with this view, for example that it focuses too much on the role of the elites. Another problem is that the ethnicity and identity of the indigenous could vary heavily, since it could be quite different in either an indigenous context or in a Roman context (Heeren 2009, 10-12). Heeren proposes some alternatives, one of which is globalisation. Globalisation has gained more popularity in the

Romanisation-debate in the last two decades and is, so far, a good solution to describe the collection of processes that are included in the cultural transformation (Heeren 2009, 12). Personally, further nuances as proposed by amongst others Pitts and Versluys seem to be good additions to the debate (especially 'glocalisation'; see Pitts and Versluys 2016). However, it can be concluded that Romanisation is still used to describe the processes of cultural change. The topic of this thesis, Jupiter columns, is however a result of the cultural change that already took place. In other words, we are looking for a term that describes something that is further developed. Romanisation will surely not be avoided completely, but it will not be the main focus to describe the cultural situation of the Jupiter columns.

Then two terms that are somewhat connected, but still have differences between them: *interpretatio Romana* and syncretism. Firstly *interpretatio Romana*, that 'describe[s] the Roman habit of replacing the name of a foreign deity with that of a Roman deity considered somehow comparable. At times this process involved extensive identification of the actual deities, while in other cases the deities [...] continued to be sharply distinguished' (Rives 2012). One should however know that this was not merely taking an image of another religious sphere and give it a Roman name. *Interpretatio Romana* resembles multiple mechanisms that the Romans and their subjects used to negotiate cultural difference, one of them indeed being translation. The identities of the 'new' or 'other' deities were not only set out by their names, but also by how these could be recognised by people as their identical own (Ando 2008, 56-58). The term was originally used by the Roman historian Tacitus (56-177 CE) in his work *Germania*. In essence, he applied it to dissect and deconstruct the 'Otherness' of the Germanic peoples (Gruen 2011, 156). Among other topics, Tacitus described the religious relationship between the Roman and Germanic religions and deities. It is in this part of Tacitus' work that the difficulty of *interpretatio Romana* becomes clear: the range of the term is quite broad and the borders are not that explicit. Tacitus himself, for example, does not just regard all examples of Germanic gods that are similar to Roman ones as identical figures whose names are merely changed, like the basic idea of *interpretatio Romana* describes (Gruen 2011, 154). Showing the complex interpretation of the term itself, it can be concluded that 'it signals that [...] the one culture can still be understood in terms applicable to the other' (Gruen 2011, 156).

To properly understand why *interpretatio Romana* is problematic to use in this research, it is wise to look at syncretism first. There are two types of syncretism: internal and contact. Internal syncretism usually occurred *within* a single religion, thus without getting in contact with considerably different religious cultures (Gordon 2012). The most straight-forward example of Antiquity is the Egyptian religion, in which different deities would be combined into a single identity-deity. These gods and goddesses usually had double names (as most syncretised deities in general had) like Amun-Re and Re-Harakhti (Hart 2005, 14; 74). Contact syncretism, with which we deal in this thesis, occurs in

several modes, of which the most important ones deal with the Graeco-Roman pantheon(s), if we follow Richard Gordon's arguments. The significant mode in this case is described as 'the identification or interpretation of others' gods in Greek or Roman terms, i.e., the assertion of significant similarity in one or more respects (Gordon 2012). Syncretism can be further specified for this study. Indigenous divinities in the Roman empire namely acquired Roman identities, thus being valorised and aligned with the gods of the imperial power (Gordon 2012). With this definition on its own, the distinction between *interpretatio Romana* and syncretism is rather vague. Syncretism is a concept that should be clearly defined in studies of religion, otherwise it is not fit to work with. If the approach is made too broad, syncretism needs to be explained as different forms, which can be confusing. However, it should also not be defined too narrowly, since then it is devaluated as extra concepts are required to supplement the concept (Berner 2014, 296). One cannot deny that there would be no overlap between *interpretatio Romana* and syncretism whatsoever, but to accomplish the clear definition of syncretism as mentioned above, the nuance of the small difference between the two terms should be explained as clearly as possible.

As counterpart of *interpretatio Romana*, syncretism was thus the "spontaneous" restructuring of indigenous religious systems (Gordon 2012). This is the nuance that clarifies the small difference, because this implies that syncretism can describe more than just identifying foreign gods with known Roman ones, as is the case with *interpretatio Romana*. In my opinion, it is reasonable to argue that *interpretatio Romana* does not describe a syncretistic mergence of the gods. Rather, it is a good tool for understanding and identifying the religious integration of the Roman provinces (Gruen 2011, 156).

However, since we know by now that the provincial religions were a result of merging Celtic and Roman religions, it is better to use syncretism. In my opinion, syncretism rightfully describes the 'restructuring' or 'emergence' of a 'new' local and regional religion. Syncretism is the term that rightfully describes this mergence as a 'balanced' given. Two or more cultural expressions are, in essence, combined as 'equals' of each other. In practice, of course, it is too black and white to assume this results in a perfect 50/50 degree of mergence. We will see, however, that for our regions the intentions were to seek for such a balance. Additionally, an important aspect of syncretism is that the newly formed culture and/or religious sphere has one *fixed* interpretation (of iconography). Syncretistic expressions can thus also be seen as a mixed, though co-existing phenomenon of cultural expression. A co-existence can be found more easily in material culture than the mergence (i.e., a syncretistic deity like Hercules Magusanus). This makes sense, since the type of contact-syncretism we consider includes both direct adoptions *and* selective appropriation, all being part of the 'invention' of a new, regional cult (Gordon 2006). We will see that the degree of syncretism differs over time, thus one should keep in mind that syncretism is strongly connected to the *Zeitgeist*. Moreover, when the Jupiter columns will be described, one must keep in mind that these, amongst others, were the result

of a voluntarily attempt to unite both Roman and regional cultural values. How this came to be will be explained more in Chapter 7, but there were multiple social-cultural factors that made a syncretistic form of cultures more attractive to the local societies (Nerzic 1989, 76). For these reasons, this thesis will use syncretism in trying to describe the iconography and the processes of the regional elements on and of the Jupiter columns, as a result of the merging religious elements between the regional and Roman religions.

As a final note, it must be mentioned that the regional elements were primarily part of the Celtic culture (especially see Chapters 6 and 7). Although the terms surely have overlap, for that reason and for convenience, the term 'Germanic' will be avoided wherever possible and 'Celtic' shall be maintained. The same goes for Romano-Germanic, Germano-Celtic or Gallo-Roman.

3. Methodology

This chapter is meant to set out the structure of this thesis. As it is set out in the paragraphs about the research questions, the choice has been made to take certain steps to accomplish a complete answer for the main question. First the information must be collected, then this information must be interpreted and finally these interpretations must be studied in light of cultural processes and syncretism.

3.1. Methodology of the first sub-question: creating a dataset

If one wants to discuss the regional elements, one must know which regional elements were actually present on the Jupiter columns. As will be shown in Chapter 4, there is a good overview of the different Roman elements on the columns. So far, no database exists that explicitly collects the regional elements. The creation of such a database is relied heavily on secondary literature. A selection of information will be incorporated into the dataset:

1. Deity: Here a name of a religious deity is assigned per element of the columns. This is a first step to identify and interpret the use of the regional religious elements. In cases where it is not certain what deity we deal with, their name will be accompanied by a question mark or 'Unknown' will be filled in. If for any reason the choice of fragment does not depend on the deities (for example, if specifically a *Schuppensäule* is chosen), 'n/a' will be filled in. Chapter 5 will cover the discussion concerning the selection of deities.
2. Part of the column: This describes the part of the column where the regional element is located on. This is divided into the following possibilities: the base (*Sockel*, mostly categorised in either *Viergötterstein*); potential second base (*Zwischensockel*, in some cases categorised as *Wochengötterstein*); pillar (either *Säule*, *Reliefsäule* or *Schuppensäule*; hence the part between the base(s) and the statues on top, mostly decorated); and the statues on top (Woolf 2001, 117). For convenience, the German terms of the parts will be used in the database. If for whatever reason this is not known from the archaeological evidence, 'Unknown' will be filled in. This information might be important to interpret whether the placement of the regional elements was important or not. Further explanation on the different types will be given in paragraph 4.5.
3. Finding place: The finding location will be noted here, thus the city or town the Jupiter column was found at. If applicable, the Roman name for the town will be added; for example: Mainz

(Mogontiacum). Obviously, this will provide possibilities to create an overview of the finds of these columns in the mentioned various Roman provinces.

4. Archaeological context: This describes the archaeological context (the parts of) the columns were found in. This could tell us something about the deposition of these structures and maybe shed further light on the disappearance of the Jupiter columns from the landscape.
5. Historical context: Here the historical context will be explained. This will in two to three words explain the placements of the Jupiter columns. This could for example be: “*vicus*, sanctuary (Jupiter)”. This information is important for the section of research of the possible interpretations of the regional elements.
6. Short description: This will provide a short description of what is actually depicted on the regional element: male/female deity; clothing; attributes. This is simply needed to show what parts of these elements were actually ‘regional’ and this information is also required to understand the possible interpretations.
7. Date object: Whenever possible, a dating of both the construction and the deposition of the columns is given. A general expectation can be made, since we know that most of them were erected in the late 2nd or early 3rd century, based on the Jupiter columns in the Rhineland (Woolf 2001, 117-118). At this point, it is probable that this was also the case in the other provinces. In cases of which an exact date is not possible to give, but a ‘boundary’ can be given, *Terminus Post Quem* and *Terminus Ante Quem* will be used (abbreviated to respectively TPQ and TAQ). Either way, the information of the construction date could be useful for reconstructing the processes that these cultural structures underwent. The deposition date gives insight on (parts of) columns that were reused, also known as *spolia*.
8. Excavation date/finding year: This describes when a (part of a) column was found. Even though we deal with stone structures, the excavation year is relevant, since older excavations used less advanced techniques than newer ones.
9. Remarks: Any possible remarks that consider crucial extra information will be put down in this section. If no remarks have to be made, ‘n/a’ will be filled in.
10. Source: This shows the source(s) (in most cases secondary literature) the information about the different fragments was found in.

After the database is completed, some general remarks will be made. The data are divided into the *civitates* to possibly spot regional or even local trends. In Appendix 1, a list can be found that shows to which *civitas* which site was assigned. It is added because not every site was easy to assign (especially for Germania Superior) and at times the closest capital was taken as reference.

3.2. Methodology of the second and third sub-questions: an iconographical study

Both the second and third sub-questions explore the different regional elements depicted on the columns. It is expected that the dataset will show that there is a relatively small selection of regional religious elements (with which explicitly Celtic elements are meant). If that indeed is the case, it would be easy to go over all the different regional deities and give a description of the iconography. Per deity, if applicable, the iconography of the Graeco-Roman cults will be discussed. Hereafter, the regional iconography of the images will be discussed. The discussion will be continued by examining the possibility of hybrid forms. This structure should create an overview of the possible meanings the regional elements had.

In the case that the database shows that there was a diverse set of regional deities and likewise used, it will be most practical and productive to select those images that were depicted considerably often. This is done with the final sub-question and the main question in mind. Although it will be a selective research in that case, this information will be most useful to discuss any possible trends, to be discussed under the fourth sub-question.

3.3. Methodology of the fourth sub-question: syncretistic processes?

The fourth sub-question is focused on the description of possible syncretistic processes that might have determined the depicted images on the Jupiter columns. Describing such a cultural process is complex, but it is possible to do this in a structured manner based on the information derived and interpreted from the dataset. Firstly, the interpretations of the second and third sub-questions will be reconsidered and a definitive choice must be made of what interpretations is most plausible. Secondly, the relationship of the regional deities with the other deities and the Jupiter columns as a whole will be reconsidered. Their co-existence will provide information on the extent to which the Celtic elements were merged into the Jupiter column cult. This will be the most complex part of the thesis, in which the syncretistic process of the different cultures will be reconstructed. This will be done by analysing a certain amount of elements listed in the dataset. The choice of these fragments will be based on the most usable and best preserved archaeological evidence. Apart from that, the amount of fragments per Roman province should roughly be equal to get the best results of the cult as a whole. Lastly, all these results of the research will be combined into trying to make a supra-regional model that makes the interpretation of the Jupiter columns as a whole, but certainly the regional elements of the columns explicitly easier.

4. The Jupiter Column Cult and its spread in Northwestern Europe

This chapter is meant to give background information about what is known about the Jupiter columns so far. The aim is to set out the cult and its characteristics. First, Roman religion in general shall be discussed, followed by an explanation of Roman religion in the four different provinces in general. Second, a discussion of the Jupiter column cult and its origin follows, accompanied by the following paragraphs on the different contexts, functions, typologies and depictions of the cult.

4.1. Roman religion in the Roman world

Starting off with a small note on Roman religion in general. The basic principle of Roman religion being practised in the empire is already explained in the introduction, namely that it was an important aspect of daily life and that it was compulsory for inhabitants to actually practise it. Moreover, the regional deities were incorporated into the Roman pantheon, because they were seen as an enrichment (Rüpke 2007a, 1-2; Höpken 2020, 255-256). Whether the Romans ‘exported’ their religion to the Northwestern provinces or not, they surely introduced the regional peoples visually. Roman dedications were in many cases expressed by representation, in the form of, for example, permanently visible votive altars or self-representations of elites. Although these were not exclusively ‘Roman’ religious images, the shape and image of the regional religious spheres were changed fundamentally (Rüpke 2007a, 5-6). In principle, the Roman images were easy recognisable. In whatever way depicted, the Roman deities were usually easily identifiable because of their ‘standard’ attributes, like the thunderbolt of Jupiter (Rives 2007, 33-34). It were these symbols that made the gods an important image of Roman religion. Together with rituals, these were the most important instruments to communicate with the gods. That is what presumably made Roman religion accessible and easy to incorporate parts of in a regional form (Rüpke 2007a, 7).

One should not think that regional populations were forced to incorporate Roman religious elements. The Romans did not think of anything like a ‘correct’ understanding of the divine, neither did the authorities and elites have any interest in



Figure 3. Bronze Statue of Jupiter from the region of the Treveri tribe. MNHA (after ^a<https://en.wikipedia.org>).

setting a religious frame to be followed by everyone. There were some actions undertaken to create a somewhat coherent system and there were some concerns about the public cults, but overall the Romans kept a fluid and open religious organisation, which made it possible for people to practice different and sometimes a bit 'paradoxical' cults (Rives 2007, 43-46).

It was since the reign of Augustus that religious activity was also more applicable for those that were first 'left out', like slaves, freedmen and provincials (Galinsky 2007, 73). Nevertheless, it must be reminded that the Northwestern pantheons differed more extensively from the Roman one. Integration of Roman deities was a much bigger change there than for example in the Levant or Egypt, where there were already quite some commonalities between the different pantheons. The investments made by the Romans in the to be urbanised areas in the north-west were highly influential for the (religious) integration of locals, which could for example be seen by the religious expressions the Roman authorities created in the urbanised areas (Van Andringa 2007, 86). Although there was no 'direct pressure' or a Roman programme of converting the local communities, the latter were time and time again brought in touch with Roman religious images. Especially from circa 150 CE onwards, this increased heavily. The festivals that were held at imperial cult places and provincial capitals were probably of high importance in this (Höpken 2020, 261). Additionally, the Romans invested in local monuments on a big scale. This influenced the regional communities and it even triggered a reconsideration of the styles and constructions of the regional religious monuments. On its own turn, we see the creation of a new style, usually referred to as Romano-Celtic or Gallo-Roman. Since there is no correspondence with either the Celtic, Gallic, Germanic or Roman models, it can be concluded that this creation in the Roman imperial is actually an addition to the diverse cultures (Van Andringa, 86-87). Such an addition, thus creating a unique and different cultural entity, is one of the major signs of the syncretism that took place in Northwestern Europe.

In paragraph 4.4., we will have a closer look at the contexts at which the Jupiter columns have been raised. In this way, it can be determined how the story on a minor scale fits into the major scale explicated above. Firstly, the macroscale will be brought back to a regional level, thus we will roughly look into the religious changes in the different regions from the 1st century CE onwards.

4.2. Roman Religion in the Roman provinces

4.2.1. The Germaniae

Since Germania Inferior and Germania Superior cover a large area, the ethnic situation yonder is diverse and complex. The conquest by Julius Caesar just before the turn of the millennium would at

least for a big part change this situation drastically. The indigenous people in Germania Inferior were either eliminated or 'incorporated' by force by the Roman army (Wells 1999, 94-95). In their place a new Germano-Roman society established after the establishment of the two Germanic provinces. This society was a population formed by migrants coming from all parts of the Empire, mainly at the hands of the Roman army settling in the area and the migrated local people led by nobilities. The latter migrated from the right bank of the Rhine after Caesar's conquest. This new entity did not have an identity defined by tribal culture, but by its connection to the urban settlements created by the Romans (Petermandl 2017, 506). In Germania Superior, a similar change of population appeared. In the southern part, after the conquests, the population decreased extensively and new tribes settled in the area, like the *Vangiones*, *Nemetes* and *Triboci*. In the northern part, one particular tribe had established a long social and biological continuity before the Roman period, namely the *Treveri*. This established population would actually continue in the Roman period. The Romans would also influence the populations across the Rhine since some of these would be formed by Rome. Like in Germania Inferior, the urban settlements played an important role in the Roman rule over society. Additionally, it should be noted that the Roman soldiers, coming from several parts of the empire, would influence this region as well. Germania Superior thus on its own had two sides: one that was almost identical to the situation in Germania Inferior and one that had a more continuous form of politics, thus having a different development in the organisation of the urban areas (Kortüm 2020, 53-54).

The religious landscape of the Germanic provinces also differed quite a bit. The religious landscape in Germania Inferior was much more homogenous than in Germania Superior, presumably because of the dominance of the cult of the Matrons. The *Matronae* were usually depicted in groups of three goddesses and were of Celtic-Germanic origin (see figure 6). They had up to seventy epithets of the matrons, like *Matronae Vacallinehae* or *Matronae Saithamiae*. Because of the way the *Matronae* were worshipped, the more oriental deities worshipped in festivals would not really take off



Figure 4. Indication of the Roman province of Germania Superior within the Roman Empire (125 CE; after ^b<https://en.wikipedia.org>).



Figure 5. Indication of the Roman province of Germania Inferior within the Roman Empire (125 CE; after ^a<https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

in this region. Apart from this, since the focus on the urban areas from the Romans was so intense, mainly the Roman deities were worshipped in the urban settlements (Höpken 2020, 260-261). However, we see quite some examples of merged deities in the *Germaniae* as well, mainly in the form of figures like Hercules Magusanus. Multiple Roman deities were merged with Celtic ones, arguably for the local inhabitants to recognise their 'own' original deities in their new 'Romanised' forms. Additionally, the regional inhabitants worshipped Celtic deities in ways that were regarded as part of the Roman material culture. For example, they often dedicated to the *Matronae* in the form of votive altars, which were introduced to the local populations by the Romans (Galsterer, Schäfer and De Bernardo Stempel 2017, 472). Lastly, in line with Roman practise, private dedications at people's houses to the Divine House were being done as well (Van Andringa 2007, 94).



Figure 6. Altar for the *Matronae*. Landesmuseum Bonn,
object number: AE 1930,21 (after
^b<https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

4.2.2. Northern Gallia



Figure 7. Indication of the Roman province of Gallia Belgica within the Roman Empire (125 CE; after <https://en.wikipedia.org>).

The situation of northern Gaul was similar to that of Germania Inferior. After the conquest of Caesar, a unique Gallo-Roman society emerged, which was also defined by the focus on the urban settlements by the Romans (Petermandl 2017, 506). Roman Gaul is another good example of two ancient pantheons merging together and creating a new one. The rich variety of Celtic deities was supplemented with Roman ones. Deities with ‘double names’ were thus a result of the two religious cultures merging, therefore the many examples we have from the archaeological record only add to the syncretistic view of, in this case, Roman Gaul (Derks 1998, 93). Unsurprisingly, the pantheon of the northern Gallic provinces is very similar to that of the *Germaniae*. What studies on the Gallo-Roman pantheon in the Gallic region specifically add, is some supplementary information of high-ranked deities. Firstly, the Celtic deity Taranis was merged with Jupiter, forming the high-ranked deity of Jupiter-Taranis (see figure 8; Blanchard 2017, 310-311). Secondly, the two Celtic deities Dagda and Toutatis played a prominent role as well in the Celtic pantheon, thus must have been influential in the Gallo-Roman pantheon (Blanchard 2017, 315).

Although the overlap with the other two provinces is extensive, there are some notable differences as well. When focusing on the female deities for example, it is concluded that Gaul mainly had goddesses of Celtic origin in its Gallo-Roman pantheon, whereas both Germania Inferior and Britannia were dominated by the *Matronae* and Germania Superior mainly had Graeco-Roman goddesses (King 2017, 123; Ferlut 2017, 380). The populations in the different regions thus seemed to be selective in the either Roman or Celtic deities they wanted to worship, which would eventually have their own place in the new pantheons. This was surely the case for the until then unknown Roman



deities. The rather limited variety of Roman counterparts in Celtic/Gallo-Roman religion indicates a selective approach towards the Roman pantheon. The selection was connected with the native perception of the Roman deities by the Northwestern populations (Derks 1998, 100). The selective enrichment of the religious landscape in their respective regions caused diverse pantheons to appear, which had multiple syncretistic deities in them.

Figure 8. Small bronze statuette of Taranis/Toutatis with thunderbolt and a wheel. Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, object number: 32947 (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

4.2.3. *Britannia*



Figure 9. Indication of the Roman province of Britannia within the Roman Empire (125 CE; after <https://en.wikipedia.org>).

After the conquest of Britain by the Romans around circa 50 CE, the archaeological record shows that there was a period of anxiety in which the religious identity of the British inhabitants started to fracture. Since it was seen as a crisis, between circa 50 and 80 CE the British expressed this anxiety by for example human sacrifices. Several human body parts have been found that were part of this series of

sacrifices, like the 'Lindow Man' at Cheshire (Aldhouse-Green 2004, 195). However, after this period of 'religious instability', Roman religion got accepted and was practised increasingly over time. The soldiers were highly influential in this. In their search for security, being so far away from home, they firstly had to make an offer to the official imperial cults, mainly those of Jupiter and the Imperial House. Additionally, they complemented these cults with other Roman deities or with regional deities (De la Bédoyère 2015, 94). In time, the imperial cult got accepted and the Romano-British religious sphere started to emerge. Jupiter remained an official cult, but other deities were more influential for the new merged deities, especially Mars and Apollo (e.g., Mars Camulos, or Apollo Maponus; Shotter 2004, 82-84). The seemingly original British cults of the water goddesses and water nymphs remained important during the Roman period. This is for example seen at Bath, where the Romans built a Classical temple at the only British thermal springs, dedicated to Sulis Minerva (Tomlin 2018, 330-331).

Roman religion in Britannia is sometimes difficult to describe, since the religious landscape is quite diverse. Roman paganism seemed to fit British religion fairly easily, and vice versa. Therefore, it is not surprising that, apart from the Romano-British cults, there were plenty 'Romanised' local cults (Henig 2004, 225). Romano-British religious culture was formed by a high influence of the 'official' Roman religions and therefore the overlap with original Roman cults might be bigger than the other cults. However, it seems like the Romano-British culture actually developed as a stable factor over time on the British island and would stay like that for the next few ages (Shotter 2004, 96).

4.3. Origin of Jupiter columns

If one wants to understand the Jupiter columns, one must first look to the ancient tree cult of the Celtic peoples. In short, the Jupiter columns appear to be stone versions of wooden columns, which at their turn originated from the tree cult (Bauchhenß 1981, 31). It must be mentioned at first that the Romans were introduced to the tree cult via the Greeks and not via the Celts. The sacred trees were already prominently present during the Mycenaean and Minoan periods, thus being part of 'pre-historic Greek religion' (Cusack 2011, 31-32). In this cult, the oak tree was dedicated to the Sky/Thunder god, which for the Greeks was Zeus (Cusack 2011, 43). As for many cultural aspects, Greek religion proved to be highly influential for the Roman one (Cusack 2011, 48-49). With the incorporation of the tree cult into Roman religion, tree-derived monuments were built. The most important of these proved to be the Jupiter columns, although they were concentrated in Northwestern Europe rather than in or around Rome itself. The reason for this seems to be that the Romans over time did barely or not venerate the oak tree and the accompanying belonging sky god, while the Celtic peoples would continue to do this until deep into medieval times (Cusack 2011, 53-54).

In the tree cult, the tree becomes the residence of a deity or the deity itself. The tree thus becomes the personification of a deity. In regard to the allocation of the tree to the thunder god, the Romans used to enclose trees that were struck by lightning (Dowden 2000, 67-69). For the Celts, it was common practice to choose dark groves as sacred places. Human sacrifice was part of the tree cult. These could for example well be heads of victims that were hung in the tree or blood lubricated on the trunks. These and other offerings would in whatever way be attached to the trees, since the Celts believed that the spirits or divinities had power over vegetation (Macculloch 2005, 198). The trees in this sense were seen as a 'religious actor'. Trees and even plants were also a common image in Celtic iconography. Although they might not have owned any religious symbolism, trees and plants were often depicted on Celtic coins. Additionally, they could be found (as background of) reliefs on amongst others votive altars. Sometimes, other images from nature were frequently depicted with trees, which could differ per region. In Gaul, we have an example of a tree depicted with an eagle and a snake. From Britannia, we have an image of trees with acorns and boars (Green 1992b, 152).

The connection between the Jupiter cult and the tree cult is evident, since the Celts thus saw oaks as statues of firstly Zeus and later Jupiter (Dowden 2000, 72). The archaeological record shows us that there are some clear examples of Romano-Celtic dedications to Jupiter that had (close) connections with trees. This could either be an example of a sky-god that is a Romano-Celtic example of Jupiter, or at a Jupiter column itself. One example from Walheim shows decorations of oak-leaves and acorns, thus being a 'skeuomorph' (= an object that retains the inherent ornamental design from the original) of a Jupiter column (Green 1992b, 152; see figure 10). How then did this 'equal status' of the tree cult with the Jupiter cult result in the public monuments that were the Jupiter columns? That is a highly discussed question and perhaps impossible to answer completely. As mentioned



Figure 10. Column shaft of the Jupiter column found in Walheim. Limesmuseum Aalen, object number: 05002(?). The lower part shows details of the scales, the upper part is decorated with wine tendrils. These decorations originate from the tree cult (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

before, most Jupiter columns were raised in the 2nd and 3rd century CE, roughly between 170 and 240 CE (Woolf 2001, 118-119). Multiple (parts of) columns from the 1st century CE have actually been found. It may well be that the archaeological record on this period does not or cannot provide all the information on the structures from this period. The most important of these earliest examples of Jupiter columns, is the column from Mainz, found in 1904 (see figure 11). This one is one of the biggest and best decorated of its kind. It was raised not long after 59 CE in honour of emperor Nero. It is argued that the column from Mainz served as some sort of archetype, but this has not been proven so far (Panhuysen 1996, 196-197). Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to notice that the distribution of the columns seems to have been centred at Mainz, which on its own had produced forty columns (Woolf 2001, 118). It is known that the big column of Mainz was made by the sculptors Samus and Severus. At their turn, they would have had an example of a column on which they based their column and created a new sub-style in Germania Superior, without being influenced directly from Italy (Bauchhenß 1981, 35-36). These arguments remain however rather unstable and since there is no additional literary evidence, there is no definite conclusion. The exact origin of the Jupiter columns will remain somewhat of a mystery. The connections with the Romano-Celtic deities are clear, but the reason to raise these stone public monuments is not.



Figure 11. Reconstruction of the big Jupiter column of Mainz (Mogontiacum), erected in honour of emperor Nero around 59 CE (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

4.4. Primary context and function of the Jupiter columns

4.4.1. Primary context

In determining the function the Jupiter columns meaningfully, the different primary contexts must be studied. These are thus the various historical settings in which the Jupiter columns were raised. The location could tell us something about for whom the column was raised and by whom it had to be seen or what the local people should do with it. In general, there were five (urban) settings in which the Jupiter columns were found.

Firstly, the columns in the Roman 'cities' in Northwestern Europe. These cities are known under the jurisdictional names *colonia*, *municipium* and (*capita*) *civitatum/civitas* (Noelke 1981, 297). The different names were dependant on the statuses the settlements were granted by the Romans. These statuses determined the degree of self-governance and their rights (regarding the different degrees of citizenships) of the towns (Erskine 2010, 13). For example, the bigger urban centres of Köln and Tongeren were respectively a *colonia* and a *civitas*. In this selection of urban setting, the finds are limited to those from the cities and its 'suburban' area (not to confuse with the *vici* and *canabae*, see below). For example, in Köln, multiple houses and commercial companies were located just outside the city walls and the plurality of the Jupiter columns from Köln have been found in such contexts. In other settlements, multiple Jupiter columns were found right in the centre of the town (Noelke 1981, 297-298).



Figure 12. Reconstruction of Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA), Roman Köln, in the early 4th century (after <https://nl.wikipedia.org>).

Secondly, the *vici*. These were small towns that were located in the surroundings of the bigger cities mentioned above. The *vici* supported the regional transports, companies and trades. A considerable part of the Jupiter columns was found in *vici*, like in Jülich or Maastricht. Several parts of Jupiter columns have been found as *spolia* (reused building materials) in the later constructed *castella*

(Roman fortresses) located at the *vici*-sites. The exact original locations might not be clear in all cases. Some of these, however, were situated right beside the big roads where the *vici* were located. Others were found at other public places of the *vici*, like thermal baths (Noelke 1981, 299-300).



Figure 13. Reconstruction drawing of the *vicus* Coriovallum, Roman Heerlen (NL), probably in the 1st century CE (after <https://romeinen.info>).

Thirdly, the *canabae*, the towns that were located right beside the *castella*. The exact locations of these are comparable with those of the *vici*. However, there are some (parts of) columns which were found just outside the *canabae*. This can be explained by the notion that the army and its legions also had control of the territories closely located to the *vicus*. In this military controlled area, agricultural and commercial activities took place and the accessorial structures can thus be included in the section of the *canabae* (Noelke 1981, 300-302).



Figure 14. Reconstruction of *castellum* Isca (Roman Caerleon, south-eastern Wales, east of Cardiff) with the *canabae* to the south. Made by 7reasons (after Guest, Luke and Pudney 2012, 110).

Fourthly, the so-called *villae rusticae*. These were villas that were located in the highly developed agricultural areas in the Gallic-Germanic provinces. In short, the villa landscape arose because of the fertile grounds, especially between Köln and Tongeren. The high fertility caused good harvests, thus making the people in the agricultural sector strong in capital, since they would deliver

food for the Roman army on a large scale. They could invest in their infrastructure and thus the large villas emerged (Van Enckevort and Hendriks 2015, 126-127). In or around the villas, several religious artefacts and structures have been found, like votive altars or Jupiter columns. Although these monuments usually can be assigned to the villas, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the villa operated independently. Some of these were namely only a couple of hundred metres away from cities or *castella*, so the villas might have been under their influences, which could point at an external motivation for constructing the columns (Noelke 1981, 302-304).



Figure 15. Reconstruction of *villa* Voerendaal-Ten Hove in Southern Limburg between Köln and Tongeren (after <https://limburgsmuseum.nl>).

Lastly, the Jupiter columns located at sanctuaries. In the Gallic-Germanic provinces, it was common practice to erect sanctuaries in higher located places for native deities. In several cases, parts of Jupiter columns have been found, in multiple cases at sanctuaries that were not dedicated to Jupiter or an equivalent. Similar sanctuaries can actually also be found in urbanised areas. These sanctuaries in towns were often seen as Gallo-Roman types (Noelke 1981, 304-305).

4.4.2. Function

In principle, the Jupiter column-cult was heavily inspired by Roman religion. The columns were a veneration to the Roman upper-god Jupiter, who was depicted high above any other deity on the columns. Since many other Roman deities were depicted as well, those appearances suggested a connection with Roman rule. Yet, one must not lose the links with Celtic deities out of sight. The sanctuaries at which the columns stood were often dedicated to a Celtic deity and the dedicants thus often had a Celtic origin (Höpken 2020, 260). The question then rises: who constructed the columns? Although it is tempting to assume that it is one of the ways the 'obligatory' imperial cult was organised, it is clear that there was no such organisation behind the raises of the columns. Nor by an authority, nor by priesthoods or associations (although it must be mentioned that they were subject to the local

authorities). It is assumed that the 'identity', thus the set of iconographies and styles, was communicated by the columns themselves. Just seeing the columns would have inspired those that would later raise one themselves. Perhaps this does explain why the Jupiter columns seemed to have been raised mainly in the *Germaniae* (Woolf 2001, 126-127). However, this notion does not answer why people of Celtic origin would feel the need to raise these columns, especially with regard to the original Celtic deities and sanctuaries.

The Jupiter columns were erected by several kind of people; soldiers, veterans, *vicani* and inhabitants of *canabae*. These were either raised by individuals or by a group of worshippers (Bauchhenß 1981, 44-46; Noelke 1981, 307-308). This obviously depended on the different contexts of the finds. In essence, the construction of the columns needed to be approved by local authorities, more specifically by *decuriones*, the commanders of the legions. However, the distribution was too complex to keep strict boundaries on the constructions. Overall, the cult of the Jupiter columns was accepted. They were supposedly dedicated to Jupiter after all and barely had any 'indigenous' elements in them. Seemingly, the Jupiter columns were results of a 'private cult' (the term for a heterogenous body of beliefs and rituals of a specific cult) of a public Roman religion. The rituals done around the columns also seemed fairly standard in Roman terms. Sacrifices would have been executed on an altar down the foot of the columns. The secondary sacrifices were however secondary acts of cult. The columns were mostly set up to fulfil vows made to the gods and primarily were not cult statues. It is important to remind that the columns sometimes were set up alongside other deities, since the archaeological record shows several examples of columns accompanied by altars. They also often appeared in clusters. If the Jupiter column was present on its own, it is logical that this was a small sanctuary with its own cult. Otherwise, it seems reasonable to follow Woolf in his argument that the Jupiter columns likely formed a cult of representation, which means that the mere depiction of the deities was seen as a dedication in this cult. This could explain that the importance of representation of the columns was enough on its own to stabilise the cult (Woolf 2001, 123-124).

4.5. Different depictions

4.5.1. Statues

There were five ways in which Jupiter was portrayed on top of the Jupiter columns, at which he was depicted in form of a statue.

The first way was the throning Jupiter (see figure 16). This type could be recognised as the 'Capitoline type' and showed Jupiter throning in a box-shaped throne with a heightened backrest. In

his right hand, leaning on his lap, he holds his lightning bolt. In his left hand, raised into the sky, he holds his sceptre. He wears a coat over his left should, which means most of his upper body is uncovered. His head is traditionally covered with curly hair and beard. The way the coat is draped also shows four different types (see Noelke 1981). The statue could have some decorative additions, like on the backrest. On the back of the backrest, the depiction of Jupiter's animal (an eagle) or Jupiter's son (Hercules) could be added for example. Furthermore, Jupiter's feet could either rest on the pillar or on an added footstool (Noelke 1981, 276-277). This type is thought to be inspired by Jupiter's depiction in context of the Capitoline Triad (Noelke 1981, 380).



Figure 16. Depiction of Jupiter enthroned on a Jupiter column. Found in Wiesbaden-Igelstadt, in possession of the municipality of Igelstadt, collection number unknown (after ^a<https://www2.rgzm.de>).

Another depiction is Jupiter riding on a horse (*Gigantenreiter*), mostly depicted slightly smaller than life-size (see figure 17). Jupiter usually wears a tunic, additional armour and a *paludamentum* (a coat worn by military commanders). In several cases, the horse also has some accessories, like a saddle with accompanying buckles, *phalerae* (a sculpted disk, worn by Roman soldiers that got awarded with such a disk) and decorative straps. In some cases, the riding Jupiter is depicted as riding above a fiend, that has been defeated and is often depicted as a giant. Although the columns often are not preserved well enough, it is assumed that in some cases Jupiter was depicted with a sword in his hand, ready to slay the almost conquered giants (Noelke 1981, 279-280). The depiction of giants is something that

was mostly known in the more eastern Greco-Roman world. Giants with snakes as legs seemed to have taken over the image 'barbarians' that were beaten by Jupiter/an emperor, an image known from earlier periods. The addition of giants thus seems to be taken from the Hellenistic-Roman iconography (Noelke 1981, 378-379).



Figure 17. Depiction of Jupiter as a horseman, riding over a giant. Remains of a Jupiter column from Tongeren, currently in the Gallo-Roman museum of Tongeren, object number: 69.A.1 (after <https://nl.m.wikipedia.org>).

Moreover, Jupiter is also depicted standing on top of the column (see figure 18). Only a few of these examples have actually been found, so the information is rather scarce. Some of these are depicted with a giant right beside or below Jupiter as well. Jupiter is probably seen as he walks away from the conquered giant. Also in these cases, it is thought that Jupiter carried a sceptre in his left hand and a lightning bolt in his right hand. Further information proves to be inaccessible, as the archaeological record is too limited (Noelke 1981, 280-281).

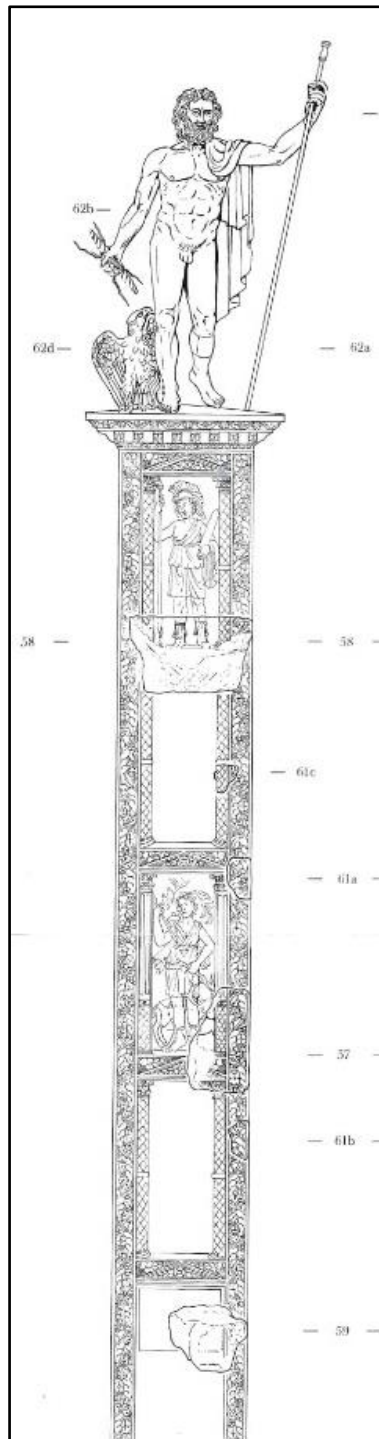


Figure 18. Reconstruction drawing of the Jupiter pillar of Maastricht. Though not found, it is expected that Jupiter was standing on top, as is depicted here. The remains of the pillar are currently in the archaeological depot of the municipality of Maastricht, object number: 773A (after Panhuysen 1996, 450 (plan IV appendix)).

To a lesser extent, Jupiter is also depicted in a chariot with usually two horses (see figure 19). This is a depiction that originated from the Greco-Roman world as well, since it is an image that is frequently accompanied by a giant. The image is more repeatedly seen in Asia Minor, with a depiction of Zeus instead of Jupiter. Furthermore, the iconography is similar to that of the *Gigantenreiter* (Noelke 1981, 379-380).



Figure 19. Depiction of Jupiter in a chariot riding over a giant.
Römerpark, Köngen (source: <https://schlossspross.de>).

Finally, there are some examples of Jupiter being depicted together with Juno (see figure 20). They are seated next to each other on a throne with their arms around each other's backs (Noelke 1981, 491). This image is quite uncommon and originates from the Capitoline image of Juno depicted with her husband Jupiter, fitting in the so-called *Bekrönungstypen* ('coronation types', to which the solely throning Jupiter also belongs; Noelke 1981, 384).



Figure 20. Depiction of the 'throning couple', Jupiter (right) and Juno (left). Found in Ladenburg (Lopodonum). Currently in Lobdengau Museum, Ladenburg, object number unknown (after ³<https://lupa.at>).

4.5.2. Pillars

The pillars of the columns could be depicted in five ways. This includes the part between the statue on top and the base itself.

The first and most used type is the *Schuppensäulen* ('scaled columns'; see figure 10, p. 26). In most cases, the columns were built up out of several pieces that were held together by metal dowels. Otherwise, the columns were monoliths, but these are rare. The columns slowly became smaller from the bottom to the top onwards. The scales usually pointed towards the base of the column or vice versa, thus were placed vertically. In a couple of cases, the scales were placed horizontally (Noelke 1981, 283-285). The image of scaled columns is a rather typical phenomenon of the Northwestern part of the Roman Empire, especially for workshops in Britannia (Noelke 1981, 372).

Secondly, the *Schuppensäule* types with frontal relief decorations. At the 'front side' of the columns, multiple deities are depicted on top of each other. Usually, the depicted deities were chosen for specific reasons and had a certain connection with each other. For example, in multiple cases, the Capitoline Triad is depicted on the column (thus Jupiter on top, followed by Juno and Minerva on the pillar). Other frequently depicted deities are Hercules and Mercury (Noelke 1981, 285).

Following up on the *Schuppensäule*, another type of monument that contains scales, is the *Schuppendach* ('scaled roof'; see figure 22). The example on the figure is arguably the best-known kind of monument that contained these scaled pyramid-like top, usually referred to as mausoleums. This Igeler Säule was erected around 250 CE, so it is a relatively late example of this monument (Zahn 1976, 5). A much earlier example, from the 1st century CE, is known as the Mausoleum of Faverolles (Février 1993, 97). One might assume that the scales – the *Schuppendach* being a style that was apparently already known in the 1st century – had the same meaning as those on *Schuppensäulen*. Generally, this idea seems to be neglected by scholars. Firstly, because the depictions on the monument as a whole all come from Graeco-Roman mythology (Nerzic 1989, 290), wherefore the iconography of the 'pyramid scales' are often thought to have a



Figure 21. *Schuppensäule* with reliefs found in Köln-Longerich. In the middle, a depiction of Juno. Standing place unknown, object number: Inv. 79,1.9,L (after Noelke 2010/2011, 169).

Classical origin as well or may even be a separate ornaments (Panhuysen 1996, 165; Deyts 2000, 229). Overall, grave pillars like these were a result of the emergence of provincial architecture in Northwestern Europe that was based on the Classical style and was able to flourish during the 2nd and 3rd century (Panhuysen 1996, 161-162). The *Schuppendach* was therefore included in the database, but will not be included in the chapter covering the overall development of syncretism on Jupiter columns (see Chapter 7).

The fourth type is the columns with vine tendrils (see figure 10, p. 26). These are recognisable by the depicted grapes and leaves. The record on this type is very minimal. We do know that they were sometimes depicted on a column which also had scales, or had a *Viergötterstein* (see 'Pedestals' below; Noelke 1981, 285-286). In this light, it might be best to regard this type as a subtype of the *Schuppensäulen* with reliefs-type.

A fifth type is the columns with reliefs (*Reliefsäule*). Other than the types above, this type is in the base smooth and has reliefs depicted on it. The reliefs were more or less oriented in four directions. It is assumable that these depicted deities were again connected to each other in one way or another. As far as we know,

Figure 23 (left). Current view of the Igeler Säule (after commons.wikimedia.org).

Figure 24 (right). Reconstruction drawing of the mausoleum of Faverolles (after Février 2000, 205).

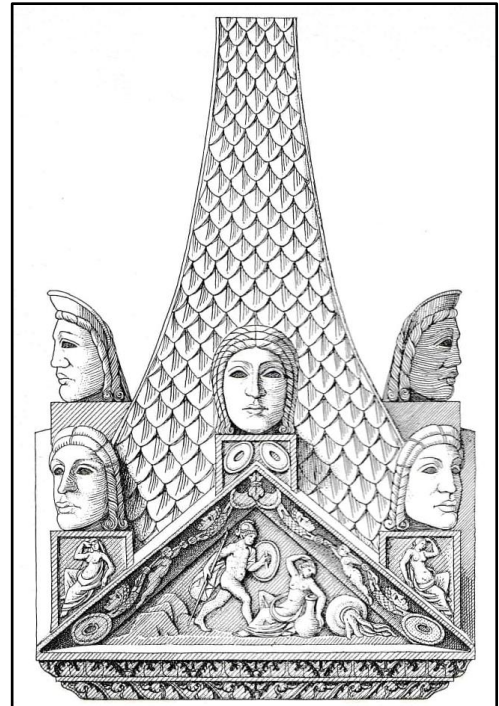
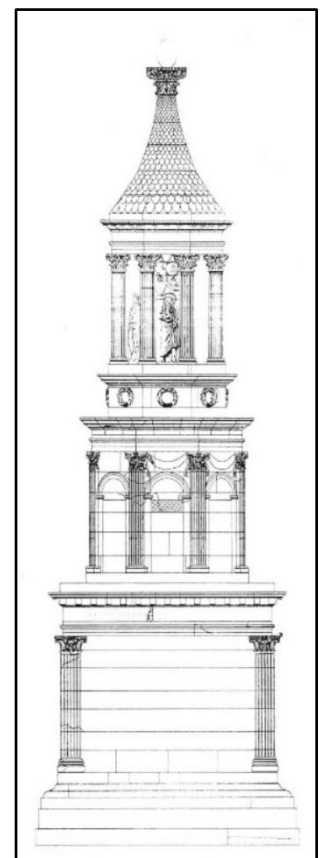


Figure 22. Reconstruction drawing of the scaled pyramid-like roof (*Schuppendach*) of the Igeler Säule (after Zahn 1976, 35).



usually four deities were depicted (Noelke 1981, 286). From a column from Mönchengladbach it becomes clear that also this type shows a variety of deities; Venus, Mars, Minerva and Diana are clearly identified on the column (Noelke 1981, 470).



Figure 25. Jupiter column fragment of a *Reliefsäule*, found in Kerpen (2020). Depictions of Juno, Nemesis-Diana and Minerva (left to right). Standing place and object number unknown (after <https://stern.de>).

The final type is rather different from the columns mentioned above. The final type belongs to the structures known as Jupiter pillars (*Pfeiler*). The major difference between the *Säulen* and the *Pfeiler* is specifically the pillar part itself (thus between the pedestal and the top); the *Säulen* have cylindrical pillars and the *Pfeiler* have squared pillars. Therefore, the last type is known as pillars with reliefs. These reliefs are comparable with the ones that were described above. The pillars of the *Pfeiler* were usually made out of one block, but sometimes out of two. There is only one known case in which the whole *Pfeiler* is a monolith (see figure 18). The squared design at one side caused the opportunity to create an inlet in which the deities could be sculptured, from the other side the ‘frames’ around the deities could be ornamented. Not every side was always used to show a relief of a deity. The reliefs could be at all four sides, at three sides, or just one. In the last two cases, the back side would either be smoothed or ornamented with scales. The choices for the deities are in line with the other types, as well as the connection between those and Jupiter (Noelke 1981, 287-289).

4.5.3. Pedestals

The pedestals form the bases of the Jupiter columns. Before heading into the different types, there are some characteristics that were more or less used in every of these pedestals. Firstly, the so-called *Viergötterstein* (‘Four gods-stone’) dominates the reliefs of these bases. Just like on the pillars, the pedestals thus showed four gods in most cases, each on one side of the squared-formed pedestals. There are some examples known of other forms, like an octagon and cylindrical bases. The pedestals were usually made out of one block of stone. Usually, the pedestals were made out of a stand plate on

the bottom, an oblong body (at which the reliefs were made) and a cover plate (on which the rest of the column was constructed; Noelke 1981, 289-290).

In general, there are two types that can be distinguished from the archaeological record. Firstly the squared pedestal without reliefs. These pedestals do not have any reliefs whatsoever and thus do not have any 'frames' either. At most, an inscription saying *IOM* (*Iovi Optimo Maximo*) is added on the frontside (Noelke 1981, 290-291).

Secondly the pedestals with reliefs of deities. These were mostly depicted with three or four deities. However, there are some cases at which more or less than four persons are being depicted. It has, however mistakenly, long been common in historiography to call all pedestals a *Viergötterstein* (another possibility is to call it *Untersockel*). The term is thus not chosen correctly. Nevertheless, it can still be applied for the many pedestals that indeed have four deities depicted on them. At some of these pedestals, the inscription *IOM* is recognised again and sometimes even the name of the sponsor of the column. The inlets and frames around the depicted deities are variable, even on the same column. Again, the chosen depicted deities are diverse, yet deities like Juno and Minerva are often depicted. Hercules is depicted on almost every pedestal, even on those that only have a relief at one side. Additionally, Apollo and Vulcanus are also frequently depicted (Noelke 1981, 291-292).

On top of the lowest pedestals, so-called *Zwischensockel* ('in-between pedestal') were often added. These were thus between the lowest pedestal and the pillar. These in general could have two types of depictions. First, the *Zwischensockel* themselves, which were mostly decorated with deities on up to four sides of the stone. Although these were a bit smaller than the *Viergötterstein*, the



Figure 26. Detail of a replication of the Jupiter column in and from Walheim. The lower squared part is the *Viergötterstein* and the cylindrical part is the *Zwischensockel*, but in this case could also be called *Wochengötterstein* and maybe also a *Achtgötterstein* (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

depictions on them are overall comparable. They were less common to be found however. The second type is the *Wochengötterstein*. On these often cylindrical stones, seven deities were depicted, each representing a day of the week. These usually were: Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus. In some cases, these stones were octagonal and mostly Victoria or Genius was then added to the list of deities (the order above was generally the right order; Bauchhenß 1981, 56-57).

5. Iconography and selection of the regional elements

Before we will discuss the results of the composed database in the light of syncretism, the regional elements' iconography will be explained individually in this chapter. Although in principle the approach is to explain what the Celtic meaning of the elements is, partly explaining the 'Celtonised' Roman gods' iconography from a Roman perspective cannot be avoided. In fact, this will eventually be important to understand because of the adaptation of Roman deities in the regional pantheons and thus in the syncretistic meaning. Assuming that the Celtic populations gave Celtic names to Roman depicted deities seems fairly unreasonable. There are barely any examples of *interpretatio Gallica* (indeed the counterpart of *interpretatio Romana*) known in the archaeological record, plus this cannot explain the double Roman-indigenous names of the regional cults (Ferlut 2017, 368-370). The columns must be approached with the idea of them being the result of mergences of cults, thus creating a new single cult (in this case the Romano-Celtic one).

It is difficult, however, to exactly decide what is initially of Roman origin and what is not. Making a selection for the database needs to be described carefully, without making the 'boundaries' too strictly. When choosing the Celtic elements, should the focus only lie on the originally Celtic deities that were depicted, like Rosmerta? Or could the deities of Roman origin also be counted in, because they could somehow be interpreted from the point of view of the Celtic pantheon? A difficulty lies in the general absence of documentation of particular deities (i.e., any form of texts or inscriptions naming them), which makes identifying pairs and triads difficult, let alone solely depicted deities (Brunaux 1986, 74-75). Nevertheless, there are three possibilities in which the elements are clearly recognisable and determine the deities' identities. Firstly, deities like Mercury and Apollo seemed to keep their Roman appearance, symbolism and attributes. Secondly, some deities' identities are formed by the mergence of the deities. For example, the depiction of a Celtic warrior-like deity could be embodied by the figure of Mars, but it had Celtic features. Lastly, a group of deities was mostly formed by the regional elements and could have had some Roman attributes. Sucellus, for example, was mostly formed by regional elements (see figure 27; Green 1992b,



Figure 27. Bronze statuette of the Celtic deity Sucellus. He held a hammer, now lost, and is clothed in a short Gallic tunic, with a wolf-skin over his head. Found in Vienne, currently in the British Museum in London, object number: 304361001 (after <https://britishmuseum.org>).

130). The last two possibilities provide the right elements for this thesis to work with in case of the deities. The choice of the to be noted deities will be discussed below.

First, some other elements of the columns in general must be discussed. These are elements that do very commonly appear on the columns, but most of them were nevertheless not included in the database since this would either cause the database to expand too extensively or would include elements that are clearly from Roman or even Greek origin. One of these is a rather prominent element on the column, namely the giants over which Jupiter rides. It has been mentioned in paragraph 4.5. already, but it has become clear that the depictions of giants were taken from Greek mythology (Noelke 1981, 378-379; Green 1997, 63).

In the next chapter, the observations of the created database will be given. A list of the deities that were picked out from the catalogues of Jupiter columns in general to create the database will be given, with a short description of how they can be seen as Celtic or Romano-Celtic:

5.1. Sol & Apollo

In several ancient societies, a devotion to a sun-god has been observed. This was also the case for both the Roman and the Celtic societies. In principle, in Roman religion, Sol is the embodiment of the veneration of the sun-deity. In Celtic religion, the sun-god was often depicted by the symbol of a wheel. The depiction of a wheel has been found on several artefacts and structures of the Romano-Celtic material culture, for example on some of the Jupiter columns (Green 1992a, 2). Sol is the embodiment of the sun, but Apollo was the sun-god of Roman religion traditionally. However, it seems that the Celts did not equate their sun-god with Apollo, but rather stayed with the symbol of a wheel depicted (see 'Wheel-god' below; Macculloch 2005, 29). The depiction of a wheel would eventually also get a close association with Jupiter (Green 1997, 47). On some columns, a wheel is therefore depicted at or around Jupiter on top. Apollo, in turn, was sometimes equated with sun-gods, but merely because sun-gods were also gods of healing. Apollo was the patron of music and arts in the Graeco-Roman pantheon, as well as leader of the muses. He was the embodiment of the values of order and harmony. Furthermore, he was known as carer of herds and flocks. Other associations are Apollo as the god of healing, the Sun-god (sometimes identified as Helios) and the archer-god. Apollo was often depicted as musician, whose main attribute was the lyra (and possibly also a plectrum). The attributes of a bow and quiver are references to his appearance of the archer-god (March 2014, 63-66). Additionally, Apollo is often depicted on the Jupiter columns with griffins and ravens. Griffins were generally seen as guardians of treasures (March 2014, 210). In this setting, it might be seen as a guardian of herds and flocks, or music even. In Roman mythology, a raven was seen as either the companion or the messenger of Apollo, the latter being a more likely explanation (Ferber 2007, 167-168).

Sol was not included in the database, as the specific embodiment of this deity does not represent any regional elements. Apollo was included, as should be clear by now, but an explanation of his role in Romano-Celtic society. In the Romano-Celtic pantheon, Apollo was adopted as a deity most prominently of the sun and of healing, while his original identity of the god of music and poetry was not present too much (Green 1992c, 30). Nevertheless, we have seen that Apollo at many times was depicted with his musical instrument on the columns. At this point, we can still assume that this depiction might be a simple choice of recognition. Apollo is yet another Romano-Celtic deity that has multiple epithets. A prominent Central-European version of him is Apollo Belenus. Belenus was a Gallic sun- and healing-deity that was some sort of correspondent of the chthonic deity Dis Pater, who was closely connected with the underworld. Although Dis Pater is not directly relevant for Jupiter columns, his importance was high in Gallic times: as the teachings of the druids told, all Gauls were descendants from him. Belenus was thus 'closest' to him in the Gallic pantheon. Julius Caesar associated him with Apollo, as they shared their sun and healing roles (Bruneaux 1986, 73). A more prominent version in the Northwestern part of the European continent was for example Apollo Grannus. He is associated with therapeutic spring waters (*Aquae Granni*) that spread from north-east Gaul all the way to the Danube. He was also as a sun-deity, depicted as 'the luminous', for example in Trier where he rides a so-called sun-chariot (Green 1992c, 30-32). It can be said with certainty that the cult of Apollo (Grannus) in northern Gaul (and probably in the other Northwestern provinces as well) was one of local importance. Merely any votives and inscriptions were found that indicate that dedications of the cult were done by magistrates or priests. This is the case for both his double names as solely the single name Apollo (Derks 1998, 100). The native Celtic deities that were personifications of the sun all became a hybrid form of Apollo, but his second name and venerations differed per area, although his role as curer seems to have appeared most often. Some local deities were during Roman times still regarded as 'equal' to Apollo, like Moritasgus, Vindonnus or Viotutis (Duval 1989, 260-261). Examples of these last few versions of Apollo in particular had other reasons for their venerations. In Alesia, he was venerated as the 'local big deity'. Another epigraphic fragment connected him with both a local deity, rather mysterious to us, called Veriugodumnus and with emperor Augustus. So while the Gallic venerations of hybrid Apollos in most known occasions had to do with healing (possibly connected

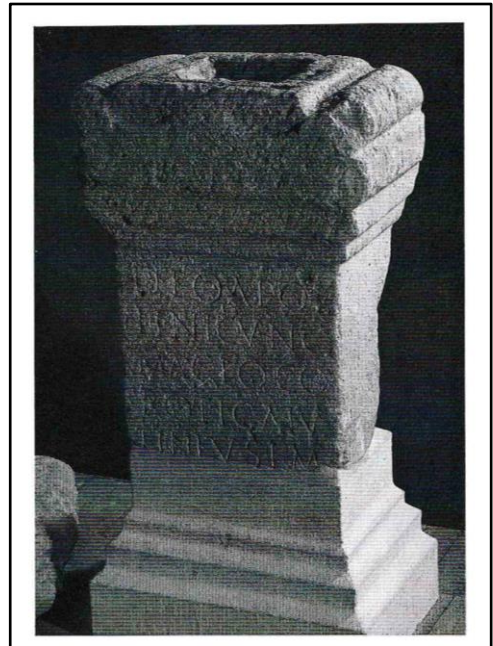


Figure 28. Altar dedicated to Apollo Cunomaglus ('Hound Lord'), found in a Romano-Celtic temple in Wiltshire (after Green 1992c, 33).

with the sun veneration), this was not automatically the case. the veneration must be regarded from the local, individual perspective whenever possible (Van Andringa 2002, 137-139). It is important for understanding regional veneration that the new hybrid Apollos could have been 'put together' with (urban) sites. Borvo, deity of Bourbon, was associated with Apollo and so became Apollo Borvo (Jullian 1902, 257).

5.2. Hercules

The Hercules cult, as mentioned before, was one of the most popular ones of Roman origin that gained popularity in Northwestern Europe, especially in the Lower Rhine region and mostly in Batavian society. This popularity is seen on the Jupiter columns, on which Hercules appears at on a considerable amount. There are multiple links between the Hercules cult and the 'indigenous values', like his role as protector and cattle keeper. Usually, Hercules is depicted with attributes as a club and a lion skin (Roymans 2004, 244-246). These attributes originate from the twelve labours. The first attribute Hercules acquired was the skin of the Nemean lion. Hercules managed to choke the beast to death with his bare hand and carried the scalped skin around as a trophy and wore it also as a helmet and as protection of his back. Nemea is also the place where he made his infamous club, with which he is so often depicted (March 2014, 236; Huber 2009, 12; see figure 29). The often depicted Apples of the Hesperides come from the eleventh labour. These apples were made of gold and belonged to 'the nymphs of the west', the Hesperides. The apples grew on a tree at the foot of where Atlas held up the sky. Before encountering the titan, he had to slay the giant snake Ladon that guarded the apples. Hercules then either tricked Atlas and took the apples, or basically stole the apples altogether (March 2014, 238; Huber 2009, 119-120). The last depicted labour is that of the capture of the three-headed, dragon-tailed dog Cerberus. Cerberus guarded the gates of the Underworld. Hercules managed to overcome the dog by his brute strength alone and gripped it until it gave up, thereafter showing it to the king Eurystheus. Afterwards, he kept his promise and brought Cerberus back to Hades (March 2014, 238; Huber 2009, 134-135). The additional bow and quiver Hercules often is depicted with, was used by him in several labours (March 2014, 236-238).



Figure 29. Painting of Hercules wrestling with the Nemean Lion. Painted by Peter Paul Rubens, late 18th/early 19th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, object number: 308-1864 (after ^h<https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

The appearance of Hercules on local monuments, structures and artefacts was rather common. Surely in the Germania, Hercules was a beloved deity from the Graeco-Roman pantheon, especially among soldiers. His heroic reputation had a prominent connection with the soldiers. Hercules had a local variant in Germania Inferior named Hercules Magusanus. The Batavian god Magusanus was not only equated to Hercules, but he merged with him as well (Derks 1998, 112-113). Although we must not undermine the prominent position of Hercules in the other Northwestern provinces, Hercules Magusanus is the only real syncretistic form of the Mediterranean semi-god and the Batavian deity (Roymans 2004, 242). The deities did not co-exist, they merged. Mainly similar associations with both of the deities seem to be the basis for this phenomenon. The military associations have been confirmed by dedications carried out by soldiers. Additionally, both deities could be regarded as a protector and a guardian of cattle in the *civitas Batavorum* (Derks 1998, 113-114). Lastly, Hercules could be seen as a mediator between the Roman and Germanic worlds, as the first explorer of the Germanic frontier. The Batavians were regarded as 'Germanics' by the Romans, and thus as 'barbarians', after all (Roymans 2009, 231). How exactly the process of integration of Hercules or the process of mergence took place, is yet unknown. We do know that the pro-Roman elite Batavians initiated the introduction of Hercules and that he was widely accepted among the Batavian society in all layers of society. In Germania Inferior, Hercules Magusanus thus had an individual identity in the Romano-Celtic pantheon. Nevertheless, his appearance made it possible to perceive him as the Roman Hercules, which could explain the dedications to Hercules Magusanus by people from outside Germania Inferior (see figure 29; Roymans 2004, 243-244).

Other hybrid versions of Hercules are relatively unknown, mainly because there is little textual or epigraphical evidence. One that we know of solely because of coins, is Hercules Deusiensis. These coins were minted under Postumus, self-proclaimed (thus an usurper) emperor of the Gallic Empire between 260 and 269 CE. There is not a lot known about Hercules Deusiensis, except that the coins

on which he is depicted were minted from Trier to Köln. Presumably, he was popular among the Batavians and he was regarded as a local (maybe Romanised?) version of Donar or Thor. These conclusions are all very unsure thanks to the small quantity of evidence. Derks even compares him with Hercules Magusanus, which makes recognising clear differences rather difficult (Derks 1998, 21). Another, lesser known version is 'Hercules Ogmios', described by Lucian of Samosata. Lucian saw a depiction of Ogmios in Gallia Narbonensis, which looked strikingly much like Hercules. He had the expected club and bow with him, but he looked older and had a darker skin colour (Duval 1989, 262; Green 1992c, 165). A real association with Hercules remains uncertain, maybe unlikely, however. The evidence is too little to draw an image of a veneration of 'Hercules Ogmios'. In conclusion, there are no real differences in the imagery of Hercules in the Northwestern provinces. Though it would not be unlikely that more hybrid versions of Hercules appeared in public cults at that time. We cannot know for sure, as the textual and epigraphical record gives us few examples. These examples do tell us that Hercules Magusanus, for example, was a pan-provincial phenomenon and should be taken into account while examining the database eventually.



Figure 30. Altar dedicated to Hercules Magusanus. Found in the area of Bonn(?), currently in the Landesmuseum Bonn, object number: AE 1971,282 (after <https://romeinen.nl>).

5.3. Luna & Diana

Unlike Sol, depictions of the moon are not seen on the columns. In Celtic and Germanic culture, moon-deities were worshipped. Nevertheless, there seems to be no link between the moon and the Roman deity Luna (Macculloch 2005, 173). Luna at times is equated with Diana, the Roman deity of hunting and vice versa. However, there is no sign of any interchangeable depictions of either Diana or the indigenous hunting-deities. There seems to be no merged form of Diana. She might have had a decent place in the Romano-Celtic pantheon, for the act of hunting was important in Celtic society too. Though, in that case she has been 'copied' from the Roman pantheon (Green 1992a, 65; Green 1992b, 27). Therefore, both Luna and Diana were not added to the database.

5.4. Mars

Mars was in somewhat the same position as Hercules. He had a place in the Romano-Celtic pantheon in several merged forms (like Mars Alator; Webster 2015, 135). For the Romans, Mars was the god of war and a defender of agriculture in Roman religion. As god of war, he had a prominent place in the military cult. Mars was the war-god of the Romans and father of Romulus and Remus. Mars has a prominent place in the tale of the twins, for he makes sure the basket in which they float on the Tiber ends up with a she-wolf. Furthermore, his mythology is almost entirely adopted from the one of the Greek war-god, Ares (March 2014, 299). Unlike Ares, Mars was the second most important deity of the Roman pantheon, after Jupiter. (March 2014, 69). As war-god, it is obvious why Mars is usually depicted with armour, helmets, shields and lances. Even within the Roman pantheon itself, Mars had several epithets. One prominent one was for example Mars Pater ('Mars the Father'; Beard *et al.* 1998, 370). An important epithet later created by Augustus was Mars Ultor ('Mars the Avenger'). Mars Ultor's cult was created for two events: Augustus' defeat of Caesar's assassins and the restoration of the legionary standards lost by general Crassus (Rüpke 2007b, 245). Mars Ultor thus served as propaganda for Augustus, that is also why Augustus built the Temple of Mars Ultor at the *Forum Augustum* in 2 BCE (Beard *et al.* 1998, 80). Augustus also equated himself to the deity. Dedications to Mars Augustus were found throughout the empire, mainly in Spain (Van Andringa 2007, 86). Interestingly, in the cult of Mars Ultor, he is usually depicted with armour and a helmet, leaning on a spear in his right hand and holding a shield in his left hand (Lipka 2009, 91). Augustus therefore seemed to have settled or 'confirmed' the prominent place of Mars and set the expected appearance of the deity.

For the Celtic cults, the role as agricultural herder was important and it is very likely that the depictions on the columns are linked with this symbol (Derks 1998, 102). It is important to know that

Mars (like Hercules) was worshipped primarily in public cults (Derks 1998, 100). In the Celtic deity hierarchy, the deity of war held a high position. His original Celtic name remains unsure. Some scholars argue that it must have been Esus (who will be discussed later), but that remains highly disputable. A connection with Mars is accepted either way, as he shared the characteristic of a war-deity. Together with Toutatis, the Celtic war-deity was the strongest (Bruneaux 1986, 72). This does not mean that the most important deities related to war got assimilated with Mars, as other local deities could also have specific characteristics that fitted well with him (Van Andringa 2002, 134). The associations with Mars in specific contexts seemed to be somewhat linked with Hercules' associations as well. One of either deity would be associated with a place, area and/or people. Both of these were seen as protectors and were consulted during times of war, and it can be concluded that the indigenous deities that would merge with them were especially important during the Roman conquest period (Derks 1998, 101). So, although Mars traditionally was a war-god, he obtained an identity of a protector, a healer and a tribal god. Therefore, in the Northwestern region of the Roman Empire, Mars also had many epithets. Mars Camulos, for example, is one of the best-known epithets to whom dedications were made in both Britain and Gaul (see figure 31). Mars Corotiacus, a British variant, is mostly depicted as a horse rider, riding over an enemy. This depiction is comparable to the many depictions of Jupiter riding over a giant on the Jupiter columns (Green 1992c, 140-142).

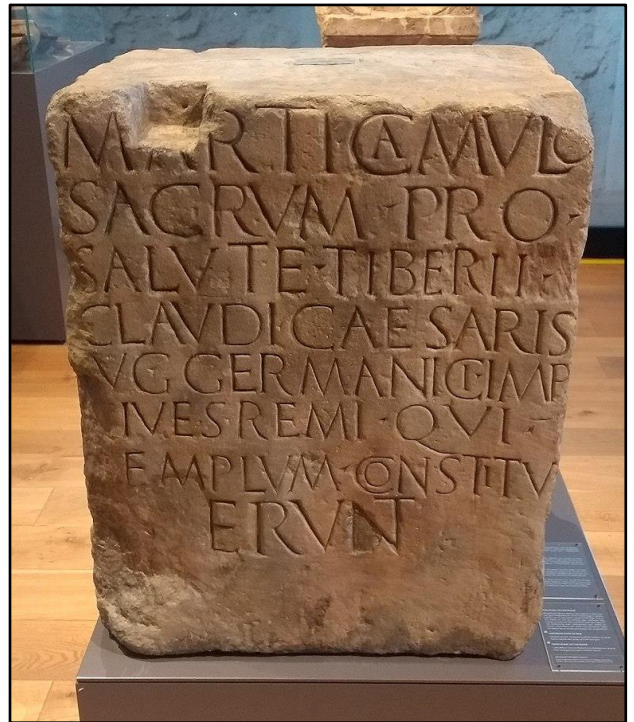


Figure 31. Copy of an altar dedicated to Mars Camulos. Copy standing in Römer Museum Xanten, object number: AE 1980, 656 (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

The hybrid Mars deities were generally found often and in multiple versions. The regionality seemed to be even more prominent than with Apollo. Van Andringa names twenty-eight versions, of which Camulos, Lenus and Mullo are noted mostly (Van Andringa 2002, 335). In the close surroundings of Trier alone, eight different hybrid Mars deities were found. The veneration to Lenus Mars in Trier show us that he was the big hybrid deity there from the 1st century CE onwards. His 'creation' and immediate importance was closely related to the new political situation in the city. The deity Lenus represented the political heritage of the inhabitants' ancestors and Mars represented the new reality (Van Andringa 2002, 144-145). Lenus Mars is thus an example of a newly created hybrid deity that served both political and religious purposes. Yet, we also solely know about these specific hybrid Mars

deities because of epigraphic evidence. Investigations to possible predominate regional cults of Mars are therefore, like with Hercules, important for potential identifications of Jupiter columns. Therefore, Mars was included in the database.

5.5. Mercury

Mercury's situation is comparable to that of Hercules and Mars. Mercury also mainly had a place in the Romano-Celtic pantheon in several merged forms (like Mercury Cissonius; Webster 2015, 135). Mercury mainly was a deity of commerce and material welfare in the Graeco-Roman pantheon. Therefore, depictions of him with a herald's staff (*caduceus*) or a moneybag were common. In the Celtic pantheon, he mainly has a place as healer and promoter of fertility. In this setting, he sometimes gets depicted with different animals, like a ram or a hen (Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007, 198; Green 1992a, 228). Unlike Mars, Mercury's cult was worshipped in private cults (Derks 1998, 100).

Adopted from Greek mythology, Mercury was identified with Hermes, the Greek god of merchants and travellers. Just like they share the dedication, they share the attributes: herald's staff (*caduceus*) and hats and shoes with wings (March 2014, 313). Mercury is often seen with a moneybag as well, surely on the Jupiter columns. This depiction is related to Mercury as the patron of commerce and trades (Rüpke 2007b, 4). Sometimes, Mercury is depicted with a buck/goat, a rooster and/or a griffin. The goat, originating from Greek mythology, in this case was regarded as a symbol of fertility (Viscardi 2016, 116-117). The rooster is seen as the herald of dawn. With his sound, he is ought to awake the god of the day, who on its turn is related to the divine Sun (Ferber 2007, 45-46). Griffins are creatures with the wings and head of an eagle and the body of a lion. Generally spoken, griffins were regarded as the guardians of treasures (March 2014, 210). In the context of Mercury, it might be seen as a guardian of the profits of commerce or something likewise.

The link between Mercury and Rosmerta was supposedly prominent, for the two deities are often depicted together. This dedication to a divine couple comes from the Gaulish and British Celts, who had several of these divine couples (Green 1992b, 54). It is known that Mercury had been adopted by the regional inhabitants to join Rosmerta, for we know that her cult existed long before the Roman interference in Northwestern Europe (Green 1992b, 60). Not only is the couple at times depicted together, but their names are also inscribed in various dedications to the pair. Their cult is mostly known from central and eastern Gaul and from Britannia, which explains why especially Rosmerta is only depicted a couple of times on Jupiter columns in general (as far as we know). It is thought that the pair had a good link, for Rosmerta had adopted some of Mercury's attributes in several depictions. The most outstanding ones being the herald's staff and the moneybag (Green 1992c, 180). Particularly on the Jupiter columns, a basket filled with fruit is also often depicted at Mercury. Although Bauchhenß

and Noelke (1981) do not name it, my interpretation is that this is actually a *cornucopia* ('horn of plenty') or a simplified version of it. Apart from being the patron of merchants, Mercury was also known as the deity of prosperity and plenty. Rosmerta took over this role too (Green 1992c, 180), so taking over this attribute makes a lot of sense. This makes including Mercury logical.

Just like Hercules, depictions of Mercury on structures and artefacts were not uncommon at all in these provinces, especially in Gaul and Britain. As a god of plenty, the Celtic forms in which he appeared at times contained three heads or three phalluses. The big number of epithets, around forty-five, whose names appear on several artefacts, show that he indeed had a quite prominent place in the Romano-Celtic pantheon. One of the epithets, as example, was Mercury Gebrinius. An altar dedicated to this deity was found in Bonn, being a merged form of Mercury and the Ubian tribe's deity Gebrinius. Although the deity is fully dressed and equipped as a Roman god, the inscription explicitly name Mercury Gebrinius (see figure 32; Green 1992c, 148-149). Interestingly enough, it is argued that Mercury's cult was one mainly of a private and local nature in Northwestern Europe (Derks 1998, 99). His depiction with Rosmerta as a divine couple appeared in both the public and private sphere. This connection is also said to be strengthening the promotion of plenty and fertility (Green 1992c, 66-67). Depictions of this specific divine couple appear most often in *vici*, while single depictions to Mercury for example often appear in *villae* (Derks 1998, 115-116). It is unclear whether Mercury would be depicted as a divine couple on Jupiter columns, but especially Mercury was found on them in these locations. It does therefore not seem to be a fixed place (private, public, or maybe even semi-public) in which Mercury appeared, but his links with prosperity could be applied for both economical and fertile contexts (as was the case in *vici* and *villae*; Green 1992c, 149).



Figure 32. Altar dedicated to Mercury Gebrinius. Found in Bonn Minster, currently in the Landesmuseum Bonn, object number: D 276 (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

5.6. Minerva

The depiction of Minerva is different per region. The goddess of wisdom, craft and strategy had no merged form in the *Germaniae* or Northern Gaul, but she did in Britain. Especially from Bath, we know of a Romano-Celtic deity called Minerva Sulis. There were several goddesses that were equated with Minerva and she was venerated herself as well yonder, but we cannot see those as regional elements. Moreover, the information about Minerva Sulis is mainly known from inscriptions (mainly from Bath; Green 1992b, 155). The Minerva parts of the Jupiter columns from the European continent were therefore not included in the database. Since the cult of Minerva Sulis seems to be mainly focused at Bath, it is unlikely that she will appear on any of the British columns. Furthermore, Minerva has a strong Graeco-Roman origin, as she is often identified as part of the Capitoline Triad, together with Jupiter and Juno (Van Andringa 2002, 139). For that reason, she is not included in the database.

5.6. Rosmerta

The inclusion of Rosmerta in the database is logical: this goddess is of Celtic origin. She was the goddess of fertility and abundance. Rosmerta is being regarded as the only ‘original’ Celtic deity in this list, though her name is Romanised. Her name means ‘Great Provider’ and her worship was possible in multiple settings (Duval 1989, 270). It is important to note that Rosmerta was commonly depicted in the presence of Mercury, though the database has to show whether this was also the case on Jupiter columns. This divined couple complements each other as deities of fertility. As described above, they influence each other in attributes. Depictions together with Fortuna have been found frequently as well, but her connection with Mercury is recognised more explicitly. Her cult might actually have a longer existence than both Fortuna and Mercury, for older individual embodiments have been found mainly in the Southeastern part of France (Green 1997, 37). It is noticeable that Rosmerta often had several Roman attributes after the Roman conquest. Common attributes were the *cornucopia* (‘the horn of plenty’) and the *patera* (a Roman drinking cup), clearly indicating the Romanisation of this deity (Green 1992b, 55; MacKillop 2004; Webster 2015, 140-141).

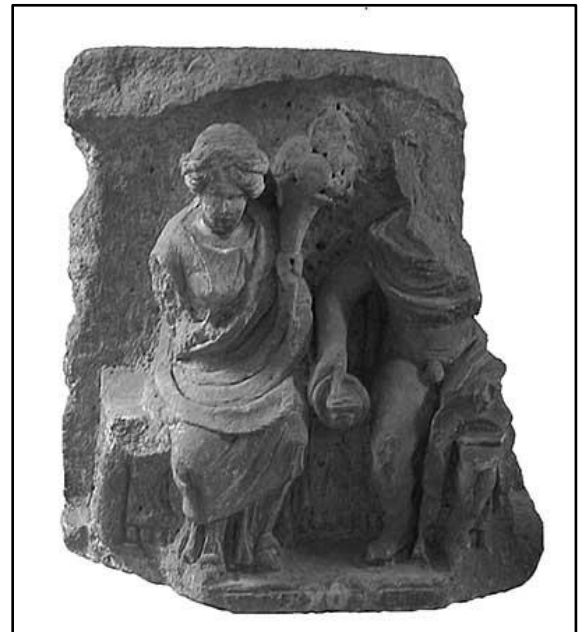


Figure 33. Relief of Rosmerta (left) with Mercury (right).

Standing place and object number unknown (after

⁸<https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

5.7. Silvanus

The cult of Silvanus is somehow in a bit of a 'grey area'. Silvanus was the deity of the woods and the uncultivated land. Several Celtic deities have been equated with Silvanus, like the Gallo-Roman deity Sucellus, but they did not merge with him. Indigenous deities like Sucellus more or less had the same associations. There are some differences in attributes. Silvanus usually is depicted with a pan flute (*syrinx*) and objects that refer to the forests. Sucellus is usually depicted with a big hammer and a *patera*. There are some examples, however, in which Silvanus is depicted with a hammer as well (Macculloch 2005, 30; Green 1992b, 80). A depiction of a hammer could point at a depiction of both Silvanus and Sucellus. However, regarding the amount of non-Celtic deities on the columns and the unlikelihood of a depiction of Sucellus on the columns, the assumption was at this point that Silvanus does not need to be included in the database. Silvanus and Sucellus are more difficult to place within the spectrum of syncretism, for their origin was either Graeco-Roman or brings complications to ascribe their attributes or meanings to any pre-Romano-Celtic society (Duval 1989, 258). For that reason, neither of them have been included in the database.

5.8. 'Tree' decorations

Two other common elements probably were the depictions of leaves and animals on the one side, and the depictions of scales on columns on the other (see figure 10, p. 28). It can be expected that these had a connection with nature, which was an important aspect in Celtic religion (Green 1997, 138). As mentioned before, the depictions of those scales was a phenomenon almost only known in the Northwestern part of the Roman Empire. With some caution, it has been concluded that the depiction of scales on columns was implemented to embody this representation. We mainly have examples of frescoes from Britannia about this, but the scale ornaments on the Jupiter columns are connected with the same representation (Bauchhenß 1981, 62-63). In combination with the idea that the oak was sacred to Jupiter, thus the connection between deity and tree was already present in the Graeco-Roman world, this connection is likely (Hunt 2016, 235-237). The Celtic reverence of trees as objects of sanctity only strengthen this idea. Additionally, it has been argued by multiple scholars that the stone columns had wooden predecessors, with a sacred tree as prototype (Bauchhenß 1981, 31; Green 1997, 63). I share the opinion that the scales were indeed ornaments representing a tree. We have seen in paragraph 4.3., however, that the strong connection of the tree to the Sky or Thunder god resulted in the trees being some sort of personification of these deities. The Jupiter columns already have this

depiction in the form of Jupiter himself on top the column (Woolf 2001, 117). Additionally, a mosaic from Romain-en-Gal in Southern France shows the connection between the monuments and trees (see figure 35). A couple offers at the column with a Jupiter deity on top, which is explicitly depicted in front of a tree. Gschlößl argues that the origin of the Jupiter column cult's connection with the oak cult is shown here (Gschlößl 2006, 43-44). The mosaic is from early 3rd century however (musee-archeologienationale.fr), but to me this only indicates that the connection was still known to the venerators in this later period of the cult. The identification of the deity is thus not necessarily made by the presence of the scales. Nevertheless, several columns not only had scales as image of the tree, but also leaves and acorns (see figure 34). Since the details on this part were likely not to be of specific added value to the database, the individual leave-ornaments were not included. Parts of them were however still included in the description of the *Schuppensäulen*. It can be argued that the column was therefore seen as a symbol of a dualistic cult, in which several opposites could be recognised (like day-night or life-death) and were interdependent (Green 1992c, 214). This might be an explanation that fits in the framework of syncretism. The possibility of this dualistic nature will be further discussed in Chapter 7. Therefore, the *Schuppensäulen* will surely be included in the database. Not every Jupiter column had one of these, so separate documentation is important.

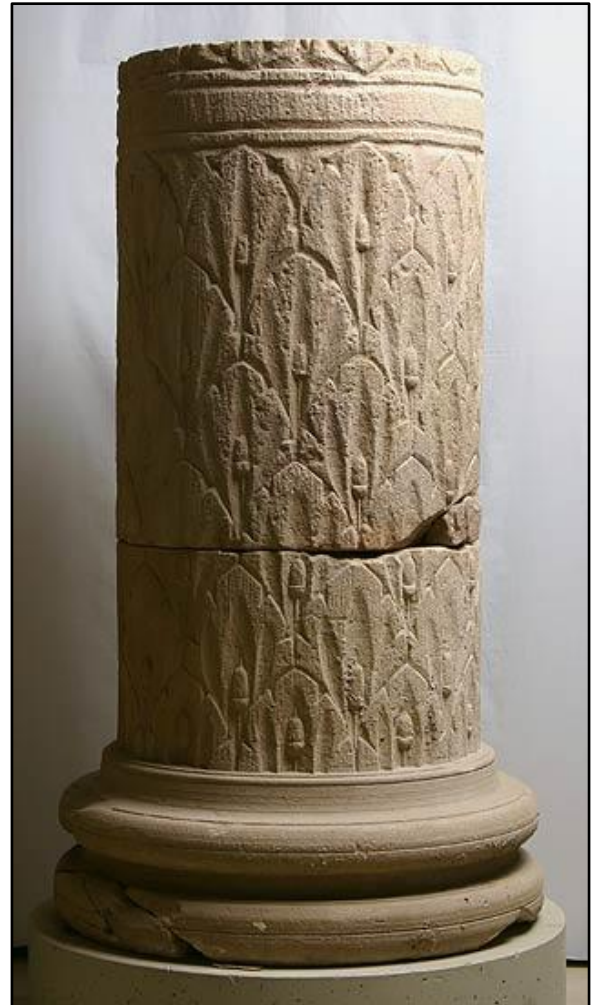


Figure 34. Remains of a *Schuppensäule*. Between the leaves, small acorns are depicted. Found in Hausen an der Zaber, currently in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, object number: RL 65,14.3 u. 4 (after <https://lupa.at>).



Figure 35. Mosaic from Romain-en-Gal with the scene of the offering couple at the pillar, with a big oak behind them (after Gschlößl 2006, 44).

5.9. 'Wheel-god'

Although not recorded separately in the database, the image of a wheel, referring to the sun-deity (Green 1992a, 2), was to be expected on Jupiter columns. Although there are a few examples, the amount was not too considerable. The image was common in the Romano-Celtic imagery. There are some examples of indigenous deities that was identified as the Sky-god Jupiter. Several examples show a dedication to Jupiter with the symbol of a wheel, some on Jupiter columns (see figure 33). In these cases, the shield of Jupiter was decorated with the image of the wheel. The earlier discussed opposition of solar force and underworld would be represented by this (Green 1992c, 225-226). Another possibility is that it represents thunder, whenever it is depicted with Jupiter (Gschlößl 2006, 45). The inclusion of the symbol has not been done too prominent, but the subtle addition to the imagery of Jupiter is definitely worth mentioning in describing the syncretism of the Romano-Celtic columns.

In summary, the noted deities in the database are, in alphabetical order: Apollo, Hercules, Mars, Mercury and Rosmerta (see images next page). The selection in short has been limited to those that could have hybrid forms, which is an important factor in a study to syncretism. The other deities of course also had a place in Romano-Celtic society, though they were not chosen for the reason given above and to keep the database convenient.¹



Figure 36. Fragment of a Jupiter column from Alzey. An enthroned Jupiter with the depiction of a wheel on the side of his throne. Standing in Museum Alzey (Altiaia), object number unknown (after ^b<https://www2.rgzm.de>).

¹ A couple of deities appear frequently on the columns, but do not add any regional elements to the Jupiter columns. They will shortly be mentioned here: *Victoria*: Personified goddess of the Roman victory, depicted with wings and a laurel wreath (Madigan 2013, 33); *Fortuna*: Roman goddess of fortune and misfortune, various attributes possible; a ship's rudder (gubernaculum), a ball, the wheel of fortune (Rota Fortunae) and/or a cornucopia (Lipka 2009, 119-120); *Ganymede*: A Greek divine hero from Troy, also known under the Latin name Catamitus. Often depicted with Zeus in the guise of an eagle on Roman sarcophagi (Griffiths 2012, 602); *Bacchus*: Roman god of wine, wine-making and grape-harvesting. Usually depicted with grapes and wine tendrils (Henrichs 2012, 238); *Vulcanus*: Roman god of fire, often depicted with a blacksmith's hammer (Madigan 2013, 55).

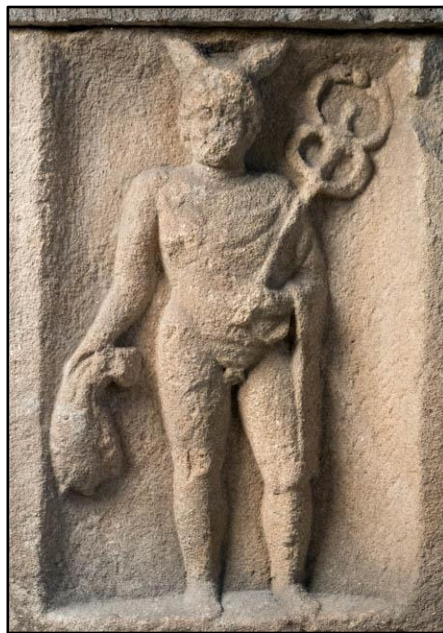


Figure 35a-e. Depictions of the selected deities on *Viergöttersteine*.

a (above left) = Apollo (source: ^c<http://lupa.at>). Museum Alzey, Alzey;

b (above middle) = Hercules (source: ^d<http://lupa.at>). Archaeologisches Museum Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main;

c = Mars (source: ^e<http://lupa.at>). Landesmuseum Mainz, Mainz;

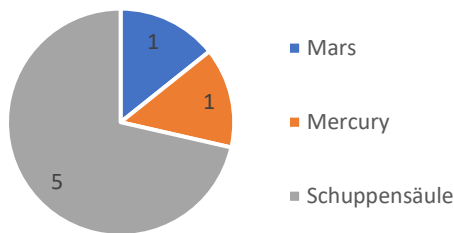
d (left) = Mercury (source: ^f<http://lupa.at>). Museum Alzey, Alzey;

e (right) = Rosmerta (source: ^g<http://lupa.at>). Stiftsmuseum Aschaffenburg, Aschaffenburg.

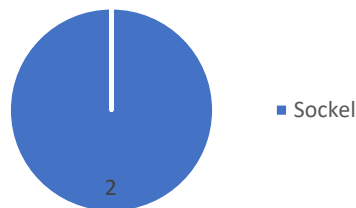
6. Graphs and Discussion of the Database

6.1. Britannia

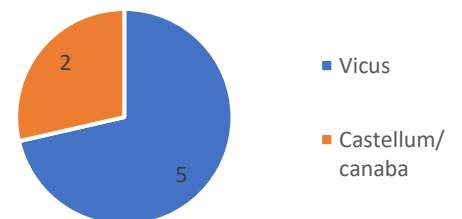
Amount of deities,
Britannia
N = 7



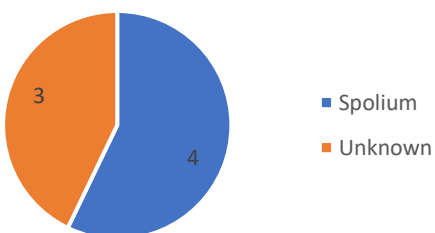
Types of parts of
column, Britannia
N = 2



Historical contexts,
Britannia
N = 7



Archaeological contexts,
Britannia
N = 7



Graph 1 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Britannia.

Graph 2 (top middle). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Britannia.

Graph 3 (top right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Britannia.

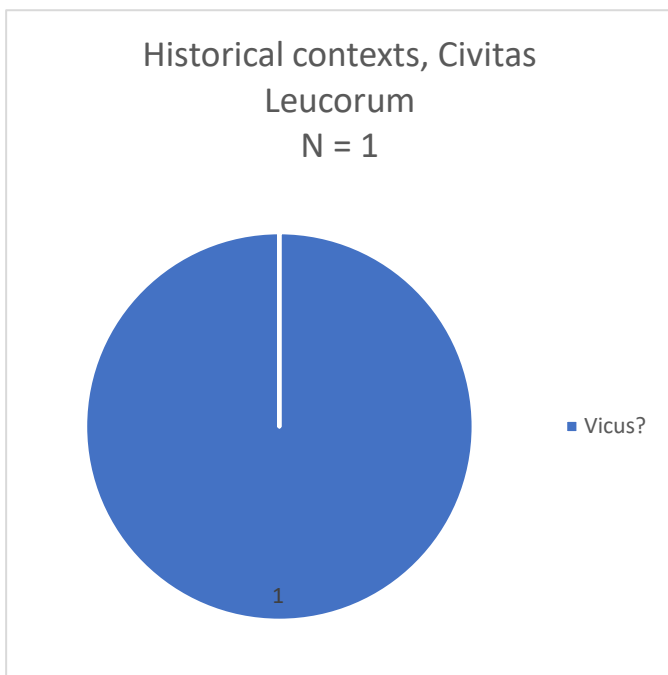
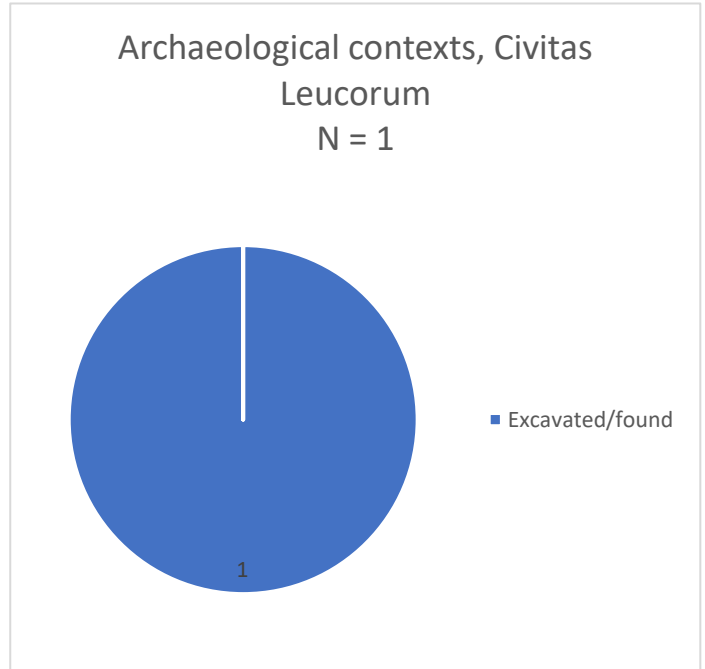
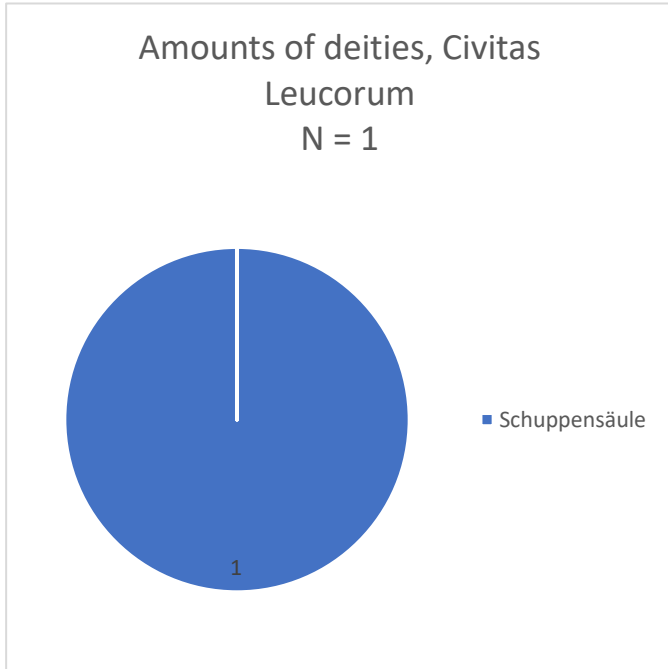
Graph 4 (bottom). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Britannia.

Britannia did not have a high quantity of Jupiter columns with regional deities altogether. *Schuppensäule* only appeared five times ($\pm 71\%$), while Mars and Mercury both were depicted once ($\pm 14\%$). The data from Britannia are too low of quantity to give any

reasonable conclusion about the island's inhabitants' choices. Since there were only two deities with a possible regional interpretation in Britannia, only two fragments were recorded in this graph. Both of the deities were depicted on the base of the column (*Sockel*; 100%). The diversity of historical contexts in Britannia remains, because of the low quantity of fragments. Five of the recorded fragments were located in a *vicus* ($\pm 71\%$). The two that are left either had their placement at a *castellum* or at a *canaba* ($\pm 29\%$). Four of the fragments were identified as *spolium* ($\pm 57\%$), while the archaeological context of the other three remains unknown ($\pm 43\%$). The low quantity altogether has lead me to exclude Britannia and its Jupiter columns for further research, as their relevance is too little for providing decent information about the Jupiter column cult as regional phenomenon.

6.2. Gallia Belgica

6.2.1. Civitas Leucorum



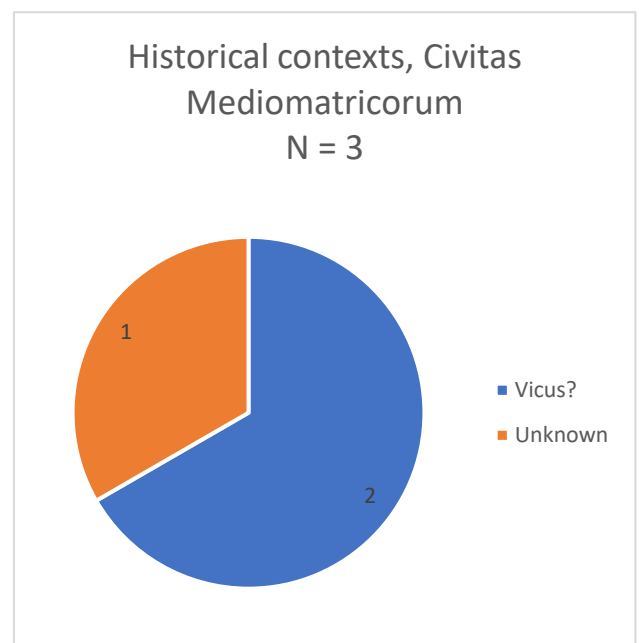
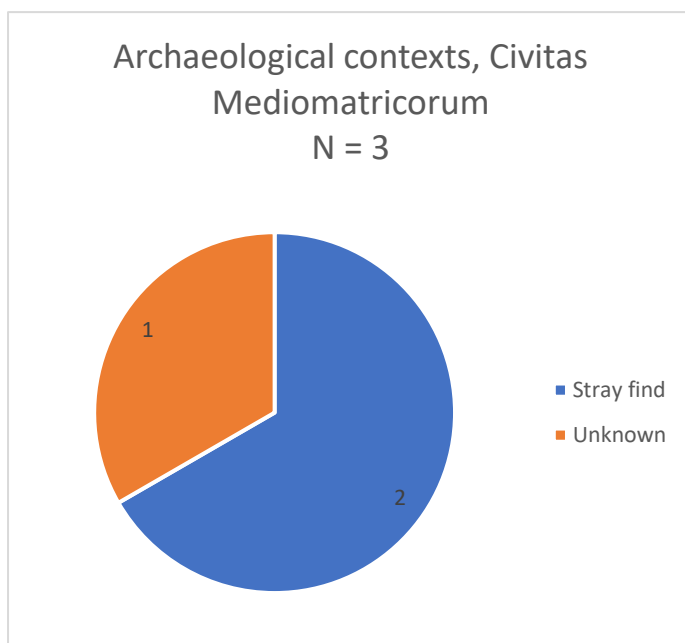
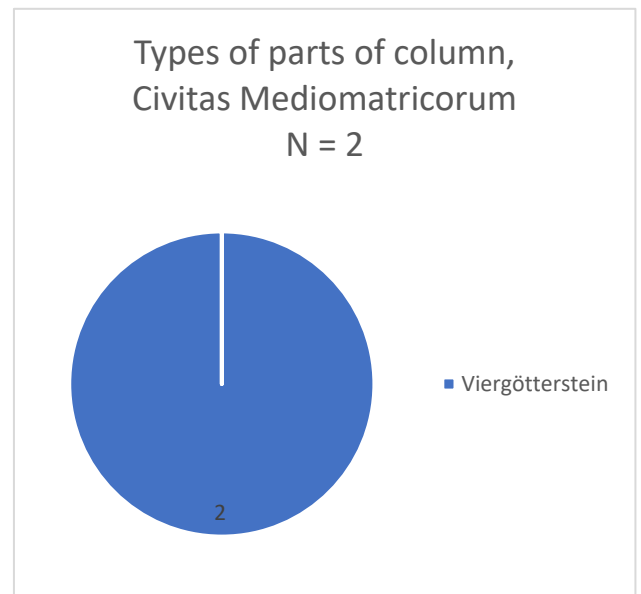
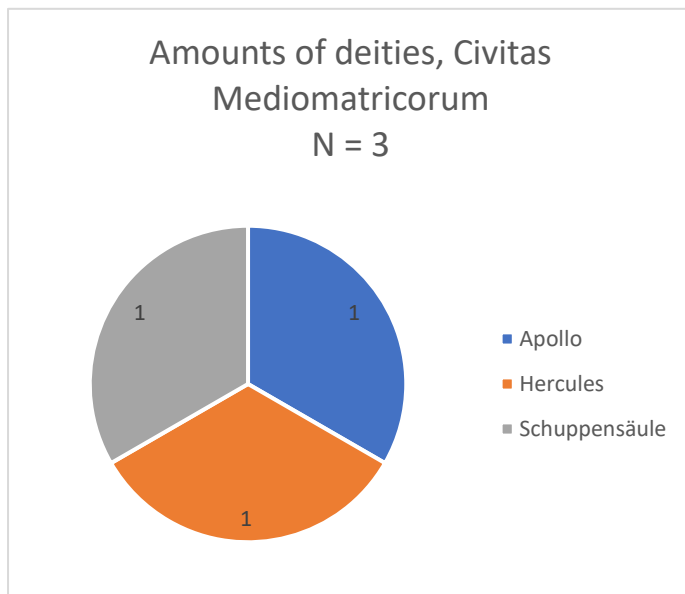
Graph 5 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Leucorum.

Graph 6 (top right). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Leucorum.

Graph 7 (bottom). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Leucorum.

The Civitas Leucorum, with as capital Tullum (Toul), only has one fragment included in the database. This quantity is too low to examine this *civitas* extensively at this point.

6.2.2. Civitas Mediomatricorum



Graph 8 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Mediomatricorum.

Graph 9 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Mediomatricorum.

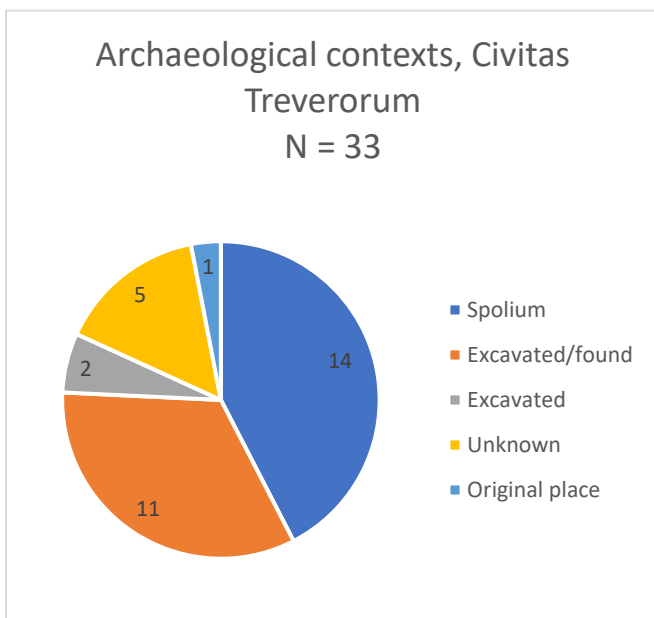
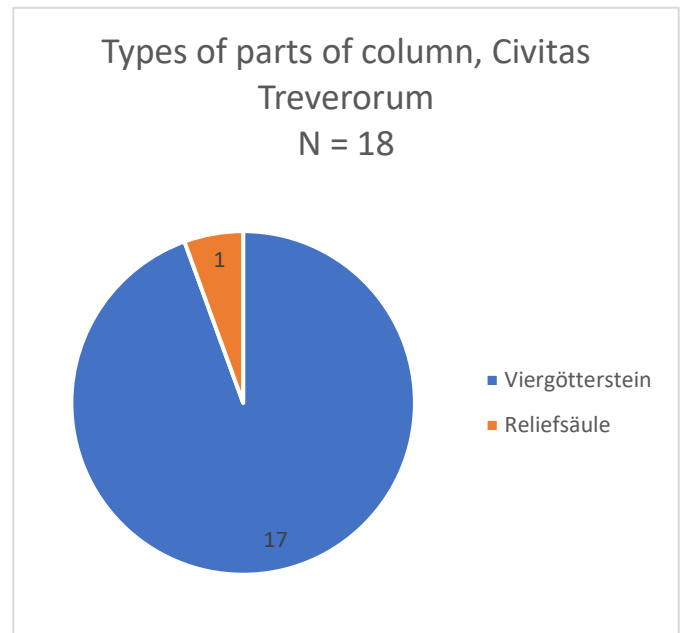
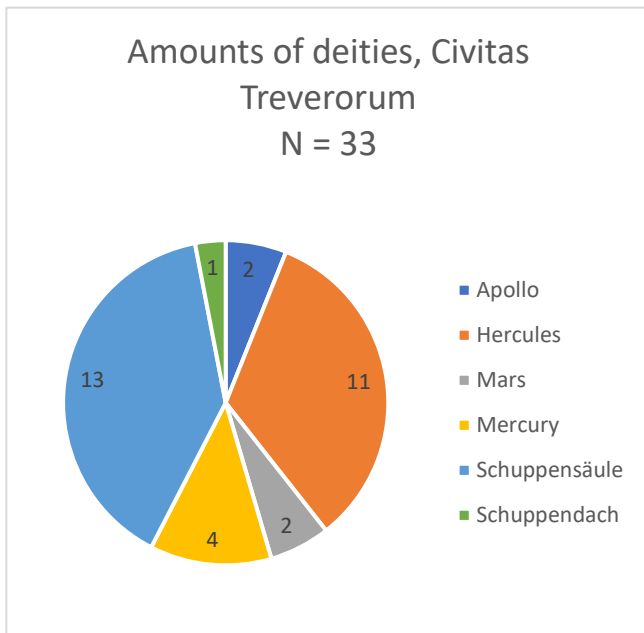
Graph 10 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Mediomatricorum.

Graph 11 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Mediomatricorum.

The record of regional elements from the Civitas Mediomatricorum (capital: Divodurum, modern-day Metz) is also relatively low. This is again too little to discuss any concrete differentiation from this *civitas*. It is nevertheless important to mention that the Mediomatrici were to known to have developed urbanism on one hand, especially *vici* and *villae rusticae* emerged in this relatively rural area,

but the tribe stayed faithful to their ancient Celtic tradition on the other hand, especially concerning their housing architecture of longhouses. Regional versions of both Roman and Celtic deities were also surely present (Schön 2006a). In that sense, the *civitas* could be examined in the same way as the neighbouring one to the north, the *Civitas Treverorum* (see below).

6.2.3. *Civitas Treverorum*



Graph 12 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in *Civitas Treverorum*.

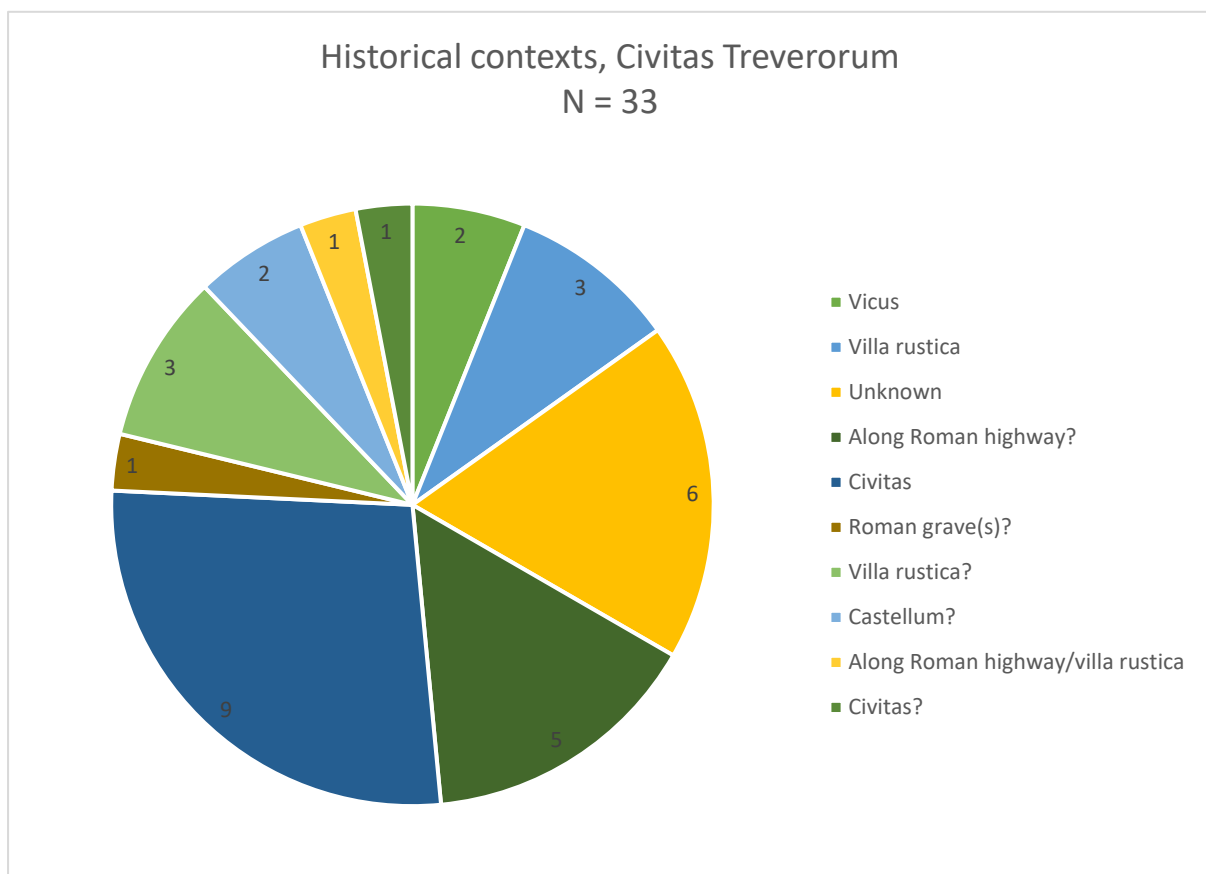
Graph 13 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in *Civitas Treverorum*.

Graph 14 (bottom). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in *Civitas Treverorum*.

The *Civitas Treverorum*, which had the city of Augusta Treverorum (modern-day Trier) as capital, produced most fragments from Gallia Belgica. Almost all deities identified were applied on a *Viergöttersteine*, with Hercules being depicted mostly. Over a third of the fragments were

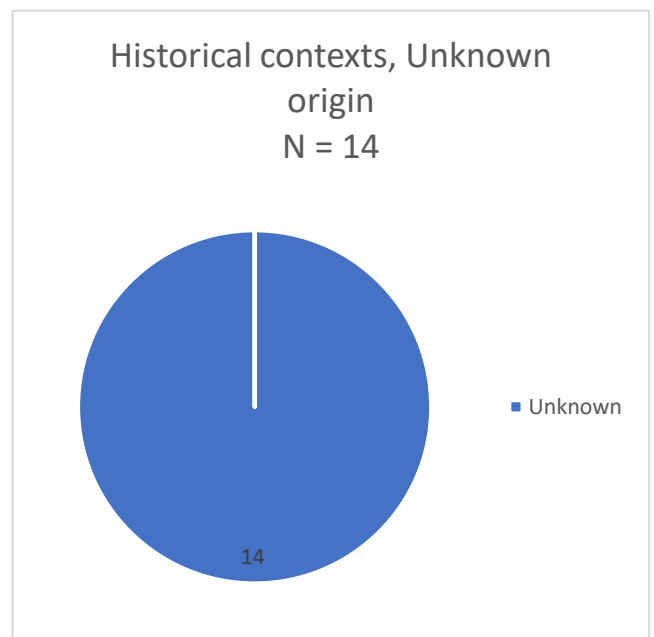
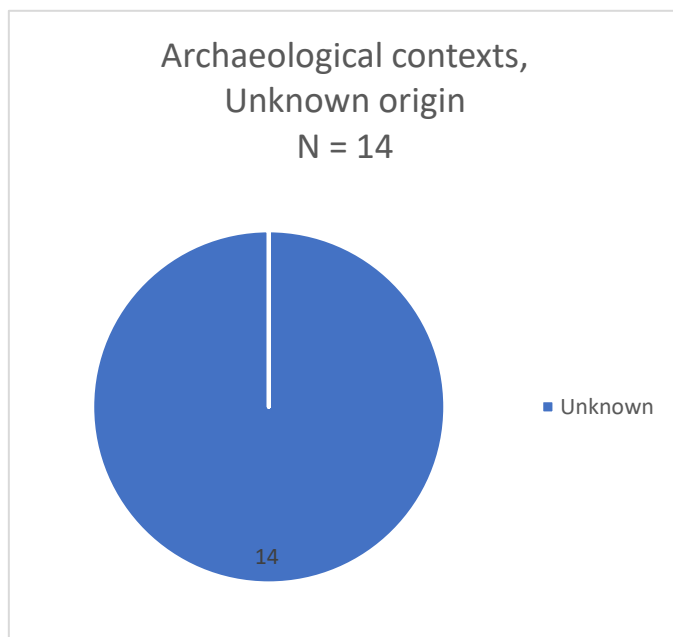
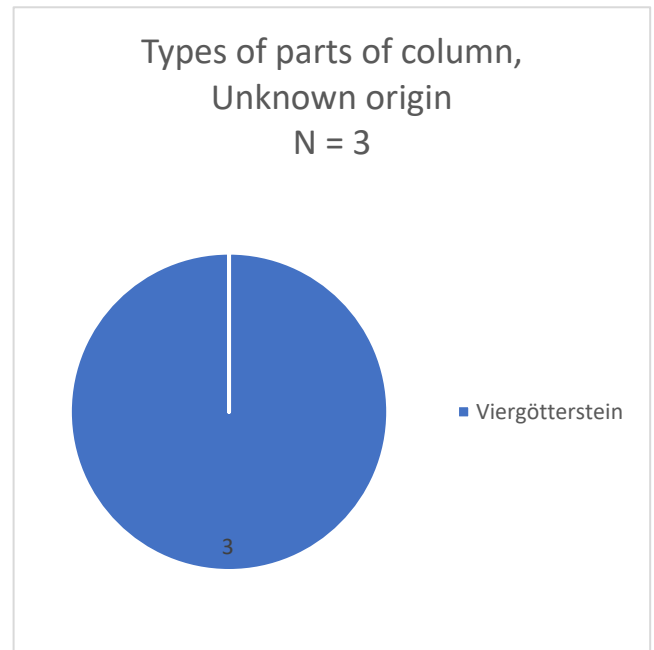
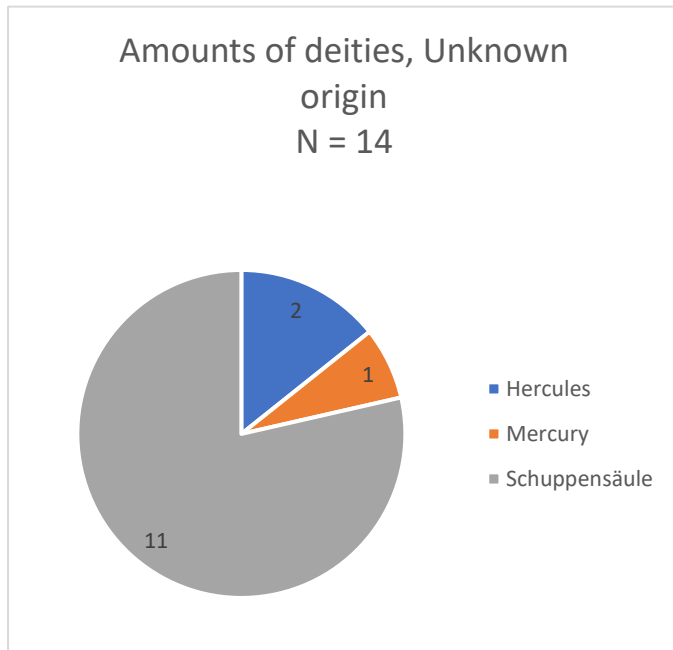
Schuppensäulen. Although the historical contexts were quite variant, we may assume that the fragments were (in most cases) placed in public spaces.

It is argued in scholarship that Trier and its *civitas* integrated into the Roman Empire and that this changed material culture. However, one should not think that a Roman identity evolved. Rather, it should be seen as a shift towards a 'pan-Gallic' identity (Rothe 2014, 505-506). The Treveri were known to have multiple hybrid deities. Several inscriptions dedicated to a double-named Mars were found, most of them to Lenus Mars. This deity was probably also connected to or identified as Gallic deity, or multiple. One option might be Intarabus, who was a (political) protective deity of one or multiple subdivisions (*pagi*) of Trier. Supposedly, Mars had a similar role in too, which explains connections between the two deities mentioned above (Derks 1998, 198-199; Van Andringa 2002, 145). The fragments of Mars from Civitas Treverorum, however, are limited to just two. Though, if we stick to the pan-Gallic principle, another connection with Mars and a regional deity can be traced, namely that of Smertios. Dedications to Mars Smertios have been identified at the Treveri tribe, but it is argued that Smertios could well be identified with Hercules too (Duval 1989, 263). This could mean that the depictions of Hercules from this region were at least related to Smertios, shedding a different light on the prominent part Hercules' depictions make up (33%). A fixed dedication to a specific local deity is not certain in any case.



Graph 15. The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Treverorum.

6.2.4. Unknown origin (Gallia Belgica)



Graph 16 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities of the unknown sites (Gallia Belgica).

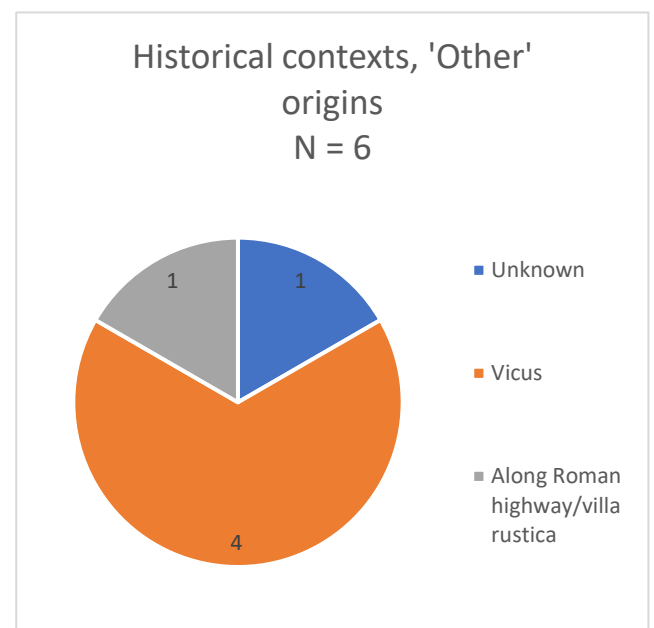
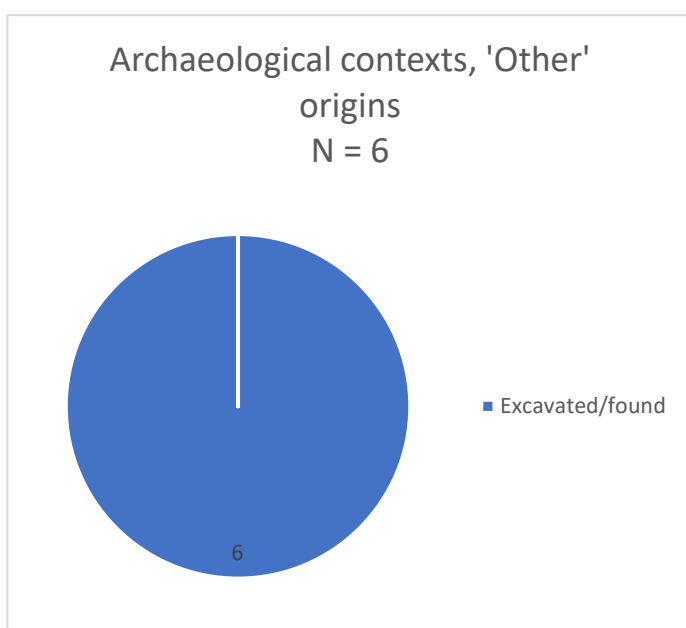
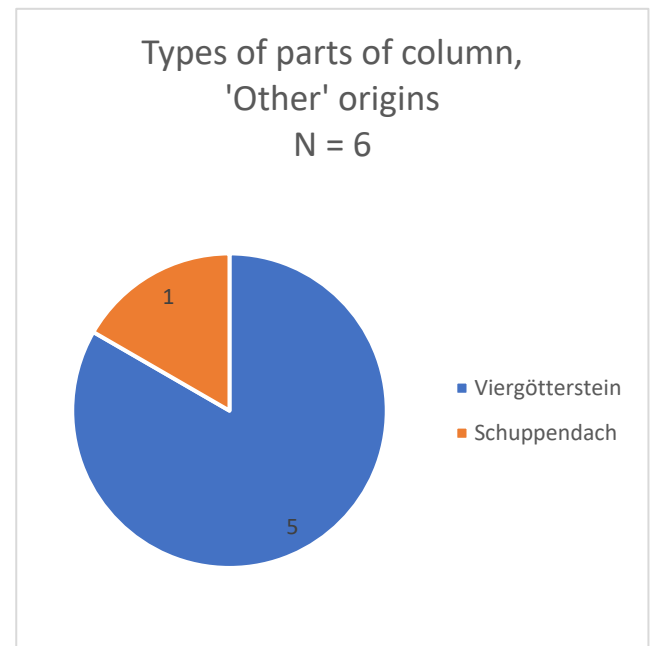
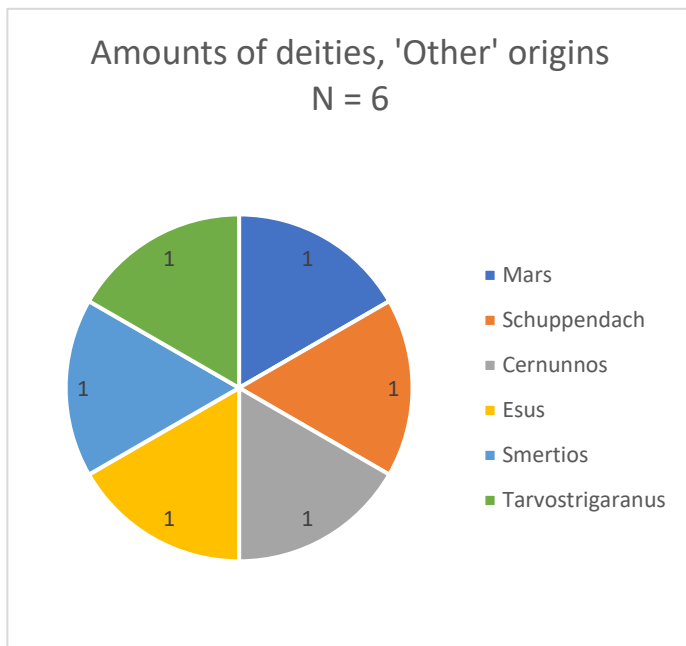
Graph 17 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted of the unknown sites (Gallia Belgica).

Graph 18 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments of the unknown sites (Gallia Belgica).

Graph 19 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments of the unknown sites (Gallia Belgica).

The amount of fragments with an unknown origin within Gallia Belgica is significantly large. Due to the lack of concrete information, it is difficult to interpret these data. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the *Schuppensäulen* again form a prominent part of the database here. At this point, it can only indicate a regional trend. It will be interesting to see if this is merely on *civitas*, province or supra-regional level.

6.2.5. 'Other' origins



Graph 20 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities of the 'other' origins.

Graph 21 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted of the 'other' origins.

Graph 22 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments of the 'other' origins.

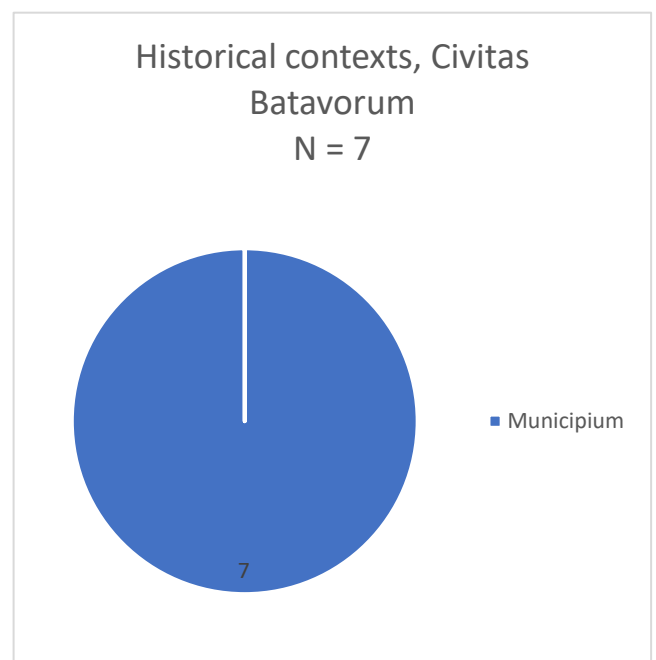
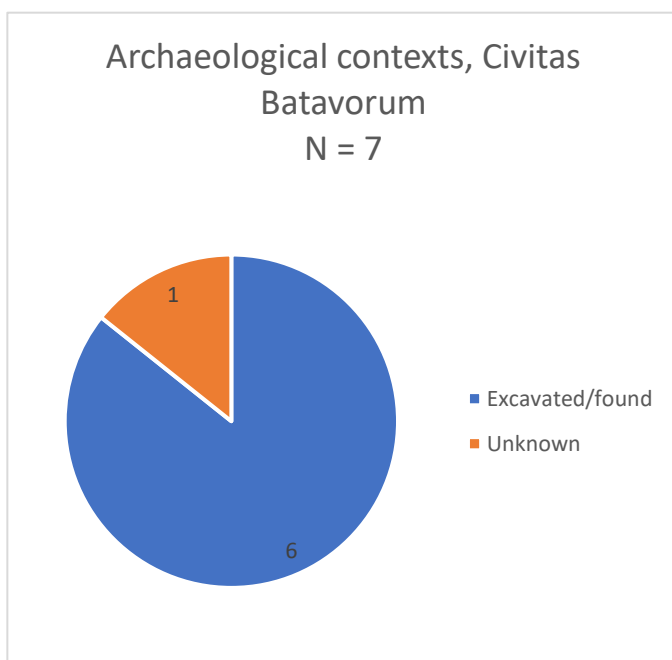
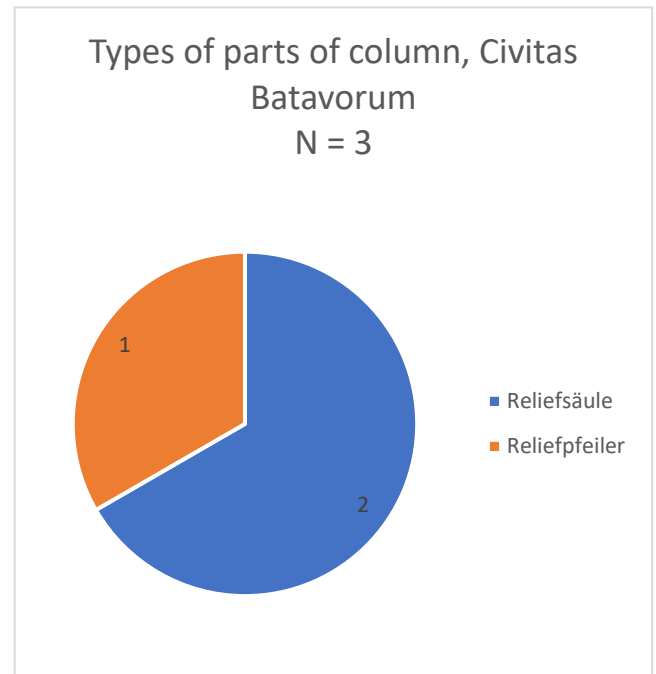
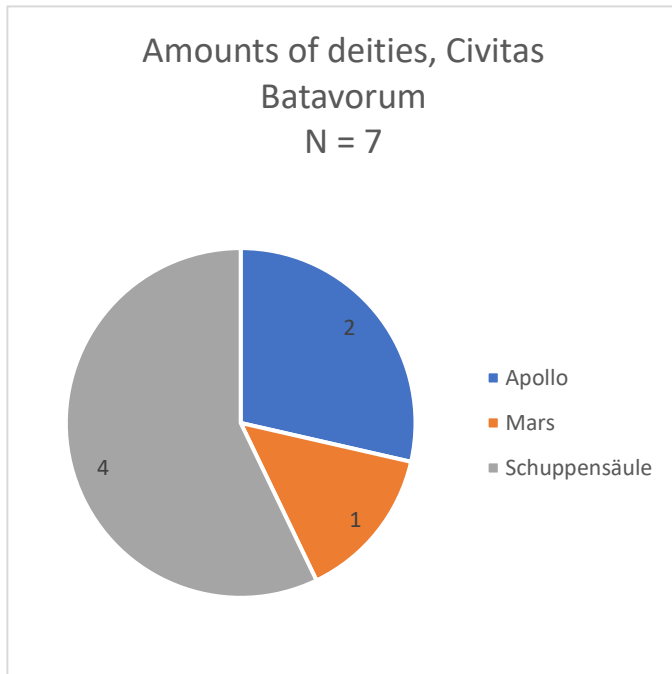
Graph 23 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments of the 'other' origins.

The 'other' origins are named like that, as they are officially not part of Gallia Belgica, nor of one of the *Germaniae*. Vienne-en-Val, Faverolles and Paris (Lutetia) belonged to Gallia Lugdunensis. The reason for including them in Gallia Belgica is because of the geographical proximity to Belgica on one hand

and the implicated relatedness between the two Gallic provinces in general. Though, their inclusion is important to be able to properly understand the process of syncretism, especially the fragments from Paris, which were part of the well-known Pilier des Nautes. This pillar obviously contains deities of non-Graeco-Roman origin, especially since these depictions contain inscriptions with the names of the deities. The Gallic Smertios has been named before, but Esus, Cernunnos and Tarvostrigaranus are of Gallic origin as well (see for example Droixhe 2002 or Jacomin 2006). The regionalism shall be tackled in the following chapter.

6.3. Germania Inferior

6.3.1. Civitas Batavorum



Graph 24 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Batavorum.

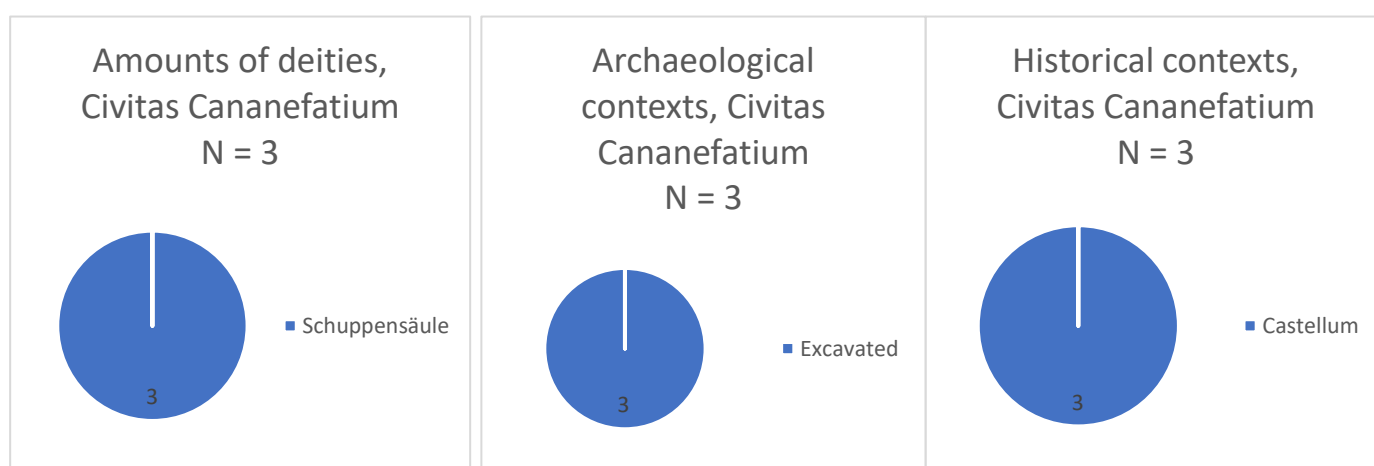
Graph 25 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Batavorum.

Graph 26 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Batavorum.

Graph 27 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Batavorum.

As earlier touched upon, the cult of Hercules was a prominent one in Batavian society. The best known regional variant in *Civitas Batavorum* (capital: *Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum*, modern-day Nijmegen) of the Hercules cult undoubtedly was that of *Hercules Magusanus* (Roymans 2004, 241-243). Somewhat strangely, however, all fragments from this *civitas* - in fact, all originate from Nijmegen – are not identified as an image of Hercules or one of his hybrid forms. Generally, the Hercules cult was the one that gained importance from the founding of the *civitas* and functioned as the principal one. This probably happened elsewhere in the Lower Rhine region as well (Derks 1998, 98). Other deities are regarded to have been venerated on a local level. Dedications to a regional Apollo might have been to Apollo Grannus, but it was not a public cult, which thus seems unlikely to have been used for the Jupiter columns here. Additionally, any public cults of Mars, both Graeco-Roman and regional, are more known to have been present in Gaul and not in the Lower Rhine region (Derks 1998, 99-100; Roymans 2004, 243; Rothe 2014, 500-502). The Pillar of Tiberius could provide insights into early syncretistic veneration on these public monuments. Graeco-Roman depictions predominate the pillar, though some are difficult to identify (see Panhuysen 2002). Comparison with the *Pilier des Nautes* (see above) and the *Pilier de Mavilly* (see below) appears to be the best way to interpret possible syncretism and shall be carried out in the next chapter.

6.3.2. *Civitas Cananefatium*



Graph 28 (left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in *Civitas Cananefatium*.

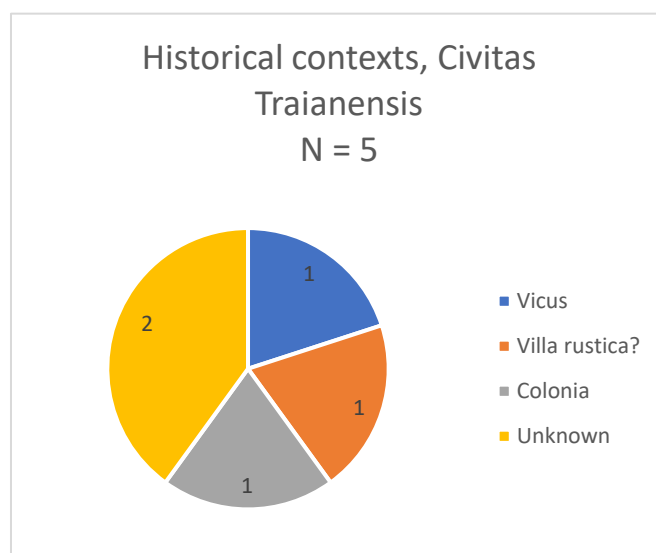
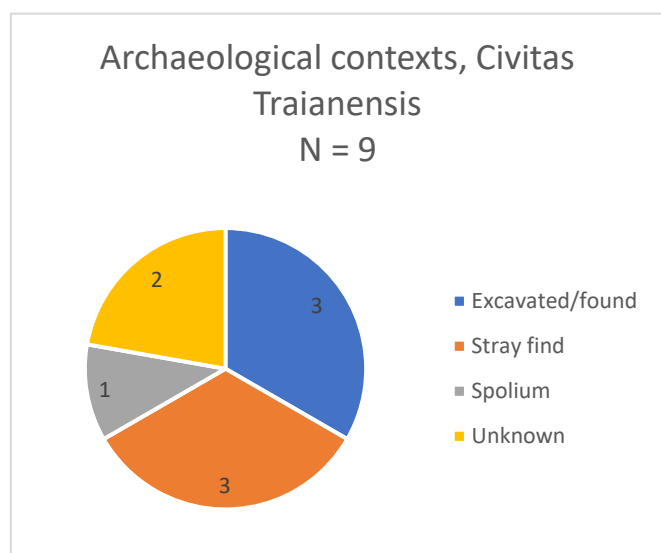
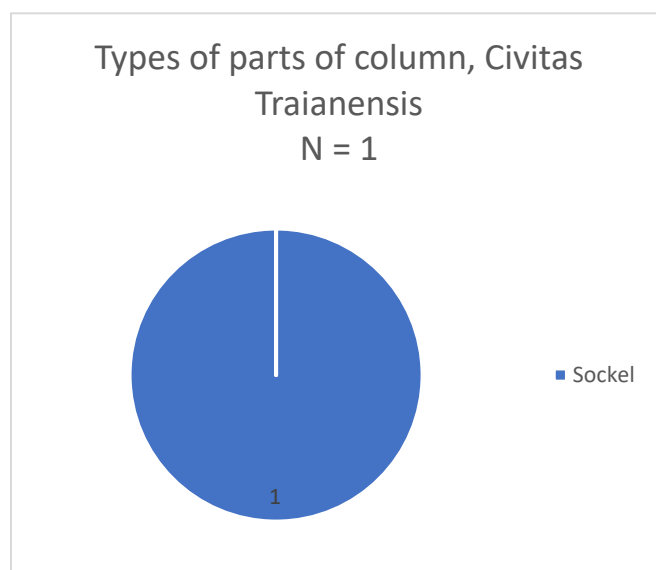
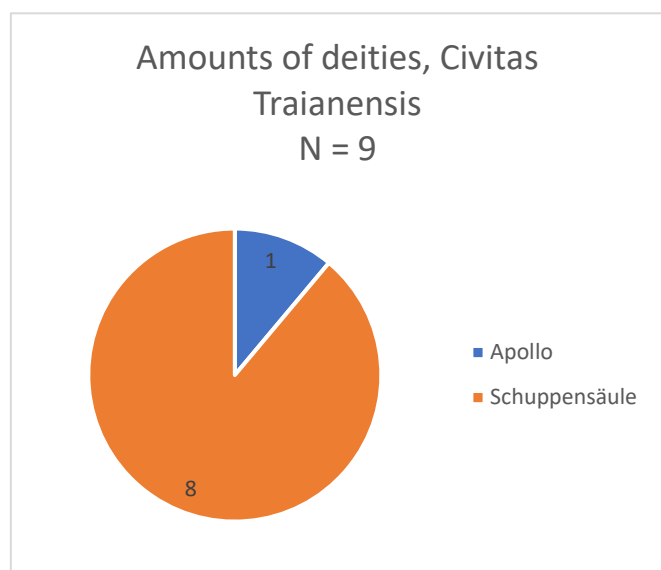
Graph 29 (middle). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in *Civitas Cananefatium*.

Graph 30 (right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in *Civitas Cananefatium*.

The record of *Civitas Cananefatium* (capital: *Forum Hadriani*, modern-day Voorburg) is too small to consider in the discussion. Additionally, only *Schuppensäulen* from one town (Valkenburg) fill this part of the database. This is not surprising, as most finds of veneration to deities have been mostly for

deities like Jupiter, Neptune, Sol and Victoria (De Bruin 2019 25; 73). Additionally, the Cananefates to some degree had a decent diplomatic relationship with the Romans over time (Van de Bunt 2020, 80-81). The fragments of the *Schuppensäulen* should therefore not exclude the possibility of any (syncretistic) depictions of deities we see on other columns. It is too speculative at this point, however, to include the Cananefates into the discussion.

6.3.3. *Civitas Traianensis*



Graph 31 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in *Civitas Traianensis*.

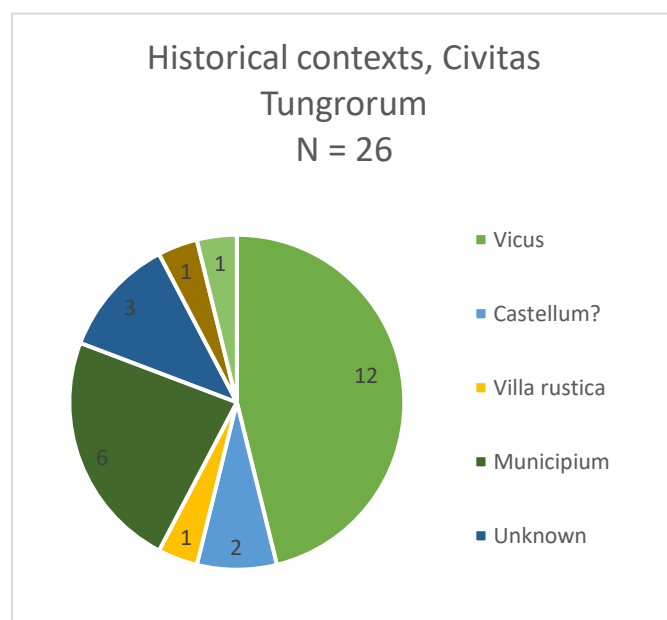
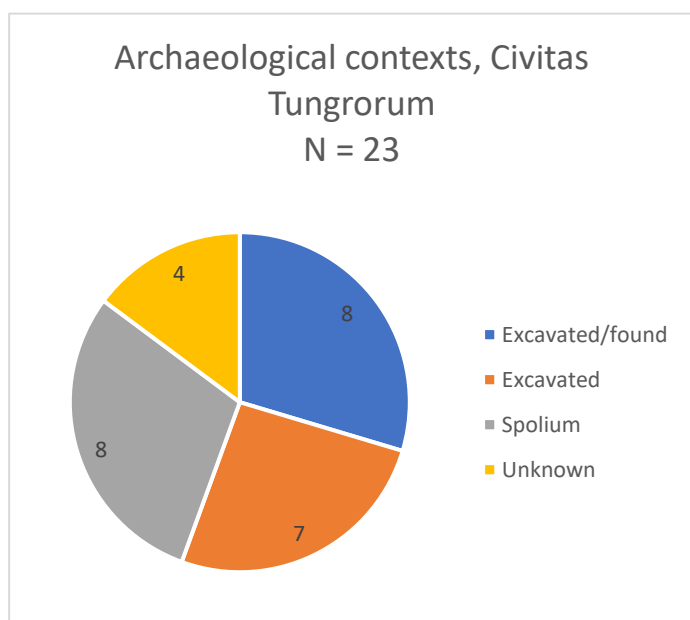
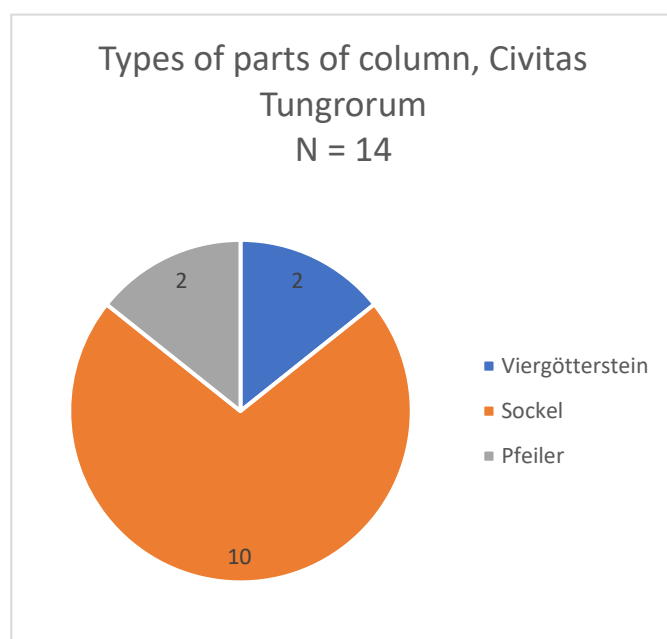
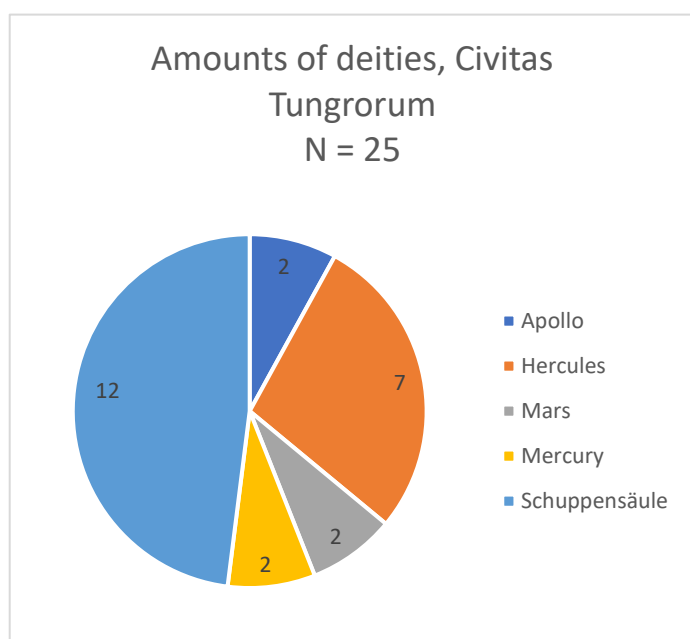
Graph 32 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in *Civitas Traianensis*.

Graph 33 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in *Civitas Traianensis*.

Graph 34 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in *Civitas Traianensis*.

Almost all fragments from Civitas Traianesis, with Xanten as capital, are *Schuppensäulen*. It is therefore in this case not useful to look for any specific regional or local interpretations for that one other deity, Apollo. The lower amount of historical contexts is because of the stray finds, for which the uncertainty was too high to define a relevant context.

6.3.4. Civitas Tungrorum



Graph 35 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Tungrorum.

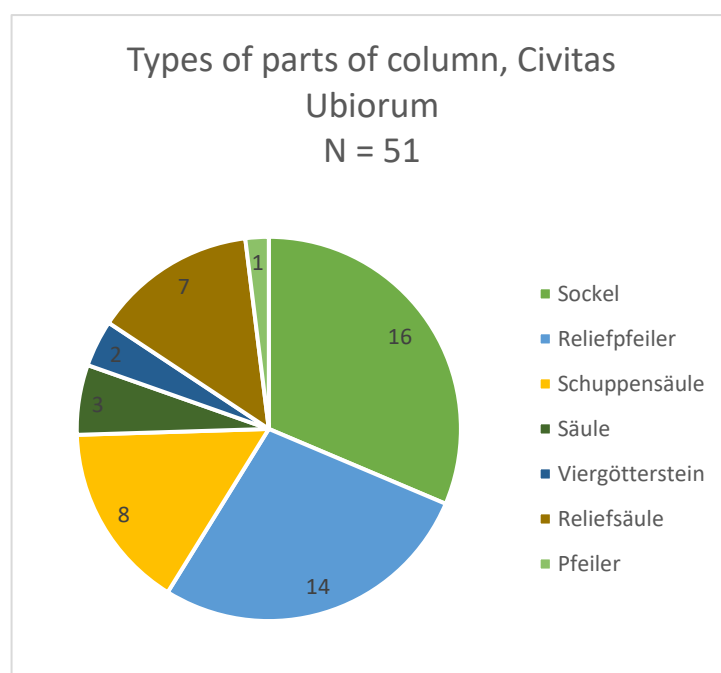
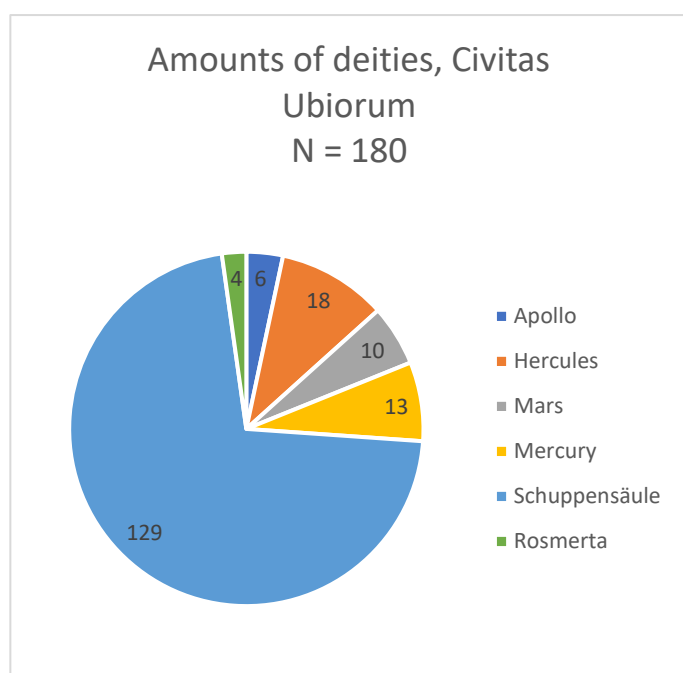
Graph 36 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Tungrorum.

Graph 37 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Tungrorum.

Graph 38 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Tungrorum.

The Civitas Tunngorum (capital: Atuatuca, modern-day Tongeren) provides a decent amount of Jupiter columns with regional elements to the database. Almost half of the record here consists of *Schuppensäulen*. The other half has a quite even division among the deities, only Hercules is slightly more depicted than the others. This could very well be a result of the general trend of the Hercules cult gaining a prominent place in this part of the Roman Empire, as described earlier. The Tungri, who formed an extensive part of the ethnic group in this area, were a result of the ethnogenesis carried out by Julius Caesar (Roymans 2004, 24). Their religious identity is therefore complicated, but it is argued that they partly stuck with their own deities from the *Germaniae* and partly had the same development as in Civitas Batavorum, with both hybrid and Graeco-Roman deities making their appearance (Nouwen 1997, 272-273; 279-282). The archaeological contexts here are relatively variant. The ones that come from a *municipium* are from Tongeren, the others from in total ten other locations. This points at a possible small focus of the Jupiter columns in the *civitas* centre, but a spread among other urbanised areas within the region as well (Panhuysen 1996, 196).

6.3.5. Civitas Ubiorum



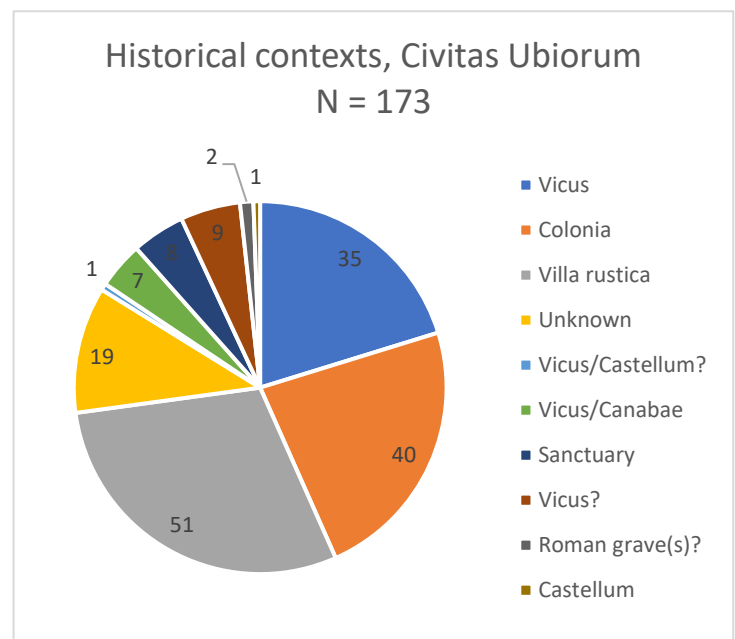
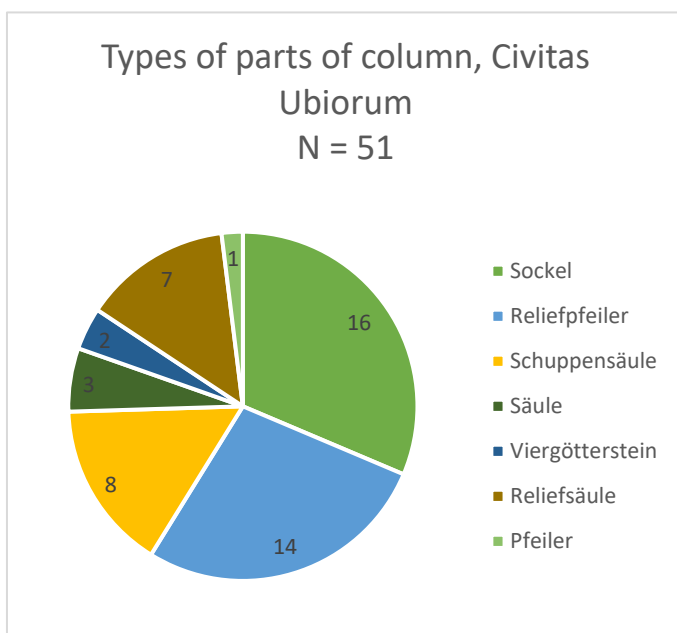
Graph 39 (left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Ubiorum.

Graph 40 (right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Ubiorum.

The Civitas Ubiorum, with its big capital Köln (CCAA), is the first *civitas* with a high quantity of fragments of the database. Interestingly, about 72% of the fragments is (part of) a *Schuppensäule*. The other part is made up by five different deities, of whom Hercules, Mars and Mercury are depicted slightly more

often. Moreover, this is the only *civitas* where fragments of Rosmerta on Jupiter columns have been identified. Lastly, it is noteworthy to mention that 46 fragments (ca. 25%) come from Köln itself.

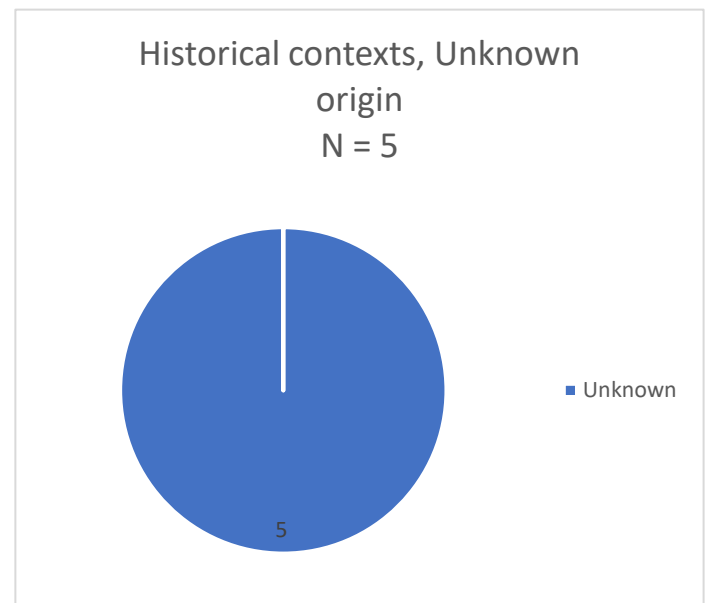
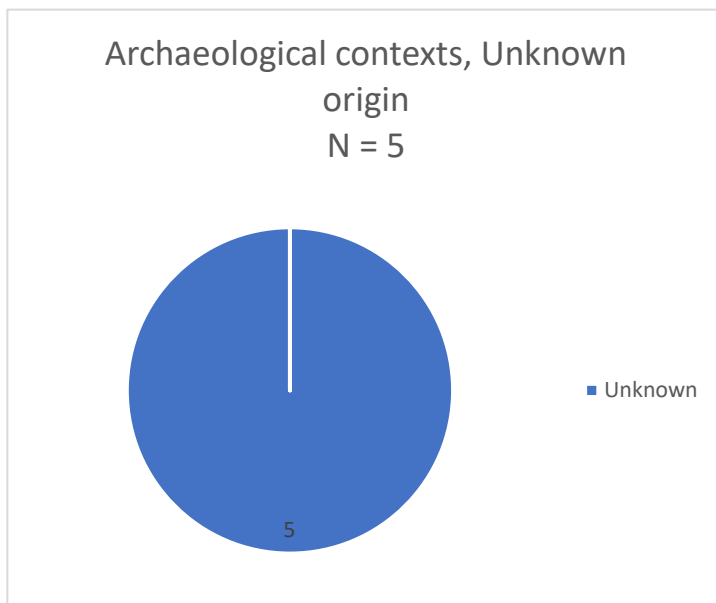
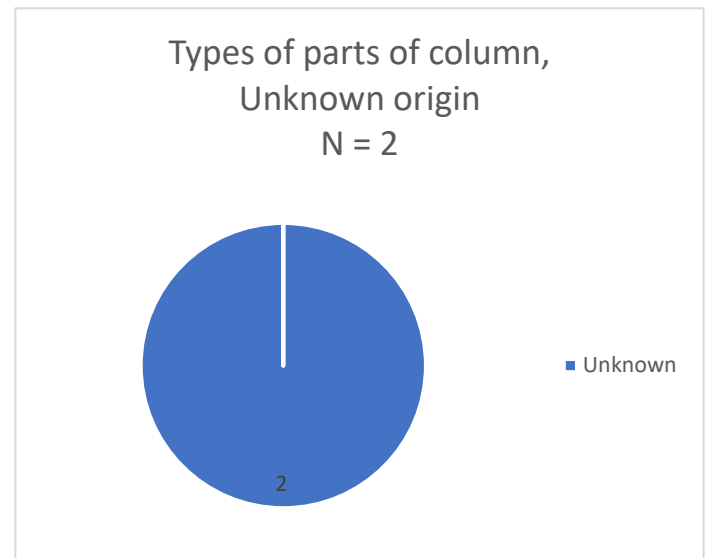
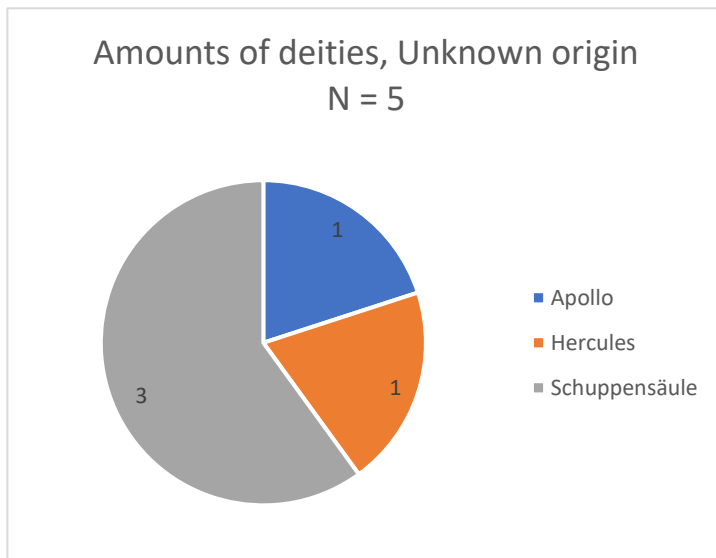
Köln is often regarded as one of the ‘most Romanised’ towns in Northwestern Europe. Before the Roman conquests, the town already was a big settlement of the Ubii. After, several Roman officials and veterans came to the city. This would lead to a highly variable population in Köln. This obviously was influential for the local pantheon in this *civitas*. In and around Köln, Epona and the Matronae were depicted on sculptures in high quantities (Wells 1999, 173-174). Additionally, this part of Germania Inferior and big parts of Germania Superior had indigenous deities that could be identified in Graeco-Roman ones. Deities like Wodan, Donar and Tiu are specifically named as ‘Germanic’ of origin but possible recognisable in forms of Mercury, Hercules and Mars (Wolfram 2018, 69). It is argued that the Ubii kept some parts of their pre-Roman traditions, one of which was the Matronae cult. The combination of the different peoples – first and foremost the Romans and Ubii – was regarded by the inhabitants of the Civitas Ubiorum as part of their new identity (Rothe 2014, 507-508). The latter two components could explain why there was such a high quantity of *Schuppensäulen* in this *civitas*, as this monument only existed after the arrival of the Romans. Furthermore, there might be indications of veneration to local hybrid variants of Graeco-Roman deities. A 2nd century altar from Bonn contained an inscription, showing that it was dedicated to Mercury Gebrinius. The information on this deity is little, but it is thought that Gebrinius was a local deity that was linked with Mercury (Green 1992c, 149). Objects like this with such inscriptions show us that veneration to seemingly Graeco-Roman deities might also have been done for hybrid, Romano-Celtic deities in Civitas Ubiorum.



Graph 41 (left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Ubiorum.

Graph 42 (right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Ubiorum.

6.3.6. Unknown origin (*Germania Inferior*)



Graph 43 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities of the unknown sites (*Germania Inferior*).

Graph 44 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted of the unknown sites (*Germania Inferior*).

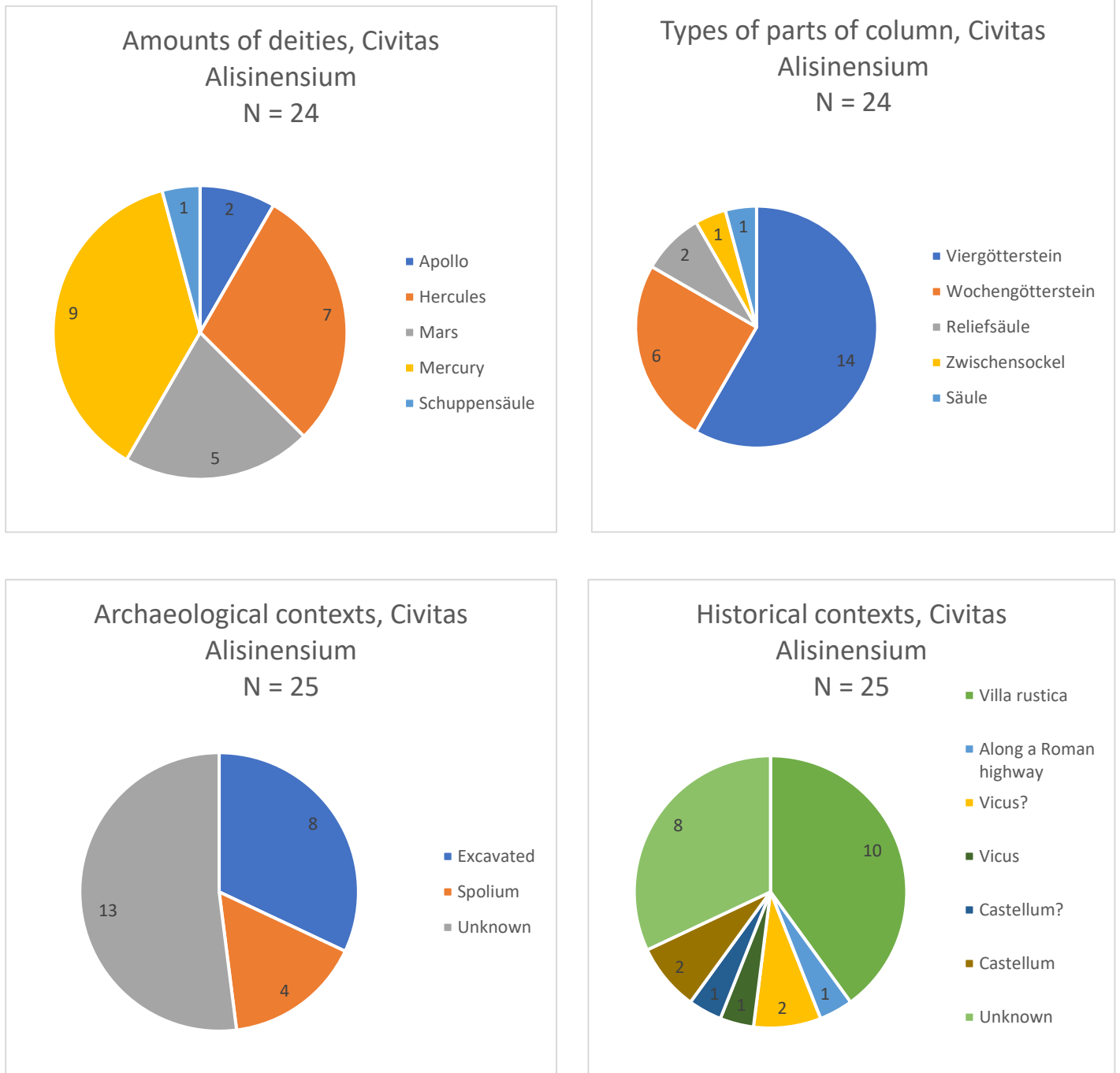
Graph 45 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments of the unknown sites (*Germania Inferior*).

Graph 46 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments of the unknown sites (*Germania Inferior*).

The quantity of the fragments with an unknown origin is relatively low in *Germania Inferior*, in relation to the high qualities of *Civitas Tungrorum* and *Civitas Ubiorum*. Therefore, these will not be taken into account in any discussion.

6.4. Germania Superior

6.4.1. Civitas Alisinensium



Graph 47 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Alisinensium.

Graph 48 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Alisinensium.

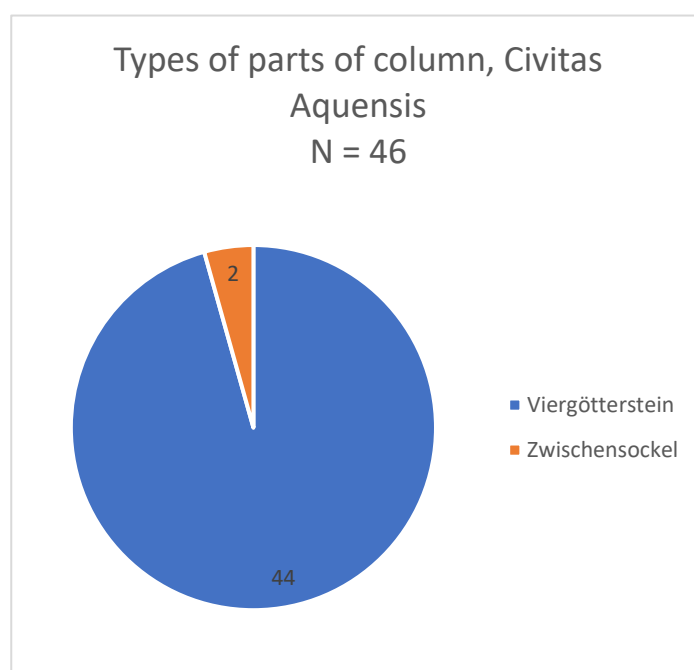
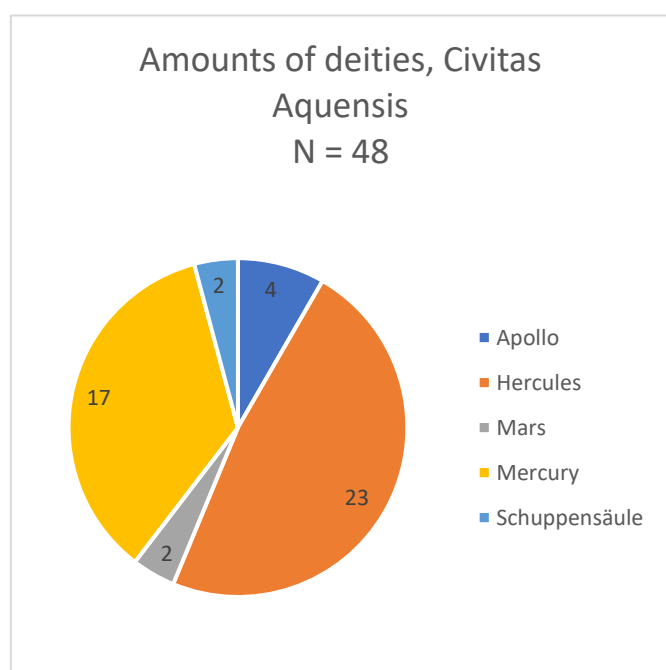
Graph 49 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Alisinensium.

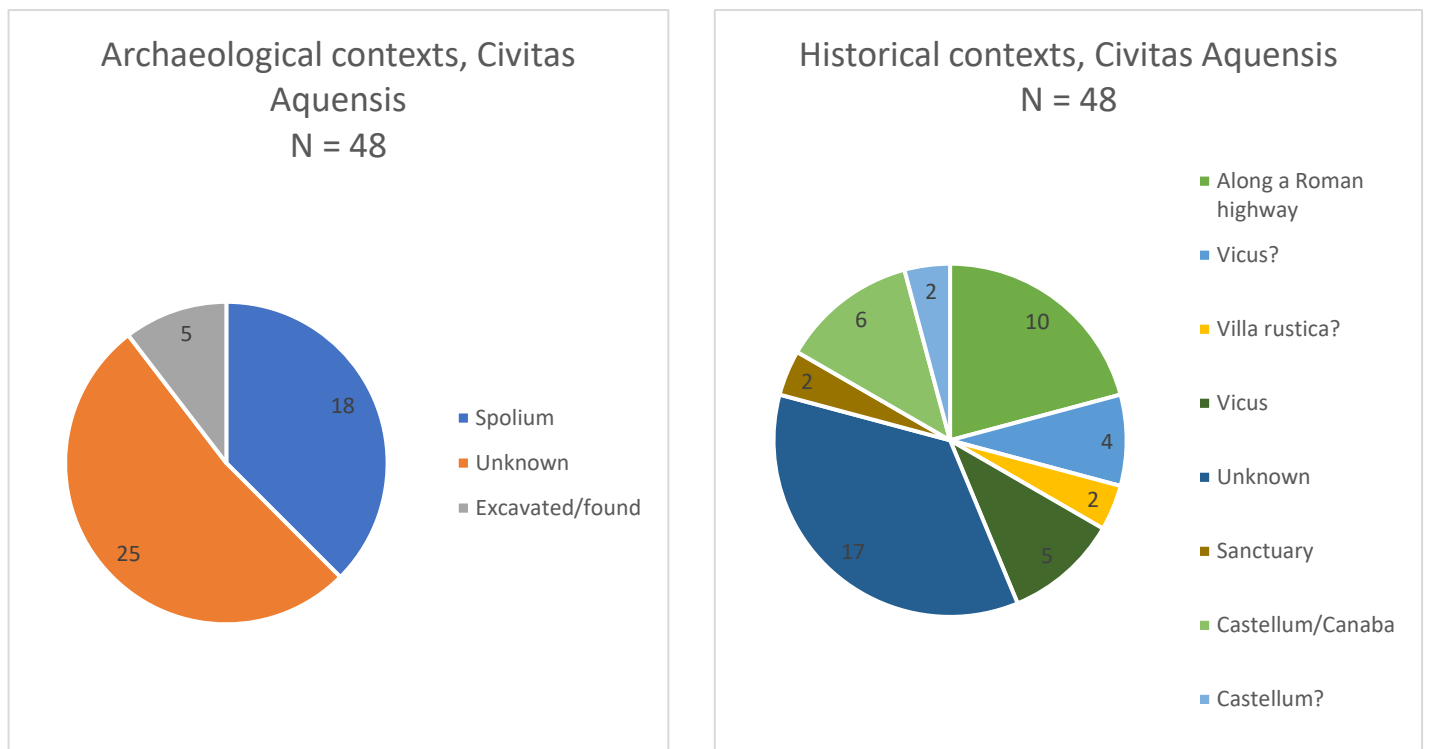
Graph 50 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Alisinensium.

The record from Civitas Alisinensium (capital: Bad Wimpfen) forms only a small part of the whole record from Germania Superior, but is on itself big enough to take into consideration. It shows that the trend of the three masculine deities most often depicted in this area (Mars, Mercury and Hercules) is to some extent represented here as well. The problem for a deeper investigation in a possible local pantheon is that there is little known about this area, at least in religious-archaeological sense. Especially the information about the capital remains little. This might have something to do with the historical contexts that are relatively often connected to a *villa rustica*, which is something that we have not seen so far. The public nature of these kind of monuments is still there, but the context is obviously different from an example in a dense town.

Any indigenous tribes that could have had a major influence in the depictions were (subgroups of) the Suebi. Several tribes are regarded to have been related to the Suebi, who were present in large parts of modern-day Germany. These were for example the Longboards or the Hermunduri. For this *civitas*, there are no clear examples of local deities in epigraphs or material culture. Examples do show dedications, but can easily be interpreted as ‘full’ Graeco-Roman examples. Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum, on the other hand, supposedly has clearer implications of a local culture (see below; Wiegels 2006a). Apart from a depiction of Mercury which is stylistically closer to the Celtic one than the Graeco-Roman one (¹<http://lupa.at>), this statement by Wiegels is difficult to confirm for the *civitas* we tackle here. For future research, it is better to investigate this ‘local culture’ in Civitas Alisinensium.

6.4.2. Civitas Aquensis





Graph 51 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Aquensis.

Graph 52 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Aquensis.

Graph 53 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Aquensis.

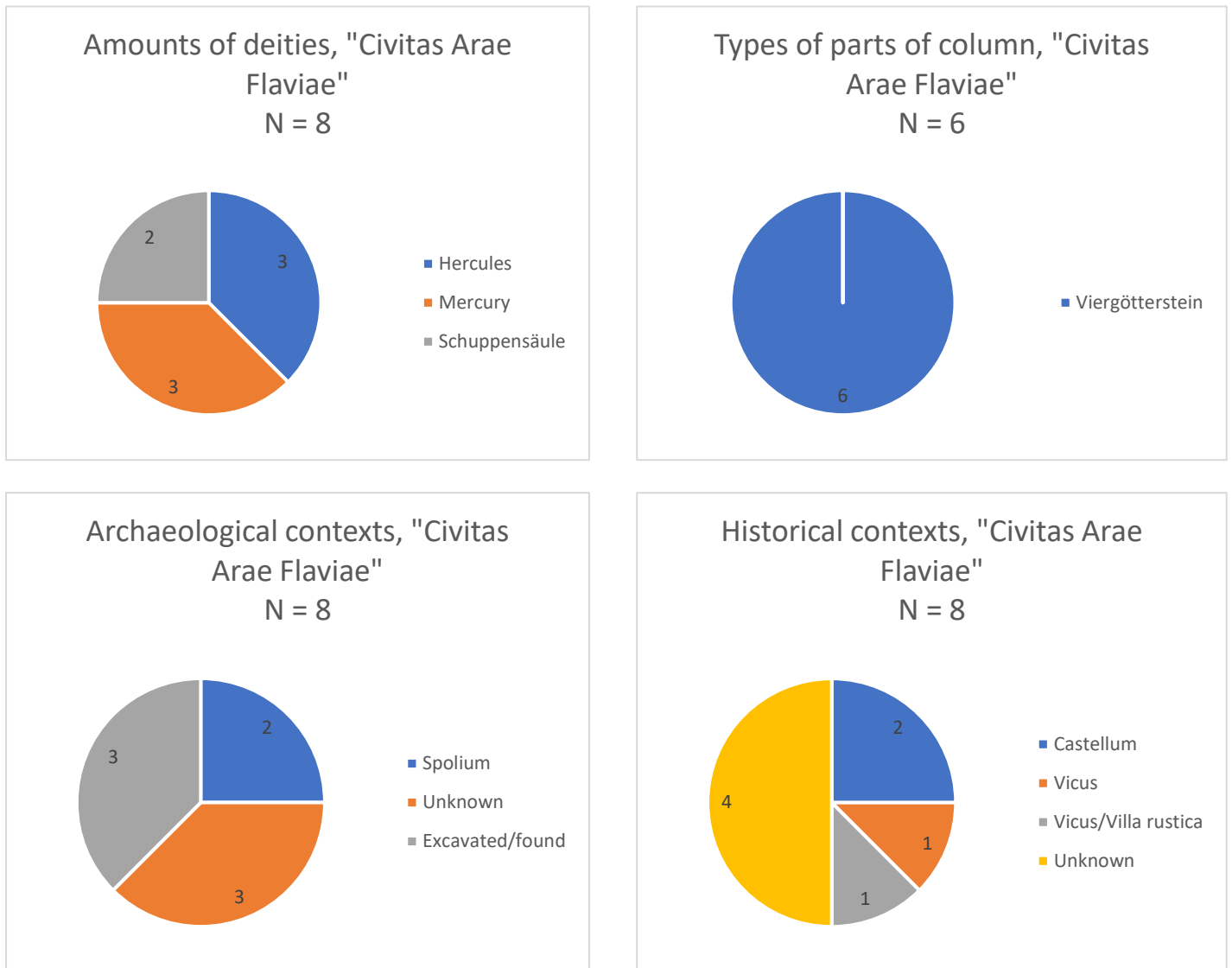
Graph 54 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Aquensis.

The Civitas Aquensis (capital: Aquae, modern-day Baden-Baden) has a decent quantity of fragments in the database. Almost all deities were identified on *Viergöttersteine*, which we have not seen this explicitly so far, especially in the other provinces. The focus of the deities here is more focused on just Hercules and Mercury, as Mars plays a significantly minor role here. For this *civitas*, there are little indications of a specific religious culture of one single tribe. However, it is not to be expected that this region did not have any regional influences, both ‘Gallic’ and ‘Germanic’. Both Celtic influences have been present to some degree in the material culture of the towns. It is argued that the (biggest) local tribe, the Triboci, have been more ‘Germanic’ than ‘Gallic’. Either way, towns like Baden-Baden and Strasbourg undoubtedly presented Celtic elements in their material culture (Dietz 2006a; Schön 2006b).

6.4.3. “Civitas Arae Flaviae”

In “Civitas Arae Flaviae” (capital: Arae Flaviae, modern-day Rottweil), the quantity is low in comparison to multiple of the other *civitates* in this region. It is clear that the high concentration of Jupiter columns

with regional elements of Germania Superior does not apply for this *civitas*. It is interesting to see, however, that Hercules and Mercury are represented in a substantial amount here, which follows the trend of the province altogether.



Graph 55 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in "Civitas Aeae Flaviae".

Graph 56 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in "Civitas Aeae Flaviae".

Graph 57 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in "Civitas Aeae Flaviae".

Graph 58 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in "Civitas Aeae Flaviae".

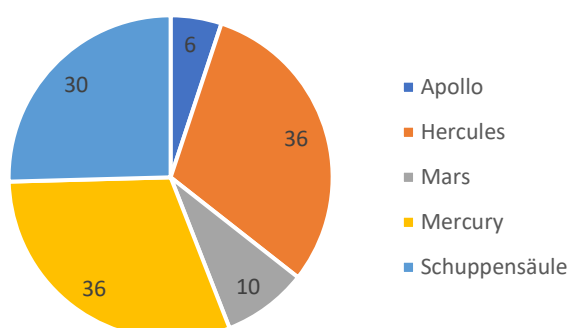
6.4.4. *Civitas Aresacium*

As the *Civitas Aresacium* had Mogontiacum (modern-day Mainz) as capital, with the infamous Big Column of Mainz as one of the more prominent examples (see for example: Bauchhenß 1981), it is not surprising to find that this *civitas* makes up the biggest part of the database from Germania Superior.

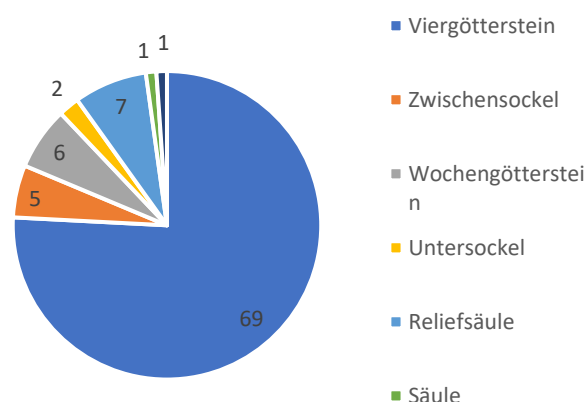
Though, the total fragments included here is lower in quantity than in Civitas Ubiorum in Germania Inferior, but the ratios are significantly different. *Schuppensäulen* do make up a prominent part of Civitas Aresacium's fragments (about 26%), but it is nowhere near the 72% of Civitas Ubiorum. Furthermore, we see again that Hercules and Mercury form the biggest parts here (both 31%), as we have seen already in other *civitates*. Almost three quarters of the depicted deities have been identified on *Viergöttersteine*. The inclusion of one *Säule* and one *Schuppensäule* in the 'types of parts of the column' graph is because they also contain depictions of deities, so these two are recorded separately here as well. Lastly, a high quantity of fragments were originally located in Mainz itself (which is recorded as 'Castrum/Canabae') or one of the *vici* around the town (together about 83% of the record).

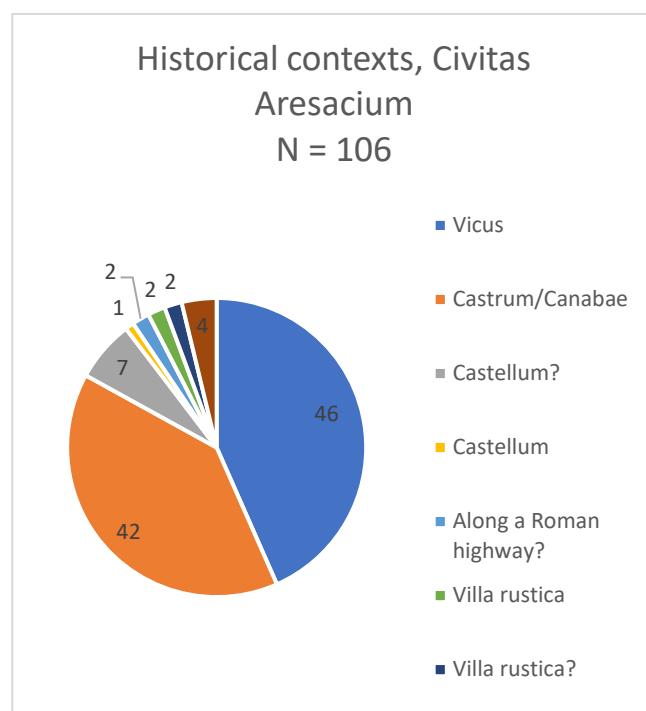
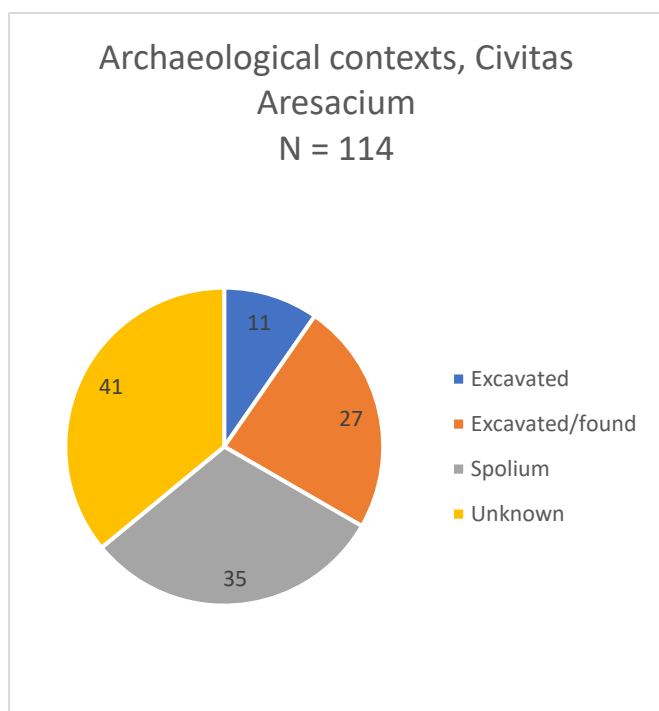
The indigenous inhabitants of this *civitas* were known as the Aresaces, which is regarded to be a subdivision of the Gallic Treveri tribe. We know of one particular deity that was venerated in, amongst others, the Civitas Aresacium, namely Leucetius. He was of Celtic origin and ended up being equated with Mars (Euskirchen 2006). Leucetius' name would mean something like 'lightning' or 'bright', which indicates that he was relevant for Celtic Mars' sky or solar cults. Other venerations may have had to do with healing, war and storm; all different qualities that could fit with (Celtic) Mars' cult. Lastly, Leucetius was presumably often paired with the indigenous deities Nemetona or Bellona (Green 1992c, 143). The relevance of Mars Leucetius' cult in Civitas Aresacium regarding Jupiter columns may not have been significant, as we only have eight fragments in the database here. Nevertheless, it shows that there might have been local venerations in this *civitas*. There is no specific veneration known of local or hybrid deities for the other ones, but we cannot exclude that possibility at this point.

Amounts of deities, Civitas Aresacium
N = 118



Types of parts of column, Civitas Aresacium
N = 91





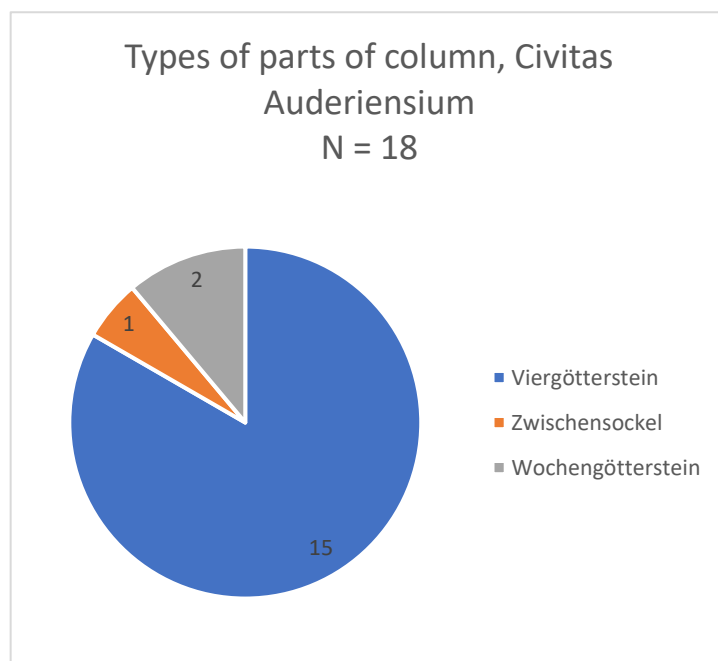
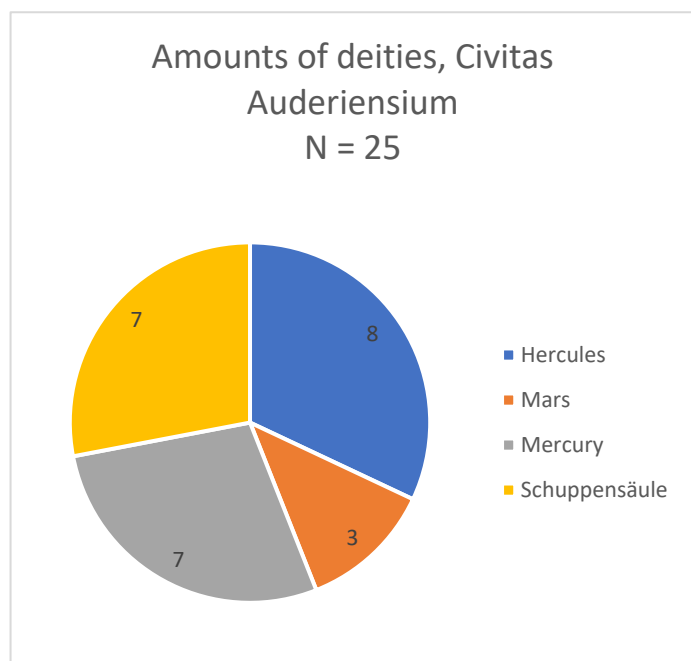
Graph 59 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Aresacium.

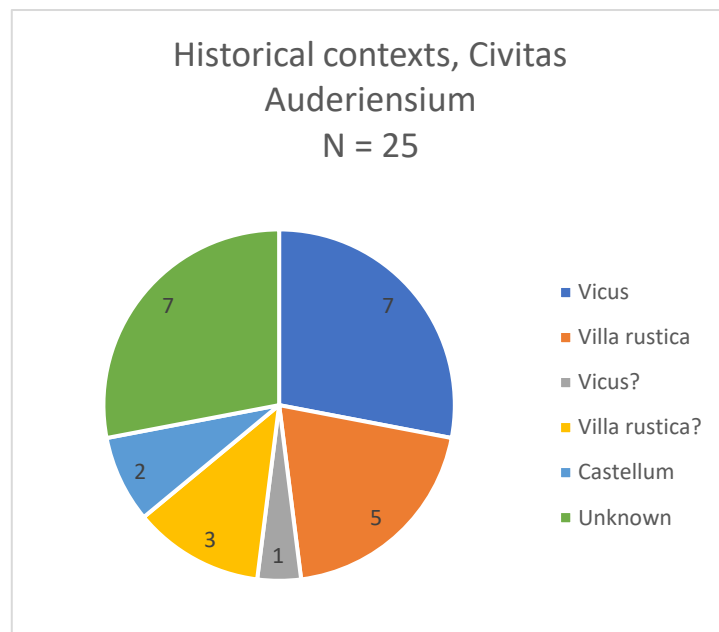
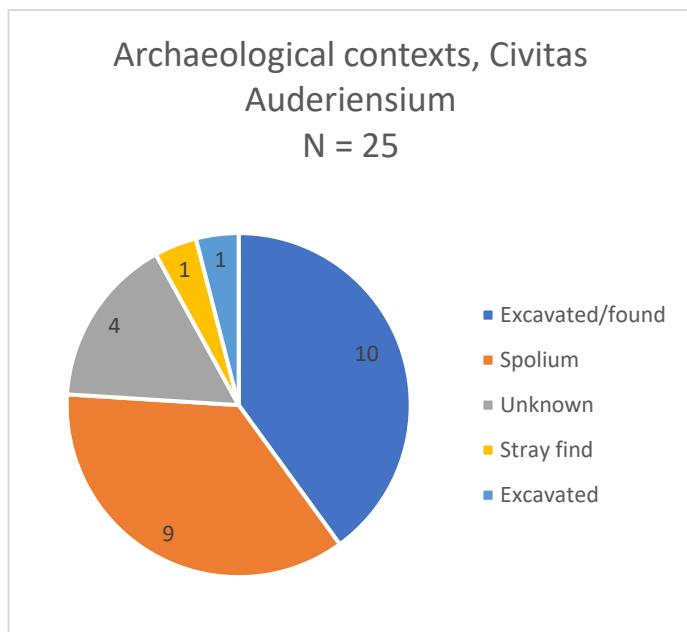
Graph 60 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Aresacium.

Graph 61 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Aresacium.

Graph 62 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Aresacium.

6.4.5. Civitas Auderensium





Graph 63 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Auderiensium.

Graph 64 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Auderiensium.

Graph 65 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Auderiensium.

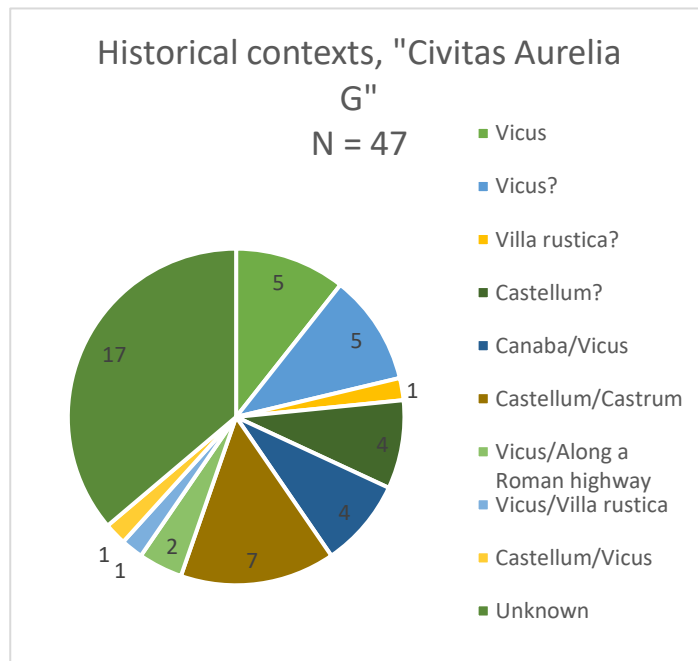
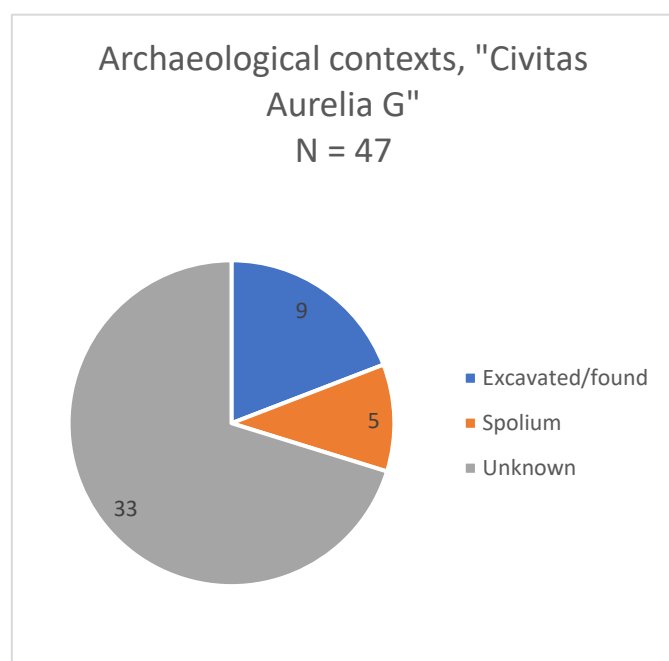
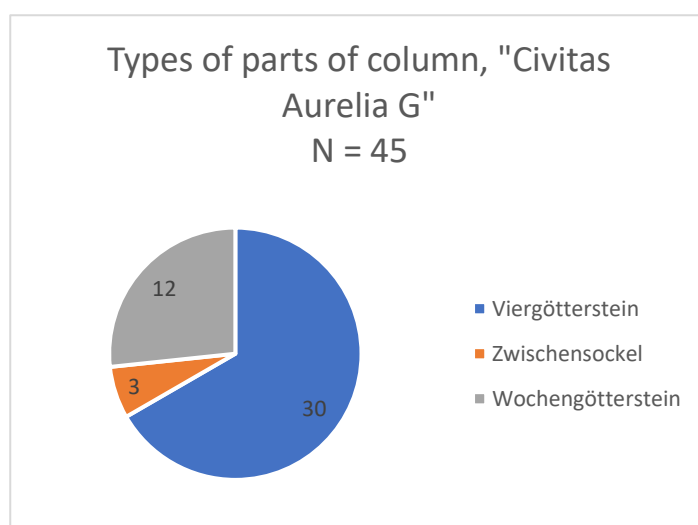
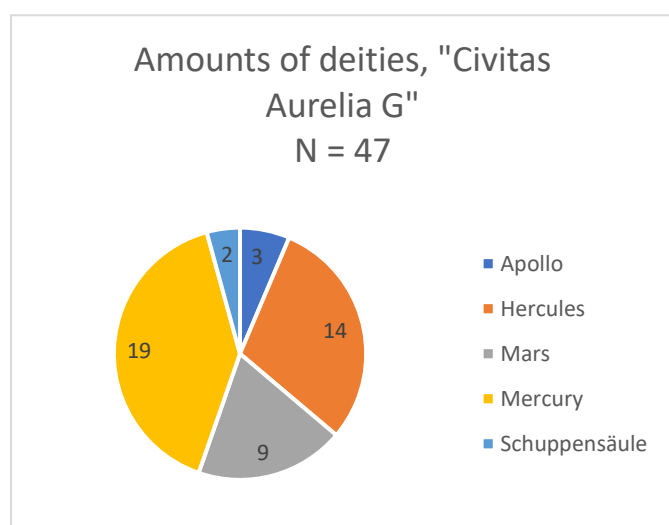
Graph 66 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Auderiensium.

The record from Civitas Auderiensium (capital: modern-day Dieburg) shows the same pattern as we have seen above. This time, the ratio of the *Schuppensäulen* is a bit higher than in other *civitates*, but the prominence of Hercules and Mercury is comparable, as well as the number of Mars that falls behind slightly. The *civitas* is mostly known in its archaeological record for its infrastructures, especially in the capital Dieburg (e.g., *villae rusticae*; Dietz 2006b). It is not clear whether there was one specific tribe that had the upper hand in this area. It is likely that it at least fell under the sphere of influence of the big Chatti tribe (Dietz 2006c). However, another possibility might be that the area was the land of the Tubantes, who have been neighbours of the Chatti to the south according to Ptolemaeus. Although highly uncertain, other sources note that the Tubantes have been besieging Mogontiacum (modern-day Mainz), which is just westward from Dieburg (Wiegels 2006d). Either way, there are no specific local hybrid or syncretised deities known from this area or these tribes.

6.4.6. “Civitas Aurelia G”

The record from “Civitas Aurelia G” (capital: modern-day Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt) forms a prominent place for the three major deities Hercules, Mars and Mercury. In essence, this follows the pattern of the rest of Germania Superior, but Mars is depicted almost as much as Hercules this time. The historical contexts here are highly variant, but have several overlaps. Several of these fragments were found in

urban areas throughout the *civitas*, but a considerable amount also in military contexts. The capital Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt was a *castrum* itself, but also in other places the military context seems most likely. The knowledge about this *civitas* is not high, but surely not concerning the tribal population(s). Assumingly, the indigenous peoples living in this area were related to the Suebi, if not were Suebi themselves (Wiegels 2006a). A good possibility is also that the Marcomanni were the main tribe here. This tribe belonged to the Suebi as a subdivision. The Marcomanni have been described several times by ancient authors because of their involvement in (military) conflicts (Dietz 2006d). Unfortunately, there are yet again no distinctive regional religious patterns or depictions in this *civitas* identified.



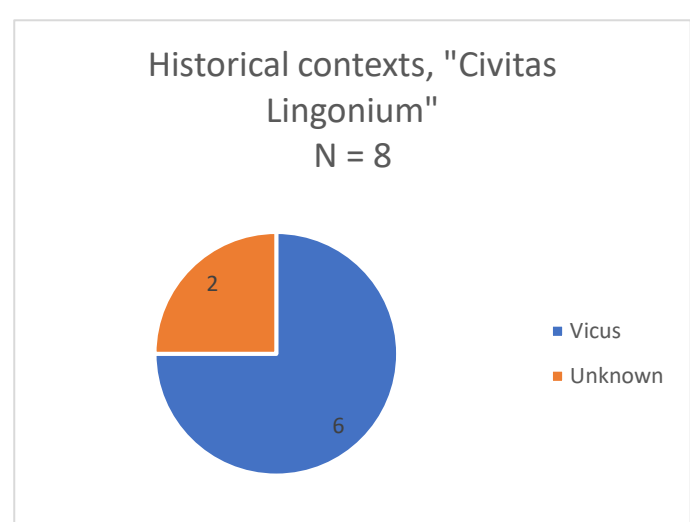
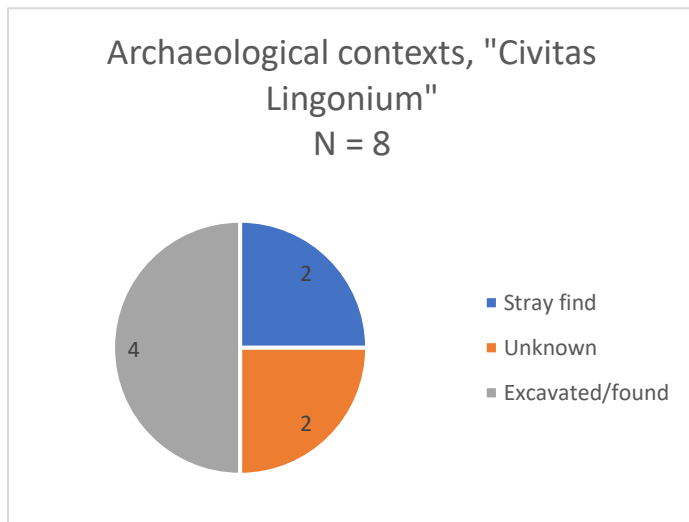
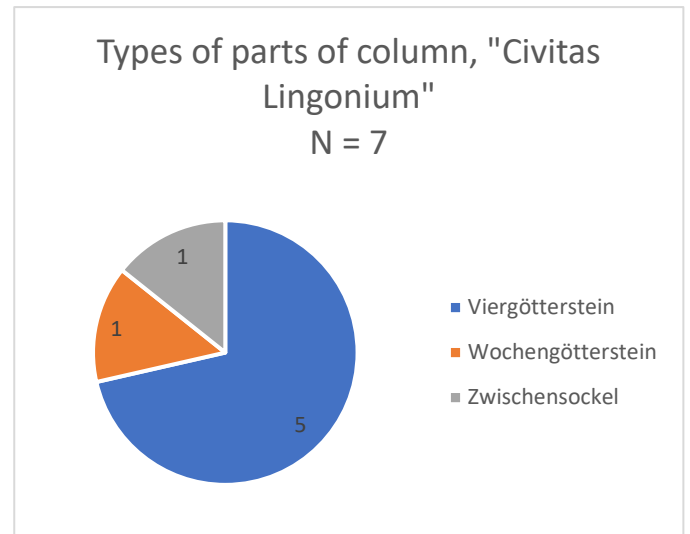
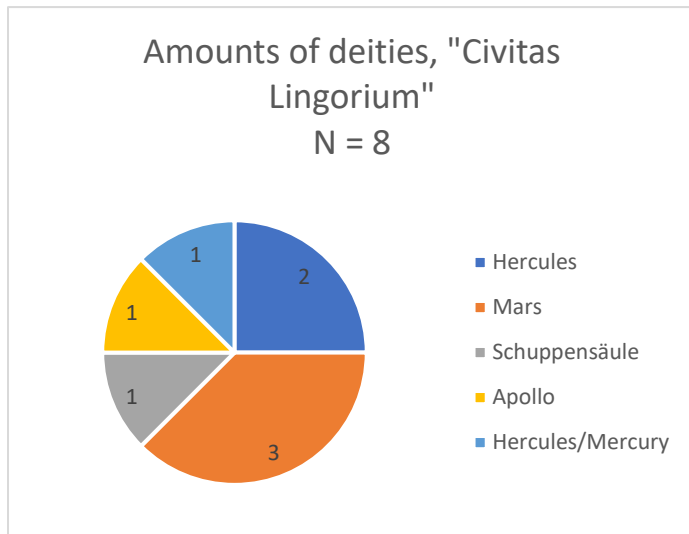
Graph 67 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in "Civitas Aurelia G".

Graph 68 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in "Civitas Aurelia G".

Graph 69 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in "Civitas Aurelia G".

Graph 70 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in "Civitas Aurelia G".

6.4.7. "Civitas Lingonum"



Graph 71 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in "Civitas Lingonum".

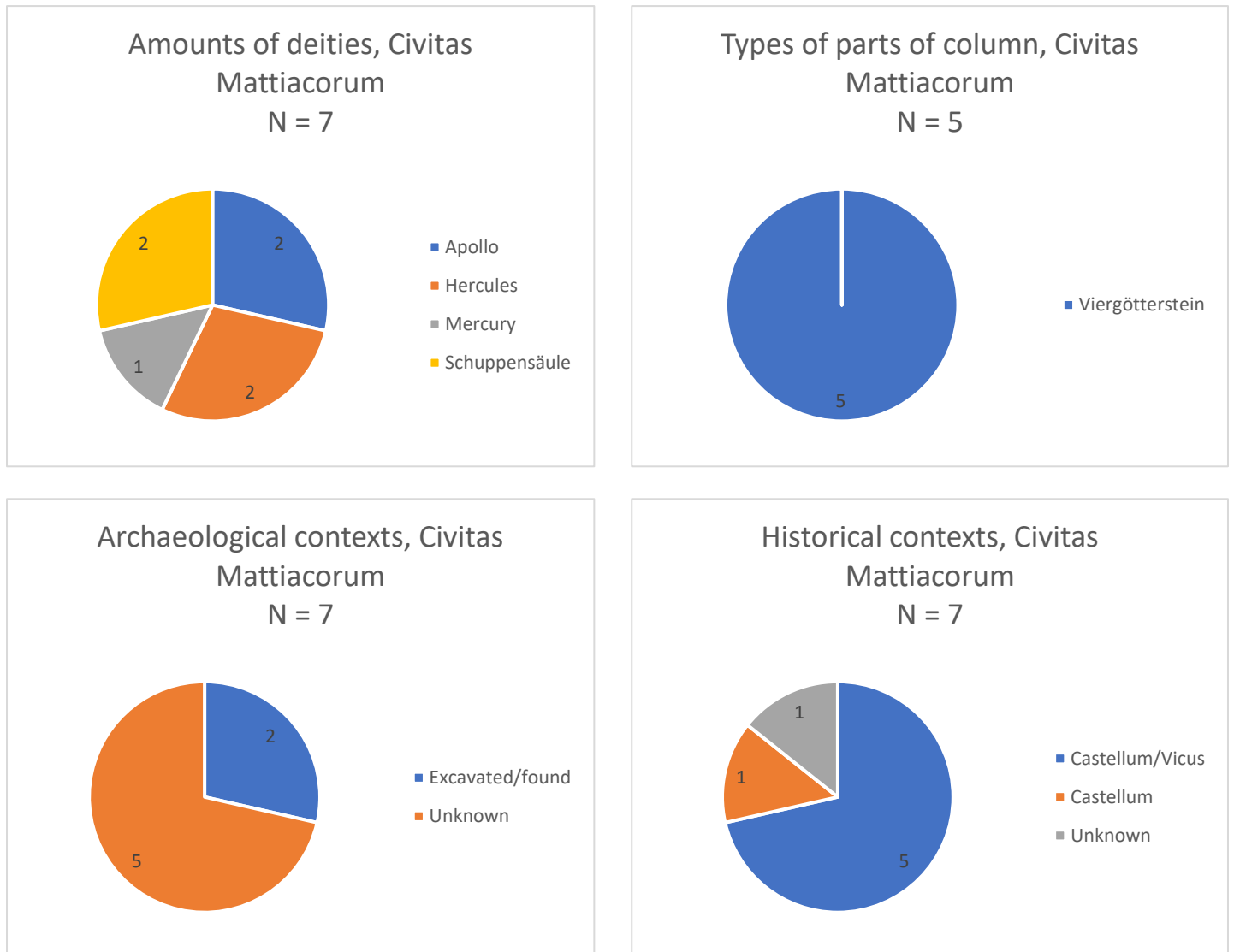
Graph 72 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in "Civitas Lingonum".

Graph 73 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in "Civitas Lingonum".

Graph 74 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in "Civitas Lingonum".

The record from "Civitas Lingonum" (capital: Divio, modern-day Dijon) is low in quantity. Normally, as is the case with other *civitates*, this would mean that the record here would not be included in the discussion. However, part of the record here is formed by one particular monument: the Pilier de Mavilly. This is an example from the 1st century and is highly relevant for the discussion in the following chapter. In short, this monument shows both Gallic and Roman influences combined, thus being one of the early hybrid examples this study is interested in (see Thevenot 1955; Hatt 1965). Any specific local examples from "Civitas Lingonum" are, however, not included because of the low quantity after all.

6.4.8. Civitas Mattiacorum



Graph 75 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Mattiacorum.

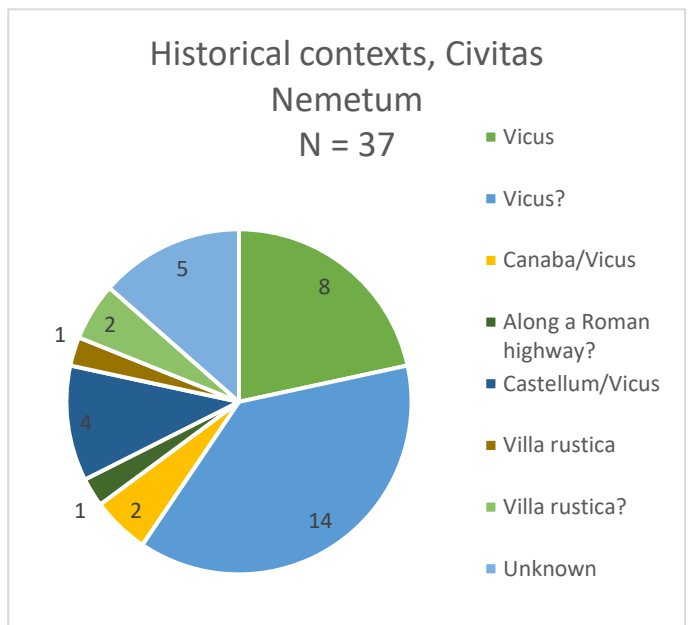
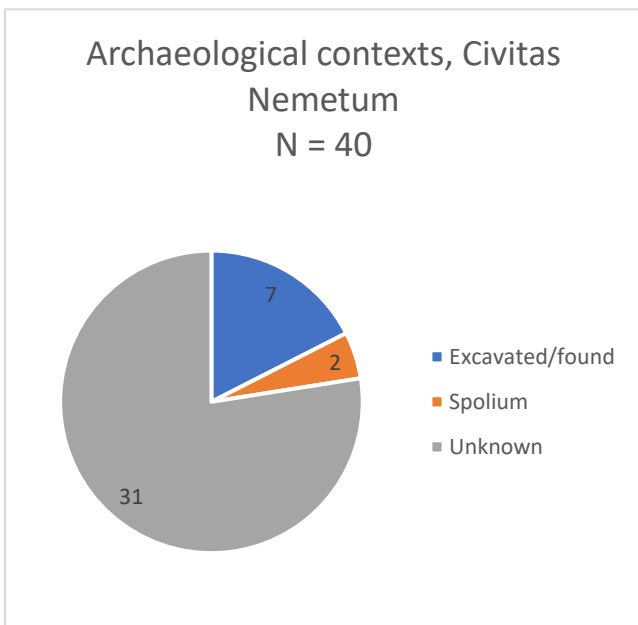
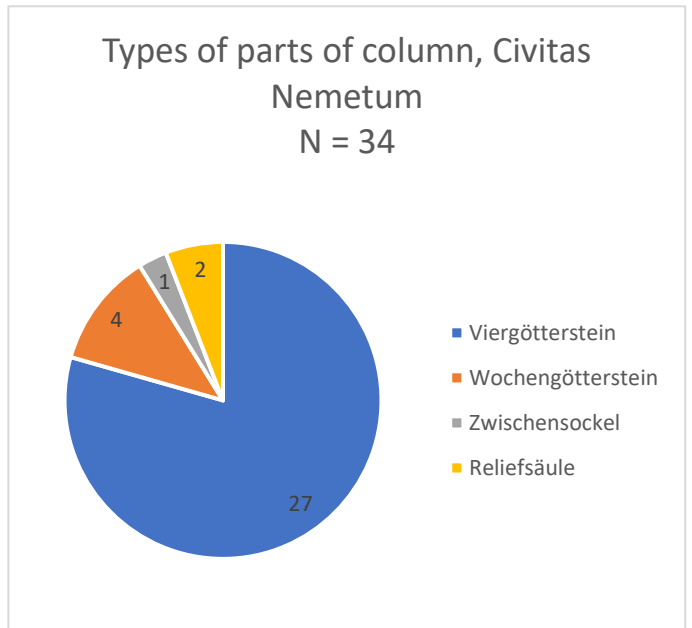
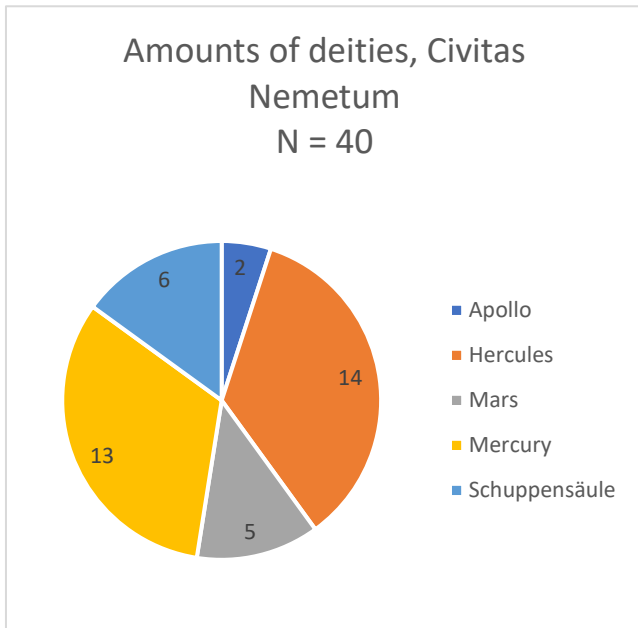
Graph 76 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Mattiacorum.

Graph 77 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Mattiacorum.

Graph 78 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Mattiacorum.

The record of Civitas Mattiacorum (capital: Mattiacorum, modern-day Wiesbaden) is too small to be taken into the discussion explicitly. What can be said is that the selected deities are evened out and that almost all fragments come from Mattiacorum itself. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Mattiaci tribe probably was an influential one in the region and may or may not have been a subtribe of the Chatti tribe (Wiegels 2006b; Dietz 2006c).

6.4.9. Civitas Nemetum



Graph 79 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Nemetum.

Graph 80 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Nemetum.

Graph 81 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Nemetum.

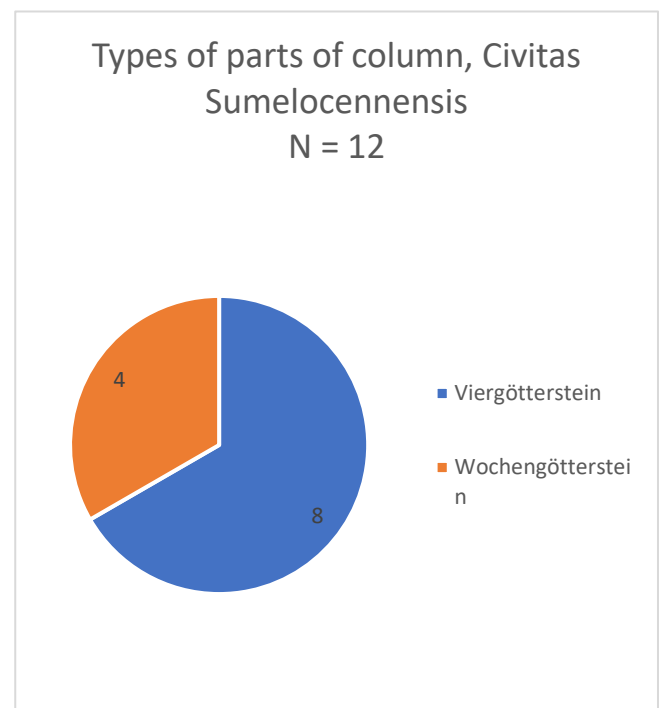
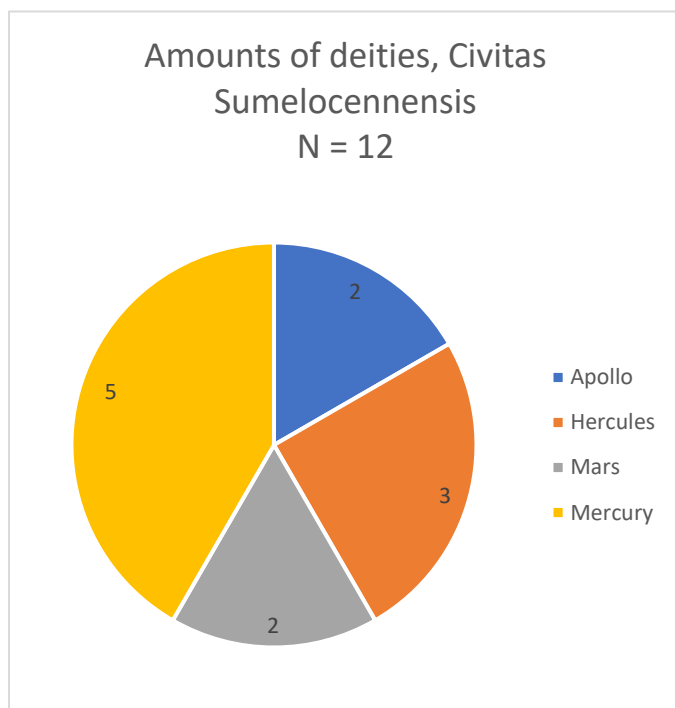
Graph 82 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Nemetum.

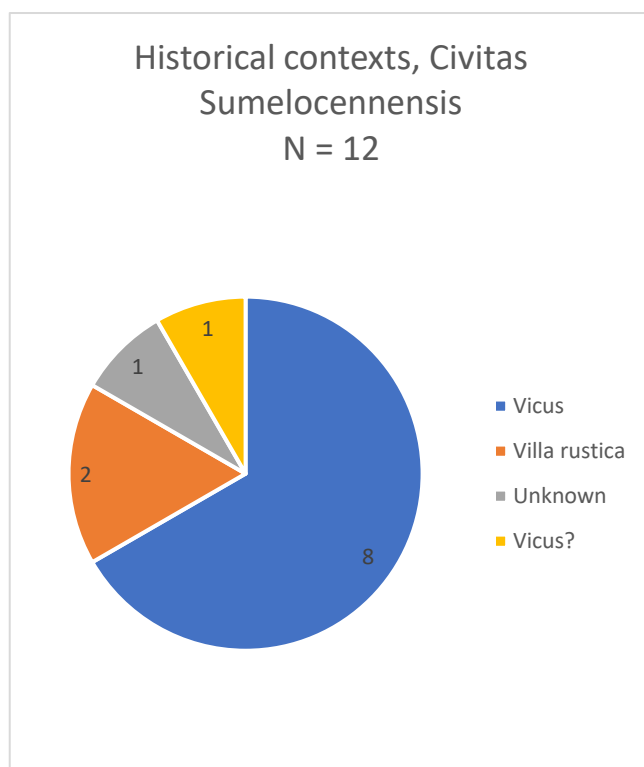
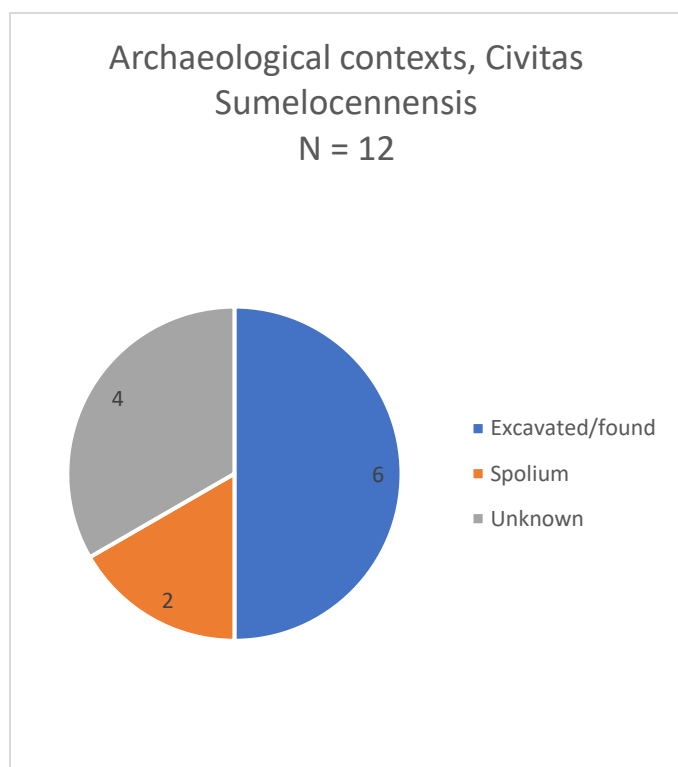
In Civitas Nemetum (capital: Noviomagus, modern-day Speyer), the pattern we have seen more often is present. Again, it are Hercules and Mercury forming the main body of the record. After, Mars and the *Schuppensäulen* contribute almost the rest of the record. Interestingly, the amount of fragments

with an unknown archaeological context is considerably large (about 78%). Nevertheless, the identified historical contexts are highly variant. This *civitas* was home to the Nemetes, a tribe that is traditionally argued to have been in contact with both the Celts and the Germanics. Supposedly, they had (strong) connections with the Triboci and Vangiones for some time. Their region of settlement was probably permanently moved westwards across the river Rhine under the reign of Augustus (Wiegels 2006c). A distinctive local (religious) material culture might have been disturbed by this, though it is too uncertain at this point to argue so. Furthermore, no specific hybrid or syncretised deities for this region are known.

6.4.10. *Civitas Sumelocennensis*

The record of *Civitas Sumelocennensis* (capital: Sumelocenna, modern-day Rottenburg) is too small to play a significant role in the discussion regarding regional elements of Jupiter columns from Germania Superior. It does show that the general pattern from this province mentioned often is to be seen here as well. Any regional influence in the capital itself might be less expected than elsewhere, as Sumelocenna was founded after the Roman conquests had taken place, probably somewhere after 90 CE (Wiegels 2006e).





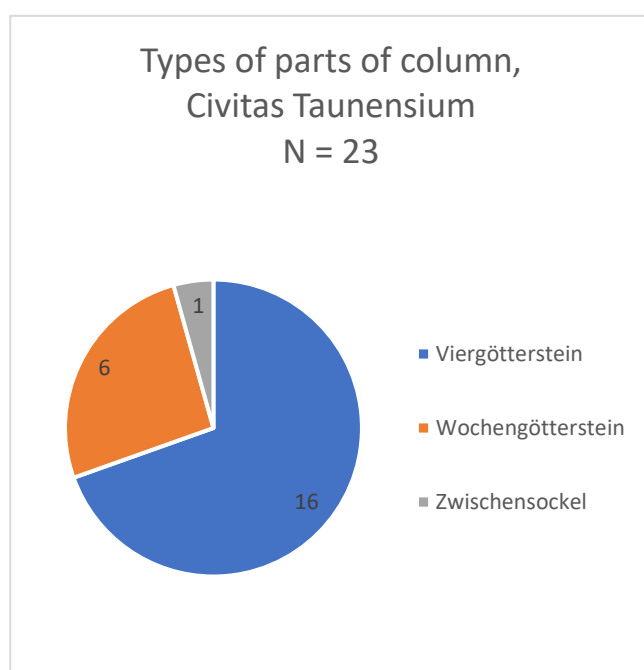
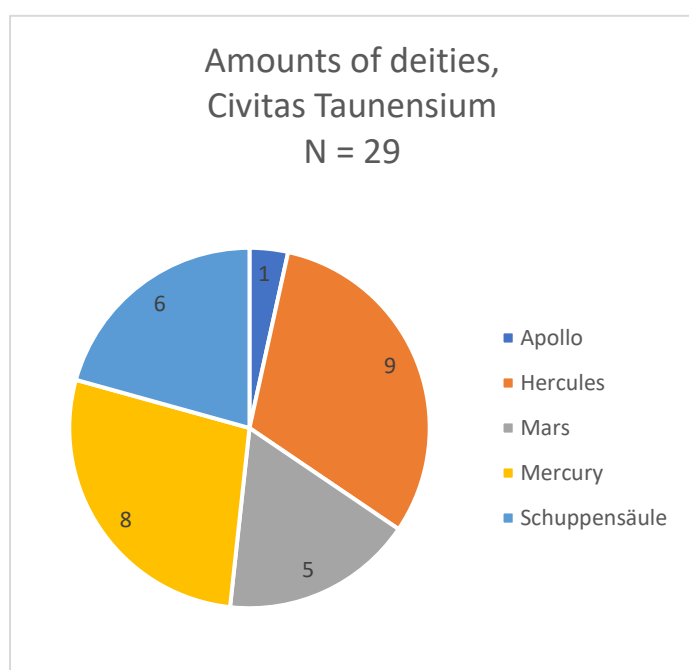
Graph 83 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Sumelocennensis.

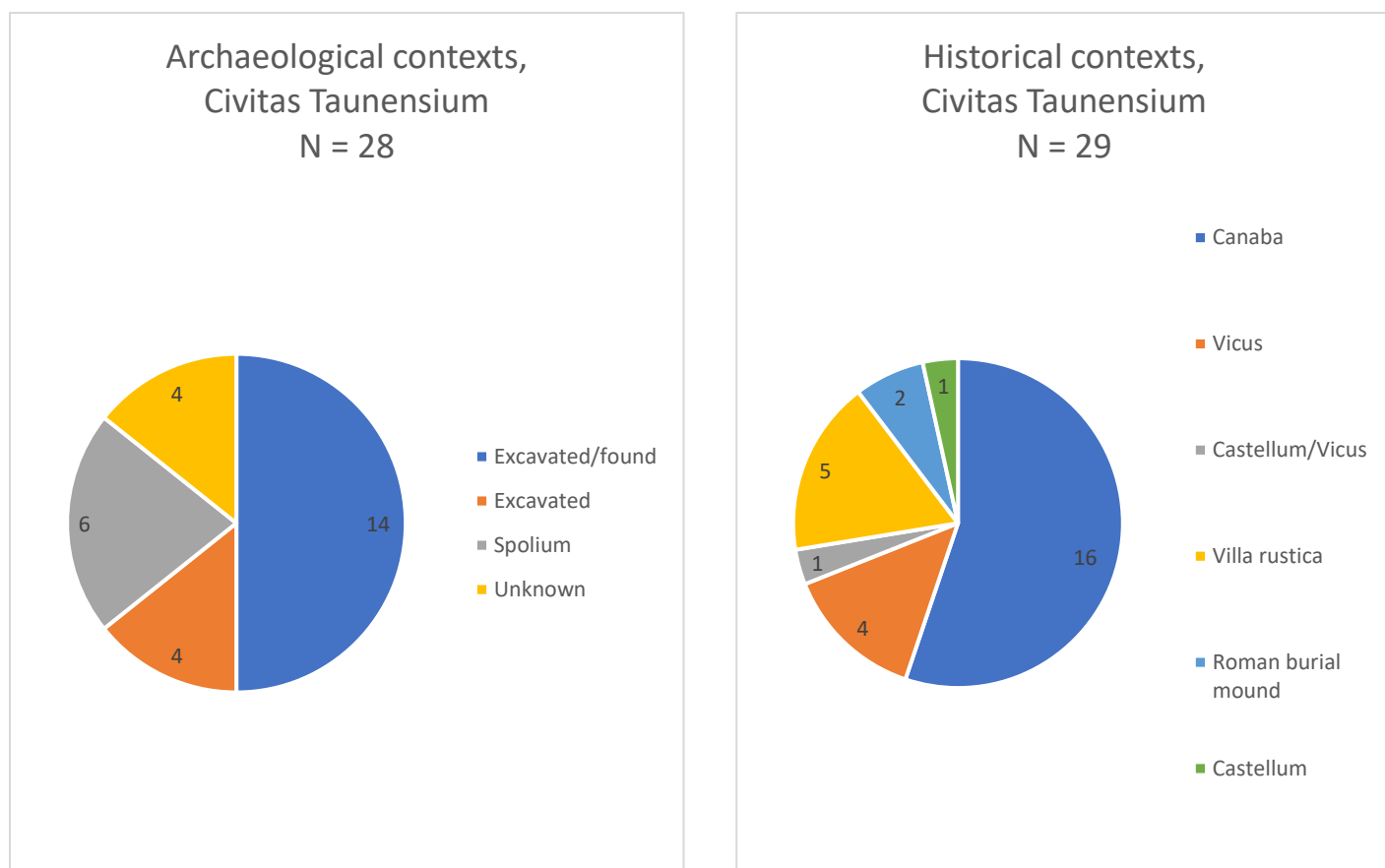
Graph 84 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Sumelocennensis.

Graph 85 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Sumelocennensis.

Graph 86 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Sumelocennensis.

6.4.11. Civitas Taunensium





Graph 87 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Taunensium.

Graph 88 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Taunensium.

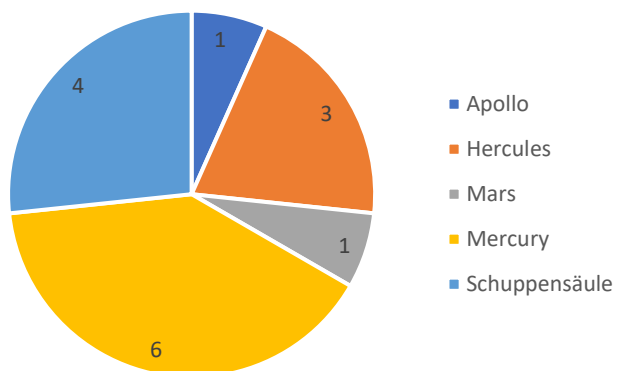
Graph 89 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Taunensium.

Graph 90 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Taunensium.

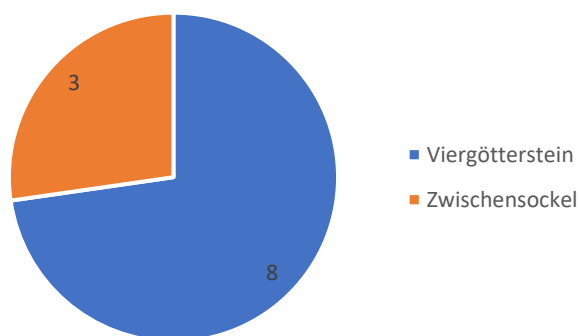
Civitas Taunensium (capital: Nida, modern-day Frankfurt-Hedderheim) its record is somewhat divergent in comparison with other *civitates*. The same deities are identified in the fragments, but apart from Apollo, the amount of those deities is relatively evened out. Interestingly, about 55% of the record is formed by fragments from the capital Nida. Like elsewhere, there are no specific regional (religious) finds reported for Nida and its surroundings (Wiegels 2006f). However, the *civitates* Aresacium, Mattiacorum and Taunensium and their capitals are located relatively close to each other, we must consider the same regional cultural characteristics as we saw in Aresacium here (see ‘Civitas Aresacium’ above).

6.4.12. *Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum*

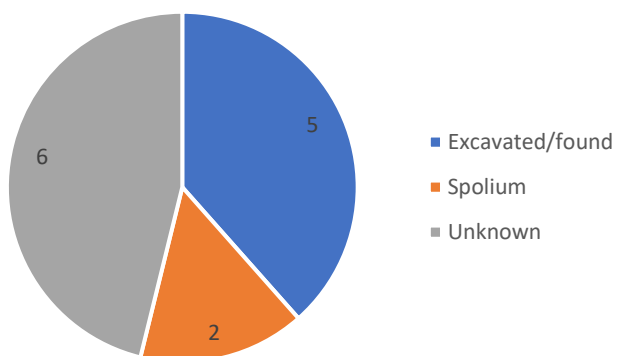
Amounts of deities,
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum
N = 15



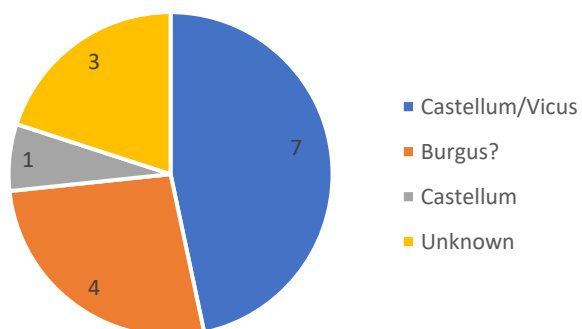
Types of parts of column,
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum
N = 11



Archaeological contexts,
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum
N = 13



Historical contexts,
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum
N = 15



Graph 91 (top left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum.

Graph 92 (top right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum.

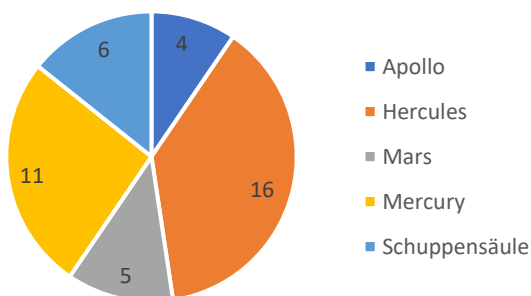
Graph 93 (bottom left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum.

Graph 94 (bottom right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Niceretum.

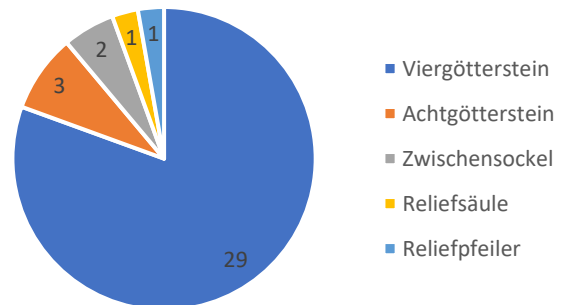
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum (capital: Lopodunum, modern-day Ladenburg) adds a limited amount of fragments to the database. It has a comparable record to other *civitates* in Germania Superior. Hercules and Mercury form a considerable part, just like the *Schuppensäule*, while the other deities (in this case Apollo and Mars) only appear once. Almost half of the record was located in a Castellum/Vicus, the other half is considerably uncertain regarding historical context. As the name suggests, the main tribe active in this area were the Suebi. Lopodunum reportedly was a town which was largely influenced by Romanisation. Additionally, trade was intensified in this area from the 1st century CE onwards (Wiegels 2006g). Contacts with other towns both up and down the river Nicer must have surely been influential to regional elements in material culture, although no specific examples are known.

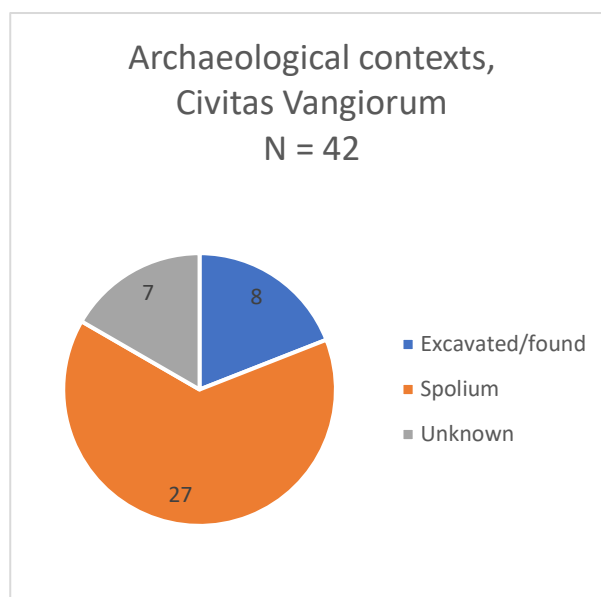
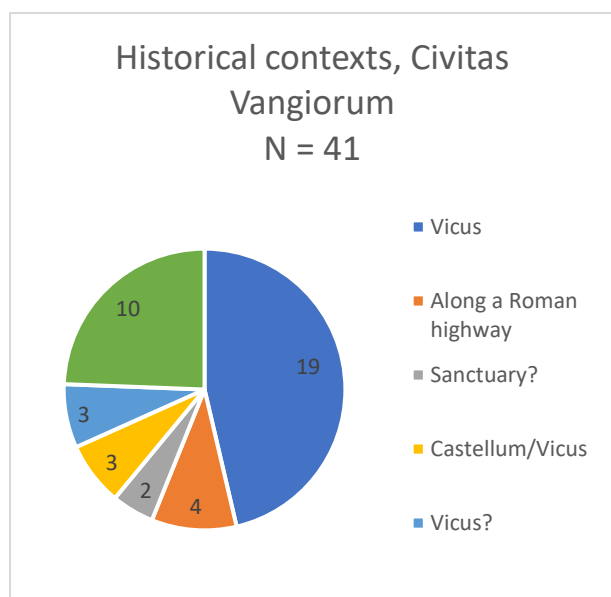
6.4.13. Civitas Vangionum

Amounts of deities, Civitas Vangiorum
N = 42



Types of parts of column, Civitas Vangoirum
N = 36





Graph 95 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities in Civitas Vangiorum.

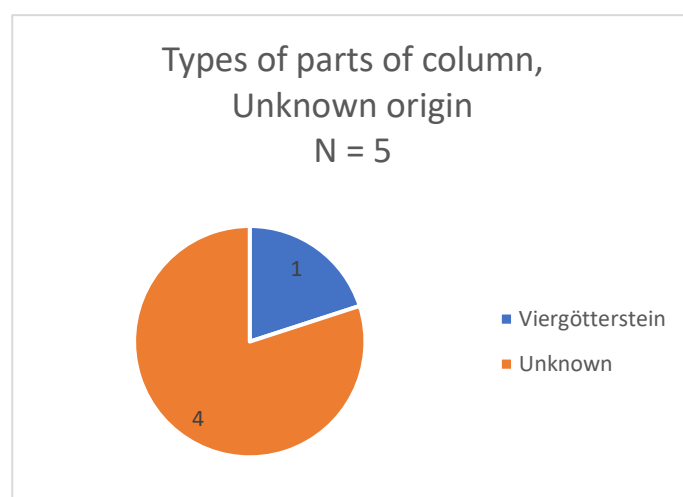
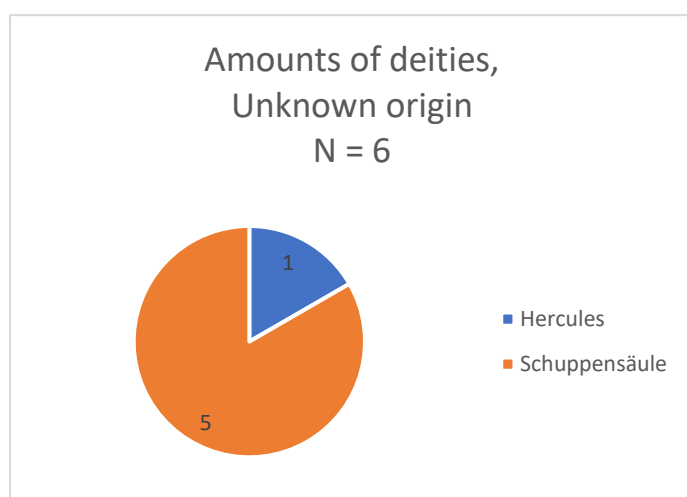
Graph 96 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted in Civitas Vangiorum.

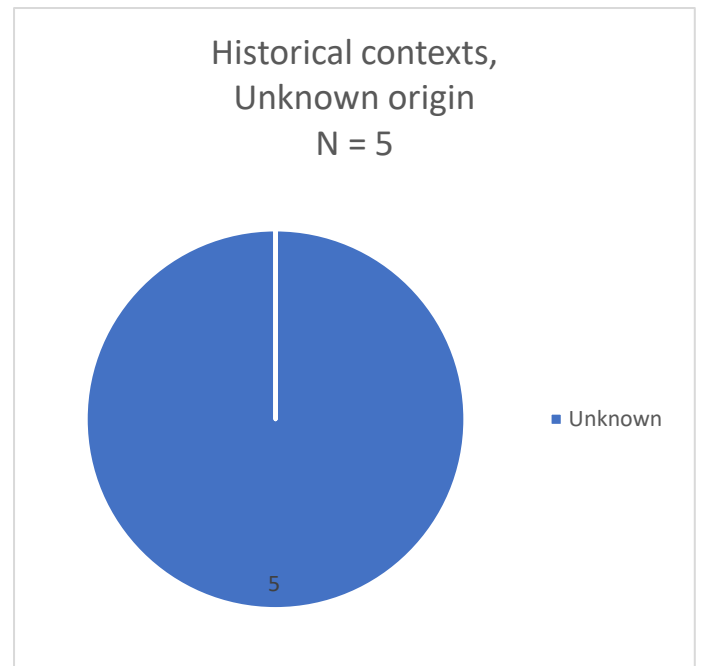
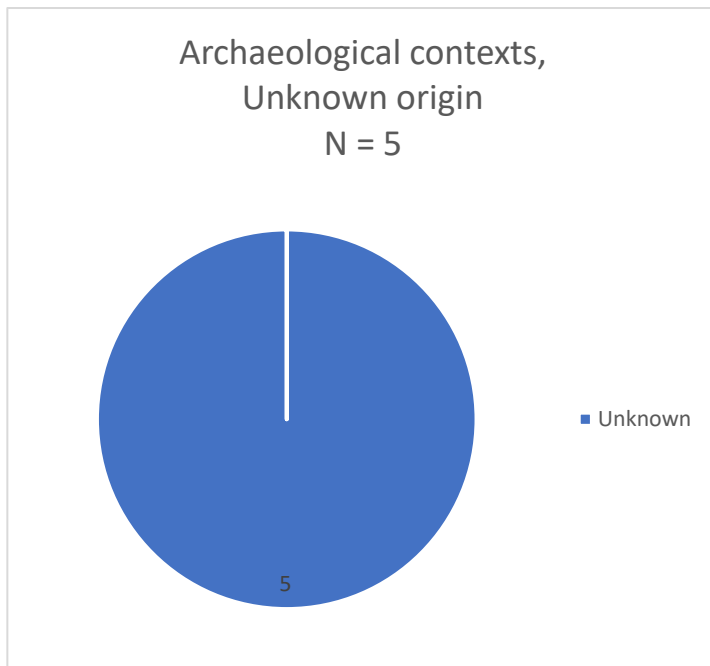
Graph 97 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments in Civitas Vangiorum.

Graph 98 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments in Civitas Vangiorum.

The last *civitas*, Civitas Vangionum (capital: Borbetomagus, modern-day Worms), adds a significant amount to the database altogether. The by now well-known pattern is shown here as well, although the differences between Hercules-Mercury and Mars-*Schuppensäulen* are not that large. Moreover, it is interesting to see that the *spolia* form about 66% of the archaeological contexts here, which is significantly higher than elsewhere. The Vangiones tribe of this *civitas* had close connections with the Triboci and the Nemetes, and reportedly also had some ties with Mogontiacum to the north. Yet again, there are no clearly distinctive regional religious elements here to work with (Wiegels 2006h).

6.4.14. Unknown origin (*Germania Superior*)





Graph 99 (prev. page, left). Amounts of depictions of the selected regional deities of the unknown sites (Germania Superior).

Graph 100 (prev. page, right). Amounts of the types of the columns on which the regional elements were depicted of the unknown sites (Germania Superior).

Graph 101 (above, left). The archaeological contexts of the fragments of the unknown sites (Germania Superior).

Graph 102 (above, right). The (probable) historical contexts of the fragments of the unknown sites (Germania Superior).

As in the other regions, the fragments with an unknown exact origin from Germania Superior are too little in quantity to be taken into account in the discussion. The differences here between the deities and the other categories in numbers is because of two fragments that are almost certainly coming from the same Jupiter column, but nevertheless registered separately in the database.

6.5. General conclusions database

There were some difficulties in gathering information for the database. Including production dates of the fragments was often impossible. In the first place, the secondary literature often did not offer any dates. It would be too speculative to guess any dates myself. Though the dates that were given mostly were somewhere between 150 and 250 CE. One could place the fragments without dates within this range too, but it would still be too uncertain. Furthermore, determining 'end dates' (i.e., the date at which the columns would have been torn down or demolished) did not prove to be possible. An additional problem is that many were used as *spolia*, so allocating them to individual monuments and complementary locations is difficult, if not impossible. Although the finding dates of several fragments is unknown, quite some have been found in the 19th century or earlier. As attested above, any 'archaeological' finds in this period is disputable, for the discipline of archaeology had not developed well enough yet back then. An additional problem is that this only amplifies the lack of archaeological contexts. Furthermore, multiple fragments either have an unknown finding date or the secondary literature did not offer any.

The data have thus not always been sufficient.² Nevertheless, there are some general conclusions to be made. One aspect is the predominance of Celtic culture in the different regions. The data confirm the image of the concentration of Jupiter columns in especially Germania Superior, followed by Germania Inferior. Gallia Belgica had a significant amount of Jupiter columns with regional elements, Britannia barely contributes to this research in that sense. Syncretism in regard to Jupiter columns are thus difficult to recognise in Britannia. It is argued by Watts that the Roman religious elements had little influence on the local, strong cults. The majority of Britain's inhabitants felt the need to continue their original cults, possibly together with the Roman cult. Most archaeological evidence of syncretisms comes from either towns or villas, while the countryside was not affected too much (Watts 1998, 120-121). Romano-British archaeology indeed may rely a bit more on Roman inscriptions than on archaeological evidence, but the overall presence of Romano-British archaeology must not be underestimated (Hurst 2016, 110-111). Nevertheless, this notion gives some explanation for the low distribution of the Jupiter columns in the area, as there were barely any inscriptions on these monuments.

² Updating these as much as possible has been done with, among others, works of the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (see <https://www.corpusignorum.org/csir/publications> for an overview of the publications), though these were not all too recent as well. For future research, a new distribution map should be made to have a good, updated overview. This map would preferably be of the whole Roman empire, so that scholars can both study the cult provincially as pan-Europeanly.

The situation was not quite the same in Gaul. Nerzic argues that religious cults were already present at the time the Celts settled on a large scale in Gaul. These cults presumably were highly influenced by nature's powers and the Celts included them into their own, in which the role of nature was present. The primary Roman sources assimilate local deities with Roman ones. Nerzic thus brings forth different arguments than one could take from literary sources like Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. In short, the Celtic cult in Gaul was rather prominent (Nerzic 1989, 47). A notion by Greg Woolf saying that Gallic religion was re-invented (Woolf 1998, 219), could imply that the Roman religion predominated. Although the Gauls were more willing than the Britons to adjust to show their loyalty to the Romans, the syncretism resulted into the preservation of a part of their original identity (Derks 1998, 242).

Germania Inferior had more or less the same situation as in Gaul, although the influence of Roman religion presumably was slightly bigger there. The substantial amount of Roman influence might not be surprising, considering that a big part of Germania Inferior's inhabitants (and their identity) was created by an ethnogenesis (= formation and development of an ethnic group), with the most striking examples of the Batavi and the Tungri (Heeren 2009, 258; Roymans 2004, 24). Around 150 CE, when the appearance of Jupiter columns mostly started, the population had grown to be a cultural entity. This is also the period in which the Roman forms of, amongst others, votive altars were easier to make by local citizens. They saw this as a way of getting more representation. This process of a more extensive production of Germano-Roman artefacts was strengthened by veterans, who (re)settled in these regions (Höpken 2020, 261). The process of 'Romanisation' in Germania Superior had one major difference: the region was at first highly militarised and later more civilised. The Romans had more Germanic allies and more military control in this area at first. A development of a region with much Roman influenced culture and with a long-standing Celtic tradition, making syncretisms possible (Kortüm 2020, 57-61).

One must keep in mind however that the columns are not representative for the religious sphere of all of the Roman province they were located in. For example: Rosmerta has not been identified on any of the Jupiter columns in or around Trier (Gallia Belgica), but she has been depicted multiple times on other kind of monuments or artefacts anyway (whether or not together with Mercury; Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek and Schwinden 1988, 103-117). The columns were a unique monument in themselves. They had an own, 'new' place within the complex syncretisms in the Northwestern part of the Roman Empire (Wells 1999, 221). It has also become clear that syncretisms in such a large part of the empire were quite variable and complex to describe altogether.

This discussion so far tackles general religious activities per province. Of course, the database and the graphs have been divided into *civitates*. The investigations per *civitas* have not been thorough, as the quantities of the data of some were too little. Moreover, not every *civitas* or specific tribe has brought

forth a regional (hybrid) deity explicitly. That some do, makes a general discussion regarding regional differences possible, also for the 'under-investigated' *civitates*. The direct associations of tribes with specific regional deities does not exclude that there were regional deities venerated. Even between provinces alone, we see big differences in some depictions. For example, the *Schuppensäule* appear relatively much more in Germania Inferior than in the other provinces, while Hercules dominates the depictions of Germania Superior. Within the provinces themselves, there are some minor differences, which could have to do with different prominence of deities per tribe. The information has not been sufficient to ascribe cults of specific regional (sometimes hybrid) deities. Nevertheless, some options have been raised that could explain regional differentiation, but at the same time might raise new questions. When should we apply a Romano-Celtic interpretation when discussing a Jupiter column? When should we apply a Graeco-Roman interpretation? How should these interpretations be adjusted to the periodic differences?

All the examples mentioned above could be part of some sort of 'supra-tribal' religious, Romano-Celtic culture. And even if that was not the case, it would not be logical to me that some *civitates* have regional elements in their material culture and others do not. A further investigation in the next chapter, in which some 1st century examples are discussed, will have to determine which elements are to be seen in a syncretised manner. The overall conclusions from that chapter also include a discussion of possible continuations of the 1st century syncretisms into the 2nd and 3rd.

7. Syncretism in North-western Europe seen through 1st century anomalies on Jupiter columns

As introduced above, the best way to get a good insight into the process of syncretism happening on the Jupiter columns is to look into the earliest fragments used in the database, thus the ones from the 1st century CE. Especially these fragments show a more explicit 'combination' or mergence of Celtic indigenous deities and Roman deities, whether or not depicted in line with Roman monument styles. For that, the pillars that do not 'straightforwardly belong' to the type of Jupiter columns are to be examined extensively as well. What can be drawn from this, might give us insight in how we should see the many fragments from the 2nd and 3rd century CE. They namely have a almost fully 'Romanised' look, but understanding the 1st century examples might give us more insight in how to regard the others as well. The 1st century monuments will be discussed in (rough) chronological order, starting with three pillars, followed by the Big Jupiter column of Mainz. The Pilier des Nautes is strictly speaking not from any of the four provinces, but it is useful to include it to discuss the Pilier de Mavilly and the Tiberius pillar. Afterwards, a fragment of Gellep is examined specifically to look into the depiction of scales in this period. Lastly, the late 1st century example of Weisenheim will shortly be discussed regarding possible continuation or change of style.

7.1. Pilier des Nautes (Paris)

There is one major advantage of including the Pilier des Nautes: inscriptions are added naming the depicted deities (see figure 27). Identification of the deities is therefore less complicated in this case, though the deities must still be put in context. A couple of these are included in the database under the type 'other': Cernunnos, Esus, Smertios and Tarvostrigaranus. Although not all identified, the other depicted deities are originally from the Graeco-Roman pantheon (Droixhe 2002, 187-188). The dedication of the Pilier des Nautes is known by the inscription on one of the sides. It was erected by Parisian boatmen in honour of Jupiter and indirectly in honour of the Roman emperor Tiberius. One could say that they show that the Roman gods were 'officially' accepted among the indigenous Celtic one, hence the depiction of the *nautae* and the combination of deities (Jacomín 2006, 20-21). Note that these deities were not hybrid here, but in some way 'equal'. At this point, we do not yet deal with a mergence of the two pantheon's deities, but rather with a diversification in which the different deities co-existed (Hatt 1965, 110). This early form of syncretism might provide information on how we should regard the later Romano-Celtic syncretised forms on Jupiter columns. It is therefore good

to have a small investigation into the depicted deities of the Pilier des Nautes. To start with the Graeco-Roman ones, the placement on the pillar is interesting. Jupiter is depicted as one of the gods, among the Celtic ones. It is striking that this early Romano-Celtic example explicitly includes Celtic deities, though arguably depicted in a 'Romanised' way. Rightfully, the Pilier des Nautes is one of the examples named in case of the beginning of the Romano-Celtic structure development (Nerzic 1989, 83). The four deities that are on the pillar and originate from the Celtic pantheon all have specific nature elements that fit into the sort of 'predecessor' of the Jupiter column.

Starting with Cernunnos, whose name means 'horned', obviously referring to the horns he had. Interestingly, this deity was surely present in pre-Roman times. His original attributes usually were: stags, torcs, horned snakes and imagery of fertility. Especially the symbolism of the latter attribute appears to be the stable factor in the development of Cernunnos into Romano-Celtic society, but we also still see the ram-horned snakes (symbols of healing) and antlers accompanying his depictions. Strikingly, his zoomorphic appearance (i.e., his horns) also remains in his depictions (Green 1992c, 59-61).

We find Smertios on the same level of the pillar. Smertios often gets confused with Hercules, as he is usually depicted with an object often identified as a club. It is also on the Pilier des Nautes that we only know that it is Smertios based on the inscription (Nerzic 1989, 79). Smertios' name is more a title, meaning 'the provider'. He is a provider, or rather safeguard, of peace and prosperity (Duval 1989, 263). His interpretation as a Celtic Hercules might not be correct, as there is some evidence of a connection with a peaceful Mars (i.e., as a keeper of peace, instead of the deity of war). On one example in



Figure 27. Reconstruction of the Pilier des Nautes in the Musée de Cluny, Paris (after <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

close to Trier in Möhn, he is actually named with a hybrid name: Mars Smertios (Green 1992c, 193). Only one half of the depiction of Smertios on the Pilier des Nautes has been preserved, but several scholars refer to the reconstruction made by J.-P. Adam from 1985 (see figure 37). This shows that first the ‘club’ is actually a torch or firebrand (Green 1992c, 193), second that some sort of tree is depicted here and third that a snake is confronting the deity (Duval 1989, 263). Leaving aside the confusions with Hercules’ depictions, the tree might refer to the oak cult here. Before getting into that more, it is good to look at a depiction on which an accompanying tree is clearly visible, namely that of Esus.

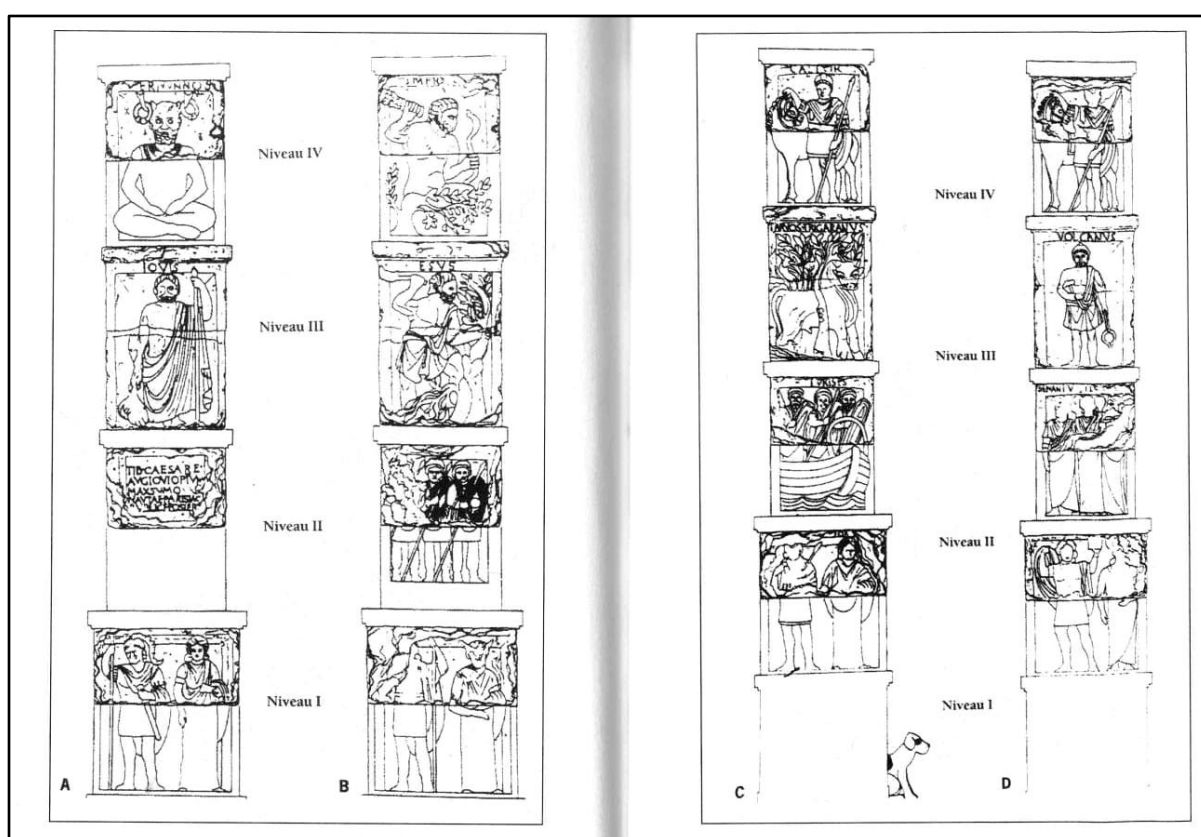
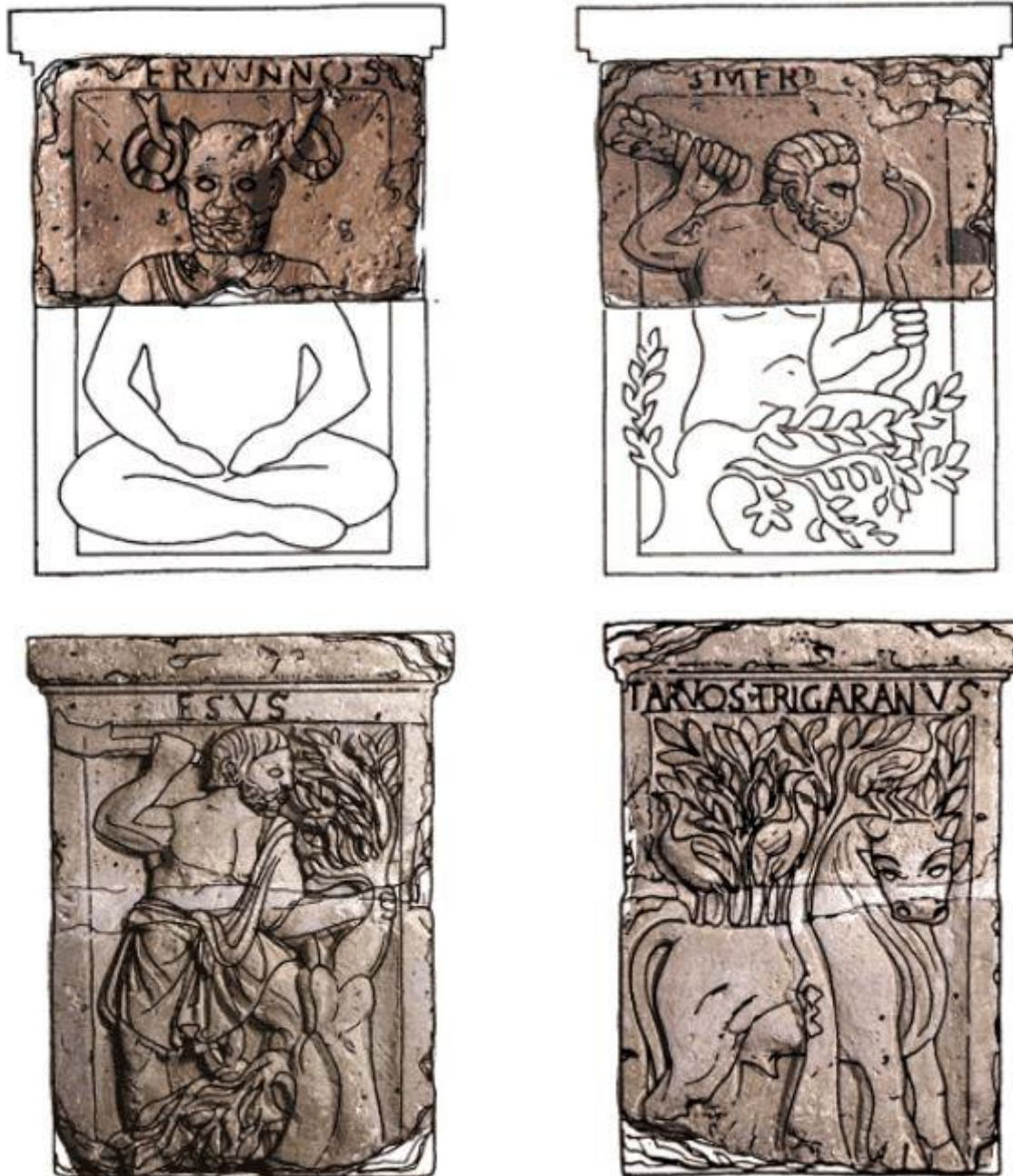


Figure 37. Reconstruction drawing of the Pilier des Nautes in the Musée de Cluny, Paris, showing the different deities on all four levels (after Droixhe 2002, 270-271).

Esus’ depiction is one level lower. His imagery is interesting but difficult to interpret. Traditionally, he is identified as a ‘good master’ of animal and vegetal powers (Hatt 1965, 91). Some authors have also identified him as a war-deity, but this interpretation is highly speculative (Brunaux 1986, 72). There is some sort of violent nature to Esus, for which the tree cult comes forth again. As mentioned before, human sacrifices were made at or around trees and their blood was seen as the real offer to the oak. Esus is mentioned as a deity that functions as a sort of watchman, looking over and mastering human sacrifice at oak trees. The depiction on the Pilier des Nautes does not follow this



Figures 38a-d. Depictions of the Celtic deities of the Pilier des Nautes, lines added for a full reconstruction (source: archeologie.culture.fr): a) Cernunnos (top left); b) Smertios (top right); c) Esus (bottom left); d) Tarvostriganus (bottom right).

imagery. He is depicted with an axe and is chopping the branch of a willow tree. Multiple interpretations have been given over time. It could for example be a sacrificial act to chop the tree, or it symbolises the destruction and rebirth of the Tree of Life. Whichever option, it is clear that Esus has a strong Celtic interpretation to him. Esus on itself is not a name, it is a title. This problematises identifications of equations to Roman deities, which is usually restricted to Mars and Mercury (Duval 1989, 266; Green 1992c, 93-94). Esus' interpretations are rather concrete in comparison to Smertios',

whose reconstruction of the depiction does not show any interactivity with the tree. Although Esus' and Smertios' depictions here look similarly, scholars do not make any connection between the two deities. It would make sense to argue that the tree has a more supportive role for Smertios, but it remains rather speculative at this point (Green 1992c, 212-213). Esus does get a connection with the last Celtic deity of the Pilier des Nautes: Tarvostrigaranus.

The tablet on which the name of Tarvostrigaranus appears shows a bull standing behind a tree and having three cranes or egrets on top of him. The bull was a sacred animal for the Celts (Nerzic 1989, 79). There is quite some symbolism to be found in this image, especially if we regard this in light of the tree cult. The egrets are a logical choice naturally, as these birds enjoyed willow trees, but also removed parasites from cattle's backs. Iconographically, the birds might be spirits that will be released when the tree is chopped. The bull represents potency, sexual vigour and strength. These characteristics would strengthen the fertility symbolism of the depicted tree (Green 1992c, 207-208). The chopping is where the connection with Esus is made by scholars, as this could be seen as symbolism for the 'death' of winter and the rebirth of trees, as explained above. It might thus be a depiction of the change of seasons.

The tree of life is partly the returning aspect on the Pilier des Nautes. Apart from the tree of life, the depicted deities come with a significant amount of Celtic symbolism. According to Nerzic, the Celtic style of depicting also is present prominently. The depictions of the Celtic deities appear to show more scenery and are not merely a depiction of a deity. It is also noted by Nerzic that the horses on the panels depicting the Dioscuri have turned their heads towards the middle, which is supposedly a Celtic style of depiction. Overall, there seemed to be an urge to balance the Graeco-Roman and Celtic elements for the *nautae* (Nerzic 1989, 79-80). Thanks to the inscriptions, the co-existence of both pantheons is clearly recognisable. This is an early form of syncretism, where the deities are separately depicted (in other words, no hybrid deities are to be identified), but the added 'religious' value is equal.

7.2. Pilier de Mavilly (Dijon)

Since there is some overlap of depicted deities on the Pilier de Mavilly (see figures 39a-d), it is worth discussing this pillar together with the Pilier des Nautes. Exact dates for these have not been determined, but both certainly were erected in the first half of the 1st century (Hatt 1965, 111). Unfortunately, the Pilier de Mavilly does not come with inscriptions naming the depicted deities. As a result, there has been some insecurity regarding the identifications of the deities. Scholars in the past have often merely identified them in the spectre of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, but some have already early on argued that a Celtic interpretation cannot be excluded on forehand (Thevenot 1955, 81).

The Pilier de Mavilly is sometimes regarded as containing solely deities that are related to water, or rather water springs (Hatt 1965, 111). On the other hand, the pillar is also identified as originating from a sanctuary of spring, where curing took place (Hatt 1983, 196). Both options would of course on itself mean that specific characteristics of the Graeco-Roman deities are required, which makes a Romano-Celtic identification not easier. The three deities recorded in the database (Apollo, Hercules and Mars; no. 565, 568 and 571 in the database) are the ones that might have a Romano-Celtic interpretation.

Apollo is identified as a Romano-Celtic hybrid one, but it remains somewhat unclear which. One suggestion is that it is Apollo Vindonnus, who is known as a deity of light. Similarly, a suggestion of him as Apollo Belenus identifies him as deity of the sun, thus light remained an important aspect for either possibility (Thevenot 1955, 86; Hatt 1965, 112; Green 1992c, 30-32). Hatt argues that on this panel we see Apollo Belenus as a healer, or rather ophthalmologist, curing Esus his eyes to his left. Esus would have come from the underworld and be blinded by the light (Hatt 1983, 196). Hercules has been identified as Smertios, though the initial interpretation of Hercules is slightly disputable on itself. One possible feature of Hercules is him being a patron of water sources (Thevenot 1955, 86). Likelier to me, however, is the interpretation of Hercules Smertios depicted here with wings. In the wings, either a wolf or a lynx can be recognised, which belong to Smertios' myth. Furthermore, a club is depicted in his right hand, an image recognisable on these kind of monuments. In this interpretation of Hatt, the water sources are still part of the identification of this monument. He argues that Hercules has opened a water source with his club, forcing Esus to leave the underworld (Hatt 1983, 196).

Mars' identification is somewhat troublesome too. His main identification is in this case that he is cuirassed and that he has a spear and a shield. Furthermore, he is flanked by what seems a female deity, so probably Minerva. Interestingly, the shield's type is a typical Gallic La Tène type (Thevenot 1955, 81-82). The horned snake on his left is interesting. We know of course that this animal is connected to healing, but in this case it is another reference to the healing water spring in Mavilly (Green 1992c, 195-196). Mars is at times connected with Esus here because of his armour (Hatt 1965, 112), but that seems unlikely, seen the 'aggressive' nature of Esus. A hybrid Mars would fit more in this Romano-Celtic interpretation, for example Mars Nodens (Green 1992c, 162). The analysis of these three deities alone already shows that there are several possibilities within the Romano-Celtic interpretations for the Pilier de Mavilly. In the sense of syncretism, the mergence of the two different pantheons has developed already somewhat more into a separate new pantheon. Because of the lack of inscriptions, we will never be sure, but it indeed appears as if the Pilier de Mavilly is further in the process of syncretism than the probably just a few decades younger Pilier des Nautes (Hatt 1965, 112).



Figures 39a-d. All four sides of the Pilier de Mavilly in the Musée d'archéologie nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (after archeogalloromaine.blog4ever.com). a) Top: Hercules Smertios. Bottom: Apollo with Esus left and raven right (top left); b) Top: Goddess (Ceres?) with a small person on her side. Bottom: Diana holding a torch and snakes (top right); c) Top: divine couple. Probably Vulcanus and either Vesta or Venus. Bottom: divine couple. Mars and Minerva(?) with a horned snake (bottom left); d) Top: Jupiter or Taranis. Bottom: Unidentified male deity (bottom right).

7.3. Pillar of Tiberius (Nijmegen)

The Pillar of Tiberius from Nijmegen is a bit of a different story, although it was erected in the same period as the two pillars above. This is mainly due to the style, both of the monument as a whole and of the depictions. The type of monument is best to be compared with the Pilier des Nautes, as the measurements of the blocks and panels are almost similar. The style of depictions is more difficult to compare, according to Panhuysen, as the Pilier des Nautes is worn off to some extent (Panhuysen 2002, 26). With some cautiousness, I would argue that the Pilier de Mavilly is stylistically closer to the Pilier des Nautes than the Pillar of Tiberius. The latter one appears to be slightly closer to the Graeco-Roman style of depiction, though it is still far from the style we come across in the 2nd and 3rd century CE. Eventually, the styles of the Jupiter columns in especially the *Germaniae* get developed into a type of monument on their own, being significantly different from the 1st century Gallic examples (Panhuysen 1996, 198). A difference in style might therefore be expected, even this early on. The ornamented frames the pillar of Tiberius contains are for example not added to the two Gallic pillars, but also the imagery and the way the human parts (i.e., the faces and the bodies) are depicted are more 'Romanised' (Noelke 2010/2011, 237). Those depictions are partly difficult to identify. The remains show one complete middle row and two small parts of rows that are broken off (see figure 40). In the database, only the depiction of Apollo is included, but the question is whether other possibly syncretised images can be identified.

Panhuysen identifies all attributes of the depicted deities as belonging to similar images from the Graeco-Roman pantheon and therefore identifies most deities themselves within the spectre of that same pantheon (Panhuysen 2002, 38-41). His argumentation appears to be fairly reasonable. Moreover, a Celtic or Romano-Celtic identification at first sight does not seem logical. However, it is not clear who exactly erected the pillar. It is likely that it was erected in honour of military successes of Germanicus (Panhuysen 2002, 35-36), but not by whom. Panhuysen also makes a brief comparison with the Pilier des Nautes and the Pilier de Mavilly, even mentioning that the 'blending' of Roman and indigenous deity depictions is noteworthy (Panhuysen 1996, 211; Panhuysen 2002, 26). So although the imagery does not give much reason to suggest it, the question rises whether Celtic elements for this same type of pillar could have been applied. It does not seem likely that local inhabitants had significant influence in the choice and style of depicted deities and their appearance. Suggestively, the monument and its depictions might speak to the imagination of the Celts and their pantheon. This means that some depicted deities could have strong connections or identifications with prominent Celtic deities. Maybe, the pillar was the result of values that were important for both the Romans and the Celts.



Figure 40. Pillar of Tiberius in the Valkhof Museum in Nijmegen (NL; source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>).

7.4. Big Jupiter column of Mainz

The first example from the 1st century CE that can definitely be identified as belonging to the Graeco-Roman style and typology, is the Big Jupiter column from Mainz. It was erected somewhere between 59 and 67 CE, but probably not long after 59 CE (Gschlößl 2006, 42). A possible link between the Mainz column and a Jupiter column at the Capitol from 63 BCE in Rome have been made several times. This would have been standing at the Capitol according to Cicero, but no source provides information about the exact lay-out of the Capitoline column. Scholars agree, however, that the Mainz column is at least based on the Capitoline one. Stylistically, the big column of Mainz contains more reliefs and decorations than most Jupiter columns would eventually have. Panhuysen notes that those found in Gaul were closer to the rich decoration than the ones in the *Germaniae*. It seems fair to agree with Bauchhenß that the Mainz column followed the Roman stylistic tradition, though his notion that this would more or less be the same style of the Capitoline column, appears to be to anachronistic (Cic. Catil. 3.8.19; Bauchhenß 1981, 40-41; Panhuysen 1996, 197-198). Either way, the Mainz column probably did function as archetype for the Jupiter columns, at least in Germania Superior. For Germania Inferior and Gallia Belgica, it is clear that imagery of Jupiter (and Juno) was based on or copied from examples known from the Capitoline hill, as it is clear that the types are similar (Noelke 1981, 380-385). The column of Mainz therefore takes a different place in the development of Jupiter columns. Noelke also notes that it is likely that the 1st century examples (i.e., those structures that are regarded to belong to the Jupiter column type) originated from Gaul and the Gallic influenced areas of Germania Superior (Noelke 2010/2011, 216). The two Gallic examples above confirm this view. The high number of reliefs was present on both the pillars and the column of Mainz.

The choice of depicted deities was obviously not similar, though both monuments have influenced the developments on their own ways. The pillars prominently placed the regional deities alongside the Roman deities and formed a clear example of syncretism. The type of construction of the column of Mainz became the 'standard', although with less reliefs. This standard was probably already known in pre-Flavian times (before 69 CE; Panhuysen 1996, 200), which makes recognising syncretism from the cluster in Mainz and thus Germania Superior difficult. Additionally, the columns from Germania Inferior would stylistically be closer to the Capitoline examples as well (Panhuysen 1996, 199). According to Nerzic, the style of the depictions on the Big Column of Mainz would be non-Roman. The deities are depicted with their Classical attributes, but the faces are arguably 'personalised'. Every-day people would have modelled for the deities. Additionally, the amount of decoration of the pillar would have originated from the Celtic style (Nerzic 1989, 87). A usage of style does not mean an accompanying religious meaning was automatically copied as well. Any regional interpretations are difficult to make here, purely based on these arguments of style. However, if the

1st century examples were highly influenced by Gallic examples, the Celtic pantheon cannot have disappeared similarly easy. The column of Mainz can probably not provide much information on early syncretism of Romano-Celtic 1st century CE society, so some other examples must be discussed as well.



Figure 41. Close-up of parts of the Big Jupiter column of Mainz in the Landesmuseum Mainz
(after nat.museum-digital.de).

7.5. Schuppensäule fragment Gelduba

So far, none of the examples have shown clear indications of *Schuppensäulen* being present in this period. The pillar of Tiberius contains some leaf ornaments, but it is not quite the same. Luckily, there is one particular fragment of a *Schuppensäule* from the 1st century CE (between 50 and 69 CE), found in Gelduba (modern-day Gellep). This is the earliest example known of a *Schuppensäulen* that belonged to a Jupiter column (Noelke 2010/2011, 214). According to Bauchhenß, the Big Jupiter column from Mainz was the impetus for the tree cult to be transferred onto stone monuments (Bauchhenß 1981, 41). Purely based on the Gelduba example, this could be the case, if it is from a monuments constructed in the late 60s. However, this would purely be based on the connection between Jupiter and the sky-deity of the oak cult. *Schuppensäulen* appear to take a bit longer to be included on Jupiter columns on a large scale. Therefore, this one on one connection made by Bauchhenß does not seem likely to me. Moreover, the examples above merely contain some leaf ornaments. Arguably, this might refer to the tree cult as well, but it seems likelier that this simply followed the Graeco-Roman style.



Figure 42. *Schuppensäule* fragment from Gelduba. Krefeld, Museum Burg Linn (after Noelke 2010/2011, 215).

The fact that there is a fragment from the 1st century indicates two things. In the first place that the anthropomorphic image of scaled columns was known and used early on already. The imagery of the tree with Tarvostrigaranus on the Pilier des Nautes is a first sign of the oak cult being implemented in these kind of monuments, but the *Schuppensäule* as part of the Jupiter columns was

the more direct and prominent usage of this cult. Second, we can assume that *Schuppensäulen* could be found more often in Northwestern Europe in the 1st century, a least more than the one fragment we have here. There are quite some fragments in the database of which the construction or erection date has not been identified, not to assume that a significant amount of these were erected in the 1st century. It might be too difficult to pinpoint where the *Schuppensäule* as a style emerged and how it spread or influenced other monuments. Nevertheless, the *Schuppensäule* remains a way of implementation of the Celtic oak culture into the new monuments. Among the depictions of the originally Celtic deities, the *Schuppensäulen* are one of the syncretised elements. The monuments that contained these early on ought to have the values of the oak cult we have seen before: tree of life and the symbolism of death, but also the connection between upper and lower worlds (Green 1992c, 212-213). Moreover, there seems to be a co-existence of the *Schuppensäule* and the Jupiter imagery on top, for rarely they are depicted solely. Just like with the early pillars, there apparently was a need to depict a specific deity, here the sky-god, with both a Roman and a Celtic identity.

The co-existential depiction continued over the decades until it was basically part of the type of monument. This was probably not soon after the 2nd century began. That being said, there are some indications that the regional Celtic element was still prominently present. In Chapter 5, an example was shown of a depiction of Apollo on a *Viergöttersteine* (see figure 35a, p. 57). It was found in Alzey in 1929 and is dated on 170-190 CE (see no. 676 in the database). It was discovered as *spolium* in the late-Roman *castellum*, together with other stone objects. One of these is a votive piece (see figure 43). The inscription shows that it can be dated exactly on the 18th of August 175 CE and that it was dedicated to Apollo Grannus, who was mentioned before. The presence of the two stone pieces could be coincidental, but some assumptions can be made. The difficulty is that the original historical context (i.e., whether the two objects belonged to each other or were otherwise related, possibly via a specific cult) is unknown. As they were found in the same structure, they both must come from the close surroundings within Alzey. Furthermore, they both are dated in the late 2nd century CE. These are probably the main reasons for an identification of Apollo Grannus on the *Viergöttersteine* (^c<http://lupa.at>). It is of course not certain solely based on this argumentation, but the late 2nd century dedication to Apollo Grannus shows that syncretism in terms of hybrid deities surely was present in Romano-Celtic society at that time (ⁱ<http://lupa.at>). We have seen a similar example earlier on, when the data from Civitas Ubiorum were discussed (see Paragraph 6.3.5.). This indicates that a Romano-Celtic identification can surely be an option in case of Jupiter columns. To come back to the tree cult, this confirms that the Celtic tree cult was present in form of the Jupiter columns. So although the style becomes 'standardised', the hybridity of the syncretised tree imagery remains at least from the time of the Gelduba example (60s CE) until the Alzey example (170-190 CE), but I would argue this characteristic stuck to the cult until the end of it halfway in the 3rd century CE.

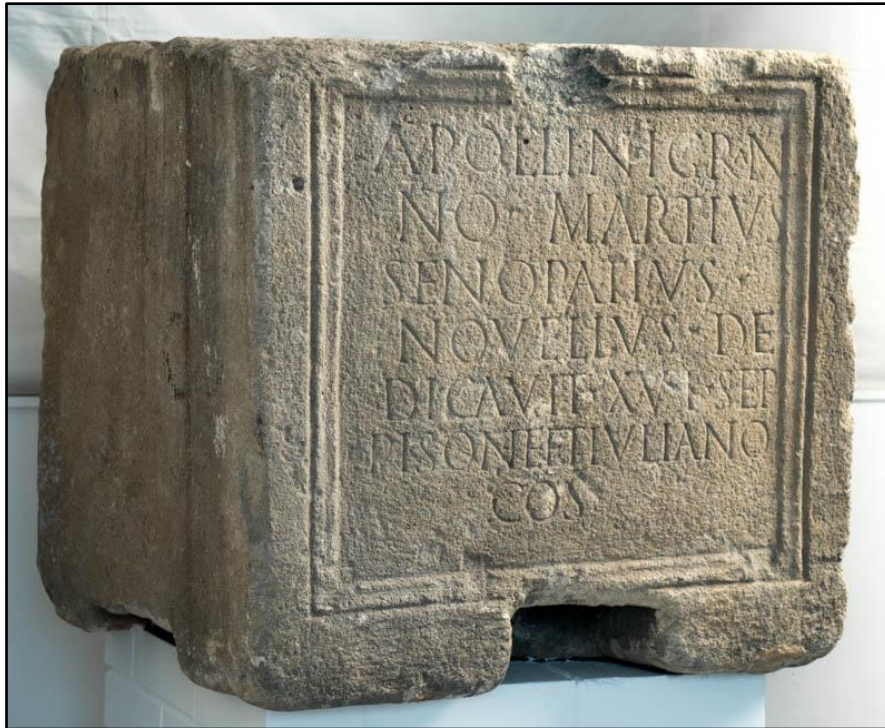


Figure 43. Votive piece for Apollo Grannus. Museum Alzey, Alzey (DE). Full inscription: Apollini Gran/no Martius / Senopatius / Novellus de/dicavit XV K(alendas) Sep(tembres) / Pisone et Iuliano / co(n)s(ulibus). Translation: “To Apollo Grannus, Senopatius Novellus dedicated this on the 15th of the Kalendae of September (i.e., 15th of august, ed.). In the consulate of Pison and Iulianus” (i.e., 175 CE, ed). Translation made by author (after ¹<http://lupa.at>).

7.6. Weisenheim *Zwischensockel*

Lastly, to complete the view, it is wise to look into examples of Jupiter column parts from the 1st century. Unfortunately, not all of the examples were visually accessible to me.³ One particular example was, however, namely a *Zwischensockel* from the late 1st century. It was found in Weisenheim am Sand and contains eight depicted deities (see figure 44a-b; Bauchhenß 1981, 240). Although quite worn off, we can still recognise most. In this octagonal stone, a *Zwischensockel*, it seems as if the deities all belong to the Graeco-Roman pantheon, like Hercules or Mars. In terms of style, the depictions here do not look much like the pillars discussed in the beginning of this chapter. The example shown here indicates that the mergence of deities had developed so far that solely based on a single monuments, depictions could not be identified separately (i.e., from one specific pantheon), but were part of the new Romano-Celtic pantheon. Whether we see a hybrid deity here or a Graeco-Roman one, is impossible to say with

³ For the following numbers of the database, there were no online images to be found: 383 (Bad Kreuznach), 395 and 396 (both Mainz).

just this object. As argued by Clavel-Lévêque, syncretism can be expressed in terms of language or depiction (Clavel-Lévêque 1989, 351). In the early examples, we see a prominent presence of the Celtic styles *and* in terms of the (whether or not 'Romanised') names. Over some decades, the Celtic style disappears. However, we have seen before that many decades later, also during the heyday of the Jupiter column in the late 2nd and early 3rd century, hybrid deities were depicted in the Roman Empire. As there are no specific hybrid deities known for Weisenheim (see Paragraph 6.4.12.), a wide range of hybrid deities can in theory be identified here. Complementary sources are required for a just estimation.



Figure 44a-b. *Zwischensockel* fragments of a Jupiter column from Weisenheim am Sand. Speyer, Historische Museum der Pfalz: a) from left to right; Vulcanus, Venus and Mars (left); b) Juno left, Hercules right (right; after ¹<http://lupa.at>).

7.7. The nature of Jupiter columns revisited

It is convenient to understand the function of columns in the Roman Empire in general, as this might contribute to the reasoning and choice of depiction of their erection. Most large well-known column monuments in the Roman Empire were victory monuments. The column of Traian in Rome, for example, depicts the military achievements under the command of emperor Traian and served as both a propaganda medium and as his burial place (Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 75-77). Columns like these thus had a prominent place within the empire's capital, for example in the public area of the Campus Martius (Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 90). It has become clear by now that the Jupiter columns had a different nature, but this notion stresses the degree of the cult being public. An interesting remark in this discussion as made by Panhuysen, who argues that Jupiter columns were merely ever monumental. He names an example from Köln, which is 'only' 3.70 metres in height (Panhuysen 1996, 198). He could indeed be correct that the columns were not meant to be a public monument, but this does not mean that they were not public. Even if they would be erected within a walled sanctuary, they would be quite noticeable, even if they are 'only' a couple of metres in height. I would argue that they do provide a public function, though the term 'monumental' might indeed be incorrect. The Jupiter columns were not erected due to influence by local authorities, so in principle they were private cults (Woolf 2001, 123-124). Their fairly easy recognition as a Jupiter column confirms the image of the columns being a cult or representation, as discussed in paragraph 4.2.2. The repetitive selection of deities, even those that could be in a syncretised form, supports that idea. Though, there was no fixed selection of images of specific deities. Dedicants had freedom to make their own selection, which fit in the religious freedom of the time period (Woolf 2001, 127-128). Moreover, they can be described as 'tangible expressions' of an ideology in the 'new' Romano-Celtic societies (Wells 1999, 221). This indicates that the choice of the specific imagery was for the dedicants themselves, but the product would get a place within the new, local, religious society.

Did the Jupiter columns have some sort of high (religious) status? In case of the Pillar of Tiberius, it is expected that the Batavian upper elite was responsible for both raising the monument in the first place, but also for its costs (Roymans 2004, 216). Wells argues that the local elites advocated and sponsored the Jupiter columns as well (Wells 1999, 221). The danger of this elite-view lies in employing the theory of Romanisation too much, in manners of thinking that that process only or primarily took place in the elite layers of the Roman provincial societies, even though it has been pointed out multiple times by scholars that this clearly was not the case (Heeren 2006, 10-11). The lack of inscriptions on Jupiter columns makes it difficult to appoint their dedication to individuals. There are some epigraphic examples from the provinces, however. Some of these for example show dedications made by high elites in local Gallo-Roman temples (Woolf 1998, 78). The Gallo-Roman temples in themselves were

most of the times also initiated by local elites, sometimes even only for elites (Roymans and Derks 1994, 33-35).

The earliest examples of 'Romanised' material dedications are also in the same period of the Roman conquests in the provinces, all around halfway the 1st century CE (see for example: Derks 1998; Höpken 2020). Since most columns were erected much later, it is unlikely that they were still all initiated by the elites. Their initiation in some of the urban settlements is possible, but the inhabitants of *vici/canabae* (sometimes in a group) and surely the *villae* were probably also financially capable of raising the column monuments (Habermehl 2013, 152). Additionally, just as was the case with votive altars, legion soldiers that were camped in the provinces could have erected Jupiter columns, since military historical contexts cannot be excluded (Noelke 1981, 308). Keeping in mind that these monuments mostly were erected as private cults with a public setting, it appears to me that they kept some of their political status, but the religious status laid in the participating of the dedicants in Romano-Celtic society, which in essence was simply done only by making the depictions of this cult of representation (Woolf 1998, 218-219).

This revisit of the cult's nature is done to make an attempt in understanding the agency of the Romano-Celtic population in the process of syncretism that the Jupiter columns underwent. The complexity that comes with this because of all the different factors makes it almost impossible to make a close reconstruction of this. The 1st century examples have shown that there surely was differentiation based on regional religious values. These monuments exploited the Romano-Celtic pantheon and showed how the Celts in Northwestern Europe merged the religious values from two world together. They also show that an individual approach towards the monuments is required. In the next paragraph, a framework to identify and describe individual monuments *and* deities. This should make it easier to get a grip of the way Jupiter columns fitted in Romano-Celtic society.

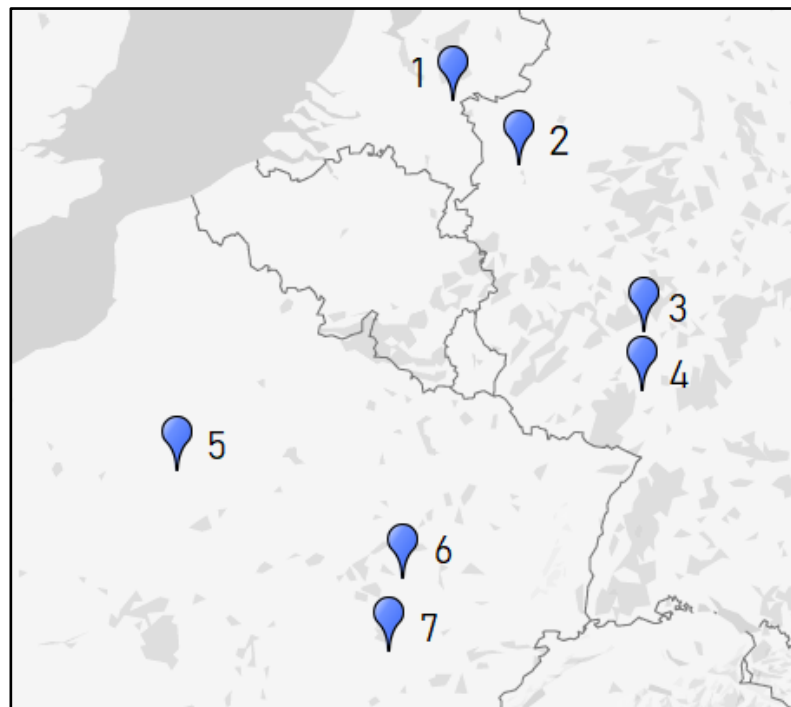


Figure 45. Locations of the 1st century examples on map Northwestern of Europe: 1) Nijmegen, 2) Gellep, 3) Mainz, 4) Weisenheim am Sand, 5) Paris, 6) Dijon, 7) Mavilly. Made by author.

7.8. A framework for identification

Syncretism remains the starting point in the framework. The degree of syncretism is highly exposed to contexts. As has become clear from the analysis of the 1st century examples, approaching the individual deities means placing them in a regional context and comparing them to general trends. The framework is therefore structured in different levels, from macro to micro scale.

For the macroscale, I take the provincial or rather ‘pan-*civitas*’ approach. Although it is not my intention to fall back on regarding Gauls to be significantly different from Germanics, one can take such an approach to look at general developments in terms of style, choice of depiction and quantities. One trend noticeable from the database is for example the high amount of *Schuppensäulen* that was found in Germania Inferior, in comparison to the other provinces. Moreover, tribes that were settled in multiple *civitates* influences the possible interpretation extensively. Tracking the tribal movements on itself is complex, however. For example, the ethnogeneses by Caesar of amongst others the Eburones and the Veneti⁴ caused massive changes in the tribal organisation (Roymans, Derks and Heeren 2020, 272). The macroscale can also include different trends, if relevant. For example, the bar may have laid low to construct a Jupiter column over time. Construction-wise, it is clear that local craftsmen were able to pick up techniques fast and well. Moreover, the softer stones in the provinces, like tufa and sandstone, made it possible for non-craftsmen to construct monuments as well (Busch and Hesberg 2020, 325). Taking the general developments into account when moving on to the meso- and microscale is essential to place the Jupiter column cult in a broader perspective eventually.

The mesoscale looks at the Jupiter columns as a whole, especially within the context of the *civitas*. First of all, this means that the quantities of depictions are recorded and taken into account for the microscale. For example, several graphs have shown that Hercules and Mercury were mostly depicted on Jupiter columns in that *civitas*. Second, recording historical contexts in the *civitates* could provide information about to what degree the cult was public or private there. This is of course a difficult step, but one should try to include what is known from a site in general if the information is shallow in order to get information from this. Third, in line with this, the parts of the column on which the elements appear can indicate typologies of the structures, providing information on whether a Jupiter column was prominently present. In short, the mesoscale tackles the general analysis of a *civitas*’ graph. The difficulty of the period remains to some extent. The long period between the first examples and the many that followed over 100 years later might be explained by a long period of stability, in which locals were able to act in society more prominently (Panhuysen 1996, 161), but this

⁴ The Veneti were located in Burgundy in western France, which might explain the presence of the Jupiter column cult there (see: Eveillard and Maligorne 1996; Eveillard 2000).

theory is uncertain still. The question is if the 'standardisation' has taken place and, if so, when. The Jupiter column cult had become a well-known cult of provincial religion and the newest generations that erected them probably were not aware of the genealogy of the specific compositions of the columns (Woolf 2001, 119). It can be concluded that the columns had somewhat of an expected layout, while dedicants still had some freedom to alter the depictions. This of course concerns the layout, while the microscale goes into detail of the interpretation.

The microscale entails the iconography of the individual regional elements that have been discussed. For this, one remark from the macroscale should be made in advance: the deities of Roman origin with possible merged forms have been selective. Derks already concluded that the limited variety of Roman deities – in his case, Mars and Hercules were used most frequently – could only mean that a selection of the Roman pantheon was made with a native perception (Derks 1998, 100). It must be mentioned that the regional and possible syncretised elements only form a selection of the Jupiter columns altogether. Apart from the (hybrid) Romano-Celtic deities, Graeco-Roman deities were depicted to a large extent on the columns too. The identification of the deities will remain problematic for most records of the database, as many do not have inscriptions. For the microscale, it is important to approach the records open-mindedly. Furthermore, involving other archaeological objects and structures is important for a good understanding. The examples of the votive altars show that even for 2nd and 3rd century examples a Romano-Celtic interpretation is possible, even if the syncretism has developed from co-existence into hybridity.

Dedicants did not only have a freedom of choice in depiction, but probably also in interpretation. In paragraph 5.8., it was mentioned that the iconography of the columns could be seen as a dualistic cult. Although Woolf denies the notion of the oppositions that would be part of the dualism (because the monuments have too much variations for a set formula and a problematised Romanised view could appear; Woolf 2001, 128-129), dualism might work for the interpretation of the individual elements. Since merely the depiction was the way of participating in the cult, there was no fixed way of interpreting the depicted deities. For example, a provincial inhabitant could interpret a depiction of 'Hercules' as Hercules Magusanus, while one of Roman origin could still interpret him as Hercules. Even naming these interpretations 'Roman' or 'indigenous' is meaningless, for these terms describe the new syncretised form incorrectly (Heeren 2006, 8). There was both freedom and variety of interpretation of the depictions. In the Northwestern European, provincial-Roman syncretisms, in which the Jupiter columns were an own specific form of syncretism. The merged columns could have influences from both the Celtic religion and the Roman religion. The dualistic view is grounded on what we regard as the Romano-Celtic pantheon. Syncretism has resulted in a Romano-Celtic style and veneration for this pantheon. These were supposedly suitable for both the indigenous Celtic and the Roman inhabitants (Clavel-Lévêque 1989, 351). The development and the process that had caused this

syncretism is not easily explainable in terms of point A to point B (Nerzic 1989, 91). Nevertheless, there are multiple grounds on which the different interpretations can be built. Differentiation between period and region should always be taken into account to assure a rightful identification of an individual object's iconography and meaning, in all three scales.

8. Conclusion

Describing Roman artefacts and structures from the provinces of the Roman Empire are usually complex, because understanding and reconstructing the cultural processes is difficult. This study tried to contribute to iconographical understanding of the Jupiter columns. As was hypothesised in the introduction, one single fixed or omnipresent iconographical interpretation of the columns was not used. Placing the columns in a concrete framework of cultural processes might be impossible to do, as there are too many variables that need to be considered.

Creating the database has been convenient in creating a better overview of the regional phenomenon. The differences in usage between the provinces were not the biggest, but the slight differences are probably the result of the general historical context of the provinces. The collected data was insufficient to be able to make reconstructions concerning the individual choices of dedicants. Two main problems underlie this 'gap' in the study of individual Jupiter columns. First of all, many of the fragments have been used as *spolia*, thus retrieving their exact original location is impossible in multiple occasions. Secondly, the lack of inscriptions gives us almost no names to work with. Due to these problems, we will have to describe the columns from a macro, meso and micro level.

The database itself does not exclude iconographies. Let us then reflect on perhaps the major pitfall in determining the iconographical meaning of the Jupiter columns, namely the selection of possible merged deities. We have seen that the selection of regional elements was interpretable from both a Graeco-Roman and a Romano-Celtic perspective. Purely based on the depiction of the merged deities, we cannot tell whether the dedicant saw the god(dess) as the 'original' Roman one or as a hybrid form, newly created in the Romano-Celtic pantheon. I would even argue that the 'Graeco-Roman perspective' was just part of the Romano-Celtic pantheon, thus should not be regarded as a completely separate perspective in case of syncretism of the Jupiter columns, maybe not even of Romano-Celtic syncretism in general. This multi-interpretable variable that the column monuments contain, is both the most difficult as well as the most logical explanatory aspect of the columns. There is no single clear explanation of the iconography, but at the same time this is the essence of the columns altogether. The freedom that was present in the Romano-Celtic pantheon made it possible for the dedicant to make his or her own selection. This could still mean that at one time Mars was depicted, but the other time Mars Camulos. The most constant factor was the depiction of the scales, but even this decoration was used differently throughout the regions and not *always* used.

These inconsequent depictions ensure that we cannot speak of a trend in the sense of a specific selection of the regional elements. In this cult as representation, it is plausible that dedicants deemed it was important as some sort of status symbol to make the monument easily recognisable. Although

it is tempting to conclude that each *civitas* had their own particular selection of deities (which might be the case for the Graeco-Roman ones but definitely not for the Celtic ones, especially because the distribution denies any notion of hard borders between provinces), it will only introduce false patterns.

Jupiter columns might be the most striking examples of syncretism in the Northwestern Roman Empire. Their multi-interpretable nature is what makes them understandable to anyone who passes them. We have seen that their public positions adds a specific status to them, even though they are part of a private cult. This might be a good explanation of their need to be multi-interpretable, because they were ought to be understood by indigenous inhabitants, Romans and soldiers/veterans. This form of syncretism is one with a high degree of influence from the Celtic religion. The apparent strong connection with the regional religious pantheon generated a higher degree of hybridity, causing a sufficient new religious monument-form to emerge, which thus was a syncretism. The first of these forms are discussed in Chapter 7 and show different steps of the process of this syncretism. At first the co-existence of deities and eventually a complete hybridity. Dualism in the Romano-Celtic pantheon was key for the depictions and the way of understanding. In my opinion, to pick one element, the duality of the tree element created in both the depiction and the identification shows exceptionally well how the 1st century Romano-Celtic syncretism has developed into the Jupiter columns. Essential for a good understanding for future studies should be the involvement of comparable structures like the votive altars included in this thesis, for they added information about the Romano-Celtic pantheon in general.

To observe syncretism was hypothesised, but the degree of hybridity and multi-interpretability were higher than expected. Jupiter columns undoubtedly were part of the syncretised religious sphere that is meant with the Romano-Celtic religious sphere, they even appear to have been one of the key examples of its material culture. This sphere of course had a connection with both the spheres of origin, but it is disconnected at the same time. The flexibility of the iconography of the regional elements and the cult being one of merely representation, are the reasons to interpret the regional elements on Jupiter columns as part of a column monument that has probably been dedicated by a regional inhabitant with either Celtic roots or still a Celtic identity. The opportunity will remain, however, that usage of regional elements could be done by anyone that wanted to fit in with other examples. The importance of the columns having religious meaning may have been relatively low, but the possibilities and freedom for dedicants was so high that they could make this decision for themselves and still fit in the wide frame that this syncretism had. The Jupiter column was a significantly accessible way to be part of Romano-Celtic religious material culture and society.

Some recommendations for further research can be made. The focus of this thesis was on Celtic and Romano-Celtic elements, not too extensively on Graeco-Roman elements. A study that reverses the focuses might bring in new perspectives on the kind of syncretism I intended to tackle

here. Furthermore, the inclusion of *all* examples could make an overall complete framework. Such a framework must include all the column(s) and its fragment that were not included in this study, because of their lack of a regional element or hybridity. Additionally, the lack of information regarding the exact contexts in the database causes the meso- and microscale to stay somewhat abstract. It does not seem likely that this could be complemented significantly, but that would be the next step in mapping the syncretism on the smallest microscales detailly. A final recommendation is to enlarge this study after the previous recommended steps onto a pan-European scale. This would not only include examples from, to say, all of France, but also for example from the Roman province of Dacia in eastern Europe. The pan-European nature of the Celtic culture could either play an even bigger role altogether, or play a more minimalised role than argued thus far.

9. Abstract

9.1. English

After the Roman conquests of Northwestern Europe at the beginning of the era, new material and religious cultures emerged. Several artefacts in the four Northwestern provinces (Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Gallia Belgica and Britannia) emerged over the following centuries that contained influences from both Roman and indigenous religious culture. In these regions, a hybrid Romano-Celtic monument appeared; the Jupiter column. In this thesis, the regional elements on the columns are discussed in order to understand and explain the hybridity of this Romano-Celtic monument.

The discussion about the regional elements is put in light of syncretism, which describes the process of two or more different religious cultures, here the Roman and the Celtic one, merging into a new regional religious culture, in this case the Romano-Celtic one. Because of that, on one hand, the different iconographical meanings of the regional elements are discussed to determine the degree of possible hybridity. On the other hand, a database was made to create a convenient overview of the (possible) regional elements. This has been done to observe possible trends and, if applicable, to notify differences between the provinces in the Jupiter column cult. Moreover, the general assumptions of Roman regional religion has been explicated to use as framework.

The Jupiter column cult was one of the best examples of a syncretised cult in the Northwestern Roman Empire. Both the database and the religious framework have shown that the regional elements of the columns had a multi-interpretable nature. It is clear that, together with the notion of an inconsistent choice of deities that accompanied the Jupiter-image on top, the Jupiter columns neither had a fixed lay-out nor a set iconography. The cult was one of representation, in which depicting deities and other religious symbols alone was the dedication on in itself and in which dedicants had relatively much freedom. The apparent strong connection with the Romano-Celtic religious pantheon caused a higher degree of hybridity, causing a sufficient new religious monument-form to emerge. Within the domain of the pantheon, there was a big variety of Celtic, Graeco-Roman or hybrid interpretations possible, which in my opinion typifies the Romano-Celtic religion. Because of this, Jupiter columns are a prominent example of the material culture and the society in which they found themselves.

Key-words: Jupiter column, syncretism, Graeco-Roman religion, Celtic religion, Romano-Celtic religion, Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Gallia Belgica, Britannia.

9.2. Nederlands

Na de Romeinse veroveringen in het noordwesten van Europa kort na het begin van de jaartelling ontstonden nieuwe materiële en religieuze culturen. In de vier noordwestelijke provincies (Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Gallia Belgica en Britannia) deden zich in de eerstvolgende paar eeuwen verschillende artefacten voor die beïnvloed waren door zowel de Romeinse als de inheemse religieuze cultuur. Een hybride Romeins-Keltisch monument kwam tevoorschijn in deze gebieden; de Jupiterzuil. In deze scriptie zijn de regionale elementen op de zuilen bediscussieerd om de hybriditeit van deze Romeins-Keltische monumenten te begrijpen en te verklaren.

De discussie over de regionale elementen is in het licht van syncretisme geplaatst. Syncretisme beschrijft het proces van samensmelting tussen twee of meer verschillende religieuze culturen, hier de Romeinse en de Keltische, tot een nieuwe regionale religieuze cultuur, in dit geval de Romeins-Keltische. Daarom zijn enerzijds de verschillende iconografische betekenissen van de regionale elementen behandeld om de mate van mogelijke hybriditeit te bepalen. Anderzijds is er een database gemaakt om een bruikbaar overzicht te creëren van de (mogelijke) regionale elementen. Dit is gedaan om mogelijke trends te constateren en, indien van toepassing, verschillen in de Jupiter cultus tussen de provincies te herkennen. Tevens is de Romeinse regionale religie in zijn algemeenheid uiteengezet om als kader te fungeren.

De Jupiterzuil-cultus was een van de beste voorbeelden van een gesyncretiseerde cultus in het noordwestelijke Romeinse Rijk. Zowel de database als het religieuze kader lieten zien dat de regionale elementen van de zuilen multi-interpreteerbaar van aard waren. Het is duidelijk dat, samen met het gegeven van de inconsistente keuze voor de goden die het Jupiterbeeld bovenaan aanvulden, de Jupiterzuilen noch een gefixeerde lay-out hadden, noch een vastgestelde iconografie. De cultus was een van representatie, waarbij het afbeelden van de goden en andere religieuze symbolen op zichzelf de wijding was en waarbij de toegewijden een tamelijke vrijheid kregen in hun keuzes. De klaarblijkelijke connectie met het Romeins-Keltische religieuze domein veroorzaakte een hogere mate van hybriditeit, welke op zichzelf een nieuwe aantoonbare religieuze monumenten-vorm liet ontstaan. In dit domein was er een grote variëteit aan Keltische, Grieks-Romeinse of hybride interpretaties mogelijk, welke mijns inziens de Romeins-Keltische religie typeert. Hierdoor zijn de Jupiterzuilen een toonaangevend voorbeeld van de materiële cultuur en voor de samenleving waarin zij zich bevonden.

Sleutelwoorden: Jupiterzuil, syncretisme, Grieks-Romeinse religie, Keltische religie, Romeins-Keltische religie, Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Gallia Belgica, Britannia.

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13. Appendices

Appendix 1: Divisions finding places per *civitas*

<i>Gallia Belgica</i>		
<i>Civitas</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Places</i>
Civitas Leucorum	Toul (Tullum)	Toul, Grand.
Civitas Mediomatricorum	Metz (Divodurum)	Metz, Merten, Neunkirchen.
Civitas Treverorum	Trier (Augusta Treverorum)	Arenrath, Bitburg, Möhn, Welschbillig, Aarlen, Büdesheim, Hottenbach, Igel, Messerich, Neumagen, Theley, Trier, Trier-Ehrang, Udelfangen.
'Other'	n/a	Faverolles, Paris, Vienne-en-Val.
<i>Germania Inferior</i>		
<i>Civitas</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Places</i>
Civitas Batavorum	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Nijmegen.
Civitas Cananefatium	Voorburg (Forum Hadriani)	Valkenburg (Z-H, NL).
Civitas Traienensis	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Asberg, Beeckerwerth, Plasmolen, Xanten.
Civitas Tungrorum	Tongeren (Atuatuca Tungorum)	Amberloup, Grevenbricht, Heel, Huy, Kappellen, Kessel, Maastricht, Schijndel, Stokkem, Tongeren.
Civitas Ubiorum	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Abenden, Alfter, Alt-Etzeiler, Alt-Inden Altdorf, Bedburdyck, Bedburg, Billig, Bonn, Schloss Dyck (Jüchen), Euskirchen, Frenz, Geich, Giesdorf, Groot Haasdal, Heerlen, Hochkirchen, Hoven, Kerkrade, Kelz, Kirchberg, Kleinbouslar, Köln, Köln-Weiden, Kreuzberg, Laurensberg, Mannheim, Marienberg, Merkstein, Merzenhausen, Morenhoven, Mönchengladbach, Müngersdorf, Niederzier, Nierendorf, Norf, Oidtweiler, Pesch, Pier, Rheydt-Mülfort, Rimbürg, Rommerskirchen, Schwammenaue, Sechtem, Strassfeld, Tetz, Thum, Weilerswist, Wesseling, Wickrath, Widdersdorf, Wissersheim, Worringen, Zingsheim, Zülpich.

<i>Germania Superior</i>		
Civitas	Capital	Places
Civitas Alisinensium	Wimpfen	Berwangen, Großeicholzheim, Hausen an der Zaber, Jagsthausen, Mönchzell, Neckarelz, Sinsheim, Steinsfurt, Stetten am Heuchelberg, Stocksberg, Waldmühlbach, Wimpfen.
Civitas Aquensis	Baden-Baden (Aquae)	Au am Rhein, Baden-Baden, Durmersheim, Eckartsweier, Gräfenhausen, Karlsruhe, Kleinsteinbach, Langensoultzbach, Lauterbourg, Lembach, Leutenheim, Mörsch, Niederbronn-les-Bains, Nöttingen, Saverne, Schöllbronn, Schweighouse, Seltz, Stein (DE), Strasbourg, Surbourg, Woerth, Wilferdingen.
“Civitas Arae Flaviae”	Rottweil (Arae Flaviae)	Altenstadt, Böttingen, Ehl, Gengenbach, Rottweil.
Civitas Aresacium	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Armsheim, Bad Kreuznach, Bingen, Duchroth, Heidesheim, Ingelsheim, Mainz, Mainz-Gustavsburg, Mainz-Kastel, Mainz-Kostheim, Seesbach, Udenheim, Wiesbaden.
Civitas Auderiensium	Dieburg	Dieburg, Georgenhausen, Hummertroth, Mömlingen, Mosbach, Obernburg, Otzberg, Radheim, Rai-Breitenbach, Stettfeld, Würzburg.
“Civitas Aurelia G”	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Benningen, Dürrmenz, Göglingen, Hemmingen, Köngen, Maulbronn, Möglingen, Mühlacker, Neckartailfingen, Pforzheim, Pleidelsheim, Steinheim, Stuttgart, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Stuttgart-Plieningen, Stuttgart-Zasenhausen, Waiblingen, Walheim, Wimsheim.
“Civitas Lingonium”	Dijon (Divio)	Dijon.
Civitas Mattiacorum	Wiesbaden (Mattiacorum)	Marienfels, Wiesbaden.
Civitas Nemetum	Speyer (Noviomagus)	Büchelberg, Freimersheim, Godramstein, Heidelberg, Iggelheim, Meckenheim, Nußdorf, Rheinzabern, Rülzheim, Schwalbach, Speyer, Zugmantel.
Civitas Sumelocennensis	Rottenburg (Sumelocenna)	Metzingen, Nagold, Rottenburg, Rübgarten, Wildberg.

Civitas Taunensium	Heddernheim (Nida)	Butterstadt, Butzbach, Heddernheim, Kesselstadt, Wachenbuchen.
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicrotum	Ladenburg (Lopodonum)	Altrip, Ladenburg, Mannheim, Miltenberg, Weisenheim.
Civitas Vangionum	Worms (Borbetomagus)	Alzey, Becherbach, Biebelnheim, Disibodenberg, Eisenberg, Gangloff, Heinzenhausen, Katzweiler, Kriegsfeld, Löllbach, Lorsch, Ransweiler, Worms.

Appendix 2: Database of Britannia

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
001	Mars	Sockel	Great Chesterford	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars. No further information provided.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 506.
002	Mercury	Sockel	Great Chesterford	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury. No further information provided.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 506.
003	n/a	Schuppensäule	Catterick (Cataractonium)	Unknown	<i>Castellum</i> or <i>Canaba</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 507.
004	n/a	Schuppensäule	Richborough (Rutupiae)	Used as building material in Roman times.	<i>Castellum</i> or <i>Canaba</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has keeled scales pointing upwards and the upper part has keeled scales pointing downwards(?).	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 505.
005	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum)	Used as building material in 19 th century house.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Late 2 nd / Early 3 rd cent. CE	TaQ 1853	n/a	Noelke 1981, 507; Henig, Webster and Blagg 2004, 42-43.

006	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum)	Used as building material in a church in Atcham.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd or 3 rd cent CE.	Unknown	n/a	Webster and Blagg 2004, 56.
007	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum)	Used as building material in a church in Atcham.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd or 3 rd cent CE.	Unknown	Probably belongs to the same monument as number 006.	Webster and Blagg 2004, 56.

Appendix 3: Database of Gallia Belgica

Civitas Leucorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
008	n/a	Schuppensäule	Grand	Found in the filling of a Gallo-Roman cistern.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	3 rd cent?	1895	Some scales are also depicted on the base on which the Jupiter horseman is situated.	Reis 2012, 364.

Civitas Mediomatricorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
009	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Merten	Stray finds	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of an armoured Apollo with a coat over his right shoulder. He probably holds an attribute in his raised right hand.	Early 3 rd cent CE?	1872	n/a	Reis 2012, 360-361.
010	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Merten	Stray finds	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of a bearded god with a coat over his left shoulder. A part of a club is depicted on his right side, leaning on a small	Early 3 rd cent CE?	1872	n/a	Reis 2012, 360-361.

						pedestal. All of this points at Hercules.				
011	n/a	Schuppensäule	Neunkirchen	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	1857	n/a	^k http://lupa.at .

Civitas Treverorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
012	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Arenrath	Used as building material in a local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left shoulder. His locks fall on his right shoulder. He holds a <i>plectrum</i> in his right hand and a <i>kithara</i> (kind of lyra) in his left hand. A bow and quiver is depicted behind his right shoulder, on which a raven is sitting.	Ca. 180-190 CE	1824	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 175-176.
013	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Welschbillig	Used as building material in the old bridge.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Apollo holding a <i>kithara</i> (kind of lyra) in his left hand. The instrument stands on a pedestal. His left upper arm is decorated with wreaths(?).	3 rd cent CE?	1850	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 178.
014	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Aarlen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules resting on a rock(?) with a lion skin knotted diagonally over his chest. He holds a club in his raised left hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Laporte 2019, 42.

015	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Arenrath	Used as building material in a local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. A bird is sitting on his left shoulder. He wears a quiver over his shoulder (right?). He holds a club in his right hand.	Ca. 180-190 CE	1824	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 175-176.
016	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Büdesheim	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of a naked Hercules with a lion skin over his (right?) shoulder. He leans with his right hand on a club, which stands on a rock. A piece of a quiver is recognizable behind his right shoulder.	Ca. 250 CE	1909	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 178-179.
017	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Hottenbach	Used as building material in the local church.	<i>Villa rustica</i> ?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans with his right hand on a club, while he holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand.	Unknown	1903	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 177.
018	Hercules	'Reliefsäule'	Igel	Has remained standing since its erection.	<i>Villa rustica</i> estate as grave monument	Depiction of the ascension of Hercules, wearing a lion skin and holding a club. He rides a four-in-hand horse carriage towards heaven, while his protector Minerva is reaching out to him. Around the scene, the Zodiac signs are depicted. These are flanked by the four wind gods blowing wind.	Ca. 250 CE	n/a	Igeler Säule	Zahn 1976, 5; Zahn 1976; 22-24.
019	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Messerich	Used as building material of a local church.	Roman grave(s)?	Depiction of a naked Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans with his right hand on a club.	Ca. 250-275 CE	1852	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 181-182.

020	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Neumagen	Found/ Excavated in the city-centre.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Fragment of Hercules, only his legs remain. On his right side, a piece of a club is recognizable, on which he probably leans with his right hand.	Un- known	1965	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 177.
021	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Theley	Used as building material in a local church?	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder and arm(?). He holds a club in his right hand. The club is leaning on his own shoulder.	Ca. 250 CE	1827	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 182-184.
022	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Trier- Ehrang	Found in the city-centre?	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He holds a bow in his left hand, while his right hand rests on a club. He has a quiver behind his right shoulder.	Ca. 180- 190 CE	1890	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 173-174.
023	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Trier (Augusta Trever- orum)	Used as building material(?) in the St. Martin's church.	<i>Civitas</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. A band of a quiver is depicted diagonally over his chest.	End 2 nd cent CE	1804	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 174-175.
024	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Udelfangen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He wears a quiver over his right shoulder. He holds a club in his right hand. The club leans on a rock.	Ca. 250 CE	1885	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 179-180.
025	Mars	Viergötterstein	Büdesheim	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of a naked Mars with a coat over his left shoulder and lower arm. He probably wore a helmet. He holds a lance in his right hand, while his left hand rests on a shield.	Ca. 250 CE	1909	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 178-179.

026	Mars	'Reliefsäule'	Igel	Has remained standing since its erection.	<i>Villa rustica</i> estate as grave monument	Depiction of a naked Mars with a shield in his left hand and a lance in his right one. He wears a coat over his left shoulder and behind his back. He wears a helmet. He approaches Rhea Silva, the Vestal virgin that became the mother of Romulus and Remus, of whom Mars is the father. Next to Rhea Silva, an urn and a water jug is depicted.	Ca. 250 CE	n/a	Igeler Säule	Zahn 1976, 5; Zahn 1976; 35.
027	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Büdesheim	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of a naked Mercury holding a moneybag in his right hand and a herald's staff in his left arm. He wears a hat with wings. To his left side, a rooster is depicted.	Ca. 250 CE	1909	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 178-179.
028	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Hottenbach	Used as building material in the local church.	<i>Villa rustica</i> ?	Depiction of a naked Mercury with probably a shield depicted next to him. He holds a herald's staff in his left hand and a moneybag in his right hand. He probably wears a hat with wings.	Unknown	1903	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 177.
029	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Trier-Ehrang	Found in the city-centre?	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. He wears a hat with wings. He holds a herald's staff in his left hand and a moneybag in his right hand. To his left, a rooster is depicted.	Ca. 180-190 CE	1890	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 173-174.
030	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Trier (Augusta	Used as building material(?) in	<i>Civitas</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) behind his back and over his right shoulder, as well as	End 2 nd cent CE	1804	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek &

			Trever- orum)	the St. Martin's church.		diagonally over his chest, hold together by a <i>fibula</i> . He holds a herald's staff in his left hand and a moneybag in his right one. He wears a hat with wings(?).				Schwinden 1988, 174-175.
031	n/a	Schuppensäule	Aarlen	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Laporte 2019, 42.
032	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bitburg (Beda)	Found in the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	1982	<i>Spolium?</i>	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 89.
033	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bitburg (Beda)	Found in the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	1957	<i>Spolium</i>	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 89.
034	n/a	Schuppendach	Igel	Has remained standing since its erection.	<i>Villa rustica</i> estate as grave monument	Pyramid like roof construction of the pillar that is decorated with scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 250 CE	n/a	Igeler Säule	Zahn 1976, 5; Zahn 1976; 14- 15.
035	n/a	Schuppensäule	Möhn	Found close to a sanctuary(?).	Sanctuary?	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards.	Un- known	1887	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 88.
036	n/a	Schuppensäule	Neumagen	Unknown	<i>Castellum?</i>	Scaled column, orientation of the scales is not given in publication.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert- Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 89.
037	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua	Found(?) in city-centre.	<i>Civitas</i>	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing	Un- known	1935	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-

			Trever- orum)			downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards.				Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 86.
038	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua Trever- orum)	Found(?) in city-centre.	<i>Civitas</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards(?).	Un- known	1915	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 86-87.
039	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua Trever- orum)	Used as building material(?) in the basilica.	<i>Civitas</i>	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards.	Un- known	1982	Reconstruction drawing showing remnants of acorns.	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 87.
040	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua Trever- orum)	Used as building material(?) in the basilica.	<i>Civitas</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	1856	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 87-88.
041	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua Trever- orum)	Found close to the imperial <i>thermae</i> .	<i>Civitas</i> (just outside of it?)	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards.	Un- known	1913	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 88.
042	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua Trever- orum)	Found during construction works.	<i>Civitas</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards, standing on an Attic base.	Un- known	1984	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 88.
043	n/a	Schuppensäule	Trier (Augustua Trever- orum)	Found during excavations in city-centre.	<i>Civitas</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards(?).	Un- known	1985	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 88.

044	n/a	Schuppensäule	Probably Trier?	Unknown	<i>Civitas?</i>	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 338; Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 86.
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Unknown

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
045	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder and arm. He leans with his right hand on a club.	Un-known	Ca. 1827	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 180-181.
046	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules a lion skin over his left lower arm . He leans on a club with his right hand.	3 rd cent CE	Ca. 1825	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 180-181.
047	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a herald's staff and a piece of a coat. The rest is missing.	3 rd cent CE	Ca. 1825	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 180-181.
048	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek &

						the lower part pointing upwards(?).				Schwinden 1988, 89.
049	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 89.
050	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards(?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 89-90.
051	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards(?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90.
052	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards(?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90.
053	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards(?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90.
054	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column, orientation of the scales is not given in publication.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90.

055	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards (upwards in lower part?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90.
056	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column, orientation of the scales is not given in publication.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90.
057	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 90-91.
058	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales of the upper part pointing downwards and the scales of the lower part pointing upwards(?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek & Schwinden 1988, 91.

‘Other’

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
059	Mars	Viergötterstein	Vienne-en-Val	Found around a local church.	Unknown	Depiction of the upper body of a naked Mars, holding a lance in his right hand. Underneath him, an inscription dedicated to Jupiter is applied.	End of 2 nd century CE?	1968	Bit unclear whether this fragment actually belonged to a	Debal 1969, 211-216; jfbradu.free.fr.

									Jupiter column; officially from Gallia Lugdunensis.	
060	n/a	Schuppendach	Faverolles	Found during archaeological excavations	Along a Roman highway/on a <i>villa rustica</i> estate	Pyramid like roof construction of the pillar that is decorated with scales pointing downwards.	1 st cent CE	1978/1980	Officially from Gallia Lugdunensis.	Février 1993, 97; Février 2000, 203-205.
061	Other: Cernunnos	Viergötterstein	Paris (Lutetia)	Found during construction works at the Nôtre-Dame de Paris.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of the Celtic deity Cernunnos. He has antlers on his head, that are ringed by torcs. The rest is missing. He is often equated with Jupiter.	Early 1 st cent CE	1711	Pilier des Nautes: Officially belonging to Gallia Lugdunensis, but for convenience included here.	Jacomin 2006, 7; Jacomin 2006, 39; Green 1992c, 61.
062	Other: Esus	Viergötterstein	Paris (Lutetia)	Found during construction works at the Nôtre-Dame de Paris.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of the Celtic deity Esus. He wears a tunic over his left shoulder and around his waist. He is chopping a willow tree, that is depicted to his left side, with an axe that he holds in his right hand. He is often equated with Jupiter.	Early 1 st cent CE	1711	Pilier des Nautes: Officially belonging to Gallia Lugdunensis, but for convenience included here.	Jacomin 2006, 7; Jacomin 2006, 39; Green 1992c, 93.
063	Other: Smertrios	Viergötterstein	Paris (Lutetia)	Found during construction works at the Nôtre-Dame de Paris.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of the Celtic deity Smertrios carrying a weapon in his right hand. He is confronting a snake that is in front of him. He is often equated with Mars.	Early 1 st cent CE	1711	Pilier des Nautes: Officially belonging to Gallia Lugdunensis,	Jacomin 2006, 7; Jacomin 2006, 39; Green 1992c, 193.

									but for convenience included here.	
064	Other: Tarvos- trigara- nus	Viergötterstein	Paris (Lutetia)	Found during construction works at the Nôtre-Dame de Paris.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a bull with three cranes and some (willow?) tree branches. The inscription translates as 'The Bull with Three Cranes'). The depiction is closely related to the tree cult.	Early 1 st cent CE	1711	Pilier des Nautes: Officially belonging to Gallia Lugdunensis, but for convenience included here.	Jacomin 2006, 7; Green 1992c, 207-208.

Appendix 4: Database of Germania Inferior

Civitas Batavorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
065	Apollo	Reliefsäule	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Found close to 'Fort Krayenhoff'.	<i>Municipium</i>	Depiction of a naked god. He probably holds a lyra in his left hand. Probably Apollo.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 470-471.
066	Apollo	Reliefpfeiler	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Found during excavations (probably used as <i>spolium</i>)	<i>Municipium</i>	Depiction of a naked Apollo with a coat over his legs and left shoulder. His left leg is placed on a small pedestal. He holds a lyra in his left hand and a plectrum in his right one.	Ca. 15-40 CE/early 1 st century	1980	Pillar of Tiberius	Panhuysen 2002, 9-10, 30; Panhuysen 2001, 15.
067	Mars	Reliefsäule	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Found close to 'Fort Krayenhoff'.	<i>Municipium</i>	Depiction of a naked god. He holds possibly a lance or a sceptre in his right hand. Probably Mars.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 470-471.
068	n/a	Schuppensäule	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Found at the 'Waterkwartier'.	<i>Municipium</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 449-450.

069	n/a	Schuppensäule	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)?	Unknown	<i>Municipium</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 455-456.
070	n/a	Schuppensäule	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Found at the 'Waterkwartier'.	<i>Municipium</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 466.
071	n/a	Schuppensäule	Nijmegen (Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum)	Found at the 'Waterkwartier'.	<i>Municipium</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 466.

Civitas Cananefatium

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
072	n/a	Schuppensäule	Valkenburg	Excavated at former airport.	<i>Castellum</i>	Five fragments of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 2 nd cent.	1985	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 320-321.
073	n/a	Schuppensäule	Valkenburg	Excavated at former airport.	<i>Castellum</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 2 nd cent.	1985	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 321.

074	n/a	Schuppensäule	Valkenburg	Excavated at former airport.	<i>Castellum</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 2 nd cent.	1985	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 343.
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Civitas Traianensis

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
075	Apollo	Sockel	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Used as building material in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Apollo leaning with his left arm on a pillar. His left leg rests. His right arm is leaning on his hip and possibly holding a plectrum. He holds a lyra in his left hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 415-416.
076	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bedburg	Found at Roman ruins.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 446.
077	n/a	Schuppensäule	At 'Haus Knipp', Beeckerwerth	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 464.
078	n/a	Schuppensäule	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Excavated(?) from an indigenous temple.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 501.
079	n/a	Schuppensäule	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Stray find in CCAA-region.	n/a	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 337.

080	n/a	Schuppensäule	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Stray find in CCAA-region.	n/a	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 339.
081	n/a	Schuppensäule	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Found just north of CCAA?	n/a	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	1983	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 343.
082	n/a	Schuppensäule	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Stray find in CCAA-region.	n/a	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 344.
083	n/a	Schuppensäule	Xanten (Colonia Ulpia Traiana)	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 344.

Civitas Tungrorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
084	Apollo	Sockel	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Excavated(?) underneath an entrance of the Basilica of Our Lady.	Vicus	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left arm, with which he is leaning on a lyra that is standing on a small pedestal. In his left hand, he holds a plectrum and he holds a laurel branch. He has a quiver over his left shoulder. To his right side, a raven is depicted.	200-225 CE	1903	n/a	Noelke 1981, 479; Panhuysen 1996, 364-365.

085	Apollo?	Sockel	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Found(?) in the Basilica of Our Lady.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a god with fragments of clothes. After Panhuysen (in Noelke), possibly Apollo.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 485.
086	Hercules	Sockel	Amberloup	Used as building material in the altar of the local church.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his left hand. He holds a drinking mug (<i>kantharos</i>) in his right hand, from which he pours (a liquid?) onto an altar to his right side.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 492-493.
087	Hercules	Sockel	Kessel	Found(?) in the local church.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. In his right hand, he holds a club, which is leaning on a rock.	Un-known	1869	n/a	Noelke 1981, 481-482.
088	Hercules	Sockel	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Excavated(?) underneath an entrance of the Basilica of Our Lady.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder and between his legs. He is sitting on a rock (depicted after the <i>Herakles Epitrapezios</i> of Lysippus). He leans on a club with his right hand. He holds an object in his left hand, either an apple or a drinking mug (<i>kantharos</i>).	200-225 CE	1903	n/a	Noelke 1981, 479; Panhuysen 1996, 364.
089	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Found in the Meuse, used as building material of the Roman bridge.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules, sitting on a rock (after the <i>Epitrapezios</i> -type). A lion skin is lying over the rock. He holds a club in his left hand.	210-240 CE	1963	n/a	Noelke 1981, 479-480; Panhuysen, 368-370.
090	Hercules	Sockel	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Found(?) in the Basilica of Our Lady.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a bearded god with locks in his beard. His left hand	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 485.

						is leaning towards his head. Probably Hercules.				
091	Hercules	Sockel	Stokkem	Used as building material in a Late-Roman construction.	Unknown	Depiction of a god leaning on an object with his right hand, possibly a club. A lion skin is probably depicted over his left arm. Probably Hercules.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 480.
092	Hercules?	Pfeiler	Tongeren (Atuatuca Tung-rorum)	Used as building material(?) in the Church of Our Lady.	<i>Municipium</i>	Depiction of a god sitting on a rock. He is leaning on his left hand(?). He might have held a club in his right hand. Maybe Hercules.	2 nd half of the 2 nd cent.	2004	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 351.
093	Mars	Viergötterstein	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Found in the Meuse, used as building material of the Roman bridge.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars with a coat pinned up over his right shoulder and falling down his back. He has a lance in his left hand. He leans with his right hand on a shield, on which he is sitting. He wears a helmet.	210-240 CE	1963	n/a	Noelke 1981, 479-480; Panhuysen, 368-370.
094	Mars	Sockel	Schijndel	Used as a boundary marker.	Unknown	Depiction of a naked god with a coat at his left foot. He wears a helmet. He holds a lance in his right hand and a sword(?) in his left hand. Probably Mars.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 355.
095	Mercury	Sockel	Amberloup	Used as building material in the altar of the local church.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. He has a herald's staff in his left hand and he has a moneybag in his right one. He wears a hat with wings. To his left side, an altar is depicted.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 492-493.

096	Mercury?	Pfeiler	Tongeren (Atuatua Tung-rorum)	Used as building material(?) in the Church of Our Lady	<i>Municipium</i>	Depiction of a naked god with a coat over his left arm and over his left(?) shoulder. Although missing, the attribute seems to be a moneybag in his right hand. Maybe Mercury.	2 nd half of the 2 nd cent.	2004	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 351.
097	n/a	Schuppensäule	Grevenbicht	Excavated(?) underneath the Houtstraat.	Sanctuary	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	1948 (?)	n/a	Noelke 1981, 415.
098	n/a	Schuppensäule	Heel (Catualinum)?	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 446-447.
099	n/a	Schuppensäule	Huy	Found during construction works.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	1985	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 336.
100	n/a	Schuppensäule	Near Kappellen monastery	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 453.
101	n/a	Schuppensäule	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Used as building material in the Basilica of Our Lady.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 150-250 CE	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 449; Panhuysen 1996, 378.
102	n/a	Schuppensäule	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Excavated in a Roman basement.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 150-250 CE	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 449; Panhuysen 1996, 378.
103	n/a	Schuppensäule	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Used as building material in the late-Roman bridge.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 150-250 CE	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 465; Panhuysen 1996, 380.

104	n/a	Sockel	Maastricht (Mosa Traiectum)	Found(?) in the Basilica of Our Lady.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragments of scales (pointing both upwards and downwards) on a <i>Sockel</i> with reliefs of deities.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 485.
105	n/a	Schuppensäule	Maastricht-Nazareth	Excavated from a grave.	<i>Vicus</i> /along a Roman highway?	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	2011	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 359.
106	n/a	Schuppensäule	Tongeren (Atuatuca Tung-rorum)	Unknown	<i>Municipium</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 492.
107	n/a	Schuppensäule	Tongeren (Atuatuca Tung-rorum)	Unknown	<i>Municipium</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 492.
108	n/a	Schuppensäule	Tongeren (Atuatuca Tung-rorum)	Excavated from the ancient city-centre.	<i>Municipium</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of 4 th cent.	2010	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 319.
109	n/a	Schuppensäule	Tongeren (Atuatuca Tung-rorum)	Excavated from the ancient city-centre.	<i>Municipium</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 200	2010	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 320.

Civitas Ubiorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
110	Apollo	Sockel	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Used as building material in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Apollo leaning with his left arm on a pillar. His left leg rests. His right arm is leaning on his hip and possibly holding a plectrum. He holds a lyra in his left hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 415-416.
111	Apollo	Sockel	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated(?) in the parish church of St. Maria.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a god with some natural attributes recognizable. At his right side, a centaur carrying a tripod is depicted. Around the rods (ornamented with leaves), a snake is depicted. Right next to it, a raven is depicted. These animals point at a depiction of Apollo.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 481.
112	Apollo	Reliefpfeiler	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated from the <i>vicus</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of naked Apollo wearing nothing but a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left arm and behind his back. He has a bow and quiver behind his back. A lyra was not recognized. He wears a cap?	220-230	1987	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 346.
113	Apollo	Schuppensäule	Köln? (Colonia Claudia Ara	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of a young Apollo with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left shoulder and arm. He leans	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 457.

			Agrippinen- sium)			with his right hand on a lyra and he holds a bow in his left hand. He has a quiver over his right shoulder, the lanyard of which is depicted diagonally over his chest.				
114	Apollo	Reliefpfeiler	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Found around the court during construction works.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a draped coat over most of his body(?). Next to his right leg, a <i>kithara</i> (kind of lyra) is depicted, which he might be holding in his right hand. Next to his left leg, maybe a griffin is depicted. The rest is not recognizable.	220-230	2003	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 347.
115	Apollo	Sockel	St. Olidilien- berg	Used as building material in the Roman part of the parish church.	<i>Vicus/ Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. He holds a bow in his left hand. He is wearing some sort of bow.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 485.
116	Hercules	Sockel	Bedbur- dyck	Used as building material in the local parish church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules. He is leaning with his right hand on a club. He holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 354.
117	Hercules	Reliefpfeiler	Bonn (Vicus Bonnensis)	Used as building material in a late-Roman predecessor of the Münsterkirche.	<i>Vicus/ Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin in his left hand. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 471.

118	Hercules	Sockel	Bonn? (Vicus Bonnensis)	Unknown	<i>Vicus/ Canabae</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules leaning on a club with his right hand. The rest is missing.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 486.
119	Hercules	Schuppensäule	Buchholz	Found at Roman ruins.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 452.
120	Hercules	Reliefpfeiler	Schloss Dyck (Jüchen)	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a bearded god. Probably Hercules?	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 414.
121	Hercules	Sockel	Euskirchen	Used as building material of a Frankish grave, close to the parish church.	Sanctuary	Depiction of a god with a club. Probably Hercules.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 486.
122	Hercules	Sockel	Geich	Used as building material in a medieval chapel.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a coat of lion skin around his arm. He is leaning on a club with his right hand, he might hold the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 354-355.
123	Hercules	Sockel	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Used as building material in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin laying over his left arm. He holds a club in his right hand and he probably has a drinking vessel in his left hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 415-416.
124	Hercules	Sockel	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Glockengasse.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm, with which he is leaning on a club. He holds an object in his right hand, either an apple or a drinking mug.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 482-483.

125	Hercules	Reliefpfeiler	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Found around the court during construction works.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules with a lion skin over his (left?) arm. He leans on a club with his right hand and holds his left towards his body, while holding the Apples of the Hesperides. He has a quiver over his right shoulder.	220-230	2003	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 347.
126	Hercules	Sockel	Köln- Weiden	Excavated(?) in the Ludwig- Jahn-Staße.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. He holds an apple in his left hand. He carries a bow over his body diagonally.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 418-419.
127	Hercules	Sockel	Laurens- berg	Found(?) in the parish church.	Sanctuary	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He holds his right hand on a club, while he also leans with his left hand on it.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 483.
128	Hercules	Sockel	Nierendorf	Used as building material in a font of the local church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club, placed underneath his left armpit. He has his right arm behind his back.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 483-484.
129	Hercules	Sockel	Müngers- dorf	Excavated in the garden of a former monastery.	Close to a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	Depiction of a Hercules leaning on a club with his right hand. De club leans on a rock. He holds the Apples of Hesperides in his left hand. He has a bow and quiver behind his back.	175-200	1984	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 314- 315.

130	Hercules	Säule	Rheydt-Mülfort	Excavated(?) at the <i>Mülfort-Markt</i> .	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He holds an apple in his left hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 420-421.
131	Hercules	Reliefsäule	Rommerskirchen	Used as building material in the Roman parish church.	<i>Villa rustica(e)</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his left hand. He holds an unidentifiable object in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 475-476.
132	Hercules	Sockel	Wesseling	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a bearded god with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left arm. He swings with a weapon in his right hand, probably a club. Probably Hercules.	Unknown	1882?	n/a	Noelke 1981, 486.
133	Hercules	Schuppensäule	Widdersdorf	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a bearded man. The right hand is leaning on a club, the left one is holding the Apples of the Hesperides. He is depicted in a shrine(?). Probably Hercules.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1999-2001	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 323.
134	Mars	Viergötterstein	Alt-Inden	Excavated from a Roman/Merovingian graveyard.	Roman grave(s), as <i>spolium</i> ?	Depiction of an armoured Mars with a coat behind his back and over his left shoulder. He holds a lance in his right hand and his left hand is leaning on a shield, standing on the ground. He wears a helmet.	225-250	2004	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 352.
135	Mars	Reliefpfeiler	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated from the <i>vicus</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a partly armoured but naked Mars. He wears a helmet and a shield at a holder	220-230	1987	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 345-346.

						that is in a holder over his chest. He holds a lance in his right hand. A shield is depicted before his left leg.				
136	Mars	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Sassenhof.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars wearing a tunic and a coat on his back and left shoulder. The coat is also draped over his shield, which he holds in his right hand. In his left hand, he holds a lance. He wears a helmet.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 454.
137	Mars	Reliefsäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Excavated(?) underneath the market square.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of Mars with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left shoulder and at his back. He wears a helmet. In his left hand, he holds a shield leaning on a pedestal and he has a lance in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 472-473.
138	Mars	Reliefpfeiler	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Used as building material in an apsis of the St. Maria church.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of a naked god with a staff in his left hand, probably a lance. He has a piece of coat over his left shoulder.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 473-474.
139	Mars	Reliefpfeiler	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Found around the court during construction works.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of an armoured(?) Mars with a coat over his left shoulder and his left arm and hanging behind his back. He has a sword on his belt. He has a lance in his right hand.	220-230	2003	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 347.
140	Mars	Reliefsäule	Mönchengladbach	Found at Roman ruins.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars holding a lance in his right hand. A shield	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 469-470.

						is depicted on his left side, which is standing on a pedestal.				
141	Mars	Säule	Merkstein	Found at a <i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	<i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	Depiction of Mars with a coat falling down his back and partly over his chest. He holds a lance in his right hand.	225-250	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 311.
142	Mars	Sockel	Müngersdorf	Excavated in the garden of a former monastery	Close to a <i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a young Mars with a coat over his right shoulder, falling behind his back. He holds a lance in his right hand and a sword in his left hand. A shield is depicted beside him against a pedestal(?). He wears a helmet.	175-200	1984	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 314-315.
143	Mars	Reliefsäule	Rommerskirchen	Used as building material in the Roman parish church.	<i>Villa rustica</i> (e)	Depiction of an armoured Mars wearing a tunic. He has a lance in his right hand. He leans with his left hand on a shield. He wears a shield at his hip. He wears a helmet.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 475.
144	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Alt-Inden	Excavated from a Roman/ Merovingian graveyard.	Roman grave(s), as <i>spolium</i> ?	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. He has shoes with wings and holds a herald's staff. Behind him, a ram is depicted. The rest is missing.	225-250	2004	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 352.
145	Mercury?	Pfeiler	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Used as building material in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a god wearing a coat knotted over his right shoulder. The head is turned away from the viewer. He possibly wears a hat with wings. Possibly Mercury?	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 416.

146	Mercury	Reliefpfeiler	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated(?) underneath the Schloßstraße.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder, tied with a fibula. He wears a hat with wings.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 472.
147	Mercury	Reliefpfeiler	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated from the <i>vicus</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) behind his back, bound together with a <i>fibula</i> over his right shoulder, diagonally over his upper body and over his left arm. In his right hand, he holds a herald's staff and a moneybag in his right one. A buck or rooster is depicted at his feet.	220-230	1987	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 345.
148	Mercury	Säule	Klein-bouslar	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of a god with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left arm. His left leg rests. He possibly holds a moneybag in his right hand and a herald's staff in his left hand. Probably Mercury.	Un-known	1906	n/a	Noelke 1981, 416-417.
149	Mercury	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Brüderstraße.	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left shoulder. He has a herald's staff in his left arm and holds his right hand towards the hat with wings he wears. His moneybag is placed on a pillar. At his feet, a ram is chewing.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 453-454.
150	Mercury	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Excavated in the <i>praetorium</i> (headquarters Roman fortress).	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of Mercury. He has a herald's staff in his left hand and a moneybag in his right hand. The rest is missing.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 455.

151	Mercury	Reliefpfeiler	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Used as building material in an apsis of the St. Maria church.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragments of a depiction of Mercury. Beside one of his feet, a rooster is depicted. In his right hand, he holds a moneybag.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 473-474.
152	Mercury	Reliefpfeiler	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated from a medieval grave near the Dome cathedral.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a depiction of Mercury. He holds an object in his right hand, probably a moneybag. Probably Mercury.	Un- known	Un- known	Information about this object is highly disputable (according to Noelke).	Noelke 1981, 476-477.
153	Mercury	Sockel	Köln- Weiden	Excavated(?) in the Ludwig- Jahn-Staße.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) knotted over his right shoulder and hanging down over his back. He has a herald's staff in his left arm and a moneybag in his right hand. He leans on a pillar with his left hand. His right leg rests. He wears shoes with wings and a hat with wings.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 418-419.
154	Mercury	Reliefsäule	Mönchen- gladbach	Found at Roman ruins.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) on his back. He leans on a herald's staff with his right hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 469-470.
155	Mercury	Schuppensäule	Rheidt	Found during construction works.	Part of a wall of the village, probably as <i>spolium</i> .	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over the left side of his chest and his left arm. He holds a moneybag in his right hand, in his left he holds a herald's staff. A ram lies at his feet.	End of 2 nd /begin of 3 rd cent.	1990/ 1991	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 318.

156	Mercury	Reliefsäule	Rommers- kirchen	Used as building material in the Roman parish church.	<i>Villa rustica(e)</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left arm. He has a herald's staff in his left hand and he has a moneybag in his right one. He wears a hat with wings and shoes with wings.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 475.
157	Ros- merta?	Reliefpfeiler	Bonn (Vicus Bonnensis)	Used as building material in a late-Roman predecessor of the Münsterkirche.	<i>Vicus/ Canabae</i>	Depiction of a goddess wearing a Greek robe (<i>Chiton</i>) and a coat. She holds a basket with fruits in her left hand. Possibly Rosmerta?	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 471.
158	Rosmerta	Reliefpfeiler	Schloss Dyck (Jüchen)	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a goddess wearing a Greek robe (<i>Chiton</i>) and a coat draped over her right arm. She possibly holds a moneybag in her left hand(?), while lifting het coat with her left hand as well. Probably Rosmerta.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 414-415.
159	Rosmerta	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Depiction of a goddess wearing a Greek robe (<i>Chiton</i>) and a coat draped diagonally. She holds a basket with fruits(?) in her left hand. She holds a wheat bundle in her right hand. Either Rosmerta or Ceres.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 457.
160	Rosmerta	Reliefsäule	Mönchen- gladbach	Found at Roman ruins.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a goddess wearing a Greek robe (<i>Chiton</i>) and a diagonally draped coat. She holds a moneybag in her right hand. Probably Rosmerta.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 469-470.

161	n/a	Schuppensäule	Abenden	Excavated from a <i>Matronae</i> sanctuary.	<i>Matronae</i> sanctuary	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Late 2 nd /early 3 rd cent.	1983	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 290.
162	n/a	Schuppensäule	Alfter	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 413.
163	n/a	Schuppensäule	Alt-Etweiler	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	2010	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 359.
164	n/a	Schuppensäule	Altdorf	Found at Roman ruins.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards. The column was placed on an Attic base.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 446.
165	n/a	Schuppensäule	Billig (Belgica vicus)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The base is decorated horizontally oriented scales.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 458.
166	n/a	Schuppensäule	Billig (Belgica vicus)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 500.
167	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bonn (Vicus Bonnensis)	Unknown	<i>Vicus/Canabae</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 451.
168	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bonn (Vicus Bonnensis)	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus/Canabae</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	2 nd quarter of the 3 rd cent.	1989	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 290-292.
169	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bonn (Vicus Bonnensis)	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. Upper part is missing.	1 st half 3 rd cent.	1989	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 292.

170	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bonn (Vicus Bonnensis)	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus/ Canabae</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	1 st quarter of the 3 rd cent.	1989	n/a	Noelke 2010/ 2011, 293.
171	n/a	Schuppensäule	Buchholz	Found at Roman ruins.	Unknown	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 452.
172	n/a	Schuppensäule	Buchholz	Found at Roman ruins.	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	2006	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 339- 340.
173	n/a	Schuppensäule	Etzweiler	Found in a Roman well (at a villa rustica).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards	3 rd cent.?	2007	n/a	Noelke 2010/ 2011, 293-294.
174	n/a	Schuppensäule	Etzweiler	Found in a Roman well (at a villa rustica).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards	3 rd cent.?	2007	Might belong to the Schuppensäule of no. 173.	Noelke 2010/ 2011, 293-294.
175	n/a	Schuppensäule	Etzweiler	Found in a Roman well (at a villa rustica).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards	2 nd half of the 3 rd cent.	2007	n/a	Noelke 2010/ 2011, 294.
176	n/a	Schuppensäule	Frenz	Found at Roman ruins.	Grave house?	Small fragments of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. Some leaf wreaths are recognizable as well.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 458.
177	n/a	Schuppensäule	Giesdorf	Found at Roman ruins.	Near a <i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	1957- 1959 (?)	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 340.
178	n/a	Schuppensäule	Gellep (Gelduba)	Found in a grave.	Unknown	Two fragments of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards(?).	50 – 69 CE	1998	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 340.

179	n/a	Schuppensäule	Groot Haasdal	Found during an inspection of a piece of land.	Unknown	Small fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	2005	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 340.
180	n/a	Schuppensäule	Heerlen (Corio-vallum)	Excavated(?) underneath the Schoolstraat/ Coriovallum-straat, near a Roman house.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 447.
181	n/a	Schuppensäule	Hochkirchen	Used as building material in the parish church.	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	1979/1980	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 298.
182	n/a	Schuppensäule	Hoven	Found at a Gallo-Roman temple site.	Sanctuary	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	1983	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 340-341.
183	n/a	Schuppensäule	Inden-Altdorf	Found in a Roman well? (at a villa rustica).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards, standing on an Attic base.	1 st half of the 2 nd cent.	2009/2010	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 298-299.
184	n/a	Schuppensäule	Inden-Altdorf	Found in a Roman well? (at a villa rustica).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	1 st half of the 2 nd cent.	2009/2010	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 299.
185	n/a	Schuppensäule	Inden-Altdorf	Found in a Roman well? (at a villa rustica).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	1 st half of the 2 nd cent.	2009/2010	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 299.
186	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 447.
187	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Used as building	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 452.

				material in the parish church.						
188	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated(?) underneath the church's square.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 452.
189	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Excavated(?) underneath the Schloßstraße.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with keeled scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 453.
190	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Found in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 459.
191	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Found in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column was probably placed on an Attic base.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 459.
192	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Found in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column was probably placed on an Attic base.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 459.
193	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Found in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 460.
194	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 460.
195	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 500.
196	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jülich (Iuliacum)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 341.
197	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kelz	Excavated on the terrain of a <i>villa rustica</i> site.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 496.

198	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kelz	Excavated(?) from a <i>villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 500.
199	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kerkrade	Excavated from a <i>villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	2 nd half of the 3 rd cent.	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 301.
200	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kerkrade	Excavated from a <i>villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragments of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 3 rd cent.	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 301.
201	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kerkrade	Excavated from a <i>villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 3 rd cent.	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 301-302.
202	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kirchberg	Found in a Roman well	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column was placed on an Attic base.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1996-1998	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 302-303.
203	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kirchberg	Found in a Roman well	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. Fragment contains Corinthian capital.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1996-1998	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 302-303.
204	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kirchberg	Found in a Roman well	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1996-1998	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 305.
205	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kirchberg	Found in a Roman well	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1999	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 305.
206	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)	Excavated(?) underneath the 'Im Ferkulum'.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a column with some scales depicted as decoration.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 447.
207	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara	Excavated(?) underneath the Aachener Straße.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 447-448.

			Agrippinen- sium)							
208	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated in the southern side of the Dome cathedral.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 448.
209	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Used as building material in an early Christian cult facility.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 448.
210	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column was placed on an Attic base.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 448.
211	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Used as building material in a late-Roman castle (castellum?).	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 448-449.
212	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Brüderstraße.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 453-454.
213	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Sassenhof.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 454.

214	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated in the <i>praetorium</i> (headquarters Roman fortress).	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 455.
215	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Bad Straße.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 455.
216	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 457.
217	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) underneath the 'Im Ferkulum'.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 460.
218	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) underneath the 'Im Ferkulum'.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 460-461.
219	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Used as building material in the St. Severin- church.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 461.
220	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara	Excavated(?) underneath the Brüderstraße.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 461.

			Agrippinen- sium)							
221	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Found at Roman ruins, at the Barbarossa- platz.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column. The scales are missing. It is however recognized by the leaf decorations at the top of the column.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 461.
222	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated from a medieval grave near the Dome cathedral.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. Leaf wreathes are recognizable as well.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 461-462.
223	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated underneath the Dome cathedral.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards(?).	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 462.
224	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated underneath the Dome cathedral.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981,
225	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column is placed on an Attic base.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 462.
226	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column is placed on an Attic base.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 462-463.

227	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column is placed on an Attic base.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 463.
228	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The column is placed on an Attic base.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 463.
229	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)?	Unknown	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 463.
230	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) underneath the Kartäuserhof.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 500.
231	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated(?) from a Roman estate at the Braunsfeld/ Stolberger Straße.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 501.
232	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinen- sium)	Excavated underneath the Hohe Straße.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	2004	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 336.
233	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln	Excavated from a Roman well.	<i>Colonia</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	2005/ 2006	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 359.

			(Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)							
234	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln-Marienburg	Found near a Roman fortress of the Roman Rhine-navy.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 460.
235	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln-Weiden	Excavated(?) in the Ludwig-Jahn-Staße.	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 418-419.
236	n/a	Schuppensäule	Köln-Zollstock	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Colonia</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 417-418.
237	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kreuzrath	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. Some leaf decorations are recognizable.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 464.
238	n/a	Schuppensäule	Kreuzrath	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column, no more information provided on the scales. Some leaf decorations are recognizable.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 465.
239	n/a	Schuppensäule	Manheim	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	1 st half of the 3 rd cent.	2008/2009	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 308.
240	n/a	Schuppensäule	Manheim	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	1 st half of the 3 rd cent.	2008/2009	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 308-309.
241	n/a	Schuppensäule	Manheim	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards(?).	1 st half of the 3 rd cent.	2008/2009	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 309.

242	n/a	Schuppensäule	Manheim	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragments of a scaled column. In which direction they pointed remains unknown.	1 st half of the 3 rd cent.	2008/2009	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 309-310.
243	n/a	Schuppensäule	Marien-berg	Found in a Roman well(?).	Close to a <i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	1991	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 359-360.
244	n/a	Schuppensäule	Merkstein	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> ?	<i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	Fragment of a scaled column with a base with the scales pointing upwards.	225-250	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 311.
245	n/a	Schuppensäule	Merkstein	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> ?	<i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	Fragment of a scaled column with a base with the scales pointing upwards.	225-250	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 311.
246	n/a	Schuppensäule	Merkstein	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> ?	<i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	Fragments of a scaled column. In which direction they pointed remains unknown.	225-250	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 311-312.
247	n/a	Schuppensäule	Merkstein	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> ?	<i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	Small fragments of a scaled column. In which direction they pointed remains unknown.	225-250	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 312.
248	n/a	Schuppensäule	Merkstein	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> ?	<i>Villa rustica</i> (?)	Fragment of a scaled column with a base with the scales pointing downwards.	225-250	2002	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 312.
249	n/a	Schuppensäule	Merzen- hausen	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with a base with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 341.
250	n/a	Schuppensäule	Moren- hoven	Excavated from a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustia</i> .	Fragment of a scaled column with a base with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 341.
251	n/a	Schuppensäule	Müngers- dorf	Excavated in the garden of a former monastery	Close to a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	175-200	1984	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 315-316.

252	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Found on the edge of the village.	Unknown	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 449.
253	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Found at Roman ruins.	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 466.
254	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	200-225?	1983/1984	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 316.
255	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	200-225?	1983/1984	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 316-317.
256	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd or 3 rd cent.	1991	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 317.
257	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Small fragment of a scaled column. Unclear which direction the scales point to.	2 nd or 3 rd cent.	1991	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 317.
258	n/a	Schuppensäule	Niederzier	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Small fragment of a scaled column. Unclear which direction the scales point to.	Unknown	2005	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 317.
259	n/a	Schuppensäule	Norf	Found at Roman ruins in the garden of the court.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 466.
260	n/a	Schuppensäule	Oidtweiler	Unknown.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 342.
261	n/a	Schuppen-säule?	Pesch	Excavated(?) in a cult place of the Matrons.	Sanctuary	Four fragments of structures put together, their cohesion is questionable. One of these	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 456.

						fragments has scales depicted on them pointing downwards.				
262	n/a	Schuppensäule	Pesch	Excavated(?) in a cult place of the Matrons.	Sanctuary	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards?	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 466-467.
263	n/a	Schuppensäule	Pesch	Excavated(?) in a cult place of the Matrons.	Sanctuary	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 467.
264	n/a	Schuppensäule	Pier	Used as building material in the parish church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 467.
265	n/a	Schuppensäule	Pier-Bonsdorf	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 450.
266	n/a	Schuppensäule	Plasmolen	Excavated(?) from a Roman villa (close to a monastery).	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 497.
267	n/a	Schuppensäule	Rheidt	Found during construction works.	Part of a wall of the village, probably as <i>spolium</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	End of 2 nd /begin of 3 rd cent.	1990/1991	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 318.
268	n/a	Schuppensäule	Rimburg	Excavated from a <i>vicus</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of scaled columns with the scales column pointing downwards.	Un-known	1926	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 342.
269	n/a	Schuppensäule	Schwammenaeul (Rur dam)	Unknown	Unknown	Fragments of scaled columns with the scales column pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	Fragments from 2 or 3 Schuppen-säulen.	Noelke 1981, 497.
270	n/a	Schuppensäule	Sechtem	Found during excavations.	Close to a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	4 th cent.?	1999	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 338-339.

271	n/a	Schuppensäule	Strassfeld	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales probably pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 467-468.
272	n/a	Schuppensäule	Tetz	Found at Roman ruins.	Along a Roman highway?	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 468.
273	n/a	Schuppensäule	Thum	Found during construction works.	Found in an ancient building(?).	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 250	1984	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 319.
274	n/a	Schuppen-säule?	Weilerswist	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Fragments of a scaled column(?). The scales are pointing upwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 457.
275	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wickrath	Found at Roman ruins.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 450.
276	n/a	Schuppensäule	Widdersdorf	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1999-2001	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 323.
277	n/a	Schuppensäule	Widdersdorf	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1999-2001	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 323-324.
278	n/a	Schuppensäule	Widdersdorf	Excavated at a <i>Villa rustica</i> .	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd half of the 4 th cent.	1999-2001	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 325.
279	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wissersheim	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 456.
280	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wissersheim	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. The columns is placed on an Attic base.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Noelke 1981, 468.
281	n/a	Schuppensäule	Worringen	Excavated underneath the	<i>Vicus?</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing	Unknown	1980	n/a	Noelke 2010/2011, 337.

				St. Tönnisstraße.		upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards.				
282	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zingsheim	Found close to a Frankish cemetery.	Sanctuary	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 468.
283	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zülpich (Tolbia- cum)	Found underneath the parish St. Peter's church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing upwards and the upper part has scales pointing downwards. The column was placed at an Attic base.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 422.
284	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zülpich (Tolbia- cum)	Used as building material in the Roman baths.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 450.
285	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zülpich (Tolbia- cum)	Used as building material in the Roman baths.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 450.
286	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zülpich (Tolbia- cum)	Used as building material in the Roman baths.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 451.
287	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zülpich (Tolbia- cum)	Used as building material in a Roman house.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 501.

Unknown

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
288	Apollo	Reliefsäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo leaning on a pillar or altar. He holds a lyra in his left hand, leaning towards his body and on the pillar/altar. He wears a coat at his back.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 474-475.
289	Hercules	Reliefsäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a coat (<i>Chlamys</i>) over his left arm. He has a club in his left hand. He raises his right arm.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 474-475.
290	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 451.
291	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 468-469.
292	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Noelke 1981, 469.

Appendix 5: Database of Germania Superior

Civitas Alisinensium

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
293	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i> .	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over the left arm and shoulder. He leans with his left elbow on a pillar. He holds an unidentifiable attribute in his right hand. He holds a bow in his left hand and quiver over right shoulder. His head is missing.	Un-known	Un-known	Depicted together with a female body (possibly Venus?).	Bauchhenß 1981, 142.
294	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Sinsheim	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left shoulder and around his left leg. He is leaning on a lyra standing to his left side.	170 CE?	Un-known	Originally from Steinsfurt?	Bauchhenß 1981, 221.
295	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Berwangen	Unknown	Along a Roman highway	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand and he leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 104.
296	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 143.

297	Hercules	Reliefsäule	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules positioned towards his left and trying to hit a fleeing giant with his raised club. The giant holds a branch and holds his head back with fear.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 143-144.
298	Hercules?	Viergötterstein	Mönchzell	Used as building material of a wall.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a naked, bearded god. Possibly Hercules?	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 192.
299	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Steinsfurt	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	1959	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 227.
300	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Stocksberg	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides. He has a quiver over his right shoulder. The lanyard of the quiver is depicted diagonally over his chest.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 228-229.
301	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Waldmühlbach	Used as building material in the walls of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has a bow and quiver over his right shoulder.	Un-known	1883	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237.
302	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a young head of Mars.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 142-143.

303	Mars	Reliefsäule	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a naked Mars with helmet and shield. He is attacking a giant to his right with his sword. The giant stretches his with cloth wrapped right hand into the air and holds his left hand spread in front of his bust.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 143-144.
304	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Jagsthausen	Unknown	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Mars with armour and wearing a helmet. He holds a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 149.
305	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Neckarelz	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of an armoured Mars with a helmet. In his left hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 195.
306	Mars	Viergötterstein	Sinsheim	Unknown	Vicus?	Depiction of Mars together with Venus, both naked. They hold a shield between them, above which a small Amor is depicted as well. Mars holds a lance in his left hand.	170 CE?	Un-known	Originally from Steinsfurt?	Bauchhenß 1981, 221.
307	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Berwangen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his left arm and shoulder. A herald's staff leans against his left shoulder. Under his right hand lies a rooster.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 104.
308	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Depiction of a young head of Mercury.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 142-143.

309	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Behind him, a ram is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 143.
310	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Jagsthausen	Unknown	<i>Castellum</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat that covers his whole body from the knees up, with a fibula on his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 149.
311	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mönchzell	Used as building material of a wall.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. He wears a hat with wings.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 192.
312	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Neckarelz	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He has wings in his hair. On his right side, a ram is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 195.
313	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Steinsfurt	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Mercury with a moneybag in his right hand. The rest is missing.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 227.
314	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Stetten am Heuchelberg	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 228.

315	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Waldmühlbach	Used as building material in the walls of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. He holds a moneybag in his right hand. Beside his right foot, a ram is depicted. His left foot is standing on a turtle.	Unknown	1883	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237.
316	n/a	Säule	Hausen an der Zaber	Excavated on the place of a (villa) estate.	Roman (villa?) estate/ <i>villa rustica</i>	Column decorated with oak leaves and complementary acorns. Four busts of women emerge from the wreath leaves. They embody the four seasons with attributes; blossoms for spring, ears of corn for summer, apples(?) for autumn, and cloth for winter.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 143.
317	n/a	Schuppensäule	Jagsthausen	Unknown	<i>Castellum</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 149.

Civitas Aquensis

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
318	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Au am Rhein	Used as building material for the ossuary located at a cemetery.	Along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over the left arm and shoulder. He leans on a lyra with his left hand. In his right hand, he holds a laurel twig(?), pointing towards a lying griffin below. He has a bow and quiver over	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 93.

						his right shoulder. He wears a laurel wreath(?).				
319	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Mörsch	Unknown	Along a Roman highway	Depiction of Apollo with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his right arm. He leans with his left arm on a lyra, that stands on a pedestal. He holds his right hand on his head.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 192-193.
320	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Niederbronn-les-Bains	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Apollo. No further information provided.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 197.
321	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Schöllbronn	Used as building material in the local church.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. His left arm is raised, while his right arm rests. Over his right shoulder, he has a quiver.	Un-known	1878	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 217.
322	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Au am Rhein	Used as building material for the ossuary located at a cemetery.	Along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder, in his left hand he holds the Apples of the Hesperides. He leans on a club with his right hand and has a bow and quiver over his right shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 93.
323	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Au am Rhein	Used as building material for the ossuary located at a cemetery.	Along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder, leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 93.
324	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Au am Rhein	Used as building material for the ossuary located at a cemetery.	Along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin(?) over his left shoulder, leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 93-94.

235	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Baden-Baden (Aqua)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a beardless Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He holds the Apples of the Hesperides(?) in his left hand. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 94.
326	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Durmersheim	Found during the destruction of the old local church and used as building material in the new church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Barely anything is recognizable on this heavily damaged stone. Only a small part of Hercules is observed, namely that he is leaning on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 118.
327	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Eckartsweier	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has apples (of the Hesperides?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 119-120.
328	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Gräfenhausen	Used as building material (in a church tower?).	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	The stone is still embedded in the wall.	Bauchhenß 1981, 138.
329	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Karlsruhe	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules leaning towards his left. He holds his club above his head with his right hand. With his left arm, which is covered by a lion skin, he probably holds an enemy.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 150.
330	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Karlsruhe	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 150.

						with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides. He has a quiver over his right shoulder.				
331	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Langen-soultzbach	Found during the construction of a new church.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	1847	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 158.
332	Hercules	Zwischensockel	Lauterbourg	Unknown	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin. He is threateningly holding his club in the air and is fighting against a weaponed man. Between the two men, two snakes crawl on the floor. Right above them, Mercury is seen, who is turning against Hercules' enemy.	Un-known	Un-known	Hercules is also depicted at the other side. The scene there is that he frees Hesione.	Bauchhenß 1981, 158-159.
333	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Lembach	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 159.
334	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Leutenheim	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand?	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 160.
335	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mörsch	Unknown	Along a Roman highway	Depiction of a naked Hercules. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 192-193.
336	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Nöttingen	Used as building material in the local church.	Gallo-Roman sanctuary	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. Behind his	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 198.

						right shoulder, a quiver is recognizable.				
337	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Saverne (<i>Tribus Tabernis</i>)	Used as building material in the late-Roman city wall.	<i>Vicus(?)</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has a bow and quiver over his right shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 216.
338	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Schöllbronn	Used as building material in the local church.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Hercules in a lunge position towards his left side. He has a lion skin wrapped around his left lower arm. He swings a club above his head with his right hand. With his left hand, he grabs a kneeling enemy in the hair. The enemy is possibly an Amazon.	Un-known	1878	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 217.
339	Hercules?	Viergötterstein	Stein	Used as building material in the choir of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of a male figure. Over his left shoulder, a lion skin(?) is hanging. Probably Hercules.	Un-known	1912	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 225-226.
340	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Stein-Bockenheim	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules holding a club in his right arm. His legs are naked. The rest is missing.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 226.
341	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Strasbourg (Argentarum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/Canaba</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his head. He leans with his left hand on a club. His right hand rests. Over his right shoulder, he has a quiver, of which the lanyard is depicted diagonally over his chest.	Middle 2 nd cent. CE/ Begin 3 rd cent. CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 230.

342	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Strasbourg (Argentarum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/Canaba</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 230.
343	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Strasbourg (Argentarum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/Canaba</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 231.
344	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Woerth	Placed on a square close to the town hall.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules. No further information provided.	Unknown	1557?	Placed in the open air since 1557.	Bauchhenß 1981, 246.
345	Mars	Viergötterstein	Kleinsteinbach	Found during the construction of an early 19 th century church.	Unknown	Depiction of Mars with armour and wearing a tunica. He holds a shield in his left arm and a lance in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 152-153.
346	Mars	Viergötterstein	Schweighouse-sur-Moder	Used as building material in the fundaments of the local church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing a short uniform/tunica. He holds a lance (in his left hand?).	Unknown	End 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 217-218.
347	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Au am Rhein	Used as building material for the ossuary located at a cemetery.	Along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of a naked Mercury, holding a herald's staff in his left hand. He has wings in his hair. The right arm rests.	Unknown	Unknown	The wings usually are depicted in a hat, but that in no way is recognizable.	Bauchhenß 1981, 93.
348	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Au am Rhein	Used as building material for the	Along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder, holds a herald's staff in his left arm. In his right hand, he holds	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 93-94.

				ossuary located at a cemetery.		a moneybag. Possible wings attached to his head.				
349	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Baden-Baden (Aqua)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder, with a fibula on his right shoulder. In his right hand, he holds a moneybag, while his left hand rests on the body. There are rests of wings at his head.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 94.
350	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Karlsruhe	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff. His right arm rests.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 150.
351	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Langensoultzbach	Found during the construction of a new church.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Un-known	1847	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 158.
352	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Lauterbourg	Unknown	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Mercury with a herald's staff, a coat and a hat with wings.	Un-known	Un-known		Bauchhenß 1981, 158-159.
353	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Lembach	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 159.
354	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Leutenheim	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. He	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 160.

						holds a moneybag in his left hand.				
355	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Nöttingen	Used as building material in the local church.	Gallo-Roman sanctuary	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He has wings in his hair.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 198.
356	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Seltz (Saletio)	Unknown	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Behind his feet, a buck is depicted.	Un-known	1900?	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 220.
357	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Stein	Used as building material in the choir of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Un-known	1912	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 225-226.
358	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Stein-Bockenheim	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a herald's staff in his left arm and a moneybag in his right hand. Next to his right foot, either a ram or a rooster is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 226.
359	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Strasbourg (Argentoratum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/Canaba</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his right arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his left hand.	Middle 2 nd cent. CE/ Begin 3 rd	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 230.

							cent. CE			
360	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Strasbourg (Argento- raturum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Canaba</i>	Rests of Mercury. No further information provided.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 230.
361	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Strasbourg (Argento- raturum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Canaba</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 231.
362	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Wilfer- dingen	Used as building material in the <i>Remchinger Kirche</i> .	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury wearing a skirt/tunica down to his knees. He holds a herald's staff in his right hand and he holds a moneybag in his left hand(?).	Un- known	1854	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 245.
363	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Woerth	Placed on a square close to the town hall.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury. No further information provided.	Un- known	1557?	Placed in the open air since 1557.	Bauchhenß 1981, 246.
364	n/a	Schuppensäule	Seltz (Saletio)	Unknown	<i>Castellum?</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital is simply decorated with volute, at each side unrecognizable heads are depicted.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 219-220.
365	n/a	Schuppensäule	Surbourg	Found during reconstruction works in the local church.	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column. No further information provided.	Un- known	Ca. 1925	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 235.

"Civitas Arae Flaviae"

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
366	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Altenstadt	Used as building material in the altar of the local church.	<i>Castellum</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over the left arm, the right hand (with club?) is lowered.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 85.
367	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Böttingen	Was found in a well together with an altar.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has the quiver over his right shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 107.
368	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Ehl	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Un-known	Heavily damaged during bombardments at Strasbourg in 1870.	Bauchhenß 1981, 120.
369	Mercury?	Viergötterstein	Altenstadt	Used as building material in the altar of the local church.	<i>Castellum</i>	Depiction of naked god, probably Mercury. Depicted with coat over 1 arm, the right hand is lowered.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 85.
370	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Böttingen	Was found in a well together with an altar.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 107-108.

						in his right hand, under which lies a buck.				
371	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Ehl	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Under the latter lies a buck.	Un-known	Un-known	Heavily damaged during bombardments at Strasbourg in 1870.	Bauchhenß 1981, 120.
372	n/a	Schuppensäule	Böttingen	Was found in a well together with an altar.	Unknown	Small fragment of a scaled column with the scaled pointing downwards. On the capital, fragments of wreaths leaves can be seen.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 107-108.
373	n/a	Schuppensäule	Gengenbach	Unknown	<i>Vicus or villa rustica</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. A <i>Zwischensockel</i> is recognized on the Attic base the column was placed at.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 134.

Civitas Aresacium

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
374	Apollo	Zwischensockel	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found during archaeological excavations.	<i>Castrum/ Canabae</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a lyra (in his left hand?) and a raven.	59-67 CE	1904/ 1905	Part of the Big Jupiter Column of Mainz.	Bauchhenß 1981, 162-163.
375	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/ Canabae</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat tied around the hips and with his left leg uncovered. He holds	70-86 CE?	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 167.

						a lyra, standing on a pillar, in his left hand. The right hand is going towards the lyra, as if he is playing it. Apollo has long locks.				
376	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Apollo in the <i>Lykeios</i> pose. He has a coat over his left shoulder. A lyra is standing to his right, over which his quiver is hanging. He leans with his left elbow on a column.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 168.
377	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his left shoulder. He leans with his left arm on a lyra, that stands on a post. He holds a plectrum in his right hand, which he holds on his chest.	Unknown	1766	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 172-173.
378	Apollo	Reliefsäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown)	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left shoulder and his left leg. With his left hand, he leans on a lyra. Over his right shoulder, he has a bow and quiver. He holds a plectrum in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 178.
379	Apollo?	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Found during the construction of fortress Gustavsburg.	Along Roman highway?	Depiction of a naked man with his legs crossed. He holds his right hand on his chest and lowers his hand to the ground. Possibly Apollo?	217 CE	1632	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 181-182.
380	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Armsheim	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules, leaning on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 92.

381	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Head of Hercules, small fragment of a Jupiter giant column.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1901/1902	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 95; Boppert 2001, 59-60.
382	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	End 2 nd cent CE	1858	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 96; Boppert 2001, 52.
383	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has a bow and quiver over his right shoulder. Left of him, a tree with branches, leaves and fruits is depicted.	2 nd half 1 st cent CE	1858	Inscription saying: HERCV[L]ES	Bauchhenß 1981, 96-97; Boppert 2001, 50-52.
384	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. Over his right shoulder hangs a quiver.	Ca. 200 CE	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 97; Boppert 2001, 53-55.
385	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He waves his left arm (holding the Apples of Hesperides?).	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 98; Boppert 2001, 56.
386	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club	1 st quart. 3 rd	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 98; Boppert 2001, 56-57.

				late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .		with his right hand. From the hips down destroyed.	cent CE			
387	Hercules? (or Diana)	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Figure with a bow and quiver over the right shoulder. The 'moon-shaped' could rather indicate the depiction of Diana.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1906	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 99; Boppert 2001, 55-56.
388	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He has a bow over his left shoulder, the quiver is placed over his right shoulder.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1906	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 99; Boppert 2001, 58-59.
389	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bingen (Bingium)	Excavated from the surroundings of the city church of Bingen.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has the quiver over his right shoulder.	3 rd cent CE	1890	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 105-106; Boppert 2005, 48-49.
390	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bingen (Bingium)	Excavated from the surroundings of the city church of Bingen.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 106.
391	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Bingen-Kempton (Bingium)	Used as building material of the church of Bingen-Kempton.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1882	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 107; Boppert 2005, 49-50.
392	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Duchroth-Oberhausen	Used as building material in a local church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of the lower body part of Hercules. Only his legs have been preserved, as well as his club, on which he probably leans.	Ca. 200 CE	1912?	n/a	Boppert 2001, 63.

393	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Heidesheim	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules positioned towards his right, against a tree in the Garden of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 146.
394	Hercules	Untersockel	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found during archaeological excavations	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He holds a club in his left hand and a <i>patera</i> in his right hand.	59-67 CE	1904/1905	Part of the Big Jupiter Column of Mainz	Bauchhenß 1981, 162.
395	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a quiver over his right shoulder and a club in his left hand. The rest is missing.	TAQ 69?	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 166.
396	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm, with which he leans on a club.	TAQ 69?	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 166-167.
397	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found during sewer works.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	1881	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 168.
398	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found near the Jesuit barracks.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin wrapped around his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	206 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 169.
399	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules grabbing a chewing giant by its hair with his left hand. In his right hand, he is swinging a club threateningly.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 169-170.
400	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material in a	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	225 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 170.

				late-Roman wall.						
401	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material for a bridge over the Rhine.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 170-171.
402	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin wrapped around his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	225 CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 171.
403	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material for the fundamentals of the <i>Gautor</i> .	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 171-172.
404	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Already known in the 15 th century, found again in the early 19 th century.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Rests of Hercules. The stone is highly damaged, no further information is provided.	Unknown	Ca. 1800-1810	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 172.
405	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Originates from the area belonging to the dome.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Rests of Hercules. Only recognizable thing is that he leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 173.
406	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found in city-centre.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin wrapped around his left hand. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175.
407	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his left arm	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175.

			(Mogon- tiacum)			and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides. He has a bow and quiver over his right shoulder.				
408	Hercules	Reliefsäule	Mainz (Mogon- tiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/ Canabae</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand and he holds a bow in his left.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 178.
409	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides?	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 182-183.
410	Hercules	Zwischensockel	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	246 CE	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 183.
411	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	170 CE	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 184.
412	Hercules	Zwischensockel	Mainz-Kastel	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	242 CE	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 184-185.
413	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules in the <i>Farnese Hercules</i> pose. No further information provided.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 185.

414	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kostheim	Was transported from the collection of Count Bentheim-Tecklenburg to Aschaffenburg.	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	1 st half of 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1887	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 185-186; Mattern 2005, 109.
415	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Seesbach	Found on a hill near Seesbach.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm(?). He leans on a club with his right hand.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1740	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 219; Boppert 2001, 64.
416	Mars	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing armour, a helmet and a coat. The latter lies over the upper arms. In his right hand and he has a shield in his left hand, which is right beside a boulder(?).	Ca. 200 CE	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 97; Boppert 2001, 53-55.
417	Mars	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing a muscle cuirass, without helmet. In his right hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his left hand.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1864	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 97-98; Boppert 2001, 57-58.
418	Mars	Säule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found during archaeological excavations.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	The column itself is made up out of five <i>Säulentrommeln</i> (thus five strips of stones) in which each four deities/persons are depicted. One of these is Mars. No further explanation provided.	59-67 CE	1904/1905	Part of the Big Jupiter Column of Mainz	Bauchhenß 1981, 163.

419	Mars	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mars fully armoured; a helmet, chest plate, leg protectors, a round shield next to his left leg and a lance in his right hand. At his right hip, he holds a short dagger.	TAQ 69?	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 166.
420	Mars	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing an officer's armour; muscled chest plate, leg protectors, a round shield and a sword (<i>gladius</i>) at his right hip.	TAQ 69?	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 166-167.
421	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material in a late-Roman wall.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mars with a helmet. Further information is not provided.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 170.
422	Mars	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Rests of Mars. No further information provided.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 173.
423	Mars	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found at the <i>Gautor</i> .	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of a bearded and armoured Mars with a helmet and a chest plate. In his left hand, he holds a lance high and he has a shield in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175.
424	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars with a helmet and a chest plate. He holds a lance high and he has a shield (in respectively his left and right hand?).	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175-176.
425	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars with a coat over his right shoulder. He has	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 183.

						ha helmet and an unidentifiable attribute.				
426	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Armsheim	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of a naked Mercury, holding a moneybag in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 92.
427	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Head of Mercury, small fragment of a Jupiter giant column.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1901/1902	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 95; Boppert 2001, 59-60.
428	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder, he holds a herald's staff in his left arm. In his right hand, he holds a moneybag.	End 2 nd cent CE	1858	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 96; Boppert 2001, 52.
429	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. In his right arm, he holds a herald's staff while his right hand holds a moneybag.	2 nd half 1 st cent CE	1858	Inscription saying: <i>MERCURIUS</i> .	Bauchhenß 1981, 96-97; Boppert 2001, 50-52.
430	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1864	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 97-98; Boppert 2001, 57-58.
431	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked(?) Mercury, holding a moneybag in his right hand and leaning with his left one on a herald's staff. A buck crouches underneath his right hand.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 98; Boppert 2001, 56.

432	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder(?). He holds a herald's staff in his right arm and holds a moneybag in his right hand, under which a buck is depicted.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 98; Boppert 2001, 56-57.
433	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Recognizable by the herald's staff on the highly damaged fragment.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1863	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 98; Boppert 2001, 56-57.
434	Mercury	Reliefsäule	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Under the latter, a buck is depicted. Mercury wears shoes with wings.	Ca. 200 CE	1974/1975	<i>Reliefpfeiler</i>	Bauchhenß 1981, 100; Boppert 2001, 74-75.
435	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bingen (Bingium)	Excavated from the surroundings of the city church of Bingen.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder, he holds a herald's staff in his left arm (?). Behind his left leg, a buck is crouching.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 106.
436	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Bingen-Kempton (Bingium)	Used as building material of the church of Bingen-Kempton.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1882	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 107; Boppert 2005, 49-50.
437	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Heidesheim	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 146.

						staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.				
438	Mercury	Untersockel	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found during archaeological excavations	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of a naked Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings. Above his right arm, a rooster is depicted. Below his right arm, a rock with two snakes around it is depicted. Left of Mercury is Salus.	59-67 CE	1904/1905	Part of the Big Jupiter Column of Mainz	Bauchhenß 1981, 162.
439	Mercury	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found in the alley of the town hall.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Unknown	1880	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 163-164.
440	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found during sewer works.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff. The rest is missing.	Unknown	1881	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 168.
441	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found near the Jesuit barracks.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Rests of wings are recognizable in his hair.	206 CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 169.
442	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat. In his left arm, he holds a	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 169-170.

			(Mogontiacum)			herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Under his right hand, a buck is lying.				
443	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material in a late-Roman wall.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a moneybag. The rest is too damaged too be observed.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 170.
444	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material in a late-Roman wall.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Rests of wings are recognizable in his hair. On his right, on a small pedestal, a rooster is depicted.	225 CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 170.
445	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material for a bridge over the Rhine.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 170-171.
446	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	225 CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 171.
447	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Used as building material for the	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his right shoulder. In his right arm, he	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 171-172.

				fundaments of the <i>Gautor</i> .		holds a herald's staff towards the ground and he holds a moneybag in his left hand. He wears a hat with wings.				
448	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Originates from the area belonging to the dome.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat that covers his body. In his left arm, he holds a reversed herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Under the latter, a buck is lying. He wears a hat with wings.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 173.
449	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat (<i>chlamys</i>). He has wings in his hair. No further information is provided.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 173.
450	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found in city-centre.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a tunica all the way down to his ankle. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175.
451	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat and shoes with wings. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175.
452	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) and holding a herald's staff. No further information is provided.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 175-176.
453	Mercury	Reliefsäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his left shoulder and lower arm. In his left arm, he holds a herald's	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 178.

						staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.				
454	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder and lower arm. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 182-183.
455	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury. No further information provided.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 183.
456	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kastel	Found in a castle.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	170 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 184.
457	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Mainz-Kastel	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a moneybag, which he holds against his body. He holds a (misplaced?) herald's staff in his right hand.	225 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 184.
458	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Mainz-Kastel	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings. Beside his right foot, a rooster is depicted.	242 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 184-185.
459	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mainz-Kostheim	Was transported from the	Along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder and arm. In his left arm, he holds a	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 185.

				collection of Count Bentheim-Tecklenburg to Aschaffenburg.		herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.				
460	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Seesbach	Found on a hill near Seesbach.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Below his left arm, a rooster is depicted.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1740	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 219; Boppert 2001, 64.
461	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Udenheim	Used as building material in a pillar of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff in front of his chest and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He has wings in his hair and at his quiver as well. Right next to him, a rooster is depicted.	Un-known	69-96 CE	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 236.
462	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with scales pointed downwards, small fragment of a Jupiter giant column.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 95.
463	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuznach	Excavated from a <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Castellum</i> (as <i>spolium</i> ?)	Fragment of a Pfeiler with scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 200 CE	1864	<i>Reliefsäule</i>	Bauchhenß 1981, 100; Boppert 2001, 75.
464	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuznach	Used as building material of the	<i>Vicus</i>	Pfeiler with scales pointing downwards on an Attic base.	Ca. 200 CE	1974/1975	<i>Reliefsäule</i>	Bauchhenß 1981, 100;

				late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .						Boppert 2001, 74-75.
465	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuznach	Found in a castle (or <i>castellum</i> ?).	<i>Castellum</i> ?	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	200-250 CE	1974/1975	n/a	Boppert 2001, 75.
466	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing downwards. At the bottom, four wreath leaves are recognized. The four heads these wreaths belonged to are visible, but not identifiable.	200-250 CE	TaQ 1939	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 101; Boppert 2001, 76.
467	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing downwards. At the bottom, two rings of wreaths leaves can be seen. Four heads were at the bottom, two of which were preserved.	200-250 CE	TaQ 1911	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 101; Boppert 2001, 76.
468	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing downwards. At the bottom, two rings of wreaths leaves can be seen. Uncertain whether any figures were depicted on the column due to the damage.	200-250 CE	1858	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 101; Boppert 2001, 76.
469	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Excavated from the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of the top of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	1979	n/a	Boppert 2001, 79.
470	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Found near the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd to 3 rd	1894	n/a	Boppert 2001, 79.

							cent CE			
471	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragments of a scaled column, no further information provided.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	Un-known	n/a	Boppert 2001, 79.
472	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with base, with the scales pointing upwards.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	Un-known	n/a	Boppert 2001, 79.
473	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Excavated/ found at the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with base, with the scales pointing upwards.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	Un-known	n/a	Boppert 2001, 79-80.
474	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	Un-known	n/a	Boppert 2001, 80.
475	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bad Kreuzbach	Excavated/ found at the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragments of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1976	n/a	Boppert 2001, 80.
476	n/a	Schuppendach	Bad Kreuzbach	Excavated/ found at the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Small fragment of a pyramid top part of probably a pillar with the scales pointing downwards.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1976	Comparable top part-fragment to e.g. the Igeler Säule near Trier.	Boppert 2001, 119-120.
477	n/a	Schuppendach	Bad Kreuzbach?	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Small fragment of probably a pyramid type pillar with scales. Only a few scales are recognizable, which are pointing downwards(?).	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	Un-known	Comparable top part-fragment to e.g. the Igeler Säule near Trier.	Boppert 2001, 120.
478	n/a	Schuppendach	Bad Kreuzbach	Excavated/	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled stone fragment probably belonging to a pyramid type	2 nd to 3 rd	TaQ 1911	Comparable top part-fragment	Boppert 2001, 120.

				found at the <i>castellum</i> .		pillar with the scales pointing downwards.	cent CE		to e.g. the Igeler Säule near Trier.	
479	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bingen (Bingium)	Excavated from the surroundings of the city church of Bingen.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing downwards. At each side, rings of wreaths leaves can be seen with female busts.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	1885	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 106; Boppert 2005, 52.
480	n/a	Schuppensäule	Bingen (Bingium)	Excavated from the surroundings of the city church of Bingen.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing both upwards and downwards. Ribbons (<i>tainia</i>) of 5 centimetres wide can be recognized.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	1885?	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 106-107; Boppert 2005, 52.
481	n/a	Schuppensäule	Ingelsheim	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Pyramid form top part of probably a pillar with scales pointing downwards. A small part of a relief is preserved as well, although unrecognizable.	3 rd cent CE	In 1877 to Mainz	Comparable top part to e.g. the Igeler Säule near Trier.	Boppert 2005, 116.
482	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found in the alley of the town hall.	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards. The front side has three deities depicted on it (See Mainz, Mercury).	Unknown	1880	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 163.
483	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with keeled scales pointing downwards. The capital contains several depictions of flowers and wreath leaves.	Mid-2 nd cent. CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 178.
484	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 178.

485	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Found on the <i>Flauschmarkt</i> .	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 179.
486	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital has double wreath leaves, from which four busts emerge.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 179.
487	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital has wreath leaves.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 179.
488	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards (partly, the rest is missing).	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 179.
489	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital has simple wreath leaves, from which busts emerge.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 179.
490	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mainz (Mogontiacum)	Unknown	<i>Castrum/Canabae</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital has two wreath leaves, from which two busts emerge.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 179-180.
491	n/a	Reliefsäule	Mainz-Weisenau	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	<i>Reliefsäule</i> with at the bottom small parts of ribbons and double rows of scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 186.

Civitas Auderensium

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
492	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Dieburg	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules, who is wrestling with the Nemean lion. A club is depicted to his right.	Late 2 nd cent CE	1998	n/a	Mattern 2005, 152.
493	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Georgenhausen	Used as building material in the local church in ca. 1794, discovered in 1918.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides.	Early 3 rd cent CE	1918	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 134; Mattern 2005, 197.
494	Hercules?	Viergötterstein	Mömlingen	Used as building material in the fundaments of the St. Martin's church.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of a deity with possibly a club in his right hand. Possibly Hercules.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1984	n/a	Mattern 2005, 192-193.
495	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mömlingen	Used as building material in the fundaments of the St. Martin's church.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He holds a club in his right hand.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1984	n/a	Mattern 2005, 193.
496	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Mosbach	Used as building material in the	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules with rests of a lion skin over his left arm.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 193.

				old parish church.		Over his right shoulder, a bow is depicted. The rest is missing.				
497	Hercules	Zwischensockel	Obernburg	Unknown	<i>Castellum</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 200.
498	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Radheim	Used as building material in an altar?	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	170-180 CE	1972	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 207-208; Mattern 2005, 200-201.
499	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Rai-Breitenbach	Found just east of the river Mümling (close to the Arnheiter Hof).	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has a quiver behind his right shoulder.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	1604	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 208; Mattern 2005, 149.
500	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Dieburg	Found in a Mithras sanctuary?	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars, wearing a helmet and a coat. In his right hand, he holds a lance and he holds a shield in his left one.	225-250 CE?	1924	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 114; Mattern 2005, 150-151.
501	Mars	Viergötterstein	Obernburg	Used previously as building material in the <i>Stiftskirche</i> in Aschaffenburg, but likely to originate from Obernburg.	<i>Castellum</i>	Depiction of a naked Mars. In his left hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his right hand. He 'storms' into the scene, showing his back to the viewer.	Early 3 rd cent CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 200; Mattern 2005, 108-109.
502	Mars	Viergötterstein	Rai-Breitenbach	Found just east of the river Mümling (close	Unknown	Depiction of Mars with a coat over his left shoulder. In his left	2 nd to 3 rd	1604	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 208;

				to the Arnheiter Hof).		hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his right hand.	cent CE			Mattern 2005, 149.
503	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Dieburg	Found in a Mithras sanctuary?	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Mercury leaning to his left. He wears a hat with wings. In his right hand, he holds a moneybag and in his right one he holds a herald's staff.	225-250 CE?	1924	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 114; Mattern 2005, 150-151.
504	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Dieburg	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. He holds a herald's staff in his left arm, while he has a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings. Below him, a buck is chewing.	Late 2 nd cent CE	1998	n/a	Mattern 2005, 152.
506	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Georgenhausen	Used as building material in the local church in ca. 1794, discovered in 1918.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff.	Early 3 rd cent CE	1918	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 134; Mattern 2005, 197.
507	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mömlingen	Used as building material in the fundaments of the St. Martin's church.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a moneybag in his right hand. He leans on a herald's staff with his left hand. A child is depicted inside his right elbow. He wears a coat behind his back, a hat with wings and shoes with wings. To his right side, remains of a rooster are recognizable.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1984	n/a	Mattern 2005, 193.
508	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Radheim	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right	170-180 CE	Ca. 1850	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 207-208;

						shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. At his left foot, a rooster is depicted and a buck is depicted at the right foot. He wears a hat with wings.				Mattern 2005, 200.
509	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Rai-Breitenbach	Found just east of the river Mümling (close to the Arnheiter Hof).	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a herald's staff (in his left arm/hand?). The rest is missing.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	1604	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 208; Mattern 2005, 149.
510	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Würzburg	Used as building material in a church in Michelstadt.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a moneybag and a herald's staff. The rest is missing.	2 nd cent/ 1 st half 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1890	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 249; Mattern 2005, 142-143.
511	n/a	Schuppensäule	Dieburg	Found in a well.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing downwards. At the bottom, above simplified wreath leaves, busts of two men and two women can be found.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE?	1870s	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 113-114; Mattern 2005, 150.
512	n/a	Schuppensäule	Dieburg	Found in a basement in the old centre of the town during sewer works.	<i>Vicus</i>	The fragment of this scaled column is only recognizable at a few spots, thus no more information is known.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	1907	Originally deposited at a house with pavement nearby?	Bauchhenß 1981, 115; Mattern 2005, 153.
513	n/a	Schuppensäule	Dieburg	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing	Late 2 nd	1998	n/a	Mattern 2005, 152.

						downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards.	cent CE			
514	n/a	Schuppensäule	Höchst-Hummet-roth	Excavated from a Roman villa.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column fragment with the scales pointing downwards.	Ca. 200 CE	1986	n/a	Mattern 2005, 186.
515	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mömlingen	Stray find	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1979	n/a	Mattern 2005, 194.
516	n/a	Schuppensäule	Otzberg	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Small fragment of a scaled column. The capital was squared and had one head depicted on each side, with either wings or leaf ornaments.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 201-202.
517	n/a	Schuppensäule	Stettfeld	Unknown	Unknown	Fragment of a scaled column with carefully engraved scales. No further information provided.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 228.

“Civitas Aurelia G”

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
518	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Groß-eicholzeim	Used as building material in a wall of the local cemetery.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Apollo, leaning with his left arm on a big lyra, standing on the ground. Over his left arm lies a coat.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 140.

519	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Köngen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left upper arm and shoulder, the coat also covers his right shoulder. In his left arm, he has a lyra, that is standing on a pedestal.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 154.
520	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Maulbronn	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left shoulder. He leans with his left arm on a lyra, that stands on a pillar. He holds a plectrum in his right hand(?). In front of the pillar, a griffin is depicted.	Ca. 225/250 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 189.
521	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Benningen	Unknown	Unknown	Hercules is recognizable from the rests of a <i>Viergötterstein</i> , but further description was not possible.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 103.
522	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Dürrmenz	Found during the destruction of the local Peter's church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragments of a depiction of Hercules. He rests with his right hand on a club and has a lion skin over his left shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 119.
523	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Güglingen	Used as building material in the fundaments of a church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Hercules, holding a club with his right hand above his head. The left arm rests.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 140.
524	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Hemmingen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 147.

525	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Maulbronn	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules turned to his left side. Above his head, he holds a club with his right hand.	Ca. 225/250 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 189.
526	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Möglingen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules in a lunge position towards his left. He holds the antler of a hind.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 192.
527	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Pforzheim	Found in the river Enz.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder and wrapped around his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has an aureole (<i>nimbus</i>).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 203.
528	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Pleidelsheim	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 207.
529	Hercules	Zwischensockel	Steinheim an der Murr	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules wrestling with Antaeus. No further information provided.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 226-227.
530	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Stuttgart	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 231.
531	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Castrum</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 233.
532	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Waiblingen	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules leaning to the left side. He has a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He has a bow and quiver behind his right shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 236-237.

533	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Walheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237.
534	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Würzburg	Used as building material in a church in Michelstadt.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He holds a club in his right hand.	2 nd cent/ 1 st half 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1890	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 249.
535	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Benningen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Mars. He is wearing a helmet and holds a lance in his left hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 103.
536	Mars	Viergötterstein	Mühlacker	Unknown	<i>Vicus or villa rustica</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars with a helmet. In his right hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his left hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 193-194.
537	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Neckartailfingen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Mars with his right hand raised. Rests of a shield are recognizable at his lower left side.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 195-196.
538	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Pforzheim	Unknown	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars. In his right hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his left hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 204.
539	Mars	Viergötterstein	Pforzheim-Brötzingen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of an armoured Mars wearing a helmet. In his left hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 206.
540	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Found in a well.	<i>Castellum/Castrum</i>	Depiction of a naked Mars. In his left hand, he holds a lance and he holds a shield in his right hand.	Un-known	1931	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 233-234.

541	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Stuttgart-Plieningen	Found during construction works of a channel.	<i>Vicus</i> /along a Roman highway(?)	Depiction of a naked Mars with a helmet. In his left hand, he holds a lance and he holds a shield in his right hand.	280 CE	TaQ 1959	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 234-235.
542	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Stuttgart-Zazenhausen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of an armoured Mars with a helmet. In his left hand, he holds a lance and he holds a shield in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 235.
543	Mars	Viergötterstein	Walheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba/Vicus</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars without helmet(?). In his right hand, he holds a lance and he holds a shield in his left hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237-238.
544	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Benningen	Unknown	Unknown	Mercury is recognizable from the rests if a <i>Viergötterstein</i> , but further description was not possible.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 103.
545	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Benningen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Mercury. He wears wings in his hair and holds a herald's staff in his left arm.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 104.
546	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Dürrmenz	Found during the destruction of the local Peter's church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 119.
547	Mercury?	Viergötterstein	Güglingen	Used as building material in the fundamentals of a church.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked shoulder and the outlines of a head of a god. Possibly Mercury.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 140.

548	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Hemmingen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Behind his legs lies a buck. On the left, a rooster is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 147.
549	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Neckartailfingen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted around his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He has rests of wings in his hair.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 195-196.
550	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Pforzheim	Found in the river Enz.	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat on his back. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 203.
551	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Pforzheim	Unknown	<i>Castellum?</i>	Depiction of a naked Mercury. He has wings in his hair (attached to a hat?). He holds a herald's staff in his right staff, which he holds in front of his chest. The left hand rests.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 204.
552	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Pleidelsheim	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. He holds a moneybag in his right hand, under which the rests of a buck are recognizable.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 207.
553	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Steinheim an der Murr	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury together with Fortuna. Mercury has a coat over his left shoulder. He	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 226-227.

						places his foot on a rock. In his left arm, he holds a big herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.				
554	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Stuttgart	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Castrum</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. In his right arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his left hand. Below his right hand, a buck is depicted. Under his left hand, a rooster is depicted(?).	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 231.
555	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Castrum</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He has wings in his hair. Under his right hand, either a buck or a rooster is depicted.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 233.
556	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Found in a Roman well.	<i>Castellum/ Castrum</i>	Depiction of Mercury with wings in his hair. His right arm rests. The rest is missing.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 233-234.
557	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Found in a well.	<i>Castellum/ Castrum</i>	Depiction of a naked(?) Mercury. He holds a moneybag in his right hand. The rest is missing.	Un- known	1931	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 233-234.
558	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Stuttgart-Plieningen	Unknown	<i>Vicus/along a Roman highway?</i>	Depiction of Mercury. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Un- known	Un- known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 234-235.

559	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Stuttgart-Zazenhausen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 235.
560	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Walheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury holding a herald's staff in his left arm. He holds and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Below his right hand, a buck is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237.
561	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Walheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury holding a herald's staff in his left arm. He holds and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Below his right hand, a buck is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237-238.
562	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Wimsheim	Used as building material in a tower of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. He holds a herald's staff in his right hand and his left hand is behind the coat(?). He has wings in his hair.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 245-246.
563	n/a	Schuppensäule	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	Found in a well.	<i>Castellum/Castrum</i>	Scaled column with scales pointing both upwards and downwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 234.
564	n/a	Schuppensäule	Walheim	Unknown	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards on one half. The column was standing on an Attic base and is further decorated with double wreath leaves, vine tendrils and animals.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 237-238.

“Civitas Lingonium”

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
565	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Dijon (Divio)	Found/excavated underneath the a local church’s foundations.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a sitting deity, wearing draped coats. A dog is depicted at his feet. A bird (raven?) is depicted to his left side. A (masculine?) figure is depicted to his right, covering his eyes. Probably Apollo (regional depiction?).	Ca. 40-50 CE	1768	Pilier de Mavilly.	Thevenot 1955, 89-90; Hatt 1965, 111; Nezric 1989, 84.
566	Hercules	‘Wochen-götterstein’	Cussy-la-Colonne	Stray find	Unknown	Depiction of a deity with an attribute in his right hand (club?). Probably Hercules.	3 rd cent CE	1846	Octagonal stone	Baudot 1852, 4; pop.culture.gouv.fr.
567	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Dijon (Divio)	Found/excavated underneath a local church tower.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragments of a depiction of Hercules. Only the bearded head, left leg, arm and shoulder were preserved. A lion skin lies over the latter two. He holds a drinking vessel in his hand.	Un-known	1809	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 116; Hatt 1952, 78; Nezric 1989, 87.
568	Hercules or Mercury	Viergötterstein	Dijon (Divio)	Found/excavated underneath the a local church’s foundations.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction a naked masculine deity waring a coat over both shoulders. He holds a long object in his left hand (a lance?). This fragment is weathered heavily, but scholars have suggested it could be either Hercules or Mercury.	Ca. 40-50 CE	1768	Pilier de Mavilly; might be identifiable as Smertios?	Thevenot 1955, 85-87; Hatt 1965, 111; Nezric 1989, 84.

569	Mars	Viergötterstein	Dijon (Divio)	Found/excavated underneath a local church tower.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Mars with a coat over his left shoulder. He holds a lance in his left hand and a moneybag in his right one.	Unknown	1809	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 116; Hatt 1952, 78; Nezric 1989, 87.
570	Mars?	Zwischensockel	Dijon (Divio)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragments of a depiction of a naked man. He holds either a lance or a sceptre in his left hand. Probably Mars?	Unknown	1840	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 116.
571	Mars	Viergötterstein	Dijon (Divio)	Found/excavated underneath the a local church's foundations.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing armour/chainmail. He leans on a shield with his left hand and holds a lance in his right one. He is flanked by Minerva to his left and by a snake to his right.	Ca. 40-50 CE	1768	Pilier de Mavilly; also identified as Esus.	Thevenot 1955, 81-82; Hatt 1965, 110-111; Nezric 1989, 84-85.
572	n/a	Schuppensäule	Cussy-la-Colonne	Stray find	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	3 rd cent CE	1846	n/a	Baudot 1852, 4; pop.culture.gouv.fr.

Civitas Mattiacorum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
573	Apollo?	Viergötterstein	Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacorum)	Found in the river Rhine?	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked god. The right lower arm is placed at his chest. Possible Apollo (maybe Mercury)?	1 st quarter of 3 rd cent CE	1820	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 242; Mattern 1999, 78-79.

574	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Wiesbaden -Bierstadt (Aquae Mattia- corum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Apollo with his right foot slightly lifted. In his left hand, he holds a lyra on a pedestal. He has a coat depicted in a half-circle over his head (<i>verificatio</i>).	1 st quart- er of 3 rd cent CE	1845	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 243; Mattern 1999, 79-80.
575	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Wiesbaden -Bierstadt (Aquae Mattia- corum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules leaning to his right. He holds a tripod over his left shoulder. He holds an unrecognizable attribute in his right hand.	1 st quart- er of 3 rd cent CE	1845	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 243; Mattern 1999, 79-80.
576	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Wiesbaden - Schierstein (Aquae Mattia- corum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	221 CE	1889	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 244; Mattern 1999, 76.
577	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Wiesbaden - Schierstein (Aquae Mattia- corum)	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left lower arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff in front of his chest and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. On his left side, a buck is depicted which is scratching his head.	221 CE	1889	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 244; Mattern 1999, 76.
578	n/a	Schuppensäule	Marienfels	Found in the <i>castellum</i> of Marienfels	<i>Castellum</i> (as <i>spolium</i> ?)	Squared pillar fragment with scales pointing downwards depicted on three sides.	2 nd to 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1882	Squared scaled pillar	Mattern 1999, 99.
579	n/a	Schuppensäule	Wiesbaden - Schierstein	Unknown	<i>Castellum/ Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards. At	221 CE?	1889?	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 244; Mattern 1999, 76.

			(Aquae Mattiacorum)			the capital, double wreath leaves are depicted.				
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Civitas Nemetum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
580	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left shoulder. With his left hand, he leans on a lyra, which stands on a pillar. In his right hand, he holds a plectrum. Apollo has his legs crossed. Next to his right shoulder, a raven is sitting on a pillar. Under the lyra, a griffin is depicted.	Unknown	Late 18 th / early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 136.
581	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Rülzheim	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. He leans with his left elbow on a lyra, which is standing on the floor. He holds a plectrum in his right hand(?). He has long locks. Below his right hand, a griffin is depicted.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 215.
582	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Freimersheim	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 132.

583	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Found nearby the old parish church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder(?). He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 134-135.
584	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides. Over his right shoulder, he has a bow and quiver.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 135.
585	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 136.
586	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 136.
587	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides. Over his right shoulder, he has a quiver.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 137.
588	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Heidelberg - Neuenheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 145.

						He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds a bow. Over his left shoulder, he has a quiver.				
589	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Meckenheim	Unknown	Along a Roman highway (aqueduct?)?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin wrapped around his left arm. The rest is missing.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 189-190.
590	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Nußdorf	Used as building material in one of the towers of the local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	1822?	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 199.
591	Hercules	Reliefsäule(?)	Rheinzabern (Tabernae)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He holds a club between his legs. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Unknown	Unknown	Due to the damaging not certain whether this is part of a <i>Reliefsäule</i> or a <i>Viergötterstein</i> .	Bauchhenß 1981, 211.
592	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Rülzheim	Used as building material in the <i>Dietrichskirche</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 215.
593	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Rülzheim	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 215.
594	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Schwalbach	Just outside the town.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1839	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 217; Mattern 2001, 148-149.

595	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Speyer (Noviomagus)	Unknown	<i>Castellum</i> or <i>vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder(?). He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	1611	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 221-222.
596	Mars	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mars with armour and a helmet. He holds a lance in his left hand. Only the upper body was preserved.	Unknown	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 135.
597	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mars with a hat.	Unknown	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 137.
598	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of a naked(?) Mars with a lance and a shield (in respectively the right and left hand?).	Unknown	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 137.
599	Mars	Viergötterstein	Iggelheim	Found either in or beside a well.	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Mars. He holds a shield in his left hand and a lance in his right hand. A small part of a coat hangs over the shield. He has a sword hanging at his left hip. Beside his left shoulder, a bird with a long neck is depicted (goose?).	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 148.
600	Mars	Zwischensockel	Speyer (Noviomagus)	Unknown	<i>Castellum</i> or <i>vicus</i>	Depiction of an armoured Mars with a helmet and a shield (in his left hand?). He is fighting a giant with a sword or a lance in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 223.

601	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Büchelberg	Unknown	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Small fragment of a depiction of Mercury, showing the naked left shoulder with a small part of a coat.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 109.
602	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Found nearby the old parish church.	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff. The right is missing. Behind his left leg, a buck is lying and scratching his head with its hind hoof.		Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 134-135.
603	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff. The right is missing. Behind his left leg, a buck is lying and scratching his head with its hind hoof. On a pillar behind his right shoulder, a rooster is depicted.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 135.
604	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff. A rooster is depicted right beside his right leg. He wears a hat with wings.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 135.
605	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff, his right arm rests. Behind his right leg, a chewing buck is depicted.	Un-known	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 136.

606	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat and shoes with wings. A buck is depicted behind the god(?).	Unknown	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 137.
607	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Although highly disrupted, Mercury is recognizable in this stone.	Unknown	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 137.
608	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Godramstein	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a moneybag (in his right hand?) and a rooster.	Unknown	Late 18 th /early 19 th cent.	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 137.
609	Mercury?	Viergötterstein	Heidelberg - Neuenheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba/vicus</i>	Depiction of an arm of a deity, holding a herald's staff(?). Possibly Mercury.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 145.
610	Mercury	Reliefsäule(?)	Rheinzabern (Tabernae)	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his left arm and shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Next to his right foot, a rooster is depicted.	Unknown	Unknown	Due to the damaging not certain whether this is part of a <i>Reliefsäule</i> or a <i>Viergötterstein</i> .	Bauchhenß 1981, 211.
611	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Schwalbach	Just outside the town.	<i>Villa rustica?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat knotted over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1839	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 217; Mattern 2001, 148-149.

						hand. He wears a hat with wings. On his right side, a rooster is depicted(?).				
612	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Speyer (Noviomagus)	Unknown	<i>Castellum or vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Unknown	1611	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 221-222.
613	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Speyer (Noviomagus)	Unknown	<i>Castellum or vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a <i>petasos</i> ('sun-hat'). Fragments of a herald's staff and a ram are recognizable. The rest is missing.	Unknown	1611	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 222.
614	n/a	Schuppensäule	Rheinzabern (Tabernae)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards. The column was placed on an Attic base.	Unknown	1819	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 210.
615	n/a	Schuppensäule	Rheinzabern (Tabernae)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital has double wreath leaves, from which heads emerge.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 211.
616	n/a	Schuppensäule	Rheinzabern (Tabernae)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 211-212.
617	n/a	Schuppensäule	Rheinzabern (Tabernae)	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Due to damage, the scales are not visible on this column anymore. However, it has the usual ring in the middle.	Unknown	Unknown	Uncertain whether this actually belonged to a Jupiter column.	Bauchhenß 1981, 212.

618	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zugmantel	Found in a Roman well in a Dolichenum.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Scaled column fragment with the scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	TaQ 1914	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 250; Mattern 1999, 116.
619	n/a	Schuppensäule	Zugmantel	Found in a Roman well in a Dolichenum.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Scaled column fragment with the scales pointing downwards.	Un-known	TaQ 1914	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 250; Mattern 1999, 116.

Civitas Sumelocennensis

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
620	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Rottenburg (Sumelocenna)	Found during the construction of a district prison.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Apollo leaning against a pillar, on which a lyra is depicted. He has a coat over his left shoulder. He holds a plectrum in his right hand. On his left side, a griffin is depicted.	Un-known	1842/1843	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 213.
621	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Wildberg	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo leaning with his right upper arm on a pillar (on a lyra?). The rest of the right arm rests. No fragments of clothing were found.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 245.
622	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Nagold	Used as building material in the fundaments of the Remigius church.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	Restored in a 'clumsy' way, misplacing the left lower arm and damaging the face.	Bauchhenß 1981, 194.

623	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Rottenburg (Sume-locenna)	Found during the construction of a district prison.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	1842/1843	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 212-213.
624	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Rottenburg (Sume-locenna)	Found during the construction of a district prison?	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	1842/1843?	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 214.
625	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Metzingen	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of an armoured(?) Mars. He holds his right hand at his head, the left one rests.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 191.
626	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Rottenburg (Sume-locenna)	Found during the construction of a district prison.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars without armour(?). He wears a helmet and holds a lance in his right hand.	Un-known	1842/1843	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 213.
627	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Metzingen	Unknown	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked god with unrecognizable attributes. Nevertheless very likely to be Mercury.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 191.
628	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Nagold	Used as building material in the fundaments of the Remigius church.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings. His quiver (over his right shoulder?) has wings as well. On his right side, a restored buck is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	Heavily restored and therefore heavily damaged.	Bauchhenß 1981, 194.
629	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Rottenburg	Found during the	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and	Un-known	1842/1843	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 212-213.

			(Sume-locenna)	construction of a district prison.		shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Beside his left foot, a rooster is depicted and a buck is depicted beside his left foot.				
630	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Rottenburg (Sume-locenna)	Found during the construction of a district prison.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of wings in human hair. Although the rest is missing, this is observed to be a depiction of Mercury.	Unknown	1842/1843	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 213.
631	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Rübgarten	Unknown	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of a moneybag. Similar to other depictions of Mercury's moneybag, therefore assumed that he was depicted here.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 214.

Civitas Taunensium

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
632	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well.	<i>Canaba (Nida/Civitas Taunensium)</i>	Depiction of Apollo in the <i>Lykeios</i> pose. His legs are crossed and he is depicted with a lyra and a griffin.	239 CE	1853	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 126.
633	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Butzbach	Found in a well during excavations in the military settlement	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. He holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1954/55	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 111; Mattern 2001, 93-94.

				beside the <i>castellum</i> .						
634	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well.	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides.	240 CE	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 125.
635	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well.	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Depiction of Hercules fighting the Nemean lion. He steps on the hind legs of the lion and strangles it.	239 CE	1853	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 126.
636	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well?	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he has the Apples of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 127.
637	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 129.
638	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Used as building material of a local church.	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left lower arm. The rest is too disrupted to be observed.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 129.
639	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Depiction of an beardless Hercules, leaning with his left hand on a club that is partly covered by a lion skin. He has a quiver over his right shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 130.
640	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Kesselstadt	Unknown	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and	1 st half 3 rd	Before 1927	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 151-152;

						shoulder. He leans on a club with his left hand. With his right hand, he plucks the Apples of the Hesperides from a tree.	cent CE			Mattern 2001, 132.
641	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Wachenbuchen	Used as building material in a local church.	Roman burial mound?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm. He is leaning with his right hand on a club.	End of 2 nd cent CE?	1903	n/a	Mattern 2001, 149-150.
642	Mars	Viergötterstein	Butterstadt	Found underneath a pavement/cobbles.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mars. No further explanation provided.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1902	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 110.
643	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Butterstadt	Found underneath a pavement/cobbles.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Small fragment of Mars; only his helmet was preserved on the stone.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1902	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 110; Mattern 2001, 145-146.
644	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Butzbach	Found in a well during excavations in the military settlement beside the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a depiction of Mars, wearing a helmet. In his right hand, he holds a lance. Also his shield was preserved, the hand (left?) in which he held it did not.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1954/55	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 111-112; Mattern 2001, 93-94.
645	Mars	Zwischensockel	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well.	<i>Canaba (Nida/Civitas Taunensium)</i>	Depiction of Mars with armour, a lance and a shield (in respectively the left and right hand?).	Unknown	Unknown	On the cornice, the name of a devoted is engraved: <i>Maximus</i> .	Bauchhenß 1981, 125.
646	Mars	Wochengötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Served long as a butcher's chopping block before it was found/	<i>Canaba (Nida/Civitas Taunensium)</i>	Depiction of a naked(?) Mars with a helmet, a lance and a shield (in respectively the right and left hand).	Unknown	1832	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 130.

				Identified.						
647	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Butterstadt	Found underneath a pavement/ cobbles.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Small fragment of Mercury; only his hat with wings remained preserved.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1902	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 110; Mattern 2001, 145-146.
648	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Butzbach	Found in a well during excavations in the military settlement beside the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked god with rests of wings in his hair. Probably Mercury.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1954/ 55	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 111; Mattern 2001, 93-94.
649	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Butzbach	Found in a well during excavations in the military settlement beside the <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury turned slightly left. He wears a hat with wings and holds a herald's staff in his left hand. He holds a moneybag in his right hand(?).	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1954/ 55	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 111-112; Mattern 2001, 93-94.
650	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well?	<i>Canaba (Nida/Civitas Taunensium)</i>	Depiction of Mercury wearing a coat knotted over his right shoulder. With his right arm, he leans on a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his left hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 127.
651	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba (Nida/Civitas Taunensium)</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff. He wears a hat with wings.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 130.
652	Mercury	Wochengötterstein	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Served long as a butcher's chopping block	<i>Canaba (Nida/Civitas Taunensium)</i>	Depiction of Mercury, leaning with his left hand on a herald's	Unknown	1832	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 130.

				before it was found/ Identified.		staff. He holds a moneybag in his right hand.				
653	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Frankfurt-Unterliederbach	Used as building material for the local church.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 131-132.
654	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Wachenbuchen	Used as building material in a local church.	Roman burial mound?	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder and arm. He holds a herald's staff in his left arm and has a moneybag in his right hand.	End of 2 nd cent CE?	1903	n/a	Mattern 2001, 149-150.
655	n/a	Schuppensäule	Butterstadt	Found underneath a pavement/cobbles.	<i>Villa rustica</i>	Scaled column on which the upper part points upward and the lower part points downwards.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1902	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 110; Mattern 2001, 145-146.
656	n/a	Schuppensäule	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well.	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Scaled column with an Ionic base. The lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards. On the capital, four heads are identified as personifications of the four seasons.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 125.
657	n/a	Schuppensäule	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well.	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Scaled column with keeled scales, pointing both upwards and downwards. Small rests of heads are recognizable, one of which is bearded.	239 CE	1853	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 126.
658	n/a	Schuppensäule	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Found in a well?	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Scaled column on which the scales are depicted on a ring from the top to the bottom. The	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 127.

						capital is in Corinthian style without any heads depicted.				
659	n/a	Schuppensäule	Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Unknown	<i>Canaba</i> (Nida/ <i>Civitas Taunensium</i>)	Fragment of a scaled column with scales pointing downwards.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 131.
660	n/a	Schuppensäule	Frankfurt-Höchst	Found nearby a villa.	<i>Castellum</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. Out of eight wreath leaves emerge several busts, one of which is certainly female.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 131.

Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
661	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Mannheim-Neckarau	Unknown	<i>Burgus?</i>	Rests of Apollo, only the remains of a griffin are recognizable.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 187-188.
662	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Altrip	Used as building material of the walls of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	Originally from Ladenburg (Lopodunum)?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over the arm and shoulder, leans on the club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 86-87.
663	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Ladenburg (Lopodunum)	Found in a well.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides. He has a bow	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 155-156.

						and quiver over his right shoulder.				
664	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Ladenburg (Lopodunum)	Found in an old wall as building material during constructions of a new house.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	1830	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 155-156.
665	Mars	Zwischensockel	Weisenheim am Sand	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mars with fragments of a helmet. In his right hand, he holds a lance and he holds a shield in his left hand. At the bottom, a griffin is depicted.	Ca. 80-110 CE	1893	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 240; ⁱ http://lupa.at .
666	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Altrip	Used as building material of the walls of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	Originally from Ladenburg (Lopodunum)?	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. He holds a moneybag in his left hand while he leans on a herald's staff with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 86-87.
667	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Ladenburg (Lopodunum)	Found in a well.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his right arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his left hand. He wears a hat with wings. Under his right hand lies a buck.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 155-156.
668	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Ladenburg (Lopodunum)	Found in an old wall as building material during constructions of a new house.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings. Beside Mercury, a rooster is depicted.	Unknown	1830	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 155-156.

669	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Mannheim	Unknown	<i>Burgus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat (<i>chlamys</i>) over his left arm. He has wings attached to his feet (shoes?). Beside his right foot, a buck is depicted, together with a small pillar (for a rooster?).	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 187.
670	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Weisenheim am Sand	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury holding a herald's staff in his left arm. He holds and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings. At the bottom, a griffin is depicted.	Ca. 80-110 CE	1893	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 240; ⁱ http://lupa.at .
671	Mercury	Zwischensockel	Weisenheim am Sand	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. In his right hand, he holds a herald's staff. The rest is missing.	Ca. 80-110 CE	1893	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 240; ⁱ http://lupa.at .
672	n/a	Schuppensäule	Ladenburg (Lopodunum)	Found in a well.	<i>Castellum/Vicus</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing upwards. Further decorated with wreath leaves. Four busts emerge from the wreath leaves. They embody the four seasons.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 155-156.
673	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mannheim	Unknown	<i>Burgus?</i>	Scaled column with careful engraved scales. No further information provided.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 187.
674	n/a	Schuppensäule	Mannheim-Neckarau	Found in the fundamentals of a Roman house (used as building material?).	<i>Burgus?</i>	Small fragment of a scaled column with identifiable scales. No further information provided.	Un-known	1810	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 188.

675	n/a	Schuppensäule	Miltenberg	Found at the railway line between Miltenberg and Amorbach.	<i>Castellum</i>	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. The capital is decorated with simple wreath leaves.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 191.
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Civitas Vangionum

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
676	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Apollo with long hair and with a coat around his thigh. He leans with his left foot on a small base. In his left hand, he holds a lyra and in his right he holds a plectrum.	1929	170-190 CE	Also identified as Apollo-Grannus.	Bauchhenß 1981, 89; http://lupa.at.
677	Apollo	Achtgötterstein	Becherbach	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway.	Depiction of Apollo. He has a lyra standing beside him on a pedestal, which he holds with his left hand and plays with his right one.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1781/1884?	n/a	Boppert 2001, 66-68.
678	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Löllbach	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Apollo with a coat over his left shoulder and thigh. He leans with his left elbow on a lyra, that stands on a pillar. He holds his right hand on his head.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1872	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 160-161; Boppert 2001, 60-61.
679	Apollo	Viergötterstein	Worms (Borbetomagus)	Originally from the area around the	<i>Forum</i> of the <i>vicus</i> (/ <i>castellum</i>)	Depiction of Apollo leaning on a lyra standing on the floor. It seems like he is playing the lyra	Ca. 200 CE	1952	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 247;

				dome, under which the Roman forum was located.		with his right hand. The rest is missing.				Mattern 1999, 41-42.
680	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over the left arm and shoulder, leans on the club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 88-89.
681	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over the left arm and shoulder, leans on the club with his right hand.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 90.
682	Hercules	Zwischensockel	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin knotted around his shoulders. He swings with a club in his right hand, while he holds Cerberus on a chain with his left hand. He has a bow and quiver over his left shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 90.
683	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Becherbach	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway.	Depiction of a naked(?) Hercules. He leans with his right hand on a 'decorated stick', rather than a club.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1781/1884	n/a	Boppert 2001, 65-66.
684	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Biebelnheim	Was situated beside a local church.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Ca. 200 CE	1891	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 104-105; Mattern 1998, 46-47.
685	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Eisenberg	Used as building material in the	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 123.

				altar of the local church.		He leans on a club with his right hand.				
686	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Gangloff	Found in a sanctuary of Mercury.	Sanctuary of Mercury along a Roman highway?	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He has a club in his left hand, while he is making an offer on an altar with a <i>patera</i> with his right hand.	TPQ 250 CE	1934	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 133; Boppert 2001, 61-63.
687	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Heinzenhausen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds apples (of the Hesperides)?	TPQ 250 CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 147.
688	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Katzweiler	Found during the destruction of a parish court.	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand. In his left hand, he holds the Apples of the Hesperides.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 151.
689	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Kriegsfeld	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin wrapping his left lower arm. He leans on a club with his right hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 155.
690	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Löllbach	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left arm and shoulder. He leans on a club with his right hand.	1 st quart. 3 rd cent CE	1872	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 160-161; Boppert 2001, 60-61.
691	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Lorsch	Used as building material in a gateway	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Hercules, leaning on a club with his right hand. He has a bow and quiver over his	210-220 CE	TaQ 1884	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 161; Mattern 2005, 189.

						right shoulder. His left lower arm is angled to his chest.				
692	Hercules	Reliefpfeiler	Lorsch	Used as a boundary marker, later placed in the local forest	<i>Vicus?</i>	Pillar with depictions of Hercules' works on every side of the squared pillar. One side is decorated with leaves.	210-230 CE	1877	n/a	Mattern 2005, 187-189.
693	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Worms (Borbeto-magus)	Originally from the area around the dome, under which the Roman forum was located.	<i>Forum of the vicus(/ castellum)</i>	Depiction of Hercules in a lunge position towards his left side. He is grabbing the Apples of the Hesperides. He holds a club in his right hand.	Ca. 200 CE	1952	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 247; Mattern 1999, 41-42.
694	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Worms (Borbeto-magus)	Used as building material of the Dome.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Hercules with a lion skin over his left shoulder and arm. He is leaning on a club, standing on a rock, with his right hand. He holds the Apples of the Hesperides in his left hand.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1989	n/a	Mattern 1998, 42-44.
695	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Worms-Weinsheim (Borbeto-magus)	Used as a boundary stone.	Unknown	Fragments of Hercules; only his legs and a club are recognizable.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1938	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 249; Mattern 1998, 45-46.
696	Mars	Zwischensockel	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing a muscle cuirass, without helmet. In his right hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his left hand.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 89.
697	Mars	Reliefsäule	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mars wearing armour and a helmet. In his	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 91.

				late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .		right hand, he holds a lance and he has a shield in his left hand.				
698	Mars	Achtgötterstein	Becherbach	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway.	Depiction of an armoured Mars and a helmet. He holds a lance in his right hand and his left hand is leaning on a shield that stands on the ground.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1781/1884?	n/a	Boppert 2001, 66-68.
699	Mars?	Viergötterstein	Eisenberg	Found as part of the walls of a tower-like fort (<i>burgus</i>) and its surrounding.	<i>Vicus</i>	Small fragment of an oval shield. Could belong to either Mars or Minerva.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 121-122.
700	Mars	Viergötterstein	Worms (Borbeto-magus)	Used as building material of the Dome.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Mars. He is holding a lance in his right hand, while his left hand leans on a shield that is standing on a pedestal.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1989	n/a	Mattern 1998, 42-44.
701	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his right shoulder. In his left hand, he holds a herald's staff, in his right hand a moneybag. He wears a winged hat.	1929	170-190 CE	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 89.
702	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm and shoulder. In his left hand, he holds a herald's staff, in his right hand a moneybag.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 90.
703	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Becherbach	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway.	Depiction of a naked Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. He holds a herald's staff in his left arm and a moneybag in his right hand.	1 st half 3 rd cent CE	1781/1884	n/a	Boppert 2001, 65-66.

704	Mercury	Achtgötterstein	Becherbach	Used as building material in a local church.	Along a Roman highway.	Depiction of Mercury wearing a short tunica and a coat over his shoulder. He has a herald's staff in his left arm and a moneybag in his right hand.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1781/1884?	n/a	Boppert 2001, 66-68.
705	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Biebelnheim	Was situated beside a local church.	Unknown	Depiction of a naked(?) Mercury. In his right hand, he holds a moneybag. There are rests of wings in his hair.	Ca. 200 CE	1891	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 104-105; Mattern 1998, 46-47.
706	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Eisenberg	Found as part of the walls of a tower-like fort (<i>burgus</i>) and its surrounding.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. He wears a hat with wings.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 123.
707	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Heinzenhausen	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Mercury with a coat over his left arm. In his left arm, he holds a herald's staff and he holds a moneybag in his right hand. Rests of wings in his hair are recognizable(?).	TPQ 250 CE	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 147.
708	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Lorsch	Used as building material in a gateway	<i>Vicus?</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat, a moneybag and a rooster.	210-220 CE	TaQ 1884	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 161; Mattern 2005, 189.
709	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Ransweiler	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of a naked Mercury. He has a herald's staff in his right hand. The left hand is resting.	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 209.
710	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Worms (Borbetomagus)	Originally from the area around the dome, under	<i>Forum of the vicus(/ castellum)</i>	Depiction of Mercury with a coat under his left lower arm. He leans on a herald's staff with his left hand. Probably also	Ca. 200 CE	1952	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 247; Mattern 1999, 41-42.

				which the Roman forum was located.		carried a moneybag (in his right hand?).				
711	Mercury	Viergötterstein	Worms (Borbeto-magus)	Used as building material of the Dome.	<i>Vicus</i>	Depiction of a naked Mercury with a coat over his left shoulder and arm. He has a herald's staff in his left arm. He holds a moneybag in his right hand.	Begin 3 rd cent CE	1989	n/a	Mattern 1998, 42-44.
712	n/a	Schuppensäule	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Small fragment of a <i>Schuppensäule</i> with a small part of the capital with leaf wreaths. On each side, an unidentifiable head is depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 91.
713	n/a	Schuppensäule	Alzey (Altiaia)	Used as building material of the late-Roman <i>castellum</i> .	<i>Vicus</i>	Small fragment of the capital of the column with a small part of the <i>Schuppensäule</i> as well, with scales pointing downwards and decorated with leaf wreaths.	Un-known	Un-known	Two additional parts of <i>Schuppensäulen</i> were found, but cannot be appointed to belong to other parts for sure.	Bauchhenß 1981, 91-92.
714	n/a	Schuppensäule	Disiboden-berg monastery	Used as building material?	Sanctuary?	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	3 rd cent CE?	Un-known	n/a	Boppert 2001, 80.
715	n/a	Schuppensäule	Worms (Borbeto-magus)	Found in city-centre(?).	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards.	3 rd cent CE	TaQ 1899	n/a	Mattern 1998, 58.
716	n/a	Schuppensäule	Worms (Borbeto-magus)	Used as building material in the Dome.	<i>Vicus</i>	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing upwards(?).	3 rd cent CE	1989	n/a	Mattern 1998, 58.

717	n/a	Schuppensäule	Worms (Borbeto-magus)?	Unknown	Vicus	Fragment of a scaled column with the scales pointing downwards.	3 rd cent CE	Un-known	n/a	Mattern 1998, 58.
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Unknown

#	Deity	Part of column	Finding place	Arch. context	Hist. context	Description	Date object	Excav. Date/ find. year	Remarks	Source(s)
718	Hercules	Viergötterstein	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Depiction of Hercules, leaning on a club with his right hand. The rest is missing.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 224.
719	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with scales pointing downwards. The top of the capital seems to be missed.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 95.
720	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. On the top, double wreath leaves are depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 224.
721	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with the scales pointing downwards. On the top, double wreath leaves are depicted.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 225.
722	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column with simple scales. No further information provided.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 225.
723	n/a	Schuppensäule	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Scaled column of which the lower part has scales pointing downwards and the upper part has scales pointing upwards.	Un-known	Un-known	n/a	Bauchhenß 1981, 242-243.