

Figural sculpture in Roman Britain and its Continental relationships

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Classical Archaeology

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ABSTRACT

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Roman sculpture was in many ways remarkably homogenous across the empire, but there was also significant local adaptation. The similarities between sculpture in the Roman provinces of Britannia, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior have been observed, but no comprehensive survey of the similarities and differences, and the reasons for those, has yet been conducted. Indeed, scholarship has inadvertently become rather parochial, but recent studies suggest there is much to be gained by looking across provincial boundaries. This thesis aims to do that analysis and consider different geographies of art.

Three case studies (rider relief tombstones, Mother Goddess dedications, and imperial portraits) elucidate the variation in use and appearance of certain types of sculpture in military, religious and socio-political contexts. Explanation of the observations noted in the case studies are advanced and explained, and modalities of movements of form and technique assessed.

The conclusions show that sculpture in Britain and Germany looks similar but not the same because local circumstances both required and allowed consistency and variance to different degrees over time. Specific interactions or movements of people, access to raw materials, technical tradition of makers, and demand from consumers all affected the appearance of sculpture to different extents. The interplay of transmission of standard or universal form and local adaptation is the main theme of this work.

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Abbreviations

- AE* *L'Année épigraphique*
- ANRW* Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
- BRGK* Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CIMRM* Vermaseren, M. J. (1956–1960) *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae*, 2 vols. The Hague.
- CSIR De II.3* Bauchhenß, G. (1984) *Denkmäler des Iuppiterkultes aus Mainz und Umgebung. Corpus signorum imperii Romani. Deutschland Band II, 3. Germania Superior. Mainz*
- CSIR De II.5* Boppert, W. (1992) *Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band II, 5. Germania Superior. Mainz*
- CSIR De II.6* Boppert, W. (1992) *Zivile Grabsteine aus Mainz und Umgebung. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band II, 6. Germania Superior. Mainz*
- CSIR De II.7* Frenz, H.G. (1992) *Bauplastik und Porträts aus Mainz und Umgebung. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band II, 7. Germania Superior. Mainz.*
- CSIR De II.8* Stribrny, C. (1987) *Die Herkunft der römischen Werksteine aus Mainz und Umgebung. Vergleichende petrographische und geochemische Untersuchungen an skulptierten Kalksteinen. Corpus signorum imperii Romani Deutschland Band II.8. Mainz*
- CSIR De II.9* Boppert, W. (2001) *Römische Steindenkmäler aus dem Landkreis Bad Kreuznach. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band II, 9. Germania Superior. Mainz*
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- CSIR De II.11* Mattern, M. (1999) *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Stadtgebeits von Wiesbaden und der Limesstrecke zwischen Marienfels und Zugmantel. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band II, 11 Germania Superior. Mainz*
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- CSIR De II.14* Boppert, W. (2005) *Römische Steindenkmäler aus dem Landkreis Mainz-Bingen. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band II, 14. Germania Superior. Mainz*
- CSIR De III.1* Bauchhenß, G. (1978) *Militärische Grabdenkmäler. Bonn und Umgebung. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band III, 1. Germania Inferior. Bonn*
- CSIR De III.2* Bauchhenß, G. (1979) *Zivile Grabdenkmäler. Bonn und Umgebung. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Deutschland Band III, 2. Germania Inferior. Bonn*

- CSIR De IV.3 Binsfeld, W., Goethert-Polaschek, K., and Schwinden, L. (1988) *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Deutschland, 4, 3. Katalog der römischen Steindenkmäler des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, 1. Götter- und Weihedenkmäler*. Mainz.
- CSIR GB I.1 Philips, E.J. (1977) *Corbridge, Hadrian's Wall East of the North Tyne. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Great Britain volume I, fascicule 1*. Oxford.
- CSIR GB I.2 Cunliffe, B.W. and Fulford, M.G. (1982), *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain volume I, fascicule 2: Bath and the rest of Wessex*. Oxford.
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- CSIR GB I.10 Coombe, P., Grew, F., Hayward, K. and Henig, M. (2015) *Roman Sculpture from London and the South East. Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani Great Britain volume I, fascicule 10*. Oxford.
- Espérandieu Espérandieu, E. (1907–66). *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine, i–xvi*
- LAMAS London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae 1981-1999 and 2009, Vols. I-VIII and Supplementum*. Zürich, München, Düsseldorf.
- PAS Portable Antiquities Scheme
- PG *Patrologia Graeca*
- RIB [Roman inscriptions of Britain](#). Published as: Collingwood, R.G. and Wright, R.P. (1965) *The Roman inscriptions of Britain, I: inscriptions on stone*. Oxford; Tomlin, R.S.O. (1995) *Addenda and corrigenda to RIB I*. Stroud; Collingwood, R.G. and Wright, R.P. (1990–95). *The Roman inscriptions of Britain, II: instrumentum domesticum* (in eight fascicules), Frere, S.S. and Tomlin, R.S.O. (eds.). Oxford; Tomlin, R.S.O., Wright, R.P., and Hassall, M.W.C. (2009) *The Roman inscriptions of Britain, III: inscriptions on stone, found or notified between 1 January 1955 and 31 December 2006*. Oxford.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- Tab. Vindol. *Tabulae Vindolandeses*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Roman sculpture presents something of a paradox: it is both remarkably homogenous across a large geographic area, as well as highly adaptable, mutable and responsive to local contexts and dynamics.¹ One area which appears to have had a particular and identifiable sculptural character was the north-west region of the Roman empire, especially Roman Britain and parts of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, and Gallia Belgica.² Indeed, some types of monument were only seen here, such as so-called Jupiter columns.³ In the course of preparing the catalogue of Roman sculpture from London and the south-east of England,⁴ my colleagues and I were struck anew by the comparisons to be made with sculpture from elsewhere in the north-west region of the Roman empire.⁵

We were also struck by the general lack of cross-provincial synthetic comparison in the academic literature. In-depth research on sculpture from the north-west has typically focused within provincial boundaries, or sometimes on just one site or monument,⁶ and scholarship has inadvertently become rather parochial for a number of reasons including arrangement of catalogues by ancient province or modern nation state and language barriers.⁷ There are notable exceptions: publications of individual objects readily introduce *comparanda* from

¹ Stewart 2010, paras. 3-4.

² Cassibry 2015.

³ Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981. Examples from Britain include fragments found at Cirencester, Wroxeter, Catterick, Springhead, Great Chesterford, Irchester and a possible site at Maryport; Blagg 2002, 72; Woodfield 1978, 69, nos 17 and 18; Haynes and Wilmott 2020.

⁴ *CSIR* GB I.10.

⁵ For instance, *CSIR* GB I.10, introduction; nos 76, 77, 80, 82, 89, 169, 181, 182, 183 and general parallels for monumental carving nos 130-165.

⁶ Hayward 2012 notes at least ten volumes dedicated to the monuments of Roman Bath, for instance. A new publication (Cousins 2020) situates the remains at Bath within the context of Germany and Gaul and compares the organisation of sacred space in the north-west region.

⁷ See Reddé 2015 for discussion of Germany and *Germania*.

across the Channel,⁸ and existing published studies which focus on particular categories of sculpture or examples from across the north-west show the benefits of this approach.⁹ There remains a need for a more comprehensive analysis that considers the north-west region together to understand how sculptures from Britain and Germany were related.

Interestingly, though, given the justification for taking this region together, differences in the use and appearance of sculpture do in fact emerge. Most obviously, the use of sculpture was patchy across the region, not consistently diffused, but the ‘preserve of specific communities within the provincial population’.¹⁰ Some motifs or types had tight distribution in specific places and were not shared widely; others were used across the region, but by different social groups in different places. Common forms were adapted to fit local circumstances, their essence shared but varying in specific details. In another region, North Africa, circulation of certain types of Saturn *stelae* was shown to be the product of ‘a confluence of local factors, the needs and usages of individual dedicants, as well as regional networks of peers.’¹¹ Explaining the variations helps us to understand the workings of the culture of Roman sculpture in the north-west.

The present thesis aims to conduct that analysis of the north-west region,¹² building on previous studies, to look at the relationships between sculptures that emerges when the artificial boundaries of provinces or perceived geographical divisions are removed. It will observe and analyse what was similar and what was different about sculpture from the

⁸ Many examples are available, for instance in much of Henig’s work such as Black *et al.* 2012; Coombe *et al.* forthcoming.

⁹ Stewart 2009 on *Totenmahl* tombstones and McGowen 2010 on sacred and civic stone monuments are notable contributions.

¹⁰ Stewart 2010, para. 20.

¹¹ McCarty 2011, 446.

¹² Britannia, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, especially Britain and the Rhineland.

provinces of Britain and Germany, how and why those similarities or differences might have come about, and what factors affected the appearance of sculpture in the Roman north-west.

Three case study types of sculpture from Britain and Germany will be examined: rider relief tombstones dedicated to auxiliary cavalrymen in the first and second centuries; ‘mother goddess’ reliefs, dedicated to the *matronae* and *matres* during the second and third centuries; and images of the emperor from the entire Roman period. Examining case studies of particular motifs or similar iconography is appropriate here as this method allows detailed analysis and will throw into sharper relief any difference or variance of use or appearance. These three were selected because they allow analysis of sculpture from different contexts and used by different social groups: religious dedications, funerary monuments, and imperial portraits, associated with the army and civilians. Rider reliefs and Mother Goddess dedications were known across the empire but followed a particular format or style in the north-west, while imperial portraits were known everywhere and exhibit remarkable consistency. Different degrees of similarity and variation can be observed within the case studies, and these are compared with each other, to build a broader picture of the use and appearance of sculpture in this area. These observations will then be explored and explained from different angles of the military, trading connections, construction of religious imagery, and economic aspects to consider the modalities of interaction. This will allow conclusions to be drawn on the connections that underpin sculptural similarity and explain why they differ in the ways that they do. The strategic choice of these different kinds of sculpture casts light on the theme in different ways. By looking beyond the borders of provinces it is expected that cultural rather than political boundaries will be identified, and that these will represent more closely the impacts of social connectivity or difference, cultural interest, economic aspects, technical skill, mobility of ideas and supply of materials on the use and appearance of sculpture in the north-west.

Previous research

The groundwork has been laid for comparison of sculpture across the north-west provinces. Almost all of the sculpture from Britain has been catalogued and published in the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* series, the final volume currently in preparation.¹³ New finds often appear as short notes in national journals,¹⁴ though updates to the original catalogues may be required. Syntheses of Roman art in Britain have been prepared at different times, notably Toynbee's magisterial work in the 1960s and Henig's handbooks of the 1980s and 1990s, contributing greatly to our understanding of this province.¹⁵ The picture for Germany is slightly patchier: several *CSIR* volumes have been published, supplementing the older but comprehensive catalogue of German and Gallic sculpture by Émile Espérandieu in the early twentieth century, though the whole region is not completed.¹⁶ The ongoing project to update all of the Espérandieu volumes is well underway, though the six volumes published to date relate to the southern part of modern France, not in the scope of this thesis.¹⁷ Comprehensive reporting in German state archaeological journals and several online and searchable databases ensure that new finds may be discovered and analysed by researchers.¹⁸ An incredible wealth of literature in German offers in-depth insight into European regional issues and Roman Germany in particular. Creighton and Wilson 1999 and James and Krmnicek 2015 are examples of the surprisingly few volumes on the archaeology of Roman Germany in English, given the associations that can be made, Haynes' paper in the latter setting out the interaction between Britain and Germany both in the Roman period and in recent scholarship.¹⁹

¹³ *CSIR* GB I.11 by Lindsay Allason-Jones.

¹⁴ For example: Henig 2018; Coombe *et al.* 2019; Coombe *et al.* 2020

¹⁵ Toynbee 1962 and 1964; Henig 1984 and 1995.

¹⁶ Espérandieu 1901-1938.

¹⁷ Lavagne 2003, Darblade-Audoine 2006, Moitrieux 2010, Lemoine 2013, Moitrieux et Tronche 2017, Corré et Gaggadis-Robin 2019.

¹⁸ Especially the website for [Nouvel Espérandieu](#), [Arachne](#) database run by Universität zu Köln, and [Ubi Erat Lupa](#) originally set up by Ortoolf Harl (all accessed 7 October 2020).

¹⁹ Haynes 2015. He rightly calls for engagement with German literature in German.

Discussion of the sculpture of the north-west has typically been omitted from empire-wide books on Roman art, a legacy of pejorative historic views on the quality of the carvings,²⁰ countered by celebration of the vibrancy of provincial products.²¹ Conceptualising the art of the provinces within the empire has continued to prove a challenge, especially when, historically, the metropolitan corpus has provided the benchmark and debate has centred on quality.²² This historiography has implications for understanding provincial material and its significance, and sets the context for the current study as it helps to explain why the potential of a synthetic approach has so far not been fully realised.²³

Comparisons between use of certain types or motifs across the north-western provinces have already been developed. Indeed, Roach Smith back in 1859 investigated the similarities between the *Matres* in Britain and the goddesses shown in sculpture from Germany and France.²⁴ Typically, visually similar objects from different places have been assembled to aid understanding of an image or type: setting a new find in the context of *comparanda* is a classic art historical and archaeological method and has been an important tool to aid interpretation. The assumption that Roman art is generally homogenous and repetitive supports this method. The detail of interactions, the contacts, networks, direct relationships, and shared understanding, within a logical timeframe that might plausibly support the visual similarities are less commonly analysed, and examination of variance, and the reasons for it, is underdeveloped, though suggestions have been advanced.

²⁰ Stewart 2010, paras 5-7 and 13-16.

²¹ Henig 1995 emphasised the golden age of insular British art in the later Roman period and offered an ‘extended reply’ (174) to the negative view of Romano-British art of Haverfield and Collingwood. See also work by Green, Lindgren and Webster (2003). The dichotomy between ‘Roman’ and ‘native’ remains even in post-colonial works.

²² New work, for instance by Mladenovic 2016, seeks to rehabilitate ‘quality’ as a useful topic of debate, integrating it with discussion of skill and purpose.

²³ Kampen 2014 sets out detail of the history and calls for more conceptual frameworks for considering provincial art.

²⁴ Roach Smith 1859, 43-5.

Stewart's work on tombstones with *Totenmahl* (funerary banquet) scenes is a key exception and an exemplar in offering a deeper understanding transmission of motifs between Germany and Britain.²⁵ This article was one of the main inspirations for the current thesis. Stewart reconsidered the chronology for movement of the form from the Rhineland to Britain, significantly compressing the previously proposed timetable that was based primarily on comparison of styles within Britain. This pointed out the tension inherent in relating the British stones to the German ones while at the same time proposing a delay of some decades in the transmission. By comparing use across the region, he observed that the scene was used to commemorate soldiers in the Rhineland but was also chosen for civilians and women in Britain, emphasising that transmission is not only geographic but also social. Such conclusions would not have been made if the view remained intraprovincial.

McGowen's volume on sacred and civic stone monuments also takes a regional perspective, to understand local and regional similarities or differences, and to contextualise 16 monuments from across the north-west (including selected sites in Gaul as well as in Britain and Germany). She outlined the choices of style, form, and iconography made by makers and patrons in different locations to fulfil their desired purpose. She concluded that elements of the classical iconographic corpus were employed alongside native deities, and that monuments were completed in different styles and forms,²⁶ owing to the interplay of agency, material and style.²⁷ The volume assembles information on these aspects, and successfully integrates the stone sculpture of this region with examples from the Mediterranean. More recent work on stone sources could now be incorporated while more nuance is needed to

²⁵ Stewart 2009.

²⁶ McGowen 2010, 107-8.

²⁷ McGowen 2010, 53-70.

understand clearly the choices of style and iconography in local contexts. Ultimately, this work usefully highlights the complexity of preparing a regional study based on discrete examples from such a wide area.

Hayward's petrological analysis has revolutionised understanding of the stone sources and materials used for sculpture and architecture in Roman Britain, especially in the early period and the south-east.²⁸ He has also shown that, though local sources remained the norm, not only styles or motifs but also raw materials might be shared across provinces and regions.²⁹ This sheds light on process of supply and interaction of raw material with preferences for certain forms, demonstrating tangible connections between geographical areas.

Other studies consider specific forms across a number of regions. Of especial note is the body of work of Bauchhenß and Noelke, who have more generally contributed greatly to our understanding of provincial sculpture and monuments from Germany and Gaul, and who take a regional approach in particular in their study of Jupiter columns.³⁰ Zanker's study of provincial imperial portraits from across the empire not only highlighted the paucity of examples from Britain and Germany, but also emphasised the limitations of analysing portraits primarily through their similarity to typologies, and instead sought other reasons for why provincial examples more often differed from common imperial types.³¹

The unintended parochialism in the scholarship is also somewhat combatted by regular fora for discussion in the form of the biennial Colloquium on Roman Provincial Art (CRPA). These conferences over the last 30 years have offered a forum for interprovincial discussion

²⁸ Hayward 2009; Hayward in Coombe *et al.* 2015.

²⁹ Hayward 2006.

³⁰ Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981.

³¹ Zanker 1983.

and consideration of many of the issues relevant this thesis. The resulting edited volumes collect together the latest thinking on a number of issues and advance understanding. Conference papers are by their nature concise and typically focused on a specific issue, find or group of finds, or geographic area, and synthetic analyses are rare. Perhaps this underscores the complex nature of the debates, and the size of the task required to provide a coherent synthesis across a wide geographic area that is sympathetic to the weight of previous scholarship, that accurately analyses visual material culture from across regions, and that is sensitive to the degree of evidence that is lacking. However, it might also speak to inadvertent continued silo-working on issues of provincial art that fail to incorporate Britain fully with the European picture, especially since the UK tends to be under-represented at these international colloquia and delegates often form groups based on preferred language. Productive, collaborative international and interregional projects are underway, particularly in continental Europe,³² and contributions from and connections with scholars from areas of former Yugoslavia or beyond the former Iron Curtain are proving crucial in allowing synthesis of examples and information from eastern Europe. However, further work is required to continue the study of provincial art in the UK and to incorporate the British material into discussion with European colleagues, especially since it is feared research could become more insular as the UK departs politically from the EU.

A good example of the way forward is found in Noelke's 2003 edited volume of the 2001 CRPA.³³ Its contents were arranged by province or region, with Britain, as is common,

³² For instance, for sculptural projects, note the work on Neumagen and Trier tomb monuments by [Austrian](#), [French](#), [Luxembourgeois](#), and [German](#) colleagues (both accessed 20 October 2020). More generally, the multinational UNESCO *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* project, which works across countries with the northernmost Roman *limes*, offers opportunity for collaborating on understanding and presentation of Roman heritage across national programmes. The long-running *Limes* congress also offers this opportunity, though, typically, few papers have concerned sculptural objects and synthesis of art.

³³ Noelke 2003.

separated from Gaul and Germany, which were combined.³⁴ However, a number of the papers (albeit many still focused in scope on one monument, site or province) usefully bring in material from a wider geographic area, and consider cross-provincial questions of identity, social context and geology. Hunter, for instance, compared carved images of lions on funerary monuments in Britain with the same motif in other northern provinces, showing variance in the form between different locations and explaining it through enhanced barbarism in some places.³⁵ In a later paper, he considers the use of the figure of a barbarian on Roman provincial art, noting the change in their attributes over time and emphasising they do not have a fixed ethnic meaning, posing difficulties for simple interpretations.³⁶ Within the 2003 volume, the paper by Woolf suggests that the images of and inscriptions to the *Matronae* in Germania Inferior emphasised their local aspect within an imperial context, usefully juxtaposing the specifics and universal elements of the form.³⁷

It is a theme which Woolf also pursues in considering the provincial cult of Apollo in Scott and Webster's volume on the use of art in Roman imperialism.³⁸ That volume can be characterised as post-colonial, offering a revisionist perspective that emphasises the value of Roman art of the provinces, and sees it as more than a 'pale imitation of the art of Rome'.³⁹ It sits primarily within the dichotomous debate on the use of culture in Romanisation (or resistance to or negotiation of that culture) that has influenced much of the scholarship on Roman Britain, but several papers successfully complicate and invigorate the issues. Woolf's contribution presents a situation in which the connections between provincial and the centre

³⁴ Publication of the Arles congress (Gaggadis-Robin *et al.* 2009) again grouped together papers on the three Gauls and German provinces, with no section focused on British material.

³⁵ Hunter 2003.

³⁶ Hunter 2009.

³⁷ Woolf 2003b.

³⁸ Scott and Webster 2003, originating as a session at the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference in 1997.

³⁹ Scott 2003, 1.

of imperial power are telescoped through the emperor's interest in a local version of the cult of Apollo, that of Apollo Grannus.⁴⁰ Instances like these of compressed interaction disrupt the model of flow of culture gradually from a centre. Johns considers a range of factors affecting the artists' craft and production, offering nuance to the argument that Romano-British art was simply poor-quality owing to failure to adopt and reproduce classical naturalism.⁴¹

Other edited volumes on Roman provincial art have also enhanced understanding and taken other theoretical stances. The title of Brody and Hoffman's edited volume readily advertises its perspective of provincial art as being on the periphery and its general Romano-centric approach.⁴² However, several contributions endorse movement away from considering Romanisation or acculturation as a useful theory to explain process of cultural change, seeing identity as a more promising way of understanding use of material culture. Contributions by Cassibry on the modes of honouring Julia Domna, compared with those that honoured Livia, and on the use of classical iconography for otherwise unknown deities in Gaul by Johnston, offer insight into the choices made and changing forms of appropriate representation that go beyond characterisation of identity.⁴³ James and Greene also remind us that general categories such as 'army' themselves conceal great variety, and that assimilation is not straightforward.⁴⁴ Franconi emphasises the protective qualities of Mars, as petitioned in the north-west, against an expectation that he was primarily a war god,⁴⁵ while Dirven and McCarty highlight the variance in depictions of Mithras in two parts of the empire against a universal programme of

⁴⁰ Woolf 2003a.

⁴¹ Johns 2003a.

⁴² Brody and Hoffman 2014.

⁴³ Cassibry 2014; Johnston 2014.

⁴⁴ James 2014; Greene 2014.

⁴⁵ Franconi 2014b.

images.⁴⁶ The consistent reference point for the volume remains the nature and impact of Rome and experience of living under Roman rule, but contributions are powerful and important and sometimes transcend this perspective.

The volume edited by Alcock, Egri and Frakes stemmed from a new approach, involving an intensive series of meetings of a group of scholars of provincial Roman art over a period of many months.⁴⁷ These researchers sought to integrate their understanding and provide practical syntheses beyond theoretical approaches. The ambition and experience of participants may have gone further than the results presented in the volume, but it is usefully arranged by theme, rather than geography or chronology. A concept which arises several times in a number of papers is localism and alternative connections: adaptations which were offset by the wider picture of the Roman empire;⁴⁸ transmission which utilised imperial modes and routes of connectivity while sharing ideas from a variety of cultural backgrounds;⁴⁹ lateral movement of forms that did not involve a centre;⁵⁰ and production stimulated by local economic factors.⁵¹ The focus on interaction of local tastes with more general or widespread form is a growing, useful trend in recent scholarship, as it challenges the historic assumption of Romano-centric influence (or the influence of a centre more generally) and emphasises instead varying local agencies. This volume offers methodological inspiration here, though the subject matter goes beyond the north-west.

⁴⁶ Dirven and McCarty 2014.

⁴⁷ Alcock *et al.* 2016.

⁴⁸ Walker 2016; McCarty 2016; Noreña 2016.

⁴⁹ Jimenez 2016.

⁵⁰ Revell 2016.

⁵¹ Wootton 2016.

Where Romanisation no longer dominates the theoretical debate,⁵² other concepts have been applied to describe and explain the circulation of visual and material culture. Often borrowed from the social sciences, these have sought to understand the nature of the interaction of different parts of the Roman empire and to explain the extent of homogeneity and mutability. Amongst the most recent are globalisation, and its corollary ‘glocalisation’, and network theories.⁵³

Globalisation, or globalism, has been billed as a newer way to consider the apparent homogeneity and broad ‘language’ of classical art, contrasted with local variance and choice. As applied to Roman visual material culture, it models a world-system for the use of a semantic structure and moves interpretation away from acculturation.⁵⁴ Local adaptations of the universal can be put to use in particular contexts or to respond to differing requirements, and the theory sought to understand ‘objects with their agency in motion’.⁵⁵ It has been seen as a more neutral way of understanding (the spread of) Roman material culture than Romanisation or acculturation, and allows consideration of cultural associations alongside

⁵² See Webster 2001; Hingley 2008; Croxford 2016a for background on use of the term for Roman Britain. Its rehabilitation has been considered: Versluys 2014; Woolf 2014.

⁵³ Others include world-systems theory and centre-periphery theory. World-systems theory (developed by Wallerstein in the 1970s) divided areas of a connected world into core, semi-periphery and periphery across political or economic boundaries, but tended to obscure regional diversity (see application to the Roman empire by Woolf 1990). Notions of centres and peripheries have long been used by art historians to characterise regional stylistic groups. The model is now more closely associated with Wallerstein’s world-systems model and economic dependency of regions on each other. See discussion in Rowlands *et al.* 1987 for its application to the archaeology and history of the ancient world. The useful application of centre-periphery model to the Roman empire has been challenged, especially since the frontiers were such a vibrant economic area (Franconi 2014a, 8–9). Neither of these theories capture the nuance of regional forms of Roman art, relying heavily on the kinds of categorisations, monolithic constructs and focus on acculturation that have been criticised for Romanisation.

⁵⁴ Versluys 2015, 143-6.

⁵⁵ Verlsuys 2015, 167.

economic and other connectivity.⁵⁶ However, it comes with charges of anachronism, since it was initially developed in relation to modern economics.⁵⁷

This focus on interplay of local with the global and the opportunity to consider a range of factors together can be informative and offers a way to assimilate the simultaneous homogeneity and variance in Roman art. Identifying and explaining a common visual *koine* for Roman art is not a new pursuit, but the analysis over a wide geographic area has been invigorated recently by continued observations on the global nature of Roman culture. Forms of the Late Antique seem, especially, to exhibit common forms and characteristics across differing geographical and cultural origins, and a new volume edited by Guidetti and Meinecke⁵⁸ seeks to explore why certain images were shared so widely, and how they were transferred from place to place. There has also been growing understanding that localised responses do not emerge in a vacuum but can reflect awareness of the ‘global’. Woolf suggested that ‘Roman imperialism will have induced this sense of localism in many ways’,⁵⁹ while Whitmarsh asserted that ‘local’ only has meaning from a supra-local perspective.⁶⁰

The nature of connections between people, which might facilitate or prevent the spread of cultural ideas, have also been considered. Network theory emphasises that connections and relationships are everywhere, connecting objects, places, people and ideas. In its application to archaeology, objects are used as a proxy for social relationships – i.e. if a certain type of thing is found in a place, it may be related to another similar object in another place through social links. There are different kinds of network theories which may be used.⁶¹ Recent work

⁵⁶ Pitts 2008; Hingley 2005.

⁵⁷ Stewart 2010, para. 58.

⁵⁸ Guidetti and Meinecke 2020.

⁵⁹ Woolf 2003, 138.

⁶⁰ Whitmarsh 2010.

⁶¹ Woolf 2016a analyses different methods and their application to the ancient world.

by Collar examining the spread of religious ideas through the Roman Empire is based on the premise that transmission can rely to a large extent on the social relationships between groups of people.⁶² Different kinds of ties are included, and ‘weak ties’ highlighted as particularly effective for sharing new information or concepts. The focus that network theories offer for finding links between objects, the new ways of visualising those connections, the method of thinking about connections as social relationships, the importance of objects as well as humans in forming and maintaining networks, and the consideration of routes of transmission are all useful to the present study.⁶³ However, that the distribution of objects forms a proxy for social relationships is more problematic when applied to analysis of sculpture. If data are missing or are polyvalent, without a direct and stable meaning, the method is liable to produce inaccurate associations. Network analysis will not be undertaken, but the concepts will be applied as necessary.

An outline of the north-west region⁶⁴

The north-west of the Roman empire is a useful region to study because the areas within it, as well as the sculptural output, appear broadly comparable. These were areas dominated by tribal units, some friendlier than others to Roman power before conquest. The Rhineland and north and west of Britain became heavily militarised and shared the *limes* of the empire at its the north and north-east extent. Some powerful urban centres developed, notably London, Cologne and Trier, though these provinces were generally dominated by agricultural hinterland, and the populations were a mixture of soldiers and civilians, urban and rural

⁶² Collar 2013.

⁶³ Actor-network theory was developed by Latour in the 1980s. See development of networking approaches in archaeology in Brughmans 2010; Knappett 2013; Isaksen 2013; Collar *et al.* 2015; Brughmans *et al.* 2016.

⁶⁴ For useful maps of the German *limes*, showing the rivers and chronology of forts over time, see [here](#) and [here](#).

dwellers. Civilians living in agricultural areas were by far the most numerous,⁶⁵ but have been eclipsed in archaeological visibility by those from towns or those in the army. People moved around within this area and beyond it. Finally, the province is a useful unit for comparison, since it was a real division in the Roman period, and often forms the basis for modern catalogues.⁶⁶



Figure 1.1: Map of the north-west provinces c. AD 125. Numbers indicate locations of legionary bases. Adapted from [this](#) map, by Andrein, used under CC BY-SA 3.0.

However, a number of historical or geographic factors might affect the nature of the comparison between Britain and Germany. First, changing political boundaries in the region

⁶⁵ Mattingly 2006

⁶⁶ Jimenez 2016.

could have had variable impact on local populations.⁶⁷ The relevant provinces were formed at different times, Britannia after AD 43 and the German provinces under the Flavians. These areas were the border lands of the Roman empire, but again the limits moved over time. In Britain, the Antonine Wall held the position of most northerly frontier for only around 20 years, while barbarian incursions over the Rhine border grew in pace from the late second and into the third centuries. Famous revolts by the Batavians in the Netherlands, and the Iceni under Boudicca in Britain rocked the region in the first century,⁶⁸ while breakaway empires were formed in the later third centuries: the Gallic empire of Postumus on the Continent in the 260s AD, and the usurpation by Carausius and Allectus in Britain and northern Gaul in the 280s and 290s. The impacts of these events on local people were likely variable. Caracalla extended citizenship to all in the empire from AD 212, but before this the legal distinctions born of political or social stratification determined someone's status. Political divisions changed and evolved; the provinces were not discrete and defined areas even in the Roman period.

Secondly, agents of and social responsiveness to change, individual and group responses to cultural change and attitudes of and to different communities, might vary. The local elite have typically been credited as engines of cultural change, their desire to buy into Roman ideas a driver of successful imposition of new forms and ideas.⁶⁹ However, it is likely to be highly variable and change over time. Sperber sets out the concept of epidemiology of ideas, and the extent to which they may be contagious, susceptibility varying between different groups of people.⁷⁰ This is explored through the case studies in part I, and through an analysis of certain groups in part II.

⁶⁷ Eck 1995.

⁶⁸ See Braund 1996, ch. 9 for emperors' attitudes to Britain in the first century.

⁶⁹ Millett 1990.

⁷⁰ Sperber 1985.

Since stone sources and supply of raw materials seem to be important factors in appearance of sculpture, the varying natural landscapes of the Roman north-west will be relevant. In Britain, a ridge of limestone running across the country from the Bristol Channel to the north of the Wash provides a considerable quantity of sculptural and building stone. It may have been shipped down the Thames or possibly by waterways through the Fens from Lincolnshire.⁷¹ To the north the geology is largely more friable sandstone, appearing in red or buff colours, but localised sources provision Hadrian's Wall. For the German provinces, fine limestones were found on the banks of the Moselle and in parts of modern eastern and northern France. The Rhine offered an ideal transport route, connecting with the Rhône corridor to the south and then to the Mediterranean. Overland transport was less economical than riverine, but a growing network of roads enabled movement of goods and people throughout the Roman period.⁷² Chapters 5 and 6 consider the supply of raw materials and the sculpting process.

There appears to have been a difference in Roman conception of the constituent parts of this region, at least as far as can be understood from literary tropes, which has affected modern understanding. Tacitus, in his *Germania* and *Agricola*, provides much evidence for the first century, but these works were not neutral and his writing not without purpose. Caesar divided Germany along the line of the Rhine and by culture into Germans and Celts.⁷³ Britain was at the 'end of the earth';⁷⁴ but Germany was also a frontier, and after the Roman defeat in AD 9 at the Teutoburg Forest, conquest to the east and north of the Rhine was not attempted again. These aspects have affected how this area has been seen by scholars. The response to

⁷¹ Hayward 2009, Figs 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4.

⁷² Russell, B. 2013, 141-200.

⁷³ Caesar, *Commentaries on the Gallic war*, 1.1.

⁷⁴ See Romm 1992, Stewart 1995 and Clarke 2001 for further discussion.

imperialist agendas in their own lifetimes probably coloured scholars' own approaches to the art of the empire.⁷⁵

The human geography also varied, both in number and type of places or settlements that were established, and how these developed over the Roman period. Some locations started as a military foundation, but then grew to hold and service an increasingly civilian population, such as London or Cologne. The previous assumption that certain types of place (such as *coloniae*) in the Roman world were broadly comparable is now reconsidered, and local differences in specific places and the importance of local benefactions in developing an urban space highlighted.⁷⁶ The *coloniae* of Britain, for instance, cannot necessarily be compared directly with those in Germany. Differing provisions of amenities or the location of settlements on the frontier, like Corbridge or Cologne, compared to more 'inland' urban areas like Cirencester or Tongeren, must have had an impact on the experiences within them. Furthermore, it is not always clear what legal status some towns held, and how this affected life within them. Some of these aspects are discussed in chapters 6 and 8.

Finally, archaeological exploitation and survival of relevant objects varies across the region. There are differences between the approaches to archaeology in the nation states that now cover the north-west region, which may impact the kind of sites that have been examined and which objects have been retrieved. In Britain, for instance, the vast majority of archaeology currently conducted is determined by developers' projects rather than academic interest, with detailed results sometimes remaining unpublished. Bombing during the Second World War destroyed quantities of German material, particularly at Bonn and Cologne. In both modern countries, large cities lie over substantial Roman remains, limiting the extent of excavation

⁷⁵ Henig 1995, 9-10.

⁷⁶ For example, Quinn and Wilson 2013.

possible, the archaeological park at Xanten a major exception. In both regions, Roman sculpture was reused as *spolia* in later buildings.

A new approach to the geography of sculpture in the Roman north-west

A new approach to mapping the sculptural culture of the north-west is needed, and themes that have emerged from previous works suggest how new boundaries might be drawn: these are explored in this section. Geography of art is a useful term since it reflects not only the physical locations, the processes, connections and dynamics that affect sculptural production, but it also allows reconsideration of boundaries and delineations of characteristics.⁷⁷ Stewart demonstrated this approach most effectively in his consideration of the geography of ‘provincialism’.⁷⁸ He concluded that there are four different geographies of art in the provinces in tension with each other to produce a phenomenon that he terms ‘provincialism’: physical distance, cultural geographies in the use of sculpture, geological limitations of access to stone, and conceptual distance perhaps stemming from different levels of technical knowledge or conceptual gaps.⁷⁹ He also called for further attempts to reconcile the material and the cultural in artistic geography, to understand more about the art of the north-west. The approach taken in that article has informed the method of this thesis.

The distinctions of social groups and identities played a part in determining interest in use of sculpture. For instance, soldiers were commemorated on stone *stelae* more often than people of the civilian population and were in this way more visible in the archaeological sculptural record. Discussions have in the past been dominated by application of Romanisation and how degrees of Roman-ness in someone’s identity translated into use of visual and material

⁷⁷ See Kaufmann 2004, especially introduction, for discussion of the geography of art and its historiography.

⁷⁸ Stewart 2010.

⁷⁹ Stewart 2010, para. 57.

culture: those who are ‘more Roman’ tend to use classical forms and expressions. The local elite has often been emphasised as those who bought into the cultural opportunities afforded by Roman rule in the north-west.⁸⁰ Yet, the higher use of sculpture in military or urban contexts, than in rural ones may have related less to a sense of Roman-ness of an individual and more to the kinds of social contexts in which sculpture had relevance and meaning.⁸¹ It is now accepted that identity, especially as shown by use of material culture, is highly variable from one context to another, and that individuals may behave in ways appropriate to the moment projecting different facets of their multiple identities at different times.⁸² Furthermore, much of our evidence for, for instance, previously unknown local deities has been provided by Roman-style monuments and inscriptions in Latin, presenting difficulties in affixing and assessing a static notion of identity. Detailed studies of the ethnic and social identities, economic and religious change, and the impact on use of landscape, seen in parts of Germania Inferior that now make up the Netherlands by Derks and Roymans have provided much depth and nuance, and brought an anthropological perspective to the archaeological remains.⁸³ Analysis of the social groupings are therefore important and relevant to redefining the boundaries of use of sculpture across a geographic region.

⁸⁰ For instance, for Britain, Millett 1990. Mattingly 2006 presents an imperialistic view of the depth of the impact on native populations, while Russell and Laycock (2010) emphasise the areas in which ‘Roman culture’ did not catch on.

⁸¹ This could be seen as a circular argument since the use and presence of carved stone is a particular hallmark of the Roman period in the north-west. However, the point here is to consider identity and use or display of material culture as shaped by social context and the local collective, shared expectations, detaching this from the traditional, rather monolithic understanding of ‘Roman-ness’. These contexts or displays may or may not include self-conscious emulation or expression of ‘Roman’, but I seek to move away from assumptions that associate material culture with political power or identity: see Woolf 1995, 1998, 2010.

⁸² A theme running through several papers in Mattingly 1997 and 2004.

⁸³ Derks 1998; Roymans 2004; Derks and Roymans 2009; Derks and Roymans 2011.

There is now general consensus amongst scholars that there was considerable mobility of people as well as objects in the ancient world,⁸⁴ and that human connectivity was key to circulation of objects and ideas.⁸⁵ The control exercised by and context of the Roman empire facilitated movement, creating peaceful conditions and providing transport connections conducive to mobility.⁸⁶ The ORBIS project at Stanford has shown how connectivity was not a straightforward product of geographical proximity but also relied on the practical shape, economics, and experience of moving around this part of the world.⁸⁷ There was also a cultural as well as practical aspect: issues of acceptance, adoption and transformation of culture when encountering new contexts might generate pockets of resistivity.⁸⁸ The adoption and adaptation of sculptural forms in new areas might reflect this ease or resistance, and the modalities and mechanisms of connections are important to establish. Meinecke has proposed that cross-cultural interactions and transportable artefacts played a role in the development of a common iconographic repertoire in visual culture, though her period of study is the late Antique and across a wider area than the present study, from Syria to Northern Italy.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Epigraphic analysis has typically formed the back-bone of this kind of study (e.g. Wierchowski 1995 and 2001 for Gaul), but more recently isotopic analysis of burials (Shaw *et al.* 2016) and discussion of objects together with movements of people (Swift 2010; Ivleva 2012; Eckardt 2014) have contributed greatly to understanding of migration and mobility around the north-west. New discoveries like the writing tablets at the Bloomberg site in London, to add to the Vindolanda, Carlisle and Vindonissa caches, contribute to our understanding of communication in this region (Tomlin 2016), providing a voice for the connectivity rather than necessitating reliance on archaeologists joining the dots. Woolf (2016a) called for greater differentiation between kinds of mobility, analysis of changes over time and acknowledgement of mobility as a structuring force not a structural fact, and quantitative claims of extent.

⁸⁵ 'Redistribution depends on connectivity; and connectivity is not a matter of physical geography, but of the patterns of human mobility.' Horden and Purcell 2000, 395.

⁸⁶ De Ligt and Tacoma 2016.

⁸⁷ Scheidel 2014.

⁸⁸ I am not here referring to the phantom of conscious resistance, but resistivity, a kind of electrical metaphor: the varied forces of resistance in the movement and reproduction of culture. Sperber (1985) characterised this using the analogy of epidemiology.

⁸⁹ Meinecke 2020.

Several interrelated characteristics or topics can be combined and considered as the result of economic aspects which might have impacts on the use and appearance of sculpture. Together they offer deeper understanding of the supply and carving process and of the relationships between maker and buyer, supply and demand. The technical skill and expertise of the craftsman and the opportunities for sharing and developing knowledge. In the past, the assumption has been that variance from classical form was a failure or misunderstanding on the part of the patron or the maker and associated with judgement of quality: good quality or execution has been attributed to Gallic workshops, or even Mediterranean ones, rather than envisaged as the achievement of native British craftsmen.⁹⁰ The exception has been for architectural forms, where comparison has been made with continental examples but their execution by native craftsmen proposed.⁹¹ Thorough examination of tool marks has been conducted, but primarily for monuments of white marble.⁹² Arrangements of craftsmen and sharing knowledge in ‘workshops’ is poorly understood, and the term inconsistently applied by scholars, but have been proposed based on the similarity in style and use of certain forms concentrated in certain geographic areas.⁹³ However, focusing instead on economic models and the consequences of increased demand offers a better way of considering this. Areas of higher demand both offer opportunity for sculptors to perfect a certain motif or form, as well as stabilising and making more consistent the expectations of patrons and viewers. Thus, these have an effect on quality.

⁹⁰ A common theme in Toynbee 1962 and 1964.

⁹¹ Blagg 2002, especially chapters 3–8.

⁹² [Art of Making](#) project (accessed 12 October 2020).

⁹³ Heilmeyer 2004; Scott 2006; Kristensen and Poulson 2012. Groupings of types of objects, carved in similar ways and assigned to groups of makers at similar locations have been proposed by Kewley 1974; Philips 1976; Kleiner 1977; Henig 1984, 113. Hayward’s work to identify stone sources of sculpture in the south of England has corroborated Henig’s earlier suggestion on iconographic grounds that Cotswolds sculptors working in Cotswold stone came to London: Henig 1996. The most obvious example of a sculptor’s workshop, with unfinished pieces, is at Aphrodisias in Turkey: Rockwell 1991.

The character of the raw material, in conversation with the skill of the maker and the requirements of the patron, the process of supply of stone and metals, also affected the possible result. Finer quality stones that are easier to carve include the limestones of the Cotswolds, Lincolnshire, and several continental sources which were imported to Britain, especially in the south east where good quality stone is difficult to find.⁹⁴ Recent ground-breaking work has shown that stones travelled along with forms: a soldier's tombstone from Colchester, one of the earliest carved monuments from Roman Britain, was completed in a style seen on the Rhineland and carved from the fine white limestone quarried on the banks of the Moselle in eastern France.⁹⁵ Such discoveries have revolutionised understanding of interactions across the north-west, and more work on sourcing materials in the north-west is underway.⁹⁶ In general, sources of raw materials were typically very local and affected the character of sculpture and construction projects.⁹⁷ The process of supply, such as ownership of quarries (military, civilian, imperial?), identities of people working at them (army, civilian, enslaved, free?), and access to raw materials (how would someone get hold of stone for a carving project?) are poorly understood, especially for Britain.⁹⁸ Finds of sculpted white marbles are rare in the north-west, and the large-scale system of carving and supply, for instance for sarcophagi, described in B. Russell 2013, cannot be identified in this region. Imported marble sculpture tends to be limited individual portable items, probably arriving in this region already finished and obtained through personal import or contacts.⁹⁹ The choice of bronze over stone might be related to the visual effect required, or the availability or price

⁹⁴ Hayward 2009.

⁹⁵ Hayward 2006.

⁹⁶ Hayward's work is ongoing, with recent projects including assessment of the stone materials of Roman villas in southern Britain. See also Ruppene 2015 and 2018.

⁹⁷ Russell, B. 2013.

⁹⁸ Pearson 2006.

⁹⁹ See below chapter 4, p.163 for more detail. Note that some marble sculptures may have been collected in more recent centuries. By contrast with sculptural use, significant quantities of imported white and coloured marble were used for architectural decoration and veneers at urban and villa sites and for the cladding of large monuments in this region: again, see p.163.

of the right metals for the alloy, and final design reflects what was possible to cast. Conditions for archaeological survival for different materials are also relevant, as is the extent to which recycling and reuse were pursued.

The perceived political or administrative distinctions between provinces may be compared to artistic or cultural similarities. It appears that these sometimes overlap, but interestingly not wholly.¹⁰⁰ Boundaries of provinces were known in the ancient world, certainly by administrators and governors, but also by those living in them,¹⁰¹ and changes in culture between areas might follow similar but not exact lines. Wrede identified four ‘cultural zones’: Rome, middle of Italy and hinterland; northern Italy, Greece, Sicily, southern France, Spain and Latin parts of North Africa; the Hellenistic parts of the Greek east; and the northern and north-western provinces, from Gallia Narbonensis to Dacia.¹⁰² These may be debated, and variations in ‘semantic systems’ of different places discussed.¹⁰³ The development or character of an area contributed to the perception of the culture: southern Gaul was so urbanised that Pliny remarked it was ‘more like Italy than a province’.¹⁰⁴ Visualisations of the practical and cultural world in Rome and other parts of the empire had a political aspect.¹⁰⁵

One of the most useful achievements of classical art history has been systematically to assemble examples of the same iconography scattered over space and time. This has proved to be an instructive method, allowing analysis of other factors of use and appearance across a

¹⁰⁰ von Hesberg 1995 considers variations across the empire.

¹⁰¹ Talbert 2004, 26.

¹⁰² Wrede 1995, 34.

¹⁰³ von Hesberg 1995.

¹⁰⁴ Pliny, *Natural History*, III.31.

¹⁰⁵ Augustus’ *res gestae* outlines his view of the known world, and panegyrics, such as Eumenius’ of the AD 290s might have been accompanied by a map (Lozovsky 2008, 169). Sculptural scenes like Claudius dominating Britannia at Aphrodisias or the *ethne* from the Hadrianeum gave these conceptions sculptural form in different ways in different places.

consistent sample. Stewart's article on the use of *Totenmahl* scenes in the north-west has already been mentioned as an example of the benefits of this approach in the study of this region. The collaborative consideration of Mithra from a range of angles and periods emphasised the remarkable duration of the name of Mithra, as well as the specific contexts in which the deity operated.¹⁰⁶ The hazard of taking a wide view, however, is in creating unrelated connections between very common motifs seen across wide areas over long periods. Both the general essence of the horse and rider form and the concept of a mother goddess are common over millennia and in a range of contexts, for instance. Mackintosh has usefully traced the origins and use of the horse and rider motif particularly in eastern and northern provinces of the Roman empire, and highlighted variance in the motif.¹⁰⁷ However, Green's discussion of 'mother goddesses' has tended to consider them as part of a resurgence of interest in Celtic forms and styles in the Roman period, while Gimbutas saw these as part of the history of a pan-Indo-European earth mother deity reaching back millennia.¹⁰⁸ It is interesting that the same concepts were used over long periods of time, but links between these geographically and temporally distinct occurrences have proven difficult to uphold and, particularly for mother goddess, at worst far-fetched and fanciful. The preferred method in this work is to examine why images were taken up and used at specific times and in their own context, and how transmission operated within a restricted area and time period, rather than understand their genealogy. This also offers greater chance of observing and examining difference, rather than starting from an expectation of similarity.

¹⁰⁶ Adrych *et al.* 2017.

¹⁰⁷ Mackintosh 1986 and 1995.

¹⁰⁸ Green 1998; Gimbutas 1989, 1991.

This review of existing themes and scholarship points the way for the work presented in this thesis, both the content and questions that remained to be addressed. In summary, what is needed is:

- A new method that encourages analysis across a geographic area, rather than constrained by provincial boundary.
- Application of that method in analysis of the similarities and differences in appearance and use of sculpture across the north-west region, perhaps initially testing it on certain case studies.
- Examination to explain those similarities and differences, proposing factors involved in the transmission and transformation of sculptural forms across the north-west region.
- Integration of the analysis conducted using the new method with existing studies, to knit together existing themes and compare new evidence.

This approach should allow conclusions to be drawn that provide more holistic view of Roman sculpture in the north-west, moving away from existing theories, and that provides better understanding of the social geography of imagery and the cultural life of the Roman provinces.

Research questions and methodology

The primary research question that this thesis addresses is: why did Roman sculpture in Britain and Germany look similar but not the same? This can be further broken down into subsidiary questions:

- How did the appearance and usage of figural sculpture differ between Britain and the Rhineland during the Roman period? What was similar and what was different?
- Why did sculpture in this region differ at all? Why did it differ in the ways that it did?

- What factors affected transformation of ideas and forms between Britain and the continent during the Roman period, and what more can be learned about provincial sculpture from analysis of these two areas in comparison?

Answering these questions will enable us to understand more about how such objects are connected, the agents and opportunities that brought about these connections, the factors that combine to produce objects that are similar in form, and also, allow us to consider occasions where we might expect similar appearance, but instead find differences.

At the methodological core of this work are three case studies of Roman figural sculpture, each example defined by the similarity of iconography and motifs used. Using case studies is appropriate for several reasons. It offers the opportunity for detailed investigation across the region that is not possible through a survey. Different case studies can then be compared to construct again a bigger picture. To develop those case studies around particular motifs or iconography is useful because they allow me to shine a torch on the material from different angles based on social group, religious beliefs, and socio-political aspects. Different elements of the use and appearance of sculpture come into view from those different angles, informing the synthesis.

Chapter 2 focuses on around 90 ‘rider relief’ tombstones popular with auxiliary cavalrymen in the first to second centuries. A short-lived fashion, the motif is seen in the Rhineland from the Tiberian period, moving to Britain early after the conquest in AD 43, and petering out in both areas by the turn of the first century. The rider reliefs allow me to test the assertion of a military culture and the interaction of Roman military forms and those relevant to soldiers from a variety of individual backgrounds. The movement of soldiers and units between

Germany and Britain is also considered, and the extent to which individuals were responsible for transmission of art styles.

Chapter 3 concerns mother goddess dedications. Often heralded as an example of a pre-Roman tradition newly expressed in stone, the reliefs will here instead be set firmly in their context of the second and third centuries. They were particularly common in Germania Inferior, but similar iconography of the seated women is spread more widely. The consistency of portrayal of three 'mother goddesses', who also frequently exhibit specific and regional characteristics, offers an excellent example for discussing choices in representation of deities using Roman forms, and transmission of iconography as representative of an intangible idea such as a religious figure. The evidence offered by inscriptions will be compared.

The last case study, Imperial portraits of the first to fourth centuries, is the topic of Chapter 4. Imperial portraits were set up locally, at the inspiration of those living in the provinces, but were oriented to the very centre of Roman power, the emperor and his family. Few identifiable, life-sized images survive from Britain and Germany, though there is a significant number of fragments of sculpture that might be from large imperial images, as well as smaller portraits that might have been used in the private sphere. That paucity is interesting in itself. I assess the range of images that do survive for their material and distribution, and then consider who sets them up, in what forms, where, and, crucially, why.

As well as analysis the iconography and forms of each monument, archaeological contexts, distribution, material, craftsmanship, and their use and reuse are also considered. This allows each piece to be viewed not only as an artwork but also as a piece of material culture with its own lifecycle. These case studies combine to offer ways to consider the military, civilian, religious and imperial or state factors affecting appearance of sculpture and circulation of

artistic ideas. This selection also allows me to consider sculptures in relief and in the round, and while the focus will be on local limestone and sandstone, it also encompasses objects in a range of other materials including marble, terracotta, and bronze. A total corpus of objects is presented in an appendix following the text and is referred to throughout using Appendix numbers for the different case studies. This presents a sample size large enough to make meaningful conclusions in relation to my research questions.

I examined in person as many of the objects discussed in the following thesis, and their contexts, as I could. Successful applications for scholarships from Universität zu Köln (a.r.t.e.s International Graduate Scholarship in the Humanities, for international students, for 4 months in 2018) and the British Archaeological Association (Ochs Scholarship, in 2019) facilitated extended research visits to Germany and sites in Britain. In total, I visited museums and sites in 17 places in Germany, plus the tufa quarries at Mayen and the Drachenfels (source of trachyte), and 10 places in Great Britain, plus all sites along the length of Hadrian's Wall and the Cumbrian coast down to Ravenglass. I contacted curators at some of the places I was unable to visit.¹⁰⁹ Practical information on stone carving and bronze casting was gained through research visits to a marble carvers' workshop and a bronze foundry, as well as discussing training and techniques with students of the City and Guilds Historic Carving course at their end of degree show at the London Art School in Kennington.¹¹⁰ This experience has combined to give me a deeper understanding of the limits of materials, the development of technique, and how the sculptures worked in context, as well as the archaeological survival.

¹⁰⁹ Cologne, Mainz, Mannheim, Worms, Speyer, Wiesbaden, Bonn, Pesch, Nettersheim, Bonn, Heidelberg, Saalburg, Frankfurt, Strasbourg (France), Bad Kreuznach, Trier, and Aachen; Carlisle, Gloucester, Chester, London, Cirencester, Colchester, Shrewsbury and Wroxeter, Bath, and Newcastle. Contacts with curator in York. I also spent 6 weeks cycling through Germany in 2016 as preparation for this thesis and to visit Roman sites, including Leiden and Nijmegen, and to understand the landscape: see [my blog](#) for details.

¹¹⁰ [Daniel Silver](#), a modern artist who draws inspiration from Classical forms and archaeological sites; [Morris Singer](#) fine art foundry.

Broadening the argument from my case studies, the second part of the thesis will include consideration of the British sculptural material in the context of the north-west more generally by examining networks of the military, trade and economic interests, religious communities, and political or state interventions. These categories of interaction characterise best the possible vectors or agents of transmission of cultural receptivity or interest, the ability of craftsmen, and the availability of materials needed to produce sculpture. Aspects such as supply and demand, control of movement of goods, and routes of transmission are examined, to understand on a granular level how (and if) the contexts as well as forms of the case studies are connected.

Chapter 5 picks up the evidence set out in the first case study, comparing movement of military units to show how soldiers operated as agents of change. New conclusions are reached on the interactions between Germany and Britain. A key question in analysis of the sculpture associated with the military is who did the carving: are military makers serving military customers, or civilians profiting from the economic potential of garrisons of soldiers? This question is considered further here, together with discussion of how the army was involved in stone supply.

Chapter 6 delves deeper into how trade routes served to connect communities across the north-west, and how the movements of merchants may have played a role in transmitting artistic ideas. This is set into a wider discussion of economic aspects of demand for sculpture, arrangement and mobility of craftsmen, legal agreements, and the impacts these had on appearance of a finished piece.

Sculpture offers much of our evidence for deities and religious personnel not traditionally forming part of the Roman pantheon, thus use of stone sculpture is intricately bound up with religious practice and transmission of religious ideas. The use of Roman classical anthropomorphic form and attributes for representations of gods demonstrates an active choice. Sculpture is not just a relic of belief but played an active role in the performance of Roman cult. Chapter 7 concentrates on the ability of sculpture and especially iconography to facilitate movement of representations of deities, and why differences might be observed.

Chapter 8 considers the wider context of imperial portraits and the interactions with Roman power and the state, to understand how images, but especially portraits, operated in the north-west region. Honorific portraits more generally were not used as often in this region as in other parts of the empire, such as the Hellenistic east, and reasons for this are considered. Issues such as how statues function in telescoping power between Rome and local context; how socio-economic context and artistic decisions interact; what power and value structures might be identifiable; and how the image of the emperor was used by civilians and the military are also examined.

The different and overlapping geographies of the art of the north-west are thus identified and brought together, and it will be shown why the sculpture of Britain and the German provinces within the north-west of the Roman empire looks similar but not the same. The primary conclusion is that local circumstances both required and allowed consistency and variance to different degrees over time. The interplay of transmission of standard or universal form and local adaptation is the main theme of this work.

PART I

Chapter 2 - Rider relief tombstones from Britain and Germany

This chapter presents the first of three case studies, examining three types of sculpture that are found across the north-west provinces and especially in Britain and Germany. In addition to those studies that have already been completed by other scholars, mentioned in the introduction, these case studies will provide detailed comparisons between the two geographic areas. The similarities and differences between the appearance and use of the sculptures across the north west will form the basis for further analysis, both within the case study chapters and in more detail in Part II, so that conclusions on how and by what means the sculptural art within these geographic areas was connected during the Roman period can be made.

Approximately 150 funerary *stelae* depicting a horseman, who brandishes a sword or lance while riding a rearing or galloping horse, survived from across the Roman world.¹⁰⁹ They have been found at the perimeter of the Empire, in North Africa, Syria, and along the Danube, but the largest concentrations came from the Rhineland area of modern Germany (around 55 examples from the first to fourth century), and Britain (around 30 in the same time frame).¹¹⁰ The monuments were most often set up to commemorate cavalymen of the auxiliaries, from the *alae* and *cohortes*, and some inscriptions recorded the action of heirs in doing so. Previous scholars have dated the majority of the reliefs to the first century, roughly from the Tiberian to Flavian era, perhaps up until the turn of the second century. Some *stelae*, however, have been dated to the late second, third or fourth centuries, partly on stylistic grounds.¹¹¹ Later reliefs,

¹⁰⁹ Schleiermacher 1984.

¹¹⁰ See distribution map at Figure 2.1. Full list is in the accompanying Appendix to this thesis, to which the RR numbers below refer.

¹¹¹ Schleiermacher 1984, nos 49 and 50.

for instance from Chester in Britain, are sometimes put up for legionary cavalrymen rather than auxiliaries.¹¹²

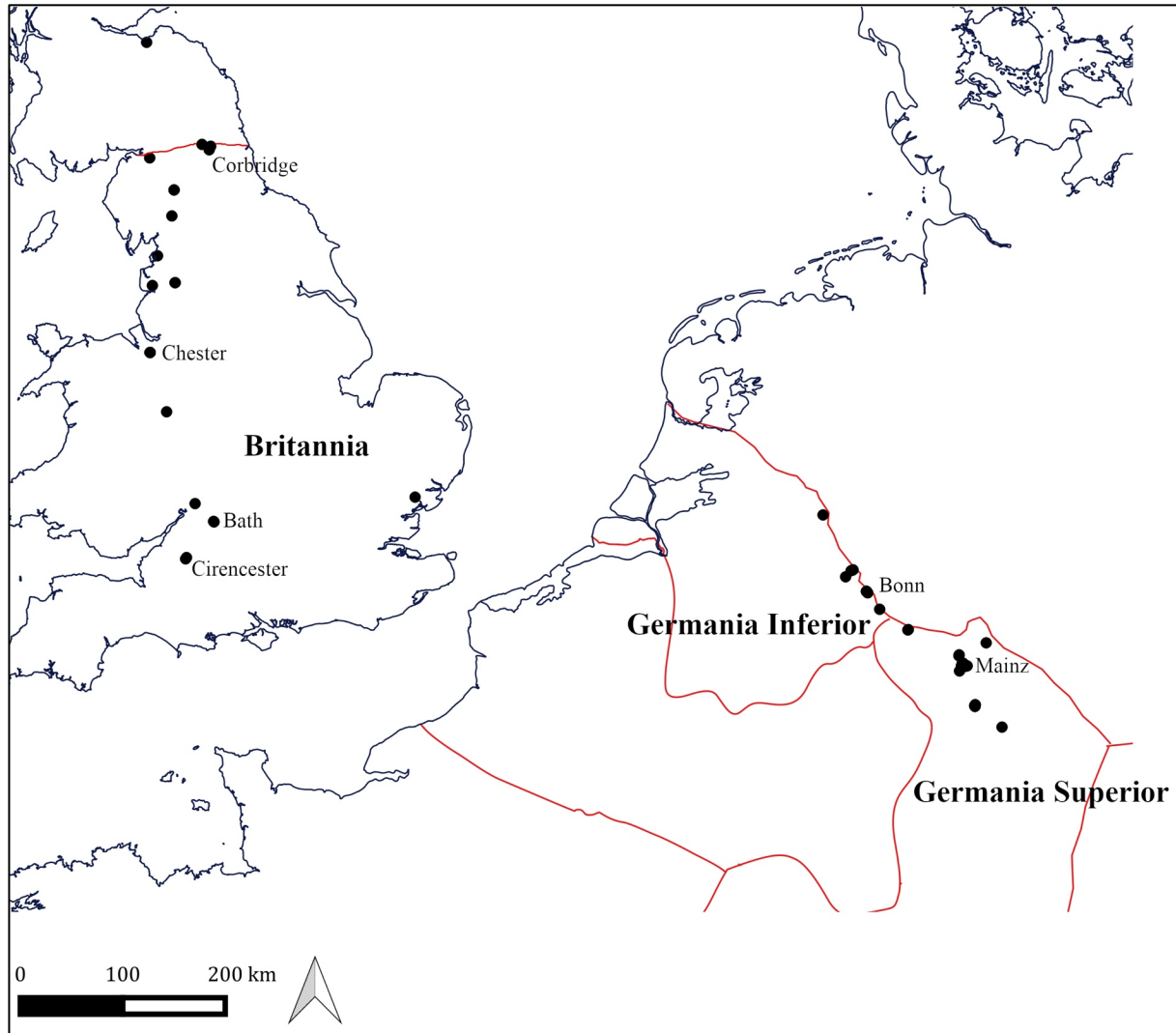


Figure 2.1: Map showing the distribution of rider relief tombstones in Britannia, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior.

The horse and rider motif was common to all examples, but it was particularly on the reliefs from the north-western provinces, and especially in Britain and Germany in the first century, that they were accompanied by a fallen enemy and/or a servant or *calo* (soldier's or camp

¹¹² For instance, *CSIR GB I.9*, no. 36; Appendix, RR12.

servant, perhaps acting as a groom) figure.¹¹³ At the end of the first century (from around 70s–80s AD on the Rhine) and into the second, cavalrymen used other motifs for their monuments, such as the *Totenmahl* (funerary banquet) scene. Furthermore, the frequency of these reliefs within this study area was disproportionately high. The rider relief was used in areas where cavalry units were garrisoned. Units that had been stationed in Germany were mobilized for the conquest of Britain in AD 43, the army connections perhaps suggesting some relationship between production and use of such *stelae* in these two areas. It was not, however, inevitable that rider reliefs would appear everywhere that Roman cavalry units were stationed: while the German *limes* and province of Britain were home to a significant concentration of cavalry units,¹¹⁴ the frequency of such reliefs found in Syria or North Africa in relation to the numbers of horsemen there was much lower than in the north-western provinces.¹¹⁵ Patterns of survival and discovery must play a role, and it is difficult to quantify the impact this has had. However, this cannot explain entirely the variations in number of examples, and it is not simply the case

¹¹³ There were three examples with horseman and fallen enemy from Cherchel in ancient Mauretania Caesarea (Schleiermacher 1984, nos 55, 56, 57), completed in a different style. They commemorated men from Dalmatian mixed cohorts, the *cohors VI Delmatarum* and *cohors VII Delmatarum*, which existed during the first century. The *cohortes I–V Dalmatarum* were probably stationed on the Rhineland, with *cohortes I–II Dalmatarum* later moving to Britain. See discussion of association between troop movements and circulation of the motif below.

¹¹⁴ The total number of auxiliary soldiers is difficult to estimate, and there are debates about the strength of units, as well as their exact dates of recruitment and disbanding and the changing strength over time. In Britain, the army grew from around 40,000 to 55,000 men between the mid first and mid second centuries, an increasing proportion made up of auxiliaries (Mattingly 2006, 131). By around AD 130, there were over 50,000 troops in Britain, of which 16,500 were legionary infantry, around 25,000 auxiliary infantry and approximately 10,000 cavalrymen in 11 *alae* and 45 *cohortes*. Only Germania Superior and Inferior came close to this quantity of auxiliary manpower across the empire at the same time, with a total of nine *alae* and 39 *cohortes* (when the two areas are taken together), as shown by evidence from discharge diplomas. Syria is the next strongest with seven *alae* and 25 *cohortes* (numbers taken from Holder 2003, 145, table 18). Units are known from many other provinces across the empire, too, but not in such concentrated numbers.

¹¹⁵ Schleiermacher 1984 catalogues 12 rider reliefs from North Africa and none from Syria, despite the latter province supporting significant volume of auxiliary cavalry. There are some reliefs from Apamea.

that we see fallen cavalrymen commemorated with use of highly appropriate motif in areas where cavalry units were stationed. This will be considered further, and the early-dated rider reliefs of Britain and Germany used as a case study in this chapter for examining movement of specific motifs within the common cultural context of the military.

A catalogue of the rider reliefs was produced by Schleiermacher in 1984, a useful basis for analysis of the type across the provinces, though the volume had a few omissions¹¹⁶ and is now superseded by the addition of a handful of new finds.¹¹⁷ The definition of a rider relief in that catalogue is wide, and it covers a large geographic area, with selective discussion of the development of the type. The catalogue implies that the wide range of reliefs belong to a definable group across the empire, which needs further analysis, while some of the proposed chronology needs reassessment.

Other research in English on the north-western provincial corpus to date has often focused either on the origins of the motif,¹¹⁸ or on the role these monuments played in building community identity amongst auxiliary horsemen.¹¹⁹ Analysis of the chronology and apparent diffusion of this type of tombstone has been considered by German scholars, often pre-dating Schleiermacher.¹²⁰ Noelke has discussed the reliefs in the context of others that are similar in appearance, while Gabelmann set them alongside and compared them with images of heroic

¹¹⁶ The more fragmentary pieces had been omitted, such as: *CSIR* GB I.1, no. 259; *CSIR* GB I.2, no. 45; *CSIR* GB I.7, no. 139 (which is only a hand, but has been identified as from a rider relief); *CSIR* GB I.9, nos. 48, 58, 59.

¹¹⁷ For instance, the monument to Insus found at Lancaster in 2005 (Appendix, RR 22) or that for Crescens of the *ala Sebosiana* from Carberry, near Inveresk, Scotland found in 2007 (Appendix, RR 28). Edwards 2011 notes these.

¹¹⁸ Mackintosh 1986.

¹¹⁹ Haynes 2013a and 2016.

¹²⁰ Primarily Gabelmann 1973 and Noelke 1972, but also Boppert, Bauchhenß, Mattern in the relevant German volumes of *CSIR*.

riders in complex scenes on large tomb monuments from eastern Gaul. Their work focused in the main on finds from Germany, and parts of France and Belgium, and needs reassessment and integration with the British examples.

As we have seen in the introductory literature review, examining the German and British corpus together should elucidate the passage of iconography, allowing further understanding of how the objects on either side of the English Channel were related, how a well-known motif was adopted and adapted to relevant local expression in Britain.¹²¹ To do this, the key aspects that will be discussed in this chapter are:

1. Iconography: what are the main elements of the iconography of rider reliefs? How may we sort them and associate common types? Did the iconography change, and if so when and where? How does the iconography compare between Britain and Germany?
2. Chronology: is it possible to date the *stelae* accurately and, if so, how? What is the chronology for change and movement across the north-west?
3. Geographic, social, artistic, cultural and military context: where were these put up? Who commissioned them and in what circumstances? What meaning did they have, and did that vary from place to place? How might they have been seen and understood by viewers? How did these *stelae* compare to use of horse and rider motif elsewhere?
4. Diffusion and making: why did some images move, and through what agency? How were patrons or craftsmen inspired to choose this motif? What links are there between troop movements and production, or material and maker? Who were these made by, and can we identify any regional hubs or workshops? What does the apparent diffusion of the form tell us?

¹²¹ Pitts and Versluys 2015, 7.

The analysis should provide more detail on the relationships between military patrons and stone carving in the first century AD: how the military was involved in production, with what sense of military identity were these *stelae* imbued, what iconographic choices were made in different areas and why, and how the army played a role in circulating images across the region. Themes of local adaptation will emerge, and factors of movement of military units and grouping of makers will be shown to have an impact on the appearance and use of this motif in the north-west. These will be considered further and contextualized later in the thesis.

Iconography of the horse and rider: similarities and differences between Britain and Germany

The horse-and-rider motif was a common one in ancient art, seen in many places and on a variety of media. Its use on state monuments such as the so-called Great Trajanic Frieze, now preserved in the passageway of the Arch of Constantine, demonstrates its continuing relevance through the Roman period. There were subtle changes to the motif in different places and on a range of objects and scholars have discussed possible origins for the subtly variable forms. Some of the British and German rider reliefs depicted only a horse and rider, lance raised, in dynamic motion to the right, without an enemy. This version of the motif resembled in some ways the monuments of Thrace and the Danubian *limes* dedicated to and depicting the Rider Gods,¹²² and it has in the past been suggested that the motif came to the Rhineland with Thracian auxiliary soldiers.¹²³ The Thracian Rider God is a hunter, however, often shown with a dog or galloping towards a tree, and never tramples his foe, though this is a function of the Danubian Rider God.¹²⁴ Many examples of this figure date to the second and third centuries

¹²² Anderson 1984, 18-19.

¹²³ Noelke 1998, 415-6.

¹²⁴ Mackintosh 1995, 59.

AD, after our period of enquiry.¹²⁵ The *stela* of a rider with a servant from Abdera in southern Thrace from the first century BC exemplifies a possible source, supporting the theory of an eastern origin for the motif.¹²⁶ However, there is no clear route of transmission solely from this area, and so it cannot be agreed that the reliefs from the Danubian region and Thrace are the main source for the schema, nor that there was an ethnic association with its use.¹²⁷ Auxiliaries from Thracian units or with Thracian background (ascertained by their personal names, the ethnic units in which they served, or place of origin) are commemorated on these *stelae*, but so too are soldiers from Gaul, Hispania, Raetia, Belgica, Parthia and other places, and some *stelae* of Thracians or those in Thracian units also include the fallen enemy figure.¹²⁸

Antecedents have also been sought in late Classical or Hellenistic triumphal battle imagery, in which the heroic rider defeats a fallen enemy, who squirms on the ground. The schema can be seen on the Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii dated there to *c.* 100 BC, but probably based on an earlier painting of *c.* 300 BC, while Dexileios' tombstone in the Kerameikos cemetery area of Athens, dating to 394-393 BC has been hailed as a good example of a tombstone within the wider tradition.¹²⁹ Alternatively, Gabelmann and Toynbee have suggested a western, Italian origin for the motif, highlighting the figures on tomb monuments of charging huntsmen or warriors on early Imperial battle scenes as sources of inspiration.¹³⁰ The influence of Italian recruits to legions on the Rhineland could have encouraged the

¹²⁵ Oppermann 2003.

¹²⁶ Ferris 1994, 25.

¹²⁷ As Haynes (1993, 152-3) has argued.

¹²⁸ For example, Sextus Valerius Genialis, Cirencester (Figure 2.21) and Longinus Sdapeze, Colchester (Figure 2.16) from Sardica or modern Sophia, Bulgaria, both of whom served in the *ala I Thracum*; or Rufus Sita (Figure 2.15) who may have been Thracian based on his name (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, li.23 records a king of Thrace called Sitas), of the *cohors VI Thracum*, commemorated at Gloucester. For Germany, see the *stela* of Dolanus, of the *cohors III Thracum*, Wiesbaden (Figure 2.14).

¹²⁹ Richter 1969, 162.

¹³⁰ Gabelmann 1973; Toynbee 1962, 158.

emergence of new forms, and this is an issue to which we will return later on. However, more generally, establishment of the heritage of the form, or rehearsing the traditional *Quellenforschung*, is interesting but less necessary in understanding the use in the first and second century and the socio-cultural resonances in the north-west. Indeed, Deetz has shown how swiftly funerary decoration of a particular origin may be adapted and altered within a very few generations of use.¹³¹

The horse-and-rider motif used on tombstones for auxiliaries in Britain and Germany was flexible and could be adapted to the personal circumstances of the individuals commemorated, as will be shown further below. However, there are certain elements which were common across many examples, and identification of key similarities and differences allow the group to be sub-divided into types. This is not an end in itself: it is an artificial approach that an ancient viewer would not have recognized, but such assessment can help provide mechanisms for sorting the objects and offer foundations for deeper analysis into what underpins the similarities and differences. It will be especially important to combine this analysis with a revised chronology of *stelae* to understand where and when developments to the form took place.

The most obvious way in which these *stelae* differ is in the number, arrangement and poses of the figures. Some show just a horse and rider; some a horse, rider and servant; some a horse, rider and fallen enemy; and some a horse, rider, enemy and servant. These vary across the region of enquiry, the number of each type in each area roughly as follows:

¹³¹ Deetz 1996, 89–124 (in relation to tombstones in New England, seventeenth to eighteenth centuries).

Province	Horse and rider	Horse, rider, servant	Horse, rider, fallen enemy	Horse, rider, enemy, servant	Incomplete motif – broken or lost
Britannia	5	1 (though different genre)	12	0	11
Germania Superior	8	2	2	8	21
Germania Inferior	6	0	1	1	5
Totals	19	3	15	9	37

Table 2.1: Table showing frequency of arrangements of the motif across the region

The reliefs showing just a horse and rider are primarily dated either amongst the earliest examples, to the early to mid-first century, or alternatively to approximately the third century. The arrangement of these figures took a variety of forms and poses, though all show the horse and rider in dynamic motion to the right. For instance, on the *stela* of Vonatorix from Bonn (Figure 2.2), the lance pointed downwards, whereas it was more horizontal on the tombstone of Rufus Coutus at Mainz (Figure 2.3). The pose of the horse was more spread out as though galloping on the memorial to Argiotalus at Worms (Figure 2.4), or taut with legs raised as if rearing on the *stela* for Vellaunus at Bonn (Figure 2.5), and the amount of detail in which the rider and horse trappings were carved varied too. The *stelae* that have been dated to the later period (third–fourth century) are also of this form, with just a horse and rider, and it can be difficult, on the basis of iconography alone, to set them apart from the earlier group.



Figure 2.2: Stela for Vonatorix, Bonn.
 H: 216cm. CSIR De III.1, no. 14. Image ©
[Mike Bishop](#), used under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.
 license. Appendix, RR 34.



Figure 2.3: Stela for Rufus Coutus, Mainz,
 H: 146cm. CSIR De II.5, no.27. Image
 from <http://lupa.at/5929/photos/1> used
 with permission. Appendix, RR 43.



Figure 2.4: *Stela for Argiotalus, Worms.*
H: 136cm CSIR De II.10, no. 47. Image from
<http://lupa.at/16777/photos/1>, used with
 permission. Appendix, RR 67.



Figure 2.5: *Stela for Vellaunus Biturix,*
Bonn. H: 221cm. CSIR De III.1, no. 12.
 Appendix, RR 32.

In Germany, a servant (known as a *calo*, perhaps working as a groom) is a common feature, but he is never seen in Britain, except on one relief from Chester in which a man leads the horse and rider.¹³² This one is of very different style to the rest of the corpus, showing as it

¹³² See Figure 2.17, and further discussion, below.

does three portrait busts or heads within frames above the horse and rider scene, and should not be considered a typical rider relief. The *calo* usually appears standing behind the horse to the rear, often holding additional javelins for the rider. Clothed in simple tunic, he has a short, neat hairstyle. *Stelae* with just the horse, rider and *calo* are uncommon, but a good example is offered in the case of the tombstone of Togitio at Mainz (Figure 2.6). Does this reflect an aspect of reality: that more cavalrymen in Germany had servants – or wanted to flaunt the fact that their pay allowed them to support one – than in Britain?



Figure 2.6: *Stela* for Togitio, Mainz. H: 138cm
CSIR De II.5, no.32. Image from <http://lupa.at/15810/photos/1> used with permission, Appendix, RR 48.



Figure 2.7: *Stela* for Insus, Lancaster. H: 225cm. RIB 3138. Image from <http://lupa.at/21081/photos/1> used with permission. Appendix, RR 22.

By contrast, the fallen enemy is seen more often in Britain than in Germany. On both sides of the Channel they may be shown in different positions: supine, prone, from the back, or seated

and in profile.¹³³ As well as the common element of the fallen foe, the scenes in Britain take on a significantly more barbaric tone. The tombstone of Insus (Figure 2.7), for example, shows him in the immediate aftermath of having decapitated his enemy. Not even the horseman who killed Decebalus is shown on his funerary stela in the throes of the act.¹³⁴ The *stela* for Cantaber at Mainz (Figure 2.13) also seems to show a decapitated head being trampled by the horse, but it is much less dramatic than the stone from Lancaster, and it is just possible the head is *pars pro toto*, for the rest of the body.

The identification of the fallen figure has been the subject of discussion:¹³⁵ would they have been viewed primarily as ‘barbarians’, or as worthy enemies with sufficient skill at arms to challenge the Roman army? Some are shown as particularly ‘othered’, naked with shaggy hair and beard (especially in Britain, where almost all examples are shown nude), and in painfully contorted positions; but others carry weapons and shields. The distinction seems important: a general victory of civilization over barbarism speaks to a different aspect of Roman culture than a more specific conquest of a well-armed foe. Through examination of the shape of the shield that the foes carry, their clothing, weapons and hairstyle, Hunter concluded that these attributes are not consistent across different areas over long periods, and it is not possible to create decisive ethnographic distinctions between ‘barbarians’ for instance from Germany and those along the Danube frontier on the basis of the iconography alone.¹³⁶ It is worth remembering that the *calones* too could have been slaves, and, if captured in battle, potentially from a similar background and identity as the ‘barbarians’. Indeed, the riders themselves were not Roman citizens, and as auxiliaries were raised from a range of local tribes that might once

¹³³ Mackintosh 1986, 2.

¹³⁴ Speidel 1970.

¹³⁵ Ferris 1994.

¹³⁶ Hunter 2009, 796, table 1.

have been fighting against the imperial forces. Some specific ethnic markers were visible amongst the carved fallen enemies, such as a distinctive hairstyle or certain forms of weapons or shields, in a similar way to that in which the Gallic *carnyx* or Dacian *falx* become, briefly, iconic in artistic representation,¹³⁷ though the use of such markers could have swiftly developed.¹³⁸ As Hunter has shown, the meaning and visual construction of this fallen figure appears to have been variable over time and place, responding to the changing local context and commonly-encountered enemy in the regions; nonetheless, such distinctions of enemy could have been meaningful at specific moments even if the nuance is less easily accessed by modern viewers. Local context might also govern the degree of barbarity on display.

In Germany and especially in Germania Superior, the servant/groom and the fallen enemy appeared sometimes together with the rider, in an arrangement which is not seen in Britain. This arrangement is most common in Mainz, where some of the broken pieces as well as the complete reliefs seem to suggest they would have been of this type.¹³⁹ The stone of Gaius Romanius Capito at Mainz (Figure 2.8) is often considered the example around which a group of stones with similar arrangement of motifs and style can be oriented, the so-called *Romaniusgruppe* from which some scholars have identified the ‘*Romaniuswerkstätten*’ of the Neronian to Flavian period.¹⁴⁰ While the makers of these *stela*e and ‘workshops’ (and what this term means) will be discussed further below, we can see that the iconography bears out the association that has been drawn. This group seems to influence the style of carving in Britain as well as moving around the Rhineland.

¹³⁷ Hunter 2009, 798-9. For instance, Andes and Cantaber’s opponents appear to have hair in raised hairstyle akin to a Suebian knot (Figures 2.11 and 2.13).

¹³⁸ Tacitus, *Germania* 38 notes that the ‘Suebian’ knotted hairstyle was also employed by other tribes, perhaps in imitation or owing to broadening familial relationships.

¹³⁹ See *stela* for Petronius Disacutus, at Mainz, *CSIR De* II.5, no. 33; Appendix, RR 49.

¹⁴⁰ Gabelmann 1973, 162 ff; *CSIR De* III.1, introduction, 14; Schleiermacher 1984, 39-40.



Figure 2.8: *Stela of C. Romanius Capito (Neronian) Mainz, CSIR De II.5, no. 31. H: 162cm. Appendix, RR 47.*



Figure 2.9: *Stela of Titus Flavius Bassus (Flavian) Cologne, Galsterer und Galsterer 2010, no. 362. H: 193cm. Appendix, RR 30.*

Appearance and attributes of the rider and his mount: On a number of the reliefs a helmeted horseman carries a long lance with a sheathed long sword (*spatha*) hanging from his waist, shield in the left hand. The horses often wear a saddle on top of a saddle cloth, with harness over the chests and haunches, ornamented with discs or pendants. Beyond this common appearance, there is room for expression of individuality of the rider, the flexibility of the motif in this regard makes it difficult to construct a typology around the appearance and attributes of the rider.



Figure 2.10: Stela of Flavinus, Hexham Abbey. CSIR GB I.1, no.68. Image © [Mike Quinn](#), used under CC BY SA 2.0. Appendix RR 1. H: 264cm.



Figure 2.11: Stela of Andes, Mainz, CSIR De II.5, no.35. Musical instrument highlighted. Appendix 51. H: 128cm.

In real life, auxiliaries wore different clothes and carry different armour and equipment from legionaries. Their outfit might comprise trousers, some form of armour, a helmet perhaps ornate and decorated or with a peak, and they would usually carry a flat, oval shield and spear rather than the curved *scutum* and weighted javelin of legionary units.¹⁴¹ All of this could be varied, and there was no uniform as such: ethnic units might preserve something of their local

¹⁴¹ Haynes 2013a, 272-283.

weaponry or costume, and individuals' skills or expertise might be shown. Maris, from a mounted archer unit, was depicted at Mainz with his bow and arrow (Appendix, RR45); Flavinus's monument, now at Hexham Abbey (Figure 2.10), included his standard as *signifier*; while Andes' musical instrument was included in the inscription panel of his tombstone (Figure 2.11). Some of these roles attracted higher pay: the second in command of a *turma*, or the *signifer* acting also as banker or financial assistant for the unit, received double pay (a *duplicarius*).

Architectonic surrounds and inscriptions: Gabelmann focused on the architectonic aspects, showing that the *stelae* may be divided according to the niche within which the action takes place, whether rounded or a triangular pediment, with decorated spandrels and/or with additional attributes such as lion or sphinx.¹⁴² Schleiermacher too incorporated the architectural surround into her typology of stones, though on some occasions this has made the typology rather detailed and cumbersome to apply.¹⁴³

The relief carving of horse and rider is often situated within an aedicule or rounded niche flanked by two columns, perhaps with canopy or triangular pediment above.¹⁴⁴ A few include *acroteria* often in the form of a leaf spray, while some have foliate decoration within the spandrels. Sometimes the pediment is surmounted by lions or even a sphinx, both appropriate for funereal decoration. We can see some correlation between form of the reliefs and the architectural decoration: the '*Romanusgruppe*' from Mainz and Cologne is marked out by similar rounded niche within a rectangular frame, and tripartite leaf decoration around a central

¹⁴² Gabelmann 1972.

¹⁴³ Schleiermacher 1984, 31-6.

¹⁴⁴ Anderson 1984, 15.

point at each of the top corners.¹⁴⁵ The *stela* for Reburrus at Bonn (Figure 2.12) features these same architectonic details, suggesting association with this group, though the arrangement of figures within the relief is different and the *calo* here is missing.¹⁴⁶ So far, the evidence points to variation, rather than correlation, between figures and surrounds, especially for the earlier *stelae*.¹⁴⁷

The inscription is most often carved on a plain die beneath the recessed, sculpted panel, often within a double frame, though in some cases this is broken off or the *stela* is fragmentary. All surviving inscriptions commemorate an adult male cavalry soldier, and usually include name, length of service, age, *turma* or unit, and sometimes role, place of birth or origin, and maybe details of the heirs who set up the monument. The names suggest that we are dealing with a range of ethnicities, from Britons to Thracians, and men from tribes including the Helvetii, Namnetes, Treveri, Raurici, and Frisiavones.

There is a clustering of ages described on the British examples, and a curiously high proportion of rather round numbers, such as soldiers 25, 40 or 50 years old at the time of their death, though such rounding is typical on Roman tombstones.¹⁴⁸ There are some who served longer than the 25 years required for citizenship¹⁴⁹ or for whom their cavalry career is mentioned presumably long after their service ended, important despite their death at an old age.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ As well as monuments to C. Romanus Caipito and Ti. Flavius Bassus, already mentioned, see *stelae* of Annauso (Mainz, *CSIR* De II.5, no. 34; Appendix, RR 50) and of Sextus Genialis at Cirencester (Figure 2.21).

¹⁴⁶ See *CSIR* De III.1, introduction, 14.

¹⁴⁷ Gablemann 1973, 158.

¹⁴⁸ Four of the eight cavalrymen in Britain, with their age recorded in the inscription, apparently died aged 40. See Scheidel 1996, chs 2 and 3, on age rounding and ages within the army.

¹⁴⁹ For instance, L. Vitellius Tancinus of the *ala Vettones*, whose monument was found at Bath, *CSIR* GB I.2, no. 44; Appendix, RR 3. The 25-year time limit was not a hard and fast rule.

¹⁵⁰ Leubius died at Worms aged 75: *CSIR* De II.10, no. 51; Appendix, RR 71.

Proportions and use of naturalistic arrangement: On a number of the *stelae* the rider seems out of proportion and too large for the horse. The horse on the tombstone of Cantaber in Mainz has an improbably long neck (Figure 2.13). On others, the fallen barbarian is not naturalistically shown: the *stela* of Dolanus from Wiesbaden (Figure 2.14) features a foe with flattened body and a leg apparently attached at the waist; the barbarian over whom Rufus Sita rides (Figure 2.15) appears to float in the air with little relation to the ground level or background. Of course, application of paint, now largely lost, may have completed the detail of the scene.

Mackintosh ascribes these aspects to lack of familiarity of the carver with this kind of relief, and therefore interprets this as evidence for lack of mobility of stone-cutters, instead preferring some kind of intermediary model or pattern.¹⁵¹ However, such apparent distortions should not be considered as such, since they instead act in support of the object's purpose. Portraits were a common feature on funerary monuments, and the emphasis on the rider over the horse would be entirely appropriate, size of figures setting out their relative importance in the scene. The *stela* of a soldier from Andernach exhibits this in more pronounced way: the main soldier figure is full size, a smaller person on his right-hand side, presumably his son, reaches to his mid-thigh, while a still smaller figure to his left was probably a servant, and barely reaches above the plinth that the soldier stands on.¹⁵² In any case, the precise arrangement of the elements is subsidiary to the use of the motif itself. 'Bad' art can fulfil a function, satisfactory for the purpose, or may represent a conception of the scene resulting from a particular socio-cultural and skill context.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Mackintosh 1986, 2.

¹⁵² Espérandieu VIII, no. 6207.

¹⁵³ Mladenovic 2016.



Figure 2.12: Stela of Reburrus, Bonn.
H: 177cm CSIR De III.1, no.17. Image ©
Ad Meskens (see [here](#)). Appendix RR 37.



Figure 2.13: Stela of Cantaber, Mainz. H: 84cm
CSIR De II.5, no.30. Image © [Mike Bishop](#),
used under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0 license. Appendix
RR 46.



Figure 2.14 Stela of Dolanus, Wiesbaden.
H: 227cm. Schleiermacher 1984, no. 42
Appendix, RR 76.



Figure 2.15: Stela of Rufus Sita,
Gloucester. H: 145cm. CSIR GB I.7,
no.140. Appendix, RR 10.

Chronology of the reliefs

There are two key chronological aspects that need attention when analysing rider reliefs. The first is to establish a secure timeframe for the changes in the forms and the transmission of the type between areas, with focus on the first century; the second, to investigate the curious apparent second flourishing of the motif in the third century. This work will focus in the main on the former, though some of the later examples will be discussed, and will demonstrate the timeframe over which the image moved across the north-west. From this timeframe, we can then start to consider the agents of transmission and what interactions there were across the region at specific times.

Proposing a firm chronology is challenging. Many of the reliefs were discovered in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, before the introduction of modern archaeological methods, and often lack contextual information. Several were found in secondary contexts, reused in the late Roman period, dislocated from their original sites: the *stela* of Maris from Mainz was reused as a cover for a sarcophagus, while the huge monument to Flavinus has for centuries been associated with its display at Hexham Abbey in Northumberland, its original setting postulated as Corbridge but unconfirmed. The monuments from Chester only survive because they were built into the lower courses of the late third century walls.¹⁵⁴ The monuments themselves offer the main evidence for their possible dates.

The inscription is the primary source of dating evidence. Diplomas may corroborate the location of an *ala* or *cohors* at a certain time, or the inclusion of honours that the unit gained, can help. Epigraphic formulae may also have suggested production within a certain time period, though all can be problematic and there are no ‘hard and fast’ rules. The dedication *Dis*

¹⁵⁴ Wright and Richmond 1955, 5.

Manibus may be found from the early 60s AD, growing more common in the Flavian period, but tended to be abbreviated to *DM* from the Trajanic period.¹⁵⁵ Absence of *Dis Manibus* altogether, especially if combined with *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* suggested a Claudio-Neronian date.¹⁵⁶ The formulation of the name, too, provided some clues: absence of the *cognomen* on a legionary tombstone in Britain may mean it was early in date; missing *praenomen* could indicate a later date, since these were used less from third century onwards.¹⁵⁷ An Imperial *gentilicium* may offer a *terminus post quem*.¹⁵⁸

Otherwise, conspicuous use of the drill on sculptural forms is often taken to date a piece to the period from the 130s AD, while changing burial practices from cremation to inhumation saw rise in sarcophagi, albeit for limited sectors of the population. Finally, we may look at the style of carving, especially for fragments or where any diagnostic elements of inscriptions are missing. This is perhaps the most unreliable and problematic method for dating the reliefs and can lead to circular arguments. Especially in Britain, historical debate over quality of carving has led to ‘worse’ examples being considered later in date.¹⁵⁹

A combination of all of these methods could be employed, but often generate a possible date of production within a range of 20 or 30 years at best. Owing to this lack of clarity, there has been much debate as to the preferred timeline, and different dates have been offered by different scholars, sometimes without much evidence as to why a certain date was chosen. I

¹⁵⁵ Holder 1980, 144.

¹⁵⁶ Anderson 1984, 35.

¹⁵⁷ Anderson 1984, 24.

¹⁵⁸ Holder 1980, 144.

¹⁵⁹ Mattern 1989, 733: Mattern, for instance, contrasts the careful execution and high quality of the British reliefs of the second half of the first century with those assigned to the second century and beyond, on which she identifies rough outlined contours and flatter reliefs rather than the detail seen on earlier examples.

have considered the dates again, examining a combination of the evidence mentioned above (probable locations of units at different times based on other archaeological evidence, epigraphic styles, and formulations of names), seeking to narrow the possible timeframes to within decades (see Table 2.2).

The earliest rider reliefs in Germania Superior dated from the reign of Tiberius, probably around the 30s AD, and came from Mainz (stones of C. Tutius, Rufus, Cantaber, Maris) and Worms (*stela* of Argiotalus). Those first *stelae* usually featured no enemy or servant figure,¹⁶⁰ just a man on a horse, often poorly proportioned, within an aedicule. The next *stela*, probably that of Togitio also from Mainz, included a slave/servant figure, a development of the type from the Claudian period. The fallen enemy was seen on reliefs from Mainz (of Petronus Disacentus), and at Worms (of Licinus and Ingenuus), with servant and enemy both included from the Neronian into the Flavian period at Wiesbaden, Mainz and Worms, and Cologne by the Flavian period.

In Germania Inferior, most examples from Bonn featured just the horse and rider, the earliest probably that of Niger, also Tiberian in date.¹⁶¹ The reliefs for cavalrymen of the *ala Longiniana* followed probably in the Claudian period or slightly later.¹⁶² Only one (complete) relief featured a fallen enemy (that of Reburus of the *ala Frontoniana*), which seems to have belonged to a slightly later type, like those at Mainz of the Neronian period, but must pre-date AD 70 when the unit left for Dalmatia.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Except in the case of Maris the archer of the *ala Parthorum et Araborum*: Gabelmann 1972, 158

¹⁶¹ Holder 1980, 145

¹⁶² *CSIR* De III.1, 9.

¹⁶³ Alföldy 1968, 39.



Figure 2.16: Stela for Longinus Sdapeze, Colchester. H: 239cm. CSIR GB I.8, no. 48. Appendix RR 11.

The chronology of British examples appears to follow the introduction of forces and gradual conquest of the island. The earliest was probably the monument to Longinus Sdapedze (Figure 2.16) from Colchester in Essex, within a decade of the AD 43 invasion. The forms then appeared in Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath as troops moved west in the 50s and 60s. They were then seen in the north at Ribchester and Lancaster in the Flavian period or perhaps later, and along Hadrian's Wall. The preference for rider reliefs in Britain seems to follow the construction or establishment of a military base, in the decade or two afterwards, and then fade.

It is even more difficult to confirm the chronology of the end of the phenomenon, especially for Britain. The latest of the Rhineland *stelae* were probably the memorials to Annauso or

Andes at Mainz, or the monument to Ti. Flavius Bassus at Cologne¹⁶⁴ in the Flavian period. The type in Britain lasts a little longer, the stone of Crescens found at Inveresk in Scotland, set up when the deceased served in the vicinity either as garrison or on special service as one of the *equites singulares*, confirmed in the mid second century, approximately 140s AD. However, four *stelae* from the Rhineland have been dated to the third or fourth centuries, and almost all of the rider reliefs found in the walls at Chester in Britain have previously been considered of second to third century date. A later, second flourishing of the motif is unexpected, but when analysed more closely, we can account for these examples. Those from Worms were dated later due to their quality.¹⁶⁵ There are iconographic similarities in treatment of the rider to some of the earlier examples with just a horse and rider, though on one the lance is lowered. The inscription, however, is different, beginning with *D(is) M(anibus)* rather than just the name of the rider, including details such as the length of life not only in years but also months, and the man serving was a *numerus katafractariorum* of a later heavily armoured cavalry unit. We should view these as later in date, but sufficiently different that they represent not a later flourishing of the same type as the first century reliefs, but a different form.

The *stelae* at Chester were more mixed. Their reuse offers a *terminus ante quem* for their life as tombstones, probably in the late third century.¹⁶⁶ Four of those usually designated as rider reliefs appear from their very fragmentary remains to be of the form of the first century *stelae*, and can probably be accepted, though only one definitively.¹⁶⁷ They have been dated to the second or third century but can probably be set at the earlier end of that range, securely part of this phenomenon. The same may be said for some of the reliefs from Kirkby Thore, again

¹⁶⁴ Probably Flavian, and not later than Trajanic: Heidenreich 2017, 96.

¹⁶⁵ *Stelae* of Valerius Romanus and Valerius Maxantius, *CSIR De II*, 10, nos 54 and 55; Appendix, RR 74 and 75.

¹⁶⁶ Mason 2001, 204.

¹⁶⁷ *CSIR GB I.9*, nos 36 (this is more certain), 48, 57 and 58; Appendix, RR 12, 13, 16, 17.

typically dated to the third or fourth century on style grounds, but apparently also of the first to second century rider type.¹⁶⁸ This would continue the pattern of use of this type as the army moved north. Two others at Chester, however, were of such different arrangements that they cannot be closely compared: the monument to Sextus Simil[...] is of a different genre (Figure 2.17), showing the bust of the deceased flanked by lions devouring animal heads, above a panel in which the horse and rider are placidly led. The *draconarius* stone (Figure 2.18) has different iconographic treatment altogether: the horse walks sedately to the right, the rider does not brandish weapons or a shield in the usual way, and there is no fallen enemy.



Figure 2.17: Stela of Setux Simil[...], Chester
H: 106cm. CSIR GB I.9, no. 54.
Appendix, RR 14

Figure 2.18: Stela of ?Draconarius, Chester
H: 94cm. CSIR GB I.9, no. 59. Appendix, RR 18

¹⁶⁸ Allason-Jones in CSIR GB I.11 (forthcoming) argues for a contemporary flourishing of the same phenomenon, rather than a later resurgence.

A few other examples from Britain also lie outside the usual iconographic treatment, raising questions of their correct identification as rider reliefs. The stone, perhaps from Chesters, commemorating Marcus Aurelius Victor, in which the deceased brandishes a stick and no other elements of the typical motif such as groom or barbarian are seen, is one such example, but is included here for completeness.¹⁶⁹ His *tria nomina* claims a certain status, but his name suggests an Antonine date or later when citizenship was more widely available. A relief from Maryport in Cumbria and another from Whitcombe in Dorset are better interpreted as votive stones, the former probably for Epona (seen also on another relief at Maryport) and the latter a rider deity, with his billowing cloak, rather than funerary and are not included in this consideration.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Allason-Jones 2018, 252 suggests it commemorates a muleteer, the mount's long ears suggesting it is a donkey: it might even be a parody of the type.

¹⁷⁰ Maryport: Coulston 1997, 123, fig. 8.16; Whitcombe: *CSIR* GB I.2, no.114.

Table 2.2: Table showing revised dates, following reassessment of the chronology of Romano-British rider relief tombstones, first century AD

Name of rider and origin	Unit	Location of stela	Date	Reason	Motifs
Longinus Sdapedze, from Sardica (Sophia). Appendix, RR 11.	Ala I Thracum	Cemetery area, SW of the <i>colonia</i> at Colchester	43-49 AD	Early encampment at Colchester, made into a veteran colony in 50AD, when troops moved to Gloucester. Possible association with Legio XX (Holder 1980, 150)	Horse, rider, enemy
Sextus Valerius Genialis, of the Frisii/ Frisiavones. Appendix, RR 7.	Ala I Thracum	Watermoor cemetery area, Cirencester	43-early 70s AD	Hayward (2009) suggests could be earlier end of the range, associated with rebuilds of the Leaholme fort. Fort abandoned by 70s.	Horse, rider, enemy
Dannicus, of the Sequani. Appendix, RR 8.	Ala Indiana	Watermoor cemetery area, Cirencester	43-early 70s AD	Again, Hayward (2009) suggests could be earlier end of the range, associated with rebuilds of the Leaholme fort; Holder (1980) says Vespasianic.	Horse, rider, enemy
Rufus Sita, possibly Thracian (Cassius Dio li.23: a king of Thrace called Sitas). Appendix, RR 10.	Cohors VI Thracum	Wootton cemetery, between Kingsholm and Gloucester	50s-80 AD	Serving trooper, soldiers moved to Gloucester in 49/50, unit attested in Germany in 80 AD. Can probably narrow to between 49 and 66, if association with <i>legio</i> XX is correct (Holder 1980, 150)	Horse, rider, enemy
Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, from Caurium (Lusitania, Spain) Appendix, RR 4.	Ala Vettonum	'old market place', Bath	Later first century, 70s – 80s AD	Inclusion of <i>c R</i> in inscription suggests Flavian. There is a chance this is earlier (Claudian or Neronian), with citizenship received from L. Vitellius, a friend of Claudius in AD 47.	Horse, rider, enemy
		Grosvenor Gardens, Bath	Perhaps later first century	Dated only on basis of style: similar to Rhineland types	Horse, rider

Tiberius Claudius Tirintius. Appendix, RR 19.	Cohors ?I Thracum	N of the basilica, Wroxeter	Mid-late first century, probably 60s to 80s AD	<i>Tria nomina</i> suggests citizenship. If <i>coh I Thracum</i> , then this unit in Britain probably with invading force. Some accounts have this cohort move back to Germany in either AD 69 or AD 80.	Horse, rider, enemy
Flavinus. Appendix, RR 1.	Ala Petriana	Possibly Corbridge, now in Hexham	Later first century, probably 70s-90s AD	No mention of the <i>c R</i> given to the <i>ala</i> in AD 98, so likely pre-dates this. Alternatively, Allason-Jones (2018) suggested perhaps AD 98 – 118, during which the <i>ala</i> may have earned the torc that Flavinus wears. This unit came to Britain in AD 71.	Horse, rider, enemy
Appendix, RR 20.		Ribchester	Later first century, 80s onwards	Fort at Ribchester first built around AD 78, or perhaps earlier <i>c.</i> AD 72/3, providing <i>terminus post quem</i>	Horse, rider, enemy (similar in style to <i>stela</i> of Insus)
Candidus	Ala Hispanorum Vettonum	Brecon Gaer	Later first century, probably 80s-90s AD	Fort built AD 75-80 and Ala there soon after. <i>Dis Manibus</i> formulation suggests end 1 st -early 2 nd century	Figure does not survive, only inscription.
Insus Appendix, RR 22.	Ala Augusta	Lancaster	Later first century – early 2 nd century, 80s -120s	Fort at Lancaster first built around AD 78, or perhaps slightly later <i>c.</i> AD 80, providing <i>terminus post quem</i> . Unabbreviated <i>Dis Manibus</i> suggests end 1 st -early 2 nd century	Horse, rider, decapitated enemy
Appendix, RR 6.	? Ala Petriana	Wall of Stanwix church, nr Carlisle	Late first -early second century	Unabbreviated <i>Dis Manibus</i> suggests end 1 st -early 2 nd century	Horse, rider, enemy
Crescens Appendix, RR 28.	Ala Sebosiana	Excavated at Carberry, nr Inveresk	Probably AD 140s	Excavated at site on Antonine Wall	Horse, rider, enemy

Contexts of use and display

The distribution map (Figure 2.1) above shows clearly that this type was used most commonly not just at the periphery of the empire, but at the borders of the provinces under examination. Even there, they appear in clusters (see Figures 2.19 and 2.20 below): in Germany, most examples have been found in Mainz (23), with some from Worms (9) and Bonn (9), these three towns accounting for the majority of all German examples (41 of 54, or 76%; Mainz alone had 43% of the total). A few more were found in Cologne, Koblenz, Wolfstein, near Heidelberg, Heddernheim, and Moers-Asberg. In Britain, they are known from Colchester, Cirencester, Gloucester, Bath, Chester, and from several sites in Cumbria or on Hadrian's Wall: all areas that had military foundation in the mid-late first century. Colchester is an outlier in the east. The concentration at Chester (7 of 29 examples, or 24%) was at least in part owing to their preservation through reuse in the later Roman city wall, and only four of these can be accepted as conforming to the type.

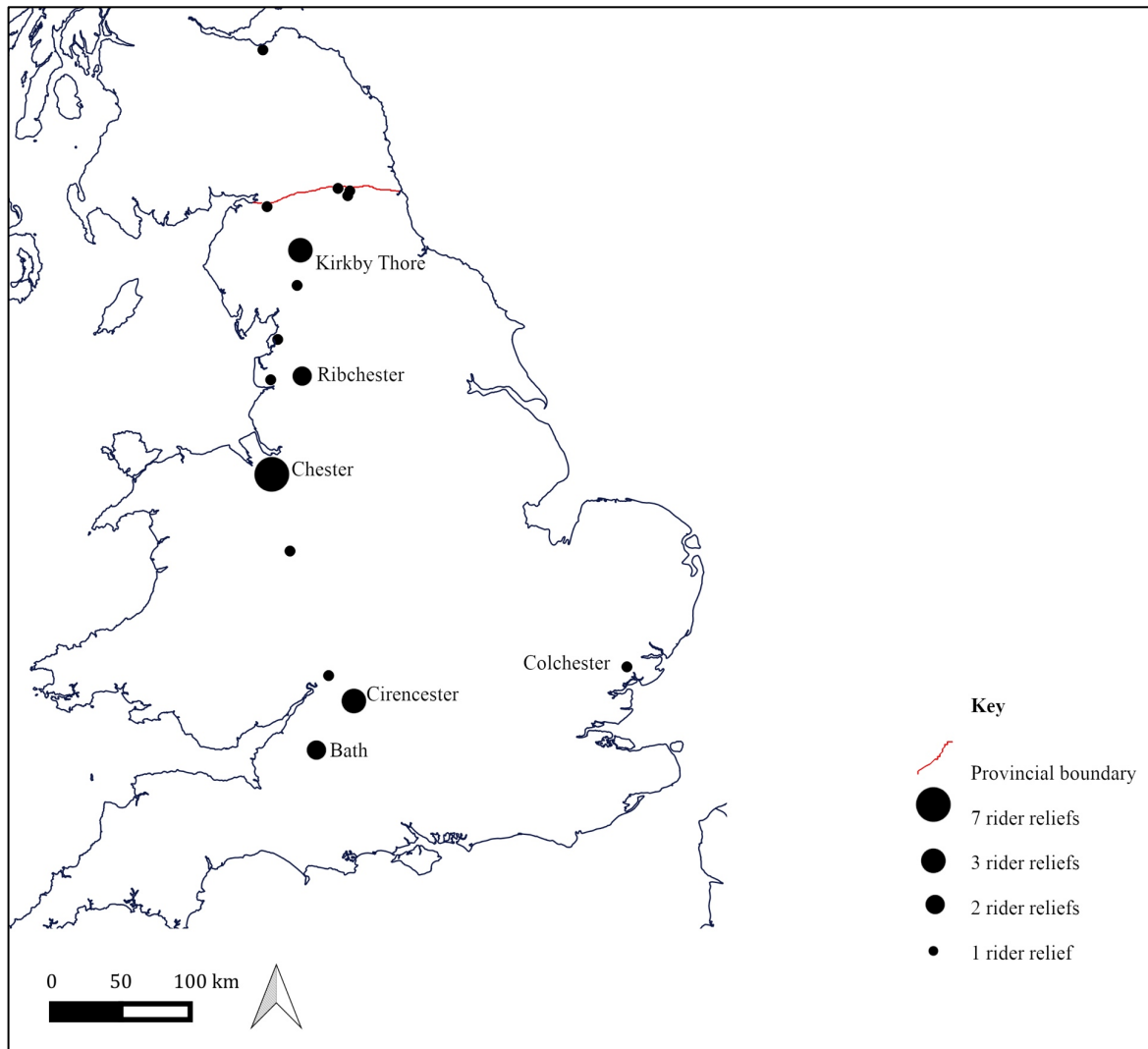


Figure 2.19: Distribution and quantities of rider reliefs at British sites. Sites with more than one rider relief are named.

Some *stelae* have been discovered still in their likely original cemetery contexts, offering insight into the original environment in which they were set up and viewed. The stone of Longinus was found, alongside a road, near to that of Facilis at Colchester, suggesting a funerary area.¹⁷¹ The two from Cirencester together with a very fragmentary piece were discovered in the Watermoor area of the town, immediately outside the Silchester gate on

¹⁷¹ Re-excavation of the site in the 1990s famously resulted in the discovery of Longinus' missing face and other fragments of the relief. This area was used for cremations and inhumations during the Roman period: <https://colchesterheritage.co.uk/monument/mcc1361> accessed 10 June 2021.

Ermin Street, a known Roman cemetery site with several graves.¹⁷² The lack of further archaeological exploration in the area has limited our knowledge of exactly where these monuments were positioned and what immediately surrounded them.¹⁷³ Another military tombstone, not of the rider type, was found near the Bath gate, on the west side of the town, though it could have been moved here from the south side, suggesting a military preference for that area of town.¹⁷⁴ These were some of a number of other burials, likely to have been set up amongst a few other (stone) monuments, some of which may have been for civilians.

At Gloucester, the tombstone of Rufus Sita was recovered from the Wootton cemetery area in 1824, along with another military tombstone commemorating a soldier of the Twentieth Legion and two pedestal bases.¹⁷⁵ Excavation in 2002 at the cemetery site, which is almost equidistant from the town and the nearby Kingsholm fortress, recovered 20 cremations and 54 inhumations. The earliest cremations were dated to the pre-Flavian period, perhaps the 50s or 60s AD, when it is thought the cemetery served the fort, the containers paralleled by pots from Kingsholm.¹⁷⁶ No other stone monuments were found on that dig (though they were in the 1990s), but the bodies probably of two soldiers were amongst the later-Roman inhumations, emphasising the continued military character of the cemetery after establishment of the *colonia*.¹⁷⁷

At Ribchester, the tombstone of the rider is said to have been recovered on the left (north) bank of the River Ribble, to the east of the fort.¹⁷⁸ This would have been outside the fort and

¹⁷² *CSIR* GB I.7, nos 137, 138 and 139; McWhirr *et al.* 1982, 206, fig. 87.

¹⁷³ McWhirr *et al.* 1982, 205.

¹⁷⁴ McWhirr *et al.* 1982, 206-7.

¹⁷⁵ *CSIR* GB I.7, no. 140.

¹⁷⁶ Ellis and King 2014, 54.

¹⁷⁷ Ellis and King 2014, 85.

¹⁷⁸ Edwards 2000, 73. A second *stela* from Ribchester is said to have been found 150 m to the east but is now lost.

vicus area, near the course of a probable Roman road: not confirmed, but a good candidate for a cemetery site. An *ala* of Sarmatians was at Ribchester from the second century, and it is likely that the *ala I* or *II Asturum* garrisoned the site earlier. Parallels with the extended *principia* can be found at German sites, but also at Newstead and Brecon Gaer, and may be connected with an inscription at Netherby that refers to a *basilica equestris exercitatoria*, a cavalry exercise hall.¹⁷⁹

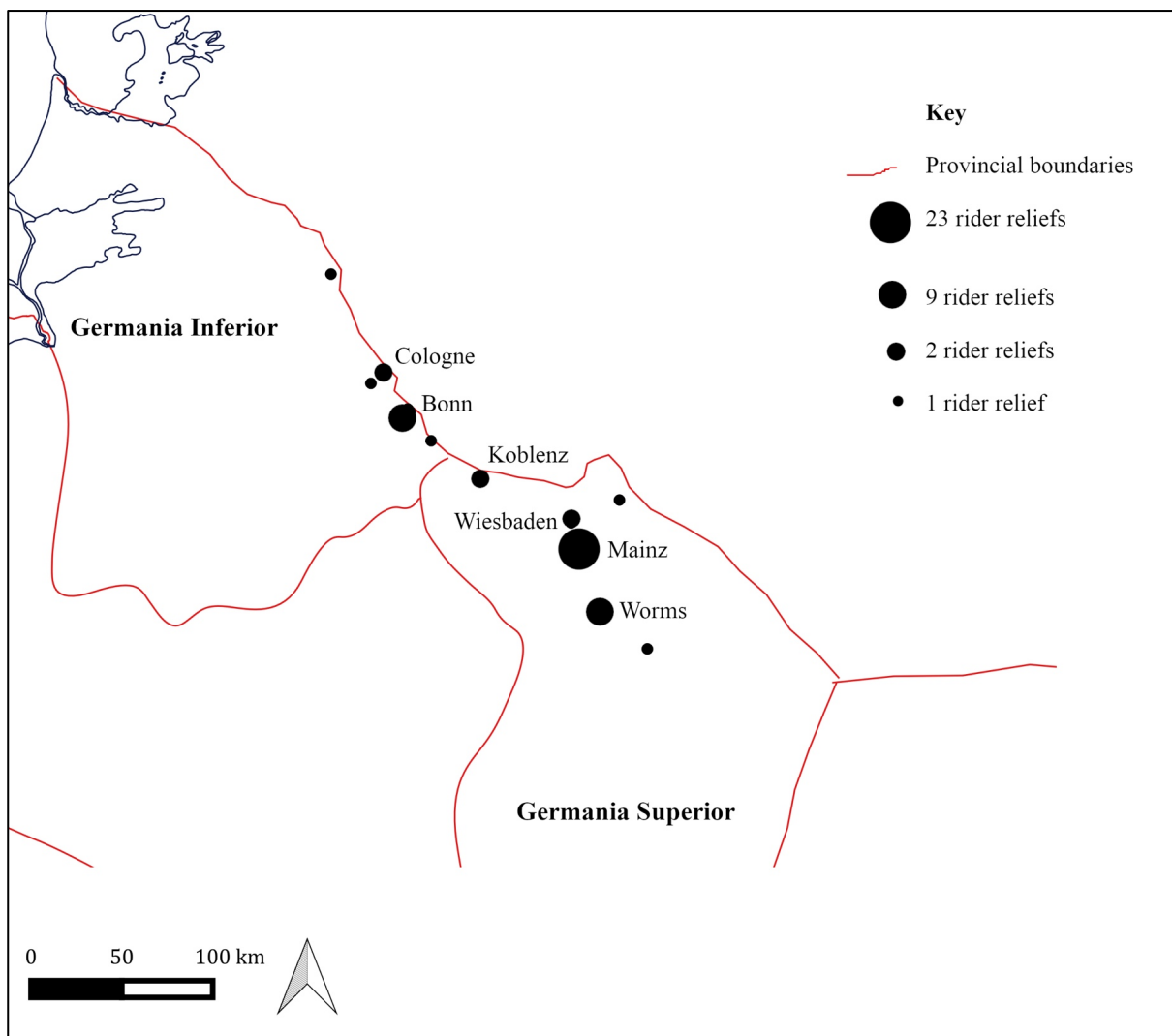


Figure 2.20: Distribution and quantities of rider reliefs at sites in the Rhineland. Sites with more than one rider relief named.

¹⁷⁹ *RIB* no. 978; Edwards 2000, 33.

Many of the German examples were also found in their original funerary contexts. At Wiesbaden, the *stela* of Dolanus was found around 150m from a cemetery area to the east of the fort, at the northeastern edge of the *vicus* and near a bath complex, along with much other stonework, including a particular concentration of military grave monuments from a period of at least 40 years.¹⁸⁰

Mainz (*Mogontiacum*) contained several large cemetery areas, around the town, notably the Zahlbach area to the west and Weisenau to the south-east, as well as a necropolis at Albansberg between the two military camps. Most tombstones from the town and its immediate regions are military: the relevant *CSIR* volumes include 180 decorated examples, compared to 98 civilian monuments, testament to Mainz's long history as the home to two and on occasion three legions in the first century and at least one in the second, as well as its primary importance in *Germania Superior* from the Flavian period onwards.¹⁸¹ The rider reliefs were found across these three cemeteries, and at other sites in the centre of town and near the Roman bridge across the Rhine.¹⁸² These areas also produced quantities of civilian *stelae*:¹⁸³ the Zahlbach cemetery area, for instance, was initially reserved for military stones in the first century, but as the town grew, civilian graves were also accepted into the second and third centuries, with a broadly similar pattern in the Weisenau area.¹⁸⁴ Soldier and civilian increasingly interacted, living and dying side by side, albeit in this heavily military-focused frontier town.

¹⁸⁰ *CSIR* De II.10, nos 7, 8, 13 and 14.

¹⁸¹ *CSIR* De II.5.

¹⁸² *CSIR* De II.5, Abb. 1, 11, nos 27-50; Appendix, RR 43–RR 66.

¹⁸³ *CSIR* De II.6, Abb. 1, 2. Ninety-eight decorated tombstones of civilians are recorded.

¹⁸⁴ Hope 2001, 44.

The cemeteries of Mainz do not yield built monuments, but plentiful examples of *stelae*.¹⁸⁵ Amongst other inscribed stones, relatively plain save for a decorated pediment, the figured rider reliefs would have been, like later *Totenmahl* reliefs, rare and impressive. The men who served in the *alae* were especially noticeable in death, marked out from legionaries and the horsemen of the *cohortes*.

In Worms, most of the rider relief *stelae* were clustered (along with the majority of other decorated tombstones) at two known cemetery sites: north of St Martin's gate, and to the south of Maria-Münster on the southern side of the centre. At the former site, other finds included plainer tomb monuments and cremation burial remains, with one ash chest perhaps even associated with Argiotalus' stone.¹⁸⁶ These, and the gravestones from the other location, include those of both military personnel and civilians.¹⁸⁷

In the majority of cases, we can set the reliefs originally in military settings, and we know that such elaborate and large monuments were the exception. They would increasingly have become subsumed into mixed military and civilian grave contexts on the outskirts of Roman towns as is custom, presumably enduring beyond the original military use of the cemeteries to be viewed at later times by a range of people passing by or visiting the memorials of their family and friends.

As well as the physical locations, the economic, social and cultural contexts can more fully indicate how the sculpture was viewed and understood. In some cases, these were substantial monuments, most over 1 m tall, some over 2 m, and in one case large enough to be recut as a

¹⁸⁵ Hope 2001, 41.

¹⁸⁶ *CSIR* De II.10, no. 22; no. 47 Argiotalus, Appendix, RR 67.

¹⁸⁷ *CSIR* De II.10, nos 21-7.

sarcophagus to accept an interment.¹⁸⁸ This implies access to supply of large blocks of stone and the purchasing power to make sure it was carved. The cost of a *stela* such as this is unknown, but we may use Duncan-Jones' study of examples in Northern Africa and Italy to suggest a broad potential range. The majority of the monuments he examined from Africa cost between 96 and 4000 sesterces,¹⁸⁹ and there was a median cost of 1,380 sesterces.¹⁹⁰ These would have included large monuments, *stelae* at the less expensive end. For example, a *stela* of around 1m by 0.4m from Lambaesis, commemorating a *miles* of *legio* III cost 800 sesterces, while a similar-sized stone for another customer cost 500.¹⁹¹ On the basis of approximate auxiliary pay of 1000 sesterces per annum,¹⁹² these *stelae* would have cost 0.5 to 0.8 times the total annual salary, the median for all monuments 1.38 times. Average tomb outlay in North Africa for soldiers or veterans of the legions was between 0.03 and 1.3, suggesting that most monuments were at the lower end of this scale.¹⁹³ Similar work has not been completed for sculpture in the north-west, though there are estimates for supply and use of materials for construction.¹⁹⁴ As well as costs of acquiring and shipping them, the carving would have contributed to the expense, and calculations would need to be sensitive to local conditions and ease of accessing materials. We should probably rule out any figure close to Duncan-Jones' upper limit as impossibly high and unattainable. For something in the lower range, the higher pay of a cavalry auxiliary may have made such a memorial affordable, though of course this was balanced with increased costs for food and equipment for the horse.

¹⁸⁸ *CSIR* De II.5, no. 49; Appendix, RR 65.

¹⁸⁹ Duncan-Jones 1982, 79-81, and nos 213- 44 for Northern Africa; 127-131 and nos 550-636 for Italy.

¹⁹⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982, 80.

¹⁹¹ *CIL* VIII, nos 3254 and 3572.

¹⁹² It is likely the *alae* received around the same as a legionary foot soldier, the *cohortes* a little less, though certain figures are not known (Dixon and Southern 1992, 87-8). Papyrus evidence from AD 192 (Fink 1971, no. 70) records auxiliaries receiving either 253 or 254 *denarii* a year, from which deductions would have been made for food, clothing, equipment and provisions for horses.

¹⁹³ Duncan-Jones, 1982, 79, Table 2. Higher costs might be considered boast-worthy.

¹⁹⁴ Barker *et al* forthcoming.

Burial clubs may have offered a resource for legionaries to afford a monument after their death, and though there is scant evidence for a similar arrangement for auxiliaries,¹⁹⁵ they may also have put aside some money to cover this expense. The economic aspects related to supplying or acquiring stone, agreeing the carving and paying for it are explored further in Chapter 6 below.

Several of the rider relief inscriptions refer to wills or heirs and tell us more about social relationships. Heirs are mentioned on six of the British rider reliefs, and more frequently on German examples. Some are called ‘brothers’ from the same *turma*, emphasising the close-knit social nature of the troop or perhaps actual family relationships. The relatively frequent mention of heirs also gives us insight into who is selecting the motif for commemoration. We cannot know how far the deceased had a hand in choosing his own monument, but if the heirs also served in the cavalry or were close family, we can connect them also to the social environment of the military.

Service in the cavalry seems to have conferred social standing. Leubius died at Worms aged 75, having completed his 25 years’ service presumably some years before. His son set up the monument, and one wonders whether the cavalry was also part of his life or interests, given the association made for his father some years after he must have left the army. At any rate, the involvement with cavalry was in this case clearly a long-remembered feat, and something

¹⁹⁵ Burial clubs, which soldiers might pay into, are known for legionaries (Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, 2.20) and assumed for auxiliaries. There is minimal evidence for this, but the distinction on tombstones such as that of Longinus Biarta, a Thracian serving in the *ala Sulpicia* and commemorated at Cologne, was set up with his own money, *de suo faciendum curavit*, may be instructive (Galsterer and Glasterer 2010, no. 366). Otherwise, the mention of heirs on a number of monuments (e.g. 60% of those at Mainz involved an heir: Heindenreich 2017, 100, based on figures in *CSIR De II.5*) suggests that individual arrangements were made.

to be proud of. Though Leubius provides just one example, many other inscriptions record the details of the deceased's military service, suggesting some pride in the achievement: the regiment and length of service, given in terms of how long the soldier received the *stipendium* or pay, in particular are mentioned. The length of service especially could have been interpreted as a badge of honour, and most inscriptions show completion of at least 10 years' service, some the full 25 years that was required to earn citizenship.

The choices in imagery might tell us more about the function or meaning of monuments. Considered iconologically – that is, setting the image into the context of its external world and historical moment and understanding the image's contribution to making sense of that world – the rider relief, or rider motif, would have resonated within the cultural context of its creation, and thus can tell us about that context. We may then view the production of the artwork as a source for social history.¹⁹⁶ The levels at which an artwork resonated with the viewer can vary, from the basic understanding of shape, colour and line, to a deeper engagement with the story or meaning behind an image or motif, presumably as the viewer's own understanding varied.¹⁹⁷

Haynes and Hope have argued that the images of the heroic horseman offered a motif around which men serving far from home might find pride and a collective identity.¹⁹⁸ These monuments were often set up to commemorate outsiders: riders in the *alae* were not necessarily Roman citizens and perhaps had lower status than legionaries, their names revealing cultural and ethnic backgrounds in the provinces. In Britain, few locals are recorded as serving in the province.¹⁹⁹ At an earlier period in Roman imperial history, men from these

¹⁹⁶ Lorenz 2016, 99-100.

¹⁹⁷ Lorenz 2016, 21-23.

¹⁹⁸ Haynes 2013a; Hope 1997.

¹⁹⁹ Haynes 2013a, 126 records only two.

tribal groups could have been considered the barbarians that they now defeat after death. The attraction of a grave monument that enhances the valour of the deceased and underlines his belonging to a certain group of individuals must have held much appeal. These monuments then become an expression of belonging, set in stone for posterity: “memorials were of particular relevance to immigrants and outsiders who used the medium to assert their identity in a strange land.”²⁰⁰

If these indeed acted to bind troops together, and offer a collective identity, then their comparative rarity and variability is somewhat curious. While we will not know how many have been lost, survival always a factor in offering arguments of sample size and comparative numbers, the handful of 20-something remaining from Britain against a serving auxiliary force of 10,000 is very small. The general motif is consistent, and particularly concentrated amongst cavalrymen, but detail of adaptations in iconography show that the individuality of the horseman, his armour and appearance is more important than faithful replication. Add to this the fact that men drawn from a variety of units are commemorated in this way, suggesting these were not intended to create a collective identity of a certain *ala* or cohort. Nonetheless, it is possible that they had this function, without it being so instrumental or purposeful.

The motif had a metaphorical aspect of victory over death, but taken more literally, the heightened ferocity seen on the British rider reliefs when compared to the German ones could have held additional meaning. The decapitated head brandished by Insus on his monument is vivid in its brutality, the *enargeia*, or graphic clarity, of the scene enhancing the glory of the victor by emphasising the suffering of the defeated.²⁰¹ Headless figures, bound captives, and Victories ornament a number of the distance slabs that commemorated construction of parts

²⁰⁰ Hope 1997, 246.

²⁰¹ Hölscher (trans.) 2004, 42.

of the Antonine Wall, the northernmost formalised boundary of the province in the mid-second century.²⁰² Recent work has shown how the Bridgeness distance slab was painted, with red blood spouting from the neck of a decapitated barbarian.²⁰³ The (*Totenmahl*) tombstone of the *eques* Aurelius at Chester included, below a figure of the reclining horseman, an apparently severed head perhaps as a trophy, though it is possible to read this also as a repetitive view of the individual's portrait.²⁰⁴

If the conventional depiction in literature reflects more widespread prejudices in the Mediterranean, Britain was considered the farthest extremity of the known world, and such barbarism would probably have been expected.²⁰⁵ The area beyond the great Ocean which circumnavigated the world, had long held an eschatological dimension, as we can tell from works of Hesiod.²⁰⁶ Britain was, in written sources at least, very much in and of this realm: Britain and the Britons were considered in Roman literature to be distant, uncivilized, rough, inhospitable; marginal land in all senses of the word.²⁰⁷ By the mid first century AD, this was an established trope. Tacitus, a little later, has Agricola urge his men on at the battle of Mons Graupius by reminding them it was no mean glory to fall at the very extremity of the world where land and nature end;²⁰⁸ while it was possible for Procopius, albeit writing considerably later in the sixth century, to remark that Britain was beyond the edge of the world and that on crossing Hadrian's Wall one could expect immediately to be struck dead.²⁰⁹ While the trope is likely to be at odds with the reality, especially in the southern part of Britain that had long

²⁰² *CSIR* GB I.4, nos 68 and 137; *RIB* no. 3507.

²⁰³ Campbell 2020.

²⁰⁴ *CSIR* I.9, no. 43. See further discussion of the *Totenmahl* below.

²⁰⁵ Romm 1992; Stewart 1995; Clarke 2001.

²⁰⁶ Hesiod, *Theogony* 215, 274, 294; *Works and Days*, 170-174

²⁰⁷ Stewart 1995; Romm 1992, 140-149.

²⁰⁸ Tacitus, *Agricola*, 33.

²⁰⁹ Procopius, *de bello Gothico* viii, 20, 42-8.

interacted with the Roman world,²¹⁰ it is possible this fearsome conception of the land in which the cavalry fought and worked may have been reflected in the images on auxiliary *stelae* in Britain. Parts of Germania were considered by Tacitus to be similarly miserable and far-flung,²¹¹ but perhaps less barbarous than insular Britannia.

It is likely that the act of spearing an enemy was metaphorical rather than literal,²¹² though clearly a serving soldier would have been expected to engage in this kind of behaviour. The monument would probably remind a viewer, especially other soldiers, of the danger encountered in recent memory or in the course of military service, rather than necessarily act as an accurate reflection of the soldier's last moments. However, in addition to emphasising the bravery and proximity to death, these go even further, and are monuments of display. Status as a cavalryman, the pay that it attracted, ability therefore to afford a servant, nice armour and good weapons, were all included in these monuments, in a posthumous swagger. These are not only biographical scenes, but representative and partially mythologized, the final product conjuring new associations with heroic deeds.²¹³

Supporting this notion of grand display, it is notable that in addition to *stelae*, rider scenes were used for heroic images and triumphal friezes on larger tomb monuments, at Arlon, Koblenz, Wesseling, Nijmegen²¹⁴ and the large rock tomb at Schweinschied.²¹⁵ Some of the

²¹⁰ Clarke 2001 discusses the contradictions and complexities in the depiction of Britain and the balance between fiction and realism.

²¹¹ Tacitus, *Germania*, 2.1.

²¹² Hope 2001, 47: the horsemen probably died in peace time in order to benefit from a personal memorial. After battle, the dead were more often buried together in a large grave rather than commemorated separately on *stelae*.

²¹³ Sperber 1985, 78-9.

²¹⁴ Gabelmann 1973.

²¹⁵ *CSIR* De III, 3, no. 140.

carvings are of remarkably similar style to the forms we see on rider reliefs,²¹⁶ suggesting it became increasingly appropriate for more significant and complex monuments in stone.

While we cannot postulate a direct link, perhaps we can even view the reliefs on some large state monuments in the same mythologized, heroicized context. There is an inherent association in ideology between imperial imagery and military commemoration of this kind;²¹⁷ though *schemata* could have moved between state monuments and private dedications, it is questionable how far certain monuments provided direct inspiration or influence and so we are examining a more general trend. Ferris has shown how some monuments of the Trajanic era used the motif of fallen barbarian to emphasise change from negative to positive imperialistic outcomes.²¹⁸ It is worth noting that the more savage versions of rider tombstones can usually be dated later than the original conception of the motif, often from the early to mid-second century rather than the later first century. That period saw increasingly humiliating and dehumanising treatment of barbarians on Roman monuments in a number of places: the metopes of the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklissi built in AD 109 to commemorate victory over the Dacians, Germans and Sarmatians, Trajan's column completed in AD 113, the column of Marcus Aurelius completed in AD 193.²¹⁹ The earlier auxiliary tombstones do not appear to be part of such a pattern,²²⁰ showing a complex, negotiated image of Roman victory over a non-Roman barbarian, albeit by a member of the army who was himself not a citizen and not so very different from the barbarian. The later,

²¹⁶ Compare for instance, stelae of Reburus at Bonn or Romanus at Mainz, with the horses on pieces from Wesseling, Nijmegen or Arlon: Gabelmann 1973, 149, 164, 170.

²¹⁷ James 2001, 79.

²¹⁸ Ferris 2003.

²¹⁹ Kampen 1981. Dillon 2006 goes further, analysing the use of images of barbarian women on monumental scenes of war.

²²⁰ However, the funerary aspect of the Adamklissi monument, set up in honour of fallen soldiers (*CIL* III, no. 14214), has similar intentions to the *stelae*.

more savage use of the motif, did, however, convey more elaborate and forceful scenes of imperialistic victory.

The *Totenmahl*, or funerary banquet scene, overtook depictions of the heroic rider in popularity for auxiliary *stelae* some time before this, by the end of the first century, and were chosen into the second century in both Britain and Germany. On these, the deceased dines, reclining on a couch in an upper panel, receiving food brought by a servant. On a lower panel, he or his groom are shown exercising his horse on long reins. It is these *Totenmahl* scenes that dominate the funerary monuments of some of the elite of auxiliary cavalry, the *equites singulares*, the emperor's bodyguard at Rome, and not the ferocious rider, horse and servant motif. When they do display a horseman, it is the figure of a man exercising the horse beneath a banquet panel, or else a rider out hunting and in the act of chasing a boar.

The rider trampling an enemy was not needed in a less turbulent period in Germany after Domitian's reign, when the Rhine was more settled,²²¹ giving way instead to a *schema* that communicates comfort, wealth and leisure, even if the motif is somewhat associated with riding.²²² This change took place in Britain a little later, into the second century. Changing recruitment practices may also have had a, more prosaic, effect: increasingly fewer men serving on the Rhine were from Italy, where this type may have originated.²²³ We might downplay, therefore, the extent to which the choice of scene was one of individual concern: this might simply be the appropriate expression for a tombstone, completed in a tradition that seemed right for the occasion, perhaps to which the patron or maker was accustomed.²²⁴ The

²²¹ Gabelmann 1973, 199.

²²² Speidel 1994, 144-5.

²²³ Heidenreich 2017, 97.

²²⁴ See Kampen 2006 for discussion of the normative aspect of art on the frontiers in the Antonine period.

association between increasingly common expression on state monuments of the triumphal, heroic rider, and the more peaceful choices made by individuals for private commemorative monuments requires further consideration. The interaction between private and public display, and use of universal motifs in local settings, will be explored further in chapters 4, 7 and 8 below.

Associations between the rider reliefs and transmission of the motif

Finally, we will consider what the evidence shown above means for the extent and agents of diffusion of the motif. While we can be fairly sure of the movement from the Rhineland to Britain and that auxiliary cavalry played a key role, there does not seem to be one obvious pattern of movement nor only one moment of interaction between, and within, the two areas. The choice to use the motif does not seem to fall along ethnic lines or based on origins of the fallen cavalryman. The only key distinguishing factor is that the deceased using this type was most often from the *alae* or *cohortes*: legionaries used figural tombstones much less frequently.²²⁵ Explaining the changes and understanding movements that we do see should tell us more about how the reliefs were created, in what contexts the choice of image was made and the networks or interactions that bound together the concept or idea with patron, maker or material.

Movements of auxiliary units: If, as suggested above in discussion of the social context, the person choosing and commissioning the monument was connected with the military, then movements of troops become of interest for tracking changing and moving forms. There are many associations between the locations of auxiliaries within the study area and appearance

²²⁵ Heidenreich 2017, 97-105; Hope 2000, 173-4.

of the rider relief tombstone, certain units moving from site to site within the Rhineland area, others moving from the Rhineland to Britain.

For example, there was much exchange of military personnel between Mainz and Worms: for instance, the *ala Indiana*²²⁶ and *ala I Hispanorum*²²⁷ are attested on rider reliefs at both sites. The *ala Indiana* was one of the first auxiliary units to arrive in Britain during the invasion in AD 43. The *ala I Thracum* and *cohors VI Thracum* were also deployed in Britain at the same time, having served on the Rhineland (*ala I Thracum* in Germania Inferior, the *cohors VI Thracum* in Germania Superior) before this time. There is one rider relief for each of the *ala Indiana* and *cohors VI Thracum* from Britain, and two from the *ala I Thracum*, and we could imagine that the units brought the images with them. Indeed, there is even a *stela* of a man in the *cohors VI Thracum* from Germany dating to the unit's second stay in the Rhineland after a tour in Britain.²²⁸

Within Germany, the *cohors IIII Thracum* was stationed at Mainz and Wiesbaden: the *stela* of Dolanus in 'Mainzer-reiter' style at the latter, while C. Tutius of this cohort was commemorated at Mainz.²²⁹ Two men, both of the *ala Noricorum*, are commemorated on very similar rider reliefs at Cologne and Mainz (Figures 2.8 and 2.9). The *ala Frontoniana* was stationed at Bonn, but its time at Asberg may explain the appearance of an outlying single cavalry rider tombstone there.²³⁰

²²⁶ The unit serves at Worms, before taking part in the Claudian invasion of Britain (note, Alföldy 1968, 17-19 thinks that the unit's move to Britain was later, under Nero, not as part of the invasion) and then returning to Germania, perhaps after the Batavian revolt: Spaul 1994, 153.

²²⁷ Stationed at both sites probably in the Tiberian period: Spaul 1994, 144-5.

²²⁸ Spaul 2000, 380-1; Heidenreich 2017, 103; *CSIR De II.5*, 33, Appendix, RR 49.

²²⁹ Spaul 2000, 378.

²³⁰ Spaul 1994.

The *ala Sebosiana* appears to have fought for Vitellius in Germania, but was in the AD 70s transferred to Britain.²³¹ A writing tablet from Carlisle shows at least one member of the *ala* was there in the late first century; an inscription from Binchester suggests the unit was there in the mid second century; and evidence of lead sealings, stamped tiles and a dedication plaque show the unit was at Lancaster in the mid-third century.²³² One rider relief belonging to this unit is known from Worms, Germany, commemorating the soldier a long time after his period of service since he was aged 75 at his death, as well as the second century example from near to the Antonine Wall in Britain.²³³

The agency of serving cavalymen seems to be important in the mobility of the motif. However, rider reliefs were not always set up by men associated with certain units as they migrated around the empire: it is not inevitable that all men of the *ala Hispanorum*, for instance, would choose a rider relief. This implies that the individual being honoured or someone on his behalf acting as patron was not necessarily the only mobile military agent who could have played a role in transferring the type. The role of the maker and the extent of their interaction with the military unit then becomes important.

Makers: The variety of styles of carving seen on the constituent elements of rider reliefs, from the carving of the rider to the surrounding decoration, suggests that they are made by a number of different hands. We may group together those reliefs that make use of the same elements, and infer some association between makers, but we cannot necessarily define that arrangement. They have in the past been termed the product of certain ‘workshops’, but this

²³¹ Tomlin 2018, 54.

²³² Carlisle: *Tab. Luguval.* 44; Binchester: *RIB* no. 1041 + add.; Lancaster: *RIB* nos 2411.88, 2465.1-2, 605. Note it was properly styled *ala Gallorum Sebosiana* in military diplomata, such as *RIB* no. 2401.1.

²³³ Spaul 1994, 199; at Worms: *CSIR De II.10*, no. 51, Appendix, RR 71; tombstone from Carberry, near Inveresk: Appendix, RR 28.

is a problematic label: we cannot assume a common physical location of manufacture, and there is little evidence, beyond what can be ascertained from the surviving stones themselves, of a tradition of technical training. We do not even know the identities of the individuals involved. Were makers also soldiers, travelling around as units were posted to a new area and, if so, were these men auxiliaries or do such units rely on legionary craftsmen? On the other hand, were these civilians, either seizing a moment of demand when soldiers are posted nearby or establishing themselves as craftsmen in response to construction of a fort; or did they travel alongside certain units as they moved too?

The ‘*Romanusgruppe*’ at Mainz and the relatively visually similar group of stelae from Bonn and Cologne could be associated in their making, due to the arrangement of forms and the style of cutting. The Bonn group includes the grave slab of Niger of *ala Pomponiana*, C. Marius of *legio* I, and three men of the *ala Longiniana*.²³⁴ Both of the *stelae* from Cologne are of similar style. We know that makers sometimes served more than one unit: two other funerary monuments from Cologne with very similar forms, letter cutting, and style of carving are made from the same block of stone, cut in half, and undoubtedly made by the same hand. One was made for a man of *legio* XX, the other for a man from *legio* I.²³⁵ This implies that, at least in some circumstances, the same craftsman, or several people working in a very similar tradition, operated from a similar location but supplied a variety of local customers across military units, and that these soldiers did not employ their own, dedicated carvers. A tombstone at Mainz, blank save for the already finished gable and pediment decoration, shows that some stones were partly carved and then stored, awaiting tailoring for the right customer.²³⁶ Going further, we might suppose that sculptors would not necessarily feel such

²³⁴ *CSIR* De III.1, nos 12–16; Appendix, RR 32–RR 36.

²³⁵ Carroll 2006, fig. 42, 117.

²³⁶ Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 228.

close loyalty to certain units that they would also move to a new location when the soldiers did. However, in a contradictory example, we can see that physically and temporally co-located *stelae* were not always related through their craftsmen. The two *stelae* from Cirencester of Dannicus and Genialis (Figures 2.21 and 2.22) display similar motifs but different technical abilities in the handling of proportion and in the detail of the horse's trapping's and rider's weaponry and armour and were clearly not completed by the same craftsmen or those with similar expertise. It is difficult to extrapolate from these examples a general case, but it might come down to fluctuating degrees of demand in different places. Lower demand and supply might make for greater variety and the potential for lower quality, whereas stronger demand and supply might lead to higher quality and the flourishing of a local tradition, more consistency of appearance and availability, and a stronger sense of what looks right. This might be very locally specific and vary over time. At Cirencester, the military period when soldiers were stationed nearby, was relatively brief (*c.* 40s-70s AD) suggesting this variation was achieved over a short time.



Figure 2.21: *Stela of Sextus Valerius Genialis*, Cirencester. H: 210cm. CSIR GB I.7, no. 137. Appendix, RR 7.



Figure 2.22: *Stela of Dannicus*, Cirencester. H: 108cm. CSIR GB I.7, no. 138. Appendix, RR 8.

Whether these craftsmen were soldiers or civilians is difficult to tell, especially as there is so little evidence for who exactly they were. At Chester, Henig has proposed that a lower quality of carving should be associated with periods during which soldiers were themselves making reliefs, the lack of a bustling civilian settlement nearby meaning demand was too low to attract a more professional unit of craftsmen.²³⁷ There does, however, seem to be some interaction with movement of legions:²³⁸ the interplay between the pieces from Colchester and

²³⁷ CSIR GB I.9, introduction, xv.

²³⁸ See also CSIR De II.10, introduction.

Gloucester discussed below are associated through the movements of *legio* XX between the two sites as the army pushed further into Britain. We may also associate *legio* I at Bonn with auxiliary carvings, as seen above.

Developments in the type and variation of the motif seemed to take place especially at Mainz and Bonn. The concentration of legions at these locations could suggest contact between makers, or a regional hub of craftsmen with enough local demand to allow them to hone their skills. Equally, however, the increased demand for stone monuments from a large number of troops based in the same area could provide the opportunity for makers to experiment and adapt their style from one stone to the next. The evidence might point to a sense of competition, with makers seeking to offer something new or different to their next customer.

Material: Imported stone is rarely used for these monuments,²³⁹ and, though little analysis of the types of stone has been done (save for Hayward 2009), where we do know the sources, it would appear supplies of stone were drawn primarily from the local area. Painswick stone was found very close to Gloucester and the Kingsholm fort, close to where the *stela* of Rufus Sita carved in this stone was discovered. The monument to Insus from Lancashire was carved of stone quarried probably not more than 25 km away.²⁴⁰ This is not to say stone was not transported at all: more generally, limestone from the Cotswolds and Lincolnshire made its way to London and the south-east, where a local source of good, carvable freestone did not exist.²⁴¹

²³⁹ French limestone is imported in the early Roman period in Britain but is scarce: Hayward 2009.

²⁴⁰ Bull 2007, 19.

²⁴¹ Hayward 2009, see especially Table A4.1, 166-9; 98-99.

Rockwell suggests that similar tools and techniques were employed for carving softer limestones and sandstones that cannot be polished.²⁴² These softer limestones and sandstones were particularly common in the Rhineland and Britain, though some types of harder white limestone from the Moselle banks (Norroy Pont à Mousson) and around the Paris basin may be used in southern Britain and could take polish. We can therefore suppose that carvers in these areas would have been able to carve a range of stones from each of these areas but may have preferred to use their local source.

It is worth dwelling further on the material of two rider reliefs in particular, the monuments of Longinus and Rufus Sita, since these are both carved in Painswick stone from Gloucestershire. Rufus Sita is commemorated at Gloucester in AD 50s - 80, but the tombstone of Longinus was found at Colchester, probably dating the AD 40s.²⁴³ Both feature a lion and sphinx above a rounded pediment, the only British examples to do so. Though the general conception of the work was broadly similar, the style was different: the *stela* of Longinus rather more poised and static than that of Rufus Sita, and the pose of the fallen enemy / barbarian figure is different. Clearly, these were not made by the same person. There was, however, an association between the two locations: *legio XX Valeria Victrix* was stationed at Colchester until AD 50 when that town became a veteran colony and provincial capital, and the legion moved to Kingsholm near Gloucester. Painswick stone was a fine-grained white limestone found not 10km from the legionary fortress at Kingsholm, and carves finely, taking polish like white marble. It is remarkable, but seems most likely that Colchester, the most important Roman town in Britain at the time, could draw the best material and resources from across the country, and even influence other craftsmen's choice and arrangement of motifs.

²⁴² Rockwell 1993, 22-3.

²⁴³ Figures 2.15 and 2.16.

Conclusions

For some horsemen and their heirs the horse and rider was a desirable image, popular within a short time frame. In the areas where the rider reliefs appear, they were a significant minority: eight of the stone monuments from Worms, for instance, are rider reliefs, of 68 pieces altogether, while only two of the ten *alae* stationed at Mainz failed to leave any rider-type grave stones. The *stelae* did not permeate through a wide geographic area or large social networks by artistic osmosis. They remained exceptional, created within a short space of time for a few select soldiers that were confined to certain geographic areas. Sperber might term this a short-lived epidemic, the right conditions existing for the image to ‘infect’ a certain group in a fleeting fashion.²⁴⁴ The motif was, however, adapted to local circumstances, even to the level of resonating with the personal life of the deceased. In Britain, in particular, it evolved to show particularly brutal scenes, perhaps reflecting the challenging environments at the edge of the Empire or part of a general trend for barbaric forms in the second century.

Though tailored for individuals, the general motif of the rider that was employed was a common feature of a Hellenistic and Roman artistic repertoire. A display of valour, they also boasted the wealth and means of the deceased, the inclusion of fine trappings on the horse and a servant figure emphasising the additional pay received by auxiliary cavalry. A Hellenistic and Roman form here emerges as a locally circulated, locally adapted image of display, typically one-off personal pieces reflecting the individual who had died.

Though geographically and temporally concentrated, the reliefs appear to have been made by different craftsmen, with some possible exceptions. Movements of military units appear to dominate as agents within the networks and connections that inspired and shared this

²⁴⁴ Sperber 1985, 73-89, especially definitions on 74.

incarnation of the horse and rider motif. The impact of these agents, makers and soldiers, was felt very specifically in different ways across the area. This raises interesting questions about the nature of interaction between makers and customers, and how placements of military units affected the appearance and use of Roman sculpture across the north-west, which will be considered further in Chapters 5 and 6 below.

Chapter 3 - 'Mother Goddess' figures in Britain and Germany

Thousands of dedications to Mother Goddesses have been found across the Roman north-west provinces, in northern Italy, southern Spain, parts of France, in Britain and especially in Germany in the Voreifel, Eifel and Rhineland region (Figure 3.1). While the focus for this chapter is the figural representations, which total around 250 from the study area of Britain and Germany,²³⁹ there is also a large body of epigraphic evidence: over 1,000 inscriptions dated to the second and third centuries survive from Germania Inferior alone, around 50% of all inscriptions from that province.²⁴⁰ Inscriptions often accompany the images of the deities in Germania Inferior, but in Britain only two examples include both image and inscription. Otherwise, in Britain there were around 100 examples, roughly half of which were inscriptions on altars without images and the other half were figures on reliefs or sculpted in the round without inscriptions. This has meant that clear identification of the image as a Mother Goddess is not always straightforward.

The iconography, which shows broad similarity over the north-west, has been used by scholars to identify representations as Mother Goddesses and to consider this a related group. It has been proposed that soldiers were responsible for the transmission between Germany and Britain, with the assumption that the images are part of the same phenomenon.²⁴¹ Most extant examples depict three female deities wearing long garments, sitting with baskets of

²³⁹ These are listed in the Appendix. Some remains are very fragmentary and have been grouped together for ease, so that the final number of Appendix entries does not reflect the number of original items.

²⁴⁰ Spickermann 2009, 359-64.

²⁴¹ Barnard 1985, 237; Ruger 1987, 8; Derks 1998, 120, n. 183; Henig 1995, 109. Henig 1984, 48-50, suggests the Mother Goddesses came to Britain from the Rhineland and notes the popularity amongst officers and officials, but also highlights the possible role of merchants in transmission. Clay 2007, 58 attributes the introduction of the *Matres* to the Hadrian's Wall area to Germanic units or people moving into the area.

bread or other attributes in their laps. The appearance and character of the monuments is very consistent in Germania Inferior, where the deities are shown on altars. There are, however, key differences in the representations across the north-west, raising questions as to how and by what means the objects were related, and how and why this adaptation occurred. The number of deities, their outfits, the attributes and objects they hold, the type of monument or objects on which they were shown, and accompanying scenes vary between Britain and Germany. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Germania Inferior pieces is the depiction of local dress: the deities were here shown sporting the large, rounded headdress associated with the Ubian tribe (Figures 3.1 and 3.5).²⁴² However, local or ethnic dress cannot be identified in Britain or elsewhere in Germany. They also have different names: in Britain, they were known as the *Matres* (mothers), but in Germany (especially Germania Inferior), they were the *Matronae* (mature women).²⁴³ In that area too, the names often also incorporated an epithet derived from Celtic or Germanic language.²⁴⁴

Images of Mother Goddesses carved in stone therefore offer an ideal case study both for examining regional diversity in the use of a more universal motif or representation, and to explore the dynamics of transmission and transformation between the German provinces and Britain. Four aspects will be discussed:

1. The iconography: what was similar and what was different in the appearance of a Mother Goddesses across the north-west region?

²⁴² The Voreifel region where these altars are most numerous corresponded roughly to the territory of the Ubii on the west bank of the Rhine. Agrippa apparently moved this tribe from the east bank to the region near modern Cologne in 39 BC: Strabo, *Geography*, IV.3.4.

²⁴³ In dedications from Germany and northern Italy, the women were called *Matronae*, while in Britain, southern France and northern Spain, and in a few cases on the Rhineland they were the *Matres*.

²⁴⁴ Over 70 different epithets have been identified and analysed in Germany: Derks 1998, 120; Woolf 2003b, 132.

2. The context of use and reuse: at what kinds of sites or by which sectors of the population were these used? Many of the stones were found in reused contexts or dislocated from their place of dedication or first display: what does their destruction or reuse tell us?
3. Chronology: when were different examples made and used? Where, when, how and why did the image of the deity move across the region?
4. Interaction of inscription and image: what do the inscriptions add to the images? How do the bodies of evidence interact with each other and what patterns can be seen? What remains unresolved by gaps in the evidence?

Taken together, the answers to these questions will allow us to understand more fully the connections between the appearance and use of sculptures of these deities across the north-west region, and to understand how, when, where and why any variations were employed in their depiction. This case study will build on the first in this thesis, offering an example which operated in the religious sphere. Study of the British corpus in light of the Continental images will also allow existing assumptions of transmission of this type by soldiers to be confirmed or challenged.

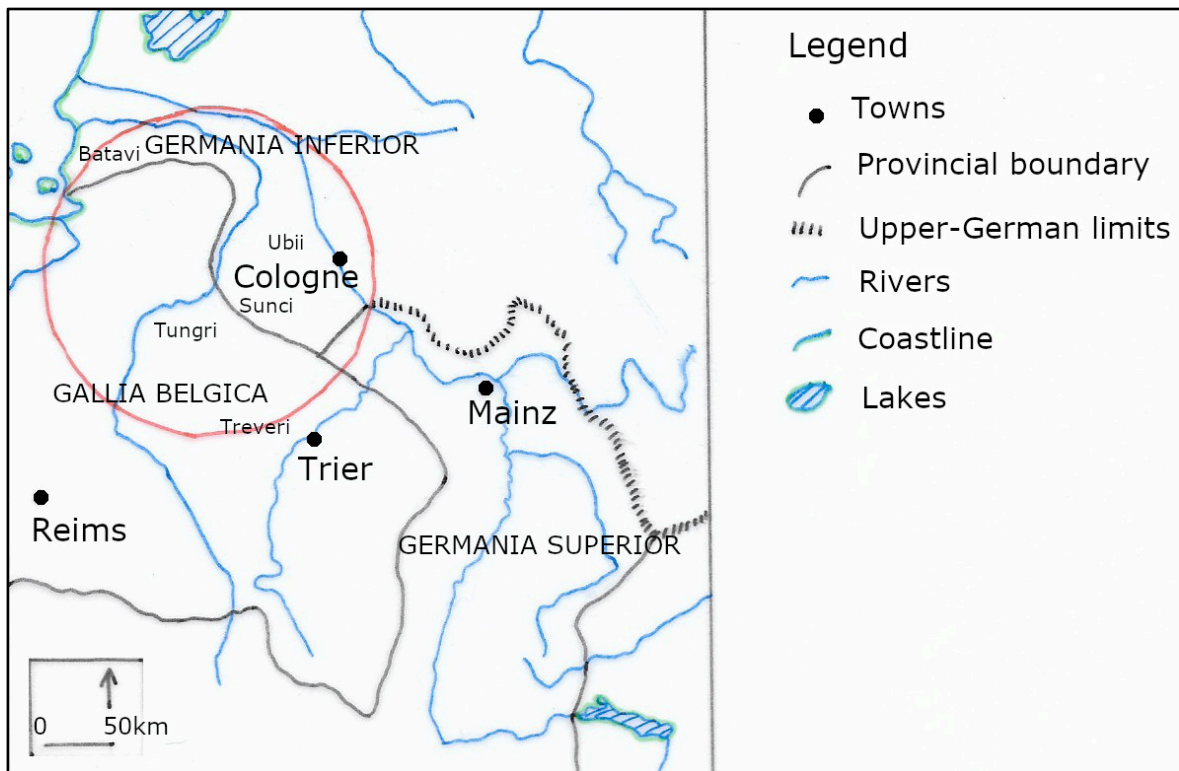


Figure 3.1: Map of the approximate area of the Rhineland, Eifel, Voreifel marked in red, with key towns, tribal groups and provincial boundaries. Based on Carroll 2001, 30, fig. 4.

Research on Mother Goddesses has already been undertaken. Gerhard Bauchhenß and Christoph Rürger have been at the forefront of study, especially of the monuments in Germany, for several decades. Rürger started to catalogue all of the inscriptions from Germania Inferior in the 1980s. Bauchhenß took over this work in recent years and aims to complete it in his retirement.²⁴⁵ The work of Hans Lehner and the results of excavations in the early twentieth century in and around Bonn must form the kernel of the list, updated by the considerable number of recent discoveries.²⁴⁶ That ongoing catalogue is yet to be published and is greatly anticipated, though Renate Thomas has published the examples from Cologne.²⁴⁷ The edited volume by Bauchhenß and Neumann represents the most comprehensive work on the Mother

²⁴⁵ Bauchhenß 2011.

²⁴⁶ Lehner 1910, 1918a, 1918b, 1930.

²⁴⁷ Thomas 2014.

Goddesses to date.²⁴⁸ However, a new generation of scholars is working on the organisation of the cult, the philology of the varying nomenclature, and the conception of the Mother Goddesses within the religious landscape of the region and in the Greco-Roman world.²⁴⁹

The objects from Britain have received less attention than the numerous German examples. Comparisons between the British and German material were made in the nineteenth century, by Charles Roach Smith in English and Max Ihm in German,²⁵⁰ but a similar approach has generally not been applied to new finds since then.²⁵¹ Where they have been studied, the British images and the inscriptions have in the past been explained in broadly three ways: as examples of Romanization of a local religious cosmology; as proof of native resistance to that process, a local resurgence or renaissance of Celtic religion and imagery; or as evidence for hybridity of artistic and religious expression.²⁵² As noted above, the appearance of the sculptures and inscriptions in Britain has been explained as the result of transmission of the cult by soldiers who served in the Rhineland and then came to Britain. The argument that the worship of these deities constitutes either a second to third century ‘Celtic renaissance’ or continuation from the pre-Roman period has been reconsidered in Germany,²⁵³ and the role of the army in transmission requires further examination, given that they also appear in civilian parts of Britain and that there were key differences in iconography and nomenclature.

²⁴⁸ Bauchhenß and Neumann 1987.

²⁴⁹ For instance, from 2008 onwards by [Frank Biller](#), Wolfgang Spickermann, Asuman Lätzer-Lasar, Astrid Schmölder, Audrey Ferlut, the work of the [Fontes Epigraphici Religionum Celticarum Antiquarum \(FERCAN\) project](#) (accessed 23 April 2019), and Bernardo Stempel 2019.

²⁵⁰ Roach Smith 1859; Ihm 1887.

²⁵¹ Noelke 1990 is an exception, though it focuses on the architectural surrounds.

²⁵² Barnard 1985, 237; Green 1998. Attempts to link the *Matres* and *Matronae* to an ancient pan-European Mother Goddess (Fleming 1969; Gimbutas 1989, 1991) are far-fetched.

²⁵³ The *Matronae* have in the past been described as a local deity newly finding anthropomorphic, iconic form within the Roman world: Horn (1987, 53) emphasises the aniconic origins of *Matronae* worship as a tree cult; see also Rüger 1983. Woolf 2003b argues against, setting them in their second–third century context. I am grateful also to Prof Bauchhenß, who also disagrees, for his views on this topic.

Instead, the second–third-century phenomenon and the carvings are here examined on their own terms.

Differences in appearance of the deities and the monuments between Britain and Germany

The main elements of the iconography were common to most representations of the Mother Goddesses in Britain and Germany: typically, three women were seated within a niche, they wore long, draped clothing, and held baskets of fruit or bread on their laps. The altars shown in Figures 3.2 and 3.3 contain many of the iconographic elements used across the north-west, especially in Germania Inferior, and so will serve as examples of the type for the following discussion, though this is not to say that they acted as a paradigm in the Roman period.



Figure 3.2: Altar to the Deae Aufaniae from the temple at Nettersheim, c. AD 212-222. Now in LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 20792. Espérandieu VIII no. 6307; CIL XIII, no. 11984. Appendix, MG 136

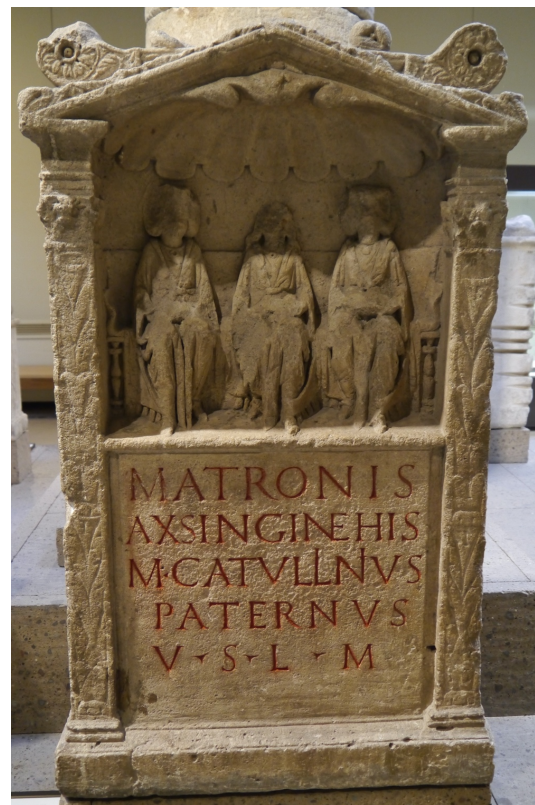


Figure 3.3: Altar to the Matronae Axsinginehae, from the northern city wall at Cologne, second century. Now in Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 240. Espérandieu VIII no. 6401; CIL XIII, no. 8216. Appendix, MG 84.

Beyond this, details vary from place to place: the number of women shown, their dress, the attributes they carry, the architectonic surrounds, decoration or presence of figural scenes on other sides or in other registers, the presence of an inscription panel and the overall form and function of the piece (e.g. altar, relief, dedicatory panel). Many of the surviving pieces are damaged or fragmentary, and it is rarely possible to match up adjoining pieces and recreate the original monument since it is not clear how surviving fragments related to one another. Counting one fragment as one original example would probably overestimate the quantities for areas with more fragmentary remains. Instead, the different elements can be assessed for their general relative frequency across the region (Table 3.1). As before, breaking the objects down into elements for analysis in this way would have been alien to ancient makers and viewers, but is useful to track changes across the study region.

Table 3.1: Summary table of key differences in the appearance of Mother Goddess figures carved in stone across the north-west provinces.

Element	Britannia	Germania Superior	Germania Inferior
Number of deities shown	Shown seated in triplicate, but also as a single deity. One group of four. Sometimes one goddess is approached by one or more other figures.	Shown in triplicate, but also as just one goddess, sometimes approached by one or more other figures.	Most often shown seated in triplicate, very rarely individually.
Outfit	Long drapery to ankles; often long sleeves; several layers including tunic and cloak. Sometimes lacking detail or too weathered to make out	Long drapery of several layers, but can be weathered or lacking in detail.	Often shown in considerable detail: long drapery in several layers to the ankles, with one or more tunics. Cloak on top fastened by brooch at chest.
Other dress or styling	Variety of hairstyles, mostly close to the head (short or gathered up), though most often heads of the carvings are missing. All women of similar age.	Most often shown with hair gathered up or short. Some carvings weathered or broken, difficult to determine.	Two outer women typically shown with large ‘Ubian’ headdress, central woman younger with long hair.

Attributes	Baskets of round objects, fruit or bread; sometimes shown with children and one with a dog. Attributes often broken off.	Often broken or weathered. Sometimes round objects, fruit or bread; sometimes a patera.	Baskets of round objects, fruit or bread. Very occasionally a dog.
Architectonic surround	Sometimes within single or individual arched or gabled niches. Sometimes without a surround or backdrop. Deities seated on a bench or separate chairs. Upper parts of carvings often missing, though.	Sometimes set in a recess.	Deities seated on a bench, often within shell canopy or gabled aedicula with pediment above and Corinthian pilasters either side.
Additional decoration or scene: front	Not seen.	Not seen.	Sometimes additional scene of action involving sacrifice or libation by worshippers. Human participants are sometimes dressed like the deities.
Additional decoration or scene: sides and/or rear	Sometimes sacrificial apparatus shown on sides of an inscribed altar (jug, patera, knife), but uncommon on images of the deities without inscriptions.	Sometimes drapery or a horse on the rear, but this is rare.	Decoration on sides of altars relatively common (less so on the rear, though known); from imbrication, flora or fauna, to human figures holding jug, platters or sacrifice victim.
Inscription panel	Uncommon on images with the deities. Plain altars without figures known.	Uncommon on images with the deities. Some plain altars	Usually below the image of the deities, a plain inscription panel. Plain altars known.
Form and function of monument	Figures of the deities tend to be on plaques, reliefs or in the round. Some of these were large (>1m), but carvings not very detailed. Plain altars, too, but these lack images of the goddesses.	Figures of the deities tend to be on plaques, reliefs or in the round, but also some altars.	Most commonly reliefs on altars, combining image and inscribed dedication. Some were large (>1m), but more often medium size. Detailed carvings.

The primary difference between provinces is in the number of women depicted. While the group of three is well known in examples from Germania Inferior, in Britain they appear as often alone as in a group of three, and single figures were also sometimes found in Germania

Superior.²⁵⁴ Very few carvings have only two goddesses,²⁵⁵ and there is one unique example of a group of four goddesses from London, reused as building stone in the Riverside Wall.²⁵⁶

It has been suggested that the five single figures from Housesteads (Figure 3.4), though carved separately, would have been displayed in two triads (one of them incomplete), their discovery close together supporting this proposition. The suggestion that single figures might be considered to act *pars pro toto* representing a triad seems unnecessarily elaborate, since individual deities are known, and the insistence on the triple aspect perhaps overstated.²⁵⁷ The appearance of the deities in triplicate has been explained as evidence for ‘Celtic triadism’,²⁵⁸ the three-fold power of a deity, in which war, fertility and healing combine.²⁵⁹ Parallels may be found with the *Genii Cucullati* enigmatic hooded deities found in Britain and Gaul.²⁶⁰ The use of three was not confined to ‘Celtic’ religion and was also highly appropriate in classical art and religion. The Capitoline triad was the heart of the Roman pantheon, while the Fates (*Parcae* or *Moirai*) offer another obvious Greco-Roman example, the latter also used as an epithet for the Mother Goddesses.²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ *CSIR* De II.9, no. 57. Single figures were also relatively common in Gallia Belgica, especially at Trier, but only one relief from Germania Inferior shows a single mother goddess: Lehner 1918b, no. 566; Appendix, MG 115.

²⁵⁵ *CSIR* De IV.3, nos 268 and 283, both from Trier, show two deities.

²⁵⁶ Blagg 1980; *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 142.

²⁵⁷ Green notes that even when only one figure is shown, there is often a triple aspect to what she holds or other figures around: Green 1998, 21.

²⁵⁸ Green 1989, 169. Green also mentions this triadism is more common in Britain than Gaul, but is seen in other places: Green 2003, 43.

²⁵⁹ Irby-Massie 1996.

²⁶⁰ The distribution of carvings of these *Genii* in the western region of Roman Britain (around Gloucestershire, Cirencester) is similar to that of *Matres* in that area.

²⁶¹ *RIB* no. 951.



Figure 3.4: *Single Mother Goddess carved in the round, from Housesteads, second – third century. Great North Museum: Hancock, inv. no. NEWMA 1822.12. From the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. Appendix, MG 13*



Figure 3.5: *Votive statuette to Isis Invicta from St Ursula church, Cologne, probably third century. Now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 29,306. Espérandieu VIII, no. 6402.*

Where deities do appear individually rather than in a group of three, it is difficult to be sure that we have made the right identifications. Several deities share similar aspects of the iconography, and Derks has noted that by the second or third century, while names did not change, the appearance of several female deities seems to converge.²⁶² A number of Roman deities were depicted as a seated woman, wearing long drapery and carrying certain attributes: Fortuna,²⁶³ Diana, Demeter, Juno, personified tutelary goddesses of cities, Cybele or Magna Mater, have all been shown in this way, albeit with cornucopia, rudder, globe, mural crown, or with accompanying lions, respectively marking them out.²⁶⁴ From Cologne, there is a

²⁶² Derks 1998, 119.

²⁶³ Fortuna was also known in standing pose: *CSIR De II.12*, nos 93 and 94.

²⁶⁴ Fortuna: examples from Trier includes *CSIR De IV.3*, nos 69, 70, 74, 75, 76; and from Bonn Espérandieu VIII, no. 6244. Magna Mater: *CSIR GB I.6*, no. 116 from Carvoran, showing enthroned woman, now damaged, but possible lion's paws at her feet.

seated figure of Isis, carved in the round, in similar pose but that would originally have included the infant Horus on her lap in an explicitly maternal scene (Figure 3.5). Fragmentary remains, which may lack the crucial element of the attributes, exacerbate the risk of the deity being misidentified. Those examples which held cornucopiae, should be reconsidered as Fortuna, while the naked, schematic figures from Caerwent and Carrawburgh are also excluded in discussion here. It is possible that the choice of this common, enthroned iconography for the Mother Goddesses was intended to create a link or association to other deities. The goddesses named above each contained powers of protection, prosperity, and good fortune, all features of the capacity of Mother Goddesses too. By employing a common pose in the creation of the representation, the Mother Goddesses might be associated with the abilities and spheres of influence of the other deities.

The women were generally shown dressed in similar long, layered garments, but there were there were two main differences across the region: first in the detail of the outfits, and secondly in the use of local forms of dress associated with the Ubii in Germania Inferior. The outfits of the deities in Germania Inferior are highly detailed and carefully depicted, and very consistent. The long garments reached to or below the ankles, long sleeves covering the arms of the women to their wrist. Two or perhaps three layers can be made out, especially at the hemlines where the different elements were most visible: a long tunic was worn, perhaps beneath an over-dress or mantle, with a cloak or *palla* on top. The cloak was fastened in a V-shape at the front with a brooch or clasp across the breast. Clearly shown on some examples, just the outline of this appears on others, perhaps even calling to mind the Isiac knot shown on a now-headless bust from London.²⁶⁵ In Britain, the fine details of jewellery and drapery are not often included and several of the pieces completed in more stylised fashion. Some of

²⁶⁵ *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 37.

the deities are, however, shown with high-waisted long clothing under cloaks that cover the shoulders.

In Germany, two of the goddesses were shown as older, mature women seated on the bench either side of a younger woman. The ages are judged primarily from their dress and appearance: the outer two are shown with the large circular headdress known in the area settled by the Ubian tribe on the west bank of the Rhine, while the central figure wears her hair long, more appropriate for a younger woman (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). Funerary portraits that include this headdress are typically chosen for married women. The headdresses shown on the carvings were probably secured in place by a large pin (see example, on the figure's right-hand side, on Figure 3.6 below).²⁶⁶ It is not clear whether this was everyday or special occasion wear, and it is possible that the sculpture emphasized or enhanced particular ethnic or social status.²⁶⁷ Many of the images from Britain have been broken below the neck and so the heads are frequently missing; however, of those remaining, none have this headdress and the distinctions of age, or ethnic or social status were generally less obvious here.



Figure 3.6: Head of a woman from a tomb monument found at Luxemburger Straße, Cologne, first century AD. Now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 483. Espérandieu VIII, no. 6395.

²⁶⁶ Carroll 2013, 298.

²⁶⁷ Rothe 2009, 73; and see example from outside Ubian territory, further south at Höchst-Mümling-Grumbach, *CSIR De II.13*, no. 328; Appendix, MG 155.

Use of certain dress conveyed meaning in the Roman world. The Mother Goddesses primarily wear several layers of clothing, reaching to their ankles and wrists. The appearance is demure and the outfit appropriate for women of reasonable, but modest, status and means.²⁶⁸ It reflected trends in clothing at the time, probably saying more about social status than ethnic background.²⁶⁹ The *stola* of the Roman matron, identifiable especially by its thin shoulder straps, was not seen on the figures, though it has been identified on a bronze *Mater* figurine from Nijmegen.²⁷⁰ The *stola* was symbolic of citizenship, the individual's status as a mature, married woman, with a modest, faithful, and honourable character.²⁷¹ It may have been based on a pre-Roman tradition originating in Italy.²⁷² The *stola* was not often seen in art, even on portrait statues, and we would not necessarily expect it here either.²⁷³

Noelke has suggested that use of certain regional dress on tomb monuments was a way of asserting local identity amongst introduction of new cultural ideas.²⁷⁴ Drawing firm distinctions between 'native' and 'Roman' in this context are, however, highly problematic and far from straightforward. Several of the reliefs show the deities wearing a necklace consisting of a thick band or thong with a large, central, circular bead or a lunate pendant. The former is reminiscent of the jewellery seen on Menimane, the wife of the *nauta* Blussus, on their family tomb monument from Mainz, sometimes considered a fine example of the blending of local dress with Roman practice.²⁷⁵ On this monument (Figure 3.7), Blussus wore

²⁶⁸ Olsen 2008, 45-6; and see the third-century relief of servant women wearing simple girt tunics with v-shaped necklines and long sleeves, dressing their mistress, from Neumagen, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier.

²⁶⁹ Olsen 2008, 11.

²⁷⁰ Zadocks-Josephus Jitta *et al.* 1973, no. 17.

²⁷¹ Olsen 2008, 27; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.31-2; Martial, *Epigrams*, I.35.

²⁷² Allason-Jones 1989, 110.

²⁷³ Tertullian, *de Pallio*, 4.9 notes it declined in popularity in the second century in real life. He also writes of the 'hairy headdress' and portable chair of the *matrona*.

²⁷⁴ Noelke 1998, 413.

²⁷⁵ *CSIR* De II.6, no.2.

the ‘Gallic’ cloak over a long tunic with scrolled neck, while his wife sported an ensemble including an under tunic, bodice and over tunic. The so-called ‘gardener of Weisenau’ and other family groups provide comparable examples.²⁷⁶



Figure 3.7 Detail of tombstone of nauta Blussus and his wife Menimane, with a child from Mainz-Wiesenaus cemetery area, first half of first century. Now in the Landesmuseum, Mainz, inv. no. S 146. CSIR De. II.6, no. 2.

There is a danger, however, of reading too much into the identity projected through use of native dress on tomb monuments, especially since development of outfits did not simply indicate ‘traditional Romanness’ nor the persistence of ‘native’ dress.²⁷⁷ There was some increased interest in Gallic outfits in the Roman period for people from a range of classes, but new styles were being created that might involve different aspects of ethnic identity for

²⁷⁶ Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 321. See also *CSIR De II.6*, no.3; and the funerary monuments from Nickenich and Nieder-Ingelheim, Wild 1985, pl. VI and pl. VIII.

²⁷⁷ Rothe 2009, 54-55, considering the apparel seen in the Roman Rhine-Moselle region; *contra* Wild 1985.

different people. It does seem important that these details of dress were less relevant for the images in Britain than in Germany.²⁷⁸

The use of certain attributes shows broad consistency, however again there are a few differences between the British and German material. On the Rhineland, the women held in their laps baskets containing round objects, probably bread loaves or fruit. These objects represent the bounty or good fortune brought forth by the goddesses, or perhaps the perishable offerings brought by worshippers. These are also common in Britain, but in parts of Gaul, especially the Burgundy region, and in civilian areas of Britain such as Cirencester, the women hold small dogs or carry children as well or instead.²⁷⁹ The similarity between examples from these areas is striking. The paucity of depictions with children is remarkable, given these are *Mother Goddesses*. Perhaps it is appropriate that in areas like Britain, where the dedications are to the *Matres* (the mothers) and not the *Matronae*, that children form a part, if still an uncommon element, of the iconography.

²⁷⁸ One wonders the difference that paint, now lost, might have made to the final appearance: Wild 1985, 394, 408-9.

²⁷⁹ Barnard 1985, 237-8. E.g. a relief of Mother Goddesses from Ashcroft area, Cirencester (Figure 3.8) is similar to a relief from Alise-Sainte-Reine (Figure 3.9) in its freedom of movement and inclusion of young children. The Mother Goddesses on another relief from Cirencester (*CSIR* GB I.7, no. 118; Appendix, MG 38) hold swaddled babies and sit within a gabled niche, similar to a relief from Beaune (Espérandieu, no. 2081) or the iconography of a single, baby-holding mother goddess from Auxerre, dated to AD 14-37 (Espérandieu, no. 2882). I am grateful to Dr Pierre-Antoine Lamy for information on the French examples.



Figure 3.8: Relief of Mother Goddesses from Ashcroft area, Cirencester. Now in Corinium Museum, inv. no. C2756. CSIR GB I.7, no. 117. Appendix, MG 37.



Figure 3.9: Relief with images of Mother Goddesses from Alise-Sainte-Reine. H: 49cm; W: 106cm. Now in Musée Archéologique, Dijon. Espérandieu, no. 7107.

The presence of *cornucopiae* and rudders identified a different deity. The former would indicate Fortuna or perhaps the deities of the harvest Ceres/Demeter, but it is relatively widely

used to symbolise good fortune.²⁸⁰ Diana is often shown with a hunting hound, though this is more often in action and rarely seated, but rudders and small dogs are associated with Nehalennia.²⁸¹

The altars to Nehalennia from the Dutch temple sites at Colijnsplaat and Domburg on the North Sea coast, show her seated within a shell niche, wearing long draped clothing and often carrying a basket of round objects, resembling closely in aspects of dress, pose, and arrangement of the altar, the Mother Goddesses of the Rhineland (Figure 3.10). She was depicted alone, except for one dedication in which the goddess was shown in triplicate (Figure 3.11) and in a style similar to the Mother Goddess altars from Cologne.²⁸² Two inscriptions to the deity have been found at Cologne-Deutz,²⁸³ and the use of Lothringer limestone, sourced on the banks of the Moselle near Metz in eastern France and transported down the Moselle and then the Rhine,²⁸⁴ provide a link to the Rhineland. It is tempting to relate the depictions of Nehalennia to the Mother Goddesses, indicating the potential for the iconography to travel but also to be reimagined and its flexibility to be applied in new contexts. The Nehalennia altars will be considered again in chapters 5 and 6 in discussion of supply of raw materials and the role of merchants in transmission of iconography.

²⁸⁰ They are not unrelated: the round fruits in the Mother Goddesses' baskets might well be apples and it is worth noting that Demeter has an aspect as 'malophoros', the apple bringer: Larson 2007, 28. The cult of Demeter Malophoros was concentrated in the west of Sicily, where terracotta 'Mother Goddesses' have been found – see below.

²⁸¹ Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 21.

²⁸² The *Matronae* in the Rhineland are similarly sometimes referred to as *Deae* with an epithet (the *Deae Aufaniae* at Bonn, for instance), without always mentioning them as *Matronae* or *Matres*: Woolf 2003b, 133, and see further below.

²⁸³ *CIL* XIII, nos 8498 and 8499.

²⁸⁴ See Chapter 5 for more detail on extraction and circulation of Lothringer limestone.



Figure 3.10: Altar dedicated to Dea Nehalennia by Sextus Severinius Severus, from Colijnsplaat/Domburg, second–third century. Now in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. A2.



Figure 3.11: Altar dedicated to Dea Nehalennia by M. Iustinius Albus, from Colijnsplaat/Domburg, second–third century. Now in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. A71. Image © [Rijksmuseum van Oudheden](#) used under [CC0 licence](#).

The architectonic arrangements and the presence of additional figures or objects carved on other faces of the monuments, and their variations across the region, provide insight into the practice of the cult and its history. The architectonic arrangement is not just background to the image, but also houses the figures and shows how the deities were set within structures. On many of the altars from Germania Inferior, the three deities were seated beneath a shell canopy within a pedimented or gabled niche, Corinthian pilasters ornamenting either side. The bolsters and sometimes the focus could be seen rising above, reminding viewers of the materiality and function of the altar, while also ensuring that the deities were contained within a temple-like structure. In Britain, some of the carvings were broken across the top, such that any niche or pediment no longer survives; however, some of the more complete reliefs show

all three deities beneath a plain gabled niche,²⁸⁵ while on others the deities inhabit their own niches,²⁸⁶ columns supported the surrounds. A few of the reliefs on altars from Germania Inferior also included plain or gabled niches within which the deities were shown.

Carvings from Trier, beyond our region but with several examples of Mother Goddess figures, take this a step further, showing the deity seated alone within an aedicule with prominent porch or portico (Figures 3.12 and 3.13). These arrangements suggest that the deities were intended to inhabit a constructed sacred space,²⁸⁷ or in some instances the stones showing the goddess within a temple may have taken the place of a physical cult building.²⁸⁸ The figures from the Cotswolds, for example, appeared in recesses set within a frame topped by a triangular pediment and might have been intended to depict the goddesses within their temples.²⁸⁹ Kleiner proposed that the arches shown on the sides of an altar from Bonn Minster represented an entranceway to a sanctuary area, combined with a votive purpose.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁵ *CSIR* GB I.6, no. 488; Appendix, MG 29.

²⁸⁶ *CSIR* GB I.1 no. 236; *CSIR* GB I.6, no. 174; Appendix, MG 4, MG 20.

²⁸⁷ Lehner 1930, 35.

²⁸⁸ For example, figure from Building 6C in Trier Altbachtal: Derks 1998.

²⁸⁹ *CSIR* GB I.1, nos 240, 243 (Appendix, MG 5 and 7); *CSIR* GB I.7, nos 116 (Figure 3.21), 118, 119 (Appendix, MG 36, 38, 39). See further discussion of *aediculae* as representing a temple below. Whether the images should be considered representations or more literally as the cult statue is unclear. See also Henig 1990.

²⁹⁰ Kleiner 1991.



Figure 3.12 Seated mother goddess figure, within temple-like aedicule, from Trier Altbachtal. Now in Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, inv. no. ST 13879. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Photo: Th. Zühmer. CSIR De IV.3, no. 270.



Figure 3.13 Figure of Mother Goddess on dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the numina Augustorum. Trier Altbachtal, mid-second century. Now in Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, inv. no. 10115; 12766; 12869b; 12871a; 13314; 13884. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier. Photo: Th. Zühmer. CSIR De IV.3, no. 269.

Decoration on the sides of the most ornate altars from Germania Inferior includes figures of male and female servants carrying platters of food, garlands of flowers, jugs and cups, the paraphernalia of ritual practice or sacrifice were shown (Figure 3.19).²⁹¹ Indeed, on some altars the front had only a large inscription and then figures or branches were shown on the sides.²⁹² The *paterae*, jugs and knives seen on the sides of altars in Britain, though without figures emphasized the ritual aspects and the processes involved in setting them up.²⁹³ These

²⁹¹ See Herz 2003 for further discussion of the sacrificial meal scenes.

²⁹² E.g., Espérandieu XI, nos 7767, 7768, 7769, 7771, 7772.

²⁹³ For instance, the altar to the *Matres Domesticatae* from Stanwix, CSIR GB I.6, no. 179.

accoutrements were representative of typical ritual acts performed within Roman religious practice and were common on other dedicatory altars in Britain.

More common, however, especially on some of the altars from near Bonn and Cologne, were floral embellishments, from imbrication or branches to whole trees, appearing on both the sides and the rear of some of the altars (Figure 3.17).²⁹⁴ The branches have been suggested as evidence of some kind of animistic tree cult, an aniconic precursor to worship of the Mother Goddesses,²⁹⁵ especially since a tree has been highlighted as a focal point at one of the cult sites in Germany where a large number of the altars were found.²⁹⁶ In fact, such decorations are well-known motifs of the period, employed as decoration on Roman tombstones and on altars dedicated to other deities.²⁹⁷ Some leaves had significance, associated with certain behaviours or honours, the oak or laurel wreath, offering good examples. However, there is no need to invent from this evidence a stage in the development of the design that was specific to the Mother Goddess altars, not least because not all of the altars carried it.

Sometimes, animals inhabit the scene: a crane was carved on the side of one altar to the mothers, paralleled by a dedication to Mercury by Primio Cellissi at Cologne.²⁹⁸ Occasionally, a snake was seen wound in the branches, which has been related to the *Lar familiaris* of small household shrines at Pompeii. Lehner proposes that this may be interpreted as the women or *Matronae* as a kind of patron of the house,²⁹⁹ while Green has seen it as a beneficent guardian

²⁹⁴ Lehner 1930, no. 29, Taf. XVI.

²⁹⁵ Rüger 1983, 214; Horn 1987; Green 1989, 152. The existence of an aniconic precursor to the Mother Goddess dedications is the subject of some debate: Derks 1998 disagrees with this, while Kiernan (2020, 128) argues for a pre-Roman iconographic tradition which evolved in the second century.

²⁹⁶ Derks 1998, 125.

²⁹⁷ Altars to Mercury from Bonn Minster also had trees on the sides: Lehner 1930, nos 47, 48.

²⁹⁸ Rüger 1987, 26; Glasterer und Galsterer 2010, no. 172.

²⁹⁹ Lehner 1930, 37.

of the tree.³⁰⁰ The goat shown on a large dedicatory monument at Bonn to the *Matronae Aufaniae* (without figures of the deities) set up by Statilius Proculus and Sutoria Pia, has been interpreted by Rüger as another pre-anthropomorphic version of the mothers or earlier myth, emphasizing the fertility aspect of the Mother Goddess cult.³⁰¹ There is little evidence to support these interpretations, but animal motifs are only seen on the Lower German altars.

Additional human figures, however, are found across the north-west, and are shown in two ways: some appear in the same register and interact in the same scene with the deities, sometimes described as worshippers or perhaps recognized as other deities, such as *Genii*; others, are part of a different, second scene, sometimes in a different register, in which the Mother Goddesses do not participate. Reliefs from the Cotswolds in Britain and Bad Kreuznach in Germania Superior fall into the first group (Figures 3.14 and 3.15): three examples from Cirencester, for instance, show a single Mother Goddess along with one or three additional figures, identified as the *genii cucullatii*. On another similar relief from Daglingworth, the deity is identified as Cuda, indicating that though the iconography is similar we may be dealing with a different goddess.³⁰² The standing figures approach the seated deity, the foremost one holding some kind of offering or object out to the goddess.

³⁰⁰ Green 1989, 142.

³⁰¹ Rüger 1983, 214-219.

³⁰² *CSIR* GB I.7, no. 102; Appendix, MG 33.



Figure 3.14: Votive relief of a ?mother goddess, with another figure, perhaps a worshipper, approaching from her right. From Kreuznach fort, second–third century. Now in Römerhalle Bad Kreuznach. Appendix, MG 167.



Figure 3.15: Mother Goddess and Genii Cucullati from Forum area, Cirencester. Now in Corinium Museum, inv. no. A350, image from [Corinium Museum](#) website. CSIR GB I.7, no. 101. Appendix, MG 32.



Figure 3.16: Procession of worshippers approaching seated deities, from under Bonn Minster, second–third century. Now in LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. D 278. Espérandieu no. 7774; Horn 1987, Taf. 6.3. Appendix, MG 130.

One image from Germania Inferior shows a procession to the goddesses with figures carrying baskets or jars perhaps as offering, carved in detail (Figure 3.16). Here the deities are seated to the left and set apart from the procession, apart from interaction perhaps with an attendant to their right. They are raised up on a platform, perhaps even signifying their cult images on a pedestal. This procession scene is thus similar to the second kind of scene, more common in Germania Inferior, in which the deities sit apart and look on to a scene of presumably mortal local people (perhaps even the donor and family) offering a libation or sacrificing.³⁰³ An altar dedicated by C. Candidinius Verus at Bonn showed the process of preparing a ritual meal: a sacrifice scene filled the panel below goddesses, the left side of the altar featured a panel showing a dead pig being carried; while on the right side, the meat was being cooked.³⁰⁴ Another altar dedicated by Q. Caldinius Celsus (Figure 3.17) shows the three *Matronae* seated within a niche in an upper register, a small servant figure next to them but clearly divided from them by the edge of their bench. Beneath them a man dressed in a toga, a woman in long, draped clothing, wearing the large headdress also worn by the deities, and a servant are performing a sacrifice on an altar. Another altar from Gleuel, near Bonn has a very similar arrangement, though the carving is in a different style (Figure 3.18), as does an altar dedicated to Mercury and the base of a possible Jupiter column.³⁰⁵ The same clothing was used for worshippers as for the deities without problem, the distinction in roles and identities presumably made clear through the pose, the register of the carving of different figures, and the context of each scene. On other reliefs, three figures sat behind the three deities looking on, for instance as on the altar to the *Matronae Aufaniae* dedicated by Q. Vettius Severus,

³⁰³ For instance, on the altar shown at Figure 3.17. See Noelke 2011 and 2013.

³⁰⁴ Espérandieu XI, no. 7762; Herz 2003, 139; Appendix, MG 119.

³⁰⁵ Altar dedicated to Mercury by Julius Tertius and Julia Nativa; early third century AD, from Sechtem, now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 347; *CIL* XIII, no. 8234. Base of a Jupiter column, dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus; reliefs of Mars, Minerva, and Hercules complete the other three sides; late second century AD, from Müngersdorf, Cologne, now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 84.247 a/b; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, 104.

Quaestor at Cologne, in AD 164 (Figure 3.19). The identification of the individuals behind is not obvious, but most likely they were mortals, probably locals or the dedicators, bearing witness to the presence of the goddesses.



Figure 3.17: Front and side views of altar dedicated to *Matronae Aufaniae* by *Quintus Caldinius Celsus*, from under Bonn Minster, second half second century. Now in the LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 228. Lehner 1930, 15, no. 29. Appendix, MG 117.



Figure 3.18: Altar showing the seated *Matronae* (above) and a sacrifice scene (below), from Gleuel, near Bonn, mid first – mid second century. Now in the LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 8785. Lehner 1918b, no. 540. Appendix, MG 116.

The interplay of the figures is interesting, but the terms of the participation of the deities in the scenes is not always clear. This arrangement was concentrated in Germania Inferior, and used on altars to the *Matronae* but rarely for other deities.³⁰⁶ Mortals seem to have interacted directly with the goddesses on some panels, bringing them offerings, while on others the deities are removed from the action and watch over a scene of ritual, though were still present. Should the *Matronae* figures be understood as cult statues? Or were they representations of the expected actual presence of the goddesses during ritual? Were the deities only present during ritual, or did the altar in some ways underline the continued existence of the *Matronae* in a cult space? The boundaries of the real and imaginary are removed within the ritual, and

³⁰⁶ Derks 1998, 224, Table 5.1.

the use of these different scenes on altars remind us that these objects also fulfilled a function within Roman religion. They are part of the expression of belief, the act of dedicating an altar a part of the practice of religion that upheld the cosmology. At the same time, the altar offered tangible, lasting evidence of the completion of a pact with or request to the goddesses. The interaction and juxtaposition of different scenes, in which the deity may be both in some ways *present* as well as being *represented*, was particularly appropriate for an altar owing to its function as a part of the apparatus of ritual practice, as enacting the completion of a religious vow, as well as providing a lasting reminder of it. This is discussed further in chapter 7.

Similar scenes were not used in Britain, where only one register of carving is known on much simpler monuments. The relief showing four figures in London may be an exception, one of the figures perhaps representing a worshipper, but there the fourth is also seated and shown in the same way as the others, suggesting that they formed a group.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 77.



Figure 3.19: Front and below side views of altar to Matronae Aufaniae dedicated by Q. Vettius Severus, Quaestor at Cologne, in AD 164, from under Bonn Minster. Now in the LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 227. Lehner 1930, 11, no. 19. Appendix, MG 118.

The forms of monuments varied greatly between Germania Inferior and other places. In Germania Inferior most of the objects were altars, featuring an inscription panel, often a plain die below (or sometimes above) the figural scene. They are clearly intended as a votive. Elsewhere plaques, panels, relief carvings, or large images in the round were more common and had less obvious use. Many of these lacked an inscription. For example, one of only two examples from Britain which shows all three deities, each within their own niche, with an inscription is the panel below, dedicated to the *Matres Tra(ns) marinae*, the Mother Goddesses of native lands overseas, by Aurelius Iuvenalis (Figure 3.20).



Figure 3.20: Dedication by Aurelius Iuvenalis, provenance unknown. Now in the Great North Museum, Hancock, Newcastle. RIB no. 1318; CSIR GB I.1, no. 236. Image from Bruce, Lapidarium Septentrionale (out of copyright). Appendix, MG 4.

The German altars were typically medium sized, perhaps around 0.5–0.6 m by 0.3–0.4 m. Some plainer ones or individual figures of the deities were much smaller, but a few of the

detailed ones from Bonn were considerably grander, at over 1 m or 1.5 m in height.³⁰⁸ Large, individual pieces in the round were also known in Britain, such as the group of *Matres* from Housesteads and the large panel of four seated figures from London, each around 1.2 m wide.³⁰⁹ Pieces from Bewcastle, Carlisle and Cirencester were also quite large, at around 0.5 m by 0.75 m, but many of the others were considerable smaller.³¹⁰ In both Britain and Germany, those dedications with images tend to be larger than simple inscriptions, though some small and schematic figural panels were known, such as the schist plaque from Bath.³¹¹ The size of the object has implications for where they may have been set up and how they may have been viewed. Some of the individual seated figures in the round were small enough that they could have been held in the hand and may be a personal or portable dedication; the larger altars intended for a public sacred setting. Availability of suitable blocks of stone, locations and ability of groups of stone carvers, or demand from patrons, may also have played a role, as well as the dynamics of display.

Considerable differences in technical skill can also be seen between the large altars from the Rhineland and Eifel area and several of the carvings in Britain. Crisp, detailed carving, including additional scenes, neat and perfectly spaced inscriptions, and fine figural decoration on the sides and rear highlight not only iconographic change between regions but also of style and ability of craftsmen. The images in Britain contain the essence of the image and the key elements, and but the drapery is often more stylised and the figures less refined, the finer relief panels from Cirencester (Figure 3.21) and London notable exceptions. In Germany, the scenes

³⁰⁸ For instance, Espérandieu nos 7760 – 7777 (except nos 7763, 7773, 7774, 7776) from Bonn Minster were dedicated to the *Matronae* and range in height from 94cm to 175cm.

³⁰⁹ *CSIR* GB I.6, no. 173; *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 77 = Appendix, MG 19 and 46.

³¹⁰ *CSIR* GB I.6, no. 180; *CSIR* GB I.6, no. 468; *CSIR* GB I.7, no. 116; *CSIR* GB I.7, no. 117 = Appendix, MG 25, 26, 36, 37.

³¹¹ *CSIR* GB I.2, no. 38 = Appendix, MG 8.

are rendered more naturalistically and with greater regard to small details and intricacies such as patterning on the architectonic surrounds and individual pieces of jewellery on the deities.

Stone quality must have determined the level of detail that could be achieved, the rougher, larger-grained sandstones of the north of England more of a challenge to carve than the finer-grained limestones either of the Jurassic belt running through the Cotswolds and into Lincolnshire or of those from parts of what is now eastern France. While many of the stone sculptures of Mother Goddesses have not yet been subject to petrological analysis, differences in use of material can be observed in hand specimen. Some of the finest carvings from Bonn and Cologne are made of limestones (Figure 3.22), but others from the temple sites in the Voreifel and Eifel region are of (presumably local) sandstone, and also of good carving quality if now weather and damaged. The larger, well-carved, figures from Housesteads again seem to be local sandstone, while those from Cirencester are limestone. Stone type seems to have some effect but does not account entirely for the differences in quality. The status and means of the patron likely played a role, while areas of greater demand might attract better quality craftsmanship or offer more opportunity for refining skills. The carvings of the highest quality come from Bonn, where there was a ready market in the form of soldiers of *legio I Minervia*, based in the fort from the AD 80s to the mid-fourth century, while high-ranking officials from Cologne clearly visited and patronised the shrine.³¹²

³¹² Several of the largest and most detailed altars were dedicated by senior officials from Cologne, the provincial capital, for instance the altars of C. Candidinius Verus a *decurio* (Espérandieu XI, no. 7762; Appendix, MG 119) and Q. Vettius Severus the *quaestor* (Figure 2.19).



Figure 3.21: Relief of the Mother Goddesses from Ashcroft area, Cirencester. Now in Corinium Museum inv. no. C2758. CSIR GB I.7, no. 116. Appendix, MG 36.



Figure 3.22: Details of carving on the altar shown in Figure 3.19. Marks of a tooth chisel, used for fine finishing work can be seen on the background behind the deities.

Although figurines of the Mother Goddesses, in terracotta, pipe-clay and bronze are beyond the scope of this thesis, they were produced in considerable quantities and used in a range of contexts from private spaces or within graves.³¹³ The terracottas were typically known as images of the *Dea Nutrix* as they were most often shown suckling a child, though other attributes were known.³¹⁴ They were more commonly shown individually, but there are a few examples depicting a group of three women, such as the figurine from Cologne with ‘Ubian’-style headdresses (Figure 3.23). While this suggests some association between these figurines and the stone dedications, this example is unparalleled amongst the clay figurines and has been personalised, the name of the maker moulded into the back: in other places, these small terracotta figures were standardised and mass produced.³¹⁵ They recall (but cannot be placed within, owing to the chronological and physical distance) the tradition of terracotta figures of suckling mothers seen in late Republican Italy,³¹⁶ a Samnite sanctuary site, judging by inscriptions in Oscan and Latin, at Curti near Capua, from the first centuries BC has yielded over 100 terracotta figures of women holding one or more, up to twelve, swaddled babies.³¹⁷

Around a dozen figurines in bronze survive from Britain.³¹⁸ Only two of these were shown in seated pose, another group adopting a standing position with hands on the stomach, though

³¹³ For full consideration of the terracottas see Schauerte 1985. Jenkins (1978) discusses some examples from London and parallels with Gaul and the Rhineland.

³¹⁴ Schauerte 1987, 74-81. See further discussion in Drakeman 2007.

³¹⁵ Bauchhenß 1997; Schauerte 1987, 88-91.

³¹⁶ It has been suggested that the tradition and practice of production of small terracotta votive figures showing women suckling children might have spread from Italy, north to Gaul and beyond: Bonfante 1984, 2. See also Bonfante 2011. As with the rider reliefs above, however, it is not the intention here to investigate prototypes or to propose linear models of diffusion.

³¹⁷ Long 1987, 234.

³¹⁸ Durham 2012.

they all wear long drapery.³¹⁹ The figurines are identified as mother or fertility deities, but the iconography is entirely different from the altars, figures and the terracottas.³²⁰



Figure 3.23: Front and rear of pipeclay figurine of the *Matronae*, from Bonnerstraße, Cologne, now in RGM Köln, inv. no. 23,35. Moulded inscription reads: *CCAA ipse | Fabricius f(ecit)*; ‘at Cologne, Fabricius made this himself’. Fremersdorf 1928, Taf. 46.

In summary, the iconography of *Matronae* in Germania Inferior, the Rhineland, Eifel and Voreifel, and their appearance on monuments was generally consistent. There the women were shown in almost exactly the same way, invariably on altars with inscriptions, though they were far from identical. Elements of local dress in particular were a feature of the personification of the deities here. Elsewhere, in Britain and Germania Superior, the essential elements of iconography (three seated women, wearing long drapery, holding baskets) were retained, but there were also more extensive differences: the number of figures, their attributes, the form of monuments, presence of inscriptions. These carvings also seem to draw on a wider range of motifs, and from different locations, such as the Burgundy region of

³¹⁹ The figurine from Southbroom is a good example: Durham 2014, 203-4, fig. 4h.

³²⁰ Indeed, it is interesting the Mother Goddess iconography did not translate on to smaller objects such as gems: Martin Henig, *personal comment*.

France and on smaller images in other materials from Italy, and they do not use the local outfits from the Rhineland region. Based on iconography alone, it is the focused region of the Rhineland, Eifel and Voreifel that should be compared to other parts of the north-west, rather than comparison by province or across the Channel. The similarities suggest that there was some relationship between the representations across the region, but the differences are considerable and suggest an evolving conception of the deities. The retention of the essentials of the iconography, coupled with the changes, allowed the image to be extracted from the local context of Germania Inferior and successfully used further afield.

The context of original use and later reuse, and distribution

The forms of the dedications and differences in their architectonic structure set out above implies a different kind of use. The contexts in which they functioned will now be considered, to compare the use of the images across the north-west and provide insight into cult practice. The distribution map of find spots, Figure 3.24, emphasises the intense clustering of the monuments, particularly in Germany and around Cologne and Bonn. The finds from Germania Superior are fewer and more spread out; while in Britain, the line of Hadrian's Wall can clearly be seen and there is a group from the Cotswolds, as well as a few individual finds from other parts of the province. Others have shaky provenances, having been recovered and collected some time ago, the original locations either not known or not recorded.

It is important to note that this map might not always show the precise original location of use. At Cologne and Bonn in particular, large caches of the altars were found reused in later construction.³²¹ However, it is probable that they were not moved far. Evidence such as

³²¹ One of the largest groups of *Matronae* dedications, for instance, was discovered at St Gereon church just outside the Roman city walls of Cologne to the north west, where they

inscriptions, the figures and altars themselves, possible temple structures, as well as a few *in situ* finds can, however, combine to suggest where dedications to Mother Goddesses were originally set up, both geographically across the north-west, and in what contexts, and how they may have been used.

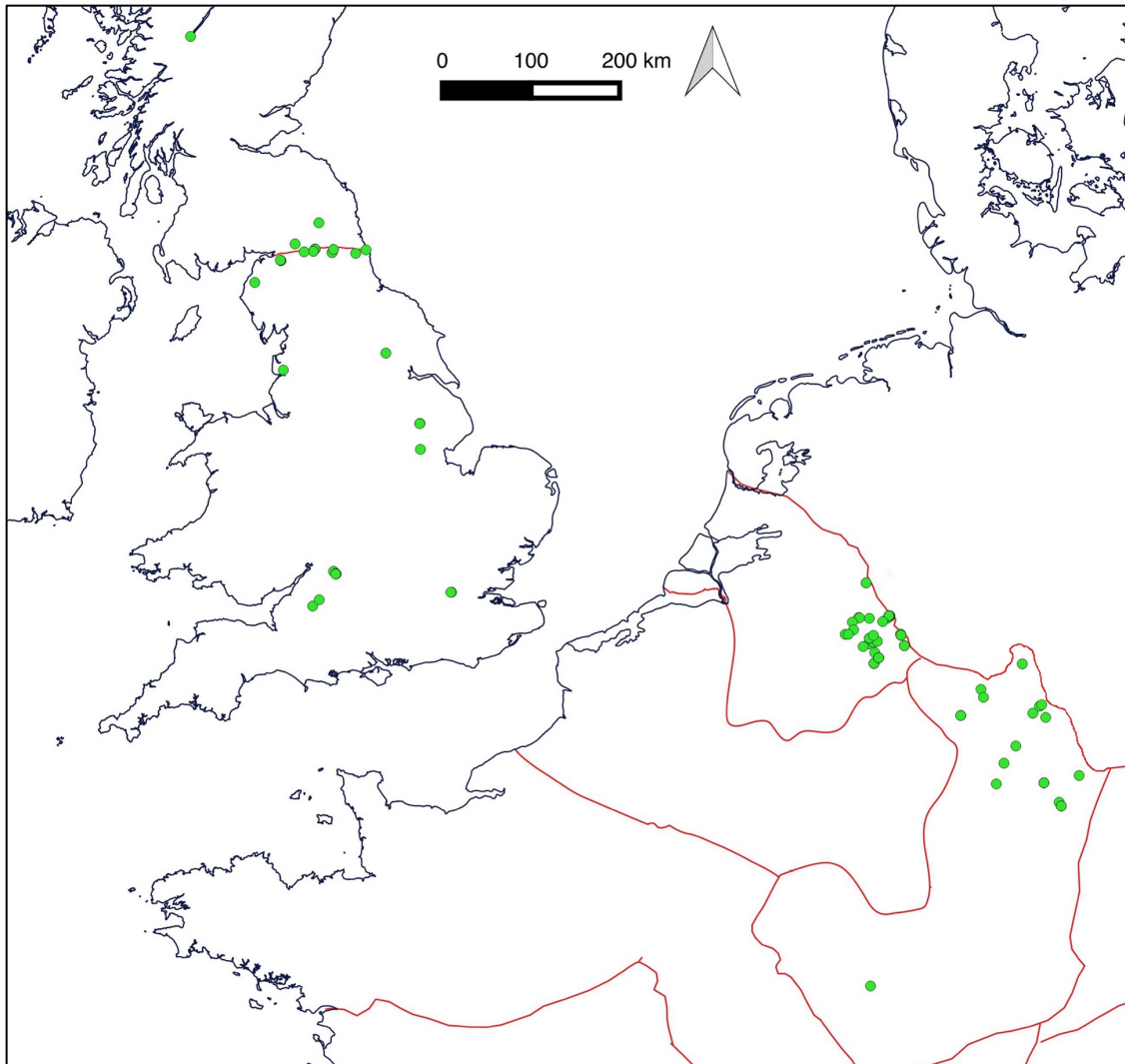


Figure 3.24: Map showing distribution of find spots of Mother Goddess figures in Britannia, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior.

Several sanctuary sites dedicated to the Mother Goddesses have been identified in the rural Eifel and Voreifel region, where there are surviving structures.³²² Otherwise, the presence of

were used in the foundations of the early church, while another large cache was found under Bonn Minster. See Thomas 2014; Lehner 1930.

³²² Derks 1998, 120.

large quantities of dedications at a certain location has been enough for a place to be considered a cult centre. Housesteads, for instance, has been assigned as a location for the centre of the cult, owing to the large number of artistic representations there,³²³ while the group of sculptures from the Ashcroft area of Cirencester has been variously considered a workshop of the sculptor Sulinus or a centre for worship of the *Matres Suleviae*.³²⁴ The reused caches from Cologne and Bonn may have derived from the same original locations, but we cannot be sure, and the nature of these sites is unknown. Some inscriptions that were dedicated to the Mother Goddesses explicitly mention restoration of a sanctuary, though other structures and dedications have not been found. Table 3.2 below gathers together the wide range of evidence, the first five entries rather more secure than the others as possible locations of organized worship of the Mother Goddesses.

Table 3.2: Table of possible locations of Mother Goddess shrines or temples³²⁵

(Possible) cult site location	Kind of site	Nature of evidence	Main reference
Nettersheim, Germania Inferior	Rural and military. A 'Straßenvicus' on the <i>Via Agrippa</i> between Trier and Cologne. Temple near the <i>Beneficiarius Consularis</i> station.	Group of altars to the <i>Matronae Aufaniae</i> ; Gallo-Roman temple complex. Altars were found within the <i>porticus</i> , perhaps set up against the <i>cella</i> .	Lehner 1910; Biller 2010, 29-53.
Pesch, Germania Inferior	On a hill above the confluence of streams Wespelbach and Hornbach. On the <i>Via Agrippa</i> .	Gallo-Roman temple complex, 3 phases of building mid-1 st to mid-4 th century. Nearly 300 stone dedications, many to <i>Matronae Vacallinehae</i> and very damaged.	Lehner 1918a; Alföldy 1968; Biller 2010, 198-240.

³²³ Barnard 1985, 239.

³²⁴ *RIB* nos 105 and 106; see discussion in Henig 1995, 111 who considers this a shrine and not a workshop.

³²⁵ This table does not include finds of single or very small groups of altars, which are also known especially in Britain from a number of military sites. Alone, they alone do not provide evidence for a shrine or temple, though they do show that the goddess was venerated in a number of other locations.

Nideggen-Abenden, Germania Inferior	Rural site: near a <i>villa rustica</i> and metal working site (2km away).	Building(s) and sacred precinct; > 100 stone fragments, representing c. 35 complete altars/figures.	Sommer 1985; Biller 2010, 131-161
Eschweiler-Fronhoven, Germania Inferior	Rural site.	Four buildings forming a temple complex within a ditch; > 100 stone fragments, representing c. 45 complete altars / figures. Dedications to the <i>Matronae Alaferhviae</i> and <i>Matronae Amfratninae</i> .	Biller 2010, 241-264; Gaitzsch 1982, 487-491
Zingsheim, Germania Inferior	Rural site on the Via Agrippa.	Temple of gallo-Roman date, <i>cella</i> inside ambulatory. Dedications to <i>Matronae Fachineihiae</i> , known only here and at Euskirchen (<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7970). Some stones reused as Frankish grave slabs. Smaller complex than others.	Sage 1964; Horn 1974; Biller 2010, 181-197; <i>CIL</i> XIII, 7829-7831
Bonn, under the Münster, Germania Inferior	Urban and military; near legionary fortress.	Group of 20-30 altars dedicated to the <i>Matronae Aufaniae</i> . Also, others dedicated to Mercury.	Lehner 1930.
Cologne, Germania Inferior	Urban, perhaps from an extra-mural religious area.	Group of altars reused in constructing early church at St Gereon. Original location unclear, but perhaps nearby.	Thomas 2014.
Xanten, Germania Inferior	Urban	Possible temple, behind some houses in SE quarter of town.	Derks 1998, 188
Nijmegen, Germania Inferior	Urban and military	A number of altars dedicated to <i>Matrae</i> .	Willems 2009
Housesteads, Britannia	Military fort, occupied by auxiliaries and legionary detachments, and with <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> station.	Several large reliefs and carvings in the round of Mother Goddesses, possibly to be displayed together. Possible structure to the south of the site.	Rushworth 2009
Rudchester to Halton Chesters sector of Hadrian's Wall, Britannia	Military	Inscription, dedicated to Mother Goddesses, recording erection of temple with an altar by First Cohort of Vardullians.	<i>RIB</i> 1421; Rürger 1987
Castlesteads, Britannia	Military	Inscription recording restorations of a shrine to the <i>Matres</i>	<i>RIB</i> 1988
Benwell, Britannia	Military	Inscription, dedicated to the <i>Matres Campestres</i> and the Genius of <i>ala I Asturum</i> , recording restoration of a temple, dated March–June AD 238.	<i>RIB</i> 1334; Rürger 1987

Old Penrith, Britannia	Military	Inscription, dedicated to the <i>Matres</i> from Overseas and the divinity of the emperor, recording restoration of a shrine.	<i>RIB</i> 919; Rüger 1987
Bowness-on-Solway, Britannia	Military	Inscription recording dedication of the shrine; other altars.	<i>RIB</i> 2059; Rüger 1987
Old Carlisle, Britannia	Military	Dedication slab to <i>Matres</i> – could refer to a building?	<i>RIB</i> 901; Rüger 1987
Chester, Britannia	Military and urban	Inscription/building slab recording restoration of shrine or temple.	<i>RIB</i> 455; Rüger 1987
Cirencester, Britannia	Urban	A quantity of triple goddess reliefs and dedications to <i>Suleviae</i> .	<i>RIB</i> 105 and 106
London, Britannia	Urban	Inscription on white marble plinth, probably for statue of the Mother Goddesses, recording restoration of a shrine. Two large carvings. A votive plaque from Moorgate Street shows three Mother Goddesses within a shrine.	<i>RIB</i> 2; Rüger 1987; Toynbee 1978, 128, Fig.1, 142, no. 39.
Winchester, Britannia	Urban	Altar dedicated to the Italian, German, Gallic, and British Mother Goddesses, recording a restoration.	<i>RIB</i> 88
Dover, Britannia	Military and urban	Inscription recording building of temple or shrine to the Mother Goddesses of Italy.	<i>RIB</i> 3031; Rüger 1987

The large and apparently developed sanctuaries in rural Germania Inferior had several temple buildings each and were located near to one another on hills near to water sources or confluences of streams. Nettersheim, Pesch, Fronhoven, Nidereggen and Zingsheim have been excavated, and sizeable cult complexes have been uncovered, each with a number of buildings in use over a period of time. Modern visitors to the sites at Nettersheim, Zingsheim, and Pesch can wander amongst walls, conserved or reconstructed up to waist height (Figure 3.25).



Figure 3.25: Modern reconstruction of the temple site at Nettersheim.

The complex at Pesch was probably the largest, involving several buildings and several phases of construction and use of the site over approximately 200 years, between the second and fourth centuries when it was deliberately destroyed. The final phase comprised a basilica, a small six-sided temple within a precinct, and a well, along with the *Matronae* temple. Dedications appear to have been placed at various locations around the site. At Nettersheim, three Gallo-Roman cult buildings took the form of a central *cella* with surrounding ambulatory or *porticus*. The altars appear to have been set up externally, against the surrounding walls, and are even today reconstructed in this position. Unlike at Pesch, the complex appears to have fallen into disrepair. At Eschweiler-Fronhoven, there were four cult-related buildings, identified as a basilica or meeting room of the *curia* (temple congregation meeting house – though it is not clear how the cult was arranged or administered and so we do not know how this may have been used or if it was relevant to the Mother Goddesses), a rectangular votive hall, another rectangular, probably commercial building and a further

unidentified building, all dating to between the second and fourth centuries.³²⁶ The sites at Nideggen and Zingsheim were smaller, including at the former a small rectangular hall and an open area or sacred precinct. The latter is a moderate sized Gallo-Roman temple, similar to those seen on a larger scale at Nettersheim and Pesch, and the altars were probably placed outside the main *cella*, visible on the exterior.

Other finds of *spolia* have suggested the presence of possible places of worship at Inden-Pier and Titz-Rödingen,³²⁷ though no structures have been located. The dedicator of an inscription at Ehl, in the Rhineland, mentioned he has a piece of land that is sacred to the *Matrae* (understood as the same deities as the *Matronae*), the space defined for religious practice but without a building, implying that a structure was not essential in order to create a cult space.³²⁸ There was even evidence for worship of these goddesses within the landscape: pits, posts or even trees may have been the focus of religious activity, and some images were carved straight into the natural rock.³²⁹ Three seated goddesses, accompanied by three other figures were carved into the rock at Kindsbach-‘Heidenfelsen’, at the source of the Gutenbach stream.³³⁰ The temples at Nettersheim and Pesch in particular seem to have been associated with water sources: a well formed part of the complex at Pesch, while the temple at Nettersheim sits

³²⁶ Biller 2010, 241-264.

³²⁷ Forster and Perse 1999.

³²⁸ *CIL* XIII, no. 5959.

³²⁹ See, for instance, Tacitus, *Germania*, 9.3: “...*lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.*” ‘they consecrate groves and woods, and they call by the names of the gods that which they see only with reverence.’ Also, Derks 1998, 144 notes the interaction between auspicious parts of the landscape and choice of temple site: ‘cult places and sanctuaries were to be found at striking landscape features which are regarded as earthly abodes of the gods or as places where their particular blessings were apparent. In addition, cult places were set up in fields and settlements, in places where minerals were extracted and along roads and waterways.’ Derks 1998, 145-158, especially figs 4.11, 4.12, 4.13.

³³⁰ Espérandieu VIII, no. 6075.

above the Erft and Urft rivers, and near the source of the aqueduct that supplied the city of Cologne.

Dedications to the *Matronae* continue to turn up across the region near to these sites and around the towns of Jülich, Düren, Euskirchen, and Zülpich. At Zülpich a *Matrona* relief was used within or covered a later, Frankish grave located near the roadside.³³¹ This landscape between Cologne and Aachen primarily contained villa and farmsteads, but there were also major roads running out of Cologne to the west to Tongeren (*Via Belgica*), and Trier (*Via Agrippa*) running across this area. There would likely have been staging posts, either official *stationes* of the *Beneficarii*, as at Nettersheim and Zülpich, or *mansiones*, though Zülpich and Jülich seem to have been larger settlements and may be termed *Straßenvici*.³³² Dedications to several different *Matronae* groups, bearing different epithets were found at Zülpich, as well as a tiny votive dedication to the *Quadrubiae*, the goddesses of the crossroads at a junction of the main roads headed to the south. This area was at the border of tribal territories of the Ubii and Sunuci.³³³ It is possible that this is not coincidental, and that the deities were petitioned for safe journeys on major routes or may have been associated with boundaries.

Possible urban or extra-mural sites have been found, Xanten offering the only confirmed location of a temple in an urban context. At Cologne, the *Matronae* dedications were found outside the walls of the city, in the foundations of the early Christian church to St Gereon, but these cannot be related to a temple.³³⁴ It is possible that there was a sacred site under or near

³³¹ Haberey 1957, 309-10, no. 1. Other Frankish reuse of Roman sandstone was noted at nearby Mechernich by Tutlies 1992, 403.

³³² Biller 2010, 54-130.

³³³ Carroll 2001, 30, fig. 4.

³³⁴ The *matronae* temple at Trier Altbachtal was Gallo-Roman in plan: Gose 1972.

what is now the Minster at Bonn, given the volume and nature of the finds there too, and the presence of an building inscription dedicating the site to the Mother Goddess at Bonn, dating to the Antonine period.³³⁵ This would have been located to the south of the legionary fortress that was primarily the home to *legio I Minervia*, in the area of the *vicus*. Of course, Xanten and Cologne also had large military or official populations.

In Britain, the possible sites were almost exclusively military, with London and Cirencester, and to an extent Dover (though this was also the base of the *Classis Britannica*), offering important, urban, exceptions. However, these sites are identified primarily on the basis of a small sample of inscriptions or sculptures or other circumstantial evidence. Virtually no structural elements of a cult site dedicated to the *Matres* remain, even at Housesteads. There, a *Matres* temple has been identified, though the finds of sculpture seem to be grouped to the east of the fort, closer to the Knag Burn. Outside the fort and *vicus* to the south have been found a Mithraeum and a well and temple dedicated to Mars Thincsus.³³⁶ It was clearly appropriate for (non-Olympian) deities to be worshipped beyond the main military and settlement areas.

Small finds can offer some insight into the nature of worship. A ring with an inscription to the *Matres* was found in the Backworth treasure, in Northumberland, and another at Carrawburgh, providing some evidence for a personal relationship with the goddesses.³³⁷ Also in the Backworth treasure was a finely decorated skillet with traces of gilding and an inscription on the handle that dedicated it to the *Matres* which may have been used for

³³⁵ Rüter 1987, 22 suggests AD 161, though it might have been a little earlier. Derks 1998, Appendix 4.2 includes no other dedications to the Mother Goddesses. The only possible example might be the apparent dedication of a temple to the *Sunuxsal* in AD 239 at Zülpich-Hoven, *CIL* XIII, no. 7917.

³³⁶ Rushworth 2009, 265, fig. 10.20.

³³⁷ Backworth: Toynebee 1964, 303; *RIB* II.3 no. 2422.9. Carrawburgh: *RIB* II.3 no. 2422.28.

libations, while a bronze sceptre-head showing a female deity from Berkshire, if correctly identified, might have been associated with worship of the *Matres*.³³⁸ It is worth noting that Housesteads and Cirencester, two of the places in Britain with the most examples of Mother Goddess figures, were also the two places with most examples of carvings showing the *Genii Cucullati*, the enigmatic hooded figures typically shown in triplicate. An association between the deities seems possible here, especially since the Mother Goddesses were shown together with these fellows in more than one relief.

There is little evidence for when dedications may have been set up, whether as an organised festival day, or ad hoc votives from worshippers. The *Matronalia* festival, primarily celebrated by women and girls on the Kalends of March³³⁹ might offer an occasion. Yet, since the altars were in the main dedicated by men, a festival in which only women and girls took part seems an unlikely context. Given the use of *v s l m* on the inscriptions, and without further information of more precise dates, it seems best to propose that these were primarily one-off events, the completion of personal compacts with the deities.

The inclusion of *aediculae* on the images of the deities themselves could have removed the need for them to be placed within a cult structure or shrine. A single dedication combined an altar as evidence of fulfilment of a pact, a cult image of the deity, and temple, in effect representing an entire sanctuary offered by the dedicator.³⁴⁰ A parallel might be found in the choice of 'religious' iconography for some Roman lamps: these objects combined the image of a deity, often in 'statuesque' forms, with the votive act of burning oil to produce light from

³³⁸ Toynbee 1964, 303; Henig and Cannon, 2000. Tinkling bells may have been suspended from it, perhaps rung during rituals, like those that Tacitus describes for the worship of the 'Great Mother': Tacitus, *Germania*, 40.

³³⁹ *Tab. Vindol.* III. 581. 72.

³⁴⁰ Derks 1995, 121.

the object itself, thus creating or embodying their own cultic context, irrespective of the exact location in which they were used.³⁴¹

However, to summarise, the large number of dedications clustered at particular areas suggests that specific physical locations for worship of Mother Goddesses did exist, but these differed across the north-west region. Sanctuaries were particularly concentrated in Germania Inferior in the rural region of the Voreifel between Bonn and Aachen to the east and west and Jülich and Blankenheim to the north and south. Dedications were also found at urban sites, with a close association with the military at Bonn. Evidence for organized Mother Goddess worship in Britain was much scarcer, mention of restoration of temples on some inscriptions offering the best evidence we have, as *Matres* temple remains have not been identified in the archaeological record.³⁴² In Britain, dedications come from military or urban areas.

The different kinds of sites indicate not only possible variation in religious practice involving the usage of the images and altars, but also variation in the kinds of collective agency at play in interacting in this sacred space and in setting up Mother Goddess altars and figures. The identities of some of the dedicators as revealed by the inscriptions will be examined below, and it will be shown that both individuals and groups were involved; but, for now, the archaeology of the sanctuary sites suggests different ways of approaching and understanding the deities across the north-west, with greater potential for deliberate visit to the rural shrine and space for interactions within the complexes in Germania Inferior. The urban sanctuaries might operate in a similar way, offering a context for a community to develop, for instance at Xanten and Cologne (though, especially at Cologne, the lack of evidence prevents firmer

³⁴¹ Stewart 2000a.

³⁴² *RIB* no. 1988 offers clear evidence that the temple restored at Castlesteads was dedicated to the *Matres*, but others do not. Dedications to the *Matronae* in Germania are made alongside others to Mercury (at Bonn) and Jupiter Optimus Maximus (at Zülpich).

conclusions). The military associations at Bonn and in Britain hints at a different kind of community or collective agency.

Finally, examination of the reuse and final deposition of the Mother Goddesses dedications can show how they were viewed and treated when their religious or functional life was over. Many of the images found the fourth-century foundations of St Gereon in Cologne were fragmentary, as might be expected after reuse as building material.³⁴³ Small pieces were probably used as rubble or building fill, but larger blocks, where a good amount of the original object is preserved, were also used. These would already have been of useful rectangular shape and moderate size but were found broken and in particular the heads of the women had been removed. The late Roman period saw a considerable amount of reuse of building materials, and even important and large tomb monuments were recycled.³⁴⁴ Many examples from the Bonn Minster area are in good condition, or broken in areas consistent with general reuse, rather than a ritual or deliberate act. However, a significant number of the Mother Goddess figures from the sanctuaries in Germania Inferior and from Britain are now also headless, while the attributes that the goddesses held in their laps are missing too. This could be coincidental, but the consistent pattern of heads and hands being the target across a wide area seems deliberate.³⁴⁵ Perhaps trimming these elements from the stone blocks makes them better suited to reuse as building material, some of the pieces in the round rendered through these amendments more rectangular or square and more appropriate for construction. However, if the power of the object, or at least the correct identification of the deities, was concentrated in the head, hands and attributes, removal of those elements might be required

³⁴³ Thomas 2014.

³⁴⁴ The funerary monument to *procurator* C. Julius Classicianus, for instance, was one such tombstone reused in the late Roman bastions of the London city wall: *RIB* 12: see also Barker *et al* 2018.

³⁴⁵ See Croxford 2003 and Merrifield 1987 for further discussion of deliberate removal or preservation of certain body parts from statues.

to end the monument's functional life as a votive, or to signal the end of the use of the sacred area, and to repurpose it.

Chronology of production, use, and transmission

The Mother Goddess dedications across the north-west have typically been dated to the second and third centuries.³⁴⁶ This is based primarily on stylistic arguments, find context, or on epigraphic grounds, such as known presence of a military unit in a certain location or the forms of letters. Some inscriptions include consular dates that tell us more precisely when they were set up. The earliest securely dated altar on which the deities are shown in figural form was dedicated by Quintus Vettius Severus at Bonn in AD 164,³⁴⁷ others in the group from under Bonn Minster then presumed also to date the mid-second century. They might pre-date the deployment of a vexillation of *legio I Minervia*, members of whom dedicated to the *Matronae*, to serve in the Parthian War, or represent monuments of thanksgiving to the deities for safe return and survival of the plague.³⁴⁸ The Vettius altar has been considered a paradigm of the figural form, influencing the appearance of others.³⁴⁹ A number of others of similar style from Bonn have been designated products of the same 'Bonn sculpture workshop' in operation around the AD 180s, which also produced altars to Mercury.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ Woolf 2003b, n. 3.

³⁴⁷ Figure 3.19. For earliest date, see Rüger 1987, 10; Horn 1987, 38-9.

³⁴⁸ Rüger 1987, 10 and 24. *CIL* XIII, no. 8213 records a soldier's safe return from the Caucasus, while another altar at Bonn shows a Roman soldier overcoming another fighter, who has been interpreted as a Parthian: Lehner 1930, no. 17, now in LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. D 264.

³⁴⁹ Derks, 1998, 124.

³⁵⁰ Rüger 1983, 214; Lehner 1930, nos. 46, 47, 48, 50, 51 for altars to Mercury in similar format, showing the god within a niche flanked by pilaster, inscription below.

However, this second–third century date has been debated, especially for Germany. Inscriptions, without images of the deities, may have been earlier, perhaps even dating from the Flavian period,³⁵¹ which would mean the cult existed before the first figural representations. The origins of the religious structures at Pesch may be as early as the late first century,³⁵² though it is not clear exactly at what point the sanctuary was dedicated to the Mother Goddesses.

A similar second to third century bracket has been offered also for the figures from Britain, though again some inscriptions might be earlier. The altar from Winchester has been dated to the late first–early second century according to letter forms (sometimes an imprecise method).³⁵³ The altar records a restoration but is itself intact, so presumably the restoration was of some other construction related to the cult, perhaps a shrine pre-dating this altar. Again, these outliers would suggest some knowledge of and presence of the cult in southern Britain, perhaps as early as the Flavian period, and almost certainly by the Hadrianic. Otherwise, very few of the inscriptions from Britain can be securely dated, but we can propose some: Rürger dates the earliest dedications in the north of Britain to between AD 148 and 165, with others at Risingham from a group dated between AD 222 and 232.³⁵⁴ The chronology of the figures without dedications is even more difficult to establish but is generally taken to be from mid-second century onwards.

The end of the cult has also been debated, with many scholars placing it around AD 230 – 235, but some, such as Noelke and Rürger arguing that it continued until around AD 250 –

³⁵¹ Derks 1998, 126-7. A dedication by a member of *legio VI Victrix* at Jülich must have been made during the legion's stay in Germany between AD 70 and 120s, after which it was transferred to Britain: *CIL* XIII, no. 7869.

³⁵² Derks 1998, 126.

³⁵³ *RIB* no. 88.

³⁵⁴ Rürger 1987, 8.

260, with the latest securely-dated altar set up in Cologne-Deutz in AD 252.³⁵⁵ The stones, themselves, however, that were already set up by this date appear to have remained on display or otherwise somehow stored, given that they were then not employed in construction or reused for another century at least. The foundations at St Gereon in Cologne and those under the Minster in Bonn seem to date from the fourth century, while the Frankish graves are dated to the sixth or seventh centuries.

Figural representations of the Mother Goddesses were used in the north-west for a specific period of time, around 100–150 years from the early or mid-second to the mid-third century. This period was one in which both inscriptions and figural sculptures in general were most common in Britain and Germany; very few dateable inscriptions were set up after AD 250 in Germania Inferior. The intense interest, particularly in Germania Inferior, prompts consideration of why it was so popular at that time, though is partly explained by the general concentration of inscriptions in the second and early third centuries.³⁵⁶ Especially, if inscriptions did indeed date from as early as the Flavian period, why were the Mothers *represented* for the first time up to 80 years later (though potentially within fewer decades)? This will now be considered.

The iconography of the *Matronae* suggests that they were petitioned by their worshippers for prosperity or good fortune, and one inscription explicitly petitions the deities for the health of friends or family.³⁵⁷ The name also implies that they might act as responsible mature women, ancestral matriarchs, and matrons in a similar way to that in which men were patrons.³⁵⁸ The

³⁵⁵ Rüger 1987, 12-13. Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 3 is dated to AD 252 and is a dedication to a number of different deities, including the *Ambiamarcae* and *Ambiorenese*s. The *Matronae Ambiamarcae* received an earlier altar at Floisdorf: *CIL* XIII, no. 7898.

³⁵⁶ Spickermann 2008, 241-244.

³⁵⁷ Espérandieu XI, no. 7770; Appendix, MG 129.

³⁵⁸ Woolf 2003b, 135; Derks 1998, 119.

relief from Cirencester (Figure 3.8) has been described as evoking *Fecunditas Augusta* seen on coins of Faustina II, Lucilla, and Julia Domna. The Antonine period was one of some turmoil: the Parthian and Marcomannic Wars, disease and plague, and a period of wetter climate perhaps with impact on the harvest. These would be highly appropriate deities to petition for help at such a time.

It was also at this time that the empress was first called a *mater*: Faustina Minor, wife of Marcus Aurelius was given the title *Mater Castrorum*, mother of the camps in AD 174. She was also the first reigning emperor's wife to give birth to another emperor (Commodus).³⁵⁹ Before this Hadrian proposed deification of Trajan's wife Plotina as 'diva mater', the divine mother, while Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, was also termed 'mother of the camp' in AD 195; or, more fully, she was, *mater Augusti nostri et castrorum et senatus et patriae*, and this was widespread both on inscriptions that mention her and on coinage issued in her name at Rome.³⁶⁰ A Syrian Empress, a poem to her by Marcus Caecilius Donatianus at Carvoran also identifies her with Cybele, the eastern Magna Mater,³⁶¹ seemingly echoed on epigraphy too.³⁶² A red sandstone inscription plaque from Carlisle records a dedication to the Mother Goddesses in conjunction with Julia Mamaea (niece of Septimius Severus and mother of Severus Alexander), 'mother of our lord and of the army'.³⁶³ Another, from Silchester, is fragmentary but probably commemorates a dedication to either Julia Domna or Julia Mamaea, and can be dated to the first quarter of the third century.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ Cenerini 2013, 19.

³⁶⁰ Hemelrijk 2013.

³⁶¹ Henig 1984, 110.

³⁶² *RIB* no. 1791.

³⁶³ *RIB* no. 901.

³⁶⁴ *RIB* no. 68.

These explanations are rather conjectural. More convincing is the association between the dedications to *Matronae* in northern Italy in the first century and the movement of legionaries from this area to Germany during that century.³⁶⁵ A *Matrona* inscription from Pallanza, Italy, for the welfare of Gaius Caesar, dated to AD 37-41 is considered the earliest reference to the *Matronae* as deities of protection: *Matronis sacrum pro salute C(aii) Caesaris | Augusti Germanici | Narcissus C(aii) Caesaris*. ‘Consecrated to the *Matronae* for the wellbeing of Gaius Ceasar Augustus Germanicus Narcissus [the slave of] Gaius Caesar’.³⁶⁶ A graffito addressed to the *Suleviae* in Bern from the second half of the first century AD, shows the northward movement of the dedications.³⁶⁷

Rüger sees the popularity of the cult in Germany as an emergence of old Italian ideas, revived by the emperor and intellectual society of the time, which would explain the transfer of the word and the object through space and time: ‘in short, the Upper Roman *Matronae*, which had probably already fallen to oblivion, were newly discovered in their Rhenish counterparts.’³⁶⁸ The local epithets added to the *Matronae* names in Germany (but not in Italy) suggest that the sphere of their influence was limited geographically or to certain groups of people, that these women acted as benefactor matrons with specific interest for them or for that territory, including prosperity of the land and water supply. The term ‘mother’ or ‘matron’ might metaphorically mean a female patron of a town or city, or a woman with civic duty and patronage,³⁶⁹ and in this role they were considered ideal citizens and exemplary women.³⁷⁰ Some scholars have seen in this an interest in dedicating to ancestral mothers of the region or tribes, which pre-date Roman conquest in the area, highlighting the traditional dress of the

³⁶⁵ Derks 1998, 128.

³⁶⁶ *CIL* V, no. 6641.

³⁶⁷ Rüger 1987, 10.

³⁶⁸ Rüger 1987, 28.

³⁶⁹ Cenerini 2013.

³⁷⁰ Hemelrijk 2013, 80.

Ubian tribe which the German *Matronae* wear. The otherwise thoroughly Roman nature of the images and the way in which altars were used, in Roman ritual practices, makes this emphasis on ancestral religion and pre-Roman forms from centuries past unlikely. Instead, more convincingly, Woolf urges us to keep both the local and imperial aspects of the image and texts in mind and see these as products of awareness of localism within a larger system.³⁷¹ These goddesses, then, might be local patrons (or rather matrons), operating within a Roman world, relevant to the social and religious context of the time: the demands of the second and third centuries offered a highly suitable context for the heightened popularity and development of the cult, such that figural representations were more common in that period. However, the role of and movement of army units will be considered further in Chapter 5 (since the northward trajectory of inscriptions appears to reach Germany at a similar time to movements of legionaries from the end of the first century), while the mobility of civilian merchants and role in sharing images is discussed further in Chapter 6, since we have already seen the similarities between the iconography in Britain and in civilian parts of Gaul.

The evidence of inscriptions, and how text and image operated together

The quantity of figural representations of the Mother Goddesses in the north-west is eclipsed by the considerable body of inscriptions, which have been the subject of much study. Epigraphic remains tell us more about the deities, their names in different areas and clusters of local identities, as well as more about the identity of those dedicating. We can then compare this information in different areas across the north-west to see if similar kinds of people were approaching the deities in different areas, and also to see if the goddesses were identified in similar ways across the region. Some of these patterns were not shown by the images

³⁷¹ Woolf 2003b, 137-8.

First, we will consider the names of the deities and compare Britain and Germany. It has already been noted that the goddesses were called *Matres* in Britain, parts of France and Spain, but *Matronae* in Germany and Northern Italy. Within countries, there were also regional differences. The distribution of dedications in Britain, as with the images, emphasizes the line of Hadrian's Wall, and to some extent the Antonine Wall, while other inscriptions were from military sites in the north and parts of the south (Figure 3.26). In Germany, dedications were clustered, again, as with the images, around the Rhineland and between that river and the Maas/Meuse to the east (Figure 3.27). The dedications to *Matronae* without epithets were concentrated in the Po valley.

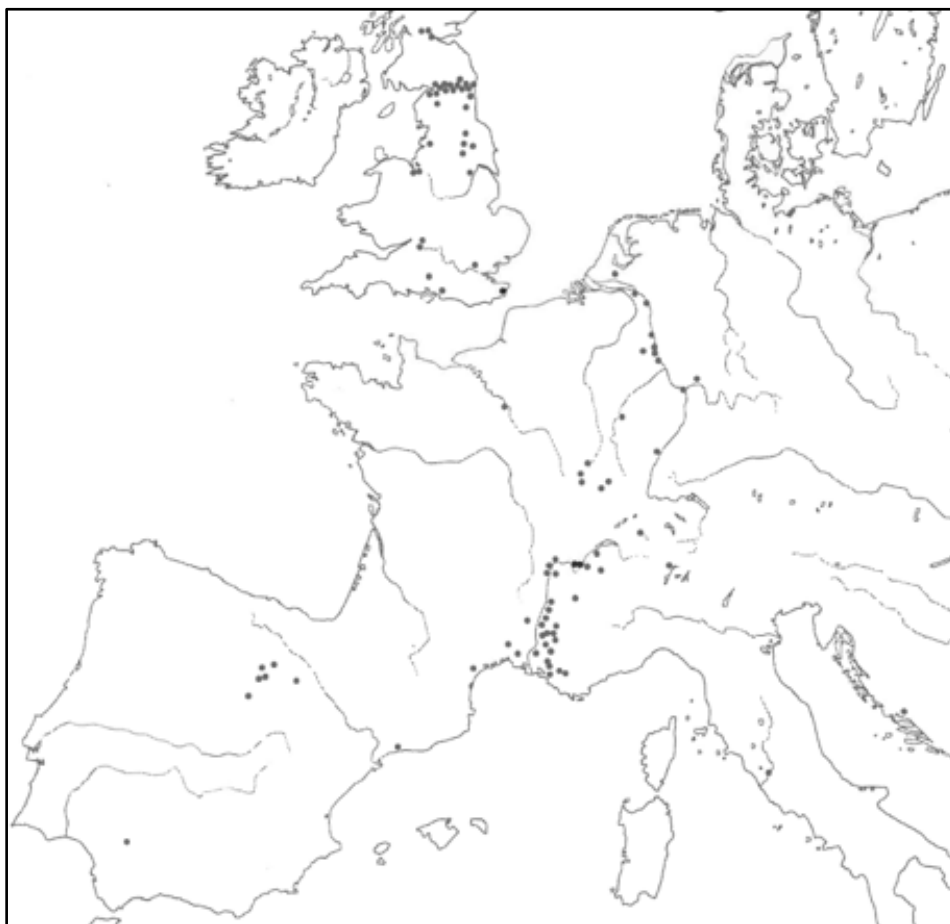


Figure 3.26: Distribution of dedications to *Matres* in the north-west provinces. From Rieger 1987, fig.3. Scale 1:20 million.

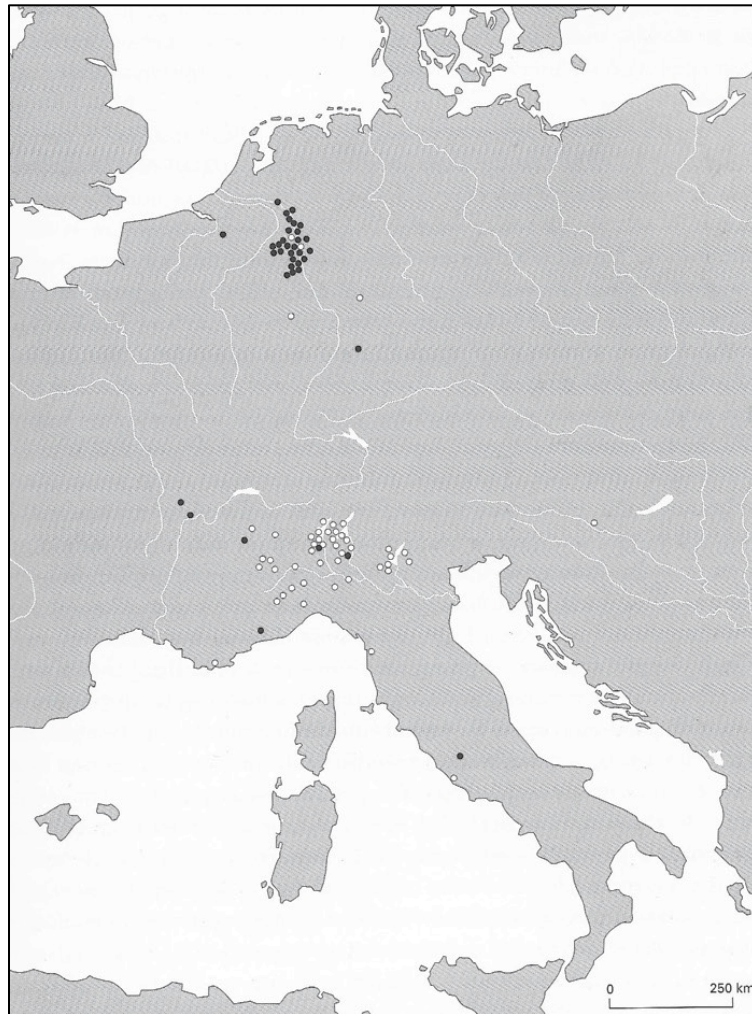


Figure 3.27: Distribution of dedications to *Matronae* in the north-west provinces. Solid black dots include epithets; hollow white dots are without epithets. From Derks 1998, 129, fig. 3.19, used with permission.

This distinction between *Matronae* and *Matres* appears to divide the two groups clearly, but some inscriptions suggest the distinction was not absolute. For instance, at Bonn, the dedication reads: *matribus sive matronis aufaniabus domesticis* ‘to the Mothers or Matronae Aufaniae Domesticae’.³⁷² In addition, two inscriptions from Cologne are dedicated to the *Matres Suebii* and another from the same city is to the *Matres Aumenahenae*.³⁷³ In other cases, dedications to the *Iunones* or simply *Deae* might be considered Mother Goddess dedications,

³⁷² *CIL* XIII, no. 8021. See also *CIL* XIII, no. 8003a, and *CIL* XIII, no. 12054.

³⁷³ Galsterer and Galsterer, nos 156 and 157; *CIL* XIII, no. 12054; Appendix MG 83, 88, 89.

especially since the iconography is the same.³⁷⁴ In private cult, women would have had a *juno* in the same way that men might have a *genius*, a kind of spiritual presence or alter-ego to whom dedications could be made.³⁷⁵ The term *Deae* would operate in a similar way, and once combined with an epithet, the particular area of influence of these general deities of good fortune could be identified and their help requested. With this in mind, the terms *Matres* and *Matronae* themselves take on a more general meaning, suggesting the goddesses had less to do specifically with motherhood or womanhood, but instead operated flexibly as more generic purveyors of fortune who could be called upon for specific purposes at different times.³⁷⁶

In Germany, epithets were used to distinguish the deities still further. They were specific and local, often deriving from topographic or tribal names, as well as encompassing concepts of fortune, luck, and fertility.³⁷⁷ Sometimes the epithet appears even without the use of *Matronae*, or in conjunction with another theonym instead. The use of epithets in Britain to accompany *Matres* focused also on the origins of the deities though emphasised that they were not native to the island: dedications were made to the ‘African, Italian, Gallic’ mothers at York and the ‘Italian, German, Gallic and British’ mothers at Winchester.³⁷⁸ There were also the *Matres Ollototae* (mothers of all peoples) or *Matres Tra(ns)marinae* (mothers from overseas).³⁷⁹ Some groups of epithets are paralleled across the region:³⁸⁰ for instance, the *Alatervae* at Cramond (and possibly Burgh-by-Sands)³⁸¹ were perhaps linked to the

³⁷⁴ Other theonyms are also known, sometimes combined with an epithet but not always: *nymphaea*, *fatae*, *sorores*, and (especially in Noricum) *alovnae* or *nutrices*: de Bernardo Stempel 2019, 1. See also Anwyl 1906, 36; Garman 2002, 48.

³⁷⁵ Alcock 1986, 129-131.

³⁷⁶ I am grateful for discussion with Astrid Schmölzer on this point, as well as on the old-fashioned gender-based assumptions around female deities as ‘mothers’.

³⁷⁷ Carroll 2016, 343.

³⁷⁸ *RIB* nos 653 and 88.

³⁷⁹ *Matres Ollototae*: *RIB* nos 574, 1030, 1031, 1032; *Matres Transmarinae*: *RIB* nos 1224, 1318, 1989. *RIB* no. 1030 equates the two deities.

³⁸⁰ For those in Britain and their parallels, see Birley 1986, 49-51.

³⁸¹ *RIB* nos 2135 and 2045.

Alaferhviae or *Alateiviae*, both attested on the Lower Rhine,³⁸² but the names are not precise. The *Matres Domesticae* were known in Britain at Chichester, York, Catterick, Stanwix, Burgh-by-Sands, and in Germany on six examples at Bonn and one from Mainz. The *Matres Campestris* were similarly known, particularly, as might be expected, at military sites across the north west, while from the civilian sphere, 36 altars to *Suleviae* are known from the empire, including at Boulogne and in the Rhineland and Britain.³⁸³ One of these was from Colchester,³⁸⁴ and four reliefs, mentioned above, were from Cirencester.

The use of epithets has been likened to *interpretatio Romana*, in which a ‘native’ deity was paired or equated with a Roman one.³⁸⁵ This does not seem this best explanation here: the epithets seem instead to be identifiers, clarifying the area or remit of the power of the deities. The German epithets were specific and local, related to specific places or groups of people, and have led to the assumption that *Matronae* were ‘ancestral’ deities of certain social or ethnic groups.³⁸⁶ In Britain, the epithets were pseudo-local. They focus the power of the deities and refer to specific places, such as the parade ground, but in rather general terms and lack the deep local connections that the inscriptions in Germany imply. Some of those places were not even ‘here’, where the dedication was being made, but overseas. Association with people is occasionally shown, but again is in more general terms: the Gallic, Italian, African, British mothers or the mothers ‘of all peoples’ are petitioned, rather than, for instance, the *Matronae* of the Vacalli tribe. These may reflect the places in which soldiers had sequentially served and where they might have had good fortune. However, I think they can be better

³⁸² *CIL* XIII, nos 7862 and 8606.

³⁸³ Gutenbrunner 1936, 226-8.

³⁸⁴ *RIB* no. 192. This mentions the *Matres Suleviae*; four others from the province are simply dedicated to the *Suleviae*.

³⁸⁵ See Webster 1995. Zoll 1995 offers further analysis of the instances in which this occurs, which deities it concerns and distribution across Britain.

³⁸⁶ Derks 1998, 73-130, especially 119-124 exposes the flaws in this argument.

understood as an effort on the part of the dedicator to make sure their petition was correct and effective. By using trans-local epithets, which might be highly applicable across a wide region, the dedicator could detach the power of the Mother Goddesses from a specific place and reapply it in their own circumstances. By being general, the dedicator could still ‘get it right’ in Britain. The concept is retained from the German approach but used in a different way. This is closely paralleled in the adoption and adaptation of the iconography. The use of the local dress of the Ubian region, for instance, was not required in Britain, no longer relevant in a new location, and elements of the iconography could be made more mobile while remaining correct by being distilled to the essentials.

Finally, we can examine the names of dedicators and compare them across the region. The distributions of dedications in Britain (Figure 3.26) suggested a military association which is borne out in the texts themselves. Of the 35 inscriptions which preserve the name of the dedicator (from a total of 50 inscriptions altogether), 15 were made by individual men who identify themselves as soldiers or officials, including three *Beneficarii Consulares* and one *Strator Consularis*, or use the *tria nomina* suggesting citizen status. A further 9 were made by groups of soldiers, mostly from the *cohortes* and *alae*.

The dedicators in Germany, especially those setting up altars in Bonn, seem to be people of status and means: Q. Vettius Severus (Figure 3.19) was quaestor in Cologne and C. Candidinius Verus and Ti. Macrinus Titianus were decurions.³⁸⁷ Of the 44 altars recovered from Bonn Minster during Lehner’s excavations in the 1920s, the majority were dedicated by men of high standing within *legio I Minervia*, including several men of the rank *legatus Augusti*, along with their wives, and several more by *Beneficarii Consulares*.³⁸⁸ Officials

³⁸⁷ Espérandieu XI, nos 7762 and 7764; Appendix, MG 118, 119, 124.

³⁸⁸ Lehner 1930, nos 1 -44.

were clearly moving between the sites on the Rhine, a close relationship established between the fort at Bonn and the major town of Cologne. We might assume they also served at Nettersheim owing to the wide distribution of dedications to the *Matronae Aufaniae* at Bonn, Cologne, Nettersheim, compared to other, tighter distributions of dedications to other varieties of Mother Goddess. These altars were amongst the most detailed, and the largest, emphasizing the means available to these men of status and their families, and would have likely been displayed publicly between the legionary fort and *vicus* at Bonn where their status could be shown off. The dedications to *Matronae* at Cologne were also made by some men from *legio I Minervia* and by officials, though more often their rank or status is assumed from the *tria nomina* rather than being included on the altar itself. Groups of men, men who identify themselves as merchants, and individual women, also offered altars at Cologne.³⁸⁹

Women are also mentioned on some inscriptions: in Britain, around three of the 50 or so inscriptions to Mother Goddesses were set up by women, either acting alone or with someone else; another two were for a woman's welfare. An inscription from London mentions restoration of a temple, and was set up by *Vicinia*, which could be a name or an area of the city.³⁹⁰ Altars dedicated by women alone are also rare in the Rhineland, though more were set up by a man and woman together. Of 299 *Matronae* inscriptions in the museum in Bonn, 19 bear women's names, with just 10 dedicated solely by women.³⁹¹ Some dedicators had Celtic or Germanic names, or were mixed: Lubasnius (Germanic name), son of Exomnius (Celtic), dedicated two altars at Pesch.³⁹² The division of the epithets of the goddesses themselves into ethnic and tribal groupings has been the subject of study, particularly by scholars of linguistic

³⁸⁹ Thomas 2014.

³⁹⁰ *RIB* no. 2.

³⁹¹ Garman 2002, 91; Lehner 1918b, 120-209. Bauchhenß-Thüriedl and Bauchhenß 2002 show that around 20 per cent of the altars at Eschweiler-Fronhoven and at Pesch were dedicated by women.

³⁹² Lehner 1918b, nos 349 and 350,

differences in the region.³⁹³ The influence or transmission from northern Italy mentioned above, along with the prevalence of ‘Celtic’ people there is suggestive,³⁹⁴ but beyond the scope of this chapter.

Conclusions

Returning to the four points with which we started, this chapter has shown that the iconography used for representations of the *Matres* and *Matronae* was in essence similar across the north-west, but that there were considerable and important differences. These similarities and differences allowed the deities to be recognised across the area, for the image to be made regional and mobile, once it had been extracted and adapted from the intense localism seen in the carvings from Germania Inferior and the area of the Rhineland, Eifel and Voreifel. In this region, the *Matronae* cult appeared to be better established with physical sanctuary sites which housed up to hundreds of altars. Outside of this area, images were clustered, but not in great numbers and conclusive evidence for cult centres is difficult to find. The worshippers of the *Matronae* in Germania Inferior were often officials of the military, and again there was strong association with the military in Britain. So too, however, did women and presumably local people with Celtic or Germanic names. Destruction and reuse of the images appears to have been practised across the north-west, the dedications meeting the fate of many other sculptural materials in this way. The images were set in the context of the religious culture of the second and third centuries, perhaps associated with historical events of the time, and were probably used contemporaneously across the north-west. Finally, the evidence of inscriptions can help provide more detail to what can be ascertained from the

³⁹³ Bernardo Stempel 2019 for instance.

³⁹⁴ Williams 1997.

images, but it can be problematic in part owing the lack of images with associated inscriptions from Britain.

The close relationships between the military and these dedications has suggested a role for the army in sharing the iconography. However, the similarities to be found between the iconography in Britain and the appearances in Gallia Belgica and other parts of Gaul as much as in Germany, suggesting a potentially complex route of transmission involving both civilians too, if such a route existed. In addition to the examples above, carvings of Mother Goddesses, using similar iconography but showing just two figures survive from Saintes on the far west coast of France.³⁹⁵ Further analysis of the agents involved (soldiers, traders), and other economic considerations that may have affected production and quality, follows in Chapters 5 and 6.

The main conclusion, however, is that the iconography and nomenclature could be retained or adapted and so made relevant in new contexts and new locations. The choice to represent the goddesses using a broadly consistent iconography and universal image of a seated deity, found elsewhere in Roman religious representation, was balanced with tailoring to local circumstance. Exclusively Lower German traits could be disentangled from the essential elements, allowing the deity to become mobile and reconstituted in a way that was relevant in Britain and other places in which dedications have been found. This juxtaposition of local and universal, the choices and shifts in the portrayal of a deity, in the ways in which the imaginary is brought into existence as a personification, is seen in other aspects of Roman religion, and will be considered further in Chapter 7 below.

³⁹⁵ Espérandieu, nos 1317 and 1329.

Chapter 4 - Imperial portraits in Britain and Germany

By contrast with the previous two case studies, which have displayed specific local variations, it might be expected that imperial portraits would exhibit a high degree of uniformity, since this was a class of sculpture typically orientated towards the centre of Roman power, as least in its ideological motivations. Consistency is the hallmark of the emperor's portrait, evidenced by the identification of typologies into which many surviving statues can be set. However, portrait statues were not put up in a vacuum: choices of the appearance (for instance hairstyle, clothing, pose, size), location, and date or occasion were relevant to the impact they were expected to have. The surviving images, even those of the emperor, can exhibit variations, the product of local choices.

This case study also complements the first two in other ways. First, it offers the opportunity to consider production of statuary in materials other than native stone: i.e. large-scale statuary in bronze and Mediterranean white marble sculpture found in the north-west. Secondly, in general terms, the practice of setting up a portrait or statue of a living person represented a different kind of intention or activity from that offered by the first case studies and served a different purpose. Public portrait statues were set up not by the subject of the image but by another patron as a mark of respect, gratitude, or loyalty. They provide evidence for an honorific relationship between patron and subject and the construction of socio-political ties, rather than funerary commemoration for posterity or to complete a religious vow or interaction. It might be expected that these images, both in their appearance and in the connections to the state or political elite that they represented, would emphasise links to the imperial regime and the socio-political structures of the Roman world. Finally, imperial portraits belonged in different contexts and physical settings from Mother Goddess dedications or cavalry tombstones. While the monuments of the first two cases are typically

found only in this north-west region, imperial portraits reached all parts of the empire, in a variety of formats, and both public and private settings. This case study allows examination of the local and regional aspects of appearance and use of sculpture in the north-west, set against the wider empire.

Considerable work has been devoted to understanding the processes of production and circulation that resulted in the formal similarities identifiable in surviving imperial portraits. Detailed typologies, established based on the specific formal similarities or repetition of key details, have been constructed and refined over many decades.³⁹⁶ Complementing this, a now-dominant alternative trend in scholarship emphasises the physical and socio-cultural context, local adaptation and interpretation, and the historical implications for the images.³⁹⁷ In one of the earliest analyses to take regional variation as the starting point, Zanker sought to explore and explain the appearance of imperial images in the provinces. First, he addressed the methodological problems which provincial portraits that were ‘not similar’³⁹⁸ (in his phrase) to those portraits which closely conformed to types, posed. He considered how to identify the individual represented; how best to assess the quality of the workmanship; how to understand the tradition or extent of independence within which the sculptor worked; what differences in a process of production or circulation are implied.³⁹⁹ Secondly, he considered what was implied of the relationship between provincial subject and emperor. This alternative approach allows imperial portraits to be interrogated as the product of local choices, rather than only

³⁹⁶ Amongst a number of important studies employing this approach are those in the *Das römische Herrscherbild* series, Fittschen 1971, Bergmann 1978, Fittschen and Zanker 1985. Fejfer 2008, 383 suggested that this made the emperor recognisable.

³⁹⁷ Summarised by Borg 2012.

³⁹⁸ Smith 1996, 41 concurs that ‘more adjusted and adapted versions tend to be from the provincial centres’ rather than Rome or Italy, but that there are no firm rules.

³⁹⁹ Zanker 1983, 7–9.

within the tight confines of positivist formal analysis, and has been further developed, particularly by Smith, in recent decades.⁴⁰⁰

The evidence for the north-west is scant when compared to these or the Mediterranean regions of the empire.⁴⁰¹ While excavated examples of imperial portraits number around 5,000, and some estimates place the original number of sculptural imperial portraits in the ancient world at several hundred thousand, only a handful of those were found in the north-west.⁴⁰² Even then, identifications are often speculative at best. This lack is interesting in itself and reasons for it will be considered. However, it also limits the extent to which formal comparisons of the material can be made and the results to be gained from mapping adherence to types and variations across the region. Statue bases and fragments of large figures will be included in discussion here, in order to analyse locations of use (distribution across different kinds of sites as well as contexts within sites), functions of the imperial image, and chronology (both analysis of clustering of images in certain periods and consideration of specific occasions on which they might have been set up) using a larger body of evidence.⁴⁰³ The comparisons between the material from Britain and the German provinces will form the main axis of

⁴⁰⁰ For instance, Smith 1996 and 1998.

⁴⁰¹ The preservation of public spaces at Cuicul (Djémila), Thamugadi (Timgad), Aphrodisias, Italica, Mérida, and to some extent at Pompeii, for instance, offer greater opportunity to understand the nature of statuary dedications in those urban areas and to contextualise imperial portraiture: see Alföldy 1979; Zanker 1988; Zimmer 1989; Fejfer 2008, fig. 40; Revell 2009, 84-5; Noreña 2011, 273-4. For a survey of statues in provincial towns see Stewart 2003, 157-183.

⁴⁰² Fittschen 2010, 221. Smith (1985, 209) suggests current excavated or known examples number in the thousands, probably around 5000 according to Fittschen (2015, 52), with more found each year. Pfanner's oft-quoted estimation of 25,000 - 50,000 portraits of just Augustus is based partly on rate of production of Napoleonic statuary and partly on an estimate of how many statues one might find of Augustus in each of the 1000 cities of the empire, plus villas, *vici* and sanctuaries, and so is no more than a guess (Pfanner 1989, 178-9). Approximations founded on volumes of vacant statue bases offer another, more certain and systematic if perhaps less complete, way of estimating loss: Højte has counted 2300 statue bases from 800 sites (including *c.* 250 of Augustus and 180 of Hadrian, the two most frequently-represented emperors) (Cited by Noreña 2011, 203).

⁴⁰³ All objects are catalogued in the Appendix, with IP (imperial portrait) numbers.

discussion, but the use of the imperial image also created ties between groups of people in the north-west and elsewhere and is part of an empire-wide phenomenon. The main questions are: what was similar and what was different in appearance, location of use, function, chronology of imperial portraiture in Britain and Germany? What might have been the causes? How do imperial portraits in the north-west relate, in appearance and function, to those from other parts of the empire?

Analysis of appearance: conformity to type and variation across the region

There are no complete full-size statues from anywhere in the north-west, just a handful of almost complete busts; no statues can be matched with their bases to confirm identifications. The head was the main diagnostic part of a specific statue or image ‘standing as sufficient marker of an individual’s identity’,⁴⁰⁴ especially since bodies were often made conforming to one of a narrow range of generic forms: ‘the body types of Roman portraits are stereotyped incorporations of general public roles and qualities: the toga of Roman citizenship, the *velatio* of *pietas*, the cuirass of military *virtus*, the naked body of heroic virtues.’⁴⁰⁵ Discussion in this chapter rests primarily on accurate identification of 41 surviving full-size portrait statue heads from the north-west.

Of the 41, only nine can be accepted without doubt as depicting emperors; four from Britain and five from the two German provinces. Another one has been identified (as Julian the Apostate), but probably comes from a monument for triumphal or other reasons within the public area near the theatre in Mainz, rather than an honorific portrait statue.⁴⁰⁶ A further ten

⁴⁰⁴ Stewart 2003, 47.

⁴⁰⁵ Hölscher 2018, 197.

⁴⁰⁶ In this way, and in its use of local materials, it may be compared to the figure of Tiberius in relief on the victory column at Nijmegen. The column dedicated to Jupiter and honouring

other portraits from Britain and the two German provinces could be imperial images but are now either so damaged as to make identification with any certainty impossible or are, on balance, more likely to be images of private individuals, inspired by the fashion of the time. These will also be considered below. Eight more heads, perhaps of emperors, from Britain have been excluded from discussion, owing to their probable later manufacture or import to the province in the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century.⁴⁰⁷ It is notable that such imports were less common in Germany, related to differing collecting practice and modern histories. Finally, there are 13 possible portrait heads of people within the imperial family or of the emperor before accession. A number of these, however, should again be discounted owing to their uncertain identifications or lack of confirmed provenance and the likelihood that they are more recent collectors' items, and so only a few of these are considered below.

I start with the nine confirmed identifications. The earliest is the bronze head of Nero from the River Alde (Figure 4.1). Generally accepted as an example of that emperor's second portrait type, used from the AD 50s, with large ears and hair brushed over the forehead with slight parting at the front.⁴⁰⁸ It appears to have been roughly removed from the body, but a narrative in which an equestrian statue in central *Camulodunum* was torn down during the revolt of the Iceni remains unproven.⁴⁰⁹ The bronze head of Hadrian, dredged from the River

Nero also in Mainz is also a comparator particularly to the Nijmegen column. Though it portrays relief carvings of 28 deities and would most likely have had a bronze statue of Jupiter on top (now in the Landesmuseum, Mainz: *CIL* XIII, no. 11806a; Espérandieu, VII, no. 5887), it is a monument dedicated to and honouring the emperor, like the pillar to Tiberius.

⁴⁰⁷ *CSIR* GB I.2, no. 91; *CSIR* GB I.8, nos 25, 26 and 96; *CSIR* GB I.10, nos 30, 31 and 51; *CSIR* GB I.11, forthcoming – information provided by L. Allaon-Jones, from Brownlow near Glossop. Appendix, IP 34–IP 41.

⁴⁰⁸ Hiesinger 1975, n. 17; see the portrait from Cagliari for comparison: Hiesinger 1973, figs 32 and 33. It has in the past been erroneously published as Claudius: Toynbee 1962, 6, 123, no. 1; *CSIR* GB I.8, no. 23.

⁴⁰⁹ A fragment of a bronze statue of a horse, broken and the piece flattened, has been linked with this head, especially since the metal composition of both shows low lead content: *CSIR* GB I.8, no. 73. This piece comes from Ashill, a Romano-British enclosure within territory of the Iceni and provides circumstantial evidence for interpreting these pieces as booty.

Thames by old London Bridge in 1834, has been consistently identified since its discovery (Figure 4.2). Hadrian is shown aged around 30, so this is probably earlier than other well-known bronze portraits, such as the portraits in the Louvre and from Tel Shalem, Israel. The eyes here are more widely spaced, the beard and moustache wispier, emphasising youth, and the ears larger than on those comparable bronzes. The front of the London head is finished more finely than the sides and the back, where the curly hair is summarily incised. We cannot know how the body was posed or clothed, though the location of the break at the neck would allow for a cuirass and *paludamentum* or perhaps a toga.⁴¹⁰ The features of the bronze head of Gordian III from Niederbieber, an auxiliary fort founded in the second century on the Upper Germanic-Raetian *Limes* around 50 km south east of Bonn, are fine to the front of the head, but, again, the hair is lightly incised at the back (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.1: Bronze, life-size head of Nero found in the River Alde in Suffolk. H: 31.5cm. British Museum inv. no. 1965, 1201.1. Hiesinger 1975, n. 17. [Image](#) © The Trustees of the British Museum, used under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license. Appendix, IP 1.

⁴¹⁰ The Tel Shalem head had long been thought to fit on the cuirassed body with which it is associated, and would have offered a parallel, but this association has now been challenged: Gergel 1991.



Figure 4.2: Bronze, life-size head of Hadrian from the River Thames. H: 43cm. British Museum inv. no. 1848,1103.1. CSIR GB I.10, no. 213. [Images](#) © The Trustees of the British Museum, used under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license. Appendix, IP 2.

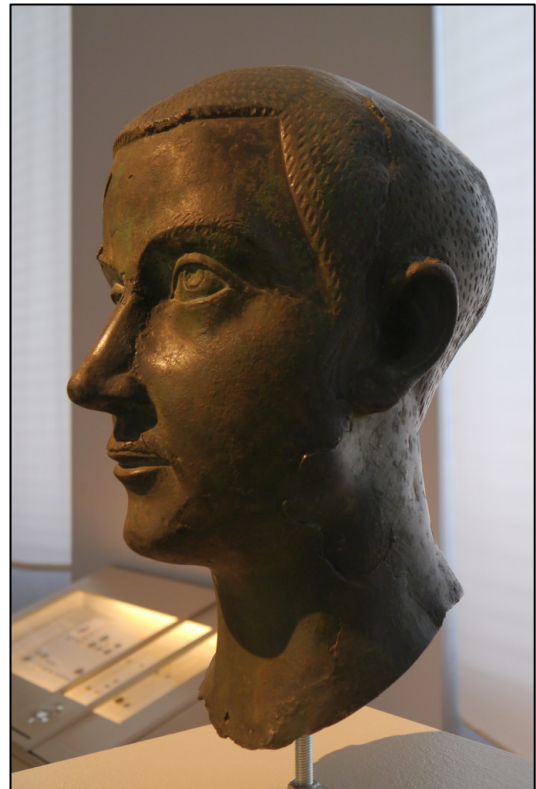




Figure 4.3: Four views of bronze, life-size head of Gordian III, from Niederbieber fort, c. AD 242-44. H: 41cm. LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn inv. no. 9132. First image © Livius.org, with permission from Jona Lendering; others by the author. Espérandieu I, 6; Zanker 1983, 41. Appendix, IP 7.

Each of these conforms to known imperial portrait types: Hiesinger considered the Nero an ‘apparently provincial work, but one clearly patterned after the central model.’⁴¹¹ The London bronze Hadrian head is a variant of the Stazione Termini type, in use from AD 117.⁴¹² Toynbee considered it the product of a Gallic workshop, but it could have been made locally.⁴¹³ The image of Gordian III from Niederbieber looks like other bronze images of this emperor, for instance from Nicopolis ad Istrum, Bulgaria with its ‘pecked’ eyebrows and roughly incised hair.⁴¹⁴ The Bulgarian bronze is finer, with greater plasticity to the hair and softer lips and cheek bones; the German image more stylised. In neither, however, is the side

⁴¹¹ Hiesinger 1975, n. 17.

⁴¹² Toynbee 1958, 138; Evers 1994, 123-4, no. 55, and 222-4 for date of the type.

⁴¹³ Toynbee 1964, 51. For discussion of regional manufacture of large-scale bronzes see Zanker 1983, 9; Noelke 2012, 424; Müller 2014, 212-3.

⁴¹⁴ Sofia National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1497.

or rear rendered in as much detail as the front, in similar fashion to the London Hadrian, suggesting the importance of frontality in the bronze images.

Of the six confirmed marble portraits, two may be identified from the arrangement of the hair as Augustus, one as Domitian recut from a portrait of Nero, one as Commodus, one as Septimius Severus, and the last as Constantine. The portrait of Augustus from Wiesbaden (Figure 4.4) has the characteristic curl over the right eyebrow and locks in the centre of the head slightly parted over the left eyebrow of the Prima Porta type, though the eyes and jawline are here more prominent.⁴¹⁵ The closest comparison may be with images from Mérida and Arles,⁴¹⁶ though there is some suggestion of the heavier features of the earlier Beziers-Spoleto type.⁴¹⁷ Though only a small fragment of the head from Cologne remains (Figure 4.5), the similarity with the hair and ear of an Augustus Prima Porta type is convincing.

⁴¹⁵ Compare, for instance, statues from around the Empire, such as Boschung 2002, cat. no. 1.1 from Lepcis Magna, cat. no. 23.1 from Arles, or cat. no. 26.1 from Segobriga.

⁴¹⁶ See Boschung 2002, cat. no. 21.9 from Mérida, and 23.1 from Arles.

⁴¹⁷ Boschung 1993, cat. 1 and 2. Note Smith suggests that this type may instead be a version of the Alcludia type: Smith 1996, 39.



Figure 4.4: Front and side views of white marble head of Augustus from Kranzplatz, Wiesbaden. H: 22cm. Now in Wiesbaden Museum inv. no. 61/9 or 500640. CSIR De ii.11, no.68. Appendix, IP 9.



Figure 4.5: Fragment of white marble larger than life size head of Augustus, from Pratorium, Cologne. H: 22cm. Now in the Romisch-Germanisches Museum, Koln, inv. no. 53,952. Arachne no. 220311. Appendix, IP 5.

A colossal white marble head from Cologne (Figure 4.6) is likely to be an imperial image owing to its size and material, but the identity has been the subject of much debate.⁴¹⁸ It has most recently been considered a portrait of Domitian, a variant of his first type, recut from an earlier portrait of Nero. The eyes seem appropriate for that emperor, while the locks down the neck from the nape can be seen on Nero's third type. Flattened across the back of the head and the crown, the face appears pared back from the hairstyle, supporting the suggestion that it was recut.⁴¹⁹ However, there is also a striking similarity to a head of Claudius now in Copenhagen,⁴²⁰ a previous alternative identification.



Figure 4.6: White marble head of colossal size, probably Domitian recut from a portrait of Nero. From Heumarkt, Cologne, first century. H: 44cm. Now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 667. Espérandieu, VIII, no. 6445; Varner 2004, 59, 60, 126, 248, no. 2.42. Appendix, IP 8.

⁴¹⁸ Schäfer 2016. The box in which the large head is kept in the magazine at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, carries the history of the series of identifications: earlier suggestions have been written in black marker on the crate, and then crossed out, replaced by an improved identification: see the background of the image on the right.

⁴¹⁹ A number of other Nero / Domitian images are known: Varner 2004, 57-61.

⁴²⁰ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. no. 1277; Massner 1982, 126-131, Taf. 34 a c

The head of Commodus from Richborough (Figure 4.7) was discovered some years ago, but has only recently come to light again as the original finders, realising its importance, took the head to Sandwich Museum, Kent for further analysis.⁴²¹ Though now worn and damaged, the resemblance to portraits of Commodus in around AD 180–1, at his accession aged 18 or 19, is credible, with the technical treatment of the beard and curly locks concurring with a late Antonine date.⁴²² The nose is broken, the surface of the left cheek is gone, the top rear of the head missing, and the head is shorn off at the neck. Henig and Hayward suggest this is the result of a politically-motivated iconoclastic attack at the end of the second century, but the damage could have resulted from less violent removal of the portrait and the passage of time. The portrait was found amongst tree roots on a bank to the east side of the fortified area, where the site has eroded, suggesting its original location was the military area of Richborough fort. The end of the nose features a neatly-drilled dowel hole, indicating that a restoration, since broken off, was used to complete the feature. This repair particularly resembles those made after the antique period, but a similar sized and shaped repair hole can be seen, for instance, on the head of Nike from the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome, repaired in the Augustan period using a metal pin.⁴²³ If modern, the repair could have been completed either since its discovery in the twentieth century or in earlier centuries, perhaps a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century repair to an import at that time. The find spot, however, makes the latter less probable. It is not clear why the head would have been dumped at the side of the fort, and there are few large houses, typically the context for a collectors' piece, in the area. The modern history too suggests the repair was not completed in the last 50 years or so since its discovery. The head was found by two boys playing between a disused railway

⁴²¹ Thanks to Martin Henig, Kevin Hayward and Brian Philp for this information.

⁴²² Hayward and Henig 2019 mention examples now in Paris and Rome: Wegner 1939, 261, Taf. 51b (Louvre, Paris); 264-5, Taf. 51a (Museo Nazionale di Terme, Rome); 268, Taf. 52 (Vatican Museums, Rome).

⁴²³ Harrison 1990, 175, fig. 12. Thanks to Kevin Hayward and Martin Henig for further discussion on this point.

line and the eroding bank and was stored apparently without further attention in a shed until it was taken to Sandwich Museum in 2015. So far, the evidence is inconclusive.

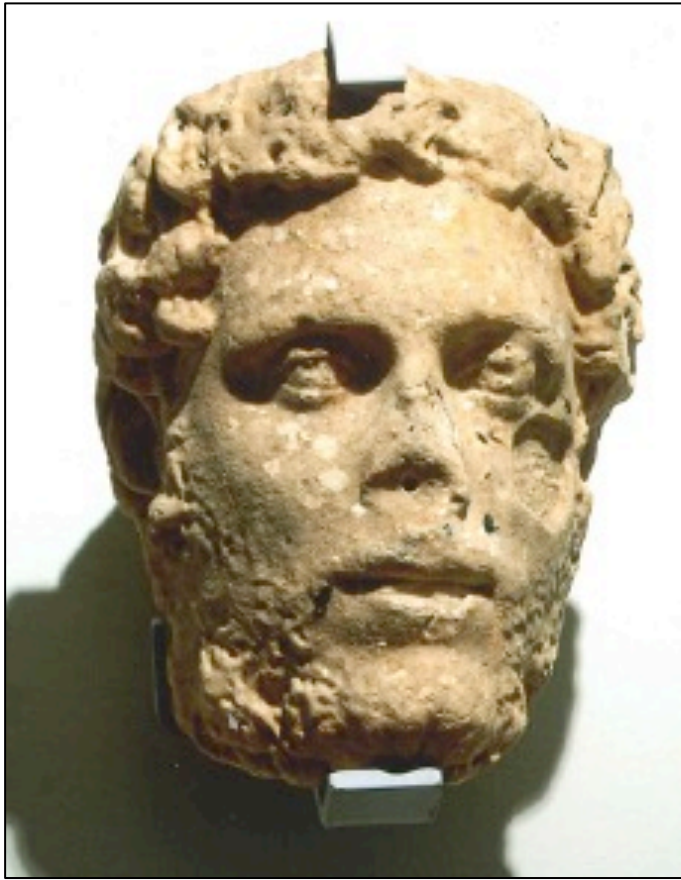


Figure 4.7: White marble head of Commodus, from the east side of the fortified area at Richborough, c. AD 180-181. H: 24.5cm. Now in Sandwich Museum. Image courtesy of Dr Brian Philp. Hayward and Henig 2019. Appendix, IP 3.

The white marble portrait of Septimius Severus from Bonn (Figure 4.8) came from the legionary fort area. The front right temple is damaged, while the socket for the nose appears to be an ancient repair or join. Part of the cloak remains at the break at the back of the neck, suggesting that this bust or full-size statue wore military dress with cuirass and *paludamentum*.

Finally, the twice life-size head of Constantine (Figure 4.9) was found near the fort *principia* at York. The wreath of oak leaves (*corona civica*) and clean-shaven face supports the

identification, originally proposed by Richmond.⁴²⁴ These elements were typical of earlier, first-century, portraits, but this classicising trend is a known feature of Constantine's portraiture and the use of the drill on the eyes and mouth confirms it is indeed later.⁴²⁵ Richmond suggested that this statue would have been dressed in military garb and likely dates to the earlier part of Constantine's reign, around AD 306:⁴²⁶ the face is quite youthful, when compared to later examples, and this would associate the image with the historical context of Constantine's proclamation in York in that year. Russell, however, proposed that the proportionately smaller facial features and low-set ears suggest that the head has been recut from an earlier statue, perhaps a posthumous image of Hadrian that was still standing in 306.⁴²⁷ If so, this would argue for a later date for the reworking, perhaps AD 312 after the defeat of Maxentius. The *corona* could have been created from an earlier hairstyle, while the chin and shape of the face do now appear rather flat.

⁴²⁴ Richmond 1944. Note, however, that the oak wreath might not necessarily confirm an imperial identification: Massner 1988 has argued that these may be worn by private individuals in the eastern Empire, though whether this also applies in the north-west is not clear.

⁴²⁵ Hartley *et al.* 2006, cat. no. 9.

⁴²⁶ Richmond 1944, 4.

⁴²⁷ Russell 2018, 216-17, 222. He suggests that this was selective recycling, aligning the new emperor's image with that of those from the past. A similar argument is sometimes made for the use of *spolia* in the Arch of Constantine or the creation of the colossus now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome: Varner 2004, 217-8, 287.



Figure 4.8: Four views of white marble life size head of Septimius Severus, from Am Wichelshof, Bonn, near the site of the legionary fort, c. AD 196. H: 38cm. Now in LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn, inv, no. U215. Espérandieu VIII, 6249; Lehner 1918b, no. 14. Appendix, IP 6.



Figure 4.9: Colossal white marble head of Constantine I from the Stonegate (near the site of the fort principia) at York, around AD 306. H: 42cm. Now in the Yorkshire Museum YORYM 1998.23

Image © York Museums Trust, used under CC BY-SA 4.0.

CSIR GB I.3, no. 38. Appendix, IP 4.

The other ten heads either cannot be identified owing to the extent of damage, or they cannot be associated with known imperial portrait types and should be considered examples of the *Zeitgesicht*. Amongst the most damaged are two white marble heads, now so worn as to be virtually unidentifiable: that from Great Eastern Street in London and the colossal-sized portrait from Bosham. They are most often recognised as Nero and Trajan respectively,⁴²⁸ and laser-scanning techniques have recently been used to confirm identifications,⁴²⁹ but without conclusive results. Two further heads, one from Chester-le-Street and the other from Monkwearmouth in Britain both in sandstone, seem to show the subjects wearing laurel wreaths, suggesting they were imperial,⁴³⁰ but one cannot be identified with any certainty (it

⁴²⁸ Nero: now in the Museum of London inv. no. 3373; *CSIR GB I.10*, no. 20; Appendix, IP 11. Trajan: found in a vicarage garden or churchyard, Bosham, now in The Novium, Chichester inv. no. A10150; *CSIR GB I.2*, no. 90; Appendix, IP 12.

⁴²⁹ Russell and Manley 2013 and 2015. Soffe and Henig 1999 (9, figs. 3-5) also identify the Bosham head as Trajan, comparing it to one from Ostia.

⁴³⁰ *CSIR GB I.11*, forthcoming; Appendix, IP 16 and IP 17. Many thanks to Lindsay Allason-Jones for providing me with information on these objects, pre-publication.

might more likely be a local deity) and the other is so worn as to make any conclusions impossible.

Two more portraits from Britain and one from Germany are somewhat damaged. A possible head of Gallienus from a private garden in Pulborough, Sussex has had the facial features cut off, removing the nose, lips and eyebrows, so that the front is flat; while the head of perhaps another third-century emperor was reused in building one of the late-Roman defence bastions in London.⁴³¹ Made of Painswick stone sourced near Gloucester, it is better identified as the funerary portrait of a private citizen, despite its colossal size: elsewhere in the south and south-east of Britain, Painswick stone is used for figures of deities and tombstones.⁴³² The last portrait, from Cologne, is again proposed as belonging to a third-century portrait of a soldier emperor, but has been cut in two across the 'equator' and the entire top of the head is missing. Nonetheless, its location near the Forum and the white marble material combine to suggest it was the image of an important public figure.⁴³³

There appear to be several other examples of the *Zeitgesicht* amongst the portraits from the north-west, images better identified as contemporary officials or private individuals rather than emperors. The bronze head, drawn from the Rhine near to Vetera II fort near Xanten, has sometimes been identified as Trajan owing the similarities of the straight, uniform hairstyle and the drawn face.⁴³⁴ The division of the hair at the front and large ears bear more than a passing resemblance to Nero's type 2 portrait. However, the image does not conform

⁴³¹ Head of ?Gallienus from Pulborough, Sussex: Russell 2016, Appendix, IP 15; head of a soldier emperor from Bastion 10, London: *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 98, Appendix, IP 14.

⁴³² For instance, a figure of Mercury, London: *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 59; tombstones of Rufus Sita from Gloucester and Longinus at Colchester, Figures 2.15 and 2.16 above.

⁴³³ Salzmann 1990, no. 18; Appendix, IP 20.

⁴³⁴ Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1983, no.201; Appendix, IP 19.

closely enough to images of either of these emperors to be securely identified and is better considered as the portrait of an official or military leader of the late first–early second century.

The bust of a Hadrianic youth from Cologne and the head of a man of the Trajanic period from Peeblesshire also both seem more likely to be images of local officials or commanders rather than of the emperor, though a case for the latter to be an early portrait type of Trajan has been made.⁴³⁵ The use of white marble has in part led to their imperial identifications, owing to the expense involved in importing and carving this stone. This was unusual for the north-west, since marble sarcophagi are almost unknown in this area and marble statues are relatively rare.⁴³⁶ Exotic veneers for use in architectural decoration or wall plaques at urban and villa sites, however, were better known, alongside local stone, and some large monumental structures seem to have been clad in considerable quantities of Mediterranean marble.⁴³⁷ Portrait sculptures from towns like Mainz and Cologne as well as more rural places in Britain⁴³⁸ of local stone are generally considered to be funerary or of private individuals,

⁴³⁵ Evers (1994, 273-4) and Zanker (1983, 13-14, pl. 4,2) agree that the portrait in Cologne, and another in Toulouse, at the Musée St Raymond, bear some resemblance to Hadrian, but cannot be assigned a type and should be considered a local, private individual. For the Scottish Trajanic head, see Toynbee 1964, 59 and Russell and Manley 2015. Appendix, IP 13 and 18.

⁴³⁶ In Britain, there are a number of statuettes from Cotswolds villa sites, especially Woodchester, and some pieces of statuary from London and environs, along with some sarcophagi, though at least one of these is a later import: *CSIR* GB I.7, nos 1–16; *CSIR* GB I.10, nos 1–29. See also recent finds recorded by the PAS: LIN-2B67D5 and LON-EEDEC7. In Germany, sculptural marbles are concentrated in major towns like Trier: *CSIR* De IV.3.

⁴³⁷ For instance at London (Pritchard 1986; Peacock and Williams 1999, 353); Colchester (Morris 1955); Canterbury (Blagg 1984, 66-71); Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1998); Xanten (Ruppiéné 2015 and 2018, the latter also examining transport routes of stone to the lower Rhine area more generally). The *quadrifrons* arch at Richborough is perhaps the most famous example of a marble-clad monument, requiring around 400 tonnes of luna marble: Strong 1968; Blagg 1984, 73; Pearson 2006, 24. The Balkerne gate at Colchester and the arch at Verulamium might also have been cased in Mediterranean marble: Isserlin 1998.

⁴³⁸ For instance, at Mainz: *CSIR* De II.7, nos 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235. British comparisons can also be seen, if more rarely: at Bath (*CSIR* GB I.2, no. 1), Hampshire (*CSIR* GB I.2, no. 93). The togate bust from near Chichester is also considered by the present author to be a portrait of a local dignitary or official, rather than an emperor: Russell, M. 2013, 269.

rather than honours to the emperor. However, marble was not entirely unknown, and we will see below examples of private portraits made of white marbles.

The paucity of confirmed images is clear from this summary: we have just nine large-scale portrait heads of the emperor,⁴³⁹ and a handful of other pieces that from their material and size, or features such as *coronae*, could be imperial but which cannot be identified securely. Such a small corpus offers limited basis for comparison and conclusions, but one of the most striking observations so far is the degree to which these few portraits conform to known imperial types or their accepted variants. This observation has theoretical or methodological implications in a number of ways. In particular, it informs how we should treat those portraits from the north-west which resemble the emperor, but which cannot be identified securely by an inscription or through close comparison with known physiognomy or established portrait types. The high degree of consistency in specific details is one of the hallmarks of imperial portraits and underpins the methodological approach of identifying formal similarities, but a degree of local variation was appropriate and has been accepted.⁴⁴⁰ Riccardi concluded that the Trajanic head in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens was an ‘uncanonical’ version of Trajan’s portrait, implying that we can identify images of the emperor even if they do not conform to established portrait types.⁴⁴¹ Fittschen argued strongly against this, stating that Wegner’s so-called *Einzelstücke*, the one-off examples, cannot be agreed as an imperial portrait *because* they do not conform to known portrait types, the burden of proof remaining with those who seek to make identifications.⁴⁴² The evidence so far presented from the north-west, and indeed the approach taken in this chapter, agrees that the few imperial statues in

⁴³⁹ To summarise so far: of these nine, three were made of copper alloy, six of Mediterranean white marble; five were found within or near to military sites or possible military contexts in urban sites, two more found dumped in rivers and the last two in the urban centre of Cologne.

⁴⁴⁰ Smith 1996.

⁴⁴¹ Riccardi 2000.

⁴⁴² Summarised in Fittschen 2010, 232, but this approach underpins his scholarship.

this region can be comfortably set amongst the established portrait forms of the emperor. Those that resemble the *princeps* but cannot be assigned a type are more likely to be officials or important local people, examples of the *Zeitgesicht*. Statue bases, like that from Caerwent on which a figure of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, legate of *legio* II and future governor of Britannia Inferior, was placed in the early third century, confirm that such images were known in the north-west.⁴⁴³

There is the potential for a circular argument here: the ‘uncanonical’ images have been ruled out of discussion, and so those that remain would of course conform to established types. However, the impetus to use an established type is more understandable when we consider the motivation for setting up a statue. Full-size figures were put up to confer honour both on the centre of Roman power and a local person, at no inconsiderable cost,⁴⁴⁴ and so, as Price has phrased it, ‘favour would hardly be gained by the display of a deviant image.’⁴⁴⁵ The famous quotation from Arrian, writing in AD 130, relating to a figure of Hadrian set up near the shores of the Black Sea, provides a range of information on the statue of the emperor placed here in a provincial context.⁴⁴⁶ Much of this quotation needs careful unpicking for what it tells us about the process for commissioning a portrait, but it includes an emphasis on the importance of a ‘worthy’ execution of the image, and Arrian petitions the emperor himself for a replacement. Fronto’s letter to Marcus Aurelius, from the early second century, corroborates this, emphasising both the ubiquity of the emperor’s portrait in a range of

⁴⁴³ *RIB* no. 311.

⁴⁴⁴ See Duncan-Jones 1982, 78-9, nos 77-212, and 126-7, nos 491-549a, and below for further discussion

⁴⁴⁵ Price 1984, 174.

⁴⁴⁶ Arrian, *Periplus*, I. 3-4: ‘Your statue, which stands there, has merit in the idea of the figure, and of the design, as it represents you pointing towards the sea; but it bears no resemblance to the original, and the execution is in other respects but indifferent. Send therefore a statue worthy to be called yours, and of a similar design to the one which is there at present, as the situation is well calculated for perpetuating, by these means, the memory of any illustrious person.’

everyday, though mostly urban, settings and their apparent variability.⁴⁴⁷ Though this quotation does not describe the establishment of honorific portraits directly, nonetheless, it suggests that some sense of an appropriate, accomplished, and recognisable image was known and available to Roman viewers. A need for recognisability of the image could also encourage conformity.⁴⁴⁸ Since coins with the emperor's image on them were widely circulated, logically they would need to follow a similar appearance.⁴⁴⁹ A three-dimensional image might stand for or indeed be a 'stand-in' for the real person of the emperor, required to preside over certain festivals, events or meetings, again encouraging a consistent appearance.⁴⁵⁰

Yet, the imperial portraits from the north-west do exhibit some variation, the bronzes in particular, and the conformity to types is not straightforward. For instance, the image of Nero from Suffolk has provided room for discussion of identification. The details are correct for the type identified, the hairstyle exactly so, but the physiognomy does not accord with that of Nero, but with the slimmer face of his predecessor, leading to misidentification in the past as Claudius. Some elements, especially the hair, on the heads of Hadrian from the Thames and

⁴⁴⁷ Fronto, *ad M. Caes.*, 4.12.4: *'scis ut in omnibus argentariis, mensulis, perguleis, taberneis, protecteis, vestibulis, fenestris, usquequaque, ubique imagines vestrae sint volgo propositae, male illae quidem pictae pleraeque et crassa, lutea immo, Minerva fictae scalptaevae; cum interim numquam tua imago tam dissimilis ad oculos meos in itinere accidit, ut non ex ore meo excusserit iactum osculei et savium'*. 'You know how in all money-changer's bureaus, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses of you exposed to view, badly enough painted most of them to be sure, and modelled or carved in a plain, not to say sorry, style of art, yet at the same time your likeness, however much a caricature, never when I go out meets my eyes without making me part my lips for a smile and dream of you'.

⁴⁴⁸ Smith 1996, 32-3.

⁴⁴⁹ Fejfer 2008, 373.

⁴⁵⁰ Price 1984, 201; Stewart 2006, 243-4. Severianus of Gabala, late fourth to early fifth century, (*de Mund. Creat. Or. (In Cosmogoniam)* 6.5 = PG 56.489; see Ando 2000, 233) noted that, at that time beyond the time frame of this thesis, images stood in for the emperor to ensure that officials' acts carried authority: 'Consider how many governors there are in all the world. Since the emperor is not present at the side of them all, it is necessary for the image of the emperor to stand in courts of justice, in markets, in meeting-houses, and in theatres. The emperor's image must consequently be present in every place where the governor acts, in order that his acts have authority.'

Gordian III from Niederbieber are simplified and schematised. Zanker emphasised the aesthetic choices of the maker and would probably see this as translation into a more familiar manifestation by a provincial workshop.⁴⁵¹ Since this seems to be confined principally to the bronze images, an explanation related to the technological or manufacturing processes, or the material itself, the plasticity of bronze compared with marble, seems most likely. Bronze portraits from parts of Italy and other regions of the empire also show variation of established portrait types. For example, the full-size statue of Augustus now in Naples includes the usual locks of hair over the forehead of the Prima Porta type, but the overall impression is slightly different from the marbles; a head of Germanicus in the Museo Nazionale in Rome employs the right physiognomy, but the hair is a little altered from known images; while a head of Caracalla from Bubon, Turkey, though broken, again appears to exhibit the stylization seen on the north-western and several other bronze portraits.⁴⁵²

This introduces a second theoretical aspect, and the crux of the discussion so far: that acceptable variation within established portrait types might be a product of both the manufacturing process and local choice, rather than a misunderstanding or provincial acceptance of an incorrect form. There are fundamental differences in the way copper alloy was cast into statuary compared to the process for carving marble. The debated methods for the copying process of stone portraits, advanced for instance by Pfanner,⁴⁵³ would not necessarily apply in the same way for cast bronzes as for marble portraits, affecting the resulting image. Marble images were few, and imports of white Mediterranean marbles largely confined to small statuettes or the occasional bust. The head of Septimius Severus at

⁴⁵¹ Zanker 1983, 16-17.

⁴⁵² Lahusen and Formigli 2001, nos 27 and 40; Zanker 2016, no. 28. Debates over the correct identifications of bronze portraits of Agrippa and Trebonius Gallus also continue (Zanker 2016, nos 30 and 40).

⁴⁵³ Pfanner 1989, especially 182–192.

Bonn, perhaps from a full-length figure, is an exception, as are the fragments of an armoured statue in white marble from Xanten.⁴⁵⁴ It is most likely that these marble images were imported already complete, having been carved nearer the sources of the stone. If the portrait of Constantine at York has indeed been re-carved, it represents, along with the recut Nero to Domitian at Cologne, some evidence for marble carving in this region. Large bronzes, however, could have been cast within the provinces in which they were set up and respond more directly to local choices. The evidence in the north-west is dominated by the surviving bronze heads and fragments, giving the impression of perhaps greater variation from established forms than there in fact was.

Images of the emperor in other contexts and portraits of the imperial family

Images of the emperor were found on a wide range of other objects and in other contexts, from images painted at shops and stalls, small busts in a variety of media, on military accoutrements, and even found on bread stamps.⁴⁵⁵ This section examines some of these to consider how and if the use of the imperial image was adapted to settings other than as honorific portraits.

Images of the emperor in the north-west can occasionally be associated with the private or domestic sphere, especially miniature busts or statuettes, but this is rare.⁴⁵⁶ Of the approximately dozen or so smaller portraits that survive from Britain and Germany, only a couple, such as the blue glass bust perhaps of Constantius II as a boy from Cologne, might belong to a private context or personal collection, marked out by its particularly diminutive

⁴⁵⁴ Busch and von Hesberg 2015, Fig. 12.2; Appendix, IP 127.

⁴⁵⁵ Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, 4.12.4; Pekáry 1985, 42 (bread stamps from the Danubian region).

⁴⁵⁶ Gradel 2002, chapter 8.

size.⁴⁵⁷ The first-century bust from near Ludwigshafen might be a further slightly larger bronze example.⁴⁵⁸ More often, these quarter- to half-life size images seem to have been used for religious ceremonies, the bases of several of the busts appropriate to accept a staff or pole, allowing it to be paraded. This seems to be the case for five busts depicting emperors from the mid second century Antonine period, all from the east of England in Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, though at least one was found in a funerary context.⁴⁵⁹ A further example was recently discovered in North Yorkshire by a metal detectorist, and might also be identified as Marcus Aurelius with his curling, forked beard, though an identification as a deity cannot be ruled out.⁴⁶⁰ The earlier bronze bust of Caligula mounted atop a globe found near Colchester along with a bronze statuette of Jupiter, a Silenus mask and other small finds at a site of ambiguous character, could also have been set on a staff or may have been displayed privately perhaps as a cult object.⁴⁶¹ Unlike the image of Caligula, which makes use of that emperor's main portrait type, these busts all bear close similarity to the intended person, but do not quite match known typologies. The heads of Hadrian and the Marcus Aurelius from Northamptonshire are particularly stylised and draw comparison with images of deities, but each of the images retains key details of those emperors' image. If these were intended for religious purposes, then these busts could act as representations of the divine emperor's *genius* rather than employing faithfully the portrait of the living *princeps*. When not in use in procession, the busts might well have been stored in a more restricted setting, but surely in a shrine and not a private home.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. n 157; Appendix, IP 49. Cologne was a major centre of glass production in the Roman period, so this could be locally made.

⁴⁵⁸ Espérandieu VIII, no. 5989; Appendix, IP 53.

⁴⁵⁹ Busts of Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus: Walker 2014. The Hadrian head was found in a possible grave shaft. Appendix, IP 43–47.

⁴⁶⁰ PAS, [YORYM-870B0E](#); Appendix, IP 48.

⁴⁶¹ Toynbee 1964, 40-41, pl. 3b; Appendix, IP 42.

⁴⁶² Fishwick 1988.

The small busts suggest the image of the emperor was used in or was even the focus of ceremony, presumably for the imperial or a state cult. Interesting to discover them in rural area, in the east of England and Yorkshire, related to small shrines or personal funerary contexts, rather than a larger ‘cult centre’. Evidence for organised imperial cult in Britain, Gaul and Germany is largely offered by the presence of the altars apparently for the new provincial assemblies, at Colchester, Lyon and Cologne. Though *simulacra* of the emperor may have been expected and might have been worshipped in the same way as cult statues for other deities at temples of the imperial cult,⁴⁶³ sculptural remains that can be associated with these cultic contexts in the north-west are few. The bronze head retrieved from the River Alde in Suffolk, and fragments of an equestrian statue, have in the past been identified as pieces from an imperial cult statue of Claudius that stood in Colchester, but the confirmed identification of Nero for this head, and the lack of corroborating evidence, argues against that conclusion. Indeed, these small busts from a rural context give a different impression of relationship to emperor than the Imperial cult in the north-western provincial centres, an adaptation of the state associations of the establishment of temples of the imperial cult in Britain and Germany.⁴⁶⁴ Altars and inscriptions to the health and wellbeing of the emperor and the divine house are relatively well-known, and these busts demonstrate perhaps a locally constructed practice of the emperor worship in the north-west from the second century onwards.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Pekáry 1985, 126. An *as* minted in Lyon c. 10–7 BC shows a number of busts of the imperial family set on an altar itself, with shrines for Augustus and Roma either side: depicted in Zanker 1988, 303. Images of Tiberius’ family appear to have accompanied the cult images of Augustus and Roma in the temple at Lepcis Magna too.

⁴⁶⁴ Fishwick 1987, 138. See also chapter 8.

⁴⁶⁵ Noreña 2011 (204–5) emphasises that the ‘Imperial cult’ should be considered a loose collection of ritual practice, spaces, and buildings, with much regional and local variation and organized at provincial and municipal level, albeit with empire-wide diffusion of the idea of worshipping the emperor and imperial family.

The small busts for raising on a staff are also highly reminiscent of the *imago* of the emperor on military standards, used in army religious ceremonies, such as state cult festivals or those associated with the specific unit.⁴⁶⁶ Tombstones show *signiferi* and *imaginiferi* holding staffs with the image at the top,⁴⁶⁷ but it is difficult to associate these actual small busts with military sites in most places. The assumption that they were kept safe in the *sacellum* of a fort is plausible, associated with the role of the *signifier* to guard both the standards and the funds or other valuables of the legionary camp, but evidence at Novae suggests that images of bronze or marble might also have been set on display in the open area in front of the *sacellum* too.⁴⁶⁸ At around 8-20cm, the Antonine examples of small busts from Britain were smaller than others identified as military standards (30-55cm),⁴⁶⁹ which, combined with their find spot in the east of England away from an obvious military site, suggests that they should not be considered in an army context.

In Germany in particular, where these small religious objects were even less common than the few examples from Britain, representations of the emperor and his family were instead seen on military accoutrements. These included decorative armour, helmet bands, cheekpieces, and medallions such as *phalerae* given to certain soldiers as honours or donatives from the imperial family.⁴⁷⁰ One of the most remarkable examples of weaponry on which the emperor's image was shown is the beautifully-preserved scabbard of the so-called sword of Tiberius, found in the Rhine at Mainz.⁴⁷¹ There, the emperor, probably Tiberius, is shown receiving a military leader, probably Germanicus as commander of the army on the

⁴⁶⁶ Riccardi 2002.

⁴⁶⁷ See for example the gravestone of *imaginifer* Genialis of *coh. VII Raetorum*, from the funerary area at Weisenau, Mainz, now in Landesmuseum Mainz S 509, *CSIR De II.5*, no. 9; or the tombstone of Flavinus from Hexham, Appendix, RR1.

⁴⁶⁸ Sarnowski 1982.

⁴⁶⁹ Riccardi 2002, 86–90.

⁴⁷⁰ Appendix, IP 192–IP 225.

⁴⁷¹ British Museum inv. no. 1866,0806.1; Appendix, IP 218.

Rhine, the goddess Victory standing behind him and another deity, probably Mars, to his right.⁴⁷² The scene refers to a military victory, perhaps Germanicus' success in AD 16 in recovering the standards lost by Varus in the catastrophic defeat at the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9.

The production and issue of sets of glass *phalerae* to soldiers for specific occasions was a reminder of the victorious general or the imperial family. Like the 'sword of Tiberius', these images appear to employ the dynamics of family relationships to make political associations or statements. A few dozen such glass discs survive from the northern provinces, especially found in Germania Inferior at legionary fort sites including Xanten, Nijmegen and in one instance at Cologne.⁴⁷³ Three examples in Britain, found at Colchester, Leicester and Stanwix, probably represent a personal import by soldiers, since their types and manufacture pre-date the Roman invasion.⁴⁷⁴ The identifications are debated, but one type appears to show the head of Germanicus, surrounded by his three children (Figure 4.10).⁴⁷⁵ The images on these donatives were highly politicised, reflecting power relations between the generations of the imperial family and produced for a purpose; they were not merely honours bestowed, but it is not clear how far these political aspects would have been understood.⁴⁷⁶ For the military viewer of such images on their armour and weapons, the appearance of the emperor might signify protection for the soldiers under his *aegis* and the might of the empire, encouraging reassurance and strengthen a bond of loyalty between the individuals. The soldier's service

⁴⁷² Walker and Burnett (1981, 49–53, no. 4) however, identify the figures as Augustus and Tiberius and associate the scabbard with Tiberius and Drusus' 15 BC victory against the Vindelici.

⁴⁷³ Harden 1972 counted 32. Toynbee 1955 discusses parallels across the north-west. Appendix, IP 199–IP 207.

⁴⁷⁴ Appendix, IP 186–IP 188.

⁴⁷⁵ For discussion of identifications, see Toynbee 1955; Harden 1972, 353; Dahmen 2001, 219, Cat. Mil. 36.1–9 and 218, Cat. Mil. 34.1–3.

⁴⁷⁶ Dahmen 2001, 116–7. See chapter 8 for further discussion.

and actions were connected to the person of the emperor.⁴⁷⁷ Opper proposed that the images on the ‘sword of Tiberius’ conveyed elaborate political spin, with a powerful message of wise leadership and unity of the imperial family, on an object intended for a soldier, perhaps of high rank, whose continuing loyalty in the early first century was crucial.⁴⁷⁸ A more pragmatic or functional reading might suggest that the imperial image on military honours would make them more official. In any case, the emperor was visible in a military context about the person of the soldier, not only through the medium of life-size portrait statues or *imagines*.



Figure 4.10: Blue glass phalera with bust of Germanicus and his sons from Colchester, now in the British Museum, inv. no. 1870,0224.2. Diameter: 5.6 cm. [Image](#) © The Trustees of the British Museum, used under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license. Appendix, IP 187.

⁴⁷⁷ Fejfer 2008, 403.

⁴⁷⁸ Opper 2017.

One bust, the white marble head of Gaius from Mainz, requires explanation. It has in the past been identified as an image of Augustus, Prima Porta type, but bears more similarity to portraits of Gaius.⁴⁷⁹ Gaius' image was modelled closely on Augustus', and in turn Lucius was made to resemble his brother: the pincer-like lock over the left eye and additional parting over the right eye were shared on the portraits of all three.⁴⁸⁰ The quality of the carving and use of white marble is exceptional for Mainz, and it is just possible that this too is a later import to the area.⁴⁸¹ The find spot at the corner of Josefstraße and Boppstraße is to the north-western side of the centre of the Roman town, near to a necropolis.⁴⁸² If an authentic Romano-Germanic find, it would presumably have been set up no more than around 20 years after the fort and settlement at Mainz was founded by Drusus in 13 BC, since Gaius' untimely death occurred in AD 4 aged 23. The image shows a boy around the age of 10-13, and pre-dates the type used after he assumed to *toga virilis* in 5 BC. It could be an example of close connection between troops, this region of the north-west as the setting for military victory, and the imperial family, or part of the creation of a dynastic Julio-Claudian image within a newly-conquered area.⁴⁸³ Drusus' command of and connection with the troops at Mainz might have resulted in them setting up the *Drususstein* in his honour; Suetonius records that a monument was set up and festivals held for him annually after his death in 9 BC.⁴⁸⁴ Taken together, the *phalerae*, the sculptural pieces (few though they are), and the images of Julio-Claudians on armour suggest a particular association with the Rhineland over the turn of the millennium

⁴⁷⁹ Frenz 1992, 620; Appendix, IP 33.

⁴⁸⁰ Rose 1997a, 62. Zanker 1973, 51 sets out the similarities of portraits of Gaius to the Prima Porta type, and those of Lucius to the Actium type.

⁴⁸¹ Frenz 1992, 629 sets out the uncertainties.

⁴⁸² Frenz 1992, 620–30.

⁴⁸³ See Rose 1997a for discussion of Julio-Claudian dynastic image. Note comparison with the Severan family, who also had a military relationship with parts of the north-west. Septimius Severus personally launched campaigns into Scotland from the provinces at the turn of the third century and his sons were proclaimed in Britain. Analysis of statue bases later in this chapter shows a clustering particularly in the Severan period, underscoring the apparent heightened popularity of portrait statues at this time.

⁴⁸⁴ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 1.

and into the first century, presumably related to intense campaigning in the region often led by senior male members of the dynasty. Indeed, Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and later wife of Claudius was born at Cologne in AD 15.

Otherwise, a further twelve images have in the past been identified as members of the imperial family or the emperor before accession, but only four of these, in addition to the head of Gaius from Mainz, have secure provenances that allow them to be accepted as Romano-British or Romano-Germanic finds. These are the fragment of the head of a young boy from Fishbourne, two mid-second-century busts from Lullingstone, and the head of a woman from Bonn, who could be an empress of the second or third century.⁴⁸⁵ Two others are said to have come from rivers, and these might be more secure than the others: Agrippina from the River Avon at Bath, now in a private collection, and Geta from the Thames in London, now in the J. P. Getty Museum. Provenances for the final two, a head of Caracalla and a head from the Julio-Claudian period, are not known.⁴⁸⁶ At least some of the remaining four were probably later imports or collectors' items.⁴⁸⁷

The presence of three of these heads in villas, Fishbourne and Lullingstone, is unexpected. Rich villas around the Mediterranean were often furnished with full-scale statuary and portraits, including imperial portraits at imperial villas, but even the most lavishly-decorated villas of the Roman north-west, which house other exquisite works of art such as mosaics,

⁴⁸⁵ Fishbourne: *CSIR* GB I.2, no. 92; Russell and Manley 2013; Soffe and Henig 1999, 8-10; Appendix, IP 23. Lullingstone: *CSIR* GB I.10, nos 21 and 22; Appendix, IP 26 and 27. Bonn: Espérandieu VIII, no. 6308; Appendix, IP 32.

⁴⁸⁶ Caracalla: *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 24; Appendix, IP 29. Julio-Claudian head: Arachne no. 154775; Appendix, IP 31.

⁴⁸⁷ Germanicus or Caligula from Broadbridge in Sussex; Germanicus(?) from Radwell in Hertfordshire; youth (Britannicus?) from Hinckley, Leicestershire; youth from the later second century from Crondall, Hampshire: *CSIR* GB I.2, no. 89; *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 19; *CSIR* GB I.8, no. 24; Millet 1977. Appendix, IP 22, 24, 25, 28. Several of these have been associated with villas.

rarely make use of fine classical sculpture - or at least very little survives.⁴⁸⁸ Only a handful of small white marble figurines have been found by exception at the villas at Woodchester and Spoonley Wood, both in Gloucestershire, and at Dicket Mead in Hertfordshire.⁴⁸⁹

Fishbourne and Lullingstone were each exceptional sites, for a number of reasons including their luxurious architectural appointment, their early construction, particularly at Fishbourne where the first timber phases were upgraded to masonry structures from the AD 60s, and their long habitation history; Lullingstone too went through several iterations of construction and decoration., including a period of desertion in the second to third century.⁴⁹⁰ Yet, as venues for display of imperial portraiture they would nonetheless be unexpected, and the identifications of the portraits from those sites are more likely to be private images, based on their villa context as well as their appearance.⁴⁹¹ The first-century statue of the boy from Fishbourne⁴⁹² is more probably from the inhabitants' family, rather than Nero.

The whole region received investment in the mid to late first century: a Purbeck marble plaque from Chichester, recording the construction of a temple to Neptune and Minerva, for the welfare of the *domus divina* is just one example of a spate of building activity in the town.⁴⁹³ In the wider area too, we can note the Neronian tiles attesting early construction at Silchester, the quality of architectural ornament and stones used in mid-first century building there, and

⁴⁸⁸ Stewart 2003, 175.

⁴⁸⁹ *CSIR* GB I.7, nos 1, 6 and 7; *CSIR* GB I.10, nos 10 and 11. See Clarke *et al.* 1982, O'Neil 1952, and Rook 1986 for further discussion of the villas.

⁴⁹⁰ Meates 1979, 36. King, however, revises this showing much activity during the third century: King in Henig and Soffe *forthcoming*.

⁴⁹¹ Imperial villas on the outskirts of Rome, such as that of Hadrian at Tivoli or the large villa at Lanuvium attributed to Antoninus Pius, were home to many portrait images of the family: Fittschen 2010, 222.

⁴⁹² The fragment of the head from Fishbourne was found with a piece of white marble from a torso, suggesting that this was a full-size sculptural portrait.

⁴⁹³ *RIB* no. 91 for the plaque; Cunliffe 1998, 107.

the completion of the first phase of the religious complex at Bath. Whether this can be explained by the interest of the state as part of military conquest, or in endeavouring to secure support in the south of England following the Boudiccan revolt, or as investment across the Atrebatian region by the client king Tiberius Claudius Togidubnus, the ‘most faithful ally’,⁴⁹⁴ on whose authority the temple at Chichester was constructed, or some other way, is unclear. We can conclude that there was an association with the Mediterranean area in the first century, and so presumably a route by which marble sculpture would have been acquired and a context in which it was valued.⁴⁹⁵ The priority for sculptural decoration in the villa is more likely to have been focused on the proprietor’s own dynasty, rather than that of the emperor, even if he was a supporter of Rome.⁴⁹⁶

Again, the two heads from Lullingstone should be identified as the occupant(s) of the villa, or family member(s).⁴⁹⁷ The Greek (Pentelic?) marble busts would most likely have been carved abroad and transported to Britain when complete, as one-off imports probably through personal contacts. This statuary should therefore be considered private, in both use and subject.⁴⁹⁸ The busts were later removed from the common areas of the building and set in a cellar room, with access largely blocked off, where they were found during excavation.⁴⁹⁹

It would appear, then, that portraits of the imperial family were deliberately used in Germany during the Julio-Claudian period in the military sphere, perhaps for political purposes in

⁴⁹⁴ Tacitus, *Agricola* 14.

⁴⁹⁵ Fulford 2008.

⁴⁹⁶ Henig 1996b, 85; Toynbee 1971, 156.

⁴⁹⁷ De Kind 2005 identified them as the future emperor Pertinax and his father, the busts brought to Britain during Pertinax’s time as Governor of Britain (*Historia Augusta, Life of Pertinax*, 3.8). The evidence associated with a carved gem found nearby is intriguing but ultimately circumstantial, and the images cannot be confidently set into known versions of this emperor’s portrait.

⁴⁹⁸ See Fejfer 1999, 137–9 for distinction between ‘public’ and ‘private’ portraiture.

⁴⁹⁹ Meates 1979, 36–7.

setting out the succession and improving loyalty of soldiers during an intense period of campaigning. This reading relies on some central control over the choice and production of the images, which might be assumed but cannot be verified. In Britain, a couple of smaller images might have been used in religious ritual, but, beyond altars to the welfare of the imperial family, these are not known in Germany. Images of the emperor were not seen in the private sphere across the north-west, and heads of Julio-Claudian princes found in the south of Britain were probably later imports.

Additional evidence for large-scale imperial statuary, and further analysis of locations, functions, and chronology

Returning to large-scale statues, a wider body of evidence (statue bases and fragments of large statues) will now be considered in order to expand the analysis of the objects' appearance, how they were used, in what contexts, when and for what occasions they were set up, and sometimes by whom.

In total, several thousand scraps of bronze sculptural pieces, including limbs, fingers, feet, or pieces of drapery or armour have been recovered from Britain, Germany, Gaul and along the Danubian *limes*.⁵⁰⁰ Taken together, the size, finish, locations and some more diagnostic pieces suggest that at least some of these were likely to have been from imperial images, but certain identifications are clearly impossible owing to the nature of the evidence. Approximately 40 or 50 pieces survive from Britain, probably each from a different statue. The remaining scraps in the Germanies are significantly more numerous than in Britain, representing a larger portion of the original figure but perhaps a similar number of finished statues. In one case,

⁵⁰⁰ Müller 2014, 95; Appendix, IP 55–IP 151, excluding IP 58 and IP 127 which are stone.

albeit over the border in the province of Raetia at Rainau-Dalkingen, nearly 20% of the original image has been found.⁵⁰¹ These fragments primarily provide testimony for the treatment of statues after they were removed from display, whether divided into useful sized pieces and assembled into units ready for recycling, or suggesting an ‘after-life’ as a votive or careful selection for some other use.⁵⁰² However, their archaeological contexts can suggest the dates of use and hint at their original location and function. Their size and fine finish suggest they could have been important pieces of public statuary, while the find spots tend to be military sites or the centres of civic areas, in both Britain and Germany: for instance, the forum at Gloucester or Wroxeter, and the forts along the German *limes*.⁵⁰³

Many of the fragments are bare limbs or pieces of drapery, but some of the figures wore armour, as shown by the large number of *ptyreges* and *Panzerlaschen* especially from areas such as the Saalburg. A military-style was one of the main figure-types for imperial statues and would be appropriate in a fort context, but these might also be generals or even deities such as Mars.⁵⁰⁴ There are several fragments of eagle-headed swords, which are particularly known on images of emperor.⁵⁰⁵ A few pieces of the body of horses shows that there likely to have been a couple of equestrian statues amongst the British corpus.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰¹ Noelke 2012, 413–4.

⁵⁰² Croxford 2016b.

⁵⁰³ Stoll 1992, especially Karte 3, 626–7.

⁵⁰⁴ Noelke 2012 discusses the identification of a now-headless limestone figure in armour from Cologne, probably as a general.

⁵⁰⁵ The fragment of one such from Gloucester (Appendix, IP 101) could be part of a real sword, not sculptural. See the type on full-scale images of emperors, such as the four Tetrarchs now at St Mark’s Basilica in Venice. There is another fragment from the fort at Murrhardt (Gamer 1969, no. D 28; Appendix, IP 150), and another from the town of Lucentum (Alicante) in Spain, been dated to the third century.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g., at Lincoln (*CSIR* GB I.8, no. 72; Appendix, IP 102), Norfolk (*CSIR* GB I.8, no. 73; Appendix, IP 103), North Carlton (PAS, LIN-31B698, LIN-666619; Appendix, IP 104).

The gilding of some of the fragments demonstrates their value and can also aid identification. Ancient literature records emperors denying themselves statuary in precious metal, which was taken to demonstrate their humility and appropriate behaviour.⁵⁰⁷ Nero and Domitian, who sought golden images, were considered excessive.⁵⁰⁸ Gilded statues were, however, acceptable and could indicate an important individual or the statue of a deity, such as the fine head of Minerva from Bath. The find spots of some of the gilded pieces (the Praetorium of the legionary fort at Bonn, the fort at Benningen, Nijmegen, and Carrawburgh) support identification of an imperial portrait. A gilded left arm with drapery from Avenches and the sanctuary at Cigognier was perhaps from a deity, unless related to the imperial cult,⁵⁰⁹ while the fragments from London are less easy to identify one way or the other.

Sculptural bronze remains relatively identifiable as such in the archaeological record when fragmentary, even if the identification of the original subject is elusive.⁵¹⁰ Some pieces can also be associated with statue bases, such as the remarkable, gilded horse's head from Waldgirmes, probably from an equestrian statue. It was found in a well, but a number of statue bases were also discovered at the site.⁵¹¹ Fragments of the bronze decorative moulding from statue bases survive from Carmarthen, Silchester and Weißenthurm.⁵¹² Fragments of life-size statues at Caerleon were discovered along with eight bases, six of which probably carried sculpture, while fragments have also been found associated with statue bases at Gloucester,

⁵⁰⁷ *Res Gestae* 24: Augustus had 80 silver statues of himself melted down.

⁵⁰⁸ Pliny, *Panegyric* 52.

⁵⁰⁹ Müller 2014, 52-5, Abb. 1. Note the miniature golden bust of Marcus Aurelius also found here: Hochuli-Gysel and Brodard 2006.

⁵¹⁰ Croxford 2016b.

⁵¹¹ Rasbach 2015; Appendix, IP 151.

⁵¹² Driehaus 1969; Boon 1980; Appendix, IP 106, 107, 126.

Wroxeter and Silchester.⁵¹³ Pieces of limestone statuary were also found at Bonn, perhaps from a figure of Caracalla and associated with the large statue base there.⁵¹⁴

The kinds of fragments found, whether pieces of drapery or fragments of an armoured statue, are broadly comparable across the three provinces under examination. The main differences are in the quantity of pieces that remain from Germany, as noted above, and also in the significant quantity of individual fingers, hands and arms found in Britain. A total of 22 such pieces have been found in Britain, including 15 individual fingers, compared to eight fingers, hands and arms in Germania Inferior and just five in Germania Superior. This suggests different approaches to the use of bronze pieces after their life as statues between the provinces. The large quantity and concentrated nature of certain caches of fragments would argue for their being ready for recycling in Germany, for instance at Nijmegen, Bonn, Neuenstadt, and Saalburg. Bronzes were readily melted down and recast, and the caches of several hundred pieces, for instance that from the legionary fortress at Bonn, must have been intended for the foundry.⁵¹⁵ Constituent parts, such as fingers, hands, arms, may also have been retained for melting down, and could represent useful units of weight for recycling. Their retention as individual digits in Britain, however, suggests a more deliberate choice. The deposition in rivers seen for a couple of the imperial heads earlier could have been an offering as much as an act of violence, and the dominance of certain body parts in the archaeological record counters the readily offered iconoclasm explanation.⁵¹⁶ Different pieces of the same statue could be reused in different ways: the head of the cult statue of Mercury from Uley, for

⁵¹³ Croxford 2016b, 34-5.

⁵¹⁴ Lehner 1918b, nos 16 and 17.

⁵¹⁵ Müller 2014, 125-7; Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 138, Abb. 178; Gamer 1969, no. D6; Appendix, IP 120. See also fragments from a villa in Hambacher Forst (Müller 2014, 158-9, Abb. 1; Appendix, IP 122), and a cache from Nijmegen (Müller 2014, 155-7, Abb. 1; *ZPE* 175, 241-6; Appendix, IP 119).

⁵¹⁶ Croxford 2003 notes the differing survival rates of certain body parts, in both stone and bronze.

instance, appears to have been positively preserved and carefully buried, even while the rest of the figure was reused as material for post packing.⁵¹⁷ Smaller, individual fragments of a large bronze statue of an emperor or deity may have been repurposed as apotropaic amulets or personal talismans, or deposited for votive purposes.⁵¹⁸ The digits, hands, and arms may in part be testament to such behaviour, while the careful deposition of the sculptural horse's head from Waldgirmes in a well, sealed by several quern stones, offers a potent example from Germany.

Otherwise, assiduous recycling could account at least to some extent for the considerable lack of images of emperors from the north-west. The motivations for removing a statue might be political, such as successful erasure of an emperor's memory. '*Damnatio Memoriae*' could explain the re-cutting of the image of Nero into Domitian at Cologne, as well as damage to the bust of Geta now in the Getty. Some of the bronzes might have been violently removed, though this cannot always be substantiated. Economic motivations seem more likely. A statue could be made more affordable by reusing material; analyses of construction work has shown that the bulk of the cost came from supplying materials, rather than the labour.⁵¹⁹ Estimates for the price of statues, and relative cost of labour and materials, in different regions of the empire are difficult to calculate, often relying at least in part on testimony provided by local epigraphic evidence which is lacking for the north-west. Oliver compares the average cost of marble statues in North Africa, published by Duncan-Jones at between 2,000 and 8,000 sesterces (and an average of 4,000–5,000),⁵²⁰ with a bronze one from Mantua in the first century, costing 8,200–11,200 sesterces. In this case, bronze was more expensive, but he acknowledges that other examples could be cheaper, and, in some locations, the two materials

⁵¹⁷ Croxford 2003, 84.

⁵¹⁸ Croxford 2003, 89; Merrifield 1987, 96-106, especially 103.

⁵¹⁹ Barker *et al* 2020; DeLaine 1997.

⁵²⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982, 78.

could cost about the same.⁵²¹ Duncan-Jones records two bronze statues from North Africa, one costing 2,000 sesterces and the other 4,000.⁵²² The raw materials for bronze were readily available in Britain and parts of the north-west, but recycling would almost certainly be more economic, and presumably more affordable than importing Mediterranean white marble.

Analysis of metal compositions using XRF can help but tend to show whether pieces had already been reused in this way, since recycling of copper alloy can be identified in the resulting composition. As materials are more often recycled, their lead content appears to increase, and readings of zinc or other small alloying impurities reflects the inclusion of recycled gunmetal or brass.⁵²³ Metal compositions can, however, indicate other aspects related to the casting and composition of the sculpture. Additions of lead into an alloy made the metal easier to cast and improved the flow, useful for making strappings or additions or ensuring the mixture reached all parts of the mould. It has been suggested that brass was particularly used by the Roman army for decorative metalwork and was perhaps even produced under a monopoly.⁵²⁴ Not many of the pieces have been analysed for their metal composition, but this is increasingly being undertaken as standard for new finds.⁵²⁵ Where XRF analysis has been undertaken, a moderately high lead content (up to 25 per cent) is seen, fairly typical for figures in Roman Britain.⁵²⁶ Other pieces show a lower lead content, but higher tin percentage (around 7–13 per cent), a ‘truer’ composition for bronze. Quantities of zinc in tested samples are generally low.

⁵²¹ Oliver 1996, 146-7.

⁵²² Duncan-Jones 1982, nos 89 and 90.

⁵²³ Pollard *et al.* 2015, conclusions.

⁵²⁴ Craddock in Jenkins 1984, 164.

⁵²⁵ For instance, see Coombe *et al.* 2019; Coombe *et al.* 2020.

⁵²⁶ See Gilmour in Coombe *et al.* 2020.

The dates of the sculptures can rarely be established from such fragments, but some of these statues appear to have been set up very early in the Roman occupation. One of the fragments from Verulamium came from a context dated to AD 44–54 and the deposition of the arm from Gresham Street may have taken place in the 60s AD, suggesting that the statue from which it originated would have been on display for little more than 10 or 20 years.⁵²⁷ The recent discovery of the gilded bronze horse's head beyond the German *limes* at Waldgirmes, probably from an equestrian statue of Augustus, in territory that was conquered only for a very short period under Augustus, also suggests that large-scale statuary was a priority in establishing urban and military sites in a new area.⁵²⁸

A number of inscriptions to the emperor and imperial family can be added to the evidence considered so far. These were of a range of different types: inscriptions on statue bases, the inscription often providing a wealth of detail of chronology, identity of the subject, name(s) of the dedicator(s), and can sometimes record the occasion on which or the reason for the dedication of the statue;⁵²⁹ dedications of altars, perhaps to the divine spirit of the emperor or his health and wellbeing and that of his family; and building dedications, recording benefactions sometimes made directly by the emperor or his family, but more commonly by local individuals or groups. Most of these would not have accompanied a portrait, so statue bases are of primary interest here. Bases can be identified in part by their shape and the form of words on them but may be more decisively distinguished from an altar by the use of the dative case for the imperial nomenclature in the inscription. However, we must distinguish those bases that were dedicated *to* the emperor, but which may have carried statues of another

⁵²⁷ *CSIR* GB I.10, nos 227 and 216; Appendix, IP 94 and 63.

⁵²⁸ Müller 2014, 40-43; Rasbach 2015; Appendix, IP 151. A comparable horse's head was found at Augsburg, Raetia: Müller 2014, 49-51, Abb. 1. See also below chapter 8.

⁵²⁹ Pekáry 1985, 22-28; Højte 2005, 144.

person or deity from those with images *of* the emperor.⁵³⁰ Dedications and benefactions, while not offering insight into the locations of appearance of statues of the emperor, record how the imperial family might have been considered by people in the north-west and a relationship between subject and imperial power.

Examples of all of these types of inscription were found in the north-west, though altar dedications to the health and wellbeing of the emperor were most numerous. Across the northern provinces, the incidence of surviving statue bases for images of the emperor or imperial family is very low, by comparison with the rest of the empire: just 5.2 per cent of the known imperial bases come from the provinces along the Rhine-Danube frontier.⁵³¹ Dedications to named members of the imperial family were more common in the German provinces than in Britain.

In Britain, a dedication to Nero at Chichester (mentioned above)⁵³² and another to Hadrian at Wroxeter, dedicated by the local *Civitas Cornoviorum*⁵³³ could have been building inscriptions, rather than necessarily statue bases.⁵³⁴ Another four bases, made of local stone, were inscribed ‘born for the good of the state’, a formulation used for Constantine and his sons which continued in use throughout the fourth century.⁵³⁵ Two of these are now lost, a

⁵³⁰ For instance, *RIB* no. 309 was dedicated to Mars Lenus or Ocelus Vellaunus and to the divinity of the Emperor and carried a statue probably of Mars.

⁵³¹ Højte 2005, 93.

⁵³² *RIB* no. 92: ‘In excavating for the cellar of a house on the corner of St. Martin’s Lane and East Street, Chichester, associated with massive walls of some Roman structure. Two large fragments of the slab were found lying on their face, but most of the left-hand portion was missing.’ Appendix, IP 152.

⁵³³ *RIB* no. 288, dated AD 129- 130; Appendix, IP 153.

⁵³⁴ Here statue bases are defined as supports for images of the emperor. There are a couple of examples of statue bases dedicated to gods including the divinities of the deified emperors (*Num Aug.*) (*RIB* no. 181, for instance), but these would likely not have carried an image of the emperor.

⁵³⁵ *RIB* nos 289 (Wroxeter), 412 (Carmarthen), 930 (Old Penrith), 3261 (Binchester).

third is set into the interior face of the north wall of the Saxon church at Escomb, near Durham, the fourth held in a museum at Carmarthen. This surviving dedication, however, appears to be a milestone pillar rather than a statue base and it is possible the others should be interpreted this way too, and so discounted from analysis as vehicles for an imperial image. The only clear use of a dedicatory inscription on a statue base that carried an honorific portrait statue is that from Caerwent, dedicated not to an emperor, but to Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, legate of *legio* II and future governor of Britannia Inferior, dated *c.* AD 210–220.⁵³⁶

In Germany, the picture is slightly different. There were three bases for statues of the emperor from *Germania Inferior*, concentrated at Bonn (a legionary fort) and Rigomagus (Remagen, an auxiliary fort just up the Rhine from Bonn), plus another dedicatory inscription and a plain uninscribed base at Bonn, but 21 bases from *Germania Superior*. Additionally, there were a couple more intended for statues to members of the imperial family, such as the base to Julia Domna at Bonn.⁵³⁷ Of the bases from *Germania Superior*, eight were explicitly dedicated by members of a military unit; one by a procurator and one by a propraetorian legate; and four by local citizens. The others were broken, and the dedicators' names cannot be made out. Men from the army or local citizen groups dominate as patrons of statuary of the emperor in this area, and the locations at which these bases were found were large towns or, in the majority, forts. The apparent lack of honorific statuary in the north-west has been explained partly by the use of bronze, which is readily recycled, but also by the lack of tradition of dedicating images in military areas, since urban public spaces were those which received many such dedications⁵³⁸ – yet, military locations are exactly where we see both large quantities of bronze fragments *and* most of the remaining statue bases in the north-west. It has been

⁵³⁶ *RIB* no. 311. Dedicated by the *ordo* of the *res publica* of the Silures, Caerwent.

⁵³⁷ *CIL* XIII, no. 12042; Appendix, IP 156.

⁵³⁸ Højte 2005, 93.

suggested that every fort had an imperial statue, with some armoured statues dedicated by the entire unit showing loyalty to the regime.⁵³⁹

A number of the bases were for members of the Severan family: 10 of the 28 statue bases known in the north-west were dedicated to those emperors, their wives and families. Perhaps this is chance survival, but this appears to follow the pattern of images in this region mentioned above, and that of honorific inscriptions to the emperor from across the Empire more widely: of the inscriptions that include honorific terminology, catalogued by Noreña, the majority come from the early-mid second century, with a particularly large volume in the Severan period, representing an empire-wide trend.⁵⁴⁰

Most of these bases employ local materials such as trachyte, sandstone, limestone, with fragments of bronze ornament, or occasionally bronze plaques, though more precise stone sourcing has rarely been carried out for these objects. White marble bases have not been identified, emphasising the regional materials underpinning the tradition. The large blocks of trachyte for the two bases at Bonn, and the limestone from Solothurn used at Augusta Raurica perhaps represent the longest-range of import, around 50–75 km from quarry to use. It is possible that some bases were covered in bronze plates more often in this area than in other parts of the empire, as local stone may have been deemed unsuitable for carving, and letters of bronze inscriptions survive from Silchester.⁵⁴¹ They may, therefore, have been more susceptible to recycling and thus no longer survive in the archaeological record.

⁵³⁹ Stoll 2001, 137-166.

⁵⁴⁰ Noreña 2011, 183–185, especially Table Int. II.2, and Figs Int. II.1 and 2.

⁵⁴¹ Fulford and Timby 2000, 351-3.

More generally, the majority of statue bases in the north-west region were for images of deities rather than for living people. This was especially the case in Britain⁵⁴² where the inscriptions classified as statue bases in *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* are overwhelmingly for deities and generally made by members of the army or in a military context: for instance, *RIB* no. 1305 dedicated at Segedunum by a centurion of *legio VI Victrix* as fulfilment of a religious vow; *RIB* no. 2148 recording the dedication of a shrine and statuette to Mercury by a soldier of the same legion at Castlecary; two dedications of statuettes to Mercury and for the guild of the god's worshippers at Birrens *RIB* nos 2102 and 2103; and *RIB* no. 451 to the genius of the *signiferi* of *legio XX* at Chester.

This, and indeed the evidence so far laid out in this chapter, suggests that the importance placed on honorific portraiture for individuals in this region, as has been identified in the past, was indeed lower than for other areas of the empire. It has often been noted that this area lacked an 'epigraphic habit',⁵⁴³ which we might extend to include lack of honorific portraiture or the lack of a 'monumental habit' since inscriptions accompanied statues on their bases and provide evidence for this wider behaviour. This has been offered as another factor in attempting to understand the paucity of imperial statues now surviving from the north-west, in addition to the explanations such as deliberate removal of statues for political reasons or reuse of the material. However, this may be challenged on two counts. First, the volume of evidence presented above, including heads, bases, and bronze fragments shows that large-scale portraits were present in this region, albeit probably in lower quantities when compared with other regions of the Mediterranean in which a tradition of honorific statuary was better established. The archaeological evidence to some extent corroborates the quotations from Fronto and Severianus, mentioned above, which tell us something of the ubiquity of the

⁵⁴² Blagg 1990, 22–3, tables 5 and 6.

⁵⁴³ MacMullen 1982.

imperial image. Secondly, there are other kinds of dedications and votives that involve the establishment of some kind of relationship between individuals and communities in the north-west and the emperor. There is not a total lack of epigraphic evidence involving the emperor, just an apparent lack of statuary depicting him, and a concentration instead on his religious aspect, his *genius* or *numen* in preference to his physical human form.

The focus in the north-western region for benefaction and dedication was primarily religious buildings and statues: Blagg showed that these are more common than other kinds of construction and munificence,⁵⁴⁴ while Stewart has emphasised the skew in geographic distribution towards the northern, military zone.⁵⁴⁵ Dedications to deities are again more common than those to the emperor and the imperial family, the former accounting for around 50–60 per cent of all benefactions and the latter at around 30 per cent, in all three provinces of Britain and the two Germanies.⁵⁴⁶ Building dedications to the emperor which are known often involve his religious aspect or the welfare of the whole imperial house: the dedication of the new *proscenium* of the theatre at *Petuaria* (Brough-on-Humber) to the *domus divinae* of Antoninus Pius and the *numen augusti* by the aedile, M. Ulpius Ianuarius at his own expense, for instance,⁵⁴⁷ or the work of *legio II Augusta* at Balmuidy under the propraetorian legate Q. Lollius Urbicus, dedicated to the same emperor c. AD 139-143.⁵⁴⁸ A slate inscription from London seems to refer to a dedication ‘...on account of the victory in Dacia...’ but is now so fragmentary as to be unclear from what it derives.⁵⁴⁹ However, such civic benefactions are relatively few, a similar picture to that in Gaul and Germany, with some regional

⁵⁴⁴ Blagg 1990, 14-15, tables 1 and 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Stewart 2003, 176.

⁵⁴⁶ Blagg 1990, 22-3, tables 5 and 6.

⁵⁴⁷ *RIB* no. 707; dated therefore c. AD 140-160.

⁵⁴⁸ *RIB* nos 2191 and 2192.

⁵⁴⁹ *RIB* 8.

anomalies.⁵⁵⁰ Altars with votive inscriptions in honour of the emperor, his wife and family, and their health and wellbeing are also well-known. While this practice is seen across the north-west, the terminology used is different: in Britain, inscriptions refer to the *numen* of the emperor,⁵⁵¹ but this formula is very rare on the Rhineland and virtually non-existent along the Upper German-Raetian limes.⁵⁵² There, the term used is *In Honorem Domus Divinae* to the divine house, though this is not unknown in Britain.⁵⁵³

Comparisons between monuments have already been made across the north-west region,⁵⁵⁴ and we might add into consideration here the column at Nijmegen to Tiberius, or the Jupiter column to Nero at Mainz. Rather than statues to the emperor, we can see construction and dedication of large buildings.

Contexts and locations of statues

Major urban and military sites dominated as the locations for imperial statues. London, Colchester briefly, Cologne and Mainz were all provincial capitals and all have probable portraits of the emperor (red dots in Figure 4.11 below).⁵⁵⁵ The military sites too are not insignificant: Bonn, Vetera/Xanten, and York were all legionary forts, while Richborough was a 'gateway to Britain'. Niederbieber and Wiesbaden were both auxiliary forts, the latter

⁵⁵⁰ Stewart 2003, 177.

⁵⁵¹ See Blagg 1990, 30, appendix 3.2 for list.

⁵⁵² Stoll 1992, 123.

⁵⁵³ Blagg 1990, 25, table 8.

⁵⁵⁴ McGowen 2010.

⁵⁵⁵ Though we do not know the immediate context in which the portraits were set up, these towns would have been appropriate locations for the governor or officials to dispatch their duties, and in which buildings or settings with images of the emperor could be expected, as mentioned by Severianus in the late fourth/early fifth century (see above). The extent to which we can extrapolate this behaviour into previous centuries and into the north-west, however, is more debatable.

also a pre-Roman settlement with enduring importance throughout much of the Roman period due to the links by bridge over the Rhine to the north.⁵⁵⁶ It is also mentioned by Pliny as an important spa town.⁵⁵⁷

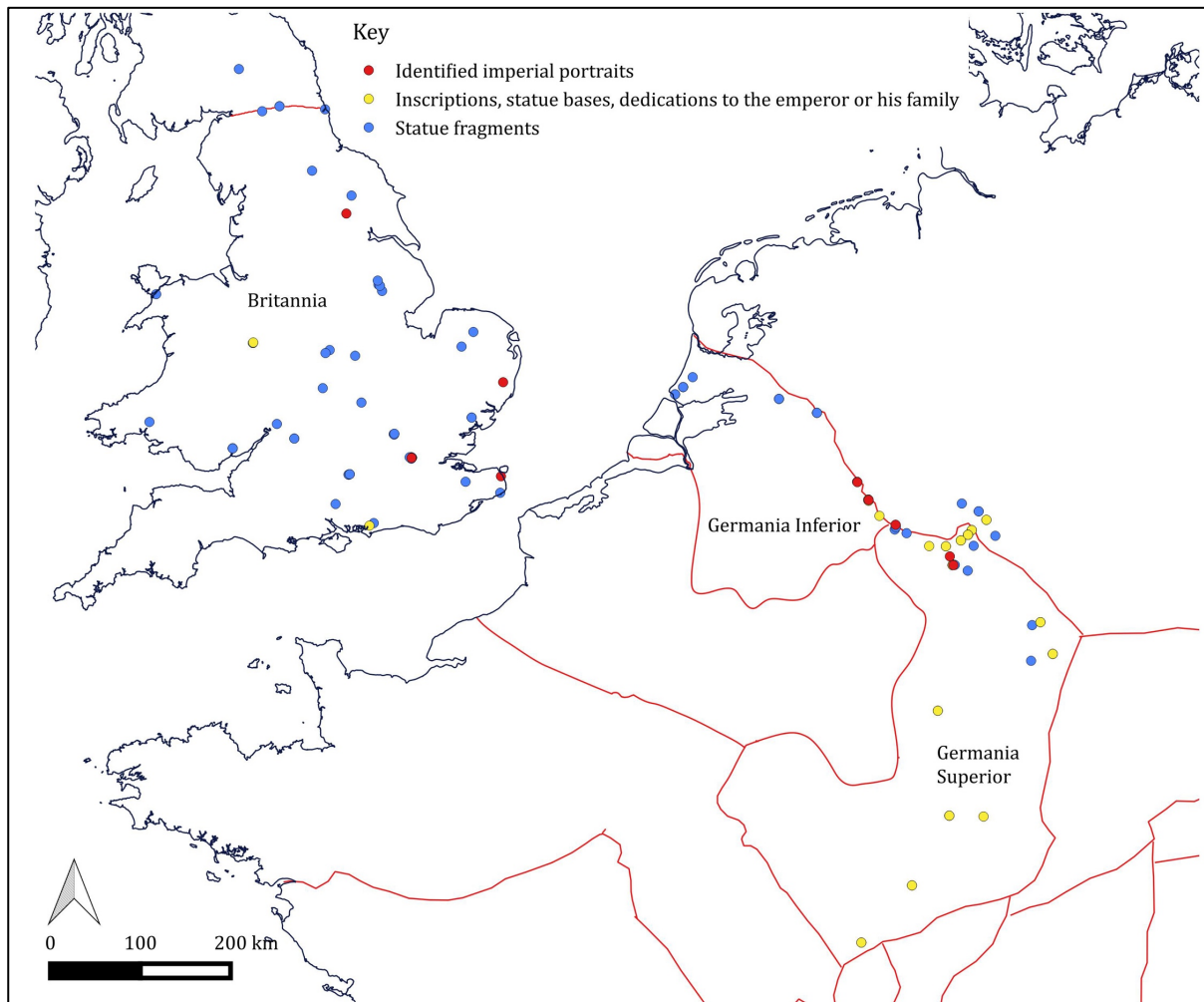


Figure 4.11: Map showing distribution of find spots for identified imperial portrait heads, inscriptions, and fragments of statues (Appendix, IP 1–IP 9, IP 55–IP 151, IP 152–IP 184).

Taking a few examples in more detail, the head of Constantine from York was found during works on a drain at Stonegate in the nineteenth century. This modern area lies over the *via praetoria*, a main street of the Roman legionary fort connecting the *praetorium* to one of the

⁵⁵⁶ Niederbieber in use from time of Commodus until it was destroyed in AD 259/60 (Biegert and Helfert 2015, 204), while Wiesbaden was established in AD 6.

⁵⁵⁷ Pliny, *Natural History*, 31.20.

gates. The *praetorium* was not only the central residence of the commander, but also a public-official space within the military structure, with offices, administrative spaces, and a reception hall. It is likely that it was found not far from its original location, since the administrative centre of the camp would be a highly appropriate place for an imperial statue. Many of the fragments of bronze, for instance the large cache at Bonn, came from the area of the legionary fort, near the *sacellum*. The *sacellum* or sacred space within a fort was the area in which the standards, including the *imago* of the emperor, would have been kept. It was also the safe room containing the wealth of the fort, and these fragments were perhaps stored here already chopped up. At Cologne, the fragment of the head of Augustus also comes from near the *praetorium*, later the Provincial governor's palace after *Germania Inferior* was established in the Flavian era, but in its earlier incarnation was predominantly military. In Roman London, the governor's palace was probably to be found in the south-east corner of the city, near the Thames. One wonders if this was also the original setting for the bronze head of Hadrian.

The two main distinctions between the British and the German material are in the quantities found at the edge of towns or from apparently rural places (this is seen only in Britain, and not in the German provinces, especially around the south east of England), and in the numbers from central civic spaces (seen in Germany, but less in Britain). The dominance of portraits in the south of England, and in rural areas, however, seems to be associated with modern collecting practices rather than ancient distributions.

Chronology and occasions for setting up statues

The dating of imperial images is most often confirmed by correctly identifying the individual represented, and, if possible, the portrait type that is shown, which for some emperors showed a realistic process of ageing over time (Nero, Hadrian, Lucius Verus). The debate over many

of the identifications makes this more difficult for the north-west. Instead, it is interesting to note if there were any particular moments or historical occasions that prompted the erection of an imperial statue. Understanding this could help to explain also why statues were set up and by whom.

It makes some sense that a closer connection with the province or a visit could have resulted in an imperial portrait. However, in practice, it is difficult to generalise on this matter: emperors travelled around the empire at vastly different rates,⁵⁵⁸ and some emperors closely involved with Britain and the Germanies were not seen in the surviving material (though of course, this does not necessarily mean that such images never existed). The lack of images of Claudius, Vespasian, Titus and Septimius Severus in Britain is remarkable, given the time those men spent in the province and their connection to it.⁵⁵⁹ The identification of the head of Trajan(?) at Bosham has been explained as a posthumous dedication by Hadrian.⁵⁶⁰ Posthumous honours were granted and known in the north-west region,⁵⁶¹ but in the absence of more certain evidence, and the inconclusive identification, this claim remains tenuous.

The bronze head of Hadrian from London (Figure 4.2) in particular has been associated with the imperial visit to Britain in AD 122. The famously travelling emperor, patron of over 130 cities of the ancient world,⁵⁶² left his mark on the Roman world: as Fronto noted: ‘you may see memorials of his journeys in most of the cities of Asia and Europe’.⁵⁶³ There is, however,

⁵⁵⁸ Fejfer 2008, 375.

⁵⁵⁹ And especially given Suetonius’ assertion that many statues of Titus were to be found in Germany and Britain: Suetonius, *Life of Titus*, 4.

⁵⁶⁰ Soffe and Henig 1999; Russell and Manley 2015.

⁵⁶¹ The example of Germanicus, and evidence provided by the *Tabula Siarensis*, is discussed further below.

⁵⁶² Boatwright 2000, 5.

⁵⁶³ Fronto, *Principia Historiae*, 10. The *Historia Augusta* too suggests that ‘he built something in almost every city’: *HA Life of Hadrian*, 19.

no secure evidence for the visit inspiring the creation and display of the London head. The personal involvement of the emperor for instance in modern Libya and Austria, seems in those places to have inspired statue honours as marks of gratitude, though this was associated with the emperor's investment in works to enrich the lives of certain provincials rather than a visit. Though perhaps initiated by Trajan, Hadrian completed the reconstruction of significant parts of Cyrene in AD 118, following a period of conflict since AD 115.⁵⁶⁴ A surviving statue base records (in Greek and Latin) a dedication by the citizens, possibly to thank the emperor for the construction work.⁵⁶⁵ At *Virunum*, the provincial capital of Noricum, a statue of Hadrian was set up in the theatre,⁵⁶⁶ perhaps associated with the emperor's visit *c.* AD 121-2, but more likely as thanks for granting *municipium* rights to two Norican towns, Noricum also featuring on Hadrian's *adventus* coin series. There was some investment in construction in London during the Hadrianic period, but this may be better associated with rebuilding required after the large fire and locally inspired, rather than imperial patronage. In all, it is difficult to construct a general rule relating visits and association with the province to erection of a statue, based on the evidence of this couple of dozen images, and this is not a reliable method for dating the surviving images. In any case, the mere fact of a visit alone, without benefaction, would not precipitate statue honours: portraits were set up by leaders in the community as reward for the recipient's valued services, works, and donations.⁵⁶⁷

Statue honours for members of the imperial family were sometimes decreed by the senate and set up in the provinces. Amongst the most powerful and well-known evidence for this in the north-west region is offered by the text of the *senatus consultum* of AD 19 that conferred funerary honours on Germanicus, shown on the *Tabula Siarensis* from southern Spain. Those

⁵⁶⁴ Cassius Dio, *Histories*, LXVIII, 32.2-4.

⁵⁶⁵ *SEG* XVII, 808.

⁵⁶⁶ Now in Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten, inv. no. L.606; Evers 1994, no. 53.

⁵⁶⁷ Stewart 2003, 166.

honours were to include construction of arches in Rome, on Mt Amanus in Syria, and a third on the banks of the Rhine, each inscribed with Germanicus' achievements,⁵⁶⁸ and no doubt each carrying appropriate sculptures, including of the man himself. Tacitus records that the proposal to set a colossal golden image of the prince amongst the orators was turned down by Tiberius.⁵⁶⁹ Ceremonies were to be performed each year on the anniversary of his death. Even before this, in 9 BC, on Drusus' death, the Rhine legions apparently raised a monument in his honour at Mainz, the so-called *Drususstein*, and Augustus decreed funerary festivals to be held there on the anniversary of his death. The location could have been chosen either because it was Drusus' campaign base in Germania, or because it was a centre of the provincial cult at this time. He was also honoured with a marble arch near Rome on the Via Appia.⁵⁷⁰

Conclusions

Fronto's letter to Marcus Aurelius has reminded scholars that images of the emperor would have been everywhere in public in the Roman empire, even if sometimes informal and ephemeral.⁵⁷¹ The most striking thing about the north-west region is the apparent lack of honorific images. However, this chapter has also served to show how much evidence there is for large-scale statuary, albeit now in fragmentary form rendering confirmed identifications of individuals impossible.

The most important conclusion from analysis of surviving heads above is the faithfulness to established portrait types of the emperors shown. Provincial portraits were not substandard or

⁵⁶⁸ *Tabula Siarensis*, fragment I, lines 9-34.

⁵⁶⁹ Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.83.

⁵⁷⁰ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 1.3, 11.2.

⁵⁷¹ Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, 4.12.4.

peculiar. The variance seen in bronze images can be paralleled elsewhere in the empire, perhaps explained by the limits of the material and manufacturing process.

The questions posed at the start of this chapter focused on the similarities and differences in imperial portraiture between Britain and Germany, and the possible reasons for them. It has been shown that a general lack of identifiable images was common to both areas and that finds in these provinces tended to be concentrated in urban or military areas. The heads in Britain that appear to be from rural areas, perhaps associated with villas, and made of Mediterranean white marble may be better explained as later imports, collected or even created in more recent centuries, than as genuine Roman finds. As well as the surviving heads, a range of other evidence, such as fragments and statue bases, was analysed. Bronze fragments in Britain represent as many statues as in the German provinces, but a greater percentage of the statues might remain on the continent. Differing survival patterns for body parts, such as the predominance of fingers and hands in Britain, could be explained by recycling practices or through varying use of these pieces as some kind of amulet. Statue bases were more common in Germania Superior, suggesting a greater interest in public statuary there, and were concentrated in the Severan period, suggesting either increased use of public statuary more generally in the second and early third centuries or particular focus on this dynasty.

Lack of portrait images of the emperor did not indicate a lack of engagement with him and his family, but a different kind of expression of that engagement in the north-west. Statues in general were few in this area, with public honour instead expressed through benefactions and dedications of religious items and buildings. It is difficult to make direct links between imperial interest in a province or a visit with portrait statues, but campaigns by imperial family members might have inspired monuments in the region or use of their image on military accoutrements. Religious dedications were made to the health and wellbeing of the imperial

house, albeit in differing quantities at different times, and soldiers, especially in Germany, displayed the imperial image on armour and honours. This evidence offers the basis for setting the use of the imperial image in a broader context; for considering more generally the role that portrait statuary played in public display in the north-west, and also for understanding the socio-political interactions between provincial individuals and certain communities and the emperor at the centre of the Roman state. These aspects will be considered further in chapter 8.

Part II

Part I examined three case studies to demonstrate the differences and similarities between sculptural types in Britain and Germany. This part will now explain the similarities and differences observed in them across the north-west: what underpinned the visual similarities in different places, and what might have caused the differences? Part II will examine four perspectives: military demand and movements; trading interactions and economic aspects; transmission of religious ideas and representations; and socio-political context.

Chapters, 5 and 6, examine movements of people and ideas and the impact of local economics on the appearance and use of sculpture. Scholars agree that there was considerable mobility of both people and objects in the ancient world.⁵⁷² Human connectivity was key to circulation of objects, and even small movements of people may have had an impact in sharing ideas.⁵⁷³ While Chapter 5 focuses on the military interactions which may have led to movement of skills and motifs, it is notable that the military was also intensely involved in the economic life of the north-west, covered in more detail in Chapter 6. The dichotomy created here is a modern one but is used in order to understand military-specific aspects and those which might also apply more generally. Chapters 7 and 8 explore how differences or similarities of sculpture might be a product of local conceptions or personifications of deities or might respond to a particular socio-political environment. Thus, different modalities of movement of the forms and motifs are considered.

It will be concluded that movements of army units played an important role in the mobility of specific motifs. People moving across provinces for trade purposes may also have played a role, but this is harder to identify in the archaeological record. Craftsmen do not appear to

⁵⁷² See above pp. 21-22, n. 84 and 85.

⁵⁷³ Social Network Analysis shows that 'weak ties' between communities (acquaintances or chance connections, rather than strong family links) substantially affected interactions and knowledge-sharing (see Granovetter 1973).

have moved between provinces but might have done locally to satisfy demand. Local economic and religious circumstances also influenced the changing use and appearance of sculpture in the north-west.

Chapter 5 - Military interactions

Scholars have considered the role of the army in spreading aspects of Roman culture such as lifestyle and literacy.⁵⁷⁴ The provinces of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior and Britannia were heavily militarised.⁵⁷⁵ Soldiers were amongst the most highly mobile sectors of the population in the Roman world,⁵⁷⁶ readily moving between the Rhine frontier and Britain. Three of the four legions used in the AD 43 invasion were stationed along the German *limes* immediately before their deployment in Britain;⁵⁷⁷ auxiliaries too transferred between these areas.⁵⁷⁸ Finds of stone and bronze sculpture across this region are closely correlated to military and urban sites,⁵⁷⁹ soldiers being the primary group of ‘sculpture-users’ in the provinces,⁵⁸⁰ and the case studies have all demonstrated significant use by the army. In Britain, too, inscriptions correspond with the sites of military occupation, particularly in the north, and, on the Continent, inscriptions are concentrated around Gallia Narbonensis, especially the lower Rhône valley, the Rhineland, and central-eastern Gaul, all highly militarized and urbanised.⁵⁸¹

However, the case studies also suggested that connections can be specific, granular, and variable, and that variation and difference can appear at the same time as similarity. Given

⁵⁷⁴ Speidel 2009; von Hesberg 1999.

⁵⁷⁵ Mattingly 2004, 15-16. The army made up around 1 per cent or less of the population of the Empire as a whole: Erdkamp 2002, 5.

⁵⁷⁶ Carroll 2006, 209-232 provides several examples of individuals whose career history and posting locations can be reconstructed, particularly from epigraphic evidence.

⁵⁷⁷ *Legio* II *Augusta* was at Argentoratum (Strasbourg), *legio* XIV *Gemina* at Mogontiacum (Mainz), and *legio* XX *Valeria Victrix* at Novaesium (Neuss). *Legio* IX *Hispana* was in Pannonia, though it may have been stationed on the Rhine early in the first century AD.

⁵⁷⁸ For troop movements see Hassall 1978; Spaul 1994 and 2000; De La Bedoyère 1999; D’Amato 2016.

⁵⁷⁹ Stewart 2010, Map 2 for Britain.

⁵⁸⁰ Stewart 2010, para. 20. Kampen 2006 encourages discussion of communities of those who used sculpture in the provinces.

⁵⁸¹ Graham 2006, 58.

the undeniable military role in sharing ideas and sculptural forms across the north-west, the nature of the transmission, the timeframes, and the elements (both sculptural and of personnel) involved need further analysis to reach a deeper understanding of the related interactions. Beneath the superficial level of connection through broader movements of personnel, can we identify specific instances of the interchange of ideas and images and understand the processes by which they came about? The visible differences when forms and motifs move from one place to another will be examined through three aspects of military involvement: an army demand for sculpture and for certain motifs, and whether this varies across the region; soldiers as disseminators of sculptural forms, and correlation of form with movements of specific units; and, finally, the role of the military in quarrying, mining and supplying raw materials. While soldiers, especially legionaries, were essential agents in the supply and movement of stone, and through them trends of expression of imagery used by soldiers can be identified, this chapter will demonstrate that there is no single general principle. Evidence for direct associations between these provinces through the agency of the military is primarily limited to specific places, objects, or periods of time.

Army culture and demand for sculpture

Stone sculpture in the north-west coincides with the invasion of Roman troops; a few exceptions such as the ‘Hirschlanden warrior’ and some Hallstatt or La Tène stones date to the Iron Age in southern Germany. The earliest large figural sculpture known from Britain is the tombstone of the centurion of *legio XX* Marcus Favonius Facilis at Colchester, dated to the AD 40s, made of Lothringer limestone quarried in eastern France. His military unit had been stationed on the Rhine immediately prior to the British invasion. Discussing the first century, Speidel suggested that in catering for a military market, local craftspeople produced objects using new, Roman manufacturing methods. More generally, soldiers were integral in

spreading Roman culture, from architecture and construction methods, to expansion of transport infrastructure and even values and way of life through establishment of veteran *coloniae*.⁵⁸² ‘At their deployment sites, legionary soldiers of the first century were not only the representatives of Roman power, but also of Roman culture and way of life.’⁵⁸³ Roman military camps were intended as microcosms of Roman cities,⁵⁸⁴ sculpted stonework an important part of the urban fabric.

Whether there was cultural unity within the army or whether soldiers acted as the primary agents of cultural change,⁵⁸⁵ the visibility of soldiers and officials in the archaeological record from long-lasting stone remains sets them apart from less archaeologically distinctive populations or the presence of soldiers in other contexts.⁵⁸⁶ It is more likely, however, that there were many interwoven aspects of identity involved, and that in towns and within civilian settings soldiers must have blended with the wider population. Garrisons would have included not only soldiers but also architects, surveyors, and artisans. The Roman conquest precipitated considerable mobility and the creation of communities of local residents mixed with legionaries initially hailing from northern Italy, and auxiliary units from other parts of the Empire.⁵⁸⁷ For instance, at Cologne, Carroll highlights the mixture of Italian traders, veterans, Ubian tribespeople, Gallic traders, and soldiers from other parts of the Empire, each having an influence.⁵⁸⁸ Camps themselves were not entirely the preserve of the male soldiers, since evidence for women and children has been discovered.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸² Speidel 2009, 519-520.

⁵⁸³ Speidel 2009, 543.

⁵⁸⁴ Polybius, *Histories*, 6.31.10; Josephus, *Jewish War*. 3.5.2; Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 1.21, 2.18.

⁵⁸⁵ Von Hesberg 2009; Haynes 2016.

⁵⁸⁶ Mattingly 2004, 12.

⁵⁸⁷ Carroll 2006, 209–232.

⁵⁸⁸ Carroll 2001, 130–1.

⁵⁸⁹ Allason-Jones 1999.

‘The army’ took no single approach and soldiers exhibited considerable diversity of individual expression in stone. A survey of Roman soldiers’ funerary monuments highlights the differences between sculpted stone tomb monuments for legionaries and those for auxiliaries. The former tended to be plainer; the more elaborate figural elements typically used by auxiliaries. This is somewhat counter to expectation, given that legionaries were paid more and could probably afford more complex carvings.⁵⁹⁰ Perhaps legionaries were more interested in the textual elements of the memorial, or wished to be associated with citizen status or literacy. The use of larger, more elaborate tombstones to commemorate auxiliary soldiers has been interpreted in chapter 2 as a statement of valour and belonging: the regiment and length of service is often included on rider relief inscriptions, for instance. Auxiliaries were often recruited from local tribes and, particularly after the Batavian revolt in AD 69, were typically posted for service away from their homelands. ‘Memorials were of particular relevance to immigrants and outsiders who used the medium to assert their identity in a strange land.’⁵⁹¹ Equally, the different sectors of the army could have distinguished themselves in part through their monuments.

Across different places within the north-west region, not only the appearance but also the volume of stones and the extent of use of sculpture varied considerably. Military funerary monuments from Mainz, for instance, greatly outnumber those from most other large forts in the German and British provinces.⁵⁹² Types of use also varied. Among carvings of religious

⁵⁹⁰ See Speidel 1992, table 7 for military pay rates.

⁵⁹¹ Hope 1997, 246.

⁵⁹² 180 soldiers’ or veterans’ tombstones have been catalogued in the relevant *CSIR* volume for Mainz. The largest cache in Britain is at Chester, where 93 funerary stones have been identified (*CSIR* GB I.9, xx-xxiii, nos 22-114). Of those, 25 commemorate legionary soldiers, veterans or auxiliary horsemen.

character (statues or reliefs of deities, votive altars) votive stones were four times more prevalent in the Hadrian's Wall region than funerary monuments.⁵⁹³

There is evidence of a military-wide approach to sculpture in the use of imperial portraits. Chapter 4 explored a concentration of the remains of possible imperial statues in and around legionary forts, even if the fragmentary remains prevented definite conclusions. As well as use on the standards, the emperor's image had an important place in the heart of the camp: statue bases and fragments are discovered at public, central sites in or near the *principia* and the *sacellum*. Images of the emperor and of the imperial family on military achievements and donatives underscored his role as head of the army and the emphasis on personal loyalty of the soldiers. Otherwise, the army does not seem to have had a unified approach to use of sculpture across the north-west. Instead, there are similarities in certain contexts and the use of certain motifs across the region, perhaps arising from specific interactions.

Transmission of forms by soldiers

The considerable mobility of Roman military units made them ideal agents of circulation of ideas and objects: the tombstones of *legio XV Apollinaris* at Carnuntum in Austria offer a good example.⁵⁹⁴ Different forms and motifs were used by the legion at the different phases of their garrison. In the first phase (AD 39/40 – 63), plainer stones with a triangular pediment and rosette motif with acroteria were used, in a tradition borrowed perhaps from northern Italian styles. This may have been in accordance with the personal background of many of

⁵⁹³ Of 890 sculptures catalogued in *CSIR GB I.1* and *I.6*, covering much of the Hadrian's Wall region (including towns, rural areas, and forts), 440 were categorised as religious while 107 were funerary.

⁵⁹⁴ Mosser 2003.

the soldiers or influenced by *legio X* with whom the legion was stationed for a short time.⁵⁹⁵ In the second phase (AD 71 – c. 114), after the legion return from the Jewish War, the motifs used were more often of a style apparently derived from the eastern empire, perhaps reflecting both the influences seen while on campaign and also the origins of new recruits, now more often from Pannonia and especially Syria.⁵⁹⁶

The influence of forms of carving from northern Italy were not restricted to *legio XV*. Motifs seen on funerary art in the Rhineland parallel those from northern Italy at similar time periods,⁵⁹⁷ which was likely to be related to the movement of legionaries from Italy to Germany.⁵⁹⁸ The initial spread of stone carving into regions like the Rhineland followed a relatively consistent and conservative repertoire of sculptural ornament, established and appropriate for military tombstones. The associations between northern Italy and the Rhineland area were not confined to funerary imagery: we saw in the case study of the *Matronae* that some of the earliest dedications to the deities were made in northern Italy, and that elements of dress and attributes in their iconography could have derived from Italian examples. However, innovation, new developments of forms such as the rider motif, and influences from other areas, such as *legio XV*'s use of 'eastern' styles, seem to have followed soon after. Further analysis of the detail, including the timeframes and the vectors involved, would be an interesting study, albeit perhaps rather schematised. It would have important implications for our concept of 'provincial' and contribute to the discussion of the relationships between the Mediterranean region and other parts of the north west. However, the focus of this discussion is transmission in the north-west.

⁵⁹⁵ Mosser 2003, 15-19, 32.

⁵⁹⁶ Mosser 2003, 33.

⁵⁹⁷ *CSIR De III.1*, 10-12; *CSIR De III.2*, 10-12. See also comparisons made in Hope 2001.

⁵⁹⁸ Derks 1998, 128; Frenz 2009.

Noting a broad consistency in use of sculptural ornament, it is possible to identify associations between particular motifs and composition of figures on tombstones in both Britain and Germany, apparently linked to the movement of legionaries in the region. One example hinges around the movement of *legio XX* and *legio XIV* between Mainz, Wroxeter, Gloucester and Colchester in the first century. The motifs in question are a lion and sphinx atop the pediment, and a rosette within three leaves in a triangular pediment. While a number of stones employed one or more of these motifs, they converge on the tombstone of Gaius Mannius of *legio XX*, set up at Wroxeter in the mid first century (Figure 5.3).

Tombstones set up at Wroxeter in the AD 50s and 60s seem to borrow motifs from those on memorials to legionaries stationed at Mainz from *legio IV* and *legio XIV Gemina* which was based in Mainz before moving to Wroxeter from AD 58 to the mid-60s. The circle and floral pediment decorations with curling acroteria-like elements in spandrels (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) were particularly characteristic of tombstones at Mainz, where military stone carving exhibited remarkable consistency.⁵⁹⁹ Standing (legionary) soldier forms were seen in the Bingerbrück and mid-Rhine region, including at Neuss where *legio XX* was stationed before coming to Britain, as well as at Mainz.⁶⁰⁰ This floral triangular decoration with central circle is seen both at Mainz and at Wroxeter, as well as an example of the standing soldier type.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ For instance: *CSIR De II.5*, nos 71-75, 77, 88, 93, 97, 100, 109, 120-130, 138-145, 147, 148 for floral decoration (acanthus or oak leaves?) filling the pediment; *CSIR De II.5*, nos 64-7, 68, 78-80, 86, 87, 90, 98, 99, 132, 135 for central circle or flower in the pediment.

⁶⁰⁰ *CSIR De II.5*, nos 1-10 at Mainz; *CSIR De II.14*, nos 47-54 at Bingerbrück.

⁶⁰¹ Wroxeter: tombstone of Titus Flaminius, *aquilifer* of *legio XIV Gemina*: *CSIR GB I.9*, no. 147 (*RIB* no. 292). Though only the feet of the soldier remain here, Tomlin noted the similarity to the stone of Cn. Musius, *aquilifer* to the same legion while it was stationed at Mainz in the early first century: *CSIR De II.5*, no. 1.

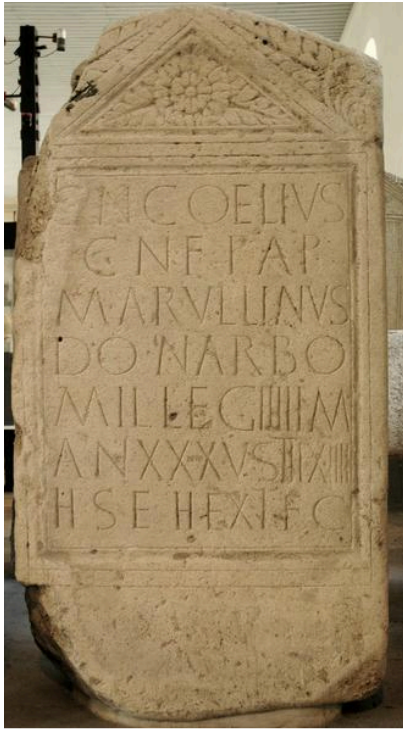


Figure 5.1: Tombstone of Cn. Coelius Marullinus, legio IV, Mainz, Germany. CSIR De II.5, no. 122. H: 175cm. AD 40-70. Mainz limestone. Image from Livius.org, used under CC 1.0 Universal license



Figure 5.2: Tombstone of M. Petronius, legio XIV, Wroxeter GB. CSIR GB I.9, no. 149. H: 170cm. AD 58-65. Sandstone.



Figure 5.3: Tombstone of C. Mannius, legio XX, Wroxeter, GB. CSIR GB I.9, no. 148. H: 167cm. AD 66-74. Sandstone.

In an apparently separate strand of influence, the pediment surmounted by lions and sphinx, seen on auxiliary cavalry tombstones in Colchester and Gloucester dating to the 40s and 50s AD (Figures 5.4 and 5.5), also appeared on the tombstone of the legionary Gaius Mannius. When on auxiliary stones in Colchester and Gloucester, the lion and sphinx pediment accompanied a rider relief characterised by a fallen barbarian/enemy figure beneath the horse's hooves (curled up on his front at Colchester and lying on his back at Gloucester). There is another rider relief with a fallen barbarian/enemy in the curled pose from Wroxeter, though the top is now missing (Figure 5.6). It is tempting to recreate this with a lion and sphinx decorated pediment, similar to the other examples mentioned; the forms of the letters appear comparable to the two stones from Wroxeter depicted above (Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

The twentieth legion was present at Colchester in the 40s AD, moving to Gloucester in around AD 50, Usk by AD 55, and then to Wroxeter by AD 66. The pediment floral decoration, associated with *legio IV* and *legio XIV* at Mainz, is seen at Wroxeter, and may have been combined there too with the lions and sphinx of Colchester and Gloucester, as the legions move from the Rhineland and the eastern part of Britain to the west.



Figure 5.4: Tombstone of Longinus Sdapeze, ala I Thracum, Colchester, GB. CSIR GB I.8, no.48. H: 239cm. AD 43-50. Painswick stone.



Figure 5.5: Tombstone of Rufus Sita, cohors VI Thracum, Gloucester, GB. CSIR GB I.9, no. 140. H: 145cm. AD 50-60. Painswick stone.



Figure 5.6: Tombstone of Ti. Claudius Tirintius, cohors VI Thracum, Wroxeter, GB. CSIR GB I.9, no. 146. H: 104cm. AD 50-100. Hoar edge grit.

As the combination and complexity of influence described above demonstrates, the movement of image from place to place is not simple nor does it amount to wholesale ‘diffusion’ of the same forms. Chapter 2 above showed that the movement of the rider motif on auxiliary stelae from the Rhineland to Britain involves differences in arrangement of the figures. The use of the *Totenmahl* or funerary banquet scene is a further example. The

funerary banquet scene was well-known on Hellenistic *stelae*, but the type flourished in the Roman period in the Danube provinces and further west.⁶⁰² The image is used sporadically: it was common in the Balkan provinces (used by Greek-speaking civilians), emerged again in the Rhineland where the image was used almost exclusively by the military (especially auxiliaries) in the latter half of the first century, later by civilians including women, and then in Gallia Belgica.⁶⁰³ An extract of the scene appeared in the intervening area of Pannonia. The image then features in military areas of Britain (Gloucester, York, Chester, and parts of Hadrian's Wall), from the late first century (according to Stewart's chronology) to the early third. In Britain, the stones were often set up to individuals not immediately connected to the military (women, freedmen, children) though they were from military areas;⁶⁰⁴ the reclining figure was in half of the cases shown as female. Stewart explains this through change in social context, as military areas become more 'civilianized' and sites around forts increased in size and scope. He also acknowledges that the appearance of women was not unusual in the ancient precedent of the *Totenmahl*, and it is instead the German examples that are unexpected.⁶⁰⁵ The *Totenmahl* example serves to highlight that images were adopted, whole or in part, and adapted for changing contexts, and that it is inappropriate to associate motifs permanently with particular social or cultural environments.

As well as those that evolved during their transmission, some forms did not reach Britain at all. One example of this is the 'half-figure' military tombstone, showing a portrait of the deceased individual, including head and shoulders, down to their mid-torso. It was known in northern Italy,⁶⁰⁶ and there are several extant examples from Mainz and Bonn,⁶⁰⁷ but *stelae*

⁶⁰² Stewart 2009.

⁶⁰³ Stewart 2009, 255-6.

⁶⁰⁴ Henig 2020, 38.

⁶⁰⁵ Stewart 2009, 272.

⁶⁰⁶ See Pflug 1989 for examples and discussion.

⁶⁰⁷ *CSIR* De II.5, nos 19, 20, 21; *CSIR* De III.1, nos 1, 2; *CSIR* De III.2, nos 1, 3, 5.

of this type have not been found in Britain.⁶⁰⁸ At Mainz, the image was used for soldiers of the *cohortes*, rather than the legions, and one wonders if onward movement of a form relies on legionary agency, rather than auxiliary, as we have seen with transmission of motifs from Mainz to Britain. On the other hand, the German stones mentioned above have been dated to the early-mid first century, pre-dating the invasion of Britain. Those forms which were not in use at the time appear not to have moved from Germany to Britain in the first century. Instead, the current fashion was used and was rapidly transmitted by the military to a new location. This implies that the forms seen in Britain and Germany at this time were broadly similar and contemporaneous, with little delay in the use of certain motifs.⁶⁰⁹

Considering for a moment other classes of object and their association with military units, Bishop and Coulston highlight that the distribution of certain types of belt-plates or pendants within southern Britain appear to resemble the locations in which certain legions served.⁶¹⁰ For instance, embossed belt-plates from the first century, best known in *Germania Superior*, but also found in *Germania Inferior*, are found in south and south-west England in areas more or less conforming to those covered by *legio* II *Augusta*, especially in the initial phases of conquest. These were in use on the Continent at the time of the legion's move to Britain, representing movement of a contemporary trend in material culture. *Legio* XXI *Rapax* was transferred from Vindonissa after AD 69 to campaign alongside *legio* II *Adiutrix*. They were then stationed respectively at Bonn and Nijmegen, not too far away. Dagger scabbards from Chester, *legio* II *Adiutrix*'s base in Britain, resemble those from Vindonissa, perhaps adopted from the example of *legio* XXI *Rapax*, while cheek pieces from Chester also resembles one

⁶⁰⁸ A few tombstones with portrait busts are known but none of this fuller, half-figure type. The *stela* of a boy from Lincoln (*CSIR* GB I.8, no.58) just possibly could be of this form, but it is broken across his torso and it has been reconstructed as a full figure.

⁶⁰⁹ As shown by Stewart 2009 for *Totenmahl* scenes.

⁶¹⁰ Bishop and Coulston 1993, 197-8.

from Aquincum, the new base of *legio II Adiutrix* after leaving Britain. Similar relationships appear to apply to motifs seen on stone.

These examples, particularly relating to the stonework, show both the complexity of the associations across provinces and the fine level of detail required to understand the interactions involved, prompting further questions of who was carving these monuments and how the ideas circulated. Did civilian craftsmen move between regions or areas, following army demand? Did local craftsmen train and develop in response to increased demand in newly garrisoned areas? Did the soldiers play a role in stone carving? Were craftsmen so loyal to certain units or so reliant on army demand that they might also be considered ‘military’? Workshops will be considered also in the following chapter; the directly military aspects are discussed here.

Stylistic or technical similarities seen on different sculpted pieces within a concentrated geographic area have led to identification of groups of carvers, for instance at Carlisle, Mainz, Bonn.⁶¹¹ Their output was not confined to specific units and transcended distinctions of legionary and auxiliary, suggesting that craftsmen served soldiers (and probably other members of the public) in general. Some makers were perhaps connected to, or came from, units. For instance, the periods during which Tungrian cohorts garrisoned Birrens and Housesteads coincide with greater output of stone sculpture at those sites.⁶¹² Perhaps stone carvers were associated with the Tungrians or were also serving soldiers.⁶¹³ Peter Hill’s

⁶¹¹ For architectural pieces: Blagg 1977, 59-60; Blagg 1981, 176-8. For sculpture in Britain: Kewley 1974; Philips 1976; Henig 1996; Henig 2012, 122. At Mainz and Bonn: *CSIR De* II.5, 81-2; *CSIR De* III.1, 14-15.

⁶¹² *CSIR GB* I.6, xviii-xix; *CSIR GB* I.4, xvi. The corpus from Birrens accounts for around a quarter of all Roman carved stone from Scotland, and Housesteads has a similarly large quantity of sculpted stonework of good quality.

⁶¹³ It is possible there is one record of a soldier sculptor: *AE* 1909.134. This relies on the restoration of the final *s* in the inscription as *sculpsit*.

technical assessment of the masonry, carving, and letter cutting of the altars from Maryport provides incredible insight into the variety of quality, care and skill that might have been displayed on stonework within a specific military site and in a relatively tight chronological period.⁶¹⁴ He highlighted the contradictions that were identifiable; both the varying quality of different monuments dedicated by the same person, and the different levels of expertise shown between the completion of different elements (e.g. excellent masonry or carving, but with sloping or poorly composed or cut letters, or fine letter cutting on a less skilfully worked altar).⁶¹⁵ He also concluded that the desire or care of the patron and availability of quality workmanship would determine the quality and the skill of the work: some work might be good enough for the purpose or perhaps simply what was available, perhaps made ‘by the unit personnel in the unit workshop.’⁶¹⁶ Legions included a range of building specialists, including masons or stonecutters, and soldiers could be utilised by proconsuls for construction projects.⁶¹⁷ Vegetius described such men who supported construction in the later empire as ‘a train of joiners, masons, carpenters, smiths, painters, and workmen of every kind for the construction of barracks in the winter-camps’ suggesting they could be followers rather than soldiers.⁶¹⁸ Three named architects are known from inscriptions from the northern frontier in Britain, at Carrawburgh and Birrens, but none of them are described as soldiers in the texts.⁶¹⁹ For economic reasons makers might respond to demand and make themselves available to military customers close to garrisons. Developing a centralised workshop area and then

⁶¹⁴ Hill 2020. His work shows how variable stonework might be even within such a specified area, suggesting there was not necessarily a consistently defined or applied work process over time or even necessarily local agreement on quality.

⁶¹⁵ Hill 2020, 187.

⁶¹⁶ Hill 2020, 188.

⁶¹⁷ For the later Empire: Ulpian, *Digest*, 1. 16. 7. 1. Legionary detachments of course undertook construction of Hadrian’s Wall, for instance, assisted by auxiliaries, who likely also completed stonework in other places: Hill 2020, 188.

⁶¹⁸ Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 2.11: ‘Habet praeterea legio fabros tignarios structores carpentarios ferrarios, pictores reliquosque artifices ad hibernorum aedificia fabricanda...’

⁶¹⁹ *RIB* 1542, 2091, 2096.

shipping a finished product to a particular site is less likely, partly for the risk of damaging a final carving, and partly since camps and towns acted as centres of gravity, pulling in traders and suppliers of other goods and services. For construction projects, craftsmen probably worked flexibly, with several groups working together on larger commissions.⁶²⁰ They were likely drawn to places of demand and concentrated around new quarries.⁶²¹

There are, however, a handful of recorded instances of craftsmen travelling longer distances. Amongst the few named stone cutters in the north west were Priscus, the *lapidarius* at Bath who hailed from Gaul;⁶²² a *lapidarius* at Avenches in Germania Superior;⁶²³ a group of *lapidarii* attested on a votive altar at Dijon;⁶²⁴ and two Gallic sculptors, Samus and Severus, who worked in Mainz and signed the Jupiter column there.⁶²⁵ The movement of Sulinus from Bath to Cirencester demonstrates the range of mobility (c.50 km) of this particular *scultor*,⁶²⁶ while the *lapidarii* at Dijon hailed from Langres (slightly further at c. 80 km). Hayward's identification of stone sources of sculpture in the south of England has provided support for Henig's earlier suggestion on iconographic grounds that Cotswolds sculptors working in Cotswold stone came to London, an intraprovincial movement.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁰ Kolb 2008.

⁶²¹ Russell 2017, 244.

⁶²² *RIB* I, no. 149. He was originally of the Carnutes tribe from near Chartres in France. Henig notes his work is reminiscent of that from south-eastern Gaul: Henig 1995, 111.

⁶²³ *AE* 1946.238.

⁶²⁴ *CIL* XIII, no. 5475.

⁶²⁵ *CIL* XIII, no. 11806.

⁶²⁶ *RIB*, nos 105 and 151.

⁶²⁷ Henig 1996; Hayward 2009.

While these craftsmen may have moved around in search of work,⁶²⁸ there is little evidence that craftsmen practised their craft both on the Rhineland and in Britain.⁶²⁹ Neither is it possible to identify direct links between the carvers of rider reliefs across the Channel, despite some remarkable similarities between certain objects. From analysis of *Totenmahl* stones Stewart concluded, ‘there is no sign that the sculptors who worked on the Rhine also worked in Britain’.⁶³⁰ The direct movement of sculptors cannot therefore explain the similarities in use of the type. The movement of military units and soldiers appears to offer a longer-range vector for transmission of forms between regions, the connection of motifs between Mainz, Wroxeter, Gloucester, Colchester described above arising from circulation of troops, particularly legionaries.

Military role in supply of stone

Stone supply is especially relevant since stone sculptures in the north-west generally employed freshly-cut material.⁶³¹ The choice of stone also affected the aesthetic appearance of sculpture.⁶³² This raises questions of who might access and use certain raw materials, and how the process of production operated.

⁶²⁸ As well as the examples above, *artifices*, construction workers rather than sculptors, from Britain were moved to Gaul to help rebuild Autun by Constantius in the late third century: *Panegyrici Latini*, 8.21.2.

⁶²⁹ Identifying individual hands, in general but particularly over time, is, however, a difficult business.

⁶³⁰ Stewart 2009, 268.

⁶³¹ Re-use can sometimes be identified: apart from reuse of sculptural stone as building material, which is well-known, some portraits were recut or tombstones were reused. A rider relief was recut as a sarcophagus to accept a burial (*CSIR* De II.5, no. 49, now in Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 190); a *stela* was recut with a second inscription on the reverse (*CIL* XIII, no. 8267 a and b, now in Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 11). Reuse in a secondary funerary setting was unusual and dismantling funerary monuments was outlawed, at least in the later Roman period: *Digest*, 47.12.

⁶³² Stewart 2010 emphasised that different types of stone were able to produce varying aesthetic results, especially in the detail that could be achieved. Different alloys of copper produce different viscosity of material and varying aspects of appearance, such as colour.

The extent of use of stone in Britain and the German provinces is difficult to assess with accuracy, but the volumes required for sculpture would have been dwarfed by the needs of construction projects and road building.⁶³³ Even for those activities, stone extraction in general was limited, opportunistic and seasonal, probably focused on particular projects rather than a permanent industry, but with variation over time.⁶³⁴ In Britain, freshly-quarried stone was used for some major projects, including the construction of Hadrian's Wall in the second century and the landward city wall of Roman London in the early third century.⁶³⁵ Sometimes material even for large ventures utilised whatever was literally lying around, whether easily accessible or reusable, avoiding the need for newly-quarried stone. Surface-recovered flints were used at Richborough, septarian nodules for the city walls of Colchester, and coastal stone collected from the shore was used in the construction of the Saxon Shore Forts.⁶³⁶

It is not always clear what balance of material extraction or recycling was undertaken by the army and what by civilians, further blurred as imperial contracts were taken up by private suppliers. A significant role for the state and the military has been proposed for Britain, especially for large construction projects that might have been funded or organised by local government.⁶³⁷ Epigraphic evidence confirms that the military were involved in extraction and supply of stone. The Brohltal quarries near Bonn supplied much stone for construction, and troop vexillations seconded there set up altars to Hercules Saxanus between the Claudio-

⁶³³ Masonry construction reached its peak in the second century especially for public buildings; many (private) buildings would still have been made of traditional materials: Pearson 2006, 14, 23; Russell and Laycock 2010, 162-173. Road building used crushed stones and aggregate, rather than necessarily being paved. For example, the streets of Chichester required 150,000m³ of aggregate, equivalent to a quarry measuring 10m x 50m x 30m. A new surface was needed every 15 years (Pearson 2006, 32-5). McGowen calculated quantities for certain extant monuments: McGowen 2010, 61-3.

⁶³⁴ Pearson 2006, 40.

⁶³⁵ Barker *et al* forthcoming (table 2) calculated that nearly 35,000m³ of material was needed for construction of London's landward wall, c. AD 190-220.

⁶³⁶ Pearson 2006, 24, 57-59.

⁶³⁷ Pearson 2006, 16; Barker *et al*. forthcoming.

Neronian and Trajanic periods.⁶³⁸ There is evidence for centurions from *legio VI Victrix*, *X Gemina*, *XXI Rapax*, and *XXII Primigenia*, auxiliaries from *coh. II Varcianorum*, and *coh. II Asturum*, and for members of the *classis Germanica* on the site. The fleet may have transported blocks of stone, but members were probably also involved in extraction, just as members of the *classis Britannica* were involved in construction and probably quarrying at Hadrian's Wall.⁶³⁹ There is evidence for other legionaries and auxiliaries during the Flavian period at the Norroy tufa quarries, at Brunholdisstuhl near Bad Durkheim during Septimius Severus' reign, at Idylle near Krufft, and perhaps at the Drachenfels.⁶⁴⁰ Vexillations of *legio II Augusta* and *legio XX Valeria Victrix*, are attested in Cumberland quarries, and *legio VI Victrix* near to Hadrian's Wall.⁶⁴¹

While some soldiers may have been involved in actual quarrying work, they also undertook tasks to ensure the proper functioning of the quarries, such as administration, cutting canals for transport or drainage, sounding signals or warnings on trumpets, security, and supplying food.⁶⁴² Quarrying may also have been done by other workers, enslaved or free. Hirt has shown that the military were involved in lead mining in Germany and Britain, but were more often used as security and guardsmen, rather than as miners.⁶⁴³ Some officers were so expert in quarry management and construction that they were seconded from service on the Rhine or Danube, to oversee extraction in other provinces.⁶⁴⁴

⁶³⁸ Hirt 2010, 175.

⁶³⁹ *RIB*, nos 1340, 1944, and 1945.

⁶⁴⁰ Hirt 2010, 175.

⁶⁴¹ Pearson 2006, 46-8. The graffiti of the Gelt quarries is being surveyed and documented in [a project led by Newcastle University and Historic England](#) (accessed 23 Feb 2021). 3D models are available on [SketchFab](#) (accessed 23 Feb 2021).

⁶⁴² Hirt 2010, 174-8, 200-1.

⁶⁴³ Hirt 2010, 190-2, 197.

⁶⁴⁴ Hirt 2010, 170-2.

Once extracted, how were raw materials used and how were supplies accessed by carvers? If quarried by the military, did they have a monopoly on its use? Relating extraction of stone to its use will provide more information on the process of supply and carving in the north-west. This relies on accurate petrological analysis of sculptures held in museum collections, matched with geological samples from known ancient quarry sites.⁶⁴⁵ Analysis of stone sources for sculptural stone is an underdeveloped practice but is increasingly undertaken.⁶⁴⁶ Where known, it is clear that most stone use was local, not more than 20 km from the quarry site,⁶⁴⁷ offering the potential for a reasonably close relationship between quarry workers or suppliers and those carving the materials.⁶⁴⁸ Some, however, circulated further afield, dependent on local circumstances. For example, London could attract good stone for sculpture as well as skilled craftsmen.⁶⁴⁹ Its status as a major city and trading entrepôt might have ensured sustained demand for finely carved stone from the first to third centuries, but the lack of good carvable stone in the south-east meant that it was necessary to look further afield.⁶⁵⁰ Favourable transport via the River Thames from the limestone outcrops of the Cotswolds or waterway links to obtain the tough-wearing Lincolnshire limestones made such supply possible. The same approach was not available even for large markets such as the forts of Hadrian's Wall, where local stones, of variable quality, were typically used for construction and sculpting. It has been suggested that the Roman fleet played a role in supplying stone: for

⁶⁴⁵ For description and example of application of this method, as well as its limits, see Hayward 2009.

⁶⁴⁶ Hayward 2009 and his ongoing work in Britain, *CSIR* De II.8 for Mainz, Germany, and ongoing work by Ruppinié (Ruppinié 2015, 2018) and [a recent international project to study the tombstones at Trier](#) (accessed 7 Jan 2021), are notable, important exceptions.

⁶⁴⁷ Russell, B. 2013, 164.

⁶⁴⁸ It is not safe to draw clear distinctions between quarry workers and carvers: some statues or blocks were roughed out at the quarry or completed there (see chapter 6 below).

⁶⁴⁹ The London arch and screen of gods for instance (made from Barnack and Weldon stone from Lincolnshire), and some tomb monuments, like the eagle and serpent from the Minorities (of south Cotswolds limestone), are amongst the finest examples of figural carving from Britain: *CSIR* GB I.10, nos 133-165, and 229.

⁶⁵⁰ Hayward 2009, 6.

instance, the *classis Britannica* may have been involved in the supply of Kentish ragstone via the Medway to Londinium, or to provision construction of the Saxon Shore Forts.⁶⁵¹

Lothringer limestone was used for both figural carving and for building material,⁶⁵² and offers an ideal example for examining the use of different stones by military and civilian sectors of the population. It was quarried on the hillside above the western bank of the Moselle, at Norroy-les-Ponts-à-Mousson, near Metz in eastern France. Epigraphic evidence shows that detachments from 3 legions were involved in exploitation of the stone in the late first century: XIV *Gemina Martia Victrix* (based at Mainz AD 70-92), X *Gemina* (garrisoned at Nijmegen until AD 105), and VIII *Augusta* (based at Strasbourg AD 80-120). There was a sanctuary to Hercules Saxanus (god of the quarrymen) at the site, like at the Brohltal quarries.⁶⁵³ Lothringer has a remarkably wide circulation, bucking the trend for use only of local stones, and was used for sculpture and votives as far south as Strasbourg (120km by road, more by river), east to Waldgirmes in the Augustan period, and north to Colchester in Britain.⁶⁵⁴ A fine-grained limestone of excellent quality for detailed carving, soft enough to work quickly but hard enough to stand some weathering, and with a pale surface ready to take painted colour, it is easy to see why it would have been in demand. Perhaps supply was also simplified by the quarry site's proximity to the ready transport route of the Moselle river, less than 4km away, downhill. The location of stone in use generally follows the Moselle and Rhine emphasising its transport downriver.

⁶⁵¹ Milne 2000, 129-131; Pearson 2002; Hayward 2009, 108.

⁶⁵² Giljohann and Wenzel 2015, 32.

⁶⁵³ Bedon 1984, 45.

⁶⁵⁴ Giljohann and Wenzel 2015, 21; Hayward 2009; see Figure 5.2 below.

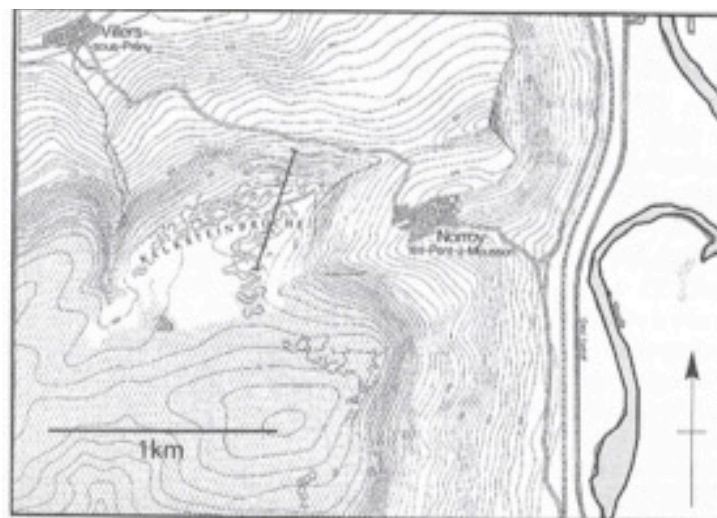
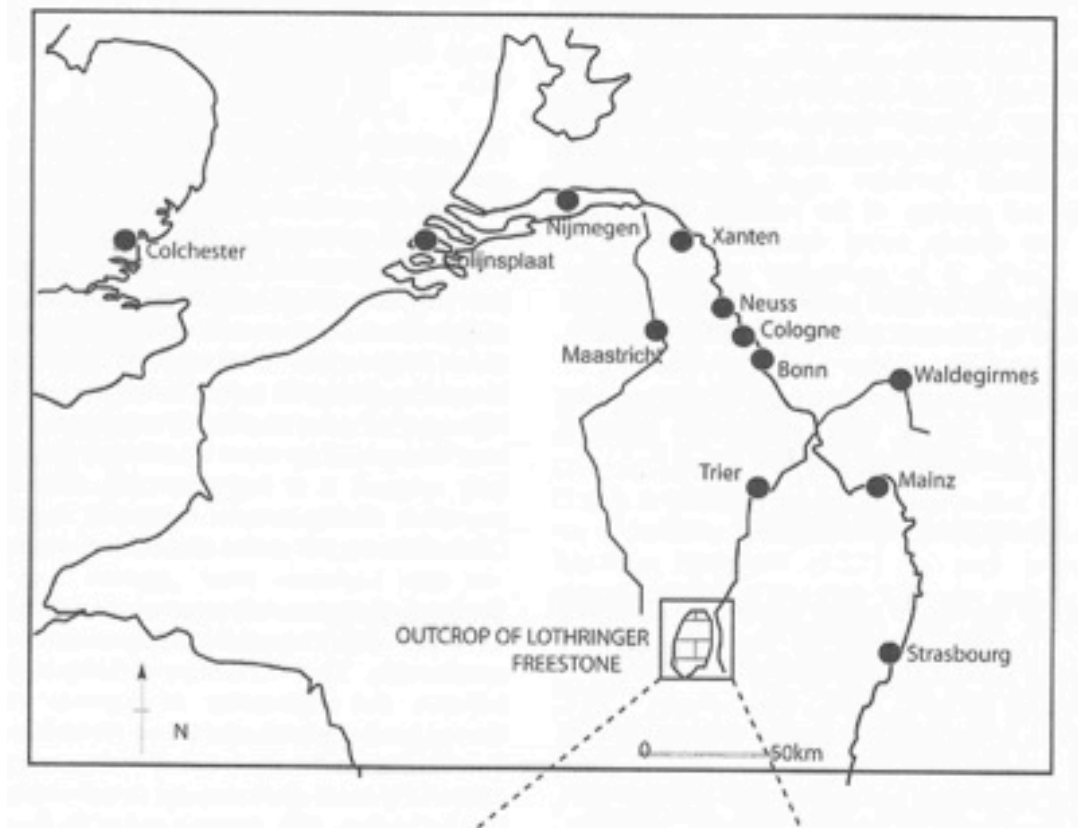


Figure 5.7: Distribution of Lothringer (*Calcaire à Polypiers*) in the Rhineland and at Colchester. Enlarged section shows the quarries at Norroy-les-Ponts-à-Mousson. From Hayward 2009, fig. 7.1, used with permission © Kevin Hayward..

As the map above shows, Lothringer was used mainly at legionary sites and large towns.⁶⁵⁵

At the same time, and within the limited area of Mainz for example, local Mainz limestone is

⁶⁵⁵ It was also used in large quantities for dedications to the goddess Nehalennia at the mouth of the Rhine in the modern Netherlands. Considerable evidence is offered for merchants

used both for auxiliary and legionary tombstones, with little correlation between the choice of stone and army units. One might expect that Lothringer, a finer-grained limestone than the local stone, shipped from further afield, might be within the purchasing power only of better-paid legionaries. Yet a series of plainer inscriptions, decorated only with a pediment surround, are made of more local Mainz limestone and dedicated to legionaries of *legio IIII Macedonia*,⁶⁵⁶ while Lothringer is used both for soldiers of the *auxilia* (C. Romanus Capito of the *ala Noricorum* and Maris, an archer in the *ala Parthorum et Araborum*)⁶⁵⁷ as well as for legionaries (such as P. Flavoleius Cordus of *legio XIII Gemina*). Alternatively, the finer-grained stone might be reserved for more detailed figural representations, where its quality could be put to best use. However, again, this is shown not to be the case: the *stela* of S. Careius Florus at Mainz is very plain, with only an inscription and framed pediment stone, yet it is made of Lothringer, while the figured stone of Cn. Musius, showing the *aquilifer* standing, clad in military clothing and carrying his standard, within a decorated niche, is of local Mainz limestone.⁶⁵⁸

The similarity and interchange in the use of stone at Mainz suggests that carvings were completed close to their location of final display, rather than detailed carving taking place earlier, for instance, at the quarry (though some roughing out was probably completed there). This is supported by the remarkable similarities visible across the corpus of tombstones at Mainz, suggesting a strong local style of craftsmanship. The tombstone of M. Favonius Facilis represents an exceptional case, since it was probably imported to Britain as a finished

making offerings to the deity and for a steady supply of this stone down the Rhine. This is discussed further in chapter 6 below.

⁶⁵⁶ *CSIR De II.5*, nos 98-101 and no. 122.

⁶⁵⁷ *CSIR De II.5*, nos 31 and 29.

⁶⁵⁸ *CSIR De II.5*, no. 91 and no. 1 (see also nos 5 and 7 examples of use of Mainzer Becker limestone for detailed carving).

object.⁶⁵⁹ Once in place, this might have offered a source of inspiration for later craftsmen. Of course, other finished stones like *Facilis*' may have been known, now lost from the archaeological record. The distribution of imported Continental stone suggests that this would have been more likely in the south-east than elsewhere in Britain.⁶⁶⁰

While sources of stone and modes of transport and routeways for goods are increasingly understood (and discussed in chapter 6 below), the process or mechanisms by which sculptors accessed raw material in the north-west are less so and offer an area ripe for detailed investigation. Possible legal frameworks for completion of carving work are considered in chapter 6, and these might indicate who obtained raw materials (whether commissioner or maker) and how (whether directly with a quarry, via an institution or agent, or from some kind of central depot). Large state-sponsored constructions might have been quite straightforward, in that the military or officials could be involved in commandeering raw materials of the right quality and quantity for a specific purpose,⁶⁶¹ and production-to-order makes economic sense for projects of scale.⁶⁶² Less clear is the provision of, presumably, smaller amounts of high-quality stone used for carving, and how this interacted with a potentially more complex system of movement of other goods and ballast. For instance, though supply of Lothringer was focused on legionary sites, it was also used for civic construction and civilian memorials and dedications. The interchangeable use of different stone types at Mainz for similar products implies that materials could be accessed by a range of customers, even if there is some evidence for quarrying and supply by soldiers. Either stone carvers related to the military created a range of objects for different consumers, or the stone, once quarried, was available on a wider market. However, whether the whole process was

⁶⁵⁹ Russell, B. 2013, 330, quoting Peter Rockwell.

⁶⁶⁰ Hayward 2009, 94-7, 107.

⁶⁶¹ Pearson 2006, 105-7.

⁶⁶² Russell, B. 2013, 201 notes this has been downplayed for the Mediterranean.

also operated by the military or local officials, and how exactly it worked, is not clear: a mixed approach in which civilians and the military were involved in parts of the process appears possible and has recently been suggested for the provision of large quantities of building material to Roman London.⁶⁶³ There are some indications that over-supply for large projects might make materials more widely available. From the mid second century, over-production in imperial quarries seems to have provided greater amounts of marble for use in areas peripheral to the Mediterranean. Onward redistribution of material also appears to have taken place, for example at Pompeii and Herculaneum, where leftover marble originally destined for Nero's palace was used.⁶⁶⁴ The recognised reduction in quantities of sculpture in the north-west from the mid-third century onwards might relate to issues of stone supply and disruption to that process. Freshly-quarried consignments were no longer relied upon for major building projects and greater use of local supply and reuse of stone can be identified.⁶⁶⁵ However, some stone types were primarily for sculpture or architectural ornamentation, and not construction, suggesting divergent supply routes.⁶⁶⁶ The large costs associated with acquiring raw materials underscores the importance of accurate planning of the supply, but the sale of any surplus might recoup outlay. Further study of the process, beyond the current, would be hugely beneficial; for now, it is possible to suggest simply that a range of processes for acquiring stone might be found in the north-west, subject to local circumstances, scale of demand, and needs.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ Barker *et al.* 2021.

⁶⁶⁴ Pearson 2006, 107.

⁶⁶⁵ Harris 2015, 411-2.

⁶⁶⁶ Such as Bath and Lincolnshire limestones: Bedon 1984, 85-6; Pearson 2006, 81.

⁶⁶⁷ Though the specifics are different, this seems to be in line with the general picture of stone supply and carving process in the Roman world: Russell, B. 2013, 330.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown in several ways that it is not safe to generalise concerning interactions between Britain and Germany via the vector of the military, and that this applies to each of the three aspects set out in the introduction. First, beneath the veneer of a general military use of carved stone, it has been difficult to identify the details of an army-wide culture reflected in sculptures at army sites: different motifs were used, and types of sculpture varied in quantity and quality across the north west. Use of the imperial image, an important exception, will be considered further in chapter 8.

Secondly, and more positively, it has been possible to identify trends suggesting that particular motifs or formal compositions moved with military personnel. This was particularly the case for legionary movements and especially over the long range, regional scale, but was temporally and geographically restricted. This was not predictable, and some forms were not transmitted, while others evolved in their use in different contexts, a selective process rather than one of wholesale diffusion. Mobile craftsmen, focused on centres of demand, appeared to have played a role in developing concentrations of sculptures locally and may have been involved in transmitting forms over the shorter range. It is difficult to identify individual sculptors since there are few similar pieces, even when motifs are closely related. It is not clear whether sculptors were mobile civilians or soldiers; perhaps both were known. It would be beneficial to test these broad assertions of the role of soldiers and makers by conducting a more in-depth study, focusing on a specific legion's movements and sculptural output. This would be valuable to understand the process more comprehensively. The economics of demand and supply will be considered in chapter 6, but a comprehensive further study is beyond the current scope.

Finally, the army does, however, appear to have played an important role in supplying stone both for military and more general use. While the process and organisation of quarrying and supply in the north-west is poorly understood, ongoing petrological analyses and projects focused on quarry sites are expected to provide greater insights. The next chapter will consider the interaction between stone supply and the division of labour and arrangement of workers. There are limits to what can be understood of these processes from the surviving evidence, but a further study might elucidate this further. In summary, the differences identified amongst similar images across this region can be explained by selective mobility of ideas, probably based on fashions, personal preference of patrons, and the preferred tradition practised by craftsmen or their competence with certain motifs.

Chapter 6 - Trading and economic aspects

Various economic factors bore on the distribution, appearance and quality of stone sculpture. Probably interdependent, they include trade routes for buying, moving and selling of goods and for the transmission of ideas and forms; availability of materials; the location and skill of craftspeople to fashion the raw material; and the location, finances and requirements of buyers. This chapter will examine the routes by which goods moved between the Rhineland and Britain, to see if images follow similar patterns. Traders as agents of transmission will also be considered, to see how these routes were used and if people and/or objects were involved in circulation of ideas and exchange of images.

This chapter will also assess the economic aspects of the use and appearance of sculpture. We have seen that the demand of the army played a role in the quantity of sculpture in certain places, but it is likely that quality was also affected by markets with high demand where makers could practise their skills. Greater demand might also affect the degree of homogeneity in the appearance and quality of products created. Knowledge-sharing amongst and technical traditions of makers, and legal frameworks for commissioning or purchase are important in understanding the diversity and similarity of appearance and use of sculpture across this region.

Trade routes and patterns of distribution

Institutional frameworks and infrastructure conducive to trade were increasingly established and maintained through the Roman period. A mixture of private and state participants engaged in exchange within and beyond the limits of the Empire, some local, some regional

and some over long distances.⁶⁶⁸ Traders, like the military, were a highly mobile sector of the population. Unlike the military, who primarily occupied garrison areas, perhaps spending long periods based in one location and settling close by even when retired, merchants might move across and between different kinds of places, presumably pausing at primarily urban and settlement sites.⁶⁶⁹ While soldiers might be moved only irregularly,⁶⁷⁰ traders would regularly ply the same routes. Both could cover long distances, but whereas soldiers would do so infrequently, as Pliny remarked, frequent journeys were made along the 1700 km ‘Amber Road’ between the Baltic region and Italy by traders in this luxury material.⁶⁷¹ This might have affected the kinds of objects they would buy and install, or at least the visibility of such groups in material culture: the epigraphic evidence used in this thesis for soldiers is dominated by information from tombstones and religious dedications, whilst altars and votives tend to offer more evidence for traders than funerary monuments.⁶⁷²

Strabo noted that voyages to Britain used one of four river mouths to commence the crossing: the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire or Garonne.⁶⁷³ Morris grouped the routes broadly into two: the

⁶⁶⁸ Wilson and Bowman 2017, Introduction.

⁶⁶⁹ ‘Trade’ and ‘traders’ includes a wide variety of people, including those who did not move around the empire, such as those in corporation offices. Here I mean those who moved with goods, who operating vessels, and so on. *Negotiator* is the common term for the imperial period: [Oxford Classical Dictionary](#). It is possible that individuals selectively identified themselves by their occupation; the category is used here for ease of analysis.

⁶⁷⁰ Hassall 1978, 42: ‘if an auxiliary soldier from Germany was sent to Britain, he would normally remain there until discharge...’. However, the Vindolanda tablets, for instance, provide eloquent testimony of movements within a province, for both work and leisure, as does the regular practice of detachments of a unit undertaking work away from the garrison.

⁶⁷¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXVII.43-44. Scholars have suggested that this route enabled the spread of religion across the north-eastern region. Teichner 2013 shows that military and state officials were involved.

⁶⁷² This distinction is also determined by the kind of information included on the different objects and its relevance. A soldier’s occupational identity would be recorded on a memorial if he died in service, while a merchant might refer to his work on a votive seeking assistance from a deity, but occupationally might be less visible after death.

⁶⁷³ Strabo, *Geography*, IV.5.2, written late first century BC to early first century AD.

eastern Channel and North Sea, and the Atlantic seaboard.⁶⁷⁴ Connections to the Mediterranean would be through a sequence of rivers including the Rhône and Saône to the Rhine, or via the Garonne or Loire with trans-shipment at a port on the Atlantic in the west before continuing to Britain. Both routes would probably involve some combination of road transport and possible trans-shipment from a river barge to a sea-going vessel,⁶⁷⁵ although this may not always have been necessary to cross the Channel.⁶⁷⁶

The choice of route depended on a number of factors, such as accessibility and infrastructure, level of risk, time available and cost. It is generally agreed that transport of materials represented the greatest cost for large projects.⁶⁷⁷ Rivers or short sea crossings were likely to afford safer transport for large, bulky materials such as stone.⁶⁷⁸ The Atlantic route might have been swifter, but riskier and more susceptible to seasonality of the ocean. If both journeys were successful, the river route would have been more expensive:⁶⁷⁹ Duncan-Jones estimated the ratio of cost between sea, river and land transport at around 1 : 4.9 : 28. Differences were even greater over poorer roads or rivers with strong currents.⁶⁸⁰ The results of the ORBIS project, simulating conditions in around AD 200, suggest an even more cumbersome experience by cart, with a price ratio for moving a given unit of cargo over a given distance of 1 (sea) to 5 (downriver) / 10 (upriver) to 52 (wagon).⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁴ Morris 2010.

⁶⁷⁵ King 1990, 15-16, 115-9. Strabo, *Geography*, IV.1.14. See *CIL* XIII, no. 5489 for overland link: dedicated by the *nauta Araricus* (shipper from the Saône), it shows a scene of (un)loading a cart.

⁶⁷⁶ Traces of borings by 'ship-worms' that favour salty water were found in the Blackfriars I wreck from the Thames: Marsden 1994, 88.

⁶⁷⁷ DeLaine 1997, 217; McGowen 2010, 63-4.

⁶⁷⁸ Strabo, *Geography*, IV.1.2.

⁶⁷⁹ Duncan-Jones 1974, 366-9. There is broad consensus that movement of goods by water was the most cost-effective method: Pearson 2006, 90-2; Russell, B. 2013, 141-200.

⁶⁸⁰ Peacock 1978, 49, Table III; Duncan-Jones 1974, 366-9.

⁶⁸¹ Scheidel 2014, 9-10.

Routes also developed over time. Morris' review of connections across the Channel and North Sea suggests that the Atlantic seaway was used more often in the pre-Roman and early Roman period for transporting goods from the Mediterranean area to Britain.⁶⁸² Once the Rhine corridor was secured,⁶⁸³ and after the invasion of Britain, the connection to the Continent through the Rhine axis increased significantly in importance, and there was vibrant trade in a range of goods along the Rhône-Rhine corridor until approximately the late second century. Sealey suggested that a combination of the need to provision the army on the Rhine and the retention of local supplies within Italy for local consumption triggered a change in trading patterns, focusing provision on the Rhineland rather than Britain.⁶⁸⁴ Nonetheless, long-distance import of goods via the Atlantic continued to some extent at this time. For example, large quantities of olive oil continued to come from Baetica.⁶⁸⁵ From the late second century, the eastern North Sea coastline increased in importance as those living within imperial provinces interacted more often with people beyond the borders. In the later third and into the fourth centuries, much coinage came to Britain, and increasingly grain and other materials were exported from the province, possibly to satisfy state contracts to feed military garrison and urban centres in north-western Europe.⁶⁸⁶ Ports were remodelled as defensive fortifications, as in London with the addition of the Riverside Wall in the later third century.⁶⁸⁷ Archaeology confirms Late-Roman Mediterranean contact with Britain: wine and oil jars from Greece and Asia Minor have been found at Tintagel, but not at mainland sites in France.

⁶⁸² Morris 2010 (20-1) attributed this to economic growth in Italy, coupled with under-developed shipping technology and fragmented political groupings to the north and east of the Rhineland.

⁶⁸³ Morris 2010, 151-2.

⁶⁸⁴ Sealey 2009. Italian wine, for example, appeared in elite burials in the first century AD, but in much smaller quantities compared to the first century BC.

⁶⁸⁵ Rubio-Campillo *et al* 2018, 37.

⁶⁸⁶ Strabo mentions grain, cattle, hides, gold, silver, iron, and hunting dogs were exported from the early Roman period: *Geography*, IV, 5, 2. Several sources note British provision of grain to the Continent in the late third and fourth centuries: Morris 2010, 128-9, 135.

⁶⁸⁷ Sheldon and Tyers 1983, 358-60; Williams 1993, 10.

This suggests that the Atlantic sea route resumed importance, especially as other goods were taken directly from Portugal directly to Britain, rather than overland with interim stages.⁶⁸⁸

Not all trade followed similar patterns of distribution: different goods were intended for different markets, while social and political aspects, as well as price, played a critical role in determining the routes employed.⁶⁸⁹ Some goods ‘leapfrogged’ markets, missing out potential centres of demand along the way or those nearer to production sites;⁶⁹⁰ some had differing patterns in different locations;⁶⁹¹ others exhibited complex, long-distance, inter-related links between raw material supplies, manufacture and final deposition of objects.⁶⁹² The by-products of trade, such as containers and stone used as ballast, were repurposed. The newly-discovered writing tablets from the Bloomberg site in London record evidence of regional exchange and commerce in London, early in the Roman period.⁶⁹³ The silver fir wood of which they were made would have been imported (probably from Germany and Gaul) as barrels, the staves then reused.⁶⁹⁴

Some of these models of transmission can be seen in the distribution of stone types and sculptural or architectural forms. For example, the styles of architectural ornaments such as Corinthian capitals can be assigned to certain types and are paralleled across the Channel:

⁶⁸⁸ Wilkes 2007, 13.

⁶⁸⁹ Morris 2010, 155 contrasts the shorter-term changes in patterns in flow of goods between the Continent and Britain according to political and economic changes with the *longue durée* patterns of distribution seen across the Mediterranean ascribed broadly to geographical factors by Horden and Purcell 2000.

⁶⁹⁰ Fulford 2017, 320 notes greater use of Rheinzabern *terra sigillata* and Montans ware in Britannia, than at site closer to the manufacturing areas.

⁶⁹¹ Fulford 2017, 310 shows use of Lezoux *terra sigillata* focused on the transport route of the Rhine, but widespread on Roman sites in Britain.

⁶⁹² E.g. manufacture of glass: Foy 2017, especially 265-270. Foy 2017, 284-6, fig. 9.7 provides details of distribution from the Mediterranean to the north-west.

⁶⁹³ Supporting Tacitus’ observation ‘*Londinium...copia negotiatorum et com meatuum maxime celebre*’: *Annals*, 14.33.

⁶⁹⁴ Tomlin 2016, 58.

Class C capitals, probably introduced from north-eastern Gaul and parts of Germany in the mid-late first century, have been found clustered in the south of England for buildings from the Flavian period up to AD 150, while Class E capitals found at Trier are seen employed used in civilian construction in the north-west Midlands during the mid-second century leapfrogging other centres (Figures 6.1 and 6.2).⁶⁹⁵ Blagg proposed that adoption of these capitals initially relied upon makers trained in the Continental north-west working in Britain during the Flavian period, but that the adoption and adaptation of the forms shows that artistic production in Britain soon became part of a wider trend of creativity and development across the north-west region.⁶⁹⁶



Figure 6.1: Class C Corinthian capital from Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Image from Blagg 2002, 212, pl. XXII

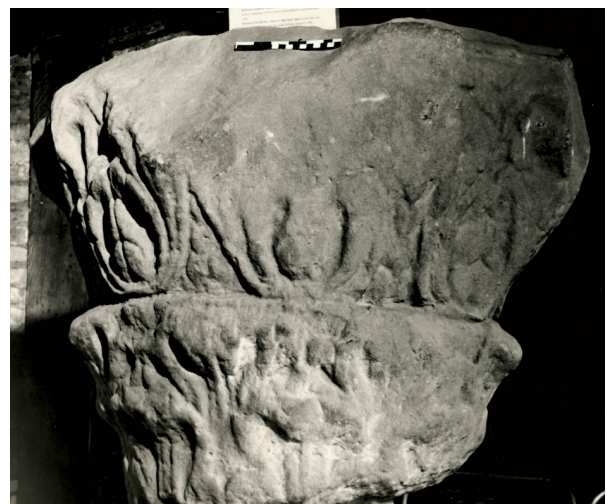


Figure 6.2: Class E Corinthian capital from Wroxeter. Image courtesy of Martin Henig (see Blagg 2002, 222, pl. XLIV).

Continental stones, especially French limestones, were imported to the south and south-east of England, perhaps continuing existing patterns of supply that were established through relations between Romans and native populations around the south-central coast of Britain. The range of types of stone suggests that such imports were repeated, though of limited

⁶⁹⁵ Blagg 1981, 170; Blagg 2002, 18-48.

⁶⁹⁶ Blagg 2002, 21-2, 46-8.

volume and probably not the result of a concerted and lasting pattern of trade. Marquise oolite is found at Richborough and Canterbury. At Fishbourne, there was fine stone inlay from Purbeck and the Pyrenees, together with calcaire grossier and Caen stone.⁶⁹⁷ The few white marble sculptures there are in Britain are primarily concentrated in the south and south-east, extending to Hertfordshire and the furthest to Woodchester in Gloucestershire.⁶⁹⁸ The Richborough monument required over 400 tonnes of Luna marble facing.⁶⁹⁹ Marble statues were known at Trier and Cologne, but not in large numbers.

Evidence for traders using these routes and as agents of transmission of ideas

Epigraphic evidence attests the movement of individuals and goods in the north-west, and especially via the Rhine corridor. Votive altars dedicated by *negotiatores* (merchants) provide detailed information on their whereabouts, sometimes recording their origins or outlining their trading connections.⁷⁰⁰ Naming of specialist roles offers a connection: a *moritex*, a seafaring trader perhaps with additional administrative role, is recorded only in London and Cologne.⁷⁰¹ Amongst the largest bodies of evidence for *negotiatores* operating between the Continent and Britain, and one of the most powerful examples, is the group of dedications to Nehalennia. More than 190 stone altars dedicated to the goddess have been discovered off the Dutch coast, probably originating from temples at Domsburg and Colijnsplaat in the Lower Rhine delta. Many were dedicated by merchants and can be dated to the late second to mid third century. The inscriptions in some cases included detailed information of the roles and

⁶⁹⁷ Hayward 2009, 81-2, figs 5.3 and 5.4; 94-97.

⁶⁹⁸ For Hertfordshire: *CSIR* GB I.10, nos. 10 and 11; for Woodchester, see Clarke *et al.* 1982.

⁶⁹⁹ Pearson 2006, 24.

⁷⁰⁰ See Hassall 1978, Tables I and II, plus *RIB* 3014, and Stuart and Bogaers 2011, nos. A9 and A11.

⁷⁰¹ *RIB* 3014, dated AD 161-180; *CIL* XIII 8164a. *RIB* 678 and 3195 both from third century York may be additional examples, but this is not certain.

origins of merchants, the types of goods being transported (*negotiator cretarius* – pottery trader; *negotiator vestiarius* – clothes trader), and sometimes their destination or preferred route (*negotiator Cantianus et Geserecanus* – trader between Kent and Boulogne). Movements between the Continent and Britain are explicitly mentioned,⁷⁰² such as Placidus, of the Veliocasses (near modern Rouen), who thanked the goddess for safe passage to Britain.⁷⁰³ On the Continent, a Treveran salt trader, from Cologne, thanks the goddess for safe arrival of a cargo,⁷⁰⁴ Vegisonius of the Sequani in the modern Burgundy region dedicates an altar,⁷⁰⁵ while another salt trader from Cologne,⁷⁰⁶ and another Treveran, Gaius Catullinius Secco, trader in fish sauce,⁷⁰⁷ also set up altars. As noted in chapter 3 above, association with the Rhineland was also made through the use of Lothringer for the altars, which would have been supplied via the Moselle and Rhine, while Cologne-Deutz is the only place apart from the two Dutch sites where dedications to Nehalennia have been found.⁷⁰⁸

It is possible that merchants along these routes played a role in transmitting the image of a seated female deity, from the Rhineland to Britain or even from further south in the Saône valley and Burgundy region.⁷⁰⁹ The image of the goddess Nehalennia was included on 83 of the altars, the others either broken or with only an inscription. She was shown in similar pose to the *matronae* of the Rhineland, especially those from Cologne and Bonn: seated within a shell niche flanked by Corinthian pilasters, facing forwards, wearing long draped clothing, and carrying a basket of fruit or loaves. Inscriptions to her are also known at Cologne.

⁷⁰² Morris 2010, 59, table 4.3; Hassall 1978, Tables I and II.

⁷⁰³ Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. A6.

⁷⁰⁴ Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. A1.

⁷⁰⁵ Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. A57.

⁷⁰⁶ Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. A26.

⁷⁰⁷ Stuart and Bogaers 2001, no. B44.

⁷⁰⁸ *CIL* XIII, nos 8498 and 8499.

⁷⁰⁹ See associations set out in chapter 3.

However, though an example of the deity in triplicate is known,⁷¹⁰ Nehalennia was often accompanied by a slim hound, carrying a staff or placing a hand or foot on a ship's rudder. While traders could have played some role in sharing the general forms of the imagery, the local deity in the Netherlands appears to have a separate personification. The recognition in Britain of *Matres* from further afield (Africa, Italy, as well as Gaul and Germany) also suggests there were longer-range connections, which have more often been explained as the result of postings by soldiers.⁷¹¹

While much of the evidence suggests movement from the south to the north, from the continent to Britain, some also operated in the other direction.⁷¹² An altar dedicated to Tutela Boudiga, the protective goddess of the town, was found built into the late Roman urban walls at Bordeaux.⁷¹³ It was dedicated in AD 237 by Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, who was *sevir Augustalis* at both Lincoln and York, and who, it is assumed, had mercantile connections in Gaul. It is carved on Millstone Grit from Yorkshire, one of the only examples of transport of British stone to the continent.

Other economic factors that affected the appearance of sculpture

Apart from the specific potential of merchants and trade routes to operate in transmitting ideas, other issues in the transmission and adaptation of sculpture across the north-west region can be examined or explained by economics.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹⁰ See above, Figure 3.11.

⁷¹¹ See above, chapter 3.

⁷¹² As mentioned above, Strabo notes exports from Britain (*Geography*, IV. 5. 2) in the pre-conquest period. See Ivleva 2012 and 2016 for British emigrants and objects abroad.

⁷¹³ *AE* 1922, no. 116; Courteault 1921.

⁷¹⁴ Discussion of the economics of Roman art is not common: Harris 2015 sets out an approach and useful questions.

This section considers the similarity, but subtle difference, of motifs seen across the region in the light of arrangements of and knowledge-sharing amongst makers; the variance in quality seen in within and across provinces will be considered in relation to demand; and the effect of legal or structural processes in the market. Comparisons might then be made across the region and empire.

Makers are rarely named in the archaeological or historical record, though a couple of individuals were mentioned in inscriptions.⁷¹⁵ Suggestions for the organisation and process of sculpting and knowledge sharing amongst sculptors have been proposed, sometimes based on Mediterranean models.⁷¹⁶ A *collegium* of craftsmen, probably smiths rather than sculptors, was known in Colchester in the Neronian period.⁷¹⁷ Guilds were established like civic administrative organisations,⁷¹⁸ and it is not clear if or how they had a role in sharing expertise and whether sculptors also formed them. The term *officina*, which can be translated as ‘workshop’,⁷¹⁹ is used in Britain only in roughly-cut inscriptions at the Gelt quarries in Cumbria, where it refers to a cutting face.⁷²⁰ Without conclusive written evidence, the arrangements must be deduced from finished or part-finished objects. Craftsmen have been identified, and associations between them reconstructed, from the stylistic and technical similarities seen on different sculpted pieces within a geographic area, the outputs assigned to ‘workshops’, ‘schools’ or ‘ateliers’.⁷²¹ This terminology has been used inconsistently by

⁷¹⁵ See above, chapter 5.

⁷¹⁶ Kristensen and Poulsen 2012, 7 and Pearson 2006, 38-40, offer models for different roles and locations for work. But Ivleva 2014 suggests definitions are still not clear. Transplanting Mediterranean practices onto the north-west can be problematic.

⁷¹⁷ *RIB* 91.

⁷¹⁸ Edmonson 2006, 274.

⁷¹⁹ As at Cherchel in North Africa, seen on a statue of Aphrodite from the baths: Kristensen and Poulsen 2012, 6.

⁷²⁰ *RIB* I, nos. 1008, and 1009.

⁷²¹ See above, chapter 5.

different scholars, and the limited evidence presents challenges for associating known working locations, craftsmen, or groups of makers with finished products.⁷²² The wide range of terms for crafts suggests a generally fragmented artisanal work force with local specialisms, rather than well-connected practices.⁷²³

The close similarity of certain objects, like the rider reliefs,⁷²⁴ however, requires us to consider how knowledge and technical expertise were shared, and how that related to the economics of sculptural production. As noted in chapter 2, the carvings of rider reliefs appear to form certain groupings (the *Romanusgruppe* and so-called *Romanuswerkstätten*, for instance). A comparison of two further tombstones offers an excellent example.⁷²⁵ The tombstone of 14-year-old slave Martialis from Gloucester appears to rely heavily on the appearance of the *Totenmahl* tombstone of T. Julius Tuttius from Cologne; Stewart has called them ‘first cousins’, based on the arrangement and use of the motif. They were not made by the same hand, the British carving demonstrating lower skill with some identifiable divergence from the German stela (the figure covers his head with a mantel, and the table has two legs not three), but they share common traits and the type, the recognised *schema*, is reproduced faithfully.

⁷²² Heilmeyer 2004, 403-405.

⁷²³ Ruffing 2016, 115-6.

⁷²⁴ Groupings of form around centres of production has been proposed for some of the rider reliefs: the *Romanusgruppe* and *Romanuswerkstätten*, for instance: see above, chapter 2.

⁷²⁵ Stewart 2009, 268.

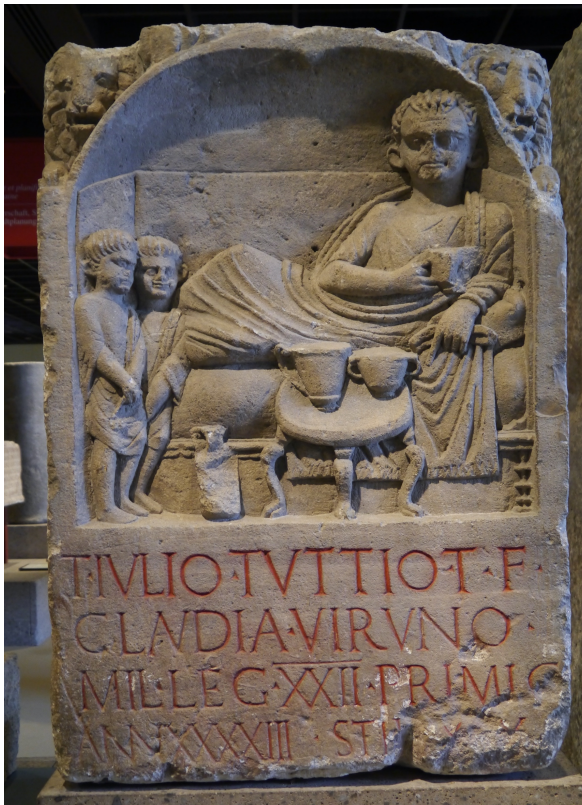


Figure 6.3: Totenmahl tombstone for T. Julius Tutius, Cologne. c. AD 80s. H:111 cm Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. no. 16.



Figure 6.4: Totenmahl tombstone of Martialis, Gloucester. End first–early second century AD. W: 59 cm. Image © Oxford Archaeology, used with permission. See Henig and Tomlin 2008, 116-8, no.1; Tomlin and Hassall 2005, 475, Fig. 2.

There is some evidence that carvers moved around the north-west, but as chapter 5 has shown, this was not common and there is little evidence that craftsmen operated during their working life in multiple provinces.⁷²⁶ The carver of this *Totenmahl* stone at Cologne did not carve the Gloucester example. It has been proposed above that patrons, especially soldiers, in this instance facilitated movement of and drove demand for certain types. How can we explain or analyse the execution of this tombstone in economic terms, especially in relation to the spread of knowledge and techniques? How can we account for the use and the adaptation of the types? We should consider both the methods for circulating ideas or appropriate *schemata* so

⁷²⁶ Itinerant craftsmen in general were uncommon; most work was produced locally or regionally: Harris 2105, 409-411.

that patrons to demand it, as well as the kind of technical ability that would allow a sculptor to reproduce it.⁷²⁷

The *schema* might have been circulated through the movement of physical objects, perhaps including pattern or copy books, models, 2D versions, or indeed simply finished objects themselves. Very precise rendering of a motif could be achieved through the process employed: Froning has shown that scenes might be transferred from silverware by the use of casts.⁷²⁸ The appearance of remarkably similar motifs on mosaics across large distances has been interpreted as evidence for patterns being shared rather than artists travelling. A similar explanation is offered as the link between sarcophagus types and North African mosaics.⁷²⁹ There is some evidence for the presence of models or drawings in other media too: drawings of Parrhasius in classical Athens were used by later artists as basis for their paintings.⁷³⁰

The process of production has been keenly debated particularly for imperial portraits: Pfanner has set out a detailed approach of how a statue might be replicated from another version or a model, based on measurements taken and the use of callipers to transfer the design.⁷³¹ The use of measuring points or *puntelli* is generally accepted, but scholars, especially Claridge, doubt the use of the machines like those of the seventeenth century onwards.⁷³² No plaster or clay models, or even drawings, of the emperor's portrait survive, though this is one approach that would explain the circulation and replication of preferred types.⁷³³ There is little material evidence that tells us how such a process operated, however, beyond the remarkable similarity

⁷²⁷ See Stewart 2003, 236-249 for discussion of typologies and adaptation of *schemata*.

⁷²⁸ Froning 1980.

⁷²⁹ Ling 1991, 218.

⁷³⁰ Pliny records some as still being in existence: Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 35.36.

⁷³¹ Pfanner 1989.

⁷³² Stewart 2003, 235-6.

⁷³³ Fittschen 2010, 234; Zanker 1983, 8. Zanker contended that circulation of a prototype or model would have been instigated by workshops, rather than centrally organised by emperors.

of the final portraits according to certain types.⁷³⁴ While Pfanner emphasises the social and cultural importance of making very accurate copies of Hellenistic statues, he proposes that there was less imperative for an exact replica for imperial portraits.⁷³⁵ Certain aspects of the portrait, especially hairstyles, were rendered everywhere with precision suggesting the presence and recognition of an agreed form, but, as shown in chapter 4, some flexibility for local variation was possible.

Mackintosh has suggested that pattern or copy books also existed for rider reliefs. She ascribes inaccuracies, such as inaccurate relative sizing with the horse too small for the rider, or figures unrelated to the background, apparently floating in the air, or with limbs attached at the wrong place,⁷³⁶ to artists' lack of familiarity with the form from merely using of copy books. However, this ignores the fact that the most important figure, or the subject of a portrait, would be more likely to be rendered larger and more obvious, while placing them against a background might simply be of less interest to the artist in creating the composition.⁷³⁷ The rider-and-horse motif was so common that it would be difficult to discern a precise model; the ubiquity could have helped to stabilise and define the essence of the type. Without firmer evidence, it is difficult to build a strong case for models, and indeed the impetus for them in this instance is unclear. There was no need for precision copying of the motif, since it would be entirely appropriate for the relief to be tailored to the customer, as shown in chapter 2. If guidance was needed, an image could be sketched out directly onto the stone, perhaps informed by a customer or another artist more familiar with the tradition.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴ Russell, B. 2013, 337.

⁷³⁵ Pfanner 1989, 177-8.

⁷³⁶ For example, *CSIR De II.6*, no. 30; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 42.

⁷³⁷ Mackintosh 1986, 2.

⁷³⁸ Stewart 2009, 268.

Working relationships between sculptors and their physical proximity offer an obvious opportunity for sharing knowledge and technical expertise, but the nature of co-working or collaboration is not clear. The off-cuts of stone or unfinished pieces that helped to identify the physical location of the sculptors' workshop at Aphrodisias⁷³⁹ are not seen in the north-west, though finds of tools could indicate where sculpting work was carried out.⁷⁴⁰ The concentration of sculptural pieces from the Ashcroft area of Cirencester,⁷⁴¹ have been identified as the remains of a 'workshop', but may in fact be a shrine to the *Suleviae* identified with the *Matres*.⁷⁴² We do know that work to produce a carving took place at several locations, including the quarry site, as is demonstrated by the two massive, roughed-out statues of horsemen from a quarry close to Breifurt, Saarland, Germany.⁷⁴³

The assembly of bronzes may have required team work. Large statues would have been made in sections and welded together,⁷⁴⁴ and we can assume something of the location for this. Casting a large statue close to the intended site of its display offered many advantages: the craftsman could get the setting and perspective right, there is lower risk of damage in transit, and any repairs required could be done immediately at the foundry. Locations for casting metal are only sometimes archaeologically visible: bronze statue fragments, waste and crucibles have been found in a workshop area at Verulamium.⁷⁴⁵ However, smaller hearths for melting alloys are more readily identifiable, and large pieces could be made anywhere

⁷³⁹ Rockwell 1991.

⁷⁴⁰ Dr. Owen Humphreys has catalogued four chisels and six picks in Roman London (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading). Parallels for the tools are generally to be found at military sites in Britain and Germany (Housesteads, Vindolanda, Saalburg, Newstead, Zugmantel), though chisels are also found in rural areas such as Shepton Mallet, Somerset.

⁷⁴¹ Including two representations of 3 mother goddesses, a single *Mater*, and a statue of Diana: Henig 1993, nos. 23, 116, 117, 120, and *RIB* I, no. 105.

⁷⁴² Henig 1996a, 111.

⁷⁴³ Russell, B. 2013, 322.

⁷⁴⁴ Risser and Saunders 2017.

⁷⁴⁵ *CSIR* GB I.10, no.227

without leaving the same archaeological remains as the casting of small brass or bronzes objects.⁷⁴⁶ A possible industrial bronze casting area has been found in the bath-basilica area of Wroxeter, though this dates to the fourth century, later than much of our sculptural material, and probably only produced smaller objects from recycled material.⁷⁴⁷ No conclusive evidence for casting large bronze statues in the Roman period has yet been found in Britain.⁷⁴⁸ In Germany, Stoll notes that while there is evidence for bronze casting of small objects in forts and *vici*, again permanent large-scale operations or artists' workshops for the casting of large bronzes are not known.⁷⁴⁹ Large statues were probably sufficiently unique and infrequent commissions that established organisations were unviable, craftsmen instead working together to complete a specific order.⁷⁵⁰

While there is little secure evidence that shows how makers related to one another and how technique or forms were shared, the similarity of the finished products indicates some association. It can more safely be concluded that the demand of patrons for certain forms, and perhaps examples offered by earlier existing products, ensured the dissemination of these types, rather than the formation and direct circulation of models or even makers within and between 'workshops'.

The quality of a finished product depended on the technical expertise of a craftsmen and on the expectations of people in the place in which it was made or viewed. Discussions of quality in Roman sculpture of the north-west have typically been preoccupied with asserting either the poor execution and failure to exhibit classical naturalism, or the vibrancy and complexity

⁷⁴⁶ Müller 2014, 212.

⁷⁴⁷ Barker *et al.* 1997, 91.

⁷⁴⁸ Hammer 2003, 18.

⁷⁴⁹ Stoll 1992, 85.

⁷⁵⁰ Müller 2014, 212.

of native craft or art objects. Any departure from classical forms amounted to a deliberate aesthetic choice.⁷⁵¹ On an individual level, the appearance of sculpture has been in part attributed to the skill of the maker in realising their vision or intention. It is, however, clear that in many cases we do not have enough evidence to draw conclusions on the artist's intentions.⁷⁵²

Economic theory proposes an association between areas with greater demand for certain manufactured goods, the productivity of manufacture, and the volume and quality of those goods available.⁷⁵³ Specialization in labour processes and competition respond to the needs of the market: within larger markets with more buyers and sellers, benefits might be found in specializing and occupying an 'economic niche' to guard against stiff competition. Through greater specialization, outputs are likely to be greater in quantity and quality.⁷⁵⁴

This seems to apply to some extent to Romano-British sculptural production. Croxford analysed the distribution of sculpture in Britain according to quality, level 1 the lowest and level 5 the highest. Figure 6.5 below maps the distribution across the province. A correlation can be identified (especially using the map on the right) between known areas of high demand and higher quality objects. This suggests that skilled makers were drawn to vibrant markets to find buyers, that craftsmen working locally were given the opportunity to improve and perfect their skills, or that such markets also received imports of fine pieces, ready-carved.

⁷⁵¹ Summarised by Johns 2003a, 10-13.

⁷⁵² Johns 2003b, 31, 37; yet, elsewhere in this and another article of the same year (Johns 2003a), she sets considerable store by the impact of artist's intention on the final appearance of a finished piece.

⁷⁵³ Ruffing 2016.

⁷⁵⁴ Ruffing 2016, 119-123.

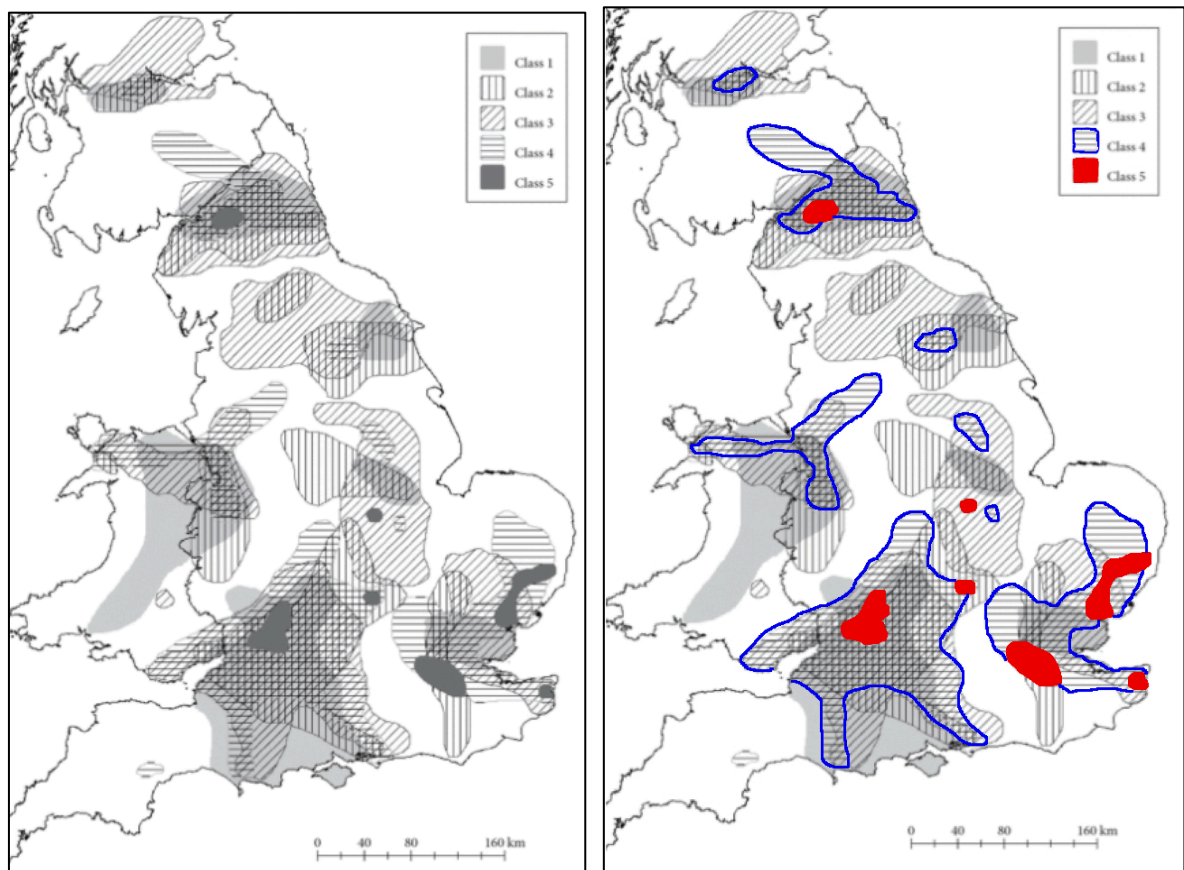


Figure 6.5 Map showing zones of quality of sculpture in Roman Britain, graded from Class 1 (worst) to Class 5 (best). Left Croxford 2016a, Fig. 29.2; right with Classes 4 (blue) and 5 (red) highlighted by the present author. Used with permission.

On closer examination, however, this method proves to be highly problematic and conclusions difficult to draw. Croxford's approach involves comparing objects within the corpus of Roman sculpture from Britain against each other and then grading them by degrees of classicism and execution.⁷⁵⁵ This diagram does not map quality: it plots places in which stone was available and in which customers sought pieces that were more classical in appearance. The areas of 'high quality' correlate with the supply of stone, and with urban and military sites. The potential for circular arguments here is clear. This method also fails to appreciate that classicism might be employed for specific reasons or functions or was

⁷⁵⁵ Croxford 2016a, 603-5.

associated with a certain cultural milieu, such as the military, and not a straightforward proxy for quality, denying a link to demand in abstract terms.

The closer parallel is between areas of higher demand and objects exhibiting greater consistency. The large output of stone sculpture at Mainz, for instance, included a significant quantity of very similar-looking tombstones for soldiers. Repetition of forms would allow greater opportunity for makers to perfect techniques or their know-how and for patrons to recognise and seek preferred types. This would encourage an increased conventionalism, even if the similarities were only in the essentials, but flexibility was possible for individual circumstances. Mother goddess figures from across the north-west can be assembled as a group owing to their use of the essential iconographic elements of three women shown in seated pose wearing long garments and holding something on their laps. Otherwise, the images were diverse, except in Germania Inferior, where the greatest number was known, which were considerably more homogeneous.

Low demand might instead lead to more erratic use of forms and diversity in technical approach. A good example is a comparison of the tombstones of Dannicus and Sextus Valerius Genialis, the latter showing more detail, crisper finish, and more convincing natural proportions, though they come from the same area.⁷⁵⁶ These differences have been explained by the availability of, and level of demand for, sculptural skills.⁷⁵⁷ It is, however, interesting and significant that there was no difference in style and quality between the few imperial portraits that we have examined, as there was for the other types, despite possibly low demand. This underscores the adherence of the imperial image to established forms, and the need for it to conform to classical style. It would also suggest that different models of supply

⁷⁵⁶ See above Figures 2.21 and 2.22.

⁷⁵⁷ Henig 1995, 107-8.

and demand should apply for these empire-wide images and that quality and use of the correct form was important irrespective of local economic currents that would normally impact the appearance.

For a sculpture to be considered complete and its quality acceptable, the contract associated with its commissioning would need to have been satisfied. Protection for the buyer and some regulation of the market could thus be assured. There is no surviving *lex provincia* for Britain which would stipulate such a process.⁷⁵⁸ The evidence for Roman law is instead provided by texts that show inter-personal arrangements ‘in practice’, such as the scraps of writing tablets that survive particularly from London, Carlisle, and Vindolanda.⁷⁵⁹ There is little evidence for the process that governed the production or sale of carvings or sculptures. Two examples or processes suggest how buyers might be assured of quality, based on the distinction that appears to have been drawn, at least in the third century, between craftsmen who travelled to complete specific commissions, the raw material supplied by someone else, and carvers who produced finished statues for sale, presumably having obtained the material themselves. Philostratus quotes Apollonios, who makes this distinction; the merchant he addresses is in the latter group: ‘...the image-makers of old behaved not in this way, nor did they go around the cities selling their gods. All they did was to export their own hands and their tools for working stone and ivory; others provided the raw materials, while they plied their handicraft in the temples themselves; but you are leading the gods into harbours and markets just as if they were wares of the Hyrcanians and of the Scythians...’⁷⁶⁰ Constantine’s Edict of AD 337 listed a number of possible roles for craftsmen employed in production of art, emphasising

⁷⁵⁸ The closest geographically is probably the *lex Narbonensis*, surviving fragments of which describe the sacrifices performed by the provincial high priest: *CIL* XII, 6038.

⁷⁵⁹ Du Plessis 2020. See Tomlin 1998, 2016 and Bowman 1998 for publication of the fragments.

⁷⁶⁰ Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*, V.20.

the specialisation of roles: architects, stone cutters, stone masons, painters, sculptors, statue makers, mosaicists, marble workers.⁷⁶¹

This distinction could then be reflected in the legal process followed. One option was *locatio–conductio*, linking a provider and commissioner, the one to provide to the other certain goods or to complete certain works within a specified time frame, at an agreed price.⁷⁶² For construction projects, an agreement for the work may have stipulated whether the contractor would supply raw materials required for the job, as well as the labour involved,⁷⁶³ again implying that there existed some division between accessing supplies and carving the finished product. This was more likely for large projects where the greater economic benefits of specialisation could have been realised, rather than less regular or individual sculptural commissions, but responsibility for acquiring suitable quality stone might have been part of the contract for finishing a sculptural piece too. The assumption was that the person taking on the contract possessed or could employ the skills necessary to complete the job at hand, providing some guarantee of quality.⁷⁶⁴ A staged payment schedule, with the final instalment ensured only once the contract was completed, protected the buyer in this arrangement since risk fell on the contractor until that point.⁷⁶⁵

The other possible process, more applicable for the purchase of a completed sculptural piece from stock, was the law of *emptio venditio* governing contracts of sale and mechanisms of barter. Examples from the Mediterranean show that funerary monuments were bought from stock: the mid-third century sarcophagus from Campania with a scene from the Endymion

⁷⁶¹ Russell, B. 2013, 359.

⁷⁶² Crook 1967, 207-8.

⁷⁶³ Du Plessis 2012, 76-77.

⁷⁶⁴ Zimmerman 1996, 397-8.

⁷⁶⁵ Zimmerman 1996, 401-2; Du Plessis 2012, 78-9.

myth seems to have been hastily recut from a figure of Ariadne, perhaps swiftly repurposing an ‘off the shelf’ purchase for a beloved son’s passing.⁷⁶⁶ The Martialis tombstone mentioned above could be another example. The relief shows the deceased as an adult Roman citizen holding a scroll containing his will, reclining on the dining couch, but the inscription was for a 14-year-old slave. The figure accompanying the reclining man does appear to be a young servant, but it would be unlikely to expect this to reflect the deceased. The relief might be anticipating the boy’s future in the afterlife, but more likely is that the inscription was added after the figures were carved.⁷⁶⁷ Finished pieces of sculpture have been recovered from shipwrecks, emphasising that finished products were also transported over some distance.⁷⁶⁸ Other examples, including the tombstone of Facilis, mentioned in chapter 5, may well have been shipped in a finished form, and a middleman, a merchant of stonework connecting patrons with goods, worked at Cologne.⁷⁶⁹ In general, however, it is unlikely that sculptural objects in the north-west would have been moved over long distances ready-carved, since so many of them are made of local stone. The exception could well be imperial portraits, which Russell has noted figure prominently in a sample of finished products that were regularly circulated or shipped, especially those of marble.⁷⁷⁰

This *emptio venditio* approach in general seems less likely, since the artistic production was more often demand driven, presumably allowing the patron some choice over final appearance.⁷⁷¹ Russell has shown that free-standing statues were generally not produced for stock, except perhaps for smaller carvings of common forms.⁷⁷² More common in the north-

⁷⁶⁶ White marble sarcophagus; British Museum 1947,0714.8; Walker 1990, no. 43.

⁷⁶⁷ Henig and Tomlin 2008, 116-7.

⁷⁶⁸ Russell, B. 2013, 351.

⁷⁶⁹ Described as a *negotiator artis lapidariae*: AE 1904, no. 23; Espérandieu VIII, no. 6437; Russell, B. 2013, 312.

⁷⁷⁰ Russell, B. 2013, 337.

⁷⁷¹ Crook 1967, 194.

⁷⁷² Russell, B. 2013, 313-6.

west than free-standing figures were carvings on altars, which may have been more suited to production-for-stock. For instance, four, plain altars of similar size and shape from the quarry at Norroy⁷⁷³ seem to have been the product of the same maker, who might have left them blank ready to be cut with a dedication from a patron.⁷⁷⁴ However, there are other possible explanations for why they were left uninscribed. Four almost identical carved *stelae* from Cologne were all carved by the same person but seem more likely to have been commissioned. Three of these have dedications to different members of the same family (the fourth carries no inscription, perhaps awaiting a fourth family member's demise), two were ornamented with a *kantharos* and sphinxes or griffins, and two with lions and a ram's head at the pediments.⁷⁷⁵

These contractual aspects can illuminate the production process, such as supply materials, the division of labour, and the balance of power or influence of patrons and makers over the final design. However, Roman laws tended to apply only to citizens and in *coloniae* and *municipia*, of which there were just a handful in Britain and Germany,⁷⁷⁶ so it is not clear how widespread such processes were. That said, a final legal option for creating a contract between maker and customer, the more straightforward *stipulatio*, could be entered into orally and by a range of different people including non-citizens.⁷⁷⁷ This would again have defined expectation of the work completed, though perhaps tells us less about the process of materials supply than the other approaches mentioned above. It is possible that the reassuring effects of legal protection

⁷⁷³ *CIL* XIII, nos 4623, 4624 and 4625.

⁷⁷⁴ As Bedon 1984, 118.

⁷⁷⁵ Glasterer and Glasterer 2010, nos 416, 417, 546, and another awaiting inscription.

⁷⁷⁶ Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, York and St Albans in Britain; Cologne, Xanten, Rottweil in Germany.

⁷⁷⁷ See Drexhage 1991, 402-439 for papyrus evidence for work contracts and wages offered in Roman Egypt. Freu 2015 emphasises the importance of local context and impact of demand for labour on the bargaining power available to workers. Some of those named in contracts for mining in Dacia were also probably not citizens: Hirt 2010, 270-274.

for buyers played some role in developing the market in those places, but on balance the demand from sectors of the population like soldiers seems to have a greater impact on quantity and distribution of sculpture in the region.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that trade routes and mobility of traders formed an important axis of connection across and between parts of the north-west region. The Rhineland supply route, once secured in the first century, supported military supply to Britain from the Continent, eclipsing but not eliminating alternative routes further west. Through these connections, we can see transmission of sculptural forms and the use by traders of votive and funerary inscriptions, sometimes also personifications of deities or decorative motifs. Beyond this the direct and explicit impact of trade and traders on the use and appearance of sculpture in the north-west is more difficult to establish.

We have evidence for the mobility of sculptors and the population in general, transmitting a more general familiarity with the tradition or certain forms, but no evidence for the same hands working in both Britain and the Rhineland. Neither is there robust evidence for, nor real need to create, a process involving pattern or copy books: the expectation of transmission of sculptural form, unlike the more precise patterning of painting or mosaic where such models make more sense, simply does not require it. A few finished pieces or sketching a motif onto the stone could have been sufficient.

More positively, it has been possible to show that provincial sculpture from the north-west can be considered as the product of a number of interrelated economic factors. The arrangement of labour and transmission of technique and ideas, market demand and the effect

on quality and consistency, even contractual relationships, produced highly variable outcomes in this region.

However, while these economic and trading dynamics were important, the pre-eminent economic impact on appearance and use of sculpture was the presence of pockets of high demand in urban and military areas. From the evidence examined so far, it appears that this transmission of images and variation or consistency in the appearance of sculpture was caused more by the mobility and interest of those commissioning it, especially the military, rather than by mobility of makers or supplies of raw materials.

Chapter 7 - Transmission of religious imagery

Movements of individuals or objects, routes of transmission, the coincidental spread of religious imagery with mobility of certain groups, especially the military and traders, have been considered by scholars as vectors for sharing images.⁷⁷⁸ This chapter will take a different approach. It will not consider how religious iconography was transmitted, through what means and when, but instead examine what choices were made in representing deities or constructing religion in different places, and how the resulting images were a product of their context. After all, even if we were to try to identify routes of transmission and associate this with movement of individuals, the evidence does not always allow it: it is not possible to identify the same people dedicating to the mother goddesses in both the Rhineland and Britain.⁷⁷⁹ This chapter will therefore show, by comparing the local and universal in other examples of cults in the north-west, that differences in iconography or representation might be the result of varying local decisions and local needs; similarities will be assessed as part of a common repertoire of iconography that was used to depict deities within the Roman empire. In an example of this kind of methodology, Woolf has proposed that the iconography of the *Matronae* and *Matres* dedications combine elements seen in depictions of other deities in the area, more universal forms, with local dress and epithets. This, he argued, located and constructed the deity within the context of the north-west, but recognised that place within

⁷⁷⁸ It has been suggested that worship of Mithras, Silvanus, Jupiter Dolichenus travelled with the army: Woolf 2001 130; Collar 2013, chapter 3. I have also discussed the role of traders and soldiers in transmitting ideas and images in the two preceding chapters, including some particular examples.

⁷⁷⁹ A Gaius Julius Crescens dedicated *RIB* no. 652 to the *Matres Domesticae*. A man with the same name also dedicated altars at Freidberg (*CIL* XIII, no. 7396) in late second or early third century, and at Mainz (*CIL* XIII, no. 6723). The latter is dated AD 70-100 so these cannot be the same person.

the wider world: localism as a response to broadening horizons of the second and third centuries.⁷⁸⁰

This approach is appropriate because religious images were or formed part of objects that not only tell us where deities were worshipped and, sometimes, by whom, but also *comprise* religious expression. The evidence for worship of the mother goddess, for instance, primarily takes the form of altars or images dedicated to the deities. Altars in particular were not only signifiers of the spread of the worship of the goddesses or provided physical evidence for a ritual, but also themselves established the cult, upheld the cosmology, and were part of religious practice. The representations of the deities brought them into existence,⁷⁸¹ while altars represented dialogue with the gods, the monumental remains of completion of a vow or pact with the deities, representing not only a votive offering but also recording the *solutio* of a *nuncupatio*. Changes over time and differences of image across geographic regions can represent changes in the cultural context in which they were used.⁷⁸²

The method taken here is also in line with general consensus on the nature of Roman religion. Religions in the Roman period were flexible, rarely drawing tight boundaries around adherents, and there appears to have been minimal proselytising or central diktat.⁷⁸³ People did not necessarily belong to religious groupings arranged around certain deities in the way that following Islam or Christianity might form part of someone's identity. Inscriptions can tell us about someone's origins and inform us of movements around the Roman world on a

⁷⁸⁰ Woolf 2003b.

⁷⁸¹ Gordon 1979.

⁷⁸² Versluys 2015 emphasises the restlessness of objects and images, and their responsiveness to changing circumstances, even while they offer relative consistency. This is persuasive and useful, whether or not the reader is convinced that this amounts to evidence for 'globalisation', as Versluys asserts. See also Woolf 2003b.

⁷⁸³ Ando 2007, 431; Woolf 2016a, 44.

religious monument such as an altar, but it is not clear that such journeys were necessarily for religious purposes or that they resulted in movement of cult.⁷⁸⁴ It is worth remembering too that gods themselves were closely tied to place. They were thought to inhabit or frequent sacred spaces, including their temples or features in the natural environment. Instances of *evocatio* or movement of deities from a sacred site are described in texts,⁷⁸⁵ but they are few. Tacitus records a deity, Nerthus, goddess of mother earth, visiting her sacred grove (located probably in or near Jutland) and the priest accompanying her on a chariot, before he brings her back to her temple.⁷⁸⁶ Yet, there is also a tension here, since representations of gods and goddesses, themselves playing a role in constructing the appearance and the reality of the deity, were mobile, with recognisable, consistent formats seen across a wide region.⁷⁸⁷ There are also limits to what can be reconstructed from sculptural remains alone. From the images, we cannot determine conversion to or members of a cult, and worshippers would not necessarily have considered themselves in this way. We also cannot construct detailed doctrine or belief, though altars and the images on them, of sacrifice, paraphernalia, or preparation of food, can tell us something about the kind of practice and rituals that were involved.

⁷⁸⁴ *RIB* no. 1124, dedicated to Astarte and inscribed in Greek, and *RIB* no. 1129, dedicated to Hercules of Tyre by a female priestess with a Greek name and again in Greek, suggest that those dedicating the altars at Corbridge had origins in the Greek East. Why they came to Britain and how this interacted with their cult is less clear. Pilgrimage might be an exception, in which we see deliberate movement for religious purposes. While such journeys would probably have raised awareness of the cult and the centre, especially for high-profile visits (such as Caracalla's visit to Faimingen: Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 78.15), and assert publicly the sanctity of the place (Petsalis-Diomidis 2006, 186-7) these were primarily movements of worshippers rather than necessarily vectors for mobility of the cult.

⁷⁸⁵ Ando 2007, 440-1; Livy, *History of Rome*, 5.22.3-7.

⁷⁸⁶ Tacitus, *Germania*, 40.

⁷⁸⁷ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.81 emphasises this consistency in artistic representation of deities: 'from childhood we know Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo, and the other gods by the face that painters and sculptors have wanted them to have – and not just the face, but also their adornments, their age and their attire.'

Several other approaches have been used to consider the spread of religions, but do not satisfactorily appreciate these aspects, and it is worth rehearsing these briefly now. Some of these analyse the distribution of religious objects or images, using the material remains as evidence for the spread of the cult or as proxy for social relationships. For example, examining diffusion has been one of the earliest and longest-lasting approaches. New religious ideas were introduced across the empire, and mapping of the sites of the worship of Isis, for instance, has usefully shown interesting patterns that suggest the conception of the deity was shared from its origins in Egypt around the Mediterranean by traders or sailors, and explored how diasporic communities were involved.⁷⁸⁸ However, several scholars have now emphasised the dialectical nature of transmission of religion, the evolutions of the representation of Isis, to continue this example, that saw her image transformed as her worship spread amongst different communities over hundreds of years.⁷⁸⁹ Traders alone were not responsible for sharing the cult of this deity, as there were many hubs of economic production and materials in the ancient world, nor does understanding merchants as vectors (or even the mobility of people more generally) help to explain the uptake in certain areas, transmission, and deliberate transformation of her image over a long period of time.⁷⁹⁰ Changes in representation of the deity responded to different requirements or needs within certain cultural contexts, and success of the spread owed to its relevance and resonance in new environments. The unilinear movement of religious concepts from one region to break in waves upon another has been reconsidered, especially when evidence such as architecture, small finds, and other cult deposits are combined with images to produce more holistic view of religious remains.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁸ Cumont 1906; Bricault 2001.

⁷⁸⁹ Versluys 2015; Woolf 2018–19, 114–116, 123.

⁷⁹⁰ Price 2012, 6–7; Woolf 2018–19, 123.

⁷⁹¹ Haynes 2013b emphasises the importance, and the challenges, of understanding ritual or cult remains in general. Haynes 2008 shows the benefits of assessing and comparing a range of archaeological evidence from religious sites. Beck 2006 centralises the architecture of the Mithraeum in understanding the use of Mithraic symbols.

More recently, network analysis has been used to track the spread of religions and to assess the routes by which religious imagery was shared between communities.⁷⁹² Analysis of networks has highlighted some of the issues with assessing diffusion: Collar has shown that Jupiter Dolichenus was known in Britain from between AD 120 and 160, having received dedications in Rome, North Africa, parts of Dacia and the Danubian region, without being seen in Germany by this time, emphasising that uptake was selective and not inevitable. Network analysis has other advantages and can be useful in several ways: first for its focus on the objects as important nodes; secondly for the potential of the method to integrate several webs or relationships that might affect transmission of ideas and objects, such as chronological phasing with geographic spread of use, and to begin to describe associations of attributes such as type of site, names of people, and objects; and thirdly for the importance placed on visualisation, which can aid understanding and inspire new observations.⁷⁹³ However, it can be problematic. The analysis relies on links between objects as proxy to reconstruct actual human relationships.⁷⁹⁴ It is thus highly sensitive to incomplete or polyvalent data, and works best for large datasets with specific relationships, rather than for images which would need to be simplified and codified. Without all the original nodes, hostage to the fortunes of survival in the archaeological record, a false picture can be created.⁷⁹⁵ Understanding what is going on behind the appearance of sculpture, explaining the

⁷⁹² For example: Collar 2013 provides an exposition of religious change, explained through network analysis; McCarty 2011 demonstrated the importance of transport networks, primarily the roads in northern Africa, for sharing the preferred image of Saturn in this region; and Woolf 2016a offers analysis of different methods.

⁷⁹³ Collar *et al* 2015, 15. Sometimes, however, it is unclear what more is offered above and beyond the compilation of a distribution map. For instance, in analysis of the epigraphic remains from Gaul and Britain, Graham (2006, 58) emphasises the regionality of their survival, showing there were more inscriptions in the military areas in Britain and parts of the Rhineland and Gaul. A useful visualisation, but this does not further our understanding of how and why this occurred beyond a general, and well-known, association between epigraphic remains and Roman military sites.

⁷⁹⁴ Collar *et al* 2015, 11.

⁷⁹⁵ Woolf 2016a, 47.

appearance and use, especially when data is incomplete and sporadic, risks being beyond the power of networks. ‘Network thinking’, especially attempts to integrate different relationships and to understand how social interactions affect transmission of ideas, however, remains useful.⁷⁹⁶

In general, approaches that plot religious imagery, mapping its distribution or correlating with certain groups or routes have been informative, but on their own risk failing to capture more complex patterns or to explain why religious images appear in the way that they do, and to what in their cultural context they are responding.⁷⁹⁷ This chapter, therefore, focuses on the *transmissibility* of religious imagery, balancing the success in using widespread or universal iconography with the importance of local adaptation, in order to understand why sculpture across the north-west might look similar or different in different places. Some of the choices made in representation might also have assisted in retaining the similarity of the images across the region and aided their transmissibility, while others might explain variations or difference.

The iconography used to represent deities was not inevitable but was constructed according to what was deemed appropriate by the people making and using the images. The imagery is inextricably linked to religion not only because images were commonly used in various cults, but also because the surviving material evidence (especially objects with images) is often our main source of information about cults within the Roman world: textual sources outlining doctrine, belief and practice are few. To represent was to bring into being, and the aesthetics employed in doing so were deliberate choices, the results of which were presumably considered the right way to show the divine.

⁷⁹⁶ Collar 2013, 78; Woolf 2016a.

⁷⁹⁷ McCarty 2011, 446 emphasises that objects must be right in their own context, suggesting there was a more complicated process of selection and transmission than simply the diffusion of an idea through travel networks.

The adoption of a standard iconography to depict and identify deities allowed them to be highly transmissible. Attributes in particular facilitated and continue to facilitate recognition of the deity: a male figure with a *caduceus* instantly becomes Mercury. These objects or familiars that accompany the deity also indicated the sphere of their influence or the required effect that a dedicator might have sought, though it is rather reductive to assume a direct relationship between the attributes of a deity and their powers. The symbol did not always stand directly for the function it resembled, since gods might be shown in different aspects or roles according to the occasion, but the consistency with which individual deities were shown is remarkable. Take, for example, the ‘Jupiter column’ at Butzbach on the Upper Germanic *limes*, 35km north of Frankfurt.⁷⁹⁸ Though carved in rough sandstone at the edge of the empire, the identities of the deities are clear from their attributes and poses. The figure of Mars, in the *Wochengötterstein* sequence, adopts a highly classical *contrapposto* stance; Sol and Luna wear their appropriate headdresses; on the *Viergötterstein*, Minerva sports the usual Gorgoneion on her chest, and Mercury is readily identifiable from *caduceus* and money bag.

The personification of deities, the decision to show them as (if they were) humans, also offered the potential for highly transmissible imagery. Aniconic motifs and objects were paradoxically more particular and individual than the iconic, but each were the product of choices.⁷⁹⁹ There has been a temptation to insert an aniconic stage in the development of the final images of deities, as we have seen in chapter 3 with the mother goddesses, which then supposedly naturally developed into a relatively consistent image. Iconism was not the only option and several deities in the Roman empire were associated with aniconic objects, as well as or instead of iconically.⁸⁰⁰ Using a classical naturalistic style for religious art has been

⁷⁹⁸ Now in Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. no. A1965: 796; *CSIR De II.12*, nos 177–180.

⁷⁹⁹ Gordon 1979, 13; Gaifman 2012, 3.

⁸⁰⁰ Donohue 1988, 221–228.

described as employing a kind of technology: naturalism was used because it achieved the required effect and could be activated at varying frequencies.⁸⁰¹ It created a relationship to the viewer or to being human. Constructing a religious image using standard attributes and in classical form served to privilege continuity over fluctuation and variation. It also ensured that Roman religions were generally aggregative, building on images of the past rather than developing wholly new ways of representing and viewing the imaginary in new parts of the empire.

Though the attributes and poses belong to a classical naturalistic repertoire, they seem to transcend style and quality of execution. Lucian expresses the adoption of forms and use of attributes, associating local and Roman deities: ‘our Heracles is known among the Gauls under the local name of Ogmios; and the appearance he presents in their pictures is truly grotesque. They make him out as old as old can be: the few hairs he has left (he is quite bald in front) are dead white, and his skin is wrinkled and tanned as black as any old salt’s. You would take him for some infernal deity, for Charon or Iapetus - any one rather than Heracles. Such as he is, however, he has all the proper attributes of that God: the lion’s-skin hangs over his shoulders, his right hand grasps the club, his left the strung bow, and a quiver is slung at his side; nothing is wanting to the Heraclean equipment.’⁸⁰²

The phenomenon he describes appears to be borne out in some figures of Hercules that survive from Gaul. Altars to Hercules from the Deneuvre sanctuary show the god in various poses, with schematic rendering of the hair and with attributes that are not naturally attached or held (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). Nonetheless, these figures are identified by the makers, inscribers and patrons as Hercules, they have the right attributes and the inscription is clearly to this deity.

⁸⁰¹ Stewart forthcoming.

⁸⁰² Lucian, *Hercules*, I.

Even mythic narratives are reflected in the forms: Figure 7.2 shows Hercules at rest, holding apples from the garden of Hesperides. The monument fulfils the function of the dedication: though the lion skins here look rather small and flimsy, though the hair and moustaches appear local and not Greco-Roman, and though the man does not properly hold the club, the carvings operate successfully at this sanctuary site.



Figure 7.1 Figure of Hercules from sanctuary at Deneuvre, France. H: 174.5cm. Musée de Deneuvre, inv. no. S.A 23. Moitrieux 2010, no.103 [Image](#) © Carole Raddato Images used under CC BY-SA 3.0 licence.



Figure 7.2 Figure of Hercules from Deneuvre, France. H:124.5cm. Musée de Deneuvre, inv. no. A A 302. Moitrieux 2010, no. 130. [Image](#) © Carole Raddato

Narratives might also assist transmissibility and universality. The iconography of Mithras is perhaps one of the best examples for the employment of a consistent package of representation. Sculpture of the Mithras cult is geographically widespread: certain stock

scenes were repeated across the Roman world in a range of media, from paintings on the temple walls at Dura Europos, to stone panels from the Danubian region, and altars from the northern frontier of the Antonine Wall. The iconography of the tauroctony, the feast of Mithras and Sol, and the so-called Mithraic miracles are remarkably consistent. The imagery used is so uniform across a wide area, and the forms so dense with detail, that narratives have been developed into a mythology and the images used to (re)construct doctrine: the premise of Cumont's work was that cult myth and doctrine could be deduced from iconography, and this kind of approach was followed by Clauss in his explanations of the Mithraic mysteries and organisation of the cult.⁸⁰³ Beck has offered a critique, suggesting that we need to consider *how* and *whether* the iconography operates as a symbol, as well as trying to show *what* it means.⁸⁰⁴ Regional differences do occur, however: for instance, small panel reliefs seem to be popular in and confined to the Danube region,⁸⁰⁵ the language of inscriptions responds to local context (Latin in the west; Greek in the east), choices and arrangements of ancillary figures changes, and the scenes are represented in different media.⁸⁰⁶ The nature and frequency of these variations also differs from place to place.⁸⁰⁷ Some differences of technique shown on some of the altars even suggest variation in how they may have been used or the specifics of rituals between different places. Some altars have cut out sections, through which light shone, some facilitated music or noises, while a few panels could have been turned on a pivot to show the other side. The most famous of these double-sided panels are from Mithraeum I at Nida-Heddernheim and parallels at Rückingen and Dieburg,⁸⁰⁸ but

⁸⁰³ Cumont 1896-1899; Clauss 2000 in the main rests on the evidence of images and carved remains.

⁸⁰⁴ Beck 2006, especially 25.

⁸⁰⁵ Hijmans 2015.

⁸⁰⁶ Dirven and McCarty 2014 suggest such differences have been underemphasised by scholars against this broad similarity.

⁸⁰⁷ Dirven and McCarty (2014, 135-8) highlight the very close similarities of Mithraic imagery in Apulum, which is not matched by other urban Mithraic contexts examined.

⁸⁰⁸ Heddernheim: *CIMRM* no.1083. Rückingen: Clauss 2000, 110, fig. 71. Dieburg: *CIMRM* no.1247. Fiano Romano, Italy: *CIMRM* no.641.

the cut-out technique can be seen at Mithraea from the Rhineland, Italy, and northern Britain.⁸⁰⁹ The technique and technology used on these altars would appear to fulfil requirements of cult practice or key moments of the ritual but are not seen across the empire. Despite variations and an inherent flexibility, however, the incredible similarity in the narratives shown must have played an important role in stabilising and defining the cult, particularly without a written set of beliefs.

In other contexts, not only Mithraic, we also find variety in religious imagery. Even within the confines of classical naturalism and in using iconography that was well-established, there was intensive evolution of form, changes in types, and creation of new images and deities in different places. Again, these changes say something about the context and the needs of those making or using images: creating them in a certain way shows an understanding of the world around and reveals intentions in making the imaginary real. Developments of imagery contributed to different ways of viewing taxonomies of power within the context in which they operate.

A good example of variation against a consistent form is found in so-called Jupiter columns. Several hundred examples have been found concentrated in Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, most dating to the second and third centuries, though the earliest was from the Neronian period in Mainz.⁸¹⁰ Many examples are known from Gallia Belgica and several in Britain. The base was typically carved with figures of deities, most usually four on a rectangular plinth, but sometimes six, with a second stone above showing the gods of days of

⁸⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that the new find of an altar to Mithras at Inveresk, dated cautiously to the 140s AD, appears for now to be the earliest use of the open work pierced-through technique, perhaps contemporary with an example at Mundelsheim, but largely pre-dating other similar Italian and German carvings. On current evidence, it appears that this innovation may have been developed in Scotland. See Coombe and Henig 2020 for more detail.

⁸¹⁰ Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981 remains the fullest exposition.

the week. On occasion the deities were carved into the shaft of the column itself as well or instead of the lower layers. They made use of universal forms and a mixture of deities from the Roman pantheon and presumably local additions, to create a new monumental form, and vary from place to place especially in the choice and arrangement of the deities represented. One particular variation that was geographically defined was the choice of figure that surmounts the column: in Germania Superior, Jupiter rides down a giant, depicted as a writhing serpent-tailed monster as on the gigantomachy frieze of the second-century BC Pergamon altar; while in Germania Inferior, he usually sits enthroned. The choices of deities on the column base or shaft perhaps reflected personal preferences of the dedicators, while the establishment of this type of dedication appears to speak to a need to redefine and state publicly the cosmological order in the Rhineland of the second and third centuries.⁸¹¹

Roman deities and local ones come together in other ways too, sometimes in inscriptions. Scholars have leapt on Tacitus' explanation of twin Germanic gods, equating them with Castor and Pollux and on Caesar's observation that gods of the Gauls had similar powers to Roman ones in order to construct a process of *interpretatio Romana* in which local and classical deities were assimilated.⁸¹² Inscriptions reflect some of these associations: certain Roman deities had numerous epithets on inscriptions from Gaul and the German provinces, which saw a classical deity 'paired' with a native one. Derks notes *c.* 70 additional names for Mars, 25 for Mercury, 15 for Apollo, 12 for Jupiter in Gaul.⁸¹³ Historically, it has been thought that the use of the classical names helped to reveal something of the expectation or identification of the native deity, that these provided evidence for power dynamics between the 'Roman' and 'local', or that this might show a regionalisation of the Roman god the

⁸¹¹ Woolf 2001, 129-31.

⁸¹² Tacitus, *Germania* 43; Caesar, *Commentaries on the Gallic war*, 6.17-18. See Webster 1995 for further discussion.

⁸¹³ Derks 1998, 95.

epithets enabling mobility of the classical deity. However, other approaches emphasise the creation in this of new conceptions of the divine, wholly appropriate to and contained within the context of their time. For example, Lenus Mars is better understood as the civic deity of the Treveri, largely limited to that town and its environs, but also possibly seen on rough dedications from Chedworth, Gloucestershire.⁸¹⁴ When depicted, the god is shown in military gear with spear and shield, retaining classical imagery associated with Mars. Here we have juxtaposition of a Roman deity personified shown in transmissible, universal, classical form, but resonant and located within a civic context for the Treveri. The combination is an entirely new conception of the divine, the cult firmly located in its civic context and nomenclature largely confined to that region, while the image is seen elsewhere. Similar new creations seem also to be borne out of their context: most of the dedication to Hercules Saxanus, for instance, were made by men quarrying tufa at Brohltal, the name deriving from the story in which Jupiter rained down rocks to spare the hero from ambush by the Ligurians.⁸¹⁵

One example in which expectations of the identity of the deity in the inscription are not fulfilled by the images presented is the case of the reliefs to Mars Olludius and Romulus from Bisley, Gloucestershire.⁸¹⁶ On one relief, a figure stands wearing civilian clothing, he holds a cornucopia and sacrifices on an altar; the other relief shows a figure wearing armour and helmet, carrying a shield and spear, and with sword sheathed at the waist. This would appear to be a conventional image of Mars, the figure with attributes of a *genius* then would be Romulus. The inscriptions, however, revealed it was the other way around.⁸¹⁷ We cannot know how this was viewed in the Roman world, whether it would cause any problem of

⁸¹⁴ Scheid 1991, 1995 for Trier. *CSIR* GB I.7, nos 126, 127, though Henig casts some doubt on the reading of the inscription and identifies the figures tentatively.

⁸¹⁵ *CIL* XIII, nos 7697–7712.

⁸¹⁶ *RIB* nos 131 and 132.

⁸¹⁷ If correctly read by the antiquarian who recorded it. The inscription on the Mars dedication is now very worn.

understanding, or if it was even noticed. The inscription would identify the deity from the maker or dedicator's perspective. Mars here was transformed from his more common classical association as god of war into a peaceful deity, in a way that resonated for the maker or patron, and indeed in a way that was not uncommon in parts of the north-west.⁸¹⁸ It would seem the depiction of the deity in this fashion was not a barrier to the correct functioning of the plaque and the interaction with the deity since it was used.



Figure 7.3: Dedication to Mars Olludius from Customs Scrub, now in Gloucester City Museum, inv. no. GLRCM A2731. H: 50.8cm; RIB no. 131. Image courtesy of Martin Henig.



Figure 7.4: Dedication to Romulus, from Customs Scrub, now in Gloucester City Museum, inv. no. GLRCM A2731 H: 45.7cm; RIB no. 132. Image courtesy of Martin Henig.

The problem here might be considered more obviously a modern one: without inscriptions there is potentially a range of unidentified deities whose roles we can only now partially reconstruct. The goddess Senuna, for instance, was unknown until the discovery in 2002 of a

⁸¹⁸ Henig 1984, 51-5; Franconi 2014b. For instance, Mars Nodens appears to have been a healer at his shrine at Lydney, Gloucestershire.

cache of precious metal votive offerings at Ashwell in Hertfordshire.⁸¹⁹ Without inscriptions, we would have identified her as Minerva, owing to the use of that deity's image for plaques dedicated to this goddess.

Lenus Mars and Senuna were both local deities which do not appear to move far from their place of origin or cult. There are other localised deities which we do not expect to move but find that they do. Brigantia was the tutelary goddess of the Brigantes tribe, whose land covered much of northern England, the area that is now covered by Yorkshire, and parts of Lancashire and Northumberland. However, one of the finest figures of the goddess, shown in the guise of Minerva Victrix, comes not from that region, but from Birrens fort on the Antonine Wall.⁸²⁰ It has been suggested that her cult was promoted by the Severan family, a local version of Juno Caelestis associated with the imperial family, since inscriptions to the deity were also made to the emperor's *numina* or Victory. There is, however, no evidence the fort was garrisoned after AD 180, offering a *terminus ante quem* for the figure, and placing it more likely in the Hadrianic or Antonine period.⁸²¹ Imperial support would probably have affected popularity and transmission of this goddess; but instead, this is a deity with focused tribal roots, perhaps whose follower offered a dedication to her while on service in the north of Britain. In another example, Coventina inhabited a spring on Hadrian's Wall and was worshipped at her shrine there. She is personified on only one relief, taking the form of a nymph.⁸²² Three nymphs are shown on two other panels from the site and nearby, perhaps also showing Coventina. She is a local deity, focused on this specific well, yet other deities with similar name spellings have been found in Spain and France (there is some debate as to whether this is the same deity), and those making dedications were generally Batavian,

⁸¹⁹ Jackson and Burleigh 2018.

⁸²⁰ *CSIR* GB I.4, no. 12.

⁸²¹ Henig 1984, 211–213; addendum to *RIB* no. 2091.

⁸²² *RIB* no. 1534.

Cubernian, or of the Frisiavones.⁸²³ Dedicators who came from the north-west seem to have recognised the sanctity of the place and the status of the goddess, and sought her support.

Viewing a religious sculpture involved participation in understanding of what is shown. The cultural context is important since this helps to construct meaning around an object. As Gordon has pointed out, a lump of stone and carved sculpture both work in the same way since both need an associated meaning to help them to be correctly understood.⁸²⁴ This relies on the viewer. For a symbol or representation to have meaning, effect or agency, then there must be an understanding amongst those engaging with of how the meaning works and what it is: meaning was not controlled by the object but by those who use it, those who decide and moderate the meaning.⁸²⁵ This might have operated in different ways in the Roman world. Some scholars, for instance Hölchser, saw ancient art as operating in a semantic fashion, the image working as a language that can be decoded and understood.⁸²⁶ A less reductionist approach might assess how symbols and material culture were used to indicate cultural context and conformity to certain style in a broadly semiotic method. For either approach, the process of using and identifying the objects created a shared understanding of the image and what it did, allowing these objects to remain relevant and integral to religious practice.⁸²⁷

In addition, the ritual and public spectacle involved in dedicating a shrine, offering a sacrifice or setting up a votive altar not only reflected the expected power of the deity but affirmed it. A dedication is a public assertion by a named person that this is (of) the correct deity, and that they have assisted the dedicators. The religious practice of dedicating a votive monument

⁸²³ Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 4–5.

⁸²⁴ Gordon 1979, 11.

⁸²⁵ Gordon 1979, 12.

⁸²⁶ Hölchser 2004.

⁸²⁷ Versluys 2015.

confirms the continuation of the divine and cosmological order.⁸²⁸ It also tells others that this is a place for successful petitioning of this deity, that there is value in offering and participating in ritual in this place.⁸²⁹

Related to this, successful replication and adoption of representations over a wide area also rely on its usefulness and the perception of viewers of its adequacy and importance. Casual dissemination was not the same as creation of culture based on recognised forms.⁸³⁰ Gordon wrote that ‘Greco-Roman religious art helped validate what remained recognisably the same ‘world-view’ over a period of more than a thousand years’.⁸³¹ Success in representation was in its use and its relevance. Price emphasised that conditions needed to be right to support the spread of religion and religious images, and that this can be based on contact, but that mere awareness did not always ensure adoption.⁸³² Woolf, too, shows that knowledge could be shared, and ideas understood widely, but that these might not be acted upon or replicated in a ritual context. An epidemiological approach, such as that set out by Sperber, emphasises that a new target needs to be infected, rather than merely exposed, for ideas to be passed on.⁸³³ This adoption might even be crucial for the persistence of religious practice, and use of imagery is critical for that: ‘a religion dies when no one remains to energize its outward forms and, more fundamentally, to make its subjective representations within the context of those outward forms.’⁸³⁴ An image, conception or representation relies on some ecological aspect

⁸²⁸ Derks 1995, 122.

⁸²⁹ Legends of supernatural powers of some cult statues tell us something of the perception of the deity and their image too: Belting 1994, 47–8.

⁸³⁰ Bendlin 1997, 52.

⁸³¹ Gordon 1979, 17–22, 25–6. Van Alten 2017, section 3, summarises aspects of Roman religion as cultural communication system.

⁸³² Price 2012.

⁸³³ Sperber 1985. This epidemiological approach is not favoured by Price 2012.

⁸³⁴ Beck 2006, 94, discussing Sperber 1996.

of a group's lifestyle, social structure or psychology for it to persist culturally and remain attractive to audiences.⁸³⁵

Conclusions

In summary, ideas and their materialisations can move around a connected world, but the means is not always clear. Religions appear to have spread through the Roman world, sometimes evolving in practice and image as they did so, and sometimes we can propose agents of that movement. The approach taken here, however, to examine the constructions of the objects and the choices in depictions has been appropriate, since flow of ideas or spread of cult does not capture the nature of Roman religion.⁸³⁶

Images resonated through their use, and it logically proceeds that they were more likely to be adopted in new places where they were considered relevant. While Roman religious images were generally consistent and conservative, local choices and change in depictions were meaningful and important.

Returning to the religious case study above, the iconography of the *matronae* was a combination of local forms of dress with classical personifications and use on an altar as completion of a vow. This appearance functioned within its context of second and third century Germania Inferior, and very local versions of the deities emerged. When they came to Britain, some of the iconography was preserved, and the figures took classical forms, but the local markers of headdress and epithets that distinguished the mothers of certain places or

⁸³⁵ Nettle 1998.

⁸³⁶ Woolf 2016a, 54.

tribes were lost. They became generalised here as ‘foreign’ deities in inscribed dedications, while images that have been read by modern scholars as depicting the *matres* lack inscriptions that might confirm this. The (image of the) deities moved from one region to another, against expectation given their strong local and geographical ties, but in doing so were changed, universal iconography evolving in response to local needs. This seems to be a hallmark of local religions, though some deities, surprisingly, are worshipped in places other than their main centre. Sauer, in compiling a list of all ‘native’ deities in southern Germany, remarked how local they remained, and how little overlap there was between the ‘native’ pantheon here and in Britain: deities themselves generally remained local, responsive to immediate context, even if iconography was shared.⁸³⁷

The combination of universal and local reflected the world of which the sculptures were part: flexible, appropriable, aggregative, malleable, connected cultural context. Common repertoire was offered in the use of classical naturalism, but this, coupled with local adaptation, revealed awareness of the wider Roman world, localism a response to expanded horizons.

Religion has offered and been used as a heuristic model for understanding how Roman culture encountered others. Equating deities has been problematised as an issue of ‘Romanisation’, ‘Gallicisation’ or ‘Germanisation’ of Britain, rather than the evolution of religious personalities as a response to the context and the needs of the time. Deities cannot be reduced to evidence for nationalistic distinctions of ‘Roman’, ‘Gallic’, ‘British’: they were *of* their various contexts, which were cosmopolitan and specific, and a product of the socio-political

⁸³⁷ Sauer 2007.

circumstances in the second and third century north-west provinces.⁸³⁸ Using this religious angle, and examining the universal and local, and also tell us about other, not divine, sculpture in Roman Britain and Germany. The use of certain forms for women's portrait statues across the empire, for instance, contributes to a sense of common values, as well as demonstrating a common adherence to agreed ideals.⁸³⁹ Thinking about statues as a product of context helps us to overcome barriers of definitions and consider the remains on their own terms. This approach has here helped to show how varying contexts and demands contributed to the differences and similarities we see in the Roman north-west.

⁸³⁸ See Derks 1995 and 1998 for discussion of religious and cultural change in response to socio-political change.

⁸³⁹ Stewart 2003, 164.

Chapter 8 - Socio-political impacts on sculpture in the north-west

The conclusions and evidence presented in chapter 4 offer the basis for setting the use of the imperial image in a broader context; for considering more generally the role that portrait statuary played in public display in the north-west, and for understanding the interactions of provincial individuals and certain communities with the emperor and the centre of the Roman state. The aim of this chapter is to explain the character of sculpture in the north-west, the similarities and differences in use and appearance of sculpture seen across the region, through the lens of social and political aspects.⁸⁴⁰ Just as imperial portraits, ideologically oriented to the centre of Roman power, also exhibited acceptable local variations, other ways in which the social uses of art were angled to the centre or wider empire and adapted locally will now be considered. First, the local use of statues to construct and define social relationships will be examined, setting imperial portraits in the context of honorific portrait statues in the north-west. This will then be compared with benefactions and euergetic behaviour and socio-political use of Roman art more generally. Secondly, the longer-range links between local use of the imperial portrait or 'imperial' forms and the wider empire will be discussed, exploring the connections between provincial and state use of images and the engagement with Roman art in the provinces.

Portrait statues in context

Honorific portrait statues represented or offered a physical incarnation of a social relationship between dedicator and honorand: they were set up by leaders in the community as reward for

⁸⁴⁰ Rather than, for instance, through examining the movements of imperial officials as catalyst for the spread of certain images around the north-west.

the recipient's valued services, works, and donations.⁸⁴¹ Statues were a marker of benefaction and offer some evidence of interest in euergetism. Their location was determined and decreed by local officials, the decurions. Favoured positions typically included the forum, theatre, and near public buildings. In short, this encompassed all those places with highest footfall in an urban environment, with certain locations in the forum the most prestigious.⁸⁴² This behaviour originated and was better known in the Hellenistic eastern Empire, a language of social relationships that was new to parts of the Roman west, including Britain and Germany, before conquest. By employing imagery and setting up statues in this way, the inhabitants of the empire related to one another within their communities, but also participated in a wider visual landscape which constructed socio-political identities. 'Portraiture...functioned as a signifier of the Empire's global culture of civic life. Even though the Romans took over portraiture and the honorific statuary tradition from the Greeks, the publicly awarded and politically imbued honorific portrait statue took on a whole new dimension during the Roman period. It represented the greatest honor for which a local citizen could hope, filled the public space of the Empire's cities, and came to represent visions and ideals of honor and power that were universal and valid all the way from the late Republic to the beginning of late antiquity.'⁸⁴³

As well as the lack of imperial portrait statues already noted earlier in this the thesis, the evidence for honorific portrait statuary more generally is scarce in the north-west. A main piece of evidence is the statue base for the governor, Ti. Claudius Paulinus, set up at Caerwent by the council of the *civitates* of the Silurians, probably recording an act of patronage in the early third century. A couple of white marble heads have been found near the forum area of Cologne, but lack bases that explain who the images are and why they were placed there, and

⁸⁴¹ Stewart 2003, 166; Fejfer 2008, 48-51.

⁸⁴² Fejfer 2008, 54-63.

⁸⁴³ Fejfer 2015, 233.

they may not be honorific statues.⁸⁴⁴ In Germania Superior, there were a few possible portrait statues, including two of women.⁸⁴⁵ Beyond our study area, in Gallia Belgica, there survive some other examples of heads of emperors: white marble heads of Vespasian and Gratian, and a head of Constantine made from local limestone. Only the first of these was, however, likely to have been displayed within the civic landscape.⁸⁴⁶ The image of a second century prince might also have been on public display.⁸⁴⁷ There are a few more heads of non-imperial persons now also in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, deriving either from the context of the large bathhouses (perhaps images of donors?), or without a secure provenance in Trier.⁸⁴⁸

This lack has in the past been partly explained by or given as evidence for lack of interest in a ‘monumentalising habit’ and a product of the social environment. The elite of Roman Britain, for instance, has been characterised as having established themselves in rural areas, with rural power bases and little interest in financing construction or offering other support in urban areas.⁸⁴⁹ In Germany too, the villa landscape of the northern region contrasts with the military and civic zone of Germania Superior, explaining in, admittedly broad brush-strokes, the distinctions between the two provinces. Wrede notes that senators were not appointed from the north-west, and so the system of civil statue honours was not known here.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁴ Römisch-Germanisches Museum Cologne, inv. no. L 764, mid third century?; and inv. no. 94,6, Hadrianic?, possibly a funerary image or private portrait.

⁸⁴⁵ Hemelrijk 2015, 285, Fig. 6.1.

⁸⁴⁶ Vespasian, from the Forum area, Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (RLMT), inv. no. ST 5233.2; Gratian from the Electoral Palace, RLMT, inv. no. 1898,306; Constantine from Paulinstraße, Trier (perhaps a suburban villa?), RLMT inv. no. 1914,154.

⁸⁴⁷ RLMT inv. no. 1929,238.

⁸⁴⁸ RLMT inv. nos ST 3065; G 42; 1950,4.

⁸⁴⁹ Millett 1990a.

⁸⁵⁰ Wrede 1995, 44-45.

The contexts in which portrait statues were typically set are not well understood in the north-west. The kinds of monuments and architecture which were elsewhere decorated with such sculpture, for instance theatres, *nymphaea*, architectural façades, porticos, large public bathhouses, were less common in this region or were less likely to be monumental stone structures.⁸⁵¹ The forum was the most prestigious location for a statue and while there were open spaces for meeting and commerce within the town centres of the north-west, many of these are beneath modern cities and cannot be fully excavated.⁸⁵² Statues in public spaces of the Roman north-west would probably have been conspicuous, though elsewhere care was taken to blend the figures into the aesthetics of the monumental landscape. From the mid-third century onwards, the change in form of benefactions from monumental architecture towards more ephemeral games or spectacles saw a contingent downturn in the awarding and display of statues in other parts of the empire. Paradoxically, the lack of images of the emperor thus blended into the general picture of public statuary in the north-west. He was shown in other parts of the empire in urban settings alongside other members of the local population, albeit in prime position, *princeps inter pares*. The iconography of the imperial image was carefully chosen so as not to mark the emperor out as more special than local citizens, in certain stock poses and wearing garments that other individuals would wear.⁸⁵³ Imperial and other honorific portrait statues are known here, but both are rare.

The status of towns might also play a role in determining the use and appearance of public portraits. The fragments of bronze from the forum area at Gloucester have been suggested as

⁸⁵¹ Fejfer 2008, 52. However, see the examples from bathhouses at Trier above.

⁸⁵² For instance, in London and Cologne, by contrast with the understanding gained from Cuicul (Djémila), Thamugadi (Timgad), Aphrodisias, Italica, Mérida, and to some extent at Pompeii, mentioned in chapter 4.

⁸⁵³ Smith 1996, 33: ‘the imperial image worked hard to express the idea that the emperor was not in principle a different kind of person from other citizens.’

an image of Nerva, who may have founded the *colonia* there,⁸⁵⁴ and pieces of an equestrian statue from Lincoln and environs have been proposed as deriving from an image of Domitian, the emperor who granted rights as a colony. These are good examples of local inspiration and gratitude for the rights granted through the emperor's *indulgentia*, but there is little by way of definitive evidence for these identifications.⁸⁵⁵ Otherwise, the interaction of local populations with the imperial centre through the dialogue created by benefactions and honorific statues to emperors was less common in the north-west.

Benefactions and euergetism in the north-west: constructing socio-political relationships

This is not to say, however, that public benefactions were not made at all. Two building inscriptions in Britain indicate dedications to emperors,⁸⁵⁶ five from Germania Inferior and another five from Germania Superior.⁸⁵⁷ Rather, dedicators and the objects offered focused on other priorities. Blagg has shown that munificence in Roman Britain tended to result in religious structures, that dedicators here were more likely to be groups than individuals, and that benefactions were more often made in the northern part of the province.⁸⁵⁸ Those in Britain in the Roman period knew how to speak the language of benefaction, honour, and accumulation of social capital, but did it in a different way than through statues.⁸⁵⁹

Dedications by groups are interesting, suggesting greater emphasis on public identity as a member of the population of a settlement rather than as an individual and on inhabitants' close

⁸⁵⁴ *CSIR* GB I.7, no. 177. The date for the founding of Gloucester is, however, debated, and Mark Hassall has proposed an earlier, Domitianic date: Hassall and Hurst 1999.

⁸⁵⁵ See Millar 1977, 426-9 for further discussion of *indulgentia*.

⁸⁵⁶ *RIB* no. 288 at Wroxeter to Hadrian, and *RIB* no. 3123 at Verulamium to Titus.

⁸⁵⁷ Horster 2001, 375-387. None has been found in Gallia Belgica.

⁸⁵⁸ Blagg 1990.

⁸⁵⁹ Stewart 2003, 177-9.

ties to their area. This also suggests a high degree of local, civilian organization. We have already seen the statue dedicated by the Silurians at Caerwent. Other dedications by *civitates* include the dedication to Hadrian of the building at Wroxeter by the Cornovians,⁸⁶⁰ and records of construction along Hadrian's Wall by the Durotriges / Durotrages / Durotraces (three different spellings) of Lendinae.⁸⁶¹ The *vicani* / *vikani* at Vindolanda and Carriden made dedications to the Divine House and Jupiter Optimus Maximus,⁸⁶² while another dedication from Housesteads set up 'by decree' of the *vicani* is poorly preserved.⁸⁶³ An altar from Carlisle suggests that these monuments were funded by the groups mentioned in the inscriptions, providing insight into the processes involved,⁸⁶⁴ though at Carriden Aelius Mansuetus 'took care of the matter'. Setting up a statue or dedication and its accompanying inscription can give some insight into the role of local council. If the statue was to be public, then agreement was often required with the landowner or official, either before or after it was created, and if in urban area agreement from town councillors. Decurions usually had a role in this, or decrees were made instructing setting up an image: the formulation *locus datus decreto decurionem* records the practice in some parts of the empire.⁸⁶⁵ There are two inscriptions from Roman Britain that record a decree, but otherwise the process is not clear.⁸⁶⁶

There are, however, examples of local honorific or dedicatory monuments. We have already encountered Jupiter columns, highly visible dedications in the visual landscape of the Rhineland provinces, often vowed and set up by individuals. The arch of Dativius Victor in Mainz is another good example of a monument set up by an individual, but of a different

⁸⁶⁰ *RIB* no. 288.

⁸⁶¹ *RIB* nos 1672, 1673, 3376.

⁸⁶² *RIB* nos 1700 and 3503 respectively.

⁸⁶³ *RIB* no. 1616.

⁸⁶⁴ *RIB* no. 899.

⁸⁶⁵ Zimmer 1989.

⁸⁶⁶ *RIB* nos 311 and 1616.

type.⁸⁶⁷ He is mentioned in the inscription as the *decurio* of the *civitas Taunensium* (Nida, modern Frankfurt-Heddernheim, again reinforcing this local dimension), as well as being a provincial priest of the imperial cult.⁸⁶⁸ Blocks of the relief carving, dated to the mid third century, were found reused in the fourth-century city wall near Gautor, but have been reconstructed to form the slim, single-span arch which might have led to the portico that Dativius Victor also funded. The decoration includes vegetal motifs and pilasters to each side, with the personified seasons in their capitals. The images for the signs of the zodiac are carved across the archivolt, Jupiter and Juno on the keystone. Other gods and priest occupy the spandrels and the façade. Dedicated to Jupiter Conservator, the monument's intentions as a civic benefaction recorded in the inscription are combined with the religious dedication both to Jupiter and in honour of the imperial dynasty, while the sculptural programme relates to cosmology and religious practice. It is a votive monument, with elements of iconography and arrangement perhaps inspired by local Mithraic sculpture.⁸⁶⁹ That the monument was completed by his sons and heirs, adds a layer of honorific intention on their part. It also reconceives the monument as funerary, recalling Germanicus' honours set out in the *Tabula Siarensis* or indeed the arch of Titus in Rome. This should be considered a votive arch, perhaps comparable to that dedicated to Mars, Apollo and Minerva at Vindonissa or to Jupiter at Geneva.⁸⁷⁰ However, the choice of an arch for this monument employs a potent symbol of imperialistic architecture, though it had long been adapted to explore its votive potential, from the Republican period.⁸⁷¹ In its combination of deities and local adaptation of an 'imperial' form, this monument can be related to those other locally-malleable votives which employ

⁸⁶⁷ *CSIR* De II.3, no. 94, now in Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 685. Figure 8.1 below. See also Frenz 1981.

⁸⁶⁸ *CIL* XIII, no. 6705. It also provides evidence of the movements of an official, perhaps in the course of his duties.

⁸⁶⁹ Cassibry 2009, 60-70.

⁸⁷⁰ *CIL* XIII, no. 5195 and *CIL* XII, no. 2590.

⁸⁷¹ Kontokosta 2013.

classical iconography and monumental practice, and were dedicated by decurions, especially Jupiter columns mentioned above.



Figure 8.1: The arch of Dativius Victor at Mainz. Landesmuseum, Mainz, inv. no. S 685.

The London arch and screen of gods offer further examples of detailed carved monuments, though this time without any details of the individual or group who paid for the sculpture since inscriptions are missing.⁸⁷² Probably made in the second or early third century, it was dismantled and reused in constructing the mid-to-late-third-century London riverside wall. Foliate decoration, architectural mouldings and pilasters are again found on this monument, as well as roundels with heads, probably of the seasons. A number of deities are recognisable from their attributes and typical portrayals: Minerva, Hercules, Venus, Mars, Mercury, and perhaps Luna, plus two others which cannot be identified, on the arch; Mars, Mercury, Diana,

⁸⁷² Blagg 1980. See Figures 8.2 and 8.3 below.

Vulcan, Minerva, and possibly Ganymede on the screen. The deities from the arch are shown in bust form, along the top, and can be identified as the gods of the days of the week. Though the decoration brings to mind the Porte Noire at Besançon or the Porte de Mars at Reims, again, in the deities shown, if not in the arrangement and the overall form of the monument, we have a close comparator for Jupiter columns.⁸⁷³ The pedestals of *Viergöttersteine* can show deities in niches, while some Jupiter columns include a layer with the busts of the gods of days of the week.⁸⁷⁴ Like those other monuments within the civic environment, these arches adopted and adapted classical forms and iconography in a local context.

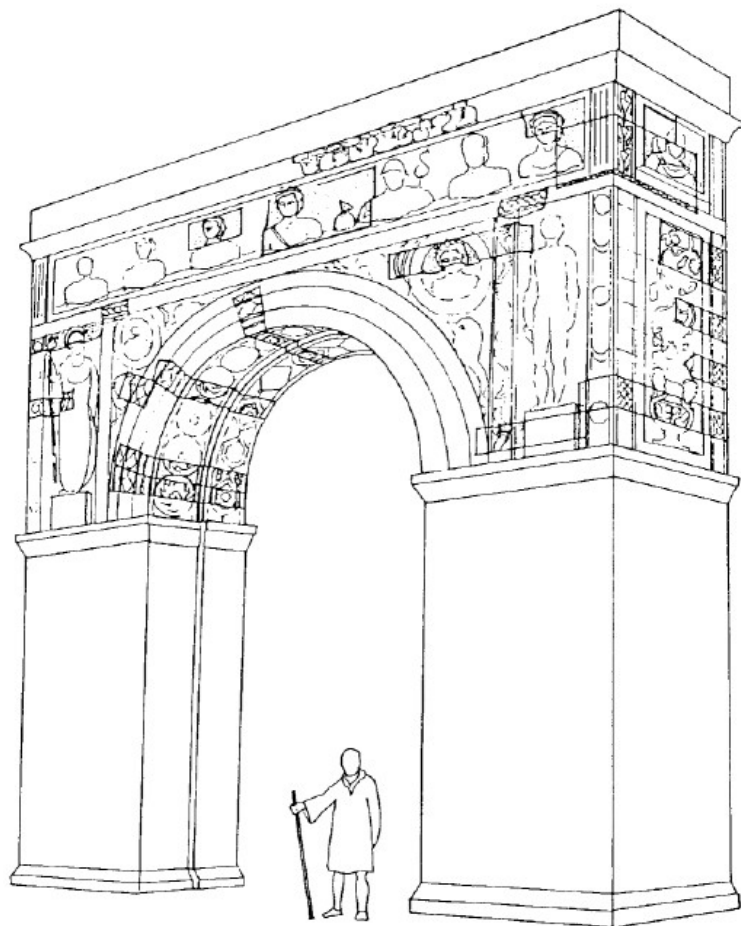


Figure 8.2: Perspective reconstruction of the London monumental arch, showing it as a free-standing structure. Drawn by S. Gibson. From Blagg 1980, 176, Fig. 97.

⁸⁷³ Blagg 1980, 178-9. The discovery of two altars, one which might be to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the other in honour of the divine household, match the subjects of dedications on Jupiter columns: Hassall 1980.

⁸⁷⁴ For instance, *CSIR De II.3*, nos 32 and 59 from Mainz, dating to early – mid third century. See Figure 8.4 below for reconstructed examples from Nida.

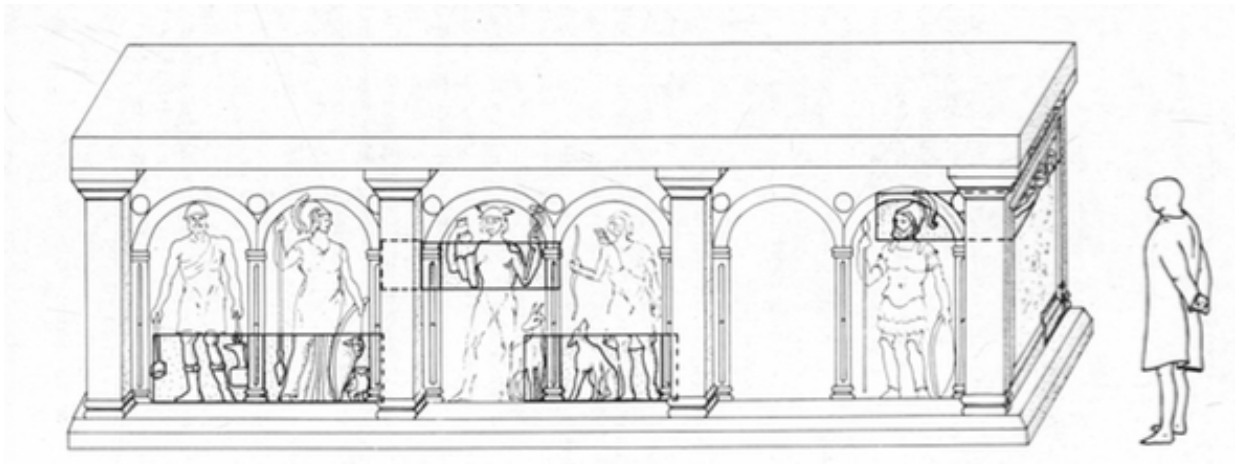


Figure 8.3: Isometric reconstruction of the London Screen of Gods (1:40). By T.F.C. Blagg. From Blagg 1980, 168, Fig. 92



Figure 8.4: Display of Jupiter columns at Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt, showing a selection of monuments, four of which incorporate the Viergötterstein with another register on a multi-faced stone above showing carvings of the deities of days of the week.

Apart from their dedications and benefactions commemorated in inscriptions, individuals of the Roman north-west shown in honorific portraits were not visible in the civic artistic landscape. Inhabitants of the towns here did not participate in elite display in this way; however, they were far from lacking in engagement with elite Roman art more generally. Grave monuments preserved the image of the individuals and presented, but these were located at the edges and surrounding urban sites, rather than within them. Lavish public tombs of local wealthy merchants or veterans are known from Neumagen in the Moselle valley and at Cologne and had a significant local impact.⁸⁷⁵ In the later Roman period especially, large complex mosaics attest to a high degree of interest in typically Roman artistic forms and their use in a private social setting, as well as providing evidence for considerable wealth in rural locations. The allusions to classical literature and Greek myth contained within some mosaics emphasise the participation within the cultural milieu of the empire. For example, the narrative panels of the story of Dido and Aeneas from Virgil's *Aeneid* at Low Ham dating to the mid fourth century indicate the long-lasting impact of that standard of Latin origin myth literature.⁸⁷⁶ The specifics of the language must have been known by those who viewed and understood the couplet on the floor at Lullingstone, next to the depiction of Europa and the bull.⁸⁷⁷ The Orpheus panels from villas in the region around Cirencester dating to the early to mid-fourth century indicated familiarity with aspects of Greek myth. The scene was a common one throughout the empire, but the particular arrangement with Orpheus at the centre and animals parading in concentric circles around him was specific to the Cotswolds. It demonstrates awareness of the appropriate fashions for paved floors, taking inspiration from Greco-Roman mythology and a well-known scene for mosaics. The large pavements at Cologne, showing Dionysiac scenes, from the early third century, the intricate portraits of the

⁸⁷⁵ The monument to the Secundinii family at Igel or that of Ppublicius at Cologne are good examples.

⁸⁷⁶ Cosh and Neal 2005, 253–257.

⁸⁷⁷ Cosh and Neal 2009, 379–385.

Nine Muses at Trier, and the late second and third century gladiator scenes from villas at Nennig, and at Bad Kreuznach further emphasise this, containing images that would be understandable across the empire.⁸⁷⁸

Connections between province and imperial power witnessed in sculpture and image

A final way to consider provincial engagement with and use of Roman art is to examine further the use of the imperial image and other forms that might be considered to have a political purpose. The imperial image was not entirely missing from public view. We have seen in chapter 4 that, when the image of the emperor was used, it appeared to be most often in military environment and on accoutrements, rather than in full-scale statuary in civic settings. The large number of fragments of statues from military areas, though the subject is of course unidentified, might originally have derived from statues of the emperor, located centrally in a fort near the *praetorium* or *principia*. There, the statue would have been the focus for loyalty for soldiers. Many of the fragments appear to come from portraits wearing armour, for instance those at the Saalburg, Bonn, Caerleon and Caerwent. If these are images of the emperor, then the decision was taken to show him wearing the cuirass and military outfit, as someone with whom soldiers could identify.⁸⁷⁹ In civilian places, fragments tend to be of body parts or drapery, though of course it is difficult to recreate the final appearance with much certainty from these scraps.

⁸⁷⁸ Wilson (2015, 518–9) notes the similarity in style to other mosaics of the Rhône valley, suggesting some artistic connection, as well as the similarities between the large pavement at Woodchester in Gloucestershire and that at Trier.

⁸⁷⁹ Fejfer 2008, 403–4.

The presence of the image of the emperor and imperial family on armour or on honours awarded for valour (such as *phalerae*)⁸⁸⁰ suggests the importance of a personal link with soldiers. Different configurations of individuals were shown on these objects, suggesting that deliberate choices over whom to depict were made, perhaps specifically aligned to recent circumstances or relationships to local areas. The political aspects of *phalerae* have been mentioned in chapter 4. Toynbee proposed that these were issued in sets, the different individuals then chosen to reflect the dynasty and organisation of imperial family of the time, though it can be difficult to identify them. The central character from objects in the north-west region in the Julio-Claudian period might be either Tiberius or Caligula, the identification then determining the chronology, the identities of the people on the other *phalerae*, and suggesting their purpose or historical context. If Caligula, these may have been made around the time of the German campaign of AD 39. If, as seems more likely, the main figure is Tiberius, then the death of Drusus in AD 23 has been proposed as the trigger for production of this set. It would make these objects both commemorative for Drusus, as well as a vehicle through which Tiberius introduces his new adoptive heirs (the sons of Germanicus) to the army.⁸⁸¹

Phalerae and military honours would have been worn by a soldier, and are shown on tombstones, clearly marks of honour.⁸⁸² They are known from across the Roman north-west, with imagery including gorgon heads and animals (perhaps related to the identity of the unit),

⁸⁸⁰ One of a number of options for military honours: see Maxfield 1981 for full discussion.

⁸⁸¹ See discussion of identifications in Toynbee 1955 and Harden 1972, 353.

⁸⁸² For example, the tombstone of M. Caelius, from the Fürstenberg between Birten and Xanten AD 17, *CSIR De III.1*, no. 1, now in LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. U 92; C. Marius, eques of *legio I*, Bonn, *CSIR De III.1*, no. 16, now in LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. A 1388. Tacitus mentions display of *phalerae*: Tacitus, *History*, II.49. Note that decorative horse harnesses were also called *phalerae*.

as well as the imperial family.⁸⁸³ They were awarded by the victorious general, which in imperial provinces usually meant the emperor as ultimate authority, generals or governors acting as his delegate, and were available primarily to the legions rather than auxiliaries. Whether the recipients would have understood the Julio-Claudian family politics represented is not clear, neither is the manufacturing process: these might be locally inspired or produced elsewhere, and it is not known how the image was chosen or by whom. Nonetheless, the choice of imagery of members of the imperial family and direct allusion to succession or campaigns built a relationship between the individuals at the centre of Roman power and serving soldiers conquering new territory, further emphasised by the use of these images on the rewards issued to the army for their valour.

Turning now to consider images on a larger scale to compare choices of appearance further, it would appear that, in the north-west, monuments or public statues were imposed upon new settlements or in strategic parts of the province probably by the provincial government. They do not seem to represent a local response to imperial benefaction or confirm loyalty in the way that honorific imperial images typically did. Evidence for their final forms and information on who set them up no longer survives, allowing some debate over the intentions of the patrons, but the statues at Waldgirmes, the *quadrifrons* at Richborough, and the first-century carvings from the sanctuary complex at Bath offer useful examples to demonstrate this from the civic, military and religious spheres.

The gilded equestrian statue and the statue bases at Waldgirmes in Hesse, mentioned in chapter 4 above, were set up very swiftly after the foundation of the new settlement, as shown by their presence despite the short time between the establishment and the abandonment of

⁸⁸³ For instance, the silver-plated discs from Lauersfort near Krefeld (Maxfield 1981, 94-5, pl. 15). The awards were often made of precious metal.

the site in the Augustan period.⁸⁸⁴ Statues were clearly an important feature of the new civic area. The equally careful removal and deposition of parts of the statue in a well beneath several large quern stones emphasises the power that was invested in the figure. High-quality statuary was evidently considered an important feature of a newly-founded settlement, and its removal was equally critical. While the Augustan-period remains at Waldgirmes have the hallmarks of the military and soldiers could have constructed them, the layout also includes residential areas and a stone-floored forum building suggestive of civilian use.⁸⁸⁵ The use of large sculptures in a civic space early in a town's history suggests not the work of the local population, but that of those establishing the town and of the new townsfolk.⁸⁸⁶

At Richborough, a large *quadrifrons* arch, of which only the foundations and fragments of marble facing remain, was constructed at the start of Watling Street, perhaps as the 'gateway to Britain'.⁸⁸⁷ It was probably constructed at the end of the first century or early second century, its size suggesting it was conceived as a major work, which has been historically associated with triumphal victory over Britain (perhaps by Agricola in the 80s AD) or other provinces, or perhaps even Hadrian's *adventus* in AD 122.⁸⁸⁸ Clad in almost 400 tonnes of white luna marble, this is a monument probably resourced and inspired by the state, not a local endeavour.⁸⁸⁹ Very little remains of the sculptural decoration to propose a schema,

⁸⁸⁴ Rasbach 2015.

⁸⁸⁵ Roymans 2004, 199 argues strongly for this. However, his assertion that the discovery of native pottery means there were natives living there is not persuasive: it could simply provide evidence for local supply of goods useful to the new inhabitants. Becker and Rasbach 2015 consider the status of the town.

⁸⁸⁶ Little of the iconography remains, but roundels on the horse's head contain small figures of Victory and Mars, personifications associated with military conquest: Rasbach 2015, 329–330. A statue of Mars was also found at the site.

⁸⁸⁷ Andrews *et al.* (2015, 358–363) note the imposition of a more dominant structure on local Kent society in the first century, as well as the locally-specific trajectory of rural development.

⁸⁸⁸ *CSIR GB I.10*, 72–4. New work by Philip Smither suggests a mid-second century date, maybe Hadrianic or Antonine: *personal comment*. My thanks to Philip for this discussion.

⁸⁸⁹ Strong 1968 provides full details and discussion.

beyond the use of mouldings and pilasters shown on pieces that remain. Surviving fragments of gilded bronze might be part of a statue that surmounted the monument, as were probably seen on other arches.

At Bath, the elements of the late Neronian or early Flavian period temple pediment have been discussed by several scholars.⁸⁹⁰ Most recently, Cousins identified highly ‘Roman’ and ‘imperial’ motifs on the relief: the Victories on globes as symbols of imperial might, oak wreaths as insignia of power, a star signifying a divine emperor or king, and most importantly the Gorgon face as related to *clipei* of public and sacred sites from Gaul and Spain, deriving ultimately from images used in the Forum of Augustus and symbolic of the Roman empire.⁸⁹¹ While this could be understood as heralding the dawn of a new era brought in by supporters of Rome from within the province,⁸⁹² Cousins suggests the carvings are better explained as instigated by those associated with the provincial government, at least at the sanctuary’s foundation.⁸⁹³ Either way, the visual programme is one of military victory and dominance over the sacred space, aligning the monument with political imperialistic intentions.

Roymans has offered further nuance to the relationships between the local and imperial that such monuments represent. He viewed the establishment of statues or monuments as statements of new ownership or ceding of land, and successful conquest, but also reflected on them as ‘monuments to the pact’, signifying the arrangements made between locals and the Roman army.⁸⁹⁴ This derived from Tacitus’ description of some of the larger monuments in

⁸⁹⁰ For instance, Richmond and Toynbee 1955; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 115–6; Henig 1999.

⁸⁹¹ Cousins 2020, 78–90.

⁸⁹² As proposed by Henig 1999.

⁸⁹³ Cousins 2020, 91. She highlights that the votive evidence suggests an evolving, complex history of integration and cultural negotiation at the sanctuary site through its functional life, not just a long-lasting symbol of domination.

⁸⁹⁴ Roymans 2004, 211.

the territory of the Lingones tribe as *foederis Romani monumentis*.⁸⁹⁵ The head of Julius Caesar and the column of Tiberius at Nijmegen could then be interpreted as locally-erected, public memorials that symbolised the pre-Flavian pact between the tribe and Rome, demonstrating agreement and loyalty. Roymans concurs with Panhuysen that the Nijmegen column was set up by the elite of the *Batavii*, but that the ‘deliberately chosen series of images of gods and personifications’, including a figure of emperor Tiberius being crowned by Victory as he makes a libation on an altar, ‘expressed the emperor’s all-encompassing power’.⁸⁹⁶ It is both civic and religious, but not necessarily connected to the Imperial cult as Panhuysen suggested. This reading emphasises the role of the local elite in forging relationships by setting up such monuments, and similar columns such as the Pillar of the *Nautae* from Paris and the Neronian Jupiter column at Mainz can be seen in this way.⁸⁹⁷ Perhaps we should even read the dedications made by communities and *civitates* mentioned above, and perhaps the Bath pediment too, as statements of loyalty by local elite with considerable local agency. It is striking, however, that each of these monuments adopts the universal iconography of imperialism, together with local adaptations tailored to the setting.

The monuments considered thus far have been described as both civic and religious. One final example in which the sacred and political were combined and through which local populations were connected to imperial power was through the ‘imperial cult’.⁸⁹⁸ The establishment of major temple and cult sites was not only a religious undertaking, but also acted as a centre for provincial government, constructing the *concilium*. The three centres of the ‘imperial cult’ in

⁸⁹⁵ Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.67: ‘*Interea Iulius Sabinus proiectis foederis Romani monumentis Caesarem se salutary iubet magnamque et inconditam popularium turbam in Sequanos rapit, conterminam civitatem et nobis fidam; nec Sequani detractavere certamen.*’

⁸⁹⁶ Roymans 2004, 216.

⁸⁹⁷ For these monuments see Lavagne 1984 and *CSIR* De II.3.

⁸⁹⁸ The imperial cult was highly variable across the empire. Its consistency was in the placement of the emperor as the focus of religious loyalty. See Beard *et al.* 1998, 318, 348.

Gaul, Germania and Britannia (Lyon, Cologne and Colchester) were all *coloniae* with particular civic and legal status.⁸⁹⁹ Priesthoods were an important way that local elites were co-opted into the service of Rome,⁹⁰⁰ and Fishwick has suggested that dedications to the *numen Augusti* or the *domus divina*, together with the establishment of the altar and temple at Colchester, comprised a cult worship focused on the emperor that ‘in a raw and uncivilized province...was indispensable for swift and effective Romanization’.⁹⁰¹ Tacitus records that locals viewed the temple at Colchester ‘a citadel of everlasting domination’.⁹⁰² The extent to which an ‘imperial cult’ was imposed by the Roman state and a deliberate instrument of culture change is debatable; the willingness of locals to participate was important for its development. Either way, however, dedications for the well-being of or in honour of the emperor or his *numen* were combined with local social or political groupings that associated local areas with the centre of imperial power. Cousins has shown the association between *regionarii* and dedications to the emperor, linking loyalty to the imperial power with local geography,⁹⁰³ while Woolf noted a similar kind of approach in Gaul. There, the deities of civic centres or the *pagi* were petitioned alongside the emperor, associating space and social groupings with and within the empire in a way that was not only confined to this region: ‘this pattern of public cults conducted at the city, with the participation of sub-divisions of the state and incorporating elements of imperial cult, can be attested throughout the empire.’⁹⁰⁴ In an analysis of the use of *pro salute* formulation on altars dedicated at Bath, Cousins also shows that almost every instance is connected to the welfare of the emperor or the army or both.⁹⁰⁵ Even altars dedicated by freedmen to their former master use this structure. Soldiers and their

⁸⁹⁹ Fishwick 2004, 185–6, 198–201, 211–9.

⁹⁰⁰ Beard *et al.* 1998, 359. There is, however, minimal evidence for priests in Britain: Birley 1979, 122.

⁹⁰¹ Fishwick 1961, 171.

⁹⁰² Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.31.

⁹⁰³ Cousins 2020, 95–100.

⁹⁰⁴ Woolf 1998, 224.

⁹⁰⁵ Cousins 2020, 103.

dependents, and local inhabitants of towns and *pagi*, use religious dedications to place themselves within the socio-political structure.

Returning now to another of the cases studies above, the artistic representations of auxiliary soldiers after death examined in chapter 2, the choice of iconography, when viewed in a socio-political light, can be shown as constructing identity in an imperial context. Auxiliary cavalry, who derived from tribes that might be considered ‘barbarians’ when compared to Roman citizens and troops, are depicted as conquerors of just those barbarians on their *stelae* after death. These barbarians were shown realistically, with appropriate shields and equipment for the places in which the images were set up.⁹⁰⁶ On the other hand, they reduce the conquered to a squirming ‘everyfoe’, shown naked and hairy, in contrast to the equipped and clean-shaven soldier. The inclusion of this fallen foe figure is more popular in Britain, less so in the Rhineland, and was explained above as related to the Roman conception of Britain as rough, barbaric and at the edges of the civilised world. The metaphorical victory over death took on heightened meaning here. Reading these images through a socio-political lens, contextualising them in the wider empire, it could be proposed that making statements about the cavalryman’s place in the military world of the empire was more urgent and important in Britain than in Germany, and that the iconography responded to particular needs of the time and the desire for individuals or units to be inserted into Roman military accomplishment.

Conclusions

This chapter has offered a necessarily brief consideration of the impact of socio-political issues on the appearance and use of Roman sculpture in the north-west. While further

⁹⁰⁶ Hunter 2009.

consideration would be valuable to develop these thoughts and conclusions further, it has, however, been possible to identify relationships of local places and certain social groups with the Roman world and to set choices over the forms of sculpture within the context of negotiations of space and status. We have seen in this chapter constructions of group identity and individual identity, and the benefits of considering and interpreting artistic choices within a wider imperialistic context. Sculpture provided an aesthetic dialogue with the imperial centre, as well as defining local and regional interests.

Very generally, then, it has been possible to identify a focus on relationships between the state and the military, and visual language of imperialism, in the early Roman period in the north-west. The ties between province and central power were strongest through the army at this time. Local adoption and adaptation developed through the mid-Roman period, with individuals' place in the empire becoming clearer through use of public monuments in the second and third centuries. Elite competition and displays of wealth or benefaction were not focused on civic centres but the understanding of the culture from other parts of the empire is clear from the use of mosaic pavements in large villas of the third and fourth centuries.⁹⁰⁷

Each of the case studies, and the artistic choices they represent, can also be reconsidered through the socio-political lens: auxiliary soldiers establishing place and honour in the new structure; *matronae* and *matres* used classical iconography coupled with ties to local place and were petitioned as protectors in their communities; while choices in appearance of imperial portraits reflect local preference but also show considerably greater consistency over

⁹⁰⁷ Blagg (1981, 174, 185) notes change in architectural benefactions from public building to ornamenting private buildings and greater patronage for rural communities in the third century.

time and space than either of the other case studies owing to the socio-political and honorific imperative for the right image to be used.

It is not always clear whose visual strategy we are identifying, or how ‘imperial artwork’ would have been received,⁹⁰⁸ and integration with other archaeological evidence is needed to further consider the broad thesis above. Consideration of development of local and regional groups has been completed for Gaul and for Germania Inferior in the first century in particular.⁹⁰⁹ The conclusions and issues of this chapter speak to the wider debate of the changing nature of culture and the developing socio-political dynamics of the north-west when people in this region encountered and interacted with the Roman world, and especially when this territory was annexed to the empire. Millett proposed in his seminal work that the elite populations of Britain drove the desire for and adoption of ‘Roman’ culture,⁹¹⁰ and the careers of men like C. Julius Classicianus, the Gallic nobleman who became imperial procurator of Britain in the AD 60s and whose tomb monument took the form of a bolstered altar, provide support for this.⁹¹¹ Elsewhere, he proposed that the aristocracy were interested as social power was reinforced by link to Rome, and so the elite used material culture as competitive mechanism.⁹¹² Interactions between subjects and emperor related to governmental aspects tended to be in the form of ‘petition and response’, rather than the enactment of a central political strategy, and these specific contacts between emperor and subject constructed a social system.⁹¹³ However, Mattingly for Britain and recently Roymans *et al.* for Germania Inferior have emphasised the significant, local impacts of exploitative

⁹⁰⁸ Ando 2000, 303–335 considers this point and the role of the visual in determining the geography of the Roman world.

⁹⁰⁹ Woolf 1998; Derks 1998; Roymans 2004; Derks and Roymans 2011.

⁹¹⁰ Millett 1990a.

⁹¹¹ For Classicianus’ tomb monument, see *CSIR* GB I.10, no. 82.

⁹¹² Millett 1990b.

⁹¹³ Millar 1977, 6–11.

Roman imperialism.⁹¹⁴ I do not wish to pronounce on this debate, and it is not necessary to understand this as a binary choice. From viewing the sculptural output, it can be concluded that choices of iconography and the fact that some forms such as honorific portraits were not taken up in this region, as well as the variability over time and space within this area, indicate that Roman culture (as shown by use and appearance of sculpture) was not a wholesale package. Its inherent flexibility allowed transmission of those elements that were relevant, and adaptation when required. The north-west was not a backwater of Roman culture; sculpture was selectively adopted and developed to meet the needs of the populations in specific places at specific times. The art of the Roman empire became historically meaningful and enabled the patrons and viewers in the north-west to place themselves within its world, making sense of social structures, justifying and ordering their existence and actions, or constructing identity anew.⁹¹⁵

⁹¹⁴ Mattingly 2006; Roymans *et al.* 2020.

⁹¹⁵ Ando 2000, 211; Geertz 1983, 124.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis was to understand the sculptural culture of the north-west by looking across provincial boundaries and comparing the similarities and differences in use and appearance of sculpture between Britain and Germany. Detailed conclusions have been presented at the end of each chapter, but the original research question will be answered, overarching themes will be drawn out, and suggestions for further work advanced here.

The short answer to the primary research question, why did Roman sculpture in Britain and Germany look similar but not the same, is because local circumstances both required and allowed consistency and variance to different degrees over time. The main emerging theme, in the case studies but especially in the second part of this thesis with analysis across all three types, has been the extent to which local preferences or circumstances played a role in the adaptation of sculptural forms and styles in this region.

The factors that affected this were to an extent intrinsic and contingent on the choice to use classical naturalism and Hellenistic and Roman forms. Employing and exploiting the ‘technology’ of classical form represented in part a semantic choice, which would have created or evoked an effect, association or response amongst viewers of the images.⁹¹⁶ The combination of tradition and versatility inherent in naturalism ensured that motifs could be utilised and understood, but also adapted to and redefined in new contexts, presumably communicating combinations of meanings. Representation of deities with standard attributes and as human figures also allowed them to be replicated and recognised across a wide area with great consistency. This replication was locally adaptable, the stability of the motif or

⁹¹⁶ As Stewart, forthcoming, has considered for religious images. See Hölscher 2004 for discussion of semantics or a language of Roman art.

schema to be found in the essentials or reduction of the types. The consistency in the essential elements of Mother Goddesses images, the three women shown seated, wearing long clothing and carrying a basket of fruit or bread or with another attribute that suggested abundance, achieved the right personification everywhere. Local adaptations ensured the figures remained relevant to the new areas: local Germanic dress was not used for images in Britain for instance. Rider reliefs too could be tailored to commemorate individuals, while retaining the essence of the type and communicating a consistent sense of valour to the viewer. However, imperial portraits used for large-scale statuary remained broadly similar across this region, apparent variance caused by the dominance of bronze in the surviving pieces. The reasons for this related to the expected prestige and honour conferred by setting up a portrait, which would not be achieved by using the 'wrong' image that did not conform to the expected type. Yet, other kinds of interaction with the emperor or the empire in sculpture, were adapted in the north-west, reflecting and establishing people's place within the Roman world at different times. The economic, social and political context of sculpture was highly relevant to its use and appearance and could affect it in specific ways.

It would appear that the primary agents of change and bringers of new sculptural forms were soldiers, partly because they were the social group in the north-west that appeared to invest in sculpture more than others. Of course, not all soldiers were the same, the army not a homogenous cultural group, and the archaeological evidence can give a greater impression of conformity than there might have been in reality. However, it would appear that connections of trade routes, local mobility of craftsmen, and movements of officials played a smaller or less visible role.

The main contribution that this thesis makes to study of Roman sculpture in the north-west provinces is to show that local circumstances greatly impacted its appearance and use. By

taking the objects on their own terms, setting aside theories, well-known historically pejorative perspective, and even the post-colonial assertion of the quality of local art, and by comparing them across the north-west, it has been possible to understand better the granular details that led to similarities and differences. This cannot be explained by a single overarching theory or hypothesis.

It has also been possible to consider the place of the sculpture of the north-west within the Roman empire as a whole. Transmission of sculptural forms seen in northern Italy has shown again that fashions from other areas did arrive here, and relatively swiftly after conquest. This can be confirmed by integrating these examples with other studies, such as of the *Totenmahl* tombstones. The north-west participated in and shared common iconographic elements with other parts of the Roman world, but as was the case elsewhere, these were made relevant to the specific local environment. In its variations against consistent forms, its adaptation to social context, the sculpture of the north-west is comparable to other regions of the empire.

The work presented here has also prompted further questions that point the way to further study. Topics that seem to offer potential for productive further work include:

- Analysis of details of army movements: chapter 5 indicated the potential to discover the detail of cultural interactions by focusing on soldiers as agents of change. It would be useful to focus on how this operated for specific units, using one or two legions, perhaps *legio XX* or *legio II*, as examples, since these legions served across the north-west region in the Rhineland and in Britain. This might allow greater understanding of the specific processes for acquiring, supplying and carving statuary, set out in chapters 5 and 6. These processes are otherwise difficult to reconstruct, and it has not been possible to present a general case or approach from the evidence.

- Wider comparison of other parts of the north-west, for instance Gallia Belgica, southern Gaul, and the Danube region. Useful comparisons could be found for Mother Goddess figures in the corpus from Gallia Belgica and a few more imperial portraits were known at Trier. This province also combines *limes* with rural settlements and important towns in a similar way to Britain, offering a further location in which to test these conclusions. Similar sculptural forms are seen on the Danube and again this region is heavily militarised, allowing consideration of the agency of soldiers and the variation in army sculptural culture within different local settings. Connections to southern Gaul appear to have been possible through mercantile relationships and similar religious forms can be found there too. Understanding the details of these connections to the Mediterranean would again allow the north-west to be located within the artistic output of the empire as a whole and definitions of ‘provincial’ to be analysed and compared.
- Comparison with another, more distant region of the Roman empire would allow examination of the interaction of global and local in other areas and observations of how it played out there. McCarty’s work suggests that North Africa might be a good choice. Another useful case study type to add to the wider picture would be Mithraic sculpture, which shows a high degree of consistency as well as local variation.

The final test for this thesis and the material presented here is to examine whether it has been possible to transcend provincial boundaries: if shown an unknown example of one of these case study types, would it be possible to tell from which of the north-west provinces it originated? I think yes, it would be. The appearance of the German rider reliefs or Mother Goddesses was different from those in Britain; only imperial portraits remained consistent in their adherence to known types, though the reliance on bronze might mark them out as

provincial. Yet, this is an illusion. Centres of production and use of sculpture, such as Bonn and Mainz, dominate these areas. The distinction is not Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, or Britannia, but between the important forts and settlements within them. Differences and similarities that appear to be provincial were the product of specific local interactions, requirements, circumstances, and supply, and local centres of production and of cultural gravity dominated.

Going further, the processes by which these local circumstances or interactions accumulated and evolved into regional traditions from their inception were also specific, time bound and not inevitable. The development of such traditions relied both upon a shared understanding of and relevance placed on the meaning of the images and choice of motifs, and also on the degree of contact or opportunities for circulating and replicating such ideas. Local and regional are geographic concepts of space, and while proximity or contacts played a role in developing regional forms and embedding traditions, so too did a notion of shared cultural community and desire to participate in it, such as that found in parts of the Roman army or the socio-political importance of a tradition of honorific portraiture, which might transcend physical geography in different ways at different times. In addition, the ability of makers to produce images and uphold nascent traditions, the dissemination of preferred technique and development of appropriate skill, and the availability and supply of raw materials to realise the creation of images in stone or bronze, all contributed to the development of notional regions or 'geographies' of art. These regions may not have been consciously created or identifiable to those living in the Roman north-west, but understanding their constitution and development in modern research allows us to appreciate how local aspects interacted. By looking beyond the distinctions of provincial boundaries, and instead problematising and reconsidering the varying impacts of local, regional and imperial (and definitions of these terms) on the appearance and use of Roman sculpture by analysing it on its own terms, as this

thesis and some previous work has, a new conceptual framework for understanding provincial Roman culture and society has begun to emerge.

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Appendix

A note on the appendix

The following appendix catalogues the objects relating to the three case study types from the three provinces of Britannia, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior. It is arranged by type and then geographically, since find spot is often the most certain detail about the objects. The items listed here are cross-referenced in the text where relevant.

It has not always been possible to make definitive identifications and know whether pieces should be included, and this catalogue generally takes a broad definition of the types. The motif for the horse and rider reliefs is relatively well-defined, but a few reliefs that can be identified as votive stones have been omitted. Figural representations of Mother Goddesses are included but plain or otherwise decorated altars without an image of the deities are not, since the iconography of the deities was of particular interest for this study. Some goddesses are included where the identification is not secure, for instance Cuda in the Cotswolds and a possible figure of Nehalennia. Portrait heads are easier to define, though they cannot always be identified as imperial. A wide net has been cast to include bronze and stone fragments which could be from life-size statues. It is possible that some of these might originally have been from figures of deities or other people, but where their size and finish make them likely to be imperial they have been included.

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
RR 1	Britannia	Rider relief	Tombstone of Flavinus, Signifer of the Ala Petriana, from the turma of Candidus, died at 25 after 7 years of service. Rider carries the standard with circular imago on top in R hand; sword at waist, torc around his neck, three big feathers in helmet, shield in L hand. Horse wears circular trappings and straps. 'Barbarian' curled, lying contorted and prone, with thick tousled hair and beard.	70s-90s AD	H: 264cm; W: 95cm; D: 26cm	Sandstone	Found in foundations of Hexham Abbey during excavation in 1881; perhaps from Corbridge and reused.	Hexham Abbey, South transept	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.1, no. 68; <i>RIB</i> 1172; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 77
RR 2	Britannia	Rider relief	Broken fragment, showing only the body of the 'barbarian' and a hoof of the horse. Barbarian lies to the L, propped on his R arm to face the viewer. A rectangular shield with round boss lies to the L. His L hand is on his side, trying to pull a spear out. Naked but for horned helmet. Allason-Jones (2018, 252) suggests this might come from the kind of scene seen on the Bridgess distance slabs, rather than a tombstone. The <i>ala Pannoniorum Sabiniana</i> was based at Halton Chesters, but not until the 3rd and 4th century, later than this piece.	Philips suggested 2nd - 3rd century, but probably at the earlier end based on the type	H: 38.8cm; W: 55cm; D: 16.8cm	Local buff sandstone	Found at Halton Castle, c. 1908, from Halton Chesters	Chesters Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.1, no. 259
RR 3	Britannia	Rider relief	Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, son of Manteius, from Caurium, trooper of the Ala Vettonum, aged 46, after 26 years service. Only lower part remains, showing the lower leg of the rider and horse, with barbarian lying on his back beneath the horse and rider.	70s-80s AD	H: 155cm; W: 93cm; D: 18cm	Limestone from the south Cotswolds, Bath region (Hayward 2009)	Old Market Place, Bath	Roman Baths Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.2, no. 44; <i>RIB</i> 159; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 69
RR 4	Britannia	Rider relief	Figure within a niche with rounded top, surmounted by a triangular gable with a flower and foliate spray acroteria above the angles of the gable. Man rides to the R turning 3/4 with lance held aloft, pointing down in his R hand, L arm raised as if urging horse on. Horse wears bridle.	Late 1st century	H: 69cm; W: 74cm; D: 18cm	Oolitic limestone	Grosvenor Gardens, Bath	Roman Baths Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.2, no. 45
RR 5	Britannia	Rider relief	Basic aedicule with crosses at the spandrels and plain pilasters at each side; framed with space for inscription, dedicated to Marcus Aurelius Victor, aged 50. Rider charging R, but no fallen foe; carries short sword held aloft and not a lance pointed down. All 4 legs of horse shown, but front 2 are in same/similar plane rather than one behind another, same for ears. Some mistakes or carelessness in cutting – horse head has groove by muzzle. Very unlike the usual type, perhaps for a muleteer?	Antonine or later, according to the name of the deceased – perhaps 3rd century?	H: 122cm; W: 81cm; D: 16cm	Buff sandstone	Probably Chesters, but seen in 1708 with no find spot recorded	Great North Museum, Hancock	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.6, no. 191; <i>RIB</i> 1481; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 68
RR 6	Britannia	Rider relief	Flat panel, no border, but surmounted by triangular-ish pediment with ?floral centre. Stylised and static man facing front, horse to right but almost 3/4 on; man holds shield flat back in L hand which encroaches on the border, lance in R, which is broken from the front of the stone. Barbarian lying on side, back to the viewer, left knee raised, probably naked.	Late 1st - early 2nd century, based on use of <i>DM</i> formula	H: 95cm; W: 54cm; D: 14cm	Local red sandstone	Found in wall of Stanwix church 1787; had been at Netherhall. Erroneously assigned to Maryport in the past.	Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.6, no. 231; <i>RIB</i> 2030; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 80
RR 7	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Sextus Valerius Genialis of the Frisiauones, trooper in the ala I Thracum for 20 years, died aged 40, set up by his heirs. Columns (?corinthian) either side of recessed niche surmounted by triangular pediment, within which two leaves horizontal and a central flower. Horse rearing over prostrate figure, wearing straps and ornate halter, both forelegs raised and carefully shown; rider points lance down in R hand. On his L arm he carries his hexagonal shield. Between the shield and his left arm are interposed the staff and decorated head of a standard. Probably wearing parade armour rather than for battle. Careful rendering of hair and mail under sleeve of the rider. Barbarian on his back, with L leg bent up, face rolling towards viewer, shaggy long hair. Rectangular shield next to him face down	AD 43 - early 70s	H: 210cm; W: 81cm; D: 24cm	Limestone: either Bibury stone, Oxfordshire, or Combe Down Oolite (Hayward 2009)	Watermoor area, Cirencester, in 1836	Corinium Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.7, no. 137; <i>RIB</i> 109; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 75
RR 8	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Dannaicus of the Raurici, a trooper in Albanus' turma of the ala Indiana, stone set up by Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus. Rough gabled surround. Horse too small for the rider; forelegs just off the ground, but not rearing very high; rider turns a little to the viewer and holds lance downwards in R hand. Horse seems to have some strappings on hindquarters. Rider has 'bouffant' hair or large helmet. Barbarian lying on ground, legs slightly bent, seems to be facing the viewer, L arm extended up	AD 43 - early 70s	H: 108cm; W: 78cm; D: 27cm	Limestone: either Bibury stone, Oxfordshire, or Combe Down Oolite (Hayward 2009)	Watermoor area, Cirencester, 1835, 90-100m SE of the south gate of Corinium	Corinium Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.7, no. 138; <i>RIB</i> 108; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 74
RR 9	Britannia	Rider relief	Just a hand remains	Probably 1st century	H: 9cm; W: 12.5cm; D: 6cm	Oolitic limestone	Found in the garden of no.107 Watermoor Road, Cirencester 1950	Corinium Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.7, no.139
RR 10	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Rufus Sita, trooper in cohorts VI Thracum for 22 years, died aged 40, stone set up by his heirs. Simple surround topped with lions flanking a central sphinx that stare forwards to the viewer. Small horse rears with forelegs almost straight out horizontal, some strappings across hindquarters and chest, and reins but no bridle shown. Rider leans slightly forwards, carrying long sword and lance pointed downwards, square/rectangular shield on L arm. Barbarian lying on his back, the fallen enemy seems to float in mid air, though has R arm raised with sword as though defending himself, and L arm also up.	50s-80 AD	H: 145cm; W: 79cm; D: 14cm	Painswick stone, Gloucestershire	Gloucester. Found at Wootton in the Roman Military cemetery by Ermine Street, Gloucester, with <i>RIB</i> 122, about 1.2km ENE of the N gate of the colonia near intersection of London Rd and Denmark Rd (Ermine St). Two moulded pedestals found nearby.	Gloucester City Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.7, no.140; <i>RIB</i> 121; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 79
RR 11	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Longinus Sdapeze, son of Matycus, from Sardica (modern Sophia, Bulgaria), a duplicarius of the ala I Thracum, served for 15 years, died aged 40, stone set up by his heirs. Simple curved recessed niche, topped with crawling lions each curled round by a snake which is held underneath a paw, and a sphinx. Rider wears close fitting trousers, scale pattern armour/cuirass, and a hemispherical helmet. Carries an oval shield and probably had a spear of metal attached via a dowel hole in the R hand. Horse is small and stocky, with straps horizontal across body and rosettes on hindquarters and front. Shaggy-haired barbarian lies under the horse, curled into a ball with his back uppermost. He appears to be naked, and his face has animal-like features, and he seems to be shown almost in birds eye view.	AD 43-49	H: 239cm; W: 76cm; D: 26cm	Painswick stone, Gloucestershire	Cemetery area to SW of the colonia at Colchester, 1928. Found face down and without the face, which was later rediscovered on same site and reattached. Colchester	Castle Museum, Colchester, inv. no. COLEM 1928.345.	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.8, no.48; <i>RIB</i> 201; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 76
RR 12	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Gaius Julius Severus, eques in <i>legio XX Valeria Victrix</i> , died aged 40. Simple recessed panel background. Broken across the relief and below. At the bottom of the broken panel survive the forelegs and one hind hoof of a horse moving to the right. Rough outline of a prostrate barbarian lies trampled beneath the horse's front hooves	Henig proposed 2nd - early 3rd century; probably at the earlier end of that range based on the type and use of DM.	H: 68cm; W: 64cm; D: 18cm	Sandstone	North wall (west), Chester 1890	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no.36; <i>RIB</i> 499; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 70

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
RR 13	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Marcus Valerius Martialis, son of Marcus of Claudian voting tribe. Figure would have been within recessed panel, but only the rear hooves of the horse and tip of the tail remain, with top two lines of inscription from die below.	Henig proposed 2nd - early 3rd century; probably at the earlier end of that range based on the type	H: 58cm; W: 97cm; D: 23cm	Sandstone	North wall (west), Chester 1891	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no.48; <i>RIB</i> 541
RR 14	Britannia	Rider relief	Sextus Simil[...] son of Sextus of the Fabian voting tribe, from Brixia (modern Brescia, North Italy). A rectangular panel contains the figures in low relief of horse and rider led towards the right by an attendant. Above the panel a little gabled shrine contains a bust of the deceased, and is flanked on either side by a lion devouring a goat's head. The rider holds an oval shield at shoulder level in his left hand. His right hand is vacant. He sits on a small saddle with prominent back and front, resting on a large saddle cloth. His horse is a high-stepper, with well-groomed mane. In front of him is an attendant figure, wearing a pointed hat. Different genre to the other rider tombstones.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 106cm; W: 69cm; D: 20cm	Sandstone	North wall (west), Chester 1891	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no.54; <i>RIB</i> 538; Richmond and Wright no.91; Schliermacher 1984, no. 71
RR 15	Britannia	Rider relief	Square lower with half hexagonal top, thick border around recessed panel with the figures raised in relief. Galloping horse, rider in mail on torso and upper part of legs (<i>lorica squamata</i>), R arm up presumably to brandish a spear, which does not survive. Horse's front legs are raised and rear legs seem to move off the ground too. Rectangular saddle cloth, straps across hindquarters, bridle. Barbarian is naked, lying face down on top of a rectangular/long hexagonal shield. Only D M of the start of the inscription survives.	Henig proposed 2nd - 3rd century, based on the type of mail shirt shown.	H: 92cm; W: 92cm; D: 17cm	Sandstone	North wall (west), Chester 1891	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no. 56; <i>RIB</i> 550; Richmond and Wright no.98; Schliermacher 1984, no. 73
RR 16	Britannia	Rider relief	Only front legs and hoofs of the rear legs of the horse and saddle cloth remain. Barbarian is naked, bearded, shaggy-haired, wearing a baldric, clutches at one of the horse's hind legs, broken spear next to him. He sits, leaning backwards looking up at what would have been the horseman. His legs are fore-shortened, but his torso and face are done in detail. Only D M Liu[...] of the inscription below survives.	Probably early 2nd century based on the type and use of DM	H: 74cm; W: 89cm; D: 17cm	Sandstone	North wall (west), Chester 1890	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no. 57; Richmond and Wright no.99; Schliermacher 1984, no. 72
RR 17	Britannia	Rider relief	Only the rear legs of the horse and the lower part of a leg and saddle blanket, plus end of the scabbard remain of the horse and rider on a fragmentary piece	Mattern suggested 2nd - 3rd century; probably early 2nd century based on the type.	H: 56cm; W: 48cm; D: 19cm	Sandstone	North wall, Chester	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no. 58; Wright and Richmond no.136; Mattern no.61
RR 18	Britannia	Rider relief	Fragment in two pieces. Horseman rides right, but looks to the front, holding a flapping pennant/standard in his L hand, cloak behind him too. Much broken in the middle, but long scabbard hangs by his leg. Horse raises L front leg and R front leg is planted. Helmet thought to be that of the Sarmatian (Hungarian) cavalryman, or could indicate a participant in the Ludus Troiae wearing parade armour. Different style to the rider type.	2nd century?	H: 94cm; W: 84cm; D: 19cm	Sandstone	North wall (west), Chester	Grosvenor Museum, Chester	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no. 59; Richmond and Wright no.137
RR 19	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela of Tiberius Claudius Tirintius, a trooper of the cohorts ? Thracum, died aged 57, now broken. Moulded frame around the inscription, but it has been cut away on the L (broken to the R) to give room for the figures in relief. Horseman gallops over prostrate foe, horse with legs up in vigorous movement. R leg of rider and lower part of horse, with saddle cloth, remains. Fallen foe, lies semi naked but perhaps wearing short trousers, brandishing sword and holding trapezoidal shield with long spine (Celtic form), facing down.	c. AD 60s-80s	H: 102cm; W: 64cm; D: 18cm	Hoar Edge grit	Found in 1783, apparently near blacksmith's shop, north of the Basilica, Wroxeter	Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery, acc. no. SHYMS A/1994/001/4	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.9, no.146; Schliermacher 1984, no. 8
RR 20	Britannia	Rider relief	Scene is contained within a recess surrounded by a plain frame and triangular pediment. Rider holds long lance in his R hand, which actually spears the fallen enemy. Shield in L hand/arm. Sword by his side and cloak at his shoulders, fastened with brooch at the throat. His hair is in striations as though swept back, and probably wearing tunic and mail. Horse wears saddle cloth, bridle and harness, and seems to have just one foot off the ground. The horse's teeth are bared and the tail hangs straight down, only just fitting within the frame. The rider's upper half is the largest element of the relief. Barbarian lies on his back, carrying an oval shield which is flat to the viewer and not protecting him from being skewered by the rider. Legs are bent at the knees and probably wears long trousers. He sits slumped, not fighting back.	End of 1st century, 80s AD onwards.	H: 150cm; W: 77cm; D: 15cm	Buff sandstone	Ribchester, Lancashire. Found at Waterside House Farm on 8th April 1876: 'taken by Mr P. Warden from the bed of the Ribble, about 200 yards above the castrum and on the opposite bank', 'out of which it had apparently been washed by a flood' (Watkin 1883, 158-9)	Ribchester Roman Museum, acc. no. 200001L (on loan from Blackburn Council)	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.11 forthcoming; Mackintosh 1986, no. 12; Bull 2007, 31; Coulston 2014, 71; Allason-Jones 2020, 251.
RR 21	Britannia	Rider relief	Cavalryman rides to the left, without saddle or bridle. Lance is brandished in both hands over his head. Naked enemy lies on his back and in his left hand holds a rectangular shield. Square-ish stone, DM carved over the barbarian above inscription panel, which records the dedication to a Decurion of ?Sarmatians.	Perhaps 2nd century. It has been dated to mid 3rd century, but could be earlier. Sarmatians garrisoned the fort from 2nd century.	not known	Stone	Ribchester. Ploughed up in 1604 about 150 m. east of Ribchester and 'under it fyne earthen potshards'	Now lost	<i>RIB</i> 595; <i>CSIR</i> GB I.11, forthcoming; Allason-Jones 2020, 252
RR 22	Britannia	Rider relief	Stela for Insus, son of Vodullus, of the Treveri, trooper and curator of the ala Augusta, from the turma of Victor, stone set up by Domitia, his heir. Rounded gable decorated with a double border or S-figures above diagonal lines, with Sol or Gorgon at the apex. Plain surround of recessed panel containing the relief and flat inscription die below. The 'font' looks as though it has been set out with a brush or broad pen and then carefully cut. Horseman rides to R with face turned to the viewer, wearing a helmet with cheek pieces and with a tuft above and plumes either side (similar to the helmet of Flavianus at Hexham). He also wears a baldric and cloak gathered with a rosette at his chest, billowing out behind him. Tunic and trousers and boots. He also has a sword in R hand in which he also carries the decapitated head of a barbarian, who is hunched on the ground. Horse seems to rear up with teeth bared and ears back. Careful rendering of mane and tail. Wears fringed saddle cloth and bridle. Front L hoof protrudes over panel surround.	AD 78 - 120s	H: 225cm; W: 91cm; D: 17cm.	Buff sandstone	Adcliffe Road, Lancaster, c.8m from the Roman road that runs S from the fort (SD 47692 61263). Dug up 2005 in course of development	Lancashire County Museum, belongs to the developer	<i>RIB</i> 3185; <i>CSIR</i> GB I.11, forthcoming; Allason-Jones 2020, 249

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
RR 23	Britannia	Rider relief	Rider on a horse.	?	?	?	Kirkham, Lancashire. Reportedly found and destroyed when the parish church was built in 1844.	Now lost	<i>CSIR</i> GB 1.11, forthcoming; Allason-Jones 2020, 252.
RR 24	Britannia	Rider relief	Within a niched pediment, with straight sides, surrounded by a frame, a rider holds spear aloft in right arm, with tip pointing down towards prostrate foe, lying on his back. The rider's L arm might be raised victoriously. He could be wearing a helmet, but features are obscured. Horse has both front legs up, and rear legs also seem to be off the ground, with thick tail streaming behind. Head up, it wears a bridle. Horse seems a little small for the rider. Barbarian / foe is apparently naked, with upper body raised and legs bent at the knee. His rectangular shield is seen above his head in front of the horse's knee.	Mackintosh and Schleiermacher dated it to 3rd - 4th century, but Allason-Jones places this earlier, late 1st century	H: 90cm; W: 84cm; D: 12cm	Red sandstone	Kirkby Thore	British Museum, 1969.0701.2	<i>CSIR</i> GB 1.11, forthcoming; Allason-Jones 2020, 251-2; Mackintosh 1986, no. 10; Schleiermacher 1984 no. 82; <i>Lapidarium Septentrionale</i> , no. 756
RR 25	Britannia	Rider relief	Thickly muscled horse with strong buttocks and shoulders, tail hangs perky but straight down, big hooves. Rider holds sword above shoulder and behind his head in R arm, such that body is slightly rotated towards the viewer. Garment on upper body, tight leggings/trousers on lower. Foot rests on the head of the fallen enemy, who appears to be hanging upside down, partly obscured by the horse. Arms also seem to hang down with fingers splayed. V unusual pose. Is he preparing to behead the figure?	Mackintosh and Schleiermacher dated it to 3rd - 4th century, but Allason-Jones places this earlier, late 1st century	H: 105cm; W: 88cm; D: 13cm	Buff sandstone	Kirkby Thore.	British Museum 1969.0701.8	<i>CSIR</i> GB 1.11 forthcoming; Allason-Jones 2020, 251; Mackintosh 1986, no. 11; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 83; <i>Lapidarium Septentrionale</i> , no. 754
RR 26	Britannia	Rider relief	Tombstone depicting a military rider on a horse. The horse has its front left leg raised, with detailed musculature; the position of the right foreleg suggests the horse is moving forward rather than rearing. There is a saddle cloth with a strap running round the horse's hindquarters. A fragment of the reins can be seen. The strip running diagonally across the horse's body is presumably a spear shaft held by the rider. The rider is wearing a tunic with scallops around the waist below his belt. His skirt is pleated with a ribbed hem and tasseled edge. An incised line suggests he is wearing tight-fitting trousers to just below the knee. For parallels to his clothing, see Schleiermacher 1984, nos. 55, 56 and 57 – all from Cherchel in Algeria and representing soldiers of the cohorts VI and cohorts VII Delamatorum. Possibly also wearing a flowing cloak. The image also shows the top of the horse's tail and a small piece of the left border which seems to curve inwards suggesting a gabled top. There is a fragment of plain border surviving. Very well carved, particularly compared to the other <i>reiter</i> tombstones from Kirby Thore.	late 1st - 2nd century?	H: 43cm; W: 75cm; D: 19cm	Buff sandstone	Kirkby Thore, Cumbria. Found in 1860 when the Turnpike Road at Kirkby Thore was diverted in order for Kirkby Thore station to be built on the Eden Valley line.	British Museum: Acc. No. 1970.0701.10	<i>CSIR</i> GB 1.11 forthcoming; Allason-Jones 2020, 251; <i>Lapidarium Septentrionale</i> , no. 755
RR 27	Britannia	Rider relief	Sculptured tombstone thought to have been that of a cavalryman. One of the workman recalled the letters XX (20 years?) were incised on the stone (information given to Birley by Lt. Col. O. H. North).	?	?	Sandstone	Low Borrowbridge, Cumbria. Found before 1946 about 1 mile south of Low Borrowbridge fort on the line of the Roman road. It was reused in situ to form the cover of a culvert	Believed still to be <i>in situ</i> , but unrecorded	<i>RIB</i> 756; Allason-Jones 2020, 252.
RR 28	Britannia	Rider relief	Large rectangular fragment of a Roman tombstone. The stone originally had two sunken panels, the upper with a scene of a cavalryman riding down a barbarian, the lower with an inscription. Most of the upper is lost. In the left corner is a raised area, its identification unclear. The lower sunken panel contains a rectangular panel with triangular projections (tabula ansata) bearing a six-line inscription which fills about two-thirds of the available space, identifying the deceased as Crescens, an eques of the Ala Sebosiana, from the detachment of Equites Singulares, who had served 15 years. His heirs set it up. The attached triangles are flat, while the edge of the rectangular tablet mostly comprises a double roll-moulding (irregular in places, and damaged in the lower part). There is evidence of damage and attempts at reuse: irregular pockmarks on the inscribed surface; various short lines, perhaps from the plough; a long, shallow channel running diagonally across the inscription, deepest at the base; a horizontal line carved across the stone below the inscription; and the regular if crude removal of parts of the base (on both faces) and the underside of the left edge, as if to thin it for reuse. All that survives of the horse and rider are the rear hoof of the horse and the foot of the rider. is a lying barbarian in the right corner, apparently naked and apparently dead. He lies with his head to the right, his legs bent, his left arm resting on his belly and his right by his side, apparently holding a sword defined	Probably 140s AD	H: 105cm; W: 92cm; D: 22 cm	Sandstone	Carberry, 2 km from the fort at Inveresk, Scotland, NT 37 70.		Tomlin 2008; Tomlin 2018, 133-4, no. 6.16.
RR 29	Britannia	Rider relief	Only lower part remains. Rider wears a tunic and holds a lance.	?	?	?	Unknown	Private collection? Sold at Sotheby's in 1970, S. 37, Catalogue 29.6, no. 182	Schleiermacher 1984 no. 84
RR 30	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Tombstone set up by his heirs for Titus Flavius Bassus, eques of the Ala Noricorum in the turma of Fabius Pudens, aged 46, having served for 26 years. A wide-curved niche with cable moulding on the edge is set in a rectangular stone with foliage in the spandrels. Rider (overly large for the horse), to the R, with lance raised point down, long sword at his side. Wearing trousers and tunic to just below hip height, and helmet. Horse slightly rearing, with foe between front legs. Horse wears saddle and saddle cloth, straps with tassels on front, and chain over neck, with junction medallions. Also, bridle and reins. Tail hanging down, main flat. The barbarian / enemy is shown as a large man, with beard and shortish hair lies on his back. Seems to be naked, though shield obscures his midriff. A servant stands behind holding two spears against R shoulder, and a in the L. Finely carved. Trees on sides, sphinx between	AD 69 - 96 according to the museum	H: 193cm; W: 119cm; D: 61cm	Limestone	Gereonsträße 17-23, Cologne	RGM Köln, inv. no. 96	<i>CIL</i> XIII, no. 8308; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6435; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 362; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 17

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RR 31	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Long-legged rider in helmet, riding to R with lance raised in R hand, pointed downwards. Long sword at his side fastened to a belt at the waist, long boots and trousers, cloak fastened across chest at front with a straight brooch. Shield shown behind figure. Horse head slightly turned to the R as it looks forward, wearing saddle cloth and straps with circular boss junction joiners. Reins but no bridle at the frame. Tail hangs straight down, mane also quite stiff, but forelock parts below ears. No barbarian or servant figure is shown and there is no inscription as the <i>stela</i> is broken off at this point. Finely carved. Cable-	1st century	H: 78cm; W: 76cm; D: 9cm	Limestone	Cologne	RGM Köln, inv. no. 32	Esperandieu VIII, no. 6436; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 18
RR 32	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Stela for Vellaunus Biturix, son of Nonnus, eques in the turma of Lucius Julius Regulus, of the Ala Longiniana. Served 18 years and died 38. Stone set up by his heirs Lucius Julius Regulus, Decurion, and Macer Aspadi, brothers in the same turma. Inscribed gable with leaf rosette, over the gable slopes acanthus leaves and dances. Profiled framed inscription die, including roughly smoothed base zone. Image field between smooth pilasters, in it galloping rider (soldier) with weapons. Helmet and short robe with belt, on the right side sword (<i>spatha</i>) in scabbard with band, in the left shield, in the right field sign (<i>signum</i>) with bull protome. A kind of strut or support-type length of stone connects the rider's foot to the frame of the inscription - a mistake or intended? No barbarian / foe or servant / groom figures	30s-40s AD	H: 221cm; W: 74cm; D: 35cm	Limestone	Found at Johanneskreuz / Kölner Straße, Bonn in 1892.	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8192	CSIR De III.1, no. 12; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6282; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 8
RR 33	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Tombstone for Rectugnus, son of Magilonis, from Segontia (Spain) eques of the Ala Longiniana, aged 50 who served 22 years. Profiled framed inscription die, including smoothed base zone. Age and service length is carved deeper than the rest, as if recut. A rider gallops to the right, holding a <i>spatha</i> on his right side. No servant or barbarian/foe	Probably Claudian or Neronian, when this Ala was in Bonn, AD 43-70.	H: 131cm; W: 79cm; D: 28cm	Limestone	Kölnerstraße, Bonn, 1892	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8571	CSIR De III.1, no. 13; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6289; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 7
RR 34	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Tombstone for Vonatorix, son of Duconus, eques of the Ala Longiniana, aged 45 served 17 years. Top frame with floral tendrils that grow from a central vessel. Profiled framed inscription die, including smoothed base zone. In the field to the right galloping rider (soldier) in a short tunica. Weapons: Scale armor, belt with sword (<i>spatha</i>) on the right side. In the raised right lance, in the left shield. Horse with saddlecloth with fringed hem. No servant or barbarian / foe figure	Probably Claudian or Neronian, when this Ala was in Bonn, AD 43-70.	H: 216cm; W: 91cm; D: 26cm	Limestone	1895 Kölnerstraße / Rosental, Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 10391	CSIR De III.1, no. 14; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6292; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 9
RR 35	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Tombstone for Niger, son of Aetonus, eques of the Ala Pompeianiana, aged 50 having served 25 years. In a niche, framed above with palm fronds, is rider galloping on a horse. The rider wears a short tunic, and scale armour. A belt holds his <i>spatha</i> on his R side, he holds a lance in his R hand and a shield in his L. Horse's hind legs appear to be on ?plinth, higher than the frame of the inscription, which could be a mistake.	Late Tiberian or early Claudian, AD 30s-40s.	H: 142cm; W: 76cm; D: 21cm	Limestone	Kölnerstraße, Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 6545	CSIR De III.1, no. 15; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6283; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 5
RR 36	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Tombstone set up by his brother Sextus Sempronius, for Gaius Marius, son of Lucius of the Voltinian tribe from Luca Augusta, eques of Legio I, aged 30, after 15 years of service. In a shell niche rider gallops on a horse to the R, wearing a short tunic and belt. He wears armour with phalerae, lance is raised in his R hand and shield in his L. Under the front legs of the horse is a panel showing 9 <i>phalerae</i> and 2 <i>armillae</i> .	Claudian or Neronian, AD 40s-60s.	H: 177cm; W: 78cm; D: 30cm	Limestone	Kölnerstraße, Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 1388	CSIR De III.1, no. 16; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6248; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 4
RR 37	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Tombstone for Reburus, son of Frattonus, eques of the Ala Frontoniana. Rider gallops on a horse to the R, wearing a shirt tunic. He wears armour and has a long sword <i>spatha</i> at his waist. In his raised R hand is a lance and shield in his L. Set within a niche with cable moulding around the top and foliage in spandrels. Fallen man lying below the horse with sword and shield.	Neronian, AD 50s-60s	H: 103cm; W: 75cm; D: 17cm	Limestone	Adenauerallee, Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 581045	CSIR De III.1, no. 17; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 6
RR 38	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Mostly broken, just part of the hind legs, and lower body of a galloping horse, and scabbard chape of the rider's sword remain.	Neronian, AD 50s-60s	H: 39cm; W: 34cm; D: 20cm	Limestone	Bonn?	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U198	CSIR De III.1, no. 18; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 11
RR 39	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Mostly broken, only the rider's cloak and horse's tail remain beneath a nich with cable moulding and leaf rosette in spandrels.	Neronian or Flavian, AD 60s-70s	H: 65cm; W: 37cm; D: 27cm	Limestone	Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 28658	CSIR De III.1, no. 19; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 13
RR 40	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Mostly broken, only the edge of the rider's shield and the horse's head can be seen beneath a framed niche with cable moulding and leaf rosette in spandrels.	Neronian or Flavian, AD 60s-70s	H: 43cm; W: 33cm; D: 13cm	Limestone	Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 28657	CSIR De III.1, no. 20; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 12
RR 41	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Left half of an unframed double arched niche, with the remainder of a figure of a servant on the left with a lance and a horse's hoof in front of it, a fluttering cloak above. Very roughly done and inscription is no more than scratched letters.	Possibly 3rd century	H: 79cm; W: 43cm; D: 13cm	Limestone	Gleuel-Hürth 1893, found when the church was demolished as it had been reused in its construction	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8789	CSIR De III.1, no. 21; Esperandieu VIII, no. 6311; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 10
RR 42	Germania Inferior	Rider relief	Fragment showing frameless pedestal with a curved wind instrument?	?	H: 104cm; W: 85cm; D: 20cm	Limestone	Remagen	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 15319	CSIR De III.1, no. 42
RR 43	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Tombstone for Rufus Coutus of the Helvetii aged 36, served in the Ala Hispana for 12 years. Rider sits upright, holding spear level. The horse springs on hind legs, large hindquarters but legs shown smaller. An inscription panel is below within a border, and above is a niche with triangular pediment containing a leaf / floral rosette. Above this, scrolls surmount the sloping tops and a palmette crowns the central stone. No servant or barbarian / foe figures.	Tiberian, c. AD 20s-40s	H: 146cm; W: 60cm; D: 23cm	Limestone	Mainz, found 1731.	Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Mannheim, inv. no. Haug 41	CSIR De II.5, no. 27; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 35
RR 44	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Tombstone set up by his heir Bitus Stac(?) for Gaius Tutius, aged 25 who served for 10 years in the cohorts III Thracum. The rider raises a lance in his R hand; long sword at his R hand side held in a belt. Head indistinctly carved - worn or unfinished? Horse rears up, bridle and strappings on its chest and rear. Large eye, hooves and heavy lower limbs. Tail and mane hang straight, unlikely if the horse were actually moving. Below is the inscription unusually on an ansate plaque. The "T" for Filius is carved on the right hand side, outside the ansate frame. Plain triangular pediment on top with incised border and concentric circle 'eye' motif in centre. Columns on either side of a niche, which contains the figures in shallow relief. No	Tiberian, c. AD 20s-40s	H: 140cm; W: 64cm; D: 28cm	Limestone	Mainz, probably found with the tombstone of Rufus above.	Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Mannheim, inv. no. Haug 40	CSIR De II.5, no. 28; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 37

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RR 45	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Tombstone set up by his brothers Masicates and Tigranus for Maris son of Castius, from the turma of Vartagnis in the Ala Parthorum et Araborum. He lived 50 years and served for 30. Niche with columns surrounds and surtops the rider in relief and the inscription, carved on the same panel rather than set out below. Rounded top niche, with foliage sprays in the spandrels created with the rectangular top of the stele. The horse has front legs up as though running rather than rearing. Tail streams out behind, but mane lies flat. Horse has bridle, but no other strappings. Rider has both arms up drawing a bow to shoot an arrow. His face is worn and features indistinguishable. A servant stands behind the horse, wearing a tunic above the knee. His L hand holds a long sword or lance aloft, his R is bent into his body.	Probably Tiberian, AD 20s-40s	H: 210cm; W: 90cm; D: 28cm	Lothringer limestone	Hechtsheimer Landstraße / Ebersheimer Weg, Mainz, in secondary use as a sarcophagus cover along with other stones, face down	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 634	<i>CSIR</i> De 11.5, no. 29; Schliermacher 1984, no. 25
RR 46	Germania Superior	Rider relief	The stele of Cantaber, son of Viroti is broken - top and lower part of the inscription is missing, as well as the LHS of the stone. Smoothed surround to panel with relief carving. Inscription on a panel with double border below.	Probably Tiberian, AD 20s-40s	H: 84cm; W: 68cm; D: 30.5cm	Limestone	Adam-Kolping-Straße/ Klara und Lothstraße, Mainz, 1881.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 1	<i>CSIR</i> De 11.5, no. 30; Schliermacher 1984, no. 22
RR 47	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela set up according to his will for Gaius Romanus Capito, an eques of the Ala Noricorum, aged 40, he served for 19 years. An arched niche with cable moulding and flat spays in the spandrels formed within the rectangular top is above the scene of horse and rider. The rider holds spear aloft, pointed down, riding to the R on a stocky horse. He has a long sword by his side and wears a helmet with cheek pieces. His face is obliterated or worn off. He wears a mantle with cloak over his shoulders fastened with a straight brooch across his chest. His tunic reaches to the top of the thigh, and there is the appearance of boots or tight trousers, though his feet are bare. Horse wears a saddle pad, and straps across his chest and hindquarters to keep it in place. Circular junction bosses on his quarters and shoulder. Tail hangs down. Mane is wavy on his neck, face is slim. The barbarian / foe figure lies on his back with head under the horse's R front hoof. He wears just a cloak, and bends his legs in defence, though fairly passive expression. Short hair and no beard. A servant or groom with hair brushed in strands, holding two spears and facing front, is behind the horse's hindquarters. This stela, with the clarity of the carving, has been considered a good paradigm of the type and the example to which others can be compared, such that scholars have proposed a workshop's output centred on this item.	Mid - late 1st century	H: 162cm; W: 87cm; D: 20cm	Lothringer limestone	Zahlbach cemetery area, Mainz, found 1804	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 607	<i>CSIR</i> De 11.5, no. 31; Schliermacher 1984, no. 27
RR 48	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Togitio, son of Solimarus, of the Lingones of Gaul. Within a niche are the rider, horse and servant. The curved top of the niche is broken, but small parts of foliage in spandrels remain. The inscription is broken through the second line. Rider holding spear aloft, point down, in his right hand, charges on rearing horse to the R. He wears a tunic down to below hip, with harness-like at the top. A long sword hangs by his side, and there is a helmet on his head. Outline of a shield in the background suggests he was holding this in his L hand - how did he control horse? Reins lie against where saddle pommel should be. Saddle cloth not seen, though the straps to hold in place and junction rosettes on hindquarters and shoulder are there. Horse is rearing on back legs, though tail and mane hang down. Stocky body, but fine head. Horse is smaller than the man. Servant man stands behind back of horse, carrying one spear. He appears to wear a helmet with scales and a tunic. Smaller than rider. No barbarian / foe figure.	Mid 1st century; Gabelmann places this in the 'Romanus group' workshop output; Bauchhenß relates it to the Neronian Jupiter column	H: 138cm; W: 77cm; D: 27cm	Limestone	Unclear, found in 17th century	Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Mannheim, inv. no. Haug 39	<i>CSIR</i> De 11.5, no. 32; Schliermacher 1984, no. 36
RR 49	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Petronius Disacetus, son of Dentubrisus, eques for 5 years of cohort VI Thracum, in the turma of Longinius, aged 20. Top is broken off above the rider's chest. Carving of the figures within a niche above the inscription die which is framed. Rider wears a tunic and trousers to below the knee, carrying a long sword. Upper section broken off, but he must have held R arm aloft as it is not seen. Male horse is stocky (small compared to rider) and wears a saddle with straps and rosette junctions on hindquarters and shoulder. Tail and mane lie flat. Bridle and reins are seen, with more delicate face of the horse also shown, with bit in mouth? Barbarian / foe lies naked on his back, except for cloak bound over one arm, the other arm raised above his head. Short hair, and pained/ aggressive expression. Servant or groom stands behind the horse, facing forwards, but only shadow of his body and bare feet remain.	Mid 1st century; Neronian; or could be from the later stay of this unit after posting to Britain?	H: 145cm; W: 85cm; D: 22cm	Lothringer limestone	Grebenstraße / Erbacherhofgasse, Mainz, found before 1778	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 613	<i>CSIR</i> De 11.5, no. 33; Schliermacher 1984, no. 26
RR 50	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Annauso, son of Sedavon of the Betasii (maybe based near Xanten, Pliny, <i>NH</i> , IV, 106; Tacitus, <i>Hist.</i> IV 56.66), eques of the Ala II Flavia Gemina. Rectangular stele with rounded, cable-moulded niche, and foliage spray filling the spandrels. Figures are carved in relief in the recessed niche, above a plain inscription die. Similar to the 'Romanus group'. Rider holds a short spear aloft in his R hand, pointing down, from back of horse charging to the R. He wears a helmet with cheek guard and peak, a tunic, armour guard or cloak over his shoulders, perhaps a torc around his neck. Shadow of a shield in the background behind him that would have been carried in his L hand. The horse has a saddle with prominent pommel and seat, probably of wood. No harness straps seen, except for a bridle. Horse rears with head turned slightly to the front. Mane and tail lie flat. Barbarian / foe lies on his back, legs bent at the knee, shield covering his body from the front. Is he holding a weapon to the horse's chest? Damage obscures the carving here. Servant or groom stands behind the horse's hindquarters, wearing a cloak and with short hair. Cannot now make out any spears.	Flavian, c. 70s - 90s AD	H: 128cm; W: 75cm; D: 13cm	Limestone	Between the Theatre and Schustergasse at the Barfüßerkloster, Mainz perhaps moved there from Old St Peter's when the church was demolished. Found 17th century.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 514	<i>CSIR</i> De 11.5, no. 34; Schliermacher 1984, no. 21

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
RR 51	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela set up by his heirs for Andes, son of Sextus from Raetium (probably Dalmatia), eques of Ala Claudia, lived 30 years and served 5. Simple triangular pediment, with carving in niche above the inscription die. Unusually, the inscription die includes carving in relief of a trumpet/horn. Tall rider holds short spear aloft, point down, horse rearing slightly to the R over a fallen foe. He wears a tunic to below his hips, and short trousers ending below the knee, with bare feet. The head is abraded but there seems to have been a helmet, with shoulder strappings for armour. Long sword hangs by his side. Horse wears bridle, saddle, many straps, reins and junction embellishments, even a band around the base of his tail and front of his chest. Tail and mane hang long and flat. Barbarian / foe shown as bearded man with 'quiff' of hair, lying on his front with knees bent under the horse. He holds a dagge up in front of his forward-looking face, which is about to puncture the horse's chest. Appears to wear a little clothing, loin-cloth-style, around his waist. One servant figure stands behind the horse, carrying spear, facing front and wearing ?armour. His hair is arranged in strands	Early Flavian, pre-AD 75	H: 128cm; W: 58cm; D: 14cm	Local Mainzer-Becker limestone	Zahlbach cemetery area, Mainz, found 1804	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 608	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 35; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 20
RR 52	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela set up by his heirs for Flavius Proculus from Philodelfia, eques singularis Augusti, aged 21. Rounded niche background, plain edge, with decorated spandrels in corner of the rectangular block. Plain inscription die below. Broken on top L corner and beneath 3rd line of inscription. Rider draws and bow with an arrow set behind the horse's neck. He is facing 3/4 forward, with quiver of arrows from his belt, and wearing a tunic to around hip. His face is damaged so not sure if he wears a helmet. Horse has straps along hindquarters and chest, decorated with pendants, and bridle and reins. Horse rears to the R, ears back. Tail hangs straight down and mane sticks up in delineated strands. The rider's hands seem improbably large, and in general he is too big for the horse. No barbarian / foe or servant figures.	Late 1st - early 2nd century	H: 105cm; W: 76cm; D: 16cm	Sandstone	Found in 1959 between Ketteler-Siedlung and Göttemannstraße, Mainz	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 633 or 59/18	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 36; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 23
RR 53	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for T. Statilius Taurus, prefect fabrorum et cohortis of cohorts I Augusta Ituraeorum and VI Thracum, military tribune of Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis, aged 36. Monument is lost, surviving drawings show a small recessed relief panel within monument shaped like an altar, though with large sphere on top. Plain inscription die below. Rider on horse is led to the L, by a man with a short stick who has his back to the viewer. Horse has front L foot raised, but scene is placid, and no weapons are shown. Cloak of the rider billows over a tunic. <i>Not the usual form of rider vanquishing foe.</i>	Use of DM suggests end of 1st century or later; probably first half 2nd century.	Unknown	Unknown	Found in mid-17th C, in cemetery area at the porta dextra of the legionary camp, Mainz.	Lost	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 37
RR 54	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Approximately 5-sided stone with triangular pediment top. Relief is within recess, and there is a wide frame with inscription on this frame and below. Some damage to the R side and surface of L, and not all inscription remains. Man with cloak billowing behind carries a spear, point upwards in his R hand, while riding a trotting horse. The detail of the surface has not been completed. The horse has a bridle and reins, and is mid-gait with L front and L hind legs raised. The man seems too large for this horse. <i>Not usual rider vanquishing foe type.</i>	Probably 3rd century, when compared with those from Worms. The use of DM dates it to end 1st century or later.	H: 76cm; W: 85cm; D: 17.5cm	Sandstone	Found in Mainz, Hintere Bleiche in rubble of city wall, perhaps reused there.	Private collection.	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 38
RR 55	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Q. Octavius, son of Quintus of Voltina tribe, from Tolosa aged 35. He was an eques of Legio XIII Gemina, served 12 years. Just the broken framed inscription and base section remain.	This legion was in Mainz 13 BC AD 43, so probably early 1st century.	H: 139cm; W: 74cm; D: 32cm	Limestone	Zahlbach cemetery area, Mainz, found 1804	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 54	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 39
RR 56	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for an eques of the Ala Hispanorum, who served 22 years and died aged 45. Just the lower part of the inscription remains, within a frame. There seems to have been a pilaster on the R hand side.	Early 1st century	H: 158cm; W: 87cm; D: 30cm	Limestone	Emmerensstraße 25, Mainz	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 2	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 40
RR 57	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Just a part of the central part of the relief remains. The relief seems to have been within a shell-type niche, and with a pilaster with moulding on either side. Rider with his R arm raised rides a smaller horse. Now very abraded and any further detail, such as other figures, cannot be made out.	Early 1st century	H: 62cm; W: 60cm; D: 32cm	Limestone	Found in 1910 in the foundations of the N tower of St Alban's church, Mainz.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 583	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 41; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 28; Espérandieu X, no. 7353
RR 58	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Fragment of the top L of a rider relief remains, with a lion surmounting the frame of the relief. He sits next to foliate decoration by an arch, with similar foliate decoration in the spandrel formed by the arch with cable moulding. Just the R arm, with spear raised, remains of the rider. The spear continues outside the niche, carved onto the frame and beyond. The rider wears a short-sleeved tunic. Servant / groom stands in the background, facing forwards with short hair, holding a lance in L hand.	Mid - late 1st century	H: 41cm; W: 30cm; D: 18cm	Limestone	Mainz-Weisenau, probably from the cemetery by the Roman road	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 505	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 42; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 29
RR 59	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Abaius from Pannonia, eques of the Ala Picentiana. Several fragments of the stone remain. Foliage, with strands curving up ornament the top spandrels between the cable-moulded arch and rectangular top. Relief of rider etc is in a niche above a plain inscription die, of which the L side remains. Rider with a long sword on a belt and brandishes a spear in his R hand, which points down. Spear is long and extends beyond frame onto moulding above. Horse rears on hind legs, wearing a saddle cloth, held in place by straps and rosette ornament at the junctions. Tail is wavy, hanging down. Bridle and reins on head. A servant figure stands behind, but the stone is broken so cannot tell whether there was also a	70s-90s AD when this unit was stationed in Mainz, before moving to Britain	H: 120cm; W: 75cm; D: 12cm	Limestone	Oberer Laubenheimer Weg, Mainz	Private collection.	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 43; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 19
RR 60	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Two large pieces of the upper part of a rider relief survive. In one, foliage spandrel decoration above cable-moulded arch is seen, with head and shoulder of a servant perhaps below. The other piece carries a portion of the rider, with horse wearing straps and rosette junction join. Unclear whether there was a barbarian / foe figure. Similar to Romanus stela.	50s - 60s AD	Frag a: long diagonal 62cm; D: 16cm Frag b: lower side length 37cm; D: 17cm	Limestone	Oberer Laubenheimer Weg, Mainz	Private collection.	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 44; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 30
RR 61	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Froioverus, son of Veransatus, a Tungrian, eques of Cohors I Astrutum, aged 40, after 22 years of service. It was set up by his heirs according to his will. General outline is very similar the stones of Romanus and Annauso. Only the lower part of the inscription remains, much of the relief broken off except for the barbarian / foe's hexagonal shield with a central square and circular boss.	Probably 60s - 90s AD. Military diplomata for this unit found in Germania Superior for AD 74, 80, 82, 90, and later in AD 116, 134. Probably served in Britain in 3rd century.	H: 75cm; W: 43cm; D: 15cm	Limestone	Zahlbach cemetery area, Mainz, found 1804	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 69	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 45; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 24

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RR 62	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Four fragments of a stela survive. One part of the plain border remains on L side, and part of plain inscription die beneath relief panel. Lying on his back behind a hexagonal shield with square and circular boss, his legs are bent at the knee and he wears long tight trousers. Otherwise, broken and only the bare feet of a servant / groom seen.	50s - 90s AD, based on similarity to stela of Freioverus	Fragment a): H: 28cm; W: 24cm; D: 8cm Fragment b): H: 24cm; W: 30cm; D: 7cm Fragment c): H: 23cm; W: 24cm; D: 2cm Fragment d): H: 22cm; W: 6cm; D: 6cm	Limestone	Mainz, found 1910 under the northern branch of the road to Hechtsheim, 40m from the crossroads with road to Ebersheim	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 219	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 46; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 32
RR 63	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Fragment of a stela, the lower portion of the recessed relief carving and top of the plain inscription die remaining. Just lower part of the horse's legs survive, rearing over the barbarian / foe, who lies on his front beneath the horse's hooves, holding a sword or shield beneath him. Cannot see servant / groom figure as this bit broken off.	c. 70s - 90s AD	H: 103cm; W: 78cm; D: 28cm	Limestone	Found in 1858 under a Roman bridge pile, Mainz.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 1214	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 47; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 34
RR 64	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Two fragments of a stela for an eques of the Ala Noricorum, who served 7 years remain. Lower right part of the scene survives, with inscription die in frame below. Lower legs of the horse and the barbarian / foe lying on his side back to the viewer can be seen. Barbarian's backbone is highlighted, and hair looks coarse-stranded and curly. He is dressed in wide trousers with a belt. Similar style to Romanian or Togitio stones.	30s - 60s AD	H: 104cm; W: 43cm; D: 10cm	Lothringer limestone	Fort Karl, Mainz, in 1859.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. nos S 513 and S 779	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 48; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 31
RR 65	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Recut into a sarcophagus, probably in 4th C? Very long base section with no carving. Cable and bead moulding around edge of relief and inscription. Very little of the relief remains, only the rider's lower leg and foot. The male horse is rearing to the R, and wears junction straps or pendant on hindquarters. Tail hangs down, strands of hair delineated. The barbarian / foe lies on his back beneath the horse, hair short. Only his head remains as the rest is cut through for the new burial. No trace of a servant / groom.	30s - 60s AD	H: 215cm; W: 93cm; D: 37cm	Lothringer limestone	Found in Klein-Winterheim, Mainz Frankish cemetery along with <i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 2 stela of the legionary P. Flavoleius Cordus, also made of Lothringer limestone	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. S 190	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 49; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 33
RR 66	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Marcus Traidua, son of Didia from Saleta, an eques of Cohors VI Thracum. Only a small part of the relief remains, and the inscription panel is also broken. The piece that survives shows the barbarian's/ foe's feet and the toes of the servant / groom.	30s - 50s AD	H: 37cm; W: 57cm; D: 18cm	Limestone	Holzstraße, Mainz, found when demolishing an old cellar in 1963.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. 63/36	<i>CSIR</i> De II.5, no. 50
RR 67	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela of Argiotalus, son of Smertulanus of the Namnetii, an eques of the Ala Indiana, who served for 10 years, aged 30. His heirs set the stone up. Rounded shell niche (unusual in Rhineland at such an early date) with radiating striations and palmette on top of pediment and two acroteria palmettes at either side where canopy meets pilasters. Framed panel (larger than relief panel) below contains inscription - similarities to inscription of Fronto in Mainz (<i>CSIR</i> II.5, 162) suggest common style. Abraded face and so detail of this and rider's clothing not given. He holds a spear in his R hand, behind him and in his L an oval shield. Legs are large and not well defined. Horse is in gallop, with tail streaming out. Mane is delineated and saddle cloth shown, but otherwise few details through wear. Seems a bit stretched and the man too big for the horse.	Tiberian / Claudian, c. 20s - 40s AD, stylistically	H: 136cm; W: 59cm; D: 36cm	Limestone from Mainz region, probably brought to Worms by river.	From necropolis just N of St Martin's gate, Worms, 1666, with 4 other stelae of Carminius (<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, no. 49) and Veiagenus (<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, no. 58). Probably found over an ash chest.	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1658	<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, 47; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 44
RR 68	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Licinus, son of Clossus of the Helvetii, and eques of the Ala Hispanorum, served 26 years, died aged 47. The stone was set up by his heir Tiberius Julius Capito. Triangular pediment with rosette in point over a circular wreath-pattern-topped niche. Pilasters either side. Panel with inscription below, though one line of the inscription is carved beneath the panel. Rider brandishes spear in R hand, with point down; long sword by his R side and hexagonal/oval shield in his L hand. Horse is taught and leaping/galloping, wearing bridle and harness on front shoulder and rear, with rosette phalerae. Tail hangs down, with some streaming over the edge of the pilaster surround. Man is slightly larger than the horse. The barbarian / foe is lying on his back with face up to the horse, carrying long shield as protection. Legs are bent. No servant / groom figure.	Tiberian / Claudian, c. 20s - 40s AD	H: 218cm; W: 75cm; D: 31cm	Limestone	Found in necropolis N of St Martin's gate, Worms 1666, but on its own.	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1662	<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, 48; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 47
RR 69	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Q. Carminius Ingenuus, an eques, signifer of the Ala Hispanorum, who served 25 years. The stone was set up by his heir Julius. Large panel above contains the relief with smaller framed inscription below. The soldier's standard is shown behind his L shoulder in the background, presumably held by his L hand, hidden behind the horse's neck. Pilasters either side beneath arched pediment. Acroteria on either side seem to be palmettes, but that crowning the monument is now lost. The carving is detailed though the surface is abraded and damaged. The rider brandishes a spear pointing downwards at two enemies, though it seems to end (or is broken off) around his leg height. Long sword is carried by his side, and perhaps there is the echo of a shield behind him, carried as well as the standard in his L hand. Straight hair, clothed in long sleeves and trousers with a tunic to hip, ?bangle/torc on wrist. The horse is taught with front legs rearing up, weight on hindquarters. Contained within the frame, the tail hangs down as though still. Bridle and harness with rosette phalerae on the horse. Two enemy figures are shown, no servant figure. Boppert in <i>CSIR</i> likened the style of the relief and the creation	Tiberian / Claudian, c. 20s - 40s AD	H: 237cm; W: 96cm; D: 42cm	Limestone	Found in necropolis N of St Martin's gate, Worms, 1666 with other stelae inc Argiotalus (<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, no. 47) and Veiagenus.	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1661	<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, 49; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 45
RR 70	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Partus son of Mutius of the Treveri, an eques of the Ala Agrippiana, who served 14 years, died aged 35. Stone set up by his brothers. Relief now in two pieces, inscription broken from relief. Flat topped stela, though maybe the pediment has been broken off, with rosette and ?shells in the triangle. Frame to the relief, but no pilasters. Rider wears helmet and carries a spear pointing downwards in his R hand, with a long sword by his R side. Suggestion of a shield in his L hand behind. Horse wears bridle, and probably harness too, though now abraded. The animal has forelegs off the ground, and backlegs slightly overlap frame. Two servant figures standing to the L behind the horse and rider, one appears to be carrying a lance or standard. Probably means the rider is a Decurion, or Duplicarius or Sesquiplicarius, and they are his	Tiberian? c. 10s - 30s AD	H: 93cm; W: 72cm; D: 20cm	Grey sandstone	Found at St Martin's gate, Worms, 1666	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1660	<i>CSIR</i> De II.10, 50; Schlieirmacher 1984, no. 48

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RR 71	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Leubius, son of Clauptus, eques of the Ala Sesoniana, died aged 75. Stone set up by his son from his will. lat-topped stela with pediment triangular top within and palmette acroteria in the spandrels between top of triangle and square top. Relief panel within niche dominates just under half of the stone, while inscription is cut beneath without a surround. Rider slightly larger than the horse brandishes spear in R hand with point aiming down towards fallen enemy. He carries long sword by his R side and hexagonal shield in his L hand seen behind the horse's head. His L leg is far forwards and appears under horse's belly. Horse is prancing, with forelegs off the ground, within frame of niche. Tail hangs down, and it wears a bridle and harness with rosettes. The horse's head is turned slightly towards the viewer. The rider appears to wear long sleeves as cuff at wrist can be made out. Barbarian / foe is lying on his back, with legs bent, most of his body covered by an oval shield with central boss; his R hand/arm is raised to protect his face. A servant / groom stands holding another spear, point upwards behind the rear of the horse, facing the viewer, and	40s - 60s AD	H: 192cm; W: 61cm; D: 33cm	Limestone	Found in Hochstraße, Worms in 1899, near the Roman road leading to the Eisbach valley	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1657	CSIR De II.10, 51; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 46
RR 72	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Fragmentary, only the top half of relief remains. Figures arc within a rounded niche, the top of which was crowned with something that has now broken off, and probably acroteria at the sides too. Foliage in spandrels, pilasters-ish on front. In all, v similar to Leubius' monument, and those of Romanus and Annauso in Mainz. Rider, wearing a helmet and armour, brandishes lance pointing down and carries a long sword at his side. Carving is detailed but abraded. The horse wears bridle and harness, and has head turned slightly towards the viewer, again all detailed. This portion does not contain the barbarian/foe. Servant/groom stands facing front, wearing a	40s - 60s AD	H: 66cm; W: 93cm; D: 32cm	Limestone	Corner of Marktplatz and Kämmerstraße, Worms	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1653	CSIR De II.10, 52; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 52
RR 73	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Fragmentary, only top half remains, though there is decoration on the side. This is seen also (fragmentary dancers) on side of a stela from Mainz (CSIR II.5, 49), which was carved into a sarcophagus top in later years, though originally dated Neronian/Flavian period. The type of decoration also seen on two tombs (CSIR II.6, 4 and 6) of Claudian period. Flat topped with foliage in spandrels and rounded niche in which there is relief. Similar to Leubius above, rider carries lance in R hand and has helmet and long sword. Horse is not in so much detail as on Leubius', but still in bridle, harness etc and similar to 'Romanius' type. No sign of barbarian / foe or servant / groom on this section.	40s - 60s AD	H: 55cm; W: 56cm; D: 38cm	Sandstone	Found near St Mary's church, Worms, 1885.	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1652	CSIR De II.10, 53; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 51
RR 74	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Valerius Romanus of the Texander. Now very broken and abraded, in several pieces. Relief is within a recess, with curved edges, though not a regular arch shape. DM carved above relief, with inscription below. Rider brandishes spear in R hand, with point down. He is clothed in tunic with belt and probably a cloak over his shoulders. Drapery is incised, and not flowing naturally. The horse wears a bridle and harness, also incised decoration. Proportions are not quite right, and man too big for the horse. No foe or servant, different style to those dated to 1st century.	3rd or 4th century	H: 120cm; W: 54cm; D: 15cm (reconstructed)	Sandstone	Found near St Mary's church, Worms, 1885.	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1655	CSIR De II.10, 54; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 50
RR 75	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Valerius Maxantius, and eques numeruskatafractorium (heavily armoured unit set by probably by Gallienus in 250s AD), aged 32 years and 6 months. Set up by his brother Valerius Dacus. Plain rounded niche recess containing relief of horse and rider. M D backwards above the relief. Abraded and scratched, background is almost pock marked. Stylised rider on horse, carrying lance underarm with point just about down from the horizontal, and perhaps shield in L hand. Drapery on lower body is incised, below a belt, as is bridle and harness of horse. This 'drapery' is probably a mail shirt as on the gravestones of member of the Cataphract Ala Nova in Stuttgart, Aurelius Saluda and Aurelius Regrethus. No barbarian / foe or servant / groom figures; different style to those dated to 1st century.	3rd or 4th century	H: 142cm; W: 72cm; D: 24cm	Red-grey sandstone	Found near St Mary's church, Worms, 1885.	Stadt Museum Worms, inv. no. 1645	CSIR De II.10, 55; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 49
RR 76	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Dolanus Bessus, son of Ebenus (a Thracian name), eques of the Cohors III Thracum, served 24 years, died aged 46. Shallow rounded niche contains the action, beneath cabled arch with lion head acroteria at either side. Perhaps there used to be another on top, now broken off. No pilasters, and inscription on plain flat panel beneath, no frame. Some similarity to stela for Tutius from Mainz. Larger rider, with substantial helmet, armour and long sword, brandishes lance, point down. Horse has forelegs off ground, rear hooves seeming to rest on barbarian's legs beneath, or otherwise 'floating'. Horse wears bridle and harness with rosettes and mane and forelock especially are delineated. Tail hangs down. Naked barbarian lies on his side, in twisted pose beneath the horse. Curly hair, with muscular back and head to the viewer. Smaller servant / groom figure stands in background to the L, holding long thin spear, which is carved in the upright of the	30s - 40s AD	H: 227cm; W: 84cm; D: 22cm	Limestone	Krantzplatz, Wiesbaden, 1840	Wiesbaden Museum, inv. no. 208	CSIR De II.11, 10; CIL XIII 7585; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 42
RR 77	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Only a small piece of larger monument remains, the horse's head and a portion of cable-decorated arch surround, with foliage spandrel decoration. Only horse's head survives, but in detail and wearing bridle like others. The complete monument may have resembled that of Dolanus above, and was perhaps of better quality.	40s - 60s AD	H: 57cm; W: 25cm; D: 21cm	Limestone	South cemetery outside the fort, Wiesbaden, 1830 or 1837.	Wiesbaden Museum, inv. no. 21	CSIR II.11, 11; Schleiermacher 1984, no. 43
RR 78	Germania Superior	Rider relief	In a recessed niche, but much of the monument is missing so cannot deduce shape. Rider holds spear aloft in R hand, pointing downwards. The monument has been reused in modern construction and no longer has its original surface. It has also been considerably cut down. Barbarian figure not seen. Servant / groom stands behind horse holding a spear.	End 1st century	H: 65cm; W: 59cm; D: 15cm	Limestone (Jura?)	Elisabethstraße, Nida-Heddernheim	Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt, inv. no. X 18 064	Schleiermacher 1984 no. 14
RR 79	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Round-topped niche within rectangular monument, foliage in spandrels. Very worn relief, but can make out a rider on horseback with R hand raised, presumably holding a lance. The horse wears a bridle and has a curly mane. Perhaps the spectre of a servant/ groom behind, but not clear. Broken below the horse's belly, so not clear if there is another barbarian / foe figure or an inscription	60s - 90s AD	H: 79cm; W: 80cm; D: 32cm	Limestone	Münzplatz, Koblenz, 1950	Koblenz Landesmuseum	Schleiermacher 1984 no. 16
RR 80	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Rectangular topped, with arch niche. Inscription panel below, now broken off. Rider carries shield in L hand, and lance in R. Horse has two front legs up, in manner of Rufus or Cantaber or Reburus stones. Reins and harness shown. Fallen foe under hooves covers himself with long shield and strikes with sword in R hand. Servant / groom on viewer's L holds 2 lances.	Late 1st century, 70s - 100 AD	H: 104cm	Limestone	Steinstraße, Moers, 1968	Grafshafer Museum, Duisburg, inv. no. 2814	Schleiermacher 1984 no. 38

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
RR 81	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Fragment of a relief, remaining piece showing a horse's to the L wearing a bridle, and part of the rider's shield. Curly mane and taught neck, reined in, similar to the examples from Bonn. The kind of monument this is from is unknown, but it could be a tombstone.	Uncertain, probably 1st century	H: 60cm; W: 46cm; D: 11cm	Grey stone	From the Moselle river at Koblenz, 1867.	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6201
RR 82	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Stela for Respectus, son of Berus, of the Suebi on the Neckar, an explorer aged 23. Stone put up by Candidus, Berus' brother. Triangular pediment decorated with two wheels either side of a crescent moon and a staff or branch? Through it. Relief panel is carved away, and plain inscription die (no frame) below. Rider sits almost as a block on the horse, with small legs and arms distinguished but no carving on the head to identify a portrait - unfinished? He holds a shield and 2 spears in his L hand. Horse walks to the R, with one foreleg raised mid-gait. Tail and mane simply delineated. No barbarian / foe or servant / groom figures, different style.	3rd century?	H: 230cm; W: 78cm; D: 18cm	Red sandstone	1901 in Heidelberg-Bergheim, Ecke Vangerowstraße / Kirchstraße. Found used as spolia in a late Merovingian flagstone grave, together with 2 other gravestones of red sandstone of late 2nd/early 3rd C date	Kurpfälzischen Museum, Heidelberg, inv. no. HD-Ber 1993/7	Schleiermacher 1984 no. 15
RR 83	Germania Superior	Rider relief	Very abraded portion of a stela, showing worn figures of a horse and rider, and a servant / groom in attendance. The rider holds a lance, horse moves to the R. Very similar to the Rhineland form. The motif and stone type suggest it has been moved some distance.	1st century?	H: 110cm; W: 79cm; D: 25cm	Calcaire grossier	Found at Altenburg, 1860, near Vindonissa	Museum Aarau	Espérandieu VII, no. 5450
MG 1	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three women sit on a bench, dressed in long tunics, with round objects (fruit) in baskets or bowls on their laps. The R hand figure is headless, but this has been reattached. The other two remain only below he waist.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 20.8cm; W: 34.8cm; D: 6.6cm	Buff sandstone	Corbridge	Corbridge Museum	CSIR GB I.1, no. 62
MG 2	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three women sit on a bench, mantles over their shoulders which end above the waist, holding round objects n baskets bowls on their laps. Their heads have been broken of and the stone is weathered.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 32.5cm; W: 54.3cm; D: 11.3cm	Buff sandstone	Corbridge	Corbridge Museum	CSIR GB I.1, no. 63
MG 3	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three women sit on a high-backed bench, holding baskets or bowls of fruit in their hands. A.; figures are now headless and worn, most of the R hand figure has gone.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 55.5cm; W: 60cm; D: 18cm	Buff sandstone	South Shields, 1875, during excavation of the fort at Arbeia.	Great North Museum, Hancock (formerly Museum of Antiquities of Uni of Newcastle and of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle), Inv.1904.2	CSIR GB I.1, no. 235
MG 4	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three women are shown probably sitting (but perhaps standing) each within their own niche made of an arch surmounting pillars. Their hands are together and they wear long tunics. Their faces are incised with diagonal striations incised as simple dot eyes and line mouth, now worn. The inscription is in a wide, recessed panel underneath; letter forms slightly irregular and now somewhat indistinct. Rare to find both text and image in Britain.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 46.6cm; W: 65cm; D: 13.6cm	Buff sandstone	Found built into a wall at Mitchell's Printing works, S. Nicholas' churchyard, Newcastle. Could have come from elsewhere.	Great North Museum, Hancock (formerly Museum of Antiquities of Uni of Newcastle and of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle), inv. no. 1848.4	CSIR GB I.1, no. 236; RIB, no. 1318
MG 5	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Two (of an original three) women are seated on chairs within gabled niche. Their tunics, mantles are gathered with swags over laps and shins. Their hands are together, resting on their own laps, perhaps clasping objects which are now gone. The central figure is a little taller than the other two. The stone is very worn and the third figure entirely gone.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 24.5cm; W: 20.7cm; D: 8.7cm	Buff sandstone	Found at Halton Chesters, 1960.	Great North Museum, Hancock (formerly Museum of Antiquities of Uni of Newcastle and of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle), Inv.1960.33	CSIR GB I.1, no. 240
MG 6	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Upper part of a relief survives, showing just one figure, though there probably would have been three. She is seated, with short hair parted at the centre. Cable moulding along the top of the stone.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 28cm; W: 20.7cm; D: 7cm	Buff sandstone	Thought to be from Halton Chesters, 1960	Great North Museum, Hancock (formerly Museum of Antiquities of Uni of Newcastle and of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle)	CSIR GB I.1, no. 241
MG 7	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three women within the same arched niche, flanked by short columns. They are seated and probably hold baskets of fruit in their laps. The stone is very weathered; the top of the gable and below the niche are broken off. Hint of <i>Mat...</i> inscription below the niche.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 33.6cm; W: 31.3cm; D: 13.4cm	Buff sandstone	High Rochester fort	Great North Museum, Hancock (formerly Museum of Antiquities of Uni of Newcastle and of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle), Inv.1925.1/9	CSIR GB I.1, no. 243
MG 8	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Schematic carving of three female figures, dressed on long garments, beneath a denticulated, arched canopy. Arms crossed over chest. Two wear only pleated skirts, on the R damaged. Eyes accentuated. R hand figure only survives from above the waist.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 24cm; W: 19.5cm; D: 5cm	Schist	Garden of no.7 Cleveland Walk, Bathwick, near Bath	Roman Baths Museum	CSIR GB I.2, no. 38
MG 9	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Just feet and lower drapery of figure seated in a niche remain. ?left hand of a triad of matres. Flat rectangular rim below carving with inscription: <i>Ing(enuius) Fabill[...]</i>	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 15cm; W: 17.5cm; D: 7.5cm	Limestone	Colerne Park, Wiltshire	Roman Baths Museum	CSIR GB I.2, no. 121
MG 10	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Altar carved on all faces, has a relief carving of three female figures on the front face. They are seated frontally, wearing long tunics, L hands on knees and R hand crossed over breast. R side has male fig standing frontally, R arm folded over breast, holding dead animal in R hand, L arm missing. L side has a male and female fig, both standing to front with long tunics and slightly shorter mantles, she prob holding an offering in her hand. Back has pig and a pitcher, representing sacrifice.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 61cm; W: 42cm; D: 32cm	Sandstone	South of Holgate Rd railway bridge, York, along with a range of other 2nd and 3rd century sculpted stone and fragments. A cemetery area near two Roman roads.	Yorkshire Museum	CSIR GB I.3, no. 26
MG 11	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Relief carving showing three female figures seated side by side on a bench, each with a shell canopy above (triple canopy unusual). A column, still remaining on bottom R, prob supported the canopy. Long drapery, with feet poking out from underneath, and shawls around shoulders, tied across front. Prob had headdresses, or disproportionately large heads and necks. Each has a round fruit in one hand, bunch of grapes on middle one falls almost to floor. Grapes unusual. The top L broken off, and shell canopy and head of figure on R is missing.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 47cm; W: 52cm	Buff sandstone	Uncertain; first recorded built into a garden wall at Hailes House, Colinton, Midlothian in 1917.	The Abbey, Fort Augustus, Invernesshire	CSIR GB I.4, no. 61

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 12	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	One female figure carved in the round. She is seated on a chair, set on top of a moulded base. Facing front, with hands in lap and holding a small animal, perhaps a young goat? Moulded base. Square hole for attaching head (unless it was repaired) - now lost. Associated with two others: prob CSIR GB I.6, nos 167 and 168. They are similar in style and appear to be by the same sculptor, they differ in dimensions and shape of the chair arms, drapery detail, and base mouldings. Perhaps they were carved separately and then displayed together in a triad. Another statue from the vicinity is unfinished (CSIR GB I.6, no.170) - still, more likely to be shrine than workshop, and weathering suggests they had sat outside. Head and upper part of the back missing; weathered; hands and animal in lap missing.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 101cm; W: 43.4cm; D: 41.8cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, seen by Gordon in 1724-5. Horsley said it stood near a hedge and a brook, prob Knag Burn, 'a furlong' (200m) SE of fort	Museum of Antiquities Newcastle, inv. no. 1822.11	CSIR GB I.6, no. 166
MG 13	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Like the above - woman seated on a chair with straight arms, moulded base, dressed in tunic with deep overfold (or over tunic) to her knees, and mantle falling in loop over knee, folds either side. ?something in lap, now weathered away. The head and shoulders are broken off; hands and object in lap gone; weathered from knees up	2nd - 3rd century	H: 106cm; W: 46.5cm; D: 52cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, seen by Gordon in 1724-5. Horsley said it stood near a hedge and a brook, prob Knag Burn, 'a furlong' (200m) SE of fort	Museum of Antiquities Newcastle, inv. no. 1822.12	CSIR GB I.6, no. 167
MG 14	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Like above - woman seated on chair with curved arms and a wickerwork pattern on edges, moulded base. Dressed in tunic with deep overfold (or over tunic) to her knees, and mantle falling in loop over knee, folds either side, it also covers her forearms. ?Something in lap, now weathered away. The head and shoulders are broken off; hands and object in lap gone; weathered from knees up.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 100.7cm; 48.8cm; D: 45cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, seen by Gordon in 1724-5. Horsley said it stood near a hedge and a brook, prob Knag Burn, 'a furlong' (200m) SE of fort	Museum of Antiquities Newcastle, inv. no. 1822.13	CSIR GB I.6, no. 168
MG 15	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Single female figure carved in the round, seated on chair with curved arms wickerwork pattern on edges, plain base. Dressed in archaic long tunic, with deep overfold (or over tunic) and mantle. Curved folds in tunic by L side of her body, above the waist, and falling in prominent zig zag over knees. Associated with CSIR GB I.6 nos 166-8 and 170. Elements here (curved fold above waist) similar, perhaps by same sculptor and forming an incomplete group with no.170? Sufficiently different from the other group to suggest not work of same hand. Broken across torso, lower part remains; very weathered.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 89.6cm; W: 49.1cm; D: 42cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, seen by Gordon near fort and with CSIR GB I.6, nos 166-8, 170, in 1724-5	Museum of Antiquities Newcastle, inv. no. 1822.9	CSIR GB I.6, no. 169
MG 16	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Single female figure carved in the round, seated on chair with curved arms, plain base. Dressed in ankle-length tunic, with deep overfold (or over tunic) and mantle which covers upper chest and arms. In L hand an unrecognisable object. Unfinished below the knees, with some rough point marks. Curved folds in tunic by L side of her body, above the waist, similar to CSIR GB I.6, no. 169.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 90.6cm; W: 51.3cm; D: 44cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, seen by Gordon near fort and with CSIR GB I.6, nos 166-9, in 1724-5	Museum of Antiquities Newcastle, inv. no. 1822.10	CSIR GB I.6, no. 170
MG 17	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Seated female figure, carved in the round. She is wearing ankle length under-tunic and calf-length over-tunic. Bowl in lap. Plain, backless chair.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 45cm; W: 46.5cm; D: 36.5cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, not later than 1902	Chesters Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 171
MG 18	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Single figure carved in the round. Seated woman, holding a large bowl or basket on her lap. She appears not to be clothed, but could have been painted on - not carved. Parallels with figures at Carrawburgh and Caerwent.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 21.4cm; 15.3cm; D: 19.4cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, from commander's house	Chesters Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 172
MG 19	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Group of three women carved in the round, seated on high-backed chair with curved arms. Dressed in tunics with high belt. R hand hold beakers; L hand hold fruit? Heads now missing.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 75cm; W: 120.2cm; D: 31cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, not later than 1725	Housesteads Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 173
MG 20	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Very weathered relief, showing three female figures, each seated in her own niche under a semi-circular arch. Dressed in tunics with high waist and mantles, draped over legs with folds below the knees. Short hair. Hands rest on their laps, appear to hold baskets or bowls, perhaps containing fruit.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 34.7cm; W: 38.2cm; D: 9cm	Buff sandstone	Housesteads, from barrack block XIV, 1960	Housesteads Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 174
MG 21	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Single figure carved in the round. Woman sits on high-backed chair, with large basket on her lap, presumably of wickerwork due to the diagonal striations, containing fruit and flowers. Hair is parted in the centre and combed down each side; face is squarish and nose simply executed. Dressed in cloak which covers forearms, long tunic, overgarment which reaches to calves. Drapery folds and recessed between legs.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 27cm; W: 16.4cm; D: 11cm	Buff sandstone	Vindolanda from a field wall in 1976	Vindolanda Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 175
MG 22	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Two (of an original three) women carved in relief. They seated on long bench, one leg of which seen on far R. Baskets or bowls in laps, probably contained fruit. Plain frame moulding on the R, separated from back niche by a furrow. Top of the relief is broken away, L hand figure is missing. Weathered.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 16.7cm; W: 21.5cm; D: 10.6cm	Buff sandstone	Vindolanda	Vindolanda Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 176
MG 23	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Single figure carved in relief. Woman seated within gable-topped niche. May have held an object, now missing, perhaps basket or bowl of fruit, on lap. Back has been roughly worked. Three pieces survive including the apex of the pediment, head of the figure and part of the niche, the body and another part of the niche.	Early 3rd century?	H: 27.3cm; W: 16.2cm; D: 6.5cm	Buff sandstone	Vindolanda at S end of strip house on site xxvii in the vicus, 1970	Vindolanda Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 177
MG 24	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Altar (broken, front damaged, arm of the figure missing) carved with female figure, standing within arched niche on the front of the shaft of an altar. Short hair and calf-length tunic. To her R is an altar, on which she may be sacrificing. Knife and ?axe on L of shaft; patera and jug on R side. Focus w bolsters on top, and 3 rosettes w 4 petals each on either side of capital. Inscription <i>Matrib[us] ... ntius ...</i>	2nd - 3rd century	H: 33.4cm; W: 18.8cm; D: 13.5cm	Buff sandstone	Carvoran, in the wall of a farm building	Chesters Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 178
MG 25	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Carved in relief. Female figure sits on a chair with S-shaped sides and bulbous legs, feet resting on rectangular block. Shoulder-length hair, dressed in mantle fastened on the breasts, two tunics layered with large sleeves. Fruit on her lap, perhaps within shallow basket. Careful patterning to delineate drapery. Broken at both ends.	3rd century?	H: 99.3cm; W: 71.4cm; D: 19cm	Buff sandstone	Bewcastle, not later than 1765	Tullie House Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 180
MG 26	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	An altar dedicated to <i>Genii Locii</i> , carved on L side with a female figure seated in a high-backed chair. She is dressed in tunic with long overfold and high waist, cloak fastened by brooch at throat, covering shoulders and arms. In lap appear to be a bowl and ladle; in R a long object with perpendicular protrusion. Genius holding cornucopia on the R side, perhaps also sporting a mural crown. Very worn.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 97.5cm; W: 44.3cm; D: 30cm	Red sandstone	Carlisle, from the cellar of the Grapes Inn, marketplace end of Scotch Street, 1787	Tullie House Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 468

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 27	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Relief panel with broad niche containing four arches, each containing a cench above a figure. Remains of v-shaped pattern seen on far R arch. Pilasters flank the niche. On R is a man, in cloak and tunic, sacrificing over an altar. Inhabiting each of the other 3 niches is a female figure, perhaps best identified as statues of deities, each with a base and mounted on a dais. Identified as mother goddess on basis of their seated position	2nd - 3rd century	H: 50.5cm; W: 71.8cm; D: 13cm	Red sandstone	Carlisle, found while laying sewers in Fisher Street in 1858	Tullie House Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 486
MG 28	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three figures carved in relief, their heads now broken off. Three women seated, hold bowls on their laps, each w attribute in R hand: woman on L holds knife or distaff; middle a round object (sacred cake?); on R a plant? All dressed in tunics and mantles, though swirling drapery design on figure on R. She seems dominant both because of this and because of greater size.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 24.5cm; W: 35.6cm; D: 98cm	Buff sandstone	Carlisle, on the site of the White Swan Inn, English Street, found in 1883.	Tullie House Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 487
MG 29	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Relief carving, broken vertically down centre, so that only 2 female figures to the R remain. Within a broad niche topped by a segmental arch decorated with chip-carving, with squat engaged column at R end, volute acroterion above, the figures are seated, holding bowls in their laps. Both have long hair. Drapery is worn and not much remains, though they were clearly clothed in long garments.	3rd century?	H: 35cm; W: 30.4cm; D: 8cm	Buff sandstone	Carlisle, found during construction of covered markets, 1888.	Tullie House Museum	CSIR GB I.6, no. 488
MG 30	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Relief carving, broken close to the sides of the figure, head and shoulders broken off. The female figure is seated on a chair with bulbous legs. She is dressed in a tunic, and probably originally held a bowl or container on her lap.	2nd - 3rd century	?	?	Carlisle, found in the cellar of the Grapes Inn, marketplace end of Scotch Street, 1787	Now lost	CSIR GB I.6, no. 489
MG 31	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	A relief of three female figures	?	?	?	Carlisle, on the Castle Green	Now lost	CSIR GB I.6, no. 490
MG 32	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	A relief showing three standing <i>cucullati</i> and a seated female figure. Gabled slab, with shell niche, inside which three male figures in hooded cloaks approach a fourth female seated to the R. She has long hair, wears an ample gown, and holds a cornucopia. Identifications not secure - may be Lares and a Genius, Fortuna?	2nd - 3rd century	H: 28cm; W: 22cm; D: 7cm	Limestone	Cirencester, from the site of the new police headquarters, 1964	Corinium Museum, inv. no. A 350	CSIR GB I.7, no. 101
MG 33	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Top of the relief is broken off, including the female figure's head. Carved in relief in recess. Three <i>cucullati</i> stand to L in front of goddess, the one in front holds circular object, as offering. Female figures sits in basket chair and depicted 3/4 looking L. Inscription below: <i>CUDA E LO[...][V]L[...]</i> Goddess can be identified as Cuda.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 25cm; W: 23cm; D: 6cm	Limestone	Daglingworth, Gloucestershire 1951, while ploughing field in which Roman villa recorded	Corinium Museum A197	CSIR GB I.7, no. 102
MG 34	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Freestanding carving, almost in the round of a scene with three standing male figures, and a seated female on the L in smaller scale. Perhaps <i>Genii cucullati</i> and mother goddess, as above?	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 21.5cm; W: 24cm; D: 7.5cm	Limestone	Cirencester, Price's Row, Watermoor Road 1972. Found with a carved eagle, and altar to Mercury and the Matres	Corinium Museum 1980/120	CSIR GB I.7, no. 103
MG 35	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Relief showing two figures, with top and R side broken off. On L a standing male figure wearing a tunic and short-hooded cape, holding a disc-like object in front. Female figure to R curly hair around face, wearing long pleated garment belted at waist and holding a tray of fruit in front. Best identified as a <i>genius</i> -type male deity, with a goddess of fecundity - like Fortuna and Bonus Eventus?	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 24.3cm; W: 18.7cm; D: 8cm	Limestone	Cirencester	Corinium Museum B2048	CSIR GB I.7, no. 104
MG 36	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Good quality relief carving, showing figures within a gabled niche. Three female figures, seated side by side on a couch within a niche, gabled top. Hair styles or headdresses of each are different. Each in long drapery, but just one garment, and folds as though it went to feet appear behind lower legs, odd. Cloak over L shoulder for the L hand two as we view, but fastened across chest on R. L figure has long loaves, middle one 10 round objects in a basket, and R one some fruit? Set in recess, but flat surround, and panel below as though expecting inscription. Shows some resemblance of Continental versions	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 78cm; W: 64cm; D: 19cm	Limestone	Asheroft area of Cirencester, with other sculptures no.117 and no.23 of Diana, and RIB105 (which is an altar to the Suleviae, by Uslinus - temple to Matres Suleviae (Haverfield) or workshop of Sulinus (Cripps)?	Corinium Museum, C2758	CSIR GB I.7, no. 116
MG 37	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Relief, broken horizontally along the top, removing part of the heads. Three women sit in relaxed pose on long couch. One on L suckles a child, in centre a kid or dog on lap and holds this child's arm, on R woman has arm around infant shoulder. Evocation of fecundity. Shows some resemblance of Continental versions.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 43cm; W: 79cm; D: 16cm	Limestone	Asheroft area of Cirencester, with other sculptures CSIR GB I.7, nos 116 and 23 of Diana, and RIB 105 (which is an altar to the Suleviae, by Uslinus - temple to Matres Suleviae (Haverfield) or workshop of Sulinus (Cripps)?	Corinium Museum, C2756	CSIR GB I.7, no. 117
MG 38	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Worn relief of three seated on a bench. The two to the left and centre have straight hair, the other curly. They wear long garments with defined folds. Centre figure holds a swaddled baby, R has ?cakes on lap, L has fruit. Round-headed niche in gabled block.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 32cm; W: 28.5cm; D: 8cm	Limestone	Cirencester, Leauses before Feb 1862	Corinium Museum, B2047	CSIR GB I.7, no. 118
MG 39	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Worn carving, almost in the round, though the back is not carved. A single female figure is seated on high-backed chair. Three fruits in lap. Perhaps veiled, or just frame to the carving? Drapery is shown. Figure kind of hunched / squat in niche.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 42.5cm; W: 23cm; D: 14cm	Limestone	Asheroft area of Cirencester, with other sculptures CSIR GB I.7, nos 116, 117 and 23 of Diana, and RIB 105 (which is an altar to the Suleviae, by Uslinus - temple to Matres Suleviae (Haverfield) or workshop of Sulinus (Cripps)?	Corinium Museum, C2759	CSIR GB I.7, no. 120
MG 40	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Figure carved in the round, with upper part missing. A woman is seated in a chair with semicircular back. Drapery falls in stiff folds to ankles, but nothing survives above knees	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 12.5cm; W: 9.5cm; D: 1.1cm	Limestone	Found in excavations SE of the Bath Gate, by the Fosse Way (NB this is a cemetery area), Cirencester	Corinium Museum, 1980/109	CSIR GB I.7, no. 121
MG 41	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Worn relief, showing four figures within a rectangular niche, surmounted by pediment, and each within another round-headed niche. Three male figures stand, wearing coats or tunics to below knee, each holding a targe with central boss and drawn swords, moving to R where sits a female figure. The ?Mother Goddess wears long garment, and is seated with head veiled.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 26.5cm; W: 28cm; D: 7.6cm	Limestone	?Gloucestershire	Private collection, sold at Christie's 20 May 1981	CSIR GB I.7, no. 133

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 42	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Very worn, rectangular block, carved with 3 female figures in relief. They are seated within 3 arched niches. Naturalistic poses: long drapery, in heavy folds at knees and shoes; bushy hair, drawn back. R hands rest on their laps and L has an object - R has basket of fruit, middle a small animal or child, and L a sheaf or bunch. 2 others similar from nearby, though pose here more informal	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 36cm; W: 42cm; D: 11cm	Limestone	Built into a wall in the lower part of Lincoln, found 1840	British Museum, inv. no. 1856,0507.1	CSIR GB 1.8, no. 15
MG 43	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three seated female figures, carved in the round, heads now broken off, seated on a high-backed couch looking rather thick set and matronly. They wear high-waisted, long sleeved garments, somewhat similar to those from nr Trier with band below waist. Shoulder-length hair. L figure has patera in R hand and dish with small animal in L. Middle has dish of fruit. R fig has a large round loaf and another damaged object. Sculpture was apparently set on a large stone, and in front placed (as if to make a shrine?) a small pillar with an altar (CSIR GB 1.8, no. 69)	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 41cm; W: 48.5cm	Coarse limestone	SE corner of Ancaster churchyard, together with a small altar (CSIR GB 1.8, no. 69)	Grantham Museum, inv. no. DN 214 L1773 R	CSIR GB 1.8, no. 16
MG 44	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Very worn relief carving of three seated female figures, their faces now obliterated. They sit within a gabled niche that has a pediment of cyma reversa and leaf-and-tongue supported by pilaster and fluted shafts with foliate capitals. Central figure is larger and prob raised up, while R hand fig is lower than L. High-belted tunic and cloak, and bushy hair back from face, but cannot tell if anything in their laps as this part is now missing.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 28.5cm; W: 47cm; D: 8.5cm	Fine-grained limestone	Site of county offices, Orchard Street, Lincoln	Lincoln, City and County Museum	CSIR GB 1.8, no. 17
MG 45	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Three women seated on a high-backed bench, with solid arms, carved in the round. The heads, upper torsos, and feet of the women are missing. They wear long drapery, and each hold a basket with round objects on their laps.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 51.5cm; W: 84cm; D: 49cm	Oolitic limestone Middle Jurassic (Bathonian) South Cotswolds	Hart Street / Seething Lae, near St Olive's Church, Crutched Friars, London. Found August 1838.	Museum of London, inv. no. 3359	CSIR GB 1.10, no. 76
MG 46	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Figures carved in high relief, with foliate-decorated surrounds on either side and plain base. Four figures of women, with faces worn off, are seated wearing long draped clothing, with gap-gathered sleeves. The figure on the R and second from the L hold young children, while the furthest L and the second from the R hold what appear to be loaves of bread. Their hair is styled up.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 91cm; W: 120cm; D: 33.5cm	Oolitic limestone Middle Jurassic (Bathonian) South Cotswolds	Found reused in the late Roman riverside wall at Baynard's Castle, Upper Thames Street, London.	Museum of London, inv. no. 77.58	CSIR GB 1.10, no. 77
MG 47	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Altar with three figures on the front side, very worn, but appear to be clothed in long garments. Three figures dancing are seen on either side (9 figures altogether)	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 85cm; W: 59cm; D: 39.5cm	Buff sandstone	Perhaps originally from the fort at Kirkham, Lancashire; perhaps from a rural shrine?	St John's Church at Lund, Preston, Lancashire, used as a font since 1688.	Droop 1931, 30-32; CSIR GB 1.11 forthcoming
MG 48	Britannia	Mother Goddesses	Only the torso survives of the relief. Lindsay Allason-Jones: 'Female figure wearing a round-necked garment, possibly with a slit down the front. Unusually for the North of England, there is no girdle under her small but well defined breasts, implying she is wearing a Celtic tunic (cf. Menimane; Espérandieu 1922, no. 5815), but there is no indication of brooches. The fabric of her garment, roughly indicated by incised grooves, folds over her left arm. She is holding a round object (a patera or fruit) in her right hand. The back of the stone has been deliberately trimmed to a curve, suggesting the figure is sitting in a chair, which may confirm this is a Mother Goddess, rather than the tombstone of a woman, and also that she is a lone deity, although seated individual matres can be seen in groups of three at Housesteads (CSIR GB 1.6, nos 166-70)'	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 23cm; W: 22cm; D: 10cm	Red sandstone	Papecastle, Cumbria. Excavated on the site of the Roman bridge in 2014, code: WAA14. 187. SF 66.	Senhouse Museum, Maryport	CSIR GB 1.11 forthcoming
MG 49	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to the Matronae Gesahenae dedicated by Marcus Iulius Valentinus and Iulia Iustina. Broken on both sides at the top, faces of the women won. Three women sit in a niche with Corinthian pilasters. Two on either side have large round headdresses, the middle one with longer hair. All wear long drapery gathered at the front; all hold baskets of ?fruit/ ?bread. Detailed carving, neat lettering. On the RHS is the figure of a woman wearing long draped clothing; on the LHS a man in a short tunic, holding a large container in one hand and a patera in the other.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 119cm; W: 74cm; D: 32cm	Limestone	From Titz-Rödingen in 1785, first to Mannheim Museum then to Bonn in 1904	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 16271	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6336; Lehner 1918b, no. 332
MG 50	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Gavadiae dedicated by Quintus Iulius Severinus and Secundina Iustina, in several pieces. Three women's head-and-torso busts protrude from the altar face, two on either side wearing large headdresses, the one in the middle with longer hair. Wearing draped clothing, carrying baskets.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 99cm; W: 64cm; D: 14cm	Sandstone	From Titz-Rödingen in 1785, to Mannheim Museum	Mannheim Museum	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6342
MG 51	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Gavadiae dedicated by Marcus Iulius Primulus and Novellia Secunda. Three women sit beneath a niche and either side of Corinthian pilasters and above the inscription panel. The head of the R hand figure is missing, but the L hand one has a large round headdress; the central one has longer hair. All three wear the draped clothing gathered at the front, and hold shallow baskets in their laps. Stylised foliage on each side.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 102cm; W: 65cm; D: 33cm	Red sandstone	From Titz-Rödingen in 1785, to Mannheim Museum	Mannheim Museum	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6344
MG 52	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Etttrahenae and Gesahenae, by Marcus Iulius Amandus. The inscription in large letters, on the altar with scrolled bolsters, wraps around an upper scene with three seated female figures, wearing long draped clothing. The outer two have large rounded headdresses, the central one's head is now worn off. They each have something on their laps, now abraded and hard to make out. On a lower panel is a sacrifice scene: two figures on each side (two men on the R, and two women on the L, it seems - the closer of the two women to the middle has a large rounded headdress) approach a central altar, the figure on the R pouring a libation. Laurel leaves on either side of the altar.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 115cm; W: 64cm; D: 13cm	Red sandstone	Found in Bettenhofen nr Rödingen, Kr. Jülich, in a grave	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U 50	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6348; H. Lehner 1918b, no. 326; CIL XIII 7895
MG 53	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragments from relief of the matronae, perhaps an altar	2nd - 3rd century?	W: 12cm	Sandstone	Jülich	?	Forster and Perse 1999
MG 54	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of an altar dedicated to Matronae Veteranae by Caius Priminius. Three seated women in a niche between pilasters; hairstyle and dress as seen on other examples. Two hold fruits on their laps, but no trace on the third. On one side a cornucopia with ear of corn and fruits; on the other a table with a basket.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 85cm; W: 61cm; D: 30cm	Sandstone	Found near Embken	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U 41	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6350; Lehner 1918b, no. 516
MG 55	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar, worn at the top, with carvings of a youth on the R side and a woman on the L side. On the front, the inscription, dedicating it to the Matronae Veteranae by C. Matrinus Primus. Three roundels beneath the first line of inscription show busts of the three Mother Goddesses with large headdresses.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 80cm; W: 46cm; D: 25cm	Sandstone	Found near Embken	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U44	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6355; Lehner 1918b, no. 522
MG 56	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matronae Vesuniahenae by Sextus Candidus Maternus. Three seated, draped, women on top half of altar, now broken across their laps where they hold baskets of fruit, inscription survives below.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 87cm; W: 71cm; D: 11cm	Sandstone	Found at Zulpich in 1856	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U54	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6356; Lehner 1918b, no. 514

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 57	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matronae Cuchenhae by Lucius Marcus Verecundus son of Aeto and soldier of legio I Minervia, inscription above a scene of sacrifice. One figure on the R makes an offering on an altar, two large (adult) figures on the L (one male, one female) look on, and there is a further smaller figure on far L - perhaps portrait of the dedicator and family?	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 85cm; W: 53cm; D: 14cm	Sandstone	Found at Zulpich in 1856, N of the marketplace in a grave	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U53	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6358; Lener 1918b, no. 323.
MG 58	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Anesaminehae, inscription worn and part of top including L figure's head broken off. Three women sit in a niche above the inscription panel, in usual way with long draped clothing gathered in a v at the front. The outer figures probably had large headdress, now broken; the central one has long hair.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 85cm; W: 55cm; D: 24cm	Sandstone	Found at Zulpich in 1856	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U57	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6366; Lehner 1918b, no. 260
MG 59	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of a mother goddess scene, just the tops of the heads remain against a pilastered background. One of several reused or found near graves.	2nd - 3rd century?	W: c. 80cm	Sandstone	Zingsheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn	Billier 2010, 185, Taf. 19.2.
MG 60	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of a mother goddess scene, just one of the heads remain against a pilastered background. One of several reused or found near graves.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: c. 25cm	Sandstone	Zingsheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn	Billier 2010, 187, Taf. 20.2.
MG 61	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of a mother goddess scene, just one of the heads remains, probably the centre figure.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 12.5cm; W: 11.5cm; D: 7cm	Sandstone	Zingsheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn	Billier 2010, 187, Taf. 20.1.
MG 62	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Albiahae. The monument, originally rectangular below, is topped with one of 2 columns flanked aedicula. Above, volutes and fruits seem to have been. Knocked down; half of the front is damaged. In the niche, the three goddesses sit on a bench in the long dress, which is closed under the neck, and the coat, which is closed on the chest by a clasp. The two outer ones with the characteristic hoods, the middle without the same, around the neck with lunular pendant, with fruit on the lap, which is destroyed at the left. On the R side, acanthus ornament, out of which a goblet with three stalks grows out. Under the aedicule is the inscription	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 80cm; W: 46cm; D: 26cm	Sandstone	Oberelvenich, near Zülpih, Euskirchen, im 'so-called Heidenfeld'	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U37	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6353; Lehner 1918b, no. 253
MG 63	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Lower part of a sculptured monument, damaged at the top. The three goddesses sit in an aedicula flanked by 2 pillars. Only the lower body from the chest are preserved with fruit baskets on the lap. The base knocked off, the r. lower corner is missing. Inscription records dedication to Matronae Albiahae by Superinius Iustinus. On the right narrow side a vase with acanthus tendrils, the l. narrow side cut off. Hollowed out at the back.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 62cm; W: 48cm; D: 24cm	Sandstone	Found at Oberelvenich in 1863	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U36	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6370; Lehner 1918b, no. 256.
MG 64	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Only the feet of the Matronae survive. Dedication to Matronae Vesuniahene by Lucius Verinius Secundus. Found with another altar, with just inscription to the same Matronae by Marcus Antonius Paecatus	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 97cm; W: 55cm; D: 23cm	Sandstone	From a grave, at Vettweiss, village between Düren and Zülpih	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn	Espérandieu X, no. 6562; Lehner 1918b, no. 510
MG 65	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar with abraded top, dedicated to Vesuniahene by C. Nigrinius . . .tus. Three women sit within a niche on firm high-backed chairs, the outer two wearing large rounded headdress, the centre figure slimmer. They wear long garments and hold baskets on their knees. Inscription on plain die below. Detail is worn away. On each side a tripod, one with vases the other with fruits.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 84cm; W: 58cm; D: 15cm	Sandstone	From a grave, at Vettweiss, village between Düren and Zülpih	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 4909.	Espérandieu X, no. 6563; Lehner 1918b, no. 512
MG 66	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of an altar dedicated to Matronae Vesuniahene by Lucius Verinius Secundus. Just a foot and hems of long garments can be seen from the Matronae figures.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 51cm; W: 53cm; D: 18cm	Sandstone	From a grave, at Vettweiss, village between Düren and Zülpih	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 5031.	Espérandieu X, no. 6563; Lehner 1918b, no. 513
MG 67	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just the feet of a Mother goddess remain, along with a resting dog. Dedicated to the goddess Sunuxsal, by Ulpus Hunicius, so perhaps not Matrona. Similar form. Other altars to this deity <i>CIL</i> XIII, nos 7795, 7912, 7917, 8248, 12004.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 28cm; W: 36cm; D: 21cm	Red sandstone	From 'the so-called Probststeinalde near Eschweiler an der Inde, on the property of Mr. Wüsten'	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U 65.	Espérandieu X, no. 6566; Lehner 1918b, no. 245
MG 68	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar with abraded top and worn front face, dedicated to Matronae Arvagastae by Aulus Vettus Victor. Three women seated on a high-backed bench, each holding a basket on her lap. The outer two have large headdresses and are much larger than the central figure with longer hair. They each wear draped clothing, gathered at the front, with large sleeves.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 90cm; W: 55cm; D: 25cm	Sandstone	Found at the end of the 16th century, seen 150 years later '5 leagues from Cologne in the village of Muddersheim' where it had been placed 'beneath the door of the church'. Recovered during destruction of that church in 1795.	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn A 87b	Espérandieu X, no. 6567; Lehner 1918b, no. 261
MG 69	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar, now abraded, dedicated to Matronae Hamavehae by C. Iulius Primus and C. Iulius Quartus. Three women sit in a niche above the inscription on a bench, each wearing long draped clothing gathered at the breast and holding basket on their lap. The outer two have large headdresses, the central figure is smaller and has long hair or a mantle.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 120cm; W: 72cm; D: 33cm	Local stone	Found by a labourer in 1552, Inden-Altendorf.	RGM Köln OR Jülich, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum	Espérandieu X, no. 6569; <i>CIL</i> XIII, 7864; Bjb 1999, 136-7
MG 70	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matronae by Masius. Bluntly executed figures, one male (R) one female, stand in a niche on the front of the altar beneath the inscription. The woman has a large round headdress, and wears a long draped piece over left shoulder, on top of a plain (long sleeved) tunic. The man wears a tunic and paenula, and pours a libation onto an altar set between the two figures. The inscription is on 2 lines, dedicated by this peregrine man (maybe the woman is his wife?). This is the first example from Lower Rhine dedicated by a local who has not yet been enfranchised.	Mid second century or later	H: 70cm; W: 44cm; D: 19.5cm	Limestone	From Mechernich	?	Derks 2013
MG 71	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Amnesahene dedicated by Sextus Albanus Valens. Only the feet of the left and middle matron and the sides remain. About half of the inscription must be missing. The reconstruction of the name is not certain.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 75cm; W: 72cm; D: 28cm	Limestone	Thorr, Kr Bergheim, in an old chapel, in 1906	LVR- Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 17897	Lehner 1918b, no. 258.
MG 72	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Octocannae by C. Salvius Quietus. Above the inscription, now mostly broken off, were three seated women. Only the baskets in their laps and lower legs with long draped garments remain.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 52cm; W: 42cm; D: 22cm	Red sandstone	From a possible temple site at Gripswald, near Orsann, in Krefeld region, 1863	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn inv. no. U 29	Espérandieu X, no. 6608; Lehner 1918b, no. 339; <i>CIL</i> XIII 8573
MG 73	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Octocannae by Quintus Iulius Quietus and Iucundus and Ursulus. Within a pedimented niche, altar bolster scrolls above, sit three women each wearing long clothing gathered at the chest, with outer mantle, and holding baskets on their laps. Outer two have large headdresses, the central one has longer hair. On the right a stylised foliate spray, on the left side a rudder and globe with a cornucopia.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 90cm; W: 52cm; D: 22cm	Red sandstone	From a possible temple site at Gripswald, near Orsann, in Krefeld region, 1863	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn inv. no. U 28	Espérandieu X, no. 6616; Lehner 1918b, no. 336; <i>CIL</i> XIII 8571

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 74	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Octocannae, dedicated by Albinus Gratinus, Albinus Albulus, Albinus Ursulus, Albinus Paternus soldier, Oglannius Lubainus soldier, Oglannius Messor, and [...]issinius Verinus. Three female figures, seated within pilasters, niche above broken. Two outer women have large headdresses; middle one has longer hair and looks a little younger, though all are abraded. They each hold something on their laps, now worn, and have long draped clothing gathered at the chest.	First half 3rd century	H: 42.5cm; W: 71.5cm	Sandstone	Krefeld-Gellup, reused in construction of late fortress of <i>Gelduba</i> .	?	AE 1981, no. 686
MG 75	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Many fragments of altars dedicated to Matronae Veteranae. Approx. 54 complete altars accounted for, with at least 26 pieces featuring reliefs with figures of Matronae. The arrangement appears to be the now-familiar one: figures with large headdress and one with longer hair, seated on a bench, wearing long drapery, within a pedimented niche on an altar.	Second half 2nd century - early 3rd	Various	Sandstone	Nideggen-Abenden	?	Sommer 1985, 313-352.
MG 76	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Three stones with figures of the Matronae, seated on a bench, within a niche. They show three female figures, wearing long clothing in the usual way, the outer two with larger headdresses and the centre figure apparently younger with longer hair. This site also produced 14 inscriptions to the Matronae Alafruae and 12 inscriptions to the Matronae Amfratinae.	2nd - 3rd century	Various	Sandstone	Eschweiler	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn	Gaitsch 1982, 487-491, Abb. 19.
MG 77	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure sits in a chair within a niche, wearing long draped garments, gathered at the chest. She holds a basket of fruits or loaves. To her R, lying by the chair is the figure of a dog. Is this Nehalennia? Some traces of paint on the stone.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 32cm; W: 47cm; D: 14cm	Limestone	Found in a modern wall, Hohestraße, Cologne	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 314	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6414
MG 78	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to the Vagdavecrusti (not Matronae?) by Ti. Flavius Constans, praetorian prefect, very eminent man. Beneath an inscription panel is a scene of sacrifice. The main male figure makes an offering on an altar. Two attendants stand behind him. To the L is a servant bringing a platter of food, and next to him is a musician playing the double flute.	AD 160 - 170	H: 117cm; W: 82cm; D: 43.5cm	Limestone	Found at Wolfstraße, Cologne, in 1909.	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 670	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6439; <i>CIL</i> XIII, no. 12057; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010 no. 207.
MG 79	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar with bolsters, sculpted on three sides with reliefs. Dedicated to the Matronae Afliae by Marcus Marius Marcellus. On the front, three women sit on a bench with a high back within a shell niche framed by pilasters. The two outer women have large 'Ubian' headdresses, the central one has longer hair, though all have damaged faces. They hold baskets of fruit on their laps, and wear long drapery, fastened with a brooch on the chest. Below is the inscription panel. On each side of the altar is carved a young man, each in a tunic and cloak. The man on the L side has a basket of fruit too, and on the R side he holds a cup in his R hand and a long strap over his L shoulder.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 103cm; W: 65.5cm; D: 34cm	Limestone	Spolia from entrance to the tower across from Appellhofplatz (no.7?), Köln, found 1829	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 228	Thomas 2014, Kat. 2; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 118; Espérandieu VIII, no. 6412.
MG 80	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Two pieces of an altar with pediment and aedicule, inscription in the architrave <i>A[U]...</i>	2nd - 3rd century	H: 34cm; W: 42cm; D: 28cm	Limestone	Found at St Gereon, outer wall of the northern atrium passageway, Köln, with 7 other mother goddess altars (Thomas, Kat nos 22, 56, 61, 68, 92, 96, 98)	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,113 and 82,971	Thomas 2014, Kat. 18; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 137
MG 81	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Two fragments: the front probably had three female figures seated, in aedicule with pilasters and inscription panel below. Only part of the R portion remains. On the R side, a figure stands in long drapery next to a column in the upper section, broken at the knee; and below is a table with barrel of fruit and a jug next to it. Dedicated to Matronae Aufanae by [...] Iustus.	Late 2nd - early 3rd century	H: 67cm; W: 37cm; D: 41cm	Limestone	From St Gereon, Atrium east wall, Köln	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,94.4 and 82,881	Thomas 2014, Kat. 21; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 135
MG 82	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Lower portion of an altar dedicated to the Matronae Aufanae by veteran Marcus Valerius Superanus survives. Three figures can be seen from the waists down, including the baskets on their laps. They wear long drapery, and each have one foot further forward than the other. Pilasters frame the scene, with inscription die below.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 39cm; W: 38cm; D: 18cm	Limestone	Zülpicher Straße, Köln, walled up in a barn, with Thomas Kat. No. 77, found 1889.	LVR LandesMuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 6361	Thomas 2014, Kat. 26; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 130; Espérandieu VIII, no. 6525; Lehner 1918b, no.
MG 83	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matres Aumenahenae by Quintus Iulius Verinus. Three women sit, holding baskets on their laps and wearing long drapery, within a shell aedicule. The outer two have large 'Ubian' headdress, while the third has long hair, though all have faces obliterated. They sit within a shell niche with a pediment over the top and pilasters at the sides. The altar bolsters are imbricated. The first line of the inscription is within the frame, above the die. On the L and R sides are trees.	Second half 2nd century - first half 3rd century	H: 81cm; W: 49cm; D: 20cm	Limestone	Found at Schildergasse 70-74, Köln, in 1905	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 327,1	Thomas 2014, Kat. 28; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 139; <i>CIL</i> XIII 12054
MG 84	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matronae Axsininehae by Marcus Catullinius. Three women sit on a bench, that has decorated sides and a high back, within a shell niche. Tall pilasters, with foliage pattern, either side extend the full height of the altar. Bolsters on top are imbricated. The women hold baskets in their laps, now worn, and though the faces are obliterated one can tell the outer two women had large 'Ubian' headdress, while the third, central figure has long hair. All wear long draped clothing, gather at the breast in a v-shape, and a necklace with circular pendant.	Mid second century	H: 112cm; W: 68cm; D: 35cm	Limestone	From city wall tower near Appellhofplatz (no.7?), in 1829	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 240	Thomas 2014, Kat. 29; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 140; <i>CIL</i> XIII 8216; Espérandieu VIII, no. 6401
MG 85	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to the Matronae Boudunnae by Dessonia Paterna, with three seated female figures and victories, above inscription. Three women sit on a bench with a high back, the R hand one with a basket of bread or fruit, though the laps of the other two have been damaged (maybe held baskets too? Hard to tell). The outer two have large 'Ubian' headdresses; the central figure long hair, though her head has also been obliterated. Each has long draped clothing, gathered at the chest, and a circular necklace. Either side, two victories standing on globes, hold aloft a canopy, under which the three sit. Pilasters either side are decorated with 2 nymph-like female figures, one above the other vertically. Below, is the inscription die. The sides and top are damaged, but one can make out the outline of a human figure on the R side, and more patterned	Second half 2nd century	H: 101cm; W: 71cm; D: 31cm	Limestone	Unter Fettenhennen, Cologne, in 1964	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 74,438 (or 65,223)	Thomas, Kat. 31; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 141
MG 86	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Mahlenehae, dedicated by Tiberius Cludius Tatigenus (or Taticenus). Three women wearing long draped clothing sit on a bench, each with basket/objects on their lap. The top of the altar and the two RH figures have been badly damaged, but it is possible to tell their clothing was gathered at the chest in typical way. Fluted pilasters are either side, full height of the altar, and each side is decorated with foliage-type spray.	Second century	H: 103cm; W: 61cm; D: 33cm	Limestone	Gereonshof 1, Köln, found in 1885	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 331	Thomas 2014, Kat. 48; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 149; <i>CIL</i> XIII 8221; Espérandieu VIII, no. 6411

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 87	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Right hand fragment of an altar dedicated to Matronae by ?Flavius, originally with three female figures seated in a niche above an inscription. Only part of the central and the R hand female figures survive on this altar. They are seated, both with large Ubian headdresses, with long draped clothing, in a niche. A tree branch is on the RHS	Late second or more probably third century	H: 48cm; W: 16cm; D: 13.5cm	Limestone	Unknown	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. Lü 767	Thomas 2014, Kat. 57; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 165
MG 88	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Lower half of an altar dedicated to Matres Suebii Hiedungiae by Septiminius Fidelis, a negotiator, with three female figures seated in a niche. Lower portion survives, showing almost to the waists of the seated women, except the one on the R, just enough to include the baskets on the laps of the central and L figure. They wear long drapery, and each have one foot further forward than the other. Pilasters frame the scene. The inscription is on a plain die below.	Second century	H: 53cm; W: 54cm; D: 23cm	Limestone	Hohe Str. / Marspfortengasse, Köln, found in 2003 as spolia turned over and reused as 4th C paving	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 2003, 201	Thomas 2014, Kat. 63; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 157
MG 89	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Three female figures seated on a bench within a shell niche, above an inscription dedicated to the Matres Suebii by Lucius Flavius Quietus. Three women, the outer two with somewhat larger headdresses, all wearing long draped clothing. The heads are damaged/defaced. Each holds a basket with round fruit or bread on her lap. Decorated pilasters runs full height of the altar, with corinthian capitals. Bolsters contain rosettes. There are acanthus sprays on each side.	(Thomas) Severan; AD 100-200 (Heidelberg database)	H: 68cm; W: 59cm; D: 29cm	Limestone	Heumarkt, southern end of the filling of the excavation pit of the terrace retaining wall, Köln, in 1996	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 96,182 (usually on display at the Pratorium)	Thomas 2014, Kat. 66; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 156.
MG 90	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Lower left fragment of altar remains, with just part of the inscription to Matronae Suebii? and the numen, and decorated side. Decorated pilaster that would have run for full height, remains next to plain inscription die. More decorated pilasters on the side, with relief between of a horn, caduceus, and 'money bag' - symbols of Mercury?	Third century	H: 73cm; W: 37cm; D: 34cm	Limestone	Found at St Gereon, outer wall of the northern atrium passageway, Köln, with 7 other mother goddess altars (Thomas 2014, Kat nos 18, 22, 56, 61, 92, 96, 98)	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,102	Thomas 2014, Kat. 68; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 185
MG 91	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just a fragment of a woman's head survives wearing a large headdress	2nd - 3rd century	H: 16.8cm; W: 22cm; D: 13.5cm	Limestone	South side of the Dom	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 69,340	Thomas 2014, Kat. 78
MG 92	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just the torso, down to below knees survives of a seated, most probably female, figure. She wears long, draped clothing, gathered at the front with a slim band. On her lap is one large rounded object (a loaf?) on the R, and a smaller one to the L.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 15cm; W: 17cm; D: ?	Limestone	West side of the Dom	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 69,339	Thomas 2014, Kat. 79
MG 93	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Broken fragment of an altar, with three seated female figures each holding a basket of fruit/bread in their laps. The women wear long draped clothing, with deep 'v' at the front. The L two have their R foot forward; the R one has her L foot forward, framing the scene. Faces and heads are broken/obliterated, but the outline of large headdresses on outer two may be seen.	c. AD 200	H: 35cm; W: 41cm; D: 16cm	Limestone	Frankenplatz	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 335	Thomas 2014, Kat. 80
MG 94	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Central fragment of the altar remains, showing three female figures seated within what was a shell niche. Each wears draped clothing, with deep v, gathered at the chest, and the outer two have large headdresses (and maybe the middle one too). All of them carry a basket on their laps. Damage has obliterated their features and the baskets, and their feet are cut off. The top and bottom of the altar are broken off, but part of fluted pilasters framing the scene remain, as does some vegetal detail on the sides.	Early 3rd century?	H: 37cm; W: 50cm; D: 18cm	Limestone	Under Fettenhennen	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 334	Thomas 2014, Kat. 81
MG 95	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just the RH two of presumably three female figures survives, seated with long draped clothing with the front V, and holding baskets. Their heads and rest of altar are broken off.	Third century	H: 28.5cm; W: 27cm; D: ?	Limestone	Found at the dump in Brühl, supposedly originally from the banks of the Rhine in Cologne, 1981	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 81,175	Thomas 2014, Kat. 82
MG 96	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure with large headdress and draped clothing, beneath a shell niche which is under a pediment. Pilaster to R. On the RHS is a figure of a youth, carrying a basket of fruit. Only small portion of altar remains. Dedicated to the imperial house.	End 2nd-3rd century (inscription); early 3rd (stylistically)	H: 38cm; W: 32cm; D: 26cm	Limestone	Zülpicherstr., Köln, walled up in a barn, with Thomas, Kat.18, found 1889	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 37,50	Thomas 2014, Kat. 83; Galsterer and Galsterer 2010, no. 216
MG 97	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Above the inscription panel is the shadow of feet, perhaps of the matronae	Second half 2nd century	H: 45cm; W: 35cm; D: 13.5cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall, St Gereon, with Kat. 5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 85, 86, 91, 94, 95, 99, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,94,9; 77,94.16; 82,104	Thomas 2014, Kat. 84
MG 98	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just the head of a woman with large round headdress remains. On the L side is the top of a decorated pilaster	Second half 2nd century	H: 24cm; W: 20.7cm; D: 21.2cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Kat.5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 86, 91, 94, 95, 99, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,504	Thomas 2014, Kat. 85
MG 99	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Left side of an altar, with woman in large headdress sitting beneath 'umbrella'-like shell niche. Pilaster to the L, and bolster on top.	First third 3rd century	H: 30.8cm; W: 24.5cm; D: 17.2cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Kat.5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 85, 91, 94, 95, 99, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,510	Thomas 2014, Kat. 86
MG 100	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Left side of an altar, with woman in large headdress sitting beneath 'umbrella'-like shell niche. Pilaster to the L, and bolster on top. V similar to Kat.86, except more damaged. However, it differs on the L side in that there is a female figure with hair in a low bun, wearing long draped clothing, crossed over the front and bearing a ?basket.	Second half 2nd century	H: 47cm; W: 37cm; D: 37cm	Limestone	Atrium of St Gereon	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, no inv. no.	Thomas 2014, Kat. 87
MG 101	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragments of an altar with pedimented aedicule	Second half 2nd century	R piece: H: 45cm; W: 34cm; D: 46.5cm; L piece: H: 37cm; W: 27cm; D: 46.5cm	Limestone	Atrium of St Gereon	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,519	Thomas 2014, Kat. 88
MG 102	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just a small piece of a female figure with clothing gathered at her front. She would have been sitting, as part of her bent L arm also remains	Second half 2nd century	H: 17.2cm; W: 12.4cm; D: 14.9cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Thomas, Kat. nos 5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 85, 86, 91, 94, 95	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,503	Thomas 2014, Kat. 89
MG 103	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of the left matron with a flat basket of fruit on her lap. Lower body of a servant in a long robe. The right leg is slightly angled and prefixed, with the garment closely conforming to the leg and lower body	Second half 2nd century	H: 31cm; W: 25cm; D: 18cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of St Gereon. Atrium, NW side	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,878	Thomas 2014, Kat. 90

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 104	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Left matron with flat basket of apples and pears on her lap. Head and feet are missing. The right hand holds up a heavily damaged object, a small cornucopia or a spray of foliage/flowers. The right side of the matron is damaged, on her left a remnant of the throne still survives.	Second half 2nd century	H: 26cm; W: 20cm; D: 17.4cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Thomas Kat. nos 5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 85, 86, 94, 95, 99, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,508	Thomas 2014, Kat. 91
MG 105	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragments of a deep relief. One woman, to mid chest survives, with fragment of another's headdress on the L. She also wears a large headdress, and has staring face/expression. V-shaped neckline of drapery. Flat background. The ridged/rougher surface of the stone would have accepted plaster and paint, a little of which is said to survive in the eye sockets (not visible now).	Second half 2nd century	82,125: H: 24cm; W: 31cm; D: 48.5cm 82,1032: H: 13cm; W: 27cm; D: 45cm 82,1034: H: 16cm; W: 81cm; D: 35cm	Limestone	St Gereon, outer wall of the northern Atrium entrance, Köln, together with Thomas Kat. nos 18, 22, 56, 61, 68, 96, 98	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,125; 82,1032; 82,1034	Thomas 2014, Kat. 92
MG 106	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just bottom of a pilaster on the R remains. On the side, some barrells with fruit and lower part of a draped figure	Second half 2nd century	H: 43cm; W: 23cm; D: 30cm	Limestone	St Gereon, Atrium in the wall, together with 6 other fragments, at Kat. 60, 101	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, no inv. no.	Thomas 2014, Kat. 93
MG 107	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fragmentary surviving sacrifice scene with a musician who blows the double flute, between two sacrificers. The right one is frontal, capite velat, holding the patera over an altar with his right hand outstretched and the mappa in his lowered left hand. The figure to the left of the flute player is heavily damaged, but seems to be playing in profile and moving his right arm to the altar. To the left of the figure with his head covered is a smaller figure and next to it another larger figure whose faces are cut off. Above the cornice, there remain the feet of the middle and the right matres set diagonally to each other.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 32.5cm; W: 57cm; D: 23.5cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Thomas Kat. nos 5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 85, 86, 91, 95, 99, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,502	Thomas 2014, Kat. 94
MG 108	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just a basket with fruit, held in the left hand of a woman, remains	2nd - 3rd century	H: 12.9cm; W: 20.1cm; D: 15.5cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Thomas Kat. Nos 5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 85, 86, 91, 94, 99, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,94.17	Thomas 2014, Kat. 95
MG 109	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just the upper torso of a woman's figure survives, damaged on her R side. The arms were bent	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 33cm; W: 40cm; D: 13cm	Limestone	Found at St Gereon, in the north side outer walls, with Thomas Kat. nos 18, 22, 56, 61, 68, 92	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,1025	Thomas 2014, Kat. 96
MG 110	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just a woman's foot on a circular section remains	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 20cm; W: 20cm; D: 12cm	Limestone	Found at St Gereon, in foundations, with Kat. No. 90	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,1009	Thomas 2014, Kat. 97
MG 111	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	On the front of the altar only part of a decorated pilaster or border remains. On the side, a figure holds a spear, broken below their waist	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 25cm; W: 10.6cm; D: 23.7cm	Limestone	Found in foundations of south wall of St Gereon, with Thomas Kat. nos 5, 8, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 53, 84, 85, 86, 91, 94, 95, 102	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 77,505	Thomas 2014, Kat. 99
MG 112	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Fluted pilaster, with, on the right, a owered hand holding a vessel, which could have been a sacrificial servant. Similar to altar inv. no.77.94.4 (Kat.21) and frag 82,881 (Abb.49).	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 30cm; W: 14.5cm; D: 10.5cm	Limestone	St Gereon, Atrium, probably by N wall 82/11	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 82,1023	Thomas 2014, Kat. 102
MG 113	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just portion of a figure wearing draped clothing remains - probably a knee, maybe a bent arm.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 54.4cm; W: 35.4cm; D: 22.8cm	Limestone	Atrium of St Gereon	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, no inv. no.	Thomas 2014, Kat. 103
MG 114	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure sits on a high-backed chair, with straight sides. She wears long, draped clothing, gathered at the front and hanging down in realistic folds. She carries a small dog on her lap, facing to the R, held in both hands. Both the dog's and her head are broken off, as is the rest of the top of the carving. Better identified as Nehalennia?	2nd century?	H: 45cm; W: 30cm; D: 38cm	Limestone	Near St Gereon, Cologne.	Römisch Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 482	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6418.
MG 115	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Two female figures broken from a larger piece. One is seated on a chair with straight sides, the other standing to her R. Both hold baskets of round objects, breads or fruits, the seated figure also seems to have a patera in her R hand. Each wears long drapery, with deep V mantle over a tunic. Heads are missing, broken all around and base worn - original form of the monument is difficult to establish.		H: 48cm; W: 34cm; D: 22cm	Sandstone	Bonn	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. U 186	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6247; Lehner 1918b, no. 566.
MG 116	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar with relief carving in two panels, all worn. The upper panel shows three mother goddesses seated on a bench, the outer two wearing large headdresses, and the central figure with longer hair. Each wears long draped clothing and carries a basket on her lap. Beneath, a sacrifice panel, with three figures arranged around an altar. The figure on the R is female and wears the Ubian headdress; two other figures in the middle and on the L, now worn and detail lost.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 140cm; W: 85cm; D: 41cm	Red sandstone	Found at Bonn Gleuel in 1893, from the old church	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8785	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6309; Lehner 1918b, no. 540.
MG 117	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matronae Aufaniae, by Quintus Calpurnius Certus. Bolsters with leaf decoration and rosettes. Inscription under the cornice, below it a flat arched niche with three enthroned matrons with fruit baskets on their knees. On the right a small standing servant. Below this, a sacrificial scene with a servant behind the altar, a togatus to the left and a woman in tunica and cloak, with large headdress on the right. A tree on each side.	Second half 2nd century	H: 127cm	Limestone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 228.	Lehner 1930, 15, no. 29, Taf. XVI; Espérandieu XI, no. 7777.
MG 118	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Very finely carved altar dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae by Q. Vettius Severus, Quaestor at Cologne. The front face shows three women, seated on a bench, within a niche and above the inscription panel. Their outfits are carved in great detail, with fine finishing of the drapery and the headdress. The two outer figures have the large headdress, the central one long hair. Their clothes are gathered at the front of the chest, and they each wear a chunky necklace with lunular pendant. On their laps are plates of fruit or bread. Figures of attendants can be made out to the L and R, but they are mostly broken off. Above and behind the deities, three figures sit behind a panel, apparently three women. On the L and R sides of the altar are female servants, carrying platters of fruit in their L hand and	AD 164 (consular date added below the inscription)	H: 132cm	Fine limestone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 227	Lehner 1930, 11, no. 19, Taf. VIII and IX; Espérandieu XI, no. 7761.

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 119	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to the Aufaniae, by C. Candidinius Verus, Decurion of Cologne. The stone is broken away at the top, but three seated figures can be made out, with ?Victories on spheres either side of them. They sit wearing long drapery, holding baskets of fruits and the L figure has a large rounded headdress. Decorated pilasters frame the niche. Beneath the inscription is a scene of offering: a male figure to the R makes a sacrifice on an altar, an attendant behind carries something, a musician plays the double pipes and another attendant on the L carries a jug and patera. On each side are scenes of ritual preparation: on one, a figure carries a basket of fruit, wearing long clothing, above a man in a tunic carrying a boar on his back, ready for a feast. On the other side, a man prepares a	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 107cm	Finely-grained limestone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 288	AE 1931, no. 18; Lehner 1930, 11, no. 2, Taf. X; Espérandieu XI, no. 7762
MG 120	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae by Titus Coponius Tertius, <i>cives Norvicus</i> . Altar is broken across the top and surfaces are worn. Three female figures sit within a gabled niche, pilasters either side. Their faces and details of dress are very worn, but the long clothing and baskets in their laps are apparent. The outer two figures have large round headdresses, the centre figure longer hair. A plain inscription die beneath carries a neat inscription. On either side, male figures carry garlands, though again their faces have been obliterated.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 130cm	Sandstone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 226	Lehner 1930, 13, no. 24, Taf. XI and XII; Espérandieu XI, no. 7766
MG 121	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae by (Marcus or Titus) Iulius Pomponianus and Bassiana Gailla (or Calla). The altar is broken to the top and all figures' faces have been obliterated. Beneath the pediment on an upper register, the three women sit, in usual arrangement: two with large headdresses on the outer edges and the central figure with longer hair. Each has long draped clothing and holds a basket of fruit/ bread. The inscription follows beneath this, and below, in a separate scene, five figures are involved in a sacrifice or offering. One large male figure, second from the right, pours a libation over an altar, with two other large figures behind and to the L, looking on. Two small figures might be attendants or children.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 140cm	Sandstone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 229	Espérandieu XI, no. 7760; Lehner 1930, 14, no. 28, Taf. XV.
MG 122	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Very fragmentary altar dedicated to Matronae Aufaniae	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 28cm	Sandstone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 285	Lehner 1930, 17, no. 36.
MG 123	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Matronae Aufaniae, with relief of the goddesses and laurel branches on either side.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 128cm	Grey sandstone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 286	Lehner 1930, 17, no. 37, Taf. XIX 1.
MG 124	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to Deae Aufaniae by Titus Macrinus Titianus, decurion at Cologne. The altar is worn at the top and the faces of the figures now obliterated. Otherwise, three women sit on a bench within a pedimented niche, the outer two wearing large headdresses, the central figure with long hair. Long draped clothing with cloak pinned at the chest, falls to their ankles. Inscription on panel below the niche. Consular date added on base, below inscription.	AD 235 (consular date)	H: 119cm	Sandstone	From under Bonn Minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 277	Lehner 1930, 12, no. 21; Espérandieu XI, no. 7764.
MG 125	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just two hands, holding a basket of fruit remain from a larger figure	2nd - 3rd century?	W: 18cm	Limestone	From under Bonn minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 691	Lehner and Bader 1932, 145, no. 79, Taf. 25a
MG 126	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Left upper corner preserved, destroyed otherwise. On the front left part of the shell niche and a pilaster. Fruits on the top. On the side, the upper body of a sacrificial servant bearing an object on their shoulder, between Corinthian pilasters partially preserved.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 43cm; W: 27cm; D: 30cm	Limestone	From under Bonn minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 327	Lehner and Bader 1932, 144, no. 76
MG 127	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	In a niche, the upper bodies of the three goddesses, otherwise very damaged. Upper part has some remains of a gable and bolsters. On the L side a tree.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 60cm; W: 70cm	Grey-red sandstone	From under Bonn minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 302	Lehner and Bader 1932, 144, no. 77
MG 128	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	The upper bodies of the three goddesses are preserved and the backrest of the bench, above them the shell niche and gable roof. Remains of fluted corinthian pilasters and plant ornamentation on the narrow sides. Broken.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 35cm; W: 66cm	Limestone	From under Bonn minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 299	Lehner and Bader 1932, 144, no. 78
MG 129	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Aufaniae and the wellbeing of Lucius Novellus Modestus and Lucius Veconius Quartio, dedicated by L. Veconius Quartio. Sharply carved with bolsters and rosettes, with a small krater in the pediment relief, flanked by serpents. Beneath a carefully cut inscription was what appears to be a scene of offering or sacrifice, now very damaged and little remaining. On the L side was a young male figure standing beneath an arch which is surmounted by another statue. On the R side, another figure holds something in their R hand, again beneath another statue topped arch.	Second half 2nd century	H: 140cm (Kleiner); 160cm (Lehner)	Limestone	From under Bonn minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 244	Lehner 1930, 15, no. 30, Taf. VII; Kleiner 1991; Espérandieu XI, no. 7770.
MG 130	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Relief of Matronae showing procession. The upper part of the relief is broken, and all figures now lack faces and heads. To the left, three women in usual matronae pose and garments sit, raised on a platform (or is this an image of the cult statue or an altar carving?). To the far L is an attendant figure. On the R is a procession of six figures, facing front, but probably moving gently toward the three deities. Each of these wears long clothing, gathered at the waist/ chest, and the four in front hold baskets of fruits or bread in their L hands, perhaps as offerings.	Second half 2nd century	H: 34cm; W: 70cm; D: 13cm	Limestone	From under Bonn minster	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. D 278	Lehner 1930, 19, no. 42, Taf. XIX 2; Espérandieu XI, no. 7774; Horn 1987, Taf. 6.3
MG 131	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	On the front side in round medallion the bust image of a female youthful figure with cornucopia, which appears over the L shoulder. Judging from the locality, probably the middle matron from a matron monument.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 13cm; W: 16cm; D: 7cm	Red sandstone	Berkum, Kr. Bonn, 1893	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8944	Lehner 1918b, no. 273
MG 132	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Piece from the upper part of an altar, upper edge preserved, otherwise canceled. At the top simply profiled cornice, below in a depression a circular medallion with bust image of a clothed woman with loose hair without headdress. On the neck traces of a choker with appendage. Probably the middle matron from a group of 3 medallions.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 29cm; W: 19cm; D: 8cm	Grey sandstone	Berkum, Kr. Bonn, 1893	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8945	Lehner 1918b, no. 274
MG 133	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Rest of the corners of an altar decorated with relief decoration, top, bottom and broken off on both sides. Standing clothed (female?) figure profile to R side, holding some kind of object (a box?). Head is damaged, lower body lost. On the left abutting side rest of a suspended fruit wreath.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 27cm; W: 11cm; D: 9cm	Grey sandstone	Berkum, Kr. Bonn, 1893	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 8946	Lehner 1918b, no. 275

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 134	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Aufaniae, dedicated by Marcus Petronius Patroclus, beneficiarius consularis. Above, an aedicula with two volutes and a pear on the gable roof. The flat niche is flanked by two pilasters with Corinthian capitals and entablature, the front part of the gable has broken. Inside, sitting on a bench with a high back and side rest, the three matrons in the usual costume with garment gathered at the chest, beneath an open coat and apparently wearing chokers. The left one holds a basket of fruit, the middle one (without a hood) a square box, the right two large spherical fruits on the lap. On the L side: cornucopia with pine cones, 2 pears and two more fruits; right: three-legged table with two single-armed jugs, in between a pig's head on a foot bowl, above a garland with bird. On both narrow sides at the top of the volutes still a decorated pediment. On the pedestal lower part is	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 110cm; W: 68cm; D: 31cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 20742	Espérancieu VIII, no. 6559; Lehner 1918b, no. 283; <i>CIJ</i> XIII, no. 11989; Lehner 1910, 306, no. 1, Taf. 25.
MG 135	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar to Matronae Aufaniae, dedicated by C. Lucretius (S?)Tatius, beneficiarius consularis. The monument is damaged top and bottom. Above: the remains of an aedicula, flanked by very ruined half-columns. The roof and everything above are missing. In the niche, the three goddesses sitting on a bench in the usual clothes, wearing necklaces with thickened ends. The left figure seems to hold a box, the middle one a large flower and a basket, the right a drum-shaped box. Figure on the R's head is completely cut off; the faces of the other two are worn and attributes obliterated. On the L side, a naked, standing female figure - Venus? On the, R side: naked male figure with club in the lowered R, missing the L. and everything from the chest up, probably Hercules.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 78cm; W: 62cm; D: 27cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 20743	Espérancieu VIII, no. 6560; Lehner 1918b, no. 280; Lehner 1910, 307, no. 2, Taf. 25.
MG 136	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Altar dedicated to the Deae Aufaniae and the health of the emperor, by Marcus Aurelius Agrippinus, beneficiarius consularis. Three female figures sit on a bench in a niche, flanked by pilasters with Corinthian capitals. They each wear long drapery with cloak gathered at the chest, and lunula pendants. The middle one has long hair, the outer two headresses. On their laps, are spherical fruits. Beneath this the inscription.	AD 212 - 222 - based on the fact this is for Emperors prob Caracalla or Elagabalus	H: 97cm; W: 66cm; D: 28cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim, 'auf des Görresburg' in 1909	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 20792	Espérancieu VIII, no. 6307; Lehner 1918b, no. 278
MG 137	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Dedication to divine house and the Aufaniae by Marcus Massonius Vitalis, beneficiarius consularis. Intact at time of discovery, later broken on site. Above was the aedicula with the usual depiction, including the insignia, which fortunately one of the finders had written off from destruction. Now there are three pieces: 1) The left side of the inscription with cornice, the pilaster of the aedicula and the legs of the first matron to the knee. Foliage on the side, above a clothed, standing female figure. 2) The upper right corner of the inscription with cornice and traces of the feet of the R Matron and R pilasters; small remnants of the R side. 3) A very weathered abut. from the middle of the inscription	2nd - 3rd century?	3 pieces: 1) H: 51cm; W: 31cm; D: 23cm 2) H: 29cm; W: 30cm; D: 10cm 3) H: 17cm; W: 22cm; D: 5cm	Grey sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21292	Lehner 1918b, no. 281.
MG 138	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Dedication to Matres Aufaniae by Nepotinius Nepotianus, beneficiarius consularis. Lower part of a monument that was formerly made into an aedicula. At the top there are remains left from the feet of the three matrons. On the narrow sides left acanthus ornament, right cornucopia	AD 227	H: 51cm; W: 57cm; D: 24cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 20793	Lehner 1918b, no. 282.
MG 139	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Dedication to Matronae Aufaniae by [...]inius Candidus soldier in legio 1 Minervia and beneficiarius consularis. Fragment of a rectangular monument whose rear half is split off. The rest of the front is composed of 6 fragments. Above, in a circular medallion, the almost completely destroyed bust pictures of the three goddesses, above them a radiant hint of a shell-like niche. Right and bottom the edge is preserved, but to the top and left, missing.	AD 196, during consulship of Dextrus and Priscus.	H: 75cm; W: 50cm; D: 19cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21293	Lehner 1918b, no. 285.
MG 140	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Remainder of a large, damaged sculpture and inscription dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae. The R side of the front survives. At the top can be seen the feet of the middle and right matrons with long garments, to the right of which are a round pillar base and a rectangular pillar base with a small ledge at the end of the aedicula. About half of the inscription width remains. On the R side are two framed fields one above the other. In the lower one is an acanthus goblet protruding scrolled cup, filled with 5 pears, nuts and a pine cone. In the upper field, a standing, clothed, female figure, remaining only slightly above the knees. The back of the monument is decorated with a wrinkled hanging cloth.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 85cm; W: 50cm; D: 38cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 20745	Lehner 1918b, no. 295.
MG 141	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Right upper corner of an aedicula, and three-quarters of the gabled roof remain. On the roof is, to the right, a volute and the top parts of two fruits. Shell-niche has pilasters, the right hand one surviving. Inside, only the upper part of the right matron from the torso up remains, the face destroyed.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 34cm; W: 40cm; D: 28cm	grey-red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21301	Lehner 1918b, no. 300.
MG 142	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Just the shell niche of a matrona-aedicule survives, the rest broken	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 14cm; W: 25cm; D: 16cm	Red sandstone	Nettersheim	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21301	Lehner 1918b, no. 302.
MG 143	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Dedication to Matronae Vacallinehae by C. Ov[...] [Janianus. Five pieces of a large plaque, which has an aedicule, ornamented on the R with pilasters and on the L a half column. On the left of this are the feet of an apparently standing figure	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 46cm; W: 54cm; D: 11cm	Red sandstone	From the sanctuary at Pesch, in front of the entrance of temple B in 1915	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 28817	Lehner 1918b, no. 383.
MG 144	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Two pieces of an altar dedicated to Matronae Vacallinehae	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 28cm; W: 52cm; D: 15cm	Red sandstone	From the sanctuary at Pesch, in court A, 1913	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 25456	Lehner 1918b, no. 384.
MG 145	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Broken altar, just two feet of a Matron remain with the inscription to Matronae Vacallinehae, and a niche	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 14cm; W: 21cm; D: 7cm	Red sandstone	From the sanctuary at Pesch, in court A, 1916	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 28807	Lehner 1918b, no. 399.
MG 146	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Broken all around; just left side of the inscription, pillars of an aedicule on the L side, and on the R the foot of a figure	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 23cm; W: 31cm; D: 13cm	Red sandstone	From the sanctuary at Pesch, in court A, 1913	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 24892	Lehner 1918b, no. 408.
MG 147	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Head ... from a free group, with a very large hood, the face completely repulsed, neglected at the back, so invisible at the back. The hood is damaged at the bottom right. It could be the large-scale cult image of the temple.	2nd - 3rd century?	Diameter of the head: 37cm; length of face: 13cm	Red sandstone	From the sanctuary at Pesch, in court A, in the area of the N wall, 1913	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 25390	Lehner 1918b, no. 428.
MG 148	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Piece from the back of a roughly life-sized clothed statue (free sculpture). The curls tumble over the shoulders, which are no longer completely intact, and underneath are folds of the coat. Failed in front. The piece probably belongs to a large group of matrons, namely the middle matron without a hood.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 24cm; W: 27cm	Red sandstone	From the sanctuary at Pesch, in court A, 1913	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 25457	Lehner 1918b, no. 429.

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MG 149	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	Two heads of women with large round headdress from statues	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 17cm and 18cm; W: 20cm and 21cm	Red sandstone	From ruins of the temple at Pesch, eastern area, next to court A, 1913	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. nos 24996, 24997	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6332; Lehner 1918b, nos 432 and 433
MG 150	Germania Inferior	Mother Goddesses	A large number of fragments from altars, various shapes including foliage, parts of matronae figures, etc. Around 70 in all.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 6-18cm	Sandstone	Found at Pesch 1913-16	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn inv nos 25459, 25066, 28715, 28712, 25406, 25405, 25408 and many more (see Lehner catalogue)	Espérandieu VIII, no. 6371; Lehner 1918b 434-504
MG 151	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of a relief. One woman sits, facing forwards with basket on lap, perhaps containing fruits, wearing a tunic and cloak fastened on her right shoulder. Broken from a larger piece, perhaps with two other figures.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 25cm; W: 23cm; D: 7cm	Limestone	Rheinzabern	Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz	Espérandieu VIII, no. 5899
MG 152	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Fragment of a statue. Part of the figure of a woman, wearing a tunic with belt above the waist and a mantel, seated holding an oval object, perhaps a ball of wool.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 29cm	Sandstone	Speyer	Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz	Espérandieu VIII, no. 5958
MG 153	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Relief with a seated Mother Goddess, no inscription, roughly carved and now worn, she sits in a niche. Long drapery and basket on her lap; rounded hairstyle or headcovering, not overly large.	second half 2nd century - first half 3rd century	H: 89cm; W: 71cm	Sandstone	Built into walls of the church at Obernburg-Eisenbach	<i>in situ</i>	<i>CSIR</i> De II.13, no. 194
MG 154	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Relief with seated deity, perhaps a Mother Goddess or Fortuna, now broken and just torso and attributes remain. She wears a chiton and mantel, holds large round objects in basket in L hand, and wine jug in her R.	Perhaps first quarter 2nd century?	H: 32cm; W: 24cm; D: 10cm	Sandstone	Obernburg, Römerstraße / Krebstraße, found 1978.	Obernburg Römermuseum inv. no. R 1978 5	<i>CSIR</i> De II.13, no. 195
MG 155	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Three women seated on a bench in a niche with double musselshell detailing. Two outer women have large headdress/hairstyle; central one eroded face but seems to have long hair down past her shoulders (perhaps with a veil). The middle one is also raised higher than the accompanying pair, with feet set on a footstool. Each wearing long draped clothing, gathered at the breast (but not beneath as others). They each also carry on their laps a basket, containing spherical-ish fruit or other items. Motif: 'In the layout of the picture and in the design of the costume, strong references to the Lower	2nd - 3rd century	H: 115cm; W: 125cm	Sandstone	Höchst-Mumling-Grumbach, built into northern wall of cemetery chapel	<i>in situ</i>	<i>CSIR</i> De II.13, no. 328
MG 156	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Nymphs or Mother Goddesses. Three young women stand side by side, in long drapery, holding baskets of fruit. The outer two have straight hair; the middle one curly - but each arranged in hairstyle close to head.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 44cm; W: 31cm	Red sandstone	Rüdenau, built into the parish church	<i>In situ</i> . A copy is in Miltenberg, Museum der Stadt, Abguß inv no. ARL 37	<i>CSIR</i> De II.13, no. 389; http://lupa.at/6950
MG 157	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Broken relief, showing two women seated, wearing long clothing. One holds a cornucopia, the other has a bread or fruits in her lap.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 31cm; W: 37cm; D: 13cm	Pale fine-grained limestone	Found in the basement of a house, Besançon, 1875.	Musée Besançon	Espérandieu VII, no. 5272
MG 158	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure, seated on a firm bench, wearing long draped clothing, holds a basket of fruits or bread. The head is missing.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 29cm; W: 19cm; D: 14cm	Sandstone	From the cellar of a villa at Schriesheim	Mannheim Museum	Espérandieu Germanic, no. 198
MG 159	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Large female figure sits in the centre of the relief, with two attendant female figures on either side. The central woman has a rounded hairstyle or headdress and holds a basket of fruit on her lap. The two either side have longer hair, the figure on the L standing straight, on the R is in contrapposto pose, with R arm slightly out.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 60cm; W: 90cm; D: 14cm	Sandstone	From a house at Zazenhausen	Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, inv. no. RL 394	Espérandieu Germanic, no. 530; Fitzlinger <i>et al.</i> 199, Taf 64c.
MG 160	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure carved in relief, seated on a firm high-backed bench with rounded top, wearing long draped clothing, holds a basket of fruits or bread. Her hair is tied up.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 30cm; W: 17cm; D: 8cm	Sandstone	Bad Cannstatt	Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart	Espérandieu Germanic, no. 560
MG 161	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure sits on a high-backed chair, the head now reattached. She has her hair up and wears long clothing, but this is shown incised rather than in deep relief. Her hands are in her lap. Different style to the other figure from Cannstatt above. Dedicated to Herecura by Vallerius.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 113cm; W: 50cm; D: 26cm	Sandstone	Bad Cannstatt	Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart	Espérandieu Germanic, no. 562; <i>CIL</i> XIII, no. 6439
MG 162	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure carved in relief, seated on a firm high-backed bench, a basket of fruits in her lap. Also Herecura?	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 120cm; W: 40cm; D: 20cm	Sandstone	Bad Cannstatt	Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart	Espérandieu Germanic, no. 565
MG 163	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure carved in relief, seated on a firm high-backed bench, a basket of fruits in her lap. Rather stylised carving of the clothing and folds of drapery. A small figure is on her R. Also Herecura, with Mercury?	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 35cm; W: 20cm; D: 12cm	Dolomite	Bad Cannstatt	Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart	Espérandieu Germanic, no. 569
MG 164	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure sits on a high backed chair, which has low arms. Her head and most of her L side are missing, and the R arm beneath the elbow. However, it is clear she was holding a patera in her R hand, as this is seen on her lap. Her clothes are long, a tunic covered by a mantle, closed shows below. The figure is set on a finely carved base with mouldings.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 42.3cm; W: 16.5cm; D: 15.5cm	Limestone	Wiesbaden	Archäologisches Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. WI 303	
MG 165	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Female figure sits on a high-backed and high-sided chair, holding a basket of fruit in her hands on her lap. The figure is damaged at the top, broken across the torso with head and shoulder missing. It is fine workmanship. Long drapery falls to her feet, which are in closed-in shoes.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 17.1cm; W: 14.5cm; D: 11cm	Limestone	in Roman castle, Bad Kreuznach 1938	Bad Kreuznach, Römerhalle inv. 5378	<i>CSIR</i> De II.9, no.57
MG 166	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Wide strip-framed relief. To the left is seated female figure, leaning slightly backwards; wearing robe; L hand on round object (apple?) on knee, R stretched out. Pose etc suggests mother deity. However, the stretched out hand could have held a sceptre and so suggest identification as Juno. Jupiter would then have been on the R, where there is a little unexplained addition. Broken across lap such that torso and head are missing, possibly another figure on her right.	3rd century	H: 21.3cm; W: 14.5cm; D: 7cm	Sandstone	in Roman castle, Bad Kreuznach	Bad Kreuznach, Schloßpark Museum, Römerhalle, inv. no. 101	<i>CSIR</i> De II.9, no.58
MG 167	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Relief panel with two figures. Woman seated frontally, with small figure approaching on the L (her R); child in her left hand, to which she extends her breast; she wears a robe, which leaves both breasts uncovered, and is divided into coarse folds at her legs; on the head a veil or a cloth, which perhaps surrounds the hair that has been brushed up over the forehead; prob sitting on chair with round backrest. L figure carries in L a large cylindrical vessel, R a smaller less distinct one. This relief an important example of the type, and remarkable for central motif and heads at same height. Broken to the R hand side, with more of the panel now missing.	2nd - 3rd century	H: 55cm; W: 65cm; D: 14cm	Red sandstone	Bad Kreuznach 1863, in north-eastern part of the Roman castle	Bad Kreuznach, Römerhalle inv.31	<i>CSIR</i> De II.9, no.59; Esp VIII, no.6165
MG 168	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Broken carving in the round of three seated female figures, wearing long drapery gathered at the front, and with objects in their laps. Very much of the Germania Inferior type - perhaps this was carried here as a personal votive?	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 36.5cm; W: 51cm; D: 21.5cm	Limestone	Mainz	Landesmuseum, Mainz, inv. no. S 621	<i>CSIR</i> De, II.4, no.101

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
MG 169	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Relief showing three seated figures. On the front over a smooth base zone is an arched niche, topped by busts with rosettes in the spandrels. In the niche three women clad in long clothing sit on a bench, their feet on flat stools. The left figure holds a flower or fruit in the left hand, and something now indeterminate in her right hand. The middle one holds an open scroll on her knees. The right one sits with one leg crossed over the other and holds a pair of scales. On the back, another standing woman (goddess?) in a chiton and cloak, her right hand on her chest.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 78cm; W: 52cm; D: 26.5cm	Sandstone	Found at Altenstadt	Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt	Batz and Herrmann 1982, 249, Abb. 176
MG 170	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Three female figures standing in a relief plaque. They are wearing long draped clothing and carry fruit and sceptres. In three pieces, broken to the L.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 30cm; W: 45cm; D: 6cm	Sandstone	Vicus at Güglingen	Römermuseum Güglingen, inv. no. 2000-52-9001-1	Ubi Erat Lupa: http://lupa.at/27472
MG 171	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Head of a ?mother goddess relief. She wears a rounded headdress with a hook at the top	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 7.3cm; W: 5cm; D: 3.5cm	Sandstone	Vicus at Güglingen	Römermuseum Güglingen, inv. no. 2000-52-823	Ubi Erat Lupa: http://lupa.at/27473
MG 172	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Two standing figures, the third broken from the R side. They wear long drapery, looking similar to those from Cirencester, and they hold a string between them - the Fates? Slightly stiff or stylised.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 30cm; W: 19.5cm; D: 6cm	Sandstone	Vicus at Güglingen	Römermuseum Güglingen, inv. no. 2000-52-1016	Ubi Erat Lupa: http://lupa.at/27474
MG 173	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Standing figure of a woman, wearing long draped clothing. Only the lower leg with clothing remain. Broken to the L and above - perhaps there were further figures to the L.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 18.5cm; W: 16cm; D: 6.5cm	Sandstone	Vicus at Güglingen	Römermuseum Güglingen, inv. no. 2000-52-903	Ubi Erat Lupa: http://lupa.at/27479
MG 174	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Standing figure of a woman, wearing long draped clothing. Only the lower leg with clothing remain. Broken to the L and above - perhaps there were further figures to the L.	2nd - 3rd century?	H: 11.3cm; W: 11cm; D: 4cm	Sandstone	Vicus at Güglingen	Römermuseum Güglingen, inv. no. 2000-52-881	Ubi Erat Lupa: http://lupa.at/27481
MG 175	Germania Superior	Mother Goddesses	Figures carved in high relief, plaque broken to the top and worn all over. A female figure sits in the centre, wearing long drapery and holding a child in her left arm. The child's figure has been damaged and the head of the woman too. An attendant stands to the right, wearing a long tunic, and a similar, smaller attendant figure to the left is now worn and broken off. These may be servants or other children. Two other similar reliefs were also found.	2nd - 3rd century?		Sandstone	Mainhardt fort, associated with dedications to Jupiter set up by the auxiliary troops annually. Possible shrine to Jupiter?	Römermuseum, Mainhardt	Goessler 1943; Fitzlinger <i>et al.</i> 1986, 438, Abb. 259.
IP 1	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Life-size head of the emperor Nero, second portrait type, roughly removed from the body and eyes, originally inlaid, now missing.	AD 51-54	H: 31.5cm; W: 24.5cm; D: 25cm	Copper alloy	Suffolk; River Alde	British Museum, inv. no. 1965.1201.1	CSIR GB I.8, no.23 (identified there as Claudius); Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no. 89 [Original publication by G.Macdonald in <i>JRS</i> 1926.]
IP 2	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Slightly over life-size head of the emperor Hadrian, variant of Stazione Termini type, removed from the body, eyes were originally inlaid.	AD 117-8	H: 43cm; W: 36cm; D: 34cm	Copper alloy: 68% copper, 8.5% tin, 22.8% lead	London; Dredged from the River Thames by old London Bridge 1834	British Museum inv. no. 1848.1103.1	Evers 1994, no. 55; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no. 114; CSIR GB I.10, no. 213
IP 3	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Life-size head of Commodus. Curly hair and beard, eyes drilled looking slightly upwards. Worn and damaged on the left cheek and nose.	AD 180-1	H: 24.5cm; W: 17.8cm; D: 24.5cm	White marble	Richborough; on the E side of the fortified area, amongst tree roots in a bank, found by chance in 1970s.	Sandwich Museum	Hayward and Henig 2019, <i>ARA News</i> 41, 68-9
IP 4	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Twice-life-size head of Constantine. Clean-shaven face, wearing what appears to be a wreath, probably the <i>corona civica</i> , though the face is otherwise damaged. Perhaps recarved from an earlier portrait.	AD 306 or after 312	H: 42cm; W: 24cm; D: 30cm	White marble	York; from the Stonegate, near the site of the <i>via pretoria</i> of the legionary fort, while digging a drain before 1823.	Yorkshire Museum inv. no. YOYRM 1998.23	CSIR GB I.3, no.38
IP 5	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Fragment of life-size head of Augustus. Just left-hand portion of the head, some locks and left ear remain.	Early first century	H: 17.6cm; W: 21cm	White marble	Cologne; from the <i>Prætorium</i>	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 53.952	Arachne, no. 220311
IP 6	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Life-size head of Septimius Severus. Damaged to the nose and front of the forehead, but two-pronged beard and curly hair clearly seen. Remains of a cloak at the back of the neck.	AD 196 or 190s more generally	H: 38cm	White (Carrara?) marble	Bonn; from am Wichelshof, near the site of the legionary fort	LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn, inv. no. U215	Espérandieu VIII, 6249; Lehner 1918b, no.14; Noelke 2012, 416; Arachne no. 46080
IP 7	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Life-size head of Gordian III. Youthful face with slim moustache, hair shown incised, short and neat. Eyes would have been inlaid. Some patches to cover casting flaws on forehead.	AD 240-4	H: 41cm	Copper alloy	From the <i>vicus</i> of Niederbieber fort, 1893	LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 9132	Espérandieu I, 6; Zanker 1983, 41; Arachne no. 2716
IP 8	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Colossal head of Domitian (variant of type I), recut from a portrait of Nero (type III), though just possibly could be Claudius	First century	H: 44cm	White marble	Cologne; Heumarkt, alte Markthalle an Straße Sassendorf	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 667	Espérandieu, VIII, 6445; Varner 2004, 59, 60, 126, 248, no.2.42; Arachne database, no. 8396; Lehner 1918b, no.26
IP 9	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Life-size head of Augustus. Nose damaged. Clean-shaven face, 'pincer lock' of hair over right eyebrow. Prima Porta type.	Early first century, or perhaps posthumous	H: 22cm	White marble	Wiesbaden; from the dumped debris of the thermal baths on the Kranzplatz.	Wiesbaden Museum, inv. no. 61/9 or 500640	CSIR De II.11, no.68
IP 10	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: large head, identified	Colossal head of Julian the Apostate. Features are simplified and incised, nose broken off. Eyes are large and staring, with drilled pupils. Hair is roughly incised. Set on a roughly finished base with slot in back of head. Probably from a monument, rather than a statue. In 357, Julian regained Mainz from the Germans.	AD 360-3	H (including base): 86cm	Sandstone	Mainz; near Neutorstraße and Dagobertstraße (near the theatre), during construction work 1722	LandesMuseum, Mainz, inv. no. S1017	CSIR De II.7, no.239
IP 11	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Life-size head of ?Nero, suggested by the stepped hairstyle at the back, but now very worn.	Mid first century	H: 23.8cm; W: 17.7cm; D: 17.8cm	White marble (Carrara?)	London; Great Eastern Street, 1906	Museum of London, inv. no. 3373	CSIR GB I.10, no.20
IP 12	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Twice-life-size head of ?Trajan, very worn. Remains of deep set eyes, with hair short and brushed forwards on left.	Early second century	H: 50cm; W: 42cm	White marble	Bosham; from a vicarage garden or churchyard	The Novium, Chichester, inv. no. A10150	CSIR GB I.2, no.90
IP 13	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Larger than life size portrait head of a middle-aged man. Though the hairstyle suggests Trajan, the facial features do not fit Trajan's portrait types. Perhaps a general or provincial governor, and looted from the south (Toynbee).	Early second century	H: 27cm; W: 24cm	White marble	Hawshaw, Peeblesshire; found during ploughing in or before 1783	National Museum Scotland, inv. no. X.KG 4	CSIR GB I.4, 57; Toynbee 1962, no.9

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 14	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Colossal-size head of ?a soldier emperor (Philip I or Trajan Decius), or more likely private funerary. Badly damaged features, slight moustache, 'pecked' hair, and furrowed brows. Might have been mounted, rather than affixed to a torso.	Mid third century	H: 31.6cm; W: 18.5cm; D: 21.3cm	Painswick stone	London; reused in building Bastion 10 of the late Roman city wall at Camomile Street	Museum of London, inv. no. 3367	<i>CSIR</i> GB L10, no.98
IP 15	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Larger than life size portrait head of ?Gallienus. Very worn, removing traces of the hairstyle except on the right. Youthful elongated face, large lightly drilled eyes, perhaps originally there was a moustache, now removed.	AD 240-270	H: 28.2cm; W: 11.8cm; D: 23.5cm	White marble	Sussex; from a private garden north of Pulborough	Private collection	Russell 2016
IP 16	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Larger than life size, clean-shaven head of man with roughly-chiselled hair and lentoid eyes. Somewhat resembles Anenocitius (<i>CSIR</i> GB L1, no.232) and a head from Corbridge (<i>CSIR</i> GB L1, no.119), and could be a local deity, but laurel wreath suggests an imperial connection.	? Second - third century	H: 39cm; W: 28cm; D: 22cm	Sandstone	Chester-le-Street, Durham; found in early 20th century, 2m underground in construction of a sewer	Ankers House Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB L1.1, forthcoming (information provided by L.Allason-Jones)
IP 17	Britannia	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Very worn head carved in shallow relief. Naked bust of aman looking right, could have been wearing a wreath suggesting it had imperial connection.	? Second - third century	H: 22cm; W: 20cm; D: 45cm	Local buff sandstone	Monkwearmouth, Tyne and Wear; built into the lowest visible stone course of the east end of the south wall at St Peter's church	Monkwearmouth, Tyne and Wear; built into the lowest visible stone course of the east end of the south wall at St Peter's church	<i>CSIR</i> GB L1.1, forthcoming (information provided by L.Allason-Jones)
IP 18	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Bust of a young man, with bare chest, curly hair and beard, somewhat resembling Hadrian. A local official.	Early second century	H: 59.8cm	White marble	Cologne; Neumarkt	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 49.6	Evers 1994, 290; Zanker 1983, 14; Arachne database no. 8398
IP 19	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Over life size head of a man, probably a military commander, now damaged and inlaid eyes missing, with Trajanic hairstyle. Hair is reminiscent of Trajan types I, III and IV, but do not conform and the physiognomy is not quite right (lips not tight enough and top lip does not over hang).	Early second century	H: 42.2cm	Copper alloy: sample from the inside of the skull 6.8% tin, 0.29% zinc, 16% lead, 0.11% iron, < 0.2% silver, 76.6% copper	From the River Rhine, at Bislicher Insel, near Vetera II, Xanten	Rijksmuseum GM Kam, Nijmegen, inv. no. 7.1955.9	Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1983, no.201; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no.107; Müller 2014, 123-4.
IP 20	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: large head, not identified	Perhaps portrait of a soldier emperor (Valerian III?), but now broken in half across the hemisphere, only the lower remains.	AD 240 - 60 (or mid second century; Wegner)	H: 18.2cm	White marble	Cologne; from Neumarkt / Schildergaße, near the site of the Roman forum	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. L764	Salzmann 1990, no. 18; Arachne database no.55660
IP 21	Britannia	Member of imperial family	Half-life size head of Agrippina the Elder	Early - mid first century	H: 14cm	White marble	Bath; found in the river Avon, close to Churchill Bridge	Private collection	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.2, no.2
IP 22	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Head of a boy: Britannicus? Nero? Life size portrait of adolescent boy. Heavy, square jaw, deep eyes, hair rendered as thick lock with incised grooves. Very worn, identification difficult.	Early - mid first century	H (total): 39cm; H (chin to brow): 20cm	Oolitic limestone	Hinckley, Leics, near Grammar School 1930	Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester, 3 IL 1950	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.8, no.24
IP 23	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Head of a boy: young Nero? More likely a member of the family at the villa. A small flake of a torso was also found. The treatment of the eye (undrilled) suggests it is earlier than the second century.	Mid - late first century?	H (tip of the chin to where the tip of the nose): 65cm	White marble	In the fill of a robber trench in the north wing, Fishbourne	Fishbourne Roman Palace Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.2, no.92; Russell and Manley 2013; Soffe and Henig 1999, 8-10
IP 24	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Head of a man of the Julio-Claudian period, perhaps Germanicus. Short hair, brushed forwards in thick locks curled at the end, head inclined slightly left, eyes deep set, lips slightly down-turned. Some similarity to portraits of Germanicus, such as Johansen 1994, nos. 53 and 54, especially in profile, but the hair is so different as to make certain identification unsafe.	AD 40-60	H: 23.6cm; W: 15.6cm; D: 18.7cm	White marble (Carrara?)	Possibly from the villa at Radwell, Hertfordshire; discovered during house clearance of a ploughman who worked the fields t the villa site.	Letchworth Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.10, no.19
IP 25	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Life-size marble head of a young man carved in the round. The hair is brushed forward from the crown to a short fringe on the smooth forehead, but curled at the nape of the neck. The head is inclined slightly to the right, and the eyes gaze slightly downwards. The ears stand out, the lips are slightly parted, the chin is well formed and distinct from the slender neck. Identified in the past as Germanicus or Caligula	Early - mid first century; or seventeenth century copy?	H (total): 30cm	White marble head, attached to green marble bust in twentieth century	Broadbridge, Sussex; near remains of a Roman building though apparently with no connection to it, 1850-60 - could be imported, or modern?	British Museum inv. no. 1961,1103.1	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.2, no.89; Soffe and Henig 1999, 8-10
IP 26	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Bust of Publius Helvius Sulpicius? Middle-aged man with closely trimmed curly hair, beard and moustache of the early Antonine period. Pupils of the eyes are outlined. He wears a tunic and military-style cloak, pinned with a circular brooch at the right shoulder. The bust is set on a circular pedestal. Physiognomy does not match any emperor's, and identification as official or military leader is more likely than the circumstantial association with the second bust at Lullingstone (below).	Mid second century, c. AD 150	H: 71cm; W: 46cm; D: 20cm	White marble (Pentelic)	Lullingstone Roman Villa, Kent	On long-term loan to the British Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.10, no.21
IP 27	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Bust of Publius Helvius Pertinax? More damaged than the above: head broken from torso, right shoulder broken from torso (now repaired), shoulders cut back, pedestal chipped. Also closely cropped hair and curly beard and moustache, but technical differences, more use of the drill, than the first bust, suggesting later date. The two are related in style of execution and their physiognomy. More likely a local official or leader than Pertinax, since the associations with that emperor's portrait is not certain.	Mid - late second century, c. AD 155-170	H: 42cm; W: 21.5cm; D: 25cm	White marble (Pentelic)	Lullingstone Roman Villa, Kent	On long-term loan to the British Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.10, no.22
IP 28	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Life-size head of a youth with clean-shaven face and tightly-curved hair. Very worn, but drilling of the features can be seen. Head looks down to the right.	mid - end second century - could be a later import.	Life size	White marble (Greek origin?)	Crandall, Hampshire; left to the church in a will of 1962, perhaps from the Roman villa at Barley Pound.	Private collection	Millet 1977
IP 29	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Head of Caracalla as a boy aged around 12, displayed the distinctive crab-claw-like curls on the forehead. Comparable to his portrait on the Arch of the Argentarii, Rome.	c AD 200 - likely to be a later import	H: 23cm; W: 19.4cm; D: 18.7cm	White marble	Unknown, probably London	Museum of London, inv. no. NN23028	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.10, no.24
IP 30	Britannia	Member of imperial family?	Life-size bust of a young man, perhaps Geta. Damage includes to the ears and shoulders, which appears to have been deliberate, as well as to the nose, which was likely accidental. Fine features, high forehead, wavy hair, similar to Geta's coin portraits of c. AD 202-205.	c. AD 200-210 - could be a later import	H (overall): 56cm; W: 23cm; D: 26cm	White marble	London; said to have been found in the River Thames	J.P. Getty Museum inv. no. 78.AA.265	<i>CSIR</i> GB L.10, no.23
IP 31	Germania Inferior	Member of imperial family?	A youth of the Julio-Claudian family, perhaps? Short hair, brushed forward, but now entire surface is rather worn and locks and features difficult to make out.	Early - mid first century	Approx H: 20cm	White marble	Unknown	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 1996.175	Arachne no.154775

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 32	Germania Inferior	Member of imperial family	Portrait of a middle aged woman. Well-preserved, with wavy hair simply parted and drawn in an arc over the ears. This would have finished in a flat knot at the back, but this appears to have been attached separately and is now lost, leaving a large dowel hole. Some doubt over age and if it has been recarved: might represent Faustina Maior, or a third century empress (Plautilla?), or was recut to a private individual. Evidence for recutting is slight.	Mid second to early third century	H: 25cm	White marble (Greek origin?)	Bonn; probably originally set up in the legionary fortress, but found at church of St Maria and St Clemens, Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf (probably moved in medieval period)	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 20335	Espérancieu, VIII, 6308; Lehner 1918b, no.19
IP 33	Germania Superior	Member of imperial family	Head of Gaius, grandson and adopted heir of Augustus	Early first century	H: 26cm	White marble	Mainz; corner Josefstraße and Boppstraße, 2.5m under ground level. Near an early Roman grave area.	Landesmuseum, Mainz, inv. no. 61/92	Frenz 1992
IP 34	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Large bust of a man wearing a cuirass. Hair is brushed forward and somewhat reminiscent of images of Trajan or Domitian, but not an original portrait.	Eighteenth century copy?	H: 60cm; W: 55cm	Limestone	Wiltshire; said to have come from the Marlborough district before 1915.	Devizes Museum	CSIR GB 1.2, no.91
IP 35	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Statuette of Nero: man in cuirass, tunic and boots in heroic attitude, right hand up to hold a spear, left foot lifted to rest on something now lost. No iconographic parallels to Nero, but perhaps Hellenistic style is indicative of him.	Mid first century	H: 57.5cm; W: 26.5cm	Copper alloy	Creting, near Coddanham, c.1795, then to Barking Hall	British Museum inv. no. 1813,0213.1	CSIR GB 1.8, no.25
IP 36	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Head of older man, turning to L. Balding and has lined face, neck, large ears, thick lower lip. Looks like Vespasian, but probably not the emperor himself. Later import to Britain or made after Flavian period (suggested by use of the drill)	Third century?	H: 17cm; W: 13cm; D: 12cm	White marble	2 miles of south of Colchester at Blackheath, Essex	British Museum inv. no. 1935,0112.1	CSIR GB 1.8, no.26; Toynbee 1964, 57.
IP 37	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Clean shaven man, with close-cropped hair, wearing military dress: a tunic under cuirass and paludamentum fastened at shoulder. Balbinus? Perhaps imported more recently than Roman period	Early - mid third century	H: 35.5cm	White marble?	?Clarbrough, Nottinghamshire	Now lost	CSIR GB 1.8, no.96
IP 38	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Head of bearded man, wearing laurel wreath, perhaps Marcus Aurelius. The treatment of the hair and facial features suggests a date in his reign, but the shape of the face and beard is more reminiscent of his predecessor Antoninus Pius. The workmanship is characteristic of Antonine Rome: the hair is finely chiselled, with occasional 'bridges' of marble achieved by the drill; the pupils are rendered with twin drill-holes. Alternatively the portrait may represent a priest, perhaps of the imperial cult, his status signified by the laurel wreath.	Mid second century, almost certainly imported later than the Roman period	H: 29.6cm, chin to crown	White marble (Carrara?)	Near Farnham, Surrey; by chance during building work 1993	Private collection	CSIR GB 1.10, no.30;
IP 39	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Head of a bearded man, with hair deeply drilled. The cheek appear hollow under prominent cheek bones and the brow is heavy. Perhaps identifiable as Septimius Severus, but not from Britain.	Late second - early third century, but almost certainly a later import to Britain.	H: 31cm; W: 22.5cm	White marble (Carrara?)	Unknown, perhaps Kent.	Maison Dieu, Ospringe, Kent	CSIR GB 1.10, no.31
IP 40	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Head of a middle-aged man with deep-set, undrilled eyes and wrinkled forehead. Probably intended as Vespasian, but does not conform to any type: best identified as a later collector's piece.	Not Roman, perhaps seventeenth century	H: 34.5cm; W: 24cm; D: 25cm	Marble?	Bush House, the Strand, London; discovered during construction of the eastern wing	Formerly on display at Bush House.	CSIR GB 1.10, no.51
IP 41	Britannia	Imperial portrait: later import to province or later manufacture	Head of a young male, possibly the emperor Gaius? The base is rounded and has a deep circular socket hole (70mm deep). His hair is short with S-shaped curved tresses arranged informally across the forehead and tucked behind the ears. The eyes are deep set. The ears are neat and close to the skull. The mouth is small with dimples at the corners. The chin is small and rounded.	First century	H: 32cm; W: 18cm; D: 19cm	White marble	Brownlow, Chunal Moor, near Glossop. Found in ditching c. 1968	Private collection	CSIR GB 1.11 forthcoming (information provided by L. Allason-Jones; otherwise unpublished.
IP 42	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Caligula. Togate bust, with cloak draped over left shoulder and head turned slightly to the right. Bust sits atop a globe. Main portrait type.	AD 37-41	H (bust and stand): 24.3cm; H (bust): 12.8cm	Copper alloy	Found during railway works in 1845, half a mile from Colchester towards Ipswich. Found with bronze statuette of Jupiter, Silenus mask and other small finds at site of ambiguous character - perhaps funerary.	Castle Museum, Colchester	Toynbee 1964, 40-41, pl.3b; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no.68; Dahmen 2001, Kat.41 [Original publication by Mrs Strong in JRS 1916]
IP 43	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Hadrian. Bearded and moustached man with wide face, large eyes and curly hair. The top and back of the head are left smooth. Ring-shaped seal at the base of the neck. Too schematized to conform to a portrait type.	Early/mid second century - probably AD 138-161, contemporary with the bust of Antoninus Pius	H: 11.5cm	Copper alloy	Walker: from near Mildenhall, Suffolk. Toynbee: From Worlington, Cambridgeshire.	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, acc. no. A 1955.130	Toynbee 1962, no.2, pl.2; Walker 2014, 231-2, Fig.6b
IP 44	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Antoninus Pius. Naturalistically rendered small head with short, curly beard, and hair worked all around. The neck is unusually long, with a cavity, perhaps for connecting the head to a staff. Coarse facial features prevents assignment to portrait type.	AD 138-161	H: 8.7cm	Copper alloy: 61.1% copper, 1.1% zinc, 11.4% tin, 19.3% lead, 0.1% silver	Found at a shrine at Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire, deposited in a wooden box with a number of poles, sceptres or maces, none the right size for the head.	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, acc. no. 1918.160.1A	Toynbee 1962, no.3, pl.3; Walker 2014, 231, Fig.5a
IP 45	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Lucius Verus. Man with curly hair and beard, large almond-shaped eyes. Back of head slightly flattened and hair there not as well worked as at the front. Cavity in the bust suggests it was attached to a staff. Main portrait type.	AD 161-169	H: 13.3cm	Copper alloy: 84.5% copper, 7.2% zinc, 4.8% tin, 2.6% lead, 0.3% iron	Found at Duston, Northamptonshire	Northamptonshire Museum, acc. No. 1957-58.493	Toynbee 1962, no.4, pl.4; Walker 2014, 231, Fig.5b
IP 46	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Half life-size head of Marcus Aurelius. Stylised curly hair and beard, which ends in two 'prongs', eyes inlaid with blue glass. Base of the neck is splayed, perhaps to be mounted on a staff. Portrait type 3, but perhaps made posthumously.	After AD 180, if posthumous; Type 3 in use AD 161-176.	H: 16.2cm	Copper alloy: 83.8% copper, 10.5% zinc, 4.93% tin, 0.1% lead, 0.3% iron	Ploughed up in a field at Steane, Northamptonshire in 1976	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, acc. no. AN2011.46	Walker 2014; PAS, BERK-E24C84

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 47	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Commodus draped in a mantle and wearing a Corinthian helmet with aigis on his chest. Hair is naturalistic and head faces front.	Late second century	H: 19.3cm	Copper alloy: 66.3% copper, 2% zinc, 10.8% tin, 19.3% lead, 0.1% silver	Excavated at Cottenham Fen, Cambridgeshire	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, acc no. D 1948.5	Toynbee 1962, no.5, pl.5; Walker 2014, 213, Fig.5c
IP 48	Britannia	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Marcus Aurelius, probably for a sceptre-head attachment. Large lentoid eyes and prominent nose; stylised wavy vigorous hair; beard forked; small moustache. Found together with a plumb bob, a horse-and-rider figurine, and a horse head handle for a key. Interpreted as a ritual group, either carefully deposited or a miscellaneous collection, perhaps for scrap.	Mid - late second century	H: 13cm; W: 7.8cm; Weight: 417g	Copper alloy	Discovered by metal detectors in May 2020, Ryedale, N. Yorks.	Returned to finder	PAS, YORYM-870B0E
IP 49	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Constantius II or Saloninus as a boy. Bust draped in decorated toga, head facing front, large staring eyes beneath long eyebrows. Hair is depicted by straight incisions radiating from the crown. Stylistically belongs to fourth century, or perhaps late-third.	First half fourth century	H (total): 8.3cm; H (head): 3.8cm; W: 6.3cm	Opaque, bright blue glass	Found at Auf dem Berlich/ Zeughausstraße, Cologne, from a grave.	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. N 157	Dahmen 2001, Anh.10, no.6
IP 50	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Antoninus Pius. Bearded and moustached man, with large eyes, wearing cuirass with gorgoneion on his chest. Hair is brushed forward in strands reminiscent of Antoninus Pius, though not main type.	AD 136-161	H (total): 12.7cm; H (head): 7.1	Copper alloy	? Probably local	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln. inv. no. 99.5	Dahmen 2001, Kat. 53
IP 51	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: small bust	Head of Commodus as a boy. Slight damage to the tip of the nose. Curly hair and heavily lidded eyes.	Probably mid AD 170s		White marble	? Art market	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln. inv. no. 99.521	Arachne no.36536
IP 52	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Nero with sunburst rays around his head	Mid first century				Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln. inv. no. 2001.4	Arachne no.154784
IP 53	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: small bust	Bust of Caligula, Drusus or Germanicus	Mid-first century	H: 19cm	Bronze	Found in 1872 near Ludwigshafen, during works near the port on the Rhine.	Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz	Espérandieu VIII, 5989
IP 54	Britannia	Imperial portrait: statuette	Statuette of Commodus: represented as the young, beardless Hercules with curly hair and slim proportions. Nude under a short tunic with lion-skin cape over his head. Alternatively this is Tyrian Hercules.	AD 191-2 Possibly more recent or a forgery	H: 44.5cm; W: 18cm; D: 8cm	Copper alloy: 2% tin, thickly fire-gilded in several layers with mercury	Near Birdoswald, perhaps from there or Halton Chesters, Hadrian's Wall region	British Museum inv. no. 1895.4-8.1	CSIR GB 1.6, no.190
IP 55	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Statue fragment showing a life size ear	Second - fourth century?	H: 8.06cm; W: 5.43cm; D: 3.18cm; weight 256g	Copper alloy (probably high lead content given its weight)	Brompton-on-Swale, near Catterick, North Yorkshire	Returned to finder	PAS, YORYM-08CBC4
IP 56	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Left ear with some hair from a statue	Second - fourth century?	H: 6.35cm; W: 3.51cm; D: 1.06cm; weight 36.3g	Copper alloy	From near Chesteron and Kingston ward, Stratford on Avon, Warwickshire	Returned to finder	PAS, WMID-97AF41
IP 57	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Eye from a statue, with heavy projecting lids, incised iris and hollowed-out pupil	Second century?	L: 4.3cm; W: 3.5cm	Leaded copper alloy	Perhaps Cirencester	Corinium Museum	CSIR GB 1.7, no.179
IP 58	Britannia	Imperial portrait: statue fragment	Eye from a statue two or three-times life size. Not certainly Roman	Uncertain	H: 9.5 cm; W: 12cm	Limestone	Winchester, on the site of the Roman Forum in Saxon levels, found during excavation of the Cathedral Green	Winchester Research Unit, Inv. No. 480	CSIR GB 1.2, no. 154
IP 59	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Almost life-size fragment of a face, including eye and nose	Second - fourth century?	H: 1.1cm; W: 1.9cm; Weight: 5.2g	Copper alloy	Northamptonshire	Returned to finder	PAS, NARC-D112F1
IP 60	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments from a statue and base, including an eye, finger, and drapery.	Hadrianic or later	Several pieces between 3cm and 10cm in length.	Copper alloy	Wroxeter, Forum courtyard, associated with a statue base.	Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery Acc. No. SHYMS A/1998/029	CSIR GB 1.9, no.184
IP 61	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Life size right arm, bent at elbow and held out in front of body. Hand gently flexed, fingers towards the palm and palm vertical	Could be later import, if Roman	Life size	Copper alloy	Said to have been found S of Halmaker Hill, Sussex (near course of Stane Street), 7km NW of Chichester.	City Museum, Chichester inv. no. 5308	CSIR GB 1.2, no.157
IP 62	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Life size right arm with hand	First - second century?	L: 48.5cm	Copper alloy: 84.5% copper, 13.3% tin, 0.63% lead, 0.03% iron	Found in a well, E of Seething Lane, Tower Street, London, 1884	Museum of London inv. no. 2077	CSIR GB 1.10, no.215
IP 63	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Life size left arm, with leaf gilding	Mid - late first century	L: 47cm	Copper alloy: 90% copper, 0.5% tin, 9% lead, 0.5% zinc	Found in water-laid sediments, Gresham Street, London during excavation in 2001	Museum of London GHT00[4204]<740 >	CSIR GB 1.10, no.216
IP 64	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Colossal right hand	Second - third century?	L: 31.5cm	Copper alloy	Lower Thames Street, London, 1845	British Museum, inv. no. 1856,0701.18	CSIR GB 1.10, no.217
IP 65	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Left hand, from a statue of a woman?	First - fourth century?	L: 24.1cm	Copper alloy: 65.5% copper, 6.6% tin, 25.3% lead, 0.86% zinc, 0.44% iron	83-87 Gracechurch Street, London, on the site of the Spread Eagle Inn, 1867. Near the site of the Roman forum.	Museum of London, inv. no. 2079	CSIR GB 1.10, no.218
IP 66	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Third- or half-life size left hand fragment. Hollow cast, finger extended as if pointing.	First - fourth century?	L: 7.1cm; W: 3.6cm; D: 3.4cm; weight 90.33g	Copper alloy, with less than 4% zinc	Sutton Cheney, Leicestershire, near Bosworth battlefield	Site heritage centre, inv. no. X.A119.2008.269.0	Worrell and Pearce 2012, 367-8, no.10; PAS, LEIC-7F4CC3
IP 67	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Hand with fingers extended, once gilded. Perhaps whole as it is, since the end is smooth, and not from a statue.	Second - third century	L: 23.6cm; W: 14.5cm; D: 4.9cm	Copper alloy	Carrawburgh	Chesters Museum	CSIR GB 1.6, no.337
IP 68	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Right leg from a gilded equestrian statue, the foot shod in a calceus with thick sole and plain upper secured by thick straps tied around the calf.	Pre-Hadrianic?	H: 51cm; W: 33cm; D: 12cm	Gilded copper alloy	Milsington, Roxburghshire, Scotland, in a remote valley, found with a small globular pedestal in 1820.	National Museum Scotland, inv. no. L.1920.1	CSIR GB 1.4, no.45
IP 69	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Left foot wearing a sandal - more likely from the statue of a deity	Second century?	L: 20.5cm; H: 6.8cm; W: 12cm	Copper alloy	Excavated at Tabard Square, Southwark, London	Museum of London i.LLS02[13563]<31 47>	CSIR GB 1.10, no. 223

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 70	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Over life size bare right foot	First - third century? From a recent collection	L: 27.5cm; H: 15cm; W: 10.2cm	Copper alloy	Kingsway, London	British Museum 1924.1213.41	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.10, no. 224
IP 71	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Over life size sandaled foot	Probably second century	Larger than life size	Sandstone	Silchester, Forum-Basilica	Reading Museum?	Boon 1974, 119
IP 72	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Life size finger: slightly bent, and wearing a ring with a plain hoop and oval bezel	Perhaps third century?	L: 9.8cm	Copper alloy	Carvoran	Museum of Antiquities Newcastle, inv. no. 1956. 163. 1a	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.6, no. 364
IP 73	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Life size finger, flexed.	Perhaps second third century?	L: 5.2cm; W: 5cm; D: 2.2cm	Copper alloy	Excavations to the south-west of the fort at South Shields, 1985-89.		Croom 2014, 41, no.4, fig 6.2
IP 74	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger from a statue	First - second century?	L: 11.5cm; W: 4.5cm; D: 4.2cm	Heavily leaded copper alloy: 22.5% copper; 46% lead; 28 % tin; 0.2% zinc; 2.4 % iron	One mile NW of Lincoln	Donated to The Collection, Lincoln inv. no. 2019.125	PAS, LIN-C6AFB3; Coombe, Pearce, Libby 2019
IP 75	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger from a statue	First - fourth century?	L: 3.7cm; W: 0.8cm	Copper alloy	Leicestershire, recorded at Hidden Treasures Roadshow, Market Harborough	Returned to finder	PAS, LEIC-E5E254
IP 76	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger - identified as from a votive hand and not a statue	First - fourth century?	L: 4.2cm; W: 1.5cm; D: 1.2cm	Copper alloy, solid cast	Lincolnshire	Returned to finder	PAS, LIN-A80353
IP 77	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger, broken from hand, but was probably originally slightly bent and upturned in <i>ad locutio</i> pose.	Late first - third century?	H: 5cm; W: 2.1cm; D: 1.7cm	Copper alloy: 73.8% copper; 20% lead; 5.6% tin; 0.1% zinc	Caerleon, associated with statue bases, which totalled 8, 6 of which for sculpture; could be related to the other 12 pieces <i>CSIR</i> GB I.5, no.44	Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon, Gwent	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.5, no.45
IP 78	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger, broken between first joint and knuckle. Traces of casting flaw at break, and flaws on inner side. Slight flex, suggests hand was at least partly open and maybe upraised, perhaps in an <i>ad locutio</i> pose	Late first - third century?	H: 11.5cm; W: 2.5cm; D: 2cm	Copper alloy: 71.2% copper; 19.7% lead; 7.8% tin; 0.9% zinc	From a barracks building at Caerleon, Gwent	Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon, Gwent	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.5, no.46
IP 79	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger, broken off at base, probably little finger of R hand, slightly larger than life size.		L: 5.5cm; W: 1.5cm; Weight: 70g	Solid cast copper alloy	Colchester	Colchester and Essex Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.8, no.45
IP 80	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Upper part of a little finger. Ring worn below the upper joint		L: 3.25cm; W: 1cm; Weight: 18.1g	Solid cast copper alloy	Colchester	British Museum inv. no. 70 402 97	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.8, no.46
IP 81	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger		L: 10.5cm; W: 3cm	Copper alloy: 86% copper, 10.7% tin, 2.7% lead, 0.04% zinc, 1.2% iron	Fenchurch Street, London	Museum of London, acc. no. 21786	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.10, no. 219
IP 82	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger		L: 9.5cm; W: 3.5cm	Copper alloy: 85% copper, 10.3% tin, 3.6% lead, 0.01% zinc, 0.07% iron	Fenchurch Street, London	Museum of London, acc. no. 21787	<i>CSIR</i> GB I.10, no. 220
IP 83	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger or toe fragment from life size statue		L: 2.8cm; W: 1.8cm; D: 1.3cm; Weight: 25.18g	Copper alloy	Leicestershire	Returned to finder	PAS, LEIC-8FB8F6
IP 84	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger		L: 6.42cm; Diameter: 2.04cm; Weight: 125.67g	Copper alloy	Near Verulamium, Hertfordshire	Returned to finder	PAS, BH-0B9D64
IP 85	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger		L: 4.91cm; W: 2.05cm; D: 1.69cm thick; Weight: 77.43g	Copper alloy	Near Maidstone, Kent	Returned to finder	PAS, KENT-E4EC2C
IP 86	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Thumb			Copper alloy	Chichester		Soffe and Henig 1999
IP 87	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger fragment		L: 5.57cm; W: 2.06cm; D: 1.82cm; Weight: 91.64g	Copper alloy	Somerset	Returned to finder	PAS, SOM-F5D182
IP 88	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments from a statue	Second - third century	H: 14.5cm; W: 21.5cm; D: 2cm	Copper alloy	Carrawburgh	Chesters Museum	<i>CSIR</i> GB, I.6, no.336

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 89	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Twelve fragments from an armoured statue, including elements that could be identified as pteryges and drapery. May not all be from the same figure, but several pieces seem to be from an over-life-size statue	Third century?	Fragment a) H: 17.6cm; W: 4.6-5.4cm; D: 0.2-0.65cm Fragment b) H: 8.8cm; W: 8.5cm; D: 0.15-0.85cm Fragment c) H: 9.9cm; W: 5.5cm; D: 0.17-0.3cm Fragment d) H: 7cm; W: 4.5cm; D: 0.3-0.4cm Fragment e) H: 15.8cm; W: 6.2cm; D: 0.27cm Fragment f) H: 8.3cm; W: 6.5cm; D: 6cm Fragment g) H: 7.4cm; W: 3.7cm; D: 0.35cm	Copper alloy	Caerleon, found close together near stone statue pedestal IV, NW side of the basilica principiorum, opposite the main entrance. Perhaps associated with fragment CSIR GB I.5, no.45. In total there were 8 statue bases, 6 of which were probably for sculpture.	Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon, Gwent	CSIR GB I.5, no.44
IP 90	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment from a statue, embellished with eight vertical mouldings.		H: 9.2cm; W: 7.5cm; D: 0.6cm	Copper alloy	Dover	Kent archaeological Rescue Unit, DV-9947 GPVII	CSIR GB I.10, no. 226
IP 91	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of hair and nine other pieces	From Period 7 (AD 250-400) context, but probably earlier in date and here kept as scrap.	H: 6cm; W: 2.8cm (of hair piece)	Copper alloy	Basilica area, Silchester, Hampshire		Fulford and Timby 2000, 355, fig. 166, nos 114 and 115
IP 92	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Three fragments of hair from an over life-size statue. Perhaps of an imperial or public person. The hairstyle appears to be Julio-Claudian.	First century?	A) H: 3cm; W: 3.5cm B) H: 3cm; W: 2.5cm C) H: 4.75cm; W: 3.25cm	Copper alloy, hollow cast	Billingford, Norfolk	Unknown	CSIR GB I.8, no.42
IP 93	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Two fragments of drapery, one inlaid with silver and copper in floral decoration	First - third century	(inlaid fragment) L: 17.2cm; W: 9cm	Copper alloy	Verulam Hills Field, St Albans, in excavation 1963-4. The site lies outside the S gate of town on E side of the road to London (Watling Street)	Verulamium Museum	CSIR GB I.10, no. 225
IP 94	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Four fragments of drapery	Range – some very early (40s-50s AD) and associated with military occupation; some later (Antonine).	Several, ranging from 4cm in length to 11cm	Copper alloy	Verulamium: a) from insula XIV, from a room dated to AD 75-85), in a row of strip buildings fronting on to Watling Street, perhaps a bronze workshop; b) from insula XXVII, dated to AD 70-100; c) also from insula XXVII, with Antonine date; d) from insula XVII, from an occupation layer AD 44-54.	Verulamium Museum	CSIR GB I.10, no. 227
IP 95	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of drapery, an edge piece with shallow chases to allow inlay	?	H: 2.4cm; W: 3cm; D: 0.35cm	Copper alloy	Caerleon	Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon, Gwent	CSIR GB I.5, no. 47
IP 96	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of armoured statue. Upper portion of a pteryx from armoured skirt of larger than life statue. Prob has a plaited border, like one from Wiessenburg, and a mid-rib suggests it was quite long, prob from lower levels, and secured with rivets (holes remain).	Early-mid third century? Could have been commissioned at Severan reorganisation of principia at Segontium, sometime soon after AD228	H: 10cm; W: 3.7cm (top), 4.9cm (bottom); D: 0.2-0.5cm	Copper alloy	Caernarfon, found in the fill of an underground strong room, beneath the aedes of the principia.	Segontium Roman Fort Museum, Caernarfon	CSIR GB I.5, no. 48
IP 97	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of armoured statue: upper lappet of a mailed skirt.	Pre-Hadrianic?	H: 14cm	Copper alloy	Silchester, N apse of the basilica	Reading Museum, Berkshire inv. no. 03643	CSIR GB I.2, no.153
IP 98	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of armoured statue. A number of pieces, including a fold of drapery perhaps gilded and with inlay of copper strips; and another fine fragment with a rosette of copper and vegetal ornament	Perhaps second century		Leaded copper alloy with copper inlay	Cirencester	Corinium Museum	CSIR GB I.7, no.178
IP 99	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments (perhaps from statue of deity, and not imperial?)			Copper alloy	Wroxeter, found during excavation in 1913 of the temple at insula VIII		CSIR GB I.9, no.185
IP 100	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of equestrian statue. A large number of pieces, including one with fringe (like Capitoline Marcus Aurelius saddle cloth?); several have rectangular depressions for fixing casting flaws.	Late first or second century. Forum is Trajanic, but this could be from Nervian (or even Domitianic - Hassall and Hurst 1999) foundation of the colonia		Copper alloy	Gloucester, Southgate Street, probably associated with a platform or statue base on the forum site	Gloucester City Museum	CSIR GB I.7, no.177
IP 101	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of an eagle-headed sword / dagger pommel (could be 'real' and not sculptural)			Copper alloy	Gloucester	Devizes Museum (DZSWS: 380)	?

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 102	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Foreleg from statue of a horse. Lower part of front leg, with fetlock and hoof incised. Raised position, suggesting in active pose, from almost life-size equestrian statue. Domitian?	First century?	L: 33.5cm	Copper alloy, hollow cast	Lincoln	Society of Antiquaries of London	<i>CSIR</i> GB L8, no.72
IP 103	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Rear leg from statue of a horse, almost life-size. Had been hacked off and flattened - taken as booty?	First century?	H: 35cm	Copper alloy with low lead content, hollow cast	Ashill, Norfolk	Norwich Castle Museum, inv. no. 393.893	<i>CSIR</i> GB L8, no.73
IP 104	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Eight fragments of the figure of a horse and others from an equestrian statue, possibly of Domitian? Three of the pieces join. Could be associated with the foreleg of a horse, <i>CSIR</i> GB L8, no.72.	First century?	H: between c. 3cm and 12cm	Copper alloy	Discovered in plough soil, some in 2010 and some in 2013, North Carlton, Lincolnshire	Donated to The Collection, Lincoln	PAS, LIN-31B698, LIN-666619
IP 105	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Nine fragments, probably from the same statue		L: between c. 2.5cm and 7cm; Weight: between c.5g and 225g	Copper alloy, including 10% tin, 18% lead and very low zinc.	Howardian Hills, Yorkshire	Returned to finder	PAS, YORYM-F46085, YORYM-C9B645, YORYM-39BF43, YORYM-C5E41D, YORYM-DE4D53, YORYM-5053ED, YORYM-0C57F7, YORYM-0C7ADC and YORYM-0C8EDA; Worrell and Pearce 2014, 404, no.4.
IP 106	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Bronze edging from a statue base, with chamfered inner edge. Made using lost wax method, with traces of process on the material. The statue itself would probably have been bronze, and would probably have been placed in the headquarters of the auxiliary fort. See parallels at Silchester and Weißenthurm.	c. AD 75-120 before the auxiliary fort became a settlement	H: 18.3cm; W: 72.5cm; D: 0.2-0.3cm	Copper alloy	Carmarthen, Dyfed. Found during excavation in the south of the town, 1978, beneath floorboards of a timber building, demolished when town rampart was built in late 2nd century.	Carmarthen Museum, Dyfed.	<i>CSIR</i> GB. I.5, no. 49
IP 107	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Bronze edging from a statue base. Boon suggested this could relate to the inscription to Hercules Saegontius (<i>RB</i> no. 67), however, rather than an imperial statue, though Haverfield thought this unlikely.	Perhaps second century?	H: 84cm; W: 84cm	Copper alloy	Silchester, apse of the Forum	Unknown	Boon 1980, 98-101
IP 108	Britannia	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Bronze edging from a statue base, decorate with acanthus foliage.	Perhaps second century?	W: 7.5 cm; D: 0.3-0.5 cm	Copper alloy	Silchester, apse of the Forum	Unknown	Boon 1974, 120
IP 109	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Right hand and an arm from statue. Two sections of the outstretched index finger and the last of the thumb are missing. The remaining three fingers are leaning against the palm as if closed.	Mid first - late third century	L: 29.5cm	Copper alloy	Kastell Voorburg (Forum Hadriani) Netherlands, excavated in 1771.	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden inv. no. AR 1022a	Gamer 1969, 113, no.N1
IP 110	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Right hand with index finger outstretched and others loosely curled in <i>ad locutio</i> pose	Mid first - mid third century	L: 26cm; W: 10cm	Copper alloy	Naaldwijk, Netherlands	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden inv. no. h 1933/11.1	Müller 2014, 121
IP 111	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Left hand and arm up to mid forearm		L: 30cm	Copper alloy	Matilo fort, Leiden, Netherlands	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden	
IP 112	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Left arm			Copper alloy	Naaldwijk, Netherlands	Private collection	Müller 2014, 122
IP 113	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Life size left hand of a rider	Late second - mid third century	L: 14cm; D: 0.2-0.5cm	Copper alloy	Xanten	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no.24.299	Müller 2014, 36; Gamer 1969, no. D 78
IP 114	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger from a statue with traces of gilding	AD 70-105, based on legion's occupation of the fort	L: 7.3cm	Copper alloy	From the Hunerberg, Nijmegen, given to museum 1887 or before	Rijksmuseum GM Kam, Nijmegen, inv. no. GN E I 87	Gamer 1969, no.N4; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1983, no. 202
IP 115	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Two fingers from the right hand of a statue	AD 70-105, based on legion's occupation of the fort	L: 5.8cm and 7.1cm	Copper alloy	Legionary fortress at Nijmegen? Found before 1850	Rijksmuseum GM Kam, Nijmegen, inv. no. GN E I 24 and GN E I 25	Gamer 1969, no.N4; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1983, no. 203
IP 116	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Left big toe from a statue	End first - mid third century	L: 6cm	Copper alloy	Kastell Voorburg, Netherlands	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. AR 1023	Gamer 1969, 113, no.N2
IP 117	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Foot from a statue	End first - mid third century	?	Copper alloy	Kastell Voorburg, Netherlands	Mentioned by the chronicler Heda c. 1500, now lost	Gamer 1969, 113, no.N3
IP 118	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Saddle cloth from large equestrian statue, ornamented with niello. Three thick folds of drapery, patterning of star-shaped flowers within straight-line border.	Second - fourth century?		Copper alloy	Bonn	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 1762	Menzel 1986, 74, no.174, Taf.86
IP 119	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Around 80 bronze fragments in a hoard			Copper alloy	Nijmegen		Müller 2014, 155-7, Abb.1; <i>ZPE</i> 175, 241-6
IP 120	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Very many fragments of bronze from a monumental statue, inc gilded frags such as a toe		Toe L: 6.5cm	Copper alloy	Bonn, <i>Prætorium</i> of the legionary fort. Toe found in the canal.	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 1098	Müller 2014, 125-7; Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 138, abb.178; Gamer 1969, no. D6
IP 121	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: fragment	Fragments from a statue (shins and boot tops, helmet adornments), perhaps of Caracalla associated with the statue base nearby.	Early third century	Helmet feathers L: 19cm; W: 29cm; D: 12cm Shins L: 26cm	Limestone	Bonn, near to the legionary fort	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn inv nos 21012, 21013	Lehner 1918b, no.17
IP 122	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments, ready for recycling			Copper alloy	From a villa at Hambach Forest		Müller 2014, 158-9, Abb.1
IP 123	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of a bronze statue			Copper alloy	Cologne	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln	

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 124	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragment of a bronze winged Victory probably from a large statue (could be imperial, or could be a deity)			Copper alloy	Cologne	LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn	Müller 2014, 34-5, Abb.10a-b
IP 125	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Medusa head appliqué from an armoured statue			Copper alloy	Xanten		Müller 2014, 36, Abb.11
IP 126	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Bronze edging from a statue base		One piece weighs 5.535kg	Copper alloy	Weißenthurm	LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn	Müller 2014, 33, Abb.8; Driehaus 1969.
IP 127	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: marble fragment	17 fragments of an armoured statue, made of white marble			White marble	Xanten	LVR-Römer Museum im Archäologischer Park Xanten	Busch and von Hesberg 2015, Fig. 12.2
IP 128	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments from several statues, including an under-life-size R hand, pieces of life-size shoe from an armoured statue, a L hand, a toe from a L foot, drapery fragments, parts of statue base	Mid first century; Trajanic for some of the base pieces; other mid second - third century	Armour L: 21.3cm; H: 10cm; Right hand L: 23.5cm; Toe L: 4.6cm; Left hand L: 28.2cm; Hair L: 5.3cm; Drapery L: 9.9cm	Copper alloy	Strasbourg, NW of the legionary fort	Strasbourg, Musée Archéologique, inv. nos 14265, 9941, 7967, 20186, 18217, 18140, 18173, 18177, 18178, 18179, 18180, 18182, 18163, 18162, 18169, 18170, 18166, 18166a, 18166b, 18168, 18165, 18171, 1835, 48.45	Gamer 1969, nos F1-F15
IP 129	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of bronze, totalling 1460 pieces from at least 4 statues: two equestrian statues, one of a man, and one of a woman			Copper alloy	Augusta Raurica		Müller 2014, 46-8, Abb.1a-d
IP 130	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Larger than life-size bronze hand, and an arm with drapery from an armoured or togate statue			Copper alloy	From the Main River, Mainz		Müller 2014, 33-4, Abb.9a-b
IP 131	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Around 300 bronze fragments of a statue			Copper alloy	From the settlement area at Mainz	Now lost	Müller 2014, 33
IP 132	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Front half of the left unclad foot of a colossal male statue. Strong burn marks. Patched in places.	Late first - second century?	L: 21.25cm; W: 12.5cm	Copper alloy	Found on the so-called Kästrich, below the Mathilde Terrace in a cistern, in the area of the former legion camp, Mainz	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. 5969.	Gamer 1969, nos. D24
IP 133	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Toe and finger from a statue	First - fourth century	Finger L: 4.8cm; Toe L: 6.4cm	Copper alloy	Found in 1883 during sewer construction, Mainz.	Landesmuseum Mainz, inv. no. 2117 and 2119	Gamer 1969, nos D25 and D26
IP 134	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments, inc hair fragments suggestive of first-century Julio-Claudian man: Tiberius, or perhaps Drusus Minor or Germanicus?			Copper alloy	from near a road at Nida-Heddernheim, near Frankfurt		Müller 2014, 160-2
IP 135	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Around 150 fragments of one or more bronze <i>Panzerstatuen</i> , including a finger, another finger or thumb, some flat pieces, a wing, appliques, and armour	Most pieces from mid-third century, after AD 259-260, some pieces from late second - early third, Severan period.	Thumb L: 7.4cm Drapery L: 12.4cm Hair L: 8.4cm and 5.3cm Armour L: 9cm Appliques L: 8.7cm; W: 7.4cm, L: 12cm; W: 5.8cm <i>Panzerlaschen</i> L: 7.7cm and 6.4cm <i>Pteryges</i> L: 18.8cm, L: 9.5cm Finger L:	Copper alloy	Saalburg fort, from the yard of the Principia, near the sacellum.	Saalburg Museum, inv. nos D.43/S.1241, D.9/S.1199, D.10/S.1178, D.48, D.6/S.1235, S.1224, D.46, D.40/S.1231, D.27/S.1230, D.2/S.1234, D.32, S.1206, D.21, D.18, D.26, S.1242, D.24/S.1228, S.1218, S.1223, D.25/S.1163, P.4, P.558, D.31/S.1159, S.1211, D.30/S.1229, P.7479, S.1204.	Müller 2014, 115-6; Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 138, 139, 141, 148, Abb. 180, 186, 187, 188, 191, 201; Gamer 1969, nos. 38-54
IP 136	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Gilded bronze L arm with drapery			Copper alloy			Müller 2014, 52-5 Abb.1
IP 137	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of hair and body from a statue	c. AD 230	Hair L: 45.cm; W: 4.7cm; D: 0.3cm Other frag L: 4.5cm; W: 4cm; D: 0.2cm	Copper alloy	From the fort at Kleiner Feldberg	Saalburg Museum	Müller 2014, 115; Gamer 1969, no. D8 and D9; Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137
IP 138	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of an armoured statue: toes and winged appliques	AD 190-260	L: 4.5cm L: 9.2cm	Copper alloy	From Niederbieber fort	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. nos 32185, 32108.	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Gamer 1969, nos. D30 and D31
IP 139	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Four fragments from one or more (armoured) statues	Gamer suggests Hadrianic; Kemkes and Sarge c. AD 140-160	Frag 1 L: 9.3cm; W: 7.3cm; D: 0.6-1.5cm Frag 2 L: 5.7cm; W: 5.7cm; D: 0.4-1cm Frag 3 L: 3.5cm; W: 3.5cm; D: 0.3-0.4cm Frag 4 L: 17cm; W: 4cm; D: 0.5cm	Copper alloy	From the fort at Heddesdorf	LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. nos E 2548, E 2549, E 2550, E 2552.	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Gamer 1969 nos D 14, D15, D16, D17.
IP 140	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments from an armoured statue	First half third century	L: 16cm L: 28cm	Copper alloy	From the principia at Niederberg, Koblenz	LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. nos E 2607, E 2908	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137, 148, Abb.202; Gamer 1969, nos. D20 and D21

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 141	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Drapery fragments, some with burn marks	First half third century, probably AD 222-235	L: 5cm	Copper alloy	From the fort at Zugmantel	Saalburg museum, inv. no. ZM 1426; Wiesbaden Museum inv. no. 9885	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Gamer 1969, no.79 and no. D 80
IP 142	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of <i>Panzerlasche</i>	First half third century	L: 25cm	Copper alloy	From the principia at Kastell Arnsburg	Former Gießener collection inv. no. A 1419, destroyed in the war.	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Gamer 1969, no.D2
IP 143	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of drapery	First half third century	L: 6cm	Copper alloy	From the fort at Arnsburg	Darmstadt Hessisches Landesmuseum, no inv. no.	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Gamer 1969, no.D3
IP 144	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Index finger from an over life-size statue	Second to mid-third century	L: 6.5cm	Copper alloy	From the sacellum at Marköbel fort.	Hanau Historisches Museum, Schloß Philippsruhe	Gamer 1969, no. D27
IP 145	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Finger	Mid-second to mid-third century	L: 5.5cm; W: 1.5cm	Copper alloy	From tomb area by the fort at Jagsthausen	Jagsthausen	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Gamer 1969, no. D19
IP 146	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Gilded fragments of body and edge pieces	Perhaps second century; Gamer suggests AD 90-150	Frag L: 15cm Frag 2 L: 8cm	Copper alloy	From fort at Benningen am Neckar	Heimat Museum inv. no. R 97	Gamer 1969, no. D4 and D5
IP 147	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of large gilded bronzes, inc a L arm with drapery			Copper alloy	From Avenches (Aventicum), sanctuary at Ciognier (to the Imperial cult?)	Site et Musée romains d'Avenches	Müller 2014, 52, Abb.1
IP 148	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Many fragments, apparently ready for recycling			Copper alloy	From Neuenstadt am Kocher		Müller 2014, 145, Abb.2
IP 149	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Fragments of molten bronze lumps and pieces of statue. Also, back of statue of an athlete.			Copper alloy	Groß-Gerau		Müller 2014, 147, Abb.3; 163-5; 207
IP 150	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Eagle-headed sword from an armoured statue	Early third century, probably AD 222-235.	L: 63cm; W: 6.5cm	Copper alloy	From the <i>vicus</i> at Murrhardt, found 90 SW of the tower of the fort.	Carl-Schweizer-Museum, Murrhardt	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 137; Müller 2014, 117; Gamer 1969, no. D 28
IP 151	Germania	Imperial portrait: bronze fragment	Horse's head from an equestrian statue, perhaps of Augustus. Associated with around 100 fragments, including a hoof, and found near a large forum area with 8 bases, 6 of which probably held statues.	Early first century		Copper alloy: 75% copper, 8.5% tin, 14% lead	Found in a well at Waldgirmes		Müller 2014, 40-3, Abb.1 and 2
IP 152	Britannia	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base or building inscription, dedicated to the emperor Nero, "by decree of the Senate the vow was deservedly fulfilled"	13 Oct AD 57 - 12 Oct AD 58		Purbeck marble	Chichester, associated with Roman walls		RIB 92; Hotje 2005, Nero 16
IP 153	Britannia	Imperial portrait: inscription	Dedicatory building inscription to the emperor Hadrian, set up by the <i>Civitas Cornoviorum</i>	AD 129-30		Sandstone	Wroxeter, lying amongst debris to the east of the east/main entrance to the Forum		RIB 288; Hotje 2005, Hadrian 97
IP 154	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Perhaps part of a base, now broken, to Antoninus Pius	AD 138-61			From the Stiftskirche, around 500m S of the legionary fort, Bonn		CIL XIII, 8047; Hotje 2005, Antoninus Pius 80
IP 155	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Very broken statue base to the emperor Trajan	AD 98-117			Remagen fort		CIL XIII, 11981; Hotje 2005, Trajan 55
IP 156	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base to divine Julia (Domna), by legio I Minervia Antoniniana. Found with the head of Septimius Severus and the base to Caracalla.	AD 218-22	H: 169cm; W: 125cm; D: 106cm	Trachyte	From north road leading from the <i>Praetorium</i> Bonn, at depth of 3m	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21009	CIL XIII, 12042; Lehner 1918b, no. 15
IP 157	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base to Caracalla, by legio I Minervia. Found with the head of Septimius Severus and the base to Julia Domna. Several additional fragments in limestone of helmet crest and legs with boots with lion head lappets from another life size statue were also found nearby, perhaps remains of the original statue of Caracalla (Lehner 1918b, no.17 is the statue base)	AD 202-3	H: 181cm; W: 84cm; D: 67cm	Trachyte	From north road leading from the <i>Praetorium</i> Bonn, at depth of 3m	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21010	CIL XIII, 12043; Lehner 1918b, no. 16
IP 158	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Large statue base, un-inscribed, found with statue fragments and the bases to Caracalla and Julia Domna above. Might have carried the statue of Septimius Severus, known from Bonn?	Early third century	H: 39cm; W: 128cm; D: 137cm	Trachyte	From same location as the statue bases above, c. 17m from the base to Julia Domna	LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 21011	Lehner 1918b, no.18
IP 159	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Honorary inscription to Caracalla and Geta, by members of <i>legio I Minervia</i> (probably the 60 centurions)	AD 211	H: 44cm; W: 48cm; D: 6cm	Limestone	Found in Bonn when the collegiate church was rebuilt in 1880. Probably from an important building in the legionary fort.	LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn	CIL XIII 8050; Lehner 1918b, no.20.
IP 160	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base to the emperor Vespasian	AD 71			Avenches		CIL XIII, 5084; Hotje 2005, Vespasian 20
IP 161	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Arch (and statue base?) to Mars, Apollo and Minerva, by the <i>vicani</i> of Vindonissa	AD 79			Brugg, 1km from Vindonissa (which was garrisoned by <i>legio XI</i> in AD 70s)		CIL XIII, 5195; Hotje 2005, Titus 19
IP 162	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Dedication to Julia (Domna?), indulgent mother, <i>devota numina eius</i> , a panel broken into many pieces found with CIL XIII, 6532.	AD 195-210?			<i>Principia</i> of the fort at Murrhardt		CIL XIII, 6531
IP 163	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Dedication to the emperor (either Caracalla or Severus Alexander), (<i>pio felici aug...numina eius</i>) by the <i>coh XXIII Vol Severiana</i> , a panel broken into 8 pieces found with CIL XIII, 6531	Turn of third century			<i>Principia</i> of the fort at Murrhardt		CIL XIII, 6532
IP 164	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Broken panel, perhaps dedicated to Hadrian or Antoninus Pius	Early - mid second century			<i>Principia</i> of the fort at Jagsthausen		CIL XIII, 6561
IP 165	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base, dedicated to the emperor, by <i>cives Romani</i> Manticulari negotiators and C. Vibio Rufino <i>leg pro praetore</i>	AD 43			Found during canal works at Mainz		CIL XIII, 6797; Hotje 2005, Claudius 44
IP 166	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base dedicated to the members of the imperial family, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, by members of the <i>legio XXII</i> and <i>coh I</i>	AD 204			From the fort at Mainz		CIL XIII, 6801
IP 167	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Possibly part of a statue base, dedicated to Trajan, by members of <i>legio XIII Gemina Victrix</i>	AD 98/9			From the fort at Mainz, found during canal works 1896		CIL XIII, 7285; Hotje 2005, Trajan 54
IP 168	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Building inscription, dedication to Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta (the last erased), recording construction of a granary <i>legatus Aiacius Modestus</i> with <i>numeri Nidensium</i>	AD 209			From the fort at Kapersburg		CIL XIII, 7441

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 169	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Broken tablet, dedicated to Severus Alexander	AD 222-35			Found in the ditch by the east gate (<i>praetorium</i>) of the fort at Kapersburg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7441 a
IP 170	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Broken tablet				From western outer wall of the entrance to a hypocaust in the <i>retentura</i> , Kapersburg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7441 b
IP 171	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base dedicated to Antoninus Pius, with his lineage set out back to Nerva, by <i>coh</i> III <i>Raetorum c. R.</i>	AD 139			From the second courtyard of the <i>Praetorium</i> in the portico of the Saalburg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7462; Hotje 2005, Antoninus Pius 79
IP 172	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Very broken statue base to Antoninus Pius, with his lineage set out back to Nerva	AD 138-161			From the fort at Saalburg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7463; Hotje 2005, Antoninus Pius 78
IP 173	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Broken tablet dedicated to the emperor Caracalla, by <i>coh</i> II <i>Raetorum Antoniniana c.R.</i> devoted to his divine spirit	AD 212			Peristyle from the <i>Praetorium</i> , Saalburg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7465
IP 174	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Very broken tablet to the emperor Severus Alexander by <i>coh</i> II <i>Raetorum Antoniniana c.R.</i>	AD 222-35			From the <i>praetentura</i> , Saalburg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7466
IP 175	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Very broken piece to the empress Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander and of the camp, by the exploratio Halicanensium Alexandriana, devoted to the spirit. NB A further four inscriptions (<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7494) were found in the camp area and were dedicated to the genius of Centurions, <i>prob</i> by this unit.				From the fort at Kleiner Feldberg		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7495 a; Müller 2014, 114, Abb. 6
IP 176	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Statue base to the emperor Claudius (or Nero?)	AD 41-68			Nyon		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 11468; Hotje 2005, Claudius 45
IP 177	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Base in 6 fragments, dedicated to the Caesar, Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus (son of Maximinus Thrax), by <i>coh</i> III <i>Treverorum Maximiniana</i> , devoted to his spirit	AD 236-8			From a cellar in the SW part of the fort at Zugmantel		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 11971
IP 178	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Several pieces of a bronze plate with an inscription cut or cast in, including lower part of a plaque dedicated to Augustus by members of the colonia. There are also some fragments of a border or surround of the rest of the base.	27 BC - AD 14		Copper alloy	Augusta Raurica		Hotje 2005, Augustus 74; Müller 2014, 32, Abb.7a and 7b
IP 179	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Base to Trajan, found with fragments of a bronze statue	AD 102-17			Strasbourg		Hotje 2005, Trajan 52
IP 180	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Dedication to the emperor Trajan by the local public	AD 111		Limestone	From the amphitheatre at Nyon		Hotje 2005, Trajan 53
IP 181	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	A base dedicated to the emperor Antoninus Pius, by a ?procurator	AD 145-61		<i>Solothurner</i> marble, a grey limestone around 60km from Augusta Raurica	Found between the temple and altar in the forum, Augusta Raurica		Hotje 2005, Antoninus Pius 77
IP 182	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Part of an inscription with imperial titles, dedicated by cohorts II Severiana Treverorum, broken into a two pieces of a larger whole	AD 223		stone	Holzhausen fort		<i>CIL</i> XIII, 7618, 7619
IP 183	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Portion of a statue base and an inscription, containing elements of imperial titles remains.	First half 3rd century	H: 36cm	Sandstone	Grave area by the north tower, Echzell fort	Find number 62/69.	Baatz 1963, 50-51.
IP 184	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: inscription	Part of an inscription, probably to Julia Domna	AD 222-235	H: 7cm	Sandstone	Principia, Echzell fort		Schillinger-Häfele, in <i>Bericht RGK 58</i> (1977), 522, no. 132
IP 185	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Decorative roundel, with head looking right wearing laurel wreath. Flavian emperor?	c. AD 70-100: fort was established in 71	Diameter: 3.5cm	Copper alloy	Found in 1857 in the Pye Pits N of the fort at Malton (Derwentio), Yorkshire		Dahmen 2001, Mil.9
IP 186	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Cameo medallion with bust of Agrippina the Elder. <i>Donum militarium</i>	Probably AD 23	Diameter: 3.8cm	Purple-blue cupritic glass	From a well, Stanwix, Cumberland.	Private collection	Dahmen 2001, Mil. 35, Matrizze 5a, no.2; Henig 1978, no.747, pl. 54
IP 187	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Cameo medallion with busts of Germanicus with Nero, Drusus and Gaius. <i>Donum militarium / phalera</i>	Probably AD 23	Diameter: 3.8cm	Dark blue translucent cupritic glass	Found in 1863 in a black urn, on site of a Roman cemetery at Beverley Terrace, Colchester	British Museum inv. no. 1870,0224.2	Dahmen 2001, Mil. 36, Matrizze 6a no.3; Harden 1972, 352, no.1; Henig 1978, no.748, pl. 54
IP 188	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Cameo medallion with busts of Germanicus with Nero, Drusus and Gaius. <i>Donum militarium / phalera</i>	Probably AD 23	Diameter: 3.7cm	Blue cupritic glass	Found 1972 during building work at New Parks housing estate, 3km W of Leicester	Leicester Museum and Art Gallery	Dahmen 2001, Mil. 37, Matrizze 6b no.3; Harden 1972, 350-3; Henig 1978, App. 70, pl. 66
IP 189	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Seal box with portrait of Vespasian on the lid. The shape of the box and the strong hinge (two loops instead of one) is unusual. These seal boxes were government property and used to protect the seals on official documents.	Late first century	H: c. 2cm	Copper alloy	Excavations at Aldgate and Bush Lane House, 1972, London	Museum of London inv. no. 26410	Dahmen 2001, Anh.1, no.2; Chapman and Johnson 1973, no.9
IP 190	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Seal box with a portrait of Domitian	Late first century	H: c. 2cm	Copper alloy	Bucklersbury House site, Walbrook, London.	Private possession	Dahmen 2001, Anh.1, no.3
IP 191	Britannia	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Silver medallion with head of Augustus, shown in profile to the right	17 BC	H: 1cm; Diameter: 2.5cm	Silver	Excavated from the Lexden tumulus, a late Iron Age grave site, Colchester	Colchester and Essex Museum, inv. no. COLEM 2001.96.68	Dahmen 2001, Anh 14, no.a
IP 192	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Military belt fitting. Rectangular plate with bust of a clean shaven man, facing front, identified as Tiberius.	Early first century	H: 4.6cm; W: 4.5cm	Copper alloy	From a grave on Luxemburger Straße, Köln	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. 3625	Dahmen 2001, Mil. 1, no.5
IP 193	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Decorative button showing Augustus in profile	Early first century	Diameter: 4cm	Brass and lead	Kalkreise, from the Oberesch, in 1994	Osnabrück, Kulturgeschichtliches Museum	Dahmen 2001, Mil.4

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 194	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Sword scabbard decoration with busts of three people, identified by some as Livia with Tiberius and Drusus, or Julia with Gaius and Lucius Caesar.	Late first century BC, or early first century AD	H: 6.1cm; W: 8.7cm	Copper alloy	Heisterbacherhofstraße, Bonn, around 400m S of the fort area, ad 400m N of the Augustan-Tiberian fort near the <i>canabae legionis</i> . Found before 1887.	Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 4320	Dahmen 2001, Mil.14
IP 195	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Sword scabbard decoration with bust of Augustus wearing laurel wreath	Early first century, c. AD 9-13	Diameter: 3.8cm	Copper alloy and lead	Kalkreise, Osnabrück	Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, Osnabrück	Dahmen 2001, Mil.22
IP 196	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Sword scabbard chape medallion decoration with head of Hadrian in profile	Early second century AD 117-138	Diameter: 4.5cm	Copper alloy and silver	Excavated from the Rhine at Leiderdorp, W of a bridge, 1876,	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. LD 1001:3	Dahmen 2001, Mil.25
IP 197	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Clipeata imago</i> of ?Claudius (or Tiberius or Caligula) on front of helmet	Mid first century	H: 19.3cm; W: 25.7cm; D: 26.3cm	Copper alloy	Excavated at Xanten-Wardt in Jul 1986, found together with other first century <i>militaria</i>	LVR LandesMuseum, Bonn, inv.no. 86.0070	Dahmen 2001, Mil.27
IP 198	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Bust of Drusus shown frontally on the band of a cavalry helmet	Mid first century	W: 23.5cm; H: 3 - 5cm	Copper alloy	Allegedly found in the Rhine at Amerongen, near Utrecht	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. f 1960/10.4	Dahmen 2001, Mil.28
IP 199	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man wearing the <i>corona civica</i>	Mid first century	H: (of the bust) 1.5cm	Copper alloy	Excavated at Xanten-Wardt in Jul 1986, found together with other first century <i>militaria</i>	Xanten, Regionaalmuseum inv. no 88,8.031	Dahmen 2001, Mil.30
IP 200	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and two younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with Germanicus and Drusus Minor; or Germanicus with Nero and Drusus; or Drusus with Tiberius and Germanicus	Early first century	H: (head of the middle figure) 2cm	Glass	Köln	Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 67.1508	Dahmen 2001, Mil 32, Matrice 2a, no.1
IP 201	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and two younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with Germanicus and Drusus Minor; or Germanicus with Nero and Drusus; or Drusus with Tiberius and Germanicus	Early first century	Diameter: 4cm	Blue glass	Nijmegen	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. U 1931/2.61	Dahmen 2001, Mil 32, Matrice 2a, no.2
IP 202	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and two younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with Germanicus and Drusus Minor; or Germanicus with Nero and Drusus; or Drusus with Tiberius and Germanicus	Early first century	H: (head of the middle figure) 2cm	Blue glass	Hunerberg at Nijmegen	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, inv. no. N. S. 743	Dahmen 2001, Mil 32, Matrice 2a, no.5
IP 203	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and two younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with Germanicus and Drusus Minor; or Germanicus with Nero and Drusus; or Drusus with Tiberius and Germanicus	Early first century	H: (head of the middle figure) 2cm	Glass	Xanten	Xanten, Regionaalmuseum	Dahmen 2001, Mil 32, Matrice 2a, no.7
IP 204	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and two younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with Germanicus and Drusus Minor; or Germanicus with Nero and Drusus; or Drusus with Tiberius and Germanicus	Early first century	H: (head of the middle figure) 2cm	Glass	Fort Vechten	Utrecht Museum inv. no. 7439	Dahmen 2001, Mil 32, Matrice 2a, no.9
IP 205	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and two younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with Germanicus and Drusus Minor; or Germanicus with Nero and Drusus; or Drusus with Tiberius and Germanicus	Early first century	H: (head of the middle figure) 2cm	Glass	Köln, at Niehl	Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 24.414	Dahmen 2001, Mil 32, Matrice 2a, no.13
IP 206	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> with bust of Agrippina the Elder	c. AD 37-41		Glass	Found during emergency excavation on the ravine on the Fürstenberg near Xanten	LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 62.186	Dahmen 2001, Mil.35, Matrice 5a, no.4
IP 207	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Plinius' phalerae: four silvered bronze phalera from a horse-harness, all with raised portraits in the centre of ?Nero, first type. One with an attached flat piece ending in two acorns with an oak leaf between them. Inscription on one Plinio Praef. Eq.	Mid first century	Diameters: 10.05cm, 10.1m, 10.5cm	Silvered copper alloy	Probably from Xanten, perhaps the Fürstenberg	British Museum, inv. nos. 1854.0717.53, 1854.0717.54, 1854.0717.55, 1868.0220.1	Dahmen 2001, Mil.37, no.1
IP 208	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Large plate with central standing male figure holding a lance in his R hand and wearing armour, standing above trophies and captured arms.	After AD 260	Diameter: 19cm	Silver	From the <i>aedes</i> or <i>principia</i> of auxiliary fort at Niederbieber	LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn inv. no. 77.0131	Dahmen 2001, Mil.42
IP 209	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Rectangular seal box with female bust in profile, looking R.			Copper alloy	Osnabrück	Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, Osnabrück	Dahmen 2001, Anh.1, no.1
IP 210	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Terra sigillata</i> beaker with portrait busts of Augustus and Livia on top of a pillar, resting on discs	Late first century BC - early first century AD		Terracotta	From military camp at Vetera	LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. 22534a	Dahmen 2001, Anh.9, no.1
IP 211	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Azure blue glass bowl with cut figures and gold leaf plating. Biblical motifs with four medallions face forward in spandrels between them: perhaps the four sons of Constantine.	Early fourth century	Diameter of bowl: 11.4cm	Gold glass	From a sarcophagus, in a grave in Cologne	Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 991	Dahmen 2001, Anh.10, no.8
IP 212	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Bronze ring with oval image field and surrounding pearl wreath. Embossed raised profile of Marcus Aurelius on the field looking R.	Mid second century		Copper alloy	Found 1913 in Utrecht	Utrecht Museum inv. no. 224	Dahmen 2001, Anh. 13, no.11
IP 213	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Medallion with bust of a Flavian emperor on the inner side of a mirror	Late first century		Copper alloy	From a grave	Museum het Valkhof, Nijmegen, inv. no. 1.3	Dahmen 200, Anh.21, no.1
IP 214	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Round mirror, with central bust of a man wearing a <i>corona</i> , looking R.	First century?		Copper alloy with lead frame		Museum het Valkhof, Nijmegen, inv. no. XXI f/T.1	Dahmen 200, Anh.21, no.2

Number	Province	Case study category	Description	Date	Dimensions	Material	Find spot	Current location	Selected references/publications
IP 215	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Hand mirror with mythological scenes and coin emperor portraits from the first century on the back	First century?		Copper alloy		Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. no. 12264	Dahmen 200, Anh.21, no.4
IP 216	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Bronze helmet diadem with bust of an emperor in a roundel, and two other busts in diamonds either side, showing Claudius flanked by Nero and Agrippina?	Mid - first century?		Copper alloy		Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 132-3, Abb. 173
IP 217	Germania Inferior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Four tortoiseshell plates from furniture: three showing a carriage ride and a fourth with a seated man and another standing with lance; in between a woman. The Severan family?	Late second - early third century		Tortoiseshell		LVR Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. no. A 348	Dahmen 2001, Anh. 23, no.1
IP 218	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Sword of Tiberius' Scabbard includes several sections of decoratio. The main scene from the top illustrates the ceding of military victory by a military leader to another man, semi-nude seated in a pose of Jupiter, flanked by Roman gods Vicotry and Mars Ultor. Some identify these individuals as Augustus receiving Tiberius, others as Tiberius receiving Germanicus. An inscription on the seated figures shield reads FELICITAS TIBERI and on the shield of Victory VIC AUG	Early first century, c. AD 15	(sheath) L: 58.5cm; W: 8.7cm	Iron sword; sheath of tinned and gilded bronze	From the River Rhine at Mainz, 1848	British Museum inv. no. 1866.0806.1	Dahmen 2001, Mil. 17; Walker and Burnett 1981, 49 ff
IP 219	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Decorative button showing Augustus in profile	Early first century	Diameter: 2.1cm	Copper alloy	?	Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, inv. no. 0.12238	Dahmen 2001, Mil.3
IP 220	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Bust of ?Nero shown from the side on a cavalry helmet cheekpiece	Mid first century	H: (of the bust) 9.7cm, c.1cm deep relief	Copper alloy	From within the later Roman period town at Nida-Heddermheim, N of the plateau praetoria	Frankfurt Archäologisches Museum, inv. no. α 23342	Dahmen 2001, Mil.29
IP 221	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing Claudius with Octavia, Antonia and Britannicus (alternatively, Drusus with Claudius, Livilla and Germanicus)	Early Claudian c. AD 43			From the <i>canabae</i> W of the fort at Rheingönheim	Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz inv. no. 3985	Dahmen 2001, Mil. 36, Matrice 6a, no.2
IP 222	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Bronze ring with oval image field and surrounding pearl wreath. Embossed raised profile of Marcus Aurelius on the field.	Second century				Mainz, RGZM	Dahmen 2001, Anh. 13, no.10
IP 223	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Sheet button with head of Vespasian	AD 69-79	Diameter: 2.1cm	Copper alloy	Unknown	Mainz, RGZM	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 128, Abb. 168
IP 224	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	Horse's chamfron with owl or eagle and frontal portrait of a bearded man in relief / repousse with laurel wreath. Perhaps showing Gallienus or Jupiter.	Mid third century		Copper alloy	Mainz?	Mainz, RGZM	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 134, Abb. 175
IP 225	Germania Superior	Imperial portrait: image on another object	<i>Donum militarium</i> showing frontal bust of an armoured man and three younger boys flanking him, identified as Claudius with his children	Mid first century	Diameter: 3.8cm	Blue glass	From the <i>vicus</i> west of Rheingönheim fort	Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz	Kemkes and Sarge 2009, 126, Abb. 166

