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4. Patterns of worship in Roman Britain: Double-Named Deities in Context

by Amy L. Zoll

Archaeology has long maintained an uneasy relationship with the subject of religion. Ranking by ease of inference, Hawkes placed 'religious institutions and spiritual life' almost beyond the reach of most archaeologists, save those with textual sources to inform the material remains (1954: 162). Deemed virtually 'unknowable' by the very nature of the archaeological evidence, religion has not been exposed to the same degree of systematic scrutiny over the years as have other, seemingly more accessible, aspects of past cultures, such as subsistence and economy. Quite the opposite, belief systems and their ritual expression frequently seem the category of last resort, the repository and reason for any unfathomable, apparently non-rational, behavior alluded to in the archaeological record. This tide appears to be turning, however, with many prehistorians now working to illustrate ways in which the structured and structuring properties of ideology serve to influence aspects of culture on every level of Hawkes' hierarchy.

The study of religion in the Roman period has yet to benefit significantly from these new approaches, however, and it may be the wealth of ancient treatises that survive on the subject which is, in part, to blame. Rather than informing, the textual evidence for religion has overshadowed the archaeology and largely directed the course of its study. While systems of belief in the western provinces are seen as having been Romanized and, further, functioning as vehicles for Romanization themselves, there have been few attempts to address these processes in a systematic fashion. More often than not, discussions of religious change in the Roman period rely most heavily upon those 'accessible' sources for information: the literature and epigraphy.

The dynamics behind the Romanization of religion in the western provinces has been a matter of debate for some time. Provincial iconography and inscriptions include elements which appear to be derived from two religious systems, combined to form a third, 'Romano-Celtic', system. Arguments regarding the mechanisms responsible for this synthesis abound, but these tend to focus more on specific, anecdotal phrases and examples in the ancient literature and archaeology. Rarely are such examples considered within their larger contexts.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the treatment of the so-called 'double-named' deities, a situation in which a member of the Roman pantheon appears in a votive inscription paired with a native deity, apparently intended as a single entity. This association of a Roman deity with a native one has enjoyed particular attention in modern scholarly literature, where it is viewed as a physical manifestation of the elusive processes involved in creation of the Romano-Celtic system. This is, however, an investment of significance perhaps disproportionate to the phenomenon's actual incidence. Few who seize upon this rather rare occurrence acknowledge the ambiguity inherent in the evidence, an ambiguity which enables the same material to be used to support arguments advocating both Romanization and resistance as the determining force behind religious change.

Approaches to double-named deities and religious change

Arguments as to how and why Roman and non-Roman deities were linked in this way are inextricably bound up with the question of who originally initiated these associations. Proponents of the more traditional explanation for double-names tend to take their cue from Tacitus' phrase *interpretatio Romana* (*Germania* 43, 3). Henig, for example, places the responsibility squarely with the incoming Romans. He depicts double-named deities as arising out of a Roman desire to accommodate for all supernatural contingencies by addressing what was seen to be the local name for their Roman god in addition to the more familiar one (Henig 1984: 55). In such Roman-dominated scenarios, the local population, if considered at all, is usually portrayed as passively accepting this appropriation of their gods.

Attempts to compensate for the Romano-centric view have cast members of the native population in the active role, both in the pairing of deities and in the larger process of religious change. Aspects of Roman religion are in this case seen as having been consciously selected and incorporated into the pre-existing Iron Age system, such that the adopted Roman features had little impact on the core Celtic ones. This stance enables some, like Green, to utilize the more abundant and 'accessible' evidence for religion in the Roman period to reconstruct the pre-Roman Iron Age situation, as many native traditions would have persisted, either wholly unaffected or obscured only by a thin veil of *Romanitas* (Green 1992: 112–113).

In 1991, Derks proposed a native-initiated model for the creation of double-named deities which, refreshingly, was rooted in a systematic approach to the epigraphic evidence. Prior to investigating any single feature of votive inscriptions in Lower Germany, he first undertook to quantify and compare the types and genders of deities invoked in the over eleven-thousand religious dedications from that province. Derks posited that, following Roman conquest, native elite priests actively sought to affiliate their deities with those of Rome in an attempt to maintain the local status quo through association with the new prevailing power structure. He concluded that the pairing of only local male deities with Roman gods such as Mars and Hercules reflected the warrior attitudes and concerns of the local native society in that region (Derks 1991: 254–6).

Of the varied hypotheses for religious change that exist, however, few take into account the geographic, temporal and social context of the evidence upon which the arguments hinge. By definition, double-named deities are only clearly and repeatedly attested in the epigraphic record. Unfortunately, this body of material tends to be applied uncritically, often divorced from all but its most general provenance and without regard to the identity of the individuals responsible for its creation. The name of the dedicator, frequently accompanied by his or her social position or title, is one of three main elements of the standardized votive formula used in dedications, along with the name of the deity, or deities, and an often abbreviated phrase indicating a vow fulfilled.

In this paper, the evidence from Britain will be examined using the innovative quantitative methods developed by Derks for the Lower German material. In addition, the geographic and social contexts in which the British evidence occurs will also be taken into consideration.

The British evidence: distribution of inscriptions

Of the over nine hundred votive inscriptions known from Roman Britain, well over half are clustered in a narrow distribution around Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 4.1). Close to forty percent come

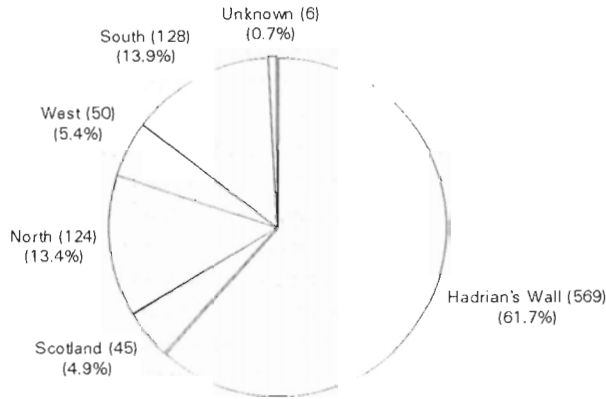


Fig. 4.1. Distribution of votive inscriptions from Roman Britain by region. (Total 922).

from the sites directly on the Wall and along the Stanegate, while another twenty percent are from the related Cumbrian coast defenses and the fort sites within twenty-five kilometers to the north and south of the Wall line. This uneven distribution, heavily weighted towards the Hadrian's Wall region, seems the general pattern for most epigraphic material in Roman Britain (Biro 1975: 26). That the majority of extant epigraphic evidence for religion in Roman Britain was generated in an area of long-term military occupation must therefore be acknowledged.

While the areas to the north of Hadrian's Wall and in the west of Britain were also subject to some lengthy military presence, these have yielded considerably smaller numbers of votive inscriptions, between five and six percent of the total for Britain. Of these, the majority of inscriptions in Scotland are known from the sites along the Antonine Wall and those in the west are primarily from the forts of Chester and Caerleon.

The remaining, and largest, portion of Roman-annexed Britain appears to divide into two: a northern region, including sites south of Hadrian's Wall to Manchester and the southern Yorkshire border, and a southern one, the largest, encompassing all that remains. While these two regions are unequal in area, they have yielded similar quantities of votive inscriptions — each comprising between thirteen and fourteen percent of the total for Britain. What distinguishes them is not the numbers, however, but the types of deities honored in those inscriptions, particularly in the case of double-named deities.

Distribution of deities in inscriptions

The overall pattern of deities invoked in the north bears a greater correspondence to the pattern from the area directly around Hadrian's Wall than it does to that of the south, and is perhaps more one end of a continuum than a distinct region from that of the Wall. All regions in Britain

exhibit rather similar ratios of Roman to native deities, with Roman gods occurring at least twice as frequently as non-Roman, except among the sites directly on Hadrian's Wall, where native deities occur somewhat more frequently but in no way surpass the number of Roman. Despite their general correlations, the percentage of inscriptions with double-names differs markedly between the north and south.

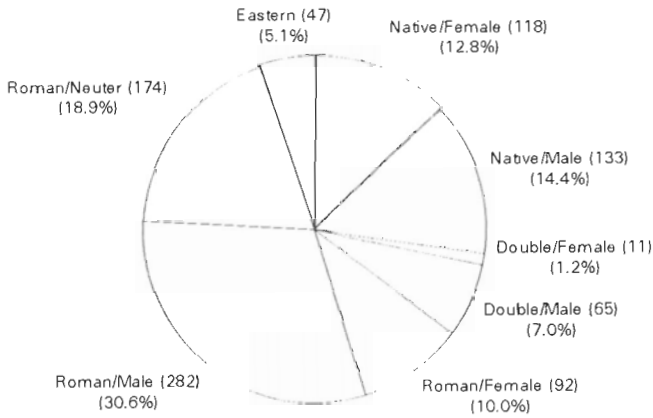


Fig. 4.2. Distribution of deities in votive inscriptions from Britain. (Total 922).

Double-named deities account for only eight percent of the total deities in inscriptions in Britain (Fig. 4.2). The sites in closest proximity to the Wall, while exhibiting the highest percentage of native deities compared to other parts of Roman Britain, contain only about five

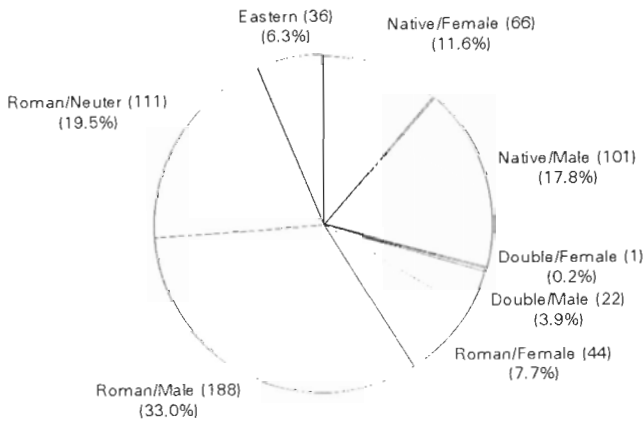


Fig. 4.3. Distribution of deities in votive inscriptions from the Hadrian's Wall region. (Total 569).

percent double-named deities (Fig. 4.3), while sites in the north of England outside the Wall region exhibit a higher proportion of nine percent (Fig. 4.4). The south, while having yielded a

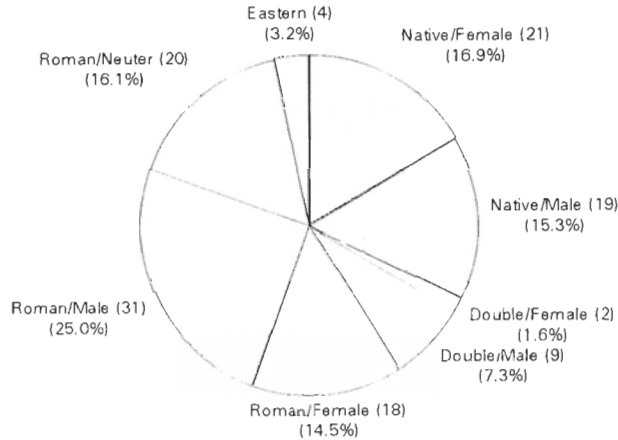


Fig. 4.4. Distribution of deities in votive inscriptions from the North. (Total 124).

comparable number of religious dedications to the northern region outside Hadrian's Wall, includes a remarkable twenty-five percent double-names (Fig. 4.5).

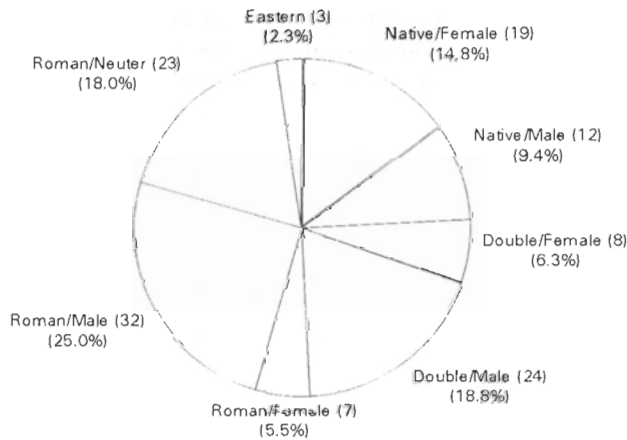


Fig. 4.5. Distribution of deities in votive inscriptions from the South. (Total 128).

Types of double-named deities

Despite the impressive showing of double-named deities in the south, the evidence which comprises this high figure occurs under the most atypical and exceptional circumstances. While this area includes one of the most well known double-named deities, it is also one of the most

unusual: Sulis Minerva. Female double-named deities are extremely rare, with only eleven inscriptions found in the whole of Britain. Of these eleven, however, all eight in the south are dedications to Sulis Minerva from the sanctuary site at Bath. The other three female double-names from Britain come from the north and involve the goddess embodying that region, Brigantia. It is uncertain, however, whether these last examples can truly be considered double-names or whether the second name was intended to serve only as an epithet.

Twelve of the twenty-four male double-named deities from the south derive solely from inscriptions on a collection of spoons from Thetford. Twenty of these spoons give names of otherwise unknown non-Roman deities, either alone or linked with the god Faunus. Because these deities are attested only in this one find, it is unclear whether they were local or imported concepts.

There is evidence for the importation both of non-Roman and double-named deities throughout Britain. Half of the ten double-named deities from Scotland and the west have numerous continental parallels either for the non-Roman deity of the pair or for the pairing itself. Such is also the case for five of the twelve male double-names from the south. It is probable that, in all these instances, the native deities were brought over from the continent already associated with their Roman counterparts, since none of the native components occurs alone in any inscription from Britain.

Determining whether a deity is local to an area is impossible, however, when only a single specimen is known. All but one of the seven remaining double-names from the south appear on only one inscription with no known parallels either in Britain or the continent. The only deity of this type from the south which is known from any other location is Mars Alator, who also appears in one inscription at South Shields fort far to the north, making it unclear where even this deity could have originated.

Deity names which are confined to a solitary inscription or site, while not rare occurrences, must necessarily raise suspicions as to whether these entities were of local origin. What seem more credible candidates for deities native to Britain are found primarily in the north, particularly in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall. Although double-named deities account for only about four percent of the total number of deities invoked in dedications at sites in the Hadrian's Wall region, several conform to a larger distribution of dedications to the non-Roman deity of the pair.

The best examples for this relationship between double-named deities and their native counterparts are the northern gods Cocidius and Belatucadrus. Both are confined primarily to sites around Hadrian's Wall and are among the most frequently occurring non-Roman deities from this area. Belatucadrus seems to have had a slightly wider distribution of the two, with twenty-three inscriptions extending from the sites along the western portion of the Wall south as far as Brougham and Kirkby Thore. Cocidius occurs seventeen times among the more central sites on the Wall and to its immediate north, with five coming from Bewcastle alone, leading some to suggest it to be the site of the *Fanum Cocidi* mentioned in the Ravenna Cosmography (Breeze and Dobson 1987: 262). Unlike Belatucadrus, Cocidius appears in double-naming situations with the name of more than one Roman deity. Belatucadrus occurs paired only with Mars, while Cocidius appears not only (although most frequently) with Mars, but also once with Silvanus and in another instance with what appears to be another native deity, Vernostonus.

Dedicators and types of inscriptions

In a region dominated by Hadrian's Wall, it is hardly surprising to find a high incidence of dedications by military personnel. In the south, there is only one inscription invoking a double-named deity where its dedicator is identified as a member of the military but this, again, is the atypical situation. For the rest of Britain, approximately half of the dedications to double-named deities in each region state explicitly that the dedicator was in some way affiliated with the army.

Except for the name of the deity, there seems little to distinguish dedications made to double-named deities from those set up for the native deity of the pair alone. As already noted, the distribution of double-named deities corresponds to that of the native where both types of dedication are known. Indeed, spoons bearing the names of non-Roman deities were found alongside those with the same deities paired with Faunus in the Thetford hoard. These similarities carry through to the type of dedication and dedicator in stone inscriptions. For example, altars to both Cocidius and Mars Cocidius tend to be large, well-formed and frequently associated with legionary activity, while the altars to Belatucadrus and Mars Belatucadrus are generally smaller, often crude and rarely provide information regarding the identity of the dedicator beyond the name, causing Breeze and Dobson to conclude that their worshippers were 'relatively unimportant socially' (1987: 262).

Based upon the body of epigraphic evidence from Britain, there would appear to be some sort of connection between a dedicator's social-standing and the deity to which he or she set up an inscription. These distinctions, however, do not appear to be drawn entirely along the lines of the Roman, native, and double-named categories imposed by modern scholarship, but rather vary from one deity to the next, cross-cutting categories. While frequently occurring members of the Roman pantheon, such as Jupiter, Mars and Hercules, appear primarily the concern of high ranking members of the military so, it would seem, were Cocidius, both alone and linked with Mars, and a few other non-Roman deities, such as Antenociticus and Matunus, two apparently native deities which never occur in double-naming situations. The small and numerous altars to the *Veteres*, like those of Belatucadrus and Mars Belatucadrus, seem to have been commissioned by members of the lower social orders. In between, there are deities such as Coventina, who appears to have garnered the attention of a wide range of people from both upper and lower military ranks as well as individuals of no known rank.

The evidence from Lower Germany and Britain compared

The apparent lack of distinction between dedications to the native and double-named instances of a deity in terms of type, size and dedicator, as well as the degree of military involvement with double-named deities, make models, such as the one proposed by Derks, of an actively-pursued elite-actuated mechanism for the association of Roman and local god, ill-suited to explain the material from Roman Britain. The Hadrian's Wall region, which provides the best evidence for double-names, is without any material comparable to that marshalled by Derks in Lower Germany for the existence of a local native elite class or their involvement in religious affairs. There is little indication that the Hadrian's Wall region supported a centralized, or centralizing, hierarchical social system prior to the construction of the Wall, much less one that was able to remain vital in the face of the pervasive military presence in that area.

The mechanisms Derks postulates as responsible for generating double-named deities in Lower Germany, therefore, can not account for the identical phenomenon observed at the Wall.

Although it can no more be argued from this evidence that the army was responsible for the creation of double-names, it must be considered that the choice of deity to honor in any of these inscriptions, Roman or native, double-named or otherwise, may reflect the interests of the dedicator, and the social group to which that individual, or group of individuals, belonged, rather than those of the wider society.

The disproportionate representation of army officers in the epigraphic evidence from Britain may indicate a significant biasing in the observable pattern, skewing it more towards the particular concerns of the military. In the case of double-names, it is Mars, Hercules and Mercury who appear to be the Roman deities most commonly paired with local ones in Lower Germany, while it is Mars and, to a considerably lesser extent, Silvanus and Apollo, who are usually involved in double-names in most areas in Britain. Although Jupiter is the most frequently occurring Roman deity in inscriptions from Britain, he appears only once in a double-name relationship.

Another indication that this material is providing only part of the story is that other types of deities, both Roman and non-Roman, which appear repeatedly in the religious iconography in Britain, such as the Genii Cucullati and Venus, are nowhere attested in the epigraphic evidence. This may suggest that either inscriptions were not an appropriate form of worship for all deities in either pantheon, or that the inscription-producing portion of the population had less reason to set up dedications to these deities.

The overall ratios of deity types from Britain and Lower Germany vary widely, with the German pattern dominated largely by native female, in this case Matres, dedications (Fig. 4.6).

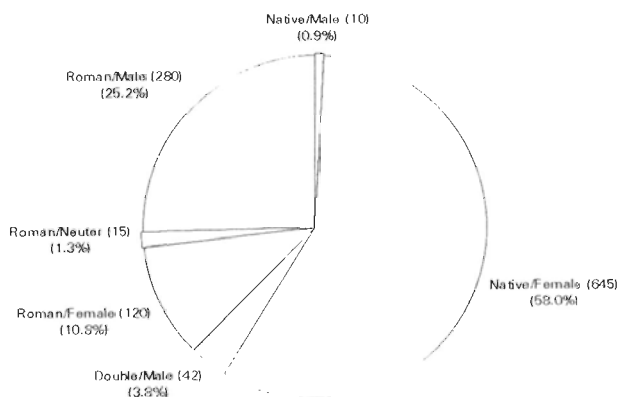


Fig. 4.6. *Distribution of deities in votive inscriptions from Lower Germany (after Derks 1991). (Total 1112).*

Male native deities, however, are extremely poorly represented in the German evidence compared to that of the British (Fig. 4.2). The situation in which the two most closely resemble one another is in the proportion of double-named deities, with four percent in the Lower Germany collection and eight percent overall in Britain. It must be noted, however, that both these figures represent only a small fraction of the larger pattern of votive inscriptions in each region. In light of this, it is perhaps remarkable how much attention this phenomenon has

received. The intent of this paper was to illustrate the potential for interpretative bias due to an over-reliance upon one type of 'accessible' evidence for religious practice. Basing determinations solely upon epigraphic material carries with it the numerous problems and biases inherent in the data. This evidence would have been generated only by those inscription-using members of a society and thus may have been the result of the activities of very specific socio-political groups. The body of inscriptions, therefore, would only reflect the patterns of worship of those groups and not of the larger population. For this reason, it is essential to consider from whence the evidence derives rather than employing it indiscriminate of context.

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Deity	Other Deities	Gen	Type	Site	Pub. Ref.	Ded Typ	Wth	Ht	Dedicator	Type Notes
Mars Alator		M	D	Barkway	RIB 218	Plaque	4	7	Male	M
Mars Alator		M	D	South Shields	RIB 1055	Altar	12	30	Male	M
Mercury/Andescocivovicus	Numen (Aug)	M	D	Colchester	RIB 193	Slab	9	18	Libertus	M
Andicrose		M	N	Thetford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Faunus Andicrose		M	D	Thetford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Apollo Anaxiomarus		M	D	South Shields	RIB 2415.55	Patera	n/a	n/a	Male	M
Faunus Ausecus		M	D	Thetford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Faunus Ausecus		M	D	Thetford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mars Barrex		M	D	Carlisle	RIB 947	Altar	11	18	Male	M
Belatocaurus		M	N	Bovness-on-Solway	RIB 2056	Altar	9	11	Male	M
Belatocaurus		M	N	Brougham	IRS 59	Altar	5	9	n/a	n/a
Balatucadrus		M	N	Brougham	RIB 772	Altar	12	20	Cuneus member	M
Balutucaro		M	N	Brougham	RIB 773	Altar	15	24	Male	M
Blatucarus		M	N	Brougham	RIB 774	Altar	11	15	Male	M
Belatucadrus		M	N	Brougham	RIB 775	Altar	7	11	Male	M
Belatucadrus		M	N	Brougham	RIB 776	Altar	6	n/a	Male	M
Belatucadrus		M	N	Brougham	RIB 777	Base	n/m	n/m	n/a	n/a
Belatucadrus		M	N	Burgh-by-Sands	RIB 2038	Altar	5	9	n/m	n/m
Belatocadrus		M	N	Burgh-by-Sands	RIB 2039	Altar	4	5	Male	M
Belleitucarus		M	N	Carrawburgh	RIB 1521	Altar	8	11	Male	M
Balitucarus		M	N	Carvoran	RIB 1775	Altar	7	11	n/m	n/m
Blatucadus		M	N	Carvoran	RIB 1776	Altar	7	13	n/m	n/m
Belatucadus		M	N	Castlesteads	RIB 1976	Altar	4	10	Male	M
Belatucadus		M	N	Castlesteads?	RIB 1977	Altar	7	n/a	Male	M
Belatucadus		M	N	Kirkby Thore	RIB 759	Altar	n/m	n/m	Optio	M
Belatucadus		M	N	Maryport	RIB 809	Altar	14	27	Veteran	M
Belatucadus		M	N	Old Carlisle	RIB 888	Altar	n	/m/n	/m/Male	M
Belatucadus		M	N	Old Carlisle	RIB 889	Altar	8	13 n	n/a	n/a
Balatocadus		M	N	Old Penrith	BRJ 9	Altar	10	9.5	n/a	n/a
Belatucarus		M	N	Old Penrith	BRJ 9	Altar	6	1	n/a	n/a
Belatucadus		M	N	Old Penrith	RIB 914	Altar	n/m	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mars Belatucadus		M	D	Burgh-by-Sands	RIB 2044	Altar	6	9	n/a	n/a
Mars Belatucadus		M	D	Carlisle	RIB 948	Altar	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m
Mars Belatucarus		M	D	Carvoran	RIB 1784	Altar	5	10	n/m	n/m
Mars Belatucadus		M	D	Netherby	RIB 970	Altar	n/m	n/m	n/a	n/a
Mars Belatucadus		M	D	Old Penrith	RIB 918	Altar	19	30	Actor	M
Blongus	Numen (Aug)	M	N	Thetford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
									Actor of Prefect	

Continental parallels

Dedty	Other Deities	Gen	Type	Site	Pub. Ref.	Ded Typ	With	Ht	Dedicator Type	Notes
Blotugus		M	N	Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Blotugus		M	N	Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Blotugus?		M	N	Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Famus Blotugus		M	D	Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mars Braciace		M	D	Bakewell	RJB 278	Altar	19	48	Prefect	M
Brigantia		F	N	Adel	RJB 630	Altar	9	14	Male	M
Brigantia		F	N	Birens	RJB 2091	Relief	n/a	n/a	Engineer	M
Brigantia		F	N	South Shields	RJB 1053	Altar	16	34	Male	M
Brigantia (Dea Nym)		F	N	Unknown Origin	RJB 2066	Altar	n/m	n/m	Procurator	M
Caelestis Brigantia	Jupiter Dol	F	D	Corbridge	RJB 1131	Altar	16	35	Centurion	M
Victoria Brigantia		F	D	Greenland	RJB 627	Altar	14	19	Male	M
Sihvanus Callinus		F	D	Castleford	RJB 628	Altar	10	19	n/a	n/a
Mars Carnulus		M	D	Colchester	RJB 194	Plat	n/a	n/a	Coppersmith	M
Cocidius		M	N	Bewcastle	RJB 2166	Altar	12	n/a	Legion	C
Cocidius		M	N	Bewcastle	RJB 985	Altar	9	20	Centurion	M
Cocidius		M	N	Bewcastle	RJB 986	Plaque	n/a	n/a	n/m	n/m
Cocidius		M	N	Bewcastle	RJB 987	Plaque	n/a	n/a	Male	M
Cocidius		M	N	Bewcastle	RJB 988	Altar	13	21	Tribune	M
Cocidius		M	N	Bewcastle	RJB 989	Altar	18	33	Tribune	M
Cocidius		M	N	Birdoswald	RJB 1885	Altar	13	35	n/a	n/a
Cocidius		M	N	Birdoswald?	RJB 1872	Altar	21	n/a	Cohort	C
Cocidius		M	N	Bird/Castlesds	RJB 1955	Altar	12	n/a	Legion	C
Cocidius		M	N	Bird/Castlesds	RJB 1956	Altar	11	28	Legion	C
Cocidius		M	N	Bird/Castlesds	RJB 1961	Altar	14	40	Legion	C
Cocidius		M	N	Chesterholm?	RJB 1683	Altar	19	40	Prefect	M
Cocidius		M	N	Castlids/Stnviix	RJB 2020	Altar	12	n/a	Legion	C
Cocidius	Genus (Prd)	M	N	Housesteads	RJB 1577	Altar	9	17	Soldier	M
Cocidius	Jupiter (OM)	M	N	Housesteads	RJB 1583	Altar	10	19	Legion	C
Cocidius		M	N	House/GkChrsts	RJB 1633	Altar	7	n/a	Male	M
Cocidius		M	N	Netherby?	RJB 966	Altar	14	32	Tribune	M
Cocidius	Sihvanus	M	N	Risingham?	RJB 1207	Altar	21	40	n/a	n/a
Mars Cocidius		M	D	Bewcastle	RJB 993	Altar	n/m	n/m	Male	M
Mars Cocidius	Toutates	M	D	Embrind Quarries	RJB 1017	Altar	n/a	12	Male	M
Mars Cocidius	Genus	M	D	Cstlids/Stnviix	RJB 2015	Altar	n/a	n/a	Centurion?	M
Mars Cocidius		M	D	Cstlids/Stnviix	RJB 2024	Altar	8	18	Legion	C
Mars Cocidius		M	D	Lancaster	RJB 602	Altar	16	26	Beneficiarius	M
Sihvanus Cocidius		M	D	Housesteads	RJB 1578	Altar	15	48	Prefect	M
Vernostonus Cocidius		M	D	Ebochester	RJB 1102	Altar	16	29	Male	M

Parallels from L over Germany

Gallie place-name parallels

German dedicator

Deity	Other Deities	Gen'd	Type Site	Pub. Ref.	Ded Typ	Wth	Ht	Dedicator Type	Notes
Mars Condates		M	D Boves	RJB 731	Altar	12	n/a	Male	M
Mars Condates		M	D Chester-Le-Street	RJB 1045	Altar	11	21	Male	M
Mars Condates?		M	D Cranmond	BRJ 9	Altar	8.5	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mars Condates		M	D Piercebridge	RJB 1024	Altar	8	11	Mensor	M
Mars Corothiacus		M	D Martlesham	RJB 213	Base	2	3	Female	F
Faunus Cranus		M	D Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Faunus Cranus		M	D Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Apollo Grammus		M	D Inveresk	RJB 2132	Altar	n/m	n/m	Procurator	M
Mars Lenus	Oculus Vellaun	M	D Caerwent	RJB 309	Base	21	18	Collegium member	M
Lenus Mars		M	D Chedworth	RJB 126	Altar	4	7	n/a	Parallels from Trier
Loucetius Mars	Nemetona	M	D Bath	RJB 140	Altar	17	n/a	Male	Parallels from Trier
Hercules Magnusanus		M	D Mumrills	RJB 2140	Altar	12	34	Duplicarius	M
Mobomus		M	N Birrens	JRS 58	Slab	n/a	n/a	Male	German parallels
Maponus		M	N Chesterholm	RJB 2431.2	Pendant	n/a	n/a	n/m	n/m
Maponus	Numen (Aug)	M	N Unknown Origin	RJB 2063	Altar	13	40	Males	C German dedicators
Apollo Maponus		M	D Corbridge?	RJB 1120	Altar	n/a	n/a	Prefect	Dedicator from Saena
Apollo Maponus		M	D Corbridge	RJB 1121	Altar	25	54	Tribune	M
Apollo Maponus		M	D Corbridge?	RJB 1122	Altar	21	n/a	Centurion	M
Medugenus		M	D Ribchester	RJB 583	Base	24	51	Centurion	M
Faunus Medigenus		M	N Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	On behalf of the Emperor & cavalry unit
Faunus Medigenus		M	D Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Faunus Medigenus		M	D Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mars Medocivus		M	D Colchester	RJB 191	Plate	n/a	n/a	Male	M
Moguns	Genus (Loc)	M	N Chesterholm	BRJ 4	Altar	4	n/a	Male	M
Mogons		M	N Old Pennith	RJB 921	Altar	n/m	n/m	n/a	M
Mogons Cad(...)	Numen (DN)	M	N Risingham?	RJB 1225	Altar	14	n/a	Beneficiarius	M
Mogons Cad(...)		M	N Risingham?	RJB 1226	Altar	n/m	n/m	Male	M
Mogons Vitivis		M	D Netherby	RJB 971	Altar	13	24	Male	M
Narius		M	N Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Faunus Narius		M	D Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Faunus Narius		M	D Theford	BRJ 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Mars Nodons		M	D Cockersand Moss	RJB 616	Base	n/m	n/m	Male	M
Mars Nodons		M	D Cockersand Moss	RJB 617	Base	n/m	n/m	Male	M
Mars Nodons		M	D Lydney Park	RJB 305	Plate	n/a	n/a	Drill Instructor	M
Mars Nudens		M	D Lydney Park	RJB 307	Plate	n/a	n/a	Male	M
Mars Ocellus		M	D Caerwent	RJB 310	Altar	11	29	Optio	M
Mars Ocellus	Numen (Imp)	M	D Carlisle	RJB 949	Slab	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Deity	Other Deities	Gender	Type	Site	Pub. Ref.	Ded. Typ	Wth	Ht	Dedicator	Type	Notes
Ocellus Veilaunus	Mars Lenus	M	D	Caerwent	RJB 309	Base	21	18	Collegium member	M	Continental parallels for Veilaunus
Mars Olludius		M	D	Custom Scrubs	RJB 131	Relief	15	20	n/a	n/a	Continental parallels
Mars Rigas		M	D	Malton	RJB 711	Base	17	8	Male	M	
Mars Rigisamus		M	D	West Coker	RJB 187	Plate	n/a	n/a	Male	M	Parallel from Bourges
Hércules Saegon(...)		M	D	Stichester	RJB 67	Slab	18	20	Male	M	
Faunus Saternius		M	D	Thetford	BRI 12	Spoon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Sulis		F	N	Bath	JRS 56	Base	34	36	Hartuspex	M	
Sulis		F	N	Bath	RJB 143	Altar	28	60	Libertus	M	On Centurion's behalf
Sulis		F	N	Bath	RJB 144	Altar	26	49	Libertus	M	On Centurion's behalf
Sulis		F	N	Bath	RJB 145	Slab	9	7	Male	M	
Sulis		F	N	Bath	RJB 147	Altar	25	48	Libertus	M	On Imaginifer's behalf
Sulis		F	N	Bath	RJB 148	Altar	13	n/a	Male	M	
Sulis		F	N	Bath	RJB 149	Slab	17	21	Male	M	Dedicator from Chartres
Sulis		F	D	Bath	RJB 141	Relief	23	9	Male	M	
Sulis Minerva	Numen (Aug)	F	D	Bath	RJB 146	Altar	18	44	Centurion	M	Post AD 161
Sulis Minerva		F	D	Bath	RJB 150	Altar	11	24	Male	M	
Sulis Minerva		F	D	Bath	BRI 12	Patera	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Sulis Minerva		F	D	Bath	BRI 12	Patera	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Sulis Minerva		F	D	Bath	BRI 12	Patera	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Sulis Minerva		F	D	Bath	BRI 12	Patera	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Sulis Minerva?		F	D	Bath	BRI 12	Patera	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Jupiter Tananus		M	D	Chester	RJB 452	Altar	18	38	Principes	M	AD 154; dedicator from Clunia
Mars Thinesus	Alaisiagae	M	D	Houseseads	RJB 1593	Pillar	n/a	n/a	Civis	C	German dedicators
Toutates	Mars Cocidius	M	N	Embrind Quarries	RJB 1017	Altar	n/a	12	Male	M	Continental parallels
Mars Toutates		M	D	Barkway	RJB 219	Plaque	n/a	n/a	Libertus	M	Continental parallels
Vinotonus		M	N	Boves	RJB 733	Altar	29	64	Prefect	M	Dedicator from Parma
Vinotonus?		M	N	Boves	RJB 737	Altar	12	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Silvanus Vinotonus		M	D	Boves	BRI 19	Altar	11	n/a	Prefect	M	
Vinotonus Silvanus		M	D	Boves	RJB 732	Altar	21	43	Centurion	M	

Gender = Gender of the Deity. (M = Male; F = Female; N = Neuter)

Type = Type of Deity (D = Double; N = Native)

Publ. Ref = Publication Reference (RJB = Roman Inscription of Britain [Collingwood & Wright 1965]; BRI = Britannia; JRS = Journal of Roman Studies)

Ded. Type = Object which carries the inscription

Dedicator = Identity of the dedicator (For Type: M = Male; F = Female; C = Corporate)