

I.

TERRA SIGILLATA: SOME TYPICAL DECORATED BOWLS.

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The importance of the scientific study of Terra Sigillata, or Samian ware, which may be said to have begun with the publication of Professor Dragendorff's paper in the *Bonner Jahrbuch* of 1895, has in recent years received wide recognition. Its fruits are to be noted in the reports of excavations on many Roman sites, and in the numerous studies of the pottery preserved in collections throughout Europe; but the literature of sigillata scattered through the publications of Archæological Societies or in museum catalogues is not generally accessible, and it may not be without interest even to those who are familiar with the subject to publish a series of more or less typical examples of decorated sigillata bowls, and to sketch very briefly an outline of this Roman industry, its beginnings in Italy, and the general trend of its development in Western Europe. In England the material for such a series hardly exists, and therefore the examples illustrated are mostly taken from photographs obtained in Germany during the summer of 1913.¹ I am conscious of many gaps, which might have been filled but for the war.

It would take too long to trace the beginnings of Terra Sigillata in Greek lands. It was the potters of Arretium (the modern Arezzo) in Central Italy, and of Puteoli on the shores of the Bay of Naples, in whose hands it attained its highest perfection, and from whom the knowledge of its shapes, the method of its decoration, and its bright red glaze was transmitted to the potters of Gaul and of Germany.

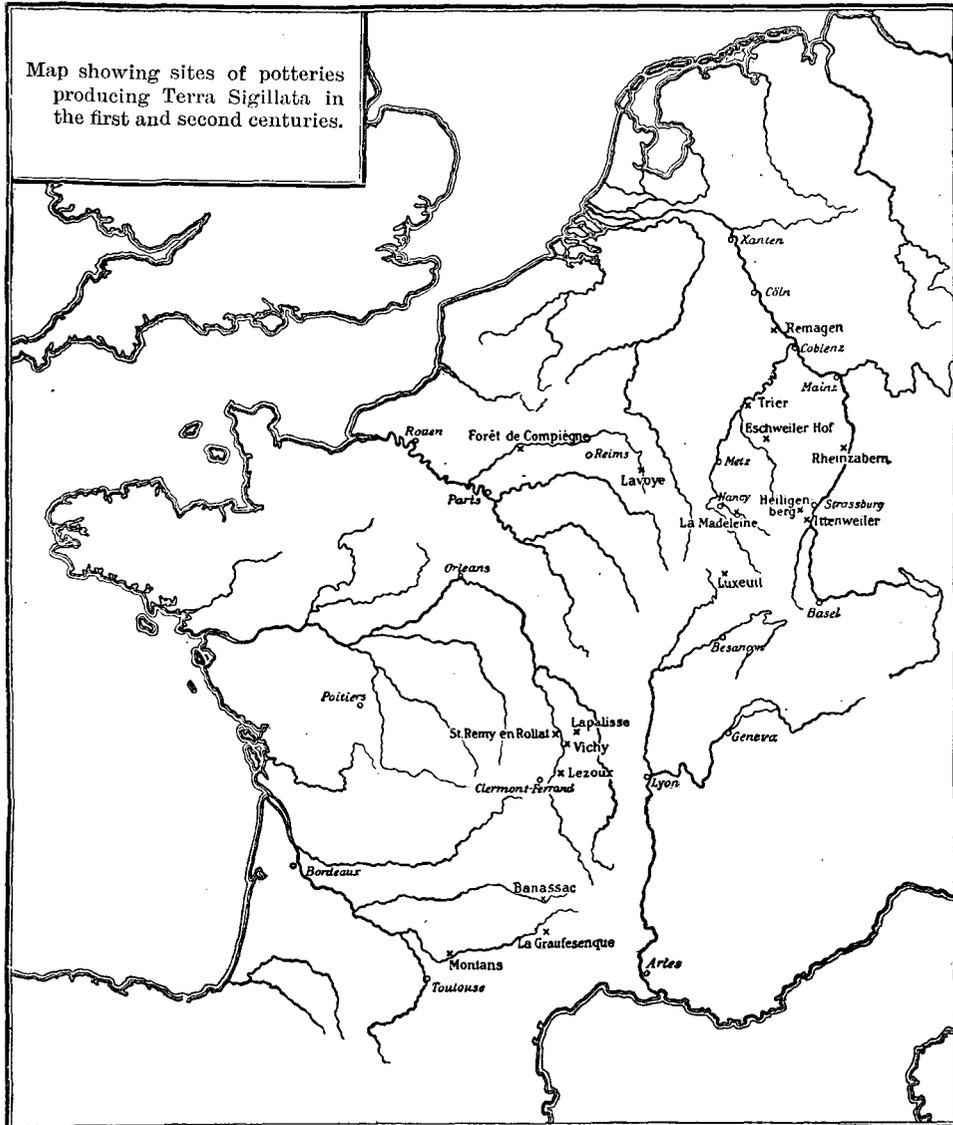
In Arezzo the local potteries must have begun their output as early as the second century B.C., but in the earliest burials in the cemeteries there the vases are black, and the transition to the red Arretine ware appears to have taken place towards the end of that century. The most flourishing period of the potteries was in the hundred years between 40 B.C. and 60 A.D. The fame of their products in the Roman world still lingers in the verses of the Latin poets. Centuries later, in the height of the Renaissance, the discovery of Arretine vases in an ancient kiln procured for the family of Vasari the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici.

The products of the kilns were of three kinds: first, plain dishes, cups, platters, bowls, thrown on the wheel, glazed, and fired; second, pottery decorated with applied reliefs; and, lastly, vessels formed and

¹ The map upon the opposite page, which shows the position of most of the Roman potteries referred to in the text, has been borrowed from Fräulein Fölzer's *Die Bilderschüsseln der ostgalischen-Manufakturen*, Bonn, 1913.

TERRA SIGILLATA: SOME TYPICAL DECORATED BOWLS. 131

decorated by means of moulds. It is solely with the latter that we have to deal.



Of these, the krater or chalice form was the most common. A hollow bowl-shaped mould was made of clay suitable to the dimensions of the vase. On the interior of this mould the design, which was to appear in

relief on the finished piece, was impressed by means of small stamps carefully modelled, probably with the aid of the "cire perdue" process, bearing representations of figures, leaves, masks, or tendrils. The mould was then baked hard in the kiln. Into this mould the clay was pressed, and, shrinking as it dried, was withdrawn. A separately modelled foot, sometimes also handles, were added, and the whole was glazed and fired. Among the decoration on the exterior of the vessel there is usually to be seen the name of the potter, and not infrequently also that of his slave or workman: thus we find the name of P. Cornelius and his slave Potus; M. Perennius—Tigranes; Cn. Ateius—Hilarus. In many cases the names



Fig. 1. Cast from Arretine Mould by Perennius.

of the workmen betray a Greek or an Asiatic origin—Nicephorus, Pilades, Xanthus belong to the first class, while Tigranes and Bargates probably came from the East.

The designs employed show great variety. Processions of figures representing the seasons, the Muses, dancing Mænads, Satyrs among the vines, Bacchus and Ariadne; combats of Centaurs and Lapithæ; hunting scenes, banqueting scenes; cupids; masks, wreaths, and garlands. The work of the potters of the best period—such as Perennius or Tigranes—is characterised by great delicacy of execution. The figures are well modelled, the whole ornamentation stands out sharp and clear.

The three illustrations of Arretine ware (figs. 1, 2, and 3) are all from casts taken from original moulds preserved in the British Museum. Fig. 1 is from a bowl by the potter M. Perennius,¹ and represents a scene in which Alexander the Great is seen on horseback charging a lion in

¹ Walters, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the British Museum*, p. 31, fig. 25.

the act of seizing a fallen man, while Krateros advances to the attack



Fig. 2. Cast from Arretine Mould by Perennius.

brandishing a battle-axe. On the side of the bowl is the potter's stamp. The delicate modelling of the figures and of the beaded border and wreath surrounding the margin is to be noted. Fig. 2 represents a banquet scene,¹ with figures of a young man and woman reclining on cushions. The stamps of Perennius and of his potter Tigranes appear on the side of the bowl. Especially remarkable is the vine wreath with bunches of grapes, which forms a background. On fig. 3 is a dancing Mænad, also from the workshop of Perennius.² She stands, a charming figure, poised on tiptoe, clad in loose floating draperies, her head thrown back, her thyrsos in her right hand.



Fig. 3. Cast from an Arretine Mould.

The Arretine potters found their market all over Italy. They exported their wares along the Mediterranean coast to Spain, to Northern Africa, and passing through Massilia to the cities of Southern Gaul. In Germany, the Danubian lands, and in Britain, except on a few purely military sites, there is little trace of their commerce.

¹ Walters, *Catalogue of Roman Pottery*, p. 34, L. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29, L. 95.

A recent find from one of these military sites (the fort of Haltern in Westphalia) is of great importance for the dating of Arretine ware, because the occupation of the region in which Haltern was situated was a very short one.

In the early years of Augustus' reign [B.C. 27-A.D. 14] the definite northern frontier of the empire was the Rhine. His troops were stationed at *Castra Vetera* near the modern Xanten, at *Mogontiacum* (Mainz), and possibly also at *Vindonissa*, the modern Windisch; still the desire for further expansion was unsatisfied, and Drusus, who in B.C. 13 took over the administration of Gaul, in the following year led his troops across the Rhine and advanced to the Elbe. The attempt to hold permanently the land between these two rivers was brought to an end in A.D. 9 by the great disaster to Varus and his three legions in the *Teutoburger Wald*. From Xanten, which was the headquarters of the troops on the Lower Rhine, the main line of advance into Northern Germany was the valley of the Lippe, and on the line of the military road which followed the valley the fort of Haltern was constructed. The period of its occupation must be dated within the twenty years which lie between the expedition of Drusus and the defeat of Varus. The excavation of the fort has thrown much light on the study of Roman pottery. It has shown that already in the Augustan epoch the coarser vessels employed by the army were being manufactured on the Rhine—probably at Xanten; but the finer ware had been brought from Italy, and most of it bears the stamps of Arretine potters. Among these the name of Cn. Ateius is of frequent occurrence. The exact locality of his pottery appears to be still in doubt, but there also occur at Haltern the stamps of M. Perennius and P. Cornelius, both of whom must have worked in Arezzo.

The Haltern vessels are chiefly undecorated, but the excavations of 1909 produced a remarkable find of more or less perfect decorated vessels. Fig. 4, which belongs to this group, is a cup raised upon a foot-stand. The rim is formed by a distinct moulding on which may be noted parallel roulette lines. Defining the upper margin of the decorative zone is an ovolo border, a feature which continues throughout the whole *sigillata* period. In the decorative frieze are groups of girls playing a game with four knucklebones. In each group the girls are seated on low stools facing each other, while between them stands a low table supported on legs terminating in claws; the knucklebones lie on the table. Beneath the figures is a wavy line in relief, and beneath it a band of palmettes. The vessel has no maker's stamp, but it is probably from the pottery of Ateius.¹ The second example from the Haltern series

¹ Hähnele, "Ausgrabungen bei Haltern: Die Reliefkelche," *Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen*, Heft vi. p. 80.

which I have illustrated (fig. 5) is also of the chalice type, though the foot is wanting. The rim overhangs, and is altogether more strongly defined than in fig. 4,¹ but it also shows the ovolo border, and in the graceful ivy wreath which surrounds the side it exhibits the naturalistic treatment of plant forms so characteristic of Augustan art. There is no maker's stamp. We realise as we look at these Haltern vessels how much the art of the Arretine potters owed to the silversmith, and how largely their work was based on metal technique. In their decorated



Fig. 4. Arretine Cup from Haltern.

vessels the potters really produced a cheap substitute for the costly silver cups so much prized in the Roman world.

In the Augustan period, just as in our own time, there were collectors of beautiful things—bronzes, marbles, plate; and among the more perishable objects preserved to us which must have formed part of such collections are one or two hoards of silver vessels, in which we recognise that there are pieces which belong to different periods and have passed through the hands of several owners. There is the treasure, consisting of no less than seventy pieces, which was found carefully concealed on

¹ Hähnle, "Ausgrabungen bei Haltern," p. 70.

the Galgenburg near Hildesheim. How it found its way into Central Germany is an unsolved problem. There is the treasure of one hundred and six pieces found in the ruins of the villa of Boscoreale, which stood upon the slopes of Vesuvius, and which with its owner was no doubt overwhelmed in the eruption which destroyed Pompeii. There is the treasure of sixty-nine pieces found in France at Berthouville near Bernay, on the site of a Gaulish shrine. The vessels are of many forms, and exhibit a great variety of decoration. Many of them were the work of Greek craftsmen. The designs are usually executed in high relief, and we find among them a variety of figure subjects, and many examples



Fig. 5. Arretine Cup from Haltern.

of those wreaths and garlands which, as we know from the sculptures of the Ara Pacis and other monuments, were popular features of Augustan decoration.

Side by side with this Arretine krater from the fort of Haltern it is interesting to place a silver drinking-cup, a scyphus, from the villa of Boscoreale (fig. 6). In the one, the wreath which covers the side is of ivy; in the other, it is of olive leaves, branches, and fruit. The silver-smith's relief is higher, and his work is more elaborate than that of the potter, but the scheme of design is common to both. There are many of these cups which might be illustrated to show the potter's indebtedness to the metal-worker. There is the cantharus from Boscoreale, decorated with a beautiful design of plane leaves, a subject which, much more clumsily executed, was a favourite with the later Gaulish potters. There

is the cup from the Hildesheim find, with its garland of myrtle; or the cup from Alise Sainte Reine, the ancient Alesia, which has been described as showing the naturalistic ornament of the first century B.C. at its best, in



Fig. 6. Silver Cup from Boscoreale.



Fig. 7. Silver Cup from Berthouville, near Bernay.

which again we see the clustering myrtle leaves and fruit. But a single example must suffice to show the treatment of a figure subject. Fig. 7 represents a scyphus from the Bernay treasure. The principal figure in the design is a female Centaur seated on the ground. Her right hand is

raised, her left holds a mirror. Her head, with floating hair wreathed with ivy, is turned back to the right; behind her is a basket of fruit, and a Cupid grasping the tall flower-stem of a poppy. Beneath the mirror is the *cista mystica* with the snake; and to the left a mask and an overturned krater, on which stands a cupid blowing a double flute, while from the mouth of the overturned vessel springs a panther.¹

But to return to the Arretine ware: the examples of it along the Rhine are not numerous, they occur on such early occupied sites as Strassburg,



Fig. 8. Arretine Cup from Mainz.

Mainz, Xanten, and Neuss. Two such pieces are specially interesting in the study of sigillata. Both bear the stamp of Ateius, so that in point of time they do not differ materially from the Haltern examples. The best-preserved of these, a cup found in Mainz (fig. 8), is distinguished by a rather heavy overhanging rim.² Beneath it there is an ornamental band, of which the chief feature is a line of rosettes, and below it the usual decorative frieze, in which cranes stand grouped among tall flowering water-plants; a border of palmettes alternating with rosettes forms the lower margin of the frieze. In this design we again trace the debt of

¹ Schreiber, *Die alexandrinische Toreutik*, p. 334.

² Behn, *Römische Keramik*, p. 145, and Taf. iii.

the potters to the metal-workers: it belongs to the class of decoration which in its origin has frequently been attributed to the work of Alexandrian silversmiths.

In the second cup, which is from Xanten (fig. 9), we note that the side has been divided into two parallel bands of ornament, and that in the upper part of the field there is a graceful acanthus scroll, of a type which later became very common on the work of the Gaulish potters. On the front of the cup is the stamp of the maker, Xanthus, the slave of Ateius,



Fig. 9. Arretine Cup by Xanthus, from Xanten.

supported by small winged figures. A somewhat similar frieze is to be seen on a cup, also from the workshop of Ateius, in the Central Museum at Mainz, in which birds, bees, and grasshoppers find a place in the windings of the acanthus leaves.¹

In the first century B.C. the products of Italian potters had to a considerable extent penetrated into Southern Gaul, and doubtless this commerce increased as the province came more fully under Roman rule. By the close of the Augustan age the country along both banks of the Lower Rhone was completely Romanised in language and manners. It is therefore not surprising that early in the first century A.D. there were Gaulish potteries producing a considerable variety of types of

¹ Behn, *op. cit.*, p. 147, Taf. iii.

vessels based on Italian models. The pottery of Saint Remy en Rollat, near the modern Vichy, which belongs to the early part of the first century, produced a whole series of vessels based on Italian forms; but, unlike their better-known Gaulish competitors, the potters of St Remy do not appear to have employed a red colour or glaze—their products are usually of a yellow, greenish-yellow, or brownish shade. Although its output was probably not very large, traces of its wares are met with over a fairly wide area.

As far as we know, the potteries which at this early period attained the greatest perfection and the widest distribution were South Gaulish—such as La Graufesenque, Montans, and Banassac, all of which are situated on tributaries of the Garonne. By them the traditions of the potters of Arezzo were transplanted into Gaulish soil; they reproduced on their wares the same red Arretine colour, but they attained to a perfection of glaze which we do not find in their prototypes. There is no allusion in ancient literature to the products of La Graufesenque. The celebrity of Arretine vases has been kept alive in the pages of Pliny and the *Epigrams* of Martial, but the remains of the town in the ancient Condatomagus, which we now know as La Graufesenque, have almost entirely disappeared, and our knowledge that it once held a great and flourishing industry is due entirely to archæological investigations, first undertaken by the Abbé Cérés of Rodez. The Abbé Cérés, digging on the site in 1882, discovered a mass of potters' debris, remains of moulds and of broken dishes. The explorations which he began have been continued by others, and from the archæological material thus gathered together—the moulds and the fragments of vessels bearing potters' stamps—it has been possible to trace the widespread commerce of this ancient town, and to identify the output of its kilns in many distant parts of the empire.

We do not know at what date the South Gaulish potteries began their operations. Their wares had not displaced the Arretine bowls at Bibracte, the modern Mont Beuvray, which was abandoned in the reign of Augustus, nor have they been found at Haltern. But it is clear that before the end of the reign of Tiberius they had reached the Rhine and the upper waters of the Danube.

The potters produced and exported a varied series of plain undecorated vessels, cups, bowls, and platters, the shapes in most cases copied from Italian models; but there was also a number of vessels decorated in relief, produced from moulds by the same process which was employed by the potters of Arezzo. The commoner shapes of these were of the chalice or krater form; the carinated bowl, usually distinguished by the number 29 given to it in the classification of Dragendorff; the cylindrical bowl,

No. 30, of the same classification; and the hemispherical bowl, No. 37. The first of these types did not remain long in vogue. The most popular form was the carinated bowl; next to it comes the cylindrical shape; and lastly we have the ordinary hemispherical form, which came into fashion towards the end of the first century, and remained the standard shape in all the many potteries which at a later date handed on the tradition of La Graufesenque. Upon their bowls the potters stamped their names, following the Italian fashion. In the early types the stamp usually occurs on the interior, though sometimes the name, as at Arretium, appears in relief on the external surface of the bowl among the decoration. These stamps of the makers, associated with the ornament among which we find them, often enable us to recognise the style of the individual potters, and to analyse their stock-in-trade of punches with which they worked out their designs. The South Gaulish potters never approached their predecessors of Arezzo in their treatment of human forms. On the carinated bowls which form the great majority of their products the designs consist of scrolls, arabesques, garlands associated with small birds or animals, and occasionally, but more rarely, of human figures. The style of ornamentation employed on these bowls arose from their shape, in which the surface is naturally divided into parallel zones. The human figures were more common on bowls of the cylindrical type which afforded a field more suitable for such decoration.

The chronology of the potteries of La Graufesenque and neighbouring seats of the industry, and indeed also of those which flourished further north, has been worked out from the occurrence of their products on sites which can be dated through finds of coins or inscriptions, or from historical sources. As we have already seen, Haltern offers us one of these fixed points of great importance, and indeed nowhere is it possible to follow more clearly the evolution of provincial Roman pottery than upon the sites of the forts which were constructed as the frontier of the empire was thrust forward into the German lands which lay beyond the Danube and the Rhine.

After the Varus disaster of A.D. 9, the Roman forces were withdrawn almost entirely to the left bank of the Rhine, and we find them holding the great legionary fortresses at Windisch, Strassburg, Mainz, Cologne, Neuss, and Xanten, joined together by a chain of fifty smaller castella which had been established by Drusus. In the time of Tiberius only a small portion of the right bank was held, notably the portion opposite Mainz, including Kastel and Wiesbaden, and from a comparatively early date the fort of Hofheim. Further east, the Danube formed the frontier.

From Claudius to the death of Trajan, A.D. 37 to 117, lay the period of

expansion and the gradual advance into the country forming the re-entering angle between the Rhine and the Danube. The Roman operations which began with Vespasian were in a large measure undertaken with a view to shortening the line of the frontier, involving a more or less artificial boundary in place of the rivers. Vespasian in A.D. 74 constructed a great military road running from Strassburg through the Kinzigthal to Rottweil, and thence to Tüttlingen on the Danube. Domitian's roads formed a connecting link between Mainz, the Roman headquarters, and the Danube. With Domitian too came the occupation of the Wetterau, the fertile plain to the north of the Main, on the edge of which Frankfurt stands, and the establishment of the inner line of Limes forts. Finally, under Pius, the advanced line of forts, known as the Outer Limes, was built, which was held more or less firmly till the reign of Gallienus, when the *inrush of the Allemanni* brought about the evacuation of the frontier posts, and finally drove the whole of the Roman troops behind the Rhine.

It is easy to see how the concentration of so many troops, legionary and auxiliary, on the Rhine created a market for the potters' wares, and how the various stages of progression, as the frontier lines were pushed outward, furnish us with the debris of pottery brought from many sources and belonging to different periods. To the frontier fortresses like Xanten, Neuss, or Mainz must have come the earliest exports of the Gaulish potters; among these we may class fig. 10, a krater found at Neuss, and preserved in the museum there, dating from about the reign of Tiberius [A.D. 14-37]. It has no maker's stamp, but from its style it may be regarded as of South Gaulish origin. The shape is still that of the Arretine vessels, but its decoration is much simpler than that of the cups from Haltern. There is no attempt at figures: we have merely a leafy scroll, light and graceful in its treatment; along its upper margin runs a line of egg-and-tassel moulding, while beneath it is a band of panels defined by dotted lines. The krater type, as we have seen, soon fell out of use. The carinated bowl which replaced it was in a large measure a modification of the earlier form. We have noted how the decoration of the krater type was frequently arranged in horizontal bands, especially in those examples in which arabesques or garlands had taken the place of figure subjects; and this feature is reproduced in the early bowls.

Two of these are illustrated here. The first (fig. 11) is a bowl found at Weisenau, and now in the museum of Mainz, dating from the reign of Tiberius. It bears the stamp SCOTTIVS, a potter of La Graufesenque. On the side are two zones of ornament, separated from each other by a slightly raised moulding flanked by lines of dots. The whole treatment

shows its indebtedness to the work of the silversmith. The wreath which surrounds the upper portion of the bowl at once recalls the myrtle foliage



Fig. 10. Cup, probably South Gaulish, from Neuss.

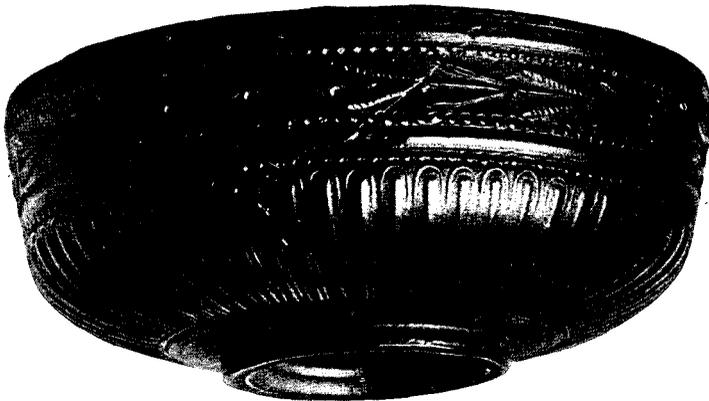


Fig. 11. South Gaulish Bowl by Scottius, from Weisenau.

of the well-known cup from Alesia. The raised godroons of the lower half are no less certainly derived from embossed metal. This treatment

is well illustrated on a silver bowl from Pompeii, preserved in the museum at Naples.

The second bowl, dating from the same period (fig. 12), was found at Mainz, and is now in the Marx Collection there. It bears the stamp of the potter Bilicatus, OFFIC. BILICAT., also from Graufesenque. Around the upper margin are parallel lines of rouletting, and beneath them a graceful scroll enclosed between bands of dotted lines, while the lower portion of the side is covered with a pattern derived from embossed metal, resembling that upon the last example. In the scroll we have a piece of decoration very characteristic of the bowls of this period. We find it,



Fig. 12. South Gaulish Bowl by Bilicatus, from Mainz.

for example, on the fragments from Aislingen,¹ an early fort in the region of the Upper Danube, of which the earliest occupation dates from Tiberius, and also on those from the earliest strata at Wiesbaden.² Probably the decoration of the bowl originated with some Arretine model. In a fragment from Haltern illustrated by Herr Hähnle,³ which bears the stamp BARGATES, we have not only the same imitation of embossed metal, but also a scroll which has much in common with this design. An example of this type of bowl occurs among some Roman objects found at Plesheybury,⁴ in Essex, now in the museum at

¹ Knorr, *Die Terra-sigillata-Gefässe von Aislingen*, Taf. i. fig. 3.

² Ritterling und Pallat, *Römische Funde aus Wiesbaden*, Taf. iv. fig. 6.

³ Hähnle, *op. cit.*, p. 79, fig. 8.

⁴ May, "On some Early Roman Finds from Plesheybury, Essex," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, vol. xiv. part iv.

Chelmsford. The site has also furnished a fragment bearing the stamp of Ateius. These finds are of special interest as indications of the export of Roman products to England before the Claudian Conquest.

The bowls just described (figs. 11 and 12) were probably made in the third or possibly in the beginning of the fourth decade of the first century, and represent the earliest form of the bowl type 29. But it is perhaps just a little later in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius that the South Gaulish potters attained to their highest skill in decorative treatment. Fig. 13, which may perhaps be dated as early as the reign



Fig. 13. South Gaulish Bowl from Mainz.

of Caligula [A.D. 37-41], comes from Mainz; it shows a very graceful scroll with ivy leaves; but in the lower zone we have a somewhat conventional wreath combined with leaves and tendrils which forms a framework to small medallions, each containing a figure of an eagle with outstretched wings, and in the spaces alternating with the medallions a couple of leaves and a small bird. The rouletting of the moulding which separates the two decorative zones is an indication of early date. This does not occur on the bowls found at Hofheim. The bowl has no maker's stamp, but it is not improbable that it is from the workshop of Gallicanus, a potter of La Graufesenque. A fragment of a bowl found in Rome bearing his name, figured by Professor Knorr,¹ has much in common with it.

Fig. 14, probably dating from the reign of Claudius [A.D. 41-54], was

¹ Knorr, *Aislingen*, Taf. v. fig. 1.

found at Wiesbaden in 1907, and is now in the museum there. It has the stamp of the potter Balbus. The shape still very closely resembles that of the two last examples. The rim is comparatively narrow, and only slightly everted. The scroll in the upper zone, with its double leaves, is less conventional than that of fig. 12, but what is chiefly noticeable about it is the decorative skill shown in the treatment of the winding sprays of leaf and tendril which fill the lower zone on the side. The same style may be seen at Aislingen,¹ where a similar conventional treatment of ivy or convolvulus is admirably reproduced on a bowl by Senecio.



Fig. 14. South Gaulish Bowl by Balbus, from Wiesbaden.

Fig. 15, a bowl of cylindrical form (Dragendorff, 30), was found at Xanten, and is now in the Berlin Antiquarium. In its decoration it recalls fig. 13. We have the same conventional wreath framing medallions, each containing a figure of Mercury. In these we note the beginnings of figure subjects on the South Gaulish bowls; and, again, we have the intervening spaces filled with winding stems and leaves and figures of birds. It is a style which was apparently introduced by the potters working under Caligula and Claudius; and we find it on the bowls of Masclus, who belongs to that period, and whose products are very widely spread. A very similar arrangement of wreath and leaves, accompanied by figures of small birds and animals, occurs on one of his bowls found in Vienna,² and on a fragment of a bowl, probably from

¹ Knorr, *Aislingen*, Taf. iv. fig. 1, and Taf. vi. figs. 1 and 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6, fig. 2.

the same mould, found in London,¹ now in the British Museum. Examples of the work of this potter have been met with on the Rhine and the Danube, in Provence, in Spain, and throughout France. Probably his wares came to England among the finer dishes which began to be imported after the Claudian Conquest under Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43. The type of decoration to be seen upon the bowls of Masclus, and which he probably originated, appears to have had many imitators, and we can trace its vogue over a long period.



Fig. 15. South Gaulish Bowl from Xanten.

In fig. 16 we have yet another example of a Claudian bowl. It was found in Wiesbaden, and bears the stamp OF A QVITANI. It will be noted how the narrow, almost vertical, rim in such early bowls as figs. 11 and 12 has given place to a wider and more everted pattern with strongly marked rouletting, a feature characteristic of most of the bowls of type 29, produced in the second half of the first century. The scroll ornament which fills the upper zone is much more conventional than those we have just examined. It is a design which must have continued in use for a considerable period. It is to be seen, for example, on a bowl of Vitalis found in Pompeii.² Indeed, there is little to distinguish this specimen

¹ Walters, *Catalogue of Roman Pottery*, p. 114, fig. 114.

² Atkinson, "A Hoard of Samian Ware from Pompeii," *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. iv., plate v. fig. 21.

from the bowls of the Flavian period, except the volute ornamentation recalling the uncoiled frond of a fern, which covers the lower zone. In this we have a feature—probably a metal derivative—which can be traced back to the potters of Arezzo and Puteoli,¹ and which by the reign of Nero had probably disappeared.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the South Gaulish pottery, but towards the end of the first century there came into the field, in the pottery of Lezoux, a new competitor, which appears to have entirely driven the wares of La Graufesenque out of the field. As in the case of



Fig. 16. South Gaulish Bowl by Aquitanus, from Wiesbaden.

the potteries of Southern Gaul, our knowledge of Lezoux comes from archaeological investigation. The site lies in Central France, at no great distance from the modern Clermont Ferrand. The potteries were situated near the Allier, by which their products could easily reach the Loire and so gain the western coast of Gaul. The presence of fragments of sigillata at Lezoux and the surrounding country had long been noted, but it was only in 1879 that an investigation of the remains was undertaken by Dr Plicque, a medical practitioner in the district. Dr Plicque continued his researches for some fifteen years, and unearthed an immense collection of pottery, including the names of over 3000 Lezoux potters upon some 15,000 stamped pieces, and over sixty potters' kilns. After his death this

¹ Knorr, *Aislingen*, Taf. i. figs. 8 and 10.

great mass of material was acquired by the Museum of St Germain-en-Laye, and has been analysed and illustrated in the publication of M. Déchelette—*Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*. I do not propose to attempt the illustration of any long series of the bowls of Lezoux, because in the early stages of the existence of these potteries the export appears to have been limited, and their products are not generally met with far afield. I have, however, reproduced in fig. 17 a number of early fragments from photographs of pieces in the Plicque Collection, for which I am indebted to Mr Donald Atkinson. These belong to the first period of Lezoux, which Déchelette places between about A.D. 40 and A.D. 75. All of these are portions of bowls of type 29, and they illustrate the admirable designs and the finish attained by the early Lezoux potters, whose names, such as Atepomarus, Cobnertus, Danomarus, indicate their Gaulish origin. In such pieces the red glaze of La Graufesenque is replaced by a bright orange colour, with a less lustrous surface. In the simplicity of their treatment they correspond in some measure with the South Gaulish products of the early first century, of which we have an example in the bowl by Scottius (fig. 11), but the designs have characteristics of their own which indicate an inspiration drawn from Arezzo or some other Italian source. No. 6 is part of a bowl by Atepomarus. The wreath is probably inspired by an Arretine model. The rosettes in No. 5 doubtless came from the same source. The scroll on No. 8 belongs, as we have already noted, to a type which the South Gaulish potters appear to have borrowed from Arezzo: it cannot be claimed as specially characteristic of Lezoux. The same remark applies to No. 9, which recalls the decoration of the bowl by Balbus (fig. 13), and is clearly Claudian in character.

The products of the South Gaulish potters during the reign of Vespasian [A.D. 69-79] are well illustrated from the finds at Pompeii, where the import must have come to an end with the destruction of the city in A.D. 79. The material from this source has been made much more accessible to us by Mr Atkinson's recent publication, giving detailed particulars of a single hoard of no less than ninety bowls found together in a Pompeian house, which he has reason to believe were produced within a very short space of time before the great catastrophe. In this hoard a large proportion of the bowls belong to the hemispherical shape, type 37, then just coming into vogue, and which towards the end of the century finally superseded the carinated type. On the great majority of these early hemispherical bowls the decoration is in transition style, the surface being still arranged in parallel zones, just as we find it on the bowls of the carinated type; but in it we note a growing tendency to replace the winding scrolls and floral designs of the Claudian potters by an arrange-

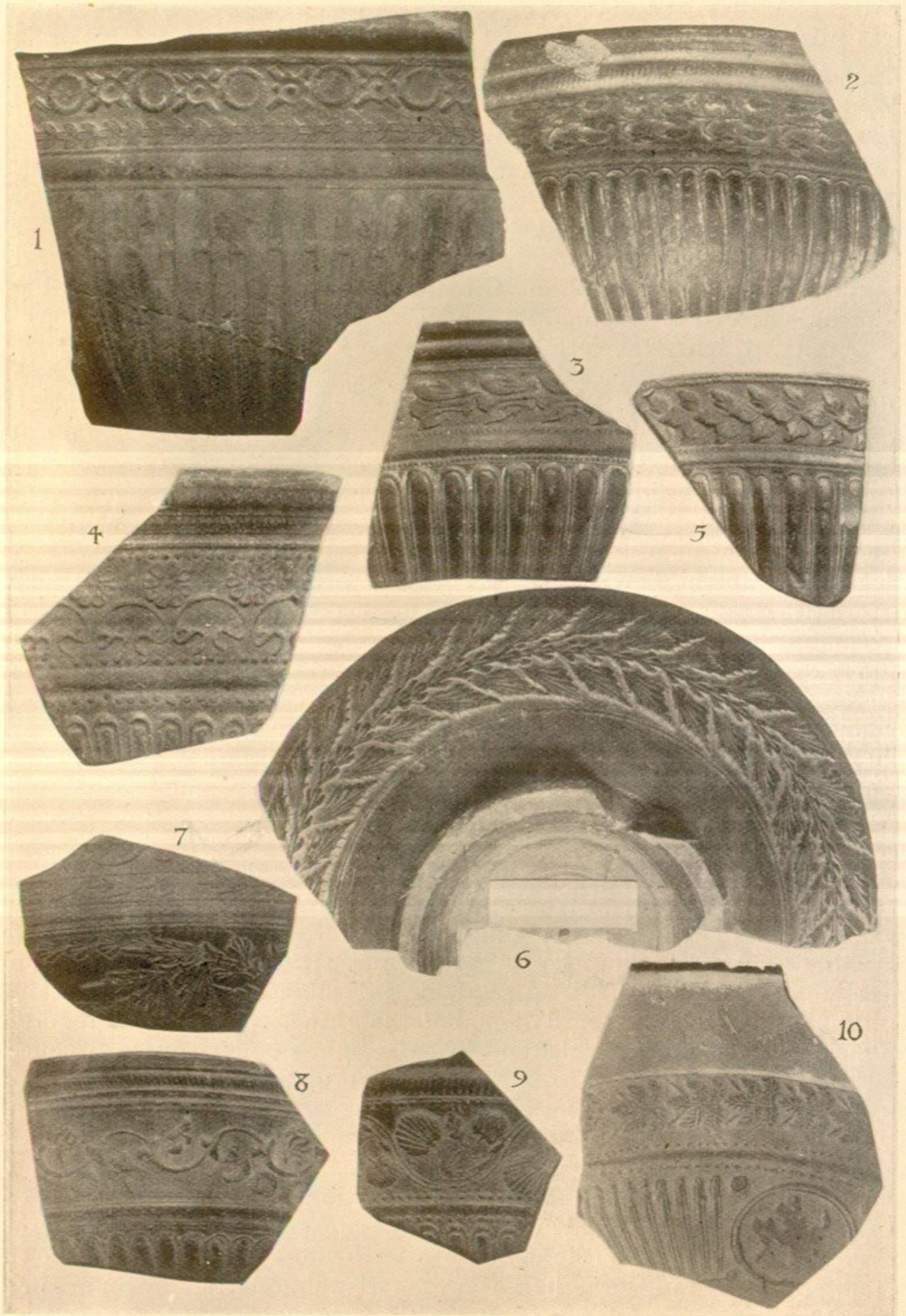


Fig. 17. Fragments of Lezoux Bowls from the Plicque Collection.

ment of the surface in panels, the so-called metope decoration, and the introduction of birds and animals, and, more rarely, of human forms. Of the eighty-one bowls illustrated by Mr Atkinson, a little more than a fourth have only wreath decoration. In a half of the number we find birds and animals introduced as an element in the design. Comparing these with the designs upon fragments of Claudian bowls from Aislingen, Strassburg, and Vindonissa, published by Professor Knorr, we find that upon them the proportion of scrolls or foliage patterns without animal forms is much larger.



Fig. 18. South Gaulish Bowl from Pompeii.

I am enabled to illustrate a South Gaulish bowl, found at Pompeii, from a photograph by Mr Atkinson (fig. 18). It has the usual everted rim covered with rouletting, and the decoration in two zones. In the lower of these there is a design of leaf and tendril, purely conventional in treatment, but admirably spaced and executed, and in the upper zone another more or less conventional scroll; but, unlike the earlier examples illustrated, the scroll is interrupted by a rectangular panel filled with a decoration composed of parallel lines of arrow points, very characteristic of the Flavian period. The bowl is without a stamp.

As a second example of the same period we have a bowl found at Torre Annunciata, and now in the British Museum (fig. 19), which was

probably buried in the great eruption. It is somewhat coarse and a good deal repaired, but it illustrates the division of the upper zone into panels, with pyramids of arrow points and small semi-medallions filled with representations of animals—the beginning of the metope style so common in the Domitian period. In the lower zone the leaves and tendrils recall those of fig. 18, but at intervals we note an arrangement of leaves tied together, from the middle of which spring twining stalks ending in long buds; this, on the hemispherical bowls, grows into a very common ornament, in its general outline recalling the St Andrew's Cross.



Fig. 19. South Gaulish Bowl from Torre Annunziata.

The earliest example of the hemispherical bowl which I have reproduced comes from the Plicque Collection (fig. 20). It appears from the style to belong to the reign of Vespasian, and is interesting as illustrating the Lezoux output of that date. No doubt in the arrangement of wreaths the influence of the designs of Masclus and his school, as in fig. 15, is apparent; while in the wreath which replaces the common band of egg-and-tassel moulding round the upper margin of the design there is a clear tradition from such earlier work as is illustrated in fig. 17. The cruciform ornament indicated in the last example is here fully developed, the upper stems ending in poppy-heads.

The finds from the fort of Newstead furnish us with examples of the

pottery of Domitian's reign [A.D. 81-95]. The fragments found there indicate that the bowls of type 29 had not disappeared, but the hemispherical bowls (type 37) are more in evidence. These continue to exhibit the transition style, of which we have an example in fig. 23, and with it also the division of the surface of the bowl into panels, the metope decoration, which had begun to show itself on some of the Pompeian finds.

In fig. 21, from one of the Newstead rubbish pits, the space between the decorated zone and the lip is comparatively narrow. There is the egg-

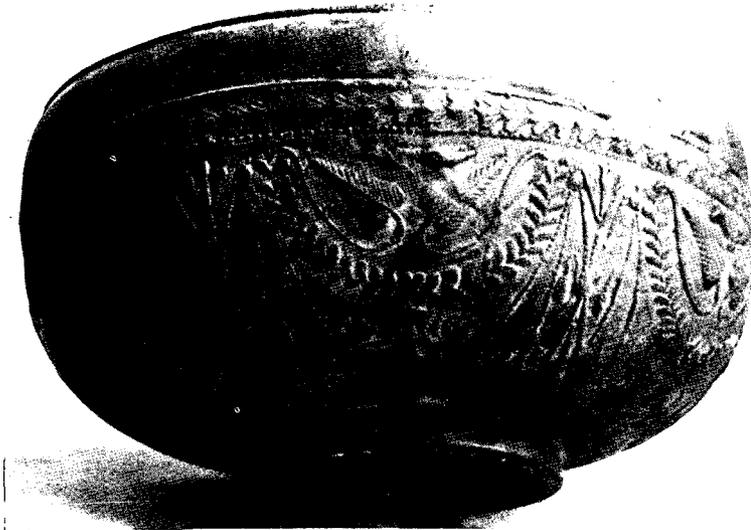


Fig. 20. Lezoux Bowl, Plicque Collection.

and-tassel moulding: the so-called cruciform design is repeated on four panels. In the centre is a figure of a boar, beneath it a fowler throwing a net over a small bird; on the left a figure of Victory, and on the right Diana bearing a hind. Fig. 22, from the ditch of the early fort at Newstead, is of type 30. The foot is restored. The surface is divided by arches, between each a zigzag stem, floreated at the top. The panels are filled alternately with an eagle standing above a hare, and a female figure. To represent the dead hare, the ordinary stamp for the couchant animal has simply been turned upside down: beneath the hare are rows of arrow points. Déchelette notes that the figure of the woman with her chin leaning on her right hand; her left hand supporting the right elbow



Fig. 21. South Gaulish Bowl from Newstead.



Fig. 22. South Gaulish Bowl from Newstead.

is exactly the attitude of a figure of Penelope on a fresco from Pompeii. The same figure occurs on bowls by the potter Masclus,¹ also on a bowl of type 30 of the Claudian period found at Ristissen,² which lies near the Upper Danube, and on a beaker of Dragendorff's type 67, at Gunzburg, which Professor Knorr assigns to the reign of Nero.³

Fig. 23 probably also belongs to the reign of Domitian. It was found at Colchester, and now forms part of the collection in the Castle Museum there. In it the arrangement of the design in two zones is the result of



Fig. 23. Bowl, probably South Gaulish, from Colchester.

the tradition from the earlier carinated bowls. In the upper zone a bestiarius (Déchelette, type 634) stands with his spear at rest ready to meet the attack of the boar which comes charging towards him, with a hound at its heels. There is a distinct sense of motion in the groups of flying hounds which fill the lower zone. The conventional trees which serve to divide the groups are to be seen on a bowl from Rottweil. The bowl has no potter's stamp: it is probably South Gaulish.

¹ Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. p. 89, fig. 530. *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 285.

² Knorr, "Die neugefundenen Sigillata von Ristissen," *Festschrift der K. Altertümersammlung in Stuttgart*, 1912, Taf. ii. fig. 1.

³ Knorr, "Vorflavische Sigillata von Gunzburg," *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 1913, p. 73.

In the bowls produced towards the end of the first century, especially those showing the metope decoration, the wreaths and scrolls are being abandoned for figure subjects. Perhaps it reflects the outward movement on the frontier, the increasing importance of the military posts, that the decoration more commonly assumes a sporting element—the hare followed by hounds; the stag and hinds; the wild boar; the lion; the many birds; or, associated with these, scenes from the circus—the gladiators, Samnite and Thrax, in combat, the victor with uplifted shield standing above his adversary, who appeals for mercy; the bestiarius facing the lion; or the body of a victim being torn to pieces by a wild animal. With these we have a series of figures drawn from Hellenistic myths—Eros in many moods, Satyrs, Pan, Diana, Victory bearing a palm, Apollo with his lyre; and sometimes, as in the figure of Penelope, we note the influence of legendary sources. It was doubtless due to the same causes that towards the end of the first and early in the second century we find a number of new potteries coming into existence.

In the second century the centre of gravity was more and more shifting towards the north. Under Trajan and Hadrian the empire reached the limit of its northern expansion. The cohort castella, dotted along the Limes, held a large auxiliary garrison; the legionary fortresses, such as Moguntiacum, were becoming large centres of population. Towns such as Trier and Cologne were increasing in importance, and no doubt, as in modern times, trade followed in the wake of the standards, and the potters moved further north, coming more closely in touch with the growing market for their wares. In their migration northward they seem to have followed the lines of the ancient highways, along which the wares of the South Gaulish potters must have passed: the valley of the Rhone, and thence by the Doubs through Besançon to the Upper Rhine; or, following the line of the Saone and the Moselle, passing through Trier to the middle reaches of the great river. We note the beginning of the movement towards the end of the first century. The pottery of Luxeuil, situated near the head waters of the Saone, some 250 miles north of Lezoux, appears to date from the reign of Domitian.¹ About the same period Heiligenberg² in Alsace, and Lavoye near the upper waters of the Meuse, began operations. La Madeleine, situated near Nancy, some sixty miles north of Luxeuil, and Ittenweiler, near Strassburg, date from the reign of Trajan. Under Hadrian³ came the period of the potteries of Rheinzabern and Trier, through which the traditions drawn from La

¹ Fölzer, *Römische Keramik in Trier: I. Die Bilderschüsseln der ostgallischen Sigillata-Manufakturen*, p. 6.

² Forrer, *Terra-sigillata Töpfereien von Heiligenberg*, p. 224.

³ Reubel, *Römische Töpfer in Rheinzabern*, p. 56, dates the beginning of the Rheinzabern output from about the year A.D. 100.

Graufesenque and Lezoux passed on to a number of less well-known centres of production.

In the second century the dating of sigillata becomes more difficult. In it the Limes forts had assumed a more permanent character, and the periods of occupation lengthen out. The large increase in the number of centres of production brought with it a greater diversity of types employed in decoration, and no doubt to some extent this encouraged in the various groups a certain individuality in style. But no great distance separated the potteries, and it is evident that individual potters moved from place to place, carrying with them their moulds and punches—possibly the moulds themselves were articles of commerce. This in a measure must have counteracted the tendency to develop local characteristics, and it contributes to the difficulty in correctly defining the source and chronological position of individual pieces. The potters, too, had lost much of their fertility of resource, and the monotonous reproduction of motives borrowed from the earlier sites of the industry soon lead to an entire debasement of their art, especially noticeable in such offshoots from the larger centres as Westerndorf on the Inn in Bavaria, or Remagen on the Middle Rhine. Professor Knorr, writing in 1910, contrasts the comparative ease with which it is possible to establish the style and the names of the potters of the period of Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, with the difficulty which exists in fixing with certainty the period of most of the later Rheinzabern ware. He finds it difficult to tell whether such pieces were made early in the Antonine period, or if they should be assigned to the third century.¹ In recent years, German scholars have devoted much study to the question, not without valuable results; but it is evident that there is still considerable divergence of opinion over the dating of individual potters, and the period of their work can only be stated approximately.

Fig. 24, Nos. 1 and 2, represents a bowl found at Kastel on the Rhine, opposite Mainz, and now in the museum of Wiesbaden, which is assigned by Fräulein Fölzer as a product of Luxeuil.² It has no potter's mark, and the evidence by which it is connected with Luxeuil is perhaps somewhat slender. On the one side a spearman advances through forest growths to attack a lion, while on the other is a bovine animal and a horseman, who turns to look behind him as he gallops away. The bowl has a style of its own, and its careful execution is to be noted. The designer has done more than cover the surface with ornament: he has attempted, not without success, to reproduce a scene from the chase. The egg-and-tassel moulding, having the tassel ending in a star, and the dotted lines below it,

¹ Knorr, *Die verzierten Terra-sigillata-Gefässe von Rottenburg*, p. 22.

² Fölzer, *Römische Keramik in Trier*, Taf. i. figs. 3, 4, 8, 11, 14, and 15.



Fig. 24 (1). East Gaulish Bowl from Kastel.



Fig. 24 (2). East Gaulish Bowl from Kastel.

are characteristic of the pieces assigned to the Luxeuil group. Undoubtedly the long branching stems terminating in trilobate leaves seem to be influenced by the work of the South Gaulish potter Germanus, but among the products of the East Gaulish group of potters there are many evidences of themes borrowed from La Graufesenque or Lezoux, as well as of the migration of the potters themselves. The bowl probably belongs to the end of the reign of Domitian, or to the early Trajanic period. Pieces which exhibit the same types have been found within the area of the extension of the fort at Heddernheim, and in the neighbouring cemetery at Praunheim,¹ where the earlier graves date from Domitian.

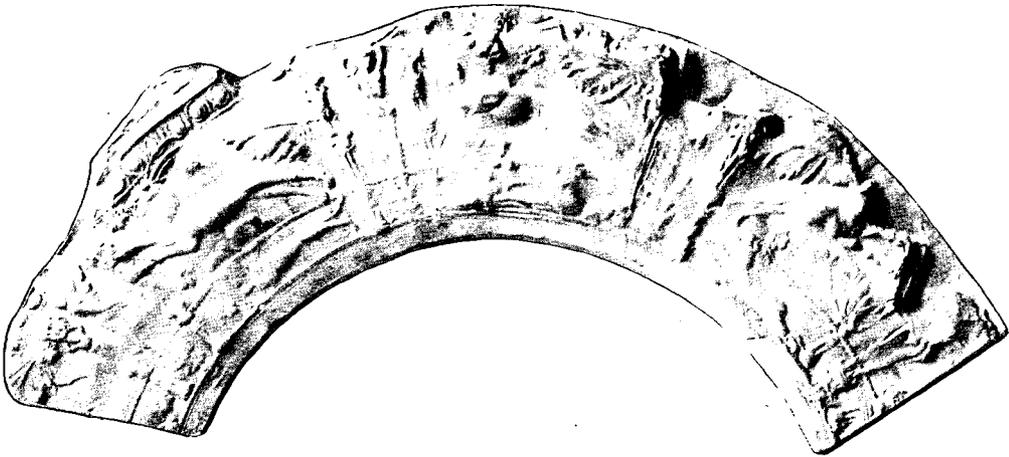


Fig. 25. Fragment of Lezoux Bowl by Libertus, Plicque Collection.

By the middle of the first century the fine decorative work of the Arretine potters had ceased; by the end of the century the South Gaulish potteries were nearing the close of their activity. At Lezoux the ware had lost the bright orange colour of the earlier product, and indeed the early bowls 37 are not always easy to distinguish from those of La Graufesenque; but the fineness of its work was still maintained in the early part of the second century by such potters as Libertus and Butrio. Libertus, according to Dr Plicque, carried on his industry in the reigns of Trajan [A.D. 98-117] and Hadrian.² His work in particular is distinguished by the admirable modelling and careful finish of his reliefs. By the kindness of Monsieur Salomon Reinach I am enabled to illustrate a portion of a large flat-rimmed vessel (fig. 25), a somewhat

¹ Riese, "Das römische Gräberfeld bei Praunheim," *Mitteilungen über römische Funde in Heddernheim*, Heft iv. p. 9.

² Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques*, vol. i. p. 187.

unusual form, from the Plicque Collection in the museum of St Germain. Though far from perfect, it exhibits the delicacy of his treatment. On it we note the characteristic ovolo border employed by this potter; the line of eggs, almost circular in form, separated from one another by vertical bars; and the many small figures, animals, leaves, statuettes, and flowerets scattered across the surface. The shape of the bowl appears to be derived from a metal prototype. The whole treatment is suggestive of silver work. A second example in the style of Libertus (fig. 26) is taken from a cast of a fragment of a bowl of type 37 found near Vichy, for which I am indebted to Fräulein Fölzer. The design is arranged in three



Fig. 26. Fragment in the style of Libertus, from Vichy.

parallel zones. The upper of these is filled with a hunting scene—a stag pursued by hounds. In the second zone stand a row of armed figures, no doubt representing gladiators, while lower still are marine monsters. The gladiators might figure as men-at-arms in some relief of the Renaissance.

In fig. 27 we have an example of a bowl probably dating from the reign of Trajan or early in the reign of Hadrian.¹ It was found at Wiesbaden in 1911. It bears the stamp of the potter, Albillus F., in cursive characters. The decoration is arranged in panels: on the left an athlete surrounded by small winged objects, and the seated figure of Apollo; in the centre a panel with figures of dolphins, and above them a mask surmounted by a basket with fruit; followed by a panel with four birds, and then the design repeats itself. Most of these types are to be found

¹ Oelmann, "Sigillatamanufakturen in La Madeleine bei Nancy," *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt*, v. 1911, p. 90.

at Lezoux. Albillus appears to have worked at La Madeleine, and among the fragments of moulds found on the site of this pottery is one which reproduces the same arrangement of dolphins, with the mask and basket of fruit, associated with the sinuous object representing a cornucopia, which is to be noted in the angle of the panel to the left of the Apollo, and which occurs several times in other parts of the design. The same features are to be seen in a fragment from the ditch of the earth fort at the Saalburg, where there is also a piece of a bowl bearing



Fig. 27. East Gaulish Bowl by Albillus, from Wiesbaden.

the figure of the athlete.¹ This earth fort probably dates from the early years of Hadrian, and was occupied from about A.D. 120 to 140. The finds from its ditch are instructive, as they show that during the reign of Trajan, and probably early in the following reign, the transition style had not disappeared, and we find a number of examples of bowls with patterns reminiscent of the earlier work of South Gaulish or Lezoux potters, but much more coarsely executed. The ware of Albillus has also been found in the Heddernheim cemetery in a grave associated with a coin of Trajan.

At La Madeleine the designs were influenced by Lezoux, and the

¹ Fölzer, *Römische Keramik in Trier*, Taf. i. fig. 40, and Taf. ii. figs. 37 and 39.

pottery, moving northward, as Albillus appears to have done, carried their types with them. He is believed to have worked later in Heiligenberg,¹ where his stamp is found on undecorated ware; and his style seems to have influenced much of the pottery from Trier.

Although generally the deterioration in design becomes evident at an early period in the second century, there are individual potters who rise above their fellows as showing a higher decorative sense. In the Trajan period, Libertus is one of these. Somewhat later in the reign of Hadrian [A.D. 117-138] we can point to Satto and Saturninus; and even



Fig. 28. Bowl by Saturninus, Museum of Trier.

later the work of Dexter, who possibly belongs to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, stands out from the general degradation.

A favourite subject with both Satto and Saturninus is a frieze of cupids employed in the vintage, plucking the grapes from the vines and piling them up in baskets. The theme was part of the common stock of the Roman decorative craftsman, but among the potters it is a more characteristic feature of the Satto group than of any other. The bowl, fig. 28, is from the collection at Trier, and bears the stamp of Saturninus. The exact position of the pottery of the Satto group has not yet been definitely ascertained. The designs employed show South Gaulish influence, and probably there was some migration from place to place. The period of the manufacture is established by the presence of fragments in the Trajanic cemetery at Heddernheim, and in

¹ Forrer, *Heiligenberg*, Taf. xv. 1.

the ditch of the earth fort at Saalburg. The principal period of production probably dates from the reign of Hadrian.¹

Fig. 29 represents another bowl, probably of the Hadrianic period. It was found in a grave at Kastel, and is now in the museum of Wiesbaden. It exhibits a somewhat confused grouping of animals: the lion, the boar galloping headlong in one direction, the hounds flying in another; and here and there inserted in the design we find star-shaped



Fig. 29. East Gaulish Bowl from Kastel.

flowers, groups of leaves, and meaningless spirals; perhaps in the latter we may see the influence of barbotine decoration, which was beginning to be employed on the Rhine. The bowl is probably from La Madeleine. The spirals and the lion appear on one of the moulds found on this site. Fräulein Fölzer notes that the curious cruciform ornament composed of five leaves, to be seen on the right of the bowl, and again on the lower margin on the left, is highly characteristic of Albillus.² This motive is also to be seen on a bowl of the same type from Stockstadt,³ and we have it on a fragment from the *titulus* of the earth fort at the Saalburg.

¹ Fölzer, *Römische Keramik in Trier*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, Taf. i. fig. 20; *ibid.*, p. 11; *ibid.*, Taf. ii. 44.

³ Drexel, "Kastell Stockstadt," *Limes Report*, Taf. xviii. fig. 21.

Fig. 30, a bowl found on the Mauritius Strasse, Wiesbaden, and now in the museum there, may be classified as belonging to the reign of Hadrian. It has no maker's stamp, but from the style it is probably by the potter Janus. It exhibits more than one of his characteristic types. The rope moulding arranged in semicircles, associated with leaves and small birds, is to be seen upon a bowl bearing his stamp, JANVF. from Unterweissach.¹ The same moulding with leaves and birds, the same five-pointed rosette, occur on fragments of his bowls at Heiligenberg.² Janus is one of those potters who appear to have moved from place to place. Fräulein



Fig. 30. East Gaulish Bowl from Wiesbaden.

Fölzer claims him for La Madeleine, and illustrates a fragment of a mould found there in the style of the bowl from Unterweissach. There is no doubt that he worked at Heiligenberg, where many fragments of his ware have been found. At a later period he seems to have moved to Rheinzabern. Dr Reubel³ suggests that he learnt his trade probably in Gaul, possibly in Lezoux, and places his beginnings at Heiligenberg about A.D. 100, and that he flourished at Rheinzabern between A.D. 120 and 140-5; but, admittedly, a considerable element of speculation must enter into any such attempts to set out chronologically the career of a potter. On the bowl before us we can still trace the style of the Claudian potters

¹ Knorr, *Terra-sigillata-Gefässe von Cannstatt*, Taf. xxvi. fig. 3.

² Forrer, *Heiligenberg*, Taf. xxix. figs. 5, 6, and 13.

³ Reubel, *Römische Töpfer in Rheinzabern*, p. 38.

initiated probably by Masclus and his group; but we have left behind us the lightness of treatment, the delicacy in execution, which characterises the wreaths and scrolls down to the end of the first century, and it is obvious that the general decadence of the potter's art had set in.

It is interesting to return for a moment from the consideration of these products of the East Gaulish potters, and to glance at a couple of typical Antonine bowls from Lezoux. In the Antonine period Lezoux appears to have reached its highest prosperity. Its production must have



Fig. 31. Lezoux Bowl by Cinnamus, from Newstead.

been very large, and its wares widely exported. Traces of its commerce are to be found on the Rhine and the Danube, but in the Limes forts the pottery of Lezoux is not common, and it is evident that with the rise of the East Gaulish manufactories its potters were driven to seek their principal market in Western Gaul and in England. As an example from the reign of Pius [A.D. 138-161], I have illustrated a bowl by Cinnamus, found at Newstead (fig. 31).¹ This cannot have come to Scotland before about the year A.D. 140, and it was probably made before the close of the Emperor's reign in A.D. 161. Déchelette places Cinnamus with the potter Paternus as having worked in the Antonine period at the time when Lezoux had

¹ Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, p. 224, pl. xlv.

reached the zenith of its prosperity.¹ Knorr² notes the occurrence of a good many examples of the wares of Cinnamus on the Danube, and assigns his activity to the reign of Trajan. This is clearly too early for the Newstead example. The bowl belongs to a type which is well known in this country, in which large medallions are combined with the earlier metope decoration. In the central medallion stands a figure of Venus with one arm resting on a column; on her right is a figure of an owl; on the left a snake. In the panel on the left of the medallion is the figure of a dancer holding a scarf; further to the left a bearded man. The remaining panel of the design is divided horizontally—in the upper half a bird, in the lower a figure of Cupid. In one panel is the stamp CINNAMI, impressed retrograde. The colour and glaze of the bowl are good, and, although the modelling of the figures is mechanical, the general effect and execution compare favourably with most of the work of the period produced further north, by the Rhine and the Moselle.³

In fig. 32 we have a bowl found at Wingham, Kent, now in the British Museum. It bears the stamp, somewhat poorly executed, of the Lezoux potter Paternus. The central figure of the design is a horseman in cuirass, brandishing his sword, while his horse flies along at full gallop. All around him in somewhat confused fashion are figures of animals in rapid motion—hounds and deer, galloping horses, wild boar, and strange indeterminate quadrupeds; while mingled throughout the figures are long pointed leaves suggesting a forest background to the chase. The style is barbaric, but it is characteristic of the time, and we find it, not only at Lezoux, where it is common on the bowls of Albucius and others, but also further north.

A very large proportion of the sigillata which found its way to the Limes forts and the Rhine towns in the second century must have been supplied by Rheinzabern and Trier, together with the less important potteries, such as Westerndorf and Remagen, which branched off from these larger centres of industry. Rheinzabern, lying on the left bank of the Rhine to the north of Strassburg, was the seat of a flourishing colony of potters, who have left many relics behind them, in their kilns, in their graves, and in the fragments of their broken ware. The production of decorated sigillata at Rheinzabern appears to have continued for about a hundred years, which came to an end about the year A.D. 200, or a little later.⁴ The trade of Rheinzabern from the time of Hadrian

¹ Déchelette, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 190.

² Knorr, "Terra sigillata aus Geislingen," *Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, xviii. p. 38.

³ Mr Atkinson expresses the opinion that the greater part of the pottery found on the Limes and on other German sites which has been assigned to Lezoux has really come from Blickweiler in the Palatinate. *The Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill*, p. 58.

⁴ Reubel, *Rheinzabern*, p. 56.

onwards, together with the output of the potteries most closely associated with it, such as Heiligenberg, Ittenweiler, Kräherwald, Waiblingen, and Westerndorf, appear to have found a market principally in the country south of the Main and in the lands bordering on the Danube; while the supplies from the Trier potters and their branches, such as Remagen and probably also Sinzig near Bonn, were carried into Gallia Belgica and to the north of the Main.¹

Generally speaking, the Rheinzabern bowls are coarser and much less

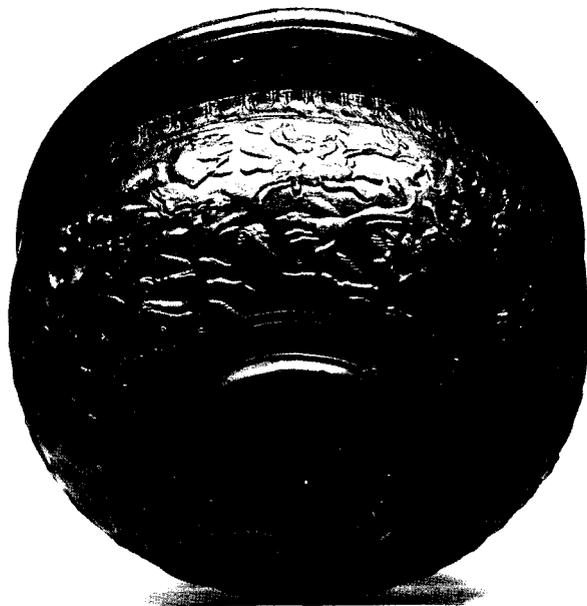


Fig. 32. Lezoux Bowl by Paternus, from Wingham, Kent.

highly glazed than those of the Middle or South Gaulish potters, and towards the end of the second century barbotine decoration begins to supersede the older method of treatment. Fig. 33, from the museum of Speyer, is characteristic of the output of the Rheinzabern potters, and is dated by Dr Behn of Mainz as about the middle of the second century. The mould for a bowl in the same style is illustrated by Ludowici.² The modelling is coarse and poor. The band of ovolo decoration is large and clumsy. The surface is divided into rectangular compartments, in each of which is placed a single figure—Venus, a man wearing a toga,

¹ Fölzer, *Römische Keramik in Trier*, p. 83.

² Ludowici, *Stempel Bilder römischen Töpfer aus Rheinzabern*, p. 228, fig. 9.

a woman carrying a basket on her head. The same themes repeat themselves in the design. Contrasted with the work of the first century, the degradation which had gradually overtaken the potter's art is apparent. The careful modelling of the reliefs has disappeared, and more and more we note the occurrence of designs in which human figures, animals, or conventional motives are placed upon the surface without relation to each other, and with wide, undecorated spaces between them.

It is rarely attractive to follow the gradual degeneration of an ornament form or art type through the phases which precede its final



Fig. 33. Rheinzabern Bowl, Museum of Speyer.

disappearance. The pattern, the design, grows coarse and clumsy; continual copying has blunted the outlines, has obscured the meaning; and so it is with the potter's art as we see it at Rheinzabern, at Trier, and at such potteries as Remagen and Sinzig. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the final stages of decline.

At Trier a number of the Roman kilns were laid bare in 1893 and 1907, and from them were gathered numerous potsherds of different vessels dating from the first down to the fourth century. The most of these pieces, however, were of the second and third centuries, and among them the fragments of sigillata and of moulds formed a considerable proportion. Some of the vessels had evidently been imported from further south, but the greater number had clearly been made on the spot. The earliest group of potters producing red ware appears to date from the time of

Hadrian. It drew its designs from Lezoux and the East Gaulish potteries, but it also had a style peculiar to itself. Both Albillus (whom we have seen at La Madeleine) and Satto appear to have strongly influenced the earlier output of the group. A second group of potters is apparent in the last thirty years of the second century, using a distinct series of designs, drawn sometimes from metal-work, sometimes from Roman reliefs or statuary. Among these, the products of Censor and Dexter may be mentioned. Their wares are to be found in the fort of Niederbieber,



Fig. 34. Trier Bowl from Unna, Westphalia.

first occupied about A.D. 190, so that they were probably working at the beginning of the third century. A third group producing about the same time is distinguished by poorer work and the gradual degeneration of their designs until they become unrecognisable. With them the decorated sigillata in Trier comes to an end. But even in the final period, when the industry was fast approaching its end, we still see designs which must have come from Arezzo, and which the Arretine potters themselves must have borrowed from earlier workers: Scylla and the barque of Ulysses, figures from the Iphigenia cycle, Prometheus with the eagle, Hercules and the lion, Diana, Acteon, Centaurs, and other themes.

In fig. 34 we have a bowl found in 1912 at Unna in Westphalia—a rare instance of the drift of Roman pottery across the Limes. With

another bowl, somewhat similar in character, it had been used to hold the ashes of the dead. The bowls were illustrated and described by Herr Hähle in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* for 1913, p. 89, where he points out that all the types employed in their decoration come from Trier. In one panel on the example illustrated is the figure of Victory borne on a quadriga, holding aloft a palm in the left hand, a wreath in the right. In the adjoining panel on the left is a man carrying a palm, moving towards a figure seated, the chin resting on the left hand—the seated Apollo of the earlier bowls; between them a large vessel with a palm. The spaces separating the figures are filled with spirals. The ovolo moulding is peculiar from its double tassel. The bowl bears no maker's name, but it apparently belongs to the earlier group of the Trier potters, whose style is influenced by the Middle and East Gaulish designs, and in particular those of Vichy and La Madeleine, and whose period lies between the years A.D. 120 and 180. Whoever the potter may have been who produced it, it is apparent that his style very strongly influenced the work turned out from the kilns at Remagen: Herr Funck, who investigated these together with the Roman graves in the town, dates the moulds found there as belonging to the first half, and probably within the first third, of the second century; but it is difficult to believe that the bowl in question is earlier than the middle of the century.¹

I have included this bowl from Unna because it illustrates the connection between Trier and a smaller pottery at Sinzig near Bonn, which, like Remagen, must have branched off from it.

Figs. 35 and 36 are two bowls from a group of pottery (preserved in the museum of Bonn) which in 1913 had recently been disinterred from the site of the kilns at Sinzig. At the time no particulars of the find had been published, though in the interval which has elapsed the full details have doubtless appeared in print. The director of the museum was good enough to allow me to obtain photographs, but I am ignorant of the circumstances of the find. The bowls, which are of considerable size, are among the rudest examples of sigillata I have met with. They are roughly and unskilfully made. The colour is a dull orange yellow. In fig. 35 the ovolo border is very imperfect, the dotted line beneath it irregular. In the panel fronting us in the illustration is the figure of the man bearing a palm. To right and left of his head are bunches of grapes, beneath these are concentric circles, and lower still a pair of cornucopias. An ornament composed of two concentric circles joined together by three beaded bands separates each figure from the one adjoining. In the next panel is a figure of Venus holding a scarf above

¹ Funck, "Römische Töpfereien in Remagen," *Bonner Jahrbuch*, Heft 119, p. 333.

her head; on her left stands an object in which it is possible to recognise an extremely debased figure of Cupid.



Fig. 35. Bowl from Sinzig.



Fig. 36. Bowl from Sinzig.

The second bowl (fig. 36) is similar in colour, and no less rude in execution. The ovolo border is clumsy and imperfect. Beneath it is an

arrangement of demi-medallions formed by a series of festoons, each of these terminating at the point of juncture with an animal head, while clumsily inserted between the heads is a large pointed leaf. Alternately in the demi-medallions are inserted a figure—probably intended to represent Cupid, seated facing the left, with arms outstretched—and a male bust. Beneath the festoons runs a procession of animal forms, and around the lower margin of the decoration a line of concentric circles.

The greater number of the types employed on these bowls—the figures of Venus and Cupid, the man bearing the palm, the bunches of grapes,



Fig. 37. Bowl from Trier.

the seated Cupid, the festoons, the concentric circles—are well-known Trier types. On the fragments of moulds found at Remagen a number of the same types are to be noted. There is the ovolo without the tassel, the seated Cupid, the busts, the festoon ending in animal heads, the concentric circles, the cornucopia; but, judging from the illustrations to Herr Funck's paper, the fragments at Remagen are hardly so rude in execution as are the bowls from Sinzig. The Remagen potters appear to have drawn their inspiration from the earlier Trier potters, some of whom probably operated before the middle of the second century. The Sinzig pottery belongs to another local group established still further from the original centre, with a corresponding weakening of the tradition and debasement of the art. In the absence of particulars of the find we need not speculate as to whether the bowls should be attributed to the

reign of Pius or later; their chief interest here lies in the fact that they illustrate the dying out of the sigillata industry.

Fig. 37, a bowl from Trier, is attributed by Fräulein Fölzer to the potter Maiiaaus, chiefly from the use of the zigzag lines which he employs to divide the surface into panels, each containing a leaf or conventional ornament. In poverty of design we may compare it with the Rheinzabern bowl (fig. 33). Sigillata in the style of Maiiaaus is associated with the products of the potters Censor and Dexter in the



Fig. 38. Trier Bowl from Wiesbaden.

fort of Niederbieber, occupied in A.D. 190. He thus appears to belong to the close of the second century. It would be misleading to convey the impression that fig. 37 is altogether a typical bowl of the period of Commodus [A.D. 177-192] or Severus, because it is evident that even in the latter half of the second century, notwithstanding a general lowering of the standard of execution, there is yet a considerable variety in the designs employed; and in a few rare examples, such as a bowl by Dexter found at Xanten, and one or two of his products from Trier, the designs, composed of interlaced garlands with masks and cupids, show an individuality and even a certain charm of style.

As a pendant, then, to fig. 38, I have illustrated a fragment of a large bowl found at Wiesbaden, also attributed to Maiiaaus, representing figures

of bestiarii and gladiators surrounded by animal forms, and with large leaves scattered here and there among them.

The last example in the series (fig. 39) comes from the fort of Zugmantel,¹ which lies upon the Limes a little to the north of Wiesbaden. It was discovered in 1912, in one of the many cellars which are a feature of this site. The cellar showed signs of three different periods of construction, which unfortunately could not be distinguished chronologically. In it were found a number of pieces of pottery and several coins:



Fig. 39. Rheinzabern Bowl by Julius, from Zugmantel.

the latest were those of Severus, A.D. 193-211; Elagabalus, A.D. 218-22; and Julia Mamæa, A.D. 222-35. The bowl, which is unusually large in size, bears the stamp JVLIVSF retrograde. It has been formed in a mould in the ordinary way. There is the usual band of ovolo moulding, here very poorly executed, and beneath it the plain surface broken up by a series of vertical beaded lines. On the wide rim is a figure of a great hound chained to a post, executed in barbotine, while above and beneath it are the pointed leaves, with stems twining in spirals, so characteristic of the artist in this medium. The potter Julius appears to have worked at Rheinzabern, and his ware ranks among the coarsest products of that centre. Some three hundred of his bowls have been noted at Zugmantel.

¹ "Kastell Zugmantel," *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, 1912, pp. 30, 59, fig. 23.

Dr Barthel assigns his working period to the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.¹ Dr Reubel puts the end of his period as about the year A.D. 200, or perhaps somewhat later, and considers that he was one of the last, if not the very last, of all the Rheinzabern potters who produced moulded sigillata.² In the bowl before us we see the passing of the tradition which, coming from Arezzo, for two centuries inspired the provincial potters, and thus ended on the Rhine.

It is a story to which archæology offers a good many parallels. Some form of Greek or Roman art is carried to the provinces or beyond the frontier, it is imitated and adapted, the theme becomes worn out and finally disappears. In Italy the potters of Arezzo or Puteoli inherited the traditions of the art of Greece. They were supported by a wealthy, art-loving people, and they had before them in the monuments of the time, in stone-work and in métal, models of the highest order. Even in Southern Gaul, in the cities bordering on the Mediterranean and perhaps also by the Rhine, they must have found an appreciative clientele.

The potters who first brought the industry beyond the Alps, although they produced a wonderful glaze upon their ware, never attained to the delicacy of modelling and the variety of design of the Italian workers. By the middle of the first century the Arretine industry had decayed: probably glass or metal had largely supplanted its wares. Thenceforth it gave no new impulse to the Gaulish workers. The expansion of the empire, and the increasing population which that expansion brought with it to the north, doubtless induced the Southern potters to move northward, following the growing demand. It was easier and more profitable to ply their trade by the waters of the Rhine or the Moselle than to send their wares by boats and mule trains over the many miles which separated them from their markets.

As the industry moved north further from Italy it became more imitative, more competitive, more commercial. The sharpness of the early reliefs gradually disappeared, the bowls became coarser and the glaze poorer. The clientele of the potters had changed materially since the Augustan period. The legionaries who left behind them the Arretine cups in the fort at Haltern were men drawn from Italy itself, or perhaps in some degree from Gallia Narbonenses. But with the second century the legionaries recruited in Italy became fewer and fewer. By the reign of Pius the legions were largely composed of the provincial element, and more and more as time went on from the children of the soldiers themselves. The auxiliaries who garrisoned the Limes forts added fresh elements to the strangely mixed military population, among whom the potters of Rheinzabern and of Trier found

¹ Barthel, *Kastell Zugmantel*, p. 127.

² Reubel, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

a market for their wares. It seems plain that at the end of the second century the conditions on the frontier were not such as could infuse new life into the worn-out sigillata industry. The decorated bowls had had their day, and were finally superseded in public estimation by the increasing production of vessels of glass, which in countless forms and varying colours issued from the workshops of Trier and of Cologne.
