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WHERE EAST MEETS WEST. MEDITERRANEAN AND NORTHWESTERN IMPORTS IN *AGUNTUM*, *NORICUM*

Over the last few years several Eastern Mediterranean imports were detected in the Norican town of Aguntum/Dölsach (Austria). These do not only consist of wine amphorae, but also include fine wares and oil lamps from Corinth as well as Eastern Sigillata B (ESB) and cooking wares from the Phokaia Region. The municipium Aguntum functions as an intersection between the northern and the southern provinces; for that reason, we can find Eastern imports as well as imports from the Northern provinces here. A special find assemblage was discovered in a fire horizon in the traders' forum that contains ESB and stamped Samian ware from the production centres in Lezoux and Rheinzabern. This assemblage represents the starting point for the present paper. The diverse spectrum of imported pottery in Aguntum will be examined and set in a wider geographical context.

Noricum – Aguntum – Samian ware – Eastern Sigillata B – stamps

The *municipium Claudium Aguntum* is situated in present-day Austria, in the Roman Province of *Noricum* in the northwest of the Roman Empire. In terms of transport topography, the settlement is located on the southern edge of the Eastern Alps and is mainly accessible via various Alpine passes or along the Drava River Valley. The main roads from the south start in *Aquileia*, another important road connection leads to the west, to the province of *Raetia* (fig. 1). This road is also mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* as a shortcut from Italy to *Raetia*. Other paths leading to the north in direction of *Iuvavum*/Salzburg were most probably only accessible during the Summer (nos. 11 and 15 in fig. 1).

The material culture of the Roman town shows a strong connection to Northern Italy. This connection is also reflected in the architecture such as the first phase of the *thermae*, which shows parallels to those in *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii* (Tschurtschenthaler and Auer 2015), as well as the circular *macellum*, which also finds its closest parallels in Italy (Auer 2018) and of course the *atrium* house, which resembles a classical *atrium* house (Tschurtschenthaler 2005) in its first building phase and has a peristyle garden with a water basin lined with marble slabs (fig. 2).

This connection to the south is also reflected in terms of small finds and especially of pottery. *Aquileia* and the Northern Adriatic were of great importance for *Aguntum* during the 1st and 2nd century AD. Most of the pottery imports from Claudian times until the first half of the 2nd century came from Italy and the Adriatic (Auer 2020). They appeared together with first Eastern Mediterranean goods which were also imported via the Adriatic ports. Regarding the Eastern Mediterranean imports, *Aguntum* is one of the northernmost sites where Phokaian and Aegean cooking ware (Auer and Daszkiewicz 2017: 105; Auer 2019), Corinthian beakers and

lamps (Sossau 2019) and Eastern Sigillata could be found in a considerable quantity (fig. 3).

As mentioned before, the Roman town lies on the cross-ways between the East and the West and so also northwestern imports such as Samian ware from Gaul and *Raetia* are common during the 2nd century. Of particular interest here is the joint appearance of Eastern and Western imports in undisturbed deposits, such as in a burned layer with much charcoal in the *forum* area. This will be subsequently discussed in more detail.

Room 289 in the *forum* area

The *forum* area is situated west of the *macellum* and is currently under excavation. At the current state of research, the building can be interpreted as a traders' *forum*, since no official buildings or temples can be verified (Auer 2018). The whole complex was destroyed by fire and although one would also expect lots of finds and destroyed goods in the individual rooms in such a context, almost no finds could be detected inside the building. There is, however, one major exception: room 289. This room is located in the northern part of the *forum* and like most parts of the whole complex, it was filled with stones and mortar coming from the collapsed walls. Under this stone material clear traces of fire – charcoal and burnt soil – were found. Between the mortar and the stone materials, unlike in the other rooms, a significant amount of finds was discovered. Among them, various kinds of pottery as well as glass vessels, stone slabs, metal objects, grains of Egyptian Blue and rests of barrels filled with barley (fig. 4).

All the findings from room 289 are still under investigation. First studies were conducted analysing the finds



Fig. 1. Main roads in *Noricum* (Gietl 2004: 4).



Fig. 2. Plan of the currently known structures in *Aguntum*. Room 289 is marked with a black star (layout: M. Auer).

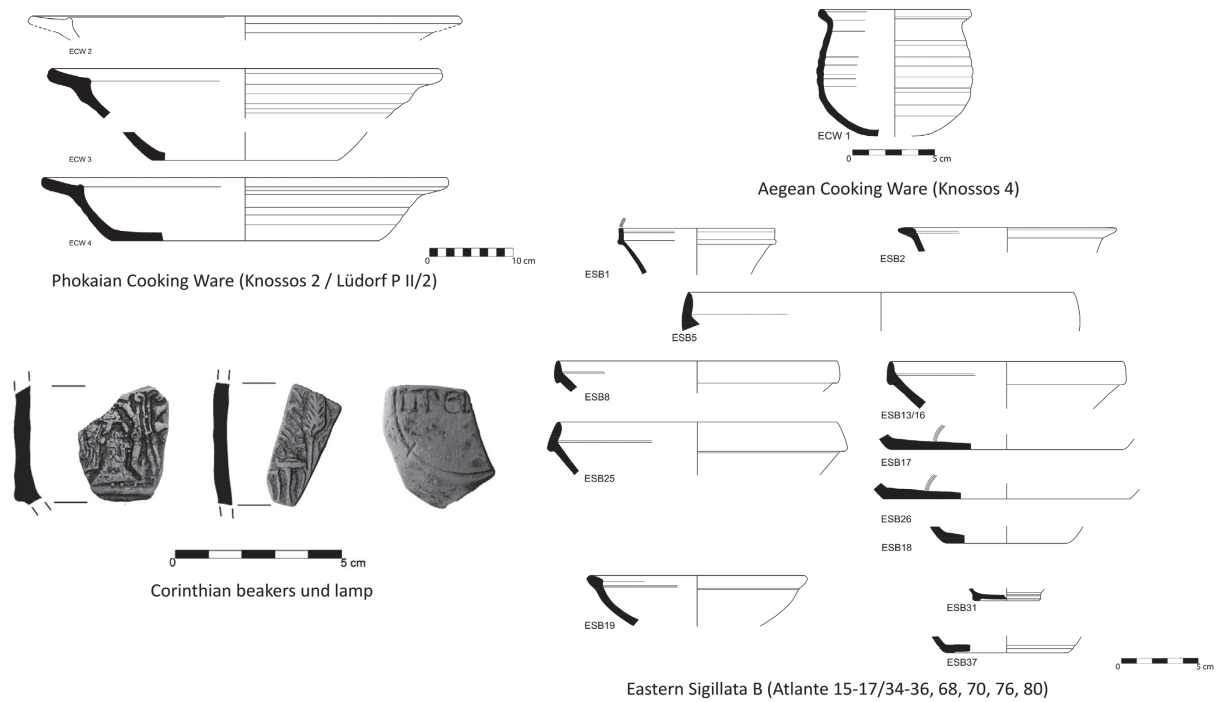


Fig. 3. Eastern imports in *Aguntum*. Examples of ESB, Aegean and Phokaian Cooking Ware from the *atrium* house and Corinthian imports from the *forum* area (drawings: M. Auer, V. Sossau; layout: M. Auer)

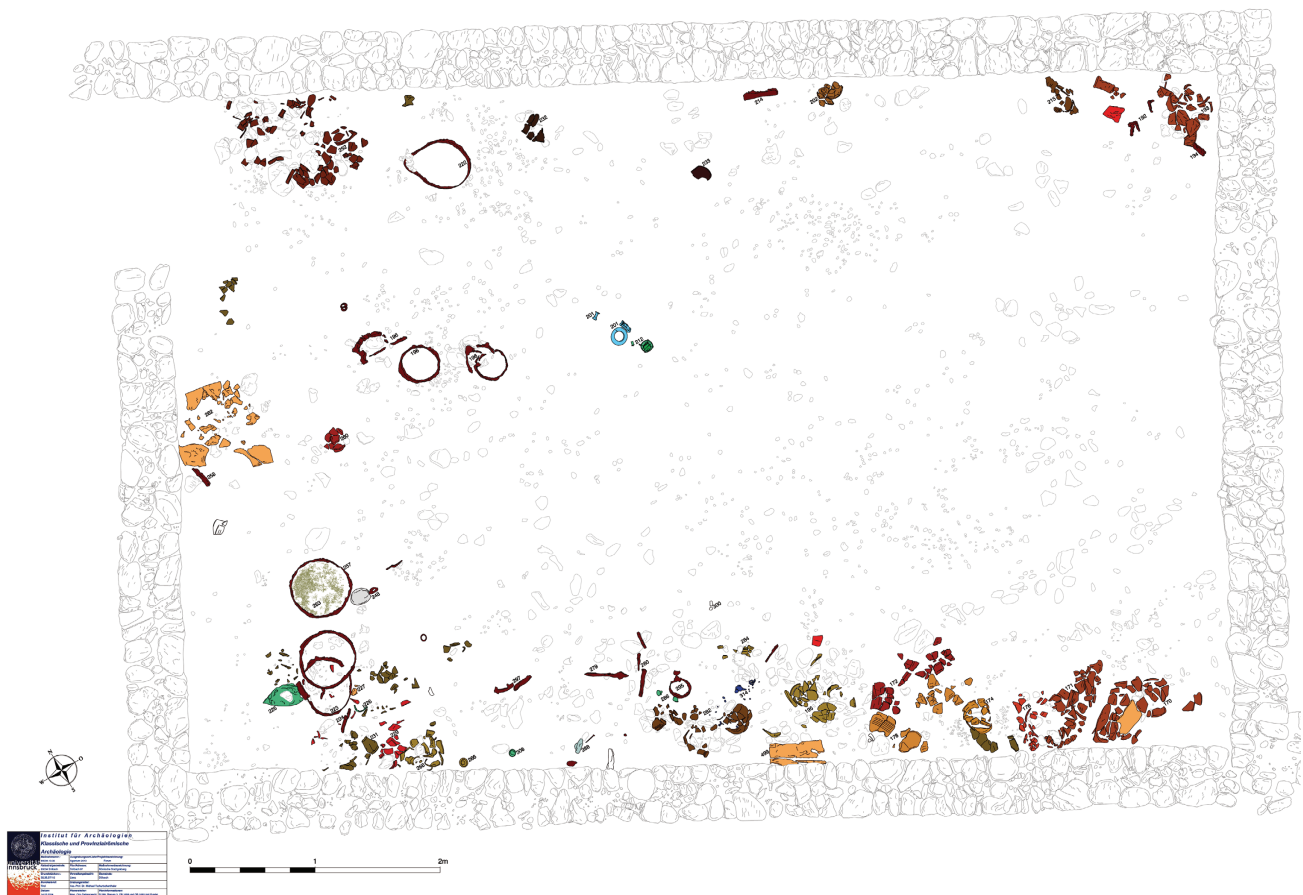


Fig. 4. Drawing of room 289: light to dark red = pottery; brown = iron; green = grain; light green = bronze; light blue = glass; dark blue = azurite; orange = stone (layout: O. Defranceschi)

with the most chronological significance in order to obtain a dating range for the fire that destroyed the *forum* complex. Four coins were found inside this room, which date to the reigns of Galba (68-69 AD), Antoninus Pius (152-153 AD and 147-161 AD) and Marcus Aurelius (176-180 AD). The barley was used for radiocarbon dating. The results of that, however, point to the time after 230 AD (fig. 5). Additional research concentrated on the Samian ware from the same context (Angerer 2022), which can also be dated to the late 2nd and early 3rd century. The results of this study are presented below in more detail.

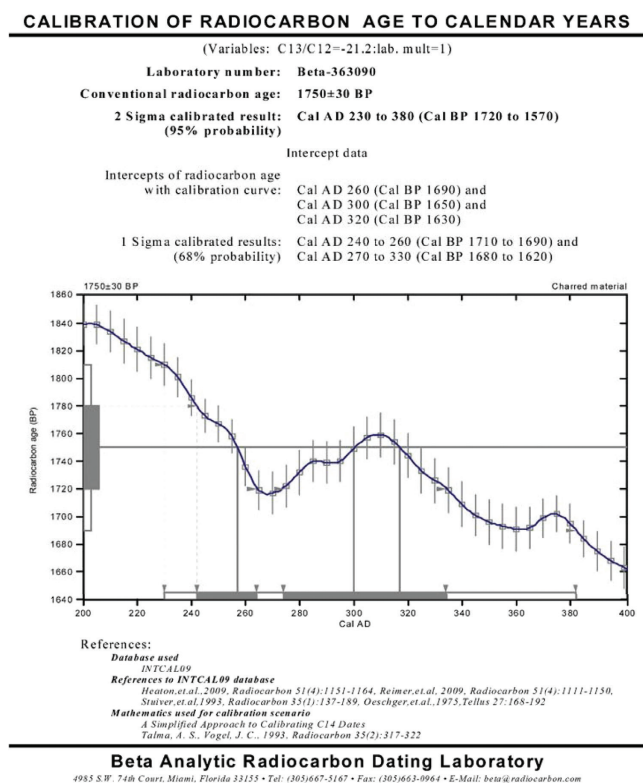
Considering all finds from the destruction levels in the *forum* area, we can assume a dating of the fire to the mid-3rd century AD. There were no later coins found in the destruction levels and also African Red Slip ware is missing. The large quantity of objects recovered in this room suggests its use as a storage room. The heterogeneous composition of the find material, together with the excavation findings of recent years, suggests that renovation work on the merchants' *forum* had begun immediately before the fire. Objects that were still usable have been removed from the other rooms and stored in room 289, where they remained until the fire event.

The Samian ware from room 289

The Samian ware found in room 289 consists of eleven vessels of differing provenance which date from the middle of the 2nd century to the first quarter of the 3rd century.

Most of the vessels, three plates Drag. 31, respectively Drag. 18/31, and two cups Drag. 33 were produced in the potteries of Rheinzabern. All of them are stamped and therefore could be assigned to a potter (fig. 6, TS1-TS5). Two vessels were fabricated by the potter *Augustinus ii* (Hartley and Dickinson 2008a: 336-340) and one vessel each was made by the potters *Firmus iv* (Hartley and Dickinson 2009a: 59-63), *Martius iv* (Hartley and Dickinson 2009b: 331-333) and *Mammilianus* (Walke 1965: 127). These potters' stamps mainly occur in the provinces *Raetia*, *Germania Superior* as well as in Great Britain, indicating specific trade routes leading north and north-east of the Alps (fig. 8). *Aguntum* marks the southernmost point of the occurrence of these stamps.

Three dishes, two plates Drag. 18/31 and one cup Drag. 33, can be assigned to Central Gaulish potters. The first two, *Muxtullus* (fig. 6, TS7) and *Tauricus* (fig. 7, TS8) can be associated with the workshops at Lezoux (Hartley and Dickinson 2010: 198-201; 2012: 21-23), the third one, *Docius*, is known to have worked in Lezoux as well as in Gueugnon (fig. 6, TS6). This particular stamp is so far only known from two places: the production site in Gueugnon (Hartley and Dickinson 2008b: 291-292) and this specimen from *Aguntum*. The distribution of the potter's stamps shows a similar picture as that with the stamps from Rheinzabern (fig. 9). The main customers, especially for *Muxtullus*' dishes, were in Britain. They, however, also occur in the Germanic provinces and in *Raetia* as well as in the Gaulish provinces, primarily in proximity to the production centres. Even though a few of *Muxtullus*' dishes made it as far as to *Pannonia*, *Aguntum*, again, marks the only spot south of the Alps.



Galba (68/69 AD)



Antoninus Pius (152/153 AD)



Antoninus Pius (147-161 AD)



Marcus Aurelius (176-180 AD)

Fig. 5. Radiocarbon-dating of a burnt barley grain and coins from the burnt layer in room 289.

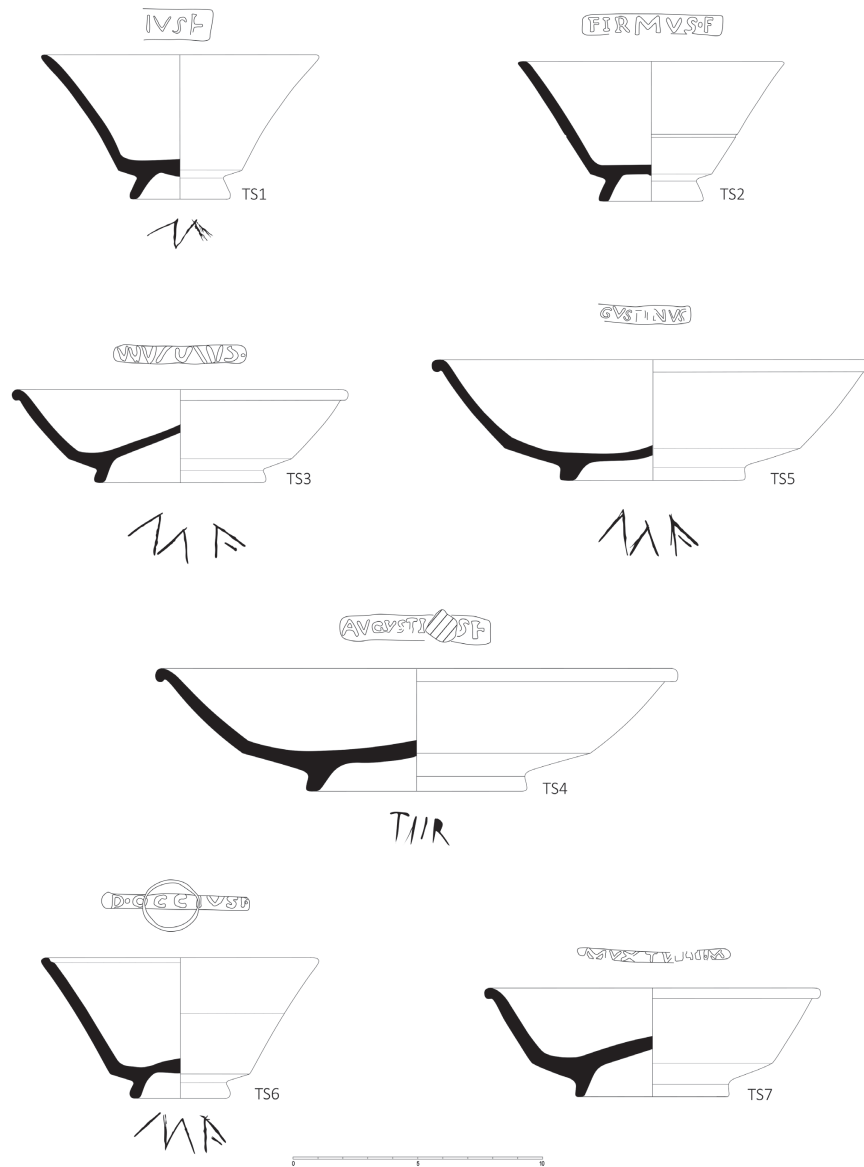


Fig. 6. *Terra Sigillata* vessels from Rheinzabern (TS1–TS5), Gueugnon (TS6) and Lezoux (TS7). Scale: 1:3 (vessels), 1:2 (graffiti), 1:1 (stamps), (drawings: C. Angerer [vessels] and J. Rabitsch [stamps and graffiti]).

Two vessels were produced in northern Italy (**fig. 7, TS9–TS10**). One is a bowl Drag. 37 with the depiction of four male figures of which two are named and can therefore be identified as the philosophers *Molon* (*Solon*) and *Chilon*. Another one is most likely *Diogenes*, since fragments of other vessels for which the same(?) mould was probably used show his name above that figure (Mantovani and Stuani 2020: 176). Only three other “philosophers’ bowls” are known (**fig. 10**), showing that specific scene: one in Verona, one in Brescia and one in *Aquileia* (Maselli Scotti 2008: 312; Mantovani and Stuani 2020: 175–177). They all show more or less the same figures, on the example from Brescia part of a fourth name ending on [...]ALES is visible. In the context of the philosophers it is most likely to be read as the name *Thales*. These vessels were produced somewhere in Northern Italy, probably in the Po Valley (Mantovani 2021: 177–178). In this case, *Aguntum* is the northernmost finding spot. The

second Italian vessel is a plate, a late version of the form Cons. 39 (Formgruppe B according to Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1992: 416–422; Schmid and Gschwind 2020: 54–55). The rim is decorated with barbotine grapes and volutes (variant 1 according to Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1992: 430). The plate is quite similar in fabric and slip to the “philosophers’ bowl” and was probably produced in the same area.

The last piece from this complex is an Eastern Sigillata B-plate Hayes 60 (**fig. 7, ESB1**). As known from other areas in *Aguntum*, Eastern Sigillata B¹ is not uncommon in the *municipium*, as is shown by the findings from the *Atrium* house (Auer 2019). It is also very common south of *Aguntum* such as in the southern part of the province *Noricum*,

¹ Whether the ESB in *Aguntum* is mixed with products of Adriatic origin is not clear. So far, only one vessel has been analysed chemically and has been confirmed as eastern import (Auer and Daszkiewicz 2017: 105).

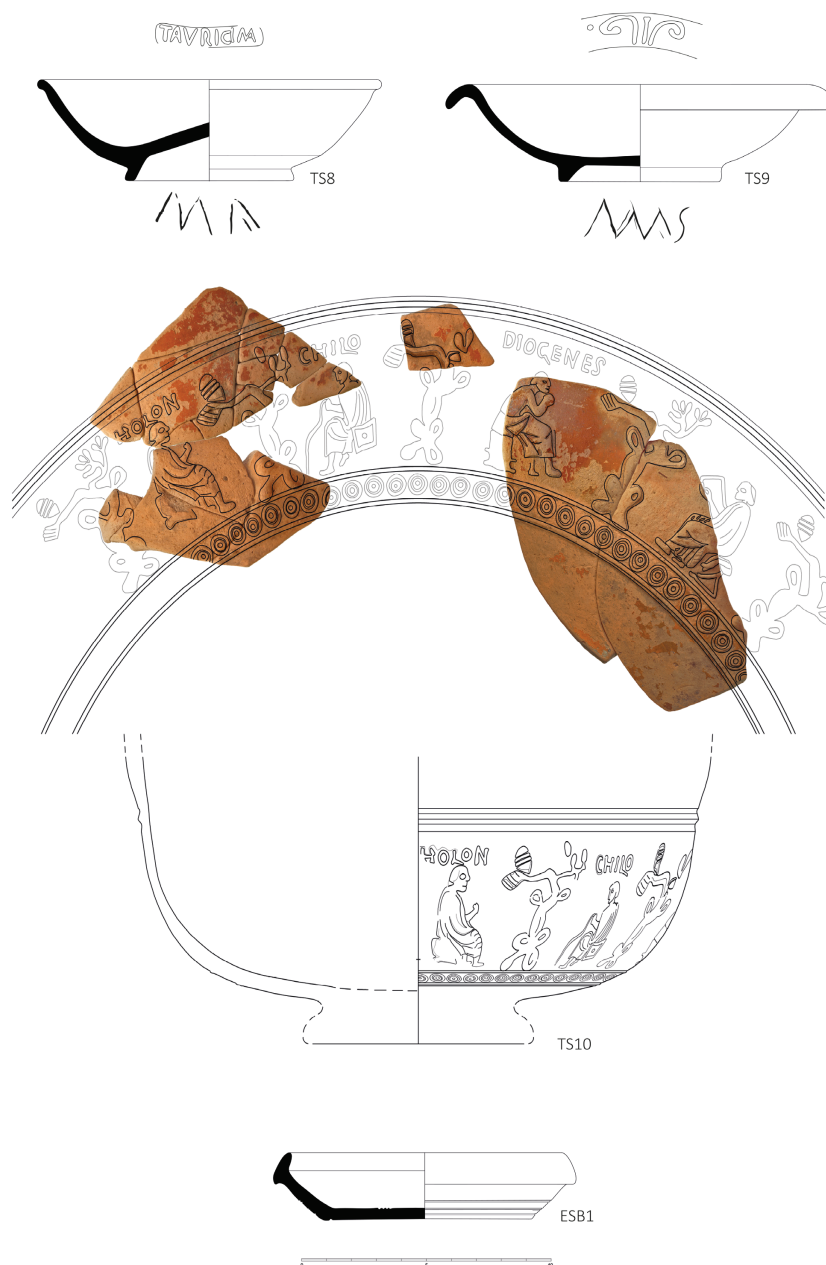


Fig. 7. *Terra Sigillata* vessels from Lezoux (TS8) and Northern Italy (TS9–TS10) as well as Eastern Sigillata B (ESB1). Scale: 1:3 (vessels except TS10), 1:2 (graffiti), 1:1 (stamps), (drawings: C. Angerer [TS8–TS9, ESB1], J. Rabitsch [stamps and graffiti] and U. Janovsky-Wein [TS10]).

as well as the Adriatic area, especially the coastlines of modern Croatia and Slovenia (**fig. 11**). Besides *Aguntum*, only three further pieces are known in the alpine region in *Noricum* – in *Immurium*/Moosham (Sieler 2008: 29–35), in *Iuvavum*/Salzburg (Gschwind and Sieler 2018: 75–83) and at the Gurina in Carinthia (Gamper 2015: 185).

The eleven Samian ware vessels of various origin all date back to the second half of the 2nd and the early 3rd century. This is consistent with the coins found in room 289 and is a bit earlier than the destruction fire (after 230 AD) can be dated (**fig. 5**). On four vessels, the *graffito post cocturam* “MA” is legible (**fig. 6**, TS3–TS4, TS6; **fig. 7**, TS8), on one vessel only an “M” is preserved (**fig. 6**, TS1), one shows the

graffito “MAS” (**fig. 7**, TS9) and another one “TER” (**fig. 6**, TS4). These graffiti most probably refer to the owner(s) of the vessels. If so, the owner(s) may have signed the vessels before they were stored in room 289. It is still to investigate whether the other finds from this room show similar graffiti, which could yield information about the users of the traders’ *forum* during the late 2nd century AD.

The sigillata vessels were broken, but could be almost completely reassembled. The sherds, however, show traces of exposure to fire in varying intensity, which means that the vessels were broken before or at the beginning of the fire. The following scenario can be deduced: the vessels, along with the other goods, were stored on a shelf or a similar construction,

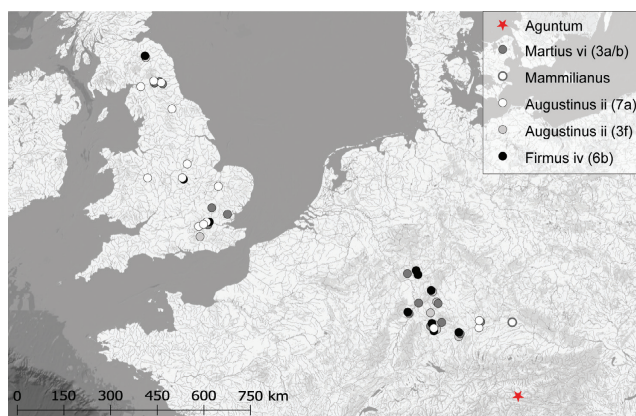


Fig. 8. Distribution of the potter stamps from Rheinzabern (based on data from Hartley and Dickinson 2008a; 2009a; 2009b; Walke 1965. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

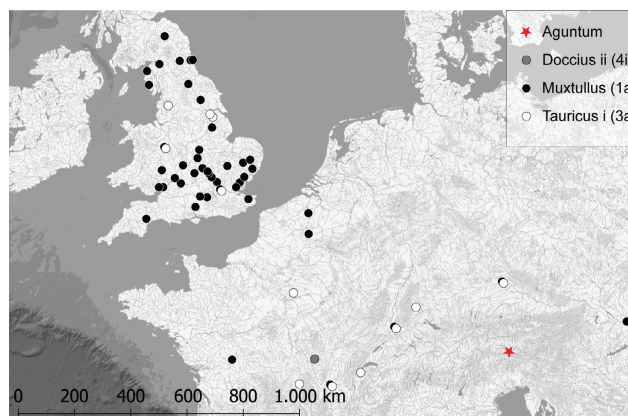


Fig. 9. Distribution of the potter stamps from Central Gaul (based on data from Hartley and Dickinson 2008b; 2010; 2012. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

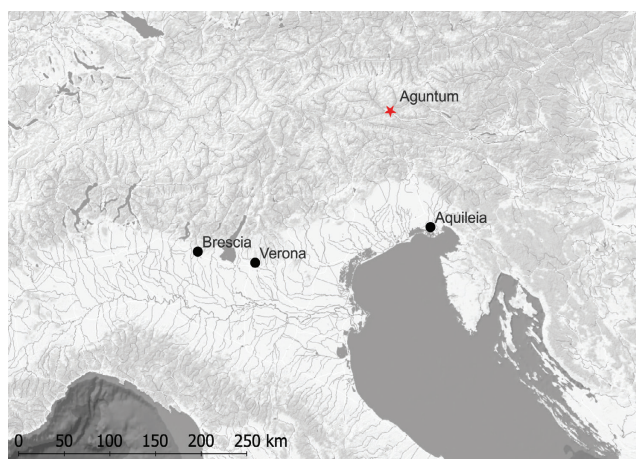


Fig. 10. Distribution of the so-called philosophers' bowls (based on data from Mantovani and Stuardi 2020; Masselli Scotti 2008. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

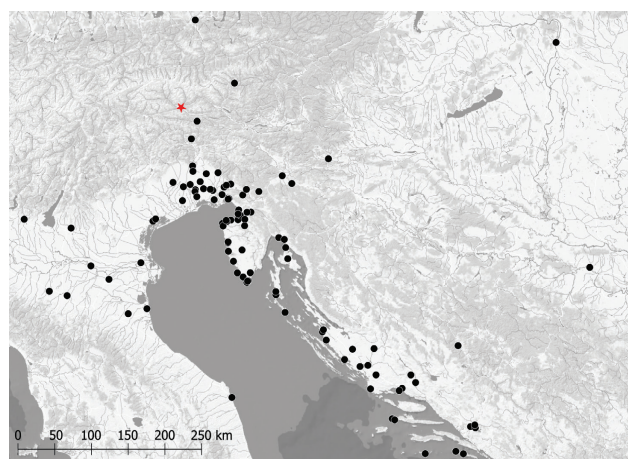


Fig. 11. Distribution of Eastern Sigillata B in the Adriatic Region and in the province *Noricum* (based on data from Dobrova and Griggio 2021; Šelendić and Taras 2021; Gschwind and Sieler 2018; Gamper 2015; Sieler 2008; Žerjal 2008; Gabler 1992. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

during the ongoing construction work on the *forum*. Before the goods could be reclaimed by their owners, a fire destroyed the *forum* area and everything inside room 289. In the course of the fire the shelf most likely burnt, which led to the vessels falling down and breaking into several pieces. The varying heat within the room, explains why some sherds are burnt dark red to black and others show almost no traces of fire.

Conclusions

As shown by this pottery assemblage from room 289 as well as by the aforementioned Phokaian and Aegean cooking ware and the Corinthian lamps and beakers, *Aguntum* can be seen as an intersection of many different trading routes throughout the times. It seems, however, to be the end point on each of

these routes, the southernmost point on the routes connecting the northwestern provinces and the northern or northwestern most point leading to the Mediterranean regions. *Aguntum* is the place where East meets West.

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Catalogue

Figure 6

- TS1: Drag. 33, Rheinzabern or Ittenweiler, stamp: [...] IVSF, potter: probably Martius iv (3a/b?), graffito: M, diameter: 14,8 cm, date: 150-180 AD; inv. no. AG13/229/1.
- TS2: Drag. 33, Rheinzabern, stamp: FIRMVS•F, potter: Firmus iv (6b), diameter: 14,5 cm, date: 165-220 AD; inv. no. AG13/184/2, AG13/245/2, AG13/323/2.
- TS3: Drag. 31, Rheinzabern, stamp: illegible, potter: Mammillianus, graffito: MA, diameter: 18,5 cm, date: 160-180 AD; inv. no. AG13/241/14, AG13/229/2.
- TS4: Drag. 18/31, Rheinzabern, stamp: AVGVSTI[NV]SE, potter: Augustinus ii (3f), graffito: TER, diameter: 28,4 cm, date: late 2nd/early 3rd century AD; inv. no. AG13/229/6, AG13/241/14, AG13/251/76.
- TS5: Drag. 18/31, Rheinzabern, stamp: [AV]GVSTINVS, potter: Augustinus ii (7a), graffito: MA, diameter: 24 cm, date: late 2nd/early 3rd century AD; inv. no. AG13/229/5, AG13/229/6, AG13/323/120.
- TS6: Drag. 33, Gueugnon, stamp: D•OCCIVSI•, potter: Doccus ii (4i), graffito: MA, diameter: 15 cm, date: 160-200 AD; inv. no. AG13/184/2, AG13/245/2, AG13/323/2.

- TS7: Drag. 31, Lezoux, stamp: MVXTVLLI•M, potter: Muxtullus (1a), diameter: 18,8 cm, date: 150-180 AD; inv. no. AG13/157/2, AG13/229/3, AG13/323/95.

Figure 7

- TS8: Drag. 31, Lezoux, stamp: TAVRICIM^A, potter: Tauricus i (3a), graffito: MA, diameter: 13,3 cm, date: 150-180 AD; inv. no. AG13/229/9.
- TS9: Consp. 39 (late version), Northern Italy, graffito: MAS, diameter: 20,5 cm, date: middle of the 2nd until beginning of the 3rd century AD; inv. no. AG13/157/3, AG13/158/56, AG13/232/96.
- TS10: Drag. 37, “philosophers bowl”, Northern Italy, date: middle of the 2nd until beginning of the 3rd century AD; inv. no. AG19/55/6, AG19/62/1, AG19/80/9.
- ESB1: Hayes 60, Eastern Sigillata B (ESB 2), Aydin, diameter: 15,5 cm, date: end of the 1st until beginning of the 2nd century AD; inv. no. AG13/158/57, AG13/158/76.

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