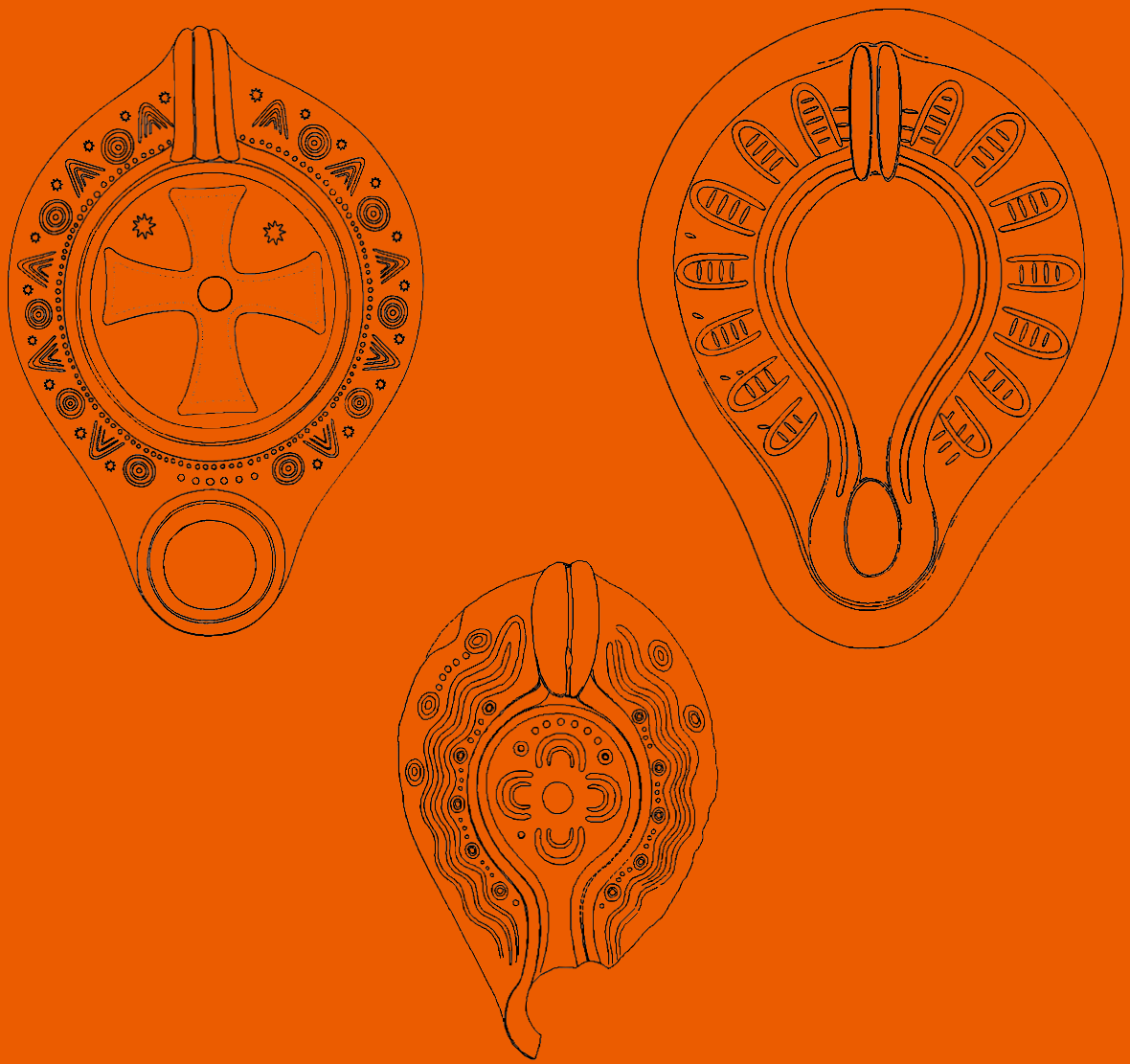
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FOREWORD

We are pleased to present a new volume of the RCRF Acta, resulting from the conference held in Athens in September 2022. This event was organized by Platon Petridis and Charikleia Diamanti, with the collaboration of Chrysanti Sakellakou. The organization received institutional support from the Department of History and Archaeology of the School of Philosophy of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades of the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic, and the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens.

The main theme was "Linking Pots: Manufacturing and selling Roman pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean," but the presentations went far beyond this area and involved the vast regions that were an integral part of the Roman Empire. As usual, the focus of Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores, founded in 1957 by Howard Comfort and Elisabeth Ettlinger, is the advancement of understanding about trade and economy, society, and culture during Antiquity through the study of the diverse categories of Roman pottery. In this international learned society, members preserve the founding spirit of the association, recognizing the crucial role that ceramics studies play in understanding the societies and economies of the ancient Roman world across its various regions and provinces.

The 60 articles gathered in this volume shed new light on traditional fields of Roman pottery studies such as typological series, chronology, local and regional production, and import trends (including fine ware, common ware, and amphorae), as well as manufacture processes. Additionally, methodological approaches and archaeometry were not neglected.

Collectively, the volume presents a variety of perspectives where researchers are invited, through pottery, to discuss and analyse economic, social, and cultural transformations, thus contributing to the advancement of historical knowledge of the contexts in question, from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity.

In some papers, pottery from the mentioned sites shows the confluence of diverse cultural influences through imported wares. In others, a meticulous typological assessment of coarse wares contributes to our understanding of regional production and distribution patterns. In other cases, authors delve into the far-reaching trade connections and ceramic production technologies that linked disparate regions, highlighting the interconnectedness of ancient economies. Once again, pottery reveals the intricate web of trade and cultural exchange.

Thus, a significant portion of the volume comprises works that involve different approaches to ceramic assemblages with various case studies on sites from Greece and the Aegean (11 articles) and other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean (nine articles), but not exclusively. Additionally, there are articles focusing on Egypt (five) and North Africa (Tunisia) (two). As often happens, a considerable part of the volume is also dedicated to works that focus on Italia (17 articles); eleven papers focus on the northern Balkans and the Danube region, with a set of contributions spanning from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. Further west, six works are gathered from Hispania.

All the papers in this volume were subjected to peer review with editorial oversight, and at the end of this work, you will find the main topics related to our Editorial policy as well as those concerning Publication ethics and Open Access policy. As mentioned, every three volumes we present the list of reviewers who participated in the editing process along with the editorial board.

Since 2020, the publication has been conducted in partnership with Archaeopress and includes, in addition to the print version, a digital one with a DOI, available at https://archaeopresspublishing.com/ojs/index.php/RCRF/index. Here, you will also find the latest volumes available to the scientific community in Open Access. This is one of our main concerns – to disseminate the results of our research and participate in the sharing of knowledge with everyone.

The submission of papers was done in the mentioned website that Archaeopress has created in the OJS platform (developed by the Public Knowledge Project: PKP), allowing a better management of the whole editorial process. Besides ensuring transparency in the review process, and maintaining high-quality editorial practices, this OJS increases visibility and accessibility of the papers to a world-wide audience.

The scholarly contributions within this volume not only enrich our understanding of ancient ceramic production and trade but also emphasize the dynamic interactions between different provinces and regions of the Roman Empire. By presenting detailed analyses of archaeological findings from Noricum to the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, this collection offers new perspectives on the complexities of cultural exchange in the ancient world.

I extend my gratitude to the authors for their rigorous research, and to the editorial board formed by Dario Bernal-Casasola, Tatjana Cvjetićanin, Maria Duggan, Philip M. Kenrick, Archer Martin, Simonetta Menchelli, Platon Petridis, Kathleen Warner Slane, Viorica Rusu-Bolindeţ and Inês Vaz Pinto, for all the work in the review process. Expressions of appreciation are also due to Rui Roberto de Almeida for the typesetting and layout, and to the Archaeopress team, especially to David Davison and Patrick Harris.

Catarina Viegas
General Editor
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Philip Bes & Mark van der Enden

POTTERY MANUFACTURE AT HELLENISTIC TO LATE ROMAN KORONEIA (BOEOTIA, GREECE)

Ancient Koroneia (Boeotia, central Greece) was the last site surveyed by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project, between 2005 and 2011, under the direction of John Bintliff. An abundance of artefacts was collected that attests local pottery manufacture during the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods. This paper preliminarily presents this evidence. Manufacture began in the (Early) Hellenistic period, and is best represented by fragments of moulds for the manufacture of mouldmade (Megarian) relief bowls and misfired fragments of such vessels. The evidence is however richest for the Early to Late Roman periods. Wasters represent a broad functional range, especially open tablewares and smaller closed vessels. Of interest are fragments of kiln wall, found in an area where geophysical research picked up an anomaly, possibly a pottery kiln. The paper concludes with a first attempt to contextualise these finds in a Boeotian and wider framework of stylistic traditions and ceramic exchange.

Boeotia – Koroneia – Hellenistic and Roman Pottery – Pottery Manufacture – Archaeological Survey

Introduction

This paper shares preliminary observations regarding artefactual evidence for local pottery manufacture at ancient Koroneia (Boeotia, central Greece) during the HELL to LR (300 BC-600/650) period[1]. Such artefacts are scattered in abundance across much of Koroneia's urban zone which the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (henceforth Boeotia Project or project) mapped and intensively surveyed between 2005 and 2011. Evidence for pottery manufacture during the HELL to LR periods has been found elsewhere in Boeotia both by the project as well as the regional ephoria (Bes and Poblome 2017: 322-325; Peeters 2023: *passim*)[2]. Below, a summary of the aims of the Boeotia Project is followed by a presentation of selected find categories, and the paper concludes with first thoughts on the repertoire's stylistic and economic characterisation.

The Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project

The Boeotia Project carried out surface survey in Boeotia (central Greece) between 1979 and 2011. With research ongoing, a series of about 10 monographs is scheduled presenting the results of the various surveys – two of these have been published, the third is to appear in due course (Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007; Bintliff et al. 2017; Bintliff and Snodgrass forthcoming). The project's overall aim is to understand the role people played in their use and shaping of the Boeotian landscape through the diachronic study and interpretation of settlement patterns, land use, and social, cultural, and economic behaviour. The main instruments were systematic surface survey (extensive and intensive; geophysical) and artefact collecting. While these activities essentially ended in 2011 with the intensive survey of Koroneia, research continues and includes the revisiting of sites, the mapping of architectural elements and modern-day photographic documentation (e.g. drone photography). Another key element is the ongoing study of the collected artefacts, primarily pottery fragments dating from the Neolithic to the Modern period. The presence and intensity of pottery datable to these various (pre)historical periods, however, can greatly vary across the landscape, which can be explained by (1) taphonomic processes and factors specific to survey; and (2) (pre)historical settlement and land use patterns. Boeotia still largely remains a terra incognita regarding knowledge and understanding of HELL to LR pottery, a situation the project addresses by publishing the ceramic data and interpretation of individual surveys (Bes and Poblome 2017; Bes forthcoming; Bes and Peeters forthcoming) as well as syntheses and thematic studies (Bes, Monsieur and Poblome 2021; Peeters et al. forthcoming; Peeters 2023).

Pottery Manufacture at Koroneia

Koroneia is located in southern Boeotia; the ancient city occupied a gently sloping hill and its environs (**fig. 1**). During the project's first exploration in 2005, which concentrated

[1] All dates in this paper are AD and ca. unless otherwise mentioned. Chronological abbreviations used are HELL=Hellenistic and R=Roman, which can be combined with E(arly), M(iddle) or L(ate). ER, MR and LR correspond to ca. 1-200, AD 201-400 and AD 401-650 respectively. Sherd numbers (e.g. KO9.366.A.34) referred to consist of: site (**KO**=Koroneia), the abbreviated year of survey (e.g. **9**=2009), the survey unit (e.g. **366**), the quadrant within a unit (e.g. **A**) and the individual sherd number (e.g. **34**).

[2] A small quantity of kiln slag and vessel wasters was identified during the restudy of the finds from Haliartos.

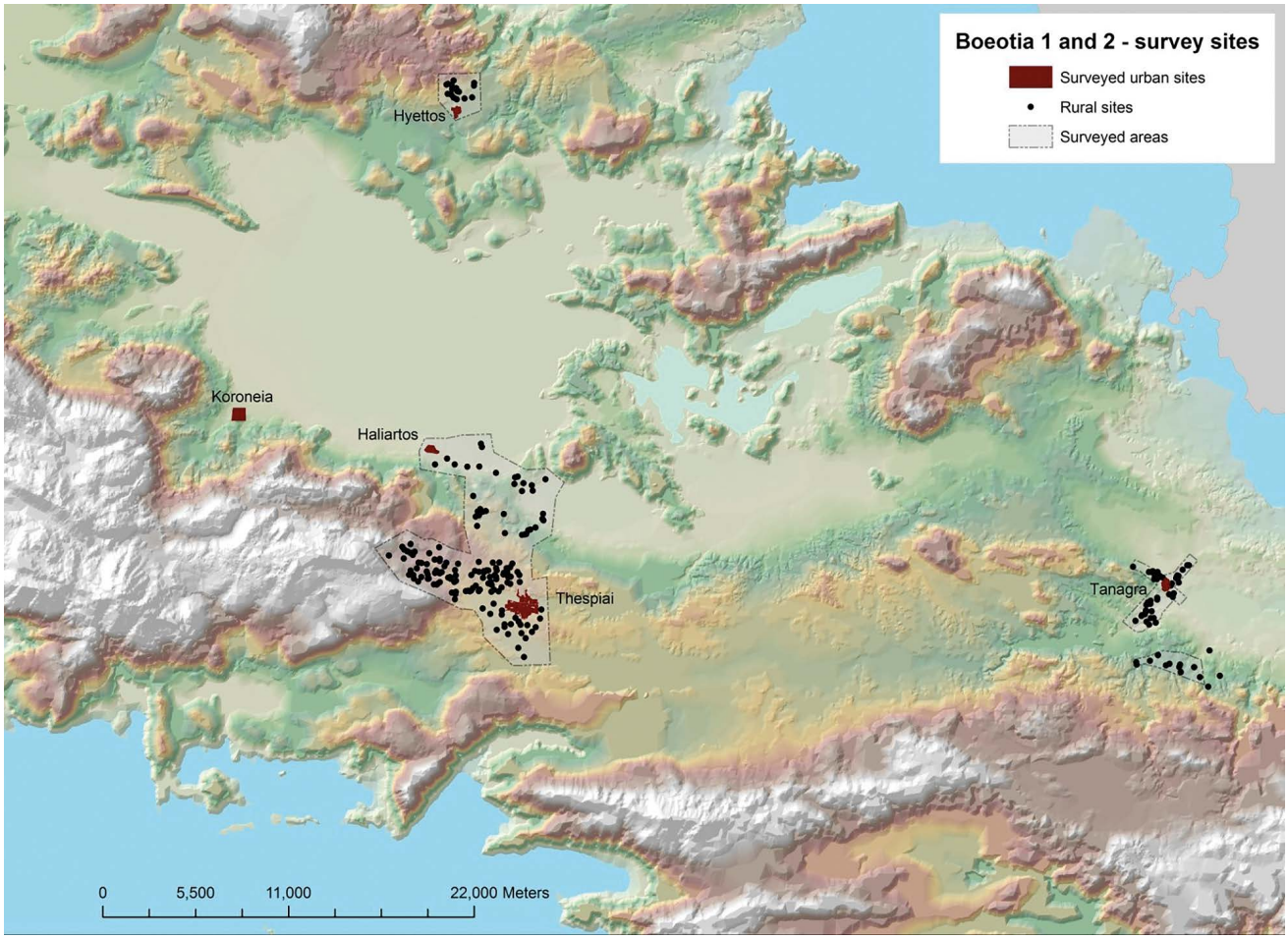


Fig. 1. Map of Boeotia; indicated are sites and areas surveyed by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (E. Farinetti).

on the acropolis, the residue of pottery manufacture was already observed. In the course of the subsequent intensive survey (2006-2011) some 50.000 to 55.000 artefacts were collected, mostly pottery fragments. The authors have thus far studied a fairly small share of the total quantity of collected artefacts[3], therefore, observations made in this paper are preliminary, and (some) are likely to change as the artefact study progresses. A fair portion is nevertheless evidence for substantial pottery manufacturing activities from HELL to LR times yet no precise percentage can be given since the pottery study is in progress. It is also for this reason that no distribution maps are presented, even if some observations pertain to specific areas within the survey grid.

Thus far the following seven categories of manufacturing evidence have been identified, the eighth being an umbrella category: (1) vessel and object wasters (**fig. 2d, f-g, i**), fragments of vessels (e.g. dishes) or objects (e.g. bricks) considered to have been misfired for showing clear signs of exposure to excessive temperatures, such as (combinations of) vitrification, bloating, warping, sagging and the fusing of multiple vessels; (2) other firing defects, for example a partly burnt slip; (3) moulds to produce partial or entire vessels, figurines as well as ornaments (e.g. appliqués). Most mould fragments that have been identified until now were for making mouldmade (Megarian) relief bowls (MMB henceforth, singular and plural) (**fig. 3a-d**); (4) kiln fragments, (parts of) bricks that show partial vitrification, bloating and/or warping, though such fragments did not *stricto sensu* belong to pottery kilns. One presumed kiln wall fragment, however, consists of three (two are shown in **fig. 2**) layers of partially preserved bricks, which during the construction of the kiln were kept in place by small lumps of clay placed between two bricks, functioning as a kind of cement (**fig. 2k-m**). One fragment possibly belonged to a pillar that supported the perforated kiln floor (**fig. 2j**); (5) kiln slag (**fig. 2h**), amorphous green-greyish chunks. Presumably, excessive temperatures would cause vessels stacked in the firing chamber to (partly) melt; this molten clay would trickle down where it would eventually solidify. We cannot exclude that molten kiln wall also 'contributed' to the formation of these slags; (6) spacers (**fig. 2a-c**), small ovoid and pointed wedge-shaped objects with an upstanding flange, thought to have kept certain kinds of vessels/objects (bricks and tiles?) separated from one another so heat and gasses could circulate more freely and reach all parts of a vessel/object as evenly as possible; (7) stacking or spacer rings, ceramic rings of varying height and diameter presumably used to separate vessels during the firing process,

[3] The authors studied the HELL (Van der Enden) and R-LR (Bes) pottery from units 1 to 105.

perhaps specifically for the firing of MMB (Rotroff 1982: 5, 93, pl. 72, nos. 414-415) – during the Roman period vessel stacking without the aid of implements appears to have been practised (**fig. 2f-g**); and (8) unidentified, artefacts whose function is at present unclear yet because of having certain characteristics are plausibly associated with the manufacture and/or firing of pottery. One such artefact is noteworthy for bearing a Latin cross that was incised *ante-cocturam* (**fig. 2e**).

One area, comprising units 469 to 473 in the southeast of the grid, is of particular interest. Here, artefacts evidencing pottery manufacture were found, including a mould, vessel/object wasters and parts of kiln infrastructure (**fig. 2h, j, k-m**), which encouraged us to survey this zone using Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR). Part of an anomaly was detected, the investigation of a larger area unfortunately was not pursued, limiting the interpretive potential of these results. Similar



Fig. 2. Artefacts evidencing local pottery manufacture at Koroneia: (a) to (c) wedge-shaped spacers; (d) beehive waster, KO8.271.B.51; (e) unidentified, KO8.299.A.44; (f) fused rims of two type 1 vessels, KO7.11.A.49; (g) exterior of a type 3 rim (cf. Fig. 4c) the sharp line an indication for vessel stacking, KO8.220.A.13; (h) kiln slag, KO9.473.A.22; (i) fully sagged closed vessel(s), KO8.235.B.19; (j) kiln fragment, possibly part of a support pillar that carried the perforated kiln floor, KO9.473.A.9; (k) to (m) various views of a part of kiln wall, KO9.471.B.1/3/4 (P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

anomalies that were picked up elsewhere around Koroneia were interpreted as modern disturbances[4]. Moreover, the question whether this signal represents a (pottery) kiln – and ancillary structures? – is a valid one yet essentially requires an excavation.

What is regarded as the local fabric (group) – coined Koroneia fabric 1 – has the following macroscopic properties. A fresh break comprises 5YR 6/6-6/8 (reddish yellow) to 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) though it can be somewhat darker, 7.5YR 5/6-5/8 (strong brown). A darker core is not unusual, and while usually just a tone darker than the fresh break overall, on some fragments it tends towards dark brown to dark grey. The fabric is slightly granular, feels a bit sandy and is easily scratched with a copper coin. Fresh breaks are somewhat irregular and show common to abundant very fine mica (small flakes are sometimes discerned), and except for some micropores as well as rare bits of lime and dark grit, it is otherwise nearly devoid of inclusions visible with the naked eye. Surfaces are occasionally smoothed or polished and are often slipped even if never fully on the exterior. The slip colour can be homogeneous, frequently however it is mottled and includes reddish, brown and grey hues. Dripping on the exterior is also observed. Except for type 6 (cf. infra) the slip never reminds one of 'proper' terra sigillata or red slip ware.

Potters at Koroneia had access to raw clay material that presumably required fairly little preparation and which was suitable for manufacturing the entire functional range except cooking vessels, for which no evidence has been found. These clays were probably quarried in proximity of the city, which is surrounded by rather flat land that was traversed by a stream on either side of the city hill, and which stretched all the way towards Lake Kopaïs.

Evidence for Pottery Manufacture during Hellenistic Times

HELL pottery is widely attested at Koroneia. Many of the familiar and characteristic shapes that are associated with this period are present, e.g. MMB, fishplates, rolled rim plates, echinus and outturned rim bowls, as well as various drinking types such as Classical- and Hellenistic-style kantharoi. Fabric-wise, most of the ceramic material collected is of presumed local manufacture. Thus far, 5966 single-period HELL fragments have been studied, with Koroneia fabric 1 forming ca. 63% of this corpus, a clear indication of a vigorous local tradition of ceramic manufacture.

The clearest evidence for local manufacture during this period pertains to MMB. Amongst the material studied so far 107 MMB fragments (mostly body sherds) have been identified, 63 of which are in Koroneia fabric 1, while a further seven fragments are classified as overfired. Twelve mould fragments were recognised up till now – these occur elsewhere in Boeotia, albeit rarely (Bes 2023: fig. 9)[5] – ten of which are most likely in Koroneia fabric 1. Although moulds could have been brought from elsewhere, most if not all presumably indicate local production of MMB at or in proximity of Koroneia which, besides attribution of MMB and MMB mould fragments to the local fabric, is reinforced by a number of heavily overfired fragments that are regarded as vessel wasters.

In terms of the moulds' decorative repertoire there are 5 fragments with long petal, 4 with figured and 2 with floral motifs – one fragment is unclear (**Table 1**). In what follows, some of these mould fragments as well as selected MMB fragments that potentially represent production waste will be looked at more closely, a first step in documenting local MMB manufacture at Koroneia. Not all fragments, however, are sufficiently informative, as some are poorly preserved, very small or nondescript in their decoration, and we will therefore focus on the best preserved and most informative pieces.

Sherd Number	Fabric	Decoration
KO9.463.A.28	Koroneia 1	Long petal
KO10.464.B.25	Koroneia 1	Long petal
KO9.463.B.28	Koroneia 1	Long petal
KO11.849.B.25	Koroneia 1?	Long petal
KO9.463.A.3	Reduced/Overfired	Long petal
KO10.742.A.12	Koroneia 1	Figured
KO7.184.B.4	Koroneia 1	Figured
KO8.306.A.15	Koroneia 1?	Figured
KO9.467.A.52	Reduced/Overfired	Figured
KO9.466.A.55	Koroneia 1	Floral
KO10.761.B.8	Koroneia 1?	Floral
KO9.463.B.6	Koroneia 1	?

Tab. 1. MMB mould fragments found at Koroneia (M. van der Enden/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

Mould Fragments

- A rim fragment which, despite being very worn, carries the imprint of a distinct decorative scheme, a heart-shaped guilloche (**fig. 3a**). Similar motifs have for instance been attested at Corinth (Edwards 1975: 160-161, pl. 65, cat. no. 789), Athens (Rotroff 1982: 82, pl. 58, cat. no. 312) and Caesarea Maritima (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016: 137-138, cat. no. 40). The Athenian example pertains to a mould dated to 225-175 BC. The piece from Corinth is believed to have been in use around the destruction of the city in 146 BC;

- A rim fragment displaying an Eros and a heart (**fig. 3b**). Erotes frequently appear on MMB (Rotroff 1982: 57, pl. 20, cat. no. 112, 59, pl. 24, cat. no. 129, dated to 175-150 BC and 225-175 BC respectively), yet no direct parallels have been identified thus far;

- A rim fragment with jewelled long petal decoration (**fig. 3c**). Parallels are attested in Athens (Rotroff 1982: 86,

[4] Courtesy of Eastern Atlas. We also wish to thank Chiara Piccoli (University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands) for clarifying her reservations in the use and interpretation of these results.

[5] A single MMB mould fragment was collected at Askra in Boeotia.



Fig. 3. Selected fragments of MMB and MMB mould fragments found at Koroneia: (a) heart shaped guilloche, KO9.466.A.55; (b) heart and Eros; (c) jewelled long petals; (d) jewelled long petals, KO11.849.B.25; (e) cockle shells; (f) old bearded man face; (g) imbricate bowl; (h) horizontal line and dot decoration (M. van der Enden/P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

pl. 64, cat. no. 355, 86, pl. 64, cat. no. 356, both dated to 145-86 BC) and Corinth (Edwards 1975: 175-176, pl. 77, cat. no. 898, dated to 150-146 BC);

- The decoration of this body fragment is similar to no. 3 (**fig. 3d**).

Overfired / Misfired Fragments

- A body fragment with distinct cockle shell motifs (**fig. 3e**). Parallels are attested e.g. at the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 1982: 88, pl. 65, cat. no. 370 and 49, pl. 7, cat. no. 39 which was dated to 225-200 BC);

- A body fragment, with the face of a bearded man clearly recognisable (**Fig. 3f**). While no exact parallels were attested during a first exploration of available literature, a fragment from the Athenian Agora dated to 175-150 BC displays a similarly bearded head, referred to as an old man mask (Rotroff 1982: 56, pl. 19, cat. no. 107);

- A body fragment displaying multiple small pointy leaves placed in rows (**Fig. 3g**). This kind of decoration is referred to as imbricate and parallels are widely attested, for example at the Athenian Agora, there dated to the 2nd century BC, 100-86 BC and to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC (Rotroff 1982: 48, pl. 5, cat. no. 29, 48, pl. 6, cat. no. 35; Rotroff 2013: 152, pl. 2.1). A mould for an imbricate bowl which parallels the fragment from Koroneia has been dated to 225-175 BC (Rotroff 1982: 49, pl. 7, cat. no. 44). Potential parallels have also been identified at Dorylaion (Yedidağ 2016: 236-237, fig. 1, cat. no. MB9, 241-242, fig. 6, cat. no. MB41), where their manufacture is placed in the 2nd century BC, Kremna (Metin 2017: 282, 295, fig. 7, cat. no. M28, dated to the last quarter of the 2nd to the mid-1st century BC), in Dalmatia (Miše and Šešelj 2008: 2, fig. 2.6), Caesarea Maritima (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016: 149, cat. no. 76, in a deposit dated to the 2nd century BC), Eretria (Schmid 2004: 24, 497, cat. no. 28), Pantikapaion (Žhuravlev and Žhuravleva 2014: 261, fig. 71) and Teos (Polat 2016: 166, fig. 4, cat. no. B1);

- A rim fragment with a row of dots between horizontal raised bands (**fig. 3h**). Finds with similar decoration from the Pontic area were dated to the mid-2nd century BC (Petrova 2014: 222, figs 4, 6). A mould from the Athenian Agora also displays this decoration, with *Nymphaea lotus* petals below, and is dated to 225-175 BC (Rotroff 1982: 312, pl. 14, cat. no. 78).

Discussion

The above represents a cursory and brief presentation of some of the MMB moulds and overfired fragments attested at Koroneia, and a first exploration of the literature indicates that the decoration represented on these fragments is (a) often not clear in their entirety, as decorative schemes survive only partially; and (b) those that are recognisable are mostly paralleled elsewhere. The long petal (**fig. 3c-d**) and the imbricate bowl (**fig. 3g**) are good examples of this. Chronologically, Rotroff (1982; 2006) has demonstrated that in all likelihood MMB were manufactured first in Athens during the late 3rd century BC yet only became really popular around 180 BC, and that it took time before MMB became widespread elsewhere (e.g. Rotroff and Oliver Jr. 2003). Taking this into consideration the examples from Koroneia highlighted above probably date to within the 2nd century BC and most likely after 175 BC (Rotroff 2006), while the long petal bowls take

us beyond 150 BC. Schmid (2004: 495, 500) has illustrated that a destruction layer in Eretria dated to the early 1st century BC contained mostly MMB of the long petal variety with a sprinkling of supposedly earlier bowls (with imbricate and floral decoration).

Evidence for Pottery Manufacture during Roman to Late Roman Times

Decorative and in particular morphological attributes also enabled the identification of large quantities of fragments datable to the R-LR period. Determining more precise dating criteria remains a challenge especially for local and regional wares, though establishing whether a shape or attribute is HELL or R-LR is nevertheless already helpful. Besides fabric frequency[6], the identification of diagnostic vessel wasters is another crucial aspect in documenting Koroneia's repertoire. Accordingly, it appears as if the R-LR repertoire is functionally and typologically more extensive than the Hellenistic repertoire, an observation which remains tentative given the preliminary nature of this study. Moreover, stratigraphic superposition implies that the HELL pottery should be covered by the R-LR, thus obstructing a better understanding of the former.

Eight types of open tablewares have been classified so far – their local manufacture is confirmed by their attribution to the Koroneia 1 fabric and the identification of vessel wasters. Some of these types resemble shapes that were also manufactured elsewhere, and whilst mutual influences and inspirations in behavioural and artisanal processes are not ignored, we refrain from using terms such as 'imitation' or 'copy' which, in our opinion, downplay if not ignore circumstances and conditions that are specifically and perhaps uniquely local: the raw clay material, the social and cultural setting, the potters. These and other elements contributed to the formation of a ceramic repertoire which we presume was specific to Koroneia. As said, some types were almost certainly made at one or more other places in Boeotia (and beyond); however, the macroscopic distinction between different Boeotian fabric groups, i.e. supposed centres, remains partly fuzzy.

This current classification of eight types (**fig. 4**) represents a mixture of non-Boeotian and what we presume to be Boeotian attributes. One feature of Boeotian Roman-period open tablewares is the use of flat bases – observed also in surrounding areas – though evidence from Askra suggests this was not universal (Bes 2023: fig. 8). The lack of stratigraphic context combined with the local character do not allow establishing date ranges based on internal criteria. Typological similarities with finds from excavated contexts therefore provide chronological references, and whilst helpful, suggesting a typological parallel and/or origin for a local type can be (too) deterministic, for instance regarding chronology. Some scope to refrain from typological (and chronological) fixation is thus warranted. This chronological contextualisation is ongoing: types 1 and 2 (**fig. 4a-b**), for example, are presently dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries yet may have continued into the 4th. Type 3 (**fig. 4c**) resembles African Red Slip Ware Hayes Form 50, which presently places type 3 between the mid-3rd and late 4th century, though its manufacture could also have continued. Whereas no complete profiles exist, types 4 and 5 (**fig. 4d-e**) are best seen as deep(er) bowls if not *lekanai*. Types 7 and 8 (**fig. 4g-h**) are bowls; only type 7 can be shown to have had a flat base. Interestingly, type 8 finds a potential parallel in a cooking vessel in LR Aegean Micaceous Ware, which could point to crossover inspiration between different functional categories (Slane 2000: 309-310, fig. 12). A presumed Boeotian fragment resembling type 8 was found at Isthmia (Hayes and Slane 2022: 132, fig. 55, cat. no. 766). Type 6 (**fig. 4f**) resembles Eastern Sigillata A Hayes Form 4 and is the only type so far that can be comfortably placed in the 1st centuries BC and AD. Specimens of this type are

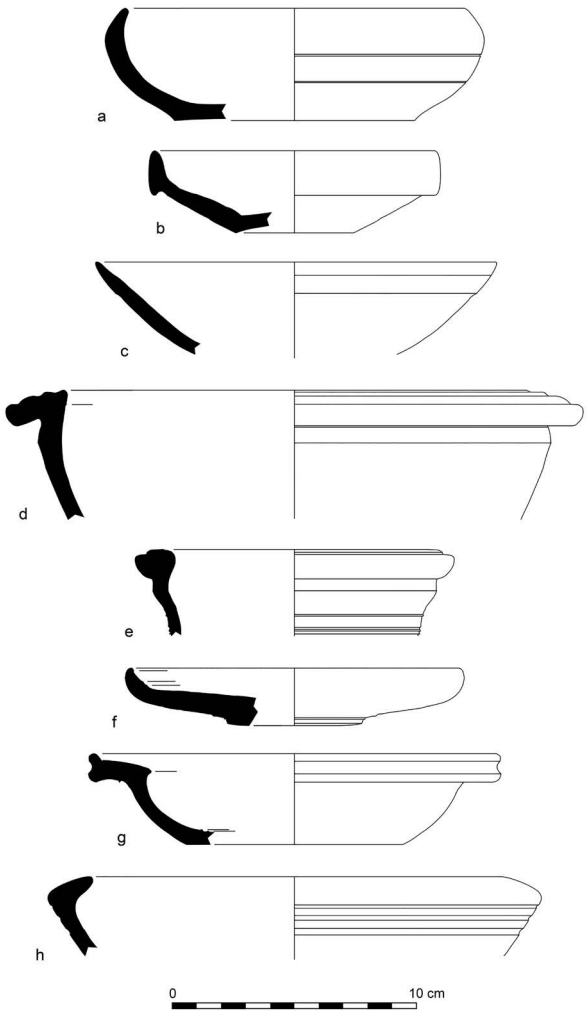


Fig. 4. Preliminary typology of locally-manufactured open tablewares: (a) type 1, KO9.366.A.34, diam. 28.5 cm.; (b) type 2, KO9.403.A.76, diam. 22 cm.; (c) type 3, KO8.221.C.24, diam. ca. 30 cm.; (d) type 4, KO7.93.A.93, diam. 34 cm. (inner); (e) type 5, KO7.60.A.13, diam. ca. 24 cm.; (f) type 6, KO7.96.B.59, diam. ca. 25.5 cm.; (g) type 7, KO9.374.D.80, diam. ca. 31 cm.; (h) type 8, KO7.83.C.33, diam. 37 cm. (P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

[6] Of the pottery from units 1 to 105 nearly 50% was classified as Koroneia fabric 1.

always fully covered by a smooth red slip, setting it apart from the other types, and whilst wasters of bases that likely match type 6 were collected, some reservation to convincingly assign this to the Koroneia repertoire is in order.

Another notable find concerns what Hayes has termed "Late Gouged Jugs" (Hayes 2008: 93), small quantities of which have been identified at various Boeotian sites. Whilst the gouged decoration seems characteristic of central Greece, their exact provenance remained unknown. Wasters of such jugs have been collected at Koroneia (**fig. 5**) – such jugs could of course have been manufactured also at other places – and it is noteworthy that Hayes tentatively identified a gouged jug found in Athens as Boeotian (Hayes 2008: 93, 254-255, fig. 44, pl. 72, cat. no. 1472), which ties in with the circulation of Boeotian pottery in central Greece (cf. infra).



Fig. 5. Waster fragments of gouged jugs found at Koroneia (P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

A Broader Regional Context

Considerable quantities of imported HELL to LR pottery from across the Mediterranean and, to a much lesser extent, Pontic areas are present throughout Boeotia, though quantitative and functional variations are observed between urban and rural sites. At Koroneia, imported pottery does not point to any noticeable gaps in its occupational history, which the local pottery also bears out, though less securely. Historical sources indicate for example that during the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC) Koroneia attempted, unsuccessfully, to resist the Romans. As a punishment its inhabitants were carried off into slavery, a decision which was subsequently reversed which allowed the pro-Roman community to return, though it is unclear how much time elapsed between the two events (Worthington 2023: 209; Piccoli 2017: 113-114; Ziolkowski 1986: 78, n. 60). In any case, these events do not appear to have caused any major and extended break in Koroneia's occupational history nor the community's ability to produce pottery.

Despite an insistence to view and study HELL to LR pottery manufacture at Koroneia from a localised perspective, its workshops did not function in isolation but must be seen as part of broader, diachronic ceramic developments. This encompassed also manufacturing activities; in fact, evidence from across Greece suggests that pottery manufacture was rather widespread and practiced at both urban as well as rural sites (Hasaki, https://atlasgreekkilns.arizona.edu/, accessed 5 May 2023), yet very little detail is known about the technological, fabric and typological specifics of many of these production sites. The ongoing study of pottery finds that were collected by the Boeotia Project, as well as Dimitris Grigoropoulos' research in Kalapodi for example, continue to draw attention to the wider-spread manufacture and circulation of some open tableware types. Types 1, 2 and/or 3, for instance, are identified elsewhere in Boeotia (Bes and Poblome 2017: 325) and beyond, e.g. at Elateia (Kouzeli and Zachos 2000: 556-557, fig. 2, nos. 4-5), Kalapodi (Grigoropoulos 2016-2017: 235-238, fig. 30)[7], Delphi (Petridis 2010: 80-81, 215, pl. 270), Eretria (Ackermann and Zurbriggen 2020: e.g. 106-107, fig. 42, cat. nos. 276-278), Corinth (Slane 1990: 60, 62, fig. 11, cat. no. 135), Isthmia (Hayes and Slane 2022: e.g. 100-101, fig. 36, cat. nos. 495-499)[8] and further away at Hadrianopolis in Albania (Sofia Cingolani, pers. comm.). Vessels embodied not only actual objects but also ideas and inspirations, and their circulation offered a potential pool – directly and/or indirectly – for workshops to tap into. Besides tablewares this appears to have concerned also one kind of *chytra* (Boeotian cooking pot form 2), being rather common at Koroneia as well as at Hyettos in northern Boeotia. It belongs to a morphological style with a much wider geographical resonance that included modern-day Albania and southern Italy (Shehi 2016: 216-217, figs 1 (top), 4; Reynolds 2020: e.g. 34-35, fig. 3.3.3). It is essentially MR, yet its development includes the later 2nd and early 5th century: its origin may be sought in southern Illyria (Shehi 2016: 211-212). These various types of table and cooking ware were probably not manufactured at each of the sites mentioned, nevertheless, these examples seem to point to more than ephemeral contacts between various regions in central Greece and the southern Adriatic, representing a larger geographical zone in which similar morphological-stylistic traditions existed, potentially a ceramic *koinè* that encompassed (parts of) southern Italy, the southern Adriatic and central Greece. More research is nevertheless required to explore geographical and chronological parameters.

Fragments that resemble the Koroneian repertoire in fabric and morphology are occasionally identified elsewhere in Boeotia, most notably at Hyettos, comprising 12.2% of all LHELL-LR pottery finds (Bes forthcoming). Pottery of presumed Boeotian manufacture is also being recognised further away, for example at Athens (Hayes 2008: 94, 255, fig. 44, pl. 72, cat. nos. 1475-1476), Corinth (Slane and Sanders 2005: 262, 270, 284, figs 5, 8; Hammond 2018: 683-684, fig. 12)[9] and more recently at Isthmia (Hayes and

[7] These are mostly identified as "Elateian Ware".

[8] Classified as Athenian.

[9] Some of the presumed Boeotian finds were kindly shown to the first author by Mark Hammond (who is kindly thanked) during an excursion

Slane 2022: 62-63, MMB, cat. nos. 315-318 (and 314?); 69, a beehive, cat. no. 366; 108, 132, 193, open tablewares, cat. nos. 766-768, P274; 89, 107, 150, closed vessels, cat. nos. 414, 548, 554, 896)[10]. Small numbers of Corinthian oil lamps as well as other categories that were manufactured in the northeast Peloponnese (e.g. cooking vessels) and the Argolid (e.g. LRA 2 and basins in Southern Argolid Ware) are identified at Boeotian sites. Presumably, the (eastern) Corinthian Gulf connected surrounding areas and sites, a framework in which Corinth (and its harbours) likely played a considerable redistributive role. Mark Hammond, however, has pointed out that at Corinth Boeotian pottery appeared "only when a variety of networks were already supplying Corinth. Thus, it appears that geographic proximity alone was not enough to stimulate distribution between neighbouring regions, with Corinth's import of ceramics from regional centres in Attica and Boiotia seemingly facilitated by the presence of long-distance routes with Africa" (Hammond 2018: 684). In other words, Boeotian workshops, which probably catered mostly for local demands, benefited from an intensification of exchange between central North Africa and central Greece in the later part of Late Antiquity so that, dependent on specific political and economic circumstances, ceramic products of one or more of these reached customers further afield. While these finds reflect active artisanal and economic networks that connected different parts in eastern central Greece, more data will allow us to better understand the precise role(s) of Boeotian pottery beyond its home region, and this paper will hopefully contribute to its recognition.

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to Corinth as part of the 32nd Rei Cretariæ Romanæ Fautores congress. While not all looked Boeotian, some did.

[10] Cat. no. 548 is possibly Koroneian. Boeotian tablewares did not look familiar to our colleagues from Eretria: we are grateful to Guy Ackermann and Simone Zurbriggen.

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THE LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT YSTERNI ON THE ISLAND OF PAROS AND THE PARIAN PRODUCTION OF 'AEGEAN' TYPE LAMPS - PRELIMINARY RESULTS

This paper presents the first results of our research concerning the excavations of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades at the site of Ysterni on the island of Paros (Greece). These excavations revealed a settlement of the Late Antique period with three kilns, an oil or wine press and many other workshop facilities which produced, among others, lamps. Through this mass production of Parian lamps, the island of Paros emerges as a large and the only, yet, known center of the previously so-called 'Aegean lamp' type, offering important new typological and chronological information.

Paros – Ysterni site – kilns – Late Roman Parian lamps – "Aegean" type lamps

The present paper deals with a new production center of Late Roman pottery, which was excavated at the site of Ysterni on the island of Paros (**fig. 1**)[1]. One type of product from its workshops were mass-produced lamps, the study of which offers an answer to a mystery that until now concerned the so-called "Aegean" type lamps.

Paros, located in the central Aegean, is the largest of a group of islands to its west, Antiparos and Despotiko. The image of wealth of the island during the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period and the transition to the medieval period (Diamanti 2015; 2016: 691; Dellaporta and Diamanti 2021) is strengthened by recent excavations of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades at several coastal settlements of the island, which are dated from the 6th to the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century. A very important discovery were two large and well-preserved ceramic kilns at Laggeri, in Naousa (Diamanti 2015; 2016), where two types of amphorae were produced, Parian type 1 and Parian type 2. This mass production of Parian amphorae offers archaeological evidence for the economic wealth of the island and its importance to the Byzantine state: as a member, at that time, of the *quaestura exercitus*, Paros was an important supplier of agricultural goods to the state (Diamanti 2015). These workshops were abandoned after the 7th or early 8th century, which is a common pattern often attested in the Cycladic islands, even if the dates or the scale differ from one case to another, depending on the different effects of historical events such as the Arab invasions: several seaside settlements were gradually reduced or abandoned during the second half of the 7th/early 8th century, and gave place to Middle Byzantine inland settlements with a more fortified character, while retaining active harbors and maritime activities (Diamanti 2023: 289, 291, notes 68, 69; Diamanti, Lamprakis and



Fig. 1. Map showing Byzantine sites on the island of Paros.

[1] We would like to sincerely thank Dr Demetris Athanasoulis, director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, who made every aspect of this research possible, as well as our colleagues of the Ephorate for their help, and especially Maria Bia for the photogrammetric mapping of the site, Nikolaos Tsouris for the pottery drawings and Theoni Dimitropoulou for the conservation of the pottery finds and the imprints of the lamp molds.

Hilditch forthcoming). Such examples from the Cyclades are, for instance, Despotiko (Diamanti et al. 2020: 514-515), Thera (Sakellakou and Diamanti forthcoming), Naxos and Schinoussa (Chatzilazarou 2018: 202-203). Here, we refer particularly to Despotiko, where the Parian amphorae found among the pottery are strong archaeological evidence that until its last phase, around the beginning of the 8th century, Despotiko was a commercial outpost that belonged to the neighboring, wealthy "metropolitan" island of Paros.

The wealth of Paros during the last centuries of Late Antiquity and up to its transition to medieval times (end of the 7th - beginning of the 8th century) is confirmed by the most recent research on the island, with the large Late Roman production center revealed at the site of Ysterni, on the eastern part of the island. These excavations revealed three kilns, a press and many other workshop facilities wherein, among others (namely amphorae and probably coarse pottery), lamps were produced that are datable to the second half of the 6th and the 7th century. The workshops were built on a gentle slope and at a short distance from the coast. Two kilns came to light to the north of the excavation site (**fig. 2**). Both kilns, one with a rectangular plan (max. length c. 3,52 m. and max width c. 3,58 m.), the other with an oval (max. length c. 6 m. and max width c. 3,50 m.), belong to the two-storey anodic firing type, and had their walls being made of stones, clay mud and bricks (Hasaki and Raptis 2016: 216-217; Raptis 2001: 157-159). A third kiln, also with an oval plan (**fig. 3**) was located to the south of the two kilns mentioned above. This kiln (max. length c. 4,10 m. and max width c. 2,95 m.) was also of the two-story anodic type, and was built with stones and clay mud and surrounded by a complex of auxiliary rooms. To the east of the excavation a second complex of rooms came to light, which was generally rectangular in plan. The remains of an olive or wine press excavated (Raptis 2001: 261-279, 283-296; Dodd 2020: 104-105) to the southeast of this complex indicate that it was probably associated not only with the activities of the workshops but also with the growing and processing of agricultural produce at the site (**fig. 4**). Among the remains of the press a square marble press was found, placed on a solid stone structure. This press' upper surface had a circular carved groove which ended in an outflow nozzle. A short distance away there was a second structure on which a large storage "pithos" had been permanently placed.

It is the first time that a Late Antique lamp production center has been found in the Cyclades - to the best of our knowledge. This vast production of Parian lamps included molds and lamps that imitated of North African and Asia Minor types; these artefacts will be presented on another occasion. Here we pay special attention to the Parian lamps that belong to the previously so-called "Aegean" type, which constitute the majority of the lamp finds. They were found elsewhere in Paros, namely in the Laggeri Parian amphorae workshops excavation (Diamanti 2015; 2016), and in an old excavation of the basilica of Treis Ekklissies, just outside Paroikia (Orlandos 1966: 253-254, fig. 8).

The term "Aegean-type" lamp was first attributed to a group of lamps found in Perissa, on the island of Thera.



Fig. 2. Kiln 1 (rectangular) and kiln 2 (oval) (Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades and Charikleia Diamanti archive).

They were called "Aegean-type" lamp because until now no production center of such lamps had been identified, though specimens were found at several sites in the Aegean (Gerousi 2003: 515; 2010: 225; Gerousi-Bendermacher 2013: 149-165). Indeed, they are found on several islands, for example Naxos (Bournias 2014: 790-791), Schinoussa (Chatzilazarou 2018: 199, 216, fig. 28), Delos (Bruneau 1965: 142-143, pl. 34.4724-4732), Thasos (Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992: 78, no. L59b, fig. 33, pl. 11), Rhodes (Katsioti 2017: 482-497; 2021: 158-163), Cos (Roumeliotis 2001: 257-259, pl. 3.8-3.9), as well as in Athens (Perlzweig 1961: 103, no. 374, pl. 11), Euboea (Dafi and Skartis 2015: 709, 716, fig. 1), and Thessaloniki (Akrivopoulou, Slampeas and Leventeli 2019: 67-68, fig. 4).



Fig. 3. Complex of rooms and kiln 3 (Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades and Charikleia Diamanti archive).



Fig. 4. Remains of an olive or wine press (Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades and Charikleia Diamanti archives).

Thus, this mass production of "Aegean type" (**figs. 5-6**) lamps on Paros is the first of its kind to be found. Among the thousands of pottery sherds collected during the excavation, tens of hundreds of lamp fragments corresponding to more than 130 unique lamps (either intact or fragments preserving their handles) and dozens of intact or fragments of lamp molds have been recorded and identified. A significant number of burnt lamps have also been discovered. All of the above material was found in the workshop complex area, with several of them located in or around the kilns.

This lamp types usually almond-shaped (the same is observed for the material found in Thera; Gerousi 2003: 514). Their length ranges from 9 to 12 cm, they are about 5-7 cm wide and up to 5 cm in height. The handle is usually solid and grooved, and the underside can have up to three vertical lines (**fig. 5; fig. 6a, c, d, i.**). The discus, which sometimes is connected to the nozzle by a channel, can be narrow and plain or larger and ornate, with the filling hole framed by a raised or double raised ring. The underside is characterized by bases that usually have one or two rather thick embossed rings. Two parallel grooves flank the underside of the nozzle. Macroscopically (with the naked eye), the fabric is brown/orange-brown in color, with some medium to fine sized white inclusions and is in fact not so different from the Parian fabric associated with the pottery production centers of Laggeri (Diamanti, Lamprakis and Hilditch forthcoming). The ongoing petrographic analysis will give more information in the future.

It has rightly been argued that lamps of this type combine decorative motifs from other well-known types of the period, such as Asia Minor, North African, and Palestinian lamps (Gerousi 2003: 514-515; 2010: 225; 2013: 180), which resulted in a unique style.

The Parian examples studied so far offer a truly rich repertoire of motifs. The decoration of the discus and sloping shoulder is characterized by geometric and floral motifs, symbols such as crosses, birds, animals, and possibly human figures as well. The vast variety of motifs and morphological characteristics is being systematically examined in an ongoing study, but some of the most characteristic variations can be already mentioned here.

More analytically: A fairly large group of examples is characterized by richly-dotted tongues or with small lines that cover the entire space of the shoulder, as well as a discus which is sometimes connected to the nozzle (**fig. 5a-b; fig. 6g, i**). These also have a solid, grooved handle. Similar examples have been found, for example, in Naxos (Bournias 2014: 798, pl. 4.19), Thera (Gerousi 2013: 162, no. 232; Sakellakou and Diamanti forthcoming), Rhodes (Katsioti 2017: 485, no. Ae1-4), Cos (Roumeliotis 2001: 272, pl. 3.8), etc., with much variation.

A second group of Parian lamps and molds is decorated by series of concentric circles and angles or triangles on the shoulder, either alternating or in rows (**fig. 5c; fig. 6a, d, e, j**). Handles are always grooved. Another motif which was combined with circles and triangles or angles are small embossed stars. Very similar examples of this common motif can be seen on published lamps found in Thera (Gerousi 2003: 515, fig. 2, right; 2013: 165, no. 238) and Rhodes (Katsioti 2021: 168, fig. 5, ΠΧ 1934), again with many creative and rich variations.

There are also several Parian lamps and molds with a cross on the discus (**fig. 5c-d; fig. 6g**). Most of these crosses have splayed ends or the Maltese cross (**fig. 5c; fig. 6g**), combined with many variations of the motifs mentioned above (dotted tongues, plain or concentric circles, triangles or otherwise angled motifs). There are also floral and wavy patterns covering the shoulders. One or two filling holes are present in the center or between two arms of a cross. Another subtype has a Latin cross on the discus and embossed rosettes on the shoulder (**fig. 5d**). Several similar examples with crosses on the discus are found in Thera (Ancient Oia and Thera; Sakellakou and Diamanti forthcoming), Rhodes (Katsioti 2021: 160, 169, fig. 9, ΠΧ 2843), and elsewhere.

Some examples of molds and lamps have round embossed rosettes on the shoulder as well as four-petal rosettes on the discus (**fig. 5e; fig. 6h**) (for a probably similar example found in Rhodes, see Katsioti 2017: 489, no. Ae11). Sometimes, the shoulders of the examples with the four-petal rosettes on the discus are covered by stars and dots in rounded groups or wavy lines (**fig. 5f**) (for similar examples, see Perlzweig 1961: 103, no 374, p1. 11 (Athens); Gerousi 2013: 154, no. 215 (Thera); Akrivopoulou, Slampeas and Leventeli 2019: 68, fig. 4 (Thessaloniki)).

Finally, we mention some lamps with a star motif on the discus and floral or geometrical embossed motifs alternating on the shoulder (**fig. 6b-c**).

The theories so far about the origin of this type of lamp, were two: the one was that "Aegean-type" lamps have a Cretan provenance (Gerousi 2003: 515; 2010: 225; Gerousi-Bendermacher 2013: 180) and the other a Rhodian one (Katsioti 2021: 159), though archaeological evidence hardly supported these suggestions.

Thanks to the Ysterni workshops, we are not only certain of the provenance of the finds, but we have also acquired a vast array of molds, a wide variety of subtypes as well as decorative motifs. Furthermore, this was all found in a datable "context" of an excavation that thus offers new information for the dating of this type of lamps as well.

Thus, even if there was the opinion that they are dated mainly to the 6th century, before Asia Minor products conquered the market for lamps on the islands (Katsioti 2017: 483-484; Katsioti 2021: 163), it now seems logical that these products could and should be dated even later since they are the hybrid product combining different aspects of various widespread lamp types (Gerousi 2003: 515; Gerousi-Bendermacher 2013: 180).

The Ysterni Parian lamp production center provides important clues regarding the question of their date range, which is based on other diagnostic ceramic finds. Especially the red slip wares, such as examples of LRC forms 10A and 10C (Hayes 1972: 343-346) which can be dated at least until the first half of the 7th century, show that while the main production of the Parian lamps may have taken place in the second half of the 6th century, their production continued well into the 7th century.

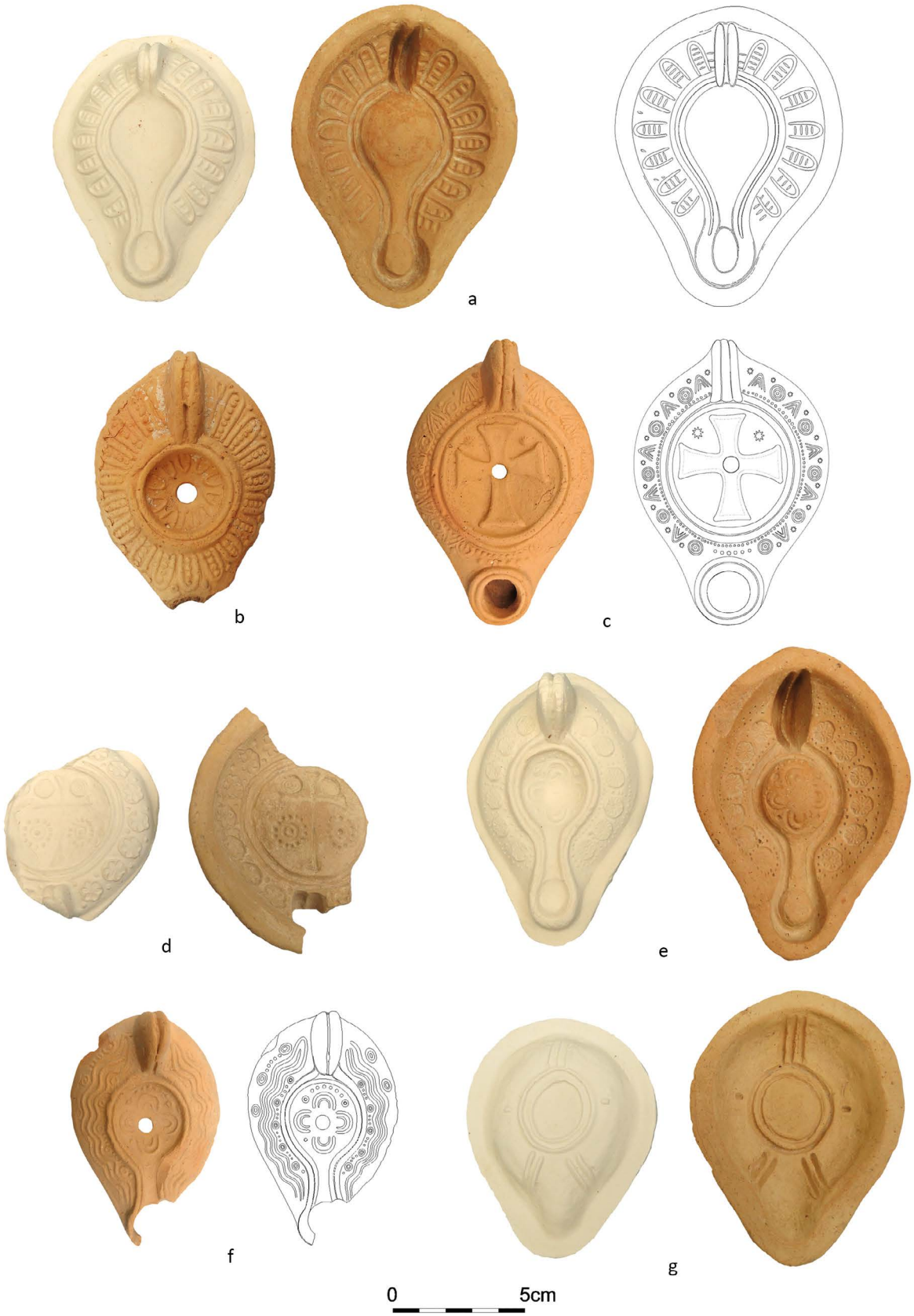


Fig. 5. a. Lamp mold found at Ysterni with tongues decoration, filled in with three to five short strokes. Imprint made of modeling clay; b. Parian lamp with dotted tongues decoration; c. Parian lamp with cross decoration; d. Lamp mold found at Ysterni with cross decoration. Imprint made of modeling clay; e. Parian lamp mold with a rosette on the disc, as well as dots and floral motifs on the shoulder. Imprint made of modeling clay; f. Parian lamp with wavy decoration on the shoulder and a rosette on the disc; g. Lower part of a Parian lamp mold. Imprint made of modeling clay (Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades and Charikleia Diamanti archives; Drawings by Nikolaos Tsouris).

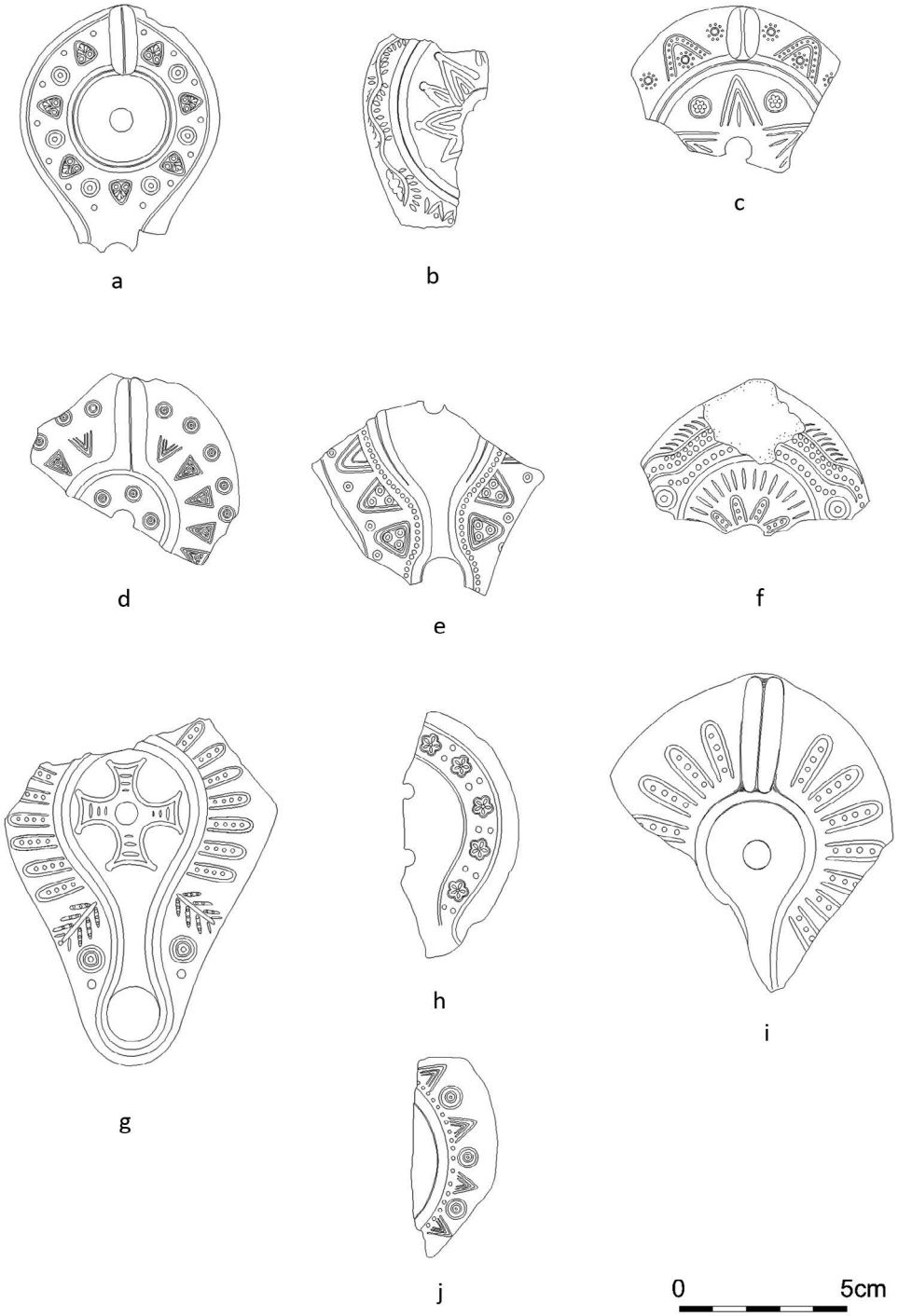


Fig. 6. Parian lamps fragments with various decorative motifs (Drawings by Nikolaos Tsouris).

The ongoing architectural and pottery study of this important Parian production center at Ysterni will provide even more detailed and systematic information in the future about the layout of its workshops as well as the characteristics and the distribution of the, hitherto, so-called "Aegean" type, Parian lamps. Last, the study of the production of other types of lamps as well as other kinds of ceramics in these workshops, will allow us to gain a richer picture of the impressive mass production of pottery in Paros during Late Antiquity.

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Charikleia Diamanti

THE RELIGIOUS AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAMPED AMPHORAE OF LATE ANTIQUITY

A systematic interest in stamps from the Late Roman/Early Byzantine to Late Byzantine periods has arisen only in the last two decades. This paper concerns a comprehensive presentation of all the Late Roman stamped amphora types and both the religious and administrative stamps they bear. We focus on the stamps with administrative content and meaning, found on LR 1 and LR 13 amphorae. In particular, we will present, as a case study, an overview as well as new information on the production of LR 13 amphorae, which were often double stamped by the state, with a 'main' stamp bearing the bust of the emperor and the inscription of the eparch of the islands and a 'secondary' stamp which included official inscriptions, monograms and interesting abbreviations, such as the 'Θ' ligature of the ounce (οὐγγία), as we suggest.

Stamps – Late Roman Amphorae – LRA 13 – Ounce-'*οὐγγία*' – Double stamping

A systematic interest in stamps from the Late Roman/Early Byzantine to the Late Byzantine period has emerged only in the last two decades. As we have mentioned elsewhere, "Today there is an increasing need for the creation of a Corpus of Byzantine Amphora Stamps, which will allow the research of the different types of stamps and the different needs they served in all the historical periods of the Byzantine Empire to be promoted" (Diamanti and Todorova forthcoming).

This paper attempts an overview of all types of stamped Late Roman/Early Byzantine amphorae. These stamps, are quite rare in number comparing with other periods, but are found, as we shall see, in a wide range of the amphora types of late Antiquity (LRA 1, LRA 2, LRA 5/6, LRA 13 etc).

Based on their shape, the stamps are usually round (only a few are cross shaped) and executed on the neck and /or on the handles of the amphorae. Based on their content, the amphorae stamps can be classified in two main categories, the religious and the administrative ones. We will pay more attention to the stamps with administrative content and meaning and we will specifically present, as a case study, an overview and new information on the content of the stamped LR 13 amphorae. Our research over the last twenty-five years has been devoted to them and led to a forthcoming monography where we present a catalogue as well as an analytical overview of all the known administrative stamps on Late Roman amphorae. Some of our results are presented here as well.

The stamps can provide quite direct information about the economic history of their period regarding the following questions: Why did the state ask for them and which was the administrative pyramid of officials charged with carrying out the required process? But before we attempt to answer these questions, we must think in reverse and first look at the general historical conditions and the archaeological context to which the Late Roman stamped amphorae belonged and ask: What were the historical reasons that prompted the state and, most probably, the church, to control the production and distribution of amphorae?

Let us recall some of the historical events that affected the needs in agricultural goods and, consequently, the production and stamping of their containers, the amphorae: In AD 536, Justinian systematized the supply of his army for the defense of the Black Sea and the Danube from the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Caria, including all these geographically remote areas under joint administration, the well-known *quaestura Justiniani exercitus*. Justinian's successors were pressed even further to ensure the supply of these areas due to the Avaro-Slav conflicts and invasions, the main threat to Byzantium's northern borders for about sixty years (AD 562-626) (Patoura-Spanou 2008: 52-53; Gkoutzioukostas and Moniaros 2009: 127-129, 134-137; Diamanti 2019: 205-206; Diamanti 2023: 273-274, 286, 291). Moreover, a few years after the creation of the quaestura administrative unit, the Great Plague broke out (AD 541/2) which caused the death of thousands of taxpayers and the delayed payment of soldiers, part of which at least should have been paid in kind by then (Treadgold 1995: 16, 165; Laiou and Morrisson 2007: 24, 38-39; Diamanti 2019: 209, note 32; Diamanti 2023: 291). Thus, the main concern for the state and the emperor, was the supply of the capital and the army, and the main income was the agricultural products, which were usually transported in amphorae (Oikonomides 2002: 979; Treadgold 1995: 19, 158, 187; Haldon 1995 VI: 140-142, VII: 14, VIII: 120-122; Diamanti 2019: 209-210, notes 34-35, 38, where the previous bibliography; Diamanti forthcoming). Therefore, one can assume that these special regulatory amphora stamping mechanisms were used from the state and the church to address some of the above historical events and crises through the control of the economic circulation of agricultural goods.

The stamps with religious content, symbols, and inscriptions on amphorae – in addition to the large number of known incised and painted inscriptions of the same kind – indicate the participation of the church, religious communities and institutes in the Byzantine trade network and can be found in relatively small numbers but on quite a wide variety of amphora types (Bernal-Casasola 2010; Bernal-Casasola 2019: 575-577).

Of great interest is the group of examples of the Keay LII type amphorae, dating mainly to the 5th century, produced in Calabria and found at the Basilica Hilariana on the Caelian Hill in Rome and at a Jewish community settlement at Bova Marina in southern Calabria, with their handles stamped with the menorah symbol (Pacetti 1998: 197, 199, fig. 8.3-4; Arthur 1989b: 135, 138-139, fig. 1.8; Bernal-Casasola 2010: 21-22; Bernal-Casasola 2019: 576-577, fig. 12.D). It is also highly indicative that the stamp of a Keay LII amphora type of the same period, found in Palatine Hill in Rome, was again of religious content, a Christogram (Panella et al. 2010: 63, 73, fig. 3.41).

As Paul Arthur suggested, the existence of the stamps is "archaeological documentation of institutionalized directional or tied trade". Thus, the menorah stamps are associated with the Jewish community that produced food for its own people in specific ways and in a type of permitted containers, while the Christogram ones are associated with an ecclesiastical authority in Calabria (Arthur 1989b: 139; Pacetti 1998: 199).

In a 6th-century Byzantine shipwreck in Varna, two stamped specimens of an MR5/Zeest 80 type amphora, dated to the late 5th century, were found. The stamps were cross-shaped and applied on the neck of the amphorae. They contained a religious inscription which was read as Θ[EOTOK] E BOHΘEI TΩTOY TΩ EPΓΩ (H[oly Mothe]r, help to the deed [of] this [person]) (Minchev 2011: 150-156, fig. 14-15). We suggest that inscription could be read as Θ[EOTOK]E BOHΘEI TΩ TOYTΩ EPΓΩ or Θ[EOTOK]E BOHΘEI TΩ EPΓΩ TOYTΩ (Mother of God, help to this deed). Thus, we argue that it is not so likely that these stamps are associated with a person, a local anonymous potter who sought the protection of the Mother of God for his business. For us, the second suggestion is more likely, i.e. that these stamps indicate the connection of their workshops with ecclesiastical authorities engaged in the trade for which they sought the protection of the Mother of God.

Another very interesting kind of religious stamp of this type is represented by an example found at Yenikapi, Istanbul (the Port of Theodosius in Constantinople). It contains the image of an equestrian saint. It has been supported that it is Saint George and the inscription around it refers to a Theodora (Kara 2015: 249). However, the name on the inscription is masculine and the saint is Saint Theodore (for the early sphragistic evidence concerning the iconography of Saint Theodore as the first warrior saint to be depicted as an equestrian dragon slayer, before Saint George, see Cotsonis 2020: 111).

There are LR 5/6 type amphorae found in one of the auxiliary rooms of Ramat Rahel monastery, outside Jerusalem, dating to the 6th-7th centuries. They bear stamps with the symbol of the cross, either simple or of the Maltese type, on their handles. The complex of rooms that was found consisted of an area of probable workshops and industrial installations, including an olive-press. The production of these amphorae at the monastic complex and the parallel production of oil confirms the systematic involvement of the church in trade (Aharoni 1964: 16, fig. 9.4-5; Arthur 1989a: 85, fig. 6).

A cross shaped monogram, on a late version of LRA 2 found in Saraçhane, was interpreted until now as a name, 'Themistou' (Hayes 1992: 77, no. 1, pl. 13.1). Since then, similar examples were found at Yenikapi and Bathonea (Kara 2015: 244-245, fig. 2a-b; Kara 2017: 278, 281). According to Katerina Chamilaki another similar example was found at Kastri, a Late Roman settlement in Boeotia (personal communication: Chamilaki forthcoming). In our opinion the suggestion of the specific name, based on the letters of the monogram, is not so strong. Furthermore, this would be almost a unique instance in Late Roman Amphorae stamps to bear just the name of an individual. For us, in combination with the correct reading of the letters and the existence of the letter 'Θ' which could refer to 'Θεός' or 'Θεοτόκος', it is more likely that it has a religious meaning for the protection of the people and the goods involved in the specific trade (a suggestion among the many one could propose is: XAPITI ΘEOY EIMI (O EIMI) (1 Corinthians 15:10. By the grace of God, I am what I am).

Finally, before we proceed to the administrative stamps found on amphorae of LRA 1 type, we must mention the few known and very interesting LRA 1 examples which are stamped on the neck with the symbol of the Maltese type cross, and which were found at Antinoopolis and Yenikapi. Dominique Pieri suggests the connection of this kind of cases with church workshops (Pieri 2012: 45-46, fig. 2.13.3, end of the 6th century; Kara 2015: 248, fig.7a-b, dated at 5th-6th centuries). It is also very interesting that a series of plaster stoppers found in Egypt, which are often associated with this type of amphorae, are stamped with religious symbols (cross, Christogram) and inscriptions, and offer another strong indication of the activities of the church and monasteries in trade (Egloff 1977: 180-184, pl. 20; Pieri 2005: 77-78, fig. 37; Bernal-Casasola 2010: 24; Thomas 2018: 17-18).

The stamps with administrative content and meaning are found exclusively on the two well-known types of amphorae of the period: the LRA 1 and 13. Thus, our presentation of the research on administrative stamps begins with the small group of LR 1 amphorae stamps that have simple or cross shaped monograms of cities. The LRA 1 city stamps (for an analytical catalogue and discussion of these examples see Diamanti, forthcoming), refer to cities of Cilicia, namely Corycos and Elaiousa Sebaste (Popescu 1976: 170, no. 151, 313, no. 306; Toropu and Tatulea 1987: 132, fig. 41.7-9; Opaiţ 2004: 295, fig. 4; Gherghe and Amon 2011: 24, fig. 1.B, 2; Opaiţ 2017: 596; Kara 2015: 247-248, fig. 5-6. For a new, very interesting example coming from an archaeological context of Limyra, see Bes, Diamanti and Dolea 2023). The region of Cilicia is well known as the first and largest known production center of this type of amphora. This is testified not only by the archaeological research, but also by the epigraphical sources. In other words, these stamps probably indicate the annona related services and the privileges of these Cilician cities and their *navicularii*, information which

we have from the well-known *Abydos* inscription (Durliat and Guillou 1984: 590; Decker 2005; Diamanti 2008: 20-23; Diamanti 2010a: 164-165, 221-222; Diamanti 2010b: 4). It seems that most of these stamps date earlier than the middle of the 6th century. Indeed, an example of an imported LR 1 stamped amphora from Halasarna on the island of Cos, from the excavation of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, belongs to a context that dates well before the middle of the 6th century (Diamanti forthcoming; Bes, Diamanti and Dolea 2023). Moreover, although Halasarna co-produced both LR 1 and 13 amphorae, stamps were found only on amphorae of the LRA 13 type and not on any of LRA 1 type. This is very important evidence of absence which, in combination with the earlier date of most, if not all, of the Cilician LRA 1 stamped examples, confirms the early date of this administrative city stamping mechanism. Indeed, we support that, right afterwards, in the second half of the 6th century the standardized mass production of the LRA 1 in many smaller production centers such as Halasarna, indicates changes in the trade system they served. These changes are also confirmed by the fact that the new production centers do not appear to be producing any stamped examples of the type.

Moreover, we support that in the second half of the 6th century, the pre-existence of city-stamps led the state to the need for a new type of amphora, the LRA 13, which bears stamps of the emperor himself. This signifies, visually as well, the state control over this marine economic network, which was no longer organized at a 'city' level, but at the highest administrative level, by the state itself (Diamanti, forthcoming).

We proceed to the stamps on the LR 13 type of amphorae, which we have chosen as a characteristic case to present the progress of studies concerning the stamped amphorae of Late Antiquity. Of course, our intention in the context of this paper is not to catalogue and analyze all their known examples, since this is the subject of a monograph (Diamanti, forthcoming). Instead, we are going to provide an overview of our research and highlight some new results, always keeping two important factors in mind:

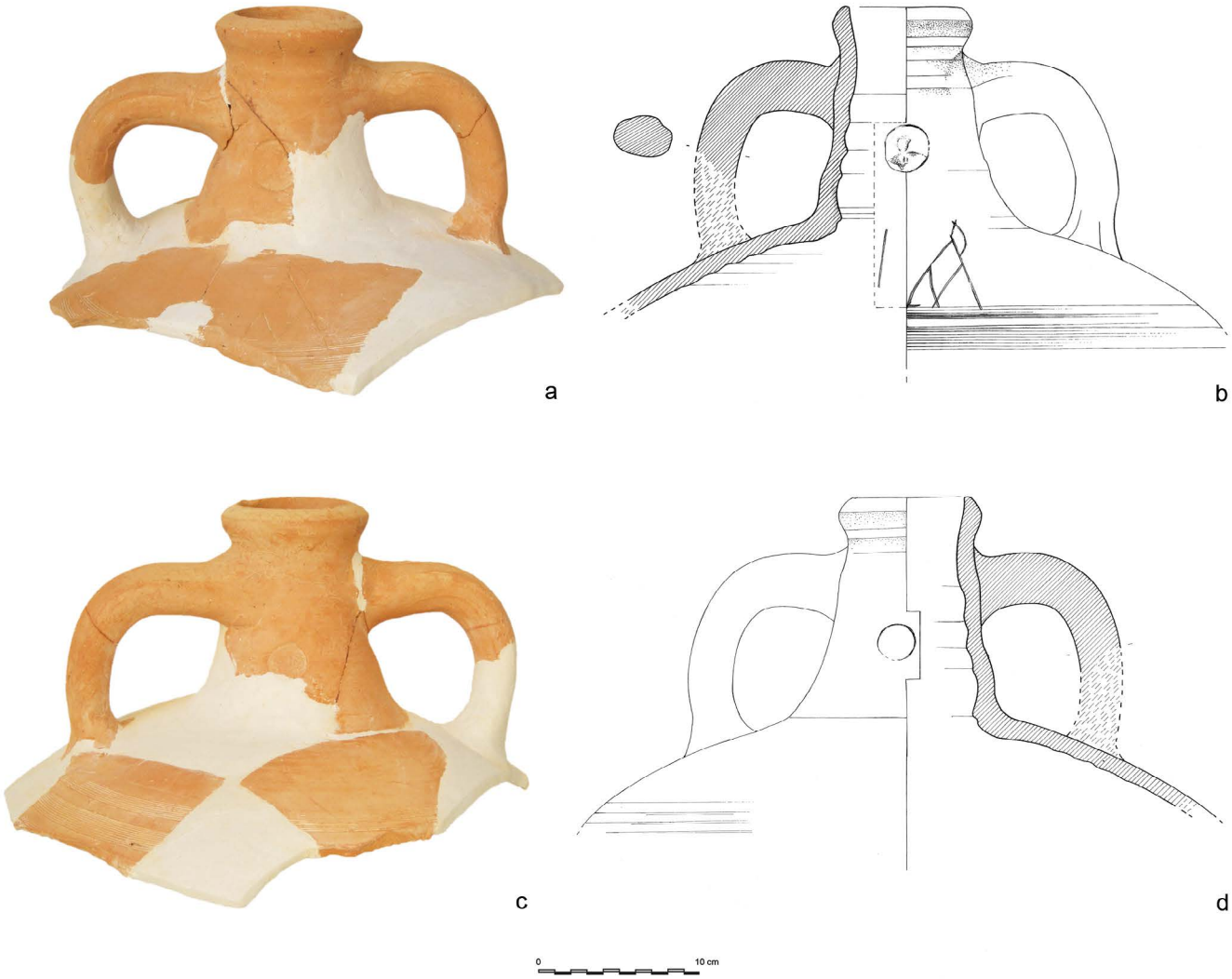


Fig. 1. Coan double stamped LR 13 amphora. Halasarna workshop, Cos, second half of the 6th century (rec. no Θ7/A38, area B/1995). National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (NKUA) and Charikleia Diamanti archives; drawings by Aspasia Drigopoulou.

The Coan workshop of Halasarna (Diamanti 2010a) excavated by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (Kalopissi-Verti and Panayotidi-Kesisoglou 2020) is currently the only known and systematically excavated production center of the LR 13 stamped amphorae and could serve as a useful tool for examining them and their similar examples in a contextual corpus. The archaeological contexts and the historical data known for Cos allow us to analyze their production in a fairly safe archaeological and historical frame between the second half of the 6th and the first decades of the 7th century. In addition, as we supported a few years ago, in the Halasarna cases where the whole neck of stamped LR 13 examples is saved, there are two stamps, on both front sides of the neck. In this double stamping practice, based on the stamps of the workshop, as well as on other similar examples of bibliography which we will discuss later, we have distinguished a "main/heads" (**fig. 1a-b, 2)** and a "secondary/tails" stamp (**fig. 1c-d, 3-4)** as the two sides of a ceramic "coin", even more since these stamps adopt iconographic motifs of contemporary coins (Diamanti 2012: 2; Diamanti 2019: 206-207; Diamanti forthcoming). Indeed, the "main/heads" stamps bear the imperial bust, the state emblem of the period, in the same way as on contemporary coins, as well as surrounding inscriptions which refer to an *Eparch*. The "secondary/tails" stamps contain monograms, Greek inscriptions and, most importantly, indications of weights, as we have recently supported, interpreting these indications of weight more specifically as the ligature of the ounce, the Byzantine *οὐγγία* (Diamanti and Todorova forthcoming; Diamanti forthcoming). Since not many necks of stamped LRA 13 have been preserved in whole, we cannot confirm the scale of this standardization. Moreover, this "rule" we see in the Halasarnian workshop has several variations on similar examples found elsewhere but it is by now quite clear that in most cases the two kinds of contents of these stamps usually co-existed in one or the other way.

Let's see them in detail:

"Main" stamp - *Who is in the bust* (Fig. 1a-b, 2)? The stamped Late Roman amphorae, in general, were never the point of interest in the publications of the 20th century. The first references, to our knowledge, were by Virginia Grace in 1949 and 1956 (Grace 1949: 188, no. 14; Grace 1956: 171, no. 214). For the example found on the Pnyx she supported, based on iconographic similarities with contemporary coins, that the depicted bust belongs to an emperor, and she noticed that another four similar unpublished examples were found in the Agora of Athens (Opaiţ and Diamanti 2014; it is worth mentioning here that our recent research into them has given us the opportunity to confirm the high probability of a Coan origin for two of them: Diamanti forthcoming). In 1992, John Hayes (Hayes 1992: 77, no. 3, pl. 13.3) refers to a state stamp which he also compares with busts of emperors on Byzantine coins. This theory was discussed again in the publication of the first known Aegean workshop for the mass production of LR 1 and LR 13 amphorae at Halasarna, on the island of Cos (Diamanti 2010a: 215). It remains, after 13 years, the only known workshop of Late Antique stamped amphorae. These stamps were a kind of 'ceramic currency' in the frame of the *quaestura exercitus*. Indeed, soldiers were paid in kind with amphorae, the stamps of which were iconographically the same as on the coins with which their wages were paid as well. They carried the effigy of the emperor himself, propagandizing the imperial economic policy everywhere. During the same period, the emperor was also depicted on lead seals of *Kommerkiarioi* (Diamanti 2010a: 88-107, 209-216; Diamanti 2012: 2,4; Diamanti 2019: 207).

Inscription of the "main" stamp - *Who is the eparch* mentioned in the inscriptions of the amphora stamps surrounding the imperial bust?

He should, obviously, be the one who had the amphora production centers under his jurisdiction. We know one production center, that of Halasarna on the island of Cos, and we have dated it to a period when Cos was administered by the *Eparch of the Islands*, the *Quaestor Excercitus*, whose unit Cos belonged to at exactly the same period the stamped amphorae were produced (late 6th century). The main duty of the *Quaestor Exercitus* was precisely the channeling of the agricultural goods of the wealthy members of his southern administrative unit to the army camps in need on the northern frontiers of the empire (Diamanti 2019: 207-210). We know the names of two of them: Ptolemaios and Innocentios who appear on two of the Agora stamps (for detailed photographs and drawings, see Diamanti forthcoming). Another opinion suggested for the first time in the late 1980s for a stamped LR 13 amphora found in Alexandria was that the depicted bust was that of the eparch of Constantinople (Sztetyłło and Borkowski 1986; for a similar opinion: Papanikolaou 2014). This interpretation cannot be easily accepted today after all the advancements in research since then. We are going to briefly mention only two points about this suggestion here: (i) it is unhistorical, since it does not take into account the iconography of the coins of the same period, where the emperor is depicted as on the amphorae stamps and with the insignia which belonged by then only to him (Diamanti 2012: 2, notes 10-11; Diamanti 2019: 206, note 14; Diamanti forthcoming), and (ii) the eparch of Constantinople would not be in control of the production of amphorae that belonged administratively to another eparch.

"Secondary" stamp (Fig. 1c-d, 3-4). In many of the preserved examples of secondary stamps at Halasarna we have recognized that a symbol that was thought to be a monogram, must instead be the '*ϑ*' ligature of the ounce (*οὐγγία*). In comparison with similar examples from elsewhere we realized that this ligature is usually followed by the letter K which then stands for the number 20: '*ϑ K*', *οὐγγίαι εἴκοσι* (twenty ounces; for a further discussion of it, see Diamanti forthcoming). As it was mentioned previously, in most cases the two kinds of contents of the "main" and "secondary" stamps co-exist in various ways. We should first refer to a double stamped LR 13 amphora from Kellia which is a perfect representative example of the main and secondary stamps and their arrangement (Bonnet-Borrel and Cattin 1999: 538-539, 565, fig. 489, no. 158) as seen on the Halasarna workshop examples described above. Two other interesting examples found in Myndos bear indications of the ounce inscription ('*ϑ K*') (Gülsefa 2016: 113, no. 40) together with the imperial bust: in the first case as a double stamping on the same side of the amphora's neck and in the other case in the same stamp.

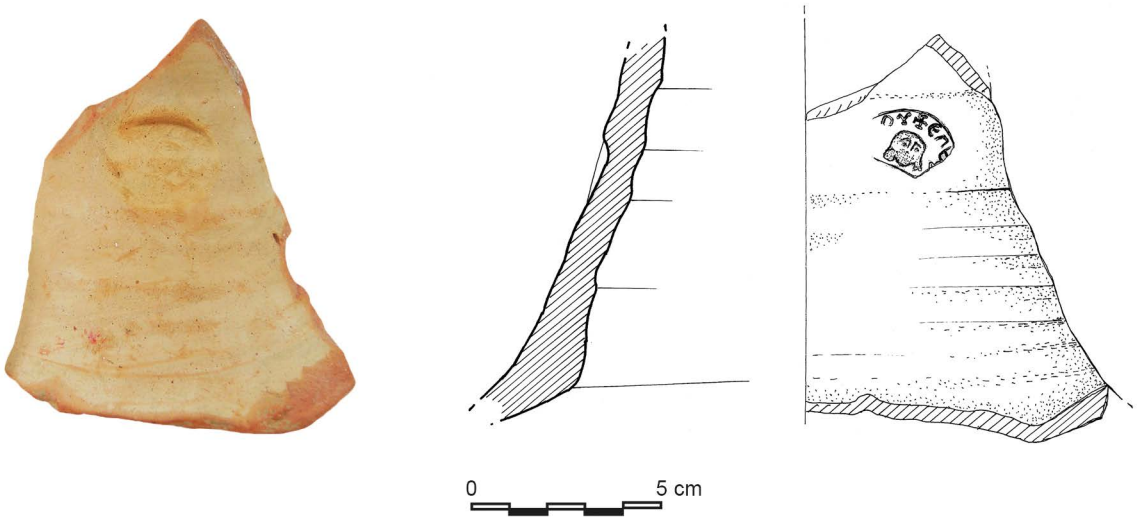


Fig. 2. Bust of emperor on a Coan LR 13 amphora stamp. Inscription + ΕΠ<Ι> Ε[---] [ΕΠΑΡ]ΧΟΥ. Halasarna workshop, Cos, second half of the 6th-first quarter of 7th century (rec. no Z27/A176/1996). NKUA and Charikleia Diamanti archives; drawing by Aspasia Drigopoulou.

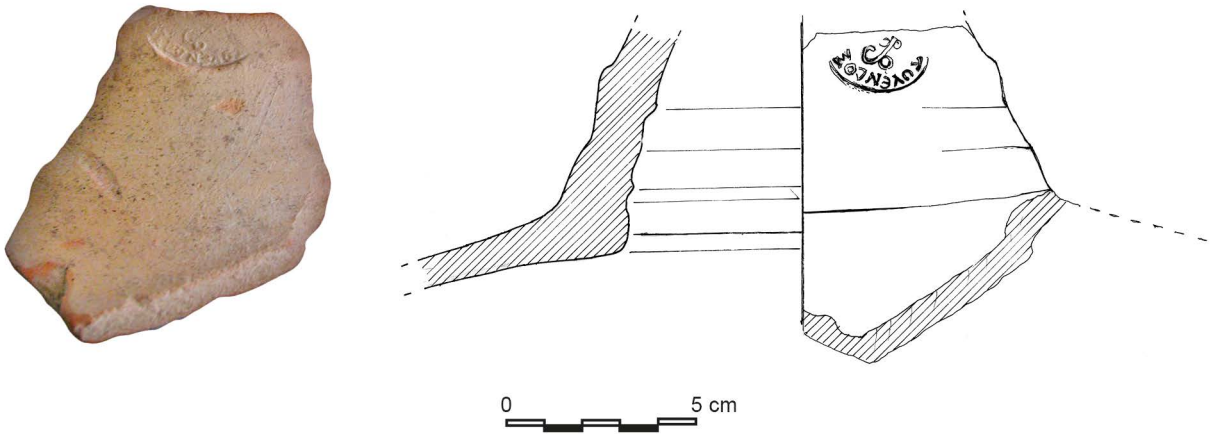


Fig. 3. LRA 13 stamped neck with the ounce ligature ‘8’. Inscription [---] [ΕΠΑΡ]Χ(?)ΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΟ[ΤΑΤΟΥ]. Halasarna workshop-Cos, c. 578-first half of the 7th century (rec. no K23/A41/2002). NKUA and Charikleia Diamanti archives; drawing by Aspasia Drigopoulou.

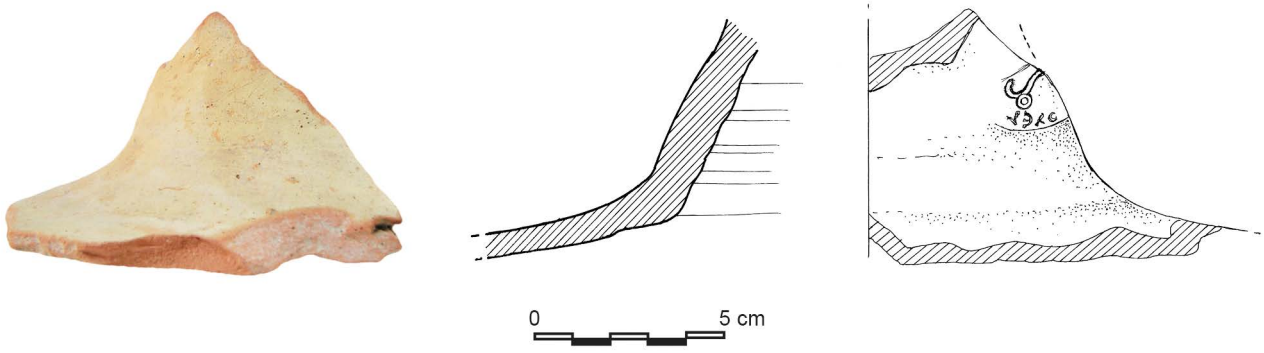


Fig. 4. LR 13 stamped neck with the ounce ligature ‘8’. Inscription [---]ΟΥ ΕΝ[---]. Halasarna workshop, Cos. c. 578-first half of the 7th century (rec. no Z26/A46/1997). NKUA and Charikleia Diamanti archives; drawing by Aspasia Drigopoulou.

We suggest that they are of Coan origin (Diamanti forthcoming). Another example of a stamped LRA 13 with the ounce ligature under the bust of the emperor, which was found at Knidos in a chapel complex, was very well published into its context and co-finds during 2018 and 2019. According to the authors, the amphora is of Coan origin, and we agree (Doksanalti, Mimiroğlu and Karaoğlan 2019: 136, fig.7, 139, 142). Another example with double stamping was published from Yenikapı (Kara 2015: 245, fig. 3a-c) where the ounce ligature exists as a separate stamp ('ϑ K') but also as a detail in the "main" stamp of the emperor's bust. Finally, in one example found in Comacchio, Italy, the amphora is stamped on one side with the well preserved ounce ligature (Negrelli 2021: 244, fig. 46.4, 266-270, fig. 54).

In the forthcoming monography, the cataloging of the Coan state stamps of the late 6th c. Halasarna workshop, and all the similar state stamped LRA 13 published elsewhere together, provides the opportunity to make suggestions as to the Coan origin (or not) as well as the date of the latter, and thus the distribution of the Coan production: the Halasarna workshop, as already mentioned above, is currently the only one to offer a unique large group of stamped LR 13 amphorae of known origin and date, and it could serve as a useful tool for studying all the rest similar examples as a corpus in context. Also, the collection of all known examples, provides the opportunity to recognize common patterns of enigmatic inscriptions more easily and contributes to their explanation (e.g., the ounce inscriptions), while it enables us to make iconographic comparisons. For example, technical and iconographic similarities give us the opportunity to distinguish groups of stamps which come from the same seal and can offer interesting information in the future about their circulation during a specific period (Diamanti forthcoming).

We hope in a future of collaboration and petrographic analyses as well as the locating of more Late Roman stamped amphora workshops, so that we can decipher even more secrets of this very interesting area of the economic and administrative history of Late Antiquity.

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Marzia Giuliodori

TERRA SIGILLATA FOCESE DA GORTINA: DATI PRELIMINARI DALLO SCAVO DELL'EDIFICIO SUD

Phocaean Red Slip Ware constitutes the most widespread fine pottery in Gortina from the late 4th century until the end of production around the mid-7th century. The considerable quantity of this pottery found in the recent excavations of the South Building conducted by the University of Macerata in the area of the Byzantine Houses makes it possible to acquire new data on the circulation of this ceramic class in the Cretan capital and to shed new light on the city's cultural and commercial connections with the neighbouring shore of Asia Minor. In this paper we present preliminary typological data from which there is a clear preponderance of Hayes 3 and 10 dishes in the various known variants. Palm-branches and animal motifs and the usual cross motif are attested among the stamped motifs. The recurrence of the form Hayes 10C in late 7th/early 8th century layers seems to confirm the dating beyond the mid 7th century.

Edificio Sud (Gortina) – sigillata focese – forme e motivi decorativi – Hayes 10C – commerci

Premessa

Il monumentale Edificio Sud, situato nel quartiere delle Case bizantine a Gortina (Creta) (**fig. 1**)[1], è stato completamente riportato alla luce dagli scavi condotti dall'Università di Macerata tra il 2007 e il 2017 sotto l'egida della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene. Il fabbricato, che presenta una planimetria complessa, costituita da un ambiente centrale e da ambienti disposti specularmente rispetto ad esso, era probabilmente destinato ad accogliere il *koinon* dei cretesi e venne edificato dopo il terremoto del 365 d.C. Agli inizi del VII secolo fu oggetto di una riorganizzazione strutturale mentre alla fine dello stesso secolo venne riutilizzato come ambiente artigianale. Dopo il terremoto del 720 circa conobbe una fase di occupazione tarda nell'ambito di una progressiva ruralizzazione dell'area fino all'evento sismico distruttivo finale del 796 quando la città fu definitivamente abbandonata (Perna 2016; 2018).

Le stratigrafie rinvenute hanno restituito una considerevole quantità di ceramica costituita da contenitori da trasporto, ceramica comune e da fuoco, ceramiche decorate a matrice, lucerne e numerose classi di ceramica fine come le sigillate africana, focese e cipriota tarda e la ceramica sovradipinta bizantina (Giuliodori 2020; Giuliodori c.d.s.a): lo studio dei materiali è ancora in corso così come la loro associazione all'interno degli strati rinvenuti che per ora ha permesso di delineare in via preliminare le fasi principali dell'edificio stesso.

In questo contributo si intende presentare i primi dati di carattere tipologico ricavati dalla schedatura ormai quasi completata della terra sigillata focese che costituisce, tra le sigillate di epoca tarda, quella maggiormente rappresentata sopravanzando soltanto di una cinquantina di frammenti le presenze della terra sigillata africana.

La sigillata focese dell'Edificio Sud: quadro preliminare

Sono stati rinvenuti circa 480 frammenti dei quali 257, ossia, poco più della metà, diagnostici. Di essi ben 245 sono rappresentati da orli che hanno restituito le principali e più diffuse forme della classe (**fig. 2**). Il piatto Hayes 1, datato tra la fine del IV e il 475 circa, è rappresentato da 37 frammenti (15%) che appartengono a tutti i tipi noti, A-D (Hayes 1972: 325-327) ed E individuato a Gortina da A. Dello Preite (1997: 158-161, in particolare 160), omogeneamente attestati. La scodella con ampio orlo a tesa Hayes 2, la cui data iniziale si ritiene sia da porsi agli inizi del V secolo (Hayes 2008: 85-86; Cau, Reynolds e Bonifay 2011: 6), risulta documentata da 24 frammenti (10%), dei quali 13 appartengono al tipo A mentre i tipi B e C (**fig. 3, 1-2**) risultano più rari. Il piatto con orlo verticale sagomato Hayes 3 rappresenta la forma più attestata con 97 frammenti (39%) tra i quali sono stati identificati tutti i tipi noti, ad eccezione del tipo H, in genere poco frequente in tutta l'area del quartiere bizantino (Giuliodori c.d.s.b). Predominano i tipi di VI secolo, 3F (**fig. 3, 7**) e 3G (**fig. 3, 8-9**), la cui evoluzione e datazione nel corso del secolo dalla forma 3F alla 3G, alla 3G/10 e 10A è stata ampiamente discussa in anni recenti (Reynolds 2004: 228-229; Hayes 2008: 86; Reynolds 2011; Fernández Fernández 2014; Quaresma 2019) mentre con indici di presenza inferiori sono presenti anche le varianti più antiche prodotte nel V

[1] Si ringrazia Roberto Perna, direttore dello scavo, per avermi concesso di presentare un'anteprima della sigillata focese. I disegni e le foto sono stati eseguiti dalla scrivente ad eccezione del disegno Fig. 4, 7 eseguito da Silvia Tiburzi. Le tavole sono state composte dal dott. David Sforzini che mi è gradito ringraziare. Un doveroso ringraziamento va anche a Riccardo Nocelli della Simple Service di Macerata per la realizzazione del poster presentato al congresso.

secolo, Hayes 3A-E (**fig. 3, 3-6**). Dopo la Hayes 3 il piatto Hayes 10 è la forma più documentata con circa 80 frammenti (33%): 26 frammenti appartengono al più antico tipo 10A (**fig. 4, 1**), caratterizzato da un orlo ingrossato e squadrato e 3 frammenti al tipo 10B, dall'orlo arrotondato superiormente e margine inferiore pendente, in genere sempre assai raro. Il più numeroso con 53 frammenti è il tardo tipo 10C (**fig. 4, 2-3**), dalla parete obliqua terminante con un orlo sottile ed allungato e gradino all'esterno all'attacco della parete. I tipi 10A e 10B sono tradizionalmente datati dal 570 agli inizi del VII ma secondo gli studi più recenti la cronologia iniziale del tipo 10A, sulla base di contesti stratigrafici ben datati quali Butrinto, Atene, Beirut, San Giovanni di Ruoti e Vigo, andrebbe anticipata al 550-575 (Reynolds 2004: 238; Hayes 2008; 86; Reynolds 2011; Reynolds, Bonifay e Cau: 2011: 20; Fernández Fernández 2014; Quaresma 2019: 136-137), mentre del tipo 10C, datato nella prima metà del VII, si discute la data della fine della produzione (Hayes 1972: 346; Cau, Reynolds e Bonifay 2011: 7). I diametri, ove è stato possibile ricostruirli perché il materiale si rinviene in frammenti spesso di ridotte dimensioni e molto consunto e incrostato a causa delle numerose distruzioni e conseguenti rimozioni di macerie avvenute nell'area, hanno restituito vasi di medie dimensioni di misura compresa tra cm 24 e 30, più raramente vasi con diametro oltre i cm 30 e numerosi piattelli di ridotto formato con diametro compreso tra cm 10 e 14 relativi sia alla forma 3 (**fig. 4, 4-5**) che alla forma 10 (**fig. 4, 6-7**) per i quali è stato ipotizzato anche un possibile uso come coperchi (Dello Preite 1997: 159; Giuliodori c.d.s.b). Delle restanti forme della focese sono stati rinvenuti soltanto 5 frammenti della piccola scodella Hayes 4 (2%), caratterizzata da parete aperta e ricurva e orlo espanso terminante con un corto listello (**fig. 4, 8**), databile nel secondo quarto del V secolo e considerata da Hayes una variante antica della forma 3 come la Hayes 3A (Hayes 2008: 88), e due frammenti della Hayes 5 (1%)- coppa con larga tesa orizzontale, leggermente concava nella faccia superiore, parete ricurva e piede ad anello-dei quali solo uno è assegnabile ad un tipo, il tipo 5B con ampia tesa orizzontale ricurva decorata da una larga fascia impressa a rotella (**fig. 4, 9**), datato nella prima metà del VI.

Prevale la produzione liscia mentre la caratteristica decorazione a rotella compare sugli orli di pochi esemplari della forma 3 e, come già detto più sopra, della forma 5 mentre la fascia di rotellature che decorava in alcuni casi il fondo è stata ritrovata su di un solo frammento (**fig. 5**).

Tra i numerosi fondi con basso piede ad anello sono soltanto 12 quelli che hanno restituito gli stampi purtroppo non sempre chiaramente leggibili perché conservati in minima parte o ricoperti da incrostazioni calcaree. Sono documentati stampi databili al primo e al terzo periodo della produzione. Al primo periodo (360-450) appartengono gli stampi con il motivo Hayes 1, costituito da palmette disposte a raggiera al centro del fondo (*Atlante* I, Tav. CXIV, 15) (**fig. 6**), e con il motivo Hayes 2, a cerchielli concentrici (*Atlante* I, Tav. CXIV, 25) impresso sul fondo di una scodella Hayes 2A, in buona parte ricostruibile (**fig. 7**). Ascrivibili al periodo più tardo (470-580 circa) sono uno stampo con un cerbiatto in corsa verso destra posto al centro del fondo e i cui dettagli anatomici, come il pelo maculato, l'occhio e la bocca semiaperta,

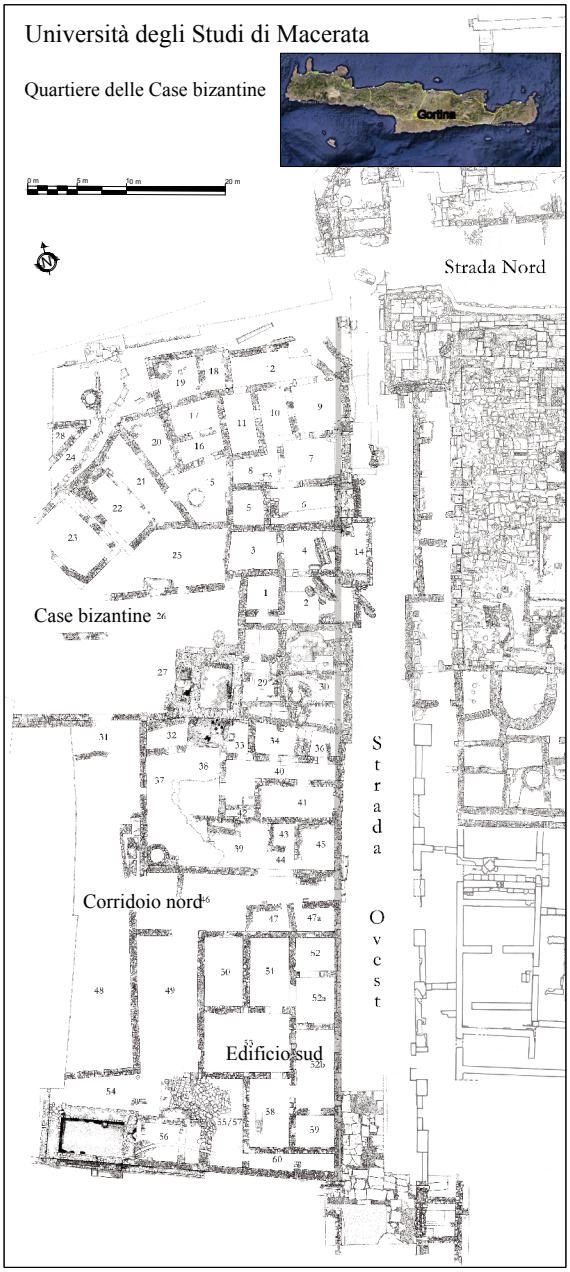


Fig. 1. Pianta del quartiere bizantino con l'Edificio Sud (da Perna 2016).

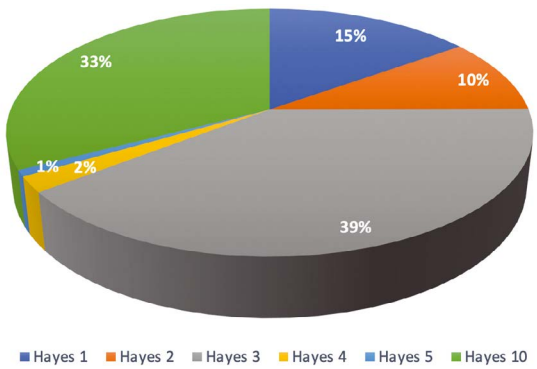


Fig. 2. Grafico con le forme di sigillata focese rinvenute nell'Edificio Sud.

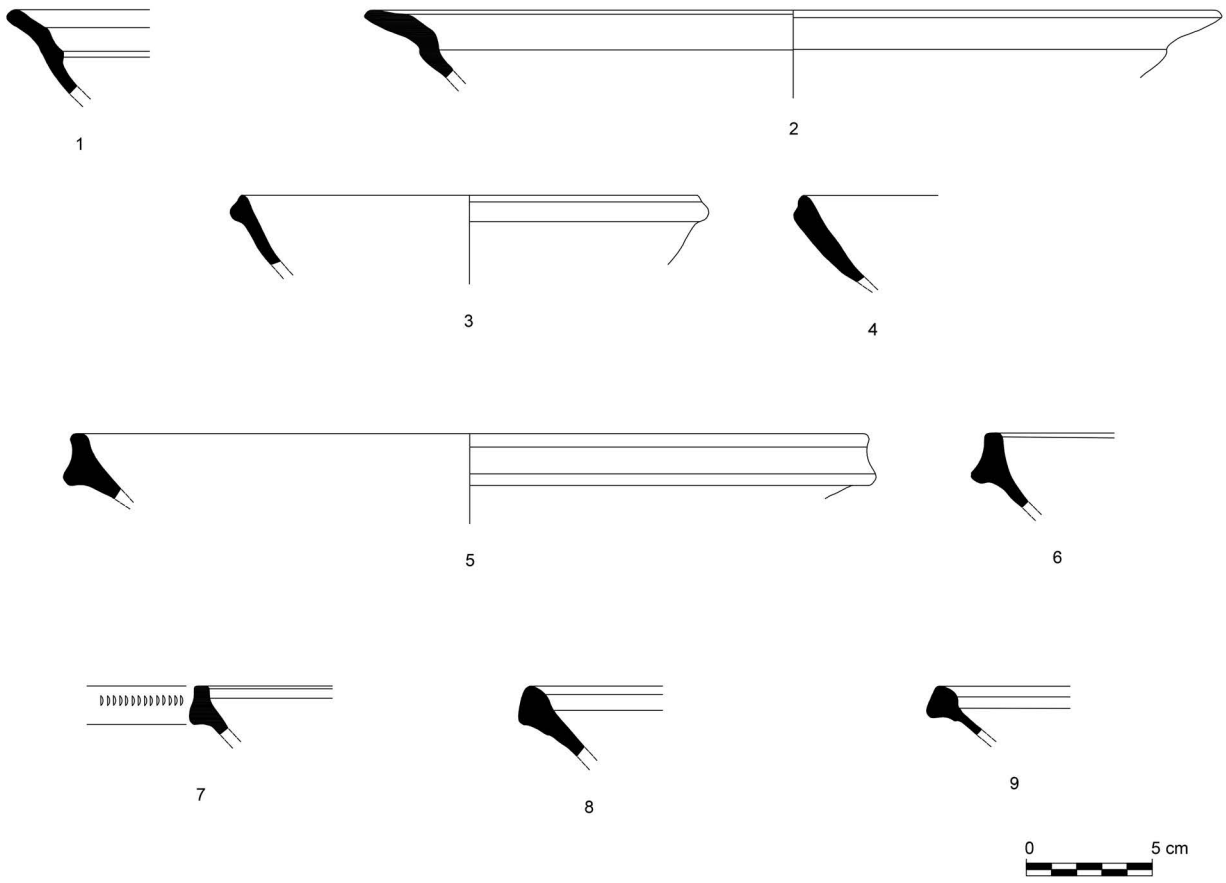


Fig. 3. Terra sigillata focese: 1-2) Hayes 2C (GO12.Cb.1050.9; GO15.Cb.1256.2); 3) Hayes 1/3 o 3A (GO15.Cb.1302.4); 4) Hayes 3A (GO15.Cb.1304.9); 5-6) Hayes 3E (GO15.Cb.1246.2; GO15.Cb.1302.3); 7) Hayes 3F (GO15.Cb.1251.1); 8-9) Hayes 3G (GO15.Cb.1301.6; GO15.Cb.1301.7).

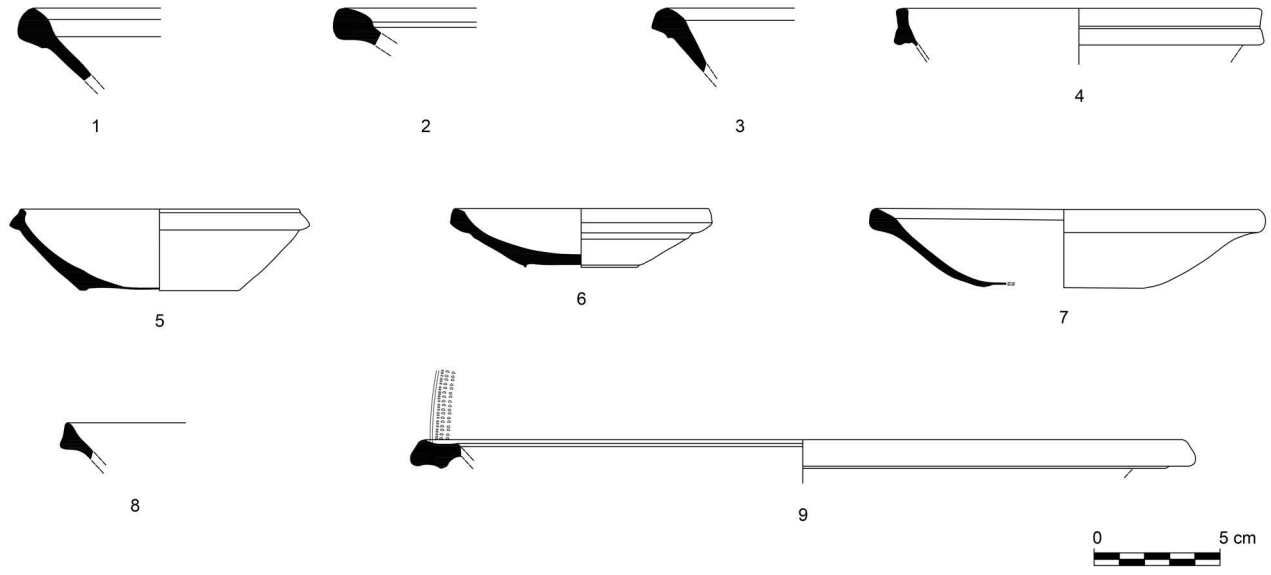


Fig. 4. Terra sigillata focese: 1) Hayes 10A (GO15.Cb.1302.8); 2-3) Hayes 10C (GO15.Cb.1294.3; GO15.Cb.1302.6); 4) Hayes 3B/C piccola (GO15.Cb.1288.4); 5) Hayes 3F piccola (GO12.Cb.1050.7); 6) Hayes 10A piccola (GO12.Cb.1040.15+GO14.Cb.1233.7); 7) Hayes 10C piccola (GO12.Cb.1044.3); 8) Hayes 4 (GO15.Cb.1260.1); 9) Hayes 5 (GO15.Cb.1263.81).



Fig. 5. Terra sigillata focese: fondo con fascia di rotellature (GO14.Cb.1077.138).

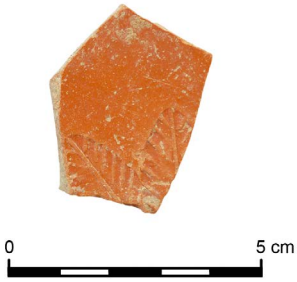


Fig. 6. Terra sigillata focese: fondo con motivo di palmette disposte a raggiera (GO12.Cb.1063.2).



Fig. 7. Terra sigillata focese: scodella Hayes 2A con fondo decorato a cerchielli (GO14.Cb.1079.164).

sono ben delineati (**fig. 8**), corrispondente al motivo Hayes 41 (*Atlante* I, Tav. CXVI, 14-15; Papuc 1973, Fig. 13, 5), e gli stampi con il consueto motivo della croce decorata da due occhielli pendenti, motivo Hayes 67 (*Atlante* I, Tav. CXVII, 12-13), e da quattro occhielli, motivo Hayes 68 (*Atlante* I, Tav. CXVII, 16) (**figg. 9-10**). Il motivo della croce risulta ampiamente attestato a Gortina sia nel quartiere bizantino (Giuliodori c.d.s.b) che nell'attiguo Pretorio (Dello Preite 1997: 160, Fig. 15b-c, e-f, 165, Figg. 16-17, 189; Rizzo 2001: 63-64, Figg. 9-10).

Da mettere in evidenza, infine, il rinvenimento di 2 pareti lisce di sigillata focese ritagliate in forma circolare, del diametro di cm 1,9 e 2,4, secondo un uso messo già in evidenza a Gortina anche in altre produzioni, forse per ottenere dei tappi per piccoli recipienti o, più probabilmente, delle pedine da gioco in considerazione del ridotto diametro (Martin 1997: 366, 370, n. 14; Giuliodori c.d.s.b).

Per quanto riguarda le caratteristiche tecniche sono stati distinti macroscopicamente due gruppi principali. Il primo, che si riscontra soprattutto nella produzione più antica, è caratterizzato da argilla arancione chiaro, a frattura netta, polverosa, tenera e compatta con radi vacuoli allungati e rada calcite di forma allungata, vernice generalmente di colore rosso arancio chiaro, lucida, ma sottile e poco aderente, in genere scrostata ed evanida. Il secondo presenta argilla marrone-arancio a frattura netta, ruvida, dura e compatta ma con frequenti vacuoli stretti ed allungati, frequentissima calcite bianca o giallastra piccolissima e piccola ad effetto



Fig. 8. Terra sigillata focese: stampo con motivo di un cerbiatto in corsa (GO12.Cb.974.5).



Fig. 9. Terra sigillata focese: stampo con motivo della croce decorata da due pendenti (GO07.Cb.913.43).

puntinato, media più rada di forma allungata e vernice rossa, opaca, non molto sottile, compatta, aderente, che corrisponde al prodotto migliore e più caratteristico di questa classe ceramica. Negli esemplari più tardi la vernice diviene opaca e sottile, pur restando sempre aderente, e lascia intravvedere le linee di tornitura e le strisciate degli inclusi. In alcuni esemplari l'impasto, assai compatto, privo di vacuoli, assume una tonalità più marrone, è sempre ben cotto ed è associato ad una vernice sottile ma aderente che assume un colore marrone violaceo. Alcuni frammenti recano il caratteristico annerimento dell'orlo all'esterno e in pochi casi l'orlo risulta sbiancato per l'addensamento degli inclusi di calcite. Sono stati, inoltre, isolati alcuni frammenti che per il tipo di argilla di colore arancio con frattura a scaglie e vernice in genere scrostata sembrano appartenere ad altri centri di produzione sui quali si rende necessario indagare ulteriormente con analisi archeometriche. In generale si ritiene che la maggior parte del vasellame esportato provenga dalle officine della zona di Focea (Martin 1998: 109; Bes 2015: 25-26). La scoperta di altri centri produttori di sigillata focese/LRC ha formato, però, un quadro regionale più vasto, così come è stato riscontrato per altre classi di ceramica fine, che rende difficile sostenere l'arrivo esclusivo di prodotti da Focea, che resta pur sempre il principale centro esportatore, ma apre la strada alla possibilità che siano arrivati prodotti anche da altri siti come ad esempio da Efeso, dove è stata individuata una produzione che macroscopicamente non è distinguibile dai prodotti di Focea (Ladstätter e Sauer 2005). Ad esempio, sempre a Creta, ad Eleutherna, è stata identificata una produzione ritenuta in un primo momento di imitazione locale (Yangaki 2005: 123-125), la quale, invece, sembra sia stata prodotta da un qualche centro dell'Asia Minore diverso da Focea (Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 2014: 131-132). Ed è quindi probabile che anche a Gortina siano arrivati sia i vasi prodotti a Focea che quelli di altri centri.

Relativamente alla questione cronologica la sigillata focese in base alle forme rinvenute risulta attestata per l'intero periodo della sua produzione già a partire dalla fine del IV con



Fig. 10. Terra sigillata focese: stampo con motivo della croce decorata da quattro occhielli (GO12.Cb.1068.3).

il piatto Hayes 1A e fino al VII inoltrato con il piatto Hayes 10C, la cui data finale sulla base di alcuni contesti potrebbe slittare alla fine del secolo o agli inizi del successivo (Cau, Reynolds e Bonifay 2011: 7; Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 2014: 130-131). A questo proposito l'esame in corso di contesti dell'Edificio Sud sembra confermare questa ipotesi: infatti in alcuni strati datati alla fine del VII e/o agli inizi dell'VIII, rinvenuti nei diversi settori di scavo, in analogia con quanto constatato a Pseira e a Kythera, piatti Hayes 10C ricorrono come "residui" in associazione con la sigillata africana Hayes 104, 105, 107 in D2 ma soprattutto con forme in D4 e D4 tarda quali la Hayes 109B, Hayes 101 e 105 tarde, Bonifay 85 e 94, Hayes 1978b, B62-63, Lippolis 2, la più rara sigillata cipriota tarda Hayes 9B-C, con la ceramica sovradipinta bizantina e lucerne a fiaschetta (Giuliodori 2020), anfore egee tarde, anfore cretesi TRC4, 9, 10, 12 e spatheia Bonifay 33B/C, i tipi più tardi delle egiziane LR7.

Considerazioni finali

Dai dati sopra esposti risulta, pertanto, una predominante presenza dei piatti Hayes 3 e 10, che costituiscono, come noto, le due forme più diffuse della classe non solo a Gortina e a Creta ma, più in generale, nei diversi siti di consumo del Mediterraneo orientale e occidentale dove la sigillata focese

è stata rinvenuta, seguiti dal piatto Hayes 1 e dalla scodella Hayes 2 mentre le altre forme, quando documentate, lo sono sempre con un esiguo numero di esemplari (Martin 1998; Gandolfi 2005; Hayes 2008; Reynolds, Bonifay e Cau 2011; Bes 2015; Yangaki 2016). La presenza della Hayes 10C in strati datati alla fine del VII e ai primi decenni dell'VIII sembra confermare il proseguimento dell'importazione della focese sino a quell'epoca.

La sigillata focese tra le ceramiche fini di epoca tarda costituisce quella maggiormente attestata a Gortina e a Creta: si tratta di un dato noto da tempo, già a partire dallo studio pubblicato da A.C. Dello Preite (1984), seguito dalla pubblicazione dei materiali degli scavi Colini (Dello Preite 1997), da quella dei materiali degli scavi Di Vita sempre nel Pretorio (Rizzo 2001) e da tutta una serie di pubblicazioni più recenti che hanno interessato altri settori della capitale cretese (Rizzo 2004; Rizzo 2011; Lippolis, Giatti e Interdonato 2009: 108; Panero 2009: 26) sino ad arrivare alla sintesi su Gortina e Creta di A. Yankaki la quale presenta una bibliografia completa che include sia le pubblicazioni riguardanti Gortina che quelle dedicate a ad altri siti cretesi comprese le campagne di survey (Yangaki 2016: 204-205). Da ultimo è stata pubblicata la sigillata focese proveniente dall'area del Pythion (Bressan 2019) mentre è in corso di stampa il consistente nucleo di quasi duemila frammenti rinvenuto nello scavo delle Case bizantine, effettuato da A. Di Vita tra il 1982 e il 1989, che porta un'ulteriore contributo con un ampio repertorio di forme e di stampi a quanto già emerso nelle altre aree indagate della città (Giuliodori c.d.s.b). Il panorama della focese dell'Edificio Sud che si è venuto più sopra delineando ancora in via preliminare si inserisce perfettamente nel più ampio quadro tracciato per lo scavo delle Case bizantine all'interno del quale l'indagine dell'Ateneo maceratese costituisce un ulteriore importante approfondimento. Lo studio definitivo delle fasi dell'Edificio Sud con l'esame dettagliato dei diversi contesti potrà recare un nuovo contributo alle più recenti linee di ricerca sulla sigillata focese mentre future analisi archeometriche potranno chiarire quali fossero i centri di approvvigionamento che rifornivano di questo vasellame la capitale cretese.

Il motivo della grande fortuna della sigillata focese a Creta e a Gortina trova una spiegazione nel ruolo commerciale svolto dall'isola: Creta funge da ponte, come noto, per l'approvvigionamento delle merci provenienti dai mercati orientali e dirette a Costantinopoli e risulta assieme alla sua capitale pienamente coinvolta nei commerci del Mediterraneo orientale così come suggerisce la varietà dei contenitori da trasporto di produzione egea, siro-palestinese e anatolica rinvenuti (Portale 2011: 176, nota 99). In questo contesto commerciale si inserisce la sigillata focese che tra la fine del IV e il VII secolo domina il mercato delle ceramiche fini distribuita forse in collegamento, è stato proposto, alla grande richiesta di allume di cui la zona di Focea era particolarmente ricca (Martin 1998: 117; Gandolfi 2005: 248).

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THE ROMAN AGORA AT ATHENS REVISITED: POTTERY EVIDENCE FOR THE MONUMENT'S CONSTRUCTION AND THE FUNCTION OF THE AREA IN THE POST-SULLAN ERA

The so-called Market of Caesar and Augustus is one of the most prominent monuments of Roman Athens, whose chronology and original date of construction still pose problems. Deep excavation carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens below the west stoa yielded deposits relating to the foundation of the building complex, including a rich assortment of ceramics of all functional categories from various eastern and western sources. In addition to providing pottery evidence for dating the market's foundation, the finds contribute new data regarding the function of the area prior to the construction of the Roman Agora and shed light onto the still little-known pottery supply of the city in the post-Sullan and Early Augustan period.

Athens – Roman Agora – Fine Wares – Amphorae – Coarse Ware

Introduction

The so-called Market of Caesar and Augustus, also known as the Roman Agora, is one of the most prominent yet also puzzling monuments of Roman Athens. Its most visible element nowadays, the western gate with the inscription dedicated to Athena Archegetis, was known for centuries but a large part of the building still lies buried underneath the modern city (**fig. 1**). Although investigated since the mid-19th century, it was only in recent decades that it has been possible to gain more detailed information about its ground-plan and phasing (Sourlas 2008; 2012; 2013). As a result, our knowledge about its construction and chronology relies heavily upon various, and sometimes conflicting, interpretations of the available epigraphic and literary evidence (Travlos 1971: 28). In this paper, drawing upon our ongoing work on the finds from a rescue excavation conducted by the former First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (currently Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens), we present for the first time stratified pottery finds related to the construction of the monument and discuss the evidence for activities in the area prior to the start of the building operations.

The market is a near-rectangular building measuring 111 by 104 m in plan, consisting of an open-air area enclosed on all four sides by stoas and accessed through two monumental gateways on the western and eastern sides. On the lintel of the western gate, an ambiguous inscription informs us about the dedication during the archonship of Nikias of Athmonon. Just what was dedicated, the gate or the market, is not entirely clear, but this inscription together with other literary and prosopographic evidence has been regarded as the principal benchmark for dating the construction. Accordingly, it is generally accepted that the project was initiated in 51 BC with funds provided to the city by Julius Caesar. As a result of the city's siding with Pompey, it has been suggested that the project was abandoned after 47 BC, to be resumed only in 19 BC, during the hoplite generalship of the Athenian magistrate Eukles of Marathon, and was completed in 11 BC (Hoff 1989). Its dedication is dated to between the years 10 or 9 and 2 BC, but more recently it has been argued that Eukles served as archon in the mid-to-late 20s BC, during which time the dedication of the market presumably took place (Schmalz 2009: 79-80).

The excavation below the market's west stoa

Since 1999 the First Ephorate has carried out works along several areas of the Roman market as part of a large-scale project aiming at the unification of the archaeological sites of Athens (Sourlas 2008). Of particular importance is the rescue excavation which took place in 1999 and again in 2001 and 2002 in the interior of a private property across Taxiarchon and Dexippou St. which is situated exactly above the west stoa of the Roman market (Sourlas 2008: 106-109; Fig. 1). The excavation of four rooms in the cellar of the modern building led to the discovery of the foundation of the stylobate and of the back wall of the Roman market's western stoa, all built with the use of large conglomerate blocks placed in nine alternating header and stretcher courses without any use of plaster. Smaller parts of the same foundations had been discovered in the course of previous works in adjacent plots. The foundations of the about 83 m long western stoa were discovered at their northern end to a length of almost 24 m. Also, the entire width between the foundations of the stoa, measuring 7.75 m, could be established. Despite the restrictions posed by the excavation within the basement of the modern building and the occasional disturbances and

modifications during the Ottoman and later periods, the investigation yielded significant undisturbed stratigraphy relating to the construction of the monument.

Deep excavation down to about 4.80 m from the modern street level produced a series of fills, consisting of layers of dark brown earth full of pottery, alternating in a non-regular fashion with layers of chipped bedrock soil that contained no finds (**fig. 2**). From the thickness and regularity of the deposits, it seems certain that these massive fill layers had been created to prepare the area for construction – a significant technical undertaking because of the steep northern slope of the Acropolis. More specifically, it seems that the purpose

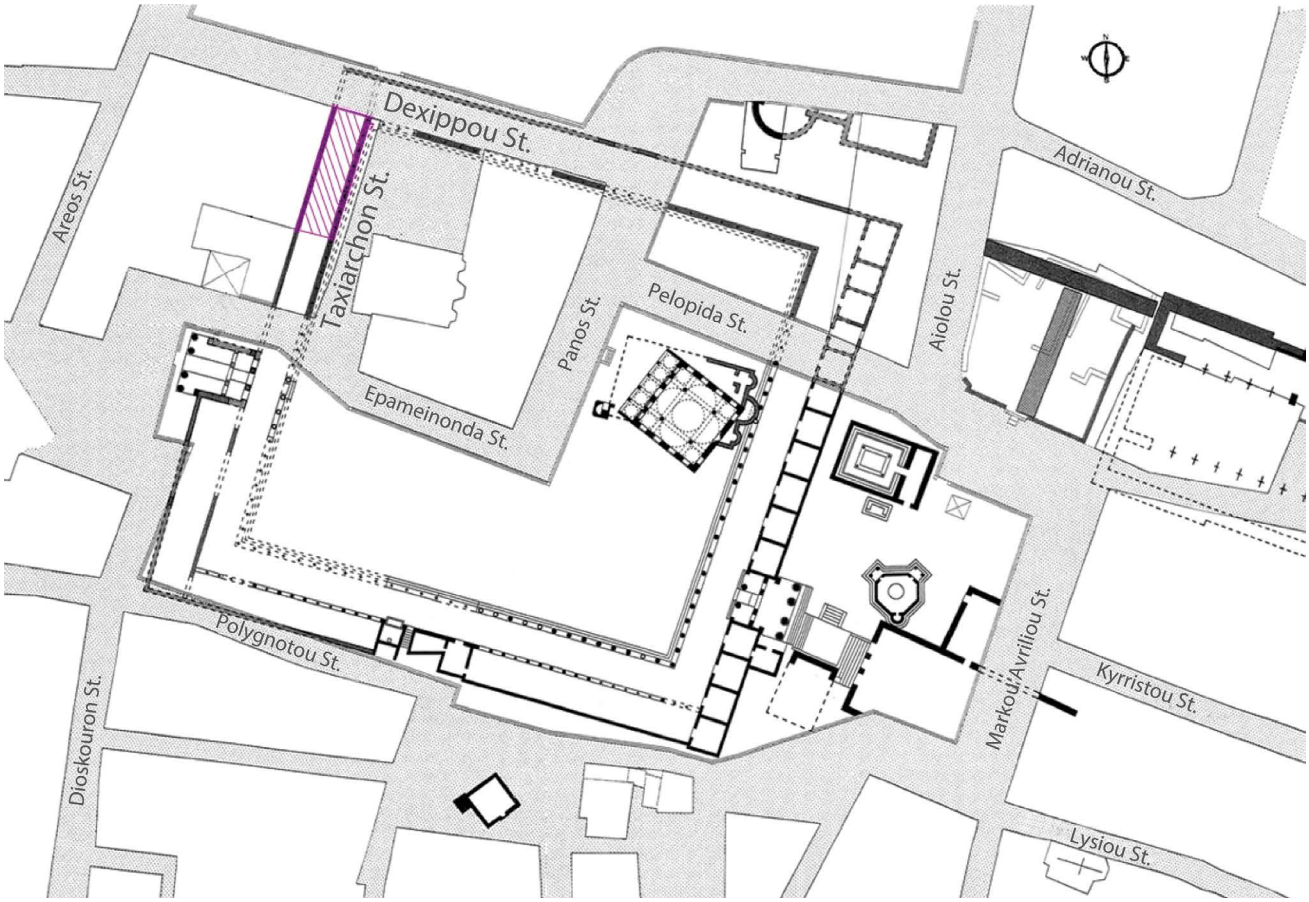


Fig. 1. Athens, Roman Agora and environs showing excavated property at Taxiarchon and Dexippou St. indicated by hatching (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens).

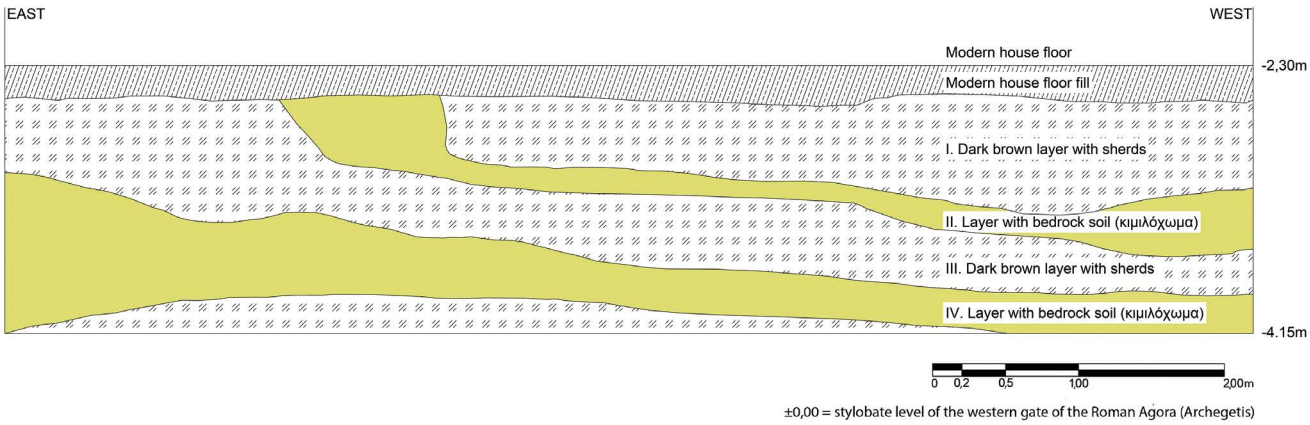


Fig. 2. Athens, Roman Agora. Stratigraphy of construction fill below west stoa.

was to raise the level of the ground between this part of the site and the area of the later library of Hadrian, where the natural bedrock is seven meters lower, and to create a well-drained foundation. Deposits of the same material had been encountered also during previous works in the area between the north peristyle and the north peribolos wall. This suggests that the respective fills were brought in and deposited during the same building operations. From this we are led to surmise that these works were executed as part of the same project and, most probably, during a rather short period of time (Sourlas 2008: 110). In one room of the modern property, excavation also revealed that the market's foundations had been constructed directly on the walls of pre-existing buildings dating to the Hellenistic period.

During our study, it became clear that the groups retrieved from the entire sequence demonstrate a similar range of finds, which consist of 1st century BC material mixed with that of Late Hellenistic and earlier date, containing, amongst others, the usual range of ceramics found in Athens in deposits related to the Sullan sack of 86 BC. Although not directly relevant for dating the construction of the Roman market, these finds clearly indicate the redeposition of Sullan debris during the building operations and thus provide a broad historical *terminus post quem*. This correlates well with the picture reported from elsewhere in Athens, where material from the Sullan destruction continued to be present in urban deposits as late as the 1st century AD (Rotroff 1997b: 35-36). More recently, Susan Rotroff based on the material from the Athenian Agora classified deposits containing Sullan debris into those created shortly after 87/6 BC, those created ca. 75 BC and those containing material of the later 1st century BC (Rotroff 2014). The deposits from the sequence under examination here can be assigned to these latter two groups. As will be discussed below, these derive not only from the building fill but also from an intensive phase of activity directly preceding the foundation of the market. In what follows, while focusing on the latest recognizable finds, we try to give an idea of the entire range of material present in the building fill and the contexts associated with the "pre-market" buildings in the area.

Pottery from the construction fill of the west stoa

Due to its extent and undisturbed nature, the construction fill below the peristyle of the western stoa is the most relevant for dating the market's foundation. In lack of other internal dating evidence, the pottery finds provide the most important chronological markers. Regarding fine pottery, Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) is the most common imported red-gloss table ware, comprising specimens of *Atlante* Forms 3, 4 and 22 (**fig. 3, 1-6**). One fragment of an *Atlante* Form 4 dish has an Isis crown stamp (**fig. 3, 3**). Such stamps occur by ca. 100 BC at Tel Anafa (Slane 1997: 335, 340-341), while at Athens they are considered typical of the Augustan period (Hayes 2008: 24). The occurrence of these forms and the overall predominance of ESA is in line with the evidence from other post-Sullan contexts at the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 1997a). Other imports include greywares of unidentified provenance (**fig. 3, 7**) and products from the region of Pergamon, which consist of dishes with incurved rim belonging to Meyer-Schlichtmann (1988) Forms T3, T4 and T5 (**fig. 3, 8-10**), small cups with outturned rim belonging to Form N15 (**fig. 3, 11**) and a bowl with flaring rim which is close to Form Sa 24 (**fig. 3, 12**). Italian imports are limited to only one fragment of a thin-walled 'thorn-ware' beaker or jar of unknown form and the rim fragment of a *Consp*. 4.4 dish (**fig. 3, 13**). The fragment is the only Italian sigillata find in the building fill and it is very important, since it is the latest identifiable fine ware, dated generally to the period between Oberaden and Haltern, namely 10 BC and AD 10, a significant piece of evidence for narrowing the date of the market's construction.

A wide range of local table wares, unguentaria and lamps provide further dating evidence. Local fine wares include numerous fragments of semi-glazed bowls with flaring rim (**fig. 3, 14-16**), hemispherical cups (**fig. 3, 17**) and fishplates with rilled rim (**fig. 3, 18**). They are all made in a rather soft, medium-coarse fabric and characterized by a red or reddish-brown matt glaze which most frequently covers the vessel's interior and the exterior of the rim. Similar shapes are attested in post-Sullan and 1st century BC contexts from the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 1997b: 152, 160). Except for a few imports from Asia Minor, most lamps are local mould-made products belonging to types spanning the third to the last quarters of the 1st century BC, such as Howland 52A (Howland 1958: 180-181), 52F (**fig. 3, 19**; Howland 1958: 189) and 52C/ Scheibler SML/ IV2 (**fig. 3, 20**; Howland 1958: 183-185; Scheibler 1976: 76-78). Rotroff (1997b: 513) dates Howland 52C lamps after 25 BC. A wide range of fusiform grey unguentaria are also attested. In addition to those with a tube-like shape and articulated or plain stem feet belonging to Rotroff's Category 6 (**fig. 3, 21-22**), there are also specimens of Rotroff's Categories 7 (**fig. 3, 23**) and 8 (**fig. 3, 24**), which are considered late in the series (Rotroff 2006: 154). Unguentaria of Rotroff's Category 6 and 7 are attested at the cemetery at Ag. Kostantinou and Geraniou St., a small number of which were found together with bulbous ones (Theodoropoulou et al. 2014). The fact that no bulbous unguentaria are attested from the market's construction fill is a strong indication that the building was founded before the new shape had become popular.

The coarse ware assemblage is also in line with a date late in the 1st century BC. Two series of household wares are attested. The first, comprising vessels with a matt partial red-coating, includes open shapes, mostly craters and basins or lekanai. The crater with the flaring rim and rolled horizontal handles (**fig. 4, 1**) is a shape frequent in Early Roman contexts in Greece and beyond (see e.g. Riley 1979: fig. 120, no. 809; Slane Wright 1980: fig. 6 no. 104; Dore 1989: 196-197, Type 216); here it represents an evolved version of the local lekane with offset rim of Hellenistic times (Rotroff 2006: 109-110); its shape and fabric are closely related to G 100 (Robinson 1959: 31 pl. 72) from a context now dated "ca. A.D. 20-40+" (Hayes 2008: 303, deposit R 10:1), from which it differs in the somewhat higher placement of the handles. The basin with an overhanging ribbed rim (**fig. 4, 2**) has no obvious direct parallels (for a Corinthian version with

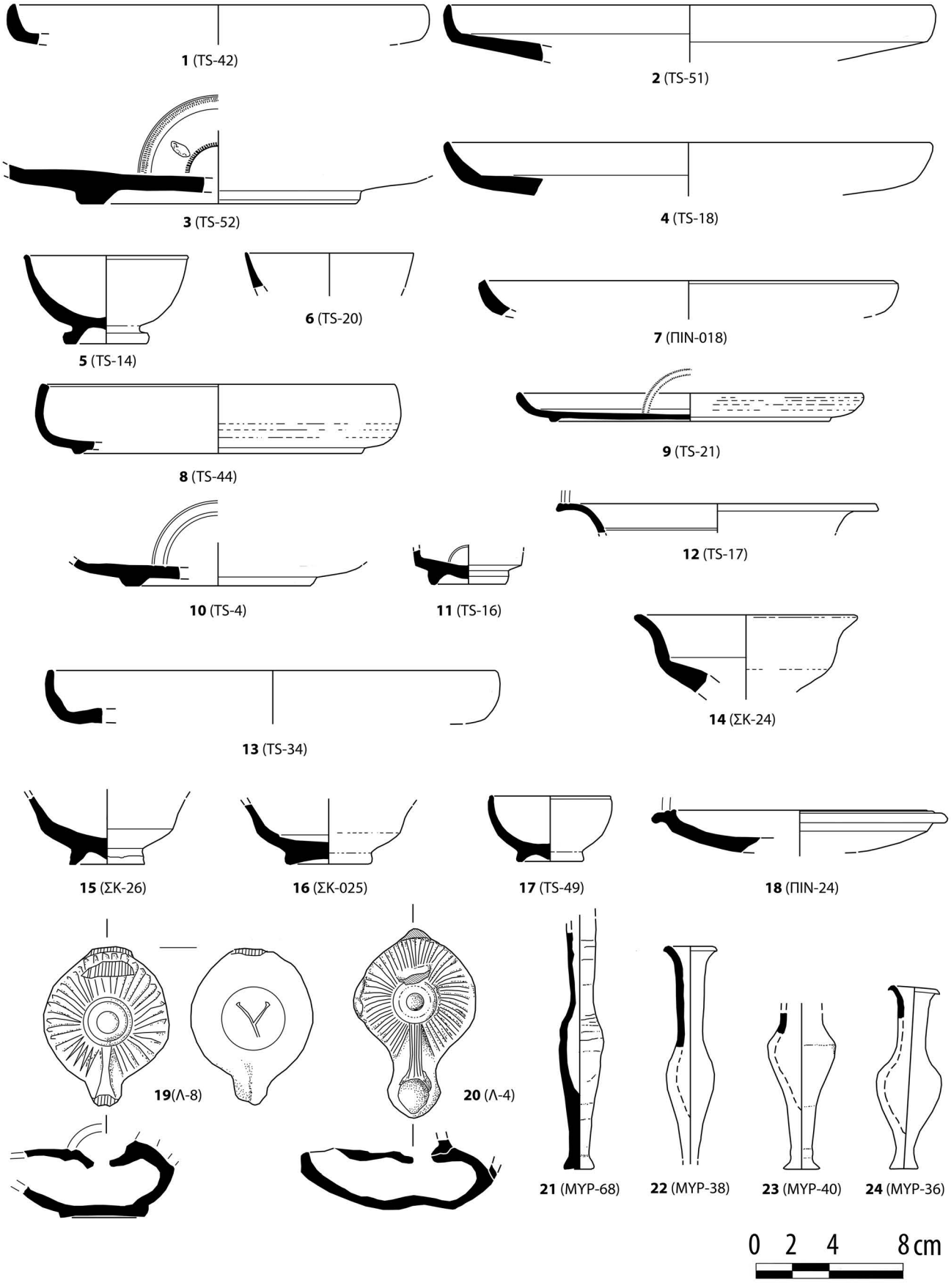


Fig. 3. Athens, Roman Agora, construction fill below west stoa: fine wares and lamps.

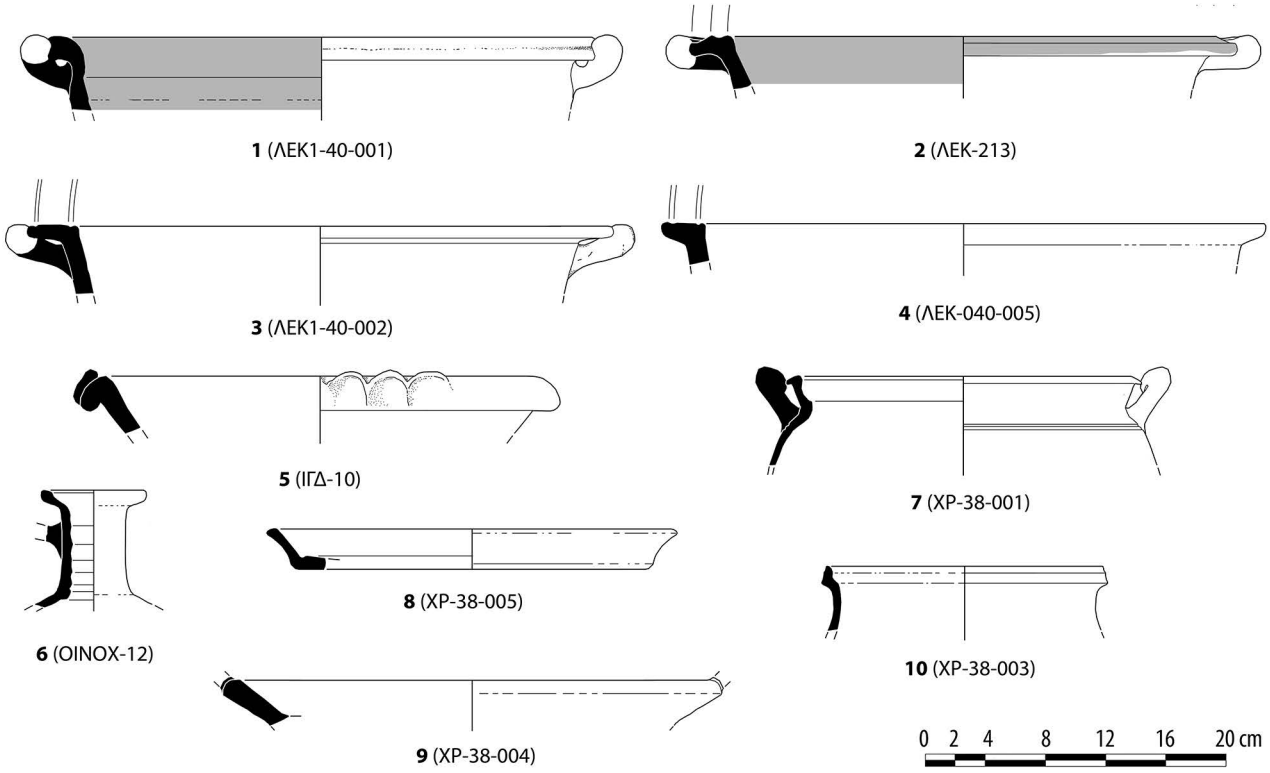


Fig. 4. Athens, Roman Agora, construction fill below west stoa: coarse wares.

flaring rim, see Slane 1986: 290-291, no. 84) but it is related to the previous in both fabric and execution. The plain series is made in a buff medium-coarse fabric and, in addition to pouring vessels such as in **fig. 4, 6**, it comprises handled lekanai and heavy-duty basins with thick walls and grooved rims (**fig. 4, 3-4**). The latter two shapes are also attested in post-Sullan Athens in the 1st century BC (Rotroff 2006: fig. 48, no. 280; fig. 49, no. 285; for the development of the form at Corinth, see Slane 1990: 120). An imported mortar is made in a black sand fabric similar to Campanian amphorae (**fig. 4, 5**). The majority of cooking wares are made in the local cooking fabric and many find parallels from Group F of the Athenian Agora (**fig. 4, 7-8**; Robinson 1959: pl. 3, nos. F 80-F 85). The few imports include a Phokaian flat-based pan with ring handles, a Hellenistic form that may be residual, and a cooking pot with an overhanging rim (**fig. 4, 9-10**).

The amphora material is exceptionally rich. Most finds belong to imports from the Aegean, including Rhodian (**fig. 5, 1-3**), Knidian (**fig. 5, 4-5**), Koan (**fig. 5, 6-7**) and Chian (**fig. 5, 8**), as well as several minor and unidentified types. Another late stamp with a palm branch occurs on a Knidian amphora handle (**fig. 5, 5**). Such stamps are known from Athens and elsewhere and are dated to the later part of the 1st century BC (Grace 1934: no. 282; Römer 1983: 268, no. 9; Jöhrens 1999: 238, no. 810). An unexpected find is the rim of what appears to be an alum amphora from Melos (**fig. 5, 9**). The type is well-documented in North Italian sites by the last quarter of the 1st century BC (Cipriano et al. 2005; Quiri and Spagnolo 2015) but to the best of our knowledge it has not been reported so far from elsewhere in Greece outside Melos itself (Raptopoulos 2005). Imports from other areas of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea are represented by few examples. From the former region comes a small flat-based table amphora (Agora F73; **fig. 5, 10**), the fabric of which suggests a Cilician origin (Robinson 1959: 18, no. F 73, pl. 2; 85, no. M 12, pl. 18). A single find (**fig. 5, 11**) can be identified as a Sinopean Sin Ic amphora on the basis of its fabric and form (Vnukov 2017: 106).

In contrast, Italian imports are numerous and from various sources. In addition to several Graeco-Italic amphorae manufactured mostly in Campanian fabrics, which date probably before 86 BC, the construction fill has yielded fragments of Lamboglia 2, Brindisi, Dressel 1B, Dressel 21-22 and Dressel 2-4. Several belong to types presumably imported to Athens in the early decades following the Sullan sack, but the majority seem to date from around the middle of the century onwards. Of interest here is the occurrence of two Dressel 1B fragments with stamps on the rim. The first has a smudgy, difficult-to-read, retrograde stamp which might record the name B.SENILIS (**fig. 5, 12**), a stamp reportedly attested on a Dressel 1 discovered at the oppidum of Châteaumeillant in Gaul (Laubenheimer and Barthélémy-Sylvand 2010: 26). The second is stamped with the name abbreviation NICOMAC and the countermark FAB (**fig. 5, 13**). These stamps are attested, amongst others, on Dressel 1B finds from the Dramont A shipwreck (sunk ca. 50 BC; Liou and Pomey 1985: 569) and the Late La Tène chariot burial from Boé, associated with pottery of the third quarter of the 1st century BC (Gruat 1994: 192).

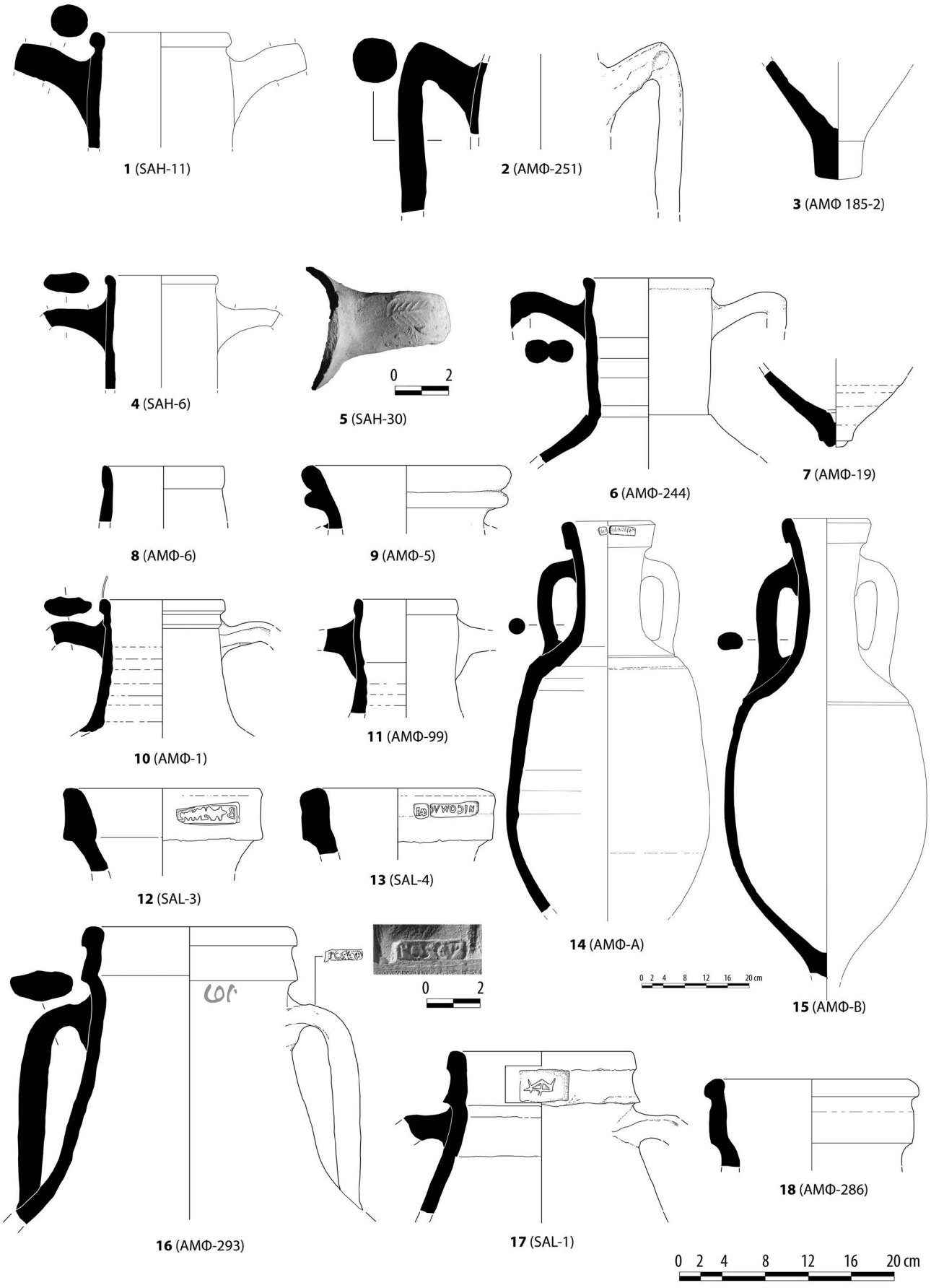


Fig. 5. Athens, Roman Agora, construction fill below west stoa: imported amphorae (nos. 14 and 15 drawn by A. Drigkopoulou).

Most of the Italian amphorae belong to the Lamboglia 2 class from the Adriatic. In addition to numerous fragments, two near-complete amphorae were retrieved from the building fill at the level of the fifth header-and-stretcher course of the foundation wall (**fig. 5, 14-15**). One has a rectangular stamp on the rim with the name MANTAM (M in ligature) and a square countermark stamp with the abbreviation FAB (**fig. 5, 14**). They both can be ascribed to the Lamboglia 2C subtype, which is considered as transitional between Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6A, according to the classification by Alka Starac (2020) based on the material from Pula. Lamboglia 2 amphorae are reported from various find contexts in Athens (Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2001). Based on the finds from the Athenian Agora, it has been argued that amphorae of this class were imported to the city in small numbers from the late 2nd century BC but grew in importance in the post-Sullan period (Will 1997: 128), an observation reinforced by the assemblage under examination.

Another significant group of Italian amphorae, which, nevertheless, has not been reported so far from excavations in Athens, consists of Dressel 21-22, now considered to have carried various types of fish sauce. Following Botte's (2009) classification, two main types can be distinguished, namely Type 3 (**fig. 5, 16**), originating from Campania, and Type 1 which has been attributed to Sicily (**fig. 5, 17**). The specimens of Botte Type 1 have symbol stamps on the rim, while two Botte Type 3 fragments are stamped on the handle with the Latin abbreviation POSTCVRT, known amongst others from finds in Jerusalem and Ephesos, where it has been associated with the Roman banker and Cicero's friend Gaius Curtius Postumus who was active around the middle of the 1st century BC (Bezeczky 2013: 213-217). Also represented but in somewhat lesser quantities are specimens belonging to Botte Type 2 (**fig. 5, 18**), which has been attributed to a southern Calabrian production. The occurrence of all three types in the building fill is important in terms of the overall chronology of the class, as it suggests that by the time that the Roman Agora was built, production in Italy was already fully developed and exports from all respective producing regions were reaching Athens.

In addition to this material, the construction fill has also yielded small numbers of imports from North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, as well as from other unidentified, possibly western sources. In addition to hollow spikes belonging to North African amphorae of the Punic tradition (**fig. 6, 1-2**), there is a ringed hollow spike from an unidentified type (**fig. 6, 3**), the rim of a possible Tripolitanian amphora (**fig. 6, 4**), and several 'a gradino'-type rims of another unidentified ovoid (?) type (**fig. 6, 5-6**). The latter are made in a relatively fine light brown fabric, and they show characteristic criss-cross brush-marks on the interior of the neck and rim. Amphorae with similar-looking profiles as the latter are known from the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem, dating to the last third of the 1st century BC (Finkielzstejn 2019: 225, fig. 14). These western types have also been recorded from the Middle Stoa building fill (Lawall 2006: 271, fig. 2), now thought to have been deposited century 170 BC (Rotroff 2006: 362), but since they come from a disturbed area, it is possible that they date to the post-Sullan period, a possibility now reinforced by their occurrence in the assemblage under examination.

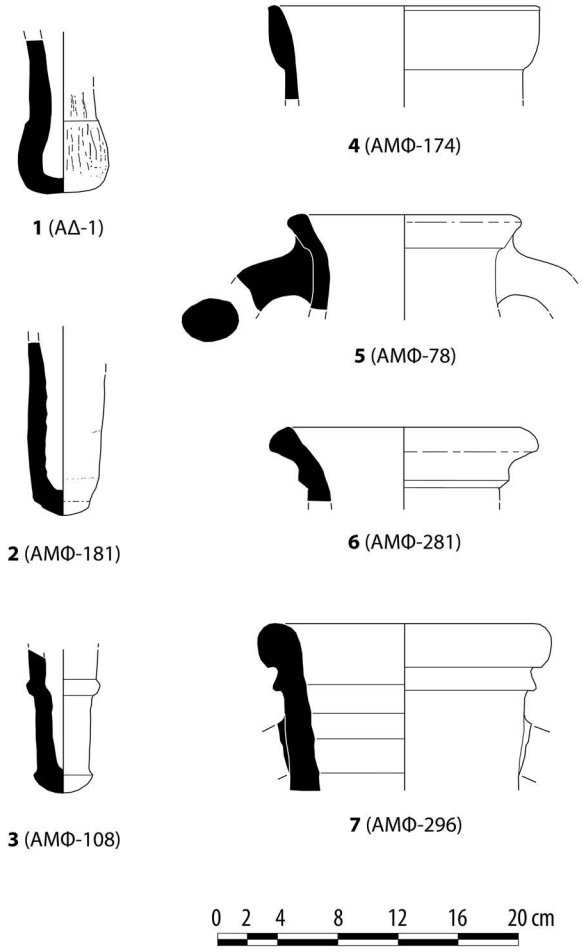


Fig. 6. Athens, Roman Agora, construction fill below west stoa: other amphora imports.

A rare find is a rim made in a coarse sandy fabric (**fig. 6, 7**), which belongs to a Lomba do Canho 67 amphora from the Guadalquivir valley, a type also documented at Ephesos (Bezeczky 2013: 136-137).

Deposits associated with the "pre-market" activity in the area

Directly below the building fill of the Roman market, in the cellar of the private property investigated and almost in the middle of the excavated area, the lowermost course of the foundation wall of the west stoa was found straddling a NW-SE stone wall preserved to 5.50 m in length and measuring 0.80 m in width (**figs. 7, 8**). This wall abutted another short wall at its SE corner and incorporated a monumental threshold block and a smaller one, very close to the first, with pivot holes for doors. The original plan of the building, to which these remains belonged, could not be established further during the excavation, but, judging from the size of the threshold blocks, this must have been a private house or commercial space (Sourlas 2008: 107-108). Based on the pottery and other finds the building was constructed in the Hellenistic period and remained in use in post-Sullan times.



Fig. 7. Athens, Roman Agora. Foundation wall of west stoa and pre-existing building remains (photo: E. Bardani, Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of City of Athens).

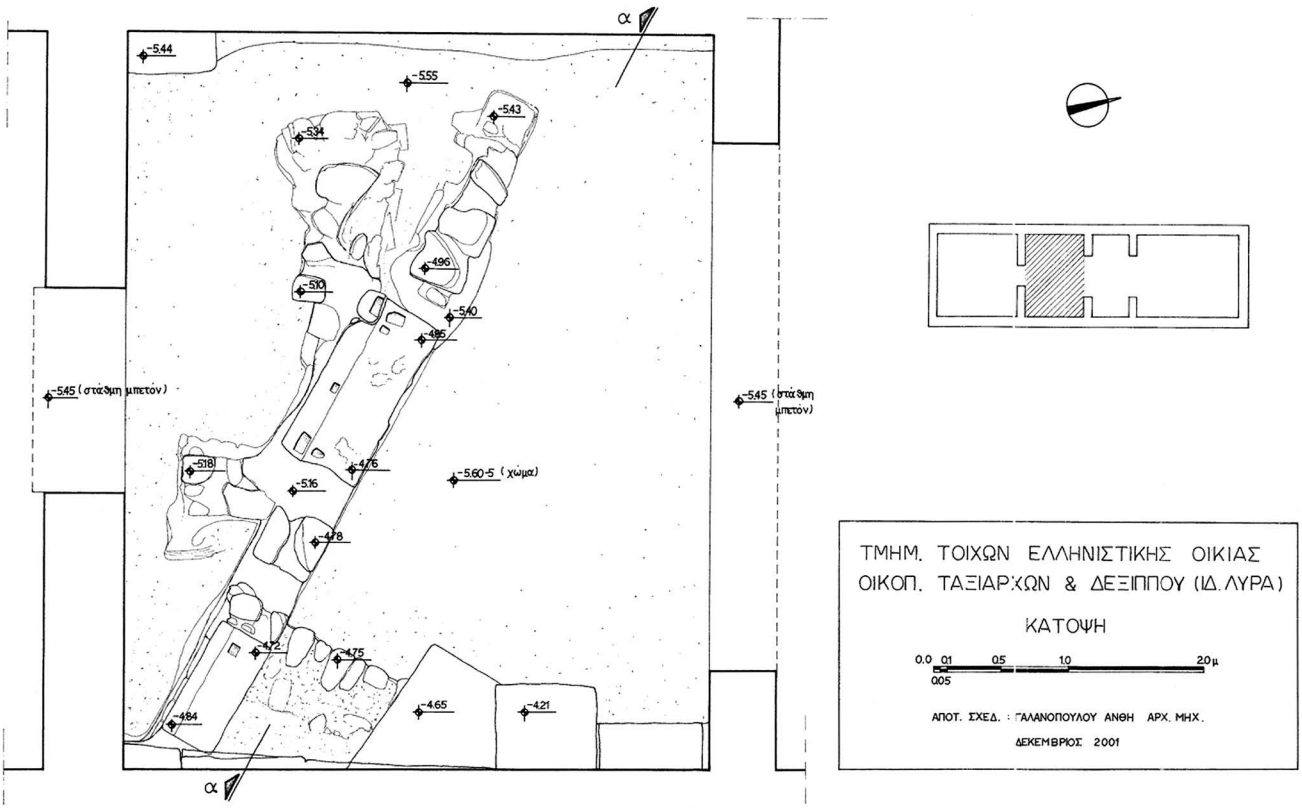


Fig. 8. Athens, Roman Agora. Plan of pre-existing building remains (drawing: A. Galanopoulou, Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of City of Athens).

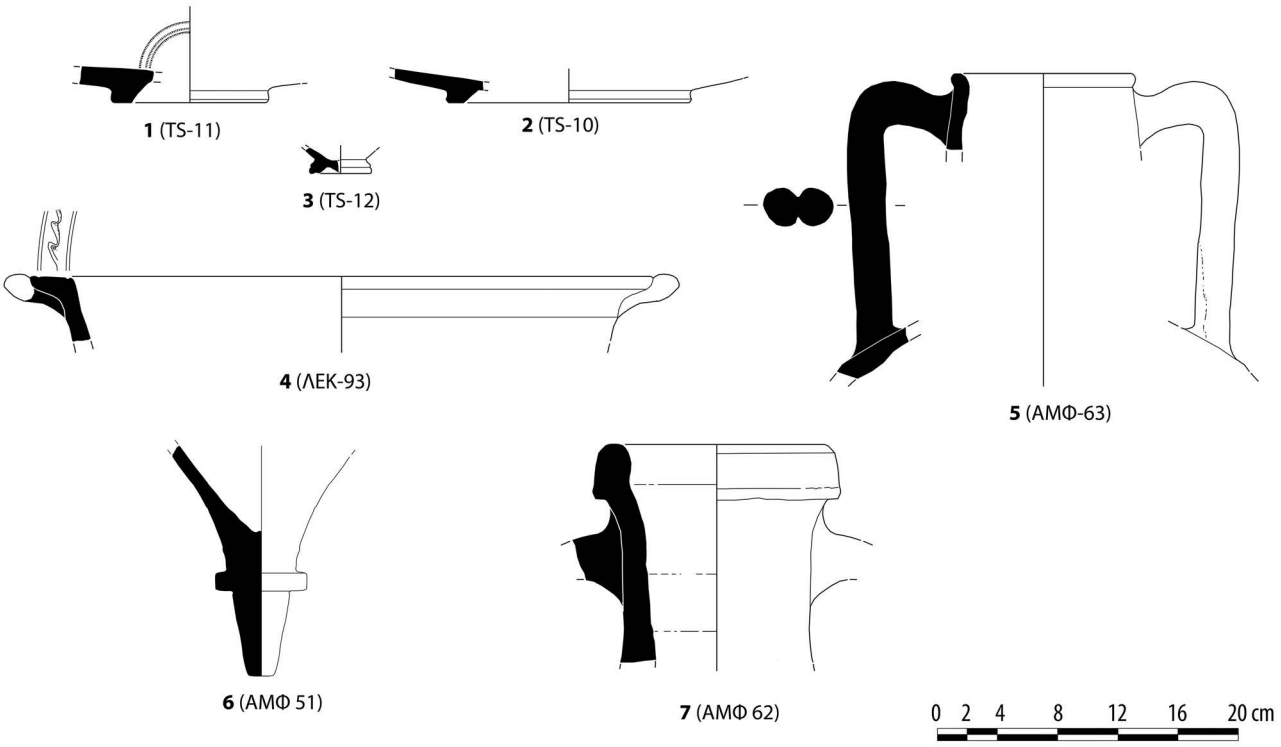


Fig. 9. Athens, Roman Agora. Pottery from use surface near Hellenistic building.

The pottery collected from underneath an associated use surface in front of the wall with the threshold blocks includes several diagnostic finds that can provide a *terminus post quem* for its use. Finewares include a few fragments of ESA *Atlante* Form 3 and 4 dishes (**fig. 9, 1-2**) and the fragment of a Pergamene cup of unidentified type (**fig. 9, 3**). A basin with grooved rim and a wavy line (**fig. 9, 4**) finds a direct form parallel from a context at the Athenian Agora dated 100-50 BC (Rotroff 2006: 275 no. 280, fig. 48; no. 282). Amphora finds include a double-barreled Koan (**fig. 9, 5**), a Knidian toe (**fig. 9, 6**) and a Lamboglia 2B rim (**fig. 9, 7**) close to Starac rim types 6-8 (Starac 2020: 30, fig. 59). Although all wares and types are attested in Athens already before 86 BC, the presence of the Lamboglia 2B amphora which is regarded to have developed after 80 BC (Starac 2020: 31) suggests that the assemblage dates to post-Sullan times, perhaps in the context of repairs following damages during the Sullan sack (Sourlas 2008: 108). This conclusion is reinforced by an Athenian "star-and-crescent" bronze drachma, dated 86 BC, and an Athenian New Style bronze drachma of ca. 70 BC recovered from underneath a concentration of rubble from the area to the S of the wall with the threshold blocks.

The discovery of these building remains demonstrates that prior to the construction of the Roman market a cluster of houses and/or commercial establishments existed in this area from Hellenistic times and into the post-Sullan period. This is in line with the older discoveries of residential and commercial buildings dated to the Late Hellenistic and earlier periods along the so-called "plateia odos", the road that connected the Athenian Agora and the space where the Roman market was erected (Shear 1973: 138-142; 1975: 346-361). The precise duration that the establishment under examination here remained in use is difficult to ascertain. The building could have been demolished at any time during the first century BC, but only in the last decade at the latest, when the area was covered by the massive fills to raise the ground for the construction of the Roman market. Accordingly, the pottery from the building fill of the Roman market is likely to derive from the clean-up of such pre-existing buildings in the area that were cleared to make space for the new market complex. The commercial function of the area during this "pre-market" phase is reflected in the richness and variety of the amphora imports from across the eastern and western Mediterranean spanning the pre-Sullan period right into the later part of the 1st century BC. It could also indicate that in the post-Sullan period, at least, the commercial establishments that existed in this area specialized in the trade of specific commodities from certain regions, as in the case of Italian olive oil and fish products.

Conclusion

The finds examined above provide for the first time stratified evidence for establishing the date of construction of the Roman Agora. Although epigraphic and other sources have been taken to suggest that the market was built intermittently between the times of Caesar and Augustus, the sequence of deposits encountered during excavation of the building fill of the west stoa does not point to any distinct construction phases but suggests that the building operations took place in one go and as part of the same project. Based on the

latest finds from the construction fill, this took place in the last quarter of the century and most probably after 10 BC. Since works must have taken several years to complete, a date in the last decade BC seems reasonable. At the same time, the findings give a unique insight into the function of the area prior to the construction of the market. The range of pottery in the market's building fill and the discovery of Hellenistic building remains that continued to be in use in the post-Sullan period suggest that this district was already home to commercial establishments with links to extensive supply networks. Future work will contribute more detail to the local and imported wares and their significance for understanding post-Sullan and Early Roman Athens.

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Christa Schauer, Claudia Mächler & Stefan Distler

NEW RESEARCH ON THE LEONIDAION IN OLYMPIA . A GROUP OF POTTERY FROM A CLOSED CONTEXT AS DATING EVIDENCE FOR THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CONSTRUCTION PHASE

Among the secular buildings in Olympia, the Leonidaion was the largest and most magnificent. Erected in the late 4th century BC to the southwest of the Altis, it served as a banqueting house and guesthouse and underwent several alterations until its final destruction in the 3rd century AD. In connection with a new architectural study of the Leonidaion, a series of small trenches was opened to further clarify the building history. The 2018 excavation in the water basin in the southwest corner of the Roman courtyard provided new evidence for fixing the date of the elaborate Roman remodelling. It revealed a characteristic sequence of layers containing destruction debris and a closed deposit of well-preserved ceramic vessels, lamps, and glass. Based on the architectural features, the stratigraphy and the detailed examination of the finds, the Roman remodelling can now be dated securely to the 1st century AD.

Olympia – Leonidaion – Building history – Roman Imperial architecture – Roman pottery, lamps, and glass

Introduction

The Leonidaion (Borrmann 1892: 83-93, pls. 62-66; Kunze 1958: 4-5; Kunze 1961: 1-5. 11 and 16-17; Mallwitz 1972: 246-254) is situated to the southwest of the Altis. At over 6000 m^2, it is the largest secular building in Olympia. Funded by the Naxian benefactor Leonides (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: cols. 665-668 no. 651; Treu 1888), the monumental building was erected in the Late Classical period and served as a banqueting house (Heermann 1984; Hoepfner 1996: 36-40; Leypold 2008: 104-110). In the fifth book of his Description of Greece, written between 150 and 180 AD, Pausanias (Paus. 5, 15, 2) informs us that in his day, the Leonidaion was used as accommodation for the Roman governors of Greece. Over more than 500 years of building history, the Leonidaion underwent several phases of structural and functional changes.

Although the northern half of the Leonidaion was uncovered as early as 1879-1881 and the remaining part of the building was excavated in 1954-1956, its architecture has not been fully studied and a detailed building history has yet to be established. Alfred Mallwitz, the architect and later director of the Olympia excavations, carried out invaluable research on specific aspects of the architecture. His successor Klaus Herrmann also made outstanding contributions until shortly before his death (Herrmann 2013). Herrmann finally entrusted Claudia Mächler with the systematic architectural study and future publication of the history of this unique building. Since then, multiple field campaigns have been carried out, supported by the German Archaeological Institute, Head Office, Department of Architecture and the Athens Department in coordination with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Ilia in Olympia, and a series of preliminary reports has been published (Mächler 2015; 2017; 2019; 2020). This new study combines traditional and modern methods. It encompasses all the preserved architectural members and archival evidence and will provide a complete set of 2D and 3D documentation and visualisations. During the project, the Leonidaion was extensively cleaned and several small trenches were opened to further clarify the building history. One of them, in a previously unexplored basin, provided significant new evidence for the Roman building phase.

The extensive architectural remodelling of the Leonidaion that took place in the Roman Imperial period made major changes to the interior design of the building. Also, the former courtyard was transformed into a luxurious garden featuring curved water basins and islets. This Roman construction phase was traditionally thought to have been implemented in the 2nd century AD as suggested by Richard Borrmann (1892) and later by Alfred Mallwitz (1972: 252) and Werner Fuchs (2013: 294-295 and 299). This opinion was mainly based on comparisons with Hadrianic architecture (Teatro Marittimo) in Tivoli (Ueblacker 1985). However, there was no reliable stratigraphic evidence to support this theory. The garden design with the water basins was conventionally attributed to the Antonine era (Borrmann 1892: 93; Fuchs 2013: 305). This was because the excavators originally considered that the amount of water used in the western area of Olympia, including the Leonidaion, would have required the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus to already be in existence. However, the second-century aqueduct that fed the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus and Regilla replaced an older aqueduct fed from the Kladeos valley, as Mallwitz has already pointed out (cf. Mallwitz 1972: 152; 1988: 34). More recent typological studies, particularly that conducted by Stefan Specht (Specht 1996; 2001) who cited possible earlier influences from Roman residential and palatial architecture on the Roman ground plan of the Leonidaion, suggested that it was more probable that the remodelling



Fig. 1. Basin in the southwest corner of the courtyard of the Leonidaion with the Hill of Kronos in the background. (Photo by T. Kühnel).

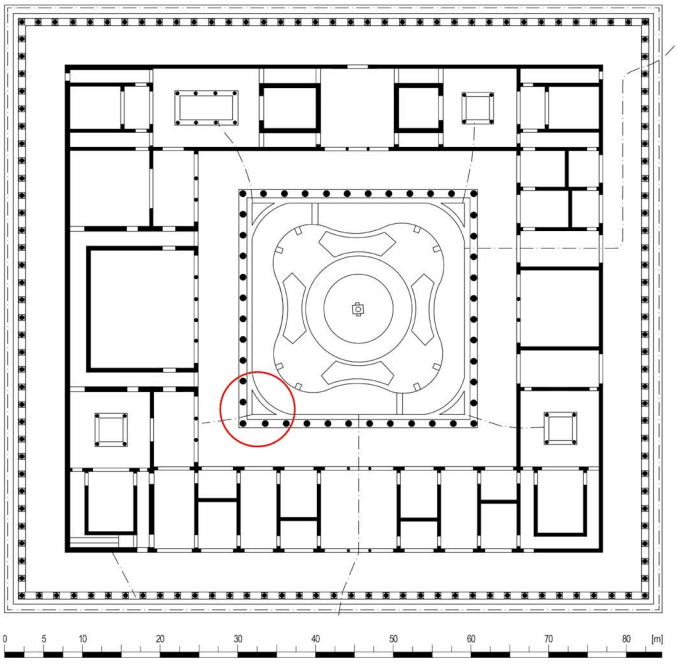


Fig. 2. Schematic ground plan of the Leonidaion in the Roman Imperial period. The circle indicates the position of the southwest basin. (Plan by C. Mächler based on plans by A. Mallwitz and their adaptation by K. Herrmann and M.-L. Charalambis [Inv. DAI Athens B 2674]).

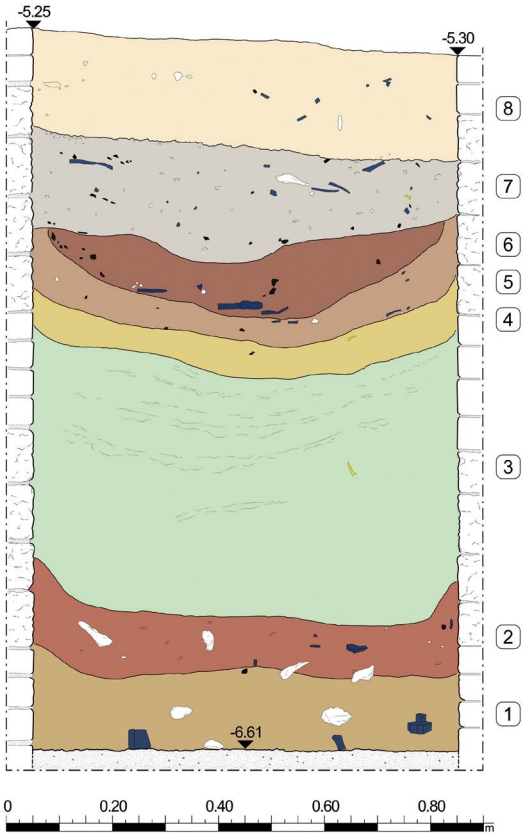


Fig. 3. Southwest basin. Section showing layers 1-8. (C. Mächler after S. Distler).

began as early as the 1st century AD (cf. also Fuchs 2013: 278; Herrmann 2013: 341).

In 2018, during the new architectural study of the Leonidaion, we had the opportunity to open a trench in the small basin in the southwest corner of the Roman courtyard (**fig. 1**, and **fig. 2**). This was one of the few areas that had remained untouched by the previous excavations and so enabled us to reappraise the chronology of the Roman construction phase. As a result, the date of the Roman remodelling can now be firmly fixed in the 1st century and most probably to the Flavian era due to the stratigraphy.

The stratigraphic evidence

The characteristic sequence of layers found in the basin (**fig. 3**) revealed several almost horizontally embedded strata. They differed both in terms of composition and in the state of preservation of the find material they contained.

The strata directly above the floor of the basin (layers 1 and 2) contained debris from the original Leonidaion roof, including a lion-head spout and a joining sima fragment (Schauer, Mächler and Distler 2020: 28-29 fig. 2) and burned roof tiles that are apparently associated with a destruction event. Layer 2 in the upper part of the destruction debris enclosed an assemblage of well-preserved pottery vessels and lamps datable to the second half of the 1st century AD. This destruction deposit was covered by a particularly distinctive layer of silt with a small amount of sand (layer 3), obviously washed into the former water basin and up to 50 cm thick. The upper part yielded a broken, but otherwise almost complete, delicate, colourless glass beaker. Layer 4, though somewhat different in composition from the silt layer, may also have been washed in. Layers 5-8 contained a large number of artefacts and can be interpreted as intentional infills with rubble material mainly from the 1st and earlier 2nd centuries. Only the top layer (layer 8) held later material.

After being intentionally filled in, the spandrel-shaped basin could no longer serve its former purpose as a collecting basin for water from the roof.

The fill shows that the basin was abandoned as early as the second half of the 1st century.

As the basin belongs to the Early Roman building, the artefacts from the fill proved to be particularly important for evaluating the chronology of the Roman Imperial construction phase including the garden architecture.

The pottery and glass finds

In the layer directly above the basin floor (layer 1), fragments of two probably Early Imperial vessels, a cooking pot with a globular body and a round-mouthed jug, were uncovered. The following layer (layer 2) in the upper part of the destruction debris contained several well-preserved clay vessels. They include vessels used for cooking, closed vessels for storing liquids, tableware and lamps. These finds form a ceramic ensemble that may have been used together at the time of destruction and can be dated as a group (destruction deposit group) to the second half of the 1st century AD.



Fig. 4. Lamps from layer 2 (destruction layer). (Photos by K.-V. von Eickstedt).

Three wheel-thrown lamps from the assemblage (K 13941, K 13942, K 13943, **figs. 4, 3-5**) are examples of late Eleian *Kragenlampen* lamps. This is still the most common type found in Olympia in the Early Roman Imperial period (cf. Eilmann 1944a: 89-90 figs. 65-66; Schauer 2008: 229-233 fig. 6; Schilbach 1999: 137 pls. 33, 2 and 33, 4) at least until the middle and probably into the third quarter of the 1st century. They are accompanied by two fragmented mould-made lamps. One is oval with a reddish glaze (K 13944, **fig. 4, 2**), similar to a lamp published by Fuchs (Fuchs 2013: 303 fig. 55). The other is circular with a brown glaze (K 13984, **fig. 4, 1**). Despite its fragmented state, the characteristic presence of a glaze, the absence of stamped decoration on the shoulder, the shape of the handle that ends well above the base and the U-shaped nozzle set off by a transverse groove all show that it can be classified as a Loeschcke type VIII with nozzle type L 2 (Loeschcke 1919: 237-238). North of the Alps, according to Loeschcke, this type was mainly distributed in the middle of the 1st century and in the Flavian period. In Greece, it appeared in the mid-1st century AD (Williams 1981: 24-27 nos. 123-125 pl. 5).

The dating determined by Loeschcke can be confirmed by lamps from the Vesuvian cities. In Pompeii and Herculaneum, Loeschcke type VIII lamps are among the most common but generally have potters' marks on their bases (Bailey 1980: 300 nos. Q1214-1215 pl. 57; Pavolini 1977: 38-39 pls. XX, 4 and XXIII, 25-26). A find complex from a 1992 excavation in Herculaneum (Niemeyer 2018: 40 fig. 31) includes three terracotta lamps with plain rims and red glaze. They were carried by a group of people trying to escape the volcanic eruption, confirming that lamps of this type were in use in 79 AD. Therefore, dating K 13984 to the same period seems reasonable. As the base of K 13984 is fragmented, we cannot rule out that it might have had a potter's mark, but a base from the same find complex and other similar lamps from Olympia are unmarked. Furthermore, the fabric of the red-painted, mould-made lamps from Olympia does not show the black volcanic inclusions that are characteristic for pottery from the Vesuvian area. Therefore, their production site must be

elsewhere. Lamps of this particular subtype were imitated in Ephesus in the eastern Aegean, as reported by Meriç (2002: 126 nos. L95-98 pl. 82). According to an archaeometric study of lamps found in Patras (Petropoulos 1999; Rathosi et al. 2005), red-painted lamps of the 1st and early 2nd centuries AD (albeit not including Loeschcke type VIII) may have been produced in Patras by a branch of an Italian workshop to supply the Roman veteran colony established in Patras by Augustus (for information on the foundation cf. Rizakis 1998: 46-48).

One of the best-preserved finds from the destruction deposit is an almost complete cooking pot (K 13948, **fig. 6, 1**). It is paralleled by a pot found in the fill of the swimming pool under the Kladeos Baths in Olympia (Eilmann 1944b: 100 figs. 80 and 84) and can therefore be dated to the 1st century AD. In addition to the large cooking pot, further distinctive vessels from the destruction deposit include a smaller cooking pot (K 13945, **fig. 6, 2**) of similar shape, several more or less fragmented drinking vessels (K 13946, K 13949, K 13976, K 13977, **figs. 5, 1-2 and 4-5**), a tiny plate with traces of red slip (K 13956, **fig. 5, 3**), a table amphora (K 13952, **fig. 7, 2**) and two fragmented jugs (K 13953, **fig. 7, 1** and K 13954, **fig. 7, 3**).

As the framework of regional pottery productions in the Roman Peloponnese, including the region of Eleia, has yet to be established, the search for convincing parallels for our vessels is not very promising. There is, however, a well-known group of pottery vessels from the Flavian era recovered from the Athenian Agora and published by Robinson (Robinson 1959: 22-39, group G layer IIb; cf. the revised dating by Hayes 1973: 425 to 1-25 AD for layer IIa and the Late Flavian period for layer IIb), although the drinking cups from this group (Robinson 1959: nos. G 39, G 79 and G 80) are attributed to layer IIa.

From Olympia itself, there are two published groups of pottery from closed deposits of the first half of the 1st century AD (Schauer 2003: 271-272 fig. 1; 2008: 229-232 with figs. 6-8) dating to the destruction of the Hellenistic bath located to the north of the Prytaneion. It is evident that the repertoire of shapes in these deposits differs significantly from the Leonidaion group. Hence, the Leonidaion deposit with its tableware and lamps definitely represents a later chronological stage. On the other hand, characteristic types like the *urnetta/boccalino a collarino* and unpainted lamp types that became popular in Greece at the turn of the 2nd century are not yet present in the destruction deposit group. In the southwest basin, fragments of this type are present only in the top layers. On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to date the destruction deposit group to the second half of the 1st century, although some of the drinking vessels seem to reflect older, Italian thin-walled types.

Perhaps the most characteristic drinking vessel is K 13976 (**fig. 5, 1**), a two-handled shallow cup with red slip and a distinctive groove on the wall. We have not found an exact parallel, but one possible predecessor for this probably Eleian cup is a type with convex rim and convex or biconical body produced in Italy mainly in the second half of the 1st century BC (Marabini Moevs 1973: 81-82 form XXV pl. 99, 3; Ricci 1985: 298 type 2/316 pl. 95, 9 with bibliography) and also popular in Greece until the early 1st century AD (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2017: 65-66 and 201 nos. 51-53 pl. 19; Robinson 1959: 13 no. F 26 pl. 63; cf. the revised dating of group F to 1-20 AD by Hayes 1973: 425). Relation with this type is also considered by Slane and Kögler for a Knidian grey ware type with a broad groove in the middle of the body, known from Tel Anafa (Slane 1997: 369 no. FW 542) and from Knidos, where Kögler considers two undecorated cups (Kögler 2010: 101 nos. Kn 12-13 fig. 53 and footnote 416) as late examples of the shape and dates them already in the second half of the 1st century.

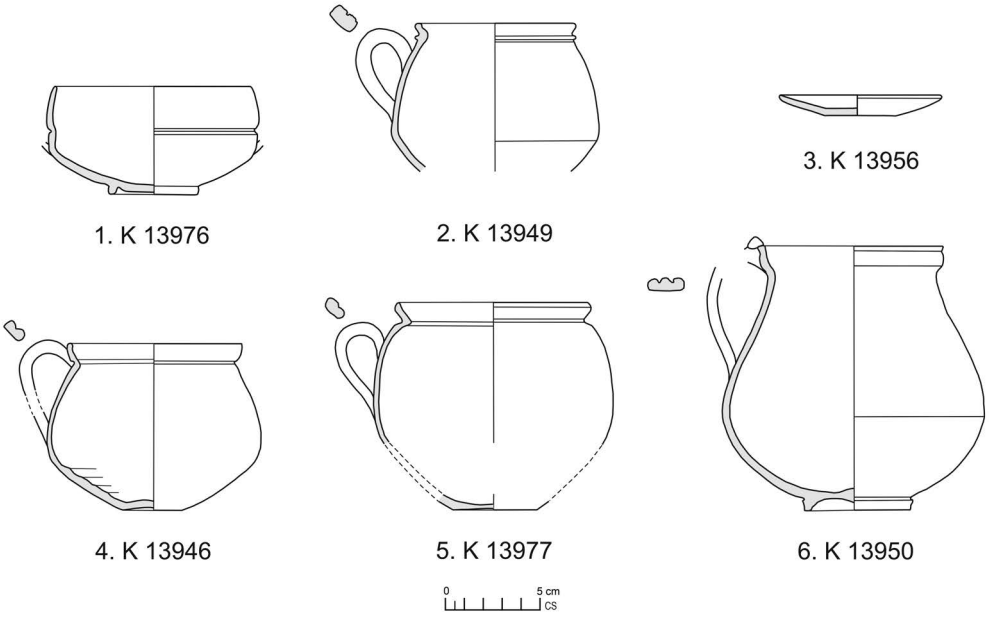


Fig. 5. Drinking vessels, plate and juglet from layer 2 (destruction layer). (Drawings by Ch. Schauer).



Fig. 6. Cooking pots from layer 2 (destruction layer). (Photo by K.-V. von Eickstedt. Drawing by Ch. Schauer).

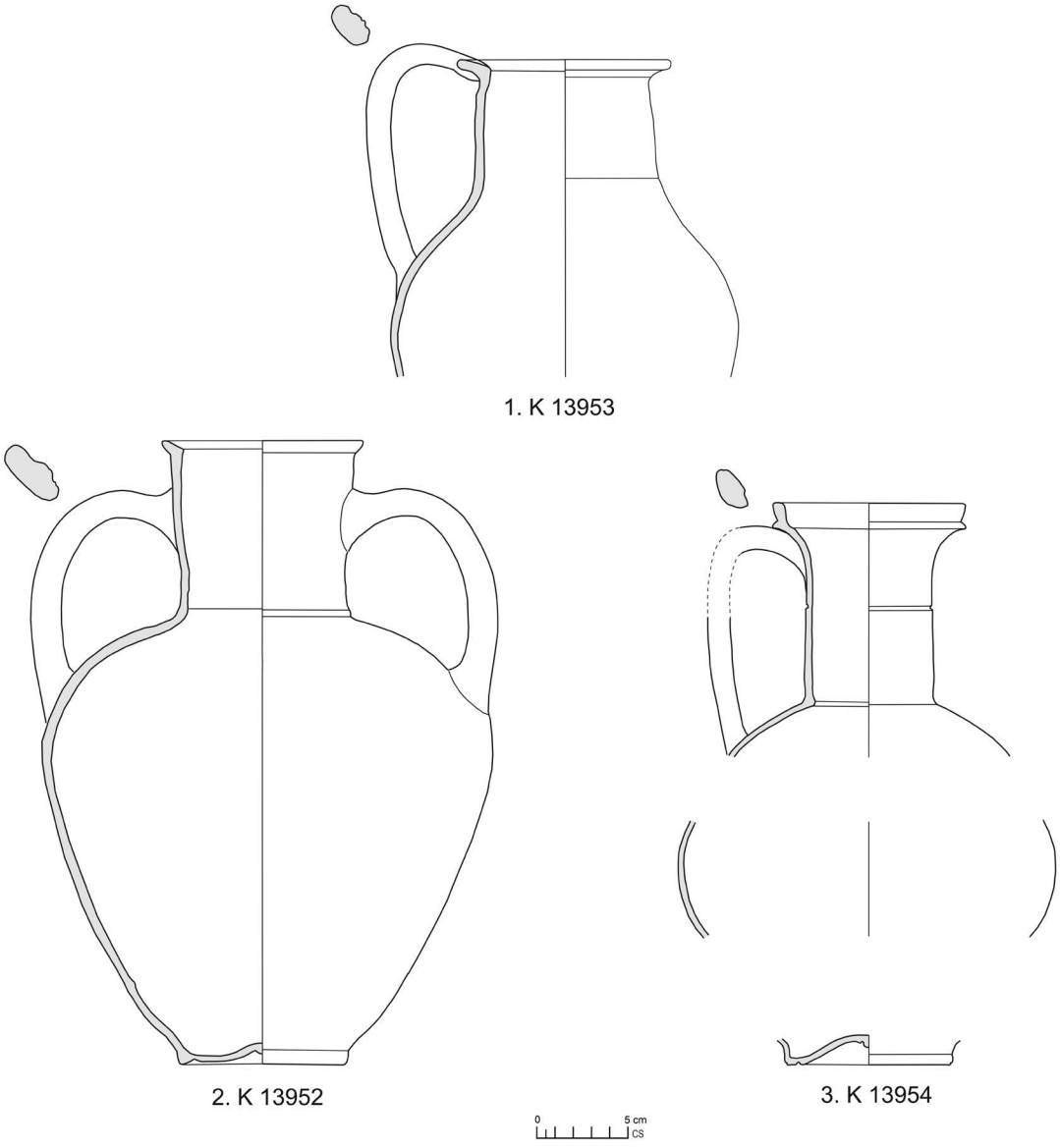


Fig. 7. Table amphora and jugs from layer 2 (destruction layer). (Drawings by Ch. Schauer).

Other possible forerunners of our cup K 13976 include Early Roman two-handled cups with vertical walls with no groove found in Claudian contexts in the Athenian Agora (Hayes 2008: 263 nos. 1546 pl. 48 and 1547 pl. 75). A further type of thin-walled, shallow bowls with flat bases and grooves around the mid-body could also be related, although these bowls lack handles. The handleless type includes examples from Cosa (Marabini Moevs 1973: 159-160 form XXXVI nos. 275-280 pls. 30 and 73) and other sites in Italy (Ricci 1985: 282-292 pls. 91-93), as well as from the Athenian Agora, from contexts of the Claudian period according to Hayes (Hayes 2008: 263 nos. 1549, 1551 and 1555 with fig. 48).

The cup K 13949 **(fig. 5, 2**) features a red slip finish with sparse, rough-cut decoration. It is reminiscent of two cups from the fill of the Early Roman basin above the Hellenistic bath in the building complex north of the Prytaneion (Schauer 2008: 232 fig. 9, 1-2). It also resembles another cup from the Greek excavations in the cemetery at Frangonissi that is on display in the New Museum in Olympia. Neither of them have been precisely dated so far, but the fact that the handle is attached to the shoulder and not below the rim is a typical 1st-century feature commonly found on Italian cups dated before 79 AD (cf. Carandini 1977: pls. 9-10; Slane 1990: 93-95 nos. 193-194 fig. 22, pl. 12). In contrast, the handle of the classic *urnetta/boccalino a collarino* type, which, according to Hayes, originated in Late Flavian times and became widespread around the Mediterranean from the late 1st century onwards (Hayes 2008: 101-104. 267-268 nos. 1601-1609 figs. 50-51, pl. 76), is attached to the strip below the rim.

The fragmented cup K 13977 (**fig. 5, 5**) has rough-cut decoration similar to K 13949. The general shape with a rather spherical body resembles an earlier thin-walled, decorated type from Tiberian contexts in Cosa (Marabini Moevs 1973: 154 form LI; Ricci 1985: 264, tipo 1/103 pl. 84,6) and other vessels from the Tiberian-Claudian period.

Another cup from the destruction deposit, K 13946 (**fig. 5, 4**), is made from cooking ware fabric. This is not unusual for thin-walled pottery found in Olympia, even if it occurs less frequently than in Corinth (cf. Slane 1990: 89).

The group of fine ware pottery is supplemented by a thin-walled juglet of quite irregular shape with a round mouth and a brown partial slip finish (K 13950, **fig. 5, 6**. For a published photograph, see Schauer, Mächler and Distler 2020: 31 fig. 6). The juglet has a spool-shaped attachment at the rim that imitates a metal prototype. The shape of the vessel is comparable to earlier thin-walled juglets (for examples from the Athenian Agora see Hayes 2008: 100 and 263 nos. 1569. 1571, pl. 75). Its body shape also recalls a jug from Argos (Abadie-Reynal 2007: 225 no. 384 pl. 61) dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. On the other hand, bronze jugs from Pompeii (Tassinari 1993) are not directly related. The pouring vessels from the assemblage include two somewhat larger jugs. K 13953 (**fig. 7, 1**) has a globular body. Its shape can be compared to the jug fragments from layer 1 and a jug from Corinth dated by Slane to the middle or the third quarter of the 1st century AD (Slane 1990: 107 no. 225 fig. 27, pl. 13). The other jug, K 13954 (**fig. 7, 3**), features a moulded base, a high, almost tubular neck and a flaring rim. It is reminiscent of glass jugs of Isings form 52 dated to the 1st century



Fig. 8. Glass beaker from layer 3 (silt layer). (Photo by E. Dimakarakou).

(Isings 1957: 69-70). Finally, the table amphora K 13952 (**fig. 7, 2**) has an ovoid but again rather squat body and a moulded base. The general shape of the rim and the neck both of K 13953 and K 13952 is also reminiscent of a probably contemporary jug from Argos (Abadie-Reynal 2007: 229 no. 394 pl. 62).

The destruction deposit also contained fragments of other vessels not presented in this paper, among them at least one very fragmented large transport amphora whose rim and foot are not preserved.

In accordance with the fashion of the Early Imperial period, the tableware pottery vessels from this deposit are generally relatively low and mainly have globular body shapes. It is also noteworthy that the drinking vessels from the ensemble are still made from clay, indicating that glass drinking vessels had probably not yet become easily available in Olympia.

Our drinking vessels may have been manufactured in the region of Olympia at a later date than the more elaborate Italian fine ware prototypes from which they appear to have been developed.

Thus, the lamps provide the most reliable evidence for dating the destruction deposit.

The layer of silt (layer 3) washed in over the destruction debris contained only a few finds. Among them was a remarkable thin-walled, indented glass beaker (G 2030**, fig. 8**) made from almost colourless glass with a folded-out base and four indentations. It is astonishingly tall with a full height of 22,5 cm. This beaker is a rare early example of the type Isings 35 (Isings 1957: 49-50) that became very common only at a later date. The polished rim, two cut grooves and the use of near-colourless glass are features that suggest it should be dated to the Flavian period. Intentionally decolourised glass appeared around the Flavian period and was particularly popular during this phase. This dating of the beaker can be supported by grave goods from a child's grave in Nikopolis illustrated by Zachos and Karamba (Zachos and Karamba 2015:

63). In the photographs, a tall indented almost colourless glass beaker appears alongside four tubular unguentaria of Isings type 8 (Isings 1957: 24), a type popular in the 1st century AD, and a red-glazed lamp also of the 1st century AD. In contrast to G 2030, the more common indented glass beakers that became widespread from the late 1st century AD, especially in the eastern Mediterranean area, were usually manufactured from greenish-blue or greenish glass with a rounded rim and typically did not exceed 15 cm in height.

The intentional fills (layers 5-8) above the silty layers were obviously deposited in two main stages. Layers 5-7 contained similar material that may have been deposited at short intervals whereas layer 8 can be recognised as a later refill of the basin.

The cooking pot K 13960 (**fig. 9, 1**) which could be restored from many pieces and the large cooking pot fragments K 13961 (**fig. 9, 2**) from layers 5 and 6 are closely related to the almost complete cooking pot K 13948 (**fig. 6, 1**) from the destruction layer (layer 2) and therefore probably also belong to the Flavian period. The other vessels from the successive fillings above the silty layers are more fragmented. The lamp fragments from these strata still come from glazed mould-made lamps with characteristics that were abandoned by the end of the 1st century, so they cannot be much later than the lamps and vessels from the destruction layer group.

The most characteristic lamp fragments from layers 5-7 include K 13975 (**fig. 10, 1**). This fragment is from an oval lamp similar to the aforementioned lamp K 13944 (**fig. 4, 2**) recovered from layer 2. In addition, a fragment of a lamp with volute nozzle and stamped ovules on the shoulder that once featured a bust of Helios on the discus (K 13980, **fig. 10, 2**) is very similar to the lamp K 9501 from the area of the Kladeos Baths, illustrated by Walter (Walter 1958: 57 fig. 43 b). As our fragment preserves part of the volute nozzle, both lamps can be now classified as belonging to Broneer type 24 (Broneer 1930: 80-83 and 176-182, pl. 10 nos. 456-467). There is also a fragmented lamp with impressed ovules on the shoulder and a rosette on the discus (K 13985, **fig. 10, 3**) that can be classified as belonging to Broneer type 25 (Broneer 1930: 83-97 and 182-184, pl. 10 nos. 505. 507) because of its heart-shaped nozzle. It is significant to note that all these lamps preserve traces of red slip. Although Bailey tentatively

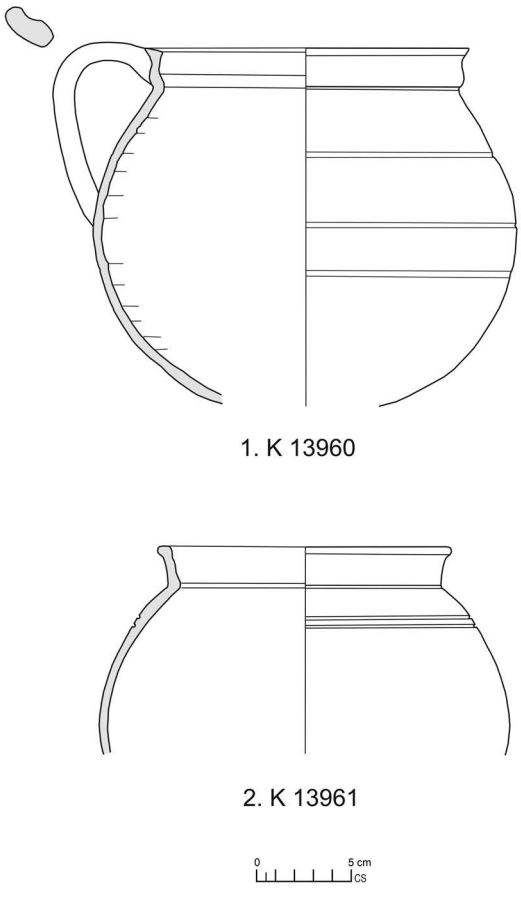


Fig. 9. Cooking pots from layers 5-6 (upper fill). (Drawings by Ch. Schauer).



Fig. 10. Lamps from layers 5-7 (upper fill). (Photos by K.-V. von Eickstedt).

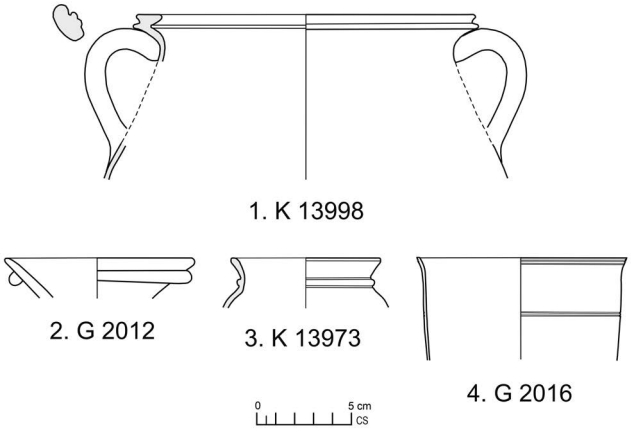


Fig. 11. Pottery and glass fragments from layer 8 (top fill). (Drawings by Ch. Schauer).

dates a lamp with similar decoration consisting of a rosette, ovules and a heart-shaped nozzle, but with a potter's mark, to the 2nd century (Bailey 1980: 341-342 no. Q1331, pl. 73 fig. 100, from an unknown provenance in Italy), red-slipped lamps of Broneer types 24 and 25 seem to have been abandoned by the workshops in Greece in the late 1st/ early 2nd century. At this time, the Corinthian type Broneer 27 (Broneer 1930: 90-102 and 186-212, pls. 11-12) emerged and began to dominate the Greek market. Our lamp K 13985 does not seem to be an import from Italy.

Numerous fragments of glass vessels were retrieved from the layers above the silt. They include sherds from colourless vessels with incised grooves, a small fragment of a probably Flavian goblet with an incised honeycomb pattern (G 2023) of Isings type 21 (Isings 1957: 37-38) and fragments of more common indented beakers made of greenish-blue glass.

Two Roman Imperial coins, one certainly of Hadrianic date (provisionally identified as a *Hemiassarion* minted in the mid-120s in Elis (cf. Gardner 1887: 76 pl. 16,5; Walker 2004: 89 nos. 318-319), the other a probable *Sestertiu*s in very poor state of preservation and still awaiting confirmation by a specialist, endorse the chronological framework of the upper fill.

Only the top layer of rubble (layer 8) contained later objects, the most characteristic of which are the cooking pot rim K 13998 (**fig. 11, 1**) of the Illyrian type and the heavy rim of a glass bottle G 2012 (**fig. 11, 2**). Cooking pots of the Illyrian type are frequently found in Olympia in contexts of the later 2nd and the 3rd centuries (cf. Eilmann 1944b: 97 fig. 81; Schauer 2018: 743, 749 figs. 3, 11 and 11, 2-3 with discussion of the type and examples from other find spots outside Olympia in notes 12-16; Schilbach 1999: 145 fig. 100; Walter 1958: figs. 50a and 54). The glass rim presumably belonged to a cylindrical bottle of either the one-handled type Isings 126 or the two-handled type Isings 127 (Isings 1957: 156-158), both of which are common from the late 3rd century onwards. The presence in the upper layers of *urnetta a collarino* fragments (e. g. K 13973, **fig. 11, 3**) and fragments from delicate almost colourless glass vessels (among them G 2016, **fig. 11, 4**) has already been mentioned.

Conclusion

The ceramic ensemble from the destruction layer on the floor of the newly excavated basin of the Leonidaion is the first complete find complex uncovered in Olympia dating from the second half of the 1st century and most probably from the Flavian period. Of greatest consequence, however, is its significance for the building history of the Leonidaion since it allows the date of the Roman remodelling to be revised and fixed. The fill of the well in the centre of the Leonidaion (Herrmann 2013: 340; Schauer 2003: 274 figs. 4-5) and a number of finds from the larger water basins in the courtyard prove that the final destruction of the building occurred in the 3rd century AD. In combination with these contexts, the vessels from the southwest basin provide significant new evidence concerning the history of the Roman Imperial Leonidaion.

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DRESSEL 24 SIMILIS AMPHORAE OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD FROM ERYTHRAI

This study aims to present the locally produced Erythrai Dressel 24 Similis amphorae found during the excavations of the Erythrai 1977-1988 season. During the excavations, many amphora types were found dating from the 5th century BC to the 11th century AD. Dressel 24 Similis amphorae, also known as cup-shaped rims, is one of the most important finds from Erythrai, and is dated from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD. Erythrai Dressel 24 Similis amphora samples were evaluated for similarity with other production centers with their morphology and relative dating periods. Clay in two colors is an important feature of the group, it also shows similarity with Chian examples.

Ionia – Eryhtrai – Amphorae – Dressel 24 Similis – Cup-shaped Amphorae

1. Introduction[1]

Erythrai, one of the 12 Ionian cities mentioned by Herodotos (Herodotos I.142), is located on the west coast of the Karaburun (Mimas) (Strabon XIV, 645; Cramer 1832: 346; Morton 1998: 170-171) peninsula, overlooking the Chios (Chios) Island, in the Ildırı Gulf, just North of the Modern Çeşme district of İzmir (Akurgal 1979: 1; Akalın 2008:299; Akalın 2009: 139). Erythrai was built between two streams, Aleon Stream (Ildırı) (Plinius V.31, 17; Bayburtluoğlu 1975: 15) in the South and Aksos Stream in the valley to the North of the city (**fig. 1**) (Bayburtluoğlu 1975: 4; Akurgal 1979: 1).

Erythrai is settled from the 3rd millennium BC, the city was founded by Cretan colonists. Erythrai was a member of the Panionion / Ionian League in the 9th century BC and city's name is listed in the Athenian Tax List in the mid-5th century BC and is known to have been a member of the Delian League (Uzunoğlu 2012: 241-259; Lewis 1994: 293, 296, d. 51; Carlson 2013: 16-17). It is known that the city established commercial relations with the Phoenicians, as well as with Chios, Corinth, Cyprus and Samos, based on imported finds dating to the end of the 7th century BC.

Erythrai amphorae are divided into four types as: Tall rounded rim (Type 1), Mushroom rim (Type 2), Band rim (Type 3) and Cup shaped rim (Type 4). The first three types are dated from the end of the 5th century BC to the 3rd-2nd century BC. The Cup-shaped amphorae, named Dressel 24 Similis by Opaiţ, which were produced in Erythrai from the 1st century BC to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Lawall 2004: 185; Bezeczky 2013: 72; Opaiţ 2007: 632), constitute the most dense and important group of amphorae dating to the Roman Period. Cup-shaped amphorae are similar to Zeest 90 or Dressel 24 (Zeest 1960: Pl. XXXVII, 90; Manacorda 1975: 379, f; Opaiţ 2007: 629).

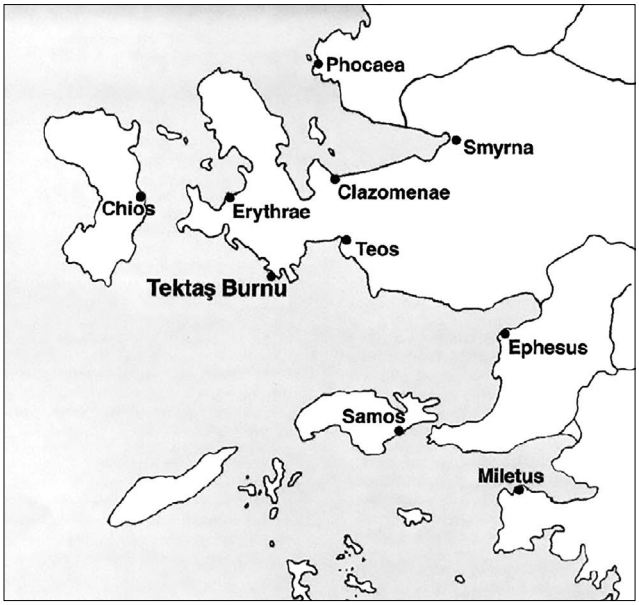


Fig. 1. Map of Ionia (Carlson 2004: 155).

Seriation based on fragments of rims or spikes is very difficult and for many amphora types it is often aspects of vessel analogies, sizes and capacities that developed over time rather than individual formal characteristics. However, the fact that Erythrai is a production center and that there are many examples of cup-shaped amphorae and that these examples

[1] The author would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Gül Akalın, Director of Erythrai Excavations for permission to study and publish this group of amphorae in memoriam of Prof. Dr. E. Akurgal and Prof. Dr. C. Bayburtluoğlu. And I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Billur Tekkök Karaöz, Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Gençler Güray, Dr. Andrei Opaiţ and Dr. Deniz Tamer who have always given me great support and help.

have subtypes with similarity in form made it possible to carry out a typological study. The presence of cup-shaped amphorae in many ancient cities from the Late Hellenistic Period to the 3rd century AD has enabled the determination of chronology and various subtypes. Although the context information of the amphorae from Erythrai excavations is limited, it is possible to make an approximate dating based on parallel samples.

The Cup-shaped amphorae produced at Erythrai are divided into three main types as A, B, C. All types of Cup-shaped amphorae have two different fabric colors; pink and gray. Gray fabric amphorae were consciously produced using different firing technique and probably there have been different workshops.

First and Second Phase of excavations carried out in 1977 have focused on the Athena Temple, Building with Toichobate and in 1977-78 excavations were at the Terrace Walled Structure on the East of Athena Temple and Hellenistic House, between 1978 and 1983 Cennettepe[2], in 1977 Peristyl House with Mosaics[3], in 1980 Theatre excavations, in 1988 Museum Sounding Excavations by Özyiğit[4]. Sixty seven percent of the amphorae is from the excavated quarters around Aksos River area by Özyiğit (Özyiğit 1990: 125-138), thirty three percent is from different parts of the city[5] (Bayburtluoğlu 1975: 79-83; Akurgal 1979: 5-26).

2. Fabric

Type 1 (Tall rounded rim) and Type 2 (Mushroom rim) amphorae of Erythrai, have only red colored fabric with dense lime and less black inclusions than lime. Red fabric and the similar temper are seen in all types of Erythrai. Gray fired samples of the same texture of fabric were found in only one waster of Type 3 (Band rim) amphorae. During the Roman Period, Erythrai amphorae with cup shaped rim (Type 4) were extensively produced in both red colored fabric and gray fired.

The first group of fabric has colors ranging from red and light red to reddish yellow (2.5 YR 5/6, 2.5 YR 6/6, 5 YR 4/4). The clay structure of all evaluated samples is as follows: Finely tempered and hard-fired with small pores contains very dense and small pieces of lime. In addition to small or medium-sized black inclusions, red and yellow inclusions can also be seen. Although it is not seen in all samples, there is a small contribution of mica. However, an intense mica was not observed in any of the samples. In some samples, the intense lime inclusions is quite high, even only visible to the naked eye; some samples have medium density.

The amphorae (Type 1-4) in the first group in section have light red core and in pinkish exterior. On the surface, amphorae have thin self-slip mostly pink or close to pink tones.

The Hellenistic band rim (Type 3) and cup-shaped rim (Type 4) amphorae have similar clay and are in the second fabric group, the colors range from light red, reddish gray, light brownish gray, gray to dark gray (2.5 YR 6/6, 2.5 YR 6/4, 5 YR 6/1, 2.5 YR 6/1, 2.5 YR 3/1, 7.5 YR 4/1). It shows the same morphological features as the first fabric group. The clay contains very dense fine lime and small amounts of black inclusions. The fabric of this type is basically red and the outer surfaces are gray due to firing conditions.

In some examples, the clay is fired completely gray both on the surface and core. There are also samples showing slight hue differences depending on the firing condition. The gray must have been a conscious choice of the atelier as seen in the many examples found, rather than misfiring.

3. Erythrai Type 4 amphorae

Type 4 of Erythrai production is Dressel 24 Similis amphorae with cup-shaped rims, this group constitutes the most common group of finds among the Erythrai amphorae. It has been observed that this form was produced in both pink-red and gray fabric in Erythrai (Özyiğit 1990: 128).

The earliest examples of Erythrai Type 4 forms with mouth diameters varying between 9-18 cm are seen in the 1st century BC (Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 280, 317). Their form is characterized by its long, outward-widening mouth and a curved neck, continuous with the ovoid body. Oval section handles start from the middle of the neck and are joined at the shoulder. The bottom is a spike (Lawall 2004: 185; Bezeczky 2013: 72).

Although it has undergone a long evolution from the late Hellenistic period to the late Roman period, its mouth and base profile are similar to Zeest 90 dated to the 1st century AD or Dressel 24 forms in H. Dressel's typology of 1899 (Manacorda 1975: 379, f; Zeest 1960: Pl. XXXVII, 90; Opaiţ 2007: 629). In the study conducted by Beltrán, amphora samples with similar forms were classified as Form 71 (Beltrán Lloris 1970: 573, Similis: Form 71, Fig. 236,4). Lungu has classified the group as "Hellenistic Erythrai Type B" amphora (Lungu 2009a: 21; Lungu 2009b: 48). Carlson and Lawall was defined the 4th group as "cup shaped rim" (Carlson and Lawall 2007: 37). It is mentioned in detail in the study of Dressel 24 Similis amphorae by Opaiţ, he grouped them under Dressel 24 Similis B, C and D (Opaiţ 1980: 296; Opaiţ 2007: 630-633). The cup-shaped amphorae was grouped under Type 25 by Dyczek and dated to the 1st-3rd centuries AD (Dyczek 2001: 173). The mouth form continued to expand further during the first two centuries AD, making the interior of the mouth concave, causing it to be named Dressel 24 Similis (Opaiţ 2007: 627-633; Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 275-323).

Traces of production of this type of amphorae, whose rim forms were adopted by many amphora workshops in the

[2] Amphoras found during the excavations carried out in Cennettepe were recovered from Trench A1 and A2, East Trench 8 and 11, North Wall, Hellenistic Floor Sector and Triclinium.

[3] Amphoras found during the excavations carried out in Peristyl House with Mosaics were recovered from J, Y and M1 Room.

[4] The commercial amphora finds that were unearthed during the excavations carried out at intervals were studied as a master's thesis; Kırkanlı 2021.

[5] Additional dating evidence based on stratigraphic information from the excavations has not been detailed in past excavation reports. In addition, since the amphora shreds were transported from the Çeşme Museum to the excavation warehouse, there is no context information for each piece.

last phase of the Hellenistic Period, were found in Kouartou (Benea 2000: 437-438; Gabler et al. 2009: 64), Chios and, although uncertain, in the Phygela Peninsula near Kyme and Kuşadası (Dyczek 2007: 829, 834, Fig. 5, 3a; Chios: Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 275-280; Erythrai: Özyiğit 1990: 125-150; Kuşadası: Meriç 2002: 90). The products of these workshops suggested that a koine sharing the same amphora production was created in the center of the Aegean, starting from the Hellenistic Period (Küçüker 2017: 265-281). The cup-shaped rim amphorae discovered in the excavated workshops in Chios support the idea that the same type of amphora was a continuous production in both Erythrai and in Chios (Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 288, Fig. 13 a-b).

Although the lack of context information in the previous excavations created a difficulty in terms of searching for analogy, the kiln excavation on the island of Chios, just opposite Erythrai, has been an important guide. The historical development of the Dressel 24 Similis amphorae will be clarified with new excavations.

The cup-shaped amphorae produced by Erythrai are divided into three main types as A, B, C. All types of cup-shaped amphorae have two different fabric colors pink and gray (Kırkanlı 2021: 44-58).

In Erythrai, the body fragments were not found, the spike samples are quite uniform and do not have significant differences in form, being elongated or short depending on the subtypes.

Erythrai Type 4: A1 - A1G and A2 - A2G

Erythrai Type 4 A forms are similar to the amphora forms described by Opaiţ as Dressel 24 Similis C and D (Opaiţ 2007: 631-632).

Type 4A cup-shaped amphorae are divided into two subtypes, A1 and A2, depending on the difference in form. A1G and A2G type amphorae are gray fabric examples.

They have a wide mouth funnel-shaped with an internally thickened rim. The neck is conical. Mouth and neck are joined by drawing a soft S profile. Handles have an oval section and are attached to the mouth–neck of the amphora and to the neck–shoulder junctions. The traces of joins can be easily distinguished.

12 mouth fragments were grouped as Erythrai Type 4, A1; they have red fabric color and contain characteristic Erythrai clay inclusions. Only five samples are included in the figure 2 (**fig. 2, no. 1-5:** Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 286, Fig. 11.a-b, Fig. 13.a; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 10,11. 105-106, 112-114, 127; Tekkök-Biçken 1996: Fig. 70, E10; Tekkök et al. 2001: Pl. 18. 168; Opaiţ 2007: 641, Fig. 7.36-37, Fig. 8.41, 46; Ardet 2009: Pl. XXIX. 102; Naumenko 2012: Pic. 2.10) (For other examples; Kırkanlı 2021, 320, 322, 324, 326, 329, 333, 366, Cat. no. 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 34, 67).

In the A1 group of Type 4, four of the 16 mouth shreds have gray fabric and are called A1G. The surface and the middle part of the fabric (core) of the mouth pieces of A1G amphorae are gray and the edges are light red. It has typical Erythrai clay with little black, red and intense fine lime inclusions (**fig. 2, no. 6-9:** Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 286, Fig. 11.d, 316, Fig. 53.b; Tekkök-Biçken 1996: Fig. 70, E10; Tekkök et al. 2001: Pl. 18. 168; Naumenko 2012: Pic. 2.10, 6.1; Ballet et al. 2012: Pl. 79. 717; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 41, No. 551; Tiurin, Filippenko and Makaev 2020: Рис. 3.1, 3). This group date from the late Hellenistic Period to the 1st century AD (Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 280, 286, 287, Fig. 11, Fig. 12; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 10-11, 105-129), same form is found in the 2nd to 3rd century AD contexts (Tekkök-Biçken 1996: Fig. 70, E10; Tekkök et al. 2001: Pl. 18. 168; Opaiţ 2007: Fig. 8.46) and interpreted as secondary use in some contexts (Tiurin, Filippenko and Makaev 2020: 208).

Cup-shaped amphorae in group A2 have a rounded and internally slightly thickened rim and a funnel shape by narrowing inward at the transition to the neck. Unlike the A1 group, the A2 specimens have a steeper neck angle; in other words, The junction of the neck and mouth has a slightly curved profile instead of an "S" (**fig. 2, no. 10-14:** Opaiţ 2007: Fig. 6.28; Naumenko 2012: Pic. 2.10; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 11.119, 127; Auriemma and Quiri 2004: 50, Fig. 11). Two gray colored samples of the form were evaluated as A2G (**fig. 2, no. 15-16:** Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011, 316, Fig. 53.a; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 41.551).

Erythrai Type 4: B1 and B2 - B2G

This group is similar to Opaiţ Dressel 24 Similis B (Opaiţ 2007: 631). Type B1 amphorae have a rounded and slightly thickened rim. The flaring mouth merges with the neck that narrows inwards. The neck smoothly widens and transitions to the shoulder. The separation of the mouth with the long and rather narrow cylindrical neck is emphasized by an incised line. The large-sized handles are oval in section (**fig. 2, no. 17-20:** Condurachi et al. 1957: 68, Fig. 50.1; Opaiţ 2007: Fig. 6.28-30; Tiurin, Filippenko, and Makaev 2020: Рис. 3.1; Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011, Fig. 13.b; Ballet et al. 2012: Pl. 79. 718) (Other samples see: Kırkanlı 2021: 337, 339, Kat. no. 38, 40).

Subtype B2 has thinner walls than B1, and although the transition is marked by an strong incised line on the outer surface of the amphora below the mouth, at the beginning of the neck (**fig. 2, no. 21-27; fig. 3, no. 21-27:** Condurachi et al. 1957: 68, Fig. 50.1; Opaiţ 2007: Fig. 6.28; Ballet et al. 2012: Pl. 79. 718; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 11, No. 118-119, 125; Tiurin, Filippenko, and Makaev 2020: Рис. 3.1) (Other samples see: Kırkanlı 2021: 345, 349-353, Kat. no. 46, 50-54). In some examples inner surface of the neck is ribbed, unlike the B1 group. Type B2G amphorae are gray fabric examples (**fig. 3, no. 28-31:** Opaiţ 2007: Fig. 6.28, 32; Bezeczky 2013: Pl. 10.111). The development of the type continued through the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (Opaiţ 2007: 631).

Erythrai Type 4: C

This group forms the latest type of cup-shaped amphorae, only one piece of type C was found. The mouth has a conical profile with an internally hooked rim and a triangular in cross-section on the outside. The funnel-shaped mouth is well separated from the neck. The downward-expanding neck merges distinctly with the sloping shoulder (**fig. 3, no. 32**).

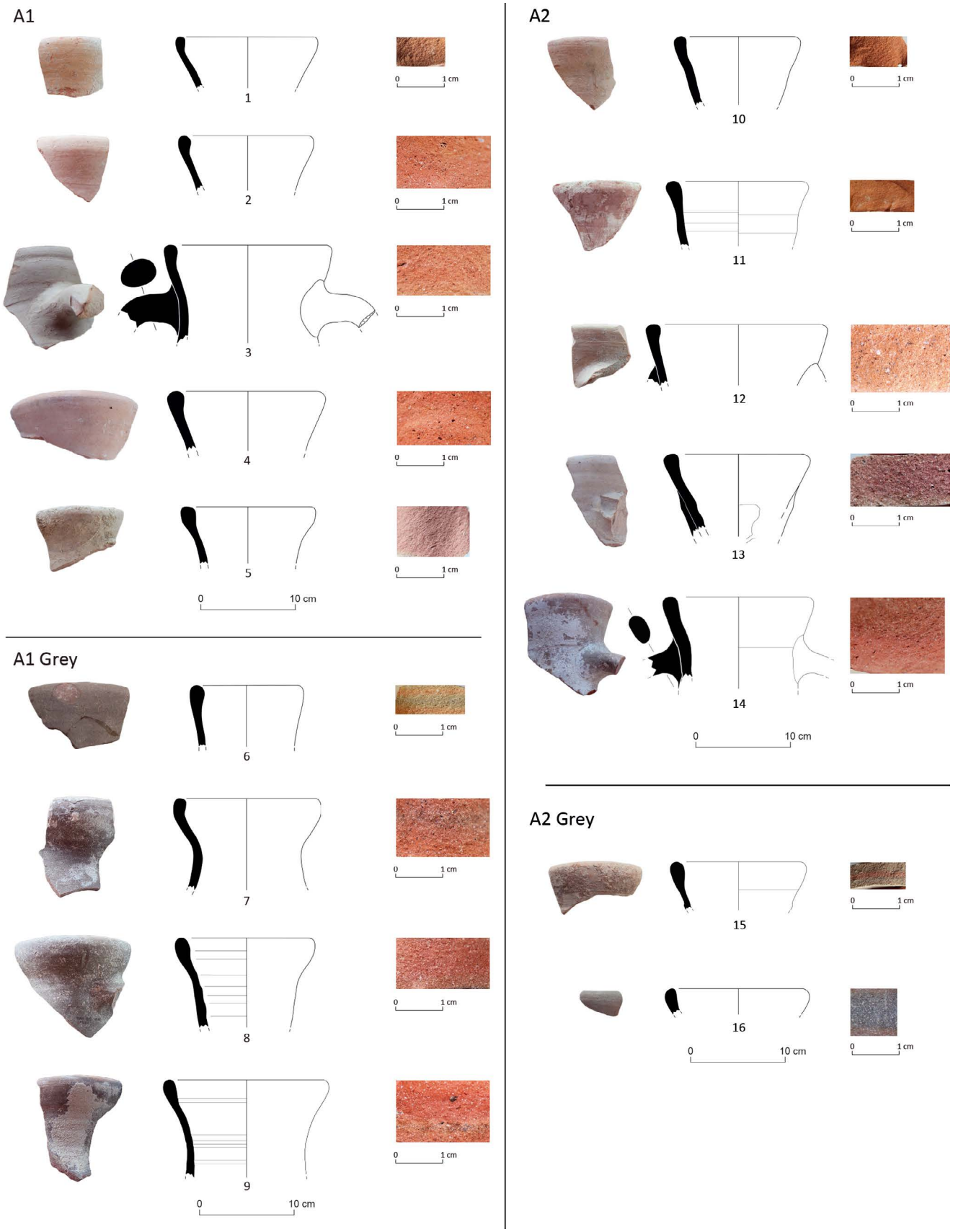


Fig. 2. Erythrai Dressel 24 Similis amphorae.

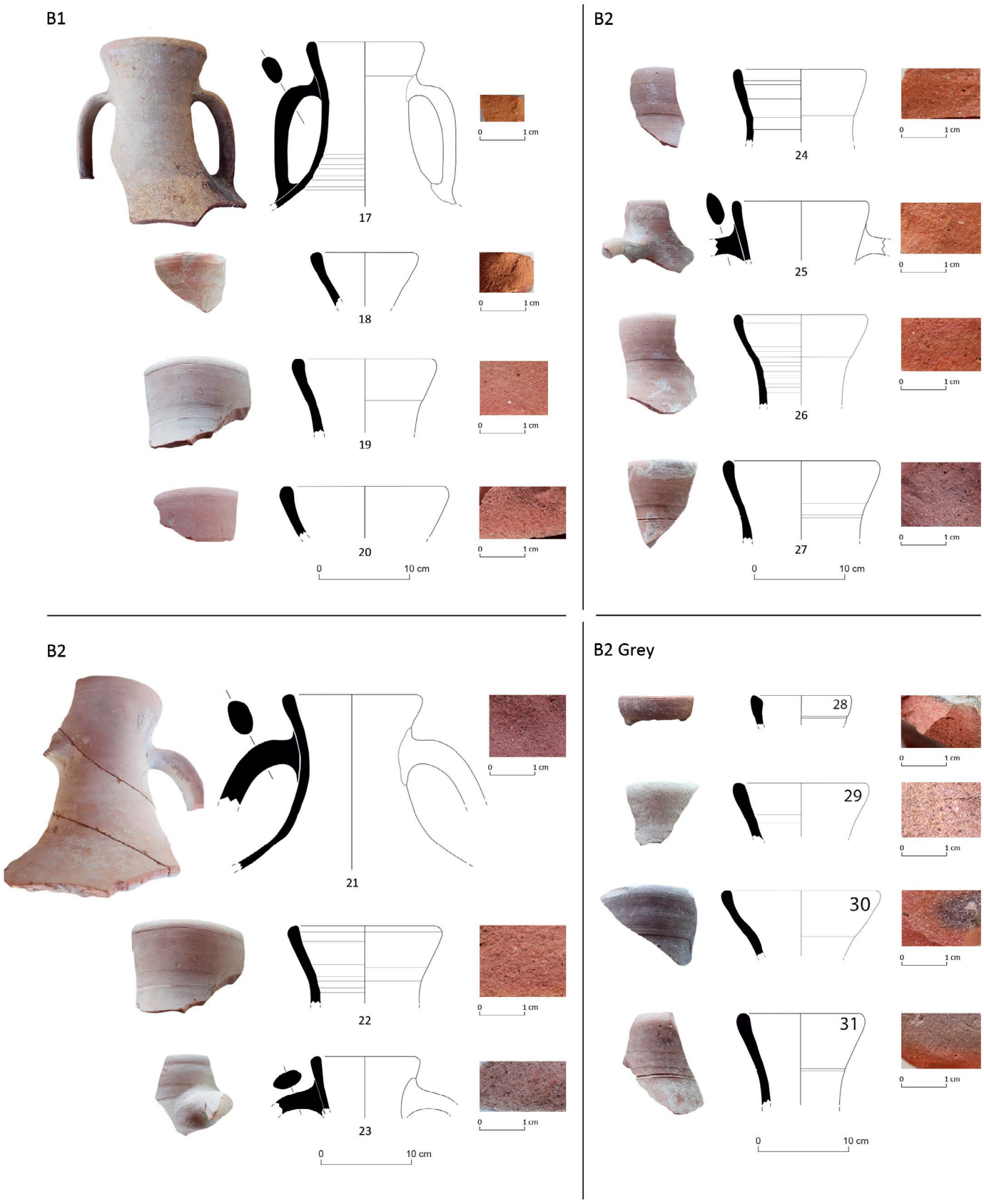


Fig. 3. Erythrai Dressel 24 Similis amphorae.

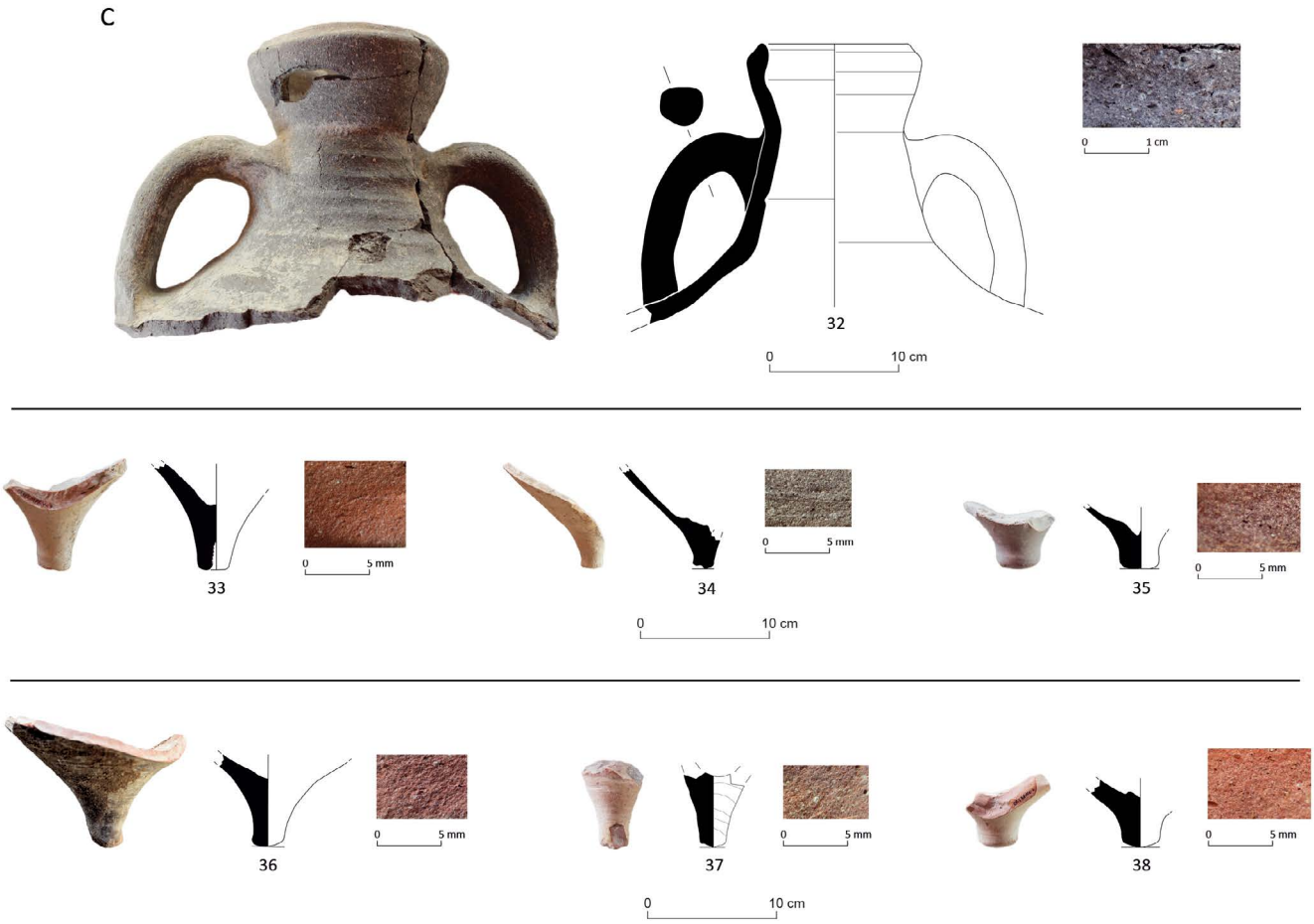


Fig. 4. Erythrai Dressel 24 Similis amphorae.

This group has a completely gray colored clay and the colors range from 2.5 Y 3/1(Very Dark Gray) to 7.5 YR 4/1(Dark Gray). The amphora specimen, which is known to be among the late examples of its kind, is dated to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Hayes 1983: 148, Fig. 22, A46; Auriemma and Quiri 2004: 50).

Spikes

It was observed that the spikes of the Erythrai cup-shaped amphorae were of two different types. It is seen that the bottom part of the form, which narrows down and forms a conical profile, is surrounded by shallow grooves in the form of spirals in some samples, and left flat in some samples. At the end of the spikes, some examples are chamfered, while others are rounded, with a hollow in the center or a slight taper outward[6].

All of the spikes contain thin and dense lime inclusions in clay, which are typical of Erythrai amphorae, and clay has rarely black, red or mica additives. The surface colors in all examples are shades of pink to red that are not far from each other (**fig. 3, no. 33-38**). All of these spike types mentioned above can be seen between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, when the production of cup-shaped amphorae peaked (Lungu 2009: 36, Fig. 14; Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 287, Fig. 12.a-f; Naumenko 2012: 80, Pic. 6.3; Opaiţ and Paraschiv 2013, 329, Fig. 3; Tiurin, Filippenko and Makaev 2020: Рис. 3.1, 4).

Conclusion

The Erythrai amphorae discovered with the Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck provide definitive evidence for the export of wine and amphora, the local production of the Ionia Region. Although its agricultural and commercial potential has been overlooked, the stamps on it and its distinctive form made it necessary to identify it as a large Archaic Period Ionian amphora exported primarily to the Black Sea.

At the end of the last quarter of the 5th century BC, the modest-sized Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck contributed significantly to the amphora production in Erythrai (Carlson 2003: 586-590; 2004: 149-154; Carlson and Lawall 2007: 33-38;

[6] According to Opaiţ, the small foot of the Late Hellenistic time becomes bigger between the 1st century AD and first half of the 3rd century AD (Opaiţ 2007: 632).

Carlson 2013: 4-11, Fig. 1-3). The Tektaş Burnu shipwreck, which was interpreted as a local shipwreck along the Ionian coast, helped us understand the economic relationship between Erythrai and Chios. Shipwreck at Tektaş Burnu, the only Classical Period Shipwreck ever found in the Aegean Sea, provided important evidence for the maritime trade on the Ionian coast, the Ionian Revolution, and the periods following the rise of Athens.

It is known that the amphorae produced by Erythrai, one of the city-states that exported wine in the Hellenistic Period after the Archaic Period, existed in many regions from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Black Sea (Brashinski 1970: 15, Fig. 3.4; Domaneantu 1993: 66, Fig. 4.28; Finkielsztejn 2000: Pl. 109,f; Şenol 2007: 69, diagram 5; Marangou and Marchand 2007: 281, Fig. 46-47; Lungu 2009a: Fig. 2, 4-16; Marangou 2012: 386, Fig. 159b, P. 514; Ballet et al. 2012: 317, Pl. 79, no 717-720; Şenol 2018: 365-366: Fig. 310).

The presence of different subtypes of Dressel 24 Similis amphorae at Erythrai from the Hellenistic period to the middle of the 3rd century AD reveals the evolution of these amphorae in the historical process. Different types and two different colors of fabric and results from excavations are evidence that more than one workshop operated around the Aksos River during the Late Hellenistic, Early and Middle Roman Imperial Periods[7].

Erythrai workshops have been producing amphorae from the Late Hellenistic period to the middle of the 3rd century AD and exporting Dressel 24 Similis form of amphora. The fact that similar containers were imported from Chios despite this production chain indicates that the demand for Chios wine continues as well as Erythrai wine (Kırkanlı 2021: 75-76, 443- 452, Kat. No. 144-153).

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[7] The 1988 sounding excavations were carried out in the area defined as Çömlekçi District, and it was determined that the ceramic workshops of the city were located on both sides of the shore of Aksos stream, just outside the northern city walls. Thousands of ceramic shreds, slags and wasters were found in this area. Additionally, thousands of amphorae of the same type (Cup shaped) were identified in trench no. 1, and in the studies carried out, it was determined that the trench was a ceramic workshop Özyiğit 1990, 125-127, Res. 4-5.

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DUMP 1004 OF THE SOUTHERN BUILDING IN THE BYZANTINE HOUSES QUARTER (GORTYN, CRETE). ECHOES OF LOCAL PRODUCTION AND REGIONAL NETWORKS IN GORTYN BETWEEN THE 4TH AND THE 8TH CENTURY AD

This paper provides an overview of the coarse wares from the excavation of the Southern Building of the Byzantine Houses Quarter (Archaeological Mission of the University of Macerata – Excavations of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens). It focuses on the finds from SU 1004, interpreted as an 8th century dump. Some considerations will be made primarily on recurrent pottery types, providing the possibility of examining the early Byzantine and Byzantine production of Gortyn more in-depth. The paper, throughout, highlights connections with regional and Mediterranean networks, especially the Eastern ones.

Gortyn – Late Roman coarse wares – Byzantine pottery – Plain-ware pottery – cooking ware pottery

Coarse wares from the Southern Building of the Byzantine Houses Quarter of Gortyn. The progress of the study

The study of the plain and cooking ware pottery from the Southern Building of the Byzantine Houses Quarter of Gortyn is still in progress and concerns the ceramic material found during the excavations carried out by the University of Macerata[1] from 2007 to 2017. This research follows the important work already completed and published on pottery production and imports of Gortyn. These singularly advantageous circumstances provide a solid basis for the progression of the study (for previous extensive studies on the ceramic wares of Gortyn, primarily plain and cooking wares, see the contributions in: Bonetto, Francisci and Mazzocchin 2019; Di Vita 1998; Di Vita and Martin 1997; Di Vita 2000. For further considerations, especially on Byzantine pottery, see: Albertocchi 2009; 2014; Perna 2010). A total number of 25011 potsherds in this study belong to plain and cooking ware pottery. Of these, 21109 fragments can be identified as plain ware and 3902 as cooking ware. It is clear from these numbers that cooking ware represents a significantly smaller number of potsherds, a little more than 15% of the total, in the context of the Byzantine Houses Quarter. This disproportion can lead, with the development of the study, to important reflections on the dietary habits of the people of Gortyn during the Byzantine period and also provide information about the functional purpose of this sector of the city. Of course, in order to make such reflections, it is necessary not only to complete the study of all the material of the excavated context but also to proceed to further comparisons with the nearby context excavated by the University of Siena as well as other chronologically comparable sites both on the island of Crete and in the main centres of the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, to date, and with few remarkable exceptions, coarse wares are often published without complete catalogues. Therefore, it is not always possible to compare contexts. With regards to Gortyn, the disparity between plain and cooking wares can already be observed in the material published in the *Gortina* series. Data clearly show this disparity in the material from the excavation of the *Praetorium* (See: Albertocchi and Perna 2000; Martin 1997a; Martin 1997b; Sirano 2000).

So far, the study of the plain and cooking wares from 2007, 2008, and 2012 has been completed, while the examination of the finds from the 2014 excavations is nearing completion (the years of excavation are 2007, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2017). Moreover, due primarily to the crucial work carried out until recently by Marina Albertocchi and Roberto Perna on the fabric groups of plain wares, the study of this class has gone further than the study carried out on cooking wares.

These premises clearly show the preliminary nature of this contribution, especially with regard to conclusions and possible new results. Nevertheless, the significant amount of pottery already catalogued raises relevant questions and establishes methodological approaches. Moreover, this is an opportunity to highlight data that enriches the study of pottery production in the eastern Mediterranean as well as long and regional scale networks.

[1] I take this opportunity to thank professor Perna, who directs the archaeological mission of the University of Macerata, for entrusting me to carry on his work on Gortyn's plain ware pottery to which has been added the study of the cooking wares. The methodological approach, the guidance and the continuous conversations on Gortyn and its ceramic production have been essential to start this ongoing research.



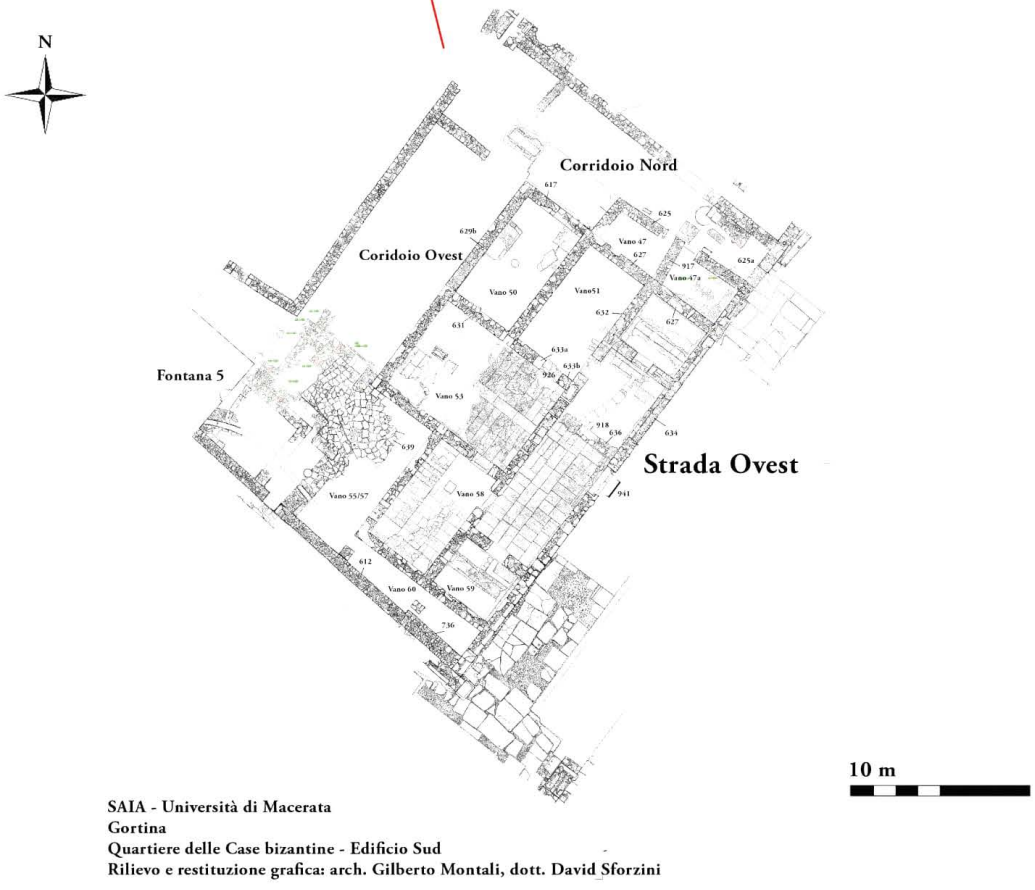


Fig. 1. Above: Gortyn with the indication of the Byzantine Houses Quarter (in red); Below: Southern Building of the Byzantine Houses Quarter (courtesy of Professor Roberto Perna).

The context. The dump – SU 1004

Given the limited scope of this paper and the evolution of the research, it seemed worthwhile here to propose an overview of the coarse ware found in the SU 1004 of the Southern Building of the Byzantine Houses Quarter (**fig. 1**), which has been interpreted as a dump subsequent to AD 720. The 8th century saw the progressive ruralisation of the area and the contemporary building of fortifications on the acropolis of Gortyn. In this context, after a series of collapses, the Southern Building was reorganised and divided into what has been interpreted as multiple housing units. The eastern part of the building appears to have experienced continuity, and the northern corridor must still have been used as a partially open service area. At a later time, the corridor was used to dump thick layers of ashes, pottery, glass, and bones, probably related to the activities carried out in the adjacent units (Perna 2017: 126-130). SU 1004 has been, therefore, identified as a dump, as already stated. Its excavation brought to light a large number of potsherds. Of the 2166 ceramic sherds (including tiles) and 212 glass fragments, 1205 sherds belong to plain ware and 274 to cooking ware, confirming the significant disparity between the two classes. The large number of sherds made it possible to distinguish and join the fragments of many vessels. Most types have been determined so far by the examination of rim fragments alone (Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 411-414). Therefore, the possibility to join multiple fragments of the same pot, where possible, can be crucial to providing further details regarding shapes, especially when these shapes are frequently recurrent. Within the context of this paper, it is essential to note that it was possible to recognise and classify 86 plain-ware rim fragments or profiles, while this classification was possible for only 26 cooking-ware sherds.

The dump contained numerous pieces of African Red Slip Ware (28 items, some composed of multiple fragments), mainly belonging to production D, with a significant presence of Hayes 109 plates. Despite being a less significant percentage, Late Roman C is also documented (16 items, most of them belonging to the type Hayes 10). An important number of amphora sherds were also found in the dump (419 fragments). Among these it is crucial to highlight the presence of many *spatheia* LR8 and LR5, belonging to the 6th and 7th centuries AD, and fragments of Cretan amphoras of the TRC4 and TRC10 types, the circulation of which goes beyond the 7th century AD. Moreover, many fragments of Byzantine lamps *a fiaschetta* were found (83 items), which, although awaiting further studies, can be placed in a timespan that goes from the 4th to the 9th century AD. Given this brief overview of the material[2], the dump is dated to the 8th century AD, and the material found can be placed in a period that undoubtedly extends from the 4th to the 8th century, with most finds belonging to the 6th and the 7th century.

As Enrico Zanini states in a recent article (Zanini 2010), rubbish dumps are interesting contexts that can provide important information about life in a neighbourhood and, ultimately, in a city, during a given period. These contexts relate to the habits of people living and working in houses and workshops. Therefore, by studying the finds from this kind of dumps, it is possible to gather information about material classes and associations of classes and types in specific contexts or periods, the reuse of certain categories of items, how the neighbourhood was organised and how it managed its rubbish (Zanini highlights that the area within which the University of Siena excavates, together with adjacent areas, seems to be characterised by a network of smaller and bigger rubbish dumps that he is investigating with his team. From these dumps, a considerable amount of pottery emerged, especially amphoras and coarse wares but not as many table-ware fragments. These data contrast with the characterisation of the material of our dump. Zanini points out that some categories of pottery are absent from the dumps, especially tiles and *spatheia*, which are, therefore, considered the most reused items in the area. See: Zanini 2010).

Cooking Ware

It is interesting to note the significantly greater number of cooking pots compared to the number of other forms of cooking ware. To be specific, of 26 recognised items (mostly rims and related sherds), 22 are identifiable as cooking pots. Most of them (17 items) belong to a type with an elongated and rounded, everted rim, with a ledge inside for the lid to sit on, a sloping neck, two large, thin, grooved handles set just below the rim and ending on the shoulder, which is often defined by a ridge (**fig. 2** and **6, 1**). The type (Sirano C I 1.1/4) can be associated with the group that Martin (1997b: 354-355, tab. CXXVIII) defines as very common in Gortyn between the 4th and the 7th century. According to Rendini, (1988: 253-261), this type can be compared to a group of Samian cooking pots of the early Byzantine period. As also attested by the evidence of the SU presented here, in Gortyn, many variations of the rim shape (**fig. 2**), show a reception of the eastern model as well as a local manifestation that awaits further studies to determine a local/regional evolution since some variation of the type seems to have been in use at least until the late 8th century. The fabric of this group of cooking pots has been associated with the local mixture, but some more micaceous variations await further analysis.

The remaining cooking pots belong to different types. One small fragment is identifiable as the type Martin describes as *orli semplici verticali o quasi verticali*, which characterise cooking pots with distinct vertical rims and vertical handles. These cooking pots find parallels in Knossos and are documented in Gortyn in layers that can be dated between the end of the 6th and the 7th century AD, even though the type is reported to have spread until the 8th century (Martin1997b: 353, tab. CXXVI). Another cooking pot (**fig. 3, 1**) with a similar rim to that of the main group but with no neck and a different handle, pseudo-oval in section, can be compared with a cooking pot from the Deposit 32 of the *Excavation*

[2] For the overview on the pottery found in the dump, but also for her guidance and our daily conversations on ceramic studies, I sincerely thank Marzia Giuliodori, who has also taught me many of the things that I know about pottery and, specifically, about Gortyn's productions and imports. The data on the amphoras was provided by Simone Marcolini.

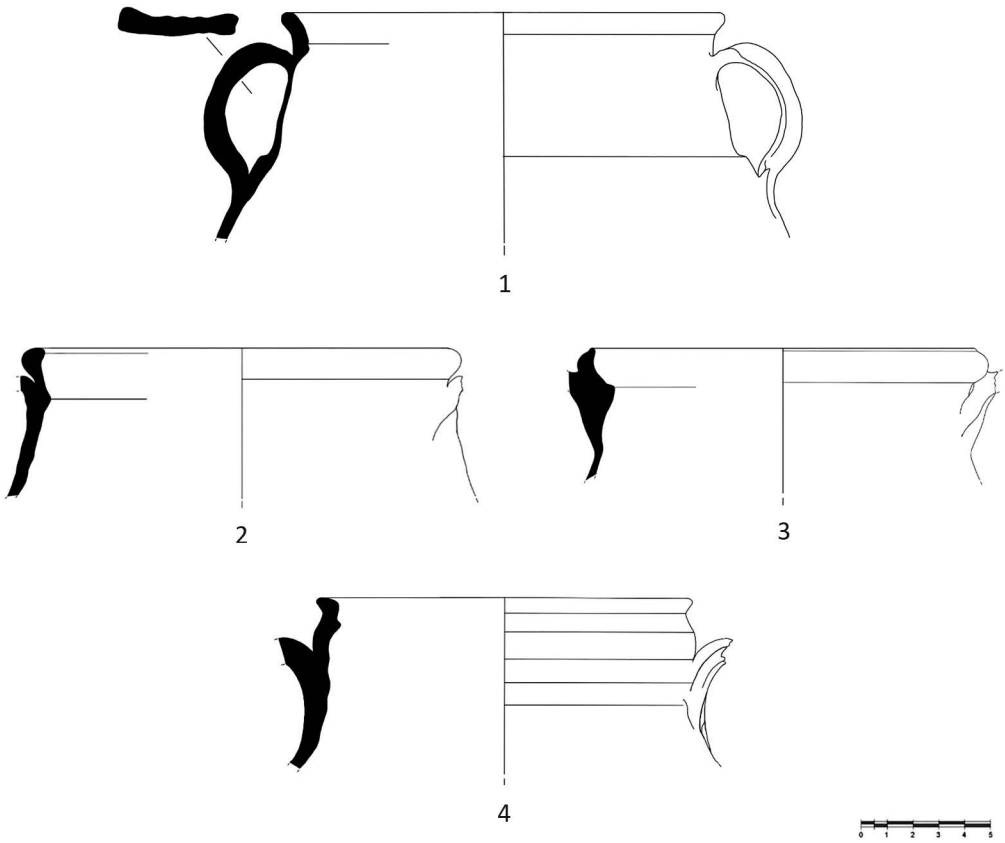


Fig. 2. Comparison between cooking ware cooking pots of the same type.

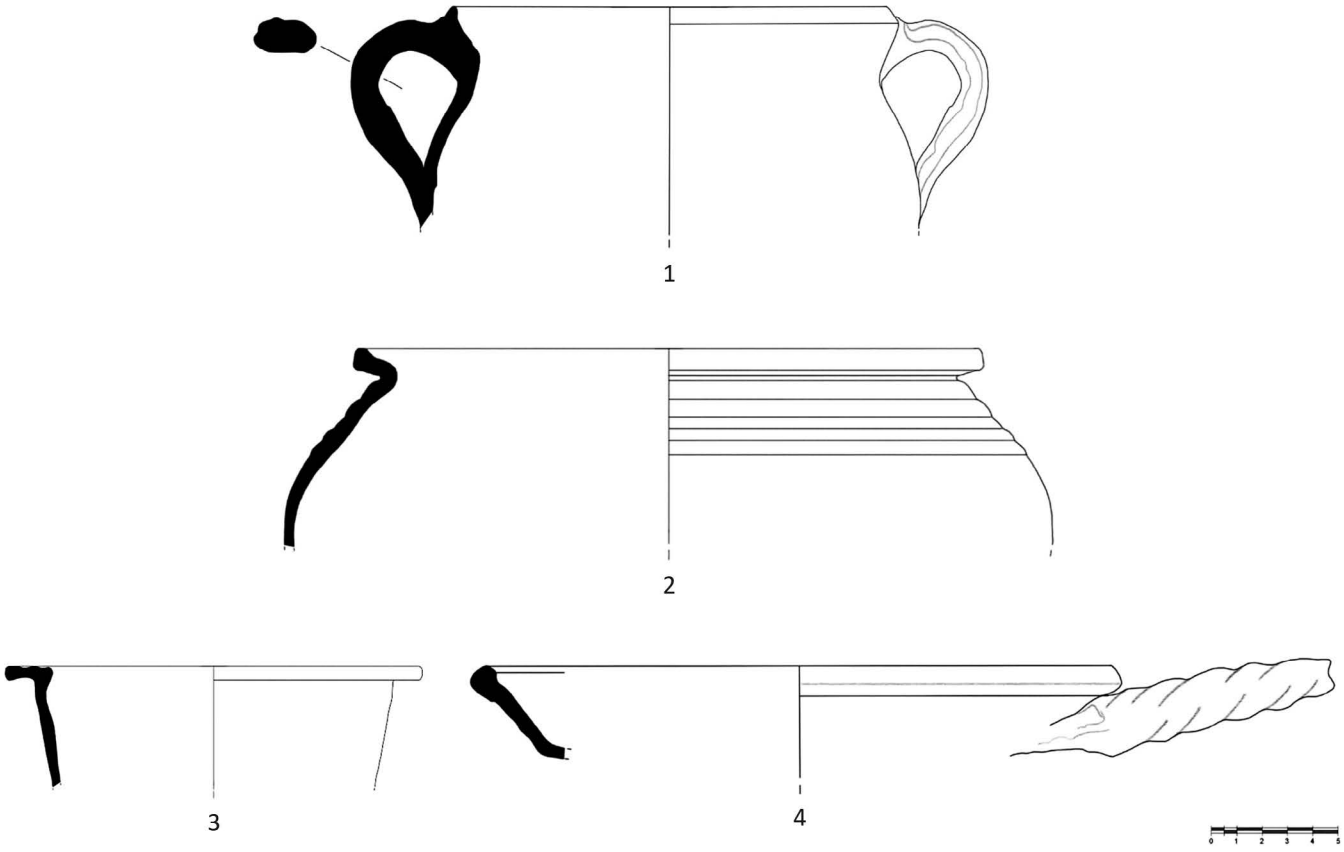


Fig. 3. Cooking ware pottery from SU 1004.

at Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: 107, fig. 52, 12) which is dated to the 8th century AD, although some material, like the pot mentioned, may belong to the 7th century.

It may be worth highlighting the presence of a globular cooking pot (**fig. 3, 2** and **6, 2**) with an everted, almost horizontal rim and the upper part of the body of which shows grooves due to the use of the potter's wheel. The outer surface has traces of a reddish-brownish engobe. This piece finds a parallel in the group of *Marmites locales, à bord horizontal, lèvre arrondie* from Eleutherna, which Yangaki has identified as a local production mostly belonging to the 4th century (Yangaki 2005: 167-168, fig. 37, f). Moreover, this specific fragment has a fabric that does not belong to the local group α but shows characteristics that could classify it as an import.

Among the cooking ware pottery found in the dump, two other shapes are recognisable: one pan (*tegame/pentola*) and two frying pans (one is only a small fragment). The first shape (**fig. 3, 3**) belongs to Martin's group of cooking pots 72 and 73 (generally dated to the 6th century AD. Martin 1997b: 360, tab. CXXXIV.1-2) but, like Martin's examples, it does not find many convincing parallels (some features can be compared to those of the plain ware bowl VIII 3.2/1. See: Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 432). In *Gortina V* the type corresponds to the shape of a deep bowl in plain ware from the *Praetorium* excavations, where it is stated that a similar fragment comes from a context of the Byzantine Houses dated to the 7th century AD (Martin 1997b: 301, tab. LXI.5). The general shape recalls the *marmite type Sidi Jdidi 8* that Bonifay dates to the second half of the 5th century AD (Bonifay 2004: 236, fig. 127). The frying pan (**fig. 3, 4**) is similar to the one found in the excavation at the Byzantine Houses Quarter (courtyard and area of the Fountain 4) published by Perna (2010: 917, fig. 15). It is a shallow pan with sloping walls, a thickened rim and a twisted handle with a pseudo-cylindrical section. Compared to this, the frying pan from the dump shows an inner offset of the rim, probably intended for the lid (the type is identical to the one Turnovsky places in the first half of the 7th century at Ephesos. See: Turnovsky 2005: 636, fig. 2.5). The type is attested in Gortyn during the 7th century AD, but Perna argues that the one from the Byzantine Houses belongs to a layer from the 6th century and finds parallels in pots from Berenice, also dated between the 4th and the 6th centuries AD (Perna 2010: 917; for the frying pans in Gortyn see: Martin 1997b: 361, n. 86).

Plain Ware

Among the 86 rims recognisable as plain-ware pottery, 16 are identifiable as basins, 14 as jars, 6 as mugs, and 21 as jugs (some of them are difficult to identify since neck and rim are not sufficiently preserved), only 4 as bowls. The rest of the fragments belong to lids or items that cannot be classified with precision (e.g., some are clearly closed forms, but it is unclear whether they are jugs, pitchers, or jars).

Given this overview, it is possible to highlight the presence of a significant number of basins, a pattern that has already been identified in the previous studies of Gortyn. As suggested for the group of cooking pots, as the study proceeds, coarse-ware basins may also benefit from a chronological definition of some variations in types. In SU 1004, we have indeed found a significant number of basins with similar yet different rims (**fig. 4**). The numerous fragments, sometimes belonging to a single vessel and, in some cases, showing variation in the rim shape on the same item, have suggested that these basins be grouped together. These variations in rim shape have been interpreted as a possible manifestation of a single type of basin. Some of the variations are comparable to a group that, in *Gortina V*, would be classified as B VI. The form is a low basin with a hanging projecting rim, the body sometimes decorated with incised waves (**fig. 6, 3**). The most common rim shape has already been recognised as frequent in the 7th century and confirmed in the 8th (Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 439-444). All the fragments seem to be produced in the local fabric (mainly Ia and c, which awaits further analysis), and, given the number of rim variations, it may be possible, with further studies, to define a chronological evolution of the local type up to the later phases of the building and/or to identify possible different production workshops.

It is possible to propose a distinction between the small jars with a vertical, slightly flaring neck and undistinguished, variously shaped, rim (slightly projecting or tapered rounded). This distinction can be drawn between pots belonging to the same shape-category of jars (**fig. 5, 3**) and beakers (**fig. 5, 2**), which are characterised by thinner walls, especially towards the neck and rim. The former can be associated with the jars

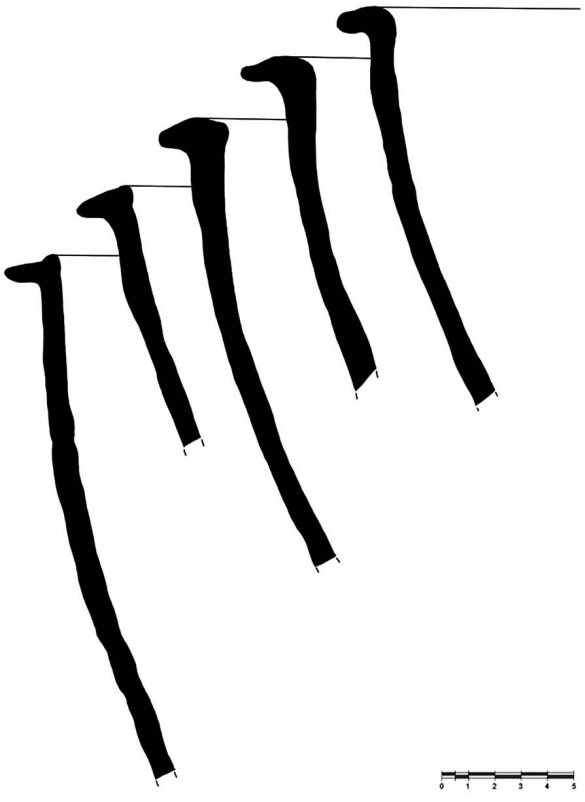


Fig. 4. Comparison between basins from SU 1004.

B II 1.1/4, even though the sherds from the dump have a straighter neck (Perna reports this type to be comparable to a cooking pot analysed by Martin and belonging to the late 6th or the 7th century AD. See: Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 491). The latter beakers are reported to be frequent in Gortyn only during the Byzantine period. Among the dump finds, the vessels identified as mugs can be compared with type II 1.1/2, which is characterised by a globular body shape clearly distinguished from the neck. This type is one of the most frequent in Gortyn during the 7th century AD. Its shape is also common in the *sovradipinta* ware (Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 436-438), and it finds parallels, especially in Eleutherna (the form that Yangaki describes as *tasses qui ont une base aplatie, une panse globulaire, un col large et un bord droit ou peu évasé, à lèvre arrondie ou amincie* are usually characterised by a white engobe, they all have a vertical handle, rounded in section finishing on the under the shoulder of the vase. Among these beakers, the ones found in tombs are dated to the second half of the 7th century AD (Yangaki 2005:127-130, fig. 14, c).

Two items belong to the beaker type I 1.4/1 (**fig. 5, 1**), even though the handle is not preserved. Albertocchi has associated the beaker with a Knossian type of the 7th century (Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 438, tab. XCVIII).

Some fragments can be identified as jugs or pitchers, but they are all very small, and the neck is poorly preserved. It is, therefore, risky to propose a classification or to determine whether it has a trilobed rim or not in case they are jugs. Some of them have moulded rims, and one fragment (**fig. 5, 6**) seems to be comparable to Martin's *bottiglia* 386 (Martin 1997a: 337, tab. CXIV.5) but also with a very similar jug from Eleutherna (Vogt 2000: 70, fig. 21.2). The fact that very similar shapes are sometimes associated slightly differently in typology groups clearly illustrates the challenge of a clear attribution of these items, as well as an unavoidable necessary arbitrariness in determining the characteristics that make a shape fit in one category or another.

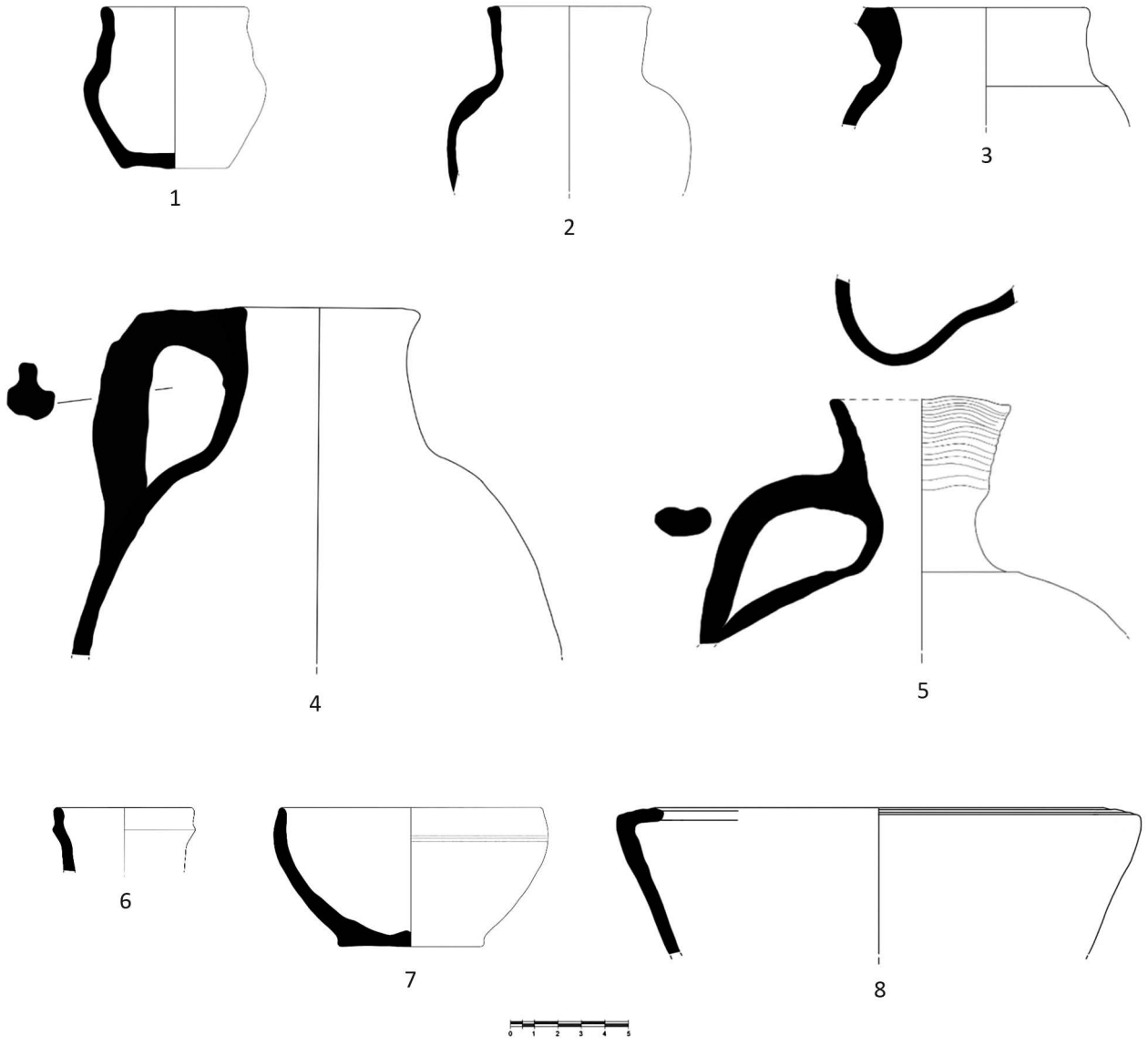


Fig. 5. Plain ware pottery from SU 1004.



Fig. 6. Pictures of: (1) cooking ware cooking pot type Sirano C I 1.1/4; (2) cooking ware imported (?) cooking pot; (3) example of a typical decoration on basins

Only one pitcher (**fig. 5, 4**) preserves a large portion of the rim, neck, and shoulder; the handle, with a protruding central ridge, is also preserved, and its upper part is attached to the rim, while its lower part ends below the shoulder of the vase. This belongs to the group of large pitchers identified by Martin, specifically to the group with projecting rims on a straight neck (Martin 1997a: 331-332). It can be compared with the type A II 3.2/2, at least with regards to the rim shape; the handle seems slightly different, although it is difficult to say so with certainty, as the fragment described by Perna is poorly preserved. Type A II 3.2/2 is compared to a similar one from Argos, belonging to a context of the 6th century AD (Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 508). The handle and overall shape, recalling the pitcher A V 2.4/1, may be a sign of the fact that some less well-preserved sherds can be grouped into a single type with some variations. Two other small fragments seem to be a variation of the rim of the same type.

A fragment of a small pitcher with a globular body, flared neck and trilobed rim merits specific mention (**fig. 5, 5**). The type, already known in Gortyn, has parallels in Eleutherna and, in general, in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean between the 6th and the 7th centuries. The fragment seems to be of local production (Fabric Ia) and can be associated with the later variations of the type known in the Mediterranean.

Of the few fragments identifiable as bowls, one example finds a parallel in the group that Martin defines as "unusual" and includes bowls with in-turned, grooved rims (**fig. 5, 8**). The type is already known in Crete and reported to be Roman, dating between the 2nd and the 4th centuries AD. Some of these examples in Gortyn have been found in the Byzantine Houses in layers dated to the 7th century (Martin 1997a: 301-302, n. 61-70).

One small bowl (**fig. 5, 7**) may be identified as an import because of its fabric, which is different from the samples recognised as local, bright red in section, with small white inclusions. Given the characteristics of the fabric seen under the lens of a microscope, it could be an African import. The bowl has an undistinguished rim, slightly tapered, a flat, barely shaped, low foot, umbilicate on the inside, with remains of a lightly grooved decoration ca. 1 cm below the rim.

Fabrics

Reflections on fabric groups were possible due to the work of a research team[3] that has sampled the main fabrics identified during the works for *Gortina II* and *V* in order to submit them for petrographic analysis. This analysis was carried out within the framework of the project "Pythagoras II", started by Poulou-Papadimitriou in 2005. Some of the preliminary results are already available, especially concerning the local fabric (Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014: 876, Fig. 14), and further studies and investigations are currently ongoing on the subject (an overview of the fabrics of Gortyn will be published in the upcoming volume about the so-called *Case Bizantine*, for the *Gortina* series of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens). With specific reference to the fabric groups mentioned here, it is essential to clarify that, due to the progression of the pottery study in Gortyn, in the last few years, some rearrangement to the research classification of fabrics has been made. The analyses that have been carried out and the results of these analyses, as well as the remaining doubts and the analyses yet to be done, have led us to classify the fabrics found in Gortyn as follows.

In plain wares, Groups I, II, and OD1 (*opus doliare*) correspond to the sample groups analysed that have provided clear results. With some variations (Ia, b and c), primarily due to the refinement degree of the fabric, Group I has been recognised as local and described as fine, red with small quartz fragments and clay pellets, micrite and occasionally fossils. As well as plain ware, Cretan amphoras and *sovrad-ipinta* ware belong to this group. The rest of the groups, which include all the previously recognised groups from *Gortina V* (Albertocchi and Perna 2000: 414-416), await further clarification by new analysis. Therefore, they have been temporarily classified with letters from *a* to *m*. Among

[3] The team was coordinated by Maria Antonietta Rizzo and is composed of Marina Albertocchi, Marzia Giuliodori, Roberto Perna and Elisa Chiara Portale. My sincere gratitude goes here especially to Roberto Perna who first shared with me her profound understanding of Cretan productions and to Marina Albertocchi, whose precious help and guidance on fabrics has been crucial to my understanding of Gortyn production.

these groups, it is worth mentioning *group g*, which includes the samples R and M of *Gortina V,* and it is thought to be local, recurring especially in late items.

The same method has been applied to cooking ware fabrics. The only group that Nodarou's analysis has confirmed is the *group α*, which is the local one and includes the previous groups CF 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 13 (these are Martin's groups, reused by Sirano. See: Martin 1997b: 346-349). All the other groups still await further analysis.

Conclusions and future perspectives

Gortyn's great vitality, especially during the 6th and 7th centuries is fully corroborated by a brief overview of the most attested types of vases in the dump and the focus on specific items. Local productions and some imports testify to the city's position both in the regional context and in the Aegean and eastern networks. Moreover, the significant number of variations of some shapes in one of the later contexts of the Southern Building suggests the possibility of defining, with further studies, the evolution of some types, possibly until the 8th century and later. The significant amount of pottery from Dump 1004 has offered the opportunity to reconsider some classifications. Two important considerations should be made about the proposed overview of the material from SU 1004. Firstly, it is important to note the presence of similar, yet different, kinds of pots detected in a dump with material ranging from the 4th until the 8th century AD. Secondly, it is crucial to highlight that the comparison with published types shows remarkable similarities and some significant variations, suggesting, in some cases, a need for a reorganisation of the typology. Thus, it is critical to consider the possibility of a linear typology. However, the process is complex and requires a solid chronological context and a vast amount of data. As Reynolds proposes in a recent article (Reynolds 2009), the possibility of recognising some shapes and variants as manifestations of a single type of vessel could provide an interesting new perspective on pottery study (as Reynolds points out, one should, with enough data and a different approach to classification, be able to recognise, for each *type* the different *forms*, i.e., shapes, in which a *type* can develop in time, and the multiple *variants* that each form can assume depending on the workshops). In order to do so it is, of course, necessary to have access to data from extensive excavation and to have the opportunity to trace the possible evolution of some types through the centuries. Therefore, the data available for the pottery from Gortyn may be a starting point for a similar approach. The classification made by Albertocchi and Perna, although needing some reorganisation to create groups of similar pots more clearly recognisable, has the great advantage of giving each variation a name and a description, and of not losing sight of the stratigraphical data. The publication of the entire catalogue, the further studies yet to be published, and the ongoing studies allow us to link each object with the stratigraphy and the fabric groups. This may be enough to make it possible, in the future, to draw up a linear typology, at least for some types of cooking or plain-ware vessels.

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Anastasia G. Yangaki

COOKING AND UTILITARIAN WARES FROM A WATER CRYPT IN ANCIENT MESSENE

During excavations at ancient Messene (Peloponnese) a pottery assemblage was found dumped within a water crypt that constituted part of the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis and had been used as a refuse pit after the abandonment of the complex following 365 AD. The assemblage comprises only cooking wares and utilitarian closed forms, together with few auxiliary clay objects. Three main fabrics make up the bulk of the ceramics and can be attributed to the local productions. Numerous examples of four main types of cooking pots have been revealed. Considering the deficiencies observed in the manufacture of most of these vessels and the fact that some of them are over-fired, it is argued that what has been excavated from the water crypt constitutes wasters rejected from a kiln-firing event in this particular area. Based on the evidence, this assemblage should be dated within the 5th century AD.

Water crypt – ancient Messene – ceramics

To the memory of Professor Petros Themelis

Introduction

Among the pottery dating from the late Roman period and excavated in various locations around the site of ancient Messene (for a typical case: Yangaki 2014), a characteristic group comes from a fill excavated in an underground vaulted construction located in the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis (Themelis 2002: 33-34; 2003: 29-33; 2011: 97-109). It has been confirmed that this is located close to the theatre of ancient Messene, being directly to its south (Themelis 2002: 33-34; 2003: 29; 2011: 97, 105-106; 2021: 43-44; 2022: 87-92). Part of a vaulted subterranean construction has been revealed: an underground corridor in the form of the Greek letter Π, one side running parallel to the road outside the south part of the theatre (**fig. 1**) (Themelis 2002: 33; 2011: 105). At the west and the east side of this construction two arched niches have been revealed (Themelis 2011: 105). Given that an underground water crypt is a feature met with in some Isis sanctuaries and taking into consideration the finding of terracotta pipes in the upper parts of the Π-shaped construction at Messene, this last in all likelihood initially functioned as a water reservoir (Themelis 2002: 33; 2011: 105). During the excavation, a specific part of the east section of this feature was found filled with various debris – numerous pottery fragments, roof tiles, bricks, stones and architectural members of limestone, sandstone and marble. Thus, it seems that after the destruction of the Messene sanctuary, attributed by P. Themelis to the destructive earthquake of 365 AD, and the collapse of the vaulting of its roof, this water reservoir was used as a refuse pit (Themelis 2002: 34; 2011: 105, 109).

The pottery assemblage

The assemblage

The pottery assemblage from the aforementioned section comprises only cooking wares and utilitarian closed wares, such as jugs and basins (**fig. 2**), together with auxiliary clay objects, such as stoppers or biconical support-rings (**fig. 4, a-b, e-f**). No imported, fine red-slipped tablewares have been found and no open forms, decorated or not, such as dishes or bowls. Otherwise, only part of a lamp and a clay lamp mold have been recovered from a layer to the west of this fill, which possibly constitutes part of the same deposition. The majority of the material is manufactured from one of the following three fabric groups, as revealed by systematic study, and thus is considered as local produce.

Fabrics

Three common fabric groups have been distinguished macroscopically according to the quantity of the specimens (for the basic lines of the description of fabrics, see Yangaki 2005: 34-35):

- Fabric 1 (**fig. 3, a**): medium, reddish-yellow (5YR 5/8 yellowish-red–2.5YR 5/8 red), common, small-medium, rounded-tabular, red inclusions; few-frequent, medium-large, rounded-tabular, white inclusions; few, small, rounded-tabular, reddish-black to black inclusions; frequent mica.

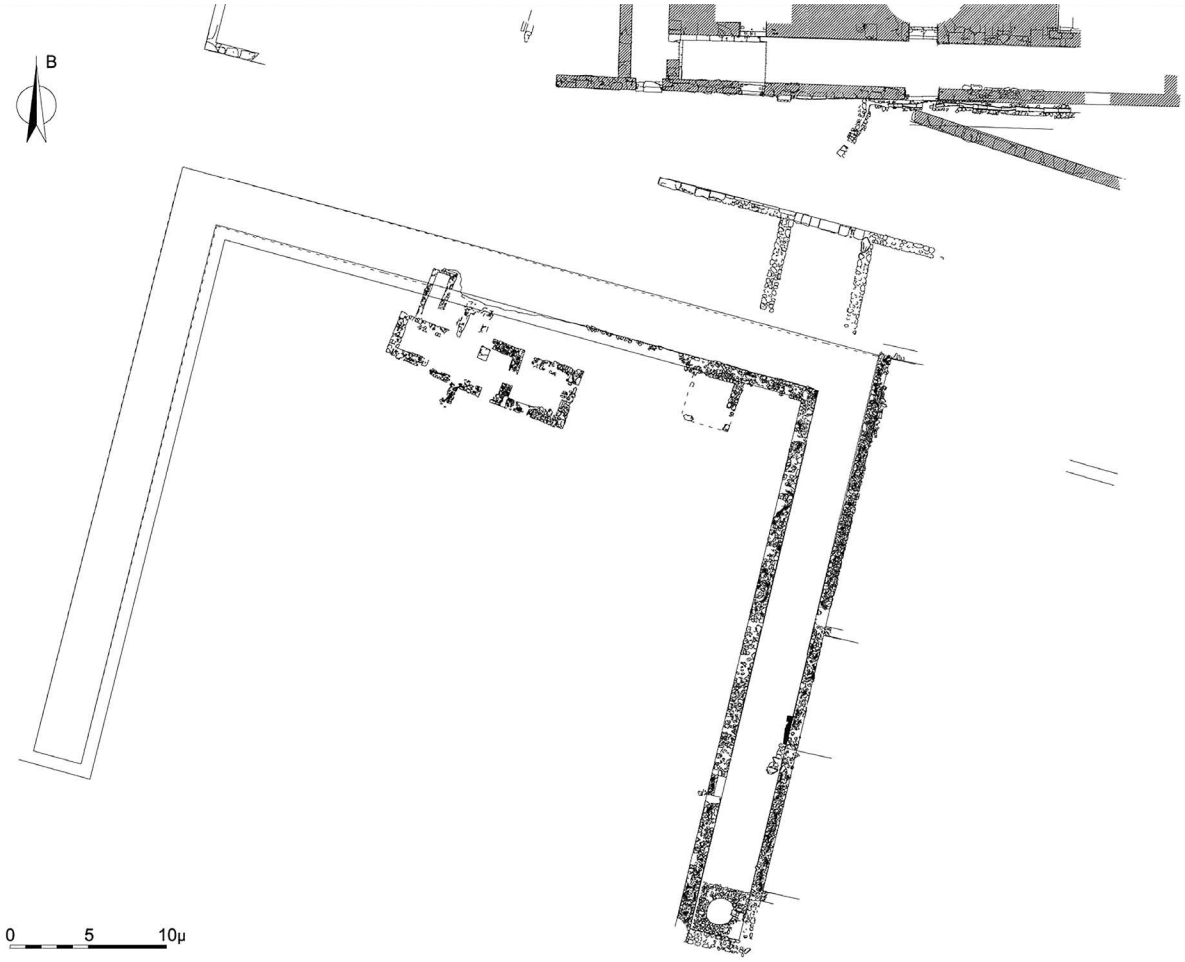


Fig. 1. Plan of the water crypt (after Themelis 2011: 105, fig. 14).

- Fabric 2 (**fig. 3, b**): coarse, red (2.5 YR 5/8–6/8 red); common, small, rounded, red inclusions; common, medium-large, sub-rounded-tabular, quartz; frequent, medium, rounded-tabular, white inclusions; few, small-medium, rounded-tabular, blackish inclusions; rare mica.

- Fabric 3 (**fig. 3, c**): coarse, grayish black (2.5YR 4/1 dark reddish clay - 7.5YR 4/2 brown); few, small, rounded, red inclusions; common, large, sub-rounded, tabular, quartz; few, small, rounded, white inclusions; frequent, medium-large pores.

These fabric groups are the same, macroscopically, as those identified in the material found during the excavation of funerary monument 18, located immediately outside the Arcadian Gate (on this material: Yangaki 2014: 769-776). The first fabric characterizes the rare examples of utilitarian wares and lamps. Fabric 2 is typical of different forms of cooking pots, as is also Fabric 3, although Fabric 2 is more common than Fabric 3. For the material from the Arcadian Gate it has been remarked that – since various forms of pottery are made of Fabric 1, and Fabric 2 is typically used in various types of cooking ware – these two fabrics correspond to the local products of the region during the late Roman period (Yangaki 2014: 770). The plentiful evidence found within this water crypt further enhances this view, particularly since all the related evidence dates from the late Roman period.

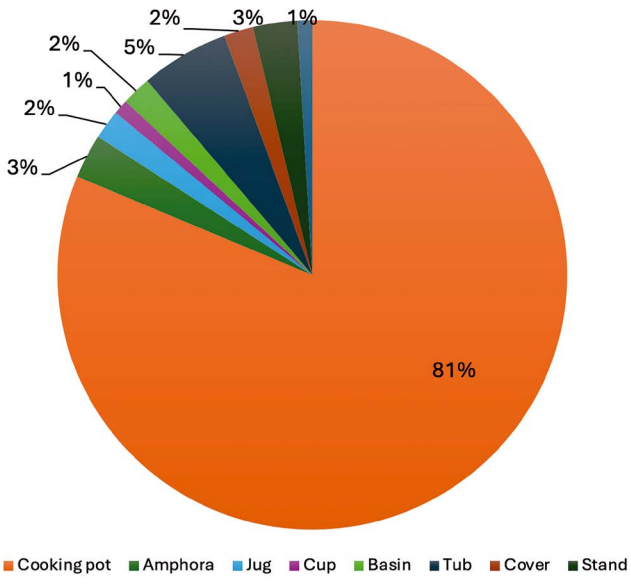


Fig. 2. Percentage of the main categories of pottery from the assemblage (chart by the author).

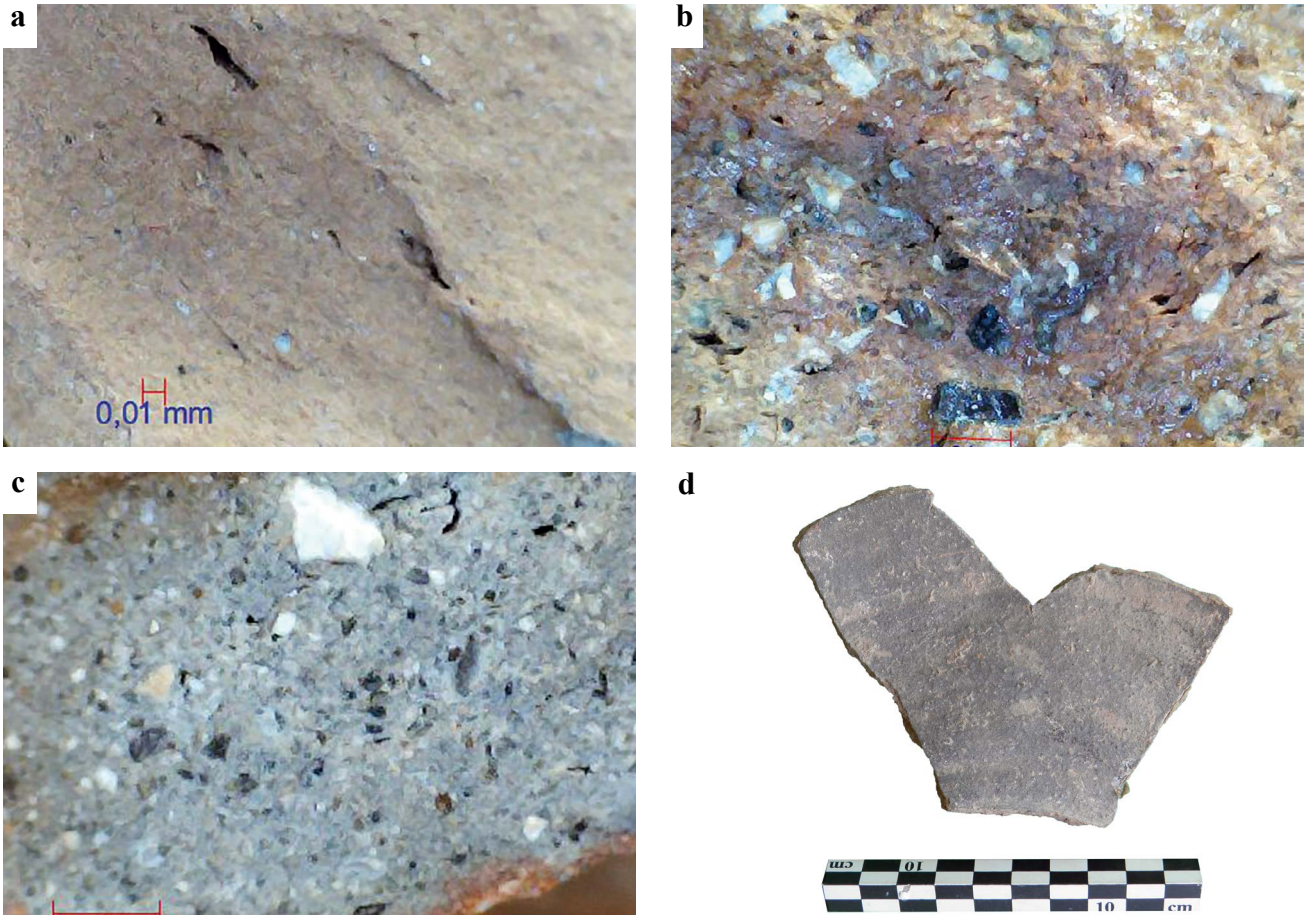


Fig. 3. Macroscopic views of fabrics. a. Fabric 1; b. Fabric 2; c. Fabric 3; d. Overfired fragment found among the pottery from the water crypt (photos: A. G. Yangaki).

Amphorae

The few fragments (**fig. 4, c-d, fig. 5**) from the assemblage correspond to a regional form of amphora which has similarities to the so-called Agora M235/M327 (Robinson 1959: 106, M235, pl. 28, M235, 115, M327, pl. 32, M327; Opaiţ 2014: 43-47). The neck is high, ending in a thickened rim which is concave on the interior, and the slightly conical toe is rounded at the bottom, having no striations. The rim example from the assemblage differs from the main examples of this form in that the handle attachment is placed rather high, below the rim. It is characterized by uneven firing. Fabric 1 characterizes these rim and bottom fragments, thus implying their local provenance. In fact, these rare examples belong to the group of amphorae of similar form dating from the 5th century AD, found in the contexts of the Arcadian Gate (Yangaki 2014: 771, 776, fig. 5, a-c), and showing that this regional form was quite common on the site. Concerning the general evolution of amphora Agora M235/M327, as presented by A. Opaiţ, and even although no complete vessel was derived from this assemblage, yet based on the proportions and the forms of the toes, the latter show more similarities to the subtypes of the 4th century AD (Opaiţ 2014: 44, fig. 1, 45, figs. 6-7). As for the form of the toe (**fig. 4, c-d**), besides the examples from the Agora of Athens (Robinson 1959: 106, M235, 115, M327), similar forms are attested in another assemblage from Athens (Kouzeli 2014: 750, 757, fig. 8), at Argos (Abadie-Reynal 1989: 49-50 fig. 4; Oikonomou-Laniado 2003: 36 no. 5, 140, fig. 63; Abadie-Reynal 2007: 245, no. 444, pl. 70, no. 444.1), Voies (Zavvou and Maltezou 2010: 773, no. 21, 780, fig. 14), to state some of the respective similar examples. Concerning the form of the preserved rim (**fig. 5**) from the water crypt, it finds more similarities with the form of the 5th century AD (Opaiţ 2014: 46, fig. 8). This emerging chronological framework is also consistent with the general date of the assemblage (see below), suggesting that this form was already circulating in ancient Messene in the course of the late 4th century AD and during the early 5th century AD. This would be before its more common presence in the course of the more advanced 5th century AD, as suggested by the published evidence from the Arcadian Gate (Yangaki 2014: 771, 776, fig. 5, a-c).

Jug

Of the three examples of jugs identified within the group (fabric 1, **fig. 3, a**), that which was restored to its full height (**fig. 6, a-b**) finds exact parallels in one from the Athenian Agora dating from the 4th century AD (Robinson 1959: 105,

M227, pl. 27, M227) and from Argos of the 5th century AD (Ivantchik 2002: 397, fig. 28, 170, 398, fig. 29, 170). It shares general correlations in the formation of the base, the body and the high large neck with examples from Eleutherna from the context of 365 AD (Yangaki 2005: 51, no. 80, pl. VII, 8, 54, no. 119, pl. X, 6). The rim is flat with a triangular edge, the neck is large, the ridged oval body ends in a ring-base. The body is not symmetrical with respect to its vertical axis as its two sides are slightly compressed and half of the pot bears intense traces of fire. The second example (**fig. 7**), from the lower part of a jug's ring-base (fabric 2, **fig. 3, b**), constitutes a firing failure since the whole shape is completely distorted.

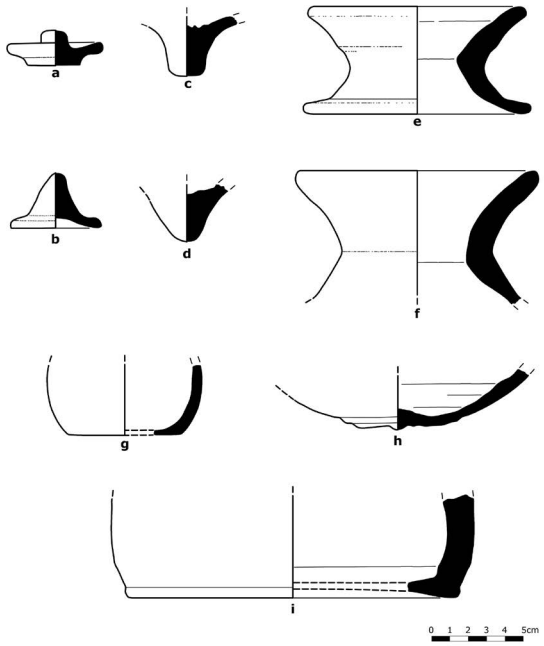


Fig. 4. a-b: Stoppers (Αποθ27, Αποθ28); c-d: amphora toes (Αποθ60, Αποθ04); e-f: biconical support-rings (13252, Αποθ34); g: cup (Αποθ62); h: cooking pot (Αποθ06); i: large bowl (Αποθ61) (drawings: A. G. Yangaki).



Fig. 5. Rim fragments of amphora related to the so-called Agora M235 type (Αποθ29) (photo: A. G. Yangaki).

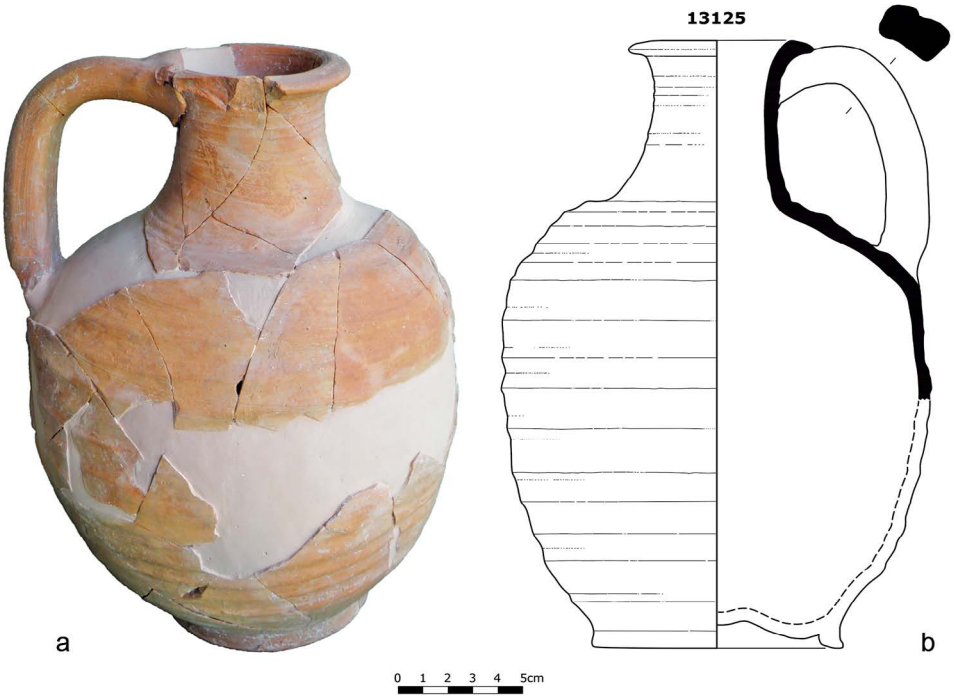


Fig. 6. Photo and drawing of a jug (13125) (photo-drawing: A. G. Yangaki).

Basins and Tubs

The small number of basins and tubs share horizontal, flattened rims or everted and thickened rims, straight bodies and flat bases (**fig. 8a-b** and **fig. 9**). They are mainly made from fabric 1 (**fig. 3, a**). They find parallels with vessels dated in the period from the 3rd up to the 5th/early 6th century AD, as characteristic examples from Athens, Argos, Demetrias, Delphi, Knossos, Eleutherna, Empoli, Carthage and Baalbek show (Robinson 1959: 66, nos. K78-K79, pl. 13, K78-K79; Ivantchik 2002: 403, fig. 32, 183; Eiwanger 1981: 65-66; Ware IIIK, pl. 57, IIIa.107; Pétridis 2010: 55-56, no. CS 18, no. CS21, 202, pl. 14, fig. 42, no. CS 18, 203, fig. 45, no. CS 21; Hayes 1983: 133, fig. 14, 173; Yangaki 2005: 53, no. 112, pl. X, 2, 57, no. 139, pl. XII, 3; Cantini, Boschian and Gabriele 2014: 204, 210, fig. 3 AD.1 1-3; Tomber 1988: 476; Hamel 2010: 878, 884, fig. 30, respectively). Incised decoration either ornaments the upper part of the rim (basins) or the exterior of the body (tubs). In the case of the restored and almost complete tub, the original two horizontal handles seem to have been detached at some point, leaving traces on the body and suggesting a less than perfect manufacturing process.



Fig. 7. Lower part of a jug that constitutes a firing failure (13249) (photo: A. G. Yangaki).

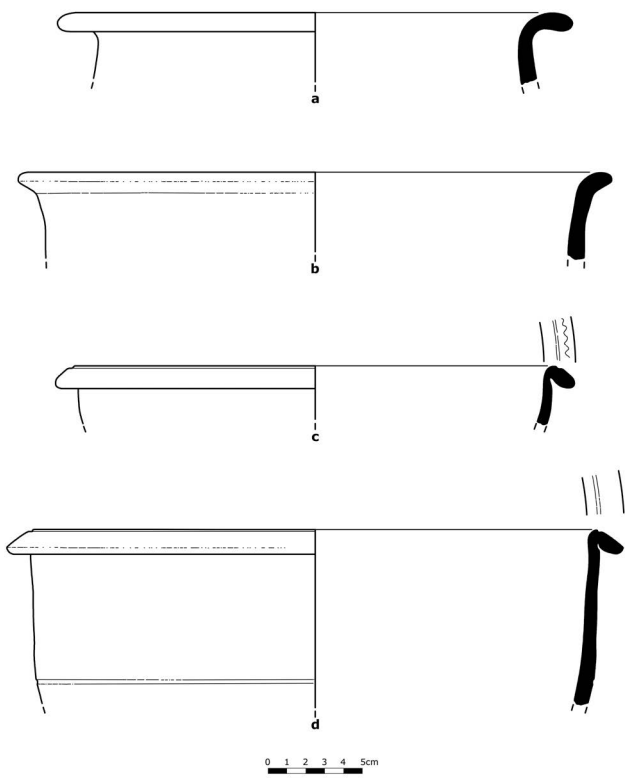


Fig. 9. Various rim forms of basins (Αποθ22, Αποθ24, Αποθ23, Αποθ25) (drawing: A. G. Yangaki).

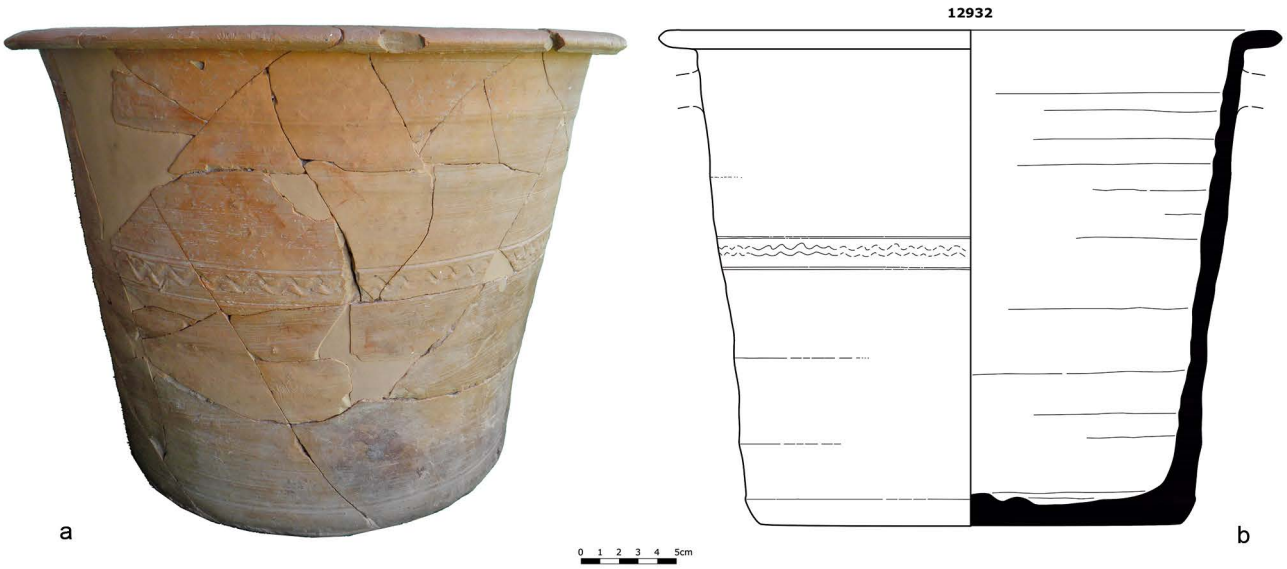


Fig. 8. Photo and drawing of a restored basin (12932) (photo-drawing: A. G. Yangaki).

Cooking pots

Four main types of cooking wares are distinguished. Type I: Everted flattened rim with two angular edges and a deep groove or incision on the outer side of the rim (**fig. 10, a-b, 11** and **12, d**). In some cases, two parallel incisions run around the upper surface of the rim. This is by far the commonest form, made from fabric 2 (**fig. 3, b**). As to the general formation of the rim and the body, it finds similarities with cooking pots from Argos, from Demetrias and from Knidos, of the 5th century AD (Ivantchik 2002: 400, fig. 30, 177, 402; Eiwanger 1981: 46-47, Ware IIE, Form XI, pl. 24, II.411-II.416;



Fig. 10. Photo and drawing of an example of cooking pot, type I (13112) (photo-drawing: A. G. Yangaki).

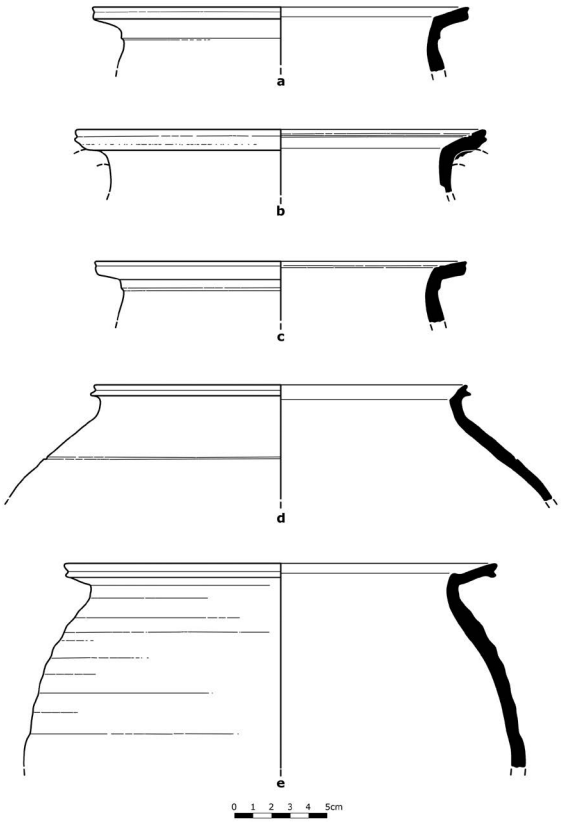


Fig. 11. Various sub-forms of cooking pot, type I (Αποθ72, Αποθ77, Αποθ73, Αποθ81, Αποθ36) (drawings: A. G. Yangaki).

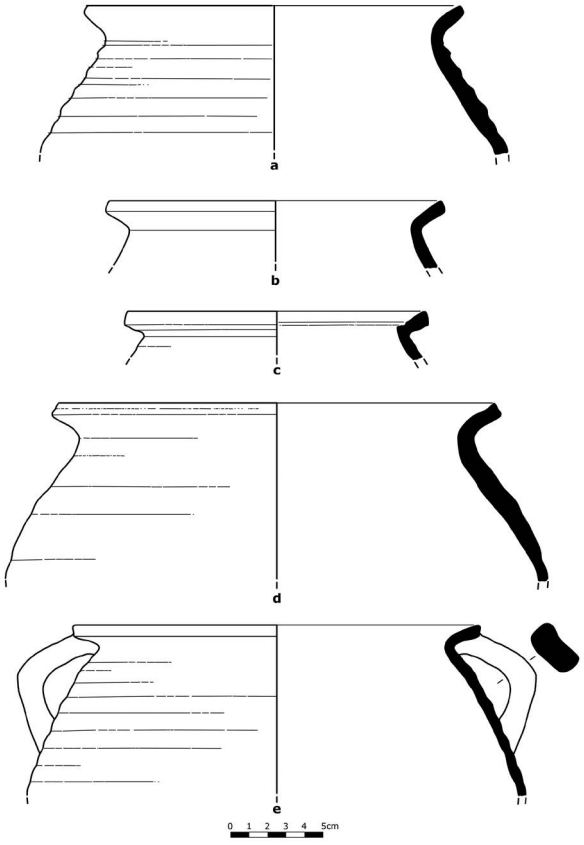


Fig. 12. a.-c., e: Various sub-forms of cooking pot, type II (Αποθ67, Αποθ64, Αποθ65, Αποθ38); d: cooking pot, type I (Αποθ45) (drawings: A. G. Yangaki).

Doksanaltı and Tekocak 2014: 283, Cooking Pot I, 286, fig. 4, 21, respectively). Type II: Flattened rim with a rounded edge and globular body (**fig. 12, a-c, e**); examples are made mostly from fabric 2 (**fig. 3, b**). Often on the upper surface of the rim there runs an incision. This form is common in contexts of the final quarter of the 4th c. and the 5th century AD in several locations such as in Argos, Sparta, Eleutherna, Knossos, Knidos, Philippi and Stobi (Ivantchik 2002: 400, fig. 30, 178, 401, fig. 31, 178, 402; Pickersgill and Roberts 2003: 578, fig. 17, 126; Yangaki 2005, 168, 426, fig. 37, g, h; Hayes 1983: 126, fig. 8, 97; Doksanaltı and Tekocak 2014: 282, Cooking Pot G, 285, fig. 3, 19; Zachariadis 2020: I. 417, CLW33, II. fig. 136, nos. 1690-1691; Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 137, no. 1194, pl. 138, 1194, respectively), while some examples are related to the so-called "Aegean Cooking Wares" (on this category: Hayes 1983: 105 type 2, 122, nos. 58-61, 63-64; Waksman and Lemaître 2010). Type III: High, in-turned rim, with a thick edge, in some cases squared, in others rounded (**fig. 13, a-b** and **14, a-f**). Fabrics 2 and 3 correspond to this form (**fig. 3, b-c**). In some cases, a deep seating cavity is created inside the rim (for receiving a cover). Externally, it usually preserves on the outer surface of the rim one large incision, while often there may be two. Its rim form has close similarities with a type of cooking pot from Novae (Bulgaria), there located in layers of the 6th century AD (Biernacki and Klenina 2014: 152, 156, fig. 3, 1). Type IVa: High, slightly everted, simple rim with rounded edge, quite thick (**fig. 15, a-b** and **16, a, c-d**). Inside below the edge of the rim often runs an incision. Type IVb: High, straight rim with a rounded edge, slightly concave on the interior (**fig. 16, b, e**). The handles of type IV are vertical, attached to the rim, elliptical in cross-section with a central, wide groove along their backs. Fabric 2 characterizes most of the examples, although some occur in fabric 3. Examples of type IVa have great similarities in their upper part with a form of cooking ware from Eleutherna found within the contexts of 365 AD (Yangaki 2005: 427, fig. 38, a), in an early 5th century AD context from S. Giacomo degli Schiavoni in Italy (Albarella, Ceglia and Roberts 1993: 192, fig. 16, 118-119), in a context of the second half of the 5th century AD from Durrës in Albania (Shkodra-Rrugia 2010: 721-722, 727, fig. 5, 19-20), in Philippi dated to the 6th century AD onwards (Zachariadis 2020: I. 423-425, CLW36, II. fig. 150, no. 1801) and from Knidos from a context dated to the early 6th century AD

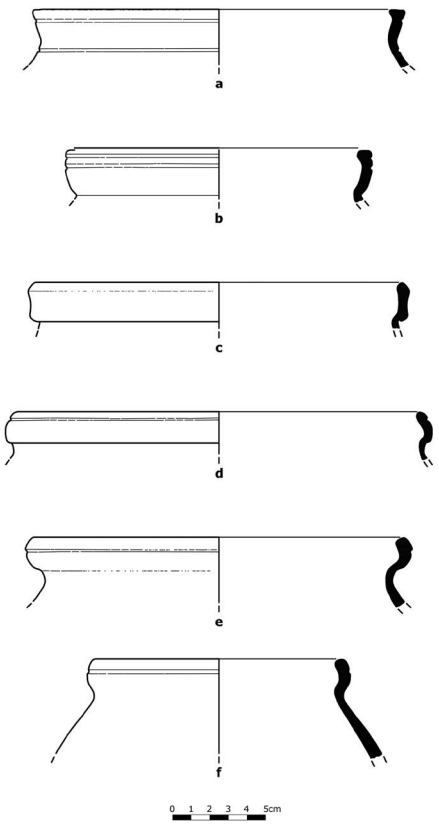


Fig. 14. Various sub-forms of cooking pot, type III (Απoθ93, Απoθ87, Απoθ90, Απoθ94, Απoθ21, Απoθ84) (drawings: A. G. Yangaki).



Fig. 13. Photo and drawing of an example of cooking pot, type III (13088) (photo-drawing: A. G. Yangaki).

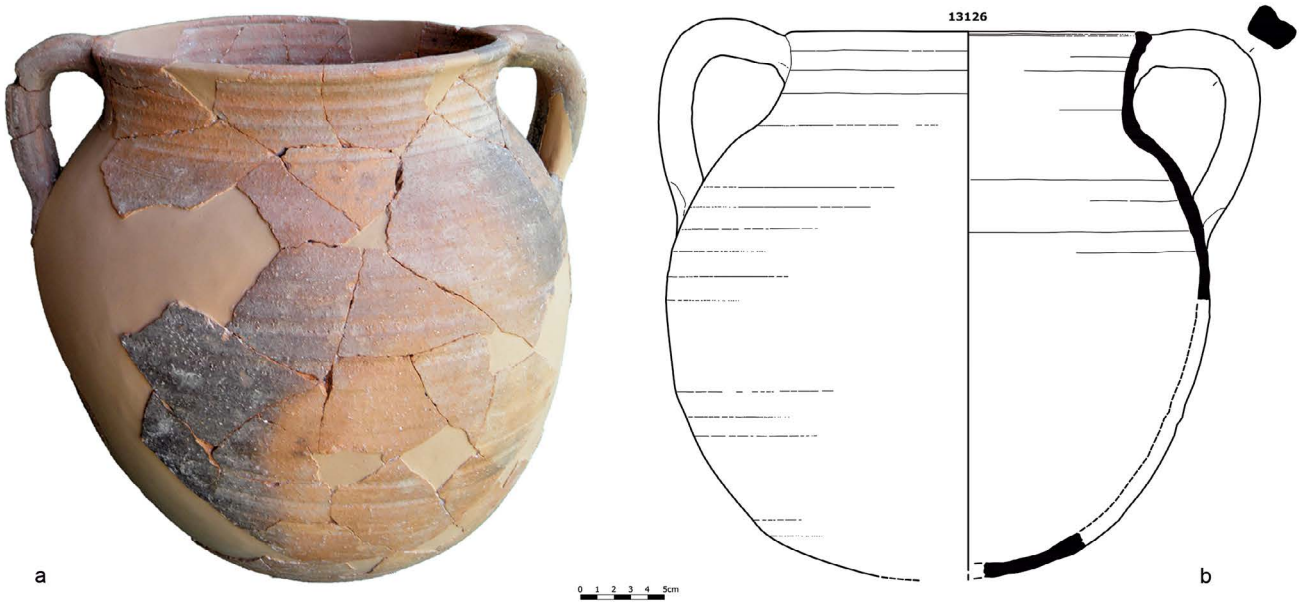


Fig. 15. Photo and drawing of an example of cooking pot, type IVa (13126) (photo-drawing: A. G. Yangaki).

(Doksanaltı 2010: 770, 775, fig. 1, 1-2; Doksanaltı and Tekocak 2014: 282, Cooking Pot E, 285, fig. 3, 17). In all the four main types, the body is globular with a rounded base (**fig. 4, h**); the vertical handles are attached to the rim and elliptical in cross-section, bearing a central groove. Types I and II (**figs. 10-12**) show close morphological analogies. Given that type II – which by its form is mostly characteristic of the late 3rd and the first half of the 4th century – occurs rarely compared to type I, which is common during the 5th century – as shown from the assemblages of Argos, Demetrias and Knidos (see above) – it may be suggested that type I constitutes a development of the main form from the 4th into the 5th century AD. Type II consists of small and medium-sized pots. Type III is one of the most common and consists mainly of large-sized vessels, together with type IV.

Lamp mold

From a layer immediately to the west of this assemblage a clay lamp mold (**fig. 17**) was found. From it the upper half of the lamp was produced. Based on the form of the lamp and its decoration, it belongs to the "vine-and-rays" series of Corinthian and Attic lamps, and more specifically to Broneer type 27 lamps (Broneer 1930: 104-105, 189, pl. XX, 570), largely produced during the 2nd and the 3rd century AD. Copies continue to be made in Corinth even during the 5th and the early 6th century AD (Garnett 1975: 186, fig. 2, 190, no. 6, pl. 43, no. 6) and in Athens up into the 5th century AD (Perlzweig 1961: 21, 32, 57; Karivieri 1996: 69, 109-110, 209, no. 163, 211, no. 171, pl. 15, 163, pl. 16, 171, pl. 53, 3). Here, the circular disk bears – starting from the middle – two rings, rays, and then two more framing rings, while the rim portion has a vine pattern consisting of six bunches and four leaves, with spiraling tendrils in between. The handle is grooved and the nozzle is kite-shaped. This particular combination

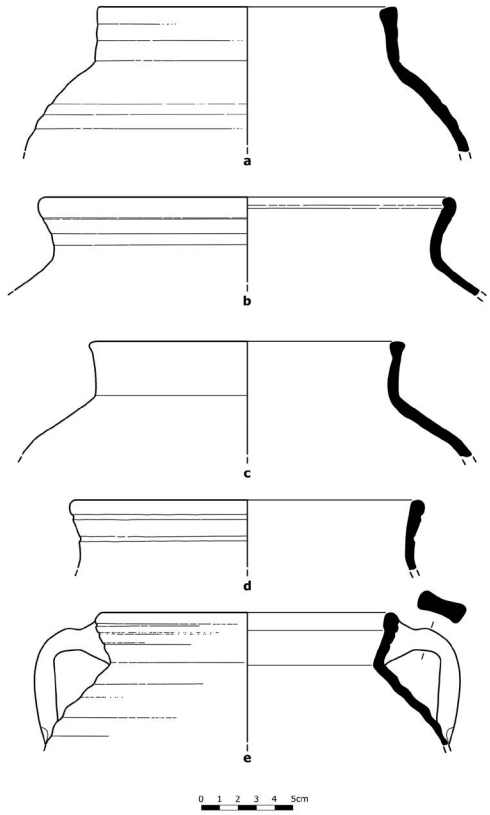


Fig. 16. a., c.-d.: Sub-forms of cooking pot, type IVa (Αποθ69, Αποθ66, Αποθ17); b., e.: Sub-forms of cooking pot, type IVb (Αποθ70, Αποθ42) (drawings: A. G. Yangaki).

of decorative motifs finds exact parallels with a lamp from the Athenian Agora dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD (Perlzweig 1961: 145, no. 1506, pl. 28, 1506) and from the Kerameikos (Perlzweig 1961: 94, no. 272, pl. 8, 272; see

also: Karivieri 1996: 209, no. 163). The general shape and decoration of the group carried on into the early 4th century AD (for various similar but not quite identical examples: Perlzweig 1961: 146, no. 1515, no. 1552, 146, no. 1516, no. 1540, no. 1546, pl. 28, 1516, 1540, 1544, 1552; Karivieri 1996: 209, no. 163, 211, no. 171, pl. 15, 163, pl. 16, 171) and the mold recalls such examples of the early 4th century AD. Similar lamps occur in the Agora of Thessaloniki, dated mostly in the middle of the 3rd century AD (Adam-Veleni 2010: 189, 196, nos. 29-30, 204, figs. 3, 4, 6). Though the lamp mold gives an enhanced relief, yet a copy produced from it makes it plain that the motifs are not actually very cleanly detailed. From this it can be concluded that the mold was made from a 'prototype', itself manufactured from a rather degraded mold. This observation – taking into consideration the date ascribed to the main assemblage from ancient Messene (see below) – together with the fact that this local counterpart is more elongated and has a rather condensed disk (in comparison to the earlier originals) demonstrates the rather long period separating the local manufacture of these lamps from their closest original parallels. These last in fact are considerably earlier, although "vine-and-rays" lamps did continue to be produced for a long time. One might recall here that even within the century-long Attic lamp sequence the later products often differed notably from their earlier counterparts (Perlzweig 1961: 21).



Fig. 17. Complete lamp mold (12729) (photo: A. G. Yangaki).



Fig. 18. Detached handles from cooking pots, preserving marks of their points of original attachment to the vessels (photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Various clay objects

Besides the above, the support-rings (**fig. 4, e-f**) bear general analogies with others from Boeotia and Eleutherna, dated to the 4th century AD (Gerousi 2014: 195, 202, fig. 9; Yangaki 2005: 244, no. 64, 452, fig. 63, k, respectively), but also with support-rings from Delphi, dated to the last quarter of the 6th century AD (Pétridis 2010, 54, no. CS 15, 202, pl. 14, fig. 40, no. CS 15). Other clay objects find close analogies in form with similar ones dating to the 4th and the 5th centuries AD from other areas. For example the small stoppers (**fig. 4, a-b**) have analogies with stoppers from Delphi (Pétridis 2010: 117, nos. D 16, D 18, 226, pl. 38, fig. 202, no. D 16, fig. 203, no. D 18) or from Argos (Ivantchik 2002: 402, 403, fig. 32, 187-188, 404), respectively; the shallow bowl with thickened body is very similar to a bowl (**fig. 4, i**) from S. Giacomo degli Schiavoni (Albarella and Ceglia and Roberts 1993: 196, fig. 18, 146, 198, no. 146).

Remarks on the pottery assemblage

On the manufacture

The detailed examination of the vessels has shown that several of them have a body form which is not curved but is ellipsoidal in shape (**fig. 7**). In several cases the handles have become completely detached (**fig. 18**), without taking anything of the body with them. It seems that the various parts of these vessels have not been well fixed together, possibly due to the fact that they have not dried out uniformly. Thus after the completion of their firing, most of the handles came off the main body. In other cases, the vessel does not have a symmetrical form, e.g. one side of the rim is higher than the other. One jug has completely lost its shape (**fig. 7**), surely thereby becoming a reject from the pottery-making process; other vessels are overfired (**fig. 3, d**). Based on all these remarks and the fact that specific forms are found repeatedly within the same assemblage and that all bear the same kind of failures, it can reasonably be proposed that what has been excavated from the water crypt constitutes firing wasters rejected from a kiln-firing event in this particular area. Based on this interpretation and the common groups of fabrics employed for the various forms of cooking wares, one can observe that at least four different forms of cooking wares, all of a generally diffused globular type with a rounded base, were being produced within the same workshop and during

the same timeframe. The lamp mold (**fig. 17**) offers evidence on the contemporaneous production of lamps of a common Roman type, showing that at the site of late Roman Messene lamps were also manufactured locally.

On the date

Taking into consideration the four types of cooking pots, which constitute by far the most common finds from the assemblage, and based on the similarities of each type with cooking pots from other areas and noting the latter's dating, one may observe that Messene's cooking pots types (**figs. 10-16**) either bear characteristics found in other cooking pots of the 4th, or of the 5th or even of the early 6th century AD. So they seem to be on the threshold of transitional phase.

At the site of the Agora of Argos an assemblage of pottery dated to the 5th century AD (with two main phases) contained examples of cooking pots similar in rim form with types I and II (Ivantchik 2002: 331, 400, fig. 30, 178, 180, 402). Further at the site of S. Giacomo degli Schiavoni in Italy, a context dated to 420-430 AD contained not only cooking pots similar in form with the water crypt's type II but also with its type IV as well (Albarella, Ceglia and Roberts 1993: 181, fig. 11, 61, b, d, 192, fig. 16, 118-119). On the other hand, a group of pottery from Durrës (Albania) dating to the 4th to 5th century AD comprises cooking pots similar in form to those of our type II, while another group dating to the second half of the 5th century and later contains cooking pots similar to those of our type IV (Shkodra-Rrugia 2010: 721-722, 726, fig. 3, 5, 727, fig. 5, 20, respectively). In Knidos, the local production comprises cooking pots similar to the assemblage's types I and II and there dated to the early 5th century AD, while a form related to type IV is there dated to the early 6th century AD (Doksanaltı and Tekocak 2014: 282-283, Cooking Pots G, I and E, respectively, 285-286, fig. 3, 19, fig. 4, 21 and fig. 3, 17, respectively). A similar rim form to type III is found in Novae and dated to the 6th century there (Biernacki and Klenina 2014: 152, 156, fig. 3, 1), but the type III's examples from Messene seem to have a different ratio between their rim diameters and the maximum diameter of the body, which could possibly constitute a manufacturing but also a chronological differentiation. More precisely, the Messene examples have larger opening than that of the cooking pots from Novae, indeed not differing by much from the vessel's maximum body diameter. In all the comparable contexts (Argos, S. Giacomo degli Schiavoni, Durrës, Knidos), more than one type of cooking pot are found within the same context, mostly dating to the 5th century AD, with some similar in form to those from Messene, and with some or all of the examples being attributed to local production at each site. Although type III has similarities with a form from Novae there dated to the 6th century AD, such a date cannot be ascribed to the Messene's assemblage. This is not only due to the far more numerous material of the other forms of cooking pots (particularly the common Type II, encountered within the early 5th century AD), or of the amphorae (**fig. 4, c-d** and **5**), the jugs (**figs. 6-7**) and the lamp mold (**fig. 17**), which points to an earlier date, mainly within the 5th century AD, but also by simple observation of individual features of some of the vessels. Thus, the two jugs bear characteristic ring-bases, hollow in the centre (**fig. 6 b, fig. 7**), recalling those of the earlier 3rd and 4th century AD examples (see above), and are not of the simple, flat-based types of later layers, such as those in Novae, for example (Biernacki and Klenina 2014: 155, fig. 2, 9-10), but also seen elsewhere. Also, the sherds of the main type of amphora bear characteristics of the sub-types of the late 4th century and of the 5th century AD (see above). Even the lamp mold speaks in favor of an earlier date, as previously observed, during the 4th century AD, although an early 5th century use could perhaps just be envisaged. Furthermore, the archaeological data do not offer evidence that this fill was constituted in different but closely successive acts of rejection; on the contrary, all the previously mentioned vessels were found within the same fill, thus one concludes that it constitutes a single event. This opinion is further enhanced by the observation that numerous rejected handles of cooking pots have the same general form but seem to have been used indiscriminately on all four types of cooking pots described above. Based on all the previous remarks, it seems logical to suggest that the material from ancient Messene offers us a glimpse into a single act of refuse deposition. All in all, the circumstances suggest that the aforementioned various forms of wares were in production around the beginning of the 5th century AD, after which period they were thrown into this fill. They form an interesting context that represents, in my opinion, the transition from earlier forms (types I and II of the cooking pots) to others (types III and IV of the cooking pots), which will become more common within the advanced 5th or even the 6th century AD, as is suggested by the latter's date in other areas. It advocates the latter's early beginning of production, at least in areas such as ancient Messene.

Concluding remarks

The act of discarding the whole material took place after 365 AD, when the water crypt had been destroyed and could only be used as a refuse dumping place. The assemblage of pottery seems to be consistent in its date (see below) and, given the typology of the forms, can be placed after the late 4th century, during the first decades of the 5th century AD period. The deposition was made possibly around the first decades of the 5th century AD. Within the same fill also occurred other objects of varied dates, such as architectural members of the late Hellenistic-early Roman period (Themelis 2011: 106). Based on the fact that the majority of the vessels bears traces of failure in manufacture, as described previously, and that specific groups of fabrics characterize either the cooking or the utilitarian wares, it can be reasonably argued that these objects provide evidence of the local production in the area of the 5th century AD. Thus, they offer additional testimony to the proposed existence of local workshops deduced from the material published from the area of the Arcadian Gate (Yangaki 2014: 769-772). The material here seems to represent a failed firing, producing wasters which were discarded all at one and the same time. The location of their

disposal may argue that the original workshop was located nearby. Given the forms and the date, this pottery group in fact may be considered as an intermediary link between the two groups identified in the pottery material of the Arcadian Gate: "group 1" dating to the late 3rd-first half of the 4th century AD and "group 2" dating after the early 5th century AD (Yangaki 2014: 769-772). If so, the present assemblage thus covers the period from the latter part of the 4th century, that of the early 5th century AD. This seems probable since "group 2" contains examples of cooking wares of types II and III presented here (Yangaki 2014: 770-771, 775, fig. 4, c-d). Thus, the pottery material from the water crypt supplies a missing link in the "stratigraphy" of ceramic circulation and production at the site in the late Roman period, offering evidence on the 5th century AD.

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OFF THE GRID: NON-IMPORTED WARES IN LATE ROMAN PHILIPPI

This study focuses on Late Roman pottery found in Philippi, Greece, aiming to shed light on local productions, often neglected in favor of imported wares. Despite Philippi's stature as a key urban center, research on its pottery has been sparse. The paper examines the pottery from a composite building in Philippi, revealing a distinct local ware characterized by consistent fabric and numerus vessel types, with several subtypes. The pottery, likely produced in Philippi, or the vicinity, reflects the city's unique needs and preferences. Analysis suggests that the ware flourished in the 5th and 6th centuries before declining in the 7th century. The findings emphasize the necessity of investigating local productions to attain a comprehensive understanding of regional dynamics and the intricacies of Late Roman market and economy.

Philippi – local ware – cooking pots – Late antique economy – pottery typology

Introduction

Despite the rising interest on the study of Late Roman pottery during the last few decades, it seems that most of the research taking place is focusing on major production centers and pottery vessels that circulate all around the Mediterranean and even beyond its shores. The lack of publications on local wares and the shortness in studies concerning Roman and Late Roman pottery that does not belong to major wares or commercial containers is striking. This is especially true when it comes to the late antique period in northern Greece. The acta of the meeting on Late Antique pottery from Greece (Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Kousoulakou 2010), more than a decade ago seemed promissing. But this initiative was without continuity. Furthermore, only a small part of the pottery included in this publication came from local productions and has rarely been presented with its context. One would expect that at least Thessaloniki, one of the most important urban centers in this period, would have been properly studied, but even in this case the data is disappointing. If one would gather up every published sherd from Late Antique contexts in northern Greece, would probably believe that pottery is mainly an imported commodity. In fact, the pottery that cannot be attributed to one of the known wares is often neglected. This is true even when pottery workshops are excavated (Yangaki et al. 2008; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2018: 34). Additionally, there is a common concept that local workshops are only capable of low-quality pottery, imitating and complementing imported ware. This paper aspires to slightly contribute to the knowledge on the local production traits in northern Greece, focusing on the pottery found in a composite building in Philippi that cannot be identified as imported.

The city of Philippi (**fig. 1**), placed east of Thessaloniki, next to the modern city of Kavala, in the shadow of Pangeon mountain, was founded in the 4th century BC originally known as Dato or Krinides (Collart 1937: 133-137; Zannis 2014: 523-539). A few years later was taken over by Phillip II' who renamed the city after himself. After the Battle of Philippi, in which Antony and Octavian defeated Caesar's assasins, the city became a Roman Colony (Collart 1937: 223-235; Lazaridis 1973: 11, 30; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998) and was soon populated by Italian settlers (Collart 1937: 228), gaining a huge economic boost. Gradually Philippi raised in a major urban center, with numerous impressive public buildings being erected, until the 6th century AD (Lemerle 1945; Zachariadis 2020: 12-13). The early 7th century marks a significant decline, causing some scholars to argue that the city was totally abandoned at the time, assumably due to Slavic invasions (Lemerle 1945: 118; Konstantakopoulou 1984: 200-202). Recent research disproves this hypothesis (Bakirtzis 1989: 700-702; Doukata 1990: 389; Zachariadis



Fig. 1. Map of the North Aegean and the Sea of Marmara.

2014: 707-708; Poulou-Papadimitriou and Tantzis 2018: 167-168; Curta 2012; Doukata-Demertzi 2022: 370-372; Poulou 2022; Zachariadis 2022: 470-475), although a series of finds point towards a major catastrophic event (Doukata 1990: 388-389; Pelekanidou and Mentzos 1990: 606; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1995: 173; Pennas 1995: 222; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 1999: 80-81; Provost and Foschia 2002: 114-115; Provost 2004: 786-788), identified as a strong earthquake during the 2nd quarter of the 7th century (Gounaris 1984: 49; 1988: 400-401; Bakirtzis 1989: 696-698; Gounaris and Velenis 1992: 257, 269-270; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1995: 173; 1996: 740; 1998: 412; Pennas 1995: 222; Sève 2000: 199-202; Velenis 2002: 131; Provost 2004: 795). After the mid-7th century drastic changes occurred reforming the city and its society, lasting for at least a couple of centuries (Zachariadis 2022: 470-474).

Local Common wares in Late Roman Philippi

The pottery for this communication comes from a luxurious building, east of the forum, that was excavated from 1992 to 2002 by the late professor Gounaris and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. It's known for its impressive mosaic floors that include scenes of chariot racing (Gounaris 2001; Gounari 2008). It was founded in the 3rd century AD and destroyed by a fire in late 4th (Gounaris 2001: 351; Gounaris 2003: 359; Gounari 2008: 87), or probably in the early 5th century (Zachariadis 2020: 460). Soon after this, it was repurposed as a glass factory and other industrial activities (Gounaris 2001: 323; Zachariadis 2014: 705, 708). Its last phase can be dated sometime in the late 6th century, when it was taken over by poorly built private houses, including some areas modified for keeping livestock (Gounaris 2001: 351; 2003: 359-361). After the late 7th century, the area was probably left uninhabited (Zachariadis 2020: 460).

Aside from the imported products, that add up to 40% of the pottery (Zachariadis 2020: 504), a homogeneous ware was identified, that has been neglected for long (Zachariadis 2020: 366-432)[1]. Apart from sporadic reports on some of its products (Malamidou 2005; Zachariadis 2010, 2014: 706), its local origin is only implied, when the pottery from an adjacent building was studied (Trivizadaki 2005: 27, 252).

The fabric of the ware (**fig. 2**), and especially its composition, is very consistent throughout time and various shapes. Its color varies from yellowish red to brown, it is hard, breaking unevenly, and can sometimes bears grayish or dark colored layers, especially in thicker sherds. It contains many angular and subangular silicate inclusions, mostly smaller than 2mm in diameter, as well as flakes of golden mica. Constantly occurring, though in small quantity, one can notice small rounded, brown clay pellets. Three distinct fabrics can be discerned based on quantity and distribution of the inclusions. Only one of them, containing more abundant and poorly sorted silicate inclusions can be assigned to a specific shape and has some dating significance, used for 6th century cooking pots (Zachariadis 2020: 367-369).

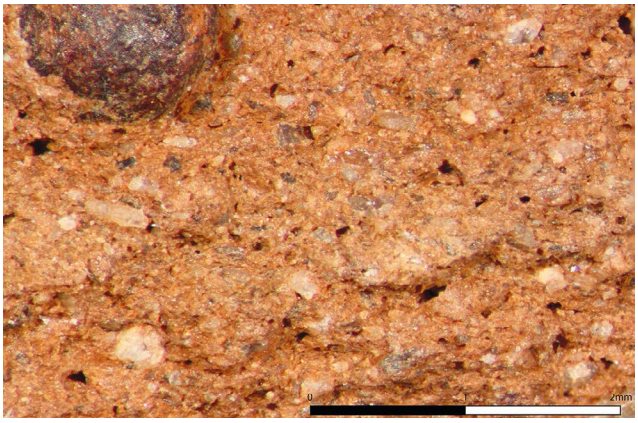


Fig. 2. Microscopic view of the Philippi CLW.

The consistent composition of the clay and the sorting of its inclusions suggest that it comes from a single source and there was no mixture from different deposits. The occurrence of holes in the fabric deriving from the presence of organic material is indicative that the cleaning process was not very thorough, and no specialized techniques were employed.

The pottery under consideration is wheel made. In most cases, vessels are created in a single throw, with no added parts, except for the handles. Only in larger shapes, such as amphoras and some jugs, the neck is thrown separately and then attached to the body. The external surface usually remains plain, with shallow groove marks or bands made by some kind of spatula, while the bottom of the vessels often retains the cut marks, suggesting that little or no trimming occurred after it was removed from the wheel. The ceramics are fired in oxidizing atmosphere, in rather high temperature. Nevertheless, there are some gray colored examples, probably due to misfiring (Zachariadis 2020: 370-371).

Almost every shape known in Late Antiquity is represented in the ware, both open and closed ones, including some lamps copying imported examples. However, they are unevenly distributed (**fig. 3**). Only a small percentage of the vessels studied can be related to table ware, while the ones connected to food preparation prevail (Zachariadis 2020: 367, 452).

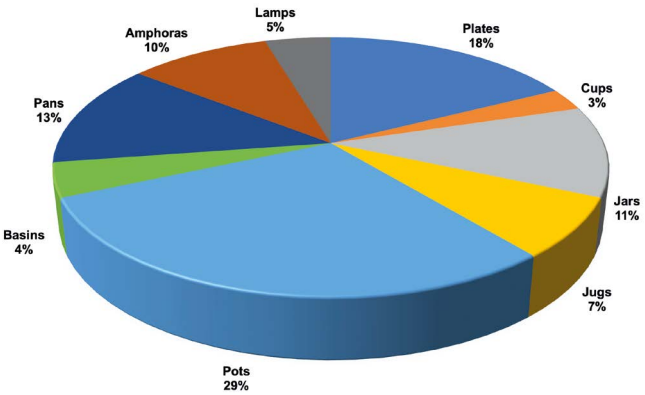


Fig. 3. Distribution of shapes amongst the CLW studied.

[1] The ware under consideration was studied for my PhD thesis (Zachariadis 2020). It is being described as CLW (common local ware) and divided in 41 types with several subtypes.

Cups bear similarities to imported examples (**fig. 4**). Two different types can be identified. One of them (CLW1) resembles the general form of several types of cups common in the eastern mediterranean area during the Roman and Late Roman period such as the Marabini LXVIII cups (Marabini Moevs 1973: 237-238, pl. 46, 85, nos. 431-433), the cups known as urnetta a collarino (Lamboglia 1962: 285; Hayes 2008:101-104) or the Italian mugs (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 74) and the second (CLW2) inspired by Macedonian Gray Ware vessels (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 70, pl. 53, nos. 463-467).

Most of the jugs found, belong to the same local ware. Even though the standardization of this shape is rather limited, two distinct groups can be identified (**fig. 5**). The first one includes larger, wide mouthed vessels (CLW3), while the second consists of jars with narrow neck and outward rim (CLW4 – 5). No original shapes can be identified and most of the examples studied seem to follow a general trend, common in the entire Greek mainland. There are many similarities to the Macedonian Gray ware (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 140-141, pl. 144-145, nos. 1242, 1248) as well as to a series of widemouthed jars bearing grooves on the neck, common in Athens (Robinson 1959: 79, pl. 17, no. L45), Crete (Vogt 2000: 70, fig. 20, no. 7) and Thessaloniki. Similar examples were found during the excavations for the construction of the subway in Thessaloniki. Additionally, there is a distinct series of small – medium sized jars (CLW6 – 7), closely related to the amphoras of the ware.

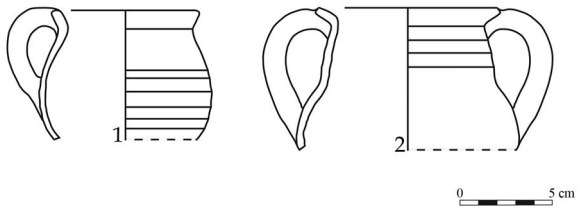


Fig. 4. Cups (CLW1 – 2).

Two types of amphoras are identified (**fig. 6**). The first one (CLW8) with conical neck and a large groove below the rim, while the other (CLW9) has a wider neck and outward thickened rim with rounded or squarish profile. They both have ovoid body and arched handles and share a circular, flat base (Pennas 1995: fig. 8-9). They are produced simultaneously, probably for different contents. A few examples are identified in the vicinity of the city (Malamidou 2005: 73, fig. 113, no. 1058) but they are not present in Late Antique contexts from nearby urban centers, such as Thessaloniki. It's probable that they are not commercial containers and are most likely used for the household or for some low intensity, local trade. None of the examples retains traces of resin in the interior, indicative of the fact that they are not purposed for long-term storing, enhancing their domestic or local character. A third type of amphora (CLW10), with triangular rim, that is only identified from partially preserved sherds is more

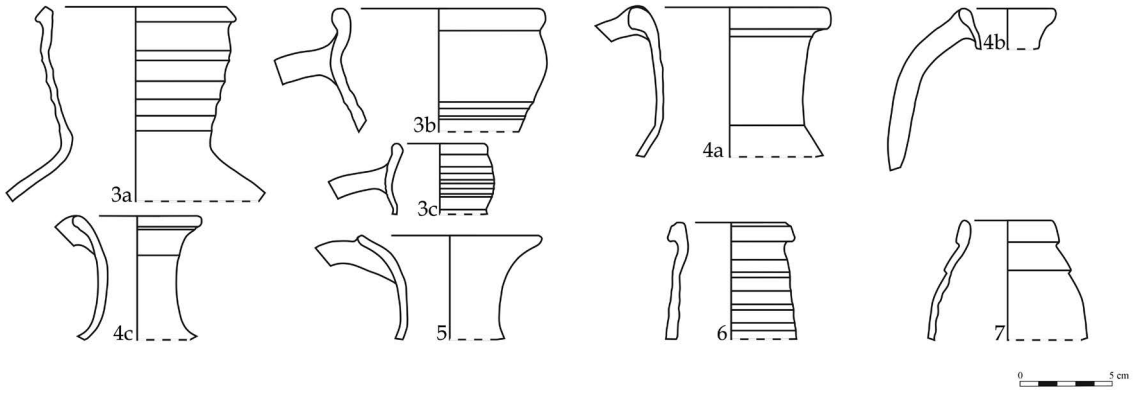


Fig. 5. Jugs (CLW3 – 7).

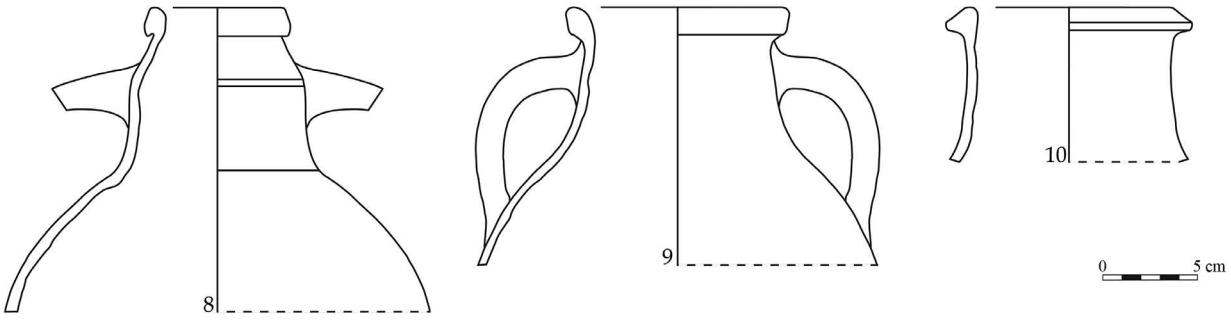


Fig. 6. Amphorae (CLW8 – 10).

probably used as a water bearing vessel, and maybe should be classified as a wide mouthed jar than an actual amphora.

Large basins with wide rim (**fig. 7**) of ovoid shape are rather common in Philippi (CLW11 – 16). They are large vessels, necessary for a multitude of uses in everyday life, related to personal hygiene (Robinson 1959: 19-20, pl. 4, no. F91; Pasqualini 2002), house cleaning (Gross 2014: 716-717), storing or preparing food, but there are no burn marks, indicative of their employment in cooking. Their shape is rather common, both in time and space (Robinson 1959: 31, pl. 6, no. G99, 42, pl. 7, no. G187, 66, pl. 13, no. K78-81; Hayes 1983: 132, fig. 13, nos. 173-176; Slane 1990: 122, fig. 30, no. 236; 1994: 142, fig. 10, no.47; Gross 2014; Pasqualini 2002; Bonifay 2004: 260-263). Earlier types bear pinched decoration or grooves on the rim, making them one of the few decorated vessels of the ware.

Smaller pans (**fig. 8**) of hemispherical or angular shape are the most abundant open vessels in the repertoire of the local pottery of Philippi, representing more than 17% of the ware. Most of the examples belong in only two types. One of them is probably related to table ware, with hemispherical shape and inward rim (CLW17) while the second one is probably used for cooking, like a frying pan (CLW18). Its walls are oblique while it's almost certain that a lid was commonly employed. The form is very similar to Hayes's type 2 pans from Knossos (Hayes 1983: 107, 126, fig. 9, no. 103-109) and its parallels, dating in the 2nd and 3rd century, (Robinson 1959: 33, pl. 7, 72, no. G113 – G115, 67, pl. 14, 72, no. K89-91; Slane 1990: 79, fig. 16, no. 167; Sackett 1992: 233, pl. 174, no. D3.10, 245, pl. 186, no R2.11, 248, pl. 188, nos. S1.11, 253, pl. 193, no. U.65), as well as its later versions (Anderson-Stojanović 1984: 140, pl. 144, no. 1243; Hayes 1992: 91-92, fig. 30, no. 2.1, 4.6; Sackett 1992: 252, pl. 193, no. U.67; Yangaki 2005: 179-180, fig. 46 a-b; Slane and Kyriazi 2014: 909, fig.5; Zachariadis 2020: 358-359). This type seems to vanish in the late 6th century. Two more types are identified (CLW19 – 20), represented by only a few examples, closely connected to CLW18, both in form and dating. Although it has been suggested that the use of open cooking vessels could be corelated with the preference of goat, sheep and fish consumption, typical for the Mediterranean (Arthur 2007; Vionis, Poblome and Waelkens 2009: 161-162), there is not enough evidence to support this hypothesis, at least for the case of Philipi.

Plates and bowls are the least represented shapes in the local ware (**fig. 9**), with only two distinct types, resembling the Macedonian gray ware products (CLW21 – 22), especially forms 1 and 2 proposed by Anderson-Stojanović (1992: 66-69). The minimal quantity of the shape can be explained by the abundant imports, especially until the 6th century AD, as well as the fact that wooden plates could answer the same needs (Sanders 2018).

Closed vessels, associated with cooking, make up more than 60% of the vessels studied (Zachariadis 2020: 452, graf. 6). Two major shapes can be identified. One of them refers to medium sized or large widemouthed jars (**fig. 10**), with vertical or protruding rim and, most commonly, horizontal handles (CLW23 – 25). Similar vessels are common in many contexts (Robinson 1959: 51, 55, pl. 10, nos. J4, J39-40, 88, pl. 18, nos. M39-40, 91, pl. 21, no. M75; Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 141, pl. 146, nos. 1261-1263; Sanders 1999: 469, fig. 11, nos. 15-16; Albertocchi and Perna 2001: 525-527, pl. 128-130, nos. BI3.2/1, BIV 2.1/1, BXI 2.4/1; Didioumi 2010: 808, fig. 8, nos. Π4405, Π4426, 816, fig. 9, no. 42; Belvedere and Burgio 2014: 1027, fig. 7.10), although none of them is identical to the distinct type found in Philippi. The shape of these vessels, with a highlighted vertical axis and probably a flat base (none of them preserves a complete profile), suggest that they are being used as storage containers. Nevertheless, burn marks in the lower part, and especially in the bottom part of some handles, indicate their use as cooking vessels, probably in an oven, covered by a lid, similarly to traditional Greek pottery vessels used in Sifnos and other places until today.

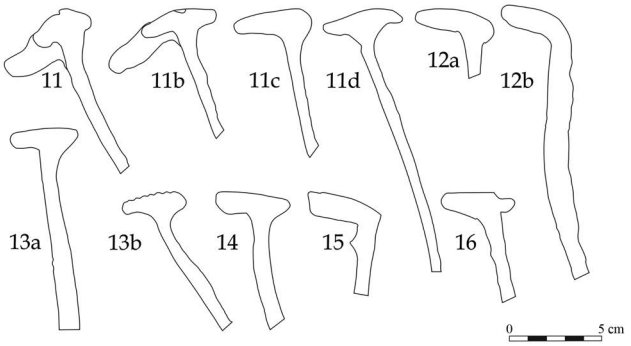


Fig. 7. Basins (CLW11 – 16).

The most common shape of the ware is the cooking pot (**fig. 11**). Several types are identified (CLW26 – 37). Their form varies from small round bodied or biconical pots to widemouthed casseroles. After the end of the Aegean ribbed cooking ware by the end of the 3rd century, originally classified by Hayes (1983: 105-106, fig. 5-6, nos. 56-71, 79-91; 1991: 80; 1997: 79-80), that are commonly found in Philippi (Zachariadis 2020: 331-333), only few imports can be identified, hence the needs of the city are answered by the local ware. The general form of cooking pots in every period follows specific standards, common in almost the entire Mediterranean. Besides, these are dictated by common ways in food preparation. Nevertheless, some distinct types can be identified in the local production and an evolutionary line can be traced amongst some of them. Additionally, one can notice a gradual diminution of size with time.

Finally, a series of lids (CLW38 – 41), made in local fabric, can be related with cooking vessels, either pots or jugs, or even pans (**fig. 12**). The shape of the various types does not differ from what is common throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, except for one (CLW42), possibly late type, with larger examples, bearing a large hole as a handle.

Although the term local has been used, the actual workshops producing this ware cannot be pinpointed, at least for the time being, while no analytical techniques have been employed to enhance this assumption. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence that the origin of the ware should be placed in the vicinity of the city, or even in the urban context itself. Pottery kilns have been excavated in the scene of the theater, dated in the second half of the 5th century

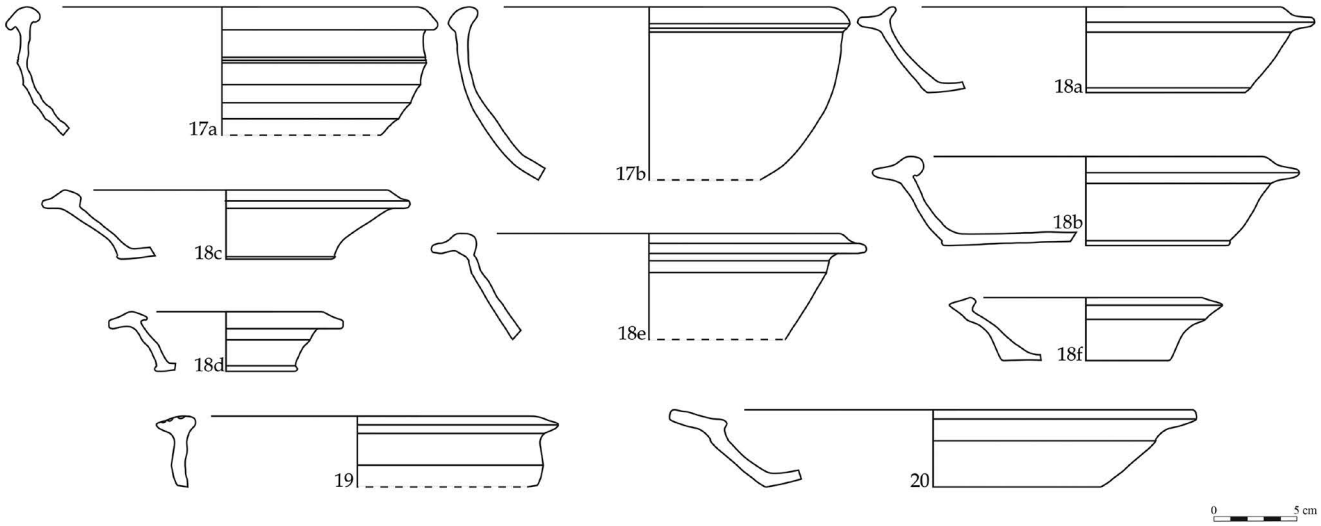


Fig. 8. Pans (CLW17 – 20).

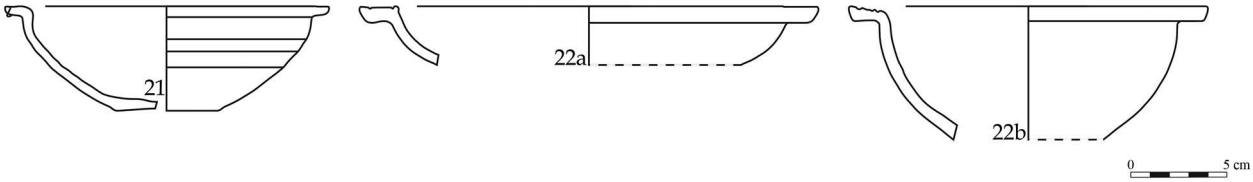


Fig. 9. Plates and bowls (CLW21 – 22).

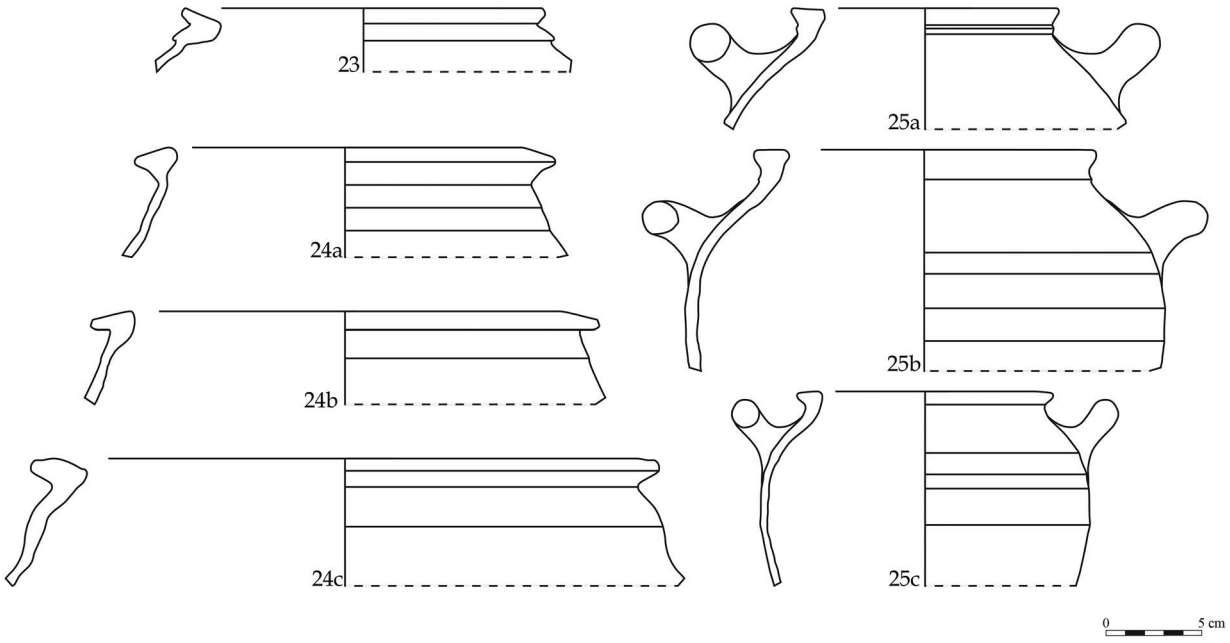


Fig. 10. Jars (CLW23 – 25).

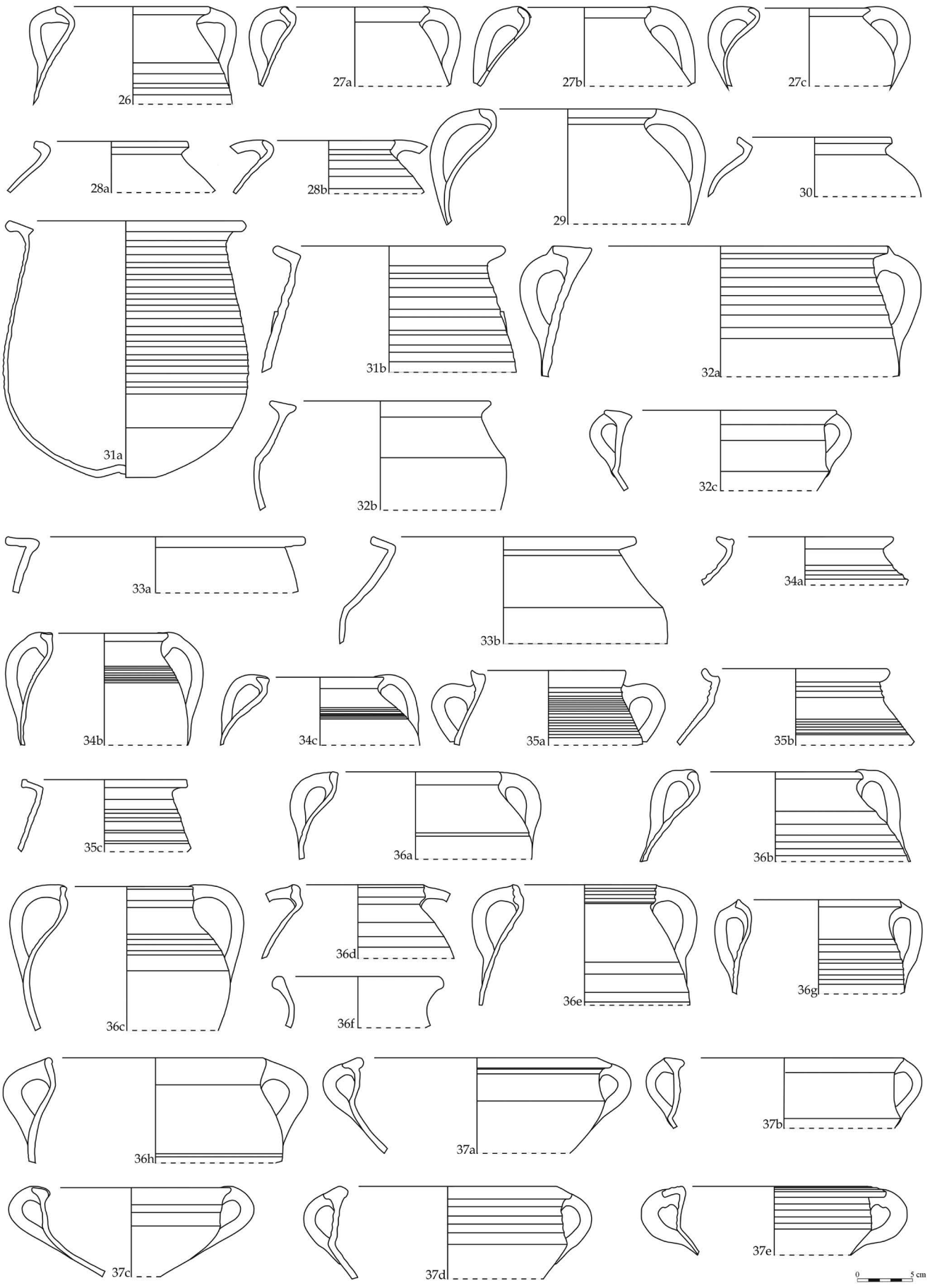


Fig. 11. Cooking pots and casseroles (CLW26 – 37).

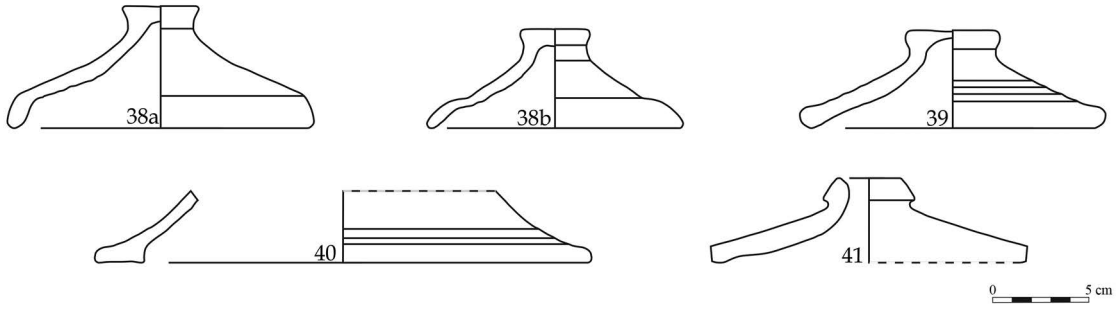


Fig. 12. Lids (CLW38 – 41).

(Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos 1999: 80) while a large rectangular one, still unpublished, was found along its western wall. Another pottery kiln was found, next to the extra-muros basilica (Bakirtzis 1980) and one westward of the city, probably dated in the Roman period (Nikolaidou-Patera and Megidis 2004: 36). Unfortunately, in none of these cases has the pottery been published, along with the excavation reports. Though it would be rational to attribute the ware under consideration to the aforementioned workshops, one cannot exclude the possibility that other nearby sites, such as Amphipolis or the coastal Neapolis, share the same ceramic production. A series of petrographic analysis could provide more information.

The shapes adopted suggest that the ware's production is orientated to the needs of the city of Philippi. The vessels are not intended for commercial use, since its products have not been identified in any significant quantities in nearby urban centers. Nevertheless, some examples and parallels from Thassos (Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992: 37-53, fig. 15-22), the temple of Hero Aylonites (Malamidou 2005: 73, fig. 113, nos. 1058-1059) and Abdera (Malamidou 2005: 71, fig. 110, no. 1773) are indicative of a local trade network, as it has already been suggested (Trivizadaki 2005: 271).

Final remarks

Even though the beginning or the end of this production cannot be defined for the time being, the distribution of local ware in the various lots, suggests that the ware is fully developed by the 4th century, reaches its peak in the 5th and early 6th century and declines during the 7th century, as a result of an overall recession in the city (**Tab. 1**). The proposed dates for the typology of the CLW of Philippi are based on the pottery studied from the Glass Factory insula (Zachariadis 2020). Further work with safely dated contexts could alter these dates and provide more precise chronology for the ware and each individual type.

The quantity of the pottery, the quality of the fabric, and the variety of the shapes in this specific ware suggest a well-organized and autonomous production, highly familiarized with the local raw material and the consumer's preferences, adopting the main trends of pottery in each period, affected mostly by major workshops of the Aegean and the southern Balkans.

Shape	Type	Suggested chronology
Cup	CLW1	4th century
	CLW2	5th / 5th - 6th century
Jug	CLW3	5th - 7th century
	CLW4	4th - 5th century
	CLW5	6th - 7th century
	CLW6	5th century
	CLW7	5th century
Amphora	CLW8	5th - first half of 6th century
	CLW9	4th - 5th century
	CLW10	5th century
Basin	CLW11	4th - 5th century
	CLW12	Second half of 5th - 6th century
	CLW13	5th century
	CLW14	5th century
	CLW15	5th century
	CLW16	Second half of 5th - 6th century
Pan	CLW17	Second half of 4th - early 6th century
	CLW18	Second half of 4th - early 6th century
	CLW19	5th century
	CLW20	5th century
Bowl	CLW21	Late 5th - 6th century
Dish / Bowl	CLW22	5th century
Jar	CLW23	Second half of 4th - 5th century
	CLW24	Late 4th - 5th century
	CLW25	5th / 6th century
Cooking pot	CLW26	4th / 4th - 5th century
	CLW27	Second half of 4th - 5th / 6th century
	CLW28	4th / 4th - 5th century
	CLW29	5th - 6th century
	CLW30	Late 5th - 6th century
	CLW31	4th - early 5th century
	CLW32	3rd / 4th - 5th century
	CLW33	5th century
	CLW34	5th - 7th century
	CLW35	6th - 7th century
	CLW36	Late 5th - 7th / 8th century
Casserole	CLW37	4th / 5th - late 6th century
Lid	CLW38	4th - 5th/ 6th century
	CLW39	5th - 7th century
	CLW40	5th century
	CLW41	6th century

Tab. 1. Proposed dates for the Philippi CLW types.

Many scholars argue on the necessity to move away from barren typological studies, to try and see the bigger picture, to identify trade networks and define the roads that connect urban centers, ports and eventually different cultures and civilizations forming the unique identity of Late Antiquity. But it seems we are still missing important pieces of the puzzle. In order to sketch the grid that connects the dots of Late Antiquity, one first has to look off the grid and identify the components forming this singularity. The study of local productions could provide us with better understanding of everyday life, economy and society in each region creating an even more refined chronological tool, adapted in the peculiarities of every single case.

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Horacio González Cesteros

THE AMPHORAE OF ROMAN EPHESUS. A NEW VISION FROM NEW EVIDENCE AND NEW IDEAS

In 2013, Tamas Bezeczky published his book "The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus", presenting for the first time a complete catalogue of the most important amphorae in some interesting Ephesian contexts (mainly in the Tetragonos Agora and in some small contexts from the upper Agora and Terrace Houses). This impressive work should be considered as the basis for all future studies concerning late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial amphorae, not only in Ephesos, but in the whole Aegean region.
Even so, the revision of the pottery of some contexts in Ephesos as published by specialists such as Sabine Ladstätter, Alice Waldner and Recep Meriç, combined with the studies of material from new contexts during the last years, have enlarged our knowledge about the forms, quantities and trade connexions of Ephesos during the Roman and Byzantine periods, making it imperative to pose some new hypotheses as a result.

Transport amphorae – Aegean basin – local production – import and consumption – Roman and Byzantine periods

1. Introduction. From Bezeczky's[1] book to the state of research in 2023

A decade ago, Tamas Bezeczky published his monograph – "The Roman Amphorae of Ephesus" – with the Austrian Academy of Sciences. This work, fundamental for the understanding of the amphorae not only of Ephesos or Asia Minor, but of the Aegean and more broadly the whole Eastern Mediterranean, included some 71 amphora types (some divided into different subtypes) for the period running from the late 2nd BC to the 6th AD. It analysed the huge amount of examples that Dr. Bezeczky had scrutinized during a decade of work, presenting the different types of amphorae he documented, and followed by an impressive work in petrography done in collaboration with Roman Sauer.

Bezeczky's work has been used in Ephesos as the fundamental underpinning for all amphora studies during the last decade. Important as it is, we have also realized that there are still many open questions regarding amphora studies at this site. One factor that must be appreciated here is that the book is mainly based on just three contexts: the Tetragonos Agora, some material from the Terrace Houses and some from different excavations in the Upper Agora (**fig. 1**). Among these sources, the most important were the excavations made by P. Scherrer in the Tetragonos Agora in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This context selection meant that most of the material worked on by Bezeczky belonged to the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods, with only some amphorae from Late Antiquity.

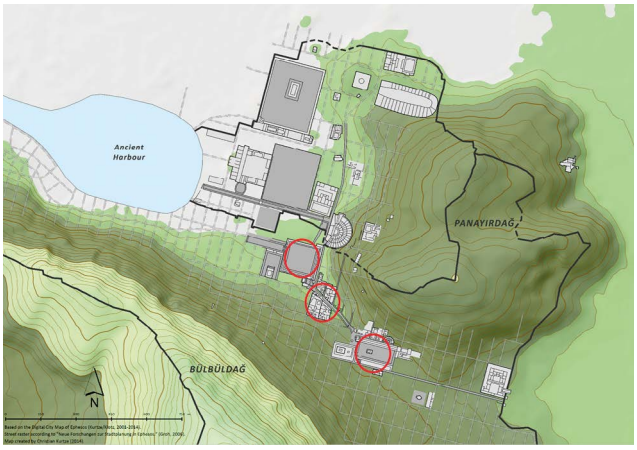


Fig. 1. Map of Ephesos with the main context studied by Bezeczky (worked on © ÖAW/ÖAI-C. Kurtze).

During the last 20 years the intense archaeological labour of the Austrian Archaeological Institute has meant that now we can count on much more material. The publications of Sabine Ladstätter concerning the Terrace House 1, the Vedius Gymnasium, or the Terrace House 2 (among others: 2003a; 2008; 2005) to mention just some of them, of Alice Waldner in the Terrace House 2, the Theatre and the Curetes Street, (2016; 2017; 2020) or of the author in the Terrace House 2 (González Cesteros and Sauer 2020), as well as other excavations whose material is still being processed, have broadened and somehow changed the template for the amphorae of Ephesos, especially for the Late Antique material. I am convinced that now we can speak of a watershed moment in our understanding of the Late Antique and early Byzantine phases of Ephesos. The process continues, as the

[1] This publication is dedicated to the memory of Tamas Bezeczky, who sadly has passed away far too early. He first introduced me to Ephesos, a place I am now attached to at both the professional and personal levels.

spectacular finds of the 2022 campaign have demonstrated (Ladstätter et al. 2022). Before engaging with the latest phases of Antiquity, it is convenient to review new insights into the Roman Imperial period.

2. New approaches to the Roman Imperial amphorae of Ephesos

Most excavations carried out in Ephesos during the last decade have focused on the Late Antique and Byzantine eras. However, some other interventions have also dealt with earlier phases of the settlement, revealing material from different periods before the 3rd-4th centuries CE. The study of this material has also been enhanced by the revision and publication of materials coming from excavations undertaken before 2013. One of the best examples of this re-studying process is the publication in 2020 by an interdisciplinary group of scholars under direction of S. Ladstätter of a very small but quite important context in the Terrace House 2 (Unit 5 Room 12a), dated in the Neronian period (**fig. 2**). This particular context has been interpreted as evidence of a banquet.

The pottery of the context is formed mainly by coarse and cooking wares, followed by fine wares, with a large quantity of ESB that helped to date the context in the third quarter of the 1st century CE, most probably in the Neronian period (Ladstätter and Liedl 2020). They appeared along with many fishbones, belonging to many different species, but also terrestrial animal bones that indicated pigs and lambs killed at a very young age (Galik et al. 2020). This animal consumption pattern seems to suggest that we are faced with an extraordinary context that reflects a special moment, probably linked with a kind of festivity or ritual consumption, something that is supported by the amphora finds too.

In this context we find Chian wine in an amphora bearing a stamp in Greek mentioning somebody called "Gaios", but also olive oil from Asia Minor, different kinds of Cretan wines, as well as a range of imports from the Western Mediterranean, comprising Campanian wine, Tripolitanian and Baetican olive oil, and Baetican fish products (González Cesteros and Sauer 2020). Most of these amphorae were preserved complete (or almost so) and two of them still had more or less well-preserved ink inscriptions, in particular a Dressel 12 produced in the Bay of Cadiz mentioning the name of the product, *Garum Scomber*, and the name of the merchant, a freedmen called Tiberius Claudius Alexander. This amphora has already been published in different places (González Cesteros 2012; González Cesteros and Sauer 2020; González Cesteros, Scheibelreiter-Gail and Galik 2020): it is of value for the superior and highly prized product it carried, but also in its mention

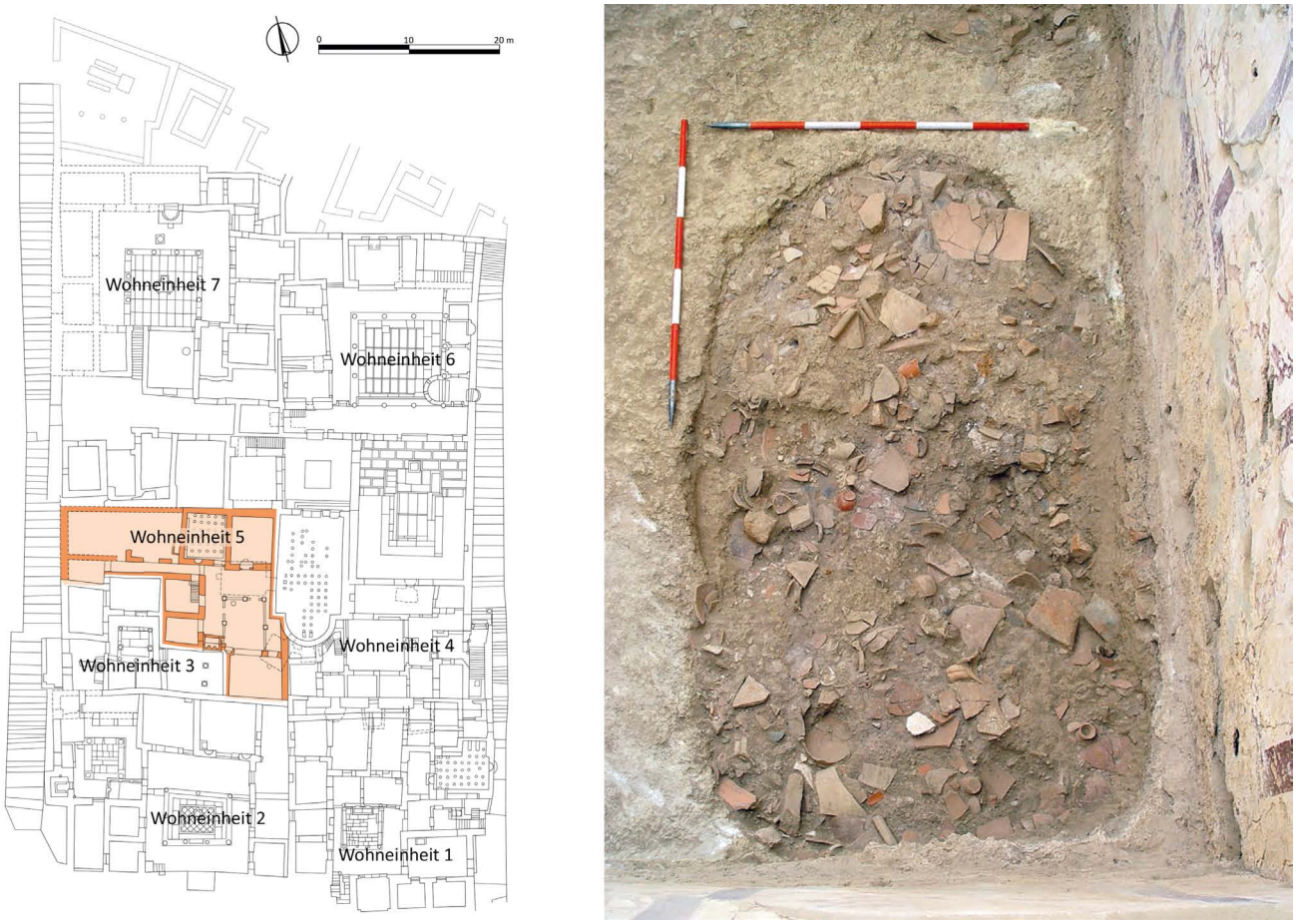


Fig. 2. Left, Map of Terrace House 2 with the excavated area (© ÖAW/ÖAI-C. Kurtze). Right, image of the excavation made in 2005, slightly larger than 2m x 1m and no deeper than 60 cm (Abb. 5 of Ladstätter 2020, from © ÖAW/IKANT E. Rathmayer).

of a merchant from the numerous Tiberii Claudii, imperial freedmen who dealt in amphora commodities between East and West (Tchernia 2008: 62; González Cesteros 2022: 194).

From a quantitative perspective, the most numerous among the transport vessels found, as in any other excavation in Ephesos, were the local wares, in this case the small containers called "one-handled jars", especially the Agora F 66. This looks to be confirmed as the typical one-handled jar during the central decades of the 1st century CE.

We must keep in mind the special function of this context and the very good state of preservation of the vessels. Even if the number of exemplars, under 100, may invalidate their use for statistical manipulation, the exceptionality of their contexts makes it very rewarding for economic and social interpretations. The limited area excavated, and the remarkable significance of the amphorae and other items found makes the ensemble and the quantities of material recollected significant in and by itself. It is important to emphasise here that all the material in the context has been worked on and that no cherry-picking occurred. The two most important features of the context are (i) the association we can recognize between it and a special event performed by the upper class of Ephesos, and (ii) its precise chronological moment. These helps repair what are probably the weakest points of the 2013 book, namely the paucity of information deducible about the social and chronological aspects in the consumption of amphorae.

Contexts such as the banquet in Terrace House 2 in combination with other ones well-dated and with specific formation are essential for enhancing the picture of amphora production and imports provided by Bezeczky, and thus, to enhance our knowledge of the Ephesian economy in Roman times.

3. Reflections on the local amphora production in Ephesos. From the LR 3 and its predecessors to the emergence of new Ephesian products

The greatest contribution of T. Bezeczky to amphora studies was the characterization of the Ephesian local production. Thanks to the close collaboration he developed with R. Sauer, he was able establish to the satisfaction of the academic community that the main production place for some of the most widespread amphora types of the Eastern Mediterranean, specifically for the LR 3 and its one-handled predecessors, was Ephesos. Even as late as the first decade of the 21st century, we can still find references expressed that the one-handled jars and LR 3 were made in such places as Samos, the Meander valley or Aphrodisias. Thanks to the rigorous work of Bezeczky (2013; 2021) these ideas must be in some cases abandoned and in others nuanced, but the question of the production place of one-handled jars and LR 3 still requires close attention in future research.

The main production area was indeed the Ephesos region and the boom in the small vessels, under way already from the Flavian period and definitely ongoing during the Antonine and Severian dynasties, cannot be dissociated from Ephesos' growth as a major Roman metropolis and capital of one of the richest provinces of the Empire (among others see Scherrer 2007; Groh 2006), a province densely populated and with many important cities. However, equally they were also fashioned in other places, particularly at the zenith of its popularity, namely the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and again in the 5th and early 6th. I am persuaded that a crucial factor when approaching the production of "Ephesian" vessels in other parts of Anatolia and eastern Aegean islands is the realization that this was a "provincial" production. Thus, we must not envisage the economic, territorial, administrative and political organization as one where all the cities were highly independent and produced their own amphora forms, as was mostly the case during the Classical and part of the Hellenistic period. Quite the opposite: we must think of the Roman version as a closely controlled and deeply structured organization, a system in which the province was the basic framework. In such a system it would be normal that a successful product was then also produced in nearby areas; even more so if they shared similar geographic and climatic conditions as the main river valleys that flow from the inner Anatolian country to the Aegean indeed do.[2] There is thus still a lot of work remaining to be done on the production of small transport containers in Roman Asia. Accordingly, it would be expedient to raise the unsolved questions in a different way. We should change our approach and realize that in the same way we talk about a Baetican, a Narbonensis or a Tarraconensis production for the West, we should talk about an Asian production and not merely an "Ephesian" one, even if Ephesos, due to its geographical and economic conditions, was the main production place.

Such an analysis and viewpoint would better explain the fact that not only the "Ephesian" wares were produced in other neighbour areas, but also that other amphora types, originally from different territories within the province or in the nearby islands, were produced in the vicinity of Ephesos, such as the Koan Imperial amphorae (Dressel 2-5) and the Dressel 24, as the on-going work in different context in Ephesos has evidenced.

The presence in Ephesos of vessels related to the one-handled jars that were clearly not made there, and the suggestions of other Turkish colleagues of the production of these vessels in places such as Tralleis/Aydin and Magnesia on the Meander,[3] has also nuanced and clarified some of the first thoughts proposed by Bezeczky. A considerable surprise here arose during the 2022 campaign. The spectacular finds brought in light by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in the excavation of Helmut Schwaiger and the direction of S. Ladstätter produced a good number of complete or almost complete amphorae dated in the first third of the 7th century. Among them and of key relevance is a complete specimen of what until now has been called a "Sardis amphora", specifically of type A of Rautman (1995). In the recent publication of the Palace over the Theatre in Ephesos, Özlem Vapur (2023)

[2] The three main rivers flowing from inner Anatolia to the Aegean coast in Ionia are still today, from south to north, the Meander (Büyük Menderes), the Kaystros (Küçük Menderes) and the Hermo (Gediz). It is true that a regional koine of ceramic production in Ionia can be traced back as early as the Archaic period, but it was not before the late Hellenistic period, when the region was already under Roman control, that this process was boosted by a long-term political unity.

[3] I am especially grateful to Sezen Palamutçu and Özlem Vapur.

has also identified fragments, mostly bases, of the so-called Sardis Amphorae, but in this case of type B. However, the first visual diagnosis of fabric and form suggested to us that such could very well be not only an output of Sardis, but equally one from Ephesos or a nearby place. The local fabric of Ephesos seems to have been commonly confused with that in Sardis. Further, the material from the Palace over the Theatre has been dated in the 6th and early 7th centuries, something in concordance with the 2022 discoveries, reinforcing the idea that these vases must be dated in the very late 6th and first part of the 7th centuries, something that is not only in accordance with contexts from other settlements, such as the destruction levels of the shops and the fill of the wells of the residential area in Sardis (Crawford 1990; Rautman 1995), the finds from Constantinople and its surrounding area (Hayes 1992: Deposit 30, 201; Kara 2020), and those from Histria and other settlements in the Danube (Opait 2004: 18-19; 2017: 597), or Pyrgouthi (Hjohlman 2005)[4].

These are but some worthy examples of how the continuing study in Ephesos will bring interesting new data to the scholarly community. So long and so massive was the production of amphorae in Ephesos that there are many gaps to be resolved. One of the most important is to find the actual spot of the production workshops. Where are the kiln-sites in the Caystros valley? We have some vague information about some discarded material dated in the 3rd century CE and the presence of deposits with suggestively high quantities of local relief bowls of the late Hellenistic period in the area near the Magnesian Gate in the eastern part of the city (Outschar 1993; Sokolicek 2010), and a small kiln of the Hellenistic period exists in the area of the Terrace House 2 (probably used for miniature vessels: Ladstätter 2003b), but no amphora workshop has been documented and excavated so far. This problem concerns not only the production of amphorae, but almost of every pottery shape. The situation has to do with the lack of an extensive survey of the Ephesian territory, even if some attempts have already been made (Sauer 1995; Meriç 2009; and recently Fragnoli et al. 2022).

Other important aspects that must be investigated most scrupulously concern the chronological subdivision of the Ephesian production. Questions such as: when did the Ephesian production of small one-handled jars begin? At the moment the answer would be during the 1st century BCE or in the Augustan period and, for Bezeczky (2021: 380), more precisely the last quarter of this century. More accurate information about this topic is lacking, but I think the production of the small one-handled vessels probably started around the central decades of the 1st century BCE, since it seems to me closely connected not with the amphora production, but with the Hellenistic production of lagynoi.[5] Moreover, a final significant question is: when did the production of LR 3 amphorae finish? This question will be partially answered in following sections.

The production of the one-handled jars and the LR 3 has normally been tied into wine, and there are clear proofs in favour of such a content (González Cesteros et al. 2016: 151-155; Bezeczky 2021) even if the results of some contents analysis from Rome were interpreted as a vegetal fat content and thus linked with olive oil (Rothschild-Boros 1981). A profitable approach for future research would be to put more emphasis in determining links between certain amphorae and certain agricultural production. Always a very complicated question but a necessary one to resolve if we want to hypothesize about the products exported from and, if possible, imported to Ephesos (for a first attempt on identifying imported fish products, see González Cesteros et al. 2020, and for local wine out, see Bezeczky 2021).

One remaining but still essential subject is to follow the diffusion of other pottery types produced in Ephesos, such as lamps, fine and cooking wares and unguentaria. We would expect those products to have mainly been produced in the same pottery workshops, certainly so for the late Ephesian unguentaria and the LR 3, but a question here is if they were also exported together.

4. Western imports into Ephesos. Beyond the early Imperial Italian products

Ephesos was from the 2nd century BCE, and especially from the moment Delos lost its pre-eminence as the main trade centre of the Aegean, a city open to the Roman communities of the western Mediterranean, especially to the Italians (Kirbihler 2007; 2014; regarding the link of this question with the pottery evidence: Ladstätter 2007). Bezeczky (2001; 2006; 2013) realized the importance of the Italian amphorae for the late Hellenistic and Augustan periods. As we can see in the context of the Terrace House 2 Unit 5 Room 12a, this dynamic level of Italian imports continued during the middle 1st century CE. But contrary to the picture presented by Bezeczky, from Julio-Claudian times they do not seem to be the most important western imports, since they appear in lower quantities than the Hispanic amphorae (González Cesteros and Sauer 2021: 102 Abb.1), while products from North Africa are also present. In fact, comparison with the material from other published contexts in the Terrace Houses suggests that from the first part of the 1st century CE until the late 2nd or 3rd centuries, the most important group of imports from the western Mediterranean reaching Ephesos is that of south Spain.

From the 3rd century onwards, though, the situation seems to change, and the current perception fits the general trend seen in the Roman world, namely an increase of the African imports that soon swamp any other western import. However, the imports from Africa, especially from Tunisia, are already attested in Ephesos at least from the late 3rd or first part of the 2nd centuries BCE with the arrival of Punic types, mostly versions of the T.7.4 group of J. Ramon (1995). They continued, albeit in small quantities, to arrive through all the Hellenistic period, as seen by Bezeczky (2006; 2013). The excavations in the Harbour Necropolis have recently documented the presence of one fragment of Africana Antiqua

[4] Opait and Hjohlman, both suggested its resemblance with the LR 3 and its fabric.

[5] I hope to have the time to develop this idea in the next years with Dimitra Voutyrea from an in-depth analysis of both the material from the Austrian excavations in Ephesos and the material of the Agora Excavation of the American School at Athens.

(probably of the 1st century BCE). This, together with the presence in other contexts in Ephesos of 1st and 2nd century CE amphorae produced in Tripolitania and other parts of central North Africa, suggests a certain continuity of African imports but one already under Roman patterns of production and distribution (**fig. 3, 1-2**). I have previously suggested a special commercial link between Carthage and Ephesos from the Hellenistic period, becoming particularly strong after mid-Imperial times, and revived during the latest moments of Late Antiquity (González Cesteros 2021: 341-344). The increase of the African amphora imports, clearly visible from the 3rd and at their zenith from the late 4th century, seems to be connected with the arrival of African Red Slip wares that also increased at the same time (Waldner and Ladstätter 2014: 49). This fact runs counter to the traditional vision that dissociated the imports of African fine wares and amphorae in the Aegean[6] (for this topic see: González Cesteros 2021: 342). However, we must wait for future studies to see if Ephesos emerges as a privileged centre for the African commodities or if what we find is common to all the region.

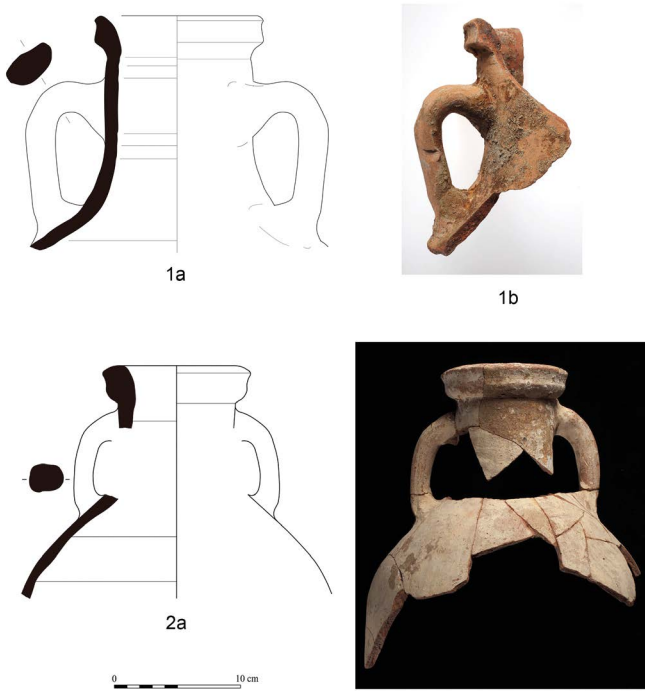


Fig. 3. Examples of Hellenistic and Early Roman African imports in Ephesos: 1) Africana Antiqua; 2) Tripolitania II (author on © ÖAW/ÖAI-N. Gail and N. Math)

5. Late Antiquity amphorae from Ephesos. From the basic lines to the perception of Ephesos as a massive producer (4th to late 7th centuries)

As previously mentioned, the work of Bezeczky was mostly focused on the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. Nonetheless, he also did some research on amphorae of Late Antiquity and published one article dedicated to the topic (Bezeczky 2005). The important point he made about the local production was that it saw continuity into Late Antiquity. Further than the small one handled containers and the subsequent LR 3, he also indicated that in Ephesos in this period, a type called "Ephesus 56" was manufactured. This production of different amphora types during Late Antiquity has also been suggested by Ladstätter (among others: 2008).

Above and beyond these previous valuable contributions, the incredible progress experienced in the last decade in the understanding of the different phases of Late Antique and Byzantine Ephesos has completely transformed our vision regarding trade and production of pottery. Now we can affirm that current research into this period is creating some very thought-provoking surprises. This is evidenced best by the spectacular finds of the 2022 and 2023 campaigns that belong in the first third of the 7th century.

For the earlier periods, the excavation of the Harbour Necropolis is of special relevance. Placed outside the western city walls of the city, this funerary area was studied and excavated in the first decades of the 21st century. The latest moment of use of the monuments seems to be the late 5th or just the initial moments of the 6th centuries, as some Sinopean C Snp II[7] and African Keay 62Q amphorae attest (**fig. 4**). After its abandonment, the site was covered by alluvial strata transporting with it great quantities of archaeological material, most of it dated from the 4th to the beginning of the 6th centuries. The results of the study are still in progress, but some broad lines can be indicated. The most important is the enormous variety of production places documented for the late 4th and 5th centuries. The local production of amphorae is highly represented, with different variants of the LR 3 and other amphora types, but what is remarkable is the enormous number of imports, with three regions heavily represented: Cilicia, the Levant, and the Black Sea.

Another very important context of Late Antiquity, in this case the early 7th century, is the taberna in the upper part of the Curetes Street, destroyed most probably during the second or third decade of the 7th century in a Persian attack. In the excavation of 2015, a massive destruction level was found, with many complete or almost complete finds, among them large quantities of table and cooking wares, as well as amphorae. Just as for the Harbour Necropolis, the material has already been studied but is waiting publication. It would also be sensible here to await the chance of further comparison with the warehouse and tabernae excavated in 2022 and 2023 on the other side of the Curetes Street. The precise chronology of the moment of destruction and their spectacular state of preservation makes the contexts on both sides of the Curetes Street uniquely suited and crucial for the understanding of the different aspects of the economy, society and politics of Ephesos in the latest moments of Late Antiquity.

The last important context, again still in process of study, is the Late Antique and Medieval City Quarter south of the Church of Mary (LAMCQ). Its excavation from 2012 to 2016 opened a broad area that had evolved from a Late Antique residential area to what seems to be a medieval industrial

[6] Recent research developed by Carina Hasenzagl suggests a bigger quantity of African Red Slip Forms of the 4th century as previously thought. I would like to thank Dr. Hasenzagl for this information.

[7] For the nomenclature used for the Sinopean production see the work of Dominique Kassab Tezgör, especially Kassab Tezgör 2009.

quartier (Ladstätter 2019; Schwaiger, Sahm and Scheiffinger 2020). Large quantities of pottery and other archaeological artefacts from Late Antiquity until the 13th or 14th centuries have been uncovered and will be published by a multidisciplinary team. Further, this excavation has proven to be essential for the understanding of two important points related to amphora studies in Late Antiquity and the Medieval period. The first is the continuity of the local production throughout the 7th and 8th centuries, even if with changing amphora types. The second is how the material of the LAMCQ has greatly improved our knowledge regarding the amphorae and the trade connections in the Byzantine period as a whole.

A comparison with other Ephesian findspots with important Late Antique phases – such as the latest phases of the Vedius Gymnasium (Ladstätter 2008) and the Lucas Grave (Ladstätter 2010), the Bishops palace, or the central and lower part of the Curetes Street (Waldner 2020), just to mention some – are essential for a complete understanding of Late Antique amphorae and trade of the city.



Fig. 4. Chamber in the Harbour Necropolis with Keay 62Q/Albenga 11-12 and C Snp II (author on © ÖAW/ÖAI-M. Steskal).

Although we must wait for future studies, even now some worthwhile remarks can be made that open up a new vision and understanding of the Late Antique amphorae in Ephesos. One of the most remarkable of imports are those from Cilician-Cyprus and the Levantine regions. Bezeczky (2013: 159) mentioned some few finds of LR 1, but the excavations of the Harbour Necropolis (as well as in other areas) have radically changed our understanding. It can clearly be suggested that they are the most common imports in Late Antique Ephesos, especially the versions of the late 5th and 6th centuries. The restudying of some LR 1 from older excavations that still bear ink inscriptions have also shone fresh light onto the rich epigraphical aspects of these vessels (Sänger and González Cesteros 2019).

Connected with the LR 1, or to put it more accurately using the same trade route as the LR 1, there also arrived a range of other products of the Levant. In the Harbour Necropolis and in the LAMCQ, good quantities of Gazan amphorae have been found, covering the different evolving variants from the 5th century to the latest production phases. They

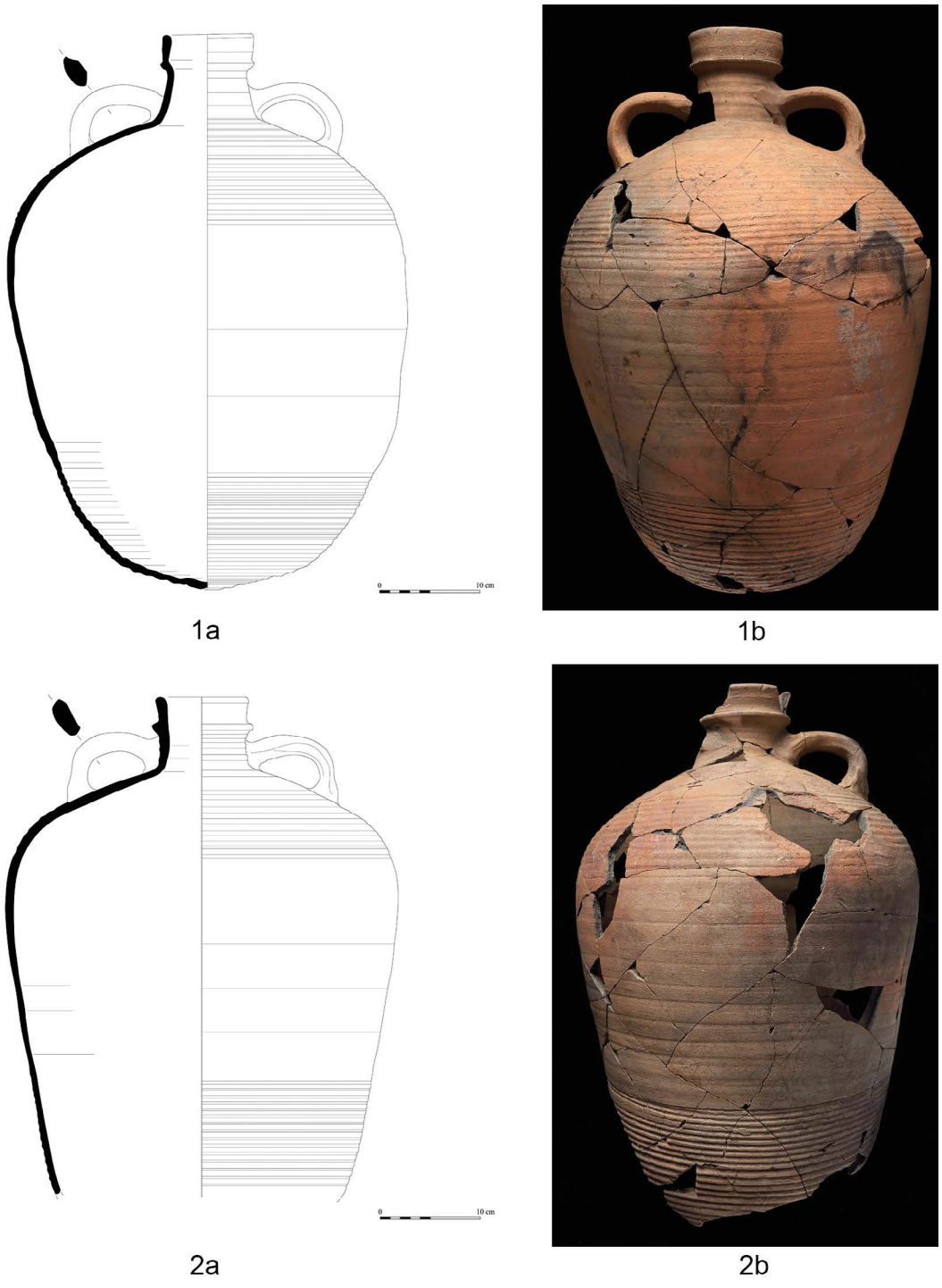


Fig. 5. New Levantine amphorae from Ephesos (author on © ÖAW/ÖAI-N. Gail and N. Math).

travelled together with products from the central Levantine region, mainly with versions of baggy-shaped amphorae dating from the 5th to the late 7th or 8th centuries, most having the fabrics typical of the coastal region of Judea, but also with some exemplars with the black fabrics from the region of the area around the Sea of Galilee and Scythopolis (Landgraf 1980: 67-79; Reynolds 2005: 573). Together with them arrived products of Phoenicia, mainly M 334 and similar types dated in the 5th and 6th centuries, but also some Beirut Amphorae of the 6th and 7th centuries.

Special mention must be made here of a type of Levantine amphora that was not previously known in Ephesos before the excavation of the upper tabernae of the Curetes street, where two complete exemplars were found (**fig. 5**); to them in the 2022 campaign at least one more example is added. This form has a beige and reddish-brown fabric, rough and relatively porous, with several sorts of inclusions but especially some small limestone fragments and whitish and rounded (or almost rounded) quartz grains. A production place in the north Levant seems to be the most feasible option. No exactly parallels in shape have been found for these two vessels, even if they display unquestionable resemblances with some other Levantine amphorae (Reynolds 2005: plate 16). The closest parallels could be in a vessel from Louloudies in Pierie (southern Macedonia), in this case in a context dated from the second part of the 6th century (Marki and Cheimonopoulou 2003: 708, fig. 16), with some amphorae found in Scythia of a similar date (Opait 2004: 10), and with the upper part of a vessel found in Antinoopolis in Egypt, dated, as both our exemplars, in the early 7th century and associated with a Levantine origin. The amphorae from Scythia were classified as a version of the LR 1, while the one from Antinoopolis was classified as a baggy-shaped from its fabric and shape. These suggestions somehow reinforce the idea that the production area must be placed between the central Levant and Cilicia. Further, the example from Antinoopolis has an ink inscription with a name that seems to indicate a kind of oil (Fournet and Pieri 2008: 208). The ink inscription is very significant since it mentions something like *grimelaion*, that following the authors' opinion should be a kind of special oil, maybe produced in a specific geographical area placed in the Lebanon region (Fournet and Pieri 2008: 210). The same authors mention that the same name appears on a M 334 *similis* amphora from Antinoopolis, on another M 334 from the Coptic Museum and on a similar amphora from Kellia. Further, it is observed by Fournet and Pieri (2008: 209-210) that all those vessels have a similar fabric, just like the vessels found in the Taberna.

Another amphora production area better represented in Ephesos than previously thought is the Black Sea (González Cesteros forthcoming). We must add to the LR 1 and Levantine trade routes arriving at Ephesos that of Black Sea amphorae, especially from the late 4th century CE (Reynolds 2010; Bes 2021; González Cesteros forthcoming). Ephesos was surely a very important nodal-point (but also one of consumption) for the products en route between Constantinople and Antioch. However, the connection with the Black Sea seems also to precede the creation of Constantinople, since we already find a good number of forms of the 3rd and 4th centuries from the Crimea and the southern Black Sea, leaving aside the question of the probable origin of the Kapitän 2 on the northern shores of the Black Sea (contrary to this opinion: Opait 2022 who suggests a Chian origin. For all these topics see: González Cesteros forthcoming). From the late 5th and during the 6th centuries the Ephesian contexts have shown that the products of the region of Sinope and probably other nearby areas in the southern part of the Black Sea are to be commonly encountered, mostly the amphorae of the C Snp group, but also some D Snp. However, no Black Sea amphorae have been recorded so far in the layers of the early 7th century destruction levels in the upper part of the Curetes Street.

Together with the Aegean products, these above-discussed regions are the most common eastern Mediterranean imports in Ephesos. But as previously mentioned, the western regions, especially Africa throughout Late Antiquity and the Iberian Peninsula in the 4th, 5th and maybe early 6th centuries, also exported their products to Ephesos.

As already mentioned, the African amphorae increased in quantity in Late Antique Ephesos. For the 3rd century they are already presented in good quantities among the material from the latest phases of the Terrace House 2, and the first overview of the 5th and early 6th centuries, based mainly in the Harbour Necropolis finds, reinforces the continuity of the African imports in this period, in keeping with other African materials such as the ARS (Waldner and Ladstätter 2014) and the presence of African coins in the city (Schindler 2009; González Cesteros 2021: 343). Elsewhere I have argued for a special link between Ephesos and Carthage through the Roman and Late Antique periods, a connection that seems to increase with the restoration of the Roman power in North Africa under Justinian. Even though the amphora types of Vandal Africa, such as Keay 35, 55 or 8B are present at a reasonable level in Ephesos, the findings resulting from the LAMCQ, the 2022 excavated tabernae and other areas of the city with contexts of the 6th and 7th centuries point to a bigger percentage presence of late 6th and 7th century African types, such as different variants of Keay 62, Keay 61 and late Spatheia, but also other types, such as the Keay 8A/50, the Orlo a Fascia, or even the Globular African forms (Ladstätter 2008). Those amphora types probably arrived together with 7th century forms of ARS, such as the Hayes 105, 99 and even the 109 (Waldner and Ladstätter 2014; Ladstätter 2008).

Ongoing research will bring out more information about the intensity of the trade connections between North Africa and Ephesos, as it will do for the link with the Iberian Peninsula. Once again, the material from the Harbour Necropolis when compared with other excavated places has revealed important novelties concerning the Lusitanian and Baetican amphorae found in Ephesos. In his book Bezeczky could point to some forms roughly characterized as within the Almagro 50, 51a-b and 51c set that were presented as Lusitanian and Baetican types; today we can affirm that during the 3rd and probably 4th centuries, types such as early versions of the Almagro 51c and Keay XVI or the Beltrán 68 (**fig. 6, 6**) are clearly documented, most of them in fabrics of the Bay of Cádiz. On the other hand, the Lusitanian amphora types Almagro 50 and Almagro 51c have also been found in contexts such as the Harbour Necropolis or the LAMCQ and can be dated in the 5th century.

As important as these two Hispanic regions were, recent research has enlarged the number of production regions in the Iberian Peninsula that exported their amphorae to Ephesos. Without a doubt, Málaga was the most important region for the very last products arriving in amphorae from the Iberian Peninsula. In their typical metamorphic fabrics, sometimes with big mica/schists inclusions (characteristic of the Málaga output), we find an important number of Keay XIX and Dressel 23d that sometimes, if just the handle and wall fragments survive, cannot be told apart (**fig. 6, 1-2** and **4**). The Keay XIX contributes a small number in contexts such as the Harbour Necropolis or the Odeion (Struber-Ilhan 2018) and can be also connected with fabrics of the Bay of Cadiz; the Dressel 23d seem to have exclusively the metamorphic fabrics of Málaga. Yet other amphorae produced in Málaga arrived at Ephesos, for example a copy of a Keay 25 (**fig. 6, 5**) whose fabric, from a macroscopic point of view, is the same as that of the Dressel 23d and most of the Keay XIX we find in Ephesos.



Fig. 6. Examples of late antique Iberian Peninsula amphorae from the 3rd CE. 1 and 2) Keay XIX with Málaga fabric; 3) Spatheion with micaceous fabric from the Carthago Nova area; 4) Dressel 23d from Málaga; 5) Keay XXV from Málaga; 6) Beltrán 68 from Cádiz Bay (author on © ÖAW/ÖAI-N. Gail).

Baetica and Lusitania are the main Hispanic provinces represented in Ephesos, but we do identify other parts of the Iberian Peninsula whose products arrived there. Restudying the declassified material of old excavations, probably from the harbour basin, we found a Spatheion that, awaiting for the thin section analysis, we suspect was probably produced in the Carthago Nova area (**fig. 6, 3**). This is a production area that is starting to be better known of late (Quevedo 2021).

One last important question that requires a better understanding is that of the exact moment when the Hispanic commodities stopped arriving at Ephesos. We have known since the late 1990s that the production of amphorae in certain parts of the Iberian Peninsula, mainly in coastal Baetica and Lusitania, straddles the transition of the 5th-6th centuries divide (among others: Bernal-Casasola 2001; Fabião 2008). The presence of Keay XIX and Dressel 23d in contexts dated from the late 5th and 6th centuries suggests that the Hispanic export economy was still quite active, and their products reached at least one of the main cities of the Aegean, and in all probability many of them.

These imports appear together with some of the most common Aegean productions like the LR 2, and the so-called Adamshek RC 22 or Ikarian amphorae, typical of the 5th and early 6th centuries. I do not agree with this nomenclature that follows the classification of Kencherei made by Beverley Adamshek in 1979, and would prefer to name them as "Torone VII amphora", following John Papadopoulos' (1989; 2001) publication of the late Roman cemetery in Torone.[8] Paul Arthur (1998: 170) suggested that this type, quite common in Aegean sites but also distributed in the central and western Mediterranean, was produced in the island of Ikaria based on the presence of ink inscriptions, but he does not mention where those inscriptions come from, nor has a picture or drawing of them. Although this hypothesis is attractive, it has never been tested since there are no petrographic analysis made nor has a production workshop found in Ikaria. Moreover, the Kencherei publication, where just the upper parts of some amphorae are drawn, contrasts with the publication of the necropolis of Torone where we find complete pieces of this and other types.

Variously named then as Torone VII, Ikarian type or Adamshek RC 22, this type of amphora is closely linked to a large group produced in Ephesos and other areas of western Anatolia in Late Antiquity: the group of amphorae related to the "Samos Cistern", that I prefer to call "Samos Cistern group" or "Samos Cistern family".[9] In this group of containers, amphorae such as the M 273, as well as the Samos Cistern and the Ephesus 56, are included. Even if for the Ephesus 56 there is no doubt about its production in Ephesos and probably in other places in the eastern Aegean (for Kos see: Diodumedi 2014: 171), for the other two forms Ephesos has never been suggested as their provenance of production.

This is especially surprising for the Samos Cistern, because different authors have observed that their fabrics are quite similar to the LR 3,[10] as also seen in the petrographic analysis published by Bezeczky, who hesitating to pronounce on a Samian or western Asia Minor production did not mention Ephesos as a central production place. In contrast, Bezeczky (2013: 157) pointed out that just a very few were found in Ephesos; but new research has indicated that they are one of the most common types in the 6th and 7th centuries, as its predecessor the M 273 and its related forms were beforehand. We do know that Ephesos was not the only place to produce both types. The range of fabrics with the M 273 indicates different production places in the eastern Aegean, something confirmed by the finds of possible kiln-sites in the area of Elaia in the case of the M 273 (Empereur and Picon 1986: 143) and for the Samos Cistern, a bay in the western part of the Mykale Mountain range, just in front of the island of Samos (Lohman, Kalaitzouglou and Lüdorf 2017: 271-272). The analysis of the samples taken from M 273 and the Samos Cistern in Ephesos will surely help sorting this conundrum out.

These amphora types appear together with the latest versions of the LR 3. Some, though not all, are of a very small size, sometimes of under one litre capacity, and in most cases with rectangular rims and massive closed spikes. In Ephesos, the LR 3, Ephesus 56 and the Samos Cistern still appear together in the first part of the 7th century, as they do in the first 7th century layer in the Eupalinos Tunnel in Samos (Hautumm 2004: 204-205), or in the Yassıada 2 shipwreck (Bass 1982). Whether they still continued to be produced during the central decades of the century is a difficult question to answer, and even if in a 7th century deposit of Crypta Balbi, dated after coins in the very late 7th century (Saguì 1998: 306), there exists a LR 3 as well as some Samos Cistern and one Ephesus 56, it seems to me difficult to support that they had such a prolonged life-span.

The current information from both Ephesos and most imported contexts suggest that they were still being produced in the first part of the 7th century, probably until the central decades of the century and maybe still during the third quarter. However, to believe that they continued up to the very last moments of the century seems to me quite unlikely since this is a time when new amphora forms are emerging in the Aegean and displacing the "old" Late Antique types.

[8] This name has also been used by A. Opait (2004: 16-17).

[9] P. Reynolds (among others 2021: 312-315) also suggest that around the Samos Cistern there is a big group of containers that goes from the M 273 and Torone VII to the Ephesus 56 and Samos Cistern. He prefers to enclose all of them as variants of the "Samos Cistern-type".

[10] L. Saguì mentioned the similarity of the fabrics of LR 3 and Samos Cistern but thought the Meander valley as the production area of both types: Saguì 2001: 289. The same for Elaiussa Sebaste: Ricci 2007: 173; and Pieri 2005: 136 also mention the resemblance to the LR 3 and some forms of LR 2 (I assume the latest versions of his classification) and suggest its origin in Samos or in the continental coast nearby. Reynolds and Pavlidis (2014: 453), describe the fabric of some Samos Cistern from Nicopolis in the same way of the LR 3, however they do not mention their possible production in the Ephesos area. In a recent article, P. Reynolds mentions the idea of a production of the M 273 and the Samos Cistern in the area around Ephesos (Reynolds 2021: 312-315). I would like to thank Mr. Reynolds for the fruitful discussions about this and many other topics.

6. Still a lot of work to do. Byzantine amphorae of Ephesos and their potential for the understanding of the city's continuing existence

In this paper I have tried to present an updated global vision of the work undertaken in Ephesos during the last years, focusing on the period from the late 1st century BCE to the mid-7th century. However, this work would be incomplete if I did not briefly mention the continuity of amphora production at and importation into Ephesos beyond this date.

The above-mentioned excavations of Byzantine contexts in the last decade and the increasing interest in the Ephesian research about the post-antique phases of the town have led to a new approach to analyses of the Byzantine material culture, including the amphorae of the 7th to 14th centuries. Here, we are in a position to say that the end of Antiquity and the troubles the Anatolian and Aegean regions suffered, especially in the 7th and 8th centuries, did not spell the end of the arrival of outside wares at Ephesos nor did it finish off the export of local commodities in clay containers. The presence of locally produced and imported amphorae of the large group of the so-called Globular amphorae (maybe it would be convenient to search for a different name?) as well as the arrival of some products from North Africa during the 7th and from Egypt and Levant in the 7th and probably early 8th centuries, provide the essential information to recognize the continuity of trade relations with other regions, something supplemented by the presence of cooking and fine wares from the Constantinople region.

The work carried out in Ephesos since 2017 in the framework of the Austrian Science Found Project (FWF M 2305) "Byzantine Amphorae of Ephesos" has brought some stimulating new data concerning the still not well-known local productions of the 7th and 8th centuries. One of the most impressive results has been the acknowledgment of a massive local production of the so-called LR 13 amphorae. These amphorae, also known as LR 2C following D. Pieri's classification (Pieri 2005: 88-89) and various other names given by some other authors, have been found in large quantities in the excavations of the LAMCQ; their typical highly micaceous Ephesian fabrics are usually in lighter colours than the LR 3, the Samos Cistern or the Ephesos 56. Further, it is quite possible that many of the LR 13 found in other places – for instance those in Eupalinos (Hautumm 2004), Yassıada (Bass 1982; 2015), Italy (Saguì 1998; Murialdo 2001) or even in places such as Marseille (Bonifay and Pieri 1995; Pieri 2005) and Tarragona (Rodríguez Martorell 2020) – have an Ephesian origin.

This is a very interesting development that requires further investigation in the next years as does the matter of the local production of amphorae in the 8th and 9th centuries. For this, it is essential to undertake petrographical analyses on the scale Bezeczky did a decade past ago for the Roman production.

In this article I have tried to show that the amphora research developed in Ephesos during the last decade has enhanced, and in a very stimulating way, the impact one of the most important works on amphora studies has had in the second decade of the 21st century. This is a clarion call to those who believe the work in pottery studies here is nearly done, and of encouragement to those working on sites with occupation deposits extensive in time and space. Ceramics, in this case amphorae, are ever capable of springing surprises; new methodologies and new ways of analysis will open new perspectives and research lines. However, we also always will need works of the calibre that Tamas Bezeczky produced: they provide the secure ground for the next step forward.

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Sarah Japp

LATE ROMAN TABLE WARE IN PERGAMON

Late tableware has only rarely come to light in Pergamon so far, but this is mostly because of the stratigraphic situation of the excavation areas. To date representative examples of Late Roman C, African Red Slip, Late Roman Light Coloured and Late Relief Ware have been identified. Some fabrics of these wares give reason to assume that such vessels were part of the local production in late Roman Pergamon. The archaeometric analysis was able to prove the fabrication of these wares in Pergamon and additionally in the neighbouring settlement Pitane. Against this background, the export of certain ceramic goods from Pergamon and Pitane can now be verified. On the other hand, only a few late Roman vessels were probably imported to Pergamon. Based on these examinations it can be said that Pergamon was an active member of the pottery production network even in the late Roman period.

Pergamon – Pottery production – Late Roman Light Coloured Ware – Late Relief Ware – Late Roman C Ware

The city hill of Pergamon on the western coast of modern Turkey was probably inhabited from the late Bronze Age onwards, with a very extensive settlement in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. But it was almost completely abandoned in the later 4th century CE.[1] As a result, there is hardly any extant pottery from the late Roman period. The centre of urban life seems to have been on the southern plain, which was incorporated into the city already in the Roman period. In the southwest is the sanctuary of Asclepios (Ziegenaus and de Luca 1968; Ziegenaus and de Luca 1975; Ziegenaus 1981; Hoffmann 2011; Radt 2011: 220-242; Riethmüller 2011), which was founded in the early Hellenistic period and still in use in the late Roman period, although probably in a Christian context. Several building activities are observable in the sanctuary especially dating to the 5th century (De Luca 1984: 1-2). The area was presumably abandoned in the 7th century.

Local pottery production started early in Pergamon, probably already in the late Bronze Age. However, extensive manufacture of fine ceramics seems to have begun in the 3rd century BCE. One of the associated potters' quarters was uncovered during emergency excavations at the northeastern foot of the city hill. It was located in the immediate vicinity of the Ketios River in ancient times and is now completely covered by a reservoir. Four different workshop complexes with 24 furnaces came to light there. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive excavation publication, only preliminary reports (Erdemgil 1980; 1981a; 1981b; Erdemgil and Özenir 1982; Bounegru and Erdemgil 1998; Bounegru and Erdemgil 2000; Degryse et al. 2001; Poblome et al. 2001; Bounegru 2009; 2014), and so it is not possible to make precise statements about the repertoire and the chronology. Two theses on the production period have been published: The scientific editor of the ceramics, late O. Bounegru, divided the production into two phases, the first from the mid-3rd to the end of the 1st century BCE and the second from the 4th to the second half of the 6th century CE with a gap in between (Bounegru 2003; 2014). According to the excavator, S. Erdemgil, production lasted from the 3rd/2nd century BCE until the 4th century CE, with a workshop in a more distant branch of the Ketios Valley still in use until the 6th century (Erdemgil 1980; Erdemgil and Özenir 1982). The latter might relate to a building with pottery kilns east of the city hill (Karagöz, Radt and Rheidt 1986). Early Byzantine material is said to be have been found here; it is described as dishes and plates without slip, with a cross or figurative decoration as well as rouletted design. This seems to indicate late Roman Sigillata. To verify the local production of pottery in Pergamon, different types of clay vessels were sampled in an extensive archaeological-archaeometric project using NAA, WD-XRF and MRG analyses.[2] This research suggests that the main production took place from the 3rd century BCE to probably the 6th century CE – the evidence of late Roman production is presented below.

Most of the late Roman pottery in Pergamon represents one typical late Roman red-slipped ware, the so-called Late Relief Ware. It was found in the Asclepieion as well as on the city hill. The vessels consist of two joined parts made in

1 For the historical development, see for example Radt 2011: 23-51 (with bibliography); Pirson 2017; Gehrke 2018. Systematic excavations began in Pergamon in 1878 on behalf of the Royal Museums in Berlin and were taken over by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) from 1900. They are continuing to this day.

2 The NAA analysis was conducted by H. Mommsen (Bonn): Mommsen and Japp 2009. The WD-XRF and MGR analysis has been executed by G. Schneider (Berlin) and M. Daszkiewicz (Warsaw): Schneider and Japp 2009. The results of the subsequent analyses will be published soon in Istanbuler Mitteilungen.

moulds with a prominent vertical seam marking the junctions. They are covered with a thin matt red slip and decorated with figural reliefs on the entire exterior surface. The interior surface is rather irregular because of hand forming and joining techniques. Late Relief Ware has been found at several sites, and production centres are known, for example, in Knidos (Bailey 1979; Mandel 1988: 99-191. 232-264; Mandel 2000). The Pergamenian *Oinophorenware* constitutes a special group, (see for the following Türr 1972; Ziegenaus and de Luca 1975: 102-117 pl. 56-60. 81-81; de Luca 1984: 26-31 pl. 12; Mandel 1988: 6-98. 216-232), as the vessel forms and the motifs differ from the others. The most common vessels are jugs with a cylindrical body where the shoulder is decorated with a leaf motif and the body with figurative scenes in one or two friezes. There exist also pear-shaped vessels, with a relief zone that emerges from leaves, and pilgrim flasks with a central motif surrounded by a wreath of laurel or tendrils. Other forms, such as plastic vases shaped like rams, heads or a phallus, occur rarely. The mythological scenes are typical of the earlier period, while the warrior or gladiator representations were added later. This production already began in Pergamon in the early 2nd century CE, and probably continued until at least the early 4th century. The vessel forms, relief motifs and design as well as the fabric investigations, which differ from those of other production sites, developed the idea of a Pergamenian fabrication early on and, accordingly, the export of this product to other sites. This assumption of local production is now supported by archaeometric analyses: The Late Relief Ware samples (**fig. 1**) (Perga 15 - Japp 2009: 214 fig. 1, Perga 101 - Japp 2009: 241 fig. 19; Perga 174 – Japp, forthcoming) belong to a group (chemical group 1a classified by WD-XRF and chemical group PegA classified by NAA; see Japp 2009: 206; Mommsen and Japp 2009: 272; Schneider and Japp 2009: 292-294), that can be assigned to the afore-mentioned potters' quarter in the Ketios Valley northeast of the city hill. This chemical group forms the group with the most extensive material both in terms of quantity and the range of shapes and primarily comprises decorated and undecorated tableware from the Hellenistic to the late Roman period.

Another group of late Roman vessels in Pergamon are the late versions of Eastern Sigillata C such as the carinated bowls Hayes Çandarlı Type 1, which were produced in Pergamon from the late 1st to perhaps the late 3rd century CE. Most of the analysed pieces (**fig. 2**) belong to the main Pergamenian chemical group mentioned above (chemical WD-XRF group 1/1a and NAA group PegA/PegE/Pege: Perga 109 - Japp 2009: 244 fig. 21; Perga 197. 214. 246. 249. 323. 365-366 – Japp, forthcoming). In addition, some samples are placed in a chemical group that can be allocated to the production of ceramics in ancient Pitane, a site located 30 km southwest of Pergamon as the crows flies, on the seashore (chemical WD-XRF group 2: Can 2. 5. 8-10 - Japp 2009: 248-250 fig. 24. See for group 2 Schneider and Japp 2009: 294-296). This production site is confirmed by the discovery of pottery kilns. The large amount of kiln slag and many misfired pieces, wasters and spacer discs observed in different areas of Pitane (modern Çandarlı) attest to the range, both typologically and

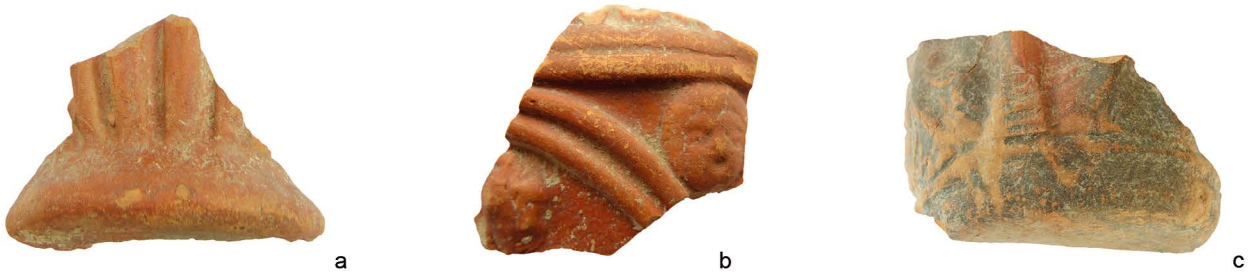


Fig. 1. Pergamenian Relief Ware (a: Perga 15, b: Perga 101, c: Perga 174 (no scale). DAI/S. Japp

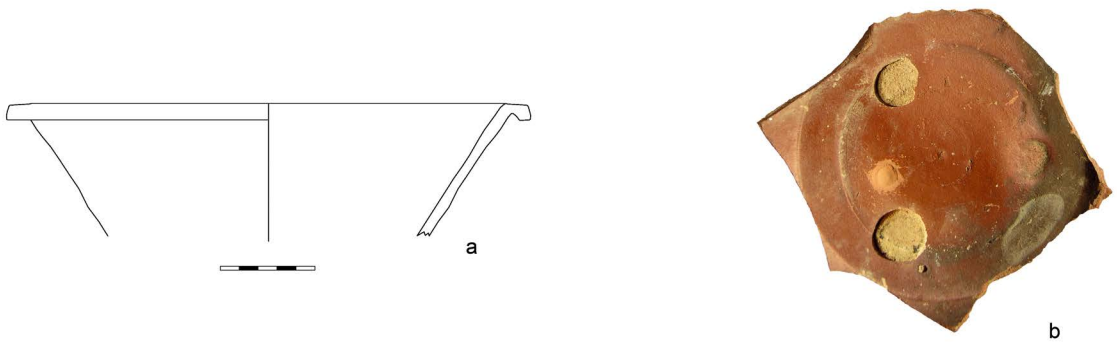


Fig. 2. a: Pergamenian carinated bowl (Perga 249); b: Pitane carinated bowl (Can 8) (no scale). DAI/S. Japp.

chronologically, of production at this site (Loeschcke 1912; Bes and Keweloh-Kaletta 2020). In Pitane, fragments of the carinated bowls Hayes Çandarlı Type 1 were often found with spacer discs still attached to the foot or the inner centre, which seem to be exclusively associated with this form (**fig. 2, a**).[3] This vessel type was uncovered at several Roman sites; however, it is not clear whether these exports came from Pergamon and/or Pitane. Another vessel form starting already in the 1st century CE (ESC Hayes form 4) is the dish with a vertical curved rim, which is also displayed in later versions (Late Roman C Hayes form 1). These later forms were fabricated in Pergamon (Japp 2009: 231 Perga 73 [PegE/group 1a]. Perga 130 [PegA/group 1a]; Perga 200 [group 1]; Perga 248 [group 1]) and in Pitane; and they were probably exported too. Other forms of Late Roman C also belong to the find material in Pergamon (**fig. 3**). Hayes form 3 occurs frequently with early versions as well as the typical variants c, e, f and h, which can generally be dated between the 5th and 6th centuries based on the form and the local find complexes. Moreover, there are vessel feet with stamped decoration on the interior, including rosettes, pointed leaves, rhomboid elements with volutes, circles, rectangles, crosses and a few zoomorphic, but almost no anthropomorphic, figures.[4] Regarding the types of stamps, G. de Luca already observed that both eastern and North African motifs can be found; however, according to the fabric, the pieces were not made in the known production centres. De Luca speaks of a kind of Mediterranean *koin*é that used all of these motifs (de Luca 1984: 20). Some of the LRC vessels found in Pergamon were – according to the macroscopic examination – produced in Phocaea, some probably also in Grynaion. However, a larger number most likely came from Pitane (see Japp, Mommsen and Schneider 2013). This has also been confirmed by the extensive survey conducted in Pitane by the German Archaeological Institute in recent years. Primarily the variants of Hayes form 3 were observed during the field work.[5] Beyond that, however, the WD-XRF analysis has shown that at least one early version of LRC Hayes form 3 was made from one of the main Pergamenian fabrics belonging to the potters' quarter in the Ketios Valley (**fig. 4**) (Perga 299: WD-XRF group 1a). Another LRC sample fits into a chemical group that was cautiously assigned to a Pergamenian production (**fig. 4**); however, the corresponding workshop has not been located (Perga 290: WD-XRF group 6).

The so-called Late Roman Light Coloured Ware (Hayes 1972: 409-410; Ergürer 2014: 177; Hayes and Heath; Heath and Tekkök), is also represented in Pergamon and – to put it cautiously – occurs in strikingly large quantities. It was also named West Asia Minor Pale Ware (Tekkök-Biçken 1996: 140) and Late Roman West Asia Minor Light Coloured Ware (Heath and Tekkök). The ware is characterized by a thin light brownish to light orangish slip, which is often irregular, and sometimes traces of fingertips are observable. The relatively dense clay body is of a similar colour and regularly displays a few fine micaceous and white inclusions and some pores. In general, this matrix and temper are typical of the Pergamenian production. Another fabric shows several fine particles, namely micaceous, white and red ones; this could also be

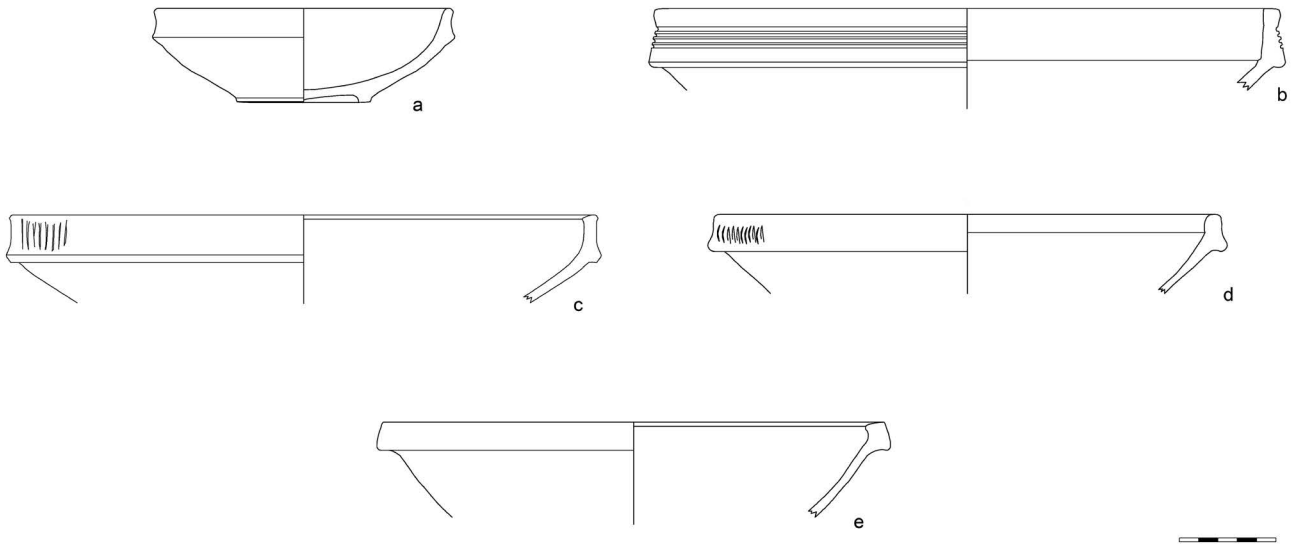


Fig. 3. Late Roman C Ware found in Pergamon (a: VTK 74/171, b: Perga 292, c: Perga 360, d: Perga 362, e: Askl uninv.). DAI/S. Japp.

[3] Friendly information by A. Keweloh-Kaletta and Ph. Bes.

[4] De Luca 1984: 11-16 pl. 6-11. 27-29. However, the material presented there most likely includes not only examples of Late Roman C Ware, but also Late Roman Light Coloured Ware.

[5] Information kindly provided by A. Keweloh-Kaletta and Ph. Bes. The manufacture of red-slipped table ware in Pitane from the 1st to the 5th centuries CE is confirmed by numerous artefacts (Bes and Keweloh-Kaletta 2020: 121. 135 fig. 70).

a Pergamenian fabric. The surface is decorated with broad rouletted bands and several incised parallel or wavy lines, which appear not only on the interior but also the exterior. Sometimes stamps are visible, mainly sandal stamps, but also crosses and rosettes. Occasionally the rims are notched. This ware is generally dated to the 5th and 6th centuries CE, and the same applies to Pergamenian find contexts. The shapes are often reminiscent of Late Roman C such as derivatives of forms Hayes 2, 3, 5 and 10, or African Red Slip forms such as Hayes 104/105, which certainly influenced the design. It is noticeable that the vessels show numerous decorative elements, more than the models do. H. E. Ergürer's classification (2014) can be used to illustrate the repertoire in Pergamon: Relatively thick-walled deep bowls with straight vertical rims and incised horizontal and wavy lines on the exterior (**fig. 5, a**) match Ergürer form 1 (2014: 177-179). Different variations of Ergürer form 2 appear in Pergamon displaying dishes with a horizontal rim zone, thickened at the lip with a step towards the body and rouletting and incisions on the interior and exterior body (**fig. 5, b**) (2014: 179). The same is true of Ergürer form 3, which can be characterized as a bowl with a carinated body and an out-turning, sometimes oblique, sometimes straight horizontal rim zone, equipped with a notched or broadened lip (**fig. 5, c**) (2014: 179-181). Rather flat bowls with a straight vertical rim zone displaying a kind of collar at the lower end and a rounded or flattened upper lip often have



Fig. 4. a: Late Roman C Ware produced in Pergamon (Perga 299); b: probably produced in Pergamon (Perga 290; no scale). DAI/S. Japp.

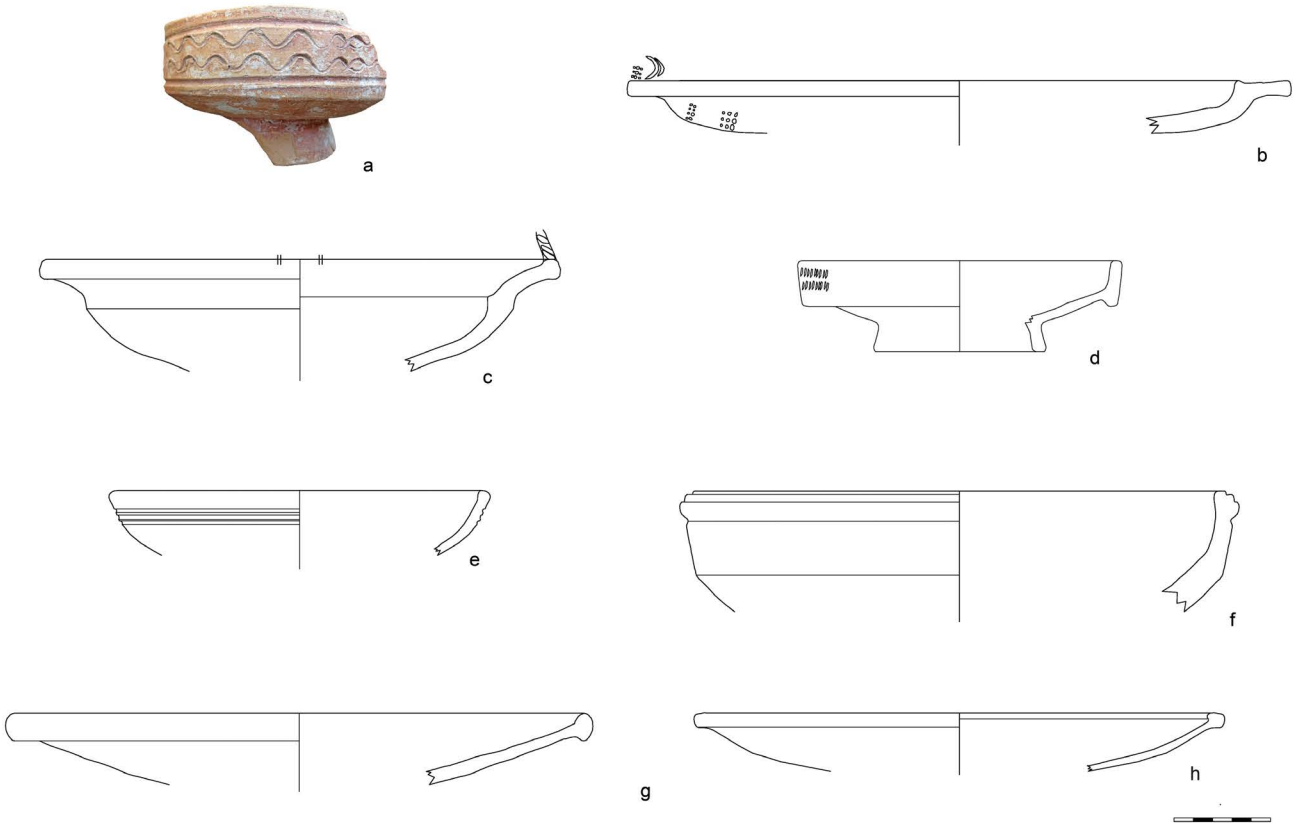


Fig. 5. Light Coloured Ware Ergürer Form 1 (a: VTK 74/191; no scale), Form 2 (b: VTK 69/3), Form 3 (c: VTK 69/172), Form 5 (d: 428), Form 8 (e: Askl uninv.), Form 11 (f: VTK 69/44) and Form 15 (g/h: VTK 74/90 and 22E1) found in Pergamon. DAI/S. Japp.

horizontal rouletting on the exterior (**fig. 5, d**); they belong to Ergürer form 5 (2014: 181). Hemispherical bowls with no further accentuated rims – while the lip can be rounded, flattened or even indented – have deep horizontally incised lines and large rouletting (**fig. 5, e**), like examples of Ergürer form 8 (2014: 183). A thick-walled bowl with a carinated heavy wall and a thickened profiled rim section (**fig. 5, f**), which seems to resemble Ergürer form 11, is almost unique in Pergamon (2014: 183-185). Varieties of plates with heavy knobbed rims, rounded on the interior or on both sides or sometimes even angular (**fig. 5, g-h**), appear rather often in Pergamon. This type corresponds to Ergürer form 15 (2014: 185-188). In addition, the Champlevé technique was used as another type of decoration of Late Roman Light Coloured Ware. Here the slipped motif was highlighted by scratching off the surrounding slipped area, so that the entire decorative motif was projected in low relief against the lighter coloured matt background. The slip colour is orangish to orangish brown. The beige-coloured fabric can be described as fine with a few fine micaceous and fine to medium-fine white particles and pores. The interior rim zone was apparently decorated with ornamental bands such as the Vitruvian scroll, leaf tips and triangular designs, while the interior featured figural motifs, such as different kinds of animals and floral elements (**fig. 6**). The Pergamenian examples often have a shallow bowl with a high slightly out-turning foot and a short up-turning rim, which is flattened on the top and grooved (**fig. 6**) (de Luca 1984: 34-35 pl. 13 no. 291-296). Champlevé Ware is not very common in Pergamon. It can be cautiously dated to the 5th/early 6th century CE.

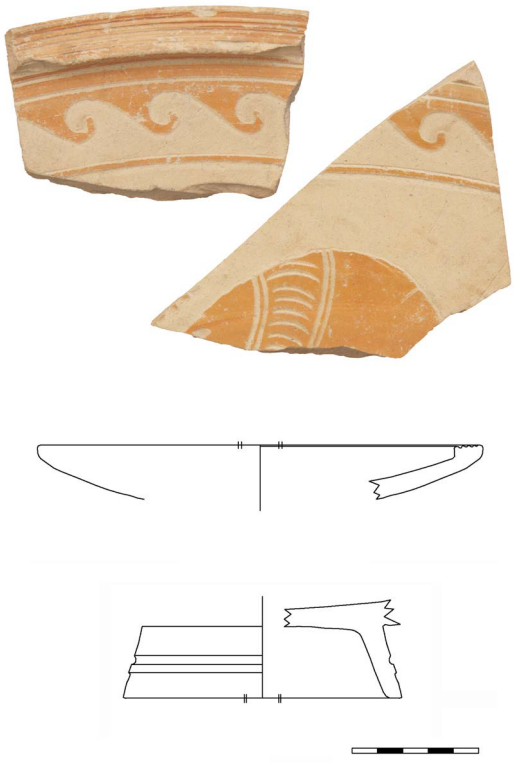


Fig. 6. Champlevé Ware found in Pergamon (Perga 286, no scale; drawing rim: Perga 286; drawing foot: Perga 319). DAI/S. Japp

Late Roman Light Coloured Ware has been found in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Cyrenaica and the Black Sea region (see Ergürer 2014: 176-177 fig. 1). Such vessels were often discovered in coastal settlements, pointing therefore to maritime trade. Specimens occurred in larger numbers in the northern Aegean and the Propontis. J. W. Hayes assumed that the location of the production was in the Knidian region (last in Hayes 2008: 91), while C. Şimşek proposed Laodikea (Şimşek 2008: 133). A remarkable number of finds in Parion, according to H. E. Ergürer, indicated that they were produced at a site in the Troas, the Pergamenian region or in Propontis (Ergürer 2014: 175). B. Tekkök presumed a fabrication in the Troas region,[6] and K. Domżalski in Pergamon (Domżalski 2012: 340 footnote 51). The archaeometric analysis in Pergamon reveals an interesting picture: one piece (**fig. 7, a**) is currently assigned to a Light Coloured Ware group, which until then had consisted of four fragments from three different sites.[7] A possible origin from Pergamon was assumed for these pieces even before the analysis; this now seems to be confirmed by the Pergamenian fragment. Two other pieces (**Fig. 7, b**) belong to the main Pitane group.[8] The Champlevé piece unfortunately remains a single (**Fig. 7, c**). Against this background, production in Pergamon seems possible, and production in Pitane even very likely. The archaeological situation is exactly the opposite: we have several pieces that were uncovered in Pergamon, but, so far, no confirmed piece from Pitane. For this reason, the exact location of production cannot be identified yet, but the vessels were part of export activities and had a relatively wide distribution.

The apparently simultaneous production of Late Roman C and Late Roman Light Coloured Ware at Pergamon and Pitane leads to the question of whether the two production sites operated independently or were connected. For Late Hellenistic and (Early) Roman production, it is assumed that Pergamon was the 'creative centre', characterized by several transformations of common forms and new inventions. This would argue for the specific own design of the Late Relief Ware and the development of the Late Roman Light Coloured Ware in Pergamon. Accordingly, Pitane is seen to have taken on an executive role in this production, especially since its location facilitated export across the sea. To what extent Pitane also developed its own forms or remained associated with Pergamon cannot be conclusively established yet.

Cypriot, Pontic or Sagalassos Red Slip Ware have not been identified within the find material of Pergamon so far. Only a few sherds of African Red Slip Ware have been recovered, for example form Hayes 67 and 105, which cover the period from the 3rd to the 7th century CE.[9]

[6] Information kindly provided B. Tekkök.

[7] Personal information by G. Schneider, who conducted the WD-XRF analysis for H. Meyza. The three locations are Ptolemais in Libya, Shi'in in Lebanon and Illychevka in northeast Crimea. In the first publication, the sample Perga 112 remained a single: Japp 2009: 246.

[8] Perga 113: Japp 2009: 246 (WD-XRF group 2). Perga 114 was included in the Pergamenian group 1a (Japp 2009: 246), but as a result of the new samples was reassigned to the Pitane group.

[9] Personal research in Pergamon.

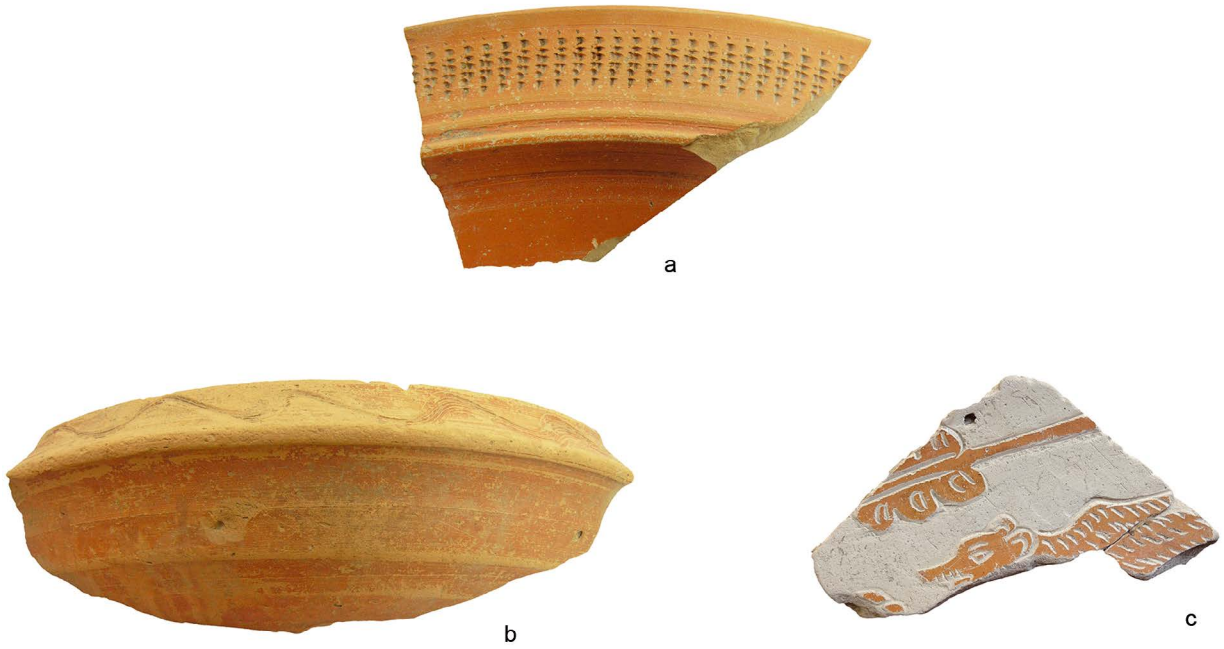


Fig. 7. a: Light Coloured Ware sample of "Light Coloured Ware Group" (Perga 112; no scale); b: Light Coloured Ware sample of "Pitane Group" (Perga 113; no scale); c: sample of Champléve Ware (Perga 319; no scale). DAI/S. Japp.

Thus, on the one hand, the Pergamenian potters followed a certain contemporary fashion by continuing and further developing the later forms of Eastern Sigillata C and by producing Late Relief Ware. The latter differed from the other production sites in the shape of the vessels and in the chosen motifs. Late Roman C Ware was also made on site, at least to a lesser extent, using typical stamps for decorating the interior surface. The Late Roman Light Coloured Ware could be a Pergamenian or regional invention inspired by already extant LRC and ARS forms. On the other hand, Pergamon also imported certain ceramic wares. Based on the find situation, it is not entirely clear whether the quantity of these imports in Late Antiquity was larger than in the Early and High Imperial Roman periods or whether it was similarly small. According to our current knowledge, these imports are limited to a few selected regions: LRC was imported from Phocaea and probably also from Grynaion. Both sites are situated close to Pergamon. Late ESC, LRC and Late Roman Light Coloured Ware were also imported from Pitane, a city closely associated with Pergamon and a known distributor of Eastern Sigillata C and probably also of Late Roman C. Contacts with North Africa were apparently not very intensive, but this may have to do with Pergamon's strained economic situation from the 3rd century CE onwards which resulted in activities more limited to the regional setting.

Nevertheless, given the distribution of the Late Roman Light Coloured Ware and the Late Relief Ware, Pergamon still seems to have been a player in the international Late Roman pottery network.

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NEW THOUGHTS ON 'DUAL STAMPS' ON THE LRA 2B-C (LRA 13)

The study presented here examines a group of stamps on the Late Roman Amphorae 2 (LRA 2). In this group (-A.1-), named "dual stamps", two circular stamps with different contents are found on the same type of amphora. These stamps appear on both the neck and/or the handle(s). The stamps in the first subgroup (-A.1a-) are generally in wider diameter than the other subgroup (-A.1b-) and have a bust with a surrounding line of inscription. Although a standard inscription formula has been known, the examples have some letter and diphthong variations. The second subgroup (-A.1b-) has a ligature and a letter in a standard form. Considering the contents of this group of stamps, the forms of the amphorae, and the destinations of the examples are examined, some conclusions can be drawn about the production characteristics of the amphorae and the function of this group of stamps.

Amphora – stamp – *dual stamps* – Eastern Roman Empire – official control

1. Introduction

In recent decades, the discovery of new Late Roman Amphorae 2 (LRA 2B-C) stamps has provided important insights into the function of LRA 2 and their stamps (Diamanti 2012: 1-5; Opait and Diamanti 2014: 55-61; Kara 2015: 243-250; Kara 2019: 188-225). As a consequence of these recent discoveries, research activities that have used, among other things, the method of comparison and matching of the forms of the amphorae with the stamps on them have been able to come up with several new results concerning morphology, chronology, and paleography. This very study aims to present and discuss some of these research results.[1] By doing so, special attention is dedicated to double stamp groups, which can be found in various examples on LRA 2. In analyzing these groups, particular focus is placed on the question of the introduction of double stamp groups, on their chronology, morphology, and function.

2. Classification of the stamps

Most of the stamps that have been investigated during recent research on LRA 2 so far can be put in one of three major groups, which are conventionally known as groups A, B, and C (Kara 2019: 86-104). Among these three groups, -A- stands out as the one that includes a bust and has been divided into four subgroups. The main subject of this paper is the subgroup -A.1-.[2] All artefacts in this subgroup are double-stamped and called *dual stamps* (**fig. 1, 1-3**).[3] In what follows, each of the *dual stamps* is referred to as a small letter, *-a-* and *–b-*, in the subgroup. These stamps are different from each other.

Outside of subgroup -A.1-, there are only two artefacts that prove the stamp *–a-* can appear alone on an amphora; these artefacts are included in the aforementioned the subgroup -A.2-. In contrast, there is no evidence to prove that stamp *–b-* would also have imprinted alone during the same period. In theory, this might have been the case if one assumes that some amphorae were broken or missing. However, this study assumes that the prevalent method in the stamping tradition involved the impression of *dual stamps*. The reason for holding up this assumption is the statistical preponderance of doubly impressed amphorae: Whereas only two amphorae that have a single stamp were found in the material (i.e., the two amphorae arranged as subgroup -A.2-), there is a total of 43 stamps on the 29 amphorae in the subgroup -A.1-.[4]

The stamps seen in the group -A.1- ascertain several interesting features. Firstly, diameter measurements of the stamps

[1] This paper presents the results of a Ph.D. thesis which is "Dipinti, Graffiti, and Stamps on Commercial Amphorae Produced in the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity -4th-7th century AD- (in Turkish)" by Ülkü Kara. Kara has reached and examined 70 stamps on 54 examples of the LRA 2 during the thesis research.

[2] The stamps of the whole -A- group show the frontal busts. The other subgroups of the group -A- are as follows: A.2: This group comprises amphorae that have once been stamped without having the second stamp. A.3: In this group, only two amphorae bear a stamp. These two amphorae have only a single stamp. The existence of an original second stamp on either of them remains unknown. A.4: Four stamps can be found, including this subgroup. There is a bust and an inscription, with a similar "ΕΠΙ" formula, surrounding the bust. There are four partially legible stamps.

[3] For the of the *dual stamps* -in Turkish- see Kara 2015: 246; Kara 2019: 88.

[4] Given the limited text length, all the examples mentioned in the paper could not have taken place in a list or given their sources. Therefore, they are referenced in the text by their catalogue numbers of the thesis. All detailed information and sources will be provided in a further publication.



Fig. 1. An example of LRA 2 (rim diam: 8,2 cm; height: 16,5 cm) with dual stamps on the handles. (left: A.1*a*- (diam: 2,8 cm); right -A.1*b*- (diam: 2,2 cm) (Kara 2019: Fig. 57, Kat. No. 50a-b)).

visible on the amphorae of the subgroup -A.1- show that the two stamps (-A.1*a*- and -A.1*b*-) are varied. Generally, the -A.1*a*- stamp is wider than -A.1*b*-. Secondly, both the A.1*a* and A.1*b* stamps are seen either on the neck and/or the handle(s). On some examples, one can observe that both stamps were imprinted on the same handle. On other amphorae, they were impressed either on both sides of the neck or both handles. It is understood that on some amphorae the *dual stamps* (*a* and *b*) were partly overlapped during imprinting (**fig. 2, 2** -upper and below-). This seems to indicate that the places where stamps *a* and *b* were impressed on the amphorae in the subgroup -A.1- are not indicative of any form of impression tradition.

2.1. Subgroup A1a

The catalogue of LRA 2 shows that there are 26 examples representing the group -A.1*a*-, and they can be found on 26 amphorae (Kara 2019: 89-94; Kat. No. 47, 48, 49a, 50a, 51a, 52a, 53a, 54a, 55a, 56, 57a, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63 (?), 64a, 65a, 66a, 67a, 68, 69, 70a, 71, 72a and 73). Some are complete and legible (one of them), while others are only partly legible (seventeen). The rest are illegible (one), or their legibility status is unknown (seven). Nevertheless, by comparing the appearance of all these stamps with each other, most of their similarities and differences can be detected. As a rule, the stamps of the whole -A.1a- subgroup show the frontal bust. One of the characteristic features of these stamps is a single peripheral inscription line surrounding the bust. The beginning of the inscription is marked by a cross, with the text running down from the top of the stamp and over the head of the bust; it goes from the left to the right. The cross is close to an equal-armed one, and the inscription ends by joining up with it (Kara 2019: 89-90; Sztetyłło and Borkowski 1986: 650). The legible and complete examples show that the stamp design is full of detail: The bust holds a *mappa* in his right hand, and a *sceptrum* in his left hand. Although some stamps are incomplete and/or eroded, variations including the style and size of the beard and hair, the *mappa*, and the *sceptrum* are discernible (**fig. 1, 1** and **3, 1-3**).

Although the form of the *mappa* does not display any noticeable variants, the *sceptrum* does. Its variants include a three-cornered and a leafed one. The bust is mostly bearded, and the beard and hair are variform (**fig. 1, 1; 2, 1-2** and **3, 2-3**).

The inscription usually begins with an equal-armed cross. In only one example, it has been observed that the cross is preceded by an "eight-armed star" symbol (**fig. 2, 2**). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Greek letter "B" (beta) could appear either on the left of the bust or above or next to the *sceptrum.* Although the place of this letter varies, it can mostly be found on the left side of the bust (**fig. 1, 1** and **3, 1-3**). As some stamps are broken and illegible, it is impossible to determine the exact number of stamps bearing the letter "B" (beta). In sum, there are at least six stamps that bear it. However, there are also very clear examples of stamps that do not bear the letter "B" (**fig. 1, 1**).



Fig. 2. Some examples of the hair and beard version of the figure (bust) (left-to-right: diam: 2,9 cm and c. 2 cm; Kara 2019: Fig. 55, Kat. No. 51a and 57a)

The one-line inscription surrounding the bust constituted a kind of formula, typically structured as: " Ἐπὶ [name] Ἐπάρχου" (Sztetyłło and Borkowski 1986: 650). The different



Fig. 3. Examples of the letter "B" (beta) standing over or below the sceptrum (left-to-right: 3, 3 cm and other two are unknown; Kara 2019, Fig. 56, Kat. No. 49a, 60 and 68; Opait and Diamanti 2014: Fig. 14; Papanikolaou 2014: Εικ. 1β)

spellings and letter or ligature forms, can be seen in the inscriptions, reflect the letter alterations of the period. The inscription reads as follows in its regular written and read form (Kara 2019: 91):

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ / +ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου ἐπάρχου

(« The period of Eparkhos Ptolemaios »)

As a rule, the inscription mentions the name of an administrator (eparchos), called Πτολεμαῖος (Ptolemaios). In a comprehensive analysis of all the findings, some letter alterations in the words "Πτολεμαίου" and "ἐπάρχου" and the ligature ȣ (omicron-upsilon) can be identified. Variations of the inscription, which are underlined in the transcription below, are quite numerous (Kara 2019: 92). They are believed to indicate that the stamp dies were prepared or produced by different people or at different times:

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛ<u>ΑΙ</u>ΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧ<u>ȣ</u>(?) / ἐπὶ Πτολαιμαίου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜ<u>Ε</u>ΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ / ἐπὶ Πτολεμέου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧ<u>ȣ</u> / ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜ<u>Α</u>ΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧ<u>ȣ</u> / ἐπὶ Πτολεμάου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛ<u>ΑΙ</u>Μ<u>Ε</u>ΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ / ἐπὶ Πτολαιμέου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜ<u>Α</u>ΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧ<u>ΟΥ</u> / ἐπὶ Πτολεμάου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟ<u>Υ</u> ΕΠΑΡΧ<u>ȣ</u> / ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου ἐπάρχου

+ΕΠΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜ<u>Α</u>Ο<u>Υ</u> ΕΠΑΡΧ<u>ȣ</u> / ἐπὶ Πτολεμάου ἐπάρχου

As the inscription on the stamps indicates, it must represent an official in charge. Nevertheless, in the light of the present findings, there is no evidence to prove the existence of an eparch named Ptolemaios (Πτολεμαῖος) who served in Constantinople or elsewhere (Papanikolaou 2014: 186). According to the results of the presented study, no clear conclusions could be reached about the title of this official. However, some suggestions point to the *kommerkiarioi* (Opait and Diamanti 2014: 55-56; Sztetyłło and Borkowski 1986: 650-652).[5] There are also suggestions that the busts represent some emperors.[6] The idea of their presenting emperors has been still open to consideration. However, this suggestion still contains essential questions on the quantitative inconsistency between few in the number of stamps compared to the total amount of known examples and the variety of the type of stamps (die types). In other words, more evidence is needed to ascertain that stamps were prepared and imprinted during the reign of more than one emperor and over a relatively long time. On the other hand, the fact that some of the finds have contextual and stratigraphic information pointing to the early – middle 7th c. AD also implies that the stamps were imprinted/used during the reign of the emperor Heraclius (?) (Kara 2021: 75; Vassi 2010: 68).

2.2. Subgroup A1b

The content of the amphora stamp -A.1*b*- as it can be seen on a total of 17 amphorae does not vary (Kara 2019: table 9, Kat. No. 49b, 50b, 51b, 52b, 53b, 54b, 55b, 56b, 57b, 61, 64b, 65b, 66b, 69b, 70b, 72b, 74). The second stamp of the *dual stamps* has a circular shape and bears the letters ȣK (the ligature of omicron-upsilon and kappa) (**fig. 1, 3; 2, 2 below**). Mostly a frame surrounds the letters, in the preserved stamps of -A.1*b*-. There is at least one -A.1*b*- stamp that evidently does not have a frame (Kara 2019: Kat. No. 49b). Also based on the extant drawing, one might furthermore assume that it did not have any frame (Kara 2019: Kat. No. 70b), either. Another stamp was damaged during the process of stamping, so it is not known whether it is framed or not (Kara 2019: Kat. No. 57b). However, one can see that the ligature ȣ on this

[5] The monograms on the stamps have been assumed to belong to the *kommerkiarioi*, and the bust depicting the emperor of the time (Diamanti 2012: 1).

[6] For a detailed suggestion based on the iconographic approach for identification, see also Opait and Diamanti 2014: 57.

example is made in a more angular shape than its equivalents on other findings.

Assuming that the stamp die was reused more than once and any mistakes (if it would have been retrograde by mistake) on the dies might have been corrected by creating new ones, it might be appropriate to interpret the abbreviation as OUK, as in the original version, rather than KOY / κου. For the transcription of ȣK, it should most probably be read as OY(I)K / ου(ι)κ.

Adding to what has already been said, one may state that so far no amphora has been found in which the stamp -A.1*b*- was applied alone (i.e. without the stamp -A.1*a*-). Therefore, it is likely that the examples of -A.1*b*- were not stamped without -A.1*a*- at all. However, even though there is no evidence in this aspect so far, the other possibilities and offers might be taken for that the stamp -A.1*b*- might indicate a production center, a monastery, a fabricant, a (religious) official, the abbreviation of a proper name or a city, etc. (Gendelman 2010: 4; Vassi 2010: 68).

As to the Οὐικάριος / βικάριος[7] (Ouikarios/Bikarios) on the -A.1*b*- stamp, the most likely assumption seems to be that it points to the title of the governor of the diocese, or Οὐικάρία (βικαρία)[8] (Ouikaria/Bikaria). This would mean it represents this office or position, rather than a proper name. Some support for this assumption seems to come from the range of morphological variations of the amphorae with stamps A.1*b*: there is no significant change in the content of these stamps, which are thought to have possibly been stamped on amphorae (in different subgroups) in different production centres and at intermittent times. Moreover, the fact that the contents of the first stamps (A.1*a*) are not always precisely the same should suggest that they were subject to the control of another administrator and were controlled and stamped either by the same person or by two different administrators simultaneously.

3. Die assessment

Although no die tool (presumably made of metal) has been found, certain observations and results have emerged. Carrying out die assessment for the subgroup A.1*a* has established that the number of patterns could not be clearly determined. But the presence of more than one type of die is distinctly evident. As far as can be determined, there are at least three stamp die types (A, B, and C): eight stamps with circular frames are included in the –A- die group (Kara 2019: Kat. No. 50b, 51b, 52b, 53b, 55b, 61, 72 and 74), while two stamps made without frames or thought to be frameless are included in the –B- die group (Kara 2019: 102-103, Kat. No. 49b and 70b).

4. Conclusions

Although it is too early to conclude and clarify the feature, function, or chronology of the subgroups A.2, A.3, and A.4, it is possible to evaluate A.1. Recent research seems to provide some basic results that are connected with the type of amphorae and the characteristic features of the *dual stamps* and stamping tradition of the LRA 2. Summarizing these results in terms of specific topics that need to be dealt with under different headings, it is possible to mention some basic conclusions from the economic, administrative, amphora type development, imprinting tradition, and paleographic points of view:

-It is obvious that all the stamps of the LRA 2 (including the LRA 2C) were applied on the neck and handle.

-It is understood that only the LRA 2B and LRA 2C forms were stamped so far.

-It should be considered that the amphora types LRA 2 and LRA 13 should be renamed/reconstituted (i.e., as D. Pieri has suggested; LRA 2A, LRA 2B, and LRA 2C; Pieri 2005: 87, fig. 45), since the type of the amphora bearing the same stamps has more than one subformed rim and neck. It is thought that most of the LRA 2B-C with different morphological features should have been produced in different workshops but not at different times.

-A clear paleographic outcome is that using different letters for the same phoneme points to transitions in the use of letters in this period (Kara 2019: 190-191).

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[7] See also for the Vicarius (lat.). Also, the other possible officials are *vicarius praefectorum*, and *vicarius urbis*.

[8] Vicaria (lat.)

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LAMP AND TERRACOTTA FIGURINE PRODUCTION IN THE ROMAN PERIOD AT TARSUS-GÖZLÜKULE (TURKEY)

This article aims to discuss the recent archaeological evidence for pottery production from the Roman period discovered at Tarsus-Gözlükule. 70 years after the publication of H. Goldman's seminal study of pottery at this site, excavations conducted by teams led by Prof. Özyar (Bögazici University) revealed the presence of a multi-layered production site on the Gözlükule mound; here, investigations revealed two levels of kilns, a clay processing basin, and a work surface made of production waste dated to the Roman Period. The workshop is small, and it was mainly employed to produce lamps (categorised as groups XVI and XVIII in Goldman's publication) and votive objects. This preliminary presentation of the results of the archaeological research gives an overview of the production and the site dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, which is still being studied and excavated.

Tarsus – Roman period – lamps – votives – production site

Introduction

The prehistoric mound of Gözlükule is located in the modern city of Tarsus, in the north-eastern part of the coastal plain of Çukurova (ancient Cilicia), at the southern end of the main passageway (Cilician Gates) through the Taurus Mountain range.[1] The site was investigated in the 1930s-1940s by an American team led by Hetty Goldman under the auspices of Bryn Mawr College, and excavations revealed the presence of a settlement occupied from the Neolithic and the Early Islamic Periods. During archaeological excavations, deposits containing terracotta objects from the Roman period were found near two kilns - one round with a tiled floor, and the other with an earthen-baked floor. Both kilns were used for producing lamps and terracotta objects dating back to the 2nd century AD (Goldman 1950: 25-26). In 2001, Boğaziçi University began a new research project on the northeastern part of the mound, and investigations are still ongoing (Özyar 2014). The Roman-period layers in the newly investigated area revealed a workshop for producing votive items similar to the one described by Hetty Goldman in 1950 (Goldman 1950: 25-27). The kilns resemble the second kiln from the 1950s excavation, with similarities in the lamps and small moulded figurines produced. However, the new production site has a more diverse range of anatomical votive offerings and a wider variety of objects manufactured.

[1] This work is indebted to Prof. Aslı Özyar and Prof. Elif Ünlü, who invited the authors to join the Gözlükule-Tarsus Excavation to work on the Roman materials. Also, we would like to thank Böğaziçi University and the Böğaziçi University Byzantine Studies Research Center for providing the funds to carry out this project.

Production centre and recent excavation

During excavations conducted between 2007 and 2014, as well as in 2022, an area of the Gözlükule site in the north-east sector (C7 17) was uncovered (Özyar 2014). This area contained a kiln used for the production of terracotta lamps, terracotta figurines, votives, and other small objects (**fig. 1** and **2**). The production area was quite simple, consisting of a kiln and a basin for processing clay with water, placed about 3 metres apart. Between these structures, an earthen floor was found, containing pits filled with ash and waste from the workshop. The area around the kiln and basin was poorly preserved due to later Roman/early Byzantine and Islamic pits. No evidence of structures used for the working process or shelves for drying the clay objects was found. The rectangular basin for processing clay with water was made from reused tiles and bricks, and it measured about 1.30 m x 1 m, with an original depth of about 0.80 m. The east side of the basin appeared to have been modified and did not preserve the perimeter wall like the other three sides. On the west side of the workshop, two overlying kilns were found; the newer one was in a poor state of preservation and was removed during the first years of excavations, while the one preserved further down was brought to light in 2014. This one was partially built on a pit containing a dump of waste ceramic material and was removed in 2022. The walls of the second kiln were made with tiles coated with a thick layer of clay fired when in use. The oval-shaped kiln was approximately 1.40 m long and 0.60 m wide on average. The walls were preserved to a height of approximately 0.40-0.50 m. No traces of arches for supporting the firing floor were found, nor was there evidence for perforated floor slabs. The *prefurnio* was open to the north, where excavations revealed a level of ash and charcoal mixed with waste ceramics, probably the result of the cleaning of the firing chamber.

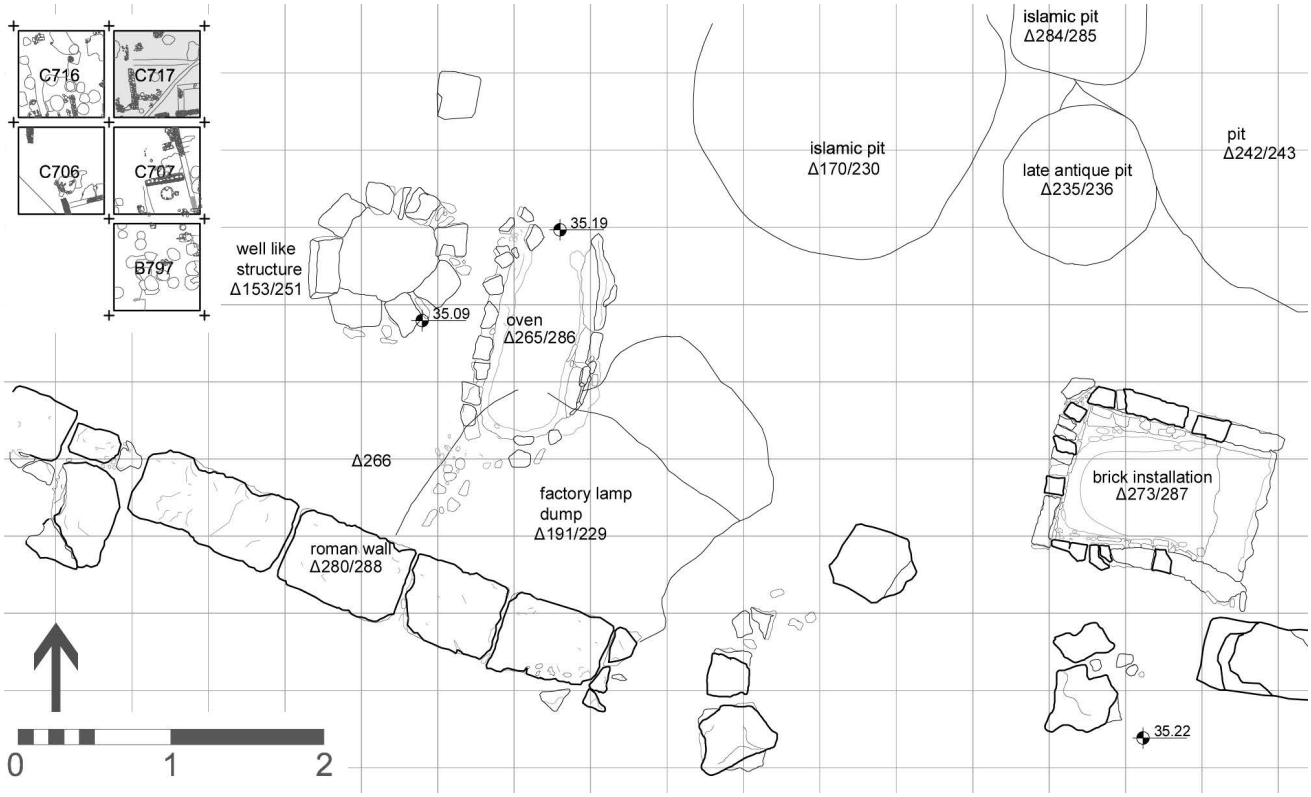


Fig. 1. Plan of the studied area (drawing: E. Ünlü and S. Yalçın).



Fig. 2. Photo of the production centre (taken by P. Maranzana).

Objects produced in the workshop

The workshop in the C7 17 site primarily produced small objects related to the religious sphere. To this date, the study has not been completed, and the information presented in this article is preliminary. Archaeological investigations revealed that the workshop primarily produced lamps, as well as various votive objects. These include anatomical votives (human and animal), food models, masks, and small oval dishes with raised handles. Numerous fragments of small terracotta figurines were also found, but none of them were intact. The objects were produced from moulds that, to this date, have not been identified among the objects studied. The production of the workshop was identified on the basis of the waste deposits found in the area (for lamps they are broken or deformed objects; for terracotta figurines, most of the waste is broken objects). However, the pottery fabrics show recurring characteristics that allow local production to be recognised. Fabrics are fine and homogeneous, with a few small inclusions mainly of reddish orange colour (these inclusions represent the marker of the local production), few sand grains, and rare limestone. The colour of the fabric ranges from yellowish red (10YR 8/8) to pale yellow (5YR 8/4).

Lamps

The lamps produced at the C7 site belong to groups XVI and XVIII, as categorised by Goldman in her publication (Goldman 1950: 95-96, 119). However, new findings have

prompted a revision of the typology and chronology. Group XVI has been divided by Goldman into two main types, A and B. Type A has a low, round disc with a short shoulder, distinguished by a marked ribbing. The nozzle is small, round, and has no volutes. Type B has a flattened shoulder decorated with ovules, as seen in the examples from 1950. Some lamps of Group XVI also have volute decorations on the shoulder. The proposed chronology for these lamps is the 2nd century AD, mainly based on Goldman's stratigraphy, but some decorative motifs on the disc are also seen in the 1st century AD (Goldman 1950: 26, 95). Group XVIII has also been subdivided according to decorative motifs on the disc. The nozzle is fused with the round body of the lamp and sometimes bears traces of scrolls or a heart shape. The body is usually round, but when the nozzle is also added in, the lamp takes an oval shape. This is the most common form in Gözlükule, and it shows a significant decline in the quality of the manufacture, probably due to the use of moulds that were created from other lamps. The proposed chronology for this group is the 2nd century AD, based on the similarities in forms with the previous group.

Recent research, however, demonstrated that all lamps produced in the workshop in area C7 belong to Loeschcke VIII, which dates from the time of Emperor Claudius to, at least, the 3rd century AD (Bussière and Lindros Wohl 2017: 193-195). The lamps from this new excavation are characterised by the absence of slip and handle; the nozzle is rounded but inconsistent in size. Many of the lamps recovered are intact or in excellent condition, and the most common firing defects are cracks and fractures, mainly located in the upper part of the disc. The lamps are all moulded, however, no mould has been found so far in the C7 excavation. The production of lamps cannot be considered of high quality, as most of the discs have illegible decorations.

Of the lamps found in C7 17, numerous examples belong to the group XVI A of the Goldman type. Some of them are in a good state of preservation, and they show complex disc decorations with images of various types such as Helios or Erotes playing with a lion (**fig. 3a** – Goldman 1950: 127, n. 381; 129, n. 405). However, most examples are missing the disc, a feature likely due to its fragility (**fig. 3b**). This type is found in two versions: 1) with a plain shoulder or 2) with two volute decorations on the two sides of the disc. To this date, this type is the only one that seems to have circulated in the Eastern Mediterranean region, as it is attested, for example, in Cyprus in the 2nd century AD (Bezzola 2004: 70-71, n. 293; Bussière and Lindros Wohl 2017: 305, n. 437).

Similar to the Goldman XVI lamps, but not documented in her excavation, is a lamp type characterised by an almost flat disc and horizontal shoulder. The figurative decorations on the central part of the disc are accurate and surrounded on the shoulder by a vegetal motif interrupted by three rectangular bands. The quality of the decoration suggests that these lamps were not moulded from other lamps. The nozzle is round, short, and separated from the shoulder by two diagonal lines. Two intact examples have been found to this date: the first shows a lion on the disc and a faded stamp in relief on the base (possibly ΠΙ[ΘΙΜ]ΟΥ); the second presents an image of Hermes with a prancing ram (**fig. 3c-d**). Precise comparisons for the disc decorations are well-attested in Athens, such as lamp No. 970, dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century. The lamp with Hermes resembles No. 777 and is dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD (Perlzweig 1961: 118, n. 777; 130, n. 970). However, no precise comparisons were found, as all similar lamps have a handle, opposite to those found at Tarsus. Parallels with similar decorations and horizontal shoulders are found in Cyprus between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Descœudres and Harrison 1997: 97, n. 22; Lightfoot 2021: 237-238, cat. 302-304) as well as in Athens and Corinth, and dated up to the 3rd-4th centuries (Perlzweig 1961: 126, 128 n. 876, 908, 924; Slane 1990: 33-34, n. 44, 45 and 54).

Group XVI B proposed in the 1950 classification is represented by only a few examples and is mostly fragmentary, with only one intact lamp. The decorations attested on the discs are rosettes with eight heart-shaped petals (**fig. 3e-f**) and bunches of grapes (**fig. 3g**). The horizontal shoulder is decorated with ovules and is divided from the disc by one or two concentric grooves. There are no precise parallels for these lamps either, but the shoulder decoration associated with rosettes is attested in numerous lamps from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (Lightfoot 2021: 126-126, cat. 154-155; see also Bezzola 2004: 64-66, type VI.1.a) across the region. This type seems to be particularly similar to the Broneer XXVII type Corinthian lamps also dated between the 2nd and 3rd century AD (Broneer 1930: 90-102; Slane 1990: 28-32).

The most common lamps found in the workshop excavated at C7 are the Goldman XVIII. These lamps typically have a circular body, but in some cases, they have an oval shape. The nozzle is fused into the lamp body, rather than being separated from it. Some lamps have dot, concentric circles, or ovule decorations on the shoulders. Rarer lamps have two volute decorations on the sides of the disc. The disc decorations are generally simple, due to the small size of these pieces (6 to 7 cm long). The subjects depicted on the decorations are varied, and some are clearly legible, such as animals, shells, grapes, flowers, concentric circles, etc.(**fig. 3h-m**). However, the decorations deteriorate in some cases, supporting Goldman's hypothesis that these lamps were used as models for new moulds (probably lamps produced locally and then reused as a mould, in fact, we have different quality levels – **fig. 3n**). No stamps have been found on the materials found to date. However, two Greek letters, ΨΙ, were incuse on the base of two lamps. These lamps have no exact comparisons outside of Tarsus, but similar forms with handles are common throughout the Mediterranean. They are typically dated to the 4th century and are considered to be the transitional form from Middle Imperial to Late Roman lamps.

Terracotta Figurines, Votives and Masks

Many terracotta figurines were found during the excavation, but none were intact. The fabrics and context of the discovery indicate that they are locally produced. All figurines were made using moulds, some using two moulds and others using only one. The back of the figurines bears the imprint of the potter who made the object. Representations of divinities are



Fig. 3. Locally produced lamps (drawings: B. Coukan).



Fig. 4. Terracotta figurines and anatomic votives (drawings: B. Coukan).

rare among the figurines. Among the human figurines made from two moulds are two fragmentary busts of Aphrodite, which have similarities to those found in early 3rd-century AD contexts in Athens (**fig. 4a** – Grandjouan 1961: 7-8). A figurine with a crowned headdress, possibly representing Athena/Minerva, has parallels in Athens up to the 3rd century (Goldman 1950: 313-314; Grandjouan 1961: 8). There are also fragmentary heads of young men wearing Phrygian hats (**fig. 4b** – Goldman 1950: 368; Grandjouan 1961: 14) which may be related to deities.

Numerous fragments of female, male, and children's heads were discovered, and further examination showed that they were made by using a double mould technique. It is uncertain whether they depict the entire figure or just a part. Generally, the female heads are the best outlined and have finely crafted hairstyles (**fig. 4c**). One of the best-preserved female figurines was deliberately crafted without arms (as seen in **fig. 4d** and other bust fragments). The lower part of the body is fragmentary and a through-hole is present at the back, just below the hairstyle. Similar holes have been found in votives representing internal organs, but in this case, no visible organs are depicted (Schörner 2015: 399, fig. 30.2). The figurine's hairstyle provides clues to its chronology, as it is similar to those found in portraits of Julia Domna and in female figures from the Severan age (Bartman 2001: 21-22).

The excavation of sector C7 yielded significant finds of votives, including terracotta human figurines and body part votives such as feet, arms, and an object that may represent an internal organ. Anatomical votives were commonly used in Roman times in Central Anatolia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Schörner 2015: 401-402). The feet votives found at the site display detailed renderings similar to the female hairstyles described earlier, complete with toes and nails, and in one case, a detailed depiction of a sandal (**fig. 4e**). Arms were also found, but in lower quality than the feet votives. Most of the arms were made using bivalve moulds, but some were made using only one mould. The arms are always depicted bent at 90 degrees with the hands in a fist with the thumb covered by the other fingers (**fig. 4f**). Rarely, an object is held in the hand, appearing to be an offering dish (Marker 2000: 96, C122 – **fig. 4g**). An object of doubtful interpretation is a teardrop-shaped element with three outgrowths and an internal ridge (**fig. 4h**), which is one of the most common votives found at the production site. The interpretation of this object as a human internal organ has not been confirmed by research for this study, and the shape may resemble that of a liver, but the interpretation remains uncertain.

Among the discovered votives, there are also examples of animal anatomy. The majority of these are equine and bovine legs (De Cazanove 2013: 24-26). These votives were all made using bivalve moulds. Most of the examples are legs with sketched hooves, but without any details that would suggest they are horses or donkeys (**fig. 5a**). In the case of the only bovine leg identified to this date, there is a greater level of detail, with the hair above the hoof and the depiction of a fleshy membrane behind the knee being particularly well-made (**fig. 5b**). Additionally, there are numerous examples of outspread wings with varying levels of realism and detail (**fig. 5c-d**). In all well-preserved cases, it can be said that they are autonomous votives, as they have no traces of having been attached to other figures. The typology of these votive objects is not entirely clear, as they could be considered either animal anatomical votives (Marker 2000: 269, 278), or elements associated with deities such as Nike/Victory or Eros, as interpreted in other votive contexts (Marker 2000: 181, 274, 280).

In the wide range of votives produced in this centre, food-related elements were also found. Like the wings, these votives are made by pressing clay into a mould, so the back is not decorated. Presently, three different types of miniaturist food representation have been identified: the fruit basket (**fig. 5e-f**), the grape (**fig. 5g-h**) and what, according to parallels, can be interpreted as a tartlet or an offering tray (Bourgeois 1991: 206, fig. 105; Poli 2005: 130-132 − **fig. 5i-l**). These objects in Corinth are dated from the 5th century BC to the late Roman Period (Bookidis and Pemberton 2015: 135-136, T18-41); in the Italic area miniaturist, terracotta food is known both from funerary and votive contexts dated to the 4th century BC (Poli 2005: 130-132; Cipriani 2015: 49-50).

The artefacts found in the waste pits also include theatre masks, as those found in the nearby Goldman excavation (1950: 346-349). The masks are the largest objects manufactured in the workshop. To date, no intact ones have been found and the fragments are often in a poor state of preservation.

Oval dishes

As already mentioned above, the workshop produces moulded objects, including a small dish type (approximately 13 x 10 cm, with a height of 1 to 2 cm) characterised by a moulded handle. The dish's body, although oval, is made on the wheel, and it has a leaf-shaped solid handle attached to one of its short sides (height of about 5 cm). The handle is moulded, while the vein of the leaf is rawly engraved. All the dishes documented from the C7 contests have palm-shaped handles **(fig. 5m-o)**. However, a pale-yellow clay fragment, probably of local production, is on display at the Tarsus Museum, which, instead of a palmette, has the shape of a bearded head of Dionysos. This is a decorative motif that finds numerous parallels; for example, appliqués similar to this one are attested in Knidos craters in Roman contexts dated from 20 BC, but are generally attested in contexts from the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD (Hayes 2008: 273-277).

Final remarks

As the study is only at its beginning, and no definitive conclusions can be drawn, the data at our disposal offer unique insight into the productions of this small workshop. Although we have not yet identified the complete structure, the workshop must have occupied a limited space on the Gözlükule mound. These production sites were typically located near cult areas, in city centres and necropolises, where goods were often sold (Cerulli Irelli 1977; Cavalieri Manasse et al. 2016).

The few chronological pieces of information collected allow us to date the archaeological deposit, mostly through a number of *comparanda* of lamps, female hairstyles, and votives. In detail, the main period of production appears to be

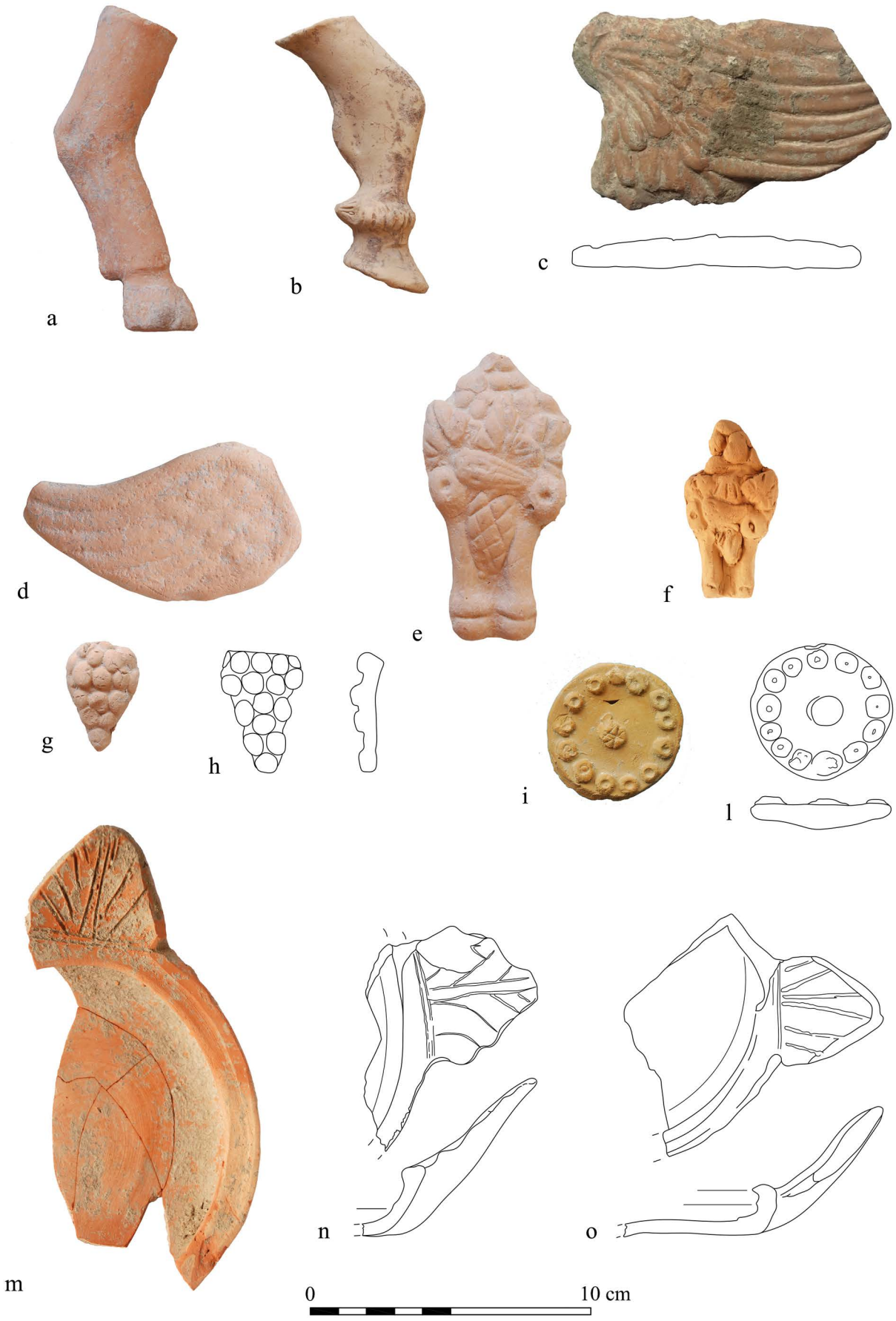


Fig. 5. Votives and oval dishes (drawings: c, h C. Mondin; l, m, n B. Coukan).

in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, which is further confirmed by preliminary numismatic finds that are currently being studied. Some elements, such as lamps from Goldman's Group XVIII, with types that begin to elongate and move from circular to oval in shape, may suggest that there was a continuation of production into the 4th century AD, a fact that may point to a decline in the quality production that anticipates the closure of the workshop.

The lamps produced in this workshop find few comparisons in the available literature, as they only exist for some well-made lamps of the 2nd-3rd century AD, such as for the iconography of the discs produced in Attica. At the site of Tarsus, these models are clearly adopted, although they are adapted according to local aesthetic choices. In particular, the characteristics that distinguish them from other lamps are the absence of the handle and the lack of slip. These details make this production very recognizable, thus, and enable us to postulate that it was essentially intended for local trade; indeed, only in Cyprus, lamps (Goldman Group XVI A) probably produced in Tarsus have been found so far.

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CATCHING THE BIG FISH – FISH-SAUCE CONTAINERS FROM THE REPUBLICAN ERA TO LATE ANTIQUITY IN NEA PAPHOS (CYPRUS)

Garum *production sites of the Republican Period, as well as multiple kiln workshops of transport amphorae used for carrying fish-sauce, are well attested in Sicily and on the North African coast. New ceramic evidence provided by numerous fragments of transport vessels collected from Late Hellenistic layers of the Agora in Nea Paphos, Cyprus, offers a unique opportunity to elucidate the still understudied period of economic exchange between the two of most important islands of the Mediterranean Sea. Late Hellenistic Tubular Amphorae, one of the most numerous types of central Mediterranean transport vessel imports within the assemblage gathered in Nea Paphos, enable us to trace mutual contact between the heart of the Republican world and Cyprus under Ptolemaic rule at the dawn of Roman economic, political and military dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean. A detailed consideration of the vessels and therefore of the origins of garum, based on comprehensive macro-observation of the gathered material, will be complemented by a typological and chronological discussion.*

Nea Paphos – African amphorae – Republican trade – Fish-sauce – Hellenistic Cyprus

1. Introduction

As part of the Polish National Science Centre's project 'MA-P Maloutena and Agora in the layout of Paphos: modelling the city scape of the Hellenistic and Roman capital of Cyprus", excavations were carried out in Nea Paphos, on the south-western coast of Cyprus, between 2018 and 2021. Over the last four fieldwork seasons, as part of a collaborative project involving the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Warsaw, the Jagiellonian University, the Warsaw University of Technology, and the Wroclaw University of Science and Technology, excavations yielded a unique collection of transport ceramics. The chronology of these ceramics spans from the Early Hellenistic to the Byzantine period, covering the period from the 3rd century BC to the 7th century AD. This timespan reflects the dating of the best archaeologically best attested occupational layers of the Agora district of the ancient city (Papuci-Władyka 2020: 516-519). The aim of this paper is to focus on the collection of 221 diagnostic and non-diagnostic fragments of amphorae imported to Cyprus from northern African and Sicilian production areas. This quantitatively largest group of exotic (Romanowska et al. 2022: 33-34) transport vessel imports within the whole amphorae assemblage shows the long history of economic exchange between the oldest provinces of the Roman Republic and one of the most vibrant centers of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The material discussed below comes from multiple sondages opened in the Agora of Nea Paphos: a space and complex of buildings whose function is still debated (Miszk 2020: 156) (**fig. 1**). A primary study of the amphorae assemblage from this urban space has been published by Dobosz (2020: 323-362), alongside a more focused consideration of its economic significance in the Hellenistic period (Dobosz 2013; 2016: 189-202). However, no studies concerned specifically with the western and central Mediterranean transport vessel imports have been carried out to date.

2. Methodology and material preservation

A brief note on the methodology adopted in this study is necessary to present a substantive basis of the author's analysis of the pottery assemblage. After standard preparation (cleaning, sorting), the ceramic material was counted and recorded. The quantification method adopted in the project was limited to counting diagnostic and non-diagnostic sherds. While the results of the full pottery analysis are forthcoming, only numerical data on the transport pottery relevant to this study are given below, without referencing the broader ceramic horizon (which includes other vessel categories as well).

Based on ware characteristics, morphological parallels, and ware and fabric databases available online (such as facem.at, archaeologydataservice.ac.uk or www.levantineceramics.org) an assemblage of 221 amphorae fragments was selected. This comprises a little more than 1% of the whole amphorae material that equals 21071 fragments collected in mentioned timespan in total, and represents a full collection of the products originating from various kiln sites in the Roman provinces of Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, Tripolitania and Sicily. This material has been studied by means of macroscopic observation, using simple optical tools such as hand lense, binocular, and a portable Dino_Lite_Edge microscope, which allowed to distinguish 13 different macroscopic groups. Subsequently, each macroscopic group was matched with a firm stratigraphic context (i.e., homogenous



Fig. 1. Location of sondages opened in the Agora.

layers well dated by other categories of pottery and artefacts), which allowed to establish of chronological patterns of the occurrence of different macroscopic groups.

Despite the heavy fragmentation of the material (with an average fragmentation rate of 7.6 grams per fragment), the general condition of the individual pottery sherds was quite good, with the fragments not being heavily affected by post-depositional processes. This is particularly noteworthy considering that materials from other areas or contexts in Nea Paphos are often heavily eroded by the salt-rich soil in which they are deposited. Since this research relies on the optical recognition of wares, the color and texture of the studied material were not influenced by decay in layers rich in limestone mortar (which covers pottery sherds and makes the entire fabric much paler and more brittle), nor in the damp cistern or well contexts (which can affect the natural color of the fired clay).

3. Presentation of the material

Hellenistic period – Forms and fabrics dated to the Middle and Late Hellenistic period (2nd century BC - first half of the 1st century AD) appear in three different macroscopic groups: AF.1, AF.2, and AF.3 (**Table 1, 1-3**). These chronological groups are represented by a wide typological repertoire. Among the most popular types are wide-diameter, flaring-rim amphorae of Punic types, such as Mañá C1/Rámon Torres 7.3.1.1. (**fig. 2 a**), Van der Werff 3/Ramon-Torres 7.2.1.1. (**fig. 2 b**) (Van der Werff 1978), and Mañá C1b/Rámon Torres 7.2.1.1. (**fig. 2 c-d**) (Guerrero-Ayuso 1986: 156-158) that have been recorded in Nea Paphos in earlier years of excavations. However, in this chronological range, the most common types are the so-called Tubular Amphorae – hitherto rarely-published containers of supposed Sicilian origin (Botte 2012: 599-600). The last seasons of fieldwork in the Agora produced one of the most numerous assemblages of diagnostic fragments of Tubular Amphorae ever found. In Botte's paper (2012: 579-580), this type was considered as a typological descendant of the classical Punic amphora form Rámon Torres C amphora, and as a predecessor of the Early Roman form Dressel 21. The Tubular Amphora type is characterized by a long, delicately flaring neck, loop handles, a thickened, delicately flaring rim (**fig. 3 a-c**) or straight rounded rim (**fig. 3 d-f**), and a cylindrical, hollow inside foot. Based on petrographic analysis, Botte and Capelli suggested that amphorae of this type were produced either in northern-west Sicily or at the production site on the island of Levanzo (2012: 587). However, the actual production site of this type has not been found yet; furthermore, as stated by Capelli, the petrographic composition of the clay of the Tubular Amphorae clay is very generic, which makes it almost impossible to precisely indicate their place of origin (Capelli 2012: 606; Botte 2012).

In the Eastern Mediterranean, single examples of this form were found in Euesperides in Cyrenaica (Göransson 2007: 174-176), Corinth (Botte 2018: 380-387), Athens, Delos (Wolff 2004: 454-455), Palestine (Finkielsztejn 2000: 141), and in Cyprus. Two rims were published by J. Hayes in the pottery monograph of the House of Dionysus in Nea Paphos (1991: 105-106), and three bases, clearly associated with this type, were illustrated in Dobosz's unpublished PhD, based on excavations on the Nea Paphos Agora (2013: 490).

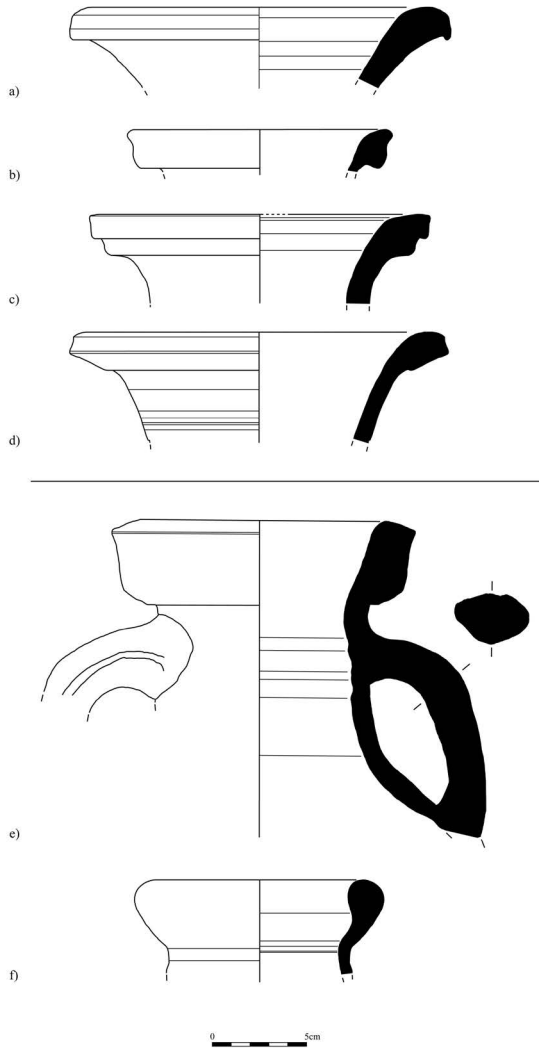


Fig. 2. Diagnostic fragments of Hellenistic and Early Roman amphorae.

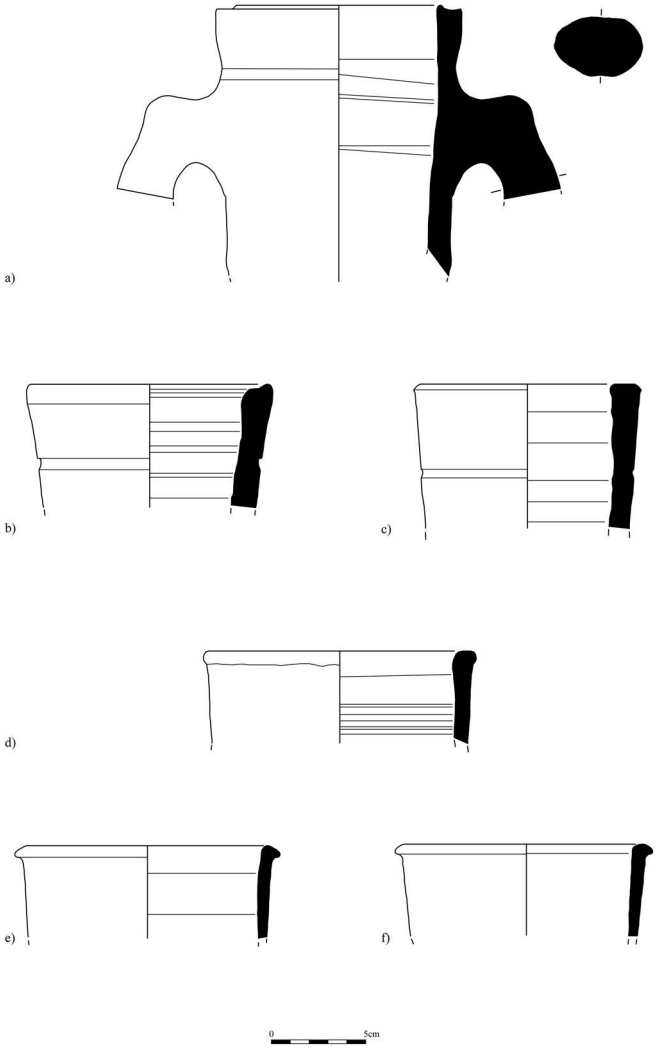


Fig. 3. Diagnostic fragments of Tubular Amphorae type.

This type of amphora is dated to the 2nd century BC and the first half of the 1st century BC. As presented in **Table 1** (**AF. 1-3**), the Tubular Amphora type shares a macroscopic group with the Van der Werff outturned and flaring rim forms, which indicates the same region of origin. This, however, contradicts the existing literature, which indicates central Tunisia as the place of origin of the Van der Werff types. It is worth noting that the macroscopic group AF.1 is the best-represented group in this period, accounting for over 30% of all the amphorae material coming from the central Mediterranean.

Early Roman period - Forms and fabrics dated to the Early Roman period (second half of the 1st century BC - 2 century AD) are represented by two different macroscopic groups: AF.4 and AF.5 (**Table 1, AF. 4-5**). Only three types occur during this chronological horizon: Tripolitania 1 (**fig. 2 e**), Tripolitania 2 and earlier subtypes of Africana Piccolo (**fig. 2 f**) (Bonifay 2004: 106). The very different fabrics of these examples are certainly indicative of new production sites involved in the exchange with Nea Paphos at the time. The distribution dynamics of northern African and Sicilian products in the Early Roman period are worth examining. In the full amphorae assemblage and also beyond the category of transport vessels, one can observe a pattern of much broader connections with the rest of the Roman Empire, including imports from Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, Egypt, the Levant, and Cilicia. This is a much wider geographic range than the African and Sicilian imports of the Late Hellenistic period.

Late Roman and Byzantine periods – Forms and fabrics dated to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods (3rd-7th century AD) appear in two different macroscopic groups: AF.6 and AF.7 (**Table 1, AF 6-7**). Over 88% of the diagnostic material in this chronological span was attributed to macroscopic group AF.6, and mainly comprises Africana Grande types (Africana 3B (**fig. 4 a-d**), Africana 3A (**fig. 4 e-f)**, and Africana 2B (**fig. 4 g**)) (Bonifay 2004: 110, 118, 120). The later Byzantine horizon is dominated by Spatheion forms (**fig. 4 h-i)**, which represent macroscopic groups AF.7. A peculiar diagnostic fragment (**fig. 4 j**) of macroscopic group AF.7 resembles form Keay 50 (1984: 263-264) or LRA 2 of subtype 2b (Pieri 2005: 87). Similarly to the Early Roman era, during the final period of exchange, the typological horizon narrows to only a few forms.

4. Summary and discussion

Economic exchange between Cyprus and production sites located on the northern African coast and in Sicily was continuous for almost a millennium (Stone 2009: 130-136; Botte 2012; Meyza and Bagińska 2013: 149; Reynolds 2016: 169). Majority of the amphorae discussed, from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine period with exception of Spatheion forms which original content is yet uncertain (Bonifay 2004: 129), are strongly connected with the production of *garum*, fish-sauce manufactured in many dedicated production sites on the African and Sicilian coasts (Botte 2012: 579). The amphorae evidence from the Agora in Nea Paphos suggests a considerable intensification of garum trade with the central Mediterranean at the end of the 3rd century BC.

From all of the northern African and Sicilian amphorae fragments, 54,7% date to the Hellenistic period, what begets a question about the economic exchange between Cyprus and Republican Rome's new possessions in the central Mediterranean. This indicates intensive contact between the two regions during the 2nd and 1st century BC, as demonstrated by the chronology of the presented forms. This timespan aligns with fish-sauce production by new facilities owners in Sicily and Africa Proconsularis, such as the Roman equities, who after the 2nd and 3rd Punic Wars took over production centers of garum, and sustained the continued production of amphorae in the Punic typological tradition (Botte 2012: 601, after Mazza 1982). Within the assemblage of Hellenistic imports, there is no type that can be dated earlier than to the end of the 3rd century BC. The earliest forms of Van der Werff 2 and 3, attributed to macroscopic group AF.1, indicate a possible Sicilian origin. These premises lead us to consider that in this period, Republican Rome began a new chapter of larger scale economic exchange between their newly acquired provinces of Sicily and Africa Proconsularis, and Ptolemaic Cyprus. Well-known Republican connections between Sicily and the Island of Delos (Wolff 2004: 452-455) fit well into this narrative. Against the backdrop of the export of goods heading to the Aegean, Late Hellenistic Nea Paphos appeared as a new, more eastern actor in this long-distance exchange. The presence of north African imports other than amphorae, namely plain ware vessels and braziers (Nocoń 2022: 273-277), is another reflection of its significance. The relevant quantities of fish-sauce containers which arrived in the Late Hellenistic period mark an observable change in the consumption pattern as compared to the Early and Middle Hellenistic periods, when the ceramic record is dominated by the import of Aegean wine containers, and the Early Roman period, when the Cypriot market opened to central and western Mediterranean products in the 1st century AD.

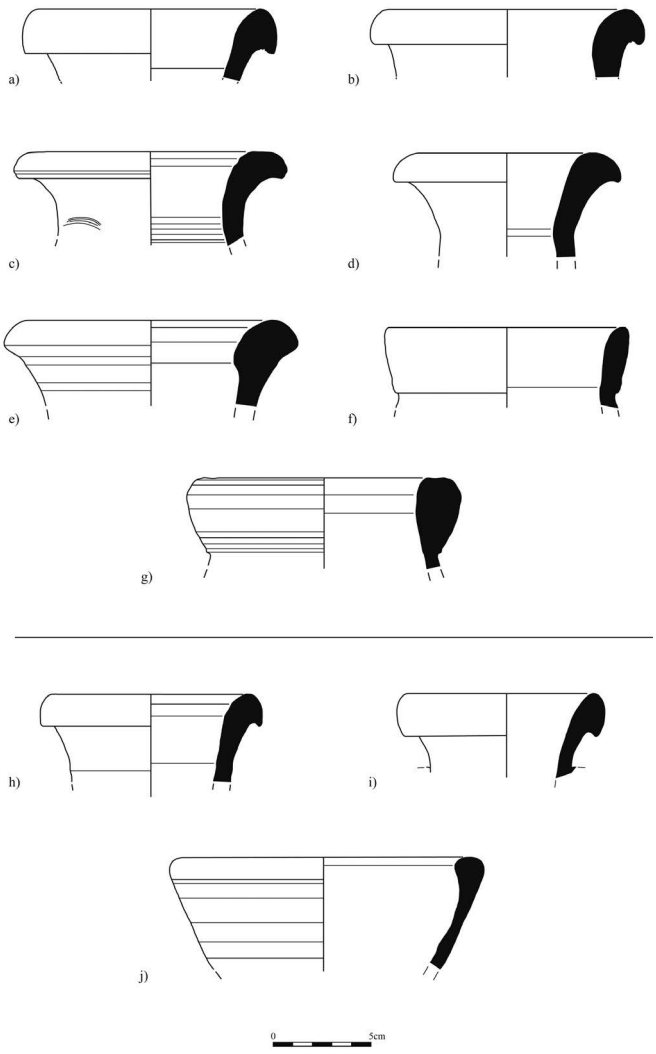


Fig. 4. Diagnostic fragments of Late Roman and Byzantine amphorae

Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to prof. Papuci-Władyka for inviting me to the project and for her patronage over my amphorae study in Cyprus. I would like to thank the whole Polish team working in Nea Paphos, especially Ł. Miszk, U. Wicenciak-Núñez and G. Kajzer. I also want to extend my thanks to the Department of Antiquity of Cyprus for supporting the work of Polish Archaeology in Cyprus. This study is part of OPUS 18 project 'MA-P Maloutena and Agora in the layout of Paphos: modelling the city scape of the Hellenistic and Roman capital of Cyprus' 2019/35/B/HS3/02296.

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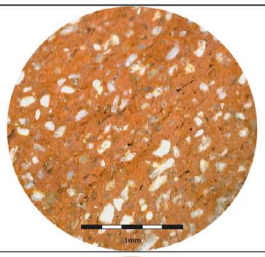
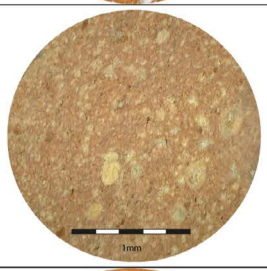
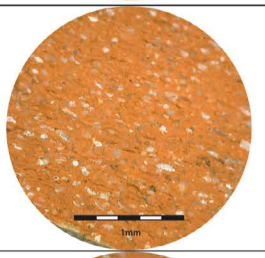
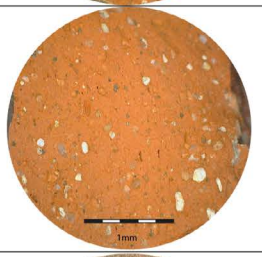
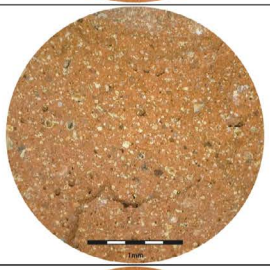
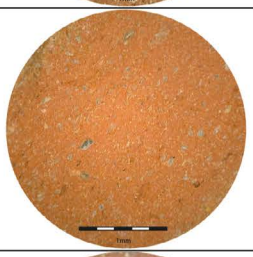
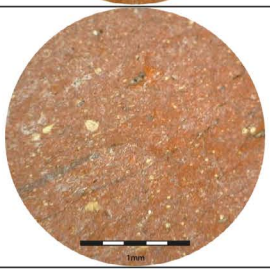
AF. #	Clay Description	Macro Photo
1.	**Inclusions:** Frequent very fine quartz particles; abundant fine to medium limestone particles; very rare red rounded inclusions. **Ext. surface:** Wash: Pale Brown (5Y 8/2). Int. surface: Same as ext. or Reddish Brown (2.5YR 5/4). **Section:** Red (2.5YR 4/8). Rarely visible Brown (7.5YR 5/2) core. **Description:** Rather well-sorted clay, visible pores. Harsh surface, wash with tendency to rub away. Hardness: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Van der Werff 3, Tubular Amphora, Mañá C1, Mañá C1b.	
2.	**Inclusions:** Frequent fine to medium limestone particles; frequent fine crystals of qurtz, infrequent red round particles. **Ext. surface:** Wash: Pale Brown (5Y 8/2) or Pinkish Gray (7.5YR 6/2) to Pink (7.5YR 7/3). Int. surface: Same as ext. if without wash: from Reddish Brown (5YR 5/3) to Reddish Brown (2.5YR 5/4). **Section:** Red (2.5YR 5/6) with slightly lighter fringes. **Description:** Well-sorted clay. Smooth surface if slipped. Wash brushed with straw or other organic tool. Hardness: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Tubular Amphora (thickened rim variant).	
3.	**Inclusions:** Frequent fine rounded crystals of quartz; frequent very fine limestone particles; frequent gray inclusions; rare very fine sand. **Ext. surface:** Light Red (2.5YR 6/8). **Section:** Light Red (2.5YR 6/8). **Description:** Well-sorted clay, harsh (sandy) surface. Hardness: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Tubular Amphora (straight, rounded rim variant).	
4.	**Inclusions:** Abundant fine quartz crystals (overheated?); abundant fine to medium limestone particles; very rare red rounded inclusions. **Ext. surface:** Wash: Pale Brown (5Y 8/2), if without wash: Gray (5YR 5/1). **Section:** core Dark Brown (7.5YR 3/2), fringes Reddish Brown (5YR 4/4). **Description:** Very well-sorted clay. Very fine in section. Hardness: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Tripolitania 1, Tripolitania 2.	
5.	**Inclusions:** Abundant fine elongated limestone particles; infrequent fine rounded red particles; frequent fine sand grains. **Ext. surface:** Wash: White (2.5Y 8/1) to Pale Brown (2.5Y 8/2). Int. surface: as ext., if without wash: Reddish Yellow (7.5YR 7/6). **Section:** From Light Red (2.5 7/6) to Brown (10YR 5/3) with slightly lighter fringes. **Description:** Well-sorted clay. Smooth surface: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Africana Piccolo	
6.	**Inclusions:** Abundant fine to medium limestone inclusions; frequent very fine rounded sand inclusions; frequent dark gray inclusions. **Ext. surface:** Light Red (2.5YR 6/6) to Light Red (2.5YR 7/6). No slip. **Section:** Red (2.5YR 5/8). **Description:** Semi well-sorted clay, visible pores. Medium limestone particles appearing at the ext. and int. surfaces of the vessels. Hardness: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Africana 2B, Africana 3A, Africana 3B.	
7.	**Inclusions:** Frequent fine to large limestone inclusions (chunky texture); frequent very fine quartz grains; infrequent fine to medium sparse red rounded inclusions. **Ext. surface:** Slip Gray (2.5Y 5/1). Int. surface: from Dark Gray (5Y 4/1) to Light Brown (7.5YR 6/3). **Section:** Reddish Brown (2.5YR 5/8). **Description:** Well-sorted clay, however with infrequent pores. Smooth surface. Metallic feel of the surface. Hardness: 3 very hard. **Forms:** Spatheion 1, Spatheion 2, Spatheion 3, Keay 50.	

Table 1. Macroscopic groups of northern African and Sicilian import to Cyprus.

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Burak Sönmez

COARSE WARE PRODUCTION IN SELEUKEIA SIDERA (ISPARTA, TURKEY) IN ROMAN AND LATE ROMAN PERIODS

In Seleukeia Sidera, evidence indicating to the local coarse ware production has been obtained during the field surveys and excavations. To identify the scope and scale of the production and to correlate locally produced wares to existing typology, archaeometrical analyses have been done on samples from all coarse ware functional groups including preparing/serving vessels and cooking wares. Moreover, to determine the clay raw materials, analyses also were undertaken on clays collected from two different spots in the close vicinity of the ancient city. Archaeometrical analyses have shown that coarse wares from various functional groups and forms were produced between the 1st century and 7th century AD. Preparing/serving and cooking wares were produced with the clays obtained from an area close to modern Atabey Dam Lake without interruption. In addition, another clay bed in the vicinity of the city was exploited in the Late Roman Period for producing a smaller functional group.

Seleukeia Sidera – Pisidia – coarse ware – pottery production – archaeometrical analysis

1. Introduction

The ancient city of Seleukeia Sidera is situated in the modern-day village of Bayat, in the Atabey district of Isparta (Southwest Turkey). Following the one-season excavation work in 1993 (Bingöl 1994; 2012), archaeological research is continued under directorship of Prof. Dr. Bilge Hürmüzlü since 2016 (Hürmüzlü, Sönmez and Ayaşan 2017; Hürmüzlü et al 2017; Hürmüzlü, Sönmez and Atav-Köker 2020). During these studies, evidence attesting to an uninterrupted pottery production between the 1st and 7th centuries AD was uncovered[1]. Archaeometrical analyses conducted on the red slip ware point to the existence of a production center in the ancient region of Pisidia, which has not yet been located (Hürmüzlü and Sönmez 2021; Sönmez 2022). Concurrently, LRD (Sönmez 2022: 235), unguentaria (Hürmüzlü et al. 2021), and coarse ware productions in the city were confirmed (Hürmüzlü, Sönmez and Atav-Köker 2020). In this paper, data regarding the coarse ware production in the city are discussed in the context of typo-chronological and archaeometric analyses.

[1] Pottery groups examined in this paper form a section of the author's PhD thesis (Sönmez 2022). I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Bilge Hürmüzlü, the director of Seleukeia Sidera excavation and my supervisor during the PhD for her permit for studying the material and her endless support in every step in my PhD research. Besides, I would like to thank to Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums for permit. Analyses of the coarse wares studied as part of the PhD thesis were supported by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK), 1002-Short Term R&D Funding Programme (Project No: 220K298). I extend my thanks to Prof. Dr. Yusuf Kağan Kadıoğlu and Dr. Kıymet Deniz for their help, and to Prof. Dr. Ünsal Yalçın for his guidance on the interpretation of the analysis results. For the more information about pottery production in Seleukeia Sidera, see: Hürmüzlü et al. 2020; Hürmüzlü et al. 2021: 344-347; Hürmüzlü and Sönmez 2021; Sönmez 2022; 2023.

2. The Typology of Coarse Wares from Seleukeia Sidera

Coarse ware produced in Seleukeia Sidera can be grouped into two main categories: food preparation and serving vessels, and cooking ware. Preparation and service vessels are found in two forms: open and closed shapes. Jugs, one of the closed shapes, are represented in eight forms. The earliest form, Type 1 (**fig. 1, 1**) has two examples which were dated to the second half of the 1st century AD (Degeest 2000: 140, fig. 133). Similar examples of Type 2 (**fig. 1, 2**) were in use between the second half of 1st and mid-7th centuries AD (Degeest 2000: 126-127, fig. 101). Type 3, which has two sub-forms (**fig. 1, 3** and **4**), can be dated from the 4th to the mid-6th centuries AD (Degeest 2000: 192, fig. 193). The most dominant type of jar, Type 4 (**fig. 1, 5**) belongs to the 4th-7th centuries AD (Degeest 2000: 160-161, fig. 188). Type 5 (**fig. 1, 6**) was dated from the 5th to the mid-7th centuries AD (Williams 1989: 87, fig. 52; Degeest 2000: 257, fig. 214), and Type 6 (**fig. 1, 7**) to the second half of the 6th century BC (Yaman 2018: 188-189). Type 7 has three sub-forms: Dating cannot be suggested for Type 7A (**fig. 1, 8**) yet, while 4th-6th centuries AD is suggested for Type 7B based on the context from which the material was recovered (**fig. 1, 9**) and the first half of 5th century to the first half of 7th century AD is suggested for Type 7C (**fig. 1, 10**) (Ergürer 2012: 79). A dating cannot be suggested for Type 8 yet.

Another closed shape is the table amphorae, of which four types have been identified. Type 1 (**fig. 1, 11**) and Type 2 (**fig. 1, 12**) are Late Roman Imperial forms. The 4th-7th centuries AD can be suggested for these forms which were dated based on context data. Type 3 (**fig. 2, 1**) and 4 (**fig. 2, 2**) cannot be dated yet. Open forms include pots, dishes and basins. Pots are represented by a small set of finds, divided into

two main types dated to the late Roman Imperial period. Pot Type 1 (**fig. 2, 3**) was identified based on the parallel forms found in *loci* dated to the post-4th century AD in Xanthos (Pellegrino 2004: 134). Examples of Pot Type 2 (**fig. 2, 4**) were recovered from contexts dated to the 4th-7th centuries AD in Seleukeia Sidera.

Dish Type 1 (**fig. 2, 5**), the first of the five types belonging to this form, was in use between the 3rd-6th centuries AD (Lüdorf 2006: 134; Yaman 2018: 83-84). Based on the contexts these dishes were found in, Type 2 were dated to the late Roman Imperial period. More specifically, Type 2 (**fig. 2, 6**) can be dated to the 4th-6th centuries AD, and Type 3 (**fig. 2, 7**) to the 4th-7th centuries AD. For the Sagalassos parallels of Type 3, 4th to the first half of the 7th century AD was suggested (Degeest 2000: 371). On the other hand, dating could not be suggested for Dish Type 4 (**fig. 2, 8**) and 5 (**fig. 2, 9**). Basin Type 1 (**fig. 2, 10**), which is represented with one vessel, was in use from the end of the 5th until the mid-7th century AD (Degeest 2000: 365).

Cooking wares have the richest variety of forms amongst the coarse wares studied in this paper, cooking pots, casseroles, cooking dishes and lids being the main forms. Twelve types of cooking pots were identified. Type 1, which has two subtypes, is the most common type of cooking pot, and was in use for the longest period. Type 1A (**fig. 3, 1**) was in use between the 1st-7th centuries AD (Degeest, 2000: 376), while Type 1B (**fig. 3, 2**) was dated to between the second half of 1st century to the 8th century AD in different ancient cities (Degeest, 2000: 376; Ladstätter 2008: 188). Type 2 (**fig. 3, 3**, Degeest 2000: 376; De Staebler 2012: 67; Mader 1998: No. 45; Gassner 1997: 102-103) and Type 10 (**fig. 3, 11**, Degeest 2000: 176; Yener Marksteiner 2007: No. C63; Armstrong and Roberts 2012: 293) were also in use for a long time: from the second half of the 1st century until the 7th century AD. Type 3 (**fig. 3, 4,** Harrison, Fıratlı and Hayes 1968: 214; Mader 1998: No. 46; Degeest 2000: 376, Doksanaltı 2006: 725; Lüdorf 2006: 97; Ladstätter 2008: 307; Armstrong and Roberts 2012: 260) and Type 8 (**fig. 3, 9,** Eisenmenger 2003, 195; Yener Marksteiner 2007: 265-266; Yaman 2018: 230-232; Şen 2017: 484) can also be dated to between the 1st and 7th centuries AD. Type 4 (**fig. 3, 5,** Fırat 2011: 65-68) was in use between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, and Type 11 (**fig. 3, 12**) could not be dated. All remaining types can be generally dated to the late Roman period.

Late Roman cooking pots are represented by a small set of finds. Type 5 (**fig. 3, 6**) was in use between the 5th and the 6th centuries AD (Ladstätter 2008: 115; Şen, 2017: 195, No. 664-665). Similarly, Type 6 (**fig. 3, 7**) can be dated from the 5th to the first half of the 6th centuries AD (Yaman 2018: 225), Type 7 (**fig. 3, 8**) to the 5th century (Yener Marksteiner 2007: No. C62; Yaman 2018: 243-244), Type 9 (**fig. 3, 10,** Şen 2017: 487-489; Yaman 2018: 241-242) and Type 12 (**fig. 3, 13,** Marksteiner and Yener Marksteiner 2010: 229-230; Şen 2017: 485-486) to the 5th-7th centuries AD.

Casseroles, cooking dishes, and lids are each represented by a single type of the form. Casserole Type 1 (**fig. 3, 14**) is a common form which was in use in 2nd-7th centuries AD (Rautman 1995: 69; Degeest 2000: 375; Şen 2017: 509). Dating cannot be suggested for Cooking Dish Type 1 (**fig. 3, 15**). Lid Type 1 (**fig. 3, 16**) is a late Roman form, commonly used in Anatolia. It can be dated to the 4th-7th centuries AD (Harrison, Fıratlı and Hayes 1968: 207; Williams 1989: 74-75; Atik 1995: 181-183; Degeest 2000: 368; Ricci 2007: 173; Öz 2020: 132).

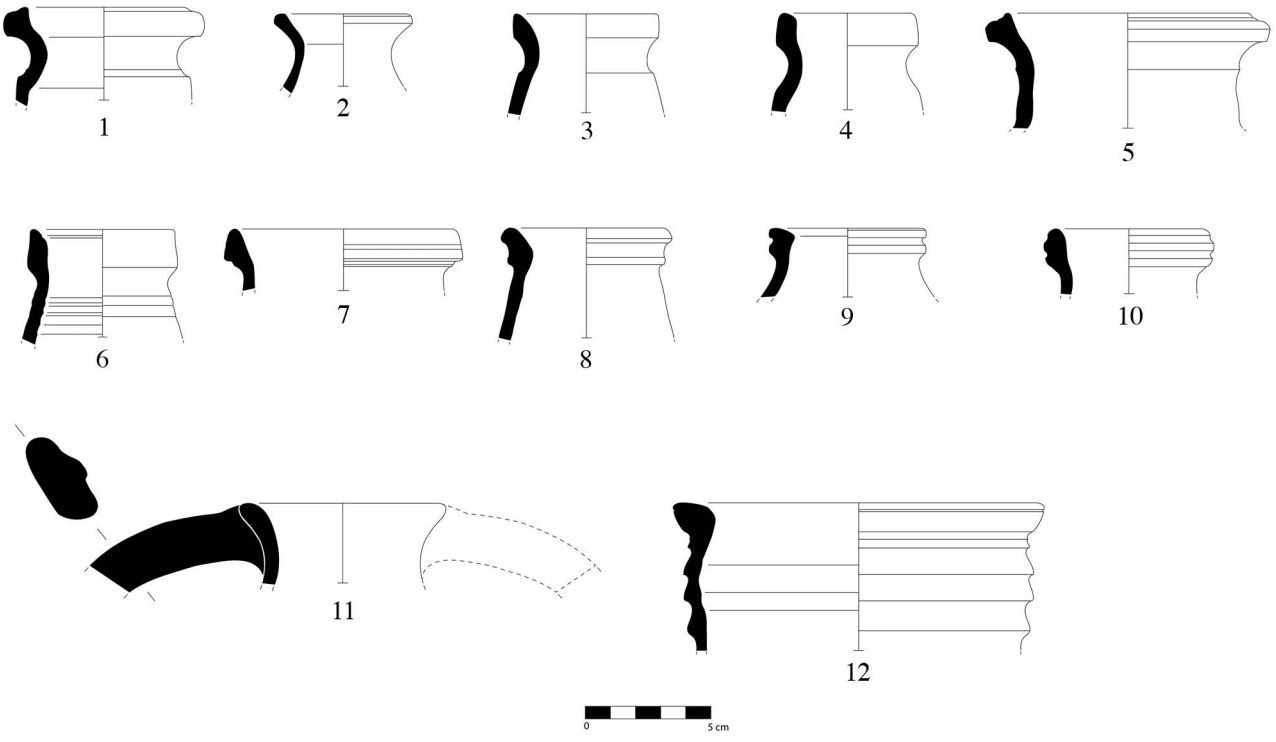


Fig. 1. Local production jugs (1-10) and table amphorae (11-12).

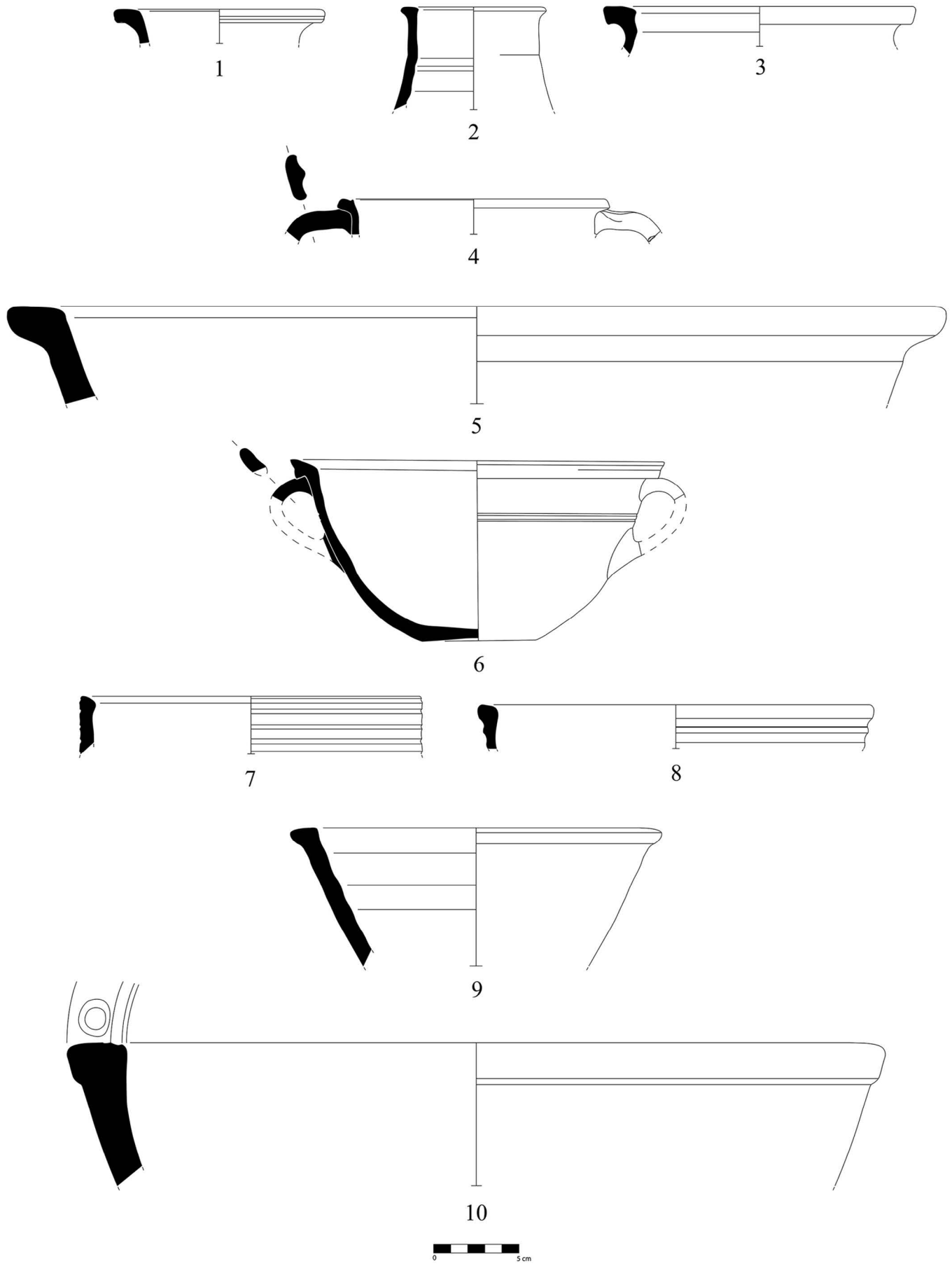


Fig. 2. Local production table amphorae (1-2), pots (3-4), dishes (5-9) and basin (10).

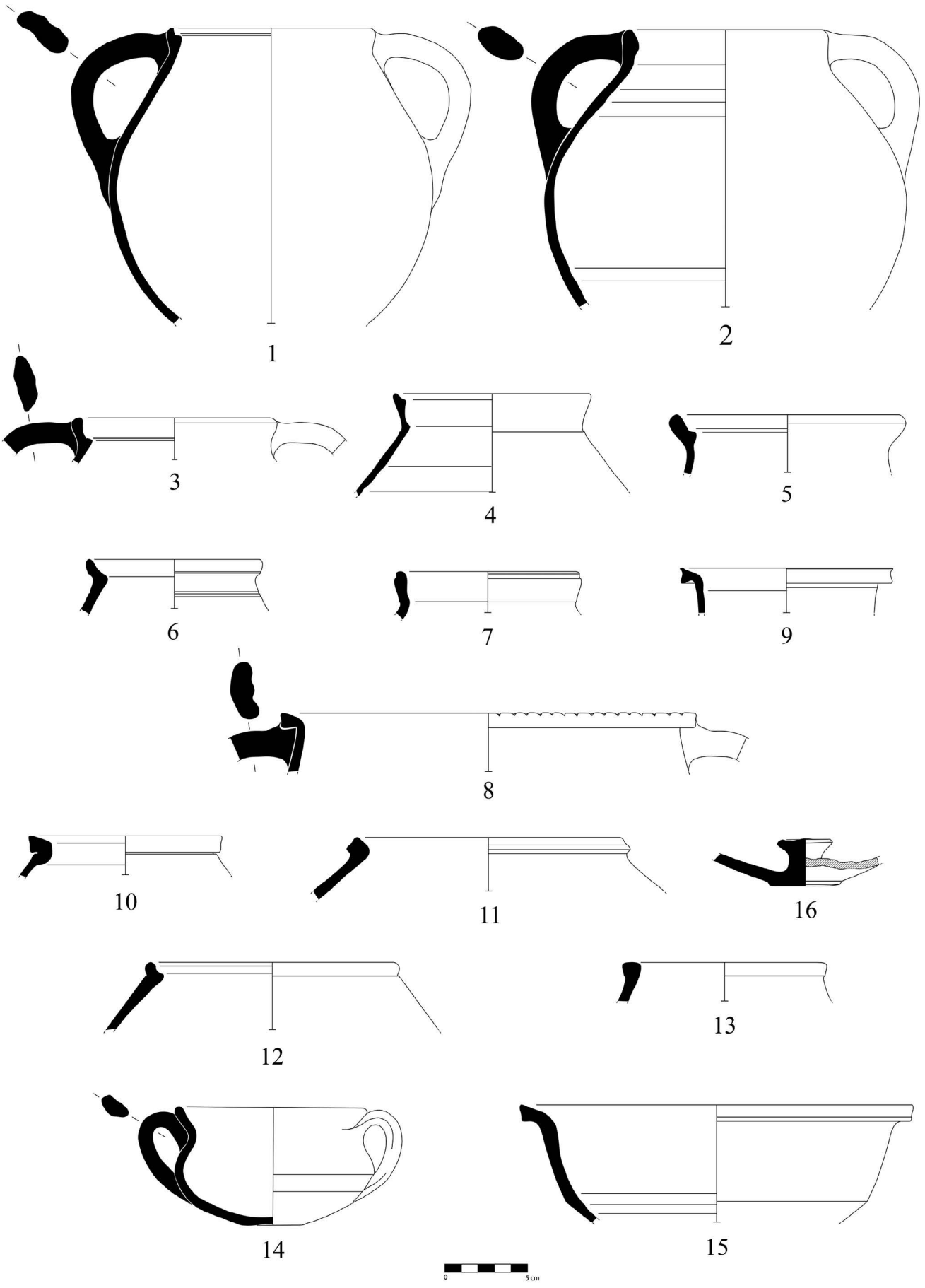


Fig. 3. Local production cooking wares.

3. Archaeometrical Analyses

Coarse ware production in Seleukeia Sidera is attested by the misfired pottery recovered during surveys and excavations. Archaeometrical analyses were conducted in order to establish the pottery types produced in the city and the clay sources used for the production of these vessels. Archaeometrical analyses were conducted in Ankara University Earth Sciences Research and Application Centre (YEBİM) by Prof. Dr. Yusuf Kağan Kadıoğlu and his team. Petrographic thin section analysis, X-Ray Fluorescense Spectrometry and X-Ray Diffraction Spectrometry analyses were performed. Spectro brand X–LAB 2000 Polarized Energy Dispersive X-Ray[2]. Analyses were conducted for 40 samples from preparation/service vessels, 25 samples from cooking wares, and four samples from misfired fragments. Furthermore, two clay samples, taken with a drilling core from the Kuleönü plain and three samples from the surface near modern-day Atabey Dam Lake, which is 4600 m to the north of Seleukeia Sidera, were analysed to determine potential clay sources.

Prior to the archaeometrical analyses, ceramics were classified based on their texture, hardness, and macroscopic inclusions. It was observed that the majority of the ceramics formed consistent groups among themselves. Archaeometrical analyses have confirmed that the element content of the samples was concordant with the macroscopic classification. It was concluded, as part of the analysis results, that the locally produced coarse ware can be divided into two groups based on fabric. These fabric types were named Fabric 2 and Fabric 3. Fabric 1 was used in the production of red slip ware from Seleukeia Sidera. The production workshop of this group of tableware and *oinophoroi* has not been identified yet (see: Hürmüzlü and Sönmez 2021; Sönmez 2022; Sönmez 2023). Fabric 4 is coherent with the samples taken from the Kuleönü plain (see: Hürmüzlü et al. 2021). The clay was used in locally produced *unguentaria.*

Fabric 2

Among the analysed coarse wares, the majority of the samples belonged to Fabric 2. These samples are characterized by a moderately hard fabric with moderate, small, or medium-sized voids. The size and frequency of rock fragments vary; small lime inclusions are visible in sparse to moderate frequency. Quartz is commonly visible, with sparse to moderate frequency, and small to large size. Some samples contained sparse quantities of grog too. Fabric colour, apart from small changes, is recorded as red in almost all samples. The most common colour is 2.5YR-5/8 Red[3], followed by the second most common 2.5YR-5/6 Red.

Out of 69 samples of food preparation and serving vessels, and cooking wares, 59 ware were identified as Fabric 2

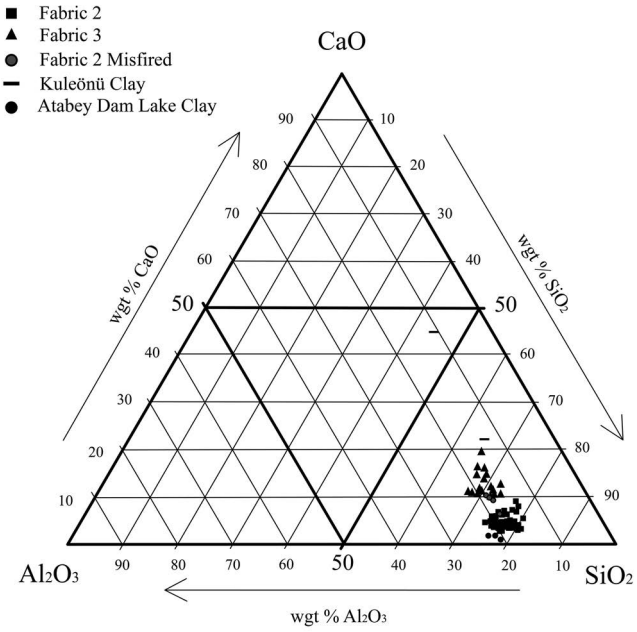


Fig. 4. CaO-Al2O3-SiO2 diagram of fabrics and clay raw materials.

(**fig. 4 - 6a**), including four misfired ceramics. It was established that all food preparation and serving vessels, and cookwares were produced from the same clay, the only exception being the Table *Amphorae* Type 2, one Lid Type 1 fragment (**fig. 3, 16**) and two individual fragments. XRF analysis results are provided in **table 1.**

Fabric 3

Fabric 3 is the second category of fabrics used in the production of food preparation and serving vessels at Seleukeia Sidera. The fabric of the wares included in this group is moderately hard with moderate, very small to medium-sized voids. The frequency and size of rock fragments vary; small lime inclusions are visible from scarce to moderate frequency. Quartz is commonly visible in the majority of the samples. Based on the analysis results, 6 out of 69 coarse ware samples, belonging to the Table *Amphorae* Type 2 **(fig. 1, 12),** and fall into the Fabric 3 category (**fig. 4 - 6b**), as does one Lid Type 1 sample (**fig. 3, 16**). XRF analysis results are presented in **table 2**.

Evaluation of the Ni/Cr Levels

Because of their immobile and compatible nature, Ni/Cr content of the wares provide important information about the clay raw material sources used in their production. Based on the Ni/Cr content, the sample set can be divided into two main groups (**fig. 5**). The division formed by samples belonging to the Fabric 2 and Fabric 3 categories are highly consistent with the groups determined for major element oxides. In addition,

[2] Fluorescence Spectrometer (PEDXRF) was used. XRF analyses were performed with the GEO-7220 method and the calibration of the device was made using the K02–GSR–09 and G01–GS–N–Granite standards, which were created by the USGS for plutonic rocks (granite, granodiorite, etc.).

[3] Munsell Color Chart 2009 Edition was used for identifying the colours.

Ni/Cr element ratios provide information about the raw material sources, disparate from the major element contents of the wares. Clay samples taken from the Atabey Dam Lake shore are (**table 3**) in the same grouping as Fabric 2, as well as four misfired fragments belonging to preparation/service vessels. This indicates that clay raw materials used in the production of these ceramics were taken from or near the area where Atabey Dam Lake is located today.

Sample No.	Na2O	MgO	Al2O3	SiO2	P2O5	K2O	CaO	TiO2	MnO	Fe2O3	LOI	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
67	1,78	1,68	14,50	60,07	0,31	3,56	4,88	0,58	0,12	5,92	6,91	100,31
69	1,23	2,40	14,72	60,14	0,31	3,44	7,59	0,56	0,14	6,10	3,33	99,96
70	1,36	2,43	15,05	58,75	0,34	3,40	7,84	0,57	0,14	6,13	3,77	99,78
71	1,37	2,41	15,05	56,98	0,31	3,23	8,12	0,59	0,14	6,36	5,31	99,87
103	0,93	1,93	16,94	64,35	0,25	3,09	3,57	0,62	0,12	6,95	0,23	98,98
104	0,05	1,63	14,64	56,36	0,31	2,56	13,75	0,70	0,13	6,49	3,77	100,39
105	0,51	1,57	16,28	66,39	0,26	3,10	3,02	0,64	0,12	6,69	2,43	101,01
106	0,79	1,57	16,96	65,64	0,24	2,72	2,67	0,65	0,13	7,39	0,73	99,48
107	0,31	1,58	17,41	65,33	0,20	2,97	2,95	0,58	0,10	7,02	1,77	100,22
108	0,84	1,62	17,11	65,97	0,23	2,86	2,72	0,63	0,13	6,69	0,73	99,53
109	0,08	1,55	12,09	59,19	0,47	2,79	10,10	0,61	0,13	5,86	6,93	99,79
110	0,05	1,19	13,85	57,81	0,42	2,63	11,92	0,68	0,13	6,20	4,65	99,52
111	0,38	1,49	16,20	64,55	0,22	3,03	3,24	0,58	0,10	6,49	3,66	99,94
113	0,35	1,57	15,74	67,40	0,21	2,53	2,86	0,68	0,13	6,73	1,74	99,94
115	0,94	2,03	14,71	64,23	0,32	3,42	5,88	0,57	0,17	6,01	1,63	99,90
116	0,66	2,17	17,35	59,71	0,39	3,27	6,35	0,64	0,12	6,91	2,83	100,40
117	0,58	2,05	15,73	62,23	0,37	3,12	6,75	0,67	0,14	6,73	1,83	100,19
118	0,54	1,43	16,80	62,30	0,37	2,90	3,14	0,68	0,12	6,85	4,62	99,75
121	0,45	1,47	14,32	66,89	0,22	2,49	3,21	0,52	0,12	6,15	3,52	99,36
122	0,14	1,39	14,61	62,26	0,31	2,45	9,57	0,69	0,15	6,49	1,83	99,89
123	0,65	1,89	14,27	63,84	0,37	3,39	5,76	0,61	0,13	6,03	2,93	99,86
125	0,61	3,14	14,86	59,58	0,39	3,40	8,22	0,57	0,13	5,92	2,73	99,55
146	0,11	1,56	15,39	65,22	0,26	2,39	3,28	0,57	0,10	6,40	4,30	99,57
149	0,08	1,35	13,71	65,56	0,14	2,39	2,34	0,65	0,12	6,82	6,33	99,49
150	0,29	1,54	13,59	64,70	0,21	2,67	3,71	0,59	0,11	6,59	5,87	99,86
151	0,64	1,41	15,94	62,02	0,22	3,00	2,71	0,67	0,11	7,51	5,87	100,11
152	0,29	1,47	16,00	63,64	0,22	2,45	3,31	0,58	0,10	7,27	4,85	100,17
153	0,94	1,54	16,60	64,15	0,21	3,51	2,63	0,61	0,12	6,63	2,65	99,59
154	0,50	1,48	16,04	62,05	0,19	2,64	3,10	0,57	0,10	7,02	5,32	99,02
155	0,06	0,91	12,96	60,31	0,20	2,11	8,53	0,70	0,09	7,07	6,64	99,57
156	0,25	1,11	13,88	58,24	0,35	2,48	9,66	0,67	0,13	6,45	0,33	93,56
157	0,04	1,05	11,48	63,53	0,12	2,30	7,50	0,55	0,10	5,39	7,76	99,80
159	0,38	1,52	15,24	62,53	0,28	2,68	3,63	0,63	0,13	6,95	5,74	99,70
161	1,53	2,35	15,45	60,73	0,31	3,98	7,34	0,54	0,11	5,43	1,85	99,62
162	0,05	1,18	13,34	67,37	0,17	2,64	2,65	0,57	0,11	6,33	5,83	100,24
163	0,54	1,63	16,02	60,14	0,92	2,92	4,62	0,57	0,11	6,59	5,43	99,48
164	0,05	1,39	11,73	64,74	0,13	1,96	4,29	0,51	0,12	6,86	7,94	99,72
165	0,16	1,23	13,52	62,45	0,13	2,32	3,04	0,52	0,11	6,72	9,63	99,83
166	1,08	1,39	14,30	64,67	0,20	3,13	4,02	0,63	0,13	8,12	1,84	99,50
167	0,06	1,14	14,83	62,97	0,17	2,66	4,88	0,77	0,13	7,61	4,88	100,10
168	0,72	1,51	16,39	62,21	0,23	3,34	3,44	0,60	0,11	6,48	4,83	99,86
169	0,58	1,38	14,77	63,84	0,14	2,68	2,65	0,69	0,16	6,98	~~5,62~~	99,47
170	0,81	1,49	17,17	61,20	0,26	3,05	4,03	0,72	0,14	7,23	3,83	99,93
171	0,66	1,69	15,36	66,32	0,19	2,57	3,23	0,62	0,12	6,81	2,44	100,00
172	0,51	1,68	14,06	64,02	0,28	2,63	5,23	0,60	0,11	6,27	5,83	101,21
173	0,05	1,06	16,05	63,18	0,23	2,42	3,11	0,98	0,17	9,32	3,82	100,38
174	0,79	1,43	15,71	61,30	0,18	3,09	2,97	0,61	0,12	6,56	6,77	99,54
175	0,42	1,85	16,10	62,74	0,21	2,79	4,53	0,70	0,16	6,93	3,72	100,14
176	0,68	1,60	17,59	64,42	0,21	3,08	2,99	0,66	0,10	7,54	0,65	99,51
177	0,53	1,62	18,10	61,60	0,26	3,21	3,66	0,66	0,12	7,29	2,69	99,74
178	0,21	1,71	14,15	65,97	0,21	2,37	2,81	0,52	0,11	6,56	5,84	100,46
180	0,40	1,89	14,62	60,08	0,41	3,16	5,15	0,65	0,14	6,36	6,82	99,68
181	0,58	1,28	16,82	60,51	1,74	2,99	3,66	0,60	0,12	6,77	4,92	99,98
182	0,09	1,55	17,30	61,41	0,22	2,55	3,03	0,63	0,11	7,33	6,02	100,24
183	0,59	1,30	11,72	66,70	0,22	2,54	4,12	0,56	0,12	5,90	5,99	99,74
184	0,50	1,55	16,68	65,51	0,20	2,72	2,91	0,69	0,13	7,18	2,01	100,08
185	1,20	1,65	17,29	64,54	0,27	3,27	3,60	0,65	0,12	6,78	0,22	99,58
186	0,40	1,45	16,26	64,17	0,57	2,65	3,25	0,60	0,11	6,90	3,82	100,18
187	1	1,47	17,05	65,74	0,54	3,04	2,32	0,66	0,13	6,99	0,25	99,19

Tab. 1. XRF results of Fabric 2 group.

Sample No.	Na2O	MgO	Al2O3	SiO2	P2O5	K2O	CaO	TiO2	MnO	Fe2O3	LOI	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
97	0,33	2,54	17,19	53,54	0,93	3,45	8,69	0,89	0,10	7,58	4,67	99,91
98	0,05	2,41	14,00	59,56	0,57	2,81	8,42	0,81	0,08	6,89	4,67	100,27
99	0,08	4,08	15,74	56,86	0,32	3,24	9,59	0,82	0,10	7,16	1,45	99,44
100	0,05	1,72	13,00	57,42	0,21	2,77	16,79	0,62	0,07	5,86	1,33	99,84
101	0,05	1,29	14,98	66,88	0,13	1,87	5,89	0,83	0,08	7,18	0,34	99,52
102	0,05	2,29	15,80	57,83	0,26	2,95	12,23	0,83	0,10	7,44	0,42	100,2
145	0,04	1,65	18,89	59,76	0,12	3,41	1,11	0,87	0,08	7,40	6,40	99,73
147	0,05	1,66	13,56	54,55	0,26	3,10	10,80	0,63	0,05	6,21	8,50	99,37
158	0,05	3,30	16,63	57,81	0,36	3,45	8,95	0,85	0,09	7,49	0,32	99,3
160	0,05	1,89	13,47	56,62	0,28	2,98	12,86	0,73	0,09	6,78	3,82	99,57

Tab. 2. XRF results of Fabric 3 group.

Sample No.	Na2O	MgO	Al2O3	SiO2	P2O5	K2O	CaO	TiO2	MnO	Fe2O3	LOI	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
25	0,31	1,03	15,37	51,49	0,11	2,65	1,02	0,58	0,16	6,00	21,83	100,55
207	0,06	0,94	16,33	64,44	0,12	2,05	0,53	0,58	0,11	6,27	8,58	100,01
208	0,09	1,19	18,33	65,41	0,14	2,33	1,19	0,79	0,15	7,66	2,73	100,01

Tab. 3. XRF results of the clay raw material from Atabey Dam Lake.

Sample No.	Na2O	MgO	Al2O3	SiO2	P2O5	K2O	CaO	TiO2	MnO	Fe2O3	LOI	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
24	0,05	3,15	6,946	28,06	0,08	1,48	28,45	0,32	0,06	3,39	26,60	98,59
210	0,23	2,83	9,866	57,37	0,14	2,25	19,62	0,40	0,08	4,06	2,64	99,49

Tab. 4. XRF results of the clay raw material from Kuleönü Plain.

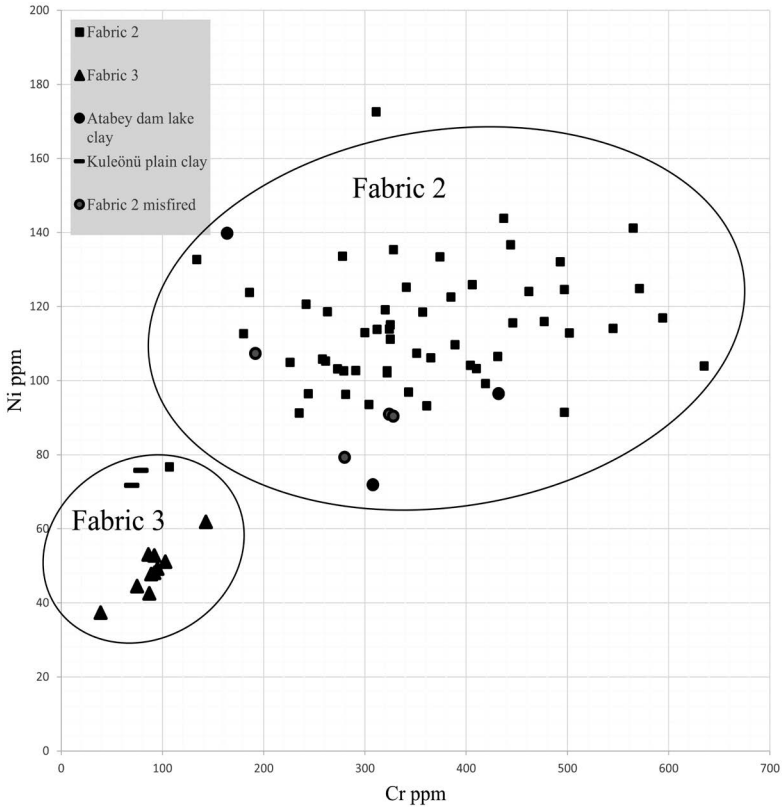


Fig. 5. Ni-Cr graph of fabrics and clay raw materials.

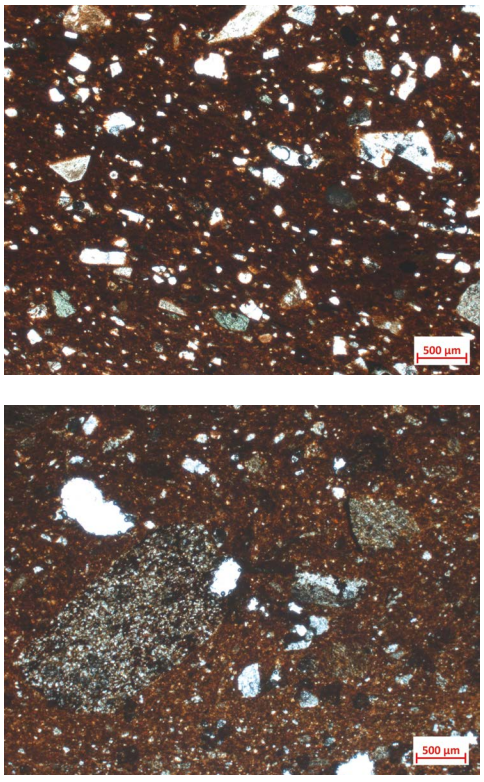


Fig. 6. Thin section photographs of Fabric 2 (above) and of Fabric 3 (below).

In the Ni/Cr graph, the samples that fall into the Fabric 3 category form a different division than those in the Fabric 2 category (**fig. 5**). Clay samples taken by drilling core from Kuleönü Plain (**table 4**) have very similar Ni/Cr values to Fabric 3: they form a clear division in the same parts of the chart. This shows that the raw materials were taken from the Kuleönü Plain or a clay bed nearby, in the production of samples belonging to the Fabric 3 group.

Conclusions

When the typo-chronological classification of the ceramics and the results of the archaeometrical analysis are evaluated together, it is clear that the coarse ware production, which started in the 1st century AD in Seleukeia Sidera, continued until the 7th century AD. Clay raw materials taken from Atabey Dam Lake, 4600 m north of the city, were used in the production of the group named Fabric 2. This fabric was used in the production of all preparing/serving vessels except Table *Amphorae* Type 2, one Lid Type 1 sample and two individual fragments. Fabric 3 was used in a more limited range of vessels. The clay raw material for Fabric 3, taken from the Kuleönü plain or its immediate surroundings, was used in the production of Table *Amphorae* Type 2, one Lid Type 1 sample, and two individual fragments during the 4th-7th centuries AD.

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EVALUATION OF THE RED-SLIPPED WARE OF THE THOLOS BUILDING IN KNIDOS IN TERMS OF BEING LOCALLY PRODUCED OR IMPORTED PRODUCTS

The Tholos is situated on the western section of Knidos (IInd Terrace). This study will present the analysis of the red-slipped ware unearthed as a result of the diggings and research on one of the main arteries – the IInd Terrace – and the building of Tholos, located on it. Among the red slip category, the local and imported ware from Phocaia, Cyprus, and Africa will be emphasized, and their clay and slip properties will be detailed. The aim is to establish a relationship between the local pottery and the imported wares through the red-slipped ware of Late Antiquity and to reveal detailed typology and stratigraphic interpretations. While finding answers to the questions sought with the Tholos building pottery, the aim is to clarify the relationship between the original clay used for pottery production and ceramic culture techniques and the use of natural resources.

Knidos – Tholos – red-slipped pottery – local production – imported products

Introduction[1]

The Tholos[2] is located in the western part of the IInd Terrace of Knidos. It was first discovered during the 2015 archaeological season, and the first excavations took place in 2017 and finished in 2022. The core of the building made of mortar and rubble stones has survived to a great extent (**fig. 1**). The Tholos has a five-step podium with a diameter of 13.2 m. In the center of the stepped podium, there is another interior *cella*-like arrangement surrounded by eight columns with a diameter of about 5 m (Doksanaltı et al. 2019a: 54-55). The use of rubble stones and mortar, seen in the construction of the Tholos, is also found in a number of different buildings in Knidos built in the 2nd century AD, such as the Harbor Street Heroon and the Corinthian Monument (Mert 2005: 235-236; Doksanaltı and Gider-Büyüközer 2019: 126). The western part of the IInd Terrace, where the Tholos is located, is covered with travertine paving. The Tholos was included in the construction program carried out in the 2nd century, with the Dionysos Stoa in the south, the Symmachos Heroon in the west (Bruns-Özgan 2013: 134-135), and the Harbor Street Heroon westward (Doksanaltı 2020: 381). The Tholos lost its function in the 4th century AD. With the new houses built in the 5th-6th centuries AD using the architectural blocks that belong to the portico that surrounded the Tholos and its vicinity, the western part of the IInd Terrace was used until the mid-7th century AD (Doksanaltı et al. 2022: 146). The grave attached to the building on the southeast side of the Tholos is thought to be from the 7th century AD, when Knidos was abandoned (Doksanaltı et al. 2019a: 55, fig. 15). In this sense, the tomb structure is similar to the graves found in the Harbor Chapel (Doksanaltı et al. 2019b:142-143, fig. 10-11) and the late-period grave seen in the Harbor Street Heroon (**fig. 2** and **3**).

The forms evaluated in terms of the production of the red-slipped ware recovered during the excavations in the Tholos, Knidos consist of three different typologies: African Red Slip (ARS) ware, Late Roman C/ Phocaean Red Slip ware (LRC), and Late Roman D (LRD)/ Cypriot Red Slip ware (**fig. 4** and **5**).

African Red-Slipped Ware

Nos. 1: *Bowl.* Hayes Form 80B (Hayes 1972: 126, Form 80B, 2), locally produced, rounded with a slightly outwards rim. It has a slightly flattened body form with clay and slip-colored red. It contains fine sand and lime. Based on the other red-slipped ware, this bowl dates to the 6th century AD.

Nos. 2: *Bowl.* Hayes form 80B/99 (Hayes 1972: 155, Form 80B/99, 28), being a sub-type of Knidos Form 99, the bowl is an imported product, with its rim rounded downturned with an upright body. The bowl, with a shallow ring base, has

[1] The study was prepared within the scope of the Knidos, Burgaz, Emecik Apollon Sacred Area Excavation and Research conducted on behalf the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Selçuk University with the Presidency Decision numbered 2587 and dated 01.06.2020. The Knidos Ancient City excavation, restoration, and preservation-renovation works are supported by the Turkish History Foundation of the Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History of the Turkish Republic. Our study was supported by Selçuk University Department of Scientific Research Projects (S.Ü. BAP), under project number 19401094, "The Excavation and Research of West of the IInd Terrace in Knidos", Project number 20401109, "The Excavation and Research of West of the IInd Terrace in Knidos – II" and Project number 21213006 "Knidos Late Ancient Period Ceramics". This article is derived from the doctoral thesis (Sözel, S. 2023) titled "Late Antique Pottery of Knidos" (Selçuk University, Institute of Social Sciences).

[2] As a result of the studies carried out in 2023, it was understood that the structure, previously named Tholos, was a macellum. In later publications, this structure was called macellum **(fig. 3)**.



Fig. 1. Location of Tholos. Before excavations.



Fig. 2. Tholos and grave. After 2017 excavation season.



Fig. 3. Tholos/Macellum. After 2023 excavation season.

grooves on the outer surface. Its body-clay is in red tones, and the slip is light red. It contains fine sand, lime, and silver mica. Based on the other red-slipped ware, this bowl dates to the 6th century AD.

Nos. 3-5: *Bowls.* Hayes form 91 C (Hayes 1972: 43, Form 91C, 23), the body is semi-spherical and the flange at the edge of the rim is hook-shaped and curved. Its body-clay is in reddish brown tones, and the slip is light red. It contains fine sand, lime, and gold, and silver mica. **Nos. 3-4** are imported products. **Nos. 5:** Influenced by the imported forms, was produced in Knidos. Bowls similar to these ones are found in the Athenian Agora (Hayes 2008: 231, fig. 35: 1142), Knossos (Hayes 2001: 438, 439, fig. 4: A20.), Corinth (Hayes 1972: 142, fig. 26: 23) and dates to the first quarter to mid-6th century AD.

Nos. 6: *Plate.* Hayes form 109 – Bonifay Type 60 (2004), imported[3] plate, rounded rim downturned, and flat inside. The plates have a body profile sloping from the rim to the base, and the base has a low ring. The slip was applied in reddish yellow and tones over the entire surface. It is hard-textured, densely porous, and well-fired. It contains small amounts of fine sand and silver mica. Bowls similar to these are found in Albenga (Gandolfi 1998: 262, fig. 8, 8, 9.) and Marseille (Bien 2005: 286, 293, fig. 4, 1, 2). This plate dates to the first half of the 7th century AD.

Phocaean Red-Slipped Ware

Nos. 7: *Plate.* The plate/bowl is paralleled by Hayes Form 3B, Hayes form 3 (Hayes 1972: 331, form H3F) (Doksanaltı, 2020: 385, nr.7). This locally produced[4] plate is in one of the most common forms of the Phocaean red-slipped ware (Hayes 1972: 329-331). Classified according to the examples from Athenian Agora and Antiocheia (Hayes 2008: 240, fig. 39, 1266-1273), which date back to the 5th – 6th centuries.

Nos. 8-9: *Plates.* The plate/bowl attributed to Hayes form 3C (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 192, taf. 198: m5, 6; Gassner 1977: 141: 141, taf. 46: 556; Doksanaltı 2020: 385, No.7). No. 8-9, which are imported products, have rims that are vertical, inwardly inclined and concave, hanging down. The rims are decorated with incised roulette decoration. The pots are hard-textured and well-fired. They have light red-red clay with lime, sand, and mica content. Bowls similar to these ones have been found in Ephesus (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 192, taf. 198, m5, 6; Gassner 1997: 141, taf. 46, 556.), Miletus (Berndt 2003: 170-173, taf. 24-26, TS 292-321), Labraunda (Hellström 1965: 74, pl. 37, 333), Kelenderis (Tekocak 2006: 104, pl. 11, 71), Athenian Agora (Waagé 1933: pl. 8, 206, 207; Hayes 1972: fig. 67, 7; Hayes 2008: fig. 39, 1267, 1270, 1271), Corinth (Slane and Sanders 2005: 259, fig. 5, 2-11.). They date to the 5th century AD.

Nos. 10: *Plate.* The sample, attributed to Hayes form 3E (Hayes 1972: 333, fig. 68, 14-16), was imported. The rim is widened to the side and drooped downwards. The rim has a triangular shape with roulette decoration. Bowls similar to these ones have been found in Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: 93, fig. 33, 14/ 9, fig. 34: 15/2.), Ephesus (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 42, taf. 198, m8, 9; Gassner 1997: 141, taf. 46, 558.), Miletus (Berndt 2003: 174, taf. 27, TS 331-336), and Kelenderis (Tekocak, 2006: 105, lev. 12, 77, 79), and are dated to the late 6th-early 7th century.

Nos. 11-14: *Plates.* Hayes form 3F, imported. The thickened lips have band-shaped protrusions and a splayed form narrowing from the rim to the bodies. The sand, lime, and mica-containing plates are in a well-fired clay with dense pores and hard texture. This widely used plate form is close to the bowl recovered from the Late Roman House of Kap Krio at Knidos (Doksanaltı 2010: 772, Type PW-III, fig.22). Bowls similar to these ones have been found in Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: 94, fig. 34 14/ 10 10, 11), Ephesus (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 143, taf. 200, 201, m12- 17; Gassner 1997: 144, taf. 46, 562), Miletus (Berndt 2003: 176-180, taf. 29-32, TS 354-400), Athenian Agora (Hayes 1972; 335, fig. 69, 17, 69, 17, 19; Hayes 2008: 241, 242, fig. 39, 40, 1280-1291), Corinth (Sanders 1999: 465, 466, fig. 1, 2), and Thasos (Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992: 21-23, fig. 5-73, CF 82-103). These plates date to the first half of the 6th century AD.

Nos. 15: *Plate.* Hayes form 10A, imported. The body has a pronounced but gentle slope towards the base and is terminated by a not-very-high base. There are grooves on the outer surface. The light red clay is densely tempered with lime and, in some cases, with mica, sand, and grit. The light red slip was applied over the entire surface. Bowls similar to these have been found in Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: 98, fig. 35, 22, 2, 99, fig. 36, 25, 1, 100, fig. 37, 26, 3, 27, 5), Ephesus (Gassner 1997: 147, taf. 48, 582-584), Miletus (Berndt 2003: 194-198, taf. 42-45, TS 555-605), Athenian Agora (Hayes 2008: 245, fig. 42, 1329), Corinth (Sanders 1999: 465, 466, fig. 7, 3; Slane and Sanders 2005: 270, fig. 8, 3-15). This form date back to the late 6th century-early 7th century AD.

Nos. 16-17: *Plates.* The plates/bowls evaluated in Hayes form 10, and Hayes form 10C (Hayes 1972: 343-346, fig. 71) are imported products. The ones broadly flattened on the inside are evaluated in Hayes form 10C (Hayes 1972: 343-345, fig. 71, 11-15). The inner part of the rounded outer rim is flattened into a wide flat band. The plates, similar ones can be seen in Corinth and Kenchreai (Slane and Sanders 2005: 273.), date to the first half of the 7th century AD.

Late Roman D/Cypriot Red-Slipped Ware

Nos. 18: *Bowl.* Hayes form 2, imported[5]. The bowl has a rounded rim with a deep groove on the rim and lozenge decoration on the body. Similar ones have been found in the

[3] It is among the imported plate samples and its paste clay structure is quite different from domestically produced products. It is similar to the structures of plates of African origin.

[4] Fabric and clay structures differ from real Phocaean samples. The clay structure of Knidian samples is more friable and their texture is flexible.

[5] Since this example is very close to form 2, it was evaluated in this form. It is not exactly the same, but it is thought to be a close form. It is reminiscent of the example of number 14 in Hayes form 2.

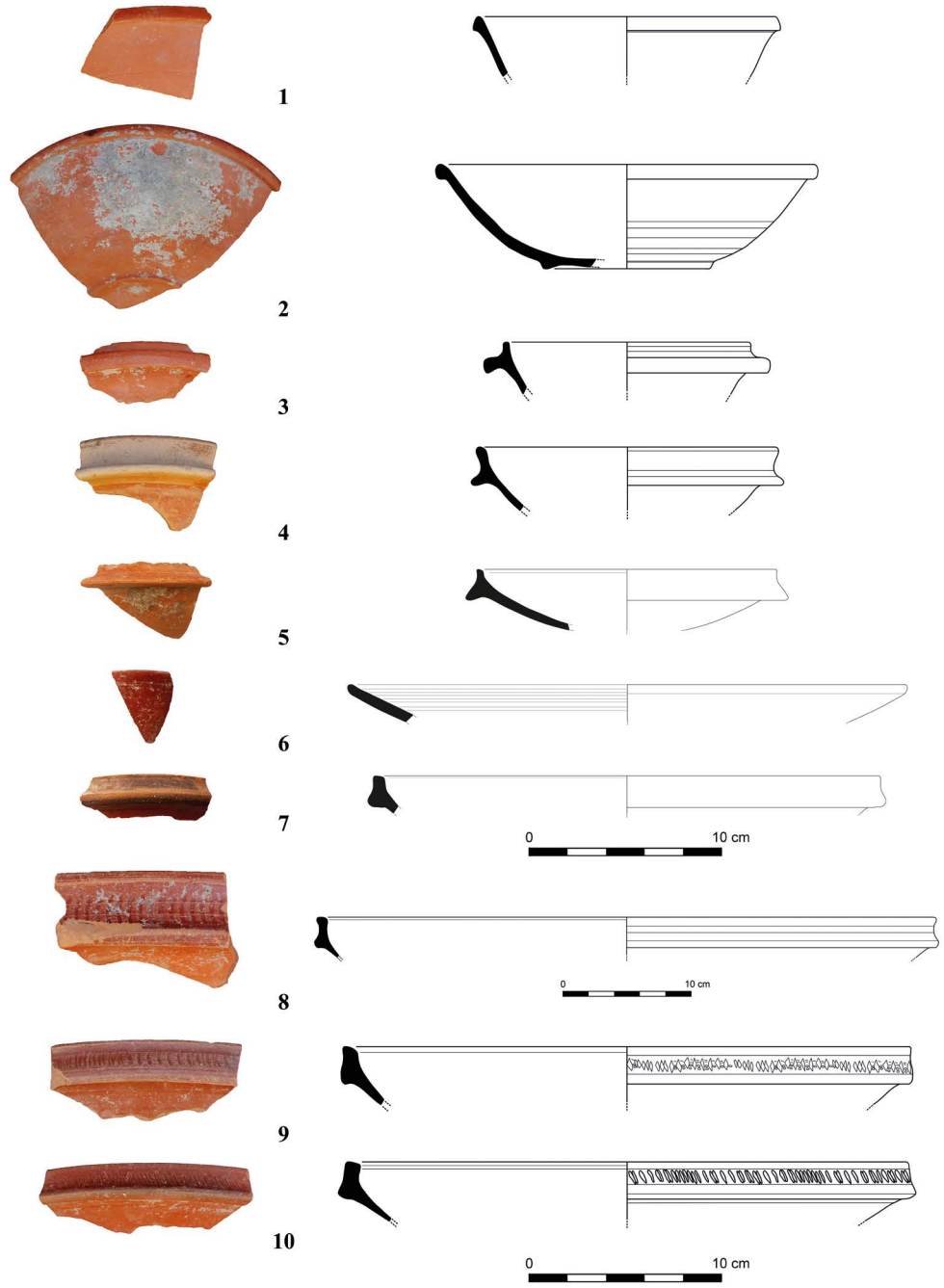


Fig. 4. African Red-Slipped Ware: 1-6; Phocaean Red-Slipped Ware: 7-16.

Athenian Agora, Xanthos (Hayes 1972: 372-375, fig. 80), Perge (Fırat 1999: 41-42, lev. 48-52), Parion (Ergürer 2016: 140, fig.6, 112), and Kelenderis (Tekocak 2006: 17-18, lev. 1, 9, and 10). The Knidos examples under form 2 date back to the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century AD.

Nos. 19: *Plate.* Similar to Hayes form 9C, locally produced. They have triangular vertical rims with hook-shaped exteriors and a pronounced transition to the body, which continues on an incline to the base. They contain lime, sand, and mica. They are red, brownish red, and reddish yellow in color. Pots similar to these have been found in Xanthos (Hayes 1972: 381, fig. 82, 13; Carandini and Tortorella 1981: 239, taf. CXXII, 1), Perge (Fırat 1999: plate 91, 92, 395, 396), and Tarsus (Adak-Adıbelli 2006: 134, lev. 15, 406). They date to 580-660 AD.

Nos. 20: *Plate.* Form 10[6], imported. The Knidos plate/bowl base transitions from the flat seating plane to the body with a widening and deep groove under the base. There are grooves on the outer surface of the body rising from the flat ring base. This bowl dates to the end of the 6th century, beginning of the 7th century AD, based on the other red-slipped ware.

[6] Cypriot form 10 samples were evaluated here due to their proximity.

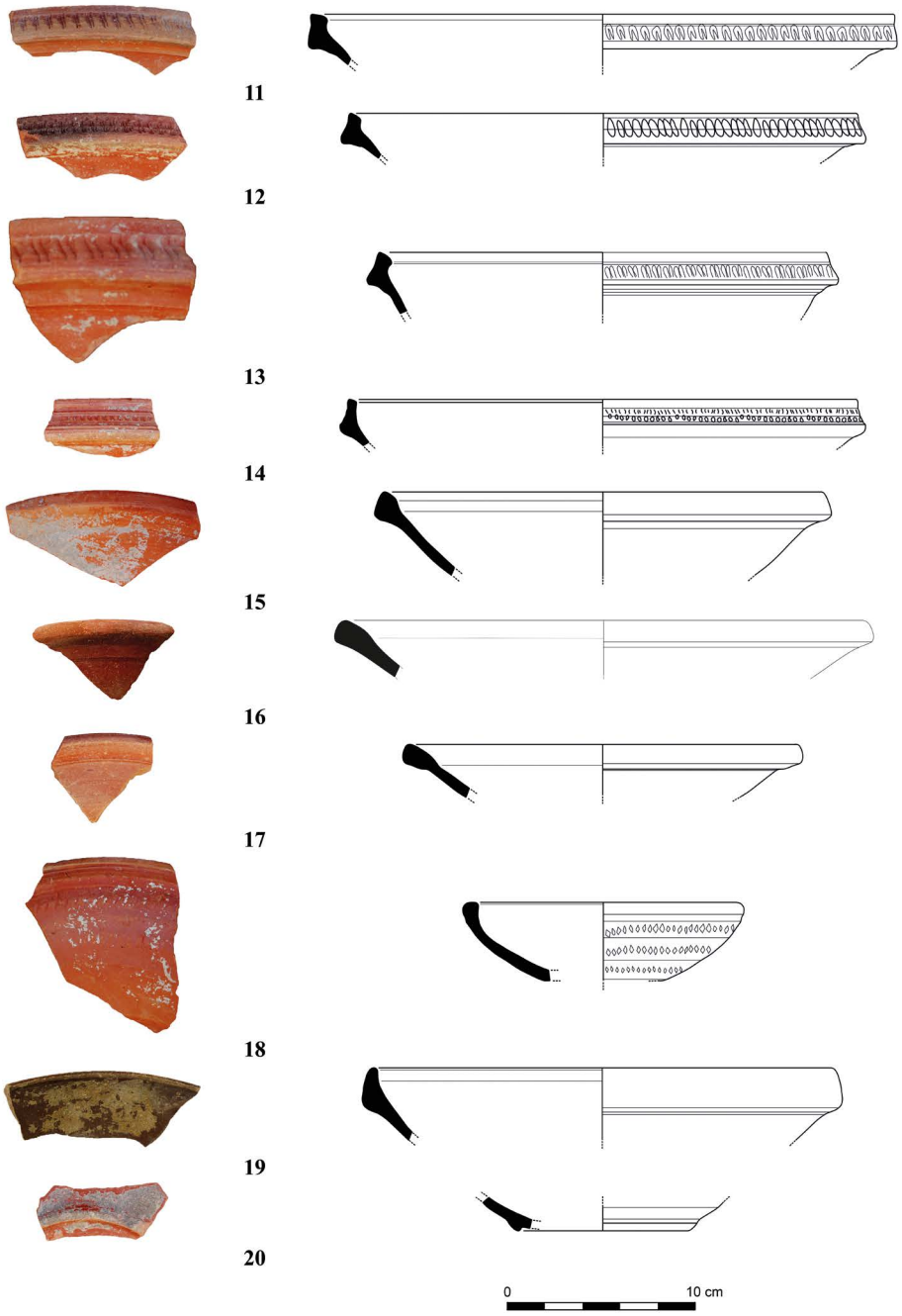


Fig. 5. Phocaean Red-Slipped Ware: 7-17; Cypriot Red-Sliped Ware: 18-20.

Conclusion

The data obtained as a result of the diggings carried out throughout Knidos show that the city lost its former size and splendor as of the 6th century AD. In the second half of the 6th century AD, traces of the city's population loss and contraction can be seen in the excavated buildings and churches. The Harbor Street Heroon and the complex there were turned into workshops and shops in the 5th century AD. As the treasure found in the Harbor Street complex shows us, the complex passed through a great destruction in the second half of the 6th century AD (Doksanaltı 2021: 404). From this date, the places within the complex were used until the mid-7th century AD (Doksanaltı and Gider-Büyüközer 2019: 116; Doksanaltı 2020: 383). Church D, which is located in the north of the Military Port and used to have a basilica plan of three naves, was minimized to have a single nave (Doksanaltı et al. 2016: 65). The repair of the narthex mosaics and the reduction of the north and south naves of Church E built on the shore of the Trireme Harbor indicate a reduction in the mid-6th century AD (Doksanaltı 2021: 404). In 2021-2022, the excavations carried out in the IIIrd Terrace, where many important buildings such as the Doric Stoa, Corinthian Monument, Bouleuterion, and Church B were found, show us that there was a significant architectural change to the terrace in the 6th century AD. A tower added to the southwest of the

terrace walls and a thick wall line starting from the tower and continuing towards the north indicate that the city was significantly reduced in size. The armoury with a large number of arrowheads found on the northern axis of this wall line is closely related to the downsizing of the city and the new function of the IIIrd Terrace (Doksanaltı et al. 2017: 24-25, fig. 13). In the 7th century AD, Arab activity on the Mediterranean coast increased, and in 654 AD Arabs attacks Rhodes and captured the island of Kos (Ostrogorsky 2019: 108; Tok 2022: 179). The Arabic graffiti found in Church B indicate the presence of Arabs in the region in 716-717 AD at the latest (Imbert 2013: 734). Although there are many buildings and churches close to the harbor in Knidos, the Arab troops' preference for Church B and its surroundings for deployment must be related to the contraction of Knidos after the 6th century AD and the fortifying of the IIIrd Terrace. Factors such as the repair and downsizing of many buildings in the city must be related to the great earthquake that occurred on the island of Kos in 554-558 AD, which affected many regions in western Anatolia (Guidoboni 1994: 338-399).

In line with the examples detailed above, as of the mid-6th century AD, Knidos, as an important producer of pottery, appears to have produced some forms locally and imported the rest. It was found that local production mainly included fine ware and kitchenware, whereas of the majority were imported as of the mid-6th century AD – factors such as the long production time and high cost required for the production of the red-slipped ware. The decrease in the city's population during that period indicates that production of this type of pottery had almost ended in the city. Among the red-slipped ware recovered in the Tholos, the locally produced ones are less in number than the imported ones.

The results obtained in the studies on red-slipped wares made both in the Tholos building and in the whole of the ancient city of Knidos are very similar (**fig. 6**). The result of this study is that the number of locally produced products is low when compared with the number of imported products, that much is high. The main reason for this is that in the Late Antique period, especially since the 6th century AD, the city was not at its former economic power and the cost of producing locally increased as presented in the data in **fig. 6**.

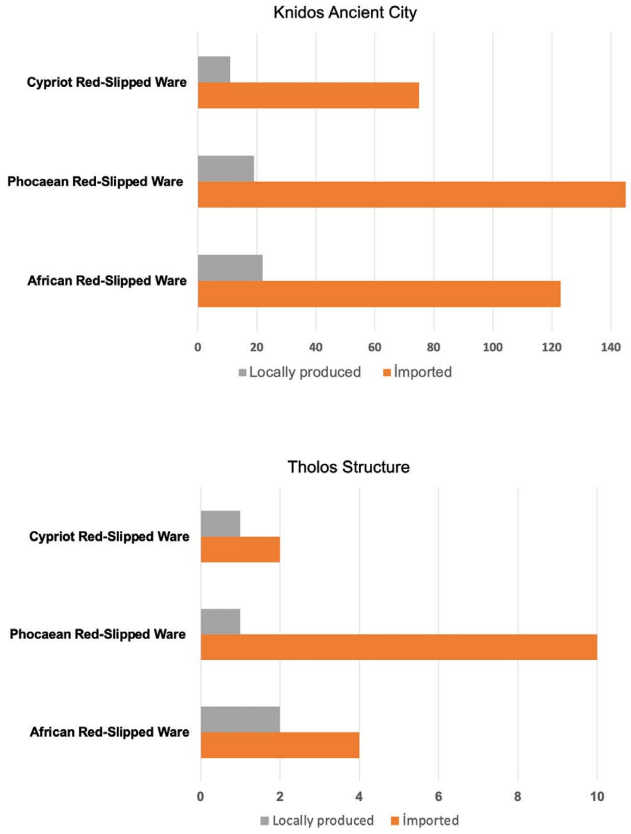


Fig. 6. Local and imported production distribution of red-slipped ware from Knidos Ancient City and Tholos Building.

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IDYMA AKYAKA CASTLE ROMAN PERIOD IMPORTED AND REGIONAL FINE RED SLIPPED WARES

The ancient city of Idyma was established on the slopes of Küçük Asartepe, located to the north of Kozlukuyu (Gökova) village within the borders of Akyaka district of Muğla province.
The name Idyma was listed in the tax records of Attic-Delos Naval Union in 453-452 B.C. The ceramic finds presented here are from the Idyma Castle Excavations (2021-2022) which is located on the Azmak coast of Akyaka. The ceramics mainly come from the cistern system that led to Azmak stream and from main towers and architectural units of the Castle. Although the construction of the Castle is dated to Byzantine Period, the ceramic evidence has proven that settlement in this region dates back to the Roman period. The ceramic research has shown the city has benefited on the maritime trade route between Aegean and Mediterranean from the Archaic period and onwards. This article presents Roman and Late Roman fine ware ceramics as well as regional ware groups.

Idyma Castle – Roman Sigillata – Roman Fine Red Slipped Ware – Carian Regional Wares

Introduction

The ancient city of Idyma is located within the borders of Akyaka district of Ula, Muğla[1]. The city is located at the northeast end of the Gulf of Keramikos (Gökova) in the Caria region. During the ancient period it was bordered by Mobolla (Muğla) in the north, Kallipolis (Kızılkaya) in the east, Keramos (Ören) in the west. Its location has played an important role in the development of the city (Gürbüzer 2006: 19) (**fig. 1**).

Idyma was listed in the tax records of Attic-Delos Naval Union in 453-452 BC (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor 1950: 23, 240; Meiggs 1972: 526). The city was under the Rhodian Peraia during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC; later it was under the rule of the Macedonian Kingdom (Magie 1950: 879, 1030; Gabrielsen 2000: 153-156). It became part of the province of Asia in 129 BC (Kaletsch 1999: 275).

The inscription found in the city by Diehl and Cousin has indicated that the city served as the leading city in the federation during the Roman period (Diehl and Cousin 1886: 429). This view was supported by Strabon's mention of the city as Bargasa, which is actually the ancient city of Idyma (Strab. *Geog*. XIV. 2. 15 c. 626). In the 2nd century AD, Idyma was listed among the cities of Caria in the Atlas of Ptolemy's Geographia (Ptol. *Geogr*. V. II. 20). In the 6th century AD, Idyma was described as the city on the edge of the Idymos River in the geographical dictionary of Stephanos Byzantios Ethnica (Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* I326. 21). The literary sources mention that during the second half of the 12th, Byzantine emperor Manuel I built castles in Caria to defend the border regions and the shores of the Byzantine settlements against Seljuk attacks (Wittek 1967: 4).

In this article, we examine a total of 57 pieces selected from the high-quality Roman pottery found in the Idyma Castle, ranging from the second half of the 1st century BC to the 7th century AD (**fig. 2**). Eight major imported groups were recovered in the Castle excavations; these include western sigillata represented here under Italian sigillata (1%), Eastern Sigillata A (5%); Eastern Sigillata B (5%); Cypriote Sigillata (1%); Eastern Sigillata C (17%); Knidian Ware (12%); Phocaean Red Slip Ware (LRC) (16%); African Red Slip Ware (7%) and Aegean-Carian regional fine red slipped ware groups (36%).

Eastern Sigillata A

The provenance of the ware has long been debated. It may have been produced in Northern Syria and dispersed from there to the Orontes-Asi valley (Lund 2005: 234, 237). Based on the results of the analysis, Schneider suggest that the ware was produced in a region along the coastline between Syria/Latakia and Tarsus/Turkey (Schneider 1995: 416; Slane 1997: 272).

The majority of the samples in the ESA group from Idyma consist of plates with upcurved rim, of which similar forms are known especially in the Pergamon sigillata and which are found in large numbers in the excavations in western Anatolia, mainly Hayes Form 3 and 4.

The large plate with narrow foot (Hayes Form 3) is an Augustan version with a basal chamfer (**fig. 3, 1**) (Hayes 2008: 23, 125, Fig. 1. 11); a small plate with wide foot (Hayes

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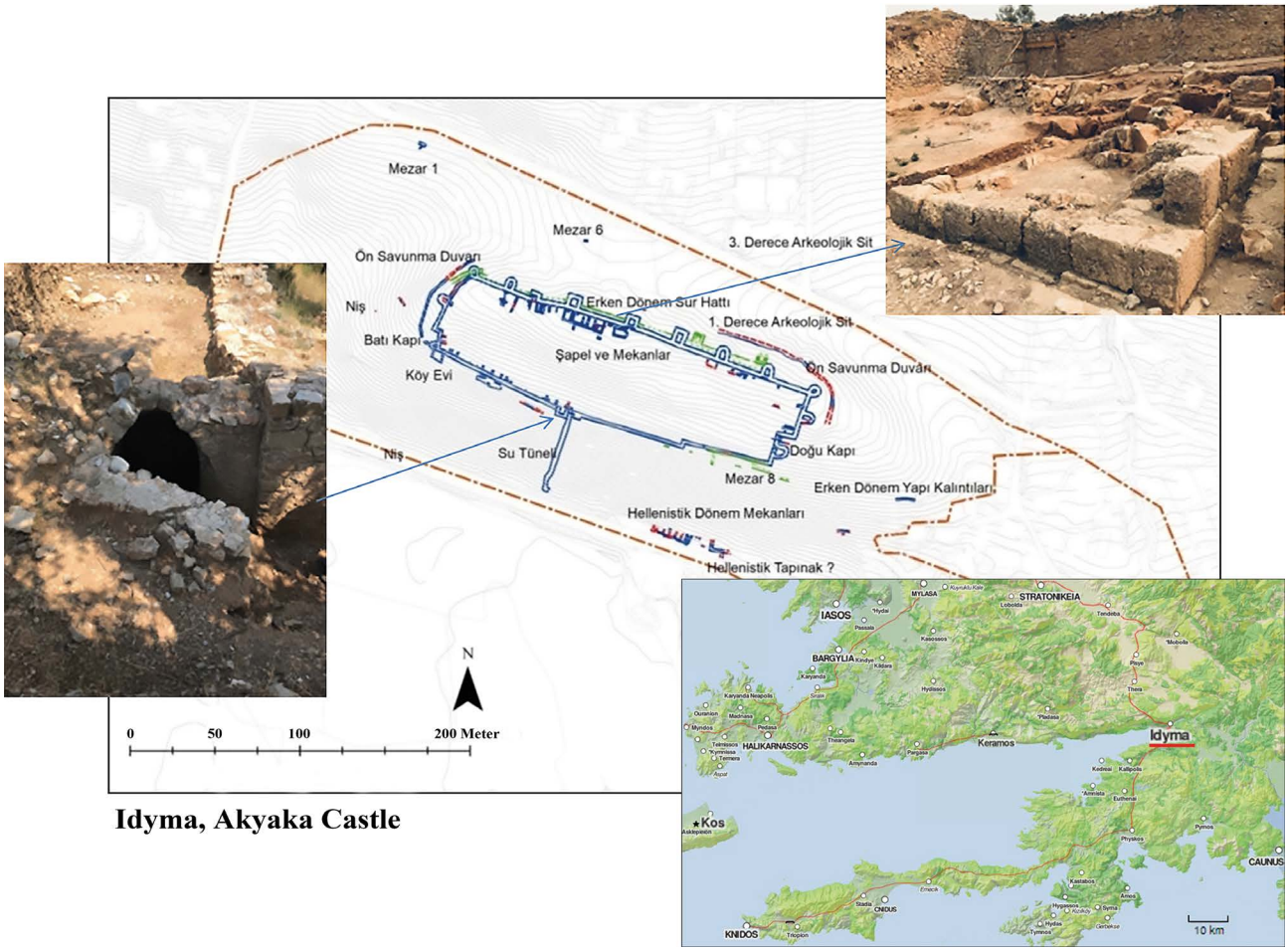


Fig. 1. Plan of Idyma Castle, Geographical Location of Idyma.

Form 4) has a near-horizontal floor (**fig. 3, 2**) and another plate has an offset at the edge of the floor (**fig. 3, 3**) (Hayes 2008: 24, 126, Fig. 3. 38, 39) and base fragment of a bell cup (Hayes Form 42) (**fig. 3, 4**) (Hayes 2008: 27, 134, Fig. 5. 117; Crowfoot 1957: 336, 337, Fig. 81.4; Slane 1997: 323, Pl. 23. FW 258bis). These are the main forms of ESA. The finds are dated to the Augustan period, between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.

Eastern Sigillata B

The Eastern Sigillata B examples possibly originate from the Tralleis region (Hayes 1972: 10, fn. 1; Tekkök-Biçken 1996: 52-53, fn. 143-144; Tekkök and Pernicka 2012: 346). Some fragments of ESB ware were recovered from Notion bearing the stamp "KAI/CAPIΣ". "Caesarea" was the name of Tralleis for a period. Because of all these data Hayes points to this city as the production center. The data obtained as a result of the studies carried out in the city in recent years also support this suggestion (Civelek 2010: 171-172; Takaoğlu 2006: 263-267; Erol 2004: 19, fn. 63).

For the ESB-1 group, produced from the Augustan Period until 75 AD (Hayes 1985: 49-51), only one form was found in Idyma. It is a rim-body fragment of a shallow, wide plate with flat floor and base; the wall is convex on the exterior and terminates in a plain lip (Hayes Form 18), dated to the first half of the 1st century AD (**fig. 3, 5**) (Hayes 1985: 57, Tav. XII. 12; Hayes 2008: 144, Fig. 8. 219; Erol 2004: 35, 111, Lev. 9. Çiz. 41, 42; Tekkök and Pernicka 2012: 350-352, 348, Pl. 1. K18; Doksanaltı 2006: 464, 625, Kat. No. 451; Meriç 2002: 51, 59, Taf. 22. K 217; Gassner 1997: 130, Taf. 42. 496).

Four forms of ESB-2 were recovered from Idyma, dating between AD 75-150 (Hayes 1985: 51-52). The forms consist of Hayes Form 55 plate with everted rim and curved body, dated to the second half of the 1st century AD (**fig. 3, 6**) (Hayes 1985: 62, Tav. XIII. 18; Gassner 1997: 133, Taf. 43. 512; Yıldız 2021: 413, 414, 421, Fig. 18.1 Kat. No. 15; Fig. 18.2 Kat. No. 16). A Hayes Form 60 plate with full profile of subtype B has thicker walls and a larger rim (**fig. 3, 7**). Examples with thickened rims and slightly drooping edges constitute the late group of the form and are dated to the second quarter and middle of the 2nd century AD (Hayes 1985: 64; Tav XIV. 7; Hayes 2008: 156, Fig. 12. 366; Erol 2004: 75, 234, Lev. 96. Çiz. 453; Civelek 2010: 176, 177, 186, Pl. 1. H.F 60; Kenrick 1985: 250, 246, Fig. 45. B352. 4, 6; Doksanaltı 2006: 467, 468, 534, Kat. No. 98 (K177); Hayes 1983: 118, 121, Fig. 4. 33; Coldstream 1973: 48, 46, Fig. 17. J16; Beyll 1993: 28, 29, Taf. 4. 47; Wintermeyer 2004: 146, Abb. 1422). Hayes Form 76 is a deep and large bowl

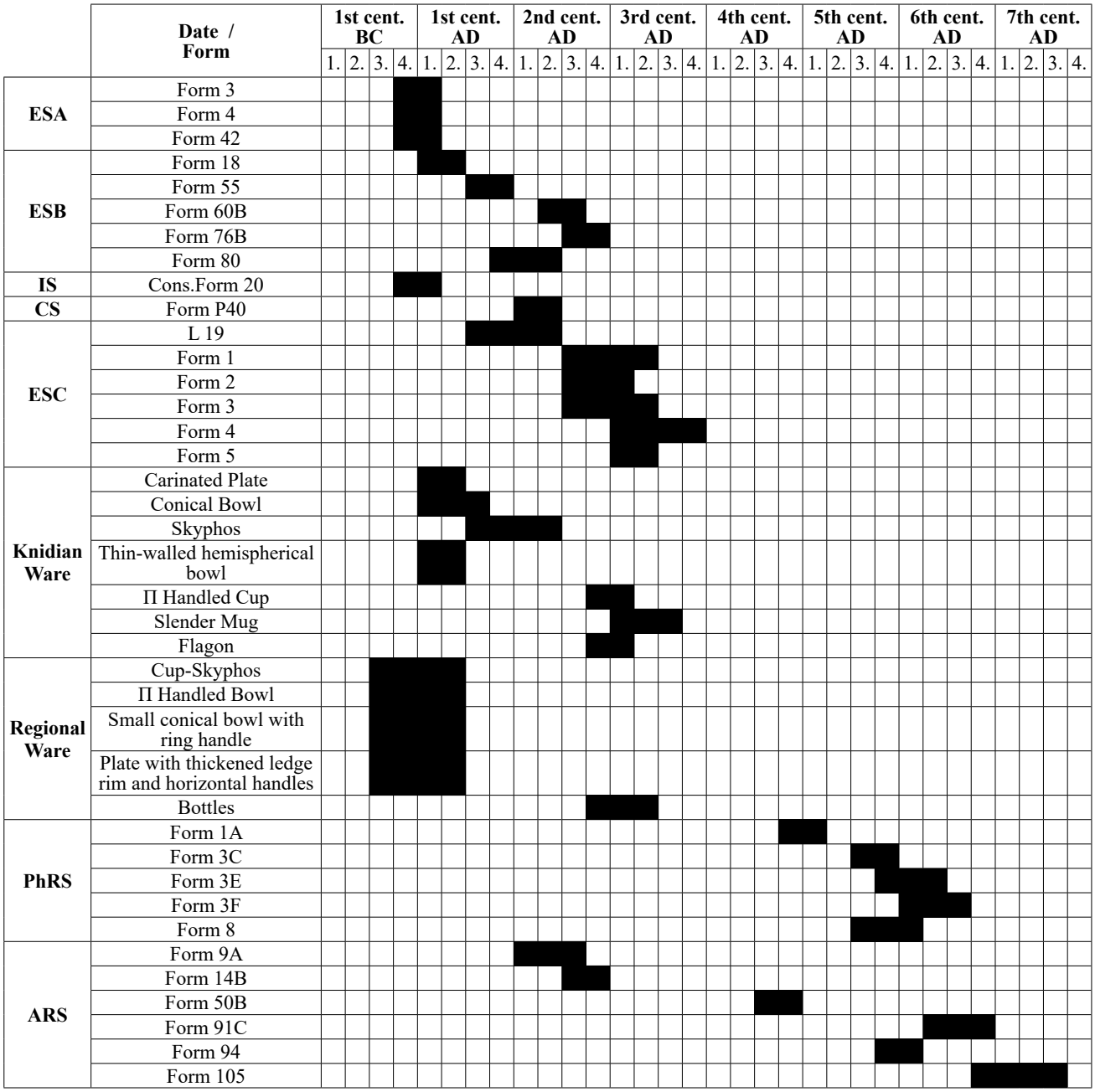


Fig. 2. Timetable Of Idyma Akyaka Castle Roman Period Red Slipped Wares.

with plain everted rim, slightly rounded body, and horizontal grooves on the interior below rim. An example of the form that belongs to B subtype with its larger and more convex body (**fig. 3, 8**). It is dated between 100-150 AD (Hayes 1985: 68, 69, Tav. XV. 11). An example of the form found in the Athenian Agora was dated to the late 2nd century AD by Hayes (Hayes 2008: 160, Fig. 13. 421). The proposition that the production of the form continued in the 2nd century AD at Tralles is also stated (Erol 2004: 40, 41, 130, 131, Lev. 23. Çiz. 114; Civelek 2010: 178, 188, Pl. 3. H.F 76 B; Meriç 2002: 63, Taf. 26. K286; Kenrick 1985: 254, 252, Fig. 46. B361. 1). The deterioration observed in the fabric and slip of a fragment from Idyma indicates that it was a late production dated to the 2nd half of the 2nd century AD. Hayes Form 80a shallow bowl dated between AD 80-150 with curved wall up to a thickened lip, flat on top. Two grooves appear on exterior, one on interior, just below lip. Floor offset in two receding levels, with encircling groove. Two examples of the form were recovered (**fig. 3, 9-10**) (Tekkök and Pernicka 2012: 351, 356, K40, Gr.5; Hayes 1985: 69, 70, Tav. XV. 15; Hayes 2008: 152, 153, Fig. 12. 316, 317, 320; Civelek 2010: 179, 188, Pl. 3. H.F 80; Kenrick 1985: 255, 252, Fig. 46. B362; Coldstream 1973: 48, 46, Fig. 17. J15; Sackett 1992: 212, Pl. 156. N1. 8; 221, Pl. 167. F2. 19 a, b; 232, Pl. 174. D3. 7; Yıldız 2021: 408, 409, 423, Fig. 25.1 Kat. No. 48; Fig. 25.2 Kat. No. 49; Ladstätter 2008: 107, 108, Taf. 279. TS78-83; Taf. 280. TS88, 90; Gassner 1997: 133, Taf. 43. 511; Beyll 1993: 10, 11, 24, 25, Taf. 2. 25).

Italian Sigillata

A plate recovered from Idyma belongs to the 3rd Subtype of Conspectus form 20 plates, produced by Italian workshops that began in the Augustan period and ended in 30 AD (**fig. 3, 11**) (Ettlinger et al. 1990: 86). It is in the Loeschcke Haltern Service IV, Kenrick Sidi Khrebish Group B, Goudineau Bolsena Series A. The Idyma fragment is a large plate with flat floor and vertical rim; the rim is flat or slightly concave on the outside, double convex mouldings at top and bottom. The space between may be covered with rouletting; grove on top of rim, concave moulding bounded by grooves on the inner face of the rim (Ettlinger et al. 1990: 87, Pl. 18. Form 20.3.1; Hayes 2008: Fig. 16. 465; Kenrick 1985: 146, Fig. 27. B213.1).

Cypriote Sigillata

Cypriote Sigillata constituted the bulk of the local fine ware market from Eastern Sigillata A after the middle of the 1st century AD, this trend continued through the 1st and early 2nd centuries AD. The material found in the Kition-Bamboula harbor fill and various layers of Kition-Kathari shows that the Cyprus Sigillata wares largely dominated the market in the first half of the 2nd century AD (Marquié 2002: 293). Only one rim-body fragment of small-size versions of Hayes Form P40 was found (Hayes 1985: 88; 1991: 45). A small version of the form appear in Marina in the mid-1st century AD and continues throughout the 2nd century AD (Daszewski 1995: 30) was found in Idyma Castle (**fig. 3, 12**) (Hayes 1991: 202, Fig. LXIX. 7; Burkhalter 1987: 394, Fig. 26. 219; Marquié 2002: 293, 294, 301, Fig. 6. 4; Sackett 1992: 152, 251, Pl. 192. U30a; Daszewski 1995: 28, 36, Pl. 4. 4). The Gökova region was on the Cypriote-Aegean trade route since the Archaic era, but Cypriote Sigillata is rare.

Eastern Sigillata C

Çandarlı ware is particulary common on the Aegean sites during the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century, and met with no serious competition until the introduction of the fine versions of the African wares around the middle of the 3rd century (Hayes 1972: 317). Fragments of late ESC forms (Hayes Forms 1-5) are represented in Idyma Castle. From the middle of the 2nd century AD onwards, Çandarlı workshops focused on the production of only a few simple forms, defined as the late series, and a large number of these forms experienced no more than minor changes for 150 years. During this period only one new shape (Form 4, together with its rare counterpart Form 5) was introduced; the rest are merely developments of forms already in existence by the middle of the 1st century (Hayes 1972: 317).

Excavations yielded Hayes Form 1 (**fig. 3, 14**) (Hayes 1972: 318-320, Fig. 64; Hayes 1985: 77, Tav. XVIII. 1; Hayes 2008: 200, Fig. 25. 801; Akyürek 1992: 144, 160, Abb. 10. 67; Hayes 1983: 118, 119, Fig. 2. 5; Sackett 1992: 251, Pl. 191. U. 18, U. 19) along with Hayes Form 2 examples (**fig. 3, 15-18**) with a date range from mid-2nd to mid-3rd century AD (Hayes 1972: 319, 321, 320, Fig. 64; Hayes 1985: 77, 78, Tav. XVIII. 2; Hayes 2008: 200, 201, Fig. 25. 800, 802; Tekkök et al. 2001: 36, 37, Pl. 13. 139, 140; Akyürek 1992: 144, 160, Abb. 10. 65, 66; Hayes 1983: 118, 119, Fig. 2. 6-13; Sackett 1992: 251, Pl. 191. U. 20-22). Similar specimens recovered from Assos were divided into 2 subgroups by Zelle as Group IVa and IVb due to the differentiation seen in the rim (Zelle 1997: 132, 133, 215, Abb. 45. 947, 953).

Only one base fragment of Loeschcke Form 19 produced by the Pergamon/Çandarlı workshops was recovered from Idyma Castle (**fig. 3, 13**) (Tekkök et al. 2001: 6, 7, Pl. 1. 7) One rim and one foot fragment of a hemispherical flanged bowl (Hayes Form 3), a continuation of Loeschcke type 19 and common in mid 2nd to mid 3rd century AD contexts, were found in Idyma Castle, and similar examples were also found from different sites in the Aegean (**fig. 3, 19-20**) (Hayes 1972: 321, 320, Fig. 64; Hayes 1985: 78, Tav. XVI-II. 3; Hayes 2008: 200, Fig. 25. 796; Zelle 1997: 119, 120, 124, 209, Abb. 39. 820; Tekkök et al. 2001: 37, Pl. 13. 141; Akyürek 1992: 136, 157, Abb. 7. 33; Kenrick 1985: 260, 258, Fig. 47. B366. 2; Hayes 1983: 118, 120, Fig. 3. 27, 30; Beyll 1993: 34, 35, Taf. 7. 85; Unterkircher 1983: 205, 185, Abb. 4. 14, 21; Sackett 1992: 251, Pl. 191. U. 23).

Hayes Form 4 (**fig. 3, 21-23**) is represented with several examples (Hayes 1972: 321, 322, 320, Fig. 64; Hayes 1985: 78, Tav. XVIII. 4; Hayes 2008: 52, 201, Fig. 25. 807; Zelle 1997: 128, 129, 211, Abb. 41. 869, 885; Tekkök et al. 2001: 37, Pl. 13. 142; Hayes 1983: 118, 120, Fig. 3. 20-23; Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992: 15, 16, Fig. 2. CF25-29; Sackett 1992: 246, Pl. 186. R3. 2; 247, Pl. 187. S1. 1, 2; 250, Pl. 192. U. 35; 251, Pl. 191. U. 25, 26).

Only one example of Hayes Form 5 bowl is represented (**fig. 3, 24**) (Hayes 1972: 322, 320, Fig. 64; Zelle 1997: 127, 128, 210, Abb. 40. 867; Tekkök et al. 2001: 37, Pl. 13. 143; Tekkök-Biçken 1996: 135, Fig. 79. G 54; Kenrick 1985: 265, 262, Fig. 48. B 373. 1; Hayes 1983: 118, 120, Fig. 3. 24, 25; Unterkircher 1983: 178, 203, 179, Abb. 1. 2, 3; Sackett 1992: 251, Pl. 191. U. 27).

All of the fragments from Idyma that fall into the ESC group consist of late examples of Çandarlı workshops. Hayes Form 2 and 4 are the most common in the group. Only one example of Hayes Form 5 is recorded. All of the samples were recovered from the southern slope of the Idyma castle. Based on the large number of discoveries, it look as if Idyma was densely inhabited from the second half of the 2nd century AD to the last quarter of the 3rd century AD.

Knidian Wares

This group is well presented in Idyma. There are mainly carinated plates with a ring foot, conical lower body, slightly concave rim. The type copies Italian Sigillata plates. (**fig. 3, 25**) The earlier category of Knidian Workshop A2 plates date to the Roman imperial period. Such plates are divided into three subtypes (Doksanaltı 2006: 381-382). They were the most common serving plates distributed throughout the Aegean. The type continued into the 2nd century AD with a

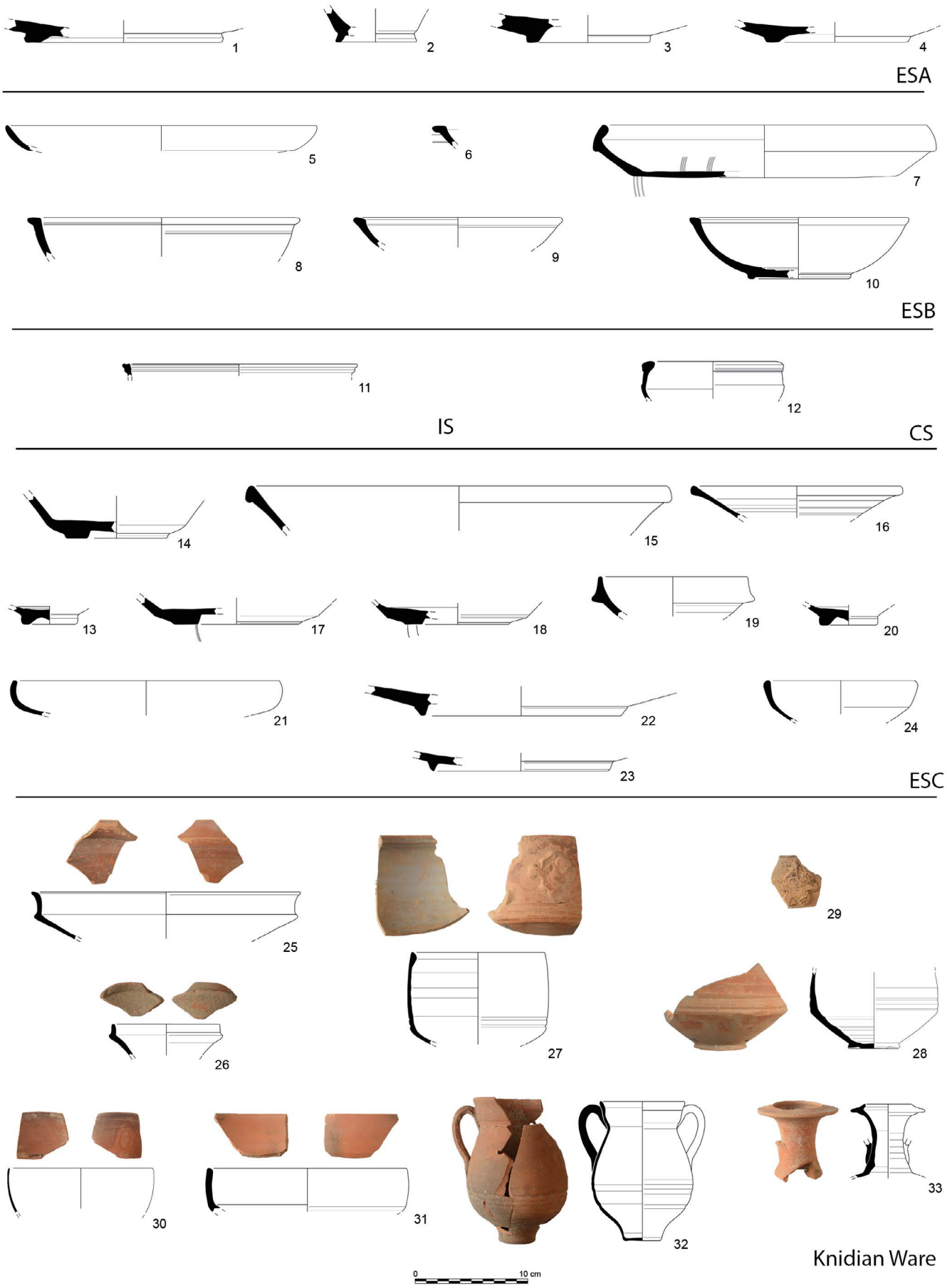


Fig. 3. Drawings and Pictures of Red Slip Wares from Idyma Castle.

subtype A. The Idyma example falls into this subtype category, with its sharp rim profile and properly applied slip. The subtype dates from the mid 1st century AD to the end of the 2nd century AD (Doksanaltı 2006: 838, Kat. no 1679 (K114); Kögler 2000: 71, Abb. 2. 1). There was also a conical bowl with upright rim (**fig. 3, 26**). This form is divided into five subtypes; the rim-body fragment recovered from Idyma belong to the ring-base and short-sided variant A, which clearly stands out among the conical bowls in Knidos due to its clear profile and proportion. The rim is extremely low and only takes up about a sixth to a maximum of a quarter of the total height. The form begins to be produced in the Augustan Period and continues until 75 AD (Kögler 2010: 157-159, 569, 570, Abb. 57. Kn. 94). A skyphos form from Idyma has the same profile features as Kögler's C-D type (**fig. 3, 27-29**) with a conical lower body and an inturned thickened rim. It has a simple ring foot which is slightly offset from the floor on the inside. (Kögler 2010: 116, 117, 566, 567, Abb. 56. Kn. 56-63; 589, 590, Taf. 57. Kn. 297, 298, 302-306). This skyphos form is an imitation of Pergamene appliqué ware skyphoi, which often carry appliqué ivy leaves on the exterior and applied handle attachments (Meyer-Schlichrmann 1988: 65, Taf. 7. 12 (Form S3). The presence of numerous appliqué ware skyphoi dating from the mid-1st century AD to the 1st half of the 2nd century AD in Idyma illustrates evidence of distribution (Kögler 2005: 57; 2010: 118). Thin-walled hemispherical bowls follow after Italian thin walled wares. The closest comparandum of the form is Moevs Form XXXVI (Moevs 1973: 176, Pl. 36. Kat. no 324-329) (**fig. 3, 30**). The production of hemispherical bowls with a vertical wall, plain rim, and ring foot started right after the arrival of Italian bowls in Knidos during the Augustus period, and declined toward the end of the 1st century AD. In addition to sand-decorated and unslipped examples, half slipped examples feature basic tones of red, orange and pink on the inner surface and are half slipped on the exterior. The Idyma fragment has a hemispherical body, grooved just below the inner side of the rim, with straight edges (Doksanaltı 2006: 413, K134). Π Handled Cups are well distributed products of Knidos. The form has a narrow ring foot. The shallow lower body with an almost straight wall meets the inclined, slightly convex upper body at a sharp angle. Two small, horizontal, recurved handles are attached just below the rim and project well away from the body (Doksanaltı 2006: 224; 2007: 8; Kögler 2010: 84, 89, 90). They belong to the A2 workshop in Knidos. Examples defined as a "traditional type" date to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Compared to the Hellenistic period examples, they have a narrower diameter and thicker wall, with a narrower and shorter handle, in which the tense form and edge-body transition are softened. Later variants have thinly applied slip, a continuation of the form in the Roman period (**fig. 3, 31**) (Doksanaltı 2006: 372. K104c).

Common features of the group are slender mugs with a bulging/bell shaped mouth and flat base with turning marks on the surface, while the handles have a round profile in section (**fig. 3, 32**). The form is defined as an 'Aegean Type' in Western Anatolia and started to become widespread from the first half of the 3rd century AD (Hayes 1997: 68, 71, Pl. 25). It was produced by the workshops of Knidos during the 3rd century AD. The Idyma products belong to Knidian workshops and reflect the decline in the quality of pottery production during this period (Doksanaltı 2006: 389, 390, 593, Kat. no. 337, 338; 638, Kat. no. 494-498; 853, Kat. no. 1782-1785 (K124). The flagon with a long slightly concave neck and outturned ledge rim finds parallels in Knossos (**fig. 3, 33**) (Doksanaltı 2006: 391, K128; Sackett 1992: 249, 250, 254, Pl. 196. U110). The form is dated to the Roman period, but it is not widely used in Knidos.

Open and closed vessel forms of Knidos production, from the Augustus period to the middle of the 3rd century AD, were found in Idyma. The Kap-Krio terraces and the Stoa of Dionysus were destroyed by a fire in the middle of the 3rd century AD. The ceramic workshops lost their dominance in the foreign market and could only meet the needs of the domestic market. It is noteworthy that the Stoa of Dionysos was left unrepaired after the destruction, and simple-scale structures were built after awhile, directly on the ruins (Doksanaltı 2006: 18, 19). In Idyma, as of the second half of the 3rd century AD, the ceramics imported from Knidos decreased. The latest example from this period is the slender mug. The fact that late examples of Π Handled bowls and flagon, which are quite rare forms, are seen in the city is due to the geographical proximity to Knidos.

Regional Wares

Regional wares copy specimens produced by Knidian workshops. A Cup-Skyphos (**fig. 4, 34**) has an "inverted S" profile formed by the mouth and body combination and its horizontally curved handles. (Doksanaltı 2006: 320). At Knidos, the type has two subtypes (Kögler 2010: 96, 98, B.2-3; D.16-17; F.18-19). Idyma adopts the form as Variant b, whose parallels are rare except for Knidos. It is an example of early Imperial production. Similar examples have been found elsewhere (Kenrick 1985: 101, 100, Fig. 20. B135.1; Gasperetti 2003: 149, Pl. 92. 31; Gitin 1990: Pl. 35, 11; Kassab-Tezgör 2003: 39, 40, Pl. XXXIII. 2; Sieglin 1913: 146, 147, Abb. 158. 10). The form was produced locally in many different centers in the Mediterranean. For centers with local productions, see: (Rotroff 1997: 117; Kenrick 1985: 121; Riley 1979: 282; Harlaut 2002: 272; Elaigne 2002: 160; Negev 1986: 7). Another example has the same profile with a folded leg rim (**fig. 4, 35**).

Π handled bowl: In addition to the Roman Knidos imports of Π handle bowls in Idyma, regional examples have been found. The common feature of the two specimens is that the handles are brought close enough to almost touch the edge and, unlike the Knidos examples, they are not raised to the level of the mouth, reaching a height up to the middle of the rim. In addition, the handles have been pulled up by taking the form of a slight arc. **Fig. 4, 36** has a vertical rim, and the lower body-edge junction is emphasized by a very noticeably protruding carination. **Fig. 4, 37** has a rim with a slightly inward incline. Although the edge-to-body transition is sharp, it is not made clear by a protruding carena as much as in the first example. The profile and handles of the vessels

point to the early Imperial period (Coldstream 1973: 46, Fig. 17. J 8; Slane-Wright 1980: 159, Pl. 32. 97; Williams 1977: 79, Pl. 31. 38).

A small conical bowl with ring handle (**fig. 4, 38-39a, b**) has a conical lower body with an almost straight wall and vertical rim. An essential element of the form is a sharp carination and small broad-band-shaped ring handles. A groove passes through the middle of the short rim, giving it a two-part appearance, and the edge surface is defined by a groove. Two examples of the form were recovered from Idyma. One base example with the same fabric from the same lot demonstrates that the form has a shallow ring base. With the exception of the handles, it is similar in general characteristics to the Imperial period Π handled bowls. Such handles are known from Imperial skyphoi, jugs, and oil lamps. The closest analogues of the form are the ring-handled bowls, which differ from the Idyma samples by their larger handles, dated to the Augustan period based on the Knidian examples. The few known representatives of this form of drinking bowl do not show any typological development. Their typological relationship with the early Imperial Π Handle Bowls suggests that they were a short-lived variant of the main form rather than an independent vessel type. Since non-Knidos forms are not yet known, it can be assumed that bowls with ring handles are a locally developed vessel type (Kögler 2010: 103, Abb. 53. Kn. 14, 15).

A plate with thickened ledge rim and horizontal handles (**fig. 4, 40**) has predecessors such as "Hellenistic type" plates, which were widely used in Athens during the Hellenistic period (Rotroff 1997: 142). The form consists of a body narrowing towards the ring foot and a thickened rim made by folding wet clay. They were the most common tableware in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC in Knidos. It is known that the form was produced in many different centers, and was also produced in the Pottery Ateliers area in Knidos. The production of "Hellenistic type" plates continued from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century BC (Doksanaltı 2006: 239, 240, Form K23b). The rim fragment from Idyma was folded inward and a flat area was left inside the lip, and separated from the body by a groove. Two small horizontal handles were added the rim. Such plates with thickened rim and similar handles are quite common in the Caria region. It is probably a new form created by the local/regional workshops adding minor changes at the end of the 1st century B.C.

Bottles (**fig. 4, 41-42**) are represented by several examples. They could have been used as medicine bottles. They have everted rim with a slightly conical neck expanding downward with almost the same length as the body. The latter is long and cylindrical, with narrow and sloping shoulders, and a flat bottom. The form, which is known to have come out of the 2nd-3rd century AD contexts, has not yet been published, although there are examples in the Muğla Archeology Museum.

The political and commercial changes that emerged as a result of the Roman empire's Asia Minor policy caused Rhodes to lose its commercial dominance (Arslan 2007: 157, fn. 704; Şenol 2003: 35). The pottery workshops in Knidos, an important harbor of Rhodian Peraia, were influential in filling the gap, and Hellenistic vessel forms were abandoned or reinterpreted during the early Imperial period (Kögler 2014: 157-173). One factor that had a great impact on this change was that mass-produced ceramics such as Pergamon sigillata and ESA entered the Mediterranean market at the end of the 2nd century BC- the beginning of the 1st century BC, and started to become preferred products over time.

The regional production series of Idyma imitates and reinterprets the "traditional Hellenistic period forms" during the early Imperial period. A common feature of the regional red slip vessels is that they have the same fabric and inclusions from the early empire to the 3rd century AD, and all examples have intense silver mica inclusion. In some examples, little lime particles are visible on the surface. The fabric color ranges from Munsell Color 2.5 YR 5/8 (Red) - 7/8 (Light Red) to 5 YR 6/8 (Reddish Yellow), slip ranges from 10 R 4/8 (Red) - 6/8 (Light Red) to 2.5 YR 4/4 (Reddish Brown) - 4/8 (Red) tones. There is an ongoing archaeometric analysis of these regional ceramics, and detailed information about the fabric, inclusions, and production techniques will be published separately. However, during the ceramic investigations we carried out in the ancient cities of the region, a large number of ceramics with the same clay and form have parallels in Stratonikeia. It is possible that this ceramic group was produced by the workshops located in the inner Carian region cities along the Menderes basin. It is very likely that one of the production centers was near the ancient city of Stratonikeia.

Phocaean Red Slip Ware (LRC)

The kiln and pottery dumps discovered in the Phocaean excavations revealed that the production center of the group was Phocaea (Uğuz 2015: 33-35; Fırat 2015: 163-165). Recent research in the region has suggested that the production was also carried out in Çandarlı and Gryneion workshops (Empereur and Picon 1986: 143, 144, Fig. 1; Mayet and Picon 1986: 131, 132, Fig. 2; 133, Fig. 3; 135, Tab. 1; Hayes 2008: 83, fn. 6; Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011: 6).

Fig. 4, 43 is Hayes Form 1 dating to early 5th century AD (Hayes 1972: 325, Fig. 65. 1; Hayes 2008: 87, 237, Fig. 37. 1230; Doksanaltı 2006: 498, Kat. no 237 (K210a); Uğuz 2015: 111, Çiz. 1. 2).

In Idyma Hayes Form 3 with subtypes of C, E, F is well represented. **Fig. 4, 44** belongs to Hayes Form 3C subtype. This has a tall vertical rim, concave on the outer face with pronounced overhang at the bottom, and is dated to the 2nd half of the 5th century AD (Hayes 1972: 329, 330, Fig. 67. 7, 9; 332, Fig. 68. 10; Hayes 2008: 240, 241, Fig. 39. 1266-1273; Uğuz 2015: 51-57, Çiz. 10-16. 46-66).

Fig. 4, 45-46 are specimens of Hayes Form 3E subtype with a short vertical rim and a rather greater overhang at bottom; they are dated to the first half of the late 5th-early 6th centuries (Hayes 1972: 331, 332, Fig. 68. 14-16; Hayes 2008: 241, Fig. 39. 1275- 1279; Uğuz 2015: 58, 60, Çiz. 17-19. 73-80).

Fig. 4, 47-49 belong to Hayes Form 3F subtype, with a lower rim, projecting more strongly, the base is shallow and flat. This is dated to the first half and middle of the 6th century AD. This type is the most common form in Idyma (Hayes 1972:

331, 334, Fig. 69. 17, 19, 23-25; Hayes 2008: 241, 242, Fig. 39. 1280, 1281; Fig. 40. 1282-1291; Uğuz 2015: 61-72, Çiz. 19-31. 82-133; foot fragments: Çiz. 31-34. 134-144).

Fig. 4, 50 represents only one fragment of a bowl (Hayes Form 8), with broad downturned tapering rim, and carinated body. It is dated between the second half of the 5th century AD and the beginning of the 6th century AD (Hayes 1972: 342; 340, Fig. 70. 1, 2 (Form 8); Hayes 2008: 244, 1315-1317; Uğuz 2015: 86, 87, Çiz. 43, 44. 182-185; Fırat 2015: 169, 179, Res. 8).

Hayes Form 3F and Hayes Form 8 provides evidence of maritime imports during the first half of the 6th century AD. Hayes Form 10 has not been found thus far, suggesting that the commercial relations of the city were interrupted.

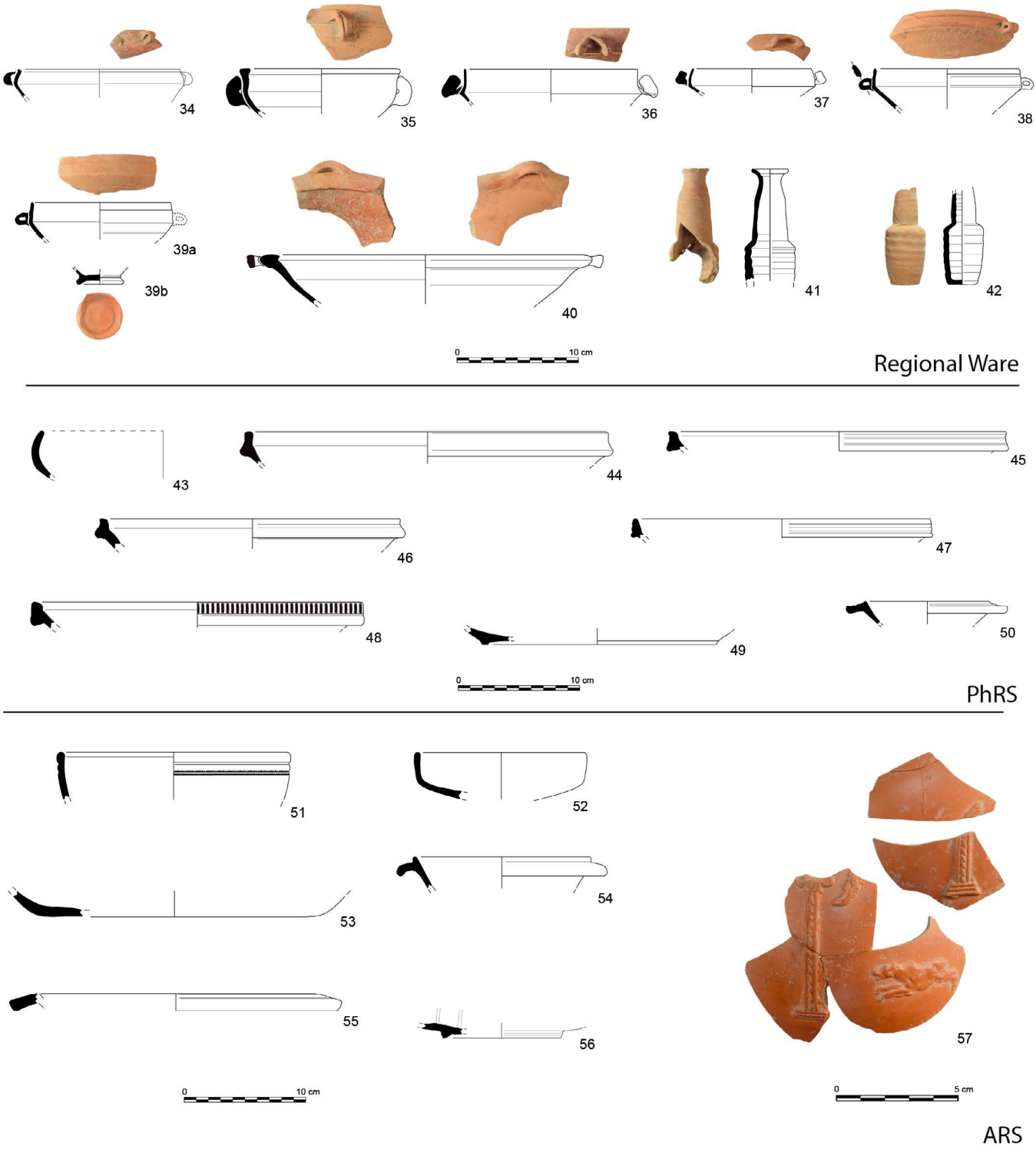


Fig. 4. Drawings and Pictures of Red Slip Wares from Idyma Castle.

African Red Slip Ware (ARS)

African Red Slip Ware is represented as of the 2nd century AD with Hayes Form 9A (**fig. 4, 51**). This has a curved body and plain rounded rim (Doksanaltı 2006: 535, Kat. no. 101, ARS Form 9; Hayes 1972: 35, 37, 32, Fig. 4. 12; Hayes 2008: 218, Fig. 30. 955; Hayes 1983: 118, 121, Fig. 4. 37). Examples of the form are known from Sidi Khrebish in North Africa (Sidi Khrebish: Kenrick 1985: 345, 342, Fig. 64. 606. 2).

Only one rim-body fragment of a Hayes 14B bowl was found, dating to 160-200 AD. It has a vertical wall with a sloping floor and a small low foot (**fig. 4, 52**) (Hayes 1972: 39, 41, 40, Fig. 6. 11). B subtype of the form is known from Pupput Necropolis, Leptis Magna, Sidi Khrebish in North Africa (Pupput necropolis: Bonifay 2004: 157, 158, Fig. 85. 6. (Tip 7); Leptis Magna: Bonifay and Capelli 2013: 73, 75, 79, Fig. 6. 46; Sidi Khrebish: Kenrick 1985: 345, 342, Fig. 64. 608. 2).

In the Eastern Mediterranean market, African Red Slip imports continue to the first quarter of the 4th century AD, briefly interrupted after the second quarter of the 5th century AD. They then continued to be marketed until the mid-7th century AD (Bonifay 2003: 121, 122; Mackensen 1998: 32).

A Hayes Form 50 Subtype B of a large dish with broad flat floor was found. The fragment lack the small foot, and has a more flaring wall with matte slip (**fig. 4, 53**); it possibly dates to 350-400 AD (Hayes 1972: 69, 73, 68, Fig. 12. 60; Hayes 2008: 221, Fig. 32. 995-998). B subtype of the form is known from Sidi Zahruni, Sidi Khrebish, Nabeul in North Africa (Sidi Zahruni: Bonifay 2004: 57, Fig. 26. 1, 2 (no. 2 is a foot fragment) (Tip 65); Ghalia, Bonifay and Capelli 2005: 496, 504, Fig. 5. 29, 30 (no. 30 is a foot fragment); Sidi Khrebish: Kenrick 1985: 356, 354, Fig. 66. 632. 4; Nabeul: Bonifay 2016: 561, Fig. 2.14. 151). Hayes Form 50B, belonging to Bonifay group C, was produced by workshops in Central Tunisia (Bonifay 2016: 556).

Only one rim-body fragment of Hayes 91C bowl with a plain rim and shorter, more rounded flange was found (**fig. 4, 54**) (Kenrick 1985: 364, fig.67, B654.2). Less common C subtypes of the form are known from Oudhna, Sidi Khrebish, Carthage, Tocra, El Mahrine in North Africa (Oudhna: Bonifay 2004: 179, 178, Fig. 95. 1. (Tip 52); Bonifay 2016: 558, Fig. 2.7. 124; Sidi Khrebish: Kenrick 1985: 364, 360, Fig. 67. 654. 1; Kartaca: Fulford 1984: 65, 64, Fig. 17. 47. 2, 4-6; Hayes 1976: 56, 55, Fig. 3. 40; Munoz et al. 2005: 15, 34, Fig. 10. 2; Tocra: Hayes 1973: 113, 112, Fig. 50. 2496; El Mahrine: Mackensen 1993: 360, 361, 430-432, 619, 620, Lev. 75. 6-8. (Form 52). Hayes Form 91C bowls, belonging to the D2 group, were produced by Oudhna workshops (Bonifay 2016: 524, 558). The dates 530-600 AD have been suggested for subtype 91C bowls.

A small fragment of bowl with broad downturned rim of Hayes Form 94 was found in Idyma and date range is late fifth to early sixth century AD (**fig. 4, 55**) (Hayes 1972: 148, 146, Fig. 27. 1; Kenrick 1985: 360, 367, Fig. 67. B656.2).

A base fragment of a large plate with two grooves on the floor, belonging to Hayes Form 105, was found. The date ranges from 580/600-660 AD (**fig. 4, 56**) (Hayes 1972: 166, 169, 168, Fig. 32. 8, 9, 15, 16; Hayes 2008: 233, Fig. 36. 1161-1162). Examples of the form are known from Sidi Khrebish and Tocra in North Africa (Sidi Khrebish: Kenrick 1985: 369, 370, 366, Fig. 68. 664. 1; Tocra: Hayes 1973: 110, 109, Fig. 48. 2451; 113, 112, Fig. 50. 2517). The production center of Hayes Form 105 plates, belonging to the D3/D4 group, is uncertain (Bonifay 2016: 525, 561).

Fig. 4, 57 is a jug with an appliqué decoration (Hayes Form 171-179). It falls into the fine, thin-walled ware category, carefully smoothed, with glossy slip. Vessels of this series are common at Tunisian sites, and rare elsewhere (Hayes 1972: 193; Mackensen 2006: 117). Several pieces of the body of a jug were recovered from Idyma. The jug was decorated with appliqué motifs consisting of a pilaster with a capital and a running animal.

The encounter with an early example such as Hayes Form 9 in Idyma shows that ships coming from Africa visited the city after docking at major ports such as Knidos. In addition, six forms unearthed; they appear to have continued steadily but in small numbers over a period of about 500 years, without sharp increases. Looking at the distribution of forms in the excavated area, early forms such as Form 9 and 14 were recovered from the South Slope, but later examples such as Form 50, 91, 97, and 105 were found near the northern city walls and towers of the Castle.

Although this article discusses the ceramics in a certain part of the city, the ceramic groups of Aegean and North African origin present evidence that during the Early Byzantine period, Idyma was among the harbor cities importing goods from the Aegean and North Africa.

Conclusion

The Italian traveler Guidi, who visited the city in the 20th century, dated the castle on the edge of Azmak to the Byzantine Period. He stated that there was an ancient wall and Roman Mosaic around it (Guidi 1924: 369-374). During the surveys carried out by İren, he stated that the Akyaka Medieval castle was built on ancient walls stretching to the east and west sides (İren and Gürbüzer 2006: 8; İren and Gürbüzer 2005: 12).

The ceramic finds dated from the middle of the 1st century B.C. to the third quarter of the 7th century AD show that the Idyma Castle of the Byzantine period was partially built on the Roman period settlement as stated by modern travelers and researchers. It is also clear that the settlement in this part of the city continued until the 8th century. Occupation here was interrupted by a *hiatus* during the end of the 3rd century AD and the first half of the 4th century AD.

The diversity of ceramics seen in Idyma, a coastal settlement, is related to maritime trade (Myres 1920: 429). The production of the regional ceramics may suggest the city's role in regional markets within Carian inner settlements.

The ceramics discovered here include a high number of Phocaean Red Slip Ware (LRC) Hayes Form 3 sub-groups and the presence of ARS Form 91C and 97 in the city, as well as rare forms of Phocaean Red Slip Ware Hayes Form 8. This points to an increase in the number of imported ceramics during the 6th century AD.

The preference for plates can be interpreted as an indication of the dominance of Christian culture in the region. Late Antiquity witnessed a change involving communal dining (Kenrick 2013: 52) that made use of large plates (Hawthorne 1997: 33-36; Abadie-Reynal, Sophie Martz and Cador 2005: 184; also see Tekkök 2010 Review of Çanak). The archaeological evidence from Çatalçam Basilica in the modern settlement of Idyma (Akyaka) has provided evidence for the mid-5th century and the 6th century AD community. The inscriptions on the mosaics of the basilica are contemporary with the late antique ceramic finds (Özyurt-Özcan 2013: 465-468). The cookware forms and utilitarian vessels from the Castle have been studied and the group will be published soon.

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Shulamit Viki Terem

LOCAL AND ROMAN INFLUENCES ON THE POTTERY OF JUDEA AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE: THE CASE OF SHUʿFAT NEAR JERUSALEM

The period between the two Jewish revolts against the Romans, the Great Jewish revolt against the Romans (66-70 CE) and the Bar–Kokhba Revolt (132-136 CE), was a relatively short period, though an influential one when significant historical and political events left their marks on Jerusalem and Judaea. Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed in 70 CE, and the Jewish religious, cultural, and economic center ceased to exist. The Roman army was stationed in part of the ruins of Jerusalem. Recent excavations at the site of Shu'fat revealed a Jewish settlement, well dated to the period between the two revolts, that was erected shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and attests to the recovery of Jewish life in the vicinity of Jerusalem. This article will focus on trends of continuity and change in the pottery from Shu'fat from the end of the first and early second century CE and will decipher the local and Roman components in the pottery repertoire.

Roman Judea – Shuʿfat – Ceramic typology – Local pottery – Romanization

Introduction

The period between the two Jewish revolts against the Romans was a time of shift in Judea. The Great Jewish revolt ended in 70 CE with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Jewish Temple by the emperor Titus. Subsequently, the 10th Roman Legion Fretensis was stationed in the ruined city and its vicinity, marking significant administrative and cultural shifts (Weksler-Bdolah 2020). Outside Jerusalem, the Jewish province of Judea recovered after the Great Revolt, and flourished until the Bar-Kokhba Revolt that began in 132 CE and was suppressed by the emperor Hadrian in 136 CE, resulting in the collapse of the province and the change in its name and demography; Judea has turned to Syria-Palaestina and was no longer Jewish. On the ruins of Jerusalem, a new Pagan colonia named Aelia Capitolina was erected.

We often wonder whether historical and political events bear an influence on material culture and specifically on pottery (Rotroff 1997: 112-113; Bar-Nathan 2002:4). This article aims to address this question by presenting the complex picture of both change and continuity in the pottery assemblage from the site of Shuʿfat, a small village north of Jerusalem.

While there are abundant historical and archaeological sources on Jerusalem during the Late Second Temple Period, the information regarding Jerusalem and its vicinity in the following period, between the Jewish War and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, is scarce. However, excavations in the past two decades filled the lacuna and shed light on this little-known period, including the excavations at Shuʿfat.

The Site of Shuʿfat

In recent years, extensive excavations were conducted in the Jerusalem region as part of development and construction works. Among them is the site of Shuʿfat, which is located 4 km north of Jerusalem (**fig. 1a**)[1]. The salvage excavations revealed a long narrow strip of ca. 500 m long and 8 m wide (**fig. 1b**). The settlement was identified as a Jewish village from the time between the two revolts, erected shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and attesting to the recovery of Jewish daily life in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

The well-planned settlement was divided into 16 insulae separated by streets and alleys. The excavations revealed parts of both residential insulae and industrial or commercial zones. Other insulae served for public use, such as two Roman bathhouses and a large building built of ashlars, whose use is unknown. Various water cisterns and other installations were uncovered across the village (Sklar-Parnes 2005; 2006; Bar-Nathan and Sklar-Parnes 2007).

The date of the erection of the settlement was determined by the coins found in the foundation phase, dated to the second and third years of the Great Revolt (67-68 CE). The latest coin in the settlement is of Hadrian from 129-130 CE, depicting a symbolic act of erecting the forthcoming city of *Aelia Capitolina* in Jerusalem (Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky

[1] The site first was excavated by D. Sklar-Parnes and continued by R. Bar-Nathan in the years 2003-2007, on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, to allow the construction of the light rail; see Sklar-Parnes 2005; 2006; Bar-Nathan and Sklar-Parnes 2007. The pottery of Shu'afat was studied as part of my PhD dissertation under the supervision of prof. David Adan-Bayewitz, and it will be published in the Israel Antiquity Authority Reports. I am grateful to Dr. Rachel Bar-Nathan who granted her permission to publish the pottery of Shu'aft and provided support. I wish to thank prof. Adi Erlich for reading the draft of the text and valuable comments on it. Finally, I would like to thank Eyal Marco for his help in preparing the map; Tal Rogovski and Sapir Haad, for the drawings; Argita Gyerman Levanon, of the National Laboratory for Digital Documentation and Research, Israel Antiquities Authority, for the digital scans; and Clara Amit, Israel Antiquities Authority, for the photography.

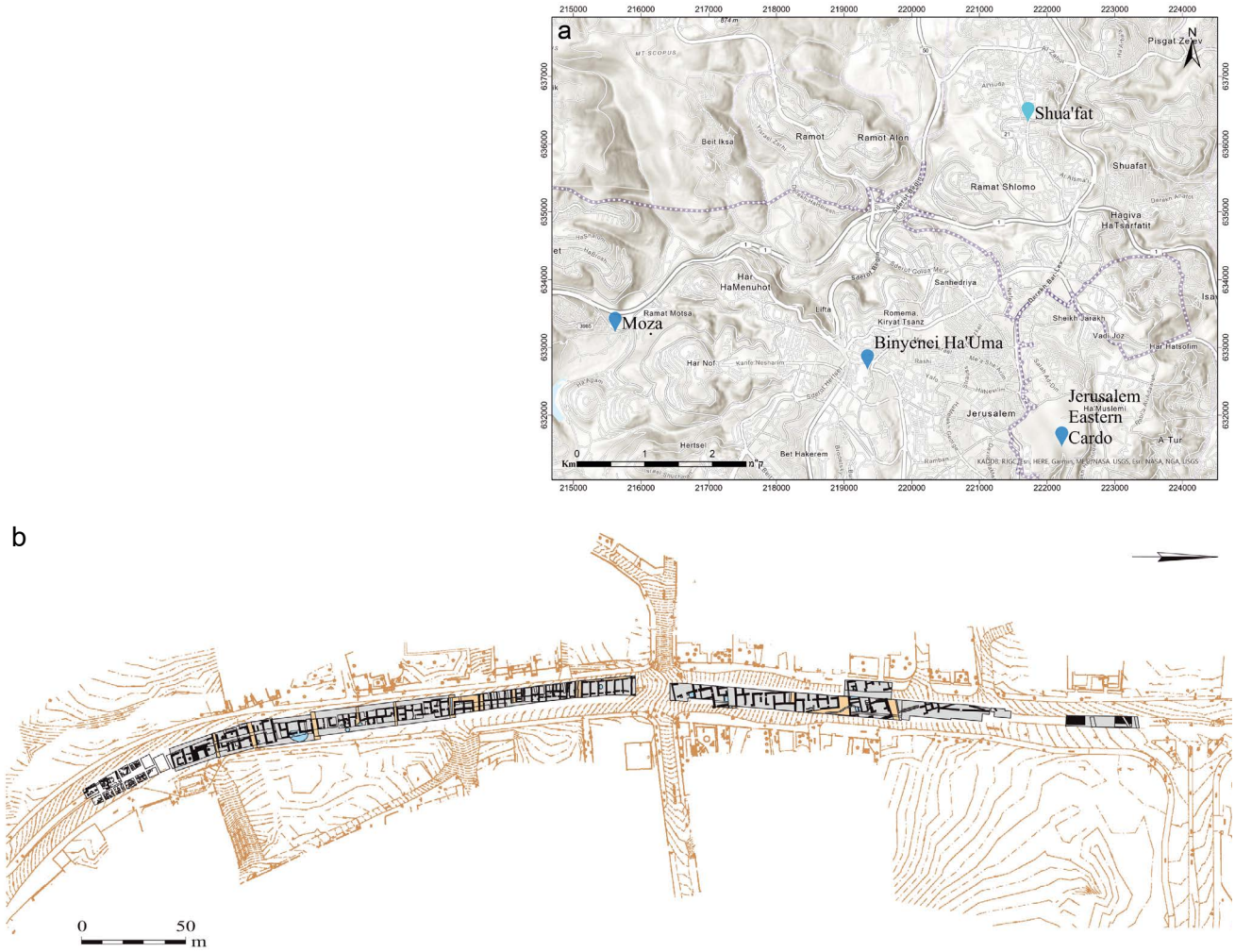


Fig. 1. a: Location map of Shu'fat and other sites mentioned in the text: Binyane Ha-'Uma (Jerusalem International Convention Center), Eastern Cardo at Jerusalem and Moẓa (drafting: E. Marco, Israel Antiquities Authority); b: Plan of the Shu'afat excavation (N. Zak, Israel Antiquities Authority).

2018)[2]. This coin, and the lack of any Bar-Kokhba revolt coin minted by the rebels, provide a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the site slightly before the Bar-Kokbha Revolts against the Romans that started in 132 CE. Therefore, the site was dated to the period between the two revolts, ca. 70-129/130 CE. For unknown reasons, slightly before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba, the site was abandoned, and its residents did not participate in the revolt itself.

The settlement was identified as Jewish based on material culture unique to Jews at that time. Jewish purity laws were maintained in Shuʿfat, as attested by the stepped immersion pools that served as ritual baths (miqva'ot) and stone vessels made of chalk, both exclusively Jewish (Adler 2021). A study of the faunal remains at the site has shown that the number of bones belonging to species forbidden in the Pentateuch (saliently, pig) is quite low, a faunal profile characteristic of Jewish sites throughout the Early Roman period (Bouchnick and Bar-Nathan 2012). It seems that between the two revolts, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and before the breakdown of Judaea as a Jewish territory, Shuʿfat was a lively Jewish town. The excavators proposed that the site was occupied by a well-off Jewish, formerly from the aristocracy of Jerusalem. It was suggested that the economy of the settlement relied on the provision of food to the Roman soldiers and road services to passersby on the main road of the central Judean highlands that passed just to the west of the site (Bar-Nathan, Terem and Finkielsztejn 2024).

The pottery from Shuʿfat

The well-dated site of Shuʿfat provided for the first time, a well-defined pottery assemblage dated ca. 70-130 CE, that presents the transformation that took place over time. The repertoire of vessels from Shuʿfat between the two revolts is rich and varied and incorporates both old and new types and

[2] This coin and the abundance of the site are evidences that the colony Aelia Capitolina was established before the Bar-Kokhba Revolt in the year 132 and that the ruined site of Jerusalem was occupied before that, possibly through Hadrian's reign (Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky 2018; Weksler-Bdolah 2020: 51-60).

forms, indicating the cultural and economic changes in the Jewish population at this site. While the old traditions refer to the Second Temple period in Jerusalem prior to the destruction of 70 CE and bear local character, the new trends show the influence of the Roman presence in and near Jerusalem between the two revolts.

More than 10,000 vessels and diagnostic pottery sherds were counted and documented[3]. They come from an area occupying over half of the excavated area, that was studied so far. Of which 5,250, about a half, are daily life vessels included in this paper (**table 1**). Below I shall present only a selection of types of the entire assemblage, with a typological-chronological discussion of both traditional and new forms.

Bag-Shape Jars are the dominant type of vessel at the site, comprising over a third of the vessels. Some of the types continue from the Second Temple period, such as simple (**fig. 2, 1**), thickened (**fig. 2, 2**), flaring (**fig. 2, 3**), small triangular (**fig. 2, 4**), ledge (**fig. 2, 5**), and shallow channel on ledge rims (**fig. 2, 6**) (Geva 2010: 122; Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013: 42-43). They are usually characterized by a ridge at the base of the neck. However, some types, such as jars with simple rims (**fig. 2, 1**), are less common than before 70 C.E. and some types are very common at the site of Shu'fat such as flaring, triangular, and shallow channel rims (**fig. 2, 3-4, 6**).

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Jars	1,928	36.7%
Cooking Pots	775	14.8%
Basins	567	10.8%
Frying Pans	393	7.5%
Kraters	371	7.1%
Jugs	271	5.2%
Casseroles	246	4.7%
Lamps	164	3.1%
Lids	152	2.9%
Cooking Jugs	110	2.1%
Bowls	108	2.1%
Pithoi	48	0.9%
Mortaria	47	0.9%
Dolia	28	0.5%
Bottles	22	0.4%
Juglets	20	0.4%
Total	**5,250**	**100%**

Tab. 1. Frequency distribution of vessels from Shu'fat.

Other jars of the Bag-Shaped type, now come with new forms of rims, such as deep channeled rims (**fig. 3, 1-2**) and folded triangular rims (**fig. 3, 3-4** and **9, 1**) that are far more

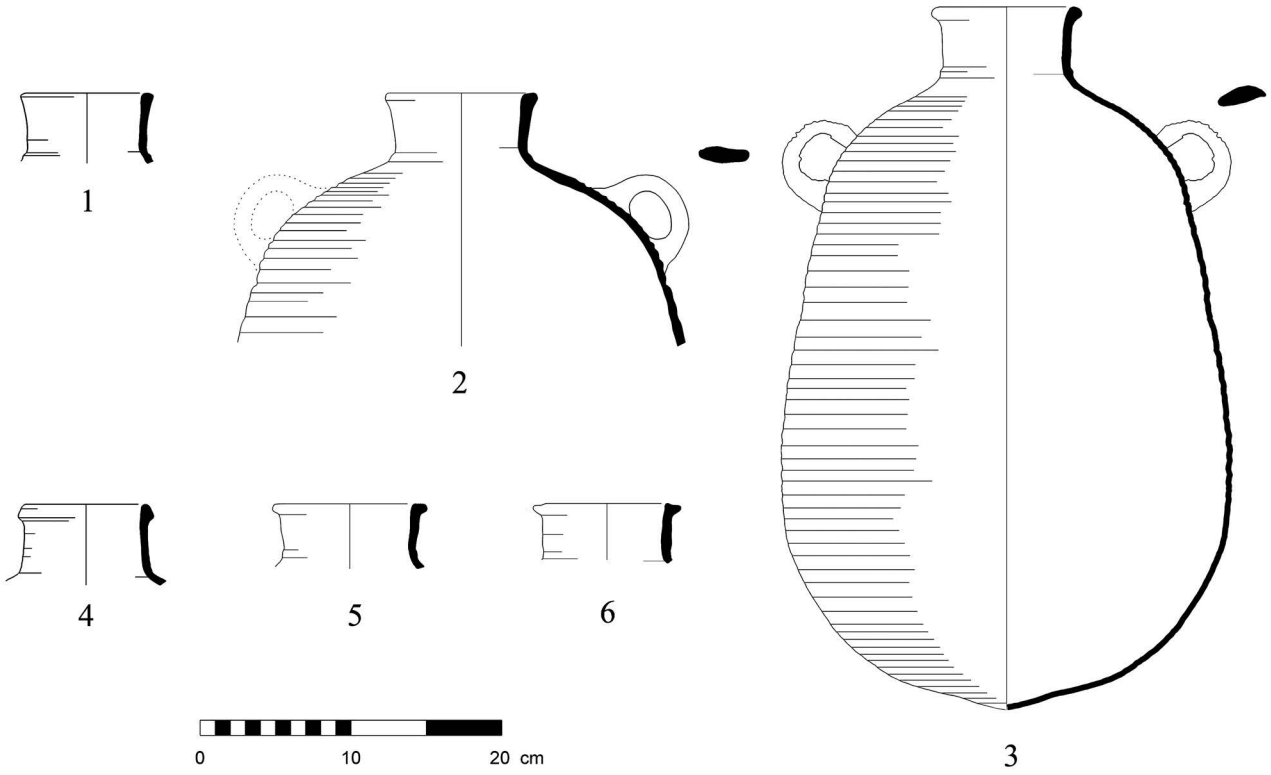


Fig. 2. Jars from the excavation at Shu'fat.

[3] The pottery of Shu'afat that was studied as part of my PhD dissertation focused on the utility and local ware (above note 1.). Other types of vessels such as fine ware, amphorae and building materials are still being processed and studied by R. Bar-Nathan and the author, and therefore will not be included in this paper.

common at the site. Jar no. 6 (**fig. 3**) is characterized by a high neck and round or square folded rim and sometimes lacks the ridge at the base of the neck. These jars are not found at sites dating to the Second Temple period and are typical to the Bar-Kokhba assemblages dated to between the revolts such as the Wadi Ed-Daliyeh cave (Lapp and Nickelsburg 1974: Pl.24: 4; 27: 4-6; Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013: 12, 14, Type J-SJ25, Pl.1.19:567).

The so-called "Gaza jars" or Gazan Amphorae (Majcherek 1985: 166, Form 1, Pl.3:1), are also present at the site (**fig. 3, 7**). They are characterized by a bulged body, thickened, upright rim, and a short neck with a ridge at its base. These jars were common throughout the 1st century to the early 3rd century CE. Such jars were produced along the southern coast (Israel and Erickson-Gini 2013: 175-176, Fig. 6:1; Cohen-Weinberger 2019: 254, Group C, Table 4.1:

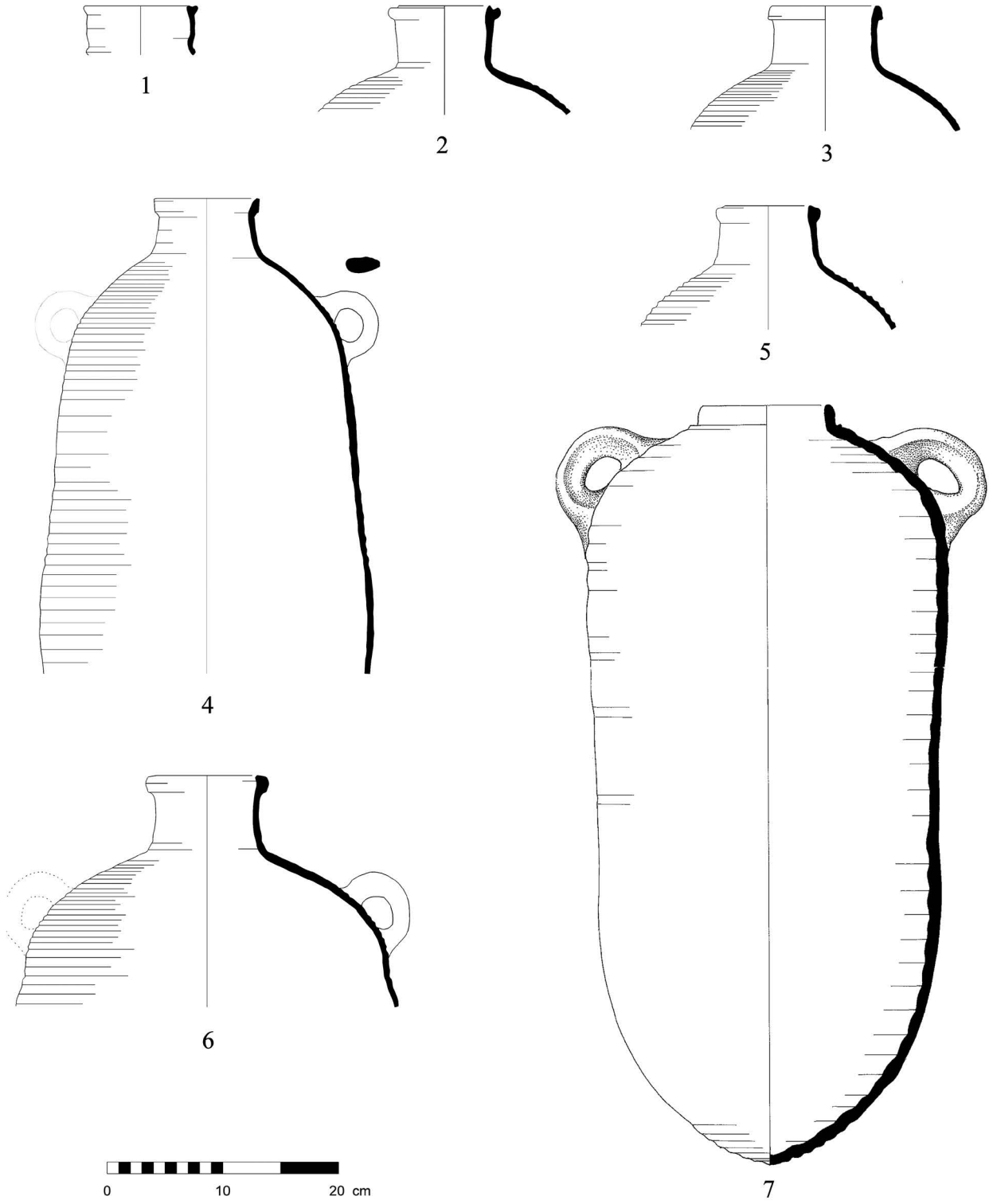


Fig. 3. Jars from the excavation at Shu'fat.

48), Recently, this type of jar described as having "roof tile fabric" was attributed by Rosenthal-Heginbottom (2019: 82, nos. 607-608) to a local manufacturer of the legionary kilnworks of Jerusalem. However, by looking at the fabric of the jars of this type from Shu'fat, they seem to be foreign to Jerusalem, perhaps a coastal ware.

Jugs present a similar picture, with both traditional and new types. Jugs characterized by a triangular rim and pear or ovoid body (**fig. 4, 1**) are the most common type at Shu'fat, comprising almost half of the jugs. Second come jars with a narrow, ridged neck and globular body and ring base body (**fig. 4, 2-3**), both continue from the Second Temple period (Geva 2010: 123, Types 1-2, Pl.4.3:1-4; Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013: 15-17, Types J-JG1, J-JG4B, JG12, Pl.1.20:704, 571-572, 707, 680-681). Additional new types appear, among them a small jug 'Table Amphora' characterized by

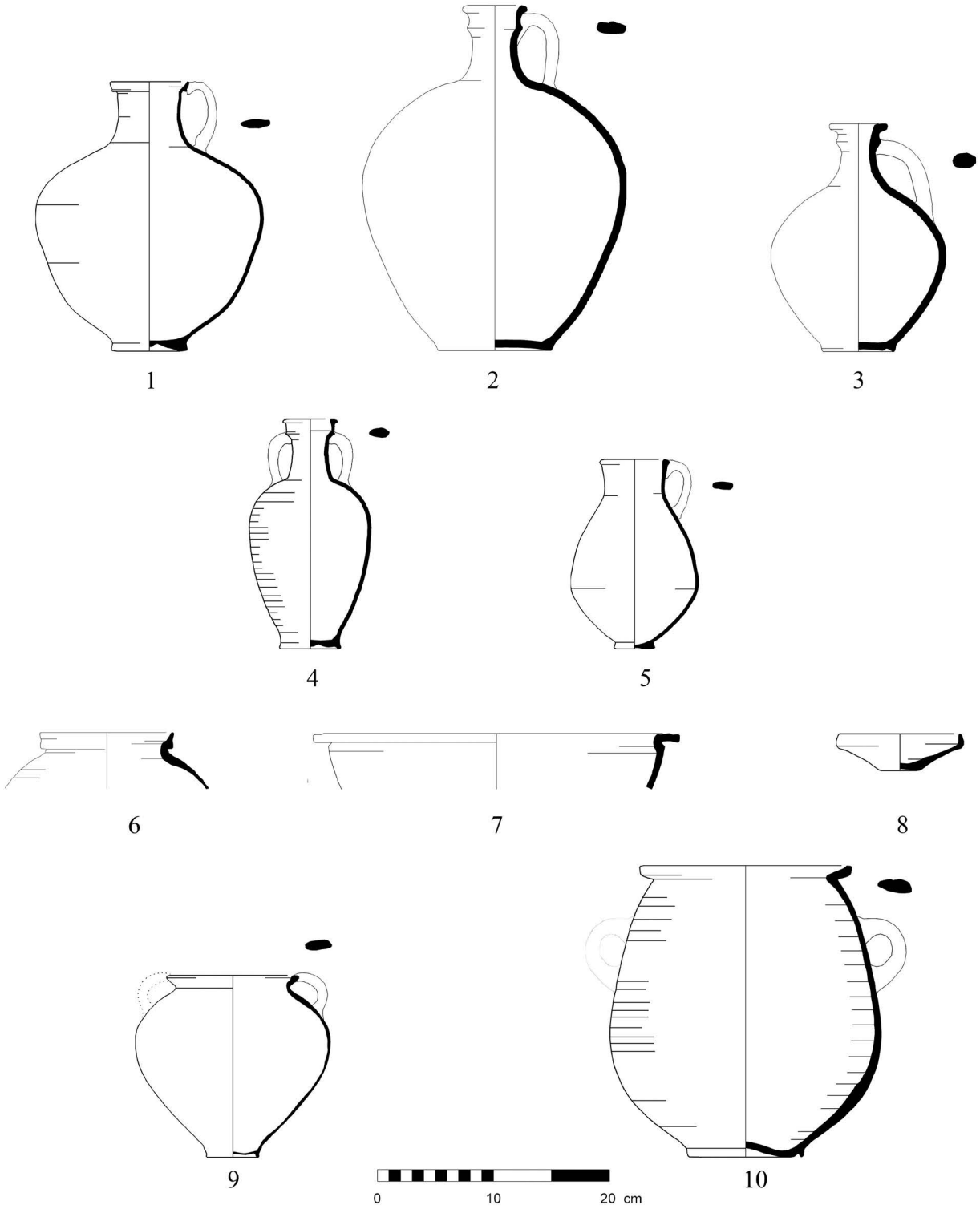


Fig. 4. Jugs (nos.1-5), kraters (nos.6-7, 9-10), and bowl (no.8) from the excavation at Shu'fat.

a small ledged rim, two handles from the ridge on the narrow neck to the shoulders, and a pear-shaped body (**fig. 4, 4** and **9, 3**), and a piriform jug (**fig. 4, 5** and **9, 2**) with a wide flaring neck ending in a small triangular rim (on the type see also at Jericho, Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013: 18, Type J-JG5B, Pl.1.20:708).

Closed Globular Kraters with a triangular rim having an internal groove to support the lid (**fig. 4, 6**) and open kraters, hemispherical or carinated (**fig. 4, 7**) continue from the Second Temple period and are still popular at the site of Shu'fat (Bar-Nathan 2006: 124-125, Type M-KR1, Pl.23:1-3; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019: 54-55, nos. 369-374). New types made their appearance during the late first century such as the krater having a pear-shaped body and flaring rim (**fig. 4, 9** and **9, 4**) and the krater characterized by a shelf rim, two loop handles on the upper part of the vertical walls, and an omphalos base (**fig. 4, 10** and **9, 5**) only the latter is common at Shu'fat (Magness 2009: 78, Fig. 8:9, 10:10; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019: 52-53, nos. 362, 365).

The small bowls characterized by a sharply incurved rim (**fig. 4, 8**), which are dominant at Jerusalem and Judea during the Second Temple period (Bar-Nathan 2006: 132-133, Type M-BL1B, Pl.25: 4-16), are found at Shu'fat but they are less common. It is worth mentioning the numerous glass bowls, jugs, bottles (Katsnelson 2007:6*-7*), and fine ware bowls local and imported from the site that probably became widespread instead of the shallow bowls of the Late Second Temple period.

The same picture of mixed trends emerges from the cooking ware. Closed cooking pots are the most common group of cooking ware, and they continue traditional shapes, but with morphological changes at the rim and shoulder area. The major group of cooking pots at Shu'fat is characterized by a triangular grooved rim, straight neck, and one, two, or three ridges creating a carinated shoulder (**fig. 5, 1-3** and **9, 6**). These cooking pots are typical to assemblages dated to between the two revolts in Jerusalem, Judea, and Bar-Kokhba period (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019: 83, 632-641; Bar-Nathan

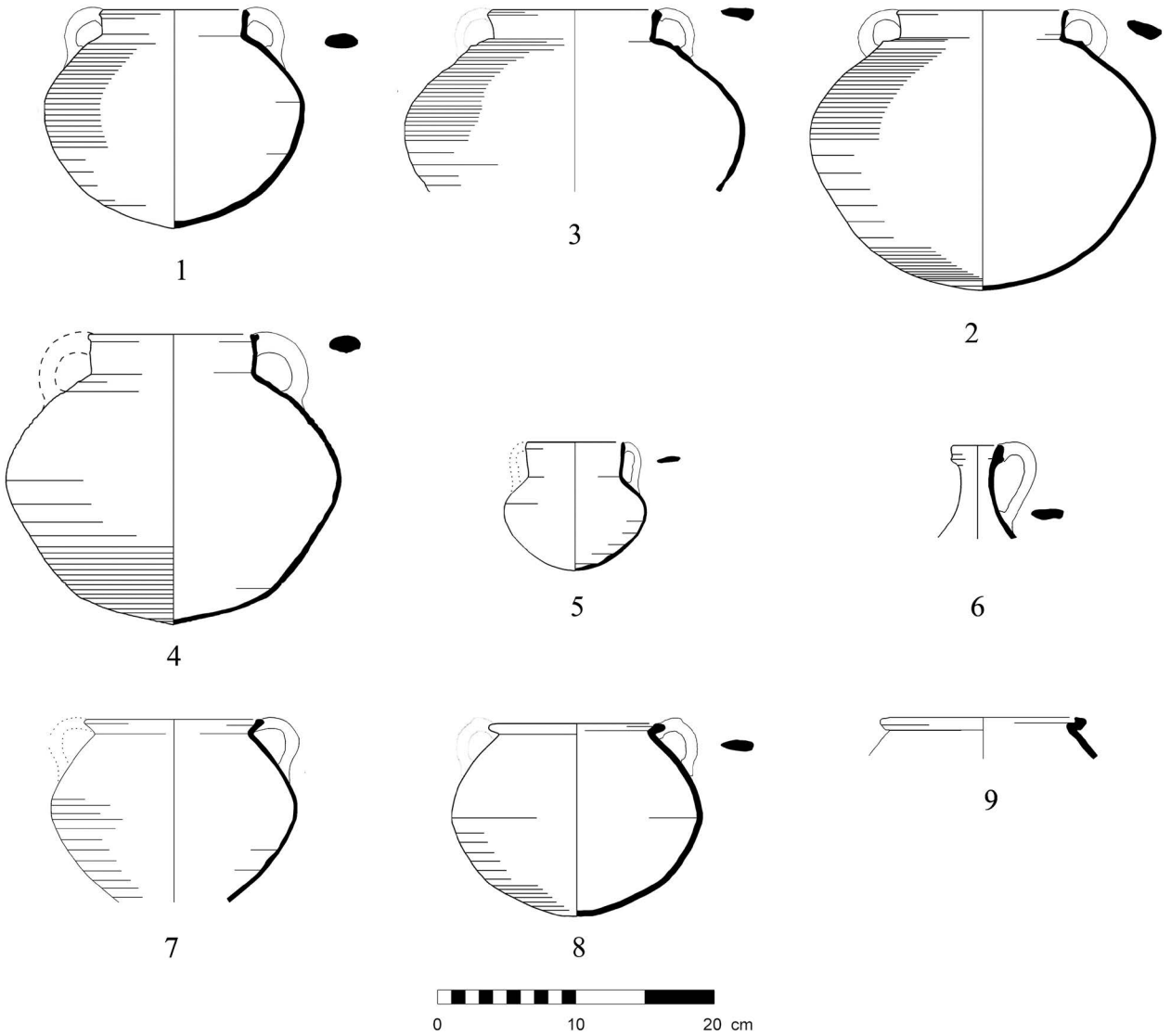


Fig. 5. Cooking pots (nos. 1-5), cooking jug (no.6), and closed casserole/cooking pots (nos.7-9) from the excavation at Shu'fat.

and Eisenstadt 2013: 26-28, Types J-CP8-9, 12, Pl. 1.23: 727, 612, 732). Also present in the kitchenware are new cooking pots (**fig. 5, 4** and **9, 7**) characterized by a globular squat body, square, grooved rim, tall neck, and carinated shoulder (Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013: 28-29, Type J-CP13, Pl.1.23: 736; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2005: 251. No 85).

Small thin-walled cooking pots having a small triangular rim and one handled from rim to shoulder occur in Jerusalem and Judea before 70 CE but in small quantities (Geva 2010: 126, Type 2, Pl.4.5:11-12). This type (**fig. 5, 5**), now in a two-handles variant, becomes very common at Shu'fat and is one of the hallmarks of the period between the two revolts (Rapuano 2013: 68, nos. 68-70). Cooking jugs (**fig. 5, 6**) with a globular body, tall cylindrical neck, and triangular rim continued from the first century CE century into the early second century. Some with slight changes; having narrow and taller neck and ridged at the base of the rim (Lapp and Nickelsburg 1974:52-53, Pl.28:1-3; Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013: 25, Type J-CJG1, Pl.23:610).

Closed casseroles/cooking pots: Deep neckless casseroles with an everted rim (**fig. 5, 7**), concave shelf rim (**fig. 5, 8**), or a cupped shelf rim (fig. 5, 9) are new types and are common at the site (Magness 2005: 91, Fig. 21; 22:1). The same varied rims appear also at open casseroles characterized by a shallow, carinated body and vertical loop handles (**fig. 6, 1**) (Magness 2005: 92-93, Fig. 22: 6-7).

The imported frying pans with lids were introduced from Italy and arrived sporadically in the late Hellenistic period in the north of the country (Berlin 1993). They reached the local markets in Judea (mainly at Herod's places sites), Samaria, and along the coast during the period of Herod (Bar-Nathan 2006: 358). This shape (**fig. 6, 2-4**), locally made in Judea, probably owes its popularity in the late first century-early second century to the presence of the Roman Legion (Bar-Nathan 2006: 151; for the use of frying pans in the Galilee and Golan see Berlin 2003: 63; 2006: 45-47). This type is commonly identified as an open casserole (see Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019: 90-91, nos. 671-684; Magness 2005: 91, Fig.19: 5-8), whereas Bar-Nathan terms this type as a frying pan (2006: 172-173, Type M-FP2, Nos.80-83; Bar-Nathan and Eisensdadt 2013: 32, Type J-FP1, Pl.1.25:631-632). Since the type has a flattened base, I follow Bar-Nathan terminology for this vessel. This frying pan is characterized by an internally beveled rim, horizontal loop handles, sometimes pinched, and a flattened base. It is widespread in Shu'fat, Jerusalem, and Judea. The appearance of the frying pan points to cultural changes, a new diet, and new food consumption habits at that time, and it mirrors the Roman army's impact on the province.

Conversely, only several baking dishes that are local imitations of the 'Pompeian Red' Ware pan with a dull, streaky red-brown slip (**fig. 6, 5**) were found at the site. Pans characterized by flaring walls, flat bottom, and a tubular handle (**fig. 6, 6)**, are slightly more common at the site. The legionary kilnworks are a good candidate to be the local manufacturer of flat-bottomed pans of coarse and fine dishes in the Jerusalem region (Magness 2005: 87-90, Ware 4). Although they are small in number at Shu'fat, the two types of baking pans reflect connections with the legionary

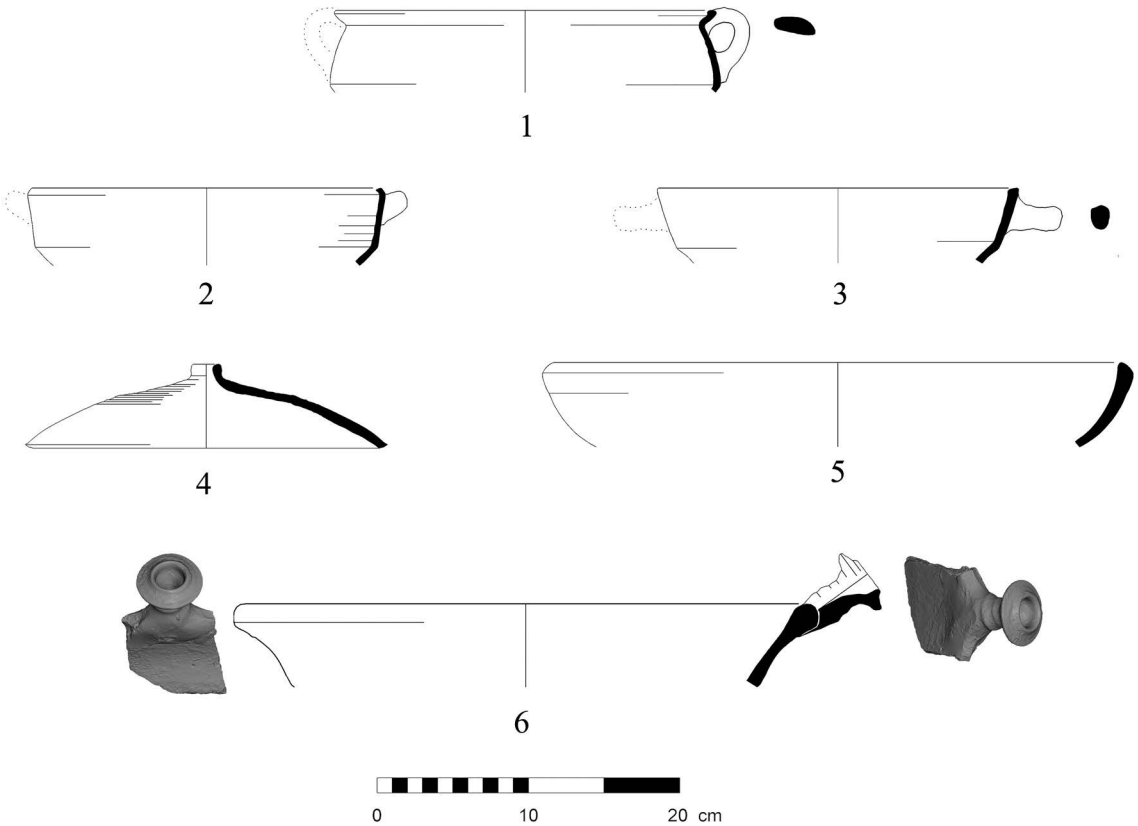


Fig. 6. Casseroles/pans (1-3), lid (no. 4), and imported or local variations pans (nos. 5-6) from the excavation at Shu'fat.

at Jerusalem and beyond, to the Roman World. Even rarer are cooking cauldrons that were produced at the legionary workshop and are characteristic of the Roman cooking pot. These vessels are nearly absent at Shu'fat, with only one specimen found on site, characterized by a straight outward wall and flaring ledged rim (Magness 2005: 93-94, Fig. 25:2-3, Fig. 26, Fig. 27:1-3, Photos 23-24; Terem 2016: 113-114, Type 4, Pl. 70: 579).

Further influence of the Roman 10th legion is shown in other types that come from the legion workshop. A new type appearing only after 70 CE is the Shelf-rim basin characterized by mostly straight outward, sometimes rounded walls (**fig. 7, 1** and **9, 8**). This type is very common in the assemblage of Shu'fat, the third largest group after jars and cooking pots (**fig. 2**). Parallels come from the Jerusalem International Convention Center excavations (Magness 2005: Fig. 27: 5; 29:2; Hershkovitz 2005: 289, Fig. 3: 4-6). Additional vessels are the heavy basins, mortaria, dolia, and lids made of a roof-tile fabric (**fig. 7, 2-5** and **9, 9-10**) found at the site, though less often. The production of these vessels is known from the Tenth Legion kiln excavated in the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma) (Heavy Basins: Magness 2005: Fig. 27;10; 28; 29: 1, 3, 6-9; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2005: no.97, 130-131, 167-173; Mortaria: Magness 2005: 97-98, Fig. 30; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2005: 255-256, Nos.94, 96, 162-165; Dolia: Magness 2005: 98, Fig. 31:1-4; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2005: no.93; Lids: Magness 2005: 99, Fig. 24, photo 27).

The Heavy basins (**fig. 7, 2-3**) display a variety of rims and wall profiles, such as a ledge or simple rim sometimes decorated with 'pie-crust' decoration or applied clay strips and some with ridged handles. The Mortaria are hemispherical heavy open basins, with a flange rim, a spout for pouring, and a flat base. The mortaria (**fig. 7, 4** and **fig. 9, 9**) from Shu'fat are characterized by basalt inclusions on the interior walls and base to make the vessel hard and suitable for grinding. These vessels, used for pounding, crushing, and mixing, are considered a distinctive sign of Romanization (Magness

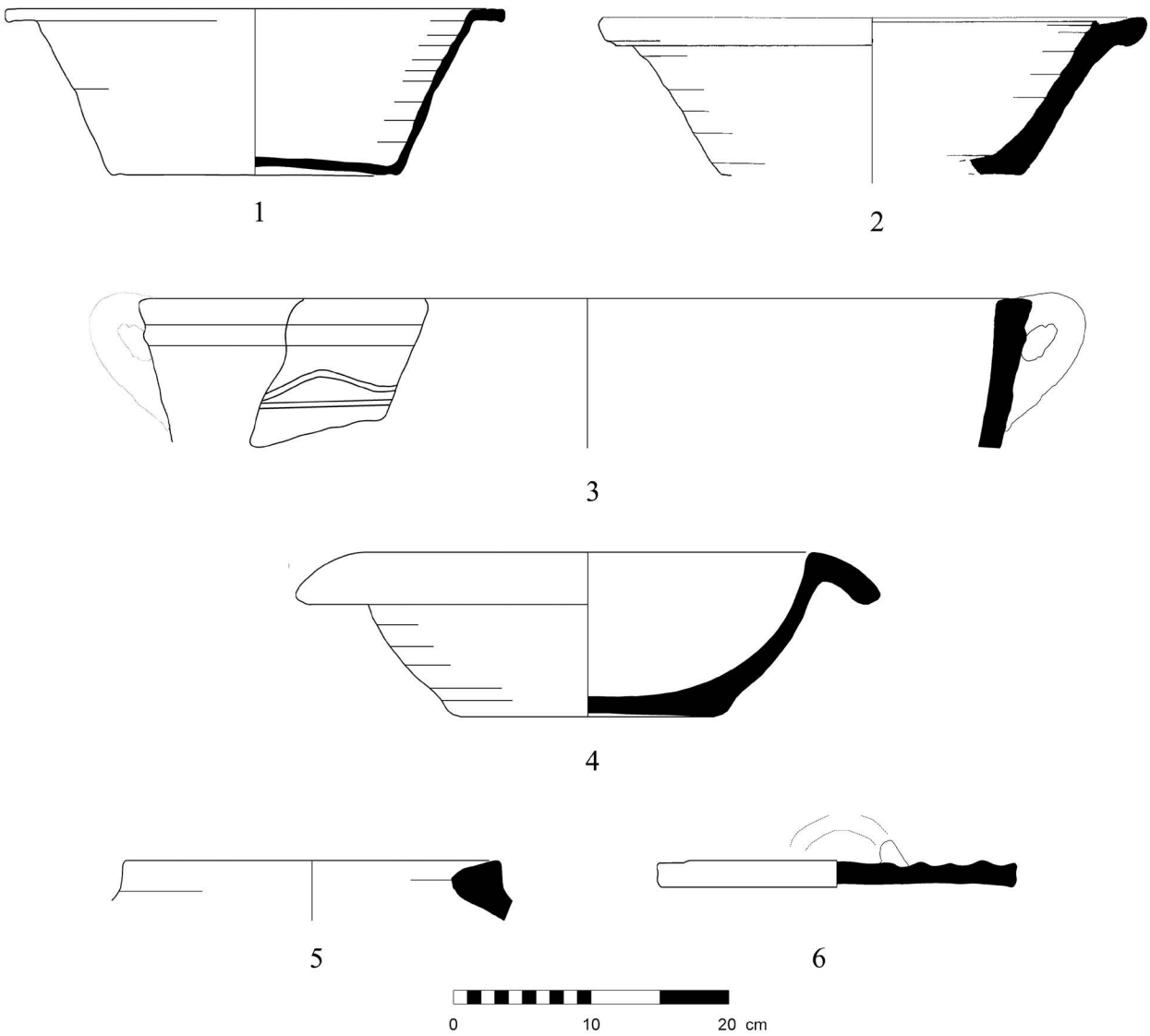


Fig. 7. Basin (no.1), heavy basins (nos.2-3), mortarium (no.4), dolium (no.5), and a lid (no.6) from the excavation at Shu'fat.



Fig. 8. Left: Wheel–made Herodian lamp with a spatulate nozzle, also called knife–pared lamp; Right: mold–made round discus lamp, Levantine variation of the Broneer XXV lamp. Photo credit: Clara Amit; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

2005: 97; Rosenthal-Heginbotom 2019: 60-61). The dolia (**fig. 7, 5**) are characterized by a thickened rim. Discs shape lids (**fig. 7, 6** and **9, 10**) could have been used for the dolia.

Also, worth mentioning are different ceramic objects other than vessels: ceramic building materials, like those made in the kilns of the Legionary workshop at the Jerusalem International Convention Center. Among them are roof tiles, pipes, and tubules used in the two bathhouses at the site (Kowalewska and Bar-Nathan 2022).

Oil lamps are also instructive to trends of continuity and change at the site. Two main types coexist in the assemblage, one old and one new. The old one is the traditional wheel-made Herodian oil lamp with a spatulate nozzle, also called the knifepared lamp (**fig. 8, 1**), so common in Jerusalem before 70 CE (Barag-Hershkovitz 1994: 24-58, Type C; Adan-Bayewitz et al. 2016). The new type appearing in Judaea only after 70 CE is the mold-made lamp with a round discus lamp, a Levantine variation of the Broneer XXV lamps (**fig. 8, 2**). This type is common at sites in Roman Palestine, dating from the end of the 1st century C.E. to the 3rd century. The discus area in the lamps from Shu'fat is plain. At the same time, elsewhere, this type is usually decorated with a variety of motifs, such as floral, figurative, mythological scenes, and daily life motifs. Leaving the disc plain at Shu'fat may hint at the Jewish habits of the inhabitants, who perhaps refrained from decorating their lamps with Roman iconography[4].

A micromorphological analysis revealed that the Roman discus oil lamps of the Levantine variation of Broneer type XXV were imported and not produced locally in Judaea (Terem 2016: 184-185, 187-188). This unique phenomenon of Roman discus lamps, with a discus that is most strikingly plain and unbroken shows that inhabitants of Shu'fat chose deliberately to import lamps with a plain discus that suited their needs and avoided the need to break the figural discuss, as they often did (Sussman 2012: 61-62; Tal and Bastos 2012, Vitto 2011:*51-*52).

The local lamps of the 'Southern Lamps' group, which are dated between the two revolts and are common elsewhere in Judea, are present at the site, but less common than Herodian lamps and Roman round discus lamps (Terem 2016: 150-151, Type 2, Pl.75, 611-618). The three types of lamps also coexist in other assemblages dating to this period.

Discussion

The pottery of the well-dated site of Shu'fat, provides new evidence that decodes the changes in Judea between the two revolts. The pottery can serve as means to understand better the cultural and historical processes in Judaea from the Late Second Temple Period to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

The repertoire of vessels from Shu'fat between the two revolts is rich and varied and incorporates both old and new types and forms. Some of the new forms indicate the cultural and economic changes that took place in the Jewish population of this site. Besides the ordinary repertoire, new types similar to those produced by the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem were also adopted by the Jews, such as mortaria, dolia, and pithoi. Still, they are found in rather small numbers. Other Roman vessel types, such as basins, kraters, and pans, are very popular at Shu'fat. Those new forms exist alongside the common local types that are found throughout Judaea. Unfortunately, while the manufacturing center for the so-called Roman types from the Legionary workshops at the Jerusalem International Convention Center is well-known, the location of other workshops of the local Judean old and new types is still missing (Adan Bayewitz et al. 2016).

A comparison of the pottery assemblage from Shu'fat to ceramic assemblages of nearby contemporary sites, one from the site of Moẓa-Colonia, and the other from remains in Jerusalem post-70 CE (above, **fig. 1, a**), is necessary for the understanding of the cultural, administrative, and economic networks in the region at that time.

The site of Moẓa is identified as *Colonia*, a Roman veterans settlement established by Vespasian after the First Jewish Revolt. A salvage excavation at Moẓa was recently conducted on the east and westbound lanes of the old Highway 1,

[4] Excluding three lamps: one lamp is decorated at the discus area with two vine leaves and a bunch of grapes, and two fragments of the discus area bear a figurative decoration of a human head: one was worn and another carries the face of Dionysus.



Fig. 9. Selected vessels from the excavation at Shu'fat. Photo credit: Clara Amit; Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

with the construction of highway road 16. A large Roman settlement dated to the Middle Roman period i.e., between the two revolts (stratum 9), was found (Bar-Nathan et al. 2019; Ad and Eirikh-Rose 2021; Ad, Bar-Nathan and Taxel 2022). The pottery retrieved from that stratum is alike to that from Shu'fat and similarly contains both traditional and new forms. However, the assemblage from Moẓa also differs from that of Shuafat. While the Moẓa assemblage includes miniature altars (arulae), figurines, and tableware with mold-made figurative appliques attesting to their pagan character and cultic activity of the military personnel, the Shu'fat repertoire lacks such elements, probably because of the Jewish identity of its inhabitants (Terem et al. 2021:158*; Bar-Nathan et al. 2019:18-23).

After the destruction of the Second Temple, the tenth legion was stationed in Jerusalem. Pottery from the post-70 CE phase was retrieved from a Roman dump deposited during the leveling works before the constructions of the Eastern Cardo of the forthcoming city of Aelia Capitolina around 130 CE. The pottery assemblage (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019) is similar to the repertoire from Moẓa and includes fine ware tableware, altars, and figurines, that as stated above, lack from Shu'fat.

Thus, as much as the pottery assemblages of the three sites, Shuafat, Moẓa, and Jerusalem are similar, and all three show Romanized types, the former differs from the two latter by lacking certain products that do not fit Jewish habits, such as altars, figurines, and certain types of fine ware.

The combination of local Judaean vessels and vessels influenced by the Roman army is unique to Shu'fat, a Jewish village close to Jerusalem that apparently maintained contact with the Romans at Jerusalem. The absence of figurines, small altars, and pottery with iconography decoration used for cultic or ritual practice as found at contemporaneous sites in Jerusalem and Moẓa, indicate a preference of the residents of Shu'fat and their identity and beliefs.

The research on legionary or veteran's pottery repertoire is focused on questions of local production, imports and imitation, and the potters (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2019: 269-282; Reynolds 1997-1998; Reynolds 2004:125; Reynolds Waksman 2007: 62, 66). The pottery from Shu'fat calls for a further study of the Jewish population at that time, that consumed both traditional and new vessels, and adopted certain commodities that suited their lifestyle and beliefs. Currently, Shu'fat stands alone as an example of those trends. Further study is needed on the Roman influences on the pottery of the Jewish settlements in Judea in their swan song, before their destruction in the Bar- Kokhba revolt.

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IMITATION AND INTEGRATION
CHANGING OBJECTSCAPES AT BERENIKE (EGYPT)

During the Augustan period there was an influx of 'new' material culture in Egypt. This influx caused changes in objectscapes and instigated a material culture revolution in the following decades. This is especially evident in the objects executed in different materials. The changing objectscapes and circulating 'new' objects enabled the production and the use of a new koine*. Ceramic, faience, glass, and wooden artefacts uncovered in the harbour of Berenike on the Red Sea coast provide great insight into these processes. This paper will explore some of these artefacts and their use within a changing society.*

Egypt – Berenike – objectscapes – pottery production – table ware

Introduction

Objects surround us all in daily life. These objects exert their own influence on how people live their lives. The whole range of objects in use in a certain period and geographical region comprise the "objectscape" (see Pitts and Versluys 2021, on objectscapes). Through time these objectscapes are subject to change as new objects enter a region, for instance through conquest or shifting power relations. This pattern can be studied in Egypt; the harbour of Berenike offers an unique insight into some of these processes because of the well-preserved material culture at the site. This paper will delve into the changing objectscapes and the implications for the integration of Berenike, and by extension Egypt, into the Roman Empire. During the Augustan period new material culture is introduced and that has its repercussions throughout the Early Roman period in changing morphology of vessels executed in different materials.

Cultural revolution and objectscapes

People are surrounded by objects in their daily lives, which could either be used regularly or play solely a passive role (Hahn 2015: 10). Their functioning within a larger context is known as *objectscapes* (Pitts 2019; Versluys 2017), the definition of which follows (after Pitts and Versluys 2021: 369-370). Analysis of an assemblage is typically used to describe artefact configurations within a site where an objectscape can be used to work with more comprehensive and less schematic groups of objects at the level of entire sites, periods, or regions. An objectscape is, thus, in short, a part of space-time. The study of objectscapes is based on four central questions that are attached to a specific period:

-What objects, styles, and material types are new?
-Where do these come from?
-How are these innovative?
-What are the historical consequences of these material changes?

Three parameters are important in answering these questions: the principles of connectivity, relationality, and impact. Briefly, connectivity is important in answering the first two questions, as it supports the exchange of ideas and objects through intensified contact, thus leading to innovation and change within an objectscape. Relationality assumes that objects are always part of the *inter-artefactual* domain (Gell 1998: 216). This means that objects created within a given *objectscape* emerge according to the same principles because their relationship to other objects within the *objectscape* is the same. This principle forms a bottom-up perspective for looking at *objectscapes*. Impact is based on the influence that (groups of) objects have, as *actants* (Latour 1993a: 23; 1993b: 392-396), on their environment. It is also central to answering the last two questions about the changes that take place through objects.

Each specific *objectscape* is bound to a place and time. *Objectscapes* change, but also several coexist in geographically adjacent areas. The transition, or contact zone, between two *objectscapes* will be gradual rather than an abrupt and absolute boundary. Within these contact zones an interplay of the *habitus* of various populations, material culture, and customs can lead to new hybrid forms, so that the transition is gradual and has no sharp boundary. Therefore, the context of that material culture is of the utmost importance; there is no one-on-one relation between an object and a cultural identity, but rather an assemblage of material culture that is not formed in social and physical isolation. Rather, it represents continuous interaction through a consciousness of

difference. This makes *objectscapes* fluid and diverse over time, but they can also be different for each type of site. Thus, studying *objectscapes* gives the opportunity to study these changes in a diachronic perspective.

The influx of new material culture in Egypt introduced inhabitants to new types of vessels. This influx of this material culture was very evident during the Augustan period, when Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire and was (re) structured accordingly (Van Aerde 2018; Capponi 2005; Wallace-Hadrill 2010). This event coincides with a phenomenon in the whole Eastern Mediterranean, the so-called "table ware boom" (Poblome and Zelle 2002: 275-287; Poblome et al. 2007: 221.). New fine ware products, such as Italian Sigillata and Eastern Sigillata B, flooded the market, and existing repertoires and objectscapes changed accordingly. These new and redesigned sigillata vessels signified an empire-wide cultural integration and can be used as a marker of Roman culture in the provinces (Gates-Foster 2019: 653-655; Poblome et al. 2007: 221; see also Capponi 2005: 176-177). This table ware boom, however, is most commonly attested in ceramics, as pottery survives in much larger quantities than glass, wood, or metal. It should, however, not be forgotten that table wares could be executed in multiple materials while still serving the same function. A reason for not finding table ware in other material is that wood either was used for fuel or decayed, glass and metals were often melted down and reused, especially as the latter maintained its intrinsic value based on weight (Reitlinger 1963: 14; Vickers 1986: 137). Thus, ceramics provide better and broader insights into trends and changes in table wares than do other materials (Vickers 1998: 6). In Berenike, however, table wares in perishable materials have survived the test of time. These table wares give insight into the changing *objectscapes* in a more complete manner and show changes that cannot be attested in this scope at other sites.

Table wares in Berenike

Table wares in the Roman Empire could be executed in various materials including clay (both fine and coarse wares), glass, base and precious metals, wood and, specifically in Egypt, faience (see for overviews of the various materials Hayes 1972; Isings 1957; Nenna and Seif El-Din 2000; Strong 1966). At the time Egypt was incorporated into the Roman Empire, the industries making these objects had already been functioning for many centuries, and they would continue to flourish during the Roman period (Nicholson and Shaw eds. 2009 give an overview of most productions). The use of the objects discussed below is not new in Egypt, but their morphology is. Table wares, in this case, were imported,

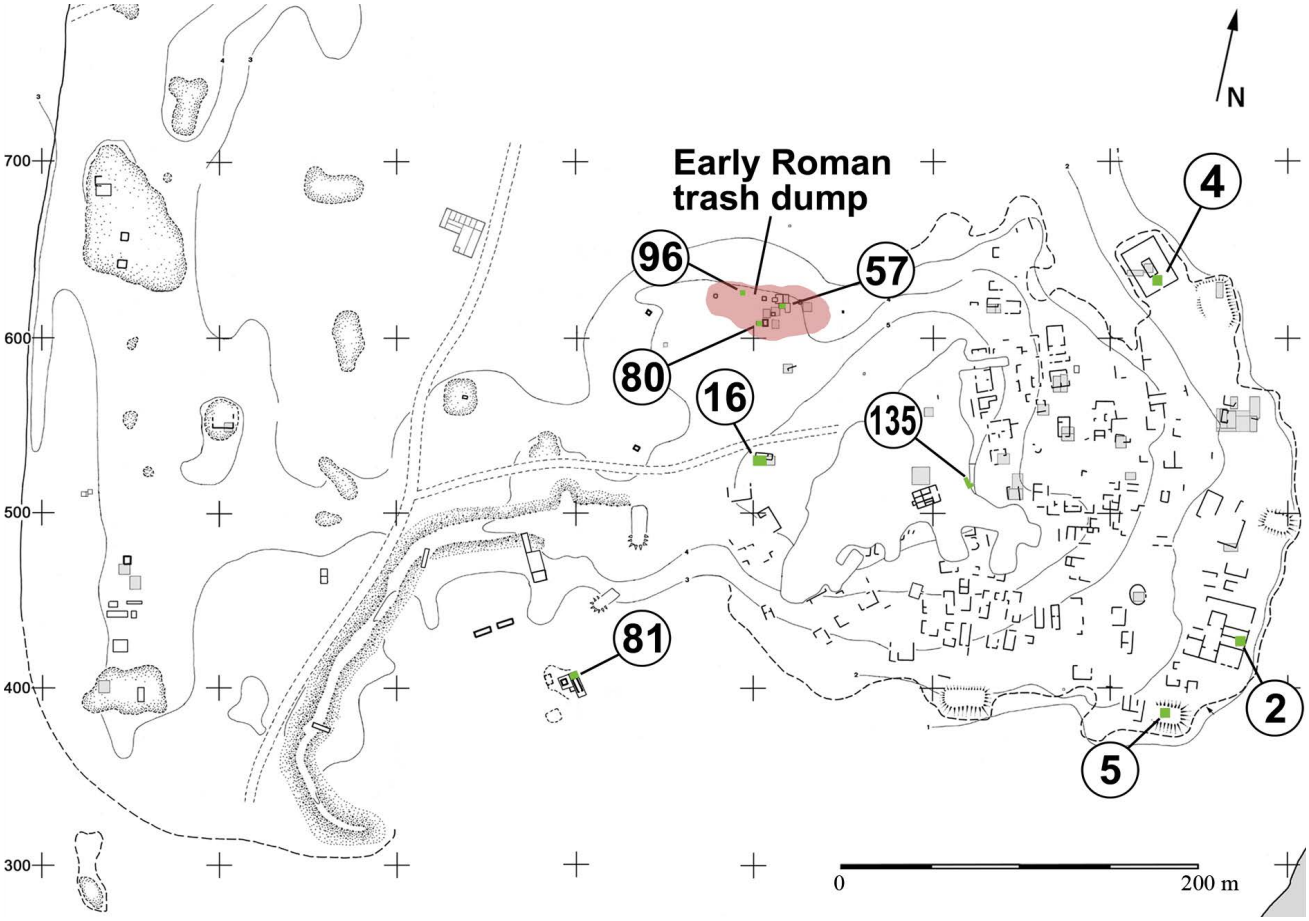


Fig. 1. Location of Berenike and the Early Roman trash dump on the edge of the city, highlighted are the trenches mentioned in the text (figure provided by M. Hense).

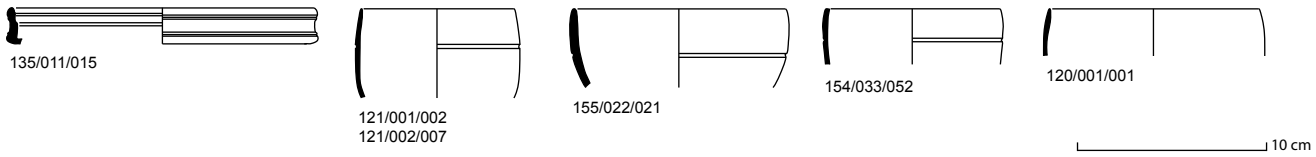


Fig. 2. Imported ceramics: Atlante 34-36 plate (left) and Hofheim 22 cups (right).

produced, and used in the Ptolemaic period (e.g. Élaigne 2012; Harlaut and Hayes 2018). The influx of new vessels influenced the *koine* and made craftsmen in Egypt familiarise themselves with these new shapes to such an extent that, like the rest of the population, these shapes became part of the *objectscape* and when making table ware these shapes sprang to mind in favour of the older versions. The vessels discussed in this paper comprise a selection of forms from the whole range of table wares, but are vessels that were executed in multiple materials. Before delving into the vessels themselves, below follows a short overview of the site.

The Late Roman-era settlement at Berenike overlies most of the Early Roman city. Therefore, most trenches only yielded residual Early Roman finds. There are, however, several trenches (BE95-4 and BE95/96/97-5, see **fig. 1**) with Early Roman material, most of which are situated on the Early Roman trash dumps to the northeast of the settlement (**fig. 1**). Those trenches yielded a fair amount of fine table wares, albeit less than 0.5% of the total pottery corpus (Hayes 1996: 147-148, 154). The complete Early Roman table ware assemblage is therefore low in number, but the vessels discussed are representative for this period. There are a number of imported vessels among these table wares.

Berenike's location in the Eastern Desert and on the Red Sea Coast meant it had to be supplied in order to provide basic necessities. To date there is little evidence to suggest that specialised artisans producing table ware of various materials were active on site, evidence suggests that woodworkers probably were (Sidebotham 2011: 201-205). Evidence for other artisans on site that could have produced table ware on site, during the Early Roman period, is lacking. When studying the *objectscapes* at Early Roman Berenike it is, therefore, safe to assume that, wooden table ware excepted, all table wares were imported to the site. Furthermore of the discussed materials, the sigillata certainly originates outside Egypt, the glass possibly and the faience and wood were made within Egypt, and the latter likely in Berenike itself. All these vessels will be discussed below starting with the ceramics, followed by glass, faience and wooden table ware.

The ceramics can be divided into imported vessels and those produced within Egypt. For the imported vessels mainly the sigillata vessels are relevant for this study. Those comprise the Atlante ESA 29, 34-36, 46-48 and 57 forms (Hayes 1985). In the various trenches fragments of at least eleven of the 34-36 plates have been found (**fig. 2**, see Geerts 2021: 142 for an overview). These vessels are all imported from the production sites in the Eastern Mediterranean. Another vessel initially produced outside Egypt is the Hofheim 22 cup (Ritterling 1913). Vessels are known from the Northwestern Limes (Ritterling 1913, form 22) and from the Mediterranean, e.g. in Cosa (Moevs 1973: 225-227, form XXXVI) and Corinth (Hayes 1973: 463, form 193, and Wright 1980: 157, form 85).

Along the Nile Valley and in Aswan several of these imported vessels were imitated in local clays. Examples of these are the Atlante ESA 34-36 plates imitated in the Nile silt fabric, type MC 75 (Hayes 1996: 162-163 no. 9; Tomber 2006: 118). Two Hofheim 22 cups found in Berenike (**fig. 2**) shows that those were made in the Nile Valley as well. The other three vessel types are produced in Nile silt or Aswan fabric but not (yet) attested at Berenike. At Mons Claudianus they, however, have been found in Early Roman strata, see types MC 30, 78 and 82 (Tomber 2006: 105-107 and 119).

The imported glass vessels also include forms similar to the Hofheim 22 cups, the Isings 12 hemisperical bowls. Those have been found in Berenike (Nicholson 2000: 205-206) and also in the port of Myos Hormos 320 km north of Berenike (Meyer 1992: 50-51). A second vessel is the Isings 5 plate of which a specimen was found on the surface of the Early Roman trash dumps. These vessels have an overhanging rim and a low ring base making them similar in shape to ceramic table wares like the Atlante ESA 57 plates, and have a similar production date although the glass can already be found in 1st century contexts (Isings 1957: 21). Similar to the Atlante ESA 34-36 plates are the plates Isings 47 (**fig. 3**). As this plate comes in multiple variations the glass form Isings 47 with beaded rim is also similar to Atlante ESA forms 29 and 34-36 (see Fünfschilling 2015: 139 for some variations). Another shape common in multiple materials is a hemispherical cup with ring base with an upright rim and a stubby flange partway down the wall, Isings 69. A cup that has parallels in ceramic table ware as well, MC 30 (MC Mons Claudianus, see Tomber 2006: 105-107), even though those have not been attested at Berenike as of yet.

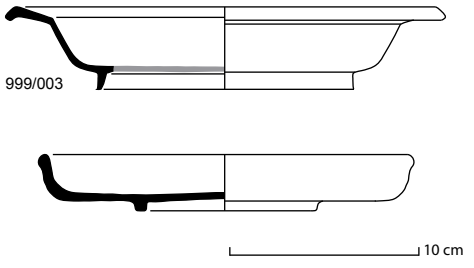


Fig. 3. Imported glass: Isings 5 (the lower plate after Isings 1957).

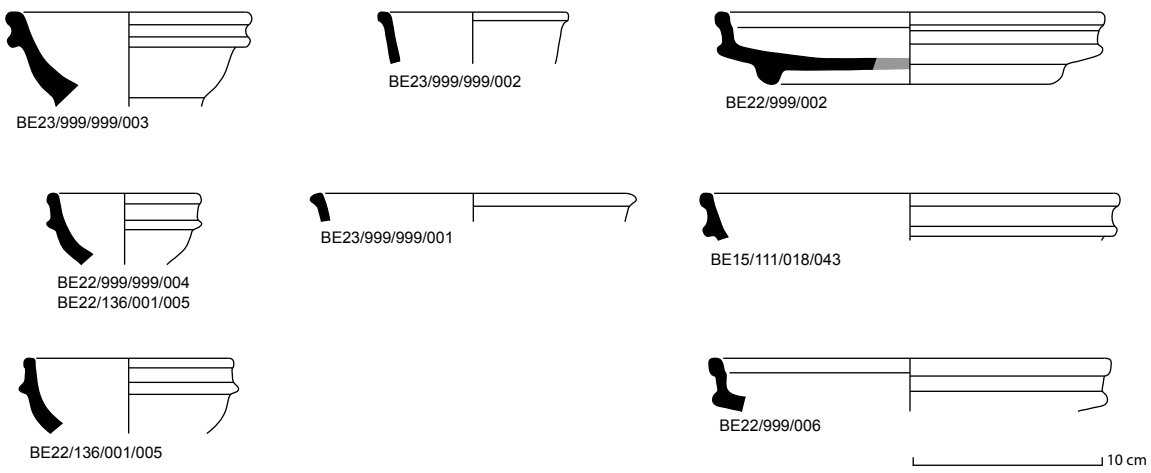


Fig. 4. Imported faience: MC 12 (left column), vessels with beaded rim (middle column) and a plate with ring base and straight rim (right column).

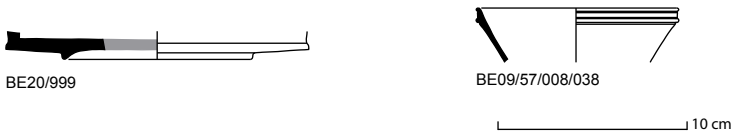


Fig. 5. Wooden vessels: a plate with ring base en straight rim (left) and a cup with flange (right, after Zych 2011: 129).

	Ceramic, non Egyptian	Ceramic, Egyptian	Glass	Faience	Wood
Hemisperical cup with a flat base	Hofheim 22	Hofheim 22	Isings 12		
Hemispherical cup with ring base with an upright rim and a stubby flange	Similar to Atlante ESA 46-48	MC 30	Isings 69	T12.4 / MC 12	X
Plate with beaded rim	Atlante ESA 29	Similar to MC 82	Isings 47	T12.1	
Plate with overhanging rim	Atlante ESA 57	MC 78	Isings 5	T13.2 / MC 14	
Plate with ring base and straight rim	Atlante ESA 34-36	MC 75	Isings 47	T13.3 / MC 13	X

Table 1. Vessels in multiple materials found at Berenike, known types from the region, but not found at Berenike in grey. An X marks vessels found, without a type in the prevalent typologies

In faience most of the aforementioned types were also produced (Nenna and Seif El-Din 2000 and Nenna 2013; 2014). Two of those have been found at Berenike (**fig. 4**). Several plates with ring base and straight rim, form T13.3 similar to the Atlante ESA 34-36 plates, have been found in the Early Roman trash dumps. At the same location excavations also documented a hemispherical cup, T12.4 or MC 12 (Tomber 2006: 48). The faience forms sometimes predate the imported vessels of the same shape as has been noted by Tomber (Tomber 2006: 46), but the dates provided for the forms cited in this study are later in date then the imported ceramic, mainly sigillata, vessels.

Wooden vessels are scarce on most sites, but the exceptional preservation at Berenike allows for those to be found in large quantities (e.g. 100 bowls in a shrine, Sidebotham 1999: 70-73; or a dozen in a temple, Sidebotham et al. 2015: 308). For this paper, the vessels that will be discussed have shapes similar to the table wares discussed above. The first vessel, found on the surface at the Early Roman trash dump (**fig. 5**), resembles the Atlante ESA 34-36 and ESB 7plates. The second group of vessels resembles the MC 30 cups. Those fragments are dated to A.D. 40-70. It has been remarked that those vessels resemble sigillata and one footring base fragment preserved a layer of red paint. That paint would have made it resemble sigillata even more (Zych 2011: 128-129). Similar shapes in Eastern Sigillata have been found at Berenike, for instance in Trench 2 (Hayes 1996: 168-168).

In sum, the vessels described above imitate the various shapes of table wares in production and use. Imitation was a common phenomenon in the Roman Empire (Gazda 2002;

Perry 2011); it occurs most often in ceramic (e.g. Geerts 2020; Willet 2012: 338-359). This practice is not limited to the Roman period in Egypt (see Marchand 2011: 604-605). An overview (**table 1**) makes clear that vessels produced in one material were imitated in other materials. The scarcity of wooden vessels, and main distribution of faience vessels within Egypt, do not signify that those ones lacking in the table have not been made. This table shows clear morphological similarities within the table ware from the Early Roman period. The table can easily be expanded with other wares, like the Italian sigillata, the Conspectus 18 is for instance similar to the last vessel in table 1 (Ettlinger et al. 2002).

Conclusion

Material culture, in this case table wares, can provide valuable insight into changing objectscapes in Berenike and Egypt. When Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire an influx of new material culture ensued. This influx changed the prevalent *koine* used in both consumption and subsequently production contexts. A process similar has been observed with ceramic vessels imported during the Ptolemaic period (Élaigne 2002: 160). Changes in ceramic assemblages are normally easier to observe in table ware which, besides functional purposes, also are display items on the table when having visitors. Therefore, table wares are more prone to fashion and change (e.g. Willet 2012: 323) than cooking wares or amphorae because those serve a more practical purspose without the need for display.

In this case the earliest vessels that came into Egypt instigated the changes in the objectscapes. The difference in shape of the imported vessels from local (Ptolemaic) ones is an obvious indication for the order in which these changes in the objectscape took place. Imported Italian, Eastern sigillatas and glass vessels entered Egypt and were used by the local population, when they were not further exported to for instance India. The use of these vessels gradually influenced the production of vessels locally. These new morphologies became engrained in the minds of the users and producers and afterwards similar vessels were made in local clays, faience, and wood. Obviously, the dating of those locally produced vessels is closely related to the imported vessels. This can be observed within contexts in Berenike and at other sites. During the Augustan period Italian sigillata vessels are present, while the faience and other vessels are usually found in later contexts.

These vessels, and the proccesses behind them, clearly show the influence that the interaction of two different objectscapes and the introduction of a new morphology can have on each other. Through a process of daily interaction the prescence and morphology of these vessels becomes integrated and gradually influence and change, if ever so slightly, objectscapes. As can be seen it is a process that takes a while to fully change the objectscape and for morphologies to be engrained and spread over multiple productions. Berenike offers a unique insight into this proccess because of the survival of a multitude of table wares in different materials. This insight provides the means to study the changes taking place during the Early Roman period and put them into their broader cultural and historical context. It shows the way into which Berenike, and by extent Egypt, became integrated into the Roman Empire and its material culture.

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Cristina Mondin

TECHNOLOGY, TYPOLOGY, AND EVOLUTION OF EGYPTIAN POTTERY AT KOM AL-AHMER/KOM WASIT (NEAR ALEXANDRIA)

The Egyptian pottery found at the sites of Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit in the western Delta shows recurring characteristics in terms of technology and shape. The alluvial clay products can be divided into two macro-groups. The first, using technology that comes directly from ancient Egyptian Dynastic traditions, is characterised by the abundance of organic inclusions. The second, introduced at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, shows the influence of cooking and table-ware shapes from the Aegean-Mediterranean tradition, which led to a change in fabric and technology. The new technology concerns the introduction of kick-wheels that allow for a more regular modelling, facilitating the standardisation of pottery production. The new forms were produced continuously until the Roman times, until the 3rd century AD, when new forms of coarse ware were introduced.

Coarse ware – Hellenistic Period – Roman Period – kick-wheel – Western Nile Delta of Egypt

Introduction

The sites of Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit are located in the western Nile Delta, about 1.5 km from each other. On the basis of topographical studies, it is assumed that they were originally part of the same urban settlement recognisable as the ancient *nomos* of *Metelis* (Eller and Kenawi 2019: 1, 4-5; Hinojosa Baliño 2019: 54-55). The two sites are currently located about 6 km west of the Rosetta Branch of the Nile. As a result of the study of sediments from core drilling at and around the two sites, it is evident that between the late Dynastic and early Byzantine periods, the two sites were bordered by large, navigable canals of the Nile (Pennington 2019: 65-66). The proximity to small and medium-sized navigable branches ensured *Metelis* a privileged link with both Middle and Upper Egypt, as well as with the Mediterranean through the ports of Alexandria and Heracleion-Thonis.

Sites and Chronology

Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit's current limits are reduced compared to their original extent (**fig. 1**). The shift in dimensions was caused by two main factors: 1) the activities of the *sebakheen,* who destroyed and removed the mudbrick structures in order to reuse the silt as fertiliser; 2) current farmers who systematically erode the edges of the sites to enlarge their fields. The archaeological investigations started in 2012 covered several sectors of the two koms. Kom Wasit is the site with the earliest evidence of occupation, dating from the 26th Dynasty (BC 664–525). It was continuously inhabited until the 1st century BC, but coins and pottery continue irregularly until the 6th century AD. Given the need to understand the setting of the ancient settlement, archaeological excavations were conducted in various areas of the kom. In the northern part, the most damaged by the *sebakheen*, 13 excavation units were opened, eight of which were located in the sacred area and the enclosure wall of a large temple (Units 1, 4−8, 12−13). In Units 2 and 3 the access structures to the temple were excavated. Unit 11 was located east of the temple and contains the remains of a tower house. At the highest part of the kom, Unit 9 was investigated, uncovering a mudbrick tower house. Finally, in the southern sector, Unit 10 was investigated to study the tholos bath already identified from a surface survey in 2008 (Kenawi 2014: 101-103; Kenawi and Larosa 2017). From a chronological point of view, these excavations made it possible to reconstruct, even if in a partial manner, the material culture of the site from the 7th century BC until the 6th century AD. In particular, the earliest materials were found in the sacred area, where the temple was used until the Hellenistic period. Pottery and coins allow us to date an occasional frequentation between the 5th and 6th centuries AD (Asolati and Crisafulli 2019: 52-53). Unit 9 yielded materials dating from the 5th to the first half of the 3rd centuries BC. As in the temple, Unit 9 also registers a late frequentation of the area. The study is on-going; however, materials such as LRA 1, LRA 4, ARSW forms Hayes 67 and 91A, and a late 4th–early 5th century AD coin are recorded in Unit 9 (Asolati and Crisafulli 2019: 52, KWC 47). The house in Unit 11 can be dated between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC - two coins from the 2nd–1st centuries BC and three coins from the late 4th–5th centuries AD were also found, but no pottery was documented for these periods. Unit 10 of the Hellenistic baths dates between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (Asolati and Crisafulli 2019: 51; Mondin et al. 2020: 583). The area of the public bath was reused as a necropolis between the late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Mondin et al. 2020: 578-582).

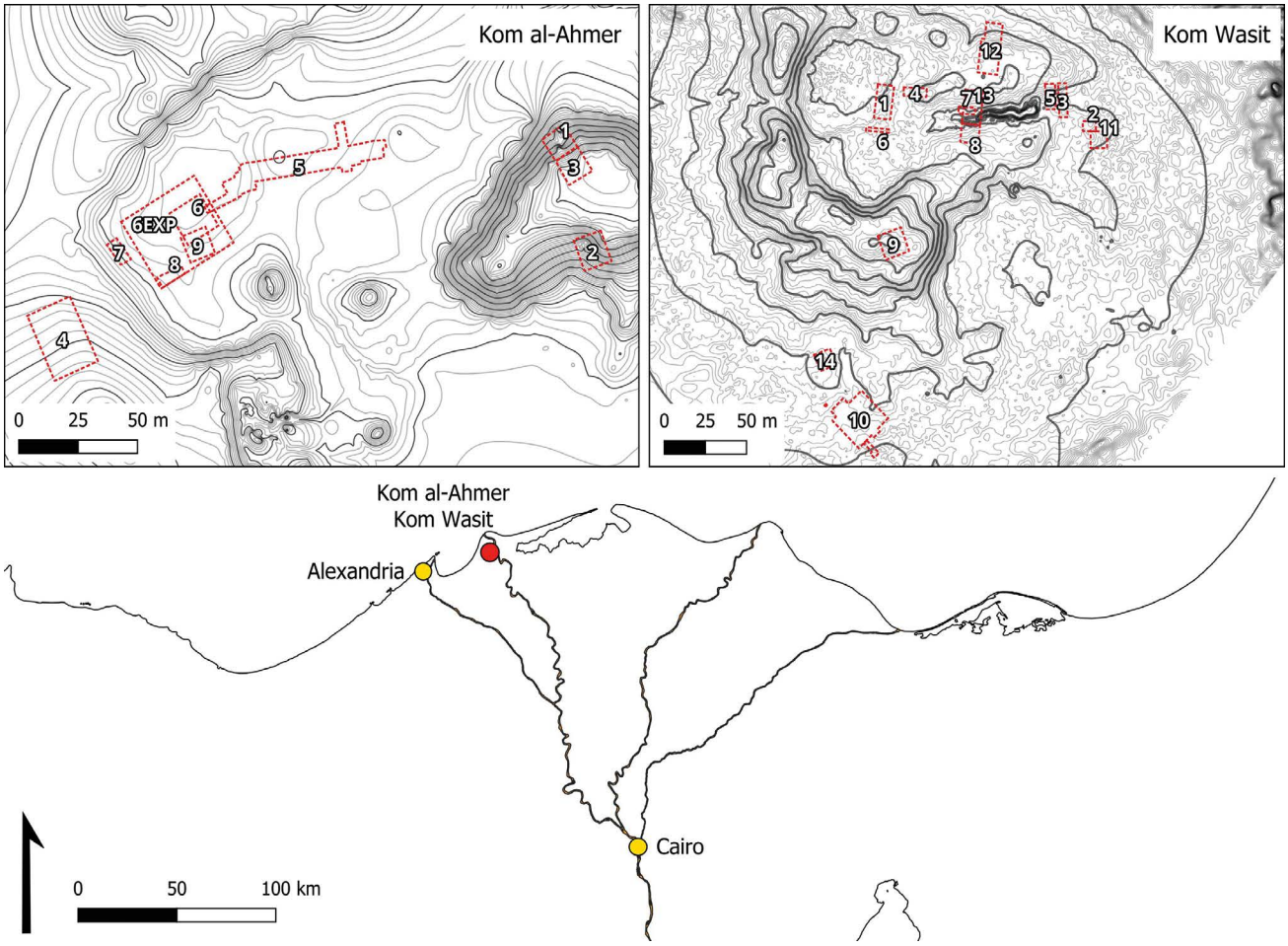


Fig. 1. Map of the sites (Giorgia Marchiori).

The site of Kom al-Ahmer suffered intensively from destruction by the *sebakheen*. The nine excavation units allowed the identification of structures and materials dating from the late 4th century BC to the early Islamic period. In detail, Units 5, 6, 6exp, 8 and 9 were excavated in the lowest part of the site. A residential quarter dating between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC was brought to light (Asolati et al. 2020: 46). Unit 4 was excavated in a mound of intermediate elevation. Excavations uncovered a complex stratigraphy dating from the 1st century AD to the mid-5th century AD (Mondin 2019: 65-69; Mondin 2023: 149). Unit 7 was also located at an intermediate elevation and the excavation uncovered materials dating from around the 6th century AD - these materials are being studied; however, they include LRD forms Hayes 9 and 10, ARSW forms Hayes 99 and 105. Units 1, 2 and 3 are located on the highest part of the central kom. Unit 1 unearthed a series of complex structures, such as a cistern covered by a rich, stone-slab floor, a waterproofed tank, and other unidentified structures. The coins and pottery date to the 5th and the 7th centuries AD (Mondin 2019: 69-73). Unit 2 hosted a necropolis with a monumental tomb and burials. The Islamic necropolis contained material dating to at least the 11th century. As a result of the excavation of the monumental tomb, a deposit dating between the second half of the 6th century and the 7th century was identified (Mondin 2019: 74-79). After the 7th century, the contexts did not allow the evolution of the site's pottery types to be followed. The related late settlement has not been identified to date (Kenawi and Marchiori 2019).

The Alluvial-Clay Cooking and Table-Ware Products

The possibility of studying such a long-period stratigraphy and the continuity of the frequentation make it possible to reconstruct the evolution of the pottery from these two sites. This allowed the identification of macro-phases characterising the evolution of Egyptian pottery made of alluvial clay.

The frequentation of Kom Wasit started at least in the 7th century BC - imported materials from the Aegean were detected (Furlan, Kenawi and Wilson 2019a: 185, KWO 316). Although the majority of the materials come from non-domestic contexts, such as the temple, some coarse ware (cooking vessels, jars, and bowls) was found in domestic contexts. These early forms of coarse ware are characterised by fabrics with many voids left by organic inclusions. The thickness of the walls is irregular and even exceeds 0.5 cm. This irregularity seems to be attributable to the technology used and is common in forms of late Dynastic tradition (Wodzińska 2010: 247 n. 68, 253 n. 80, 265 n. 112, etc.). The rims are

generally everted and rounded without any particular shaping. Indistinct rounded or disc bases are common and often have visible signs of the string used to detach the object from the wheel. Examples of closed forms (pots or small vessels) with a ring-foot base can be found only in the contexts of the 4th century BC (**fig. 2a**). The bowls are sometimes carinated and the irregular base makes them unstable (**fig. 2b**).

During the early Hellenistic period, numerous ceramics from the Aegean were imported to Egypt (Hudson 2014: 253, fig. 4.1; Villing et al. 2015: Eg.Inv.7528; Harlaut 2018: 25-56; Furlan, Kenawi, and Wilson 2019b: 115-116). At the sites of Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit, imported coarse wares are not present yet, but some cooking wares whose type directly recalls them were found. Casseroles with horizontal handles, a step-rim, a carinated body, and a rounded base are attested at Kom Wasit U9 and at Kom al-Ahmer U6 (**fig. 2c**). These local productions have similar forms to the Hellenistic products widespread in the Mediterranean (Edwards 1975: 120-126; Rotroff 2006: 307-314; Harlaut 2018: 53-54). The examples found on the Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit sites were produced in alluvial clay from the Nile. These forms represent a clear break with the previous production technique. Indeed, the wall thickness was regular and reduced to less than 0.5 cm; horizontal marks produced during processing on the wheel are also visible. In addition, the presence of straw in the fabric is significantly reduced, although it does not disappear completely - straw remains present in fine productions using alluvial clay. The cooking pots show the same transformation. They change from forms with a rounded profile and rich in organic inclusions to forms with a shaped rim with a lid seat (**fig. 2d-e**). The mixture contains little organic material. The walls become regular and between 0.3 and 0.5 cm thick.

In addition to cooking ware, the introduction of new table ware-forms is noted. These include echinus bowls, which are attested, again, not as imports, but as a new local form. Among the earliest finds from Unit 9, there is a bowl (**fig. 2f**) with technical characteristics referring to traditional local production (disc-foot base and walls of irregular thickness), but with the rim imitating echinus bowls. The ring-foot base form of the echinus bowl spreads from the late 4th–early 3rd centuries BC and becomes predominant in 2nd–1st century BC deposits (**fig. 2g** – Mondin et al. 2020: 577; for imports to Alexandria see Harlaut 2018: 35-37, 41). Dishes with rounded rims and truncated cone walls are among the table-ware forms that were introduced in the western Delta in the Hellenistic period. These are local imitations of imported forms made mainly with red or black slip (Harlaut 2018: 32-33, 42). At Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit, few dishes with red or black slip, with rouletting and/or palmette decoration, or without decoration are attested (**fig. 2h**).

Roman coarse pottery made with alluvial clay benefits from the innovation introduced during the Hellenistic period. The technical characteristics acquired continue to be applied repeatedly. Not only is the use of technology recurrent, it should be noted that a surprising continuity of Hellenistic cooking and table-ware forms can be observed in Roman times. Cooking pots with a moulded rim and lid seat were attested for a long time, at least until the late Roman period, with a slight variation in profile. The cooking pots underwent a formal evolution, albeit minimal. This is not the case for the echinus bowls, whose presence is attested with unchanged characteristics in contexts even up to the 3rd century AD. On the other hand, the presence of these bowls in 4th–5th centuries contexts must be residual due to their limited number. The same repetitiveness of form is found in dishes with a rounded rim and truncated cone walls. As with bowls, these dishes also have a continuity of attestation up to the 3rd century AD without substantial variations. From the 1st–2nd centuries, the dishes show a variation in production with the surface treatment of burnished lines on the inner wall (**fig. 2i**). In the 4th–5th centuries, this form disappears completely.

The only clear recognisable development of cooking pots and casseroles is from around the 3rd century AD, when the introduction of ribs on the outer walls is visible. On the other hand, dishes are not replaced by similar shapes. Bowls or casseroles are probably used instead, with the latter becoming the most frequently attested open form (**fig. 2j**). Casseroles were likely used at the table, as there were numerous examples that show no traces of being exposed to fire. As for bowls, in the same period the profile of echinus bowls disappears and another type of bowl develops, with a T-shaped rim, grooves on the outer wall just below the rim, a globular body, and a ring-foot base (**fig. 2k**). These bowls seem to have been so short-lived that by the 4th–5th centuries they are not attested. Like dishes, bowls were probably replaced on the table by casseroles, which became the most attested open form from the 4th century until the arrival of the Arabs in the 7th century AD.

During the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, new types of cooking ware were introduced: cooking pots, casseroles, and lids with cut-lip rims appear (**fig. 2n**). This type is well-known along the eastern Mediterranean coasts and Egypt, where there is a production in alluvial clay that imitates them (Waksman et al. 2005: 314-315; Gayraud and Tréglia 2014: 367; Mondin 2019: 100-102). The fabric's characteristics are the same as those described for the alluvial-clay production, and the presence of organic voids makes the fabric easily distinguishable from the same type of imported pots and lids. In addition to the classic profiles found in casseroles and lids, cooking pot and casserole rims are present with variously moulded but always with cut-lip rims (**fig. 2l–m**). These forms have been identified at Kom al-Ahmer only in contexts dating from around the 5th century AD to the 7th century. Examples are absent in Islamic layers. However, the contexts from the end of the 7th century are not well defined.

A distinct bowl/basin (**fig. 3a-b**) shape appeared around the second half of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century and was found in the same contexts as the cut-lip cooking ware. It is a bowl with a groove under the rim with smooth surfaces. This form is attested in various sizes and both plain and with vertical lines painted in white and sometimes in dark brown (Mondin 2019: 128, 133, 141). There is no trace of this bowl type in contexts with Islamic materials, but similar profiles are attested in contexts up to the 9th century (Gayraud and Vallauri 2017: 41).

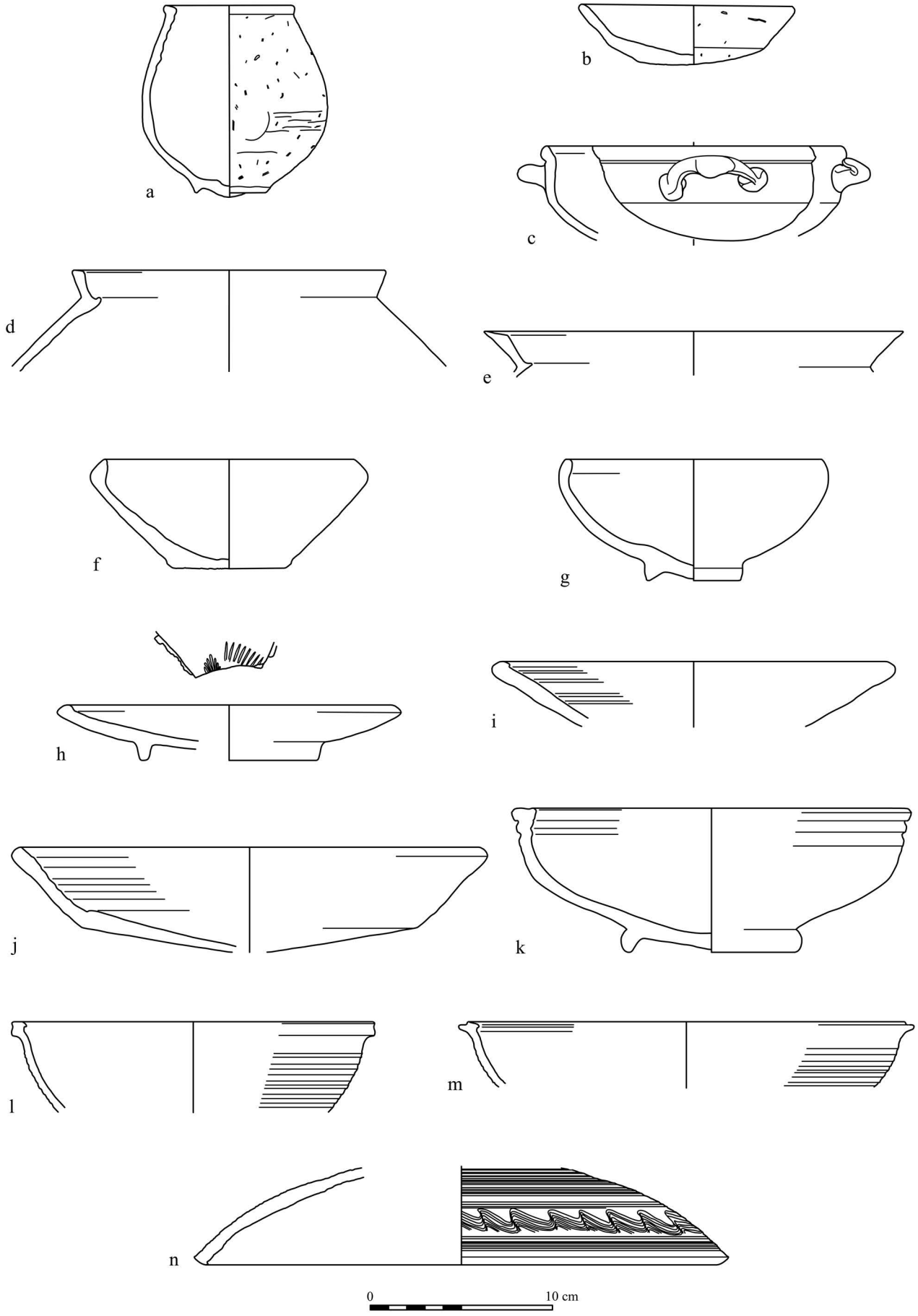


Fig. 2. a–b Late Dynastic pottery; d–h Hellenistic pottery; i–n Roman pottery.

Medium to Large-Scale Production in Alluvial Clay

What has been previously described for cooking and table wares does not apply to medium and large coarse-ware vessels. Large containers (trays, basins, dolia, jars for storing food), show a continuity of production from Dynastic times until at least the early Byzantine period. The continuity of production is recognisable in both technology and form. From a craftsmanship point of view, the main characteristic is the abundance of straw in the fabric. Even today in some areas of Egypt, in the Fayoum Oasis, at al-Nazla, (Kenawi and Mondin 2019: 91), straw is added to the clay mixture of containers, such as jars, portable ovens and basins. Local artisans add the organic material with the dual purpose of speeding up firing times (thus saving fuel and the employment of workers) and ensuring homogeneous firing even within the thicker walls of the pots. Furthermore, these types of containers were rarely made on the wheel, and in most cases they were coil-made.

Trays are among the forms that fall into this category and are the most repetitive finds at both Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit (**fig. 3e**). These are very simply shaped containers

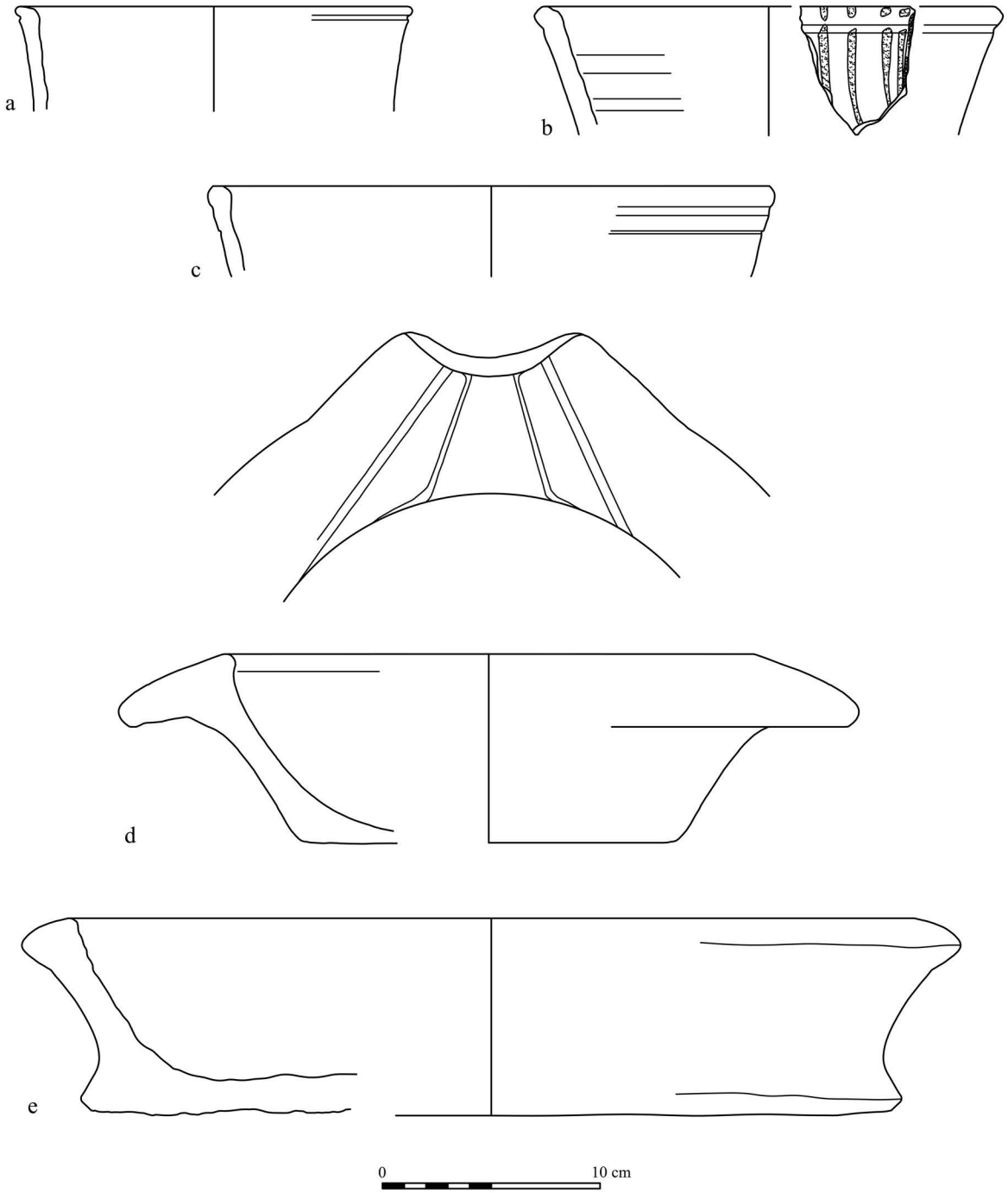


Fig. 3. Roman pottery.

with an out-turned rim, conical walls and a very irregular disc base. The rim has a diameter of between 45 and 30 cm, the base between 37 and 27 cm, and the height between 9 and 7 cm. The thickness of the walls ranges from 1.5 to 4 cm, while the hand-moulded, flat base can be less than 1 cm thick. Large trays are attested in contexts that dates between the Hellenistic to the late Roman periods. We know from comparisons that they were also attested in Dynastic times (Aston 1990: 177, n. 1631). All the examples found at Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit were coil-made, and they did not undergo any formal or technological evolution.

As with cooking and table ware, new forms such as mortars were introduced in Roman times. At Kom al-Ahmer, several examples are made of alluvial clay and with formal characteristics that imitate Italian products (**fig. 3d**). Smaller mortaria show medium-refined fabrics, such as those described for cooking and table ware. On the contrary, the medium-sized mortars were made with the same characteristics of the larger Egyptian containers. Hence, the fabric contains numerous organic inclusions which, post-firing, leave elongated voids. All mortars found in the Roman and late Roman contexts of Kom al-Ahmer were made on the wheel. To date, among the materials documented with this type of coarse fabric, only mortars were a form introduced to imitate imports. The other medium and large vases, rich in straw and organic fabric, all come from traditional Egyptian pottery.



Fig. 4. God Khnum at the kick-wheel – Esna temple, Roman period (Middle Egypt).

Final remarks

From this brief presentation of the coarse ware made with alluvial clay from the Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit contexts, it appears that the local alluvial clay production of cooking and table ware did not evolve significantly. The most important moments in the Egyptian pottery evolution were essentially two: the Hellenistic and late Roman periods. During the Hellenistic period, new cooking and table wares were introduced, mainly from Greece. Imports were the vehicle for important technological innovations. The clay mixture began to be more refined and the presence of straw in the clay was significantly reduced. The second, and most important, technological improvement was related to the introduction of a new type of wheel. In fact, we know that from the 27th Dynasty (525–404 BC) the kick-wheel (**fig. 4**) was introduced and began to be popular in Egypt (Klotz 2013: 169). The arrival of pottery showing evidence of the use of this new technology in Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit seems to date from the late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC. The use of the kick-wheel is recognisable by the lines of the wheel on the inner walls of the pots and the thickness of the walls becoming regular and thinner. It is probable that kick-wheel and clay refining were introduced at the same time. Indeed, fast-wheel processing required more plastic clay than slow-wheel or coil-made modelling.

At the end of the Hellenistic period, there was a significant decrease in imports. With the exception of a Phocaean cooking-ware rim and a few fragments of Eastern Sigillata A, in the deposits of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD we have a reduction in imports, especially of amphorae. By the 3rd century AD, the sites of Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit were again recipients of new imported ceramics, especially amphorae, from the Aegean area (Cretan amphorae, Kapitän 1 and 2, LRA 3, Samos Cistern Type group, etc.), the southern coast of Turkey (Agora G 199, Agora M 54, etc.), and North Africa (Tripolitanian amphorae, spatheia, ARSW, etc.). The arrival of new forms was also an impulse for the development of local production. From the 3rd century onwards, we have the production of the bowls already mentioned (**fig. 2k**), and there begins to be more variety in the profiles of cooking pots. Casseroles with bi-cone bodies make their appearance and become the predominant open form at least until the 7th century (**fig. 2j**). These casseroles, in the late Roman-early Byzantine period, show the constant Egyptian tendency to repeat shapes over the centuries. The resumption of imports and the introduction of new forms in local production therefore took place from the 3rd century AD. It seems no coincidence that these changes were linked to the great reforms that took place in this century. First that of Gallienus and then that of Diocletian marked major changes in the area of coinage, the army and the organisation of the provinces (Mazzarino 1973: 543-596). Certainly, these changes involved Egypt, which supplied the entire empire with agricultural products.

From the 5th century AD imports become almost exclusively Levantine. LRA 1 and 4 become ever-present materials in Kom al-Ahmer and Kom Wasit contexts. Undoubtedly as a result of these new trade relations, the production began in Egypt of cut-lip cooking ware (**fig. 2l-n**). The origin of the bowl/basin (**fig. 3a-b**) with a plain rim, underlying groove on the outer surface, and sometimes painted is uncertain. It does not seem to take its design from Mediterranean pottery; however, it is a sign of a cultural and artistic vitality attested also in the alluvial-clay productions.

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Laura Rembart

LINKING WASTE AND PRODUCTION. WHAT A ROMAN WASTE PIT FROM SYENE/UPPER EGYPT REVEALS

In ancient times, the Upper Egyptian city of Syene formed an important link between Egypt and neighbouring Nubia to the south. As a border town, it served not only as a transhipment point for goods but also as a station for troops. Three cohorts are attested in inscriptions for the Roman imperial period, who certainly brought their own customs and traditions. This also increased foreign influence in the first cataract region. By analysing pottery finds from a waste pit from residential buildings in the urban area, an attempt is made to show cultural connections between a border region and the Mediterranean area. The discarded material consists almost exclusively of vessels from local pottery production, whose repertoire of forms clearly shows influences from Italy, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Levantine region.

Roman Egypt – pottery studies – local production – material culture studies – cultural transfer

Introduction

The Upper Egyptian city of Syene, situated on the first cataract, was an economic and political centre in antiquity and formed an important link between Egypt and the neighbouring Nubia to the south (Rembart 2020: 1). The city, together with the Nile island Elephantine opposite, functioned as a trading hub for the exchange of goods to and from Inner Africa, including luxury goods such as gold and ivory. Another important export product of the region was the well-known regional rose granite. It was quarried in local quarries since the Pharaonic period and exported to other provinces of the Roman Empire via the river ports of Syene and Elephantine. Furthermore, Syene functioned as an important starting point for expeditions to Nubia beginning in the Pharaonic period. At the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, the region of Syene became one of the most important ceramic production centres of the post-pharaonic period (Rembart 2020: 34-35). The so-called Aswan Pink Clay was used to produce all kinds of vessel forms that were exported to Egypt and beyond its borders (Rembart and Betina 2021; Rembart et al. 2020). Syene thus flourished, particularly due to the trade, and reached an economic upturn in Hellenistic times, which is recognisable by the expansion of the inhabited city area (Müller 2010). In addition to its function as a trading hub, Syene also had administrative and military importance. The region of Aswan served as a station for troops from early on (Rembart 2020: 184). Although the archaeological evidence for this is still lacking, written sources point to a foreign military presence since the Late Period. Three cohorts are documented for the Roman Imperial period, which are mentioned by name on inscriptions. This led to different cultures coming together in the southernmost city of the Roman Empire, leaving an influence in the first cataract region. With the help of the evaluation of ceramic evidence from a waste pit, it will be shown to what extent cultural transfers are recognisable in the ceramic material culture of Syene.

The archaeological evidence

The urban area of ancient Syene is located in the southern centre of Aswan (**fig. 1**), which nowadays is completely overbuilt with modern houses. In 2000 the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research on Ancient Egypt, Cairo (SIK) initiated excavations in this district of the present city. Up to now, approximately 94 areas have been archaeologically investigated. From 2011-2014, a cooperation project with the Austrian Archaeological Institute (OeAI) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (OeAW) was carried out to research everyday culture in Syene and Elephantine from Ptolemaic to late antique times based on the material legacy from residential buildings[1]. In the course of this project, the residential buildings in area 2 (Birket Damas), located in the southern part of the ancient city and bordered by the Late Period city wall (6th/5th century BCE), were archaeologically investigated (**fig. 2**). As a result of the archaeological investigations, it was possible to document three residential houses with connected service areas that had been continuously inhabited from the mid-1st century CE to at least the early 3rd century CE (Rembart 2020: 7-10).

In order to be able to document the ground plans of the individual houses more precisely, entire walls were removed. Thus, in the space between two houses, a finding was discovered that could be interpreted as a waste disposal. Both houses

[1] Austrian Science Fund-Project (FWF P 23866) "Housing in Antiquity in Syene/Elephantine, Upper Egypt" directed by Sabine Ladstätter.

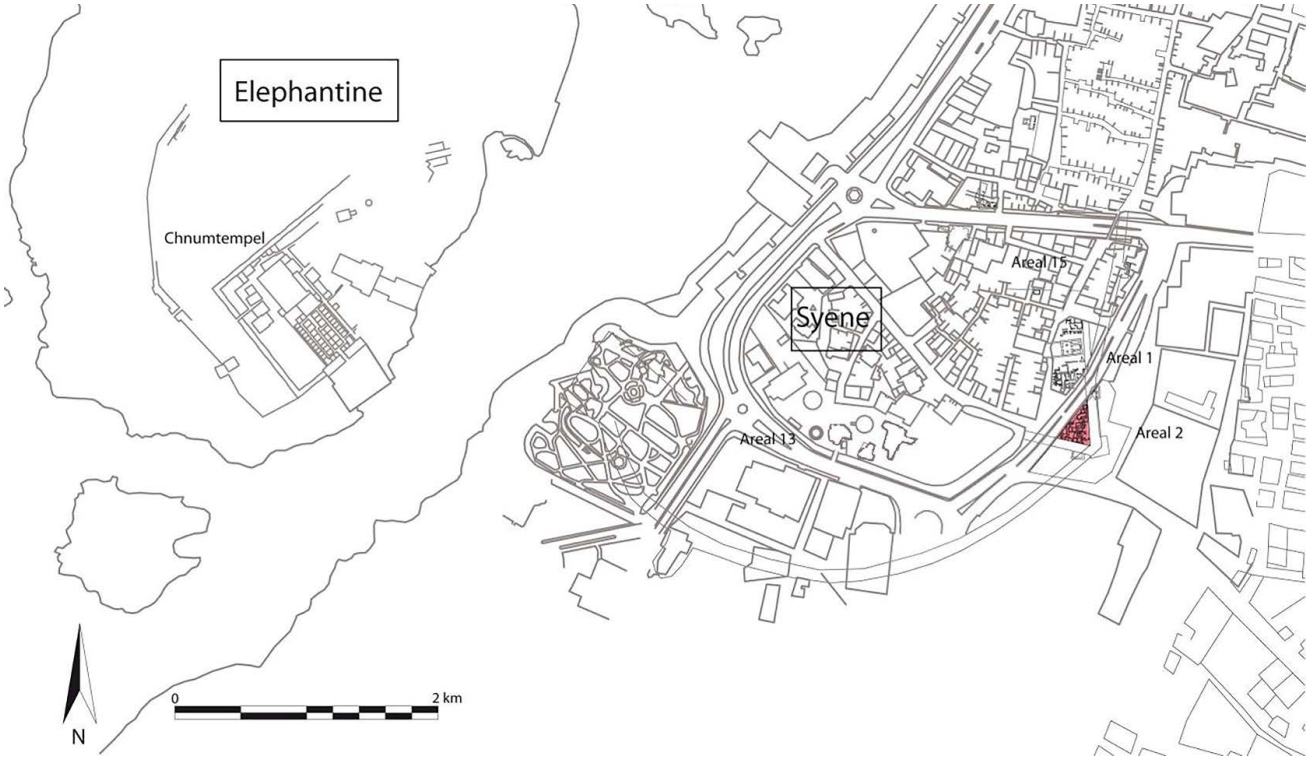


Fig. 1. Map of Elephantine and modern Aswan (the excavation area "Area 2" marked in red) (© ÖAI-ÖAW/ H. Schwaiger).



Fig. 2. Roman housing in Area 2 (© ÖAI-ÖAW/N. Gail).

were built so that they do not abut directly against each other, creating a space between the walls along the entire length of the houses. Over the decades, the room with a length of 4.5 m and width of 0.5 m was filled with waste (**fig. 3**). This waste layer consisted mainly of sandy-loamy soil mixed with numerous artefacts of various material groups and organic remains. Stratigraphically several fill layers are identifiable, suggesting a multi-phase deposition[2]. At the time of the excavations, the houses were mostly destroyed, and only part of the ground floor was preserved; however, the waste layer in the space between was preserved to a height of 1.5 m. Most of the discarded material is ceramic, which gives an insight into the consumer behaviour of the inhabitants of Syene. In addition to numerous, largely broken fragments, several complete vessels were also recovered from the waste layer.



Fig. 3. Waste layer between two houses in Area 2 (© ÖAI-ÖAW/ H. Schwaiger).

Pottery[3]

6.200 pottery fragments were found in the waste pit, of which about 1.000 fragments were classified as diagnostic (rim and base fragments as well as wall fragments of imports). A total of 528 diagnostic pieces were drawn and recorded in detail with all information on wares, fabrics, dimensions and colours. These fragments are used for a detailed evaluation.

The waste pit includes all the common ceramic wares[4], with tableware dominating by far, followed by coarse and cooking ware (**fig. 4**). The group of the amphorae is divided into locally produced amphorae made of Aswan Pink Clay and amphorae, which are made of Nile clay. In addition to the ceramic finds, some fragments and a whole vessel made of faience also came to light in the waste pit. Most of the faience vessels produced in Roman times show similarities with sigillata forms (Tomber 2006: 44-51). The plate found in Syene seems to copy plates of the Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) form Atlante 36-38 and was probably produced locally (Tomber 2006: 44-51; Rodziewicz 2005: 30).

The evaluation of the fabrics of the diagnostic fragments[5] shows that nearly all vessels are of Egyptian origin. The majority is made of the local so-called Aswan Pink Clay (**fig. 5**). This is not surprising – as mentioned at the beginning – this kaolinitic clay paste, with its pinkish appearance, has been mined in the Aswan area since the 2nd century BCE. Especially from the Roman imperial period onwards, Aswan Pink Clay became a very popular clay raw material used to produce all kinds of vessel forms. Among the diagnostic fragments of the tableware, eight fragments could be identified as imports, only two of which originate from the Mediterranean region. These pieces are base fragments;

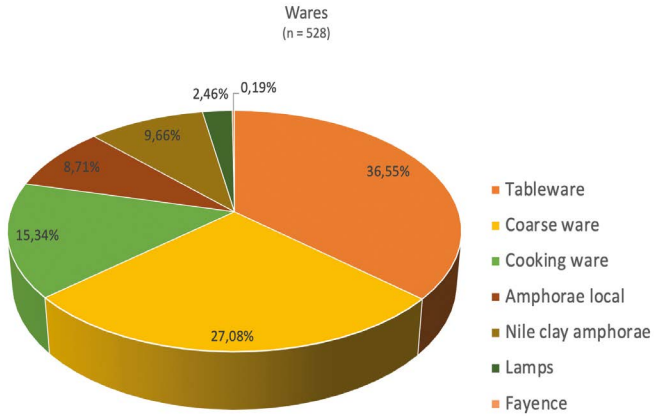


Fig. 4. Distribution of the spectrum of finds from the waste pit (© ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart).

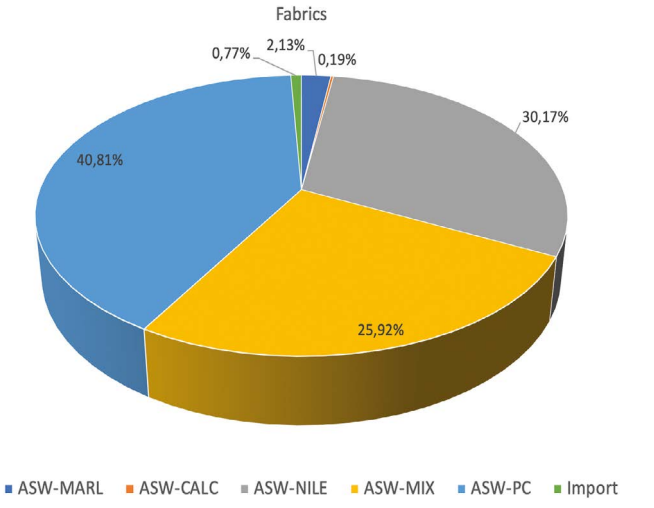


Fig. 5. Distribution of the fabrics (© ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart)
ASW-MARL = Egyptian Marl Clays; ASW-CALC = Egyptian Calcareous Clays; ASW-NILE = Nile Mud; ASW-MIX = Aswan Pink Clay and Nile Mud; ASW-PC = Aswan Pink Clay.

2 Communication of the archaeologist Helmut Schwaiger.

3 The analysis of the pottery is part of the project "Waste as a source of information: Archaeological investigation of a Roman waste deposit in Syene, Upper Egypt" (APART-GSK 11924).

4 The definitions of the individual wares were made in the course of the FWF-project.

5 The names and abbreviations of the fabrics were developed by Lisa Betina (previously Peloschek) in the course of the project. See also: Peloschek 2015.

on the one hand, two matching fragments of Italian sigillata, which can presumably be completed to a plate of the form Consp. 3 (Ettlinger et al. 1990: 56-57), and on the other hand, a thin-walled beaker or small bowl. The flat and straight base is very common for thin-walled cups and bowls of the Roman Imperial period. Therefore, an exact assignment to a form or type is not possible due to the fragmentary state of preservation. The other fragments could be classified as intra-Egyptian imports, which probably came from Buto to Syene. Several pottery kilns in this ancient city in the Delta indicate a large pottery production of various wares from the Ptolemaic period to Roman times (Hartung et al. 2003: 233-244; Hartung et al. 2007: 126-142; Ballet et al. 2011). Among other things, red slip ware was produced in Buto, characterised by a thick, dull glossy slip and a very fine Nile mud fabric (Ballet et al. 2023). The fragments from Syene can be supplemented on the one hand to form bowls with a vertical rim and a small, thickened lip and on the other hand to form plates with a short, angled rim.

The repertoire of shapes of the locally produced pottery found in the waste pit includes all common forms. A closer look at the distribution of these forms shows the dominance of the small bowls with more than 30%. This open form was used for serving and storing food and was produced in tableware and coarse ware. The different shapes of the small bowls – with and without decoration – are particularly evident in the tableware (**fig. 6**). In many pieces, there is also a recognisable resemblance to Mediterranean forms, which probably



Fig. 6. Bowls and plates of the tableware (Drawings © ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart, Photos © ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Gail).

served as role models for the locally produced vessels. Foreign influences can be traced in the border town Syene from an early date and strongly influenced local pottery production from the 3rd century BCE onwards (Rembart 2020: 184-189). In Ptolemaic and early Roman times, the forms of the Eastern Sigillata (**fig. 6, 3**) were used as models. From the end of the 1st century CE onwards, more and more forms appeared in Syene that are based on the African Red Slip Ware (ARS) in terms of form typology. Especially in the repertoire of plate shapes, the similarities with ARS can be recognised. These flat plates (**fig. 6, 7-8**) with a plain rim and a small, pointed base are strongly reminiscent of the ARS plates form Hayes 26/27 (Hayes 1972: 49-51). At that time, however, imitations of ARS were limited to very few plate forms. It was not until late antiquity that most of the locally produced tableware was oriented towards the shapes of the North African ceramic production (Katzjäger 2017: 37-47; 455-456). The shapes of most of the bowls (**fig. 6, 2, 4-5**), on the other hand, seem to be much more oriented towards the repertoire of shapes of the thin-walled ware. Although cylindrical cups imitating Italian forms were produced locally, this type of drinking vessel does not seem to have prevailed in Syene (Rembart 2020: 185). Rather, the bulbous bowls remained the predominant drinking vessels in the Roman imperial period. The most frequent form found in the waste pit is a small bowl with a small, thickened knob-like rim (**fig. 6, 2**). These small bowls are more or less of the same size and have an offset, flat base. As they fit well in the hand and the bottom can be easily grasped with the fingers, one can well imagine that they were used for drinking.



Fig. 7. Locally produced pitchers (Drawings © ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart, Photos © ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Gail).

Some tableware bowls, especially thin-walled ware bowls, have a distinctive and sometimes colourful painted decoration (**fig. 6, 4-6**). This type of decoration is typical of ancient Egyptian pottery, which was still very popular in Ptolemaic times (Rembart 2020: 187). At the beginning of the Roman imperial period, the painting disappears completely and is only taken up again by potters around the middle of the 2nd century CE. In late antiquity, this decorative technique reached its peak, and most of the tableware was decorated with vegetal and/or figural decoration as well as ornaments (Katzjäger 2017: 54-62). The tradition of painted tableware in the Roman world is rather limited to this area of the east, where it is also an essential part of the Meroitic and Nabataean ceramic production (Amr et al. 2005; Schmid 2000: 27-29; Tomber 2006: 26). Even if the motifs and style differ, an influence of these two ceramic productions on the local production of Syene cannot be excluded.

An astonishing number of pitchers, some completely preserved, were found in the waste pit. Although the locally produced pitchers are not as beautifully and carefully shaped, they show form-typological similarities to vessels from the Mediterranean region, especially the bulbous, one-handled pitchers (**fig. 7, 10-11**). On the one hand, they are strongly reminiscent of ESA and Cypriot Sigillata (ESD) forms, and on the other hand, of early jugs from Buto (Ballet et al. 2019: 97-102). The rouletting decoration on the outside of the wall

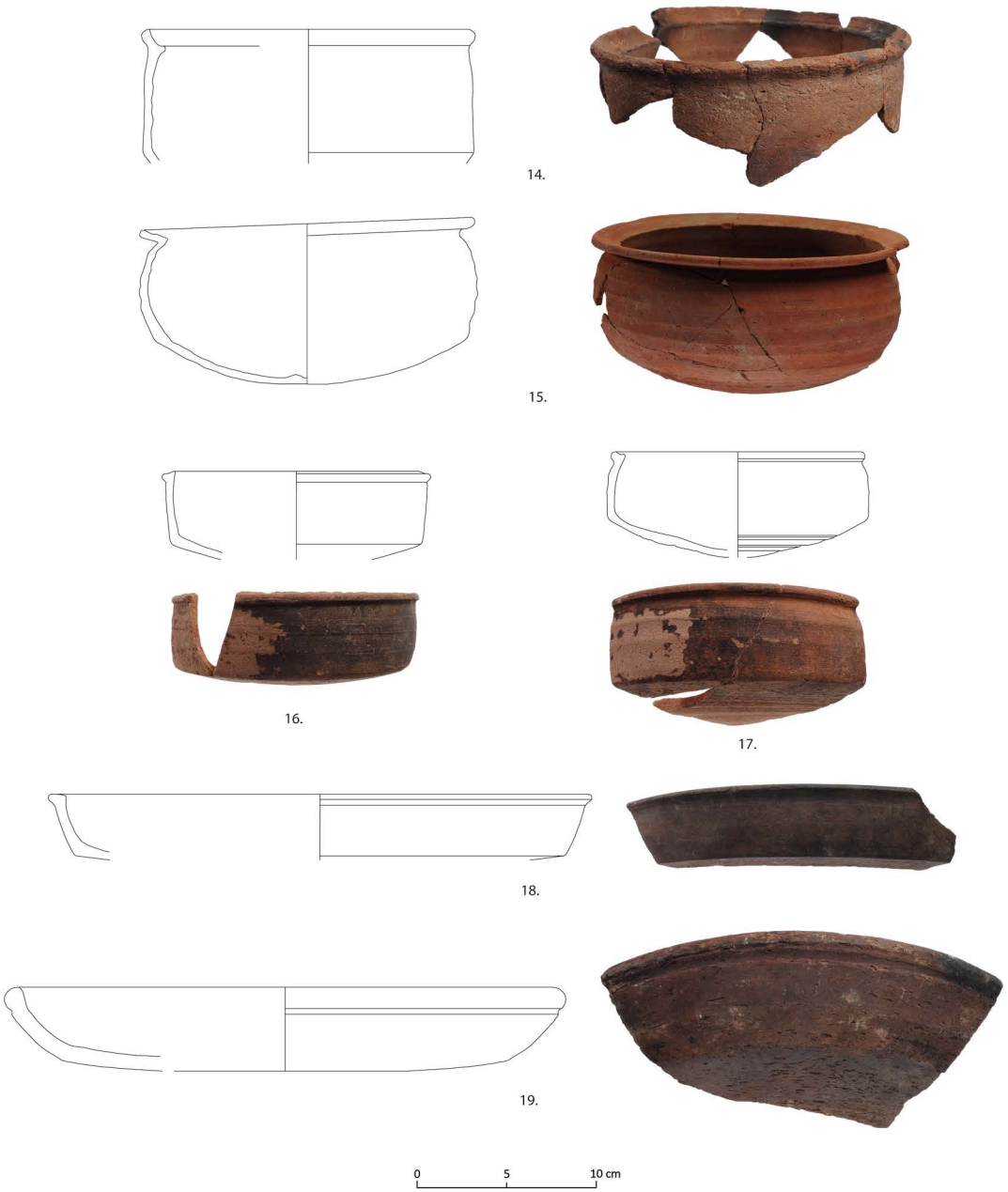


Fig. 8. Locally produced casseroles and plates (Drawings © ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart, Photos © ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Gail).

on pitchers (**fig. 7, 13**) is atypical of Egyptian pottery, but this decoration is often found on ESA (Hayes 1985: 42-47) and ESD (Hayes 1967; Hayes 1985: 79-91) vessels.

The evaluation of the cooking ware, which came to light in the waste pit, also provides information about cultural links between Syene and the Roman world. It is interesting to note that among the cooking ware, it is mainly open shapes – such as plates and casseroles (**fig. 8**) – that are found, while cooking pots are underrepresented. Casseroles and cooking plates can be seen as local imitations of Mediterranean vessel forms. These forms appeared in the 3rd century BCE as completely new cooking utensils on the market in Syene, which did not exist in this form before (Rembart 2020: 185-187). Local potters adapted common Italic forms, such as plates of the Pompeiian Red Ware (**fig. 8, 19**). In the course of the 1st century CE, new and significantly smaller forms of casseroles appeared. Most vessels have a diameter between 14 and 17 cm and were made of the local Aswan Pink Clay (**fig. 8, 16-17**). The vessels of the African Cooking Ware from Tunisia may have served as models for these small casseroles. In the repertoire of forms of this Tunisian cookware, there are some casseroles that the locally produced vessels come close to in their form typology (Bonifay 2004: 231-327, especially type 20. 23-26).

In the repertoire of cooking pot forms, it is noticeable that the typical cooking pot shapes of the Roman Imperial period, characterised by a flared rim or a slightly overhanging flat rim, are missing (Rembart 2020: 187). Most of these cooking pots were produced in Phokaia/Foça, and since the end of the 1st century CE, these two cooking pot shapes dominated in the Eastern Mediterranean (Istenič and Schneider 2000; Ladstätter 2007: 207). For Upper Egypt, these cooking pot forms do not seem to have been proven so far either as an import or a local imitation. In the Delta, however, there is some evidence that the Mediterranean forms were also imitated in Egyptian pottery workshops (Ballet et al. 2019: 163, form M 1). The locally produced cooking pots (**fig. 9**) from Syene are more strongly oriented in their rim design to cooking pots from the Levantine region (Rembart 2020: Topf Typ 42.1. 51.1. 53.1. 57). However, at the same time, the potters of Syene developed their own shape diversity. It is questionable, however, to what extent the rim shape had a technological effect on the cooking process and whether and how it can be concluded that Levantine cooking habits were adapted.

To better grasp cultural links, we must look at imported goods. As mentioned at the beginning, only two fragments of tableware imported from the Mediterranean region were found in the waste pit. Therefore, we should take a brief look at the amphorae. The evaluation of the amphorae shows that only locally produced Aswan Pink Clay amphorae (**fig. 10, 25-26**) and amphorae made of Nile clay (**fig. 10, 23-24**) were disposed of. Since there are no imported amphorae from the Mediterranean or Levantine region, it can be assumed that only local or domestic Egyptian products were consumed. However, no clear statement can be made about the contents of the respective amphorae. Ptolemaic-Roman tax receipts show that castor oil, among other things, was traded from Syene (Lochner 1999: 77). It is highly probable that wine

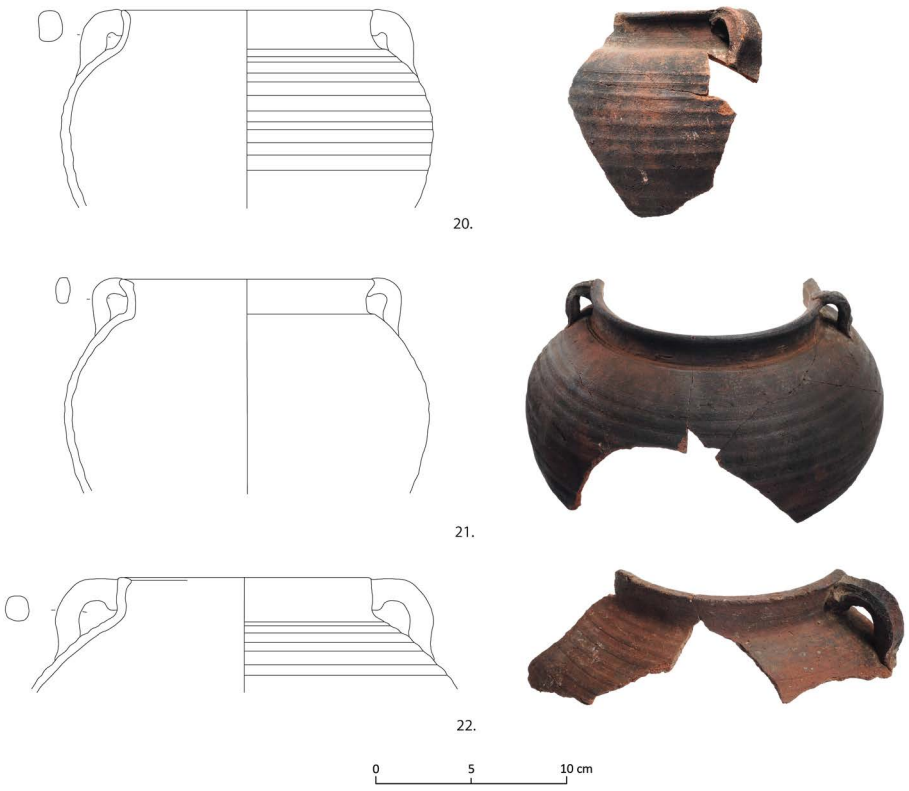


Fig. 9. Egyptian cooking pots (Drawings © ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart, Photos © ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Gail).

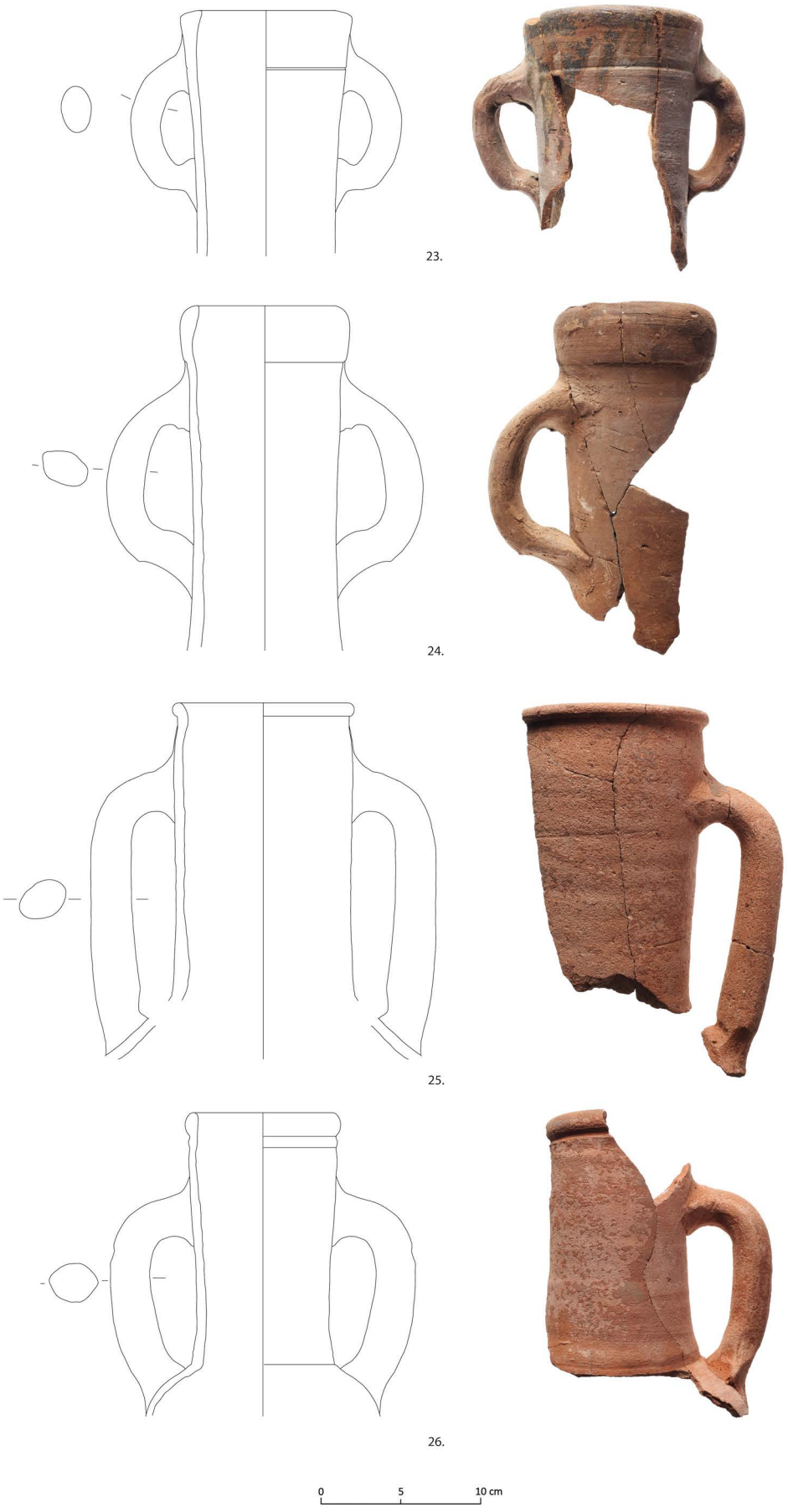


Fig. 10. Amphorae of Egyptian origin (Drawings © ÖAW-ÖAI/L. Rembart, Photos © ÖAW-ÖAI/N. Gail).

from the Delta or the oasis arrived in Syene in the amphorae made of Nile mud.

Conclusion

The few imports from the waste pit reflect the general picture of imported goods in Syene. Even though there is normally more imported pottery in the finds from Syene, the evaluation shows that in the course of the 1st century CE, imports – mainly imported tableware – steadily decreased and seemed to disappear almost entirely at the beginning of the 2nd century CE (Rembart 2020: 17; Martin-Kilcher and Wininger 2017: 260-264). The reason for this is probably to be found in the local pottery production, which experienced an upswing at this time, reaching its peak in late antiquity (Katzjäger 2017: 461-463).

Since that time, especially since the Roman imperial period, evidence of this export commodity can be found throughout Egypt[6]. The Roman military can probably be regarded as the first buyer and perhaps also as a producer of the tableware. Especially in the Eastern Desert, where the stationing of Roman troops has been well-researched archaeologically, numerous vessels made of Aswan Pink Clay were found. It appears that some vessels – especially vessels of the thin-walled ware with barbotine decoration – were produced exclusively for Roman soldiers, as these vessels are so far underrepresented in the urban context of Syene (Tomber 2007: 180-182; Tomber 2006: 26-27). It can be assumed that the soldiers not only brought foreign influences to Upper Egypt but also the know-how for the production of pottery on a large scale and the knowledge and possibilities of supra-regional marketing (McNally and Schrunk 2000: 97; Gempeler 1992: 56).

It should be noted that a direct cultural exchange with the Mediterranean region cannot be clearly identified at first glance. Neither the imports nor the distribution of the locally produced tableware indicates that Syene was strongly integrated into the Roman world. Only a closer look at the variety of shapes of the locally produced pottery and the decoration shows that the southernmost city of the Roman Empire was not so far behind. Especially in tableware, influences from the Eastern Mediterranean can be detected. For the production of small bowls, the potters of Syene were apparently inspired by Italian or Asia Minor forms. In contrast, the North African ceramic production served as a model for plates. Changing influences are also reflected in the cooking ware. In terms of shape, open forms remain attached to Mediterranean models, while closed forms were inspired by Levantine cooking pots. The ancient Egyptian tradition of painting vessels was taken up again in Syene in the middle Roman Imperial period. The colourful vegetal and geometric decorations can be seen as an independent interpretation of local ceramic production. The inspiration for this came, among others, from the neighbouring southern country of Nubia and shows that cultural connections also existed beyond the borders of the Roman Empire.

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[6] An excellent and current overview of all places in Egypt where pottery from Syene was found can be browsed at the LCP webpage: <https://www.levantineceramics.org/wares> (19.02.2023).

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Amany Shabaan

LATE ROMAN WARES FROM MAREA B AT ALEXANDRIA (EGYPT)

In 2018, The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities executed rescue excavations at an archaeological site in the western part of Marea abbreviated Marea B, located approximately 700 m from Hauwâriya, West Alexandria. That site constituted an important stopover for the pilgrims who used to come from all sides to visit the tomb of Saint Menas.
The excavations uncovered several chambers and structures, and an assemblage of pottery dating to the late Roman and early Byzantine periods.
This paper focuses on studying and dating different categories of pottery found during the excavation. These include different types of local production, such as some Late Roman Amphora 1, many examples of Late Roman Amphorae 5/6, some rare Late Roman Amphorae 7, tableware, cooking ware and some fine Egyptian red slipware.

Marea – Hauwâriya – GMR0022 – LRA 1 – LRA 5/6 – LRA 7 – Fine red slipware

1. Introduction

Marea is located in northern Egypt, on the southern shore of Lake Mariout (ancient Mareotis) approximately 45 km southwest of Alexandria according to Strabo (17.1.14), and 4 km south of the Mediterranean coast (**Fig. 1**).

Lake Mareotis served as a source of food, and a means of transportation. Moreover, the shores of Lake Mareotis hosted major production centers for various agricultural and industrial products, such as wine, oil, glass, and pottery, which contributed significantly to the economy of Alexandria and Egypt as a whole (Khalil 2010:135).

Marea was a very important trade, religious, and agricultural center in the 5th-7th century AD. (Derda et al. 2020: 1).

Marea flourished as a stopover for the pilgrims heading to the holy Byzantine shrine of Saint Menas (Abu Mîna) in the western desert near Alexandria where Christians came from all over to visit the tomb of Saint Menas, now a UNESCO world heritage site (Khalil 2010:137; Gabel and Petruso 1980: 1-27).

The excavation site[1] is located in the western part of Marea, on the Cairo-Borg El-Arab Desert road (Awad 2022: 37) (**Fig. 2a**).

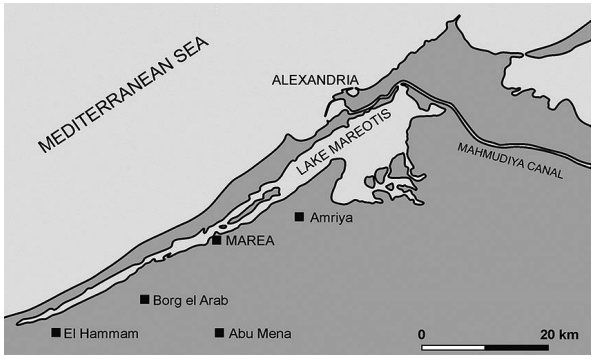


Fig. 1. Region of Marea (© Gabel and Petruso 1980).

2. The site

This site belongs to the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and it has been excavated between 1995 and 2001. In addition, the Centre d'Études Alexandrines studied the topography in 2013 and registered the site as a Rond-Point GMR0022 at the Geomar project[2] (report of CEAlex, 2017).

This site is one of the sites of ancient cities whose surface is covered with many pottery sherds and some stone pieces. The buildings have been destroyed, leaving only some architectural elements, walls, foundations, and structures visible in the archaeological excavation. These vestiges which are useful for identifying the stratigraphic sequence of the excavation site.

3. The excavation

The site was divided into two areas, I and II. In the larger area (Area I), the excavation uncovered several chambers

[1] The excavation was conducted under the supervision of the General Director of Antiquities of Alexandria Dr Khaled Abou El Hamd, with Mr. Maged El Sayed as the Head of Mission and Excavator, and Dr. Amany Shabaan as Excavator and Ceramologist

[2] The GEOMAR Project, led by ANR, the French scientific research organization, studied the archaeological and historical cultural evidence at Lake Mariout, west of Alexandria.



a b

Fig. 2. a) Location of the site in western Marea, after Google Earth (addapted by Ismael Awad); b) Rooms A, B, F, and G in the excavation from the north (© Amany Shabaan).

and courtyards. Two trenches were initially dug to identify the nature of the site, which were then extended to reveal the architectural elements of the walls, various foundations, construction methods, and mortar. These excavations exposed four squares in a row. Square A then was extended to square B, F, and G, which became chambers after excavation (**Fig. 2b**). These chambers are characterized by the Byzantine building method, similar to those found in modern excavations at Kom El-Dikka archaeological site (Majcherek 1995: 133-150).

The smaller area (Area II) is located on the highest level of the site, represented by square C. This revealed a dump containing remains of later activity levels, and some completed objects such as oil lamps, along with many fragments of Late Roman Amphora 5/6, tableware and cooking ware.

4. Pottery in Context and Dump

The excavation revealed a Late Roman occupation, consisting of some chambers. The pottery found at the floor level of these contexts and in the square dump contained numerous and varied pottery materials from the late Roman and early Byzantine periods. These groups included numerous fragments of Late Roman Amphorae, as well as fragments of tableware (Egyptian Red Slip Ware A, group O, LRD ware bowl fragments), cooking ware for daily use, Byzantine lamps, and everyday life wares that the pilgrims would have used to satisfy their daily needs. That sheds light on the importance of the site on the route for pilgrims.

This paper briefly examines the main ceramic types that establish the site's dating. The pottery in question comes from selected contexts representing all parts of the excavated site, dating from the 4th to the 8th century AD.

5. Amphorae

Some types of Late Roman Amphorae have been found at the site, used to transport wine, water, or oil for various rituals. These include the rare LRA 1, the abundant LRA 5/6 (which pilgrims reused as water jars), some sherds from LRA7, and one large storage jar for keeping grains.

Late Roman Amphora 1 (LRA 1)

LRA 1 was one of the most common amphorae types of the Late Roman period throughout the Eastern Mediterranean in early Christian contexts between the 4th and 7th centuries AD (Demesticha 2014: 600; Duggan 2013: 241; Hill 2016: 21). In a survey of amphorae production centers, Empereur and Picon noted workshops in the Aegean region and Alexandria in the Marotide region (Empereur and Picon 1989: 239, Fig. 18, workshop no. 11; Empereur and Picon 1992: 129).

Additionally, this form was imitated in Egypt using local fabric. Morphologically, they are divided into two basic

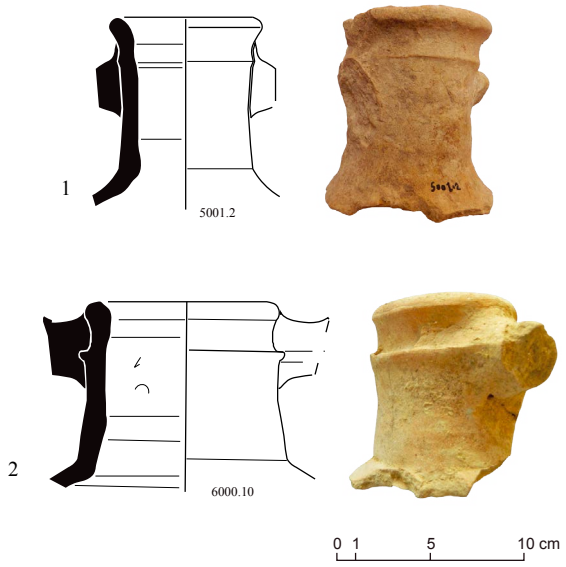


Fig. 3. Illustrations of the analyzed amphora samples of Late Roman Amphorae (LRA1) (© Amany Shabaan).

groups (A and B), with some additional subtypes (Senol and Alkaç 2017: 833).

Two rim fragments of LRA 1 are illustrated in **Fig. 3**, with a wide neck type A found in Rooms A and F, similar to Egloff type 164. The first fragment (**Fig. 3,1**) is made from alluvial clay with a rim diameter of 9 cm, similar to Kellia[3](Ballet and Bosson 2003: 23, 138), which Egloff dated them from the beginning of the 6th to the end of the 7th century AD (Egloff 1977: 112).

The second fragment (**Fig. 3,2**), is made from marl clay, with a thickened rim, slightly concave on the outside, and a diameter of 11 cm. This may be dated to the late 5th to 7th century AD similar to LRA 1 found in House H1 at Marea (Gwiazda and Wielgosz- Rondolino 2019: 265/4-2). Comparable examples have also been found at Deir El Roumi and The Old Monastery of Baramus in the Wadi Natrun (Lecuyot 2007: 380, fig 3/12; Konstantinidou 2013: 71, fig. 5-19; Konstantinidou 2010: 956, fig. 4-3) dated to 6th century AD.

Late Roman Amphora 5/6

LRA 5/6 is well known and was produced in the monastery and pilgrimage site of Abu Mena (Marín 2018: 106). It is very well represented at this site, with the majority of the amphorae found *in situ* in the context of Rooms (**Fig. 4**). This type has a large morphological variety; the production of these globular and ovoid amphorae imitating the bag-shaped type (Palestinian amphora LRA 5), is typically recorded all around the Eastern Mediterranean in large quantities from the 1st to the early 8th century AD.

These amphorae have been identified as being made in the region of Lake Mareotis, especially in Abu Mîna and Marea in Alexandria's hinterland, using marl clay (Empereur and Picon 1998; Empereur and Picon 1992: 150-151). Similar examples have been found at Kom El Dikka (Majcherek 1992: 110).

Ballet mentioned that several workshops produced this type of amphora on the shore of Lake Mareotis south of Alexandria and amongst the Christian religious communities of Abu Mîna (Ballet and Picon 1987: 34), dating back to the 5th century in the workshops of Abu Mîna or the Mareotic region (Konstantinidou 2013: 61/6-25).

A kiln produced this type of amphorae in the middle of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th century AD was discovered in Abu Mena (Egloff 1977: 117-118).

It is believed that the white wine produced in the Mareotis region was packed in these containers (Dixneuf 2011: 142-148, 203-204). Moreover, this seems to have been associated with fine wines, demonstrating the commercial success of Palestinian wine in Egyptian markets (Kingsley 2001: 57).

The fabric from Abu Mîna is buff beige to pale yellow on the surface (2.5YR 8/2, 3) (Adams 1991: 480), white slip-on the outside and quantities of quartz and some limestone inclusions (Ballet and Picon 1987: 33-34; Monchamp 2014: 56, Fig. 8). Almost all fragments of these amphorae types have been identified in Marea from the 5th to the 7th century AD.

[3] A monastic site at Beheira province, in the Northern west Delta, Egypt.



Fig. 4. Late Roman Amphora 5/6 *in situ* (© Amany Shabaan).

There is a great amount of LRA 5/6 variations in both the shape and fabric according to the production region. We discovered some variants of rims of Abu Mîna amphorae, made with marl clay illustrated in **Fig. 5,1** of the catalogued amphora samples of LRA 5/6, dating from the 5th to 7th century AD, similar to Egloff type 186 (Egloff 1977; Adams 1991: 480, Engemann 1992: 154, Fig. 4).

The shape of these amphorae featured an ovoid body with a rounded base and two handles, while the neck was straight with a rounded or tapered edge. The form parallels those found at the Old Monastery of Baramūs, Kellia, and Tell El-Makhzan at north Sinai (Konstantinidou 2010: 960, no. 28; Ballet and Picon 1986: 31, fig. 4, 2; Dixneuf 2007: Fig.2), dating to the second half of the 7th to 8th centuries AD.

In the Nile Delta region, there was imitation of the the bag-shaped type, using Nile fabrics in the manufacturing process from alluvial clay with gray and brown fabric.

Ballet reports a workshop producing Nile silt Egyptian Amphora 5/6 at Kom Abu Billu[4] (*Terenouthis*) (Ballet 1994: 353-365; Ballet 2007: 157-160). That workshop producing ovoid Egyptian amphorae LRA 5 (Egloff 1977: type 187) was at work until the 10th or even the 11th century AD (Konstantinidou 2013: 61).

In Marea B, we discovered some variants of LRA 5/6 Egloff type 187 (**Fig. 5, 2A**) similar to Kom Abu Billu and Kellia (Ballet 1994: 358, fig. 3; Ballet and Picon 1987: 37, fig 5, 2), dated to the 7th century AD. This provides additional evidence to suggest that the workshop of Kom Abu

[4] The above remark is a confirmation of the literary sources, according to which the monks often travelled or took refuge in Terenuthis. It is noteworthy that this city used to be an important station of the Pilgrims rout; see more (Konstantinidou 2010: 951-961).

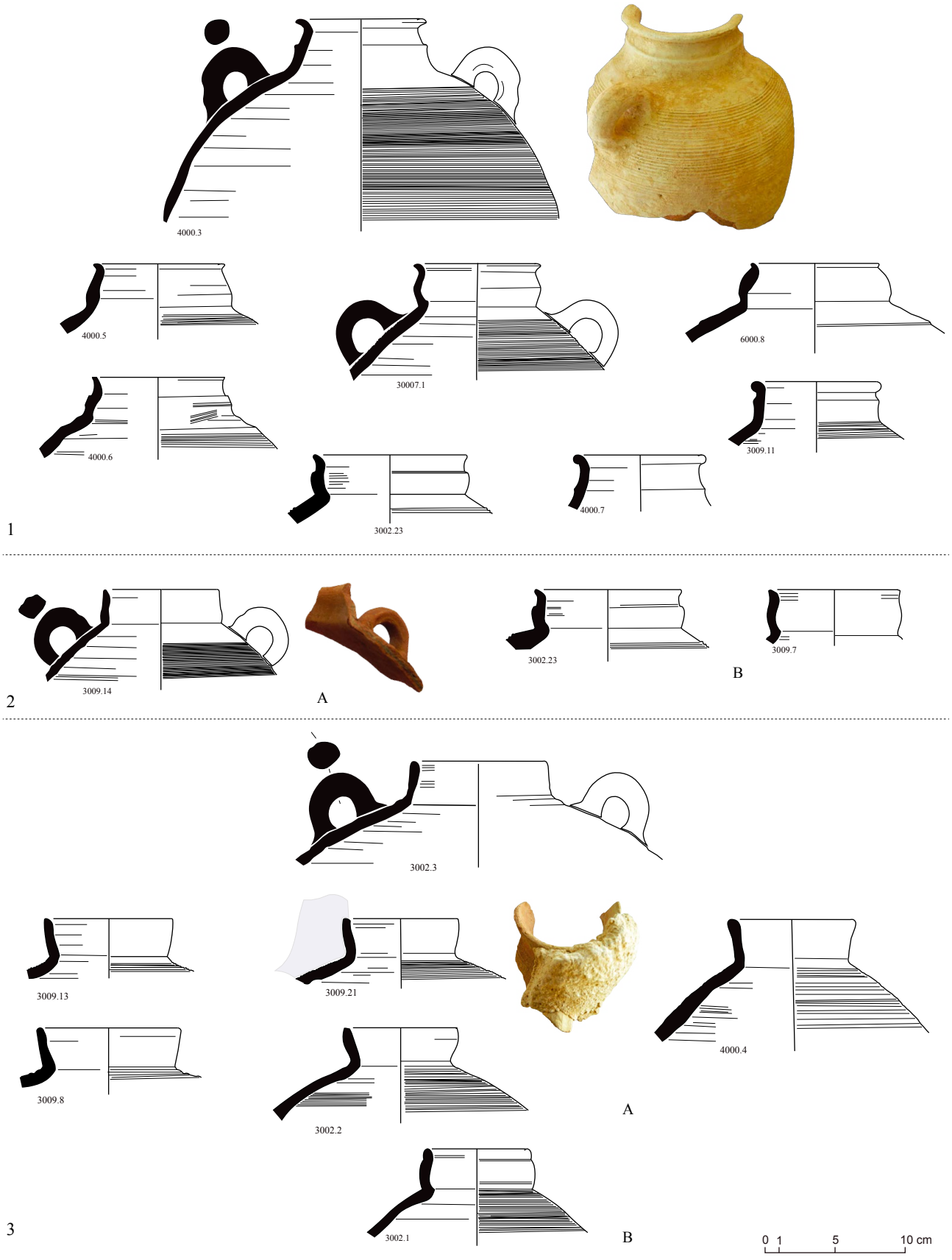


Fig. 5. 1) Late Roman Amphorae 5/6 type 186 Abu Mina /Mareotis; 2) A. Late Roman Amphora 5 Egloff type 187 similar to Delta (Kūm Abū Billū), B. variants Rims of Late Roman Amphorae Egloff type 187 from alluvial clay; 3) A) Illustration of LRA. 5/6 from Marl clay- Marea (Egloff type 190), B) variant rim of LRA 5/6 (© Amany Shabaan).

Billu covered, to a certain extent, the needs of the monastic communities (Konstantinidou 2010: 952).

The variant type (**Fig. 5, 2B**) has not been identified with certainty, but its colour is red to brown, and there are micas and grains of quartz inclusions. This type of amphorae is less widespread in Egypt; a similar example from the old monastery of Baramūs is dated to the second half of the 7th to 8th century AD (Konstantinidou 2010: 960).

Four complete amphorae and some fragments of body sherds LRA 5/6 have been identified in Marea B *in situ* Room F (**Fig. 4**), from the production of Mareotis. This type has the same shape as Palestinian LRA 5 (Egloff 1977: type 190), but some differences, such as the rim of this amphora rising from the shoulder, and the neck being straight with a rounded or tapered edge. The body is an ovoid in shape, partly ribbed, with two handles and a rounded base (**Fig. 5, 3A**). It is dated to the second half of the 6th century AD (Konstantinidou 2010: 960, fig 8, no. 29). The variant rim of LRA 5/6 (**Fig. 5, 3B**) dates to the late 7th to 9th century AD (Konstantinidou 2010: 957, Fig. 5, no. 16).

Late Roman Amphora 7 (LRA.7)

LRA 7, also known as Riley's Late Roman Amphora 7 (Dixneuf 2011: 184), is a wine container that was widely distributed throughout Egypt during Late Antiquity (Marín 2018: 106). It was produced in many workshops in central Egypt around the Nile Delta, using alluvial clay fabric of a dark brown colour, characterized by a high mica content.

LRA 7 has a slender shape with a pointed base and more or less pronounced ridges on the shoulder (Adams 1991: 481, 490). In Marea B, we identified two fragments in Room A of a pointed base LRA 7 (**Fig. 6**). It is made from alluvial clay, and the body is characterized by sharp grooves on the surface, and a fermentation hole made post-firing, which should be interpreted as the reuse of the lower part of the amphora as a container for suspension.

The Polish mission found a similar amphora with a hole in the Deir el-Naqlun excavation (Danys-Lasek 2014: 546). This is dated to the 6th -7th century AD, in the monastery of Baramus (Konstantinidou 2010: 952), and Kellia dated from the 5th to 8th centuries AD (Ballet and Picon 1987: 39) in parallel with the amphorae from the Kharga Oasis.

Regarding the undetermined storage jar, a specimen was found *in situ* in Room B (**Fig. 7**). It had a very fragile fabric, brown in colour, with brown and gray core fabric. Its purpose in this context remains unclear.

6. Cooking ware

Cooking ware was the second most common type of pottery found in Marea B, particularly inside the dump of square C. These wares were common in the late Roman and Byzantine periods, comprising cooking pots and abundant of casseroles used for the daily needs of the pilgrims. Konstantinidou mentioned that the lentil soup was boiling in the casserole.

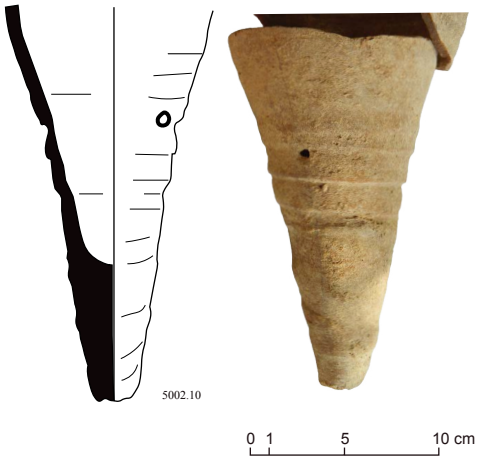


Fig. 6. Late Roman Amphora 7 (© Amany Shabaan).



Fig. 7. Undetermined storage jar *in situ* (© Amany Shabaan).

Most of these pottery items were ribbed, with angled, ledges, or plain rims. However, the wide range of uneven handles and nonstandard forms produced in Egypt from the 2nd to the 7th century AD can complicate the precise dating Roman and Byzantine sherds without a secure archaeological context (Thomas 2018: 22).

Globular Cooking pots

In Marea B, two types of cooking pots with two handles were identified. The first is a deep-necked cooking pot that is globular with vertical handles (**Fig. 8,1A**). It has a rim diameter of 7 cm and shows traces of burning. This type is dated from the late 4th century AD until the early Byzantine period, and has parallels found at Kellis, Tanis, and Deir el-Naqlun (Egloff 1977: Pl. 49:4; Bavay et al 2000: Fig.20, 1; Danys-Lasek 2014: 11079).

The second shape (**Fig. 8,1B**), with a wide vertical handle and a mostly broken rim, could be an imitation of Aegean cooking ware, dated to the middle of the 5th and early 6th centuries AD. Both types are made of dark and reddish-brown, Nile silt clay, which was commonly used for most utility ware.

Hemispherical Cooking pots (Marmite)

The most distinctive and common type of cooking pot found was the marmite with beveled rim (Egloff 1977: type 115). This pot has a hemispherical body, with a flat or beveled rim, a diameter of approximately 22-27 cm, grooves on the wall, and two horizontal handles that are uplifted or straight, with a rounded base (Egloff 1977: type 114-116), as illustrated in (**Fig. 8,2**).

All of these are made of Nile silt fabric and show use/wear traces such as burn marks or soot points due to heating over a fire, similar to a specimen found in house H1 at Marea by the Polish mission. According to evidence from Kellia, this type of pot dates from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 7th century AD (Ballet 1995: 60). This form persisted for a long period from the 5th to the 10th century AD without significant morphological changes. Parallels can be found at Tanis (Bavay et al 2000, fig 20, 8), the Monastery of Baramus (Konstantinidou 2010: 961, fig 9, no. 35), dating to the 8th to 9th century AD, and at Abu Mîna (Engemann 1992: 159, Fig. 13).

The lids were made to cover the aforementioned pots (Konstantinidou 2010: 953). Only one lid has been identified in Marea B. The edge of the rim fits to cover the cooking pot, similar to form Nd.11.449 found at Deir El-Naqlun (DanysLasek 2014: 567, Fig. 9 B Nd.11449).

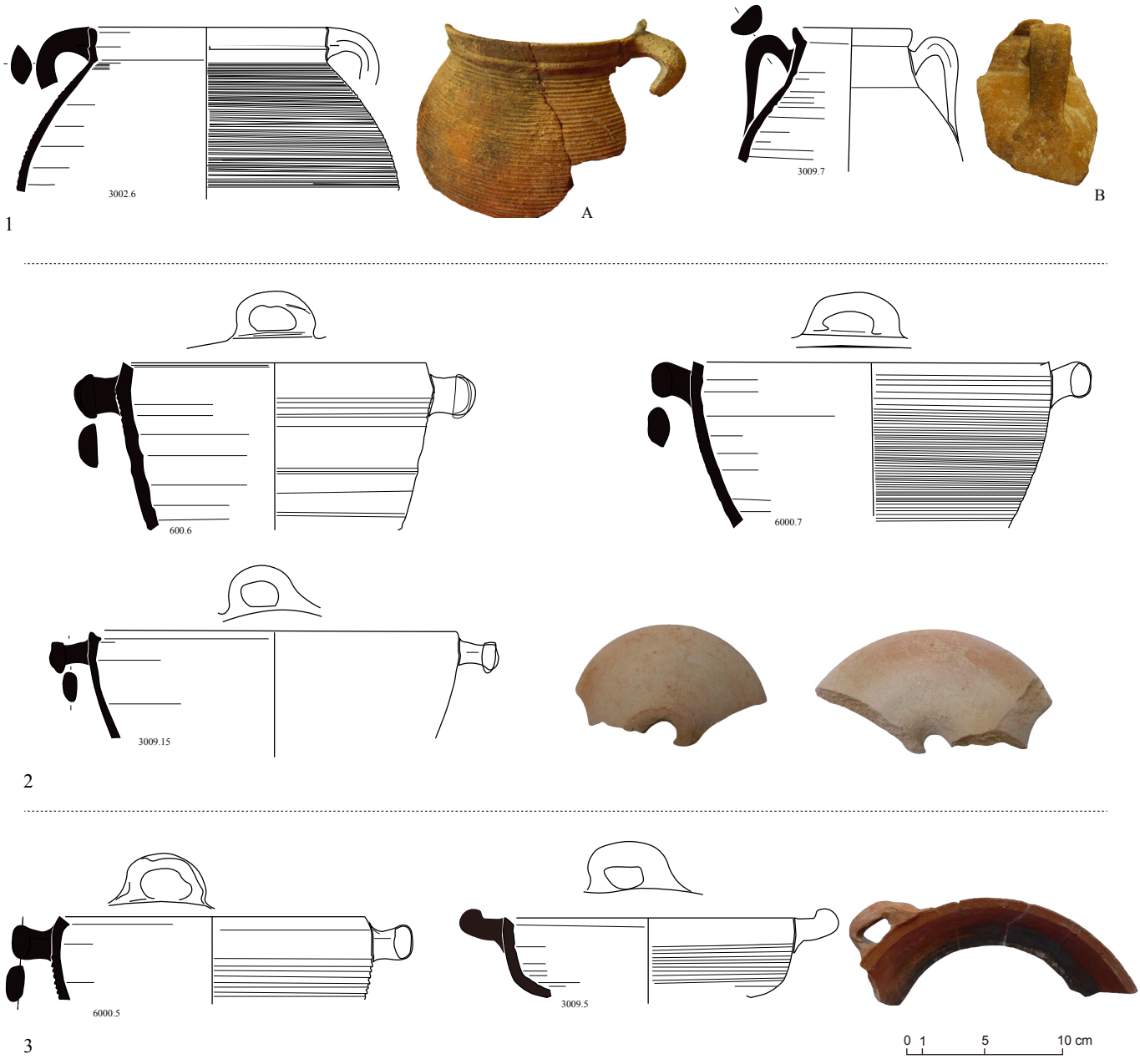


Fig. 8. 1) Spheroidal cooking pots; 2) Cooking pots (marmite) with beveled rim; 3) Pan-casserole.

Casseroles

Casseroles are wide, shallow vessels with vertical walls. The body, particularly on the rounded resting surface, can be heavily ribbed (Bailey1996: 68). From the late 4th century and continuing until the 7th century AD, globular ribbed casseroles with simple flat, internally bevelled rims and horizontal handles replaced the long tradition of ledge-rimmed casseroles (Thomas 2018: 22).

Fragments (**Fig. 8,3**) have been identified as a ribbed casseroles, with a wide mouth and two horizontal handles, a rounded trapezoidal section, a beveled rim with a diameter of 20 cm, and a flat base. This was made in fine alluvial clay with a dark red slip, showing use-wear traces, and it is approximately dated to the second half of the 6th to the 8th century AD. Similar examples have been found at Abu Mîna and are paralleled with one from excavations at Naucratis in 2015 dated to 350-650 AD (Thomas 2018: 22, Fig.75), and Deir El Nuklan Nd.08.634 (DanysLasek 2012: 226, Fig. 3).

7. Tableware

The third major category of the Late Roman period comprises a series of common tableware items devoted to serving and presentation purposes, known as Egyptian Fine ware. These were produced in the northwestern Nile Delta or the region around Alexandria, in a variety of bowls, dishes, and platforms, imitating the most popular forms from North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean.

These items were locally produced from Nile silts, with a few made from fabric sourced from Aswan clay *Kaolinitic* (Hayes 1972; Tomber and Thomas 2011: 47-49).

African Red slip wares (ARSW)

ARSW was produced primarily between the 3rd and 5th centuries AD in North Africa and imported throughout Egypt from the 4th to the 7th centuries AD (Hayes 2008: 250-253).

African prototypes were quite common in the Eastern Mediterranean dating to the late 5th century AD (Hayes 2008: 24, Hayes 91A, 98, 99).

Late red slip ware has been identified in Room A (**Fig. 9,1A**) as a plate with a straight wall without decoration. The diameter of the rim is 16 cm, the base is 14 cm, and the height is 4 cm. The rim is rounded cut, and both the internal and the external surfaces are smooth and covered by a glossy slip, and similar examples were found in Hermopolis Magna (Baily 1996: 62, fig. 11/ 51-53), El Ashmunein (Bailey 1998, plate 20 D9), dating to the 5th century AD (Mondin 2012: 606, Fig. 6, 19). In addition, a fragment of an imported ARSW with zigzag decoration was found in the dump of square C (**Fig. 9,1B**).

Egyptian red slip ware (ERS)

Most Egyptian red slip ware (ERS) is made in kaolinitic fabric (Martin 2017: 859) imitates African Red slipware (Bailey1996: 55). This type of pottery occurs in plates and dishes, represented in three groups distinguished by Rodziewicz according to the clay used: Group O, Group K, and Group W (Rodziewicz 1976: 50, 54, 61).

ERSA -Group O

Egyptian fine wares (group O - orange), according to Rodziewicz generally come from the levels of use (Ballet and Picon 1987: 43). Alternatively, Egyptian red slip A is also known, according to Hayes, or Coptic red slip-ware (Adams 1991: 481), imitates the African red slip ware, produced from *kaolinitic* clay in Aswan workshops (Ballet 1995: 76).

This ware has a pink colour in surface, with orange-red slip, and orange-pink fabric in the break, including visible mica, black nodules, and quartz grains (Rodziewicz 1976: 54).

Some fragments of group O are illustrated as common bowls and plates with plain everted rims (Egloff 1977: type 33-37; Rodziewicz 1976: 23). The helicoidal marks of tooling, which are quite visible on the exterior surface, constitute a veritable trademark (Adam 1991: 481). According to Egloff, these wares date to the 7th century 650-730 AD (Bavay et al 2000: 51, Fig. 17, 1).

A range of Group O (**Fig. 9,2A**) is illustrated in the dump of square C, as two plates with flat rims: one showing a diameter of 30 cm, and the other measuring 27 cm. These represent form E33 from Kellia (Egloff 1977: type 33), and El-Ashmunein (Bailey 1998, plate 10, C 274, C 293), dating to the end of the 5th to the middle of the 7th century AD.

A plate from Room F features zigzag decoration on the surface, applied by roulette, which is characteristic of Group O wares according to Abu Mîna (**Fig. 9,2B**).

Additionally, fragments of a plate stamped on the inner base with a rose of a six-petaled flower (**Fig. 9,2C**). The diameter of the base is 12 cm, and it is possibly Aswan production with orange slip, similar to stamped motifs found on Manqabad bowls (Incordino 2020: 80).

A fragmentary base with stamped decoration (**Fig. 9,2D**), was also discovered in Room F, with a diameter of 17 cm. This piece is characterized by red slip and reddish fabric, dating to the second of the 6th century to the beginning of the 7th century AD (Ballet 1995: 81). It has a parallels from Kellia (Egloff 1977: 81 type 34, pl.39: 13), Marea, west of the Western courtyard of the bath (Majcherek 2008: Fig. 38: 16), and Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1996: pl. 29: 40).

Late Roman B (LRB)

A range of LRB common dishes was found in Mare B. One notable find is a rim of plate in Room B with a flaring wall (**Fig. 9,3A**). This plate has a rounded rim diameter of 33 cm. Thin, barely marked grooves are visible on the surface, particularly in the rim area, and there are wavy patterns on the inner surface (Ballet and Picon, 1987: 28-29). It features orange-coloured slip, and brown and black fabric (Egloff type 90-92), dated from the 5th to 9th centuries AD. Similar examples include those from El Ashmunein (Bailey 1998, plate 20 D1), and Hayes type 67.

Another example is a flanged rim of a bowl, short, slightly rolled on the underside (**Fig. 9,3B**). This bowl is dark orange with beige fabric and has brown colour on the edge of the rim. It has a diameter of 20 cm and is polished inside, dating to the first half of 6th century AD. A similar example was found at Kom El Dikka (Majcherek 1992: 85, No.56.11.87).

Late Roman C ware (LRCW)

Phocaean red slip ware was produced in Asia Minor from the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century AD (Hayes 1972; Bonnet-Borel 2013: 150). However, in Egypt, it is usually dated to the second half of the 6th century AD (Majcherek 1992: 91).

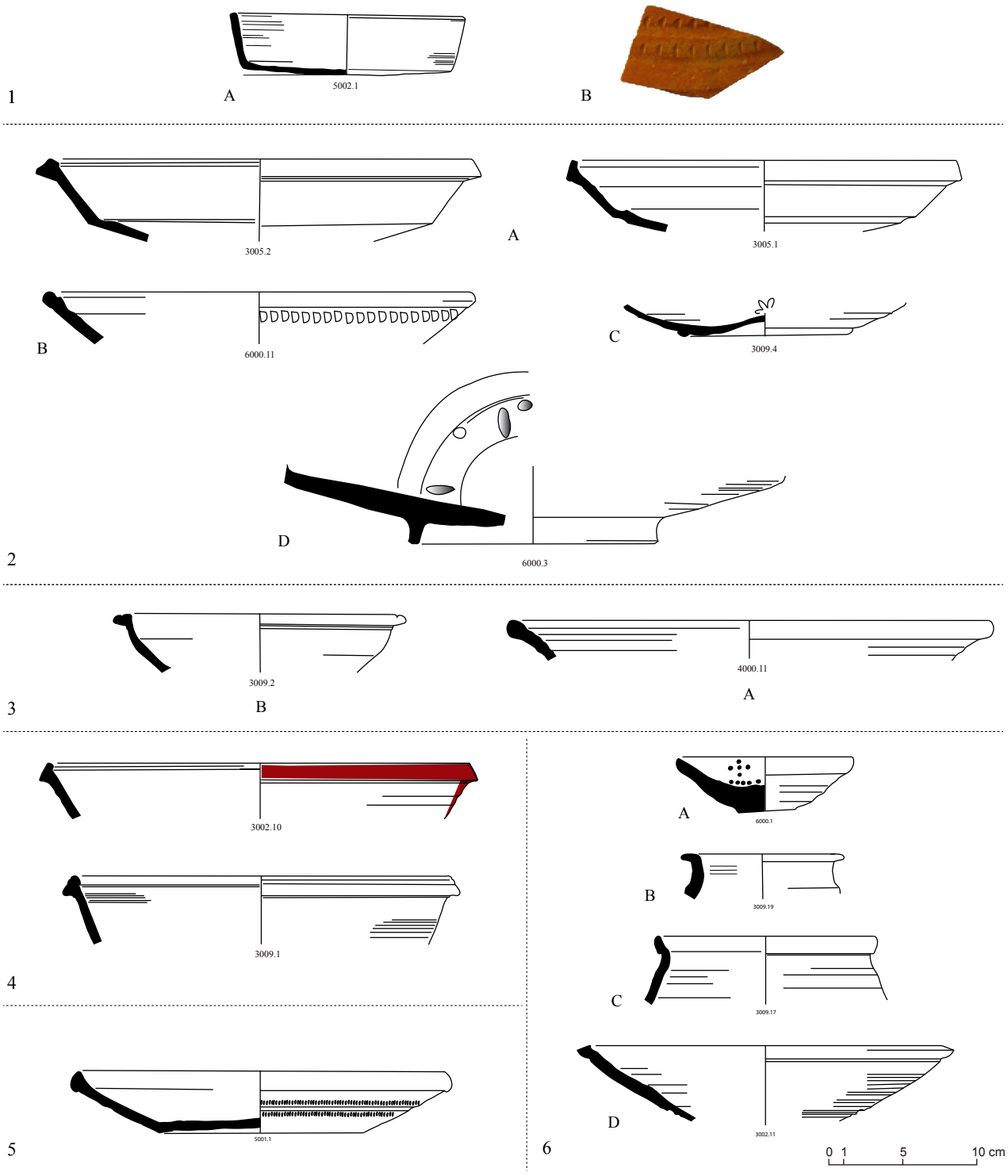


Fig. 9. Table ware illustrated from Marea B. 1) ARSW; 2) Group O; 3) LRB; 4) LRC; 5) LRD; 6) Undetermined tableware (© Amany Shabaan)

This group is represented by two beaded rims of plates (**Fig. 9,4**), with incised decorations, the diameters are between 27-30 cm. They are light red in colour and fabric, covered with an orange slip, and the slip on the rim is darker than on the body. These are parallel to Hayes form 3, Egloff 18 from Kellia (Ballet and Marguerite 2003: 36, Fig. 5), Tanis (Bavay et al 2000: fig 16, no.4), and Kom El Dika at Alexandria, dating to the 5th until the beginning of the 6th century AD (Rodziewicz 1976: 39-41).

Late Roman D ware (LRDW)

Late Roman D ware, also known as Cypriot red slipware according to Hayes (Hayes 1972; Ballet and Picon 1987: 38, 92), is notably abundant in Kellia, Alexandria, and Marea (Ballet and Picon 1987: 26). These vessels are characterized by an orange slip, usually with rouletting decoration, which may have originated as an imitation of African Red Slip Ware (Hayes 1972: 372).

A plate with a rim (**Fig. 9,5**), undercut by a groove on the inside, and decorated with a roulette pattern of double triangular stamps on the outside. The rim the diameter is 26 cm, and the plate is made of pink clay, covered with red polished slip. Similar forms have been found in Abu Mena at Alexandria (Hayes 2000: 296, Fig.31, 1,2), Kellia (Ballet and Picon 1987: 22, Fig. 2,2), Tanis (Bavay et al 2000: 48, fig 12, no.14), and Deir El Nuqlan (DanysLasek 2014: 557, Fig.5, Nd. 11495), dates to the mid- 5th to 6th centuries AD (Hayes, 2008: 250-253; BonnetBorel 2013: 151).

Undetermined tableware

Some plates found in Marea B are undetermined. One such example is a complete dish decorated with impressed dots forming a cross pattern in the four corners of the dish (**Fig. 9,6A**).

This dish was found in Room F and is made of marl clay, with a beige colour, containing very small sand inclusions, with very small vacuoles. The rim diameter is 12 cm, and the base is approximately 4 cm. The use and function of this dish remain unclear.

Two forms of bowls have been undetermined. The first bowl has a diameter of 11 cm and is of a light brown colour and fabric (**Fig. 9,6B**). The second has a diameter of 15 cm, also in a light brown colour and fabric (**Fig. 9,6C**). Additionally, there is a plate similar to those found in Kellia, with a diameter of 26 cm, made of brown and gray fabric with very small white inclusions (**Fig. 9,6D**).

8. Kitchenware

Deep dishes - Carinated bowls

Carinated bowls are the most prevalent type among kitchenware of the Late Roman period. These bowls were typically made from marl clay fabrics, with some examples made with alluvial clay.

These carinated bowls are notable for their uniform shape and ornamentation, forming a diverse set based on the shape of the rim, the wall, and the decoration motifs.

These bowls have been found in large quantity at sites like Marea, Deir El-Naqlun, and the south church in El Ashmunein, dating to the 4th and 5th centuries AD (Bailey 1998: plate 31, 32). They are characterized by a wide shape and often feature a flat base.

The forms vary, including those with a thickened incurved rim and a sloping rim. Some are decorated with black bands adorned with red dots and grooves on the rim. These specific decorations place them between the third quarter of the 6th and the 7th centuries AD (Danys-Lasek 2014: 459).

Numerous examples of carinated bowls have been identified in Marea B, both plain and decorated. The decoration includes painted motives with brown/red and black colours, featuring elements such as black or red painted rim with white spots, banded decoration, and a body featuring black arcades and white dots (**Fig. 10,5-8**).

Two carinated bowls (Danys-Lasek 2014: 565, Fig. 9A, Nd. 11.446) is illustrated in **Fig. 10,1-2**.

Additionally, a carinated plain bowl with sloping rim (**Fig. 10,4**), also bear resemblance to examples from Deir El-Naqlun (Danys-Lasek 2014: 562-563, Fig. 8, Nd.11.312; Bailey 1996: Fig. 36, 8).

Bowls and plates with black spots on a white band on the rim and arcades are similar (DanysLasek 2014: 575, nd.11.353) (**Fig. 10,7-8**). One rim made from marl clay with beige colour and fabric, with a diameter of 20 cm, features red lines on the edge of the rim. This piece parallels a bowl (Nd.08. 206) from Deir El-Naqlun (Danys-Lasek 2012: 223, Fig.1) and is illustrated in **Fig. 10,9**.

Saqiyah pots

These pots feature a wide mouth, a distinct rim, and a base with a knob, designed to attached to the Saqiyah (water wheel) using cords (Adams 1991: 492). Although rare in Kellia, and Marea B (Egloff 1977: type 256), only one fragment of the Saqiyah pot was identified in Room F. It exhibits a brown colour, and black fabric (medium texture) with a few very small vacuoles, and is characterized by groves on the exterior.

Painted Ware/ Coptic pottery

The painted ware, characteristic of the Byzantine period, was produced to contain liquids between the 4th and 8th centuries AD, as evidenced by the examples found at the old Monastery of Baramūs (Konstantinidou 2013: 59).

Gargoulette/ Pitchers

Closed vessels like gargoulettes and pitchers are typically made from marl clay, featuring two handles and a spout. They are adorned with painted decorations in black and red colour, applied on a layer of yellowish or pinkish slip. These decorations often consist of simple geometric patterns, including

concentric lines and bands, wavy lines, dots, cross-hatching, leaves, flowers. Produced in Egypt using Nile silt fabric and marl clay, these vessels are beautifully decorated (Konstantinidou 2013: 58).

Pitchers with excised vertical fluting, possibly originating Abu Mîna (Egloff 1977: types 227-228), are dated from the 7th to the beginning of the 8th century AD (Ballet and Picon 1987: 31).

Some fragments of gargoulette from Marea B have been identified, painted with geometric motives with a red and brown colour similar to Egloff type 204.

A painted pitcher with two handles from marl clay and with a diameter of 5 cm, features small holes for functions, and a broken spout. Its surface is adorned with brown circles; resembling examples possibly originating from Abu Mîna (Egloff 1977: 227-281). Similar pieces have been found in Kellia and Alexandria in Gabbari.

Additionally, a fragment of a spout formed from alluvial clay, and a base of a gargoulette with a diameter of 5 cm, featuring gray fabric, with a brown colour and limestone inclusions, was decorated with groves inside, and characterized by a hole in the base.

Jugs

Jugs, typically made of calcareous clay (marl clay) (Adams 1991: 480), were used to serve liquids during meals.

Examples from the 5th century at Kellia (Egloff 1977: Types 198-202) are notable. They often feature a single handle and a pouring lip, sometimes with narrow rim for pouring or drinking. Some are characterized by a trefoil mouth (Konstantinidou 2013: 59).

Examples of such vessels represented in the site date from the late 4th century to the 8th century AD. For instance, a plain jug with one handle, found in Room B, features a rim diameter of 7 cm, a light brown inner surface, and contains a hole on the body it could be for pouring.

In Room F, a fragment of the jug neck with one handle, adorned with on the neck and with a diameter of 9 cm, was identified. It exhibits a ribbing interior surface, with a kick-up base made from marl clay with a diameter of 6 cm.

Another find is a trefoil-rim jug identified in Room F, with a rim diameter of approximately 7 cm, similar to an example from Smoha at Alexandria (Monchamp 2014: 72).

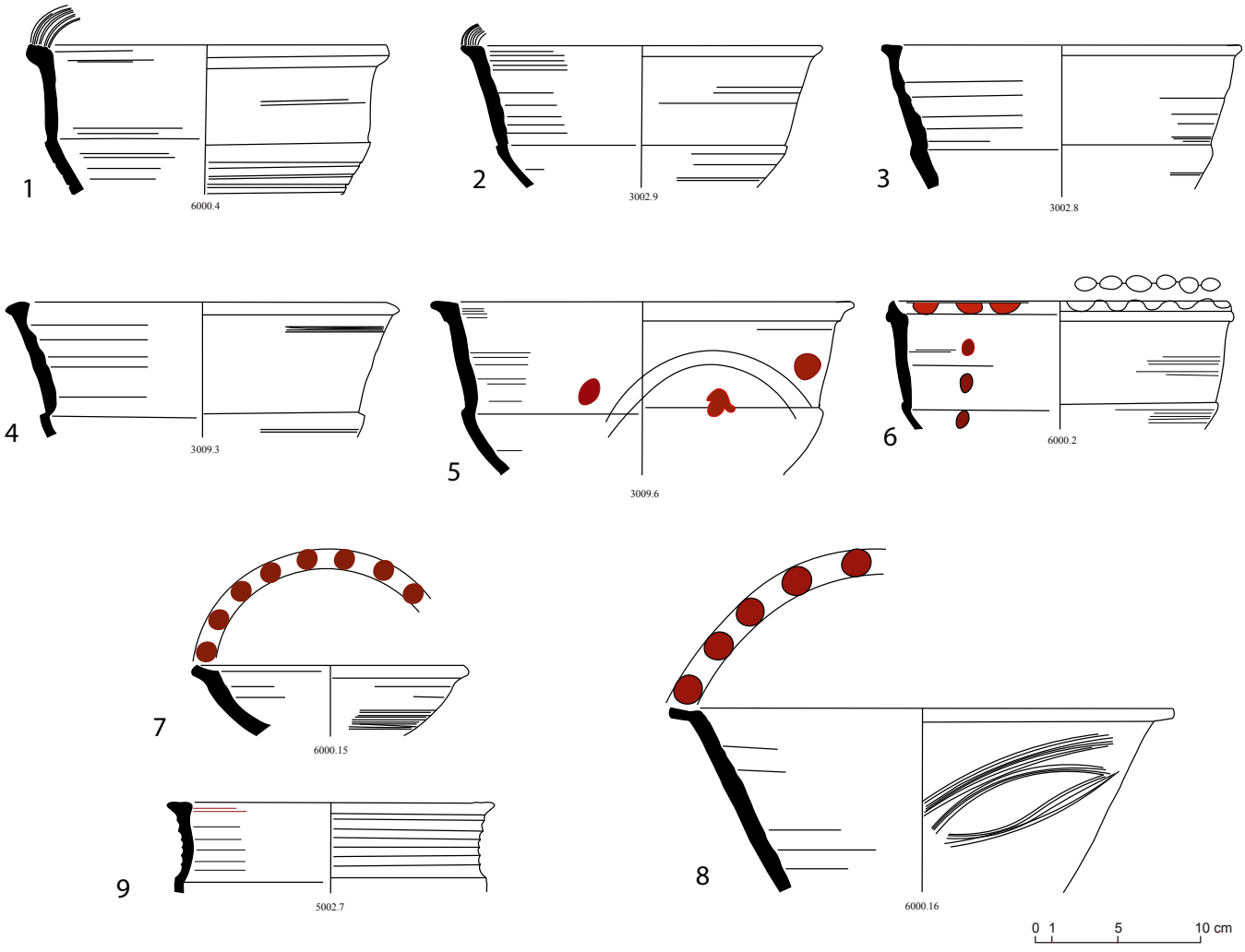


Fig. 10. Deep dishes/ carinated bowls (*Jattes*) (© Amany Shabaan)

9. Final remarks

The site yielded a diverse array of pottery forms and wares of Late Roman period, each adapted to very specific functions. The analysis of this pottery, has given us evidence of daily use of tableware, cooking pots, amphorae, water jugs, and painted ware. Additionally, the study of pottery from the Late Roman context provides valuable information about the economy and culture of this region.

The majority of the pottery was common wares from the Late Roman and early Byzantine periods, and a Late Roman Amphora 5/6 was also found complete *in situ* as well as fragments, dating from the 4th to the 8th centuries AD. The second most common category of pottery was cooking ware. These include several types of vessels such as cooking pots, marmites, casseroles, and bowls, and would have been essential for food preparation.

Tableware such as plates and dishes, played a crucial role in the presentation and consumption of food. The variety of wares identified suggests a degree of sophistication in dining habits during this period. Additionally, the identification of locally produced fine tableware is presented, mainly through small bowls. An important group of painted wares was identified, such as some of the common Byzantine Jugs and Pitchers in Marea, and Abu Mîna.

Overall, the pottery assemblage indicates a single phase of occupation at the site, likely serving as a rest stop for pilgrims travelling to Abu Mîna during the Late Roman and early Byzantine periods. Through the study of pottery, we can better understand the economic, social, and cultural dynamics of this ancient community.

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Aude Simony

THE ROMAN NECROPOLIS OF KOM ABU BILLU (EGYPT): AN OVERVIEW OF CERAMIC MATERIAL IN FUNERARY CONTEXT

Since 2012, research has been carried out by the French Mission led by S. Dhennin (CNRS, HiSOMA) on the site of Kom Abu Billu, located on the western edge of Egyptian Delta in Menoufia Governorate. Recent archaeological excavations have focused mainly on the western part of the site, especially on the Greco-Roman necropolis area (Sector 2), revealing a remarkable number of artefacts in association with mud-bricks tombs, mainly ceramic vessels, but also lamps, terracotta figurines, faience and glass containers, and metallic objects. Most of these elements were very probably part of the funerary equipment of the burials. Thus, this paper aims at presenting and exploring the specificity of locally produced Roman pottery from one of the largest Greco-Roman necropolises of Lower Egypt.

Egypt – Roman necropolis – Egyptian amphorae – cooking wares

1. Introduction

The archaeological site of Kom Abu Billu is located in the southern part of the western Nile Delta, on the fringe of the Libyan Desert, about 60 km northwest of Cairo, in an area currently belonging to the Menoufia Governorate (**fig. 1**). During Pharaonic times, a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Hathor of Mefkat would have been located in the vicinity of the site (Dhennin 2022: 84). Moreover, Kom Abu Billu may correspond to the ancient city of *Terenouthis* mentioned to in written sources from the imperial period (Dhennin 2011: 108).

Between 1887 and 1888, excavation campaigns funded by the Egypt Exploration Fund were undertaken by Francis Llewellyn Griffith (Griffith 1890: 60-64) leading to the discovery of a pharaonic and Greco-Roman necropolis as well as blocks from the temple (Dhennin 2022: 84). Later, in 1935, the Greco-Roman necropolis was unearthed again during an excavation campaign by the University of Michigan under the supervision of Enoch Peterson, revealing numerous mud-bricks tombs covered by painted plaster and displaying different shapes and sizes, as well as archaeological artefacts associated with the structures. Unfortunately, all these discoveries remain still unpublished.

Some important rescue excavations were carried out by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities between 1969 and 1975 (Farid 1973; El-Sawy 1977; Hawass 1979; El-Sawy 1980; Abd el-Aal 1983) before the creation of the el-Nasseri canal now crossing the site and, between 2006 and 2007, before banana trees were planted all around the archaeological area (Wagdy and El-Ebiary 2011). During these rescue operations a large part of the Pharaonic and Greco-Roman cemetery, only mentioned in few reports, was cleared.

Since 2014, excavations have resumed on the site under the supervision of Sylvain Dhennin (CRNS, HiSOMA). After two campaigns aiming at surveying and mapping the whole site (Dhennin et al. 2014; Marchand and Simony 2017), the study of several areas including the necropolis located in the western part of the site, (Dhennin et al. 2022: 1) was carried out between 2014 and 2021.

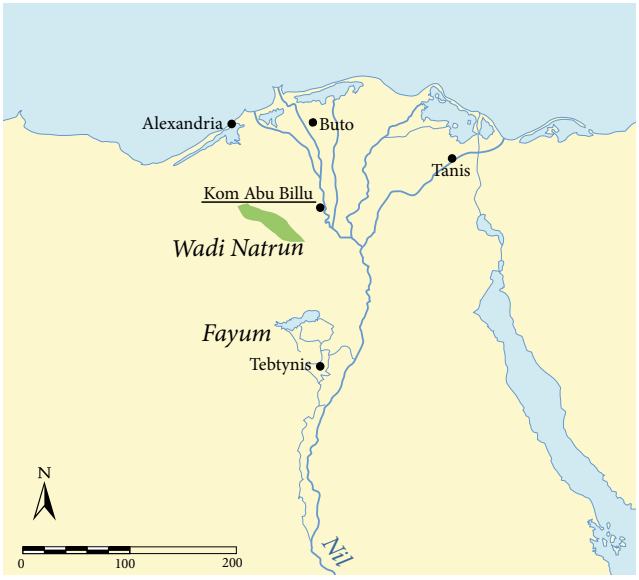


Fig. 1. Map of Lower Egypt indicating the location of Kom Abu Billu (© Ifao).

2. Sector 2: chronology and occupation phases

The area under study (Sector 2) is located on the western part of the site, threatened by the expansion of the banana-tree

plantations in its northern and western part. This sector was also previously disturbed by numerous pits due to important looting during Late Antiquity. During the five excavation campaigns, more than 400 m² of the necropolis were unearthed and 107 mud-brick structures and tombs have been discovered (Dhennin et al. 2022: 38).

The superstructures of the tombs are of different shapes, either rectangular, octagonal, pyramidal, domed or barrel-shaped (Dhennin 2011: 114-119). They were originally covered with a white plaster coating (usually painted), and some of them were equipped with an offering table and a niche containing a funerary stela. The presence of these stelae is one of the main characteristics of the burials from Kom Abu Billu. Many examples, now stored in different museums around the world, were found during the excavations in the 19th and early 20th centuries and have been partially published (Dhennin 2011: 109-110 with references). They are usually rectangular and decorated with an engraved, embossed or painted scene depicting the deceased following the Greek tradition in association with Egyptian symbols. A Greek epitaph, sometimes visible in the lower part of the stela, bears the name of the deceased, his filiation, his age and some encouraging or supporting words for his journey to the underworld (Dhennin 2015: 154).

According to Paul Picavet, in charge of the excavations of the area, these monumental tombs belong to the three first occupation phases of the necropolis, most likely very restricted in time and covering the 2nd and the 3rd centuries AD (Dhennin et al. 2022: 50-65).

A first phase (Phase 1) consists of the installation of the oldest tombs in this area, directly on the geological soil. It includes the construction of the large, octagonal tomb, measuring around 5m on each side (T17). Following this first installation, the tombs were totally or partially covered by sand, their superstructures being used as foundation for later tombs from Phase 2.

During a second phase (Phase 2), it seems that a very large number of tombs were built, drastically restricting the space between the structures. The whole area was then covered by sand again, and five new tombs were built in a third phase (Phase 3). A last covering episode marks the end of the monumental phases in this area.

A 4th and last phase corresponds to a late reoccupation of the necropolis with single or collective burials dug in the sand or in the mud-brick superstructure of old tombs. Several burials are arranged around the largest and oldest tomb (T 17) which was probably still visible. This reoccupation phase dates to the end of the 3rd and 4th century AD according to the dating given for the coins held by the deceased and corresponding to Charon's obol.

The archaeological material found in the necropolis is quite abundant and diversified. Unfortunately, most of the tombs discovered so far show evidence of looting, and the artefacts founds around these structures mostly consist of disturbed funerary equipment. Nevertheless, ceramics vessels of local origin make up most of the archaeological material found near or in association with the tombs.

3. The pottery

3.1. Small and medium-sized closed vessels

The category of small to medium-sized closed vessels, such as vases for liquids, is by far the best represented in the contexts of the necropolis. It counts mainly water jugs and flasks. A first group includes water jugs characterized by a globular, ribbed body sometimes equipped with a small spout and a high flared neck with a filter with four holes, one of which is placed centrally. The rim is deeply grooved in its central part, and characterize by a plastic decoration formed by the fold of the inner part of the lip (**fig. 2, 1-4**). Water jugs with such plastic treatment of the rim find parallels only in very few contexts of the western Delta (Kormysheva et al. 2015: fig. 61, 11/17-1/38 p. 15). The fabric is alluvial, fine, dense, sandy and micaceous, and the outer surface is systematically covered with a light-colored slip. A few examples show painted decoration of dots and lines on the upper part of the body (**fig. 2, 4**).

Another variant consists of water jugs with a poly-lobed neck (**fig. 2, 5**). The neck is rather short; its general aspect is created by a pressure exerted at different points during the shaping process. The rim is slightly bevelled or, on the contrary, rounded. These vessels are equipped with a slightly domed filter, pierced by six holes (five evenly distributed around the perimeter and one central) and with two vertical handles with a rounded section, placed on either side of the neck and going down to the shoulder. This type finds parallels on the site of Bouto in both consumption and production contexts from the 2nd and 3rd century AD (Ballet et al. 2019: 162, fig. 58 nos. 12-13, type G1, 175 fig. 66 no. 21). Both water-jugs types are well represented in the Kom Abu Billu necropolis during Phases 1, 2 and 3. Their presence in the levels of Phase 4 is probably residual.

Small flasks are the second most significant group in the contexts of the necropolis. They are of two types. The first has a high neck and an oblong body with marked ridging in its lower part and a ring base (**fig. 2, 6**). The second type is characterized by a high and narrow, strongly carinated neck and a flared or straight rim, an ovoid or piriform body and two small, symmetrical, vertical handles joining the shoulder to the neck (**fig. 2, 7-9**). The fabric used is similar to the water-jugs types, and a whitish slip, usually applied by soaking, is visible in the upper part of the vessel. A few examples, presenting a painted decoration of plant motifs (bunches of grapes), have, however, been noted (**fig. 2, 10**).

The presence of similar vessels is attested on different sites of the Delta (Holladay 1982: fig. 12, 147; Ballet et al. 2019: 175, fig. 66 nos. 22-23), Middle Egypt (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 110, pl. 51, fig. 458, 289, Faiers 2013: 69, 150, fig. 2.72 nos. 445-447) and in the oases of the Western Desert (Ballet 2004: 224, fig. 220 no. 48a/B; Dixneuf 2018: Pl. 8.1.10-11; Caputo 2020: 84-85, pl. XII no 207, 103). In Kom Abu Billu, these flasks seem to be more numerous in the contexts of Phase 4, even though they sometimes occurred in contexts of Phase 1, 2 or 3. Indeed, this shape seems to be more frequent in Egyptian contexts starting from

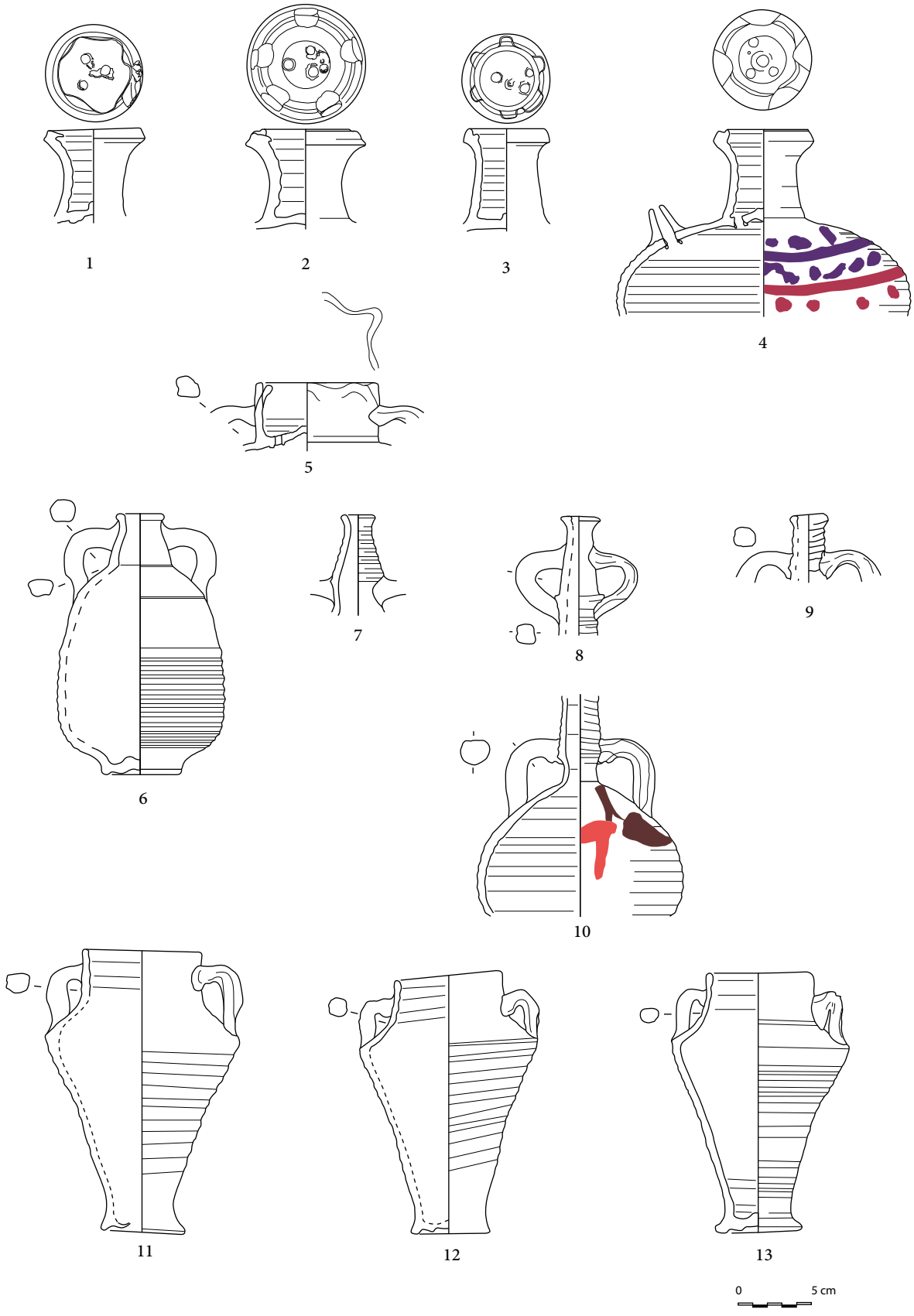


Fig. 2. Small and medium-sized closed vessels from Kom Abu Billu necropolis (sector 2). 1-4. Water jugs with plastic decoration of the rim. 5. Water jug with poly-lobed neck. 6. Flask with oblong body. 7-10. Flasks with carinated neck. 11-13. Closed vessels with high neck and upper carination (J. Marchand / A. Simony © French Mission of Kom Abu Billu).

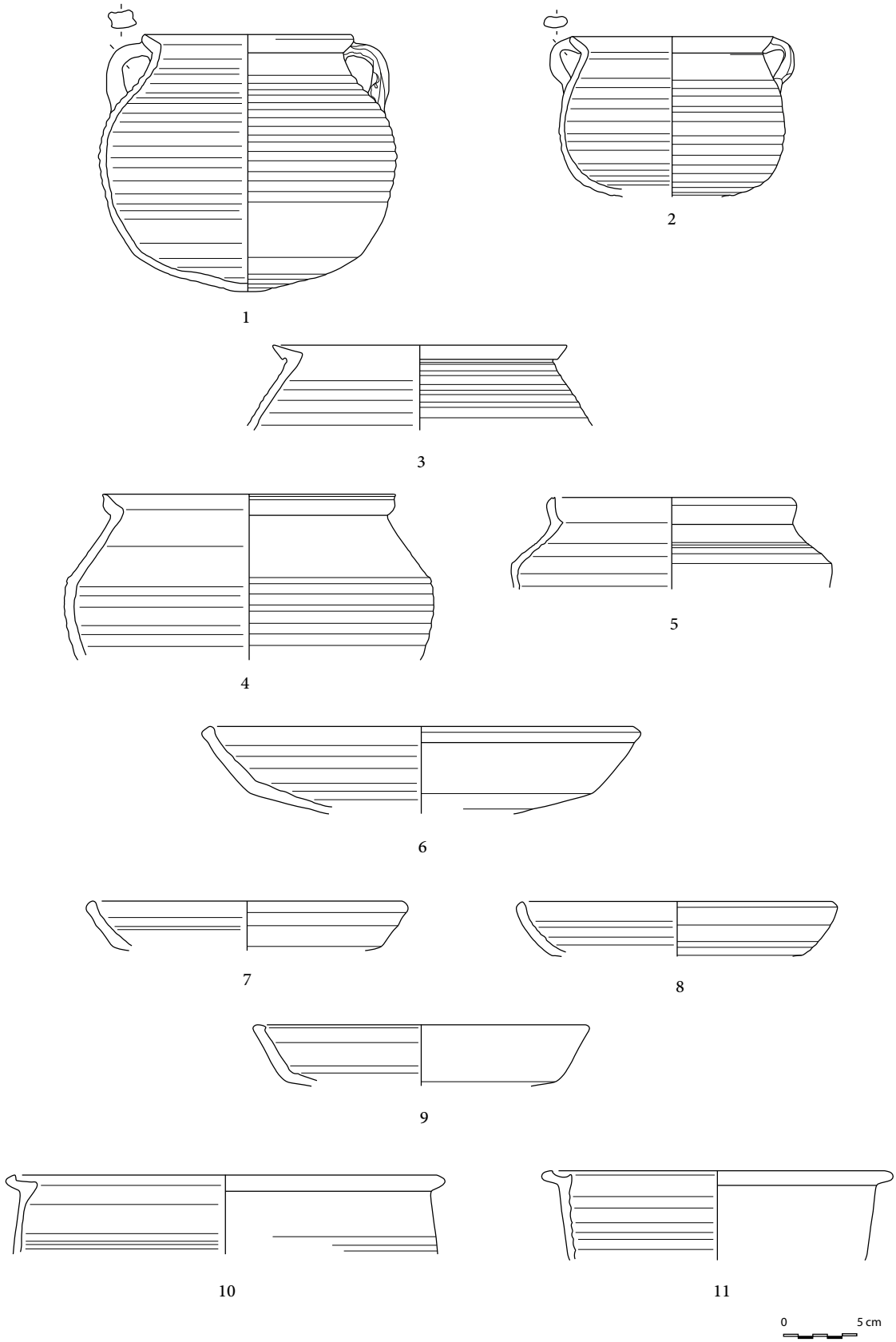


Fig. 3. Cooking wares from Kom Abu Billu necropolis (sector 2). 1-3. Cooking pots with flared rim and globular body. 4-5. Cooking pots with slightly convex neck and carinated body. 6. Cooking pan with bevelled lip. 7-8. Cooking pans with simple in turned rim. 9. Cooking pan with rounded thickened lip. 10-11. Casseroles with grooved edge (J. Marchand / A. Simony © French Mission of Kom Abu Billu).

the 4th century AD, even though it may occur in earlier ones (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 110, pl. 51, fig. 458, 289; Faiers 2013: 69, 150, fig. 2.72 nos. 445-447; Ballet et al. 2019: 175, fig. 66 nos. 22-23).

The presence of vessels with a high carination (**fig. 2, 11-13**) is also particularly significant in the necropolis. These closed vases of different sizes have a straight neck, a strongly carinated upper body and a ring base, usually pierced after firing (**fig. 2, 11**). The fabric, made of Nile Silt, is usually fine and sandy, and the surface treatment, relatively basic, consists only in a simple smoothing of the outer surface. This shape, particularly well attested in the necropolis, seems to be rarely encountered on other sites and archaeological contexts of the Egyptian Delta. In Kom Abu Billu these carinated vessels are usually associated with the tombs from Phases 1, 2 and 3.

3.2. Cooking wares

The category of cooking wares mainly includes standard cooking pots with an elongated and widely flared rim and a globular ribbed body (**fig. 3, 1-3**). This shape is particularly common in the domestic contexts of the Delta and Alexandrian region (Coulson 1996: n. 33 type F; Majchereck 2008: 45, fig. 10; Wilson and Grigoropoulos 2009: 321, KKP5, fig. 113, 323; Lecuyot 2017: 905, fig. 3; Ballet et al. 2019: 163-164, fig. 59, nos. 1-3) or across the country in Upper Egyptian sites (Gempeler 1992: Abb. 103, Nr. 10, K419; Tomber 2006: 77, Type 28, 79, fig. 1.29 nos. 358-359) from the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, until the first half of the 3rd century AD. The general shape, and more particularly the treatment of the rim, more or less recalls the *caccabai* of the Hellenistic period whose production finds its origin in the Aegean region (Waksman and Lemaître 2010: 783, fig. 5, 788). Other types are characterized by a slightly convex and flared neck, a grooved rim and a slightly carinated, ribbed body (**fig. 3, 4-5**). This shape, which occurs in Kom Abu Billu during Phases 1, 2 and 3 is also known in Bouto (Ballet et al. 2019: 173-174, fig. 65 no.12) and Memphis (French 2013: 165, n. 310, 174, fig. A2.6: b). It probably appeared during the 2nd century AD and seems to last well beyond the Late Roman period (Ballet, Bosson and Rassart-Debergh 2003: 118, 127, no. 79).

A significant number of shallow cooking pans or cooking plates with sloping sides or convex wall, a low carination and a flat or slightly rounded bottom in the tradition of *tagenon* and *patina* types of Roman tradition (Rotroff 2006: 188-189) have also been recognized. This shape, particularly common around the Mediterranean (Simony 2020: 593 with references), is well attested throughout the Early Roman Empire. Different variants are attested in the necropolis, showing rather a bevelled lip (**fig. 3, 6**), a simple, slightly inturned rim (**fig. 3, 7-8**) or a round thickened rim (**fig. 3, 9**). This form is very well attested in Alexandria starting from the 1st century AD (Lamarche 2003: pl. 14, fig. 72, 179; Ballet 2017: MAJ 517, 69, pl. 7), the Delta (Holladay 1982, no. 11, pl.32, 141), but also in Fayum (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 57, pl. 12 n° 159) or in Upper Egypt (Tomber 1992: 141-142, fig. 3.6; Tomber 2006: fig. 1.47, 123, type 98, 124; Tomber 2007: fig. 6.10 n° 116) in later levels dated to the 2nd century AD.

Lastly, casseroles with a flared or even horizontal rim, marked by a wide internal groove, oblique walls and a rounded carination **(fig. 3, 10-11**) are to be compared with the Egyptian repertoire from the 2nd and 3rd century AD (Coulson 1996: 70 fig. 35, type E; Tomber 2007: 196-197 fig. 6.10, n° 113; Monchamp 2014: 9, figs 1-6).

The cooking wares from Kom Abu Billu are systematically made of fine and sandy Nile Silt fabric and the surface treatment consists of a generally careful smoothing. When a clay-based coating is applied it is most often a fine matt slip, orange or red to brownish-red in colour.

3.3. Amphorae

Several fragments of amphorae of both type AE3-2 (for the earliest phases) and AE3-T1 (for phase 4), whose production seems to be located in the Delta, were discovered near the tombs. Amphorae AE3-2 with cylindrical neck (**fig. 4, 1-4**), dated from the end of 1st to the beginning of 3rd century AD are represented in two variants with a rounded rim (Dixneuf 2011: 112, 331, fig. 97 variant A), an inverted quadrangular rim (Holladay 1982: pl. 39, fig. 64; Tomber 2006: 149-150, fig. 1.58 n. 871; Dixneuf 2011: 112-113, 331-332 fig. 97-98 variant B or C). The later variant, AE3T-1 (**fig. 4, 5-6**), displaying a triangular rim (Dixneuf 2011: 139, 344, fig. 120), is dated from the second part of the 3rd to the 4th century AD. The fabric from these different types always consists of medium fine, brown Nile Silt.

3.4. Open vessels

The category of open shapes includes small bowls characterized by an in-turned rim with a flat, sloping lip and a flat base (**fig. 5, 1**). Made of fine Nile Silt fabric, the surfaces do not show any traces of surface treatment, but the presence of pigment and mortar remains on the inner surface corroborates their use in the funerary context, during the occupation of the necropolis and the phase of renovation or decoration of the tombs. Numerous examples of thin-walled beakers of local origin with a short neck, a ring base and a plastic decoration created by intentional depressions all around the body (**fig. 5, 2-4**) have also been noted. This plastic treatment aimed probably at imitating Italic examples (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 116, 292, no. 494; Mayet 1975: 37-38, pl. XI, nos 81-87), together bowls with a rounded carination and with a rounded, grooved rim and two or three lines of chattering on the upper part of the body (Marabini 1973: 10-108, pl. 18, no. 181) (**fig. 5, 5-6**). These small containers are characteristic of the funerary deposits at the corners of the mud-brick tombs of Phases 1, 2 and 3.

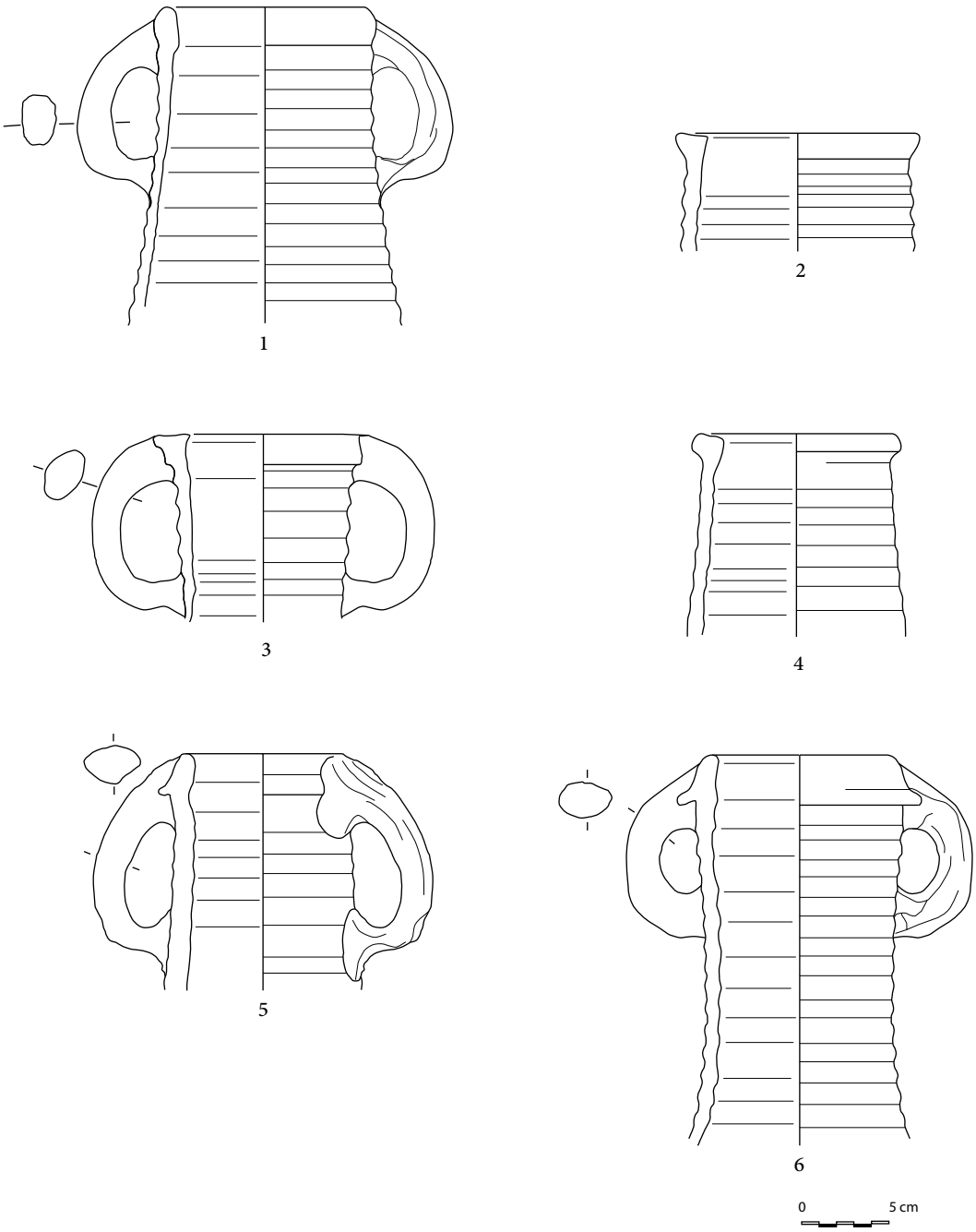


Fig. 4. Amphorae from Kom Abu Billu necropolis (sector 2). 1. Amphora AE3-2 with rounded rim. 2-4. Amphorae AE3-2 with quadrangular rim. 5-6. Amphorae AE3T-1 with triangular rim. (Y. Mahmoud / A. Shabaan / A. Simony / C. Edwar © French Mission of Kom Abu Billu/ CEAlex).

Conclusion

All of the ceramic material presented here is of local origin, or at least produced in the area of the Western Delta, which is not really surprising considering the fact that imported material only represents less than 5% of the ceramics from Sector 2. Except the amphorae, the vessels show really homogenous and similar Nile Silt fabrics, suggesting a local origin or at least a production centre in the immediate surroundings of the site. No evidence of pottery workshops from the Early Roman period has been discovered so far, although Kom Abu Billu is known to be a production center of glass during the Early Roman period (Nenna and Seif El-Din 2000: 26-29, 39-40), of amphorae LRA5/6 type (Ballet 1994) and possibly common and cooking ware during the Late Roman and early Islamic periods (Marchand and Simony 2017: 917-920). The typological repertoire, quite restricted, is composed of coarse, cooking and fine wares with many parallels in domestic assemblages from the Early Roman period in Egypt or even the eastern part of the site, where excavation started in 2017,

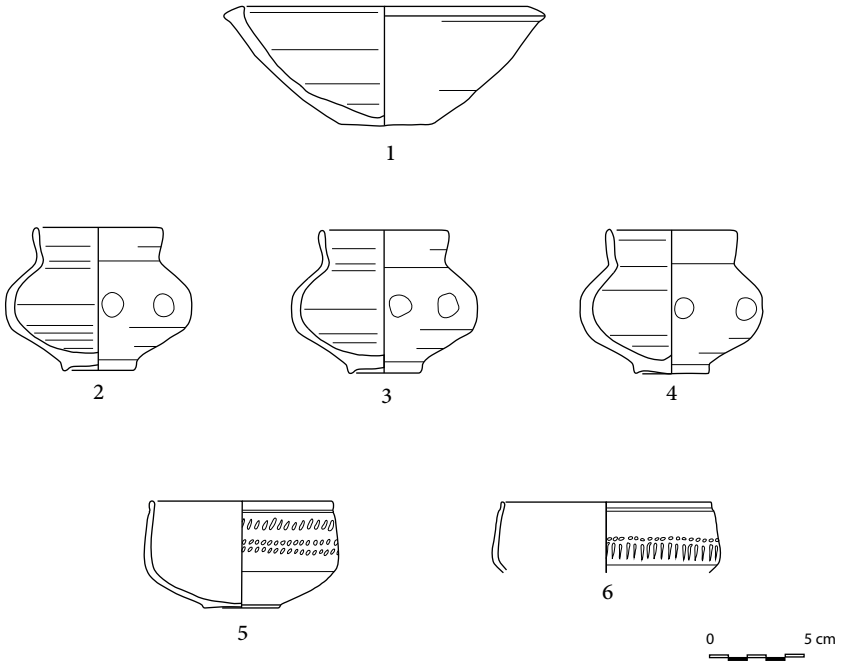


Fig. 5. Open vessels from Kom Abu Billu necropolis (sector 2). 1. Small bowl with in turned rim. 2-4. Thin-walled beakers with depressions on the body. 5-6. Soft Carinated bowls with rouletting decoration on the upper part of the body. (A. Shabaan / A. Simony / J. Marchand/ C. Edwar © French Mission of Kom Abu Billu/ CEAlex).

suggesting that there was no specific production for the funerary sphere. Furthermore, it seems that domestic vessels could have been reused for funerary purposes in certain cases (Van Andringa 2021:101).

Most of the shapes presented in this paper belong most probably to the three first phases of the occupation of the necropolis and only few examples can be associated absolutely certainly with the 4th and last phase of later burials. These containers may correspond to the remains of offerings made at the time of the funerals or afterwards (Dhennin 2015: 148). Indeed, lamps, cooking vessels, vases for liquids, and beakers were often found placed in the corner of the tombs and turned upside down, as is already attested in other necropolises of the Roman world (Van Andringa 2021: fig. 69, 101). On the other hand, amphorae necks were often stuck in the ground, and the vases for liquids, which often have a base pierced after firing, could have been linked to libations (Dhennin 2015: 159).

Then, excavations conducted by the French mission have not only confirmed the location of the necropolis of Kom Abu Billu in the western part of the site but also uncovered numerous funerary structures and their associated material, helpful for a better understanding of the funerary rituals of Roman Egypt.

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DJILMA – AN IMPORTANT ARS PRODUCTION CENTRE IN CENTRAL TUNISIA. AN ASSESSMENT OF LATE ANTIQUE FORMS AND STAMPED DECORATION, FABRIC AND CHEMICAL ANALYSES BY WD-XRF

Djilma is one of the two most important production centres of African red slip ware vessel forms and lamps in central Tunisia. It produced African red slip ware (ARS) and lamps from the early 3rd century to the mid-5th century in a characteristic fabric (Atlante 1981: fabric E). Long-distance trade to the eastern and western Mediterranean distributed the standard vessel forms of ARS. They can be identified at the Athenian Agora as well. The range of late Antique forms and typical stamped decoration (Hayes style B) from a survey at Henchir el Guellal near Djilma in 1991 is decisively supplementing the preliminary results of the British-Tunisian survey carried out in 1984/85. Additionally, a specific reference group of chemical analyses by WD-XRF of ARS and lamps from Djilma carried out by G. Schneider (Berlin) and M. Daszkiewicz (Warszawa) is presented.

African red slip ware – production centre – Henchir el Guellal near Djilma – Athens-Agora – long distance trade – late Antiquity

Introduction

In his outstanding monograph on "Roman Pottery, Fine-Ware Imports" from the Athenian Agora, published in 2008, John Hayes described the state of research on African Red Slip Ware (Hayes 2008: 67-73). This had improved considerably since his handbook "Late Roman Pottery", published in 1972, due to the international excavations and surveys, especially at Carthage, but also in other regions of Tunisia. There has also been a significant increase in our knowledge of the ARS production centres in northern Tunisia (El Mahrine, Oudhna) (Mackensen 1985: 29-39; Mackensen 1993; Barraud et al. 1998) and central Tunisia (Sidi Marzouk Tounsi, Henchir el Guellal near Djilma, Henchir es Srira etc.) (Peacock et al. 1990: 59-84; cf. Mackensen 1998a: 23-39; 1998b: 355-370) (**fig. 1**).

The fundamental work on fine ware imports from the Agora, especially the late Antique red ware classes, was carried out by Hayes in the 1960s. In his 2008 preface, he described his method of working - namely the treatment of individual fine ware classes - as "outmoded in its approach" (Hayes 2008: VII; cf. p. 292-305: deposit summaries with an overview of the closed deposits). In J. Humphrey's Michigan excavation at Carthage in the mid-1970s, from the beginning the selected closed deposits played a decisive role for the chronology of the stratigraphy, although sufficient space was given to the type series of different pottery groups and in particular of later fine wares, cooking wares and coarse wares[1]. As a member of Humphrey's team, Hayes was also responsible for this methodologically important approach to Roman pottery in Tunisia.

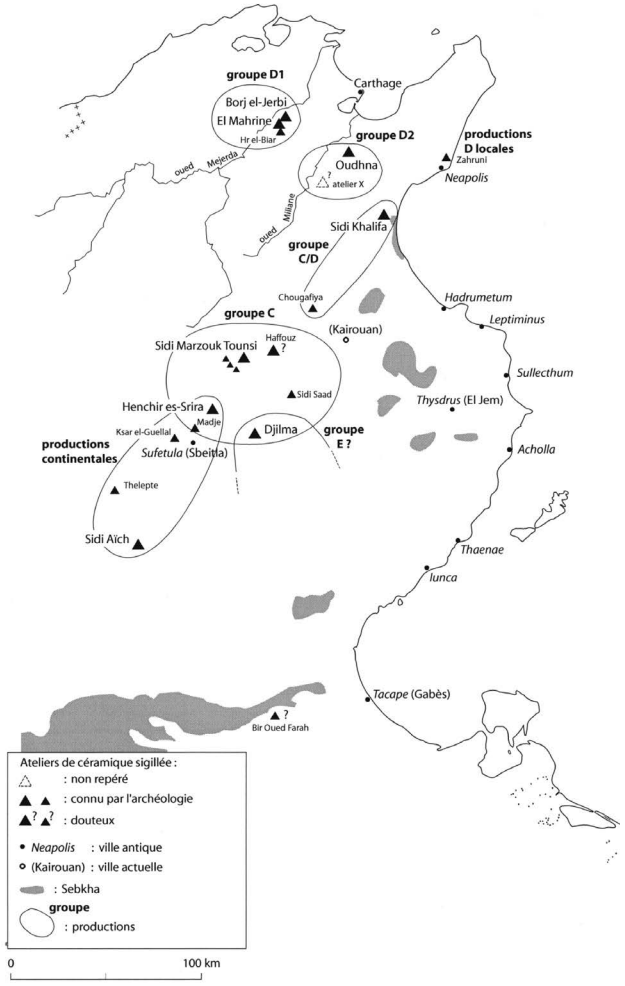


Fig. 1. Mid-Imperial and late Antique ARS potteries and production centres in Tunisia (Bonifay 2004: 46, fig. 22).

[1] Cf. Hayes 1976: 49-73 (selected deposits), 74-123 (type series); Hayes 1978a: 113-117 (selected deposits); Hayes 1978b: 25-63 (selected deposits), 64-98 (type series)

In the introduction to the African red slip ware from the Agora, Hayes updated his text several times. He referred to the differentiated classification of fabrics of the *terra sigillata africana* by A. Carandini, St. Tortorella and L. Saguì in the "*Atlante delle forme ceramiche I*" (Atlante 1981). He also drew attention to the range of vessel forms and stamp-types of individual production centres of fine wares in northern and central Tunisia such as El Mahrine (Mackensen 1993; cf. Ben Moussa 2007; 78-108) and Sidi Marzouk Tounsi (Peacock et al. 1990: 66-74, figs. 5-9; Mackensen 1998b: 355-370, figs. 1-9). The products from these fine ware centres had achieved widespread distribution in the eastern and western Mediterranean through long-distance trade. However, important advances made between 1990 and 1998 were not considered with regard to the huge amount of ARS from the Agora. Thus, a consistent differentiation of ARS by region of production or by individual production centre is missing, although this would actually have been possible, in particular for specialists such as Hayes. Only occasionally, but not systematically, are there references to individual production centres in the catalogue.

In the description of forms Hayes 62A and 68, Hayes referred to the "rather fine-grained but thickly potted fabric bearing a thin matte slip inside and outside" and the "distinctive maroon or brownish red tint" (Hayes 2008: 69). According to him, the fabric was consistent with category E (Cf. Atlante 1981: 119), introduced by the above-cited Italian archaeologists. The distribution in the "south-central coastal areas of Tunisia" seemed striking to him. Rather casually, Hayes already identified the production site of fabric E in 2008 as Henchir el Guellal, Djilma (Hayes 2008: 69, note 19), hereafter referred to only as Djilma. However, he did not make any explicit assignments with regard to other forms and the associated stamped decoration which was occasionally surrounded by a single or double band of rouletting, forming a "herringbone" wreath.

With regard to the Athenian Agora and other important consumer cities outside the provinces of *Africa Proconsularis* and *Byzacena*, such as Rome, Aquileia, Milan, Ravenna, Durres, Marseille, Tarragona, Cordoba, Corinth, Antioch and Alexandria, the identification of the products of important late Antique ARS production centres in north-eastern and central Tunisia[2] is of decisive importance for the evaluation of the late Antique pottery trade. Only in this way can the negotiation of the products on transport routes of the regional road system to the trading ports such as *Karthago*/Carthage, *Pupput*/Souk Abiod, *Horrea Caelia*/Hergla, *Hadrumetum*/Sousse, *Leptiminus*/Lamta and *Sullectum*/Ras Salakta in present-day northern and central Tunisia (Mackensen 2019: 67-71, fig. 28) (**fig. 1**) as well as further on via the sea-based long-distance trade be assessed in a more differentiated manner.

Pottery-specific forms, decoration and fabric

Consequently, a prerequisite for archaeologists working with excavated material is a profound knowledge of the pottery-specific or at least region-specific range of forms and the corresponding standard shapes. This also applies to the late Antique stamp-types and the stamp styles A-E defined by Hayes (Hayes 1972: 217-281; Mackensen 1993: 186-288; Mackensen 2019: 158-179; Cardarelli 2022: 76-90, figs. 45-66) as well as to other types of decoration such as vertical gouging (superficial cuts in the exterior of wall), feather rouletting and bands of rouletting, appliqué and relief decoration. The pottery- or workshop-specific clay matrix can be determined macroscopically (20×) with or without characteristic impurities, mostly caused by tempering, such as quartz, feldspar and lime. However, the clay matrix was frequently subject to deteriorations in the tempering at the same production site with the passage of time. At best, the color of clay and slip are a further distinguishing feature. During ongoing excavations and surveys, it should be possible to check the clay matrix and the fabric of ARS sherds macroscopically. As decisions must be made *ad hoc* on site, the classification system of fabrics must be arranged for practical applicability and corresponding reliability (Mackensen 2022: 185). Hayes had offered very good descriptions of the various fabrics, but he did not classify them (Hayes 1972: 287-292). An appropriate and frequently accepted system of classification of fabrics for ARS (A^{1-2}, $A^{1/2}$, A/D, C^{1-5}, D^{1-2}, C/E and E), which was widely distributed in the Mediterranean, was offered by the above-cited Italian archaeologists in 1981 (Atlante 1981: 19-183).[3]

Thin sections with petrographic analysis and chemical analysis by wavelength-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (WD-XRF) are costly and can usually only be carried out on selected material, if at all, due to restrictions imposed by the host country. However, only in exceptional cases is it possible to use thin sections and/or chemical analysis. For both, reference material from the workshop should be available, preferably wasters or misfired fragments and potter's tools such as *pugilla*,[4] stamps or clay moulds. In my opinion, different fabrics defined by the appearance of the thin sections, illustrated by microphotographs, of the same ARS workshop, which do not allow an assignment beyond doubt, are not very helpful. In general, much more reliable are chemical reference groups (and their mean values) from different pottery centres, as G. Schneider and I have already shown in 2002 and 2006 (Mackensen and Schneider 2002; Mackensen and Schneider 2006; Mackensen 2019: 34). The analyses were conducted on a series of samples, most of which came from north-eastern and central Tunisian ARS production centres such as El Mahrine, Henchir el Biar and Bordj el Djerbi, Oudhna and Sidi Marzouk Tounsi, Djilma and Henchir es Srira (**fig. 1**). The late Antique ARS production centre of the so-called D^2-group (= *atelier X* [renamed by M. Bonifay]) (Bonifay 2004: 49-50, fig. 22) is not yet located, however it was assumed to be in the region of El Fahs, Zaghouan and Oudhna (Mackensen and Schneider 2002: 128, 139-140, 157 table 4).

[2] Cf. a recent overview of the important ARS production centres: Mackensen 2019: 35-77.

[3] Cf. Bonifay 2004, 45-53; Bonifay 2016: 519-528; recently Mackensen 2019: 31, 33.

[4] Cf. Mackensen 1993: 28-32 fig. 3,3-7 (Oudhna), 74-83 figs. 18-22 (*pugilla* from different ARS production sites in Tunisia); Bonifay 2004: 59-60, fig. 29; Mackensen 2009: 21-28, figs. 2-4, table 1.

The same applies to the mid Imperial potteries of the A^1/A^2 group, probably from north-eastern Tunisia (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 170-173 table 1, 180-181 fig. 9) and the A/D group (Sabratha) which originates from Tripolitania and not from north-eastern Tunisia (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 173-174 table 2, 182-183 fig. 10).[5] Especially the chemical analysis of single sherds and the composition of major and trace elements allows a clear assignment to specific reference groups of one of the large production centres. The different pottery-specific distribution of elements such as titanium and potassium or iron and magnesium was demonstrated in conclusive diagrams (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 172, figs. 6-7) (see below with **fig. 6,1.2**). Additionally there is a reference group by WD-XRF analysis for the late Antique production centre of *Pheradi Maius*/Sidi Khalifa (Brun 2007; Heimerl 2016: 490-492, fig. 2,1-12 table 1; Ben Moussa 2007: 109-217);[6] the ARS fabric was normally classified as D^2, however Bonifay suggested a new designation C/D (Bonifay 2004: 49; Bonifay 2016: 525). A series of chemical analyses of *pugilla* with graffiti (Mackensen 2009: 21-28, figs. 2-4, table 1,1-6) and a huge series of WD-XRF analyses of stamp-, applique- or relief-decorated ARS of fabrics C^{1-5} was recently published (Mackensen 2019: 358-359, table 1 - G. Schneider/M. Daszkiewicz). For ARS production centres of only regional importance such as Thelepte and Sidi Aïch (the so-called *productions continentales* according to Bonifay) (Bonifay 2004: 46, fig. 22) (**fig. 1**) and Henchir en Nadhour/Majoura (Nasr 2015: 115-143; Nasr: 2021, 1-28), chemical analyses by WD-XRF are still missing.

The production centre of Henchir el Guellal near Djilma and the equivalent ARS at Athens

In the following, I concentrate on the late Antique ARS range of forms and in particular on the stamped decoration from Djilma in order to identify corresponding stamp-decorated material among the ARS from the Agora. In June 2016, I had the possibility to study the stamp-decorated ARS in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.[7]

The production of ARS and lamps at Djilma was discovered during the 1984/85 British-Tunisian survey in central Tunisia, which was initiated by D. P. S. Peacock. The site is only about four hectares in size, pottery wasters were found on extensive rubbish heaps next to the presumed individual workshops of the ARS production site. D. P. S. Peacock, F. Bejaoui and N. Ben Lazreg published a preliminary report concerning a predominantly late Antique ARS range of forms and some ARS lamp fragments from Djilma (Peacock et al. 1990: 76-79, figs. 13-14). In addition, there was some protective cylindrical kiln furniture (so-called saggars or *casettes de cuisson*) marked on the horizontal rim with graffiti in italics or stamped with late Antique palm-branches, concentric circles and birds (Peacock et al. 1990, 79; 81 fig. 14a-n). The cylindrical saggars are known as a safeguard used in kilns of many north African fine ware production centres to protect ARS and lamps during the firing process (Mackensen 1993: 88-94 fig. 24,1-7, 291-293 fig. 101,5; Bonifay 2004: 60-65 figs. 30-31).[8] They are a reliable and definite proof for a production site. It was assumed that the period of production lasted from the early 4th century to the mid-5th century (Peacock et al. 1990: 79). However, based on the presence of the A/D-form Hayes 32 and of the $C^{1/2}$-forms Hayes 44, 45B and 50A, I have argued for a start of production already around the middle of the 3rd century (Mackensen 1993: 37) and subsequently for an earlier start around 230/250 or even in the first quarter of the 3rd century (Mackensen and Schneider 2002: 155; Mackensen 2019: 54). A final publication, especially of the plain, stamp-decorated and relief-decorated ARS and the lamps, is still lacking. This applies in the same way to all the other ARS potteries discovered during this survey, including the most important ARS production centre Sidi Marzouk Tounsi (Peacock et al. 1990: 66-74, figs. 5-9).

Ph. M. Pröttel visited the pottery area of Djilma in 1991 and carried out a short survey. He reported briefly (without illustrations) on the A/D-, C^1- and C^2-forms of the 3rd century as well as on the $C^{3/4}$-forms and stamped decoration of style B (after Hayes) of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century (Pröttel 1996: 20-21 with note 47). Besides a series of discolored and misfired fragments of plates and bowls (wasters) there are two stamp-decorated fragments of saggars (**fig. 2, 1.2**). It seems sensible to present this survey material with the permission of Pröttel now,[9] for 35 years after the British-Tunisian survey there is no hope for a final publication of one or the other ARS pottery.

During an investigation of the various ARS groups of the 3rd century, I have already sampled a series of A/D- and $C^{1/2}$-forms of the 3rd century from various sites including some of the mid Imperial ARS sherds from the British-Tunisian survey. G. Schneider has chemically analyzed them by WD-XRF. One of the results was a first pottery-specific reference group for Djilma (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 177-178, table 4; 185-186 fig. 12,1-12),[10] characterized by high levels of the major elements magnesium (MgO) and potassium (K_2O) - in contrast to the characteristic high levels of titanium (TiO_2) and iron (Fe_2O_3) for Sidi Marzouk Tounsi (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 175-176, table 3). The fabric of these mid Imperial $C^{1/2}$-forms corresponds to the fabric C/E classified by the Italian archaeologists (Atlante 1981: 117-118).

[5] Cf. recently for two mid-Imperial A/D groups, the so-called Sabratha group and a new so-called Tripolitanian group (S. Schmid and M. Weber in Mackensen 2021: 159-162, table 5); the unlocated production centres can be postulated according to their limited distribution in Tripolitania

[6] For a critical summary of the state of research recently Mackensen 2019: 63.

[7] I would like to thank very much J. McK. Camp and Mrs. S. Dumont for giving me access to the ARS from the Agora and for providing me with various photographs by C. Mauzy (**fig. 7,1-6**).

[8] See with new evidence from El Mahrine and Bordj el Djerbi as well as different methods of piling the ARS vessels (even of various forms) in these cylindrical saggars: Mackensen 2009, 28-36 figs. 6,3.4; 7,1; 8-10.

[9] We would like to thank the colleagues of the *Institut Nationale du Patrimoine* (Tunis) for their encouragement and support.

[10] However, the fabric was still classified as A/D (form Hayes 27, 31 and 32), C^1 and C^2 (forms Hayes 44, 45A-C, 48A and 50A) instead of fabric A/D and C/E, characteristic for Djilma. Finally corrected by Mackensen 2019: 54-55 suggesting a classification of the specific Djilma fabric as A/D/E which would be appropriate to fabric C/E; cf. Atlante 1981: 117-118.

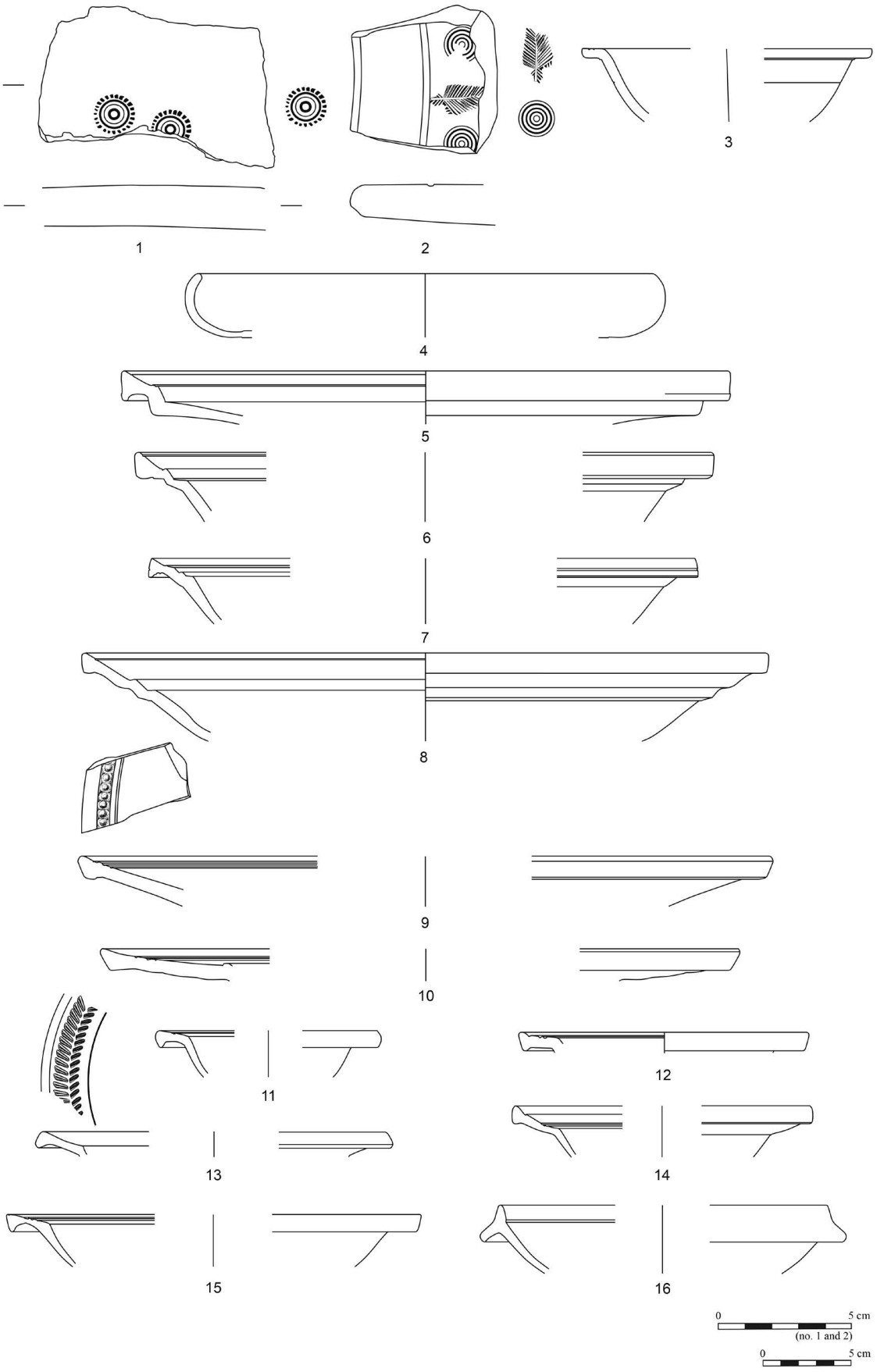


Fig. 2. Henchir el Guellal near Djilma. 1-2 Stamp-decorated saggars; 3-16 late Antique ARS forms (3 sample no. 152; 4 sample no. 156; 5 sample no. 155; 10 sample no. 385; 11 sample no. 388; 14 sample no. 384; 16 sample no. 386; see sample nos. in Table 1).

Regarding the late Antique ARS forms from Djilma, Peacock had already presented flat-based dishes Hayes 58A, 60, 62A, large plates Hayes 66, large bowls Hayes 68 and 75, small bowls Hayes 70 and a flanged bowl Hayes 92 (Peacock et al. 1990: 80, fig. 13). However, he published only two stamp-decorated fragments of unclassified dishes (Peacock et al. 1990: 79, fig. 14o.p.). The range of forms, which is obviously limited to a few standard shapes, can be slightly extended: there are not only the characteristic central Tunisian plates Hayes 62A (**fig. 2, 4**), 66 (**fig. 2, 5**) and large bowls Hayes 68 (**fig. 2, 6-8**) as well as fairly rare, large plates Hayes 77 with and without dot decoration on the rim (**fig. 2, 9-10**). In addition, small bowls Hayes 70 and 70 Var. with a double rouletted band on the rim (**fig. 2, 11-13, 15**) belong to the range of standard shapes as well as the small bowl Hayes 72 (**fig. 2, 14**) and the flanged bowl Hayes 92 (**fig. 2, 16**). The undersides of the slipped plates such as Hayes 62A and 68 show so-called twig-marks (**fig. 4, 2**), grass or straw-impressions, already noticed by Hayes (Hayes 1972: 289). The late Antique production period of Djilma[11] can be dated according to the represented ARS forms from the early 4th century to the mid-5th century (Hayes 1972: 109, 117) and the stamp-decorated forms from c. 350 to c. 425 or slightly later (Hayes 1972: 220).

The plates and dishes Hayes 82-84 (mid and 2nd half of the 5th century) with the characteristic fine feather rouletting covering most of the wall and stamped decoration of style D and the small bowls Hayes 85, corresponding to forms Hayes 82–84, were not manufactured in the workshops at Djilma. These high-quality vessels, in respect of the stamped decoration and the feather-rouletting, were produced only in the workshops at Sidi Marzouk Tounsi in fabric C[5] (Peacock et al. 1990: 71, fig. 7,15.16; Mackensen 1998b: 357, fig. 2,1-5; Mackensen and Schneider 2002: 133 fig. 6,1-9).

What is decisive for the identification of late Antique ARS produced in Djilma is the corresponding stamped decoration of Hayes style B (Pröttel 1996: 20; for style B see Hayes 1972: 219-220) on forms Hayes 62A (**fig. 2, 4**) and 68 (**fig. 2, 6-8**), a selection of which is published here (**fig. 3, 1-16 and fig. 4, 1**).[12] The slender, triangular palm-branches of types Hayes 9 (**fig. 3, 19**), 10 (**fig. 3, 20-24**) and 10 Var. (**fig. 3, 25-26**) (Hayes 1972: 231-233, fig. 39c-i) with all ribs turned upwards and with two or three short vertical ribs or two dots on each side at the bottom show a characteristic finely executed feature. The stem of the palm-branch shows a so-called herringbone pattern with the ribs turned downwards (Hayes 1972: 231). Without doubt they are the hallmark of style B. Additionally there is also an ovoid palm-branch with ribs turned upwards without a short stalk (Hayes 1972: 220), which might be classified as type Hayes 3 Var. (**fig. 3, 17-18**) (Hayes 1972: 229, fig. 38f). Hayes regarded this palm-branch as copying palm-branches of style A and being presumably earlier than his types 9 and 10 (Hayes 1972: 220). Most of these palm-branches are arranged radially around the centre or around one to three concentric grooves (**fig. 3, 1-6**). They are combined with an alternating ornamental motif such as three to five concentric circles of type Hayes 26–28 (**fig. 3, 27-30**) or nine-petalled rosettes (**fig. 3, 32-33**) or an additional outer decorative band with only one repeated ornamental motif, in this case mostly concentric circles. In another decoration pattern the decoration moves outwards, leaving a plain centre (**fig. 3, 12**) surrounded by two or three grooves; the outer band flanked by one or two grooves shows mostly two floral or ornamental motifs alternating or just a single repeated motif (**fig. 3, 12-16**). Only one heavily fragmented zoomorphic stamp was mentioned by Pröttel,[13] in an outer band of decoration (**fig. 3, 4 and 35**). However, a not very detailed, stylized bird to the right was already listed by Hayes as stamp-type 180 of style B from the Athenian Agora (Hayes 1972: 257 fig. 47c = Cardarelli 2022: 316 Av.3.7; 506 pl. 68,16). In the meantime, it has been fully published and seems to be identical (Hayes 2008: 234 pl. 58,1194). Sometimes the stamped decoration is surrounded by a single or a double rouletted band (**fig. 3, 9 and 13-14**). Pröttel already suggested a classification of the different possibilities to arrange the stamp-types, which results in style B (I) to B (III) (Pröttel 1996: 20; Cardarelli 2022: 82-83, fig. 58,1-3), however there are additional varieties concerning the outer band of stamped decoration or an outer rouletted or herringbone band.

The known range of forms and stamps of style B (according to Hayes) is neither very extensive nor particularly variable. The late Antique forms Hayes 58A (**fig. 2, 3**), 60 no. 3, 62A (**fig. 2, 4**), 66 (**fig. 2, 5**), 68 (**fig. 2, 6-8**), 75, 77 and 77 Var. (**fig. 2, 9-10**) as well as 70 (**fig. 2, 11 and 15**), 70 Var. (**fig. 2, 12-13**), 72 (**fig. 2, 14**) and 92 (**fig. 2, 16**) must be regarded as characteristic central Tunisian forms. Some of them can also be found in Sidi Marzouk Tounsi (Peacock et al. 1990: 71, fig. 7). However, the stamped decoration with the stamp-types Hayes 9, 10 and 10 Var. of style B, which seems to be limited to plates and dishes of the forms Hayes 62A and 68, is obviously pottery-specific, that means the stamped decoration is a characteristic anepigraphic signature of the Djilma workshops.

On the other hand, the characteristic dart-shaped triangular palm-branches of type Hayes 12–14 of style C (Hayes 1972: 220; 233, fig. 39k-o) do not occur in Djilma. Only recently, V. Cardarelli provided evidence of two of these stamp-types from Henchir es Srira (Cardarelli 2022: 48-49, fig. 26,3.4; 63). The neat and nicely executed stamps of style D (after Hayes) (Hayes 1972: 220 f) and in particular the early Christian motifs of the main and late phases of Style D such as Chi-Rho motifs, cross-monograms or plain crosses, which I have recently compiled, documented and attributed to Sidi Marzouk Tounsi (Mackensen 2019: 41-53, figs. 17-18; 158-179, figs. 75-85), are not known from Djilma. Furthermore, because of chronological reasons no stamps of human figures are known from Djilma.

[11] For the lamp production see recently Mackensen 2020, esp. 104-112, figs. 5-6; for corresponding chemical analyses (WD-XRF and portable WD-XRF) see Daszkiewicz et al. 2020: 87-93, table 1.

[12] See already Mackensen 2019: 55, fig. 19,1-7; cf. typical products of Djilma: Mackensen 2019: 297-299, cat. 97 (Hayes 62A) and 102 (Hayes 68) pls. 53, 97; 55, 102; 169, 97; 171, 102.

[13] Pröttel 1996: 20, who did not know any identical stamps.

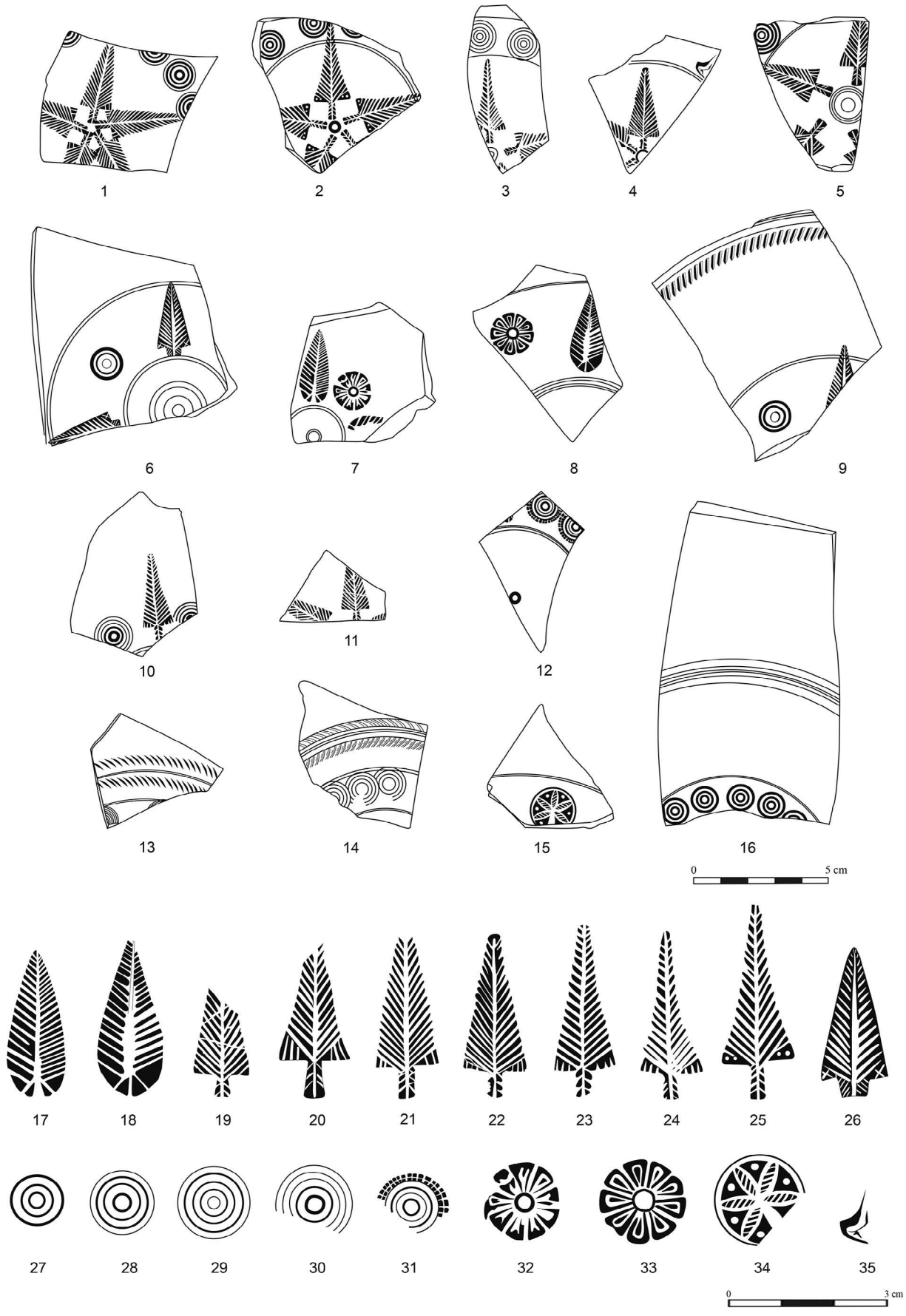


Fig. 3. Henchir el Guellal near Djilma. 1-16 Stamp-decorated ARS Hayes 62A and 68 (style B) (6 sample no. 382; 9 sample no. 383; 16 sample no. 387; see sample nos. in Table 1); 17-35 stamp-types of style B.

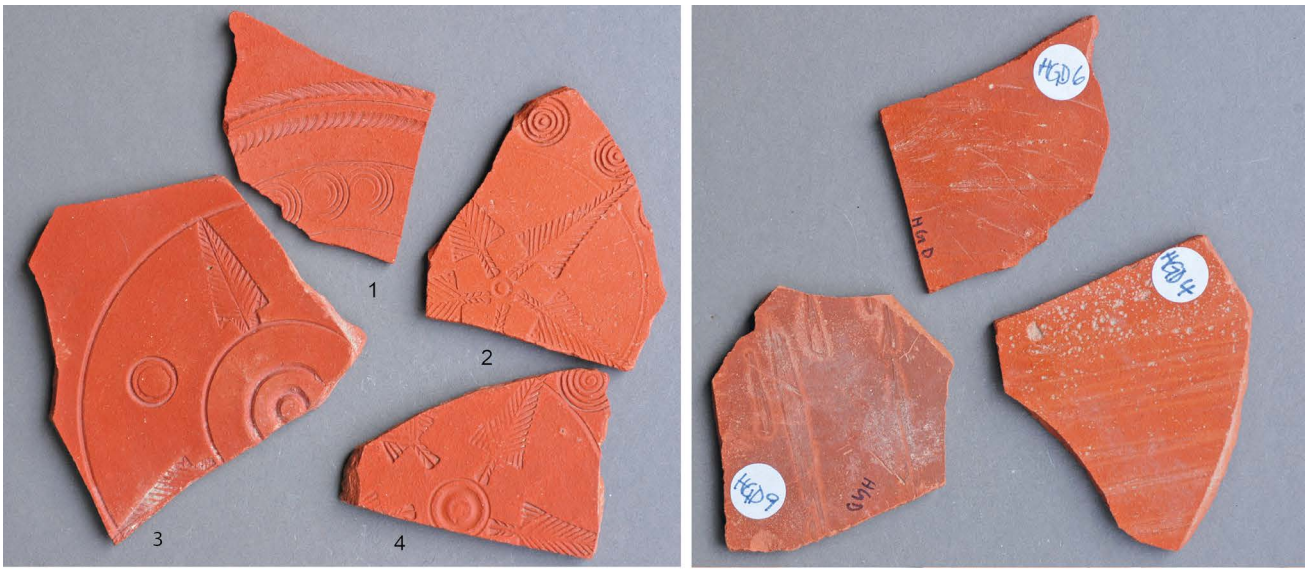


Fig. 4. Henchir el Guellal near Djilma. 1 Stamp-decorated ARS Hayes 62 A and 68 (style B); 2 twig-marks (photographs M. Mackensen). Without scale

Regarding the fabric, it should be noted that the color of the clay and slip is maroon or brownish-red. The slip on both sides is matt, the underside of the floor usually shows the characteristic twig-marks associated with the drying of the slipped vessels on grass or straw (**fig. 4, 2**). The fragments show a flaky fracture, which is granular. The clay matrix is densely to moderately tempered with well-sorted, small and very small quartz sand grains and some white lime inclusions (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 187), which can normally be detected and observed without a magnifying glass. It should be noted that the appearance of the late Antique ARS from Djilma is uniform regarding the clay matrix, the clay and slip color as well as the twig-marks and corresponds to fabric E.[14]

WD-XRF analyses of samples from Djilma and other North African sites

G. Schneider and M. Daszkiewicz recently analyzed a large sample of mid Imperial and late Antique ARS and lamps from Djilma and other North African sites using wave-length-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (WD-XRF), which confirmed the previous results from 2006. The best method to define pottery production workshops is chemical analysis. An objective interpretation of the data from precise and accurate chemical analysis (**Table 1**) is more objective than subjective description of thin sections, even with automatic planimetry and granulometry. For the chemical analysis, a small amount of powder of about 1.2 grams must be taken from a sherd, possibly by drilling; this is then analyzed by WD-XRF of melted pellets. The data in Table 1 are valid for samples ignited at 900°C with the losses on ignition (l.o.i.) given in the table.

The bivariate diagram (**fig. 5**) of the concentrations of the sum of magnesium and calcium versus potassium clearly separates three subgroups A, B, and C of ARS made in Djilma. Lamps and ARS from Djilma and the analyzed samples from other sites were obviously made from the same raw materials.[15] All samples of ARS analyzed

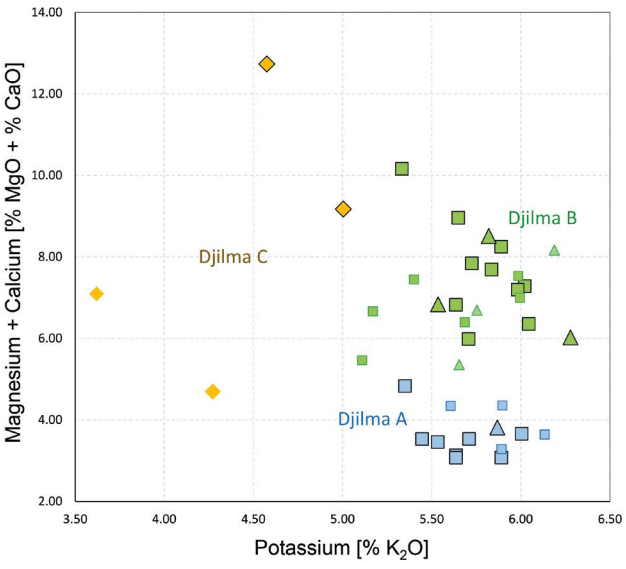


Fig. 5. Variation of magnesium and calcium versus potassium showing groups A-C in samples from Djilma.

[14] From the recently discovered and surveyed late Antique ARS production site (fabric E according to M. Nasr) at Henchir en Nadhour (Majoura), c. 70 km northeast of Gafsa, no stamp-decorated ARS is known: Nasr 2015: 124-128; Nasr 2021: 4-5, figs. 3-4.

[15] This was verified by a series of MGR-analyses (Daszkiewicz 2014; 2017) showing several subgroups of different clay used at Djilma and Sidi Marzouk Tounsi.

form/ type	date	sample no.	lab.-no.	SiO2	TiO2	Al2O3	Fe2O3	MnO	MgO	CaO	Na2O	K2O	P2O5	V	Cr	Ni	(Cu)	Zn	Rb	Sr	Y	Zr	(Nb)	Ba	(Ce)	l.o.i.
				percent by weight										ppm												%
ARS Djilma A (subgroup with low values of magnesium and calcium)																										
		ARS from Djilma																								
H. 45A	MR	**147**	**G433**	64,49	0,945	18,40	6,14	0,025	2,46	0,67	1,15	5,64	0,095	108	102	34	37	149	144	190	27	223	16	453	95	1,20
H. 45C	MR	**149**	**G435**	63,05	0,932	19,82	5,63	0,028	2,75	0,91	0,76	6,01	0,116	104	93	37	28	66	160	157	30	203	17	449	82	1,64
H. 50A	MR	**151**	**G437**	65,93	0,924	17,80	5,19	0,026	2,46	1,00	1,01	5,53	0,120	99	87	37	28	57	145	170	30	232	14	430	77	1,26
H. 45B	MR	**148**	**G434**	65,70	0,940	17,73	5,65	0,028	2,53	1,01	0,86	5,45	0,119	98	94	37	32	62	143	225	29	237	14	438	80	1,15
H. 44	MR	**251**	**H980**	66,52	0,927	17,79	4,41	0,027	2,44	1,10	0,99	5,71	0,095	66	80	34	24	52	137	185	27	229	18	505	91	1,39
H. 45A	MR	**252**	**H981**	64,49	0,941	17,52	5,80	0,030	2,88	1,96	0,92	5,35	0,117	99	104	39	71	75	161	181	30	231	25	420	87	1,21
H. 72	LR	**384**	**X594**	63,60	0,923	20,15	5,55	0,025	2,55	0,53	0,67	5,89	0,117	112	96	39	22	70	175	208	30	206	18	459	75	1,95
H. 92	LR	**386**	**X596**	66,10	0,889	18,45	5,20	0,025	2,47	0,60	0,50	5,64	0,129	99	88	42	20	58	160	119	32	234	21	444	71	1,43
		lamp from Sabratha																								
Atl. I	MR	**213**	**X886**	64,39	0,927	19,10	5,30	0,028	2,58	1,23	0,45	5,87	0,121	102	92	37	26	61	151	172	32	222	16	435	77	1,82
		ARS from Vezereos																								
H. 70	LR	**330**	**W881**	66,19	0,874	17,65	4,68	0,029	2,32	2,03	0,52	5,61	0,106	77	83	35	27	51	154	183	22	263	16	518	78	2,15
H. 68	LR	**331**	**W882**	63,30	0,894	19,41	5,59	0,035	2,97	1,39	0,36	5,90	0,145	97	89	41	28	57	172	139	24	250	16	494	86	1,53
H. 60	LR	**335**	**W886**	65,76	0,966	17,92	5,31	0,032	2,45	0,83	0,74	5,89	0,102	95	103	48	41	111	157	133	28	213	17	522	94	0,48
		ARS from Gheriat el-Garbia																								
H. 68	LR	**1031**	**W377**	62,75	0,926	20,25	5,77	0,027	2,73	0,91	0,34	6,13	0,153	105	96	39	29	63	174	161	30	214	17	437	103	3,84
		mean (n = 13)		64,79	0,924	18,61	5,40	0,028	2,58	1,09	0,71	5,74	0,118	97	93	38	32	72	156	171	29	227	17	462	84	1,62
		std ±		1,32	0,025	1,01	0,47	0,003	0,19	0,47	0,26	0,23	0,017	12	7	4	13	28	12	30	3	17	3	35	9	0,79
		cv %		2,0	2,7	5,4	8,6	10,5	7,4	42,9	36,9	4,0	14,6	12,8	8,0	10,0	41,3	38,8	7,9	17,4	10,1	7,4	16,8	7,6	11,2	48,6
ARS Djilma B (subgroup with higher values of magnesium and calcium)																										
		ARS from Djilma																								
H. 48A	MR	**150**	**G436**	60,71	0,873	18,65	6,42	0,038	3,10	3,72	0,72	5,64	0,127	114	120	42	29	65	158	420	23	173	15	386	74	1,50
H. 58 Var.	LR	**152**	**G438**	60,25	0,785	17,91	5,59	0,064	4,70	4,26	0,66	5,65	0,132	93	83	34	23	62	142	155	28	215	15	423	89	1,13
H. 68	LR	**154**	**G440**	59,96	0,824	18,69	6,09	0,045	3,74	3,96	0,66	5,84	0,206	77	73	32	14	52	148	294	30	181	13	390	60	1,57
H. 66	LR	**155**	**G441**	60,80	0,811	18,15	5,78	0,057	3,65	4,20	0,69	5,73	0,139	80	88	34	28	67	143	196	27	216	15	422	88	1,45
H. 62A/68	LR	**156**	**G442**	58,73	0,835	19,81	6,49	0,052	3,68	3,61	0,59	6,02	0,182	104	100	42	43	73	154	257	26	162	16	396	89	1,73
H. 62A/68	LR	**382**	**X592**	59,98	0,823	19,09	6,20	0,049	3,80	3,39	0,51	5,98	0,159	105	96	39	19	65	158	308	30	211	16	414	74	1,38
H. 62A/68	LR	**383**	**X593**	62,74	0,866	18,36	5,61	0,040	3,20	2,79	0,50	5,71	0,187	89	89	39	25	59	158	210	31	241	18	435	84	1,83
H. 77	LR	**385**	**X595**	58,93	0,812	18,19	5,74	0,053	4,97	5,19	0,62	5,33	0,162	103	90	39	20	60	160	171	28	170	16	410	73	0,99
H. 62A/68	LR	**387**	**X597**	60,30	0,819	19,46	6,39	0,048	3,53	2,82	0,41	6,04	0,183	101	101	43	23	63	166	234	29	178	16	413	67	1,72
H. 70	LR	**388**	**X598**	58,29	0,810	19,30	6,50	0,056	4,44	3,81	0,73	5,89	0,173	104	100	49	26	62	167	211	28	165	16	389	68	1,57
		lamps from Djilma																								
Atl. VII A1	LR	**389**	**X694**	61,97	0,751	17,58	5,94	0,047	3,80	3,04	1,15	5,54	0,182	89	100	47	50	68	162	186	22	173	16	498	66	2,38
Atl. VII A2	LR	**390**	**X695**	59,83	0,861	20,02	6,42	0,044	3,59	2,43	0,35	6,28	0,171	121	85	47	87	75	138	147	22	108	21	412	89	2,06
Atl. IV A/VII A1/2	LR	**394**	**X699**	59,42	0,838	18,40	6,33	0,051	4,16	4,35	0,47	5,82	0,158	83	100	46	84	75	122	106	25	124	21	467	74	1,53
		lamp from Telepte																								
Atl. IV A	MR	**395**	**700**	60,91	0,805	18,97	6,24	0,044	3,30	3,40	0,40	5,75	0,179	101	100	46	48	73	167	159	27	166	17	432	77	1,44
		ARS from Vezereos																								
H. 45A	MR	**329**	**880**	63,81	0,865	16,97	5,87	0,038	3,15	3,51	0,49	5,17	0,125	89	88	34	28	73	155	241	20	230	14	424	88	1,75
H. 68	LR	**332**	**883**	62,81	0,831	18,32	5,25	0,042	3,36	3,04	0,50	5,69	0,157	85	86	37	26	76	159	172	21	215	14	524	80	1,44
H. 68	LR	**333**	**884**	59,18	0,823	19,44	6,40	0,058	4,36	3,18	0,36	5,99	0,215	106	99	47	33	64	172	148	22	187	14	522	80	1,71
H. 49	MR	**336**	**887**	61,87	0,867	17,62	6,03	0,041	3,57	3,88	0,59	5,40	0,136	100	92	37	27	92	159	237	24	212	15	421	85	2,36
		lamp from Vezereos																								
Den. XI B		**337**	**888**	57,85	0,847	19,77	6,56	0,047	4,45	3,72	0,39	6,19	0,173	107	103	41	38	70	181	180	19	168	15	421	87	1,23
		ARS from Gheriat el-Garbia																								
closed vessel	MR	**1063**	**409**	60,85	0,930	19,87	6,85	0,036	3,42	2,05	0,76	5,11	0,131	113	122	43	25	58	183	400	28	221	25	505	84	1,77
		lamp from Gheriat el-Garbia																								
Atl. IV A	MR	**1026**	**W372**	64,60	0,811	17,66	5,11	0,046	2,71	2,66	0,60	5,65	0,160	80	78	35	25	62	148	244	23	221	16	479	66	1,67
		ARS from Carthage																								
H. 62A/68	LR	**n41**	**G679**	59,09	0,837	19,70	6,67	0,056	3,94	3,06	0,47	6,00	0,194	101	106	41	31	77	161	131	27	173	19	420	91	2,07
		mean (n = 10)		61,04	0,85	18,67	6,13	0,046	3,64	3,28	0,50	5,68	0,2	97	97	41	37	72	161	202	24	192	17	461	79	1,70
		std ±		2,22	0,04	1,03	0,58	0,007	0,57	0,65	0,12	0,36	0,0	11	12	5	18	10	18	84	3	34	4	43	9	0,33
		cv %		3,6	4,3	5,5	9,4	15,9	15,6	19,8	23,8	6,3	17,5	11,8	12,5	11,8	49,6	13,2	11,0	41,8	13,6	17,7	21,2	9,4	11,8	19,4
ARS Djilma C (subgroup with lower values of potassium)																										
		ARS from Djilma																								
H. 27	MR	**250**	**H979**	60,25	0,801	17,69	6,33	0,055	3,49	5,69	0,49	5,00	0,208	79	86	33	19	53	125	632	22	186	16	378	80	2,28
H. 32	MR	**153**	**G439**	59,32	0,726	15,92	5,58	0,046	3,45	9,28	0,97	4,58	0,125	74	71	30	24	54	127	539	22	186	13	462	73	4,61
		ARS from Sabratha																								
H. 27?	MR	257	H986	67,19	0,825	15,27	5,38	0,055	2,93	4,16	0,40	3,62	0,158	83	89	34	28	67	107	242	24	247	17	467	76	1,87
H. 32	MR	262	H991	66,50	0,928	15,89	6,57	0,039	2,60	2,10	0,99	4,27	0,116	84	98	44	40	71	120	420	27	214	16	441	81	1,86
		mean (n = 4)		63,32	0,820	16,19	5,97	0,048	3,12	5,31	0,71	4,37	0,152	80	86	35	28	61	120	458	24	208	16	437	78	2,66
		std ±		4,10	0,083	1,04	0,57	0,008	0,43	3,03	0,31	0,58	0,042	5	11	6	9	9	9	168	2	29	2	41	4	1,32
		cv %		6,5	10,2	6,4	9,6	16,1	13,8	57,1	43,8	13,3	27,4	5,7	13,1	17,2	32,3	14,9	7,5	36,7	9,9	13,9	11,2	9,4	4,8	49,6

Table 1. Chemical analyses by WD-XRF showing Djilma subgroups A-C with samples from Djilma and various sites in Tunisia and Libya (MR: Mid Roman; LR: Late Roman).

hitherto would fall outside the diagram, having values below 3% potassium oxide (K_2O) and thus can be clearly distinguished chemically. Characteristic for Djilma are the high contents of magnesium (MgO) and potassium (K_2O). In addition, it has been possible to distinguish a subgroup A with somewhat lower values of magnesium and calcium from a subgroup B with higher values of magnesium and calcium (**fig. 5**). Both subgroups contain ARS and lamps of the 3rd century as well as of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. Therefore, the two subgroups cannot be of chronological relevance. However, two different clay pits are to be expected, which can be significantly distinguished by the values of the major elements.

In addition, several ARS and lamp fragments from the Tripolitanian forts of *Vezereos*/Sidi Mohammed ben Aïssa (Mackensen 2022: 189-191, fig. 2,4-12, table 1) and *Myd(---)*/Gheriat el-Garbia as well as from the large cities of *Karthago*/Carthage and *Sabratha* were analyzed as well (**Table 1**). The results could be assigned to both subgroups A and B. Subgroup C of typical A/D forms of the 3rd century with lower potassium contents is of no further importance in the given context of the late Antique range of ARS forms.

The reference group for Djilma (**fig. 6, 1**) can be clearly distinguished from those of Sidi Marzouk Tounsi and Henchir es Srira (both in central Tunisia as well) in the quantitative composition of the chemical elements. This is demonstrated by plotting titanium versus potassium (**fig. 6, 1**) or iron versus magnesium in a bivariate diagram (**fig. 6, 2**). Both distinctions were already shown earlier, however with a smaller series of samples (Mackensen and Schneider 2006: 172, figs. 6-7).

Based on Peacock's and Pröttel's survey material, the range of late Roman ARS forms and the stamped decoration of the production site at Djilma can be presented (**fig. 2-4.1**). This also applies to the fabric, which corresponds to the characteristics of fabric E as defined by Carandini; in addition, there is the chemical reference group with mean values, which is characteristic for Djilma with the two subgroups A and B (**fig. 5**). It can be clearly distinguished from all other ARS potteries in northern and central Tunisia (**fig. 6, 1.2**). This is decisive for the earlier presumed localization of the C/E- and E-potteries in southern Tunisia, which was discussed by Bonifay in the so-called Sicily Project (*Ceramica Africana nella Sicilia Romana* / *CASR*). He did not consider the testimony of the chemical analyses as sufficient to prove a production of ARS in fabric E at Djilma (Bonifay 2004: 51; Capelli and Bonifay 2016: 303). It is the multiplicity of arguments (shapes, different decoration, stamp style, fabric, etc.) and in particular this evidence from the production site at Djilma (including saggars), that proves a production there of fabric E with the pottery-specific stamp-types of palm-branches type Hayes 9, 10 and 10 Var. of stamp style B. However, in any case, the strong presence of this ware in southern Tunisia and along the coast from Sfax to Gabès as well as on Djerba was never an argument for a localization of the potteries in this region. Notably, there is an absence of corresponding rejects/wasters and misfired vessel forms as well as the associated saggars and pottery tools - as Bonifay himself noted (Capelli and Bonifay 2016: 303; Bonifay

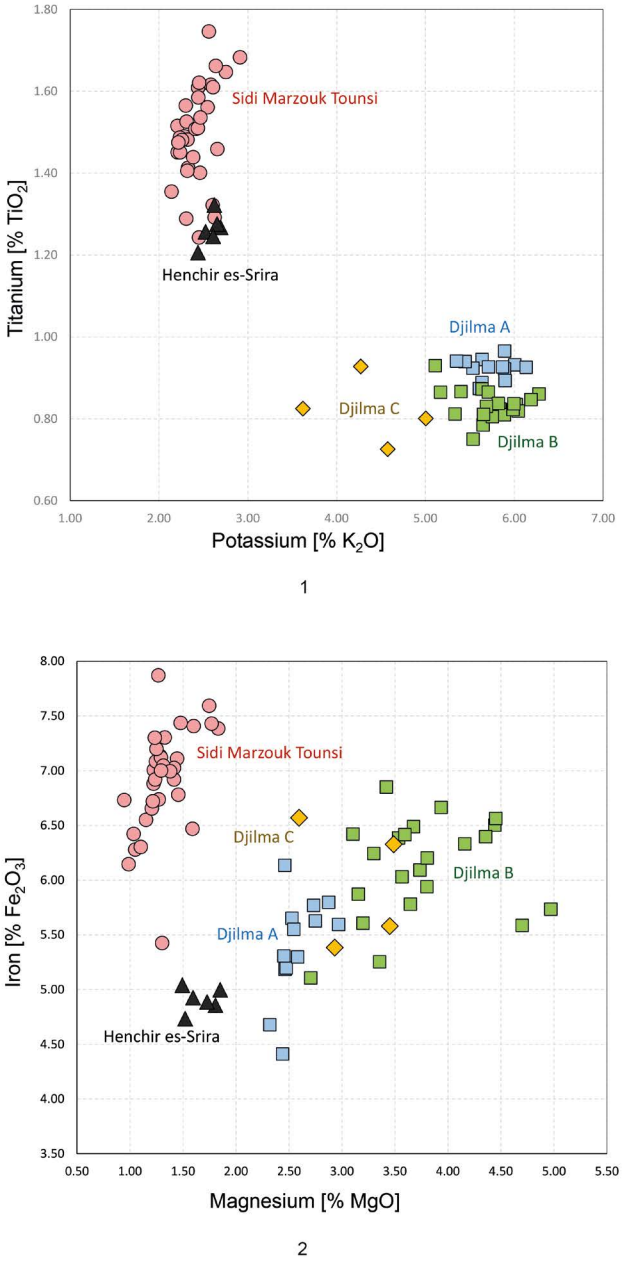


Fig. 6. 1) Variation of titanium versus potassium in samples from production centers in central Tunisia; 2) variation of iron versus magnesium in samples from production centers in central Tunisia.

2016: 524). The thin sections with microphotographic images and petrographic analyses of the few fragments that are available but cannot be determined with certainty (Capelli and Bonifay 2016: 304, fig. 80,101.362) do not lead us any further in determining fabric E and assigning it to a possible production site.

A classification of late Antique ARS from Djilma can be carried out with relative certainty based on three principal criteria: 1. Shape of various vessel forms, 2. stamped decoration (style B and individual stamp-types) and additionally herringbone bands of rouletting, 3. fabric E (clay with white inclusions, slip on inside and outside of vessel, brownish-red or maroon color) and twig-marks on underside of plates and

dishes[16] and in knowledge of the survey pottery (1984/85 and 1991) from Djilma which contains a series of misfired and discolored fragments as well as rejects/wasters and cylindrical saggars with graffiti and stamped decoration.

Stamp-decorated ARS from Djilma at the Athenian Agora

This leads us back to the Athenian Agora. Unfortunately, not even selected pieces can be sampled here. Portable X-Ray fluorescence of the surface of a sherd (without powder sampling for chemical analysis) was not possible for me to organize before my stay in 2016; however, it is less representative, less precise and less secure and cannot replace powder analysis (Daszkiewicz et al. 2020). When examining the stamp-decorated ARS, however, among the large quantity of north and central Tunisian floor sherds with stamped decoration, some pieces can reliably be identified as originating from Djilma (**fig. 7, 1-6**).[17] Fragments 1092 and 1191 (each with a double band of rouletting surrounding the stamped decoration) (**fig. 7, 1.3**) (Hayes 2008: 227 no. 1092, fig. 34, pl. 55; 234 no 1191, pl. 58) come from Djilma as well as nos. 1190, 1192 and 1193 (**fig. 7, 2.4.5**) (Hayes 2008: 234, nos. 1190, 1192, 1193 pl. 58) because of the characteristic palm-branches (type Hayes 10 of style B), mostly combined with concentric circles as alternating motif or in an outer band of stamped decoration. This is also true for no. 1194 with a palm-branch (type Hayes 10) combined with a bird to the right (type Hayes 180) (**fig. 7, 6**) (Hayes 2008: 234, no. 1194 pl. 58). This figural stamp-type is known from the above-mentioned sherd of Pröttel's survey (**fig. 3, 4**) at Djilma[18] and is probably characteristic for the latest phase of style B around c. 440/450. These fragments show twig-marks on the underside of plates and dishes and the white inclusions. Doubtless, all these fragments can be attributed to Djilma, but for the time being they can be dated within the period of c. AD 360–450, which is relevant for the forms Hayes 62A and 68.[19]

Equally, however, among the late Antique stamp-decorated sherds published by Hayes from the Athenian Agora, those from the north-eastern Tunisian potteries El Mahrine, Bordj el Djerbi, *atelier X* and Oudhna as well as from the central Tunisian pottery centres Sidi Marzouk Tounsi and

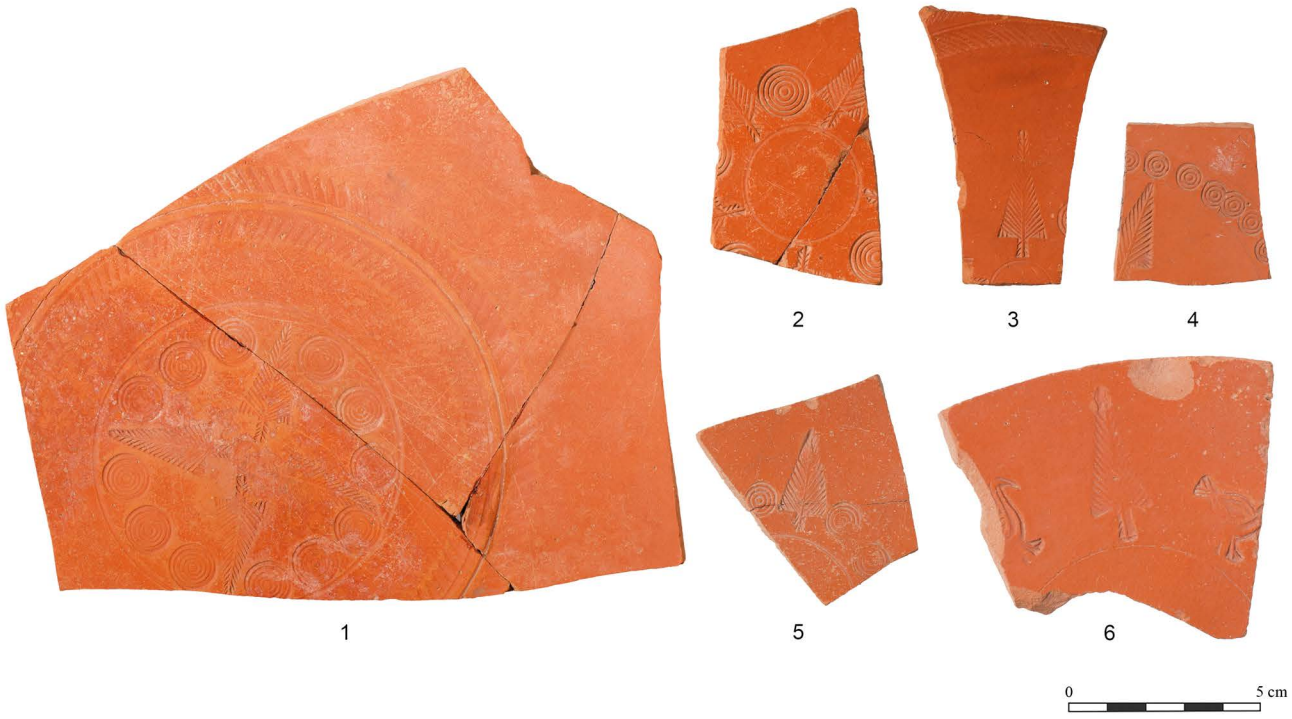


Fig. 7. Athens Agora. 1-6 stamp-decorated sherds of ARS Hayes 62A and 68 (style B). 1 no. 1092 (P 7087); 2 no. 1190 (P 177); 3 no. 1191 (P 178); 4 no. 1193 (P 6751); 5 no. 1192 (P 686); 6 no. 1194 (P 8047); nos. refer to Hayes 2008 (photographs C. Mauzy, ASCSA; Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens City, Ancient Agora, ASCSA: Agora Excavations © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development).

[16] Twig-marks are not known on ARS from Sidi Marzouk Tounsi.

[17] Permission for the publication of the photographs taken by C. Mauzy (ASCSA) was given with e-mail (prot. n. 47876/3.10.2022) by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens City, Ancient Agora, ASCSA: Agora Excavations © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development. (H.O.C.RE.D.).

[18] For a second, slightly different stamp-type of a bird to the right on a saggar from Djilma see Peacock et al. 1990: 81, fig. 14e.f.

[19] Cf. Hayes 1972, 109; 117; cf. Hayes 2008, 77-78; 234 nos. 1190-1194: late 4th into early 5th century.

Henchir es Srira can be identified. A necessary analysis of the range of stamped decoration from c. 330/340 to the mid-6th century could not be prepared for this presentation.[20] Djilma is a first step towards a more differentiated assessment of the supply of the Agora and a better understanding of the long-distance trade from *Africa Proconsularis* and *Byzacena* to *Achaia* with late Antique ARS vessels decorated with stamps.

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[20] The author is carrying out further work on the stamp-decorated ARS from the Agora.

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Mongi Nasr

LES ATELIERS DE CÉRAMIQUE DE LA BYZACÈNE DU SUD-OUEST, NOUVELLES DÉCOUVERTES

Our recent investigations in the Southwest of Byzacena have allowed us to uncover two new production centers: Ain er-Rchiha and Sidi Abdelkader. They have also given us the opportunity to advance irrefutable archaeological evidence of a production of African Red Slip Ware at Henchir en-Nadhour (Majoura). The latter reveals a major discovery: this workshop is the one and only center hitherto identified producing the C/E and E categories that have remained, until now, geographically unlocated. Moreover, these discoveries have revealed, in addition to the trading areas, a true spatial and categorical distribution of ceramic workshops in this region.

Southwestern Byzacena – ceramics – unpublished centers – localization of C/E and E productions

Introduction

La région sujette de la présente étude s'étend entre 34°36' et 35° de latitude et 8°30'et 9°22' de longitude[1]; elle occupe la partie nord du Sud-Ouest tunisien et la partie sud des Hautes Steppes. Cette situation géographique fait de ladite région le chaînon qui assure la communication entre deux mondes différents : le Nord humide et le Sud aride. Cette région recèle des vestiges archéologiques divers, entre autres ceux d'ateliers de céramiques. En effet, nos recherches entamées dès le début de la dernière décennie du siècle passé nous ont permis de détecter, prospecter et étudier, jusqu'à présent, les rebuts de cinq centres de production, dont deux, récemment découverts (**fig. 1**).

Nos premiers efforts se sont focalisés sur trois ateliers à savoir Sidi Aïch (Nasr 1992; 2005: 78-278; 2019; 2021b), Thelepte (cf. Nasr 1994; 2005: 279-379) et Henchir en-Nadhour (Majoura) (à propos de ce site et son atelier cf. Nasr 2005: 380-472; 2015) (**fig. 1**); tandis que les récents ont privilégié deux directions. La première a pour objectif de réexaminer les matériels des sites déjà étudiés afin soit d'affiner les typologies établies comme à Sidi Aïch (Nasr 2022), soit de démêler les productions endogènes et exogènes telles qu'à Thelepte (Nasr 2017; 2020 ; Nasr et Capelli 2018b), soit de dévoiler la vraie nature du site comme à Henchir en-Nadhour (Nasr 2015; Nasr et Capelli 2018a[2] ; Nasr 2021a: 7-10). La seconde a pour mission de continuer le repérage, la prospection et l'étude des centres producteurs fraichement mis au

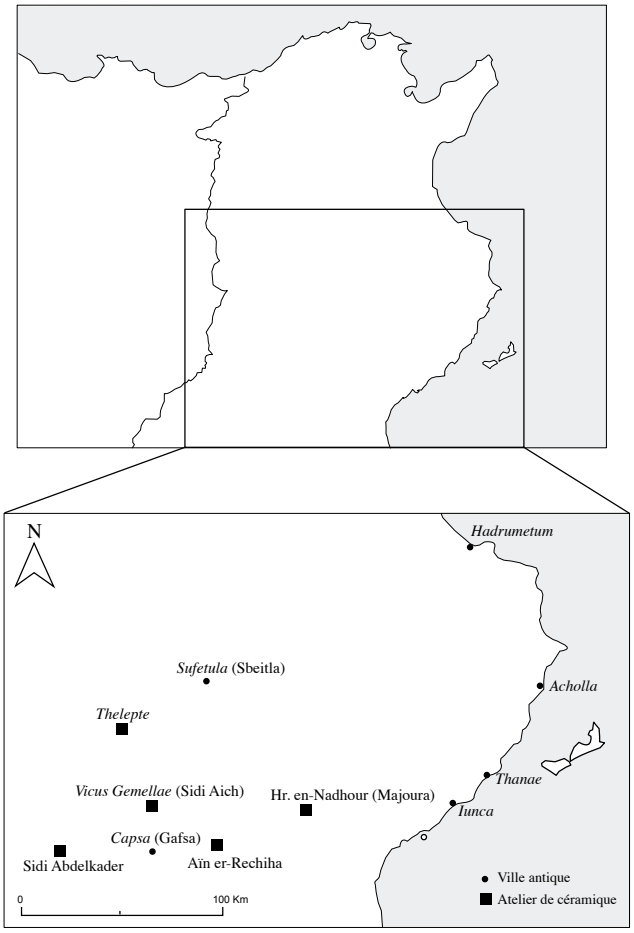


Fig. 1. Carte de localisation des ateliers de céramique en Byzacène du Sud-Ouest.

[1] Carte de Tunisie 1/50 000 feuilles n° XC-XCI.

[2] A propos de cet article, nos récentes découvertes ont à la fois confirmé nos hypothèses concernant la nature de ce site (Nasr 2015) et, par la même occasion, rendue caduque une grande partie des résultats de ce travail (Nasr 2021a; 2023a-b).

jour à l'instar d'Aïn er-Rchiha et de Sidi Abdelkader (**fig. 1**), sujets du présent article. Quels sont, donc, les principaux apports scientifiques de ces découvertes ? Et comment, suite à ces dernières, se dessine la répartition catégorielle et spatiale de la production céramique en Byzacène du Sud-Ouest ?

Nouveaux ateliers de la Byzacène du Sud-Ouest

La première découverte consiste en des dépotoirs d'un atelier situé à une dizaine de kilomètres à l'est de *Capsa* et à une cinquantaine au sud de Hr. en-Nadhour. Empruntant le nom de l'oued sur la rive gauche duquel il s'étend, le site d'Aïn er-Erchiha (**fig. 2**)[3] est érigé sur le flanc ouest du mont Orbata. Ce site se démarque, sur le plan régional, par la fabrication des amphores dites «spatheia» (**fig. 2, 1-6**). Les centres producteurs de ce type d'amphores sont généralement installés au nord de la Tunisie, non loin des côtes tels que ceux d'Ariana ou de Nabeul (Bonifay 2004 : 125); le nôtre est donc le premier à être repéré dans une région continentale, à 156 km de Gabès et à plus de 200 km de Sfax. Ces amphores sont normalement conçues pour le transport du vin (Duval et al. 2002 : 178-182, 188-190; Bonifay 2004 : 129). En outre, cet atelier a produit, mais apparemment en quantité réduite, de la céramique culinaire, de la céramique commune et de la sigillée africaine. Cette situation pourrait s'expliquer aussi par la position de ce site installé sur un versant en pente abrupte qui serait, suite aux opérations d'érosion, derrière la disparition de la majorité des rebuts des productions les plus anciennes. Au sein de la catégorie des sigillées africaines, on peut aisément discerner deux grands groupes : le premier imitant quelques formes « universelles » ou « classiques », telles que les variantes Hayes 32 (Hayes 1972 : 55, fig. 9) (type A. Erch. 1), 49 (Hayes 1972 : 67-9) (type A. Erch. 3) et

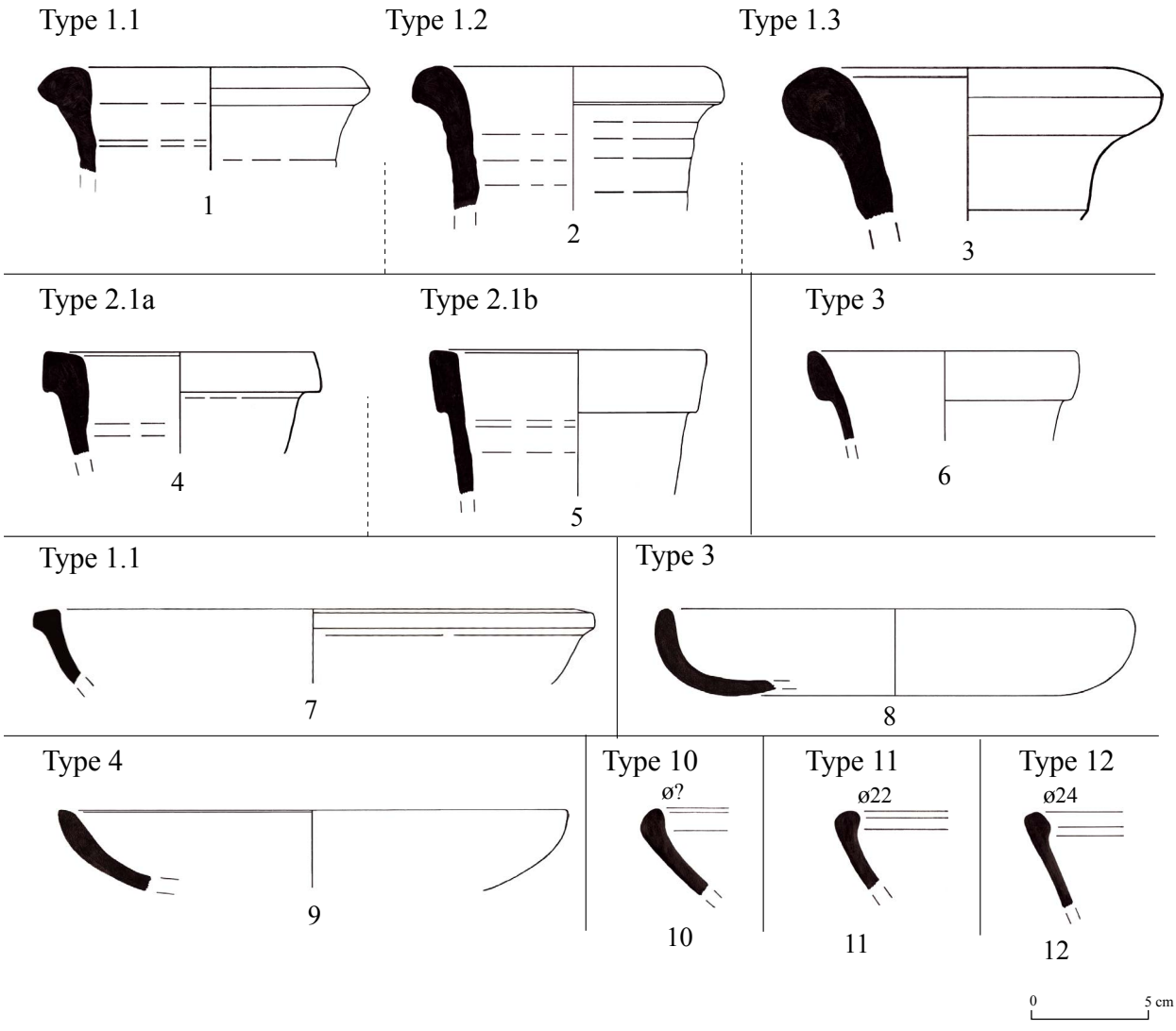


Fig. 2. Aïn er-Rchiha. Amphores spatheia (1-6); sigillée africaine (7-12).

[3] Nous saisons cette occasion pour remercier vivement le doctorant M. Arfa de nous avoir indiqué l'emplacement de ce site.

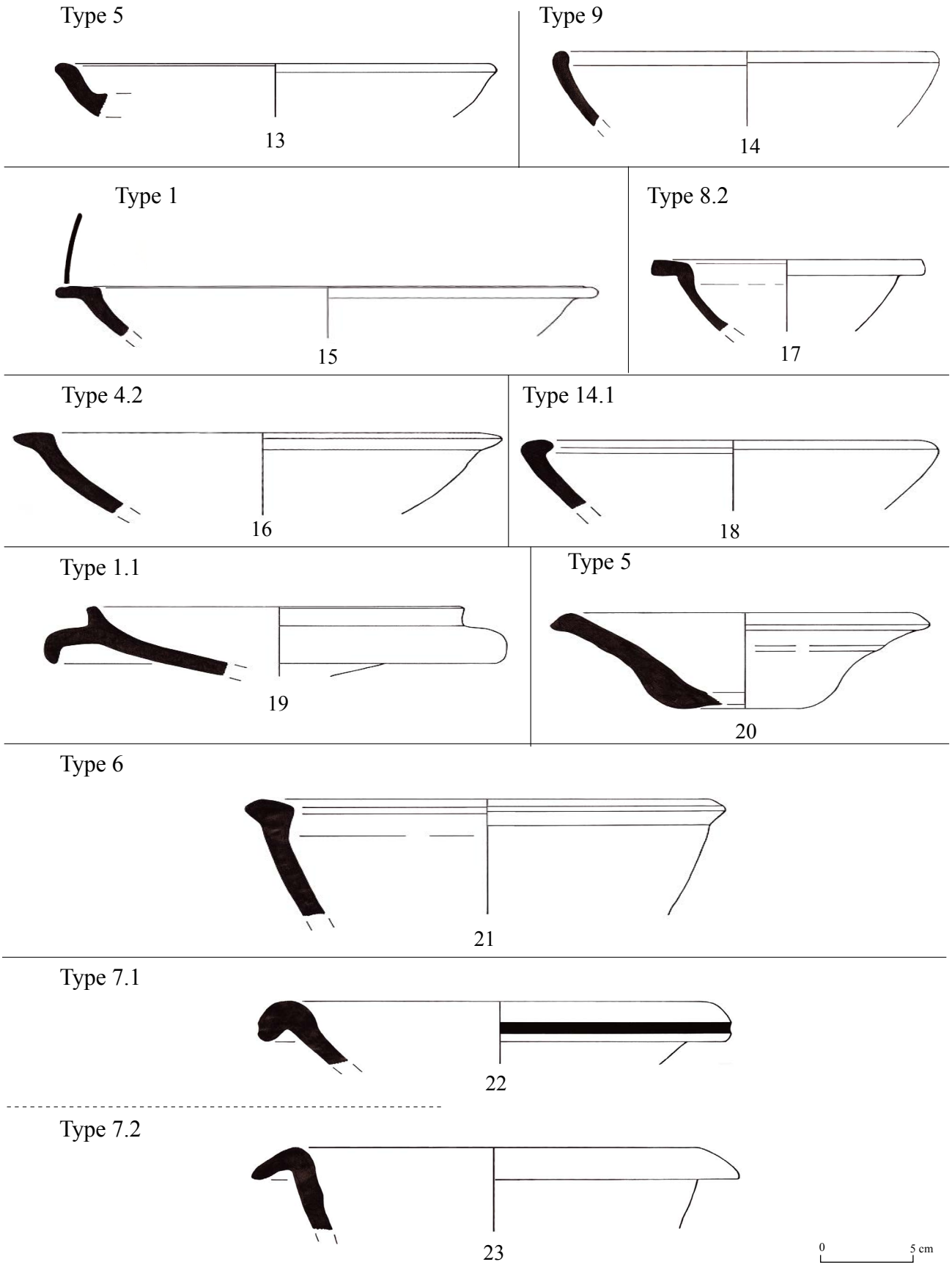


Fig. 3. Aïn er-Rchiha. Sigillée africaine (13-14); Sidi Abdelkader : sigillée africaine (15-18) et commune (19-23).

50B (type A. Erch. 4) (**fig. 2, 7-9**), alors que le deuxième est consacré exclusivement à un répertoire régional entre autres les formes Hayes fig. 58a-b (Hayes 1972 : 300-1) (**fig. 2, 10-12**) qui offrent un large spectre et des formes sans parallèles exacts à l'instar des types 3 et 9 (**fig. 3, 13-14**).

Enfin, les données chronologiques livrées par le matériel de ce site indiquent une période d'activité allant du début du IIIe (forme Hayes 32) (1972 : 55, fig. 9) jusqu'au milieu du VIe siècle (amphores spatheia) (Bonifay 2004 : 125-7).

Les vestiges de la deuxième découverte gisent à une soixantaine de kilomètres à l'ouest de *Capsa*, dans une région d'accès difficile, entourée de montagnes, dont le Djebel Mrata (Mghatta)[4] cité dans les Tablettes Albertini (Courtois et al. 1952 : 146). Les dépotoirs de l'atelier de ce site dénommé Sidi Abdelkader (**fig. 1**) sont dispersés tout autour de la colline sur laquelle est perché le marabout qui lui a prêté son nom. Ce centre avait produit de la céramique culinaire et de la sigillée africaine notamment des formes évoquant celle de Hayes 6B datable de la première moitié du IIIe siècle (Atlante 1981 : 25), type Sidi Ab. K. 1 (**fig. 3, 15**), Hayes 58 n° 19 datable entre 290/300-375 (1972 : 96) et entre 320/30-380 par Pröttel (1996 : 43), type Sidi Abd. K. 5.2 (**fig. 3, 16**), Hayes 78 datable du Ve s., type Sidi Ab. K. 8.2 (**fig. 3, 17**), et d'autres se référant plutôt à un répertoire régional à l'instar du type Sidi Abd. K. 14.1 (**fig. 3, 18**) rappelant la forme Hayes fig. 58a des IVe et Ve siècles (1972 : 303). Néanmoins, cet atelier se démarque par une production consacrée en grande partie à la céramique commune, entre autres des «variantes» Bonifay types 8 (2004 : 251, fig. 135 n° 3) (Sidi Abd. K. type 1.1), 23 (Bonifay 2004 : fig. 145)(Sidi Abd. K. type 5), 35 (Bonifay 2004 : fig. 150)(Sidi Abd. K. type 6) et très vaguement le type 38 (Bonifay 2004 : fig. 152) (Sidi Abd. K. type 7.1-2) (**Fig. 3, 19-23**) de la fin du IIIe-début IVe siècle (Bonifay 2004). Donc, ce centre de production serait actif entre les IIIe et Ve siècles. Aussi, l'aspect fruste, la pâte poreuse et la facture lourde des autres produits, notamment ceux appartenant à la sigillée africaine (**fig. 3, 15-18**), indiquent qu'ils étaient destinés à un marché local, restreint et modeste et par conséquent à une clientèle peu aisée.

La troisième découverte ou plutôt révélation concerne l'atelier d'Henchir en-Nadhour (concernant le site et ses monuments cf. Nasr 2005 : 78-278; Nasr 2015). Ce dernier est situé à environ 70 km au nord-est de Gafsa et à peu près 62 km de Sidi Aïch ; au début de nos recherches, nous l'avons identifié comme étant producteur d'amphores et consommateur de sigillée africaine (Nasr 2005: 380-472). Or, nos récents travaux du terrain ont été couronnés par de précieuses trouvailles, fragments de cazettes et des ratés de cuisson, confirmant nos hypothèses concernant l'existence d'une production locale de sigillée africaine (cf. Nasr 2015 : 9-10). De surcroit, cette révélation recèle une découverte majeure : ladite production renferme en plus des formes attribuées aux répertoires typologiques régionaux et locaux (types 32.2.2, 33.2.2 et 35; **fig. 4, 35-37**) (voir Nasr 2021a: 7, tableau n° 1), d'autres appartenant, par leurs spécificités techniques et formelles, aux productions dénommées «classiques» ou «universelles», particulièrement les catégories A/D, C, C/E et E (Nasr 2021a) (types 15, 4, 5.2, 7.1, 14.2, 15.1, 22, 23.1, 27.1.2, 33.1.1, 42.4 = Hayes 16, 32, 33, 46, 48/60, 60, 61, 68, 70 et 92 (**fig. 4, 24-34**))[6]. Faut-il souligner que jusqu'à présent aucun lieu de production de ces deux dernières catégories, C/E et E, n'a été géographiquement localisé[7].

Ainsi, cet atelier est le premier du genre à être repéré. Quant aux amphores, elles appartiennent au type Keay 8B (**fig. 4, 38-40** et **fig. 5, 41-43**) utilisé pour le transport d'huile (Bonifay 2004 : 132) ; les vestiges de ces conteneurs sont repérés sur les côtes du Golfe de Gabès (Bonifay et al. 1990). L'atelier de Hr. en-Nadhour se trouve, par exemple, à environ 158 km d'*Iunca* et à 166 km de *Thaenae* sur le Golfe de Gabès. La période d'activité de ce centre de production s'étend, vraisemblablement, entre la fin du IIe et le début du VIIe siècle (les formes Hayes 16 et 91D) (Hayes 1972 : 41-2, 140-4).

Donc, enrichi par ces nouvelles découvertes le territoire de la Byzacène du Sud-Ouest renferme, dorénavant, cinq ateliers de céramique connus (**fig. 1**). Ces derniers sont repartis, d'est en ouest, sur un espace quadrangulaire, allant des limites nord des oasis jusqu'aux limites sud des forêts oléicoles. En outre, cette distribution révèle l'existence de zone de chalandise propre à chaque atelier d'à peu près une quarantaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau séparant les ateliers les uns des autres (**fig. 6**). C'est, semble-t-il, la distance parcourue à pied en une journée et demie ; étant donné que la distance moyenne était d'environ 30 km par jour[8]. Les vestiges de ces centres nous ont permis de détecter et une grande diversité au niveau de la production et une véritable répartition spatiale. Ainsi, on peut diviser la région en deux grandes zones de production distinctes en prenant, par exemple, la ville de *Capsa* comme point de repère (**fig. 7**) : zone est et zone ouest. Les ateliers de la zone est ont, plutôt, une tendance à l'extraversion puisqu'une partie non négligeable de leurs produits était destinée à des marchés

[4] Je remercie, encore une fois, mon collègue Mondher Brahmi de m'avoir signalé cette erreur de transcription.

[5] Quant au type 1, et malgré son aspect général qui le rapproche des formes Hayes 14 et 16, il se distingue par une cannelure sous la lèvre externe et des traces de tournage sur la paroi interne faisant de lui une forme inédite.

[6] Pour le reste de cette production voir Nasr 2021a : 10-15.

[7] Il est à noter que la région s'étendant autour du Golfe de Gabès et qui pourrait être, d'après Hayes, à l'origine de cette catégorie de sigillée africaine (1972 : 298), n'a livré, jusqu'ici, aucun indice dans ce sens, et ceci, malgré les campagnes de recherches entreprises aussi bien tout au long de la côte (Bonifay et al. 1990) qu'à l'intérieur des terres; par contre, les fragments ramassés en surface des sites de cette région, en l'occurrence à Thaenae dans le cadre des journées d'étude organisées par les responsables du chantier-école portant le nom de cette ville sous l'égide de l'inspection régionale du patrimoine à Sfax, d'une part et quelques pièces appartenant à la forme Hayes 68, gardées dans la réserve du musée régional de Sfax d'autre part revendiquent nettement, par leurs spécificités techniques et formelles, l'appartenance à l'atelier de Henchir en-Nadhour (Majoura). Ainsi, il est catégoriquement établi, que ce dernier est le premier centre repéré, jusqu'alors, en Tunisie produisant les catégories de sigillée dénommées C/E et E longtemps restées, géographiquement, non localisées (Hayes 1972 : 298; Atlante 1981: 117; Bonifay 2004: 51 et 189; Cau, Reynolds et Bonifay 2012: 6). D'ailleurs, cet atelier a surement approvisionné, du moins en partie puisqu'il y a un autre qui a été signalé dans la même zone, mais un peu plus au nord (Ben Moussa 2017), cette bande côtière par les amphores Keay 8B.

[8] Cf. par exemple https://www.letemps.ch/societe/pied-cheval-benna-voyager-temps-romains.

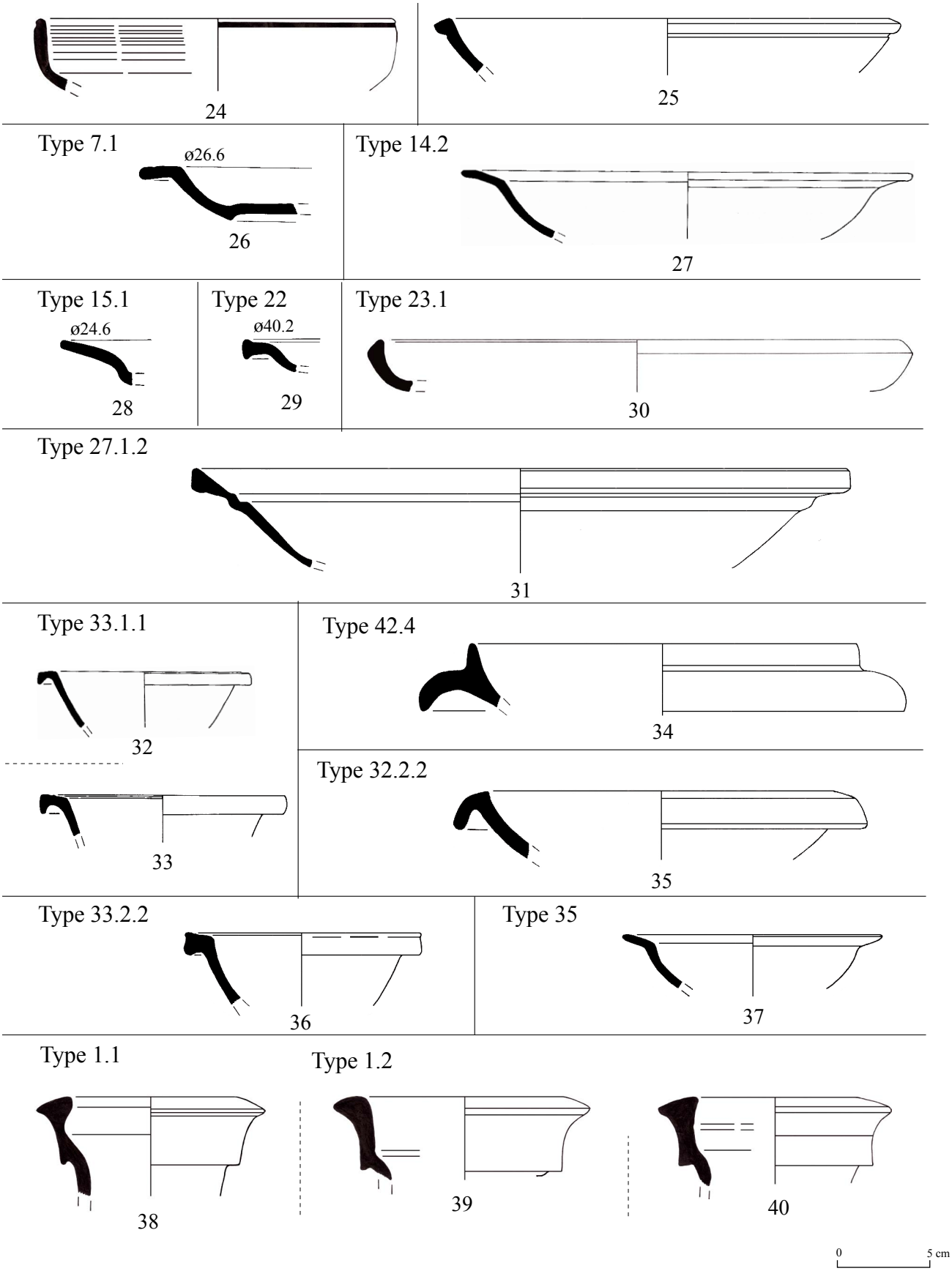


Fig. 4. Hr. en-Nadhour. Sigillée africaine. Vaisselle: catégories 1 (21-31) et 2 (32-34); amphores Keay 8B (35-37).

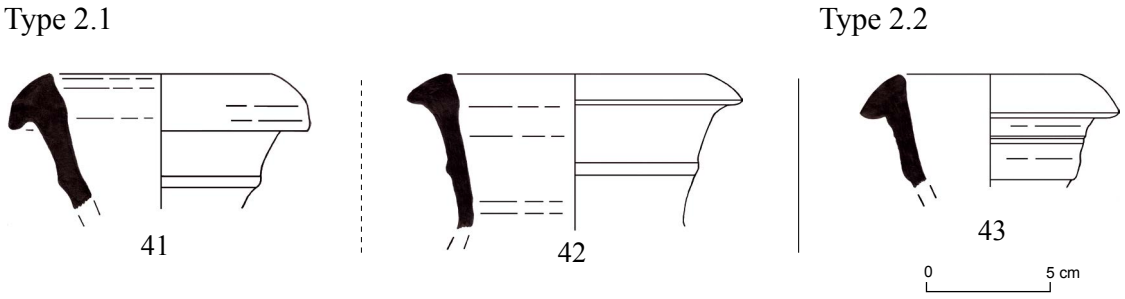


Fig. 5. Hr. en-Nadhour. Amphores Keay 8B.

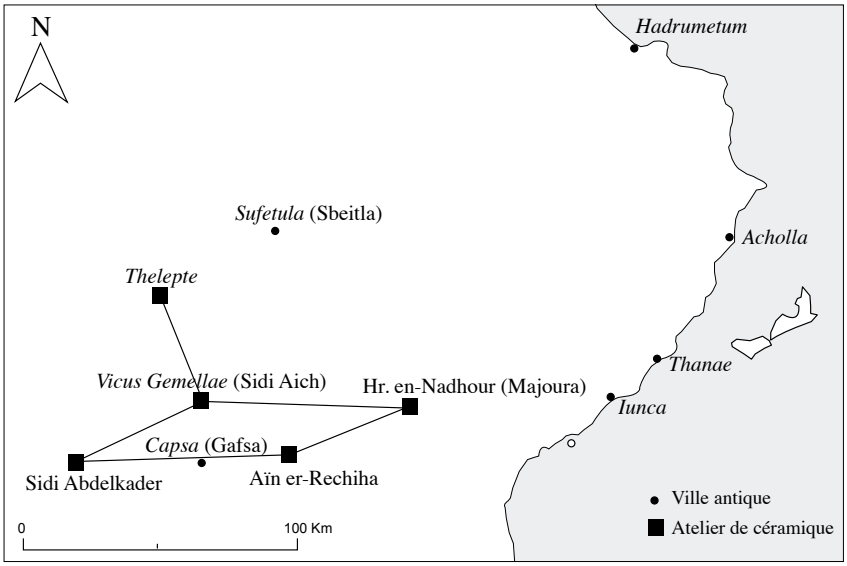


Fig. 6. Carte des zones de chalandise primaires.

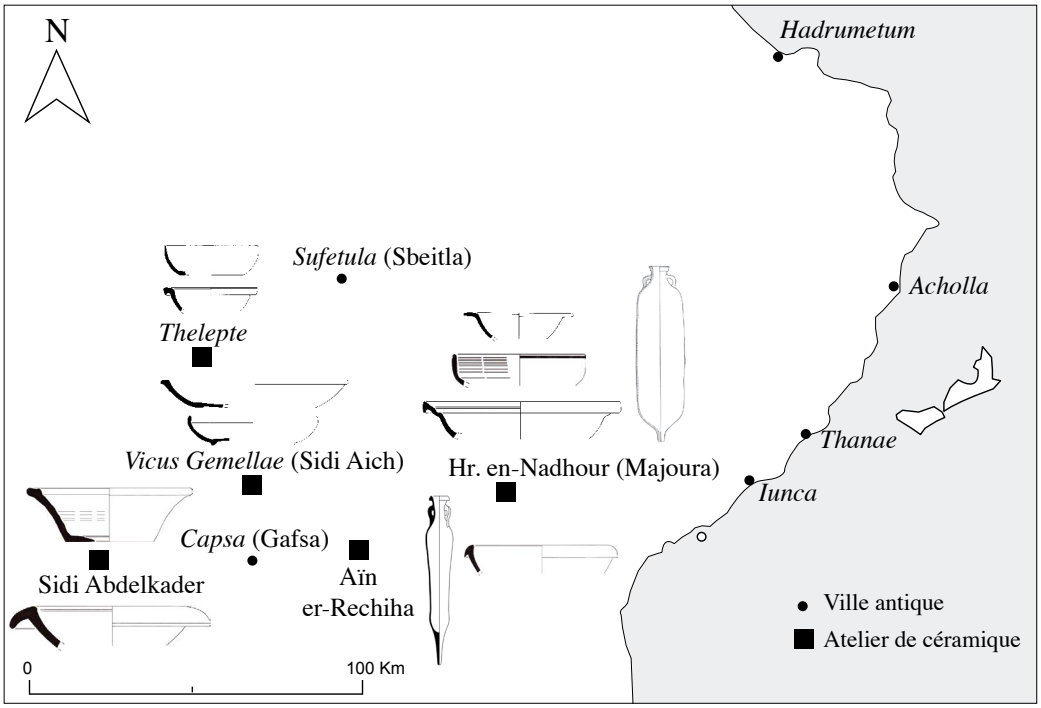


Fig. 7. La Byzacène du Sud-Ouest. Répartition catégorielle des productions céramiques.

méditerranéens tels que les ustensiles en sigillée africaine A/D, C, C/E et E (Atlante 1981: 52-3, 59, 117, 119) et les amphores Keay 8B (à ce sujet, cf., entre autres, Reynolds 2016: 129-143), produits façonnés par les potiers d'Henchir en-Nadhour et destinés au transport d'huile (**fig. 4-5**) ainsi que les amphores dites «spatheia miniatures» (Bonifay 2004 : 124-9), l'œuvre de l'atelier d'Aïn er-Rchiha (**fig. 2**), conçues habituellement pour le transport du vin (Duval et al. 2002 : 178-182, 188-190 ; Bonifay 2004 : 129), mais dans le monde oasien, et vu leurs dimensions[9] et leurs poids non encombrants et par conséquent idéal pour le déplacement, ce conteneur aurait, fort probablement, servi aussi bien à la cueillette et au transport du legmi, sève de palmier dattier, naturel ou alcoolisé qu'au transport des fruits secs tels que les raisins, les figues et surtout les dattes et leurs pâtes[10]. En effet, se trouvant aux portes du désert, cet atelier a fourni les conteneurs les mieux adaptés pour ce milieu. Les caravaniers pouvaient les utiliser à la fois comme contenant du ravitaillement que conteneur des produits commercialisables. La possibilité de servir aussi en tant que conteneur pour le sel, denrée rare et précieuse, disponible à Chott el-Jerid reste plausible.

Il va sans dire que la position géographique occupée par ces deux centres de production, le premier entre les grandes forêts oléicoles de la Byzacène du Centre-Ouest et celle de l'Est et sur la voie *Capsa-Taparura* et le second aux limites nord des oasis[11], à proximité des voies principales *Capsa-Theveste*, *Capsa-Hadrumetum* et *Capsa-Tacape*, et pas loin de la *via camellos* (cf. Courtois et al. 1952 : XXI, 6 et Lassère 1977 : 36 ; Mattingly 1988 : 410), rapportée par les Tablettes Albertini, traversant jadis notre région du sud-ouest vers le nord-est, cette position avait sûrement joué un rôle prépondérant dans le choix de leurs produits. A contrario, les productions de la zone ouest se distinguent nettement des précédentes primo, par leurs fonctions exclusivement domestiques puisqu'elles étaient conçues pour satisfaire les besoins quotidiens des consommateurs en leur fournissant les ustensiles de la vaisselle de table, de la vaisselle culinaire et de la céramique commune; et secundo, par leurs répertoires typologiques foncièrement régionaux et leurs caractéristiques techniques, à savoir l'engobe, la pâte et l'aspect général (sigillée africaine) notamment à *Vicus Gemellae* (Sidi Aïch). Les produits de cette zone ouest sont, sans aucun doute, destinés à des marchés continentaux interprovinciaux, régionaux ou locaux, donc à des consommateurs moins aisés que ceux des ateliers de la zone est. Effectivement, les produits de Sidi Aïch, incontestablement l'atelier le plus important de la région, sont repérés dans une aire de diffusion qui s'étend du Golfe de Gabès à l'est jusqu'au massif de l'Aurès à l'ouest et des piémonts Sud de la Dorsale en passant par Tébessa et Sétif au nord jusqu'aux forts du Limes au sud (Nasr 2005 : 486-92 ; 2019 ; 2022). Néanmoins, les quantités et la fréquence du repérage de ces produits sont indubitablement plus considérables à l'ouest qu'à l'est (autour du Golfe de Gabès) (cf. carte de diffusion de la céramique de cet atelier : Nasr 2005 : 492 ; 2020 : fig. 8b, 590).

[9] H. 40-44 cm et D. 8-9 ou 12-13 cm (Bonifay 2004 : 127) ; à Aïn er-Rchiha, les diamètres de ce type d'amphores dit « miniature » oscillent entre 10 et 14 cm (fig. 2, 1-6).

[10] Pour les produits objets du commerce transsaharien antique, cf. entre autres Trousset (2002 : 363-366).

[11] Faut-il rappeler que la région de Gafsa, l'antique *Capsa*, renferme les oasis les plus septentrionales de la Tunisie.

Conclusion

Les découvertes ci-dessus passées en revue ont enrichi la liste des ateliers mis au jour en Byzacène du Sud-Ouest et celle des catégories de céramiques produites. De plus, ces découvertes nous ont révélé une véritable distribution catégorielle (**fig. 7**) et spatiale. Cette dernière, la répartition spatiale, dévoile, en plus de l'existence d'une zone de chalandise pour chaque atelier (**fig. 6**), le caractère foncièrement rural de cette région. En outre, la présente étude a démontré que les potiers de cette région avaient produit différents types de céramiques (Nasr 2023a-b) permettant ainsi, d'une part, de satisfaire les besoins quotidiens domestiques et économiques des populations locales urbaines ou rurales ; d'autre part, de fournir un excédent exportable. Enfin, faut-il souligner que les données chronologiques livrées par les matériels de ces deux nouvelles découvertes s'insèrent parfaitement dans l'axe du temps relatif à l'émergence et au déclin des ateliers de céramique en Byzacène du Sud-Ouest à savoir de la fin du IIe-début IIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du VIe-début du VIIe siècle (Nasr 2021a).

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Luca Arioli

AFRICAN RED SLIP WARE IN TARQUINIA AND IN THE *AGER TARQUINIENSIS* IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Tarquinia was among the largest cities of South Etruria. Excavations by the University of Verona in the so-called domus "of the Mithraeum" and in the forum are providing the first data on the city in Roman and Late antique times, as well as on its pottery. This paper aims at analysing the consumption of African Red Slip Ware in the city and its territory by providing a preliminary presentation of the finds from the domus. These data are compared with a survey of published ARS finds from the sites of the ager Tarquiniensis *to evaluate their potential for the reconstruction of local consumption and distribution patterns during Late Antiquity and their significance for the evaluation of the continuity of settlement in the area. ARS supply continues during the 5th century and the central decades of the 6th but decreases after the Gothic War and ceases after the Lombard conquest.*

Italy – South Etruria – Tarquinia – African Red Slip Ware – Trade networks

1. Introduction

Tarquinia (Italy, Viterbo) was by far the richest Etruscan city. In Roman times, it was one of the largest cities of South Etruria, but not much is known of its Imperial or Late Antique stages. This paper presents the finds of African Red Slip Ware (ARS) from Tarquinia, analyses them in relation to the published ARS finds from its *ager* and discusses their relevance for the understanding of the economic life of the city and its territory. Firstly, a short historical and archaeological background for the city of Tarquinia is provided. Secondly, the excavation context of the so-called domus "of the Mithraeum" is presented together with its ARS finds and an attempt to define a trend of ARS consumption in the site. Then, after a survey of the evidence from the *ager Tarquiniensis*, the ARS consumption patterns of the city and its ager during Late Antiquity are preliminarly defined and compared with general trends and other regional case-studies. This analysis will provide the first insight into the economy of the area which is still unexplored despite its historical relevance.

2. Tarquinia: an Etruscan city in Roman times

In Etruscan times, Tarquinia was the most relevant among the cities which contended with Rome during its early history, and two of Rome's kings were also Tarquinian. After its conquest in Republican times, Tarquinia remained one of the largest cities in South Etruria. Little is known of the Imperial and Late Antique periods. For this reason, Tarquinia has never been properly considered in archaeological studies on Roman South Etruria and its relevance has never been explored. In the 5th century AD, the city had a bishop attending to some councils but, during the 6th century AD, the city seems to have lost its bishopric seat to Tuscania, suggesting a possible decline. However, an inscription of 503-4 AD recording the restoration of a bath testifies the vitality of the city and the continuity of civic life and evergetism into the 6th century AD. It is reputed that Tarquinia lost its status of *civitas* after the Lombard conquest, but it continued being inhabited until the 13th century, when its last settlement was destroyed (Casocavallo and Maggiore 2018: 133-135). The ancient city is located on a plateau near to the modern settlement and covers an area of circa 140 ha (**fig. 1**). Previous and ongoing archaeological investigations focused on the Etruscan or Medieval periods, leaving the Roman and Late Antique phases unexplored. Since 2016, the University of Verona has been carrying out the first research project aimed at investigating Roman Tarquinia (Mastrocinque 2020). Five campaigns have explored the large complex known as the so-called domus "of the Mithraeum" and a large-scale gradiometric survey, currently close to its completion, started in the years 2019-2020 to fully understand the urban planning of the city. In 2021, a new excavation area was opened in the forum, firstly discovered through the analysis of data from the survey. The excavations proved that the Roman forum had been built in the Augustan period over an area previously occupied by private houses. In 2022, the excavation area was further expanded, leading to the discovery of a monumental fountain, a paved road and part of the porch. These contexts provide the first relevant information for Imperial and Late Antique Tarquinia and finally allow to compare the city to the better-known neighbouring centres. It is now possible to ascertain that, despite the scarcity of sources and standing monumental evidence, Tarquinia was a rich Roman city, which remained quite prosperous into Late Antiquity.

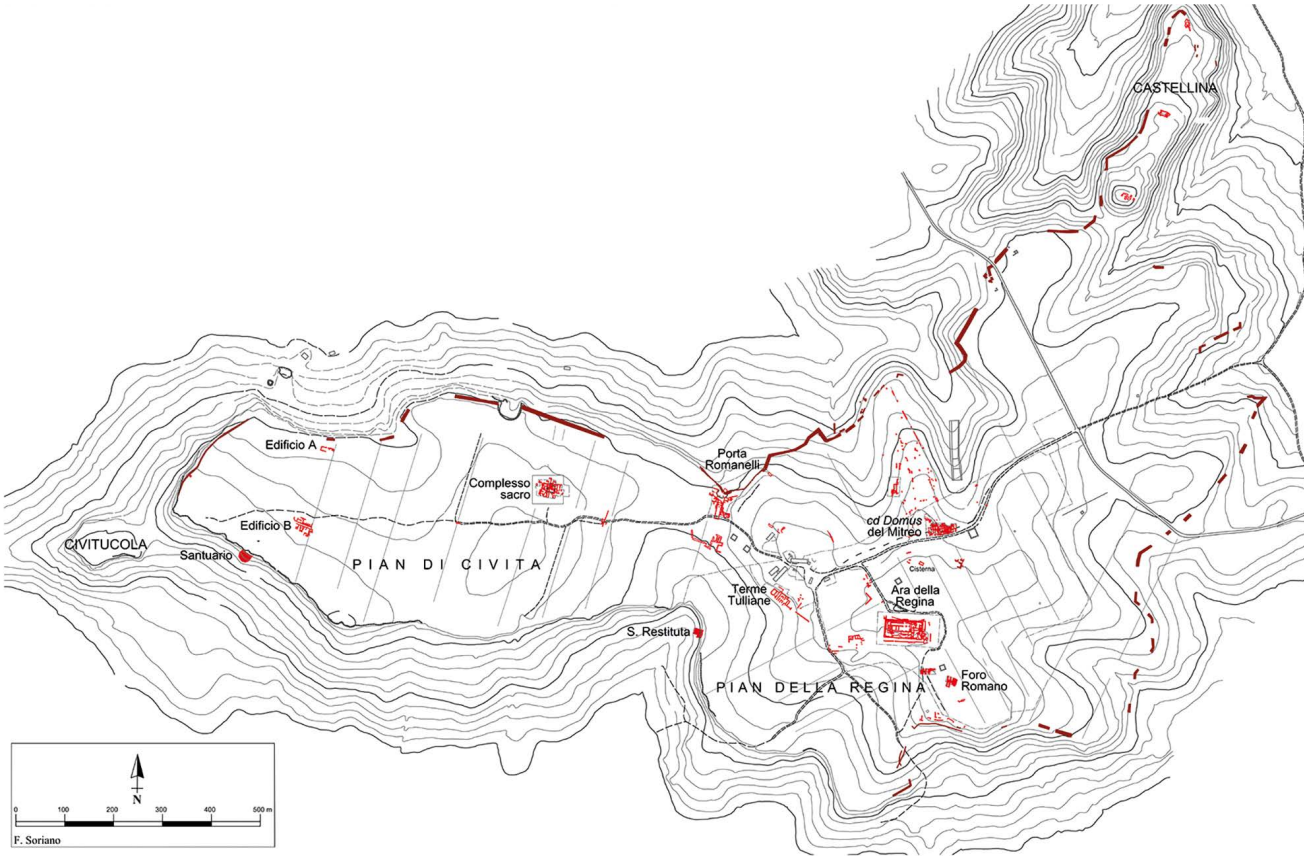


Fig. 1. Map of Tarquinia with the city walls and the main monuments and excavation areas (elaboration by F. Soriano).

3. Excavations in the so-called domus "of the Mithraeum"

The so-called domus "of the Mithraeum" lies in the centre of Tarquinia on a sloping area not far from the "Ara della Regina" temple, the most prominent monument in the city. The archaeological exploration of the complex began after the recovery of a looted statue of Mithra, allegedly originating from there. Despite the Mithra-related name, no actual evidence of Mithraic cult has yet been found. The so-called domus is a large residential complex extending over 3.500 sqm and articulating over seven terraces and more than forty rooms, whose limits and orientation have not yet been fully identified. In every terrace both functional (e.g., courtyards with *dolia*) and representative (e.g., *triclinium* and *lararium*) rooms were found (**fig. 2**). Many water-related infrastructures were also found, notably six well-cisterns for rain catchment, a monumental fountain and some minor water pipes made of lead and tile. The stratigraphic sequence ranges from Etruscan times up to the late 6th/early 7th century AD. The area was monumentalised in early Imperial times as a large complex, but it also retained many of its earlier features. The data from the ARS-bearing part of the sequence will be summarized. By the late 1st century AD the domus was fully monumentalised (Period IV, Phase 2). Between the 2nd and 3rd centuries, minor transformations occurred, and some areas were destined to productive activities (Period V). During the Late Antique period, a traumatic event, most likely an earthquake hit the area and provoked the collapse or deformation of many floors and cisterns. Subsequently, by the early 5th, most of the spaces were filled by heavy dumps to raise the walking levels (Period VI, Phase 1) and new floors, usually made of broken tiles, were put in place and used between the mid-5th and mid-6th century AD (Period VI, Phase 2) before the area was abandoned by the late 6th/early 7th century AD (Period VI, Phase 3). Between the 5th and 6th century AD, a large underground well-cistern (Cistern H) was used as a garbage dump by the community living in the domus and provided a substantial ceramic assemblage testifying the vitality of the site. Its use ceased in the mid-to late 6th century AD and the entrance of the cistern was closed by a stone, which was in turn covered by a deposit dating to the late 6th – early 7th century AD. No later evidence was found, as the higher layers were destroyed by ploughing in the past decades. The exact function of the complex is yet to be defined, but it is possible that, besides having a residential purpose, this area may have also been used for productive or commercial activities during the Imperial period (Soriano 2020).

4. ARS from the domus "of the Mithraeum" and ARS consumption in Tarquinia

ARS was by far one of the most diffused fine wares in the Roman world, and its fortune has been explained with its role of accompanying product travelling together with other



Fig. 2. Plan of the so-called domus "of the Mithraeum" (elaboration by F. Soriano).

African products. Earlier studies assumed that in Imperial times African tableware travelled with oil amphorae, whilst more recent research has pointed out that the differences in their distribution patterns suggest that ARS accompanied grain rather than oil. Some shifts in ARS distribution have been observed during Late Antiquity. Since the early 5th century, a drop in ARS supplies has been observed throughout the Mediterranean since the early 5th century, followed by a revival in the 6th: both shifts are not directly related to the arrival of the Vandals and to the subsequent reconquest of the province, and later distribution patterns do not reflect the border of the Byzantine provinces, thus suggesting that ARS was not exclusively accompanying grain supplies (Bonifay 2018: 335-338). According to recent studies focusing on the definition of the trade routes of African pottery, Rome and Thyrrenian Italy were reached by both cargoes coming directly from Africa and headed to Rome itself as well as by heterogeneous cargoes carrying both Spanish and African products (Bonifay and Tchernia 2012; Bonifay 2018: 338-341). Tarquinia was a major city of South Etruria and, although it was not directly facing the sea, it was close to the coast and served by the port of *Graviscae*, which in turn was close to the main ports of central Italy serving Rome and along the sea route between Rome and Arles. When coming to the access to seaborne trade, we may note that Tarquinia had a quite favourable position. Aside from benefitting from the re-distribution of cargoes directed to Rome, the city could be reached by ships coming from Spain or Gaul, as well as by homogeneous cargoes directly coming from Africa. The assemblage of the Trincere wreck, just off the Tarquinian coast, was only partly explored but, according to published data, is composed almost entirely of African products, mostly amphorae and cooking wares dating to the 3rd century AD and possibly coming from Salakta (Pontacolone and Incitti 1991; Bonifay and Tchernia 2012: tab. 16.2). In this frame, ARS imports from Tarquinia offer one of the first glimpses of the consumption of African goods in a relevant consumption centre north of Rome and Ostia, thus providing a relevant case-study for central Italy. The 2016-2018 campaigns in the domus provided 635 sherds and further 111 sherds are from the assemblage of Cistern H (Zentilini 2020: 102-105 provided a preliminary presentation of selected finds from the earlier campaigns). The 2021-22 campaigns provided some further hundreds of sherds, mostly from the domus, whose study is still ongoing, and which are not considered here. Rather than anticipating in full the typological analysis which will be provided in the forthcoming pottery reports (the typological references and chronologies used in the text and charts are based on Hayes 1972; Hayes 1980; Atlante I; Bonifay 2004; Bonifay 2016), this paper will focus on the potential of ARS for the definition of local consumption trends and distribution patterns. The distribution of these finds in

the stratigraphic sequence is rather uneven as they are found mainly in the Late Antique dumps or redeposited in later layers, plus 32 sherds from trenches or clearings. The earliest occurrence of ARS is in Period IV, Phase 2. The finds (**fig. 3**) consist of three sherds of fabric A, and the sole identifiable is an early Hayes 8A – Lamb. 1A bowl, dating to the late 1st – early 2nd century AD (Bonifay 2016: 555, n. 91; **fig. 4,4**). Finds of Period V amount to 19 total sherds, and the sole diagnostic specimens are some Hayes 8A (Bonifay 2016: 555, 93) and 9B (Hayes 1972: 35-36) bowls together with the dishes Hayes 27 (Bonifay 2004: 159) and 50A (Bonifay 2016: 556, n. 104). They come from the layers related to different activities taking place between the late 2nd and 3rd centuries. Most of the domus finds come from the dumps used to raise the floors in Late Antiquity and from later occupation of the area. They provided 255 sherds of ARS of fabric A, A/D, C

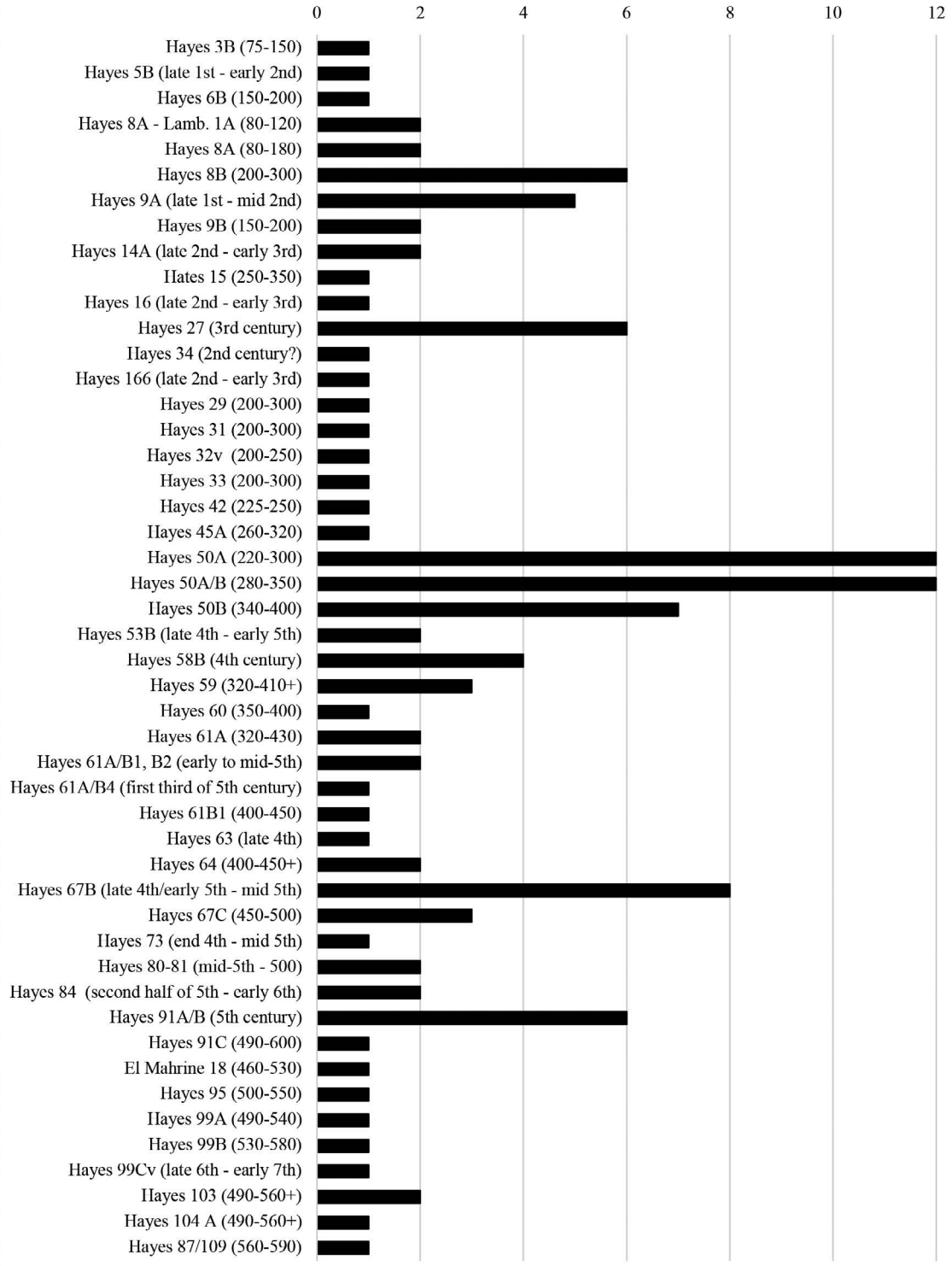


Fig. 3. ARS forms present in the domus, including finds from Cistern H.

and D dating between the late 1st and the 4th century AD. Some early forms as Hayes 3B (Bonifay 2004: 156; **fig. 4,1**), Hayes 5 (Hayes 1972: 26-29; **fig. 4,2**) and Hayes 6 (Hayes 1972: 29-31; **fig. 4,3**) count a specimen each, whilst later types usually have a much higher count. Forms Hayes 8A (**fig. 4,5**) and 8B (Bonifay 2004: 156; **fig. 4,6**), Hayes 9A (**fig. 4,7**) and 9B (**fig. 4,8**), Hayes 14 (Bonifay 2004: 157-159), Hayes 15 (Bonifay 2016: 555, n. 95; **fig. 4,9**), Hayes 16 (Bonifay 2004: 157-159; **fig. 4,10**), Hayes 27 (**fig. 4,13**), Hayes 29 (Atlante I: 55; Bonifay 2016: 523 extends the chronology of ARS A/D to the whole 3rd century; **fig. 4,14**), Hayes 31 (Atlante I: 54; **fig. 4,15**), Hayes 32 var (Bonifay 2004: 172; **fig. 3,16**), Hayes 33 (Atlante I: 54; **Fig. 4,17**), Hayes 42 (Hayes 1972: 60-61; **fig. 4,18**) Hayes 45A (Atlante I, 63-64); Hayes 50A (**fig. 4,19**), A/B (Bonifay 2016: 555, n. 105) and B (Bonifay 2016: 555, n. 106), Hayes 53B of fabric C and possibly F (Bonifay 2004: 197; **fig. 4, 20**), Hayes 58B (Atlante I: 81-82; **fig. 5,1**), Hayes 59 (Atlante I: 82-83; **fig. 5,2**), Hayes 61A (Bonifay 2016: 557, n. 118) were also present and dating between the late 1st / 2nd and the late 4th / early 5th century AD. The most peculiar elements comprised in this assemblage are two sherds from the rim and handle of the same Hayes 166 vessel in ARS A2 (Hayes 1980: 498-99, fig. 94; **fig. 4,12 a-b**) and a casserole with a fine fabric and a lustrous A1 slip only on the outer side of the wall, to which pertain some non-joining wall fragments with a carination marked by two grooves (**fig. 4,11**). These features recall those of the Hayes 34 cup (Atlante I: 29), even if some similar shapes

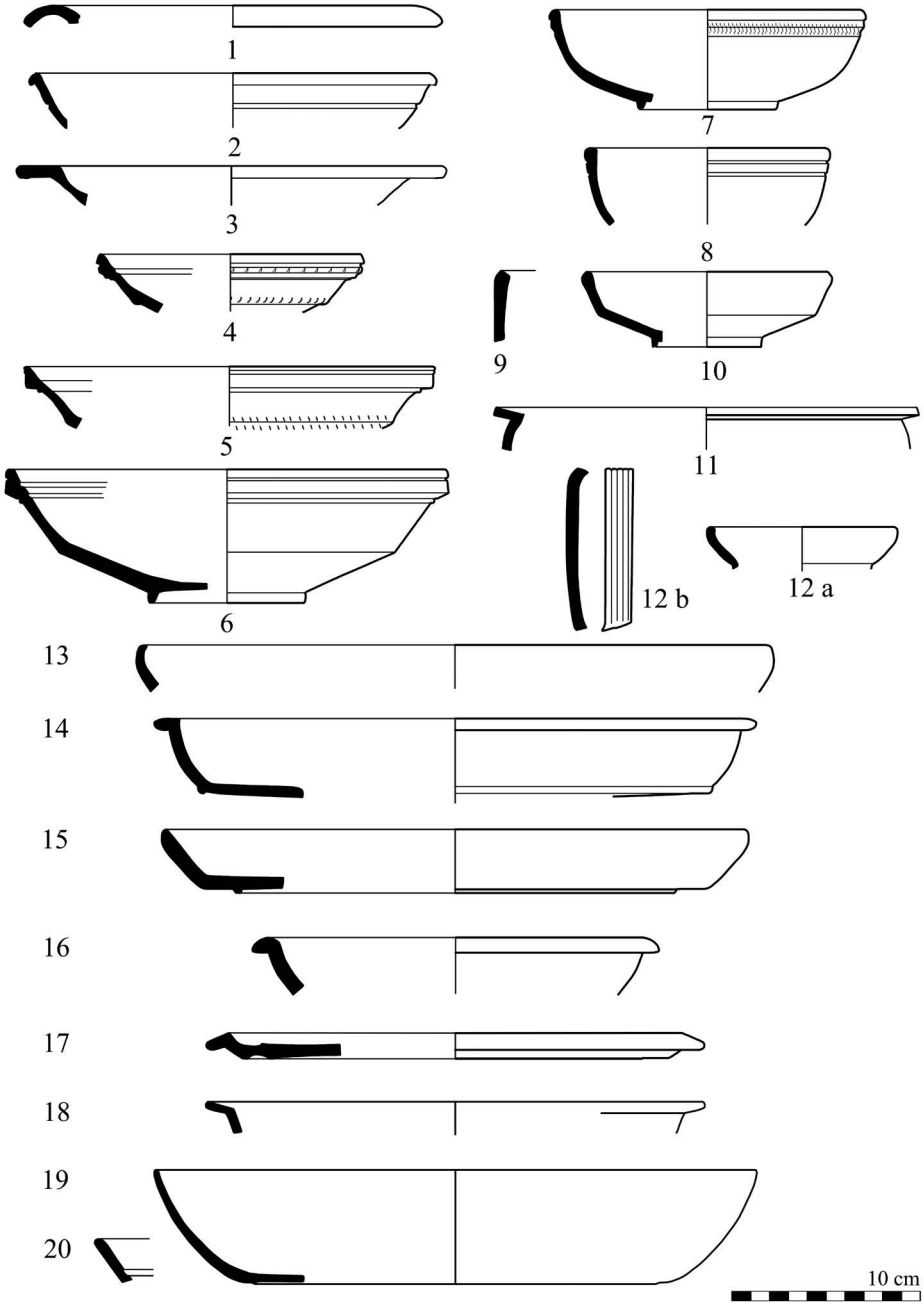


Fig. 4. African Red Slip Ware from the domus. Selection of types of fabrics A, A/D, C.

are reported also for the forms Hayes 35, 36 and 38 in ARS A with applied decoration (Atlante I: 146-147, tav. LXXII, 7-9; Bonifay 2004: 162, types 20, 21,22), although in our case no applied decoration is visible.

Later layers of Period 6, Phase 2 (197 sherds) and Phase 3 (130 sherds) provided few or single specimens of forms Hayes 64 (Hayes 1972: 109-111), Hayes 80 (Bonifay 2004: 173), Hayes 91 A/B (Bonifay 2004: 178-181), Hayes 103 (Hayes 1972:157-159), Hayes 104 (Bonifay 2004: 181-183; **fig. 5, 15**), Hayes 99B (Bonifay 2016: 558, n. 128; **fig. 5, 11**) and 99C var (**fig. 5,12**), as well as many residual specimens of the previously mentioned types. Cistern H provided a varied assemblage mostly consisting of 5th–6th century types, as Hayes 61 A/B (Bonifay 2004: 167-171), Hayes 61 B (**fig. 5,3**), Hayes 67 (Bonifay 2004; **fig. 5,4**), Hayes 73 (**fig. 5, 5**), Hayes 80 (**fig. 5,6**), Hayes 84 (1972: 132-133; **fig. 5,7**), Hayes 91 A/B (**fig. 5,8**) and C, El Mahrine 18 (Bonifay 2016: 558, n. 121; **fig. 5,9**), Hayes 95 (Hayes 1972: 149; **fig. 5,13**), Hayes 99A (**fig. 5,10**), Hayes 103, variant Sidi Khalifa (Bonifay 2004: 203-205; **fig. 5,14**), Hayes 87/109 (Bonifay 2016: 560; **fig. 5,16**). Most of the finds consist of rather small sherds, but some specimens from the dumps were completely reconstructed or had a full profile, implying that some of them were dumped as complete specimens. The finds stick to the current typologies with no significative variants except for the Hayes 99C bowl with rolled rim, a variant probably dating to the late 6th / early 7th century AD (Fernández 2014: 186-192).

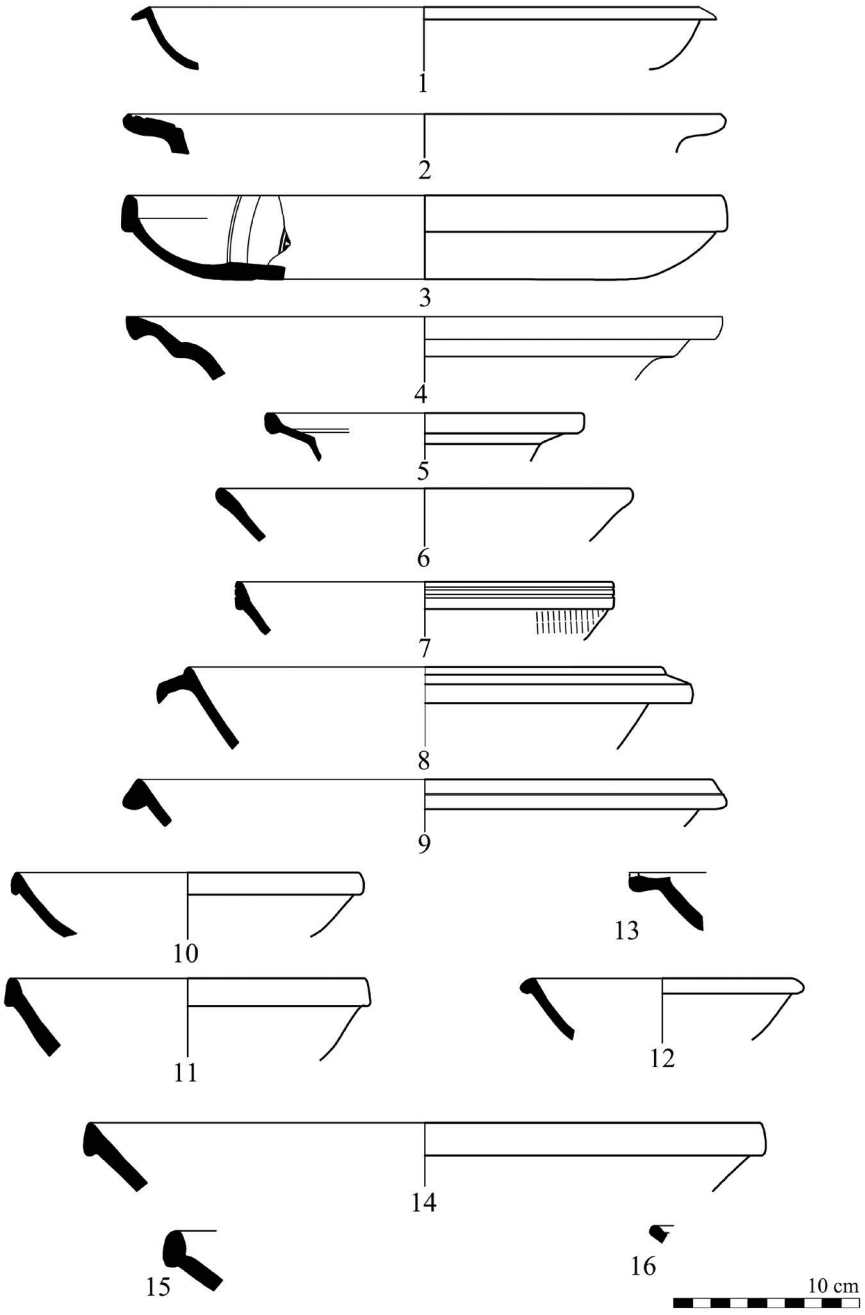


Fig. 5. African Red Slip Ware from the domus. Selection of types of Fabrics D, F.

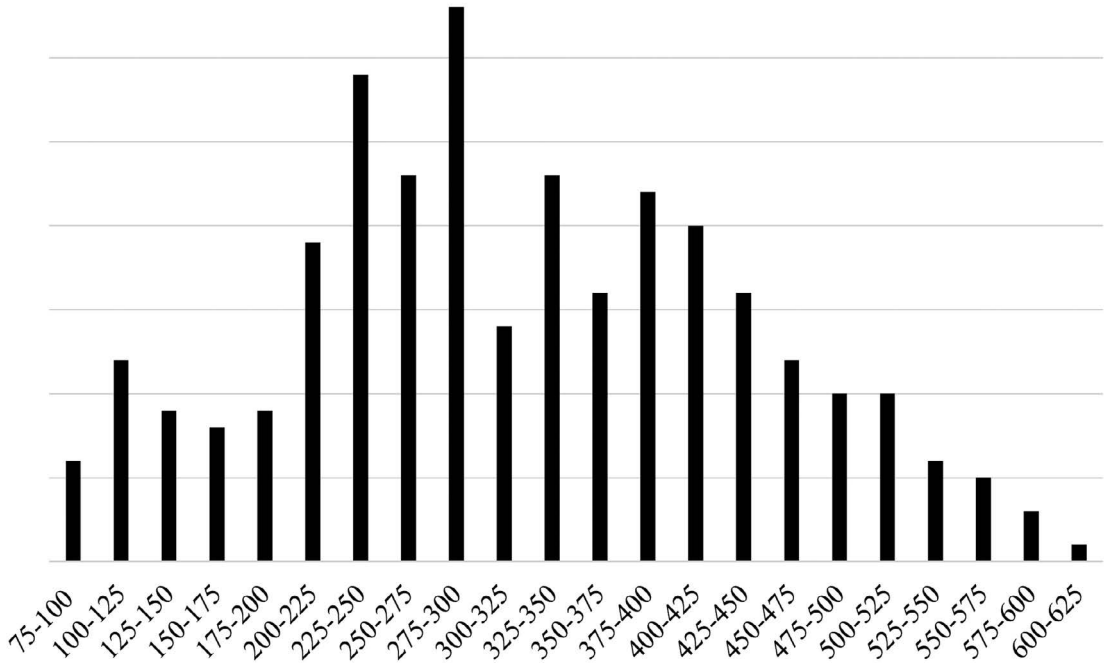


Fig. 6. Consumption of ARS in the domus 75-620 AD (vessels/year).

Besides the domus and the forum, the only ARS occurrence in the city is an unpublished Hayes 91 C bowl recovered together with some other fabric D sherds at the "ara della Regina" mentioned by Casocavallo (Casocavallo et al. 2015: 527). A full frame of material culture of Roman and Late Antique Tarquinia will be defined only through the full publication of all the finds from the domus as well as – in the future – from the forum or other areas of the city. Nevertheless, since ARS is an excellent proxy for tracing consumption dynamics and trade relations in the area, these finds undoubtedly contribute to define for the first time the status of Tarquinia as a consuming centre during the Imperial and Late Antique period.

Many studies aiming at reconstructing the transformation of trade networks and their volumes over time have attempted to consider ARS as a proxy for settlement, trade relations, economic production, and consumption of goods (e.g., Fentress and Perkins 1988; Zanini 1996; Fentress et al. 2004). These studies aimed at a large-scale understanding of the topic and relied on a specific methodological frame to evaluate the chronological and spatial distribution of fine wares and their relation to settlement patterns by mapping the date range of forms in calendar years. Some of them considered as valid source of information only the finds from large-scale, regional surveys to reach this goal, correctly assuming that the finds from a single building or complex do not reflect general data on ARS trade in a whole city but instead they largely depend on the history and life of the context itself. An attempt to define a preliminary curve of ARS imports in the city (**fig. 6**) proves that this assumption is once again correct. According to the curve of Tarquinia, ARS imports began by the late 1st century AD. A slight but non-constant increase can be observed for the 2nd century AD, and the peak seems to occur in the 3rd century AD, when most case-studies register instead a drop and a reprise. Later, high figures can still be observed for the 4th century imports, whilst a slow decrease takes place since the 5th century AD, further decreasing to a low but constant flux for the 6th century and ceasing by the late 6th / early 7th century AD.

These data significantly diverge from both the general large-scale trends described in literature and regional case-studies. This depends on the site's history, which determined the nature of the finds, as the majority of ARS finds consists of material from the dumps, which was often re-deposited in later layers. Residual types from the 2nd and 3rd / 4th century AD outnumber those from other periods and from occupation layers and alter the general outline of ARS presence in the site. The peaks in the consumption curve are the final outcomes in ARS frequency of the action of raising the site's floors with pottery-rich dumps. So, the domus provides a good example of how these data can be largely influenced and biased by a site's life. Despite this evident limit, it is nevertheless possible to compare the curve of Tarquinia with regional case-studies as those related to the South Etruria Survey or to neighbouring cities as Veii and Cosa, reflecting on a qualitative rather than quantitative ground. The city of Cosa is close to Tarquinia and due to its position had direct access to seaborne trade. Its ARS consumption curve (Fentress 2005: 69-71) is marked by an abrupt drop by the 3rd century AD, which has been interpreted as the proxy of a crisis in urban life and a partial abandonment of the settlement. If compared to Cosa, Tarquinia, at least from the point of view offered by the domus, seems to remain a more stable and vital city. ARS finds from the survey of Veii (Fontana 2012: fig. 5.78) provide another South Etrurian example of a city with high figures of ARS consumption

during the 2nd century, with a gradual decrease during the 3rd and 4th centuries, and extremely low figures from the mid-4th century onwards, until the end of imports by the early 7th century.

Although they do not reflect the "normal" consumption trend of an urban house, ARS data from the so-called domus point out that Tarquinia was a vital consuming centre over a long period and it seems to have remained quite more prosperous than its neighbours during the Late Antiquity. However, being aware of the biased nature of these observations, it is to be expected that future research may correct or refine them by expanding the dataset of ARS finds from Tarquinia with information from new finds or other contexts besides the domus.

5. ARS in the *ager Tarquiniensis*: a survey of the evidence

In Roman times, Tarquinia controlled a vast *ager* bordered by the rivers Arrone and Mignone and expanding inland as far as the lake of Bolsena, the Selva Cimina area and the river Tibur. This area included also other lesser cities, once subordinated to Tarquinia, such as *Musarna, Ferentum, Tuscania* and other centres, as well as the Roman-founded colony of *Gravisca* (**fig. 7A**), which also was the port serving Tarquinia. All these cities enjoyed some degree of municipal autonomy, but none of them was a *colonia* and their inhabitants were inscribed to the same tribe of Tarquinia (Jolivet 2009). The area is extremely rich in archaeological finds but, as noted by Jolivet (2009), few studies have been dedicated to Imperial or Late Antique sites, and even less have been fully published with pottery reports. Data on ARS finds from the whole *ager* do not allow to arrange a proper survey of the evidence, let alone to draw valid conclusions. The coastal and inland areas significantly differ for the degree of available data. ARS finds are known in the inland centres of Tuscania (Gianfrotta and Potter 1980: 449; Tizi 2021: 325), *Ferentum* (De Minicis et al. 2015: 502, 507) and *Musarna* (Jolivet 2009: fig 12; Batigne-Vallet 2015: 517), but the published data consist of few sherds each, sometimes just mentioned but neither identified or illustrated[1]. Full pottery reports are available for the rural settlements of Paliano (Barbieri 1992-3: 33-35, 36-39) and Contrada Asinello (Barbieri 1989: 85-88, types from the 2nd to mid-6th century AD) but they only offer isolated evidence, not directly comparable to major settlements, in a large region, which remains almost unexplored.

The situation is rather different for the coastal area closer to the city, where a wider dataset is available from the city of *Gravisca*, the port/station of the *Quintiana positio* near Cazzanello along the via Aurelia and some villas from surveys carried out in the coastal region of the *ager Tarquiniensis*. This grouping provides valuable data coming from a limited but cohesive area and from a variety of sites covering the spectrum of local archaeological settlement forms.

The finds from *Gravisca* were recovered from the upper layers of the excavations carried out in the ancient city and provide a general frame of ARS consumption in its later stages. Their recent analysis (Casocavallo et al. 2015: 529-530) pointed out that after the Visigothic sack of 408 AD the city continued its existence in the following centuries. Finds consist of 9 sherds of Hayes 67B type, 26 from Hayes 67 of undetermined variant, 5 of Hayes 84, 14 of Hayes 91A, 14 of Hayes 91B, 12 of Hayes 99A, 5 of Hayes 91C, 3 of Hayes 104A, 5 of Hayes 104B and 5 of Hayes 99C. As *Gravisca* was the port from which ARS arrived by sea and transited to Tarquinia, it is significant that the two centres provided comparable data pointing into the very same direction. In both cities, ARS was diffused in the 5th century, and still present – although with lesser numbers – during the 6th. ARS imports seem to cease completely by the late 6th / early 7th century AD.

The villa of *Quintiana* / Cazzanello is the largest excavated site in the area, as well as one of the most relevant villas in the region. This site provided a varied ARS assemblage, with some forms overlapping with those reported in the city and the survey, and others reported only there[2]. ARS consumption begins in the late 1st / early 2nd century AD (Hayes 3B) and most of the latest types (Hayes 91C; Hayes 96; Hayes 103) date to the 6th century AD. A Hayes 99D bowl, dating to the second half of the 7th century AD (Bonifay 2004: 181), is also reported, being the latest ARS vessel in the whole *ager Tarquiniensis*. Mid-Imperial and Late Antique types are also present, and decorated dishes dating to the 4th – 5th century AD are quite common (Aoyagi 1995; 1996; 1997; Aoyagi, Angelelli and Imai Fugiwara 2002-2003).

The survey by M. Corsi covered an area between the *agri* of Tarquinia and Vulci, gathering data from more than 150 sites dating between Republican and Late Antique times (Corsi 1998). Among them, fourteen sites of the *ager Tarquiniensis*, mostly identified as villas or generic surfaces scatters, provided ARS finds (Corsi 2000)[3]. The identified types range from the late 1st / 2nd century AD (Hayes 8 A) to the mid-to-late 6th century AD (Hayes 99A; Hayes 103B; Hayes 91C). A relevant number of specimens can be referred to types dating to the 4th and 5th century AD, notably to the forms Hayes 61A, 80 and 91. 6th century types are present and far from rare, but no form dating to the late 6th century and beyond is reported. Apparently, the flux of ARS was constant over the course of 5th century AD and went off over the course of the 6th. Finally, some unpublished archive

[1] Tuscania: unspecified fragments; *Ferentum*: sherds of fabric A, C, D, with forms Hayes 8 and 80; *Musarna*: Jolivet illustrates selected specimens of form Hayes 8, Hayes 27, Hayes 73, Bonifay sigillée type 62 jug; Batigne-Vallet mentions a Hayes 99 bowl.

[2] Hayes 3B, 8A (4 specimens), Hayes 9A (7 sp.), Hayes 52, Hayes 53B (3 sp.), Hayes 59, Hayes 61A, Hayes 63, Hayes 70 (3 sp.), Hayes 73, Hayes 76, Hayes 80-81 (2 sp.), Hayes 82, Hayes 91A-B (4 sp.), Hayes 91 C (2 sp.), Hayes 94, Hayes 96 (2 sp.); Hayes 103; Hayes 99D (80B/99).

[3] The forms are identified only by form number and not illustrated, sometimes omitting relevant variants. Site 40: sherds of fabric A, C, D and forms Hayes 50 A, 61 A, 91 A/B, 93 B, 103 B. Site 42: sherds of fabric A, C, D and forms Hayes 67, 80, 91. Site 56: sherds of fabric A, C, D and forms Hayes 50 A/B, 59, 61 A, 61 B, 80, 91, 99 A. Site 80: sherds of fabric A, form Hayes 8. Site 88: sherds of fabric A, C, D, forms Hayes 9A, 44 (2 sp.), 52 A, 60, 61 A, 91 C. Site 98: sherds of fabric C and D, Hayes 91. Site 108: sherds of fabric C. Site 132: sherds of fabric A, C, D, form Hayes 8. Site 133: sherds of fabric A and C, forms Hayes 8 A and 50 A. Site 148: sherds of fabric A, C, D. Site 154: sherds of fabric A, forms Hayes 8 A and 9 A. Sherd number is never stated. Unspecified and unquantified ARS finds are also reported for the landing of *Martanum*.

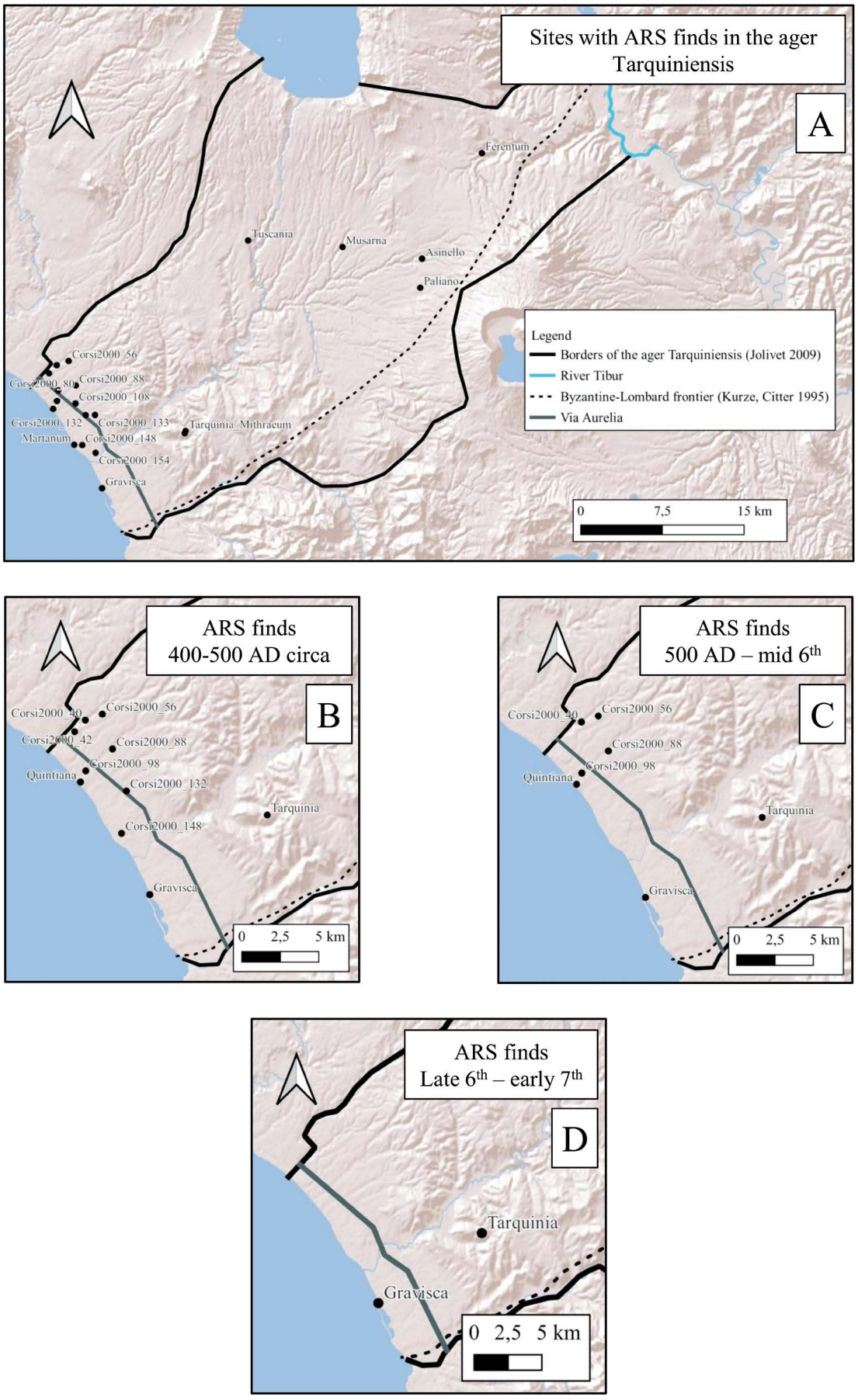


Fig. 7. ARS in the *ager Tarquiniensis*. A) Sites with ARS in the *ager*. B-C-D) Transformations of the distribution patterns over time.

data on ARS finds from surveys between Gravisca and the Mignone river are reported by Maggiore (2022: 67, fig. 18, sites 20, 21 and 22)[4].

6. ARS distribution during the Late Antiquity

Data from the city of Tarquinia and its *ager* allow to preliminarily define the local ARS circulation patterns in Late Antiquity, and to consider them in the light of large-scale distribution trends and to the major historical events involving the region. It is likely that most of the ARS landed in local ports, as *Graviscae*, or minor landings, such as the *Quintiana positio* or *Martanum*, all recorded by the *Itinerarium Maritimum,* which have all provided ARS finds. From there, ARS was distributed in the interior along the local road system and reached consuming sites as Tarquinia, the coastal rural settlements or the minor cities of the inland area. All these areas have provided ARS dating to the 5th century AD, and 6th century types are also quite diffused. A second directory was probably the one depending on riverine trade along the Tibur (Zuddas 2014). ARS and amphorae from Seripola near Orte (VT) testify the activity of this port, but the latest forms reported there are dated to the 5th century AD (Colelli and Lupi 2006).

6th century types are reported in Tarquinia, *Gravisca, Quintiana, Musarna* and in the rural sites of Asinello and of the Corsi survey. Apparently, apart from quantitative issues, the local ARS distribution network remained quite stable under Gothic rule, until the war of 535-553 AD. Even if the neighbour city of *Centumcellae* was besieged and taken many times, the sources do not mention any major event involving Tarquinia and its territory. However, most of the 6th century ARS from the *ager* consists of forms dating to the first half of the century or its central decades, pointing to the fact that ARS circulation became gradually rarer after the war, contextually with the decay of villas. Soon after the end of the war, the Lombards invaded Italy in 568 AD. Tarquinia was not immediately conquered but, even if by the late 6th century the area was organised as a well-defended frontier, it was eventually captured by the Lombards. The treaty of 592-3AD between pope Gregorius and king Agilulfus set the Byzantine-Lombard frontier on the river Mignone (Kurze and Citter 1995: 167-169).

On a local scale (**fig. 7 B-C-D**), we can observe that ARS was common during the first half and the central years of the 6th century, but types typical of the second half of the 6th / early 7th centuries are currently reported only in *Gravisca* and Tarquinia (Hayes 87/109 and Hayes 99C), and later in Cazzanello/*Quintiana* (Hayes 99D). Even though the presence of some Hayes 91C bowls in rural settlements could mitigate this conclusion, it seems that, before coming to an end chronologically close to the Lombard conquest, ARS imports were restricted to the most relevant urban sites. 7th century ARS is completely absent in Tarquinia and *Gravisca* and, besides the Hayes 99D bowl from Cazzanello, it is rare in the whole *Tuscia Langobardorum*.

Relating historical facts, ceramic data and commercial trends is always venturing on a perilous ground. Previous studies (Tortorella 1998; Zanini 1998) agree that these events, combined with the ongoing transformations of settlement patterns, had an evident impact on large-scale trade networks, leading to the progressive exclusion or marginalisation of Lombard-controlled areas from Mediterranean markets, whilst more recent developments of the research suggest that political border had a limited influence on the distribution of goods due to the existence of a free market and to the continuity of trade relations even after the Lombard conquest of many regions (Vera 2010; Bernal and Bonifay 2010: 61-62). Coming to local data, ARS types dating to the 7th century are reported in Civitavecchia, south of the Mignone frontier. Excavations in the Forte Michelangelo near the Roman port of *Centumcellae* provided a significant ARS assemblage including 7th century types such as Hayes 105, 109 and 99D (Caruso and Vaudo 2006: 118-119), and a Hayes 109 dish is also reported in the settlement on the Castellina hill (Dominguez Arranz 2011: 749, fig. 167). By this date, Tarquinia and *Graviscae* were apparently no longer supplied with ARS, whilst the isolated 7th century presence in Cazzanello suggests that, after this date, local ARS circulation networks were completely redefined, and the circulation of the ware was restricted to few coastal or relevant sites (Vaccaro 2011).

7. Conclusions

The finds from the domus "of the Mithraeum" in Tarquinia provided the very first data about ARS consumption in one of the major cities of South Etruria. They were analysed together with those from other sites of its *ager,* providing a survey of the evidence from both the city and its territory. Available data allow to focus on a smaller area with a significant concentration of published finds. Some final remarks are to be pointed out:

- The domus provided a significant amount of ARS vessels. According to this evidence, ARS imports seem to begin by the late 1st century AD, with high numbers between the 2nd and the 4th century AD. From the 5th century AD, the presence of ARS begins to drop and remains low but stable during the 6th century AD, until imports cease by the end of the century or the early 7th century AD. Though the consumption trends of the domus are largely biased by the ways of formation of the richest ARS-bearing layers, these finds define Tarquinia as a vital city.

- An insight on ARS distribution in the *ager Tarquiniensis* is possible only for the coastal region. Both Tarquinia and *Gravisca* had a continuous ARS supply until imports ended by the late 6th – early 7th century. ARS is common in the coastal rural sites as well as in the inland ones until the mid-6th century, disappearing afterwards. It seems that, although the early-to-mid 6th century ARS supply was low in numbers, it still had a good distribution.

[4] Site 20: Hayes 91A, 99B; Site 21: Hayes 73A, 91A, 94; Site 22: Hayes 67, 91, 99B.

- ARS imports show that both the cities of Tarquinia and *Gravisca* were consuming centres connected to the Mediterranean trade network until the Lombard conquest. Many archaeological aspects of this period are still to be cleared, and evidence from other pottery classes to be considered, but these new data offer some hints for further reflection. On one hand, ARS data somehow counterbalance the information provided by 5th and 6th century historical sources suggesting the decadence of both centres by pointing out their vitality and their role as consuming centres. On the other hand, the decrease and the end of ARS imports seems to be coincident with the aftermath of the Gothic War and the Lombard conquest of the region, which led to the slow reshaping of the city to a lesser settlement in the early Middle Ages.

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Carlota Bassoli & Alessia Contino

ALLE PENDICI DEL MONTE TESTACCIO (ROMA): IL CONTESTO DI VIA GALVANI 40

The investigated area is located in a basement of the one of many caves identified at the foot of Monte dei Cocci, excavated starting from the second half of the 17th century and used for storing wine. The investigation, which identified a part of the ancient slopes of the mountain, involved the systematic collection of all the fragments on which a selection was subsequently carried out. In total, 3185 ceramic fragments were collected and classified, mostly transport containers. The most quantitatively represented group of amphorae is coming from Baetica and Tarraconense, the second most represented group is the oriental production, coming mainly from the Aegean. The context has yelded 10 stamps and 8 tituli picti *on Baetican, Tarraconensis, Laietan and Eastern amphorae.*

Amphorae – Rome – Monte Testaccio – epigraphy – pottery

Ll rione Testaccio e il monte dei cocci

L'attuale rione Testaccio è compreso nella più estesa piana subaventina, la distesa alluvionale che occupa lo spazio tra il Tevere, il Colle Aventino, il Foro Boario e le mura aureliane (Le Gall 2005: 5-42). L'area della piana si trovava in antico subito all'esterno delle mura serviane in corrispondenza della *Porta Trigemina*[1]. A partire dal II sec. a.C., e poi tra il I e il II sec. d.C., quando l'antico approdo di Roma presso il Foro Boario divenne insufficiente per i bisogni cittadini, la piana del Testaccio fu destinata alla costruzione di un porto (l'*emporium*), di edifici pubblici e privati per la conservazione e l'immagazzinamento delle merci e, a partire dall'età augustea, di una grande discarica controllata di anfore olearie al servizio dell'Annona statale: il Monte Testaccio o Monte dei Cocci, la collina artificiale compresa tra il Tevere, le mura aureliane, via di Monte Testaccio, via Galvani e via N. Zabaglia, che raggiunge una quota di 44 m s.l.m.

La collina è costituita per la quasi totalità da anfore olearie betiche (80%-85%), seguite da anfore olearie africane (10%), e da anfore orientali e di altra provenienza in minor misura (Rodriguez Almeida 1984: 114; Contino e D'Alessandro 2015: 248-251; Contino 2022: 42-45; Remesal 2022, con bibliografia precedente).

Le nostre conoscenze sulla morfologia, la cronologia e le procedure di accumulo che hanno portato alla costituzione della collina artificiale provengono essenzialmente dai fondamentali studi di H. Dressel iniziati nel 1872, dalle successive ricerche da parte di E. Rodriguez Almeida, a partire dal 1968, e dalle campagne sistematiche di scavo dirette da J. M. Blazquez e J. Remesal, in corso dal 1989 (Rodriguez Almeida 1980; *Estudios* I-VI; Aguilera Martin 2002: 125-217). L'insieme di questi studi, fondato essenzialmente sull'analisi del materiale epigrafico proveniente da saggi eseguiti sul Monte, ha permesso di definire in primo luogo la cronologia e la topografia del monte. La collina si sarebbe formata in tre fasi tra l'età augustea e il III sec d.C. La prima fase, attiva tra l'età augustea e la metà del II d.C., interessò un'area ristretta dando origine ad una prima piattaforma di accumulo definita *primigenia.* Quando la prima piattaforma diede segnali di cedimento ne sorse una seconda, ad ovest di questa, definita *adiecta*, in uso fino all'epoca di Alessandro Severo (222-235 d.C.), le ultime attestazioni risalgono infatti al 224 d.C.

La necessità di disporre al meglio dell'esiguo spazio disponibile in rapporto alla grande quantità di contenitori che giungeva nell'Urbe impose, almeno dal II d.C., una rigida pianificazione nelle attività di smaltimento e quindi un accatastamento ordinato dei frammenti anforari. L'accumulo procedeva attraverso la realizzazione di "muri" di contenimento realizzati con anfore Dressel 20 rotte nella parte inferiore e appesantite con frammenti al loro interno. Alle spalle di questi "muri" venivano scaricati i frammenti fino a ricreare un piano alto circa 60 cm, quindi si procedeva con la costruzione di un nuovo contenimento. Questa modalità determina la struttura a gradoni delle piattaforme.

Con il progressivo venir meno della funzione di centro di ricezione e stoccaggio delle merci e il conseguente abbandono delle strutture, iniziato già nel IV secolo d.C., la piana subaventina perse il suo aspetto originario e tra il VI e il VII secolo fu teatro del progressivo fenomeno di ruralizzazione della città che colpì Roma nella sua interezza.

Anche il Monte perse la sua funzione e subì un processo di rinaturalizzazione delle sue pendici. Rimase tuttavia un elemento distintivo del paesaggio suburbano del Testaccio, fu utilizzato tra l'età medievale e l'età moderna per i giochi del

[1] *XIII Regio:Aventinus extram Portam Trigeminam:* Livio *Ab Urbe Condita*, 35.10.11-12; 35.41.10; 40.51.1-8;41.27.8-9.

Carnevale e per le processioni della *Via crucis*. Tra la fine del '500 e il '600 vennero ricavate alla sua base delle "grotte", depositi di vino, che sfruttavano il particolare microclima (8-10° C) creato dalla circolazione dell'aria all'interno della struttura costituita da frammenti anforacei. Questa riconversione della base del Monte fu strettamente collegata alla presenza intensiva di vigne che sostituirono gli orti sorti in epoca medievale. La prima attestazione delle "grotte" è del 1667 mentre l'ultima concessione pertinente ad esse risale al 1685. Nel 1695 l'architetto Fontana per incarico del Comune eseguì "la pianta del Monte Testaccio, come presentemente si trova con tutte le grotte esistenti nelle radici di esso", tale data segna quindi la definitiva strutturazione del sistema di cantine che ancora oggi cingono il Monte, trasformate in locali notturni e di ristorazione (Orano 1912: 38; Rodriguez Almeida 1980: 131; 1984: 131-134; Aguilera Martin 2002: 143-147; Ancona e Contino 2007).

AC

Area d'indagine: via Galvani 40

L'area delle indagini corrisponde a un locale seminterrato, all'interno di una delle "grotte" del Monte Testaccio, realizzate come precedentemente illustrato per la conservazione del vino e delle derrate alimentari, a cui si accede tramite tre gradini, posto a ca. - 1,30 m. dal piano stradale. La particolarità di queste strutture consiste nell'essere ricavate interamente nelle pendici del Monte e presentare una facciata costruita. Tale tipologia costruttiva comporta che i piani pavimentali e le pareti di fondo si trovino direttamente a contatto con i livelli archeologici del Monte.

In occasione di lavori di ristrutturazione dell'edificio la Soprintendenza ha richiesto di effettuare saggi di verifica al di sotto della pavimentazione attuale e sui setti murari conservati all'interno di due teche pavimentali coperte in vetro (Bassoli e Contino in c.s.). Di particolare interesse si è rivelato il saggio sotto la pavimentazione esistente[2] (**fig. 1, 1-4**).

Il saggio di scavo

Il saggio di scavo ha occupato una superficie di 3,72 x 2,71 m. e ha raggiunto una profondità media di -1, 45 m. dalla quota del piano pavimentale.

L'indagine ha permesso di evidenziare due livelli di frequentazione dell'area: il primo relativo a un piano stradale costituito da un selciato irregolare allettato direttamente sullo strato sottostante di terra compattata, la cui costruzione risale plausibilmente agli interventi effettuati alle pendici del Monte a partire dalla seconda metà del '600, come peraltro attestato in altri edifici e aree aperte indagate intorno alla collina artificiale (Canè in c.s.; Fontana in c.s.; Policastro in c.s.) (**fig. 1.1**); il secondo, più antico, corrisponde a uno scarico di materiali ceramici, in particolare anfore, relativo alla formazione del Monte stesso (**fig. 1, 2-4**).

Durante lo scavo del livello di frequentazione più antico sono state distinte due unità stratigrafiche sulla base della frammentarietà dei materiali, una più superficiale caratterizzata da grandi frammenti di pareti di anfore (US 3=4) e una inferiore contraddistinta dalla presenza di frammenti più eterogenei relativi a diverse produzioni di contenitori da trasporto e ceramica di uso comune da cucina e da mensa (US 5). L'unità più superficiale non presenta alcun tipo di preparazione e risulta essere allettata su un sottile strato di terreno compattato, a diretto contatto con l'unità stratigrafica inferiore di terreno e materiali ceramici, rivelatasi molto più antica. Quest'ultima, visibile ai lati del lastricato stradale lungo i lati orientale e occidentale del saggio, non risulta essere stata tagliata dalla messa in opera della pavimentazione. Lo strato è costituito da grossi frammenti di parete di anfora sistemati e allettati in piano privi di legante e presenta uno spessore di ca. 0,35 m, che tende ad assottigliarsi con una leggera pendenza verso il lato orientale del Saggio.

Sotto questo primo livello di frammenti ceramici sono emersi alcuni contenitori tipo Dressel 20 – tra i quali si segnala la presenza di un individuo integro e di altri quattro parzialmente frammentari ma rotti in posto - allineati secondo una direttrice E-W e deposti in posizione semi-orizzontale con il collo verso il basso. Tale sistemazione (US 6) è stata interpretata come uno dei "muri" realizzati con anfore intere come strutture di contenimento per gli scarichi di materiale sulle piattaforme che costituiscono il Monte. Nella parte occidentale del saggio (IA) le anfore rinvenute presentano un notevole stato di conservazione: degna di nota, ad esempio, è la funzione "strutturale" della Dressel 20 schiacciata dalla fondazione della volta a botte della cantina (**fig. 1, 3**).

I contenitori presenti in questa parte di saggio sono alloggiati su uno strato di terreno misto a ulteriori pareti e frammenti ceramici (US 5) e non presentano alcun tipo di legante. Dall'altra parte, in corrispondenza dell'area di saggio IB, è stato invece individuato – nella porzione meridionale - uno strato di calce misto a terra tra i contenitori alloggiati e frammentati.

La formazione delle stratigrafie individuate va ricondotta al sistema di smaltimento delle anfore nella discarica, alla realizzazione di muri di contenimento della stessa e all'impiego della calce per sanificare e igienizzare i "vuoti a perdere", come è stato accertato dopo il recupero della Dressel 20 integra dal Saggio I A (*Estudios* II, 2001:11 sgg., tavv. 7-26, figg. 4-5). Il riscontro sul campo di un "ordito" organizzato conferma come sulla formazione del Monte abbiano vigilato dei *curatores*, funzionari pubblici che regolamentavano gli scarichi, garantendo la manutenzione e la massima efficienza.

La possibilità di effettuare l'intervento di scavo è risultata di estrema importanza per la storia ricostruttiva del Monte poiché ha permesso di intercettare livelli già obliterati dalle successive costruzioni, che hanno in buona sostanza asportato parti della collina artificiale alterandone i limiti originari, oggi in parte riconoscibili nello scavo, che dimostra che il fronte del Monte sul lato nord era decisamente più avanzato dell'attuale. Inoltre, tenuto conto della modalità di formazione della collina, ha permesso di individuare livelli normalmente non raggiungibili dai pur numerosi sondaggi effettuati dalle missioni di studio spagnole, che, partendo dalla sommità

[2] Si ringrazia la Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma per aver consentito lo studio dei materiali.



Fig. 1. Via Galvani 40. 1: Area di scavo. Veduta generale. Livelli postantichi; 2: Area di scavo. Veduta generale. Livelli antichi; 3: Area di scavo. Particolare della sezione del riempimento con in evidenza un'anfora Dressel 20 pertinente al muro di contenimento; 4: Area di scavo. Particolare della sezione del riempimento. (foto C. Bassoli)

o dalle pareti del monte, non possono approfondirsi oltre un certo livello e non possono operare all'interno delle "grotte", essendo edifici privati.

I materiali ceramici

Lo scavo ha previsto la raccolta sistematica di tutti i frammenti sui quali successivamente è stata effettuata una selezione che ha comportato una parziale eliminazione dei pezzi più minuti e non assimilabili alle produzioni conosciute. In totale sono stati raccolti e classificati 3185 frr. ceramici oltre a un cospicuo gruppo di frammenti lapidei, laterizi e vetri (ca. 50 frr.).

I frammenti di parete e gli elementi diagnostici sono riconducibili per la maggior parte ad anfore Dressel 20 di produzione betica, ma sono attestate anche altre produzioni anforiche provenienti in particolare dall'Africa e dall'area egea.

Durante la classificazione dei frr. (n. 3185) è risultato assai evidente come il materiale recuperato sia omogeneo e coerente a un dato periodo storico collocato tra l'età flavia e l'età traianea, tra la seconda metà del I sec. d.C. e la prima metà del II sec. d.C. Pochissimi infatti sono i frammenti che possiamo considerare residuali nel contesto, ascrivibili in particolare al periodo giulio-claudio: ci si riferisce in particolare a forme di contenitori da trasporto di tradizione neo-punica la cui presenza si attesta in contesti cronologicamente databili all'età tardo-augustea (Rizzo 2003: Tav. XXXIII, n. 159) e a forme ceramiche di sigillata italica tipiche dell'epoca giulio-claudia e neroniana in particolare.

I contenitori da trasporto

La maggioranza dei contenitori si riferisce a produzioni provenienti dalla Betica e relative ai contenitori adibiti al trasporto dell'olio e del *garum*, rispettivamente identificati con i tipi Dressel 20 e Dressel 14.

L'esame di tali contenitori conferma le conoscenze sugli arrivi a Roma di derrate alimentari in epoca flavia e traiana-antonina (Rizzo 2003: tab. 27a-b-c, 29, 30a-b). Si registra innanzi tutto una consistente presenza di contenitori (e quindi di prodotti) ispanici – quasi esclusivamente oleari – le cui attestazioni sono seguite da quelli provenienti dall'area egea e poi africana. Non si deve però dimenticare che, nel caso specifico, la netta preponderanza di importazioni betiche è strettamente connessa con la natura stessa del Monte, destinato ad accogliere esclusivamente i vuoti delle distribuzioni annonarie di olio.

Nel panorama dei materiali rinvenuti le produzioni italiche risultano marginali con un indice di attestazione (relativo al numero di frammenti) leggermente superiore ai prodotti gallici.

Tale situazione, quindi, ci spinge a propendere per una datazione del contesto agli inizi del II secolo d.C., quando le importazioni ispaniche riescono a superare, almeno in ambito urbano, le produzioni della penisola (Rizzo 2003: 139).

Nel conteggio dei materiali provenienti da contesto le anfore betiche risultano in chiara predominanza (ca. il 67% delle attestazioni). I contenitori rinvenuti, integri e frammentari, possono inquadrarsi nei tipi Dressel 20 B-D, prodotti e diffusi tra il periodo neroniano e quello traianeo. Si tratta di anfore della capacità di ca. l. 70 e di un peso a vuoto di ca. kg. 30 che si caratterizzano per un collo allungato, un orlo rientrante e una pancia globulare più o meno allungata e/o espansa (Martin-Kilcher 1987; Berni 2008: 60, 61; 2017: 186-187; Berni e Garcia Vargas 2016). Sono attestati inoltre i contenitori da trasporto Beltran IIB, Dressel 14, Dressel 7-11, Dressel 2-4.

I contenitori ascrivibili all'area egea e microasiatica costituiscono un gruppo importante, con un minimo di 50 esemplari rappresentano il 15% delle attestazioni complessive. Il dato probabilmente da sottolineare è che si tratta di contenitori adibiti al trasporto del vino e che troviamo in notevole quantità a Roma soprattutto in contesti del tardo I d.C. Per questo gruppo di contenitori è stato possibile proporre l'attribuzione all'area Rodia, Cretese e Cnidia: con attestazioni della Perea rodia testimoniata da diversi esemplari riconducibili al tipo Camulodunum 184; con esemplari della Cretese 4 e Cretese 1 che dominano la scena del contesto, in particolare, quest'ultimo contenitore è ben documentato (3% delle attestazioni complessive). Da segnalare anche la presenza del tipo Agora F65-F66, una piccola anfora ovoidale con un'apertura stretta e una piccola ansa curva che si ascrive a un orizzonte cronologico piuttosto ampio che va dalla tarda età augustea al III sec. d.C.

Con il 6% delle attestazioni complessive troviamo i contenitori di produzione italica (con un minimo di 13 esemplari) tra cui predomina la Dressel 2-4 (5 ess.) con labbro pronunciato e ingrossato, variamente sagomato alla base e nel punto di contatto con il collo, che potrebbe caratterizzare la fase più tarda della produzione delle Dressel 2-4 italiche (Rizzo 2003: 160-162).

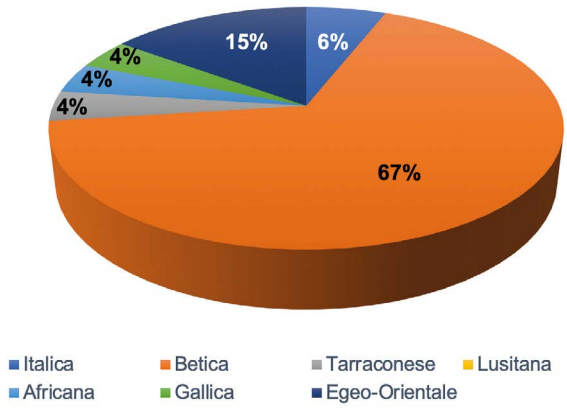


Fig. 2. Via Galvani 40. Contenitori da trasporto. Produzioni attestate

Infine, sono rappresentate in egual modo con il 4% delle attestazioni complessive i tipi di provenienza Tripolitana (Tripolitana I) Africana (Africana I) e Gallica (Gauloise 4), che contribuiscono a definire la cronologia del contesto all'età tardo flavia-traianea (per le tipologie dei contenitori da trasporto si veda: Bertoldi 2011 con bibliografia precedente) (**fig. 2**).

CB

Catalogo[3]

Materiale epigrafico

Sono stati individuati 10 bolli, 7 dei quali su ansa di Dressel 20 di età compresa tra il regno di Nerone e il regno di Traiano, 2 su fondo di anfora Dressel 2-4 e 1 su fondo di anfora non identificata probabilmente di produzione orientale (**fig. 3; Tab. 1**).

È stato possibile individuare inoltre alcuni *tituli picti*: 5 su anfore Dressel 20, 1 su anfora Beltran IIB, 1 su anfora Dressel 2 Laietana e 1 su anfora orientale non identificata (**fig. 4; Tab. 2**).

Per quanto riguarda il gruppo delle Dressel 20, importanti informazioni si ricavano dai bolli ritrovati su anse frammentarie, dai graffiti e dai *tituli picti* riscontrati su diverse pareti ed in particolare dal *titulus pictus* individuato sul collo dell'anfora integra. Tracciati in parti diverse dell'anfora, tali "iscrizioni" corrispondono ad una sorta di moderna bolla di accompagnamento e offrono informazioni circa il peso dell'anfora vuota (*titulus gamma)* e del contenuto (*titulus alpha*), nonché i *tria nomina* dei *mercatores* (*titulus beta*). Segue il controllo fiscale con la menzione del luogo di spedizione, il nome dell'olio e del produttore, la datazione consolare e il nome di chi effettua il controllo (*titulus delta*). L'ultima cifra è forse relativa al numero di partita o di immagazzinamento (Remesal Rodríguez 2004: 143-145; 2008: 130; 2013: 116-117; 2018: 234-235). Meno numerosi sono i graffiti, eseguiti con una punta aguzza sulla creta molle dell'anfora prima della cottura e nei quali si leggono nomi, date, numeri o sigle.

Tutti questi dati giustificano la definizione del Monte come un archivio a cielo aperto, singolare per proporzioni e per tipo di documenti.

Bolli

1. [LC]ANT

L. C. Ant - Directa, *litterae extantibus*, cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 1**).

Datazione incerta.

Una versione leggermente differente della marca è attestata sul Monte Testaccio e datata al 160-161 d.C.

[3] Gli autori ringraziano sentitamente Piero Berni Millet per l'aiuto prezioso nella lettura dei *tituli* e per i fondamentali suggerimenti sul materiale epigrafico.

Il nostro esemplare riporta probabilmente, in accordo con la datazione stratigrafica, una forma precedente del bollo, priva di legatura fra le lettere N e T. Lo stesso bollo è attestato tra gli altri anche sul *limes* a Mainz (Blázquez, Remesal e Rodríguez Almeida 1994: n. 241a; Remesal 1994: n. 241a; Étienne e Mayet 2004: n. 216b; CEIPAC 06003; Ehmig 2007: T.34.2543; CEIPAC 27578).

Su base paleografica potrebbe anche trattarsi del bollo LCANT ROMANI(palma) rinvenuto sul relitto Culip IV datato ad età vespasianea (Berni 2017: n. 151).



Fig. 3. Via Galvani 40. Bolli su contenitore da trasporto Via Galvani 40. Bolli su contenitore da trasporto.

2. C.AN^TON[---]

C. Anton (*i Quieti)* - Directa, *litterae extantibus*, cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 2**).

70 -110 d.C.

Il bollo è attestato nei contesti del Campo Testaccio (Moro et al. in c.s.). La marca è presente negli atelier del distretto di *Hispalis* ed in particolare ad Alcolea del Rio e a *Corduba* nell'atelier di Cerro de los Pesebres, datati alla seconda metà del I d.C. Il bollo rinvenuto a Testaccio presenta la legatura del gruppo NT che permette di accostarlo piuttosto alla produzione di *Hispalis* (Berni 2008: 269-270, 453). Il bollo è infine attestato in diversi luoghi lungo il *limes* germanico e in Britannia, tra cui Augst, *Vindolanda e* Carlisle (Berni 2008: 269-270; Ayllón-Martín Pérez González e Remesal: 175, 184; Martin-Kilcher 1987: ST. 14b; Berni 2017: 53k).

3. PECV^LIARI[-]

Peculiari(*s*) - Directa, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 3**).

60-75 d.C.

Il bollo è attestato nel relitto Albufereta I (50-70 d.C.) (Marquez Villora e Molina Vidal 2005: 290, n. 269). Sul database del CEIPAC si propone una provenienza dall'atelier di El Temple (CEIPAC 24049), dove sono presenti bolli di età flavia di *Marius Silvanus* e PECVLIARIS inediti[4].

4. Q.S.P.

Q.S.P. – Directa, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 4**).

50-110 d.C.

Il bollo, abbastanza noto e frequente, è attestato nei contesti del Campo Testaccio (Moro et al. in c.s.), presso gli Horti Torlonia, il Monte dei Cocci e ad Ostia; è stato rinvenuto inoltre nei relitti Culip IV (69-79 d. C.) e Albufereta I (50-70 d.C.) e lungo il *limes* anche ad Augst e a Nijmegen ancora in contesti neroniano-flavi (Dressel 1899: n. 3156a; Callender 1965: n. 1504; Étienne e Mayet 2004: n. 1052 e-j; Martin-Kilcher 1987: ST. 103b; CEIPAC 4092-4094-29461-29463).

5. Q.CA^LM.M^A^R.S[-]

Q.Calm.Mar.S(*i*) - Directa, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 5**).

50-80 d. C.

Il bollo non si rinviene a Testaccio. La marca è presente in diversi territori del *limes* tra cui Augst, Vindonissa, Mainz, Weisbaden, Nijmegen e in Britannia. A partire dalla datazione nel contesto di Augst (50-70 d.C.) (Martin-Kilcher 1987: ST 34) e Nijmegen-Kops Plateau (Berni 2017: n. 77), la marca si può collocare cronologicamente tra l'età di Nerone e la dinastia flavia. Il *tria nomina* individua probabilmente un predecessore del personaggio che diede il suo nome alla *figlina Marsianensia,* operante presso Casa de Mingaobez, largamente attestata sul monte Testaccio nel III sec. d.C. (Carreras e Funari 1998: n. 137 a1; CEIPAC 15834; Ehmig 2003: n. 55, 2; CEIPAC 18951; Berni 2017, 289-343, n. 77. a.; CEIPAC 42195)

6. SCA^L^ENSIA ACCI

Scalensia Acci - Directa, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 6**).

Età flavia.

Il bollo non sembra essere attestato a Testaccio. La marca con l'indicazione della *figlina* e del *Cognomen*, è attestata

Luogo di repererimento specifico: via Galvani 40. BOLLI IDENTIFICATI													
Cat.	**US**	**Forma**	**Posiz.**	**Trascrizione**	**Lettura**	**Figlinae/ Fundi**	**Cronologia**	**Tipo**	**Direzione testo**	**Rilievo lettere**	**Referenza di base**	**Fig.**	**N. Bolli**
1	5	Simplex	In ansa	[LC]ANT	*L C.Ant*		70-80 d.C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus	Ceipac 06003	3.1	1
2	3	Simplex	In ansa	C.ANTON [--]	*C. Antoni Quieti*	*Hispalis,* Alcolea del Rio	70-110 d.C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus	Berni 2008: 269-270	3.2	1
3	5	Simplex	In ansa	PECULIARIS	*Peculiaris*		60-75 d.C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus	Ceipac 24049	3.3	1
4	5	Simplex	In ansa	Q.S.P.	*Q. S. P.*		50-110 d.C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus	Ceipac 24622	3.4	1
5	5	Simplex	In ansa	Q.CAL.MAR.SI	*Q. Cal. Mar. Si*		50-80 d.C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus	Ceipac 18951	3.5	1
6	5	Simplex	In ansa	SCALENSIA AC(CI)	*Scalensia Acci*	*Astigi,* Cerro delos Pesebres	70-100 d. C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus		3.6	1
7	extra contesto	Simplex	In ansa	EXPEDITI	*Expediti*	*Hispalis*, La Catria	50- 70 d.C.	Dr. 20	Directa	Extantibus	Ceipac 42202	3.7	1
8	5	Simplex	In pede	MAR[-]X	*Marax*		60-100 d.C.	Dr. 2-4	Directa	Extantibus		3.8	1
9	5	Circola-re	In pede	C.PA (ramus palmae) + graffito ante cocturam V R	*C. Pa (ramus Palmae) + v r*		40-80 d.C.	Dr. 2-4	Retro	Extantibus		3.9	1
10	5	Simplex	In pede	AIΦ[---]			GRECO(?)	non ident.	Retro	Extantibus		3.10	1
Totale bolli													**9**

Tab. 1. Via Galvani 40. Bolli.

[4] Si ringraziano per la notizia P. Berni Millet e J. Moros.

nel distretto di *Corduba* e in particolare nell'atelier di Cerro de los Pesebres. L'associazione tra la *figlina* e il *cognomen* ACCI si data generalmente ad epoca flavia (Berni 2008: 454).

7. EXPEDITI

EXPEDITI - Directa, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 7**).

Metà I d.C.

Il bollo trovato fuori strato, nell'area esterna immediatamente limitrofa all'area di scavo lungo via Galvani, è attestato nell'atelier di La Catria nel distretto di *Hispalis*. Tra gli altri è attestato a *Cambodunum* (Kempten, Germania) e Nijmegen presso il Kops Plateau. Per la collocazione presso l'accampamento in un contesto anteriore alla rivolta batava, la marca si può datare agli anni finali del regno di Nerone (Berni 2017: 289-343, n. 90; CEIPAC 42202; Schimmer 2009: n. 137, n. 613).

8. C.PA ((*ramus palmae*)) + graffito *ante cocturam* V^R

C. Pa - Retrogrado, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio circolare (**fig. 3, 8**).

Bollo circolare impresso tre volte sul puntale di Dressel 2 laietana.

Il bollo è già noto anche se con disegno differente e cartiglio rettangolare nell'atelier di Can Tintorer (Baix Llobregat), nella zona dell'antica Barcino (Barcelona), e si accorda con la tipologia e produzione dell'anfora, il cui contenuto doveva essere vino prodotto nella Laietana occidentale (Berni e Carreras 2013: n. 89). Presenta inoltre un graffito *ante cocturam* inciso sul puntale rovesciato, con le lettere V e R in legatura.

9. M^A^R[-]X

Mar(a)x - Directa, *litterae extantibus,* cartiglio rettangolare (**fig. 3, 9**).

Il bollo su fondo di anfora Dressel 2-4 diretto in cartiglio rettangolare si integra con MARAX. Forme forse abbreviate in MAR sono attestate su alcuni bolli presenti sulla stessa tipologia di anfore di produzione tarraconense (Berni e Mirò 2020: 141, f.6.22; CEIPAC 52223; Contino et al. 2013: 338-339; CEIPAC 39809).

10. AIΘ

Aιθ - Retrograda, *Litterae Extantibus* (**fig. 3, 10**).

La marca è realizzata sul piede di un'anfora orientale non identificabile.

Tituli

***Tituli* su Dressel 20**

***Tituli picti* Gamma – Indicazioni del peso della tara**

11. CLXXIII o CLXXIIIḶ (**fig. 4, 11**).

12. CLXXXII o CLXXXIIIḶ (**fig. 4, 12**).

Dal punto di vista compositivo i due *tituli* gamma ben si inseriscono nella tipologia di rappresentazione della cifra di età flavia come appare chiaro dal confronto con altri *tituli* provenienti tra gli altri da Pompei (Della Corte 1952: 9611) e Villa Ludovisi (CIL XV-2 3652). Tuttavia simili *tituli* sembrano apparire anche nel relitto di Albufereta I, già in età neroniana[5].

Luogo di reperimento specifico: via Galvani 40. TITULI									
Cat.	**US**	**Posizione**	**Trascrizione**	**Lettura bollo**	**Cronologia**	**Tipo**	**Referenza di base**	**Fig.**	**N. Tituli**
11	3	gamma	CLXXIII o CLXXIIIḶ		età neroniano flavia	Dr. 20	Della Corte 1952, 9611; CIL XV -2, 3652; Marquez Villora and Molina Vidal 2005	4.11	1
12	5	gamma	CLXXXII o CLXXXIIIḶ		età neroniano flavia	Dr. 20	Della Corte 1952, 9611; CIL XV -2, 3652; Marquez Villora and Molina Vidal 2005	4.12	1
13	5	beta	[- -]ụli Decum[-]	[- I]ụli Decum[i]	metà II d. C. (?)	Dr. 20	CIL XV-2 3702, 4397	4.13	1
14	3	delta	[---------] Gallioni[---]		non databile	Dr. 20		4.14	1
15	5	B-F	a) [------]o b) [------]i · Vet(--) · c) [---]rp(---) aut [-]R(---)P(---) d) CELLA[---]		I d.C.	Beltrán II b		4.15	1
16	5	collo/ spalla	a) Am(ineum) II[--] b) [---]+++[---]	a) Am(ineum) II[II]	non databile	indeter.		4.16	1
17	5	spalla	[- ·] C(---) · Q(---).		non databile	indeter.		4.17	1
18	3	collo/ spalla	a) [-------] b) [-------] c) [--]λωγ d) [-------]		non databile	indeter.		4.18	1
Totale Tituli									**8**

Tab. 1. Via Galvani 40. Tituli.

[5] Si ringrazia P. Berni Millet per la comunicazione su materiale ancora inedito.

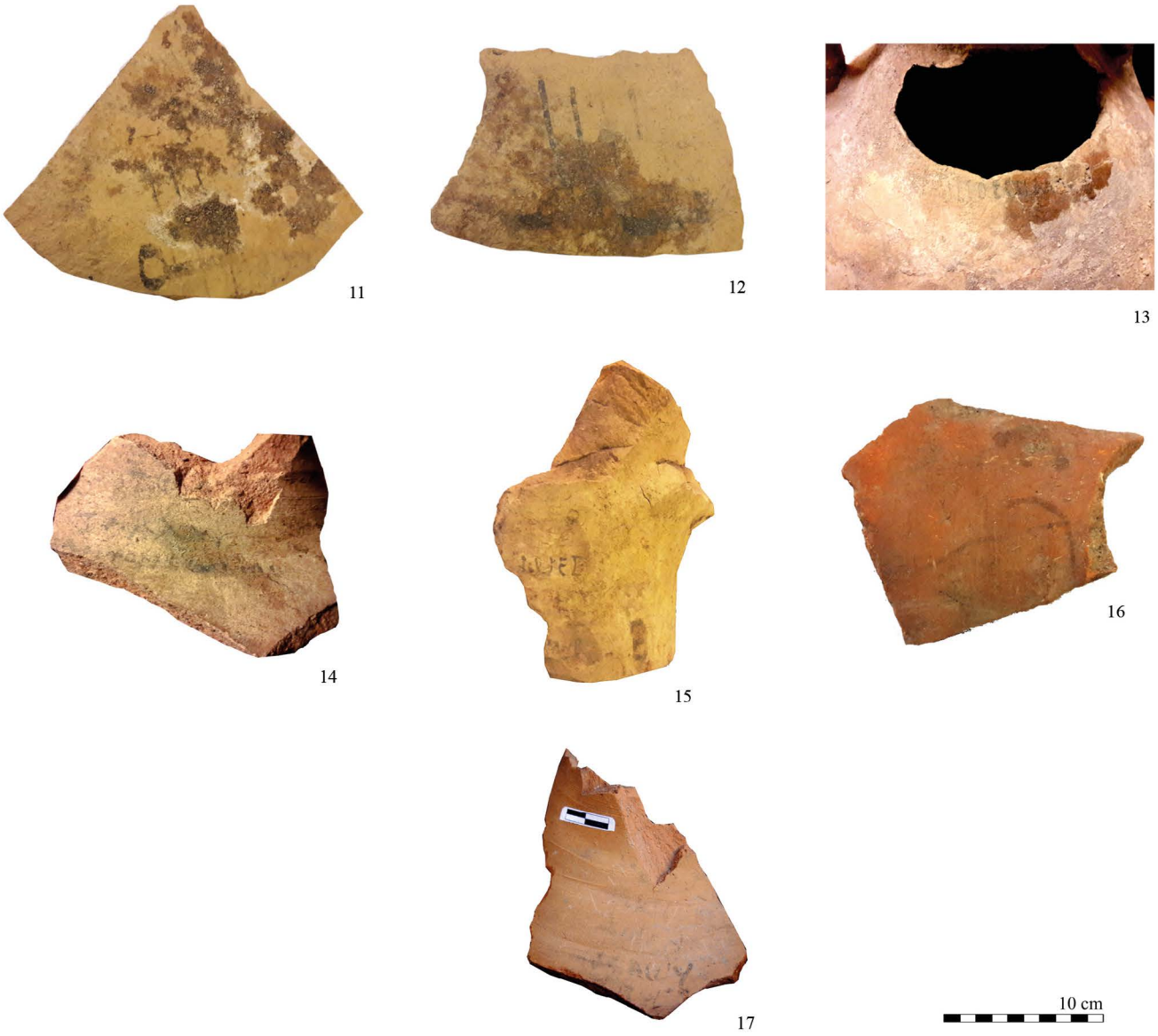


Fig. 4. Via Galvani 40. Bolli su contenitore da trasporto Via Galvani 40. Bolli su contenitore da trasporto.

Titulus pictus* Beta - *mercatores

13. [- I]ụli Decum[i] (**fig. 4, 13**).

È possibile leggere il gentilizio e il *cognomen* del personaggio, attualmente non attestato tra i *mercatores* dell'olio betico. La paleografia permette di collocarlo cronologicamente in età flavia (cfr. con Villa Ludovisi, CIL XV-2 3652)

Benché non ancora attestato nel commercio oleario il *cognomen Decumus* è presente su due *tituli* delta della metà del II secolo d.C. (CIL XV-2 3702, 4397).

***Titulus* delta - controllo fiscale**

14. Non leggibile (**fig. 4, 14**).

[---------]

Gallioni[---]

Il *titulus* presenta due linee di scrittura ma è di difficile lettura, forse è possibile ipotizzare il primo nome della seconda linea GALLIONI (?)

***Titulus* su Beltran IIB**

15. Lettura incerta (**fig. 4, 15**).

a) [------]ọ

b) [------]i · Veṭ(--) ·

c) [---]rp(---) aut [-]R(---)P(---)

d) CELLA[---]

Il *titulus* si colloca sul collo tra gli attacchi delle anse, si può identificare con il *titulus* B su 4 linee secondo la lettura di S. Martin-Kilcher (2002), di cui si leggono tre linee superstiti, e con il *titulus* F, trasversale alle altre iscrizioni. La lettura del *titulus* risulta particolarmente complessa per lo stato di conservazione. Alla linea a) è leggibile l'ultima lettera O; sulla linea b) si leggono i Vet. Lo scioglimento in *vet*(*us*) pur plausibile, non è però associato ad anfore che trasportavano salse di pesce. Solo le ultime due lettere della linea c) RP sembrano chiare. Questa iscrizione sembra realizzata con un pennello più spesso e potrebbe essere successiva all'iscrizione iniziale. Per l'iscrizione trasversale d) si propone la lettura CELLA.

***Tituli* su anfore indeterminate**

16. Lettura incerta (**fig. 4, 16**)
a) Am(ineum) II[II]
b) [---]+++[---]

Sulla prima linea il nome del vino e gli anni di invecchiamento. Sulla base dello spazio a disposizione si propone II[II].

17. Lettura incerta. (**fig. 4, 17**)
[- ·] C(---) · Q(---).

Potrebbe trattarsi delle inziali del *tria nomina* separate da un punto.

18. Anfora indeterminata Illeggibile
a) [-------]
b) [-------]
c) [--]λωγ
d) [-------]

e) Titulus in greco su anfora indeterminata, dall'impasto potrebbe trattarsi di un'anfora di produzione cretese.

AC

Conclusioni

L'importanza del contesto presentato, benché esiguo, deriva dal fatto che è stato possibile indagare un settore delle pendici del Monte Testaccio finora poco esplorato, a causa della presenza degli edifici ad esso addossati e dell'impossibilità di giungere a livelli così profondi attraverso i saggi effettuati dalla sommità. Lo scavo ha permesso di documentare la tecnica di accumulo peculiare del Monte, di confermare l'erosione dello stesso sul suo versante nord e di individuare alcune nuove attestazioni nell'ambito dei corredi epigrafici presenti sul Monte Testaccio.

La maggior parte dei bolli rappresentati nel contesto di via Galvani 40 si data tra il 50 e il 100 d.C., per alcuni è possibile individuare gli atelier di provenienza, nei distretti di *Hispalis* e *Corduba,* e attestazioni lungo il *Limes*. Anche da un punto di vista paleografico i bolli possono collocarsi tra l'età neroniana e l'età flavia, episodicamente nell'età traianea.

Per quanto attiene le marche SCALENSIA ACCI, Q.CALM.MAR.S(I), PECVLIA[RIS] e EXPEDITI non è stato possibile al momento recuperare attestazioni in area romana ed in particolare presso il Monte dei cocci e nel Rione Testaccio e rimangono in fase di studio. Il peculiare interesse di tali attestazioni tuttavia risiede nella possibilità di proporre nuove attestazioni proprio in relazione al Monte dei cocci, di cui gli strati individuati fanno evidentemente parte. La possibilità di effettuare uno scavo alla base del Monte permette quindi oggi di individuare 4 nuove attestazioni per le fasi neroniano-flavie della discarica statale.

Per quanto attiene il panorama testaccino si segnala che i bolli CANTONIQVETI e Q.S.P., particolarmente diffusi, sono presenti anche sul sito del Campo Testaccio (Via Zabaglia) (Moro et al. in c.s.). Tali marchi provengono da alcuni accumuli di anfore Dressel 20 individuati nel sito: probabilmente il risultato di scassi moderni provenienti proprio dalla base del Monte e realizzati forse anche in occasione della apertura delle "grotte", poi riversati nel vicino Campo allora occupato dai "Prati del popolo romano". Al contrario non si rileva alcun confronto presso il deposito di Dressel 20 individuato sullo scavo del Nuovo Mercato Testaccio (Coletti e Contino in c.s.).

Anche i *tituli*, di più difficile lettura, possono datarsi per la composizione grafica ad età flavia.

Di particolare interesse è la lettura del *titulus* [- I]ụli Decum[i], che, se corretta, permette di aggiungere un nuovo *mercator* nell'ambito del commercio dell'olio betico.

L'insieme di questi elementi ci restituisce un contesto epigrafico relativamente omogeneo e collocabile nella metà-seconda metà del I d.C. I dati cronologici sono tendenzialmente confermati dall'analisi tipologica dei contesti ceramici, pur evidenziando la presenza di tipi la cui cronologia può prolungarsi almeno fino ad età traianea.

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PRODUCTION TECHNOLOGY AND TRADE OF 4TH–1ST CENTURIES BC COOKING JARS FROM THE PONTINE REGION IN SOUTHERN LAZIO (ITALY)

Previous research conducted as part of the Pontine Region Project in southern Lazio has indicated that 4th–1st centuries BC cooking jars from the low-lying central part of this region were obtained through regional and supra-regional trade networks. Building upon this, the present paper examined cooking jars from three micro-regions within the Pontine region, i.e., the coastal area, the central plain and the foothills of the Lepini Mountains respectively, to reconstruct their production technology and trade networks.
The results indicate that the cooking jars from the three micro-regions occur in six compositions; four seem to have been imported from production areas either from the north (e.g., Rome and Tiber Valley) or from the south (e.g., Bay of Naples), while two compositions might have been produced in the Pontine region. Possible changes in the relative supply of cooking jars are traced and different trade routes to and within the three micro-regions are proposed.

Cooking jars – Production Technology – Trade – Thin Section Petrography – Pontine region (southern Lazio)

Introduction

The Pontine region is situated ca. 60 km south of Rome. It consists of a coastal plain, which is bounded by the Alban Hills and the Lepini and Ausoni Mountains to the north and east, and by the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west and south. The central part of the plain, known as the Pontine marshes, was reclaimed and opened with the construction of the *Via Appia* in the late 4th century BC (De Haas 2017a; Tol et al. 2021a). From then onwards, this area became densely populated with mostly small farms, whereas roadside settlements developed at *Ad Medias* and *Forum Appii* (**fig. 1**).

Preliminary research conducted as part of the Pontine Region Project has indicated that some cooking jars from *Ad Medias* and *Forum Appii*, dated between the 4th and 1st centuries BC, were locally produced, while most jars were obtained through regional and supra-regional trade networks (Borgers et al. 2017). Building upon this, two projects, which are carried out at the Universities of Vienna and Uppsala (by the first and second author respectively), examine cooking jars that have been collected during field surveys in three micro-regions of the study area. These include the coastal area east of *Antium* (Attema, De Haas and Tol 2011; Tol 2012; around present-day Anzio), the low-lying central plain (Tol and De Haas 2017) and the foothills of the Lepini Mountains south of *Norba* (De Haas, Attema and Tol 2012). The objectives of this study are twofold: the first is to identify the composition of the cooking jars, to gain insight in their production technology, and the second objective is to evaluate changes in their relative supply and propose possible trade routes to and within the three micro-regions.

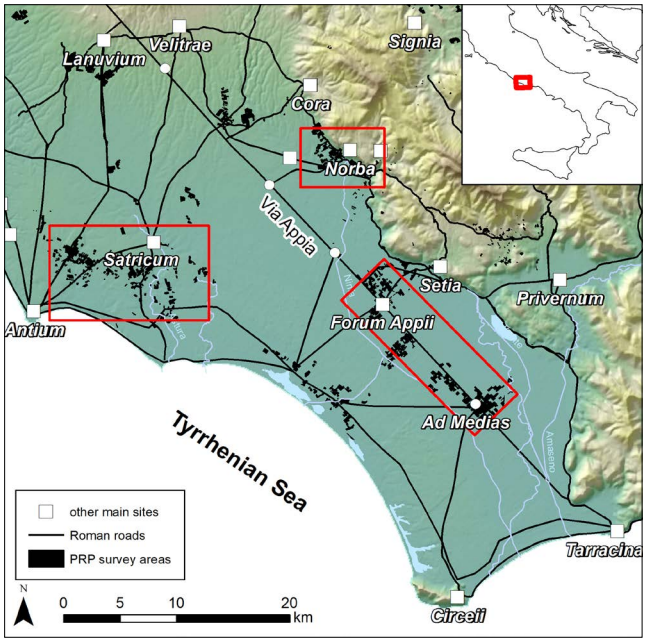


Fig. 1. The Pontine Region in southern Lazio, with indication of main Roman sites and infrastructure and the three micro-regions (in rectangles).

Method

A total of 80 samples of cooking jars (*ollae*), which occur on a wide range of rural sites in the Pontine region (e.g., Tol 2012, chapter 5, site 15106), dated between the 4th and 1st centuries BC, have been selected. They comprise two

types of jars: The first corresponds to Olcese's olla type 2 (Olcese 2003) and is defined by a high collared rim (**fig. 2a**). It occurs in the study region between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Mid-Republican period), and its distribution is mainly confined to Tyrrhenian central Italy. The second type corresponds to Olcese's type 3a (Olcese 2003) and displays an almond-shaped rim (**fig. 2b**). This shape occurs in the region between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (Late Republican period). While very common in central Italy (Olcese 2003), this shape is also found on sites in northwestern Italy, southern Gaul and northeastern Spain (Olcese 1996), perhaps piggybacking on the Late Republican central Italian wine trade as exemplified by the specimens recovered from the La Ciotat 3 wreck (Long, Volpe and Turchiano 2003).

In the first step, sherds were examined in hand specimen (macroscopic observation) and in thin section petrography (microscopic analysis). Using these techniques, it was possible to identify compositional groups or 'fabrics' and reconstruct the production technology, including raw materials (e.g., clay), paste recipe (e.g., temper), forming technique and firing technology (e.g., atmosphere). The interior base and colour of the jars were examined in hand specimen to identify the forming technique (Cuomo di Caprio 2017) and firing technology (Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993). For microscopic analysis, all samples were prepared as standard thin sections. Analysis of the thin sections focused on characteristics of the matrix, inclusions and voids for the identification of the raw materials, paste recipe and firing technology (Quinn 2013).

In the second step, the fabrics were compared with published work (including, e.g., Bertoldi 2011; Borgers 2022; Borgers, Tol and De Haas 2017; Capelli 2016; Thierrin-Michael 2003), to indicate possible areas of origin and infer trade networks of the cooking jars in the Pontine region and southern Lazio more widely. Possible changes in the supply of the cooking jars between the 4th–3rd centuries and the 2nd–1st centuries BC were evaluated to propose possible routes that may have been used to provision cooking jars to the three micro-regions. The results will be presented below.

Results

Macroscopic Analysis

Most cooking jars display spiral rhythmic grooves on the interior base. About half of the samples analysed are defined by a homogeneous reddish colour in hand specimen, indicating that they have been fired in a well-controlled atmosphere. Several other samples display a 'sandwich' colour, defined either by a grey core and reddish rim or by a reddish core and grey rim, while few samples are uniformly grey.

Microscopic Analysis

Six main fabric groups have been identified among the 80 samples studied (**table 1**). The main characteristics of each group will be summarised below.

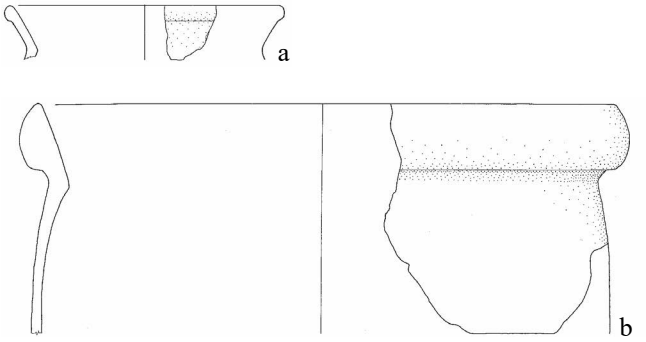


Fig. 2. Cooking jars (*ollae*) of (a) Olcese type 2 with rim diameter measuring 14 cm, and (b) Olcese type 3a with rim diameter measuring 29 cm (Olcese 2003), circulating in the Pontine region between the 4th-1st centuries BC.

With 34 samples (n = 34), Fabric 1 is the largest fabric group. It is defined by dominant sub-angular to rounded clinopyroxene, with common K-feldspar and iron-rich pellets (< 2–3 µm). Some biotite and quartz, as well as rare leucite and chert (<1.50–2 µm), have also been identified. These coarse inclusions comprise between 10 and 30% of the matrix and seem to have been added as temper (**fig. 3a**). Both Olcese types 2 and 3a occur in this fabric. Fabric 1 has also been attested in Rome (Bertoldi 2011; Borgers 2022) and Ostia (Capelli 2016).

Fabric 2 (n = 7) is characterised by coarse quartz, clinopyroxene and K-feldspar, with common chert, biotite, and iron-stained chert. All these inclusions are rounded and comprise ca. 30% of the matrix, indicating that they have been deliberately added (**fig. 3b**). Only Olcese type 2 jars occur in this composition. This fabric shares broad similarities with the composition of the pottery that was produced at *Satricum* (Attema et al. 2003).

Fabric 3 (n = 23) is defined by coarse K-feldspar and quartz, while rare clinopyroxene and plagioclase complete the spectrum of coarse inclusions. As these coarse inclusions comprise ca. 30% of the matrix, they are likely to have been added (**fig. 3c**). Both types of cooking jars occur in this compositional group. Fabric 3 bears similarities to the 'Rome and Tiber Valley Fabric' (Olcese 2003) and has been found in Rome (Thierrin-Michael 2003).

Fabric 4 (n = 2) is defined by a fine fabric, with rare angular sanidine, clinopyroxene and igneous rock fragments. The clay is defined by numerous volcanic glass inclusions. Only Olcese type 3a jars occur in this composition (**fig. 3d**).

	Fabric 1	Fabric 2	Fabric 3	Fabric 4	Fabric 5	Fabric 6	Total
Type 2	26	7	7	0	4	5	49
Type 3a	8	0	16	2	1	4	31
Total	34	7	23	2	5	9	80

Tab. 1. Summary of the 80 samples analysed in thin section petrography and grouped per fabric and type.

To the authors' knowledge, Fabric 4 has not been identified elsewhere. The fabric has been compared with the geological background of the study area and combined with raw materials prospection, permitting to suggest that this fabric might have been produced at or near *Norba* (Borgers et al. 2023).

Fabric 5 (n = 5) is dominated by quartz in two size ranges (between 1.5–3 µm, and > 4 µm), accompanied by few feldspar, clinopyroxene and igneous rock fragments in large sizes up to 17 µm. The inclusions comprise 10 to 15% of the matrix, with the large quartz inclusions likely to have been added as temper (**Fig. 3e**). All the samples have an orange slip. Both Olcese types 2 and 3a cooking jars are present in this group. Based on the inclusions, this fabric likely originates in the central Italian Volcanic Province, extending from the northeast of Rome and the Alban Hills in southern Lazio to the Bay of Naples in Campania (Peña 1992: 97, fig. 4; Verhagen, in prep.).

Fabric 6 (n = 9) is defined by coarse sub-rounded to rounded quartz combined with varying amounts of igneous rock fragments (granite), complemented with K-feldspars. Inclusions vary between 15 and 25% (**fig. 3f**). Both types of cooking jars occur in this fabric. Fabric 6 has similarities to fabrics attested in Rome (Bertoldi 2011) and Vasanello (Peña 1992: 113-114).

Production Technology

The results of the macroscopic and microscopic examination of two types of cooking jars (e.g., Olcese types 2 and 3a)

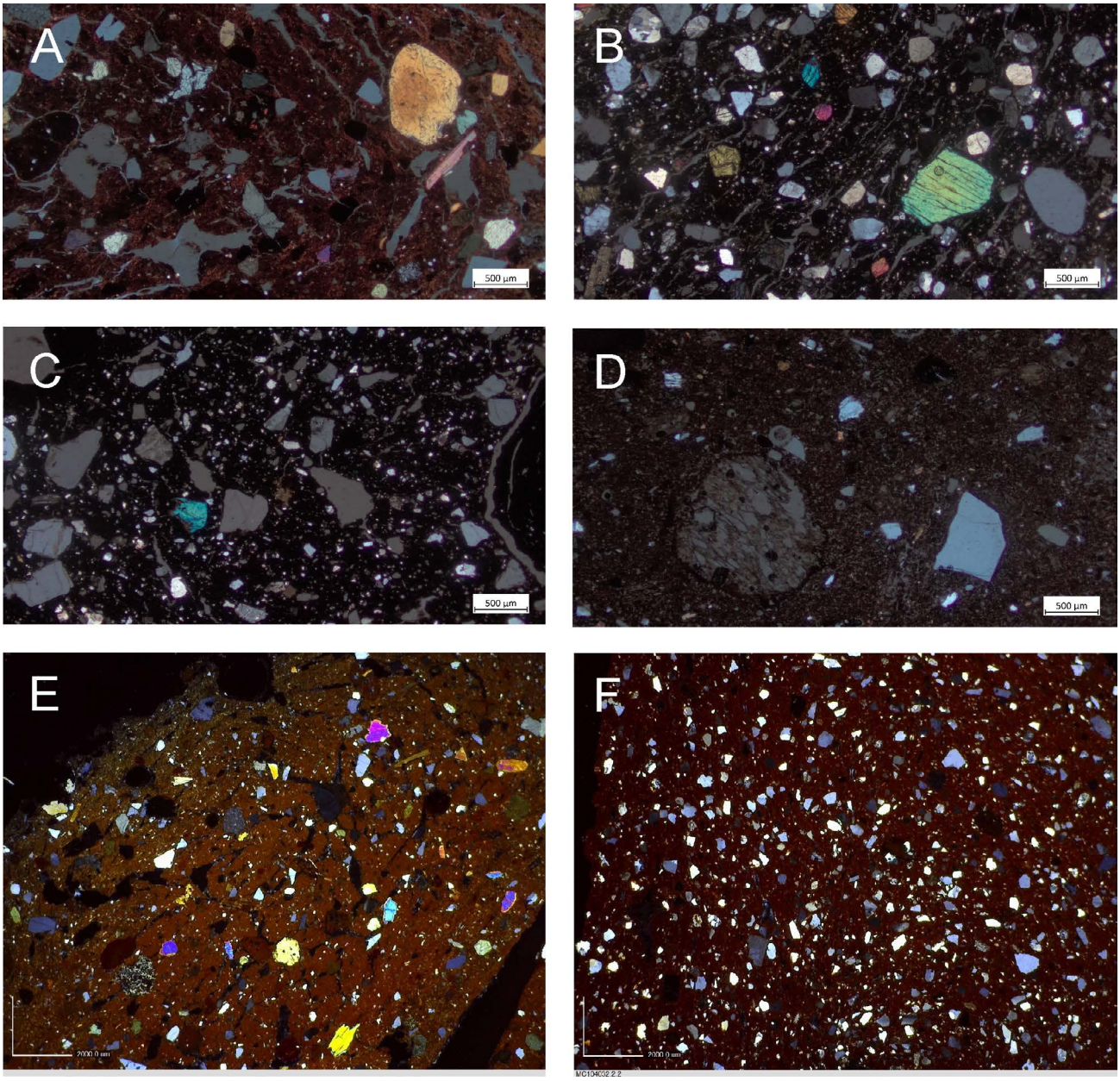


Fig. 3. Thin section micrographs of (A) Fabric 1, (B) Fabric 2, (C) Fabric 3, (D) Fabric 4, (E) Fabric 5 and (F) Fabric 6.

from three micro-regions in the Pontine region indicate that they were produced with a red-firing (iron-rich) clay. The jars were thrown on the fast wheel, as suggested by the spiral grooves on the interior base. The colour of the jars permits to infer aspects of the firing atmosphere. More specifically, jars displaying a homogeneous reddish colour were fired in a well-controlled oxidising atmosphere, while jars with a 'sandwich' colour were fired in an incomplete oxidising atmosphere. Conversely, the jars with a homogeneous grey colour were fired in a reducing atmosphere. The main distinction between the jars, however, lies in the various paste recipes, e.g., the deliberate addition of temper.

Distribution Patterns

Careful study of the fabrics and their occurrence in the three micro-regions permits to confirm previously identified regional and supra-regional distribution networks of both types of cooking jars (Borgers, Tol and De Haas 2017; **table 2**).

Of the 49 samples of Olcese type 2 jars, dated to the Mid-Republican period (4th–3rd century BC), the majority (42 samples) appears to have arrived in the three micro-regions of the Pontine region through supra-regional networks. More specifically, 26 samples belong to Fabric 1, while seven samples belong to Fabric 3, which is thought to belong to the 'Rome and Tiber Valley' Fabric. Both Fabrics 1 and 3 occur in all three micro-regions of the study area. In addition, the four samples of Fabric 5, which has a generic origin within the central Italian Volcanic Province, occur exclusively in the central plain, while the five samples of Fabric 6, which occurs at Vasanello and the Tiber Valley north of Rome, have been identified in the coastal region and the central plain. The seven remaining samples belong to Fabric 2, which might have been produced in the Pontine region, most likely at *Satricum*. This fabric has been found in the coastal region and south of *Norba* (**fig. 4**).

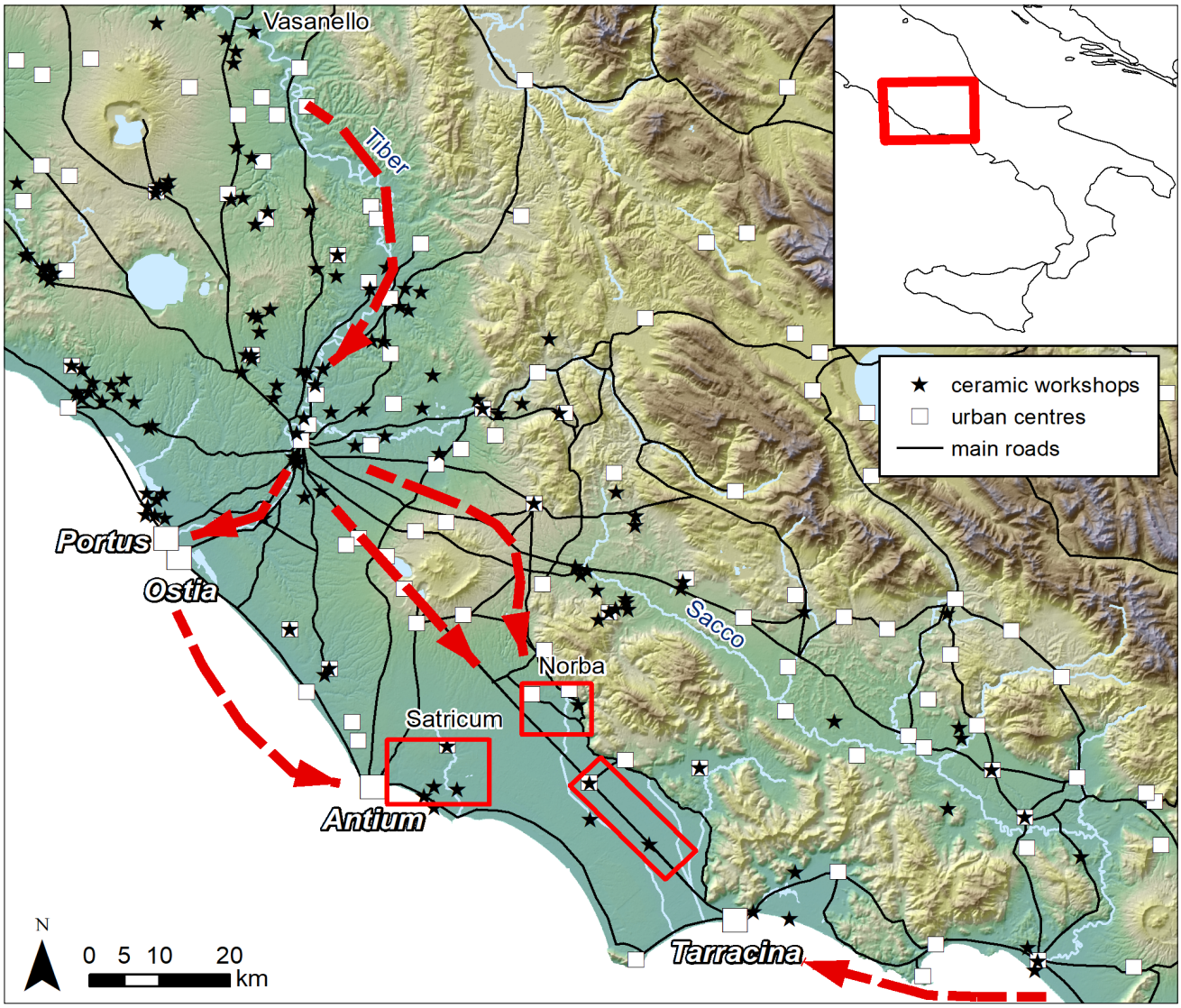


Fig. 4. Map showing the possible trade routes of cooking jars, which circulated in the Pontine region between the 4th-1st centuries BC.

	OLLA TYPE 2			OLLA TYPE 3A		
	coastal area	**central plain**	**Lepini foothills**	**coastal area**	**central plain**	**Lepini foothills**
Fabric 1	1	4	21	3	3	2
Fabric 2	4	0	3	0	0	0
Fabric 3	3	3	1	10	3	3
Fabric 4	0	0	0	0	0	2
Fabric 5	0	4	0	0	1	0
Fabric 6	3	2	0	0	4	0

Tab. 2. Distribution of 4th–1st century BC cooking jars (*ollae*) within the three micro-regions of the Pontine region.

A similar, albeit slightly more complex, picture emerges for the Late Republican period (2nd–1st centuries BC). Of the 31 samples of Olcese type 3a jars, 29 appear to have been imported in the Pontine region. More specifically, eight samples belong to Fabric 1, while 16 samples belong to Fabric 3. Both Fabrics 1 and 3 occur in all three micro-regions of the study area. In addition, 1 fragment belongs to Fabric 5, and 4 samples belong to Fabric 6. Both Fabrics 5 and 6 occur exclusively in the plain during this period. The two remaining samples belong to Fabric 4, which has been identified around *Norba* only and is thought to have been produced at or near this colonial town.

In summary, the supra-regional networks that were in place during the Mid-Republican era continued to exist during the Late Republican period. However, a change in regional networks within the Pontine region seems to have taken place, following on from changes in the activity of production centres. More specifically, pottery production at *Satricum* ceased by the 3rd century BC (Attema et al. 2003). This was followed by the start of ceramic manufacture near *Norba* (Borgers et al. 2023) and by the production of a variant of type 3a cooking jars, defined by a flattened rim and calcite temper, at or near *Ad Medias* in the central plain (Borgers, Tol and De Haas 2018). This variant with calcite temper has not been identified among the 80 samples analysed in this study, hinting at a local imitation of cooking jars that circulated in southern Lazio (Tol and Borgers 2016).

A dense infrastructural network accommodated the distribution of the two types of cooking jars. The import of cooking jars of the 'Rome and the Tiber Valley' fabric and wider central Italian Volcanic Province could have taken place along various routes, both by road and sea. For instance, cooking jars of the 'Rome and the Tiber Valley' fabric may have been transported on the Tiber River and then by road to the Pontine region through the Sacco valley or the *Via Appia*. Alternatively, cooking jars might have arrived in the Pontine region through the ports of Rome (e.g., Ostia) or *Antium*, and then distributed within the area by road. It is tentatively suggested that Fabric 5 was imported from the Bay of Naples in Campania, given its exclusive occurrence in the southernmost central plain (Verhagen in prep.). Cooking jars with this fabric might have been transported by sea and arrived through the port of *Tarracina* (present-day Terracina). The continued use of similar coastal and inland trade routes was recently demonstrated for *terra sigillata* pottery dated to the Early Imperial period (Tol, De Haas and Attema 2021b). For regional trade, a combination of longitudinal routes (e.g., the *Via Pedemontana* and the *Via Appia*) and transversal connections between the Lepini Mountains, the *Via Appia* and coastal area will have accommodated the distribution of the various products between the three micro-regions (**fig. 1**; De Haas 2017b; Tol, De Haas and Attema 2021b).

Acknowledgements

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EASTERN *SIGILLATA* VESSELS FROM THE ROMAN CISTERN AT SPOLETINO (CIVITELLA D'AGLIANO, VITERBO, ITALY)

The paper presents some unpublished Eastern Sigillata vessels (chiefly Eastern Sigillata B) that were uncovered during the excavation of a Roman cistern carried out from 2014 to 2018 at Spoletino (Civitella D'Agliano, Viterbo, Italy), a site in the Middle Tiber valley. The cistern was filled up in two different phases (mid-1st century AD, and mid-4th century AD) with the discarded furnishings of a – not yet identified – villa *located in the vicinity. The occurrence of imported Eastern Mediterranean tableware – even if in a very limited quantity if compared to Italian Sigillata and, for the later phase, to African Red Slip Ware – in an almost remote site is significant. An overall reconsideration of lifestyle in "rural" villas scattered in the Italian countryside can be traced through the analysis of these imported vessels, that were considered as valuable products, and that illustrate the wealth and the long-distance connections of their owners.*

Eastern *Sigillata* – Spoletino (Viterbo, Italy) – Middle Tiber Valley – Roman Villas – Early Imperial Age

Introduction

This contribution aims at presenting a group of unpublished Eastern *Sigillata* vessels (chiefly, but not only ESB) that were uncovered during the excavation of a Roman cistern carried out from 2014 to 2018 in the present day site of Spoletino (Civitella D'Agliano, Viterbo, Italy) in northern Lazio (**fig. 1**)[1]. We are dealing with a rural site, located on the hills sloping gradually towards the Middle Tiber valley, on its western bank. In the Roman period, since the Late Republican age, this region was intensively exploited for agricultural purposes and was dotted with Roman villas, some of which were provided of both the pars urbana and the pars rustica. The results of an intensive survey that was conducted recently (and is still on-going), under the direction of M. Spanu, demonstrated that the occupation of this territory was denser than it was expected, and that a large number of villas no more that 2-3 km apart from one another existed (Spanu 2014; Spanu 2020; Spanu 2021). Much probably this intense agricultural use was aimed at supplying Rome itself that was easily reachable through the fluvial way offered by the Tiber.

Coming to the issue under discussion, the cistern at Spoletino revealed to be a very important archaeological context, and it was certainly connected to a Roman villa located in the vicinity, maybe to the west of the water reservoir (Spanu 2021: 162-166) (**fig. 2**). Unfortunately the remains of the villa were not identified yet, and much probably it was largely destroyed by recent agricultural activities. The open air water reservoir, one of the largest known in a rural context in Latium (14,06 x 42,12 m), was preserved up to an



Fig. 1. Map of the northern province of Viterbo with localisation of Civitella D'Agliano.

[1] The excavation at Spoletino was carried out under the direction of prof. Marcello Spanu, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Roma, Italy, to whom I am grateful for having assigned me the study of Terra *Sigillata*. My deepest gratitude goes also to the staff of the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale (in particular to Maria Letizia Arancio and Olverino Arcangeli) for their collaboration, and to the major of Civitella D'Agliano, Giuseppe Mottura, for his constant support.



Fig. 2. Aerial view of the cistern at Spoletino, from west.



Fig. 3. The Neronian filling of the cistern during excavation.

average height of 1,20 m and was found completely filled up. The filling up – that was made on purpose – occurred in two different chronological phases. The northern portion of the water reservoir, after the building of a transversal wall that divided the cistern into two dissimilar portions, was obliterated in the mid-1st century AD, more precisely in the late Neronian age by a unitary filling occurred almost simultaneously. The filling contained the furnishings of the nearby villa that were thrown more or less complete (**fig. 3**). Among these, pottery, pertaining to all the classes in vogue in that period, was predominant. The southern portion of the cistern was filled up a few centuries later, in the mid-4th century AD. In this latter case the filling was composed not only of pottery, glass and remains of furniture, but also of a large quantity of building materials (such as plaster fragments, bricks, tiles, mosaic tesserae, etc.) and this reveals that the villa was partially or completely dismantled in this moment.

Both the fillings of the water reservoir can be precisely dated by stratigraphic information. The study of the whole context (both of the early Imperial and of the late Imperial phases), encompassing a total of more than 110.000 shards, is on-going: among the represented classes we can include amphorae, fine and coarse wares, cooking wares, Italic, African and Eastern *Sigillata*, thin walled wares, lamps, opus doliare. It is worth underlining that, at the present time, no comparable excavated contexts are known in this area of the Middle Tiber Valley. Therefore the findings from Spoletino are the only clues giving us an overview of the Imperial and Late Imperial situation of this territory, whose location – with a direct and easy connection to Rome itself via the fluvial route – was actually very strategic. During the excavation, all the uncovered pottery fragments were collected, without discarding any undiagnostic piece.

This allows for a thorough and reliable quantification of the presence of Eastern *Sigillata* wares (for an overview on Eastern *Sigillata* see, particularly, Hayes 1985; Hayes 2001; Malfitana 2005; Bes 2015) in this context that represent anyhow a very small percentage if compared with Italian *Terra Sigillata* and, in the later context, with African Red Slip Ware. So, even if tablewares are first and foremost seen as chronological markers, we aim at interpreting them under another perspective as well, as objects that reflect ancient socio-cultural and economic activity.

Eastern *Sigillata* from the Roman Cistern

As far as the Early Imperial filling of the cistern is concerned, only one single dish in Eastern *Sigillata* B1, form Hayes 1, was uncovered (Hayes 1985: 53) (**fig. 4**). The dish was fragmented in 25 pieces, but it is possible to argue that it was almost intact when it was thrown away in the cistern (no. inv. 150). Its bad state of preservation does not allow for the identification of a potential stamp. As, in this period, the competition of high quality native Italian *Terra Sigillata* was unquestionable, a single imported vessel can be considered as an exception of a certain value. It was certainly different – and maybe had different functions – from the abundant services of Italian *Terra Sigillata* found in the same context (the total number

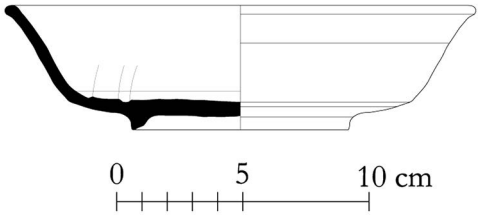


Fig. 4. Dish in Eastern Sigillata B1, form Hayes 1 (n. inv. 150).

of fragments of Italian *Terra Sigillata* found in this context is 2711), attested by morphologically and chronologically associated vessels, sometimes produced in the same centres, many of which located in the Tiber Valley itself.

A more fundamental question entails the presence of this plate in the analysed context that is dated in the late Neronian period. Can it be considered as a "rare" and "old" vessel used in the villa alongside mid-1st century locally produced Italian *Terra Sigillata* ware or must it be considered as residual? If we take into account that a not irrelevant number of potters' marks on Italian *Terra Sigillata* found in the same layers dates also to the Augustan or Tiberian age, the residual nature of the Eastern *Sigillata* B pot looks inconvenient. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, in a rural context as the villa of Spoletino, the life-span of some "valuable" vessels could extend well beyond their production date and that they could have been used for more than one generation.

Turning to the Late Imperial filling of the cistern, where a total of 127 fragments of Eastern *Sigillata* were uncovered, an introductory remark is anyhow necessary. Even if undoubtedly dated to the mid-4th century AD through the analysis of pottery and of a coin struck under Constans I, the layers composing the filling also contained a large quantity of pottery datable mainly to the 2nd or early 3rd century AD. Even if it is not impossible that some of these "old" vessels were still in use, anyhow this hypothesis is not very plausible, as it is hard to conceive that services produced in the 2nd century AD were largely intact so as to be employed in the villa in the early 4th century. It is far more likely that dumps pertaining to various periods (all of which probably connected to the villa) were used to fill up the cistern, when the villa or at least a portion of it were abandoned and demolished. We must then consider these elements as residuals: they include, apart from the Eastern *Sigillata* fragments, amphorae, common wares, Italian *Terra Sigillata* (2265 fragments), African Red Slip Ware (4061 fragments), and African cooking wares (for which see the contribution by Mara Elefante in this same volume).

In the context from Spoletino, among Eastern *Sigillata* vessels, Eastern *Sigillata* B is certainly the prevailing class, as far as quantity and variety of shapes. This is not surprising as this class was the most widespread along the main commercial routes in Italy in the late 1st-mid-2nd century AD (Menchelli and Pasquinucci 2000; Cipriano and Sandrini 2003; Maggi 2007; Dobreva and Griggio 2021: 202-222). The principal identified forms are Hayes 53, 60, 62A, 63, 74B, 75, 78, and 80 (**fig. 5**). These are among the most common forms

produced in Eastern *Sigillata* B that are attested in Italy (see, for instance, their wide presence at Altino, cp. Sandrini 2003, and at Aquileia, cp. Dobreva and Griggio 2021: 202-222). But also Eastern *Sigillata* A and Eastern *Sigillata* C (Çandarlı) are attested, even if in smaller numbers. More or less, all the identified pieces date to the mid-Imperial period (late 1st to early 3rd century AD). It is worth mentioning that NAA analyses are planned on some samples of Eastern *Sigillata* vessels from Spoletino; they will be carried out by Johannes Sterba at the Institute for Atomic and Subatomic Physics of the Vienna University of Technology. The expected results will be significant in order to identify, whenever possible, the exact production sites, and to fill some gaps in our knowledge on minor workshops.

As it is well known, Eastern *Sigillata* B becomes the major terra *sigillata* in the Eastern Mediterranean after the mid-1st century AD (Hayes 2001: 148-149; Malfitana 2002; Bes 2015; cp. Dobreva and Griggio 2021: 190, fig.1), but export to the West was still very limited, and suffered from the competition of Italian *Terra Sigillata* (this happens also in the East). The late 1st and 2nd century witness the further dwindling of Eastern *Sigillata* A and Italian *Terra Sigillata* (for a preliminary study on distribution of Eastern *Sigillata* A in Italy, Malfitana, Poblome and Lund 2005). Both Eastern *Sigillata* B and Eastern *Sigillata* C saw quantities increase in the East and started to be exported to Italy and the Western provinces in the same period.

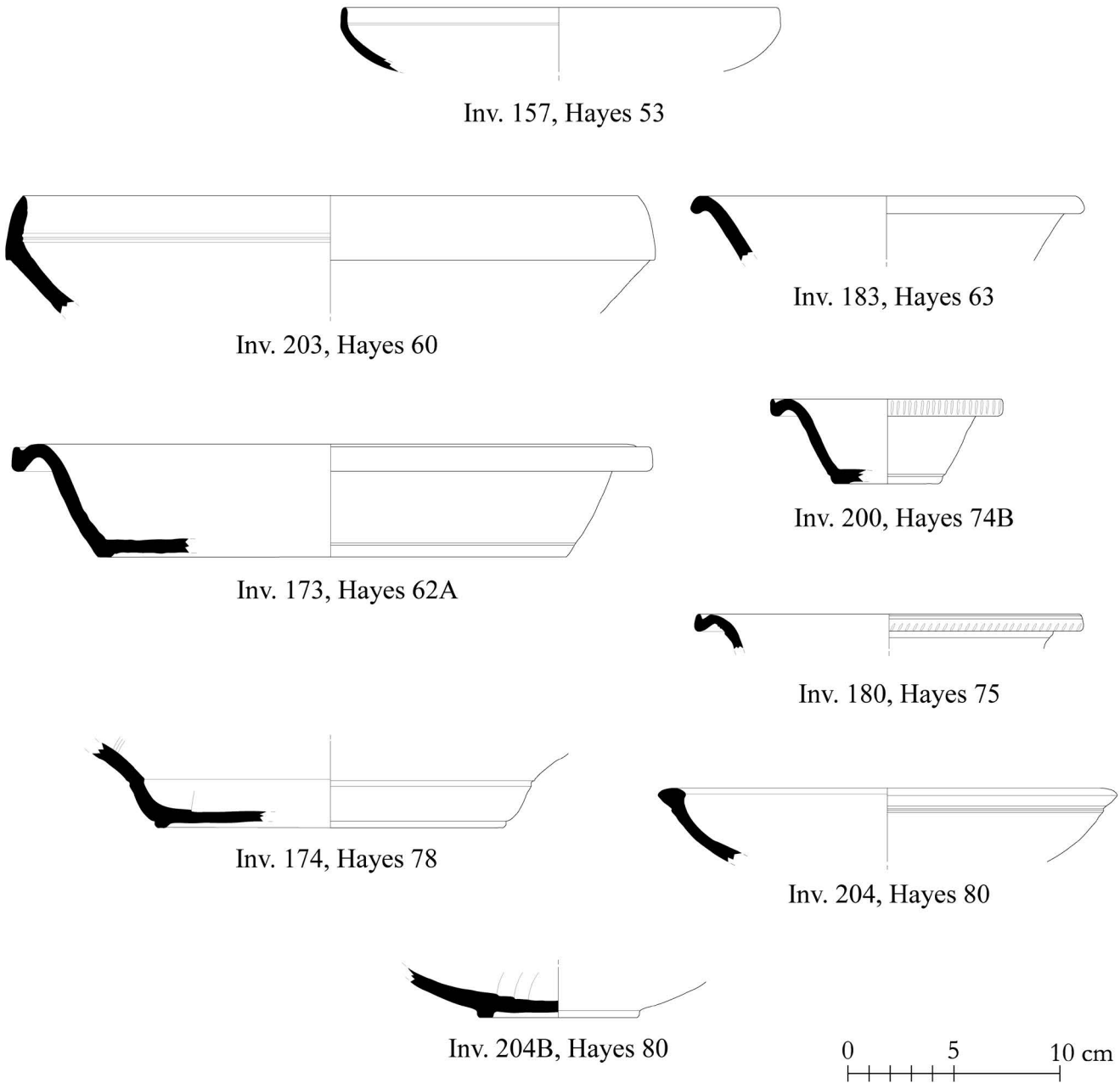


Fig. 5. Selected types of Eastern Sigillata B wares from the mid-4th century context.

The great part of the *sigillata* vessels of Spoletino that were imported from Asia Minor and from the East are cups or dishes, having simple forms and without decoration. A small cup in Eastern *Sigillata* B (Form 74B, no. inv. 200) has blackish colour and the rim is decorated with rouletting; this is common for the transitional period between the productions B1 and B2 in the '70s of the 1st century AD (for a direct comparison from Loron, see Maggi 2001: 152-153). The handle of a jug in Eastern *Sigillata* A is the only attestation of a closed form. Almost all the analysed fragments pertain to one single vessel or to a small number of individuals of the same form, and this testifies for the presence in the villa of a reduced number of pieces of imported Eastern *Sigillata*.

Anyhow a comprehensive analysis of the 'waves of fashion', concerning reciprocal influences between Italian *Terra Sigillata* and Eastern *Sigillata* in Italy is still lacking, and it is worth considering not only commercial contacts but also other factors, such as tastes and specific requests (Bes 2015: 65-66). Given the information presented above, and even if considering the limited number of attested fragments of Eastern *Sigillata*, the resulting picture of tableware selection in a countryside villa of the imperial period in the Middle Tiber valley is more flexible than expected, with the composition of a household's tableware collection being dependent on personal choice or taste, social context, and not only on the proximity of production centres (and thence on costs). As far as the study of Eastern *Sigillata* wares, the case under examination is almost unique, as other excavated sites in the Middle Tiber Valley – that are really very rare – never revealed consistent quantities of Eastern *Sigillata* wares. We can infer that some of them were not studied nor published yet, and this makes it difficult to be able to delineate a reliable framework of the real distribution of these imported vessels. What is astonishing is that, when studied, Eastern *Sigillata* wares known in Italy are mainly attested in coastal cities (such as Ostia and Portus) or in big centres, such as Rome itself, and only seldom reach inland sites, normally those located along the main river-routes. We can cite, for instance, the north-eastern Adriatic area (Maggi 2006), the northern Tyrrhenian coast (Menchelli and Pasquinucci 2000) or the villa at Settefinestre (Besutti 1985). Not astonishingly at Scoppieto Eastern *Sigillata* is not attested, whereas at Lugnano in Teverina only one fragment of Cypriot *Sigillata* was identified (courtesy of Archer Martin).

Final remarks

To conclude, the occurrence of Eastern Mediterranean tableware – even if in a very limited quantity – in an almost isolated and remote site reveals to be really significant. This is even more remarkable as, in the 1st and 2nd century AD, this was an area of production of Italian *Terra Sigillata*. The well-known manufacture of Scoppieto (see the volumes edited by M. Bergamini, in particular Bergamini 2013; Bergamini 2014; Bergamini 2016) is located at approximately 12 km as the crow flies from Spoletino, to mention only the most famous and accurately studied site in the vicinity. So, imported pottery from Eastern Mediterranean can be considered as "exceptional" and must be probably interpreted as a mark of wealth and prosperity of the owners of the villas, but also as a testimony of overseas contacts held by Roman aristocracy. In some coastal areas, such as the already mentioned north-eastern Adriatic (Maggi 2006: 183), it is possible to infer that in the last decades of the first century AD Eastern *Sigillata* B became a competitor or a real alternative to Late North-Italian *Sigillata*. Anyhow, this same model can be hardly transposed to an inland region as the one under consideration, even if located along a major commercial axis along the Tiber. Thence it is better to be cautious, following John W. Hayes, who suggests a more reasoned reflection on the concept of "marketing areas", of "areas of secondary distribution" and lastly, on the "sporadic finds in distant lands" (Hayes 1994: 112). Our case may probably fit within the second or third category, and could be connected more to the movement of individuals, than to the result of long-distance trade contacts.

Besides these reflexions, an overall reconsideration of lifestyle in "rural" villas in the countryside can be traced also through the analysis of a small number of imported vessels, like the one analysed here, that were probably considered as valuable products, illustrating the wealthy situation and the international connections of their owners. More importantly, one could start to comprehend the role played by tablewares in the economy and daily life of the Roman Mediterranean.

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VASELLAME COMUNE DA FUOCO DALLE CUCINE DEI CESARI SUL PALATINO, V SECOLO D.C.: FUNZIONI, MANIFATTURE E MERCATI PREFERENZIALI

The excavations carried out by the Colosseum Archaeological Park on the Palatine hill in the area of the commercial district of the sanctuary of the Magna Mater and inside a room in the northern sector of the Domus Tiberiana have made it possible to highlight important contexts dated to the second half of the 5th century AD, that is, at the time following the abandonment of the two architectural complexes. A large series of ceramic fire vessels, the subject of this contribution, have thus been recovered, allowing us to trace a line of typological development regarding this vessel. Furthermore, the archaeozoological and paleobotanical analyzes carried out on the remains of fauna and flora associated with these materials made it possible to hypothetically suggest food choices based on various types of meat cooked with spices.

Cooking ware – Palatine – Sanctuary of Magna Mater – Domus Tiberiana – Stratigraphy

1. Introduzione, contesti e quadro storico topografico

La seguente comunicazione[1] è una sintesi preliminare dei dati scaturiti dalla classificazione e studio del vasellame Comune da Fuoco pertinente a due importanti distretti monumentali dell'area del Palatino. Si tratta dei contesti rinvenuti nei vani del quartiere dei servizi al di sotto della platea del santuario della *Magna Mater* nell'angolo sud-ovest del colle (**fig. 1**) (Coletti 2004: 420-424; Coletti e Margheritelli 2006: 465-468; Coletti e Diosono 2019: 698-701; Panella et al. 2010: 65) e in un ambiente del fianco nord della Domus Tiberiana lungo il *clivus Victoriae* (**fig. 2**) (Almonte, Coletti e Santoro 2023: 109-112). Tali contesti sono stati indagati nell'ambito dell'attività di tutela del Parco Archeologico del Colosseo[2] e si riferiscono per il caso della Magna Mater alla valorizzazione del settore commerciale del santuario, mentre per la Domus Tiberiana agli scavi finalizzati all'allestimento museale e all'apertura del monumento ai percorsi di visita (Almonte, Coletti e Filetici: 2023). Entrambi i casi si riferiscono al vasellame appartenente a contesti stratigrafici della seconda metà del V secolo e per la precisione degli anni di poco successivi alla metà nel caso del vasellame della Domus Tiberiana e del terzo o quarto quarto del V secolo in quello della Magna Mater (Almonte, Coletti e Santoro 2023: 112; Panella et al. 2010: 65). I due contesti vengono messi a confronto costituendo sul piano delle produzioni un *continuum* nella commercializzazione e fruizione di questo vasellame. Va, tuttavia, fatta una riflessione di ordine metodologico sulle destinazioni delle stratigrafie che hanno restituito il vasellame in quanto, come si vedrà, pur essendo cronologicamente molto vicina la loro formazione, presentano differenti livelli di attestazioni a causa della diversa natura delle stratificazioni. Si impone, così, un ragionamento sulle funzioni e i significati di tali accumuli all'interno di questi edifici e di conseguenza l'importanza che hanno assunto nel contesto più generale della fine della vita di due tra le più venerande aree della città antica. Formatesi alle spalle di un allestimento murario costituito da anfore e datato tra la fine del IV e gli inizi del V secolo, le stratigrafie che colmarono i vani del quartiere dei servizi della Magna Mater erano rappresentate prevalentemente da materiali ceramici di grosso taglio, vetri, osso lavorato e metalli, tra cui moltissime monete e più raramente oggetti preziosi, con una importante presenza di residui, ma pressoché privo di organici, osteologici e/o resti di pasto. Per tale ragione il contesto è stato interpretato come uno scarico di materiali o colmata organizzata e controllata, creata cioè al fine di riempire totalmente il volume di questi vani (vedi *infra*). Di diversa natura è, invece, la stratificazione che costituisce il contesto della Domus Tiberiana la quale, oltre ad un'importante e considerevole varietà di materiali ceramici, in vetro e metallo, prevalentemente tutti in fase con la data di formazione, è anche ricco di materiali organici, resti di pasto, osteologici con tracce di macellazione, malacofauna ecc., alla base del quale erano deposti ben 11 scheletri di equide in parziale stato di conservazione, connotandosi quindi come un immondezzaio originatosi in un momento ben preciso tra il 450 e il 460 d.C. (Almonte, Coletti e Santoro 2023: 111; Cianfoni, De Grossi Mazzorin e Minniti 2023: 114) Il contesto della Domus Tiberiana è parte di un più ampio allestimento museale, la progettazione del quale è stata curata dallo scrivente insieme a M. Almonte e M. G. Filetici, che il Parco Archeologico del Colosseo ha musealizzato nei vani del settore settentrionale del palazzo (Almonte, Coletti e Filetici 2023: 60-63). Nell'ambito di questo importante allestimento, nell'ottica del museo diffuso e attraverso un percorso di visita tematico, si esporranno i materiali restituiti dalle indagini archeologiche, esito di un lungo e complesso lavoro di ricomposizione delle fasi e delle funzioni architettoniche, degli

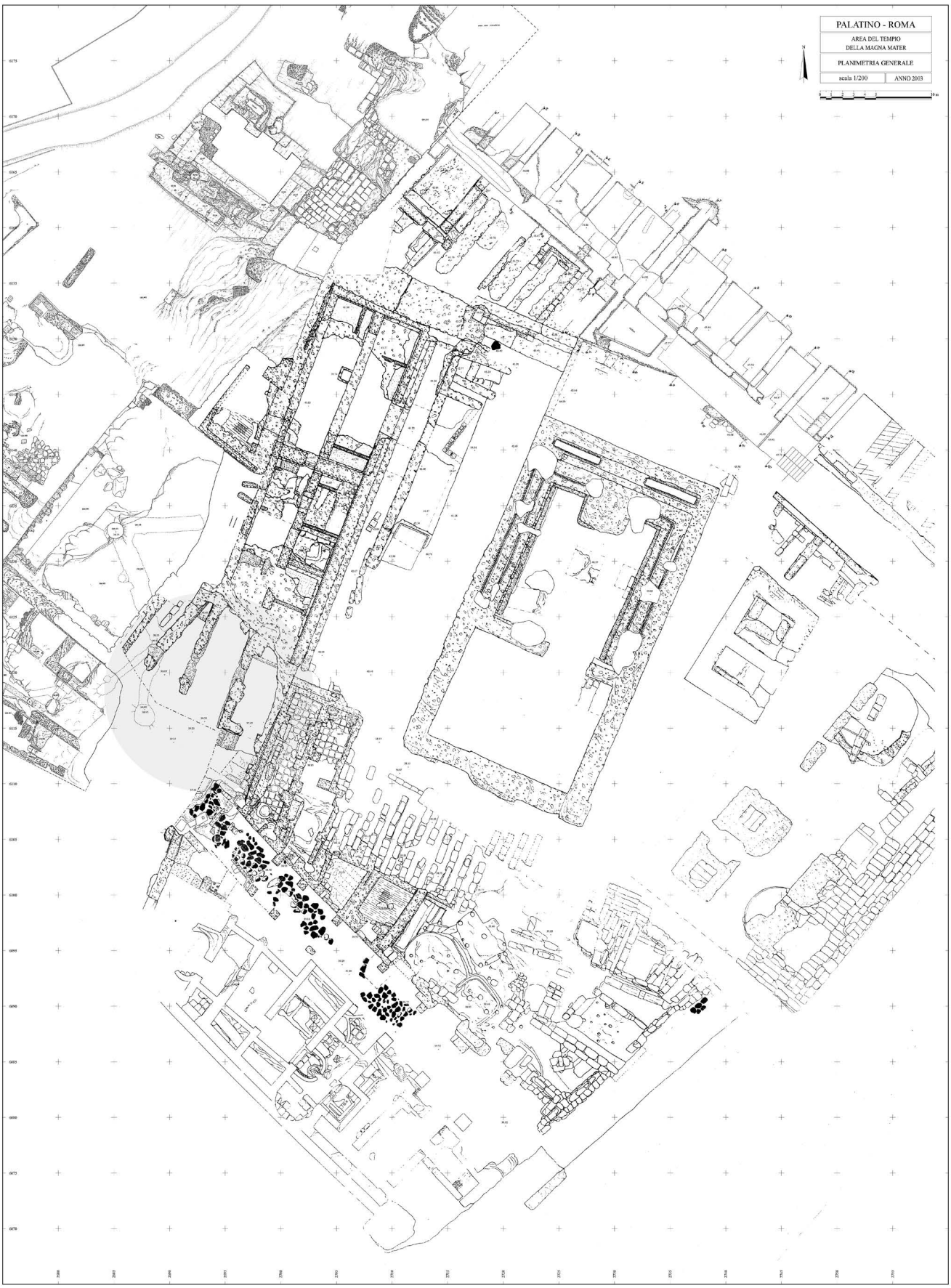


Fig. 1. Area sud ovest del Palatino, Santuario della Magna Mater: planimetria generale. In evidenza i vani del quartiere dei servizi meridionale oggetto dello scavo stratigrafico (Disegno e rilievo degli autori).

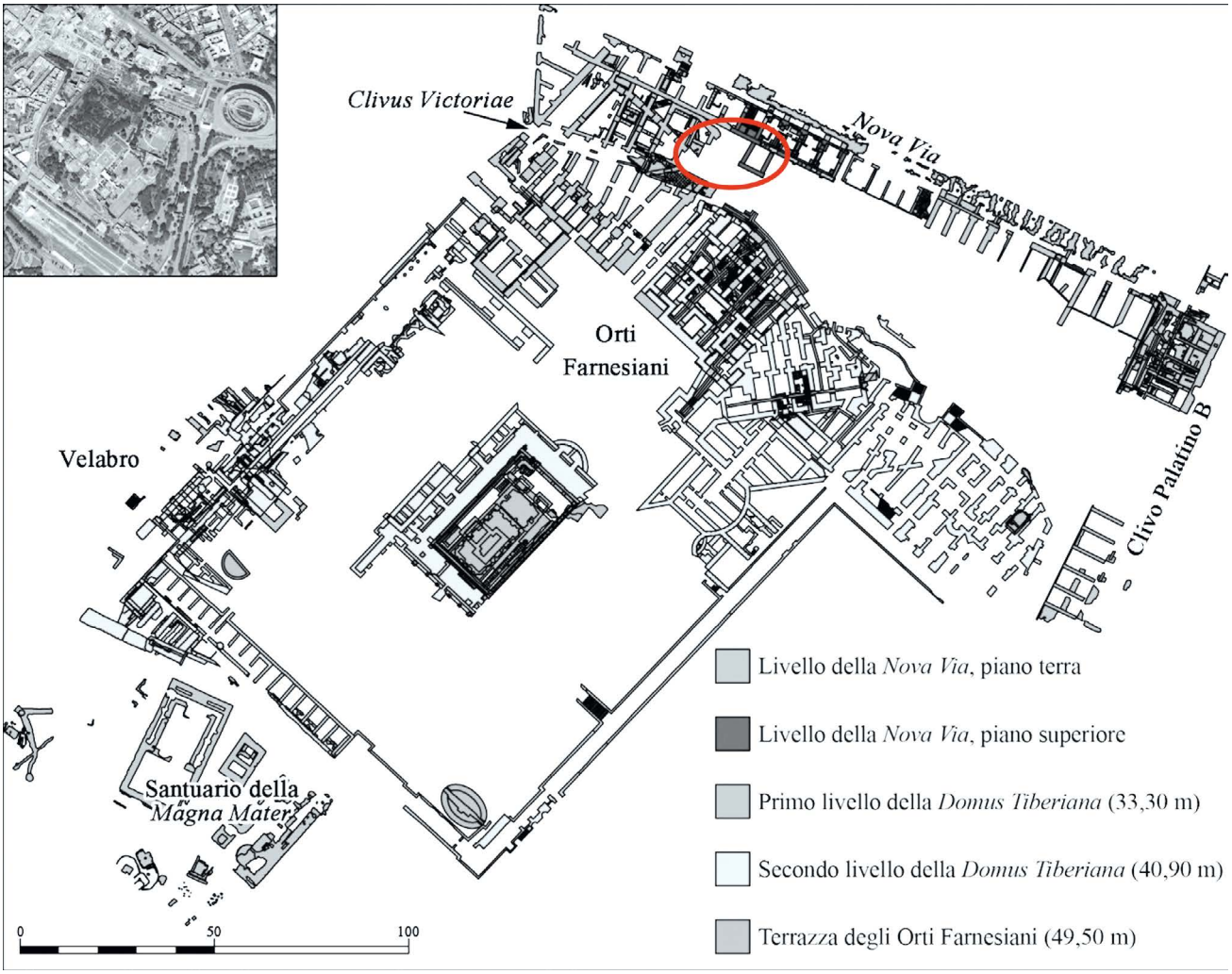


Fig. 2. Palatino, Area della Domus Tiberiana: planimetria generale. In evidenza l'area dello scavo stratigrafico (disegno e rilievo degli autori).

arredi e delle suppellettili organizzati all'interno delle antiche sale delle sostruzioni del palazzo: dalla sala dei commerci e delle derrate alimentari ad uso della corte imperiale (Coletti, Cardarelli e Montali 2023: 98; Carbonara 2023: 100-101) si passerà agli oggetti e agli elementi architettonici recuperati durante le indagini delle case dell'aristocrazia precedenti all'impianto palaziale (Coletti 2023: 37), agli arredi della statuaria fittile e marmorea del palazzo (Ghisellini 2023: 102-105; Caprioli 2023: 64-69), agli arredi recuperati nello scavo di un piccolo luogo di culto dedicato a Iside e Serapide (Coletti e Montali 2023: 75).

F.C.

2. L'immondezzaio del Ambiente 1 del *clivus Victoriae*

Le ceramiche per la cottura dei cibi oggetto della trattazione provengono da un immondezzaio, formatosi in un breve lasso di tempo, che segna l'abbandono dell'Ambiente 1 del fianco nord della Domus Tiberiana affacciato sul *clivus Victoriae* (**fig. 1**) (Almonte, Coletti e Santoro 2023: 109). Lo studio della sequenza stratigrafica è ancora in corso e al momento sono stati attribuiti al contesto due depositi (UUSS 1034,1035) composti da materiale eterogeneo (ceramica, vetro, metallo, laterizi, materiali organici, resti di pasto, osteologici con tracce di macellazione, malacofauna) e scaricati su 11 scheletri di equide (US 1037) in parziale stato di conservazione (Cianfonni, De Grossi Mazzorin e Minniti 2023).

I reperti ceramici, con oltre 10.000 frammenti (principalmente pareti), sono i più rappresentati e si riferiscono a diverse classi (**fig. 3**). Le anfore sono le più numerose (in particolare spiccano i contenitori nordafricani) (75,54%), seguite dalle ceramiche impiegate per la cottura dei cibi (12,04%: vernice rossa interna, c. africana da cucina, c. da fuoco, *micaceous ware*, dove predominano quelle riferibili a officine operanti a livello locale o regionale, 10,66%). Seguono le ceramiche comuni con impasti depurati (7,20%), tra le quali accanto alle produzioni locali/regionali (6,53%) si riconoscono anche quelle nordafricane (0,58%). Poco consistente è il peso delle classi fini (4,05%), tra le quali emerge la sigillata africana D (2,05%) che, com'è noto, domina i mercati in età

tardoantica; tuttavia, significativa è anche la presenza della ceramica a vernice rossa romana prodotta in Italia centrale (tali ceramiche sono state variamente denominate. Per una sintesi: Fontana 2005: 265; Coletti 2016: 976-979; 2020: 138-143). Esigua è la suppellettile da illuminazione, tra cui preminenti sono i manufatti centro-italici (0,75%) rispetto a quelli nordafricani (0,26%).

Elementi utili per circoscrivere la cronologia dei depositi si desumono dai reperti più recenti in sigillata africana D (Hayes 67C, 80 A, 61C, decorazione a stampo stile AIII/EI; Cardarelli 2020: 82) e alle anfore (Keay LII gruppo 2 di Pacetti (1998), Keay 57B, Cretese tarda (TRC2), Adamsheck RC22 (1979: 132) che in Occidente è attestata principalmente tra la metà del V e gli inizi del VI secolo, Late Roman 4 variante A di Opaiţ (2004: 22)). Si può, inoltre, notare che il rapporto numerico tra la ceramica africana da cucina e la ceramica da fuoco locale o regionale è a favore di quest'ultima, infatti, nella prima metà del V secolo le importazioni dall'Africa settentrionale si contraggono fino a scomparire. In conclusione, le presenze congiuntamente all'assenza dei tipi in circolazione dal terzo quarto del V secolo suggeriscono che l'immondezzaio si sia formato non molto oltre la metà del V secolo. Il contesto è pertanto particolarmente utile per ricostruire i flussi economici che coinvolgono il mercato romano in questa tornata di tempo, poiché diversamente da altri depositi tardoantichi studiati in anni passati o recenti (vd. anche quello della Magna Mater qui presentato) la maggior parte dei manufatti sembra essere stata in uso immediatamente prima di essere stati gettati nell'Ambiente 1. Conducono a tale conclusione innanzitutto la bassa residualità valutabile sulla base dei reperti con cronologia certa e l'integrità o la possibilità di ricostruire i manufatti. Quanto detto, congiuntamente ai resti di equidi in parziale stato di connessione, fa pensare che l'abbandono e il riempimento dell'Ambiente abbia fatto seguito ad un evento traumatico e improvviso dei decenni centrali del V secolo, come il sisma del 443 o il saccheggio di Roma da parte di Genserico del 455 (Coletti e Contino 2022: 205-207).

Il totale complessivo delle ceramiche per la cottura dei cibi ammonta a 1274 frammenti (12,05% sul totale, **fig. 3**) riferibili a 315 esemplari distribuiti come segue: 2 ess. in c. a vernice rossa interna, 43 ess. in c. africana da cucina, 264 ess. in c. da fuoco locale/regionale (30 non identificabili a causa del cattivo stato di conservazione), 5 ess. Micaceous ware (?), 1 es. produzione dubbia. In particolare spiccano per percentuale di presenza quelle di produzione locale o regionale, seguite dai recipienti africani con indici poco significativi (**figg. 3-4**). Tali *trend* di attestazione si riscontrano anche in altri depositi di Roma e riflettono come dal V secolo inoltrato i tegami, le casseruole e i piatti/coperchi nordafricani tendano a lasciare il posto ai prodotti centro-italici (per una riflessione sulla durata dell'esportazione della classe si veda Ikaheimo 2003: 1). Ne consegue che, forse, tutti i tipi afferenti alla classe sono ormai fuori produzione (Hayes 23 A (6,98%), 23B (13,95%), 181 n. 1 (2,33%), 181 (residui? 11,63%), 183 (2,33%), 195 (13,95%); *Ostia* I, 18 (2,33%), 261 (18,60%), 270 (2,33%); *Ostia* III, 267 (2,33%), *Ostia* IV 59 (9,30%)) solo i tegami Hayes 181 C (4,65%) e D (9,30%), prodotti fino alla prima metà o alla metà del V secolo, potrebbero essere stati ancora in uso prima di finire nel deposito.

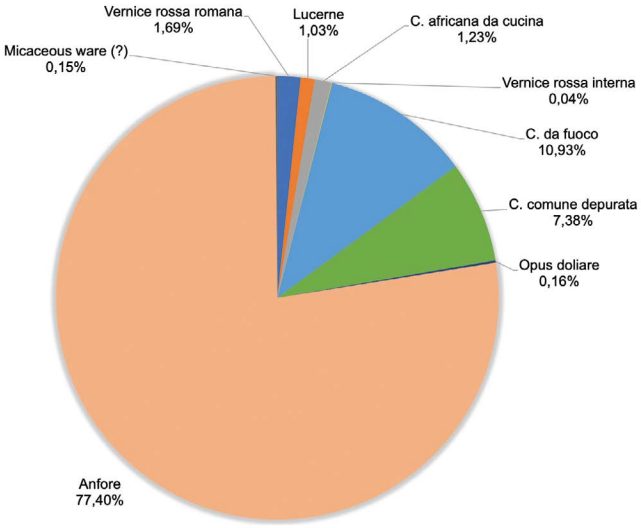


Fig. 3. Domus Tiberiana. Grafico delle attestazioni secondo le classi ceramiche.

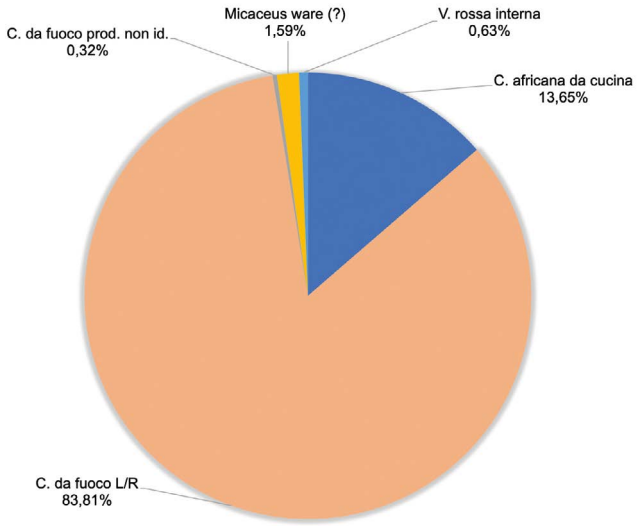


Fig. 4. Domus Tiberiana. Grafico delle attestazioni di ceramica comune da fuoco secondo le produzioni.

Per quanto concerne i manufatti fabbricati da officine attive a livello locale o regionale, i dati quantitativi delle forme mostrano un peso consistente dei contenitori aperti (casseruole e tegami: 76%) rispetto a quelli chiusi (olle, olle biansate: 7%, bollitori: 2% o altri contenitori affini alla tipologia di questi ultimi: 1%). I coperchi sono poco rappresentati (14%).

La maggior parte delle attestazioni (70%) trova confronto con i tipi già documentati nei depositi di pieno V secolo della Basilica Hilarina (Celio) a loro volta presenti in altri siti tardoantichi dell'Urbe (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 con bibliografia) e in Umbria (per Lugnano in Teverina vd. Soren e Soren 1999, *passim*). Inoltre, offre materiale di comparazione anche il deposito della seconda metà del V secolo della Magna Mater (vd. Coletti *infra*; già in Coletti e Margheritelli 2006:

480-488). Il repertorio tipologico della ceramica rinvenuta nell'Ambiente 1 è pertanto comune ad altri depositi coevi, anche se non mancano tipi certamente residuali (9%: Olcese 2003, A.III. 1 tipo 3C; A.III.5 tipo 9; A.I.2 tipo 2A, 5A e 5B; A.V. tipo 3 e 4). Nell'ambito di ciascuna forma il campionario afferente alle tipologie in circolazione nel Tardoantico si presenta vario. Alcune casseruole continuano la tradizione di età imperiale dei contenitori dotati di tese che, tuttavia, in questa fase tendono ad atrofizzarsi (36% ca.: *Basilica Hilariana*, figg. 189.20, 190.42; Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipi 2 A, B, C, D, E, F, 3) (**fig. 7, n. 16**) 4, 5A-B, 6 A (anche **fig. 7, n. 14** variante con labbro dentellato), B, C, (**fig. 7, nn. 13, 15**). Grossomodo con gli stessi indici di presenza sono attestate quelle con orlo estroflesso (37% ca.), anche con incavo interno (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipi 9 A, B, C, nuovo sottotipo qui definito D (**fig. 7, n. 17**), 10 A, B, E, 12,14,15). Un altro gruppo tipologico presente con meno frequenza è rappresentato dalle casseruole con orlo ingrossato (**fig. 7, n. 11**) (23% ca.) (*Basilica Hilariana*, fig. 188.10; Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipi 7 A, 8A, 8C, 8 var., 28; Fogagnolo 2004, tav. IV.29 *similis*). Infine, con indici irrisori figurano le casseruole con orli pendenti (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 8F), arrotondati (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 16), esternamente arrotondati con incavo interno (Soren e Soren 1999: fig. 228.178), e svasato e appuntito (Fogagnolo 2004: tav. IX.70). La rassegna dei tegami mette in luce il predominio di quelli con orlo internamente ingrossato e pareti troncoconiche (73% ca.: in particolare Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipi 20 A, B (tav. A 5), C (tav. A 6), 20 nuovo sottotipo definito H (**fig. 7, n 7** e forse **8** con andamento della parete dubbio. vd. anche *Carminiello* fig. 110, tipo 18.6 *similis*), Ciceroni et al. 2004: tav. IV.28, p. 152 (complesivamente 46%); seguiti da Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 19 A, B C (complessivamente 26%) e *Basilica Hilariana*, fig. 191.49, e un esemplare affine a Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 27= **fig. 7, n. 10**). Ben documentati sono anche quelli muniti di tesa (18%: Bertoldi, Pacetti 2010 tipo 18 A e una nuova variante del tipo qui definita B (**fig. 7, n. 9**). Le restanti tipologie figurano in quantità irrisorie (Bertoldi, Pacetti 2010 tipi 25, 26, 29). Tra le olle sono presenti i tipi 30 A (**fig. 7, n. 1**), 31, Soren e Soren 1999: fig. 232.217 *similis* (**fig. 7, n. 2**) e un tipo con orlo svasato e sagomato privo di confronti (**fig. 7, n. 4**). Tra i coperchi predomina il tipo Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 32. Attestato è anche il bollitore tipo Peña 1999, fig. 34.150. Dubbi sulla forma (bollitore?) si hanno per l'esemplare illustrato a **fig. 7, n. 3**.

Alcuni tipi imitano le ceramiche africane da cucina. Tale fenomeno, che ha avuto inizio nel II secolo (Bousquet, Felici e Zampini 2008: 647), nel contesto esaminato si evince dal tegame con orlo internamente ingrossato (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 19) imitazione delle Hayes 23B, dalla casseruola *Basilica Hilariana*, fig. 188.10 ispirata al tipo *Ostia* I 55 e Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 28 che, invece, ricorda la casseruola Hayes 197.

Nel contesto è presente anche una manufatto che nell'impostazione generale richiama la marmitta Bertoldi e Pacetti tipo 35, riconosciuta dagli autori come prodotto di importazione (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010: 435). I due esemplari dell'immondezzaio diversamente dal tipo sopra menzionato presentano un orlo internamente ingrossato (**fig. 7, n. 12**) confrontabile con un reperto attestato nel Bastione Farnesiano della Domus Tiberiana in un contesto del V secolo (Ciceroni et al. 2004: tav. II.13, p. 144 dove è definito olla) e visto lo stato di conservazione consentono di ricostruire quasi integralmente il tipo. La visione autoptica degli impasti suggerisce di ricondurli a produzioni locali o regionali. Inoltre, uno dei due presenta un'inusuale politura a stecca delle pareti. Ceramiche polite sono già note nelle stratigrafie romane, tuttavia a livello morfologico finora sono state identificate solo forme impiegate sulla mensa o per la preparazione in contesti datati tra fine V e VII secolo (Fogagnolo 2004: 590, tav. VI.41-43; Vatta e Bertoldi 2004: 462-463, tav. IV n. 31-33; Saguì e Coletti 2004: 265, tav. XIV.73; Paganelli 2004: 188, tav. III. 31-32). Un vasto numero di forme da mensa polite sono documentata anche in Campania (*Carminiello*: 210-212). Tale trattamento delle superfici riguarda anche altri due esemplari al momento privi di confronto. In un caso (**fig. 7, n. 19**) si tratta di un tegame con steccature verticali, per il quale si propone un ambito produttivo locale/regionale. In un altro caso si tratta di un'olla (**fig. 7, n. 20**) con orlo svasato eseguita al tornio lento per la quale non sono state avanzate proposte sul luogo di produzione.

Infine, i depositi hanno restituito cinque esemplari con un impasto marrone (a volte grigio in frattura) ricco di mica, particolarmente evidente sulla superficie, tanto da generare un effetto glitter. Probabilmente si tratta di esemplari riferibili alla classe denominata Micaceous ware per la quale nonostante le proposte di provenienza non si è ancora giunti ad una risposta definitiva (possibili zone produttive: la Sardegna o la Calabria o la Sicilia). Tali oggetti sono attestati nel Mediterraneo occidentale a partire dalla seconda metà del V secolo (per una sintesi recente Toniolo 2020: 216-217 con bibliografia). Gli esemplari (tre orli e due fondi convessi) sono eseguiti al tornio lento e pur non essendo riferibili a officine locali sono confrontabili con tipi prodotti in area centro-italica (due esemplari Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010, tipo 26=**fig. 7, n. 18**) o seppur noti a Roma attribuiti a prodotti di importazione (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010 tipo 35).

V.C.

3. Le colmate dei vani sud ovest del quartiere dei servizi della Magna Mater

Passando al contesto ben più nutrito della Magna Mater, va innanzitutto ribadito che si tratta di poderosi scarichi di terre e materiali secondo una giacitura orizzontale che hanno riempito i vani del quartiere dei servizi nella loro totalità. In altra sede abbiamo discusso dell'interpretazione che di questi contesti è stata data: tale attività di scarico, infatti, rientra nell'immane lavoro effettuato evidentemente per conto dell'autorità imperiale per la messa in sicurezza di questi vani sostruttivi. Le concamerazioni terrazzate della Magna Mater, come degli altri monumenti sulle pendici del Palatino, oramai da decenni abbandonate e in stato di degrado architettonico, probabilmente, a seguito dei dissesti per il terremoto del 443 d.C. subirono gravi danni che comportarono i primi interventi di consolidamento mediante la edificazione

di allestimenti murari ad anfore di sostegno alle volte (Panella et al. 2010: 64-65; Coletti e Diosono 2019: 698-701; Coletti e Contino 2022: 203-204). Successivamente, a seguito dell'altro disastroso sisma del 484 o 508, che causò ulteriori dissesti statici, il crollo degli allestimenti anforici, oltreché degli archi di sostegno delle volte, si provvide a colmare l'intero volume di questi ambienti con gli scarichi di terre e materiali da cui provengono le nostre ceramiche da fuoco (Coletti e Contino 2022: 206-207). Le caratteristiche delle stratificazioni evidenziate, l'attestazione dei materiali datanti associati, che permette di assegnare la cronologia al periodo di tempo che va tra il 475/480 e il 500/510, corroborate dalle dettagliate informazioni in merito ai due eventi tellurici registrate dalle fonti scritte ed epigrafiche, hanno consentito di circostanziare la natura e la funzione del contesto, nonché di comprendere il ruolo della gran messe di materiali recuperati. Non è un caso, infatti, che tali contesti presentino materiali con un elevato tasso di residualità, pari cioè all'80%, in quanto la loro giacitura ci appare come l'esito di una scelta strategica ponderata, alla base della quale vi doveva essere un'organizzazione che selezionava il vasellame, ma anche scarti edilizi, tendenti a riempire gli spazi e, quindi, a sventare i crolli di intere porzioni delle pendici collinari (Coletti e Diosono 2019: 699-700; Coletti e Contino 2022: 202-206, in part. nota n. 18).

Per quanto riguarda le attestazioni di materiali, va premesso sul piano metodologico che la classificazione è stata effettuata conteggiando il numero minimo degli individui, vale a dire computando gli esemplari interi, i profili ricomposti oppure, per i frammenti, le parti diagnostiche (orli, anse, fondi), tralasciando le pareti, nella logica della paritetica attestazione, secondo la quale tanto un intero quanto un frammento diagnostico costituiscono un individuo. La totalità delle classi documentate assomma a circa 88 mila frammenti, tra i quali si è individuato un numero minimo di 1852 esemplari. Per quanto riguarda la ceramica da fuoco, invece, sono stati classificati 4245 frammenti, tra i quali si sono riscontrati 912 individui, pari cioè al 19,4% (**fig. 5**). Come già riscontrato per il contesto della Domus Tiberiana (vedi *supra*), anche in questo caso la scarsezza della ceramica da cucina africana conferma il fenomeno evidenziato da più parti della flessione delle esportazioni dalla Tunisia nel corso del V secolo e nel contesto esaminato la ceramica di produzione locale, attestata con l'87,2%, appare di gran lunga prevalere sulle importazioni da cucina africana, documentata intorno al 12,8%. Solo per completezza si deve accennare che tra le forme maggiormente attestate della produzione da fuoco tunisina compare il piatto coperchio (Ostia III, 332) seguita dalla casseruola con orlo ribattuto all'interno (Lamboglia 10A) e alle scodelle di diverse tipologia (Lamboglia 9 A, Ostia III 267, Ostia I 261-262).

Si conferma, inoltre, il *trend* per cui le forme aperte sono maggiormente documentate con l'82%, rispetto a quelle semichiuse 18%; tra queste prevalgono i tegami 29%, seguiti dai coperchi 26%, dalle casseruole 26% e infine dalle olle 18% e olle/casseruola 1% (**fig. 6**).

Per quanto riguarda i tegami, gli assemblaggi si articolano intorno a una tipologia principale, già riscontrata nell'immondezzaio della Domus Tiberiana e ampiamente

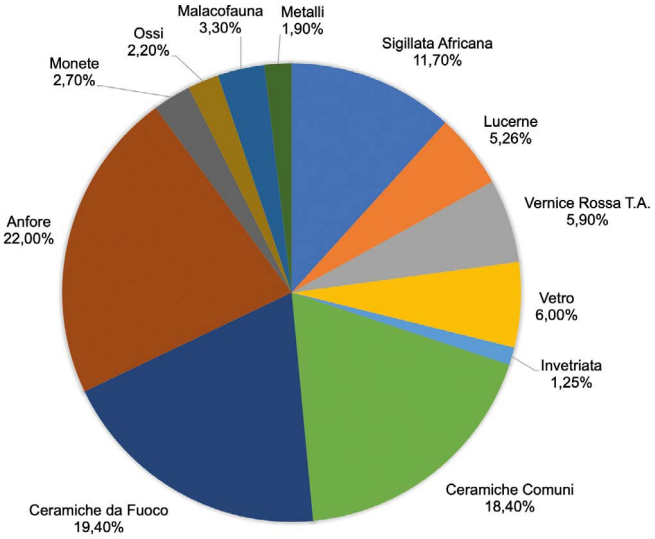


Fig. 5. Santuario della Magna Mater. Grafico delle attestazioni secondo le classi ceramiche espresse conteggiando il numero minimo degli individui.

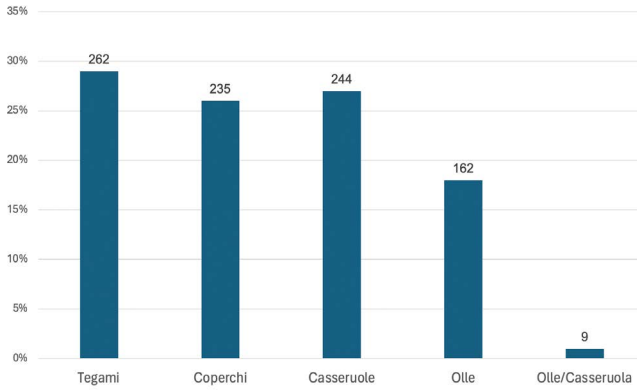


Fig. 6. Santuario della Magna Mater. Grafico delle attestazioni di ceramica comune da fuoco secondo le forme funzoionali

diffusa nei contesti di Roma e nel Lazio di V secolo d.C., caratterizzando le scelte formali ed evidentemente alimentari dell'epoca (**Figg. 7, nn. 5-6 e 8 nn. 1-4**). Si tratta di una forma funzionale che nel nostro contesto presenta una nutrita gamma di varianti, 262 esemplari che rappresentano il 29%, differenziando i nostri rinvenimenti da quelli della casa imperiale sopra descritti in cui tale vasellame è meno attestato. Il tipo si qualifica presentando un orlo indistinto inclinato verso l'interno, labbro arrotondato e ingrossato e la parete inclinata verso l'esterno, presente con numerose varianti, di cui la più documentata presenta un orlo inclinato verso l'interno con superficie interna arrotondata e quella esterna, con un gradino all'attacco con la parete concava ed inclinata verso l'esterno (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010: 442, fig. 6, tipo 20).

Attestate con 244 esemplari, le casseruole ammontano al 27%, e sembrano dipanarsi intorno a due gruppi principali. Il primo, documentato con 82 esemplari, presenta un orlo

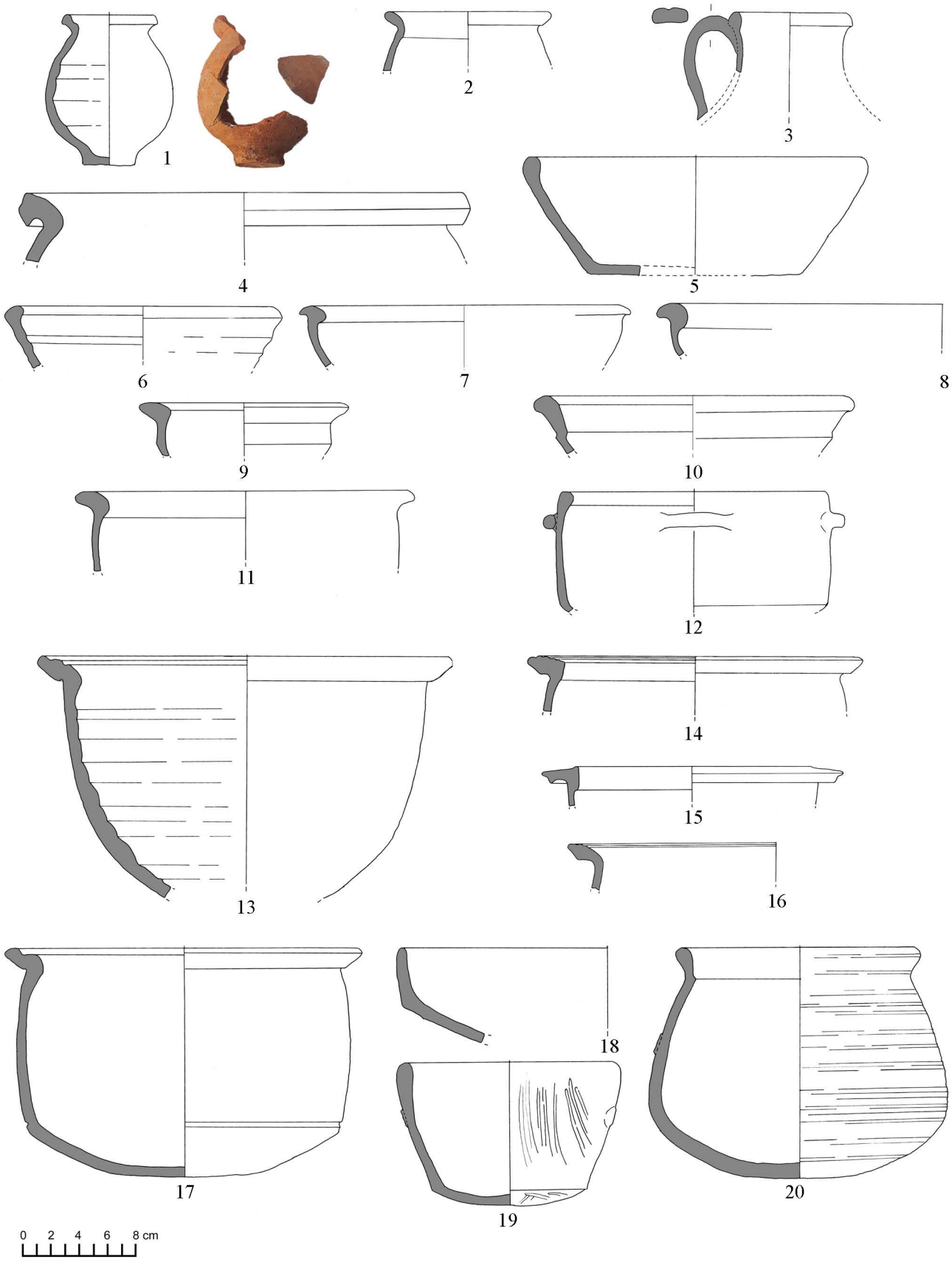


Fig. 7. Domus Tiberiana. Attestazioni tipologiche: 1-2. Olle; 3. Bollitore; 4. Olla di grandi dimensioni; 5-8. Tegami; 9-17. Casseruole; 18-19. Tegame e casseruola in *Micaceous Ware*; 20. Casseruola polita a bande (Disegni di V. Cardarelli).

estroflesso a tesa piana o concava, con superficie superiore scanalata o liscia, e superficie inferiore concava con un gradino. Questa forma si articola in una tipologia molto varia di casseruole che possono presentare sul bordo una scanalatura atta ad accogliere il coperchio (**Fig. 8, nn. 5-8**) (Coletti e Margheritelli 2006: 484, con ricca bibliografia). Il secondo gruppo, decisamente più nutrito, documentato con 162 esemplari, fa riferimento ad una forma funzionale che ha una lunghissima storia, la cui linea di sviluppo affonda le radici fin dall'epoca primo imperiale. Si tratta della variegata famiglia delle casseruole con orlo a tesa più o meno articolato e sporgente, pendente e scanalato, bordo piano o leggermente

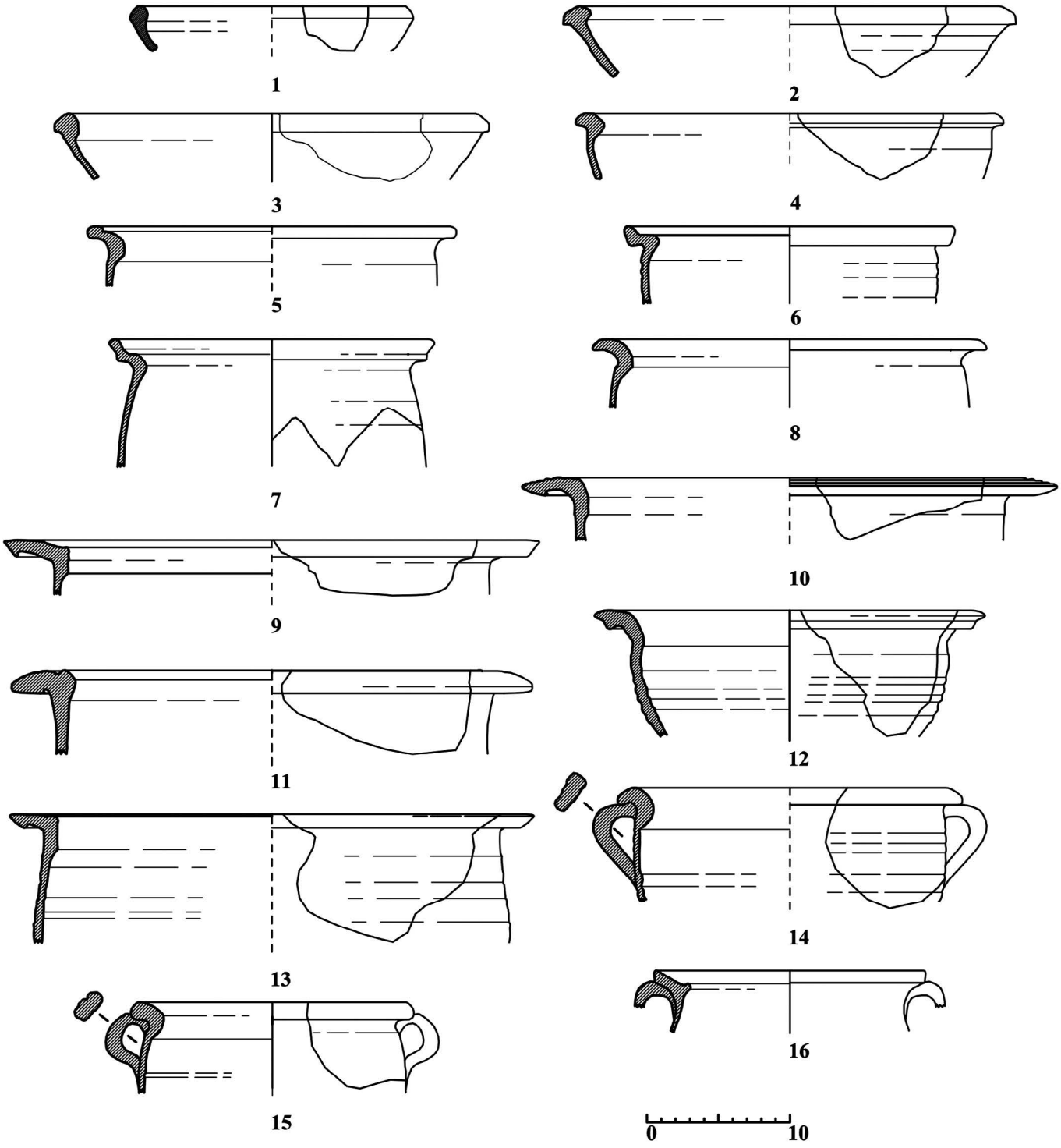


Fig. 8. Santuario della Magna Mater. Attestazioni tipologiche: 1-4. Tegami; 5. Casseruola con orlo arrotondato e scanalatura sul bordo; 6-7. Casseruola con orlo detto "a seggiola"; 8. Casseruola con orlo arrotondato e appuntito; 9-13. Casseruole a tesa piana; 14-15. Olle-casseruola; 16. Casseruola con orlo piano obbliquo (Disegni di F. Coletti)

arrotondato, corpo cilindrico con carena all'attacco con il fondo convesso e privo di piede, predisposto cioè per essere alloggiato alla presa di fuoco delle cucine (**fig. 8, nn. 9-13**). Le varietà presenti nel nostro contesto trovano stringenti confronti con i numerosi rinvenimenti della *Basilica Hilariana* (Bertoldi 2010: 435, tipi 1-2, fig. 4) e dell'area suburbana, come evidenziato nei *survey* effettuati nella media valle del Tevere a nord della capitale (Patterson et al. 2005: fig. 3,1-3) o nel campo dei *Fratres Arvales* presso via della Magliana nel quadrante occidentale di Roma (Broise Scheid 1987: 49, 118, 312b). Accanto ai tipi sicuramente diffusi in epoca tardoantica sono attestati anche numerosi di epoca primo e medio imperiale che risultano, tuttavia, in posizione residuale rispetto alla data accertata di deposizione della stratigrafia, contribuendo, così, a connotare il contesto come uno scarico con vasellame evidentemente fuori commercio, ma conservato per esigenze diverse da quelle originarie.

Sempre nell'ambito delle forme a cui si è appena accennato si riscontrano una serie di vasi da fuoco che si pongono sul piano morfo-tipologico con imprestiti di caratteristiche formali da diverso altro vasellame per la cottura di cibi liquidi o semiliquidi, e che per comodità abbiamo definito olle-casseruola (**fig. 8, nn. 14-16**). Si tratta di un gruppo di vasi modestamente attestato, con nove esemplari che assommano al 2% delle attestazioni, per lo più contraddistinti da un orlo spesso e arrotondato con strozzatura interna all'attacco con il corpo, piccole anse ad orecchia impostate sotto l'orlo, corpo grossomodo cilindrico e rastremato verso il basso, fondo generalmente concavo (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010: 435, tipo 8A, fig. 5, 24). Alcuni esemplari oltre alle peculiarità formali appena accennate si differenziano in quanto mostrano un caratteristico orlo a tesa obliqua con dente sporgente interno atto all'alloggio per il coperchio. Queste forme funzionali caratterizzano i contesti romani e ostiensi, comparendo già nella prima metà del III secolo d.C., com'è evidente dall'esemplare rinvenuto nelle stratigrafie dell'ambiente XXV delle terme ostiensi del Nuotatore (Ostia IV, 105). Ben attestato a Roma, questo vasellame compare nello specifico nelle stratigrafie della *Basilica Hylariana* (Bertoldi 2010: 435, tipo 8, fig. 5, nn. 24-29), in quelle del Palatino Domus Tiberiana (vedi *supra*), alle quali va aggiunto quanto documentato nelle indagini effettuate al Bastione Farnesiano (Munzi et al. 2004: Tav. VII, n. 63) o del Foro della Pace (Fognagnolo 2004: tav. 7, n. 51).

Le olle mediamente documentate con 162 esemplari che corrispondono al 18%, si articolano in diversi gruppi, presentando una certa varietà di attestazioni che grosso modo si articola intorno ad un tipo caratterizzato sempre con un orlo estroflesso, arrotondato e corpo globulare. Il tipo più attestato con il 4,5% ha un orlo inclinato verso l'esterno, labbro appuntito. Un gradino, internamente, sottolinea l'attacco della parete all'orlo. L'ansa si imposta sotto l'orlo. Queste tipologie sono largamente documentate a Roma e solo per citare il caso più emblematico, si segnalano i rinvenimenti del sito del Celio più volte ricordato, la *Basilica Hylariana* , dove i contesti contemporanei al nostro mostrano la medesima articolazione formale (Bertoldi e Pacetti 2010: 436, tipi 23-24, fig. 6.59-62).

Motivo d'interesse, infine, è rappresentato da alcuni tegami riferibili alla *Micaceus ware*, già riscontrati nel contesto della Domus Tiberiana (vedi *supra*). Recentemente isolata, come raggruppamento a sé stante forse appartenente all'area manifatturiera insulare centro mediterranea, probabilmente Sardegna, Calabria o Sicilia, questo vasellame appare documentato nei maggiori centri commerciali occidentali a partire dalla seconda metà del V secolo, com'è stato correttamente evidenziato da L. Toniolo nella sua pubblicazione sui contesti ceramici tardoantichi del Golfo di Napoli (Toniolo 2020: 216-217). Sebbene con indici di attestazione piuttosto modesti, il vasellame in *micaceus ware* appare una costante dei contesti di V e VI secolo a Roma, rappresentando la pressoché limitata offerta dei centri manifatturieri al di fuori dell'*Urbs* dove, tuttavia, va riconfermato, dominava il commercio locale.

4. Conclusioni

Un'ultima questione legata alla produzione della ceramica da fuoco riguarda quali pietanze fossero cotte in queste pentole. Un aiuto importante ci viene offerto dalle analisi effettuate sui campioni di fauna recuperata all'interno del vasellame recuperato dalle stratigrafie della Domus Tiberiana sopra discusso, lo studio dei quali è stato condotto dal prof. J. De Grossi Mazzorin dell'Università del Salento (Cianfoni et al 2023). Il campione è composto quasi esclusivamente da specie domestiche, tra queste il maiale (*Sus domesticus Erx*.), con un numero di resti che supera di poco il 50% rappresentando la specie preponderante, mentre, gli ovicaprini (*Capra hircus L*., *Ovis Aries L*.) si attestano come la seconda specie con percentuali che raggiungono il 20% sul totale del campione. Segue per importanza il consumo di pollame (*Gallus gallus L*.), i cui resti si aggirano intorno al 10%, invece, poco significativi risultano i resti di bovini che non superano lo 0,5% del campione. Sporadiche anche le specie selvatiche che non vanno oltre l'1% del campione, tra queste sono presenti resti di cinghiale (*Sus scrofa ferus L.*), cervo (*Cervus elaphus L.*), lepre (*Lepus capensis L.*) e testuggine terrestre (*Testudo hermanni Gml.*). Completano il quadro faunistico sporadici resti di molluschi marini, tra cui le telline (*Donax trunculus L*.) rappresentano la specie maggiormente attestata.

Correlata alle analisi archeozoologiche si sono compiute quelle sulla flora, eseguite da A. Celant e Fabrizio Michelangeli del Dipartimento di Biologia Ambientale (Laboratorio di Paleobotanica e Palinologia) (Celant e Michelangeli 2023). Sulla superficie interna di una casseruola rinvenuta nel contesto della Domus Tiberiana sono state individuate tracce di un residuo anidro giallastro, nel quale si è evidenziata la presenza di alcuni granuli di polline appartenenti alla famiglia delle *Brassicaceae*, che comprende cavoli, verze, rape, senape e simili. Questo inusuale ritrovamento può essere interpretato come un indizio di utilizzazione del contenitore per la cottura di questa specifica categoria di ortaggi, o di brodi misti, o dell'uso di spezie, come per esempio di senape, per aromatizzare piatti a base di carne. Le brassicacee, originarie del bacino del Mediterraneo, erano già conosciute dal punto di vista alimentare in epoca greco-romana e tra gli autori latini Columella nel suo *De re rustica* nonché Plinio nella *Naturalis Historia* documentano la coltivazione e il consumo diffuso di questi ortaggi nell'area centrale della

nostra penisola. Anche dal punto di vista fitoiconologico in dipinti di area pompeiana è documentata la presenza di queste specie orticole, che considerano alimento riservato alle classi agiate (Jashemski e Meyer 2002).

Sebbene sia questione ancora ardua da dipanare, essendo che i dati a nostra disposizione vanno interpretati con cautela e prudenza, la documentazione raccolta negli scavi della Domus Tiberiana ci consente di scorgere nel complesso orizzonte delle abitudini alimentari e delle pratiche della cottura dei cibi, una linea di tendenza che vede le carni, in particolare la *caro porcina*, associate a vegetali come i cavoli, le verze o le rape, oppure aromatizzati con spezie quali la senape. Sappiamo dalle fonti che la carne di maiale era uno degli alimenti base della dieta romana, rientrando nelle distribuzioni annonarie mensili fin dall'epoca severiana insieme al grano, all'olio e al vino. Le altre specie come gli ovicaprini o il pollame, oppure la cacciagione o ancora i pesci, di gran lunga meno attestate e, forse, per un'utenza socialmente più elevata, sembrano a contorno di pietanze in cui alla base vi è comunque il maiale, indiscutibile fonte di calorie. Inoltre, se l'associazione con le verdure è cosa assai plausibile, zuppe di carni e vegetali che giustificano le importanti quantità di tegami e casseruole documentate, il cui volume poteva ben contenere e cuocere grossi tranci, ancor più interessante sarebbe l'unione di queste carni con gli aromi. La senape, infatti, dal forte retrogusto speziato poteva ben camuffare quel sapore "disgustoso" di carni frollate, che in un mondo in cui la conservazione dei cibi nonché l'abbattimento dei microrganismi che in esse albergavano, mediante il freddo e il gelo, era ancora pratica di là da venire e poteva sicuramente risultare di ausilio alla cottura nel pentolame che i nostri scavi urbani hanno restituito.

F.C.

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LE INDAGINI DELL'UNIVERSITÀ DI FIRENZE A COSA. DATI CERAMICI PRELIMINARI: LA CERAMICA A VERNICE NERA, LA TERRA SIGILLATA E LE ANFORE DALL'INCROCIO TRA LE STRADE 5 E P

Since 2016 the University of Florence has stratigraphically investigated a sector of the Latin colony of Cosa (Ansedonia, GR, Italy). The new excavations have exposed the ancient crossroad between Streets P and 5, investigating a series of dumps that were leveled above the paved Roman road. The layers contained 2nd century pottery. The analysis of the pottery gives new insights into the history of the site and the commercial network and maritime trades in which Cosa is involved during the first and the mid-empire.

Cosa – ager cosanus – Roman pottery – archeometry – mid-empire

Le indagini dell'Università di Firenze a Cosa

A partire dal 2016, nella cornice del progetto *Strade di Cosa*, avviato nel 2015 dalla Soprintendenza, il Dipartimento SAGAS dell'Università di Firenze ha eseguito una serie di indagini archeologiche nel sito di Cosa (Ansedonia, GR), nella Toscana meridionale[1].

Sono stati indagati due settori della colonia: l'incrocio tra le strade 5 e P e parte di un edificio, denominato provvisoriamente "P" (Romeo, Panariti e Rodinò 2019: 49-53; Romeo 2023).

L'incrocio tra le strade P e 5

La prima campagna di scavo (giugno 2016), ha interessato il punto di incrocio tra il decumano e la via sacra della città, denominate rispettivamente strada 5 e strada P (Romeo, Panariti e Rodinò 2019; Romeo e Panariti 2021). La prima collegava la Porta Marina, a nord, e la Porta Fiorentina, a sud; la seconda, nota anche con il nome di via processionale o *Sacra via*, collegava il Foro all'Arce. Queste, insieme alle strade O e 4, delimitavano l'*insula* 10, uno tra gli isolati di maggiore superficie e rilevanza del sito.

Nel settore nord-ovest dell'area indagata è stato individuato lo spigolo orientale della Casa 10.1, una *domus* ad atrio tuscanico rinvenuta tra il 2005 e il 2012 dall'Università di Barcellona (Roca Roumens et al. 2013: 6-22). Sulla rimanente porzione dei saggi è emerso un potente accumulo costituito da scarichi di terra e materiale eterogeneo, che raggiunge uno spessore complessivo di circa 1 m. La composizione e conformazione degli strati suggeriscono che si tratti di una colmatura artificiale del sottostante piano stradale, con operazioni successive di scarico e di livellamento. L'accumulo era costituito da un cospicuo numero di tubuli fittili frammentari, che suggerirebbe un'area termale quale zona di recupero, ma anche da un alto quantitativo di anfore, vasellame da cucina e da mensa, databile prevalentemente tra età flavia e inizi del III sec. d.C., forse provenienti da contesti domestici e/o commerciali. Non è da escludere, pertanto, che i materiali degli scarichi giungano da differenti strutture, non distanti dall'incrocio: le Terme, il Foro, il settore abitativo circostante. Queste operazioni sembrano essere avvenute in una fase in cui la strada e le abitazioni limitrofe erano ormai in abbandono e l'area necessitava di una riorganizzazione funzionale, forse a uso agricolo.

L'asportazione degli strati di scarico ha permesso di intercettare i livelli di abbandono dell'area, che obliteravano il basolato stradale e il marciapiede. Il rinvenimento in questi livelli di un asse bronzeo di Marco Aurelio, datato al 171-172 d.C., fornisce il *terminus post quem* delle attività di scarico e, unitamente al materiale ceramico, consente di inquadrare l'abbandono di questo tratto viario tra seconda metà e fine del II sec. d.C. (**fig. 1**).

D. P.

1 La direzione scientifica è di Ilaria Romeo, che ringraziamo per il prezioso e costante supporto scientifico, senza il quale non avremmo avuto la possibilità di studiare il materiale cosano; il coordinamento sul campo è di Dario Panariti e Davide Arnesano; collaborano l'University of Florida State e l'Università del Salento per le bioarcheologie. Si ringraziano Andrea Caravaggio, Lucia Condoleo e Arianna Ferreri, studenti magistrali dell'Università di Firenze, che, nell'ambito del laboratorio sulla ceramica di Cosa, ci hanno fornito un fondamentale aiuto nella restituzione grafica delle anfore. Ringraziamo inoltre la Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana, le direttrici del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cosa, già Mariangela Turchetti e oggi Susanna Sarti, per l'autorizzazione allo studio dei reperti e l'accesso ai depositi, e la SABAP per le province di Siena, Grosseto e Arezzo; ringraziamo infine i direttori del Dipartimento SAGAS dell'Ateneo fiorentino, Andrea Zorzi e Paolo Liverani, e il direttore della Direzione Regionale, Stefano Casciu.



Fig. 1. Ortofoto restitutiva dell'incrocio tra le strade P e 5 (immagine ed elaborazione grafica di Dario Panariti).

Introduzione al materiale proveniente dall'incrocio tra le strade P e 5

Le indagini stratigrafiche condotte presso l'incrocio hanno restituito materiale eterogeneo per classi e cronologia – vasellame vitreo, ceramica a vernice nera, terra sigillata, ceramica comune, ceramica a pareti sottili, lucerne, contenitori anforici, monete e laterizi – che può essere collocato tra il I sec. a.C. e gli inizi del III sec. d.C. In questa sede saranno presentate la ceramica a vernice nera, la terra sigillata e le anfore, classi che hanno fornito nuove informazioni circa le dinamiche insediative e i rapporti commerciali del sito[2].

Le indagini dell'incrocio rappresentano, inoltre, uno dei pochi contesti che offre testimonianza della presenza di vasellame fine di età medio imperiale all'interno della città[3].

Ceramica a vernice nera

La ceramica a vernice nera restituita è esigua e residuale: un solo frammento proviene dallo strato di abbandono US 19, mentre altri sette sono stati rinvenuti nei livelli di accumulo di età medio-imperiale e in quelli superficiali. Tra questi uno è ascrivibile tipologicamente alla patera di II sec. a.C. Lamb. 5B/F 2255 del Tipo B Etrusco (**fig. 2, 1**). Tre frammenti di piede sono riconducibili rispettivamente a un piatto/patera, una coppa e una pisside non identificabili tipologicamente ma pertinenti alla cd. Cerchia della Campana B. Tre frammenti di parete sembrano riferibili alla produzione locale o regionale individuata da Doris Mae Taylor e da Ann Reynolds Scott (Taylor 1957: 72; Reynolds Scott 2008: 9-10).

Terra sigillata dall'incrocio tra le strade P e 5

Numerosi sono i reperti (186 frammenti) nelle diverse classi in terra sigillata.

La maggior parte del materiale è da collocare tra la fine del I sec. d.C. e la fine del II sec. d.C. Infatti, le classi prevalenti sono la terra sigillata africana (61%) e la terra

[2] Il NMI è stato calcolato per unità stratigrafiche.

[3] La sigillata tardo italica decorata e africana ritrovate durante i primi trent'anni di scavi a Cosa non sono edite complessivamente. Altri contesti editi che hanno restituito sigillata tardo italica decorata sono la Casa di Diana e la Casa 10.1; Fentress et al. 2003: 269-319; Roca Roumens et al. 2013: 108-113, 118. 14 reperti di sigillata tardo italica decorata sono pubblicati in Marabini Moevs 2006: 166-168. Ulteriori 6 in Marabini Moevs 1980.

sigillata tardo italica decorata (22%). La terra sigillata italica è attestata al 16,1% e un solo frammento è riconducibile alla sigillata sud gallica (0,5%). Si documenta una predilezione per le coppe (63 frr., NMI 31), seguite dai piatti (13 frr., NMI 9), dalle scodelle (8 frr., NMI 5) e dai coperchi (3 frr., NMI 2); un frammento è riferibile a un calice.

Il materiale proveniente dai livelli di abbandono e di accumulo appare piuttosto omogeneo per attestazione delle classi e cronologia, sebbene nello strato di abbandono US 19 si rilevi, rispetto ai livelli di accumulo, una maggiore concentrazione di sigillata italica e tardo italica decorata a cui corrisponde una minore presenza di sigillata africana A. Tale situazione ben si concilia con la breve anteriorità degli strati di abbandono rispetto al momento degli scarichi di materiale in questo settore dell'abitato.

Terra sigillata italica

Sono 29 i frammenti in sigillata italica, il cui impasto sembra riconducibile quasi esclusivamente alle officine della Valle dell'Arno (24 frammenti) e della Valle del Tevere (6 frammenti). Di questi, dieci frammenti sono stati ritrovati negli strati di abbandono UUSS 18 e 19, 18 frammenti nei livelli di accumulo e due frammenti negli strati superficiali.

Tre frammenti possono essere ricondotti ai piatti a orlo verticale tipo Consp. 18 (**fig. 2, 2**) e Consp. 20.4 (**fig. 2, 3**), datati rispettivamente tra la fine del I sec. a.C. e la prima metà del I sec. d.C. e tra la metà del I e gli inizi del II sec. d.C. Il resto dei frammenti identificabili è pertinente a coppe di I sec. d.C., di cui la più attestata è la coppa emisferica con listello e orlo verticale Consp. 34.1 (**fig. 2, 4, 12**), seguita dalla coppa con labbro triangolare ingrossato Consp. 37.5.1/ Pucci 35.10 (**fig. 2, 6**). Un frammento di alto piede potrebbe essere pertinente a un calice di età giulio-claudia (R1-10, a eccezione di R3) o a una Consp. 52 (**fig. 2, 15**).

Terra sigillata tardo italica decorata

41 frammenti, pertinenti a un NMI di 10 esemplari, documentano la presenza di sigillata tardo italica decorata, tradizionalmente datata tra l'80 d.C. e l'età adrianea (Medri 1992: 27-30). Venti frammenti provengono dai livelli di abbandono e i restanti 21 dagli accumuli di materiale.

E' attestata la coppa carenata Drag. 29, di cui 10 frammenti sono ascrivibili al sottotipo Medri 1.8 (**fig. 2, 7, 8, 16, 17**), la variante più tarda nella produzione di terra sigillata tardo italica decorata e impiegata dalle sole officine dei *Murrii* e di *L. Nonius Flor ( )* (Medri 1992: 49-50). L'impasto dei frammenti esaminati è omogeneo per quasi tutti gli esemplari: un colore che vira dal rosa al beige-nocciola, liscio e compatto, caratterizzato da sporadici vacuoli e inclusi bianchi di minutissime dimensioni; il rivestimento è generalmente rosso-bruno, sottile, opaco e poco aderente alla matrice. Tre frammenti attribuiti all'officina di *L. Nonius Flor( )* presentano impasto e rivestimento viranti all'arancione.

Il repertorio iconografico

I frammenti di parete sono decorati a matrice e prevalentemente da motivi vegetali: foglie pentalobate (Lavizzari Pedrazzini n. 188) (**fig. 3, 3**), foglie d'ulivo (Medri 5.2.3. 01) (**fig. 3, 4**) e rosette multipetale (Medri 5.5.3) (**fig. 3, 2, 8**). Un frammento mostra un pannello caratterizzato da corde e rosette a perle (Medri 5.5.7) (**fig. 3, 5**). Un solo esemplare, lungo la fascia inferiore del vaso, mostra un soggetto mitologico. Si tratta di una sequenza semplice di eroti cocchieri rivolti a sinistra (Medri 1.1.3b), assai frequente nel repertorio iconografico della classe ceramica e comune ai prodotti di tutti i ceramisti tardo italici (**fig. 3, 1**). L'origine del soggetto è da ricercare nel repertorio aretino e, in particolare, nella produzione tardo perenniana di *Bargathes*, dove gli eroti sono rivolti a destra e conducono una biga. Nel repertorio tardo italico, in accordo con la perdita di interesse semantico peculiare di questa classe, l'erote cocchiere mantiene le braccia protese in avanti, nell'atto di afferrare le redini, tuttavia non è più preceduto da una biga e resta un soggetto isolato. La perdita dei dettagli interni e l'opposta direzione della figura nella produzione tardo italica ha suggerito, per questo punzone, il calco diretto da un vaso aretino (Medri 1992: 59-60).

L'officina di L. Nonius Flor( )

Tre frammenti di piede, ascrivibili alla variante Medri 1.8, recano sul fondo l'impressione di un bollo. Su due di questi è possibile leggere la firma del vasaio *L. Nonius Flor( )*. Gli esemplari ritrovati nel contesto dell'incrocio rappresentano la prima testimonianza dei prodotti dell'officina nell'area, sinora non attestati nella letteratura edita di Cosa né del suo *ager*.

I due frammenti con firma leggibile provengono dai livelli di accumulo. Si tratta di un fondo con bollo *in planta pedis* OCK 1287.8 (**fig. 2, 17**), mancante dell'estremità destra, e di uno con bollo *in lunula* OCK 1287.9 (**fig. 2, 16**). Il terzo frammento di piede proviene invece dallo strato di abbandono US 18. Il bollo è fortemente usurato e la firma risulta illeggibile, fatta eccezione per una labile "L" iniziale che, unitamente all'ascrizione al sottotipo Medri 1.8, alle caratteristiche del corpo ceramico, nonché alla perfetta sovrapposizione del cartiglio con l'esemplare **fig. 2, 16**, ne suggerirebbe ancora l'ascrizione all'officina di *L. Nonius Flor( )* (**fig. 2, 8**).

L. Nonius Flor( ) è il ceramista più tardo nella produzione di sigillata tardo italica decorata. Il rinvenimento a Bientina (PI) di un frammento di tegola recante il bollo *L. NON[.] FLOREN* porterebbe a integrare il *cognomen*, originariamente sciolto *Flor(us)* (*CVArr* 1137), in *Flor(entius)* (Pucci 1990: 15; Medri 1992: 125 n. 30).

L. Nonius Flor( ) adotta le varianti Medri 1.6 e Medri 1.8 della coppa Drag. 29 e, nel partito decorativo, predilige l'impiego di pannelli e la sequenza semplice dei soggetti, uno schema composto da una medesima figura ripetuta in serie. Eccezionalmente, può alternare due soggetti distinti e replicarli sino a campire l'intero spazio disponibile. Le forme

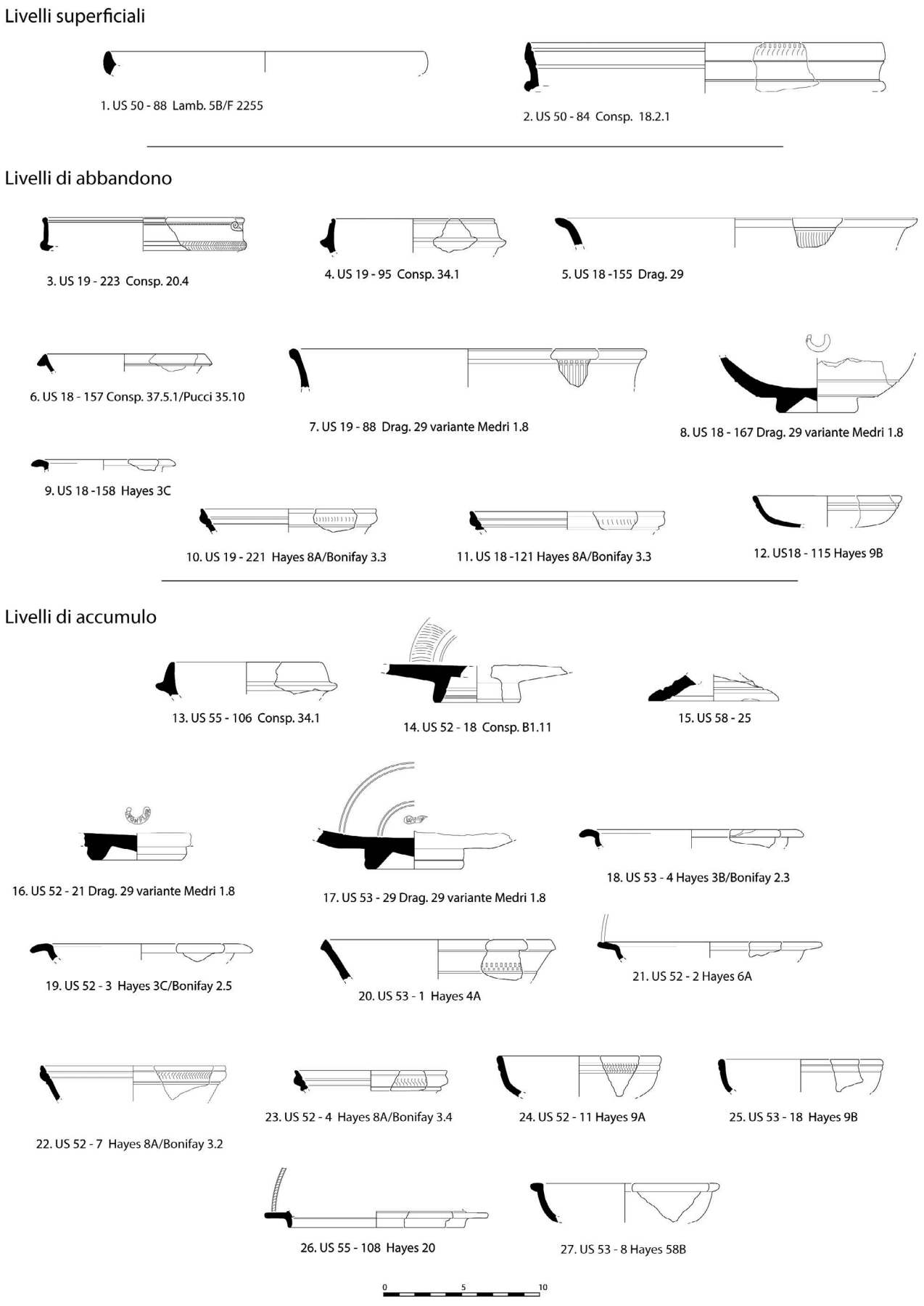


Fig. 2. La ceramica a vernice nera e la terra sigillata italica dall'incrocio tra le strade P e 5. (elaborazione grafica di Martina Rodinò)

attribuite al vasaio provenienti da Ostia presentano dimensioni notevolmente maggiori rispetto alle prime produzioni tardo italiche decorate e la vernice del vasellame è spesso scadente, molto diluita e tendente al colore arancio-giallastro (Pucci 1973: 315-321).

Le recenti indagini archeometriche condotte sulla terra sigillata dell'Etruria settentrionale marittima hanno consentito di collocare il centro produttivo dell'officina in un'area non distante dall'Isola di Migliarino, tra il sobborgo settentrionale di Pisa e la foce del fiume *Auserculus* (Menchelli, Capelli e Del Rio 2001: 91-92).

L'attività dell'officina sembra essere circoscritta all'età adrianea e si caratterizza per la pressoché nulla esportazione verso le province, dovuta alla coincidenza con l'egemonia commerciale dell'Africa Proconsolare e la conseguente vasta diffusione di stoviglie africane. I prodotti di *L. Nonius Flor ( )*



Fig. 3. Frammenti di terra sigillata decorata dall'incrocio tra le strade 5 e P. 1-10. (elaborazione grafica di Martina Rodinò)

sono infatti attestati prevalentemente nei siti collocati lungo la costa tirrenica e in Corsica (Medri 1992: 124-125).

Esemplificativo del commercio che doveva interessare questa officina è il Relitto B di Punta Ala, nave oneraria probabilmente diretta a Ostia e naufragata in età adrianea, che trasportava un carico costituito da anfore Dressel 20, Dressel 2-4, galliche di forma 4 e 5, Spello e Forlimpopoli e da circa cinquanta esemplari di terra sigillata tardo italica, alcuni dei quali firmati dai ceramisti pisani *L. Rasinius Pisanus, C.P.P., Sex. Murrius Pisanus, Sex. Murrius Festus, L. Nonius Flor(entinus)*. Le ipotesi circa la provenienza della nave la vedono giungere nel Tirreno settentrionale dalla *Baetica*, con soste nei porti della Gallia, oppure propongono che il carico sia stato composto interamente a Pisa (Bargagliotti, Cibecchini e Gambogi 2004: 102; Pasquinucci e Menchelli 2010: 8-10; Menchelli 2011: 26-28; 2020: 222). Le imbarcazioni che salpavano dai porti di Pisa non sembrano essere destinate a percorsi di lunga distanza, bensì a navigazioni

	ABBANDONO				ACCUMULO			LIVELLI SUPERFICIALI (SAGGI A-B)		
	TIPO	OAF	NMI	FIGG.	OAF	NMI	FIGG.	OAF	NMI	FIGG.
CERAMICA A VERNICE NERA (Tipo B Etrusco)	Lamboglia 5B/ F 2255							1	1	fig. 2, 1
	Non id.				2	2				
CERAMICA A VERNICE NERA (Taylor tipo IV)	Non id.				1	1		2	1	
CERAMICA A VERNICE NERA (Cerchia della Campana B)	Non id.	1	1		1	1				
TOTALE		1	1		4	4		3	2	
SIGILLATA ITALICA	Consp. 18.2.1							1	1	fig. 2, 2
	Consp. 20.4	1	1	fig. 2, 3						
	Consp. 34.1	3	1	fig. 2, 4	1	1	fig. 2, 13			
	Consp. 37.5.1/ Pucci 36.10	1	1	fig. 2, 6						
	Consp. R1-10/ Consp. 52				1	1	fig. 2, 15			
	Consp. B1.11				1	1	fig. 2, 14			
	Non id.	6	1		14	8		1	1	
TOTALE		10	4		17	11		2	1	
TERRA SIGILLATA TARDO ITALICA DECORATA	Drag. 29 variante Medri 1.8	6	2	fig. 2, 7-8	4	3	fig. 2, 16-17			
	Drag. 29 (variante imprecisata)	14		fig. 2, 5	17	5				
TOTALE		20	2		21	8				
SIGILLATA SUD GALLICA	Non id.							1	1	fig. 3, 11
TOTALE								1	1	
SIGILLATA AFRICANA A1	Hayes 3C	1	1							
	Hayes 8	1	1							
	Hayes 8A/ Bonifay 3.2				1	1				
	Hayes 9	1	1							
	Hayes 9A				1	1				
	Hayes 20				3	2	fig. 2, 26			
	Non id.				12	1				
SIGILLATA AFRICANA A1-2	Hayes 3B/ Bonifay 2.3				1	1	fig. 2, 18			
	Hayes 3C/ Bonifay 2.5	3	3	fig. 2, 9	5	4	fig. 2, 19			
	Hayes 4A				1	1	fig. 2, 20			
	Hayes 6A				5	2	fig. 2, 21			
	Hayes 8	1	1							
	Hayes 8A/ Bonifay 3.3	6	4	fig. 2, 10-11	12	5				
	Hayes 9A				9	9	fig. 2, 24			
	Non id.	3			40					
SIGILLATA AFRICANA A2	Hayes 8B/ Bonifay 3.4				1	1	fig. 5, 9			
	Hayes 9B	1	1	fig. 2, 12	3	2	fig. 2, 25			
	Non id.				3	3				
SIGIALLATA AFRICANA D1	Hayes 58B				2	1	fig. 2, 27			
TOTALE		17	12		97	33				

Tab. 1. Cosa. Incrocio street 5-P. Terra sigillata.

costiere che prevedevano molteplici soste dovute sia alle esigenze commerciali sia alle necessità dell'equipaggio (Pasquinucci e Menchelli 2010: 9). Cosa doveva dunque costituire uno degli approdi lungo la via che dal *Portus Pisanus* fiancheggiava la costa tirrenica per raggiungere Ostia e la Campania, inserendosi all'interno dell'articolato sistema di *inter-port connectivity* funzionale alle esigenze annonarie di Roma (Pasquinucci e Menchelli 2010: 9; Rodinò 2023).

Terra sigillata sud gallica

Nel contesto dell'incrocio, la sigillata sud gallica è attestata attraverso un solo frammento di parete, rinvenuto nei livelli superficiali (US 50). L'esemplare si caratterizza per un impasto duro e compatto, di colore rosso-scuro tendente al marrone, con frequenti inclusi bianchi di minutissime dimensioni; il rivestimento è rosso-bruno, spesso, coprente, omogeneo e brillante. Sulla superficie esterna presenta un motivo vegetale realizzato a matrice, costituito da una foglia di edera con stelo a meandri (**fig. 3, 11**).

Sigillata africana

All'interno dell'area indagata, la sigillata africana A è la classe di vasellame da mensa maggiormente presente ed è documentata da 114 frammenti, riconducibili a un numero minimo di 32 esemplari. Solo un esemplare di coppa Hayes 58B attesterebbe la presenza sigillata africana D^1 assai rara a Cosa (**fig. 2, 17**) (Fentress et al. 2003: 69, 308-310). 17 frammenti provengono dai livelli di abbandono e i restanti 97 da quelli di accumulo.

All'interno della classe, la produzione A^{1-2} è prevalente (71%), seguita dall'A^1 (21%), dalla più tarda A^2 (6,1%). Le coppe maggiormente documentate sono le coppe carenate dall'orlo con lobo centrale Hayes 8A/Bonifay 3.2 e 3.3 (**fig. 2, 10-11, 22**) e le coppe emisferiche con orlo indistinto Hayes 9A (**fig. 2, 24**), la prima ascritta tra l'80 e il 150 d.C. ca. e la seconda tra l'inizio e la seconda metà del II sec. d.C. I piatti sono rappresentati dai tipi a orlo estroflesso Hayes 3B/Bonifay 2.3 (**fig. 2, 18**) e Hayes 3C/Bonifay 2.5 (**fig. 2, 9, 19**), datati tra la fine del I e la seconda metà del II sec. d.C. Sono infine attestate le scodelle carenate Hayes 4A (**fig. 2, 20**) e Hayes 6A (**fig. 2, 21**), entrambe ascritte tra la fine del I e gli inizi del II sec. d.C., e i coperchi Hayes 20 (**fig. 2, 26**), prodotti tra la fine del I e la fine del II sec. d.C.

Importante si rivela la presenza, nei livelli di abbandono e di accumulo, di coppe Hayes 8A/Bonifay 3.4 (**fig. 2, 23**) e Hayes 9B (**fig. 2, 12, 25**). Questi ultimi sono tipi prodotti a partire dalla seconda metà del II sec. sino agli inizi del III d.C. (Carandini e Tortorella 1981: 26-27; Bonifay 2004: 156) e rappresentano, coerentemente alla datazione fornita dall'asse di Marco Aurelio e dal materiale anforico, un importante *terminus post quem* per l'abbandono del basolato stradale e degli edifici, le cui macerie sono state riversate in questo settore dell'abitato.

M.R.

Incrocio tra la Street P e la Street 5: i contenitori da trasporto

Lo scavo ha restituito 201 frammenti significativi di anfore, tra cui sono stati individuati e analizzati 12 campioni (8 di produzione locale, 3 di area italica e 1 di provenienza gaditana)[4].

Rispetto alle analisi già condotte sul contesto dell'edificio P, le analisi hanno permesso di individuare due soli gruppi di impasto, attribuiti alle produzioni di Albinia e ipoteticamente del Portus Feniliae, mentre non è rappresentato il gruppo associato al Portus Cosanus (Romeo et al. 2021: 469-472).

Livelli di abbandono

Nei livelli di abbandono che coprono il basolato, i frammenti diagnostici di contenitori da trasporto sono 21, di cui 20 identificati, ripartiti tra produzioni locali e importazioni. Dal momento che i livelli di abbandono hanno restituito un asse bronzeo di Marco Aurelio (171-172 d.C.), che fornisce il *terminus post quem* degli scarichi, il contesto presenta un alto indice di residualità, come peraltro già rilevato per i materiali provenienti dall'edificio P.

Anfore di produzione locale
Sono stati individuati 4 frammenti di Dressel 1, in posizione residuale. Tra queste si segnalano due reperti oggetto di analisi petrografiche: un orlo di Dressel 1A attribuito ad Albinia, fabric B, a quarzo dominante (**fig. 4, 1**) e un esemplare di Dressel 1A, riferibile all'atelier della Feniglia (**fig. 4, 2**).
Inoltre il contesto ha restituito un orlo e un'ansa, forse di un unico esemplare (**fig. 4, 3**), che pur nella scarsità di attestazioni e tipologie note, possono essere attribuiti alle anfore ovoidi o a fondo piatto *à hautes lèvres* identificati nell'atelier di Albinia (Benquet e Mancino 2006: 469 e figg. 6, 474-478, e 13).

Anfore di importazione
Tra le anfore di importazione alcune risultano in posizione residuale come i 3 esemplari attribuibili all'area betica: un orlo di Dressel 14 (**fig. 4, 4**), sinora attestata in città solo nella versione lusitana (Will type 16e), mentre le produzioni betiche sono presenti a Settefinestre (Cambi e Volpe 1985: 80), un orlo di Van der Werff 2, T.7.4.3.3, con impasto attribuito dalle analisi petrografiche all'area gaditana (**fig. 4, 5**), e un'ansa di Dressel 28 (**fig. 4, 6**). E' attestata un'ansa di anfora gallica (fig. X.7).

Le importazioni africane sono rappresentate da 3 frammenti: un orlo di Ostia XXIII (**fig. 4, 8**) e un'ansa di Africana I (**fig. 4, 9**), che si segnalano per la contemporaneità al contesto, e un'ansa di Mau XXXV, finora non attestata in città, ma presente a Settefinestre (Cambi and Volpe 1985: 86). Le produzioni egee e microasiatiche sono attestate in 3 frammenti: un'ansa frammentaria di Cretese 1/Agorà G 197 non

[4] Le analisi petrografiche sono state realizzate dal dott. C. Capelli-Università di Genova-DISTAV, che ringraziamo per l'elaborazione e l'analisi dei risultati.

databile, un'ansa a sezione circolare forse assimilabile alla produzione delle Camulodunum 184 (**fig. 4, 10**) e un fondo di Kingsholm 117 di provenienza siro-palestinese (**fig. 4, 11**), sinora non attestato in ambito urbano.

A.C.

Livelli di accumulo

Nei livelli di accumulo che coprono l'abbandono e colmano il piano stradale, sono stati identificati 155 frammenti significativi, costituiti soprattutto da produzioni locali in posizione residuale ma anche da un variegato panorama di importazioni. 9 frammenti, di cui 3 con impasto orientale, non sono identificati.

Anfore di produzione locale

Tra le anfore di produzione locale (98 reperti), sono attestati 88 frammenti diagnostici di Dressel 1, di cui 7 di Dressel 1A, 2 di Dressel 1B e 1 attribuito in via di ipotesi a Dressel 1C.

Tra le Dressel 1 si segnalano i contenitori sottoposti ad analisi petrografiche:

- una Dressel 1A (**fig. 4, 12**) e una Dressel 1B (**fig. 4, 17**), il cui impasto è stato caratterizzato e ipoteticamente attribuito alle produzioni del Portus Feniliae (Romeo et al. 2021: 470-472);

- una Dressel 1A di Albinia, fabric B a quarzo dominante (**fig. 4, 14**; cfr. Benquet e Mancino 2006: 467-468, fig. 4);

una probabile Dressel 1C di Albinia, fabric A a calcari dominanti (**fig. 4, 15** ; cfr. Benquet and Mancino 2006: 468, fig. 5);

- un'ansa di contenitore Dressel 1, con bollo M rilevato entro cartiglio *in radice ansae*, che ha mostrato su base archeometrica affinità con reperti di Albinia, fabric A (**fig. 4, 23**).

Si veda come confronto per questo marchio il bollo CEIPAC 21132 da Le Saulé (Azé, Francia) al Musée de Mâcon, sempre *in radice ansae*, attribuito a Dressel 1 di produzione italica[5].

Una recente revisione dei materiali di scavo ha individuato un orlo frammentario di Dressel 1A con bollo B, presumibilmente monogrammatico, entro cartiglio (**fig. 4, 13**), già attestato a Cosa (Will and Slane 2019: 17-18, nn. 37-39 = CEIPAC 52328-52330) in un deposito di difficile interpretazione (Will and Slane 2019: 119-120)[6]. Esso è presente anche in ambito borgognone a Bibracte (CEIPAC 20787) in un contesto databile 130/120-90/80 a.C. e al Musée de Mâcon (CEIPAC 21069), proveniente da Le Saulé (Azé), in entrambi i casi con attribuzione a produzione italica. L'esemplare del nostro contesto è di lettura estremamente incerta.

Sulla base dell'osservazione macroscopica è stato possibile riconoscere: un'ansa di Dressel 1 il cui impasto è assimilabile alle produzioni del Portus Cosanus, assenti invece tra i campioni analizzati di questo contesto; 8 frammenti di Dressel 2-4 attribuiti a produzione locale, finora non individuati dalle analisi archeometriche, che sembrano per lo più compatibili con i manufatti della Feniglia e in un caso di Albinia (fabric B); 2 frammenti di ovoidi ascrivibili ad ambito cosano; un frammento di anfora a fondo piatto (**fig. 4, 22**).

Anfore di importazione

E' stato possibile identificare 12 frammenti di produzione italica. In particolare sono attestati 4 frammenti di Dressel 1 (**fig. 5, 6-7**), tra cui una Dressel 1C, riferita dubitativamente ad ambito pompeiano su base macroscopica. Le Dressel 2-4 sono documentate da 4 frammenti, di cui due, sottoposti ad analisi petrografiche, sono stati attribuiti rispettivamente ad ambito regionale toscano (**fig. 5, 4**) e pompeiano (**fig. 5, 3**), produzione quest'ultima già nota a Cosa (Will type 12a). Sono infine attestati 3 frammenti di Dressel 6A, contenitore molto raro a Cosa (Will type 16), e un orlo attribuito dubitativamente a Mid Roman 1 (**fig. 5, 8**), anfora sinora non documentata in città, ma presente a Settefinestre nei livelli di II sec. d.C. (Cambi and Volpe 1985: 76-77).

Sono attestati 3 frammenti riferibili ad ambito lusitano, due Dressel 14 *similis* e una Almagro 50 (**fig. 5, 9**), quest'ultima *hapax* a Cosa e utile per la datazione del contesto in esame. La cronologia della produzione è stata infatti fissata tra la prima metà del III e il primo quarto del V sec. (Raposo e Almeida 2016). Sono presenti almeno 6 esemplari di area betica, a conferma di importazioni già rappresentate in città: due frammenti di Haltern 70, due di Dressel 7-11, uno di Beltrán 2A, uno di Dressel 20 (**fig. 5, 10**). Quest'ultimo contenitore è attestato a Cosa (Will type 20) almeno dalla metà del II sec., come testimoniano i bolli; purtroppo nei livelli di accumulo dell'incrocio si conserva un'ansa anepigrafe, non meglio databile. L'antecedente Haltern 71/Oberaden 83 è presente invece nell'edificio P (Romeo et al 2021: 470, fig. 14.3).

Sono rappresentati 9 frammenti di Gauloise 4 (**fig. 5, 11**).

Sono attestati 14 frammenti di produzione africana. Si segnalano una probabile variante di Uzita 52,10 con impasto comparabile con quelli di Salakta (**fig. 5, 12**), dove il tipo è documentato in contesti di atelier (Nacef 2015), nonché 2 frammenti di Ostia LIX (**fig. 5, 14, 17**) e 4 di Ostia XXIII (**fig. 5, 13, 15**). Sono inoltre presenti 4 frammenti di Africana I, documentata in città e a Settefinestre dall'età tardo-antonina (Will type 21a; cfr. Cambi and Volpe 1985: 84), tra cui due orli di Africana IA (**fig. 5, 16**), databili tra fine II e inizi III sec. (Bonifay 2004: 107), utili per la datazione del contesto. Sono infine presenti un fondo (**fig. 5, 18**) e un'ansa della tripolitana Mau XXXV, sinora non rivenuta a Cosa e al porto cosano, ma testimoniata a Settefinestre dall'età traianeo-adrianea (Cambi and Volpe 1985: 86).

Da ultimo, sono attribuiti a produzione egea e micrasiatica 7 frammenti di contenitori da trasporto. Si segnalano due anse di Cretese 1/Agorà G 197 (**fig. 5, 19**) e due di Camulodunum 184 (**fig. 5, 22**), nonché tre frammenti non identificati, di cui un orlo e un'ansa col medesimo impasto (**fig. 5, 20-21**) che, benché privi di attacchi, sono probabilmente riferibili al medesimo individuo, vista anche la compatibilità nelle dimensioni.

L.D'A.

[5] Per altre attestazioni di marchi similari su Dressel 1 vd.: CEIPAC 28488, 33955, 7858, 8303, 8364, 9987, 10650, 20881, 21132, 24431, 24432, 24433, 21133, 21134, 21250, 21285, 21306. Si segnala che il bollo CEIPAC 33955 su ansa di Dressel 1C proviene da Albinia.

[6] È stato individuato in città anche un marchio similare di Dressel 1B (Will and Slane 2019: 37-38, n. 124)

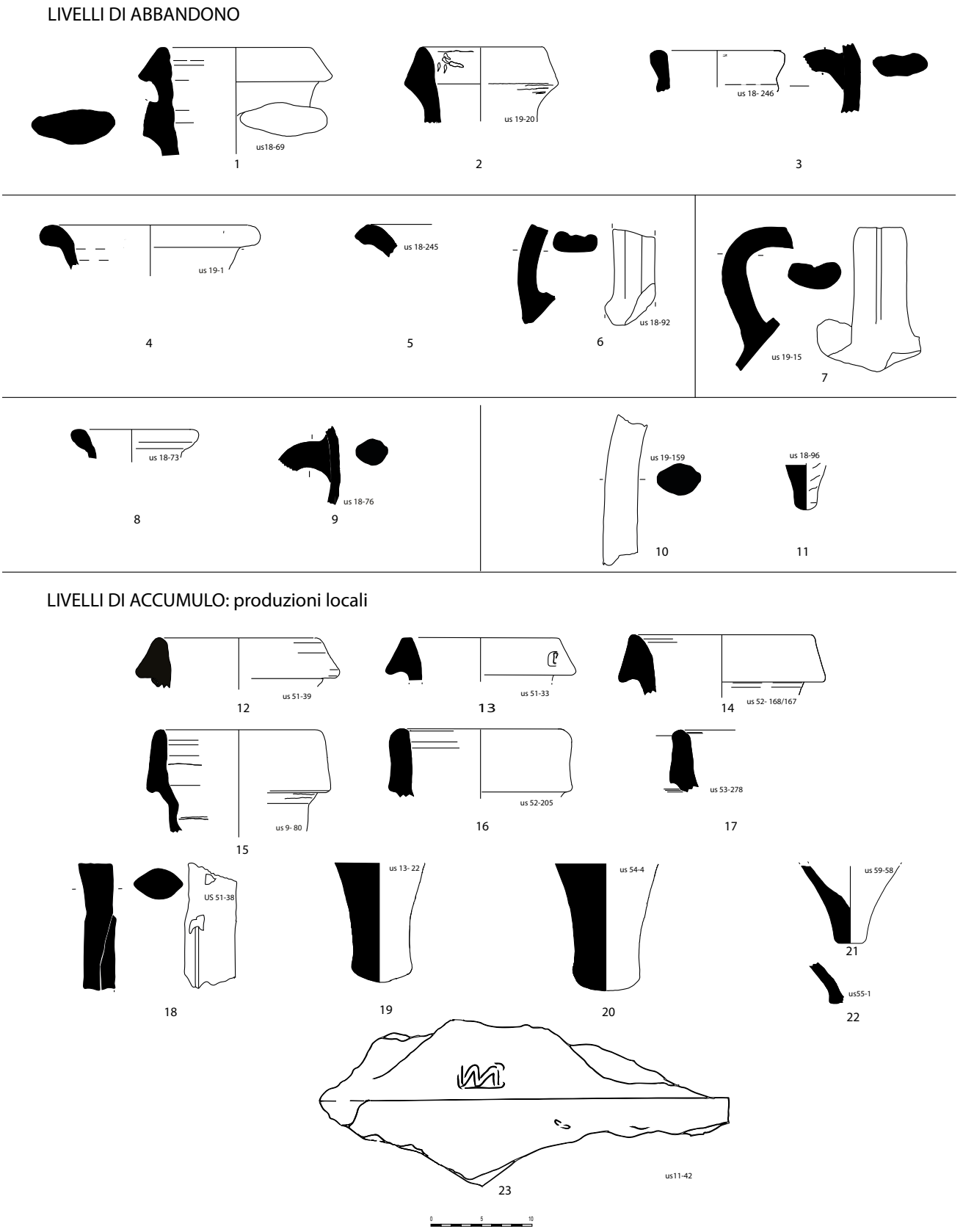


Fig. 4. Cosa. Incrocio strada 5 /strada P. livelli di abbandono. Produzione locale 1-2. Dressel 1A. 3. anfora ovoide o a fondo piatto à haute lévres (?) di produzione locale. Anfore d'importazione. 4. Anfora ovoide betica. 5. Van der Werff 2, T. 7.4.3.3 6. Dressel 28. 7. Gauloise 4. 8. Ostia XXIII. 9. Africana I. 10. Camulodunum 184 (?). 11. Kingsholm 117; livelli di accumulo. Produzione locale. 12-14. Dressel 1A. 15-17. Dressel 1B. 18-21. Dressel 1. 22. Anfora a fondo piatto. 23. Dressel 1. (elaborazione grafica Alessia Contino)

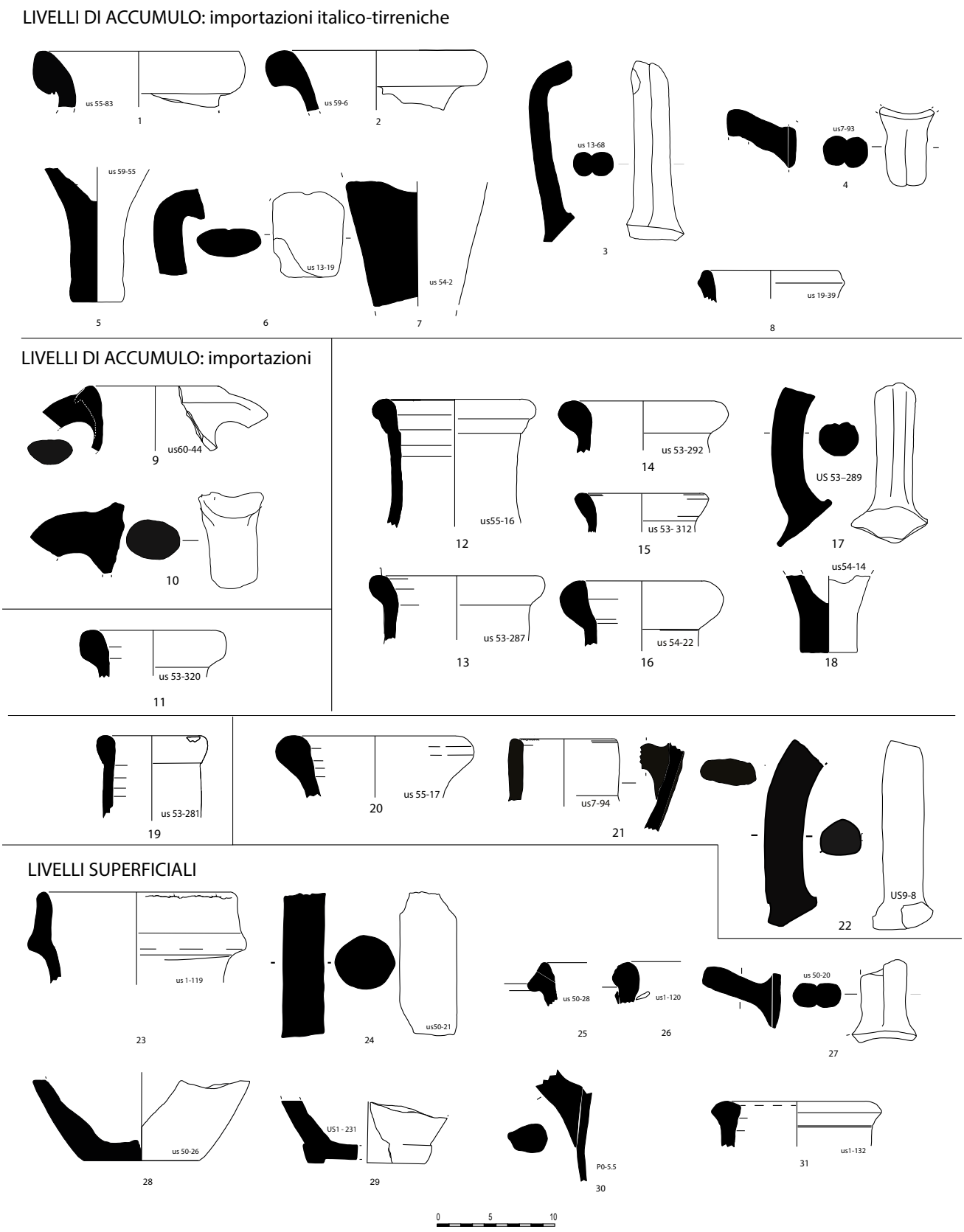


Fig. 5. Cosa. Incrocio strada 5 /strada P. livelli di accumulo. Produzione tirrenica. 1-5. Dressel 2-4. 6-7. Dressel 1. 8. Mid Roman 1. Anfore d'importazione. 9. Almagro 50. 10. Dressel 20. 11. Gauloise 4. 12. Uzita 52, 10. Produzione Salakta. 13,15. Ostia XXIII. 14, 17. Ostia LIX. 16. Africana I. 18. Mau XXXV. 19. Agorà G 197. 20-21. Anfora orientale non id. 22. Camulodunum 184 (?); livelli superficiali. Produzione locale 23. Dressel 1b; 24. Dressel 1. Produzione tirrenica 25. Grecoitalica. 26-27. Dressel 2-4. Produzione locale 28. Anfora a fondo piatto. 29. Produzione gallica. Gauloise 4. 30. Anfora tardopunica. 31. Anfora non id. (elaborazione grafica Alessia Contino)

Livelli superficiali

Al di sopra degli accumuli si individuano, sebbene tagliati e asportati nel settore nord-occidentale in occasione delle indagini archeologiche delle Università di Barcellona e Granada, livelli superficiali con materiali eterogenei, in particolare 24 frammenti di anfora di cui 4 non identificati.

Si segnalano tra le produzioni locali (13 reperti) un frammento di greco-italica (**fig. 5, 25**), nonché un orlo di Dressel 1B (**fig. 5, 23**) e un contenitore a fondo piatto (**fig. 5, 28**), che, sottoposti ad analisi archeometriche, sono stati attribuiti ad Albinia, fabric A.

Si notino invece tra le importazioni:

- un'ansa di Dressel 2-4 (**fig. 5, 27**), rivelatasi di probabile produzione regionale su base archeometrica (Lazio settentrionale o Toscana meridionale), ma non ascrivibile ad ambito locale;
- un fondo di Gauloise 4 (**fig. 5, 29**);
- un'ansa di tardo-punica (**fig. 5, 30**);
- un orlo di produzione orientale non identificato (**fig. 5, 31**).

A.C.

		ABBANDONO			ACCUMULO			LIVELLI SUPERFICIALI (SAGGI A-B)		
	TIPO	OAF	NMI	FIGG.	OAF	NMI	FIGG.	OAF	NMI	FIGG.
ANFORE LOCALI	Grecoitalica							1	1	fig. 5, 25
	Dressel 1	2	2		78	38	fig. 4, 18-20, 23	8	4	fig. 5, 24
	Dressel 1A	2	2	fig. 4, 1-2	7	7	fig. 4, 12-14			
	Dressel 1B				2	2	fig. 4, 15-17	2	1	fig. 5, 23
	Dressel 1C (?)				1	1				
	Fondo piatto				1	1	fig. 4, 22			
	ovoide				2	2				
	ovoide/fondo piatto	2	1	fig. 4, 3				2	2	fig. 5, 28
	Dressel 2-4 (?)	1	1		8	6	fig. 4, 21			
ANFORE TIRRENICHE	Dressel 1				3	3	fig. 5, 6-7			
	Dressel 1C				1	1				
	Dressel 2-4	2	2		4	4	fig. 5, 1-5	2	1	fig. 5, 26-27
	Mid Roman 1 (?)				1	1	fig. 5, 8			
	Dressel 6A				3	2				
ANFORE BETICHE	Dressel 14	1	1	fig. 4, 4						
	Van der Werff 2	1	1	fig. 4, 5						
	Haletrn 70				2	2		1	1	
	Dressel 7-11				2	2				
	Beltrán 2A				1	1				
	Dressel 28	1	1	fig. 4, 6						
	Dressel 20				1	1	fig. 5, 10			
ANFORE LUSITANE	Dressel 14 *similis*				2	2				
	Almagro 50				1	1	fig. 5, 9			
ANFORE GALLICHE	Gauloise 4	2	1	fig. 4, 7	9	4	fig. 5, 11	2	1	fig. 5, 29
ANFORE PROVINCE AFRICANE	Uzita pl. 52, 10				1	1	fig. 5, 12			
	Ostia LIX				2	1	fig. 5, 14, 17			
	Ostia XXIII	1	1	fig. 4, 8	4	3	fig. 5, 13, 15			
	Aficana I	1	1	fig. 4, 9	3	2				
	Africana IA				2	2	fig. 5, 16			
	Mau XXXV	1	1		2	2	fig. 5, 18			
	tardo punica non id.							2	1	fig. 5, 30
ANFORE ORIENTALI	Agorà G 197	1	1		2	1	fig. 5, 19			
	Camulodunum 184 (?)	1	1	fig. 4, 10	2	2	fig. 5, 22	1	1	
	Kingsholm 117	1	1	fig. 4, 11						
	Non id.				3	2	fig. 5, 20, 21			
ANFORE NON ID	anfore non id.	1	1		6	6		4	4	fig. 5, 31
TOTALE		21	19		156	103		25	17	

Tab. 2. Cosa. Incrocio street 5-P. Contenitori da trasporto.

Considerazioni conclusive

L'abitato di Cosa a partire dall'età flavia conobbe un rapido declino che portò gli studiosi a definire il sito, nella seconda metà del II d.C., "a ghost town" (Fentress et al. 2003: 67). Tuttavia, le ricerche condotte dall'Università di Firenze, accanto ai dati provenienti dalle indagini attuate nell'area delle Terme e della Casa 10.1 (Scott et al. 2021; Roca Roumens et al. 2013), suggeriscono di mitigare l'idea di una città desolata.

Il dato numismatico, insieme alla presenza di terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata e delle prime produzioni di sigillata africana A, consente di collocare l'abbandono di uno degli incroci principali della viabilità cittadina durante l 'età di Marco Aurelio. La maggiore concentrazione di sigillata africana A^{1-2} e A^2 e la presenza di ceramica da cucina africana C/A (di cui si segnalano in via preliminare i piatti-coperchio Hayes 196/Bonifay 11A e i tegami Hayes 197/Bonifay 10,3) all'interno dei livelli di accumulo consentirebbe, invece, di datarne l'obliterazione a partire dagli inizi del III secolo d.C.

All'età severiana le epigrafi cosane riferiscono infatti il tentativo di rilanciare l'economia della città mediante l'invio di *curatores rei publicae*. Durante il regno di Caracalla, furono rioccupate quattro *insulae* dell'abitato e alcune strutture del Foro furono restaurate, rendendo così necessaria la rimozione delle macerie dei preesistenti edifici e il loro scarico in aree non interessate a nuove attività edilizie (Fentress et al. 2003: 63, 65).

M.R.

Per quanto attiene gli approvvigionamenti della città in relazione al territorio, lo studio archeometrico effettuato sui contenitori da trasporto ha permesso di individuare tre gruppi di impasti di produzione locale: 1) Albinia fabric A e B (Capelli, Cabella e Piazza 2013: 479-483; Pl. hors texte 17-19); 2) Portus Cosanus (?), documentato da anfore bollate dei *Sestii* e da un frammento di anfora restituito dai livelli di accumulo, non analizzato; 3) Portus Feniliae (?), individuato grazie ad un marchio su Dressel 1B (NVN) rinvenuto nell'edificio P e presente tra quelli attestati negli scarichi della Feniglia (Romeo et al. 2021: 469-472). Il gruppo attribuito al Portus Feniliae, ascrivibile a sedimenti litoranei locali, è molto simile a quello del Portus Cosanus dal punto di vista composizionale, ma differente per le dimensioni e le percentuali relative delle diverse componenti. Ad un'osservazione macroscopica i due gruppi sono difficili da distinguere. Maggiormente riconoscibili sono gli impasti di Albinia, meglio documentati anche su base archeometrica (6 frr. su 12), mentre tra i contenitori esaminati a occhio nudo prevalgono quelli attribuiti al Portus Feniliae (60 frammenti su 108 in tutto di produzione locale) e un solo reperto è stato riferito al Porto Cosano, stante tuttavia il dato della notevole somiglianza tra i due gruppi.

Non sono stati individuati nelle analisi petrografiche frammenti di anfore Dressel 2-4 di produzione locale. Tuttavia, ad un controllo macroscopico 9 frammenti possono attribuirsi a ambito locale.

Le testimonianze ceramiche raccontano inoltre di una certa vivacità commerciale che doveva interessare Cosa ancora nel II d.C.

I prodotti dell'Etruria settentrionale, della Gallia meridionale, delle province ispaniche e dell'Africa settentrionale, nonché dell'Oriente mediterraneo, attestati nell'*ager cosanus,* consentono di inserire la colonia all'interno del complesso sistema di *inter-port connectivity* necessario all'espansione politica ed economica di Roma (Rodinò 2023). Rispetto a quanto già noto per l'ambito urbano, sono documentate nuove attestazioni: tra le produzioni italiche risulta testimoniata l'anfora Mid Roman 1, per le importazioni ispaniche la Almagro 50 dalla Lusitania e la Dressel 14 dalla Betica, per le tripolitane è presente la Mau XXXV e per l'egeo-orientale, la Kingsholm 117. Salvo che per queste novità e su numeri ridotti, si conferma il quadro evidenziato da altri contesti urbani: la vivacità delle importazioni in età imperiale, in specie dalla Spagna, dalla Gallia e dall'Africa (Will and Slane 2019: 115), con significativa incidenza di queste ultime in città già dal II sec. (Will and Slane 2019: 112).

Lo studio comparato dei contesti dell'edificio P riferibile al I d.C. (Romeo et al. 2021: 470) e dell'incrocio tra le strade 5 e P, i cui livelli di abbandono si datano dalla seconda metà del II d.C., testimoniano inoltre un aumento in quantità e varietà dei contenitori da importazione (12 frr. significativi su 69 provenienti dall'Edificio P; 77 frr. significativi su 201 provenienti dall'incrocio), rendendo quindi necessario un eventuale ripensamento sulle dinamiche di occupazione della città. In questo periodo si documenta infatti la evidente presenza di merci estranee alla produzione locale, testimoniando la vita della città, il mantenimento dei contatti commerciali e la comparsa di nuove rotte.

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Christiane De Micheli Schulthess

ELEMENTI DI CONTATTO FRA L'ATTUALE CANTON TICINO E LE DIVERSE REGIONI DEL MONDO ROMANO

The analysis of various productions from Ticino during the Roman period indicates that the region relied on local workshops or those in the Transpadana area. The probable reason for this is that Ticino assimilated Roman culture through its proximity to Romanised centres such as Comum *and* Mediolanum*. At this time central Italic workshops had already opened centres in the Transpadana and existing local workshops had converted to the new techniques and styles. Imports from other regions of the Empire, such as Gallic sigillata, are in fact scarce. However, Ticino is not disconnected from wider trade: contact with these networks is attested from the Iron Age onwards when Ticino was one of the regions connecting the north and south of the Alps. During the late period, though, the area seems to turn more to the north, with the presence of glass and fibulae distributed in the Alpine and Rhine regions.*

Canton Ticino – Comprensorio del Ticino – Sottoceneri – Sopraceneri – Prodotto locale

Introduzione

Il Canton Ticino è situato al centro della regione compresa fra i fiumi Sesia, Adda e Po, definita Comprensorio del Ticino per la sua omogeneità culturale e riconoscibile fin dall'età tardo-repubblicana/proto augustea, che raggiunge il suo massimo livello fra l'età claudia e quella flavia. Alcune classi di materiali presentano infatti caratteristiche tecnologiche e morfologiche assenti (o comunque poco presenti) al difuori di questa regione, tanto da poterne assumere produzione e distribuzione locali. Le due regioni che lo costituiscono, il Sopra- e il Sottoceneri, vanno considerate però separatamente per quando concerne il fenomeno della romanizzazione, che si attua per la vicinanza con centri romanizzati e non per conquista militare e che interviene in momenti diversi: più "precoce" – dall'età augustea, ma con il mantenimento di caratteri tipici della precedente Età del Ferro- nell'area che si affaccia sul Verbano e che è direttamente servita dalla via d'acqua Po-Ticino; un po' più tarda – a partire dal I secolo d.C., ma con caratteristiche più prettamente "romane"- nel Sottoceneri collegato via terra con *Mediolanum* e *Comum*. Come in tutta la Traspadana, la cultura romana non si sovrappone direttamente a quella celtica, ma lo fa progressivamente dopo un periodo di convivenza. Nelle sepolture, agli ornamenti celtici si sostituiscono quelli romani e scompaiono progressivamente le armi. Per quanto concerne il vasellame ceramico, il cambiamento è evidente soprattutto per quanto concerne la produzione fine.

Dal punto di vista geografico, l'attuale Canton Ticino è una propaggine delle regioni italiane del Piemonte e della Lombardia, alle quali era culturalmente legato già in epoca pre-romana (**fig. 1**). Il contributo si propone pertanto di presentare i diversi materiali ceramici rinvenuti nell'attuale Canton Ticino, alfine di evidenziare i materiali prodotti localmente e i loro eventuali influssi in altre regioni e l'eventuale presenza di prodotti d'importazione con i relativi influssi sulle produzioni locali. Per completare il quadro dei contatti fra il Ticino ed altre regioni verranno inoltre considerati anche materiali non ceramici quali il vasellame in bronzo, quello in vetro e le fibule. Per completare il quadro dei contatti fra il Ticino ed altre regioni verranno inoltre considerati anche materiali non ceramici quali il vasellame in bronzo, quello in vetro e le fibule.

Ceramica e altre classi di materiali

Fin dall'Età del Ferro sono attestati contatti fra l'Italia settentrionale e quella centrale. Prima della fine del II sec. a. C. i contatti fra popolazioni celtiche del Ticino e il mondo romano si limitano però alle importazioni di oggetti di prestigio, in particolare a vasellame in bronzo e ceramica, che compaiono nei corredi tombali delle élites locali accanto a materiali ceramici e oggetti più specifici della tradizione celtica come le armi nelle sepolture maschili. In Lombardia, l'inizio delle importazioni di ceramica a vernice nera centro-italica, considerata un "fossile-guida" della romanizzazione, è collocabile fra la fine del IV e l'inizio del III secolo a. C. e riguarda la produzione nord-etrusca/volterrana (Frontini 1985: 20). In generale, nell'Italia settentrionale produzione e circolazione della vernice nera interessano poi il II e, in particolare, il I secolo a.C. Attorno al 50 a.C., almeno per quanto concerne le necropoli di pianura, i corredi funerari della Transpadana documentano un totale cambiamento della cultura materiale a testimonianza dell'ormai completata romanizzazione della popolazione (Tizzoni 1981: 5-6, 32). In Ticino per questo cambiamento occorre attendere l'età augustea. Nella regione presa in esame, la

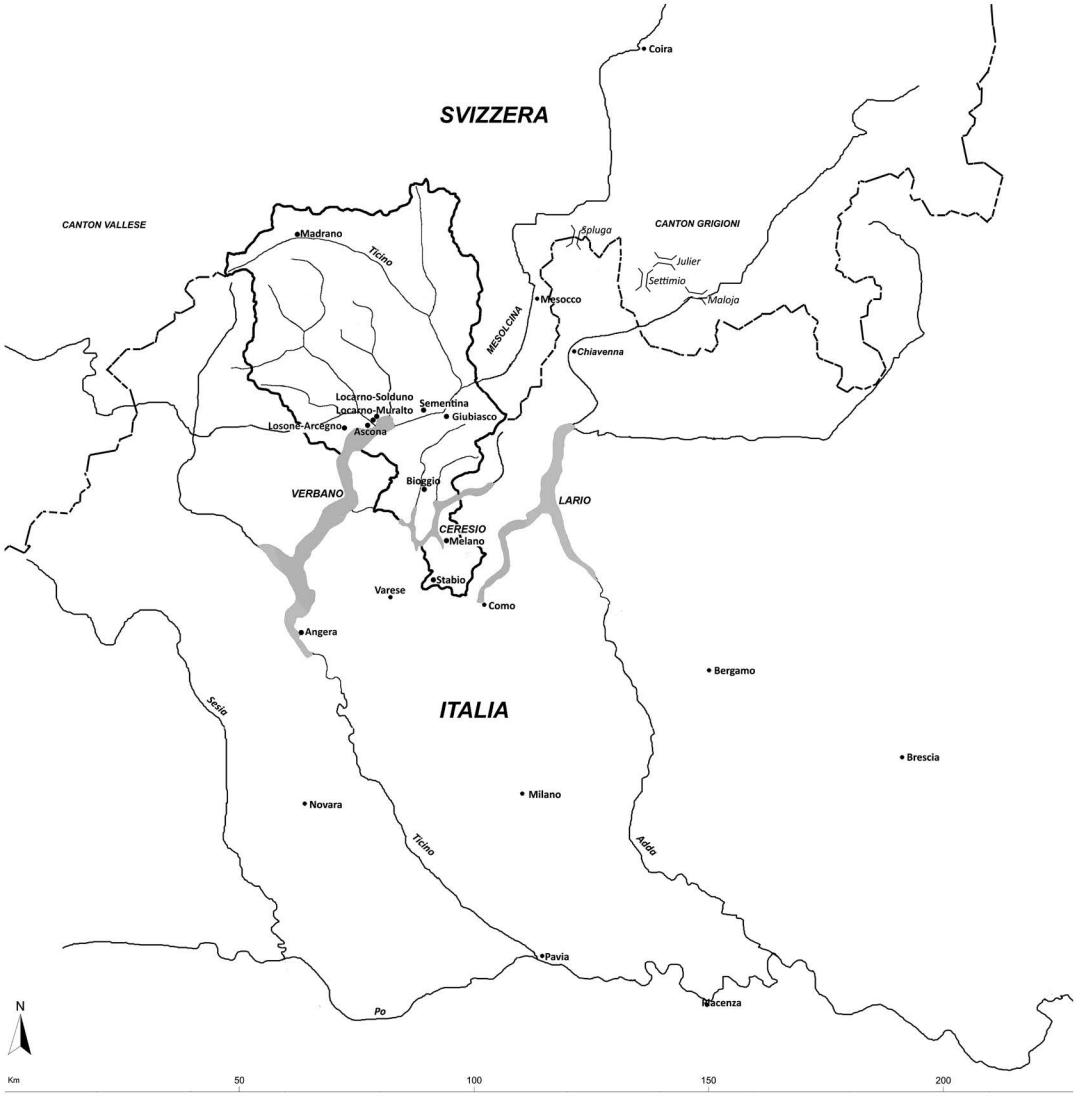


Fig. 1. Carta con i luoghi citati nel testo.

ceramica a vernice nera compare solo nei corredi riferibili al La Tène D1 della necropoli di Giubiasco (Carlevaro et al. 2006: 184), Locarno-Solduno e Sementina (Stöckli 1975: 105-106, 116-128) con pochi esemplari (Lamboglia 5/Morel 2821 e Lamboglia 3/Morel 7544), per continuare durante la fase La Tène D2 con uno spettro morfologico maggiore (Lamboglia 5/Morel 2284, Lamboglia 6/Morel 1441/1442 e Lamboglia 28/Morel 2654a). La lavorazione è generalmente accurata, l'impasto beige-rosato, la vernice omogenea. Ai contesti d'età augustea, invece, appartengono le forme Lamboglia 5/7/Morel 2277 e Lamboglia 7/16/Morel 2276, i cui esemplari sono contraddistinti da una lavorazione più trascurata e una vernice non sempre coprente tutta la superficie o non aderente al piatto (**fig. 2**). Queste ultime patere sono ampiamente attestate in tutta Lombardia ma anche generalmente considerate di produzione locale. Nelle sepolture di Giubiasco, Locarno-Solduno e Stabio sono inoltre presenti anche varianti acrome di forme a vernice nera, i cui prototipi verniciati sono talvolta assenti nelle stesse necropoli. In particolare, si tratta di coppe Lamboglia 27 e 28 (De Micheli Schulthess 2014: 348). Per la Lombardia, i dati relativi ai materiali d'importazione sono ancora indicativi per la difficoltà di distinguere i prodotti locali dalle importazioni (Olcese 1998: 11). Sembrerebbe però essere assente la Campana A, di origine centro-italica, ad indicare che i contatti commerciali di questa regione con quella tirrenica, seppur non da escludere completamente, erano estremamente scarsi. Per quanto concerne le produzioni a vernice nera dall'Etruria, invece, si evidenzia la difficoltà di distinguere le produzioni "originali" di Campana B da quelle della sua cerchia di influenza. Per il Canton Ticino alcuni esemplari a vernice nera da Giubiasco sono stati oggetti di analisi mineralogiche che rimandano ad un'area di produzione padana per l'alto tenore in Cr e Ni (Maggetti e Serneels 2006: 190-193; Olcese e Picon 1998: 32). In assenza di rinvenimenti di fornaci o di scarti di lavorazione, la questione relativa alla vernice nera dall'area padana resta aperta: le due ipotesi che vorrebbero una produzione circoscritta ai centri di più precoce roma-

nizzazione e, rispettivamente, una produzione distribuita su molte officine locali non possono essere verificate (Olcese 1998: 11-14; Sfredda 1998: 21-22). Per le regioni dell'attuale Lombardia più vicine alla regione in esame, emerge però il fatto che, contro una massiccia presenza di vernice nera nella Lomellina e nel Cremonese, nel Comasco e nel Varesotto i rinvenimenti di questa classe ceramica sono piuttosto esigui, come in Ticino (Sfredda 1998: 22).

Nella terra sigillata, il vasellame è quasi esclusivamente ascrivibile alla produzione italica, con i suoi tre filoni: la produzione aretina, quella padana o tardo-padana e una produzione locale, generalmente rappresentata dai recipienti Drag. 37/32, con pareti piuttosto spesse e vernice di qualità molto scadente. Quest'ultima forma è ampiamente diffusa nella regione fra i fiumi Sesia, Ticino, Adda e Po nelle necropoli di Angera, regione di Locarno e Lomellina, mentre è rara in altre regioni dell'Italia settentrionale come il Piemonte occidentale, il Veneto e l'Emilia-Romagna (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 326; Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 349 e nota 52, 363-364). Nel Canton Ticino gli esemplari che potrebbero direttamente appartenere alla produzione aretina sono presenti in numero ridotto, prevalentemente nelle necropoli sulle rive del Verbano e in quella di Giubiasco, in sepolture d'epoca augustea. Come nel caso della ceramica a vernice nera, malgrado la presenza della firma di vasai di origine aretina, resta la difficoltà di distinguere fra importazioni dirette da Arezzo e dall'Italia centrale, e prodotti dalle loro filiali in Cisalpina. Finora un unico esemplare con la firma *L GELL(IVS)* da Giubiasco è stato sottoposto ad analisi mineralogiche, che ne hanno confermato l'origine aretina (Maggetti e Serneels 2006: 192). Nell'ambito della produzione padana e tardo-padana si ripropongono inoltre le stesse considerazioni espresse in merito alla vernice nera (Palmieri 2018: 283): non sono stati rinvenuti scarti di lavorazione o fornaci, forme e marchi di fabbrica sono attestati in tutta la Traspadana, mancano analisi di laboratorio e gruppi di riferimento. Vasellame in sigillata padana e tardo-padana è però attestato ad Aquileia e fino nelle aree danubiane (Chinelli, Mosser e Sedlmayer 2007: 10-11, 29 e nota 257; Buora 2001: 289-292), a indicare il notevole raggio d'esportazione di questi prodotti e l'importante via di comunicazione Po-Aquileia (Gabucci 2017: 9.1.1, 5; Mantovani 2009). È interessante osservare come in alcuni siti i bolli Q.S.P. e Q.S.S., ben attestati in Ticino (Butti-Ronchetti 2000: 86; Biaggio-Simona e Butti-Ronchetti 1999: 189-192) siano documentati anche in siti come Vindobona, mentre essi sembrano scarseggiare ad Aquileia (Chinelli, Mosser e Sedlmayer 2007: 9).

Pochi sono invece finora gli esemplari ascrivibili alla produzione di sigillata gallica: due coppe Drag. 37 da Ascona della fabbrica di *Germanus* da Banassac (Donati, Butti-Ronchetti e Biaggio-Simona 1987: 32; 80-81, to S1, fine I- prima metà II secolo d.C.) e da Madrano della fabbrica di *Cibisus* da Ittenweiler o Mittelbronn (Butti-Ronchetti 2000: 89, 213-215, to 1/1957, fine II- inizio III secolo d.C.); una coppetta Drag. 35 da Locarno-Muralto di *Criciro* da Lezoux (Simonett e Lamboglia 1967-1971: 18, Muralto-Passalli to 16, fine I- prima metà II secolo d.C.) e ancora una patera Drag. 36 (Butti Ronchetti 2000: 247, to 7/1957, seconda metà del II secolo d.C.); due coppette Drag. 33 da Madrano (Butti Ronchetti 2000: 214-215, to 1/1957; 221, 224, to 2/1957 (fine II- inizio III secolo d.C.). Da Madrano proviene inoltre un bicchiere a "rivestimento argilloso" ampiamente diffuso in area gallica (Butti Ronchetti 2000: 94-95, to 1/1957) che si aggiunge alle sigillate galliche rinvenute nella necropoli. Questa presenza di prodotti gallici a Madrano resta in contrasto con quanto si può osservare nelle altre necropoli del Canton Ticino, dove sono del tutto assenti, e delle aree limitrofe, dove sono scarsamente attestati (Butti Ronchetti 2000: 95-96; Gabucci 2017: 9.1.1, 5), mentre appare comunque attestata nelle altre regioni della pianura padana, nel suo settore occidentale in particolare, ma anche in quello centrale e orientale. Ancor più scarse sono le attestazioni di sigillata africana in Ticino, finora documenta da un unico esemplare di patera Hayes 59 da Stabio, ma rinvenuto fuori contesto (Archivio Ufficio dei Beni Culturali, Bellinzona - Fondo Realini 1937). La forma risulta essere fra le più frequentemente attestate in Lombardia e ben documentata anche in altre regioni dell'Italia settentrionale (Roffia 1991: 93-94), dove questa classe ceramica giunge per il tramite di Aquileia o Ravenna (Massa 1999: 103). La sua

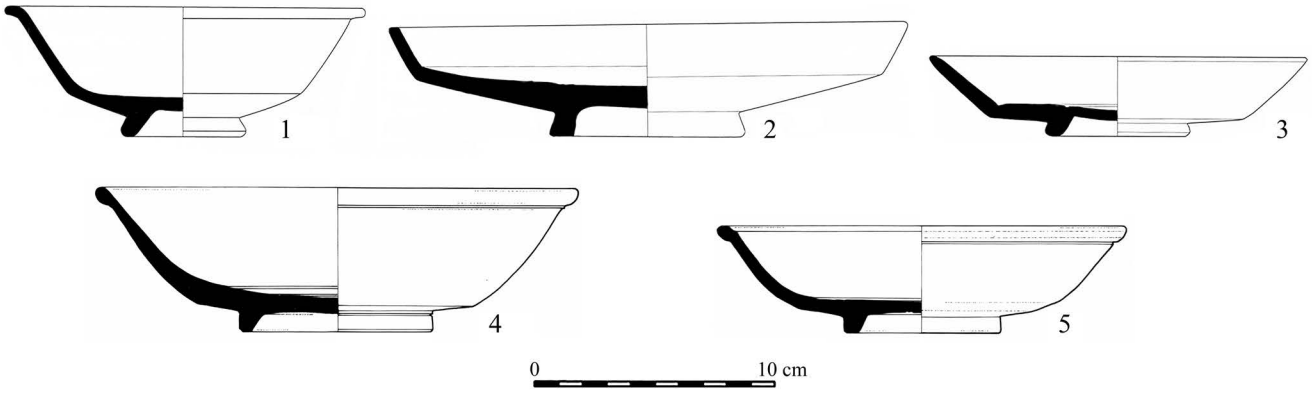


Fig. 2. Possibili produzioni locali a vernice nera e in terra sigillata
1. Lamboglia 28; 2. Lamboglia 5/7; 3. Lamboglia 7/16 (Carlevaro and Pernet and Tori and Vietti 2006: 186; fig. 6.4; mod.); 4-5. Sigillata padana Drag. 37/32 (De Micheli Schulthess 2021: 99, n. 155.79.112; 102, n. 155.79.160).

assenza nella regione in esame sembra però in primo luogo da imputare alla sua cronologia, visto che la maggior parte delle sepolture d'epoca romana si situa fra l'inizio del I e la fine del III secolo d.C. e il fatto che i materiali provengono perlopiù da necropoli. In Lombardia, infatti, la ceramica africana sembra generalmente non far parte dei corredi funerari ma provenire piuttosto da contesti abitativi (Palmieri 2018: 286-287 e nota 41; Medici 2005: 112).

Anche nell'ambito della ceramica invetriata, sembra restare aperta la questione della provenienza di skyphoi, kantharoi e calici dalle necropoli dell'Italia settentrionale ma che riproducono nel dettaglio forme e decorazioni della produzione di Tarso. Esemplari di questo tipo non sono stati ancora rinvenuti in Ticino, dove la ceramica invetriata decorata a matrice è presente solo con esemplari di bicchiere ad orlo svasato e di anforette miniaturistiche (**fig. 3**). Forme e decorazioni, ripresi da modelli in metallo e in vetro, sono sconosciuti al repertorio microasiatico e sembrano quindi avvalorare l'ipotesi di una produzione locale (Maccabruni 1981: 56-58). Le anforette realizzate a matrice, in particolare, presenti anche ad Angera seppur con motivi diversi, sembrano essere assenti nelle necropoli della Lomellina e del Piemonte dove le forme simili sono decorate alla barbotine (Maccabruni 1981: 64), avvalorando quindi l'ipotesi di una produzione locale con scarsa distribuzione (Facchini 1985: 542; Sfredda 1998: 75). La ceramica invetriata con decorazione alla barbotine, con le forme della tazza biansata e dell'urnetta, prenderebbe invece spunto da modelli in ceramica come le *Sariusschalen* e gli *Acobecher* invece che metallici e quindi si rifarebbe nuovamente ai modelli nord-italici piuttosto che a quelli provenienti da regioni più discoste (Maccabruni 1981: 68-70). L'invetriata tardoromana interessa invece, per le sue caratteristiche formali e decorative, l'ampia area transpadana centro-occidentale fra Verbano, medio corso Ticino e ramo orientale di Lario e Adda, distribuendosi soprattutto nella zona di Como e Varese e legandosi in particolare al Sottoceneri. Le forme principali sono le olpai a orlo verticale e corpo ovoidale e le olle biansate a corpo ovoidale (Maccabruni 1981: 75-77, 82, 85-86).

La ceramica comune e quella a pareti sottili rappresentano le classi di materiali di probabile produzione quasi esclusivamente locale o, tuttalpiù, relativa alle regioni limitrofe per quanto attiene a produzione e diffusione. Le loro caratteristiche tecnologiche e morfologiche sono infatti assenti (o comunque poco presenti) al difuori di questa regione, e indicano spesso una ripresa di forme delle epoche precedenti. È il caso delle olpai il cui corpo riprende la forma del vaso a trottola del periodo La Tène tipico del Comprensorio del Ticino (Tori et al. 2010: 214-215; Tizzoni 1991: fig. 3) e delle cosiddette *Wellentonnen* ispirate a forme dell'età del Ferro (De Micheli Schulthess 2003: 203-204; 2018: 480-81). Altre forme sono presenti solo in zone più o meno fortemente circoscritte a quella in esame, evidenziandone quindi l'origine locale sia a livello di produzione che di ideazione: le olpai collarino, le "olle comasche" presenti solo nella regione di Como e nel Sottoceneri, i bicchieri e le olle a tronco di cono che riproducono forme in pietra ollare (**fig. 4**). Fra le pareti sottili spiccano le coppette a pasta grigia con

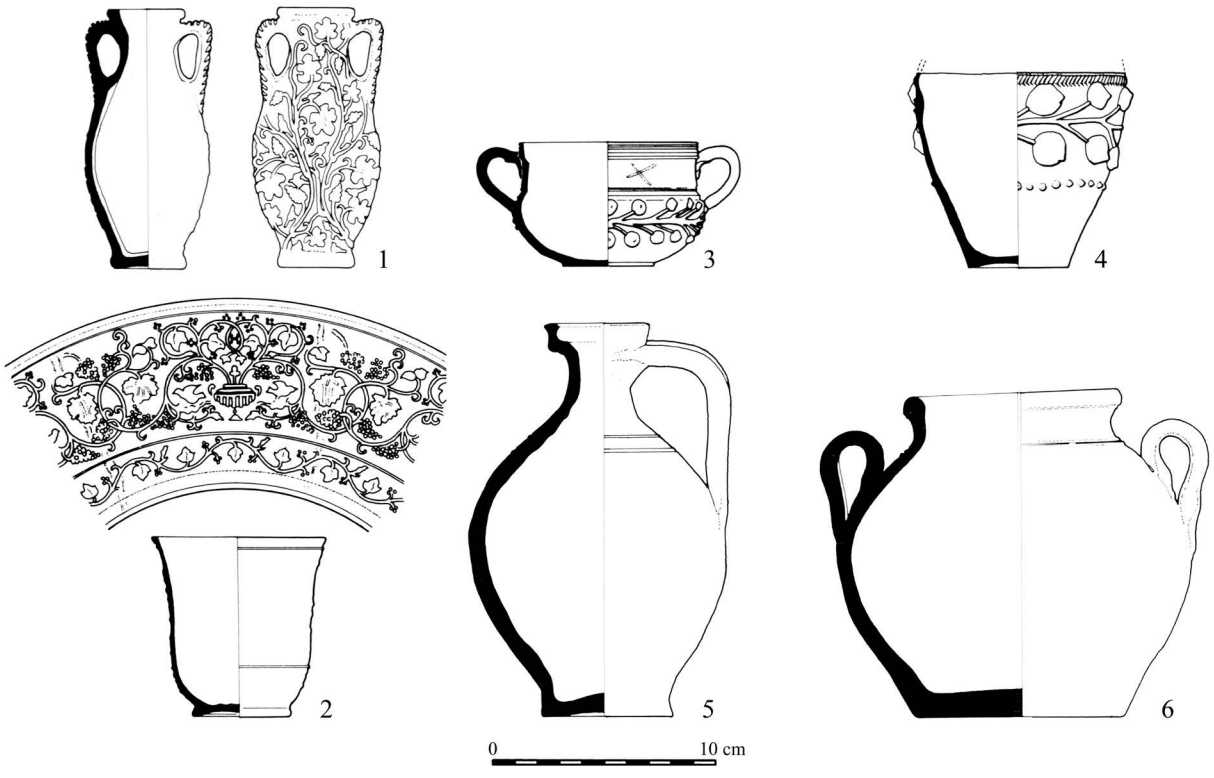


Fig. 3. Possibili produzioni locali in ceramica invetriata.
1-4. Età imperiale (Maccabruni 1991: 91, n. 14; 93, nn. 11, 6, 7; mod.); 5-6. Età tarda (Maccabruni 1991: 97, n. 4; 99, n. 24; mod.).

un'importante presenza di inclusi di sabbia nell'impasto e quelle a due bande di rotella o con decorazione mista alla barbotine sulla parte superiore del corpo e a rotella su quella inferiore, probabilmente direttamente esportate anche nelle province retiche e danubiane, e le ollette punterellate con particolare sintassi decorativa (De Micheli Schulthess 2018: 478-480, fig. 4; De Micheli Schulthess 2021: 33) (**fig. 5**). Si aggiungono le ollette ovoidali antropoprosope, diffuse in tutto il mondo romano occidentale ma che per le loro caratteristiche formali costituiscono un gruppo incentrato nel comprensorio Verbano-Ticino (Benedetti 2007: 92; Schindler-Kaudelka, Butti Ronchetti e Schneider 2000: 271-278) e alcuni tipi di *Acobecher* delle officine di *Gratus T. Rubri*, di *C. Aco Acastus* e *C. Aco Diophanes* (Donati 1988: 96; Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985c: 381-383). Per quest'ultima classe di materiale la Lavizzari Pedrazzini (1985c: 380-381; 2005: 207-225) ha già evidenziato la difficoltà nel definire l'origine dei motivi, direttamente dal repertorio delle coppe italo-megaresi o attraverso la mediazione della ceramica aretina (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 2000: 365-369). Quanto invece risulta più evidente è l'esistenza di gruppi regionali sulla base della scelta formale e decorativa: il puntinato e le *Kommaregen*, così bene attestati nell'area nord-orientale e sul Magdalensberg (Schlindler-Kaudelka 1998: 295, 297) sono molto meno frequenti nel Comprensorio del Ticino, che con quella regione aveva rapporti commerciali privilegiati (Mantovani 2009: 178-179).

Per quanto attiene alle anfore, la cui presenza contribuisce alla definizione del quadro dei circuiti commerciali di una regione anche con regioni più discoste, in Ticino esse sono presenti in numero troppo ridotto per formulare qualsiasi ipotesi (Zanetti 2005: 72-73). Non è chiaro se la scarsità di

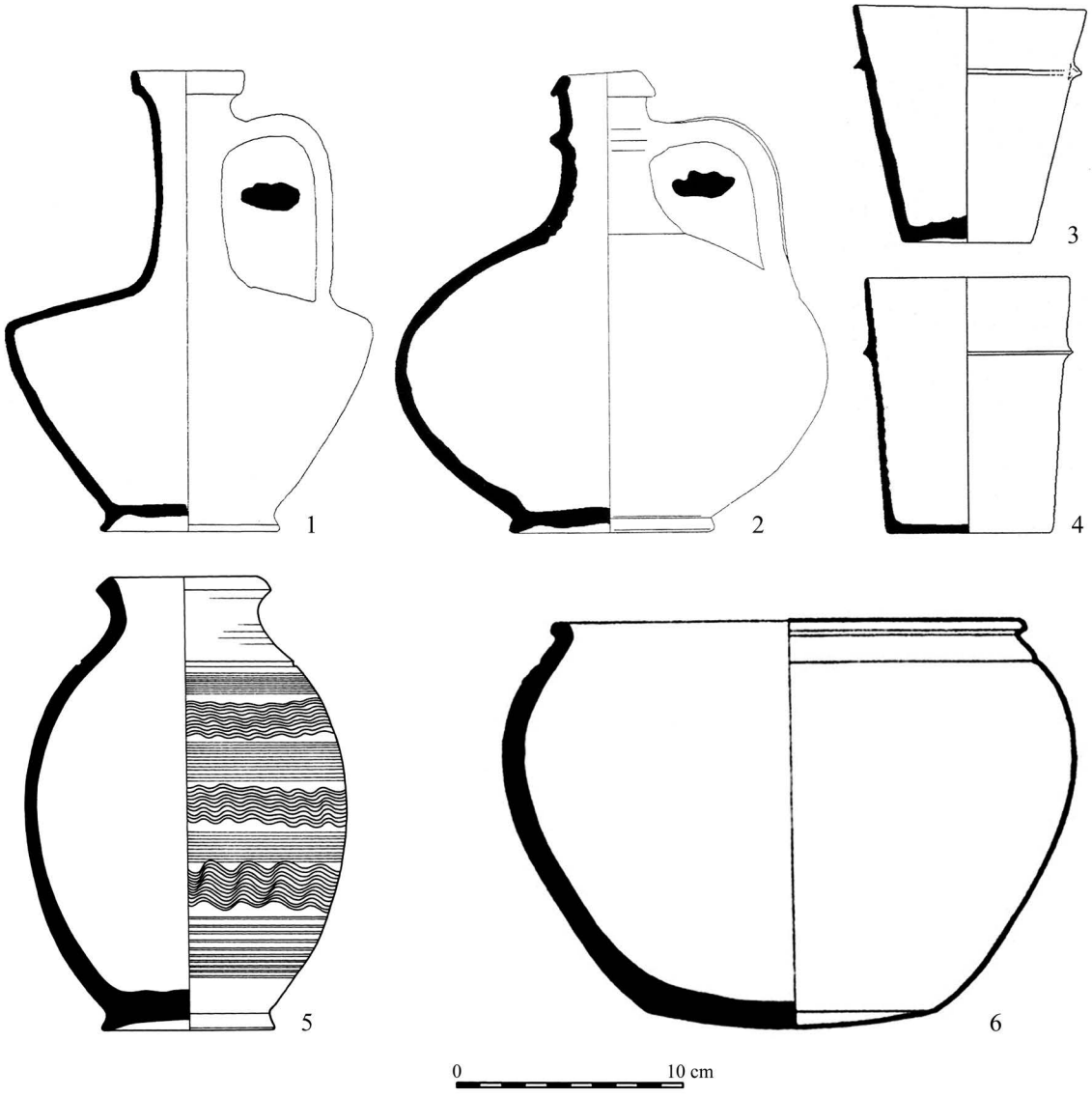


Fig. 4. Possibili produzioni locali in ceramica comune.
1-2. Olpai; 3-4. Ollette troncoconiche o cilindriche (De Micheli Schulthess 2003: 346, Mi 712; 372, Lo 876; 5. Wellentonne (Carlevaro and Pernet and Tori and Vietti 2006: tomba 226, n. 6; mod.); 6. Olla "comasca" (Simonett and Lamboglia 1967-1971: 166, n. 1; mod.).

anfore sia da imputare alla tipologia dei contesti investigati e studiati, quasi esclusivamente necropoli, o se indichi una effettiva assenza di merci d'importazione. Si osserva, in generale, che anche nei contesti del *vicus* di Angera, come in Ticino, questi recipienti sono scarsamente rappresentati, a indicare forse l'uso di altri contenitori o il consumo di prodotti locali per i quali non erano necessarie le anfore (Bruno 2005: 131; Facchini e Jorio 1995: 581), mentre a Milano la ricca e variegata quantità di questi recipienti attesta contatti con le diverse regioni dell'Impero fin dall'età augustea (Bruno e Bocchio 1998: 291-292). L'uso di barili in legno invece di anfore nella regione in esame è infatti plausibile e, per il Norditalia e la regione alpina, è anche citato nelle fonti antiche (Frontino, Stratagemata III, 14,3; Plinio, Naturalis Historia XIV, 27, 132; Strabone, Geografia, V, 1, 8). Se questi recipienti sono ampiamente attestati sugli assi del Rodano, del Reno e del Danubio verso gli accampamenti militari soprattutto a partire dal I secolo d.C. e fino agli inizi del III secolo d.C., nella Cisalpina sono invece praticamente inesistenti (Marlière 2011: 181, 184, fig. 101). D'altro canto, nella regione la coltivazione della vite è attestata almeno dall'Età del Ferro (Sereni 1997: 25; Flutsch 2014: Viticoltura) ed avrebbe pertanto potuto direttamente provvedere alla produzione di vino locale o proveniente dalla Cispadana (Plinio, Naturalis Historia XIV, 27, 132; Strabone, Geografia, V, 12,1) conservato e trasportato in botti di legno. Anche la scarsità di lucerne rinvenute in Ticino lascerebbe supporre che per l'illuminazione venissero impiegati altri mezzi e che non fosse quindi necessario importare olio d'oliva (De Micheli Schulthess 2020: 231-232).

Di seguito viene presentata anche una breve analisi di altre classi di materiale, quali il vasellame bronzeo e quello vitreo, e le fibule a completare il quadro dei contatti fra il Ticino ed altre regioni e gli eventuali regionalismi (**fig. 6**).

Contatti fra la regione in esame e altre regioni d'Europa sono attestati fin dall'Età del Ferro con gli oggetti in bronzo e ceramica ascrivibili alla Cultura di Golasecca che si ritrovano soprattutto lungo le valli del Rodano e del Reno (Kaenel 2000: 152). Durante il VI e il V secolo a.C. le importazioni di vasellame bronzeo dall'Etruria avevano caratterizzato lo sviluppo della stessa Cultura di Golasecca e dell'Etruria padana, prima di subire una contrazione a seguito dell'invasione gallica del 388 a.C. (Bolla e Castoldi 2016: 123-132). Fra il V e il II secolo a.C., accanto a produzioni locali con diffusione circoscritta a Como e al Sopraceneri come le capeduncole in bronzo, si diffondono le situle di tipo "renano-ticinese", le cui produzione sarebbe da localizzare in area sud-alpina ma che raggiunge anche il nord delle Alpi, come d'altronde i monili e le fibule golasecchiane, a testimoniare i contatti fra i due versanti alpini (Nagy e Tori 2010: 183-186). La stessa area vede inoltre sia la diffusione delle Schnabelkannen di tipo ticinese, sviluppatesi quali imitazioni locali delle oinochoai etrusche, sia l'importazione diretta di prodotti etruschi ad indicare l'esistenza di contatti fra il mondo alpino e quello italico e l'importante ruolo di tramite del primo – includendo le vallate del Ticino- nei confronti del secondo (Nagy e Tori 2010: 189; 193). Con l'età tardorepubblicana/il periodo La Tène D la presenza di vasellame in bronzo d'importazione si fa più rilevante dal punto di vista numerico e più variata per quanto concerne le forme rappresentate (Bolla e Castoldi 2016: 132-134; Pernet 2006: 167, 169). Le casseruole tipo Aylesford e le brocche carenate tipo Gallarate o piriformi tipo Ornavasso, presenti a Giubiasco e prodotte in ambito etrusco o nell'Italia centrale, sono le forme più rappresentate nei contesti funerari di questo periodo, la cui distribuzione risulta interessare fortemente l'area pedemontana concentrandosi in Ticino, nel Comasco e nella regione di Bergamo. Nelle necropoli ticinesi sono inoltre presenti gli attingitoi tipo Pescate

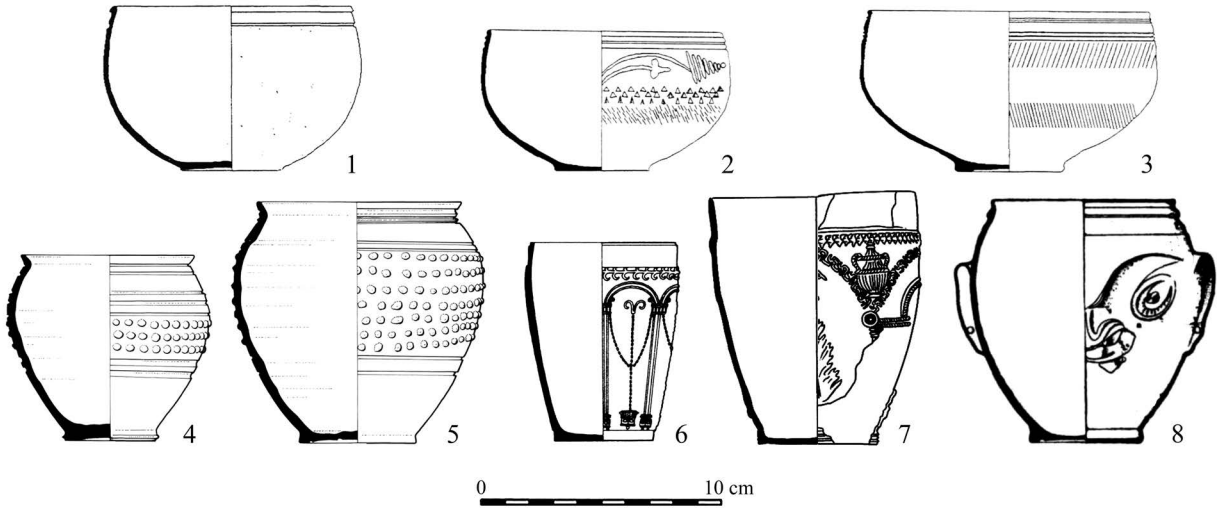


Fig. 5. Possibili produzioni locali a pareti sottili.
1. Coppetta a pasta grigia con inclusi; 2-3. Coppette a pasta grigia e decorazione a rotella o rotella e barbotine (De Micheli Schulthess 2003: 286, Loc 22; 287, Mi 41, Mi 46); 4 -5. Ollette punterellate (De Micheli Schulthess 2021: 103, n. 155.79.191; 101, n. 155.79.144); 6-7. Bicchieri tipo ACO (Donati 1988: 97, n. 13c; Carlevaro and Pernet and Tori and Vietti 2006: tomba 428, n. 9; mod.); 8. Olletta antropoprosopa (Simonett and Lamboglia 1967-1971: 137, n. 31; mod.).

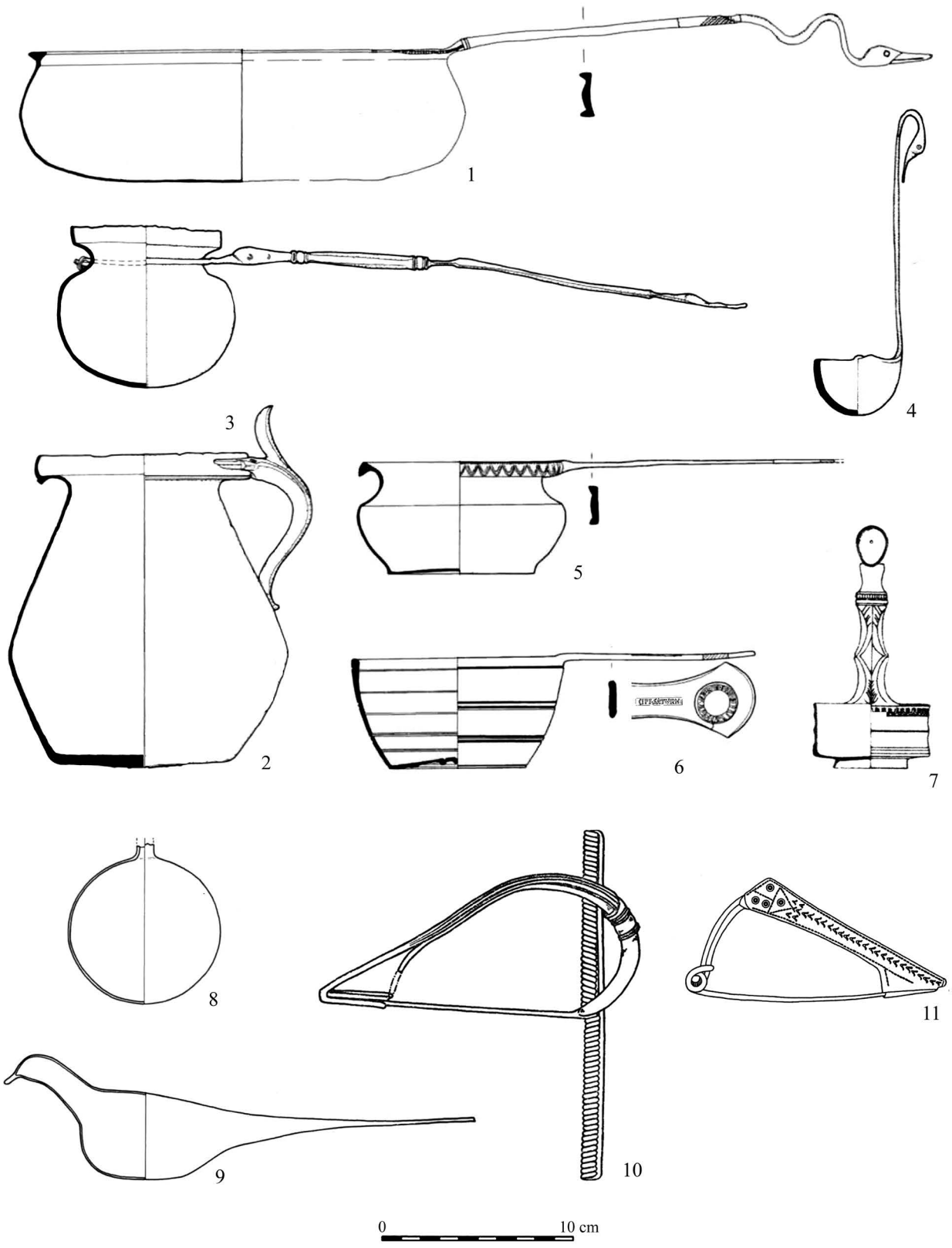


Fig. 6. Vasellame d'importazione in bronzo e possibili produzioni locali in vetro e fibule.
1. Casseruola tipo Aylesford; 2. Brocca tipo Gallarate; 3. Simpulum tipo Pescate; 4. Simpulum a testa d'uccello (Pernet 2006: 168, fig. 5.2; mod.); 5. Casseruola "a fusione sottile"; 6. Simpulum dell'officina di *Publius Cipius Polybius* (Brooke Bonzanigo 1994: 82, fig. 4; 83, fig. 5; mod.); 7Simpulum con manico "a cucchiaio forato" (Simonett and Lamboglia 1967-1971: 110, n. 16; mod.); 8-9. Vetro: Balsamari Isings 10 e 11 (Biaggio Simona 1991: Tav. 14, nn. 163,2,102; 000.1.053; mod.); 10. Bronzo: Fibula a balestra (Simonett and Lamboglia 1967-1971: 102, n. 6; mod.); 11. Bronzo: Fibula tipo Mesocco (Butti Ronchetti 2000: 216, n. 3/57/9; mod.).

e quelli a manico verticale terminante in testa d'uccello che riprendono i modelli greci ed etruschi di IV-IV secolo a. C., e le brocche tipo Ornavasso (Brooke Bonzanigo 1994: 82-83). Con l'età imperiale (età augustea-II secolo d.C.) il repertorio si allarga: casseruole ed attingitoi continuano ad essere molto frequenti, ma vi si aggiungono le coppe (Bonzanigo 1990: 159-160). Nel Sopraceneri, da dove proviene la quasi totalità dei vasi in bronzo, nelle necropoli sul Verbano, a Giubiasco e a Madrano gran parte degli oggetti risulta provenire da manifatture medio-italiche per la presenza di marchi di fabbrica e gli stretti confronti con il repertorio formale di quella produzione come le sette casseruole dell'officina di *Publius Cipius Polybius*, la cui produzione trova sbocchi commerciali nella zona renana e danubiana (Brooke Bonzanigo 1994: 83). Sono però sono attestati anche oggetti da officine della Gallia e di produzione padana. Fra questi vi sono le brocche in lamina a corpo carenato, diffuse nell'area padana occidentale e prodotte fra il III secolo d.C. e l'età tardo-antica, senza confronti nell'area centro-italica e, dall'area più orientale, alcuni tipi di *simpula* con manico verticale terminante con un cucchiaio forato e alcune casseruole "a fusione sottile", con manico terminante a teste di cigno (Castoldi 1991: 27; Bonzanigo 1990: 156-157).

Per quanto concerne il vasellame vitreo, infine, accanto ad un'importante produzione forse addirittura incentrata sul *vicus* di Locarno-Muralto nei contesti d'epoca augustea sono attestate, seppur scarsamente, coppe e bicchieri in vetro policromo a millefiori e marmorizzato d'importazione dall'Italia centro-meridionale o Aquileia e altre la cui decorazione o morfologia riporta alle produzioni dalla costa egizio-siriana (Biaggio-Simona 1991: 288-289). Prodotti, che per la loro concentrazione sembrano essere tipici del Comprensorio del Ticino, sono i balsamari in vetro a sfera Isings 10 e quelli a forma di colomba Isings 11 (Biaggio-Simona 1991: 120-123, 125-127). Questi ultimi si ritrovano anche nell'Italia centrale e meridionale e nelle province transalpine e, via Aquileia e Adria, sembrano essere state esportare fino al Mediterraneo orientale. In epoca tardoromana, invece, le coppe emisferiche Isings 96 e le bottiglie sferiche Isings 92/104b rimandano alla regione renana. I bicchieri troncoconici e le coppe troncoconiche o emisferiche con decorazioni alla mola provenienti dalla villa rurale di Bioggio e riferibili alla fine del IV- inizio del V secolo d.C., unitamente al bicchiere da Stabio, sono altri esempi tardi di questa classe di materiale rinvenuta in Ticino per l'epoca romana e sembrerebbero anche essere prodotti di officine renane (Biaggio-Simona 1994: 88-90; 1991: 289). Prodotti provenienti dalle stesse officine transalpine sono attestati per la stessa epoca in altri centri della Lombardia (Maccabruni 1987: 177).

Fra le fibule rinvenute nei corredi funerari e negli insediamenti del Canton Ticino si distingue, accanto al gruppo dei tipi diffusi in tutto l'Impero e al gruppo dei tipi caratteristici delle province occidentali, quello dei tipi con diffusione limitata all'arco alpino, a cui si ascrive la maggior parte degli esemplari ticinesi. Esso è costituito dalle fibule "a balestra", quelle tipo Mesocco, di tipo misto a nodi-Mesocco e alcune a tenaglia (Guerra 2009: 170). L'importante presenza di fibule nelle necropoli che orbitano attorno al *vicus* di Locarno-Muralto durante il I secolo d.C. non trova corrispondenza nella vicina Angera e neppure nel Sottoceneri, a indicare come probabilmente nelle regioni più romanizzate per la vicinanza con centri della Lombardia il peplo tradizionale, che richiedeva l'uso di fibule e che resta in uso fino al III secolo d. C. nell'area fra l'Alto Vallese, l'Alto Novarese e la Mesolcina fosse già stato rimpiazzato (Guerra 2009: 176; Martin Kilcher 2000: 30-35). Dalla fine del I e nel II secolo d.C., infatti, anche nelle necropoli del Locarnese numero e varietà di fibule si riducono notevolmente. Nella necropoli di Madrano, sita direttamente a ridosso della catena alpina, i corredi di II e III secolo d.C. restituiscono ancora parecchie fibule: il tipo Mesocco, attestato dall'età augustea, ha una diffusione estremamente circoscritta a Mesocco, la Val Calanca, la Valle del Toce, il Sopraceneri e l'alto Vallese; gli esemplari di fibule smaltate rinvenute in Ticino, invece, proverebbero da manifatture transalpine (Butti 2000: 111-112, 118).

Conclusione

La regione dell'attuale Canton Ticino, pur non direttamente interessata da una delle grandi vie consolari romane, risulta quindi ben collegata con la Transpadana attraverso la via di terra *Mediolanum-Comum* per il Sottoceneri e quella d'acqua fiume Ticino-lago Verbano per il Sopraceneri. Attraverso queste due vie, in particolare quella che da Como portava a Chiavenna e da qui attraverso i passi dello Spluga, del Settimio, del Maloja e dello Julier, a Coira per poi proseguire lungo la Valle del Reno, si raggiungeva il nord delle Alpi. Questo tramite fra i due versanti alpini, d'altronde, il Canton Ticino l'aveva già ricoperto almeno a partire dall'età del Ferro, come lo dimostrano le importazioni di prodotti etruschi rinvenuti sul territorio e da qui transitati fin al versante settentrionale delle Alpi (Jenny 1963: 250-254).

Dall'inizio del I secolo d.C., la regione si conferma inoltre inserita nella koinè culturale romana ma incentrata su produzioni prevalentemente locali, che interessano un raggio generalmente medio-piccolo. Le importazioni da altre regioni, in particolare dall'area centro-italica (vernice nera, terra sigillata aretina, vasellame in bronzo) o seppur ancor più scarse dalle regioni orientali, sono ancora attestate prima e durante la fase di romanizzazione, ma vanno praticamente a sparire ad avvenuta romanizzazione, quando il Comprensorio del Ticino sviluppa le sue caratteristiche peculiari. Una causa è, probabilmente, la romanizzazione tardiva della regione, che non vede direttamente l'arrivo dei prodotti realizzati nelle manifatture centro-italiche ma di quelli delle loro succursali in seguito aperte nella Traspadana. Il Sopraceneri, inoltre, presenta un certo conservatorismo testimoniato dal perdurare del rito dell'inumazione e dall'uso di deporre attrezzi da lavoro nelle sepolture (Losone-Arcegno e Madrano). Nel Sottoceneri, invece, dove la romanizzazione è attestata un po' più tardi, il rito romano della cremazione appare fin da subito.

Nella regione sono inoltre pressoché assenti produzioni attestate nelle diverse regioni della Transpadana come la sigillata gallica o quella africana. In epoca più tarda, per quanto concerne i vetri e le fibule, qualche importazione giunge dal Nord delle Alpi e dalla regione renana in particolare. La ceramica, invece, sembra mantenere il suo carattere prettamente locale, con una sostanziale riduzione delle produzioni presenti nei corredi funerari.

La presenza nella regione di prodotti prevalentemente locali e la rispettiva assenza, a partire dalla piena romanizzazione, di importazioni dall'Italia centrale o da altre regioni dell'Impero non sembra però dipendere da un suo isolamento rispetto ai traffici commerciali, attestati anche nelle epoche precedenti a quella romana, ma piuttosto una precisa scelta forse determinata dalla continuità d'esercizio di manifatture locali. Queste ultime, ora convertitesi alla produzione romanizzata, propongono forse prodotti più vicini al gusto del luogo rispetto alle importazioni da aree più discoste. A dimostrazione che la regione non è però chiusa ai traffici va osservato che materiali nord-italici come le pareti sottili a pasta grigia, i bicchieri tipo Aco e le sigillate padane sono stati rinvenuti nelle province di Norico e Pannonia per il tramite della via fluviale del Po e la mediazione commerciale di Aquileia. Si osserva, inoltre, che dalla seconda metà del I-II secolo d.C. le valli superiori del Ticino (Val Leventina, Valle di Blenio) e la Mesolcina riprendono a condividere la loro cultura materiale (fibule smaltate e fibule tipo "Mesocco") anche con le area alpine limitrofe.

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Diana Dobreva

AEGEAN TRADE IN THE ROMAN WORLD: THE VIEW FROM NORTH ADRIATIC

Pottery distribution analysis is a key method for understanding what controlled trading networks and long-distance maritime routes in particular, because these would have been conditioned by political and economic evolutions as much as by demand. The focus of this study is to highlight the correlation between Aegean and Asia Minor areas and the northern Adriatic region through the typological and chronological analyses of amphorae, fine and cooking wares. In order to perform a significant amount of quantitative and qualitative data, both published and unpublished materials have been used with a particular focus on Aquileia as a commercial hub. The result of this study offered the opportunity to reconstruct a comprehensive model of the relations that developed between both areas and makes it possible to trace the evolution of general trends on Aegean trade transformation in the upper Adriatic region over a large period of time from Late Republican to Late Antique times.

Eastern Sigillata B and C – Aegean and Asia Minor amphorae – Aegean Cooking Ware – Late Roman micaceous Cooking Ware – western Asia Minor Gray Coarse Ware

1. Introduction

Trade transformations which involved Adriatic and the Aegean were particularly significant because of the size and nature of trade and of its regularity. In order to reconstruct a comprehensive model of these relations a detailed pottery study has been performed. The aim is to establish how this correlation changes over time and how we can explain some trends. The opportunity to examine a large amount and variety of amphorae, fine and cooking wares facilitated an in-depth analysis of the long-term Aegean imports in northern Adriatic which developed between Late Republican and Late Antique times.

2. The imported pottery finds from the Aegean: the case study of Aquileia

In order to assess aspects relating to the extent, methods, and motivations for the circulation of Aegean ceramics in the upper Adriatic area, the starting point for the present paper was the data that emerged during some recent excavations in what once was the most important Roman city of *Caput Adriae*: Aquileia. The analysed finds here come from the area of the former Cossar property, where investigations carried out between 2009 and 2015 brought to light a *domus* (known as the House of *Titus Macer*), part of the two streets that enclosed the city block in which it stood (**fig. 1**), and a small

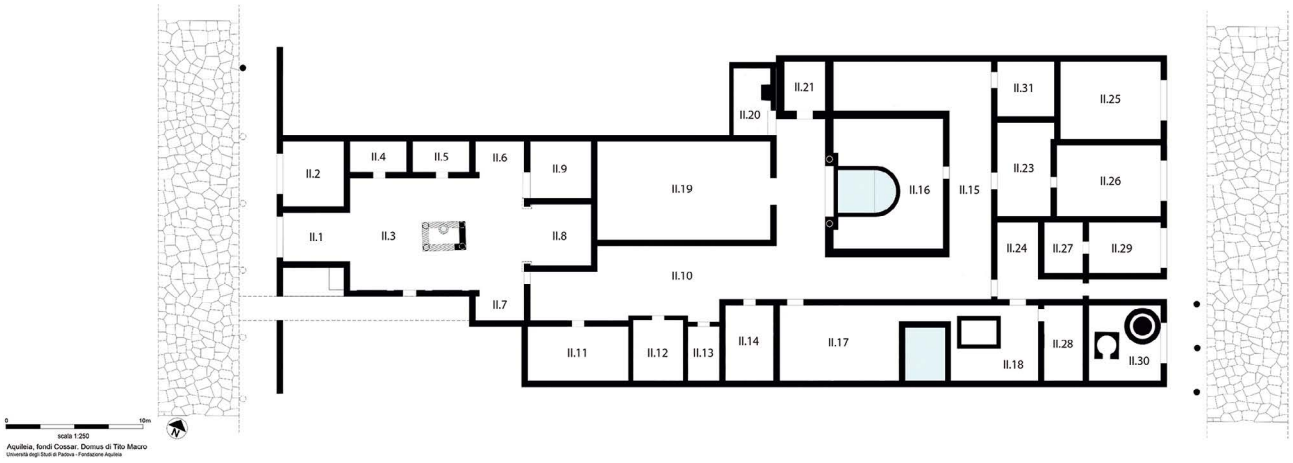


Fig. 1. Aquileia, the former Cossar property. Plan of the so-called *Domus* of *Titus Macer* in Imperial age (AQCOS Project's Archive).

sector of the Republican walls. Altogether, the numerous contexts investigated allow us to reconstruct the history of the ancient city from its foundation in 181 BC to the present day (Bonetto et al. 2009; Bonetto and Ghiotto 2011; 2012; 2014; Bonetto, Furlan and Previato 2020; Bonetto, Mazzocchin and Dobreva 2021a; 2021b).

2.1 Quantitative analyses

The excavations of the former Cossar property in Aquileia brought to light a huge number of shards (total of almost 39,500), of which 85% (33,575) belonged to amphorae, fine and cooking wares. This large quantity of shards comprises an estimated 9965 vessels of which 19% are of eastern origin (**fig. 2**). Most of the eastern ceramics come from the Aegean and Asia Minor areas, about 70% (**fig. 3**). Included within this huge area are the productions of the Aegean islands, such as Rhodos and Rhodian Peraea, Cnidos, Kos, Crete, and Milos, but also and mostly from the Asia Minor coastal zone, in particular, the valleys of the Hermos and Meander rivers, and from the area nearby: Pergamum, Phocaea, Kyme, Chios, Erythrai, Ephesus, Phygela, and Samos. These are areas where vines and olive growing were widely practised in Classical and Hellenistic times, as testified by ancient sources and archaeological evidence.

2.2 The chronology of the imports

If now we consider the total amount of data, it seems appropriate to make a more general comment on distribution patterns of Asia Minor products in Aquileia. First imports coming from the area around Ephesus and in lower extension from Pergamum, seem to date to 1st century BC, mainly Late Hellenistic relief pottery, the so-called "Megarian" bowls of western Asia Minor (**fig. 4, 1-4**), "Ephesus" plates and Eastern Sigillata C finds (*krater Kg 4* – **fig. 4, 5**). These finds document the establishment from at least 1st century BC onwards of trade routes directed respectively towards the territories around the centres of Ephesus and – to a lesser extent – Pergamum (Mantovani 2021). The appearance of these Asia Minor productions might be put in relation to Delos' role as a sorting centre and the presence of amphorae originating from the Rhodian and Coan area, imported into the city as early as the first half of 2nd century BC (Auriemma and Silvestrelli 2013: 445-446; Badoud 2018: 130-132, Tav. 1; Maggi and Merlatti 2007: 554-560, fig. 5; Mandruzzato, Tiussi and Degrassi 2000: 359; Tiussi and Mandruzzato 1996; Tiussi 2007).

Later, the links are still active and 1st century AD deposits marked an increase in imports of foodstuffs and pottery. The supply of western Asia Minor products beyond the Adriatic, however, was largely restricted to Aegean Cooking Ware, generally attested at Aquileia with higher percentage than the fine wares originated from the same area and dated to the same period. There were regular shipments from the area near Ephesus to Aquileia mostly transporting *Eastern Sigillata B*, attested by some ancient rare forms that arrive along

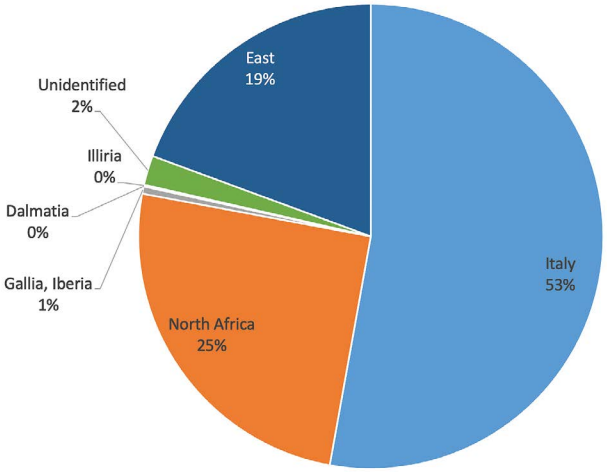


Fig. 2. Graph showing the provenance of amphorae, fine and cooking wares found in the *Domus* of *Titus Macer* in Aquileia. The calculation is based on a total amount of 9965 estimated vessels (elaboration by D. Dobreva).

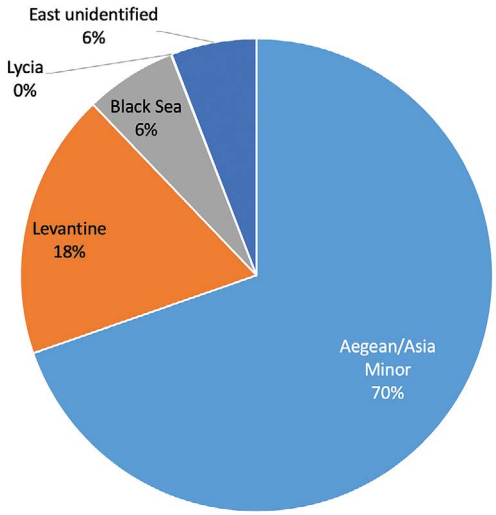


Fig. 3. Graph showing the production areas of 1932 eastern vessels found in the former Cossar property in Aquileia (elaboration by D. Dobreva).

the Adriatic coast in early 1st century AD. The fairly large repertoire of forms included some types *Hayes 30*, *Hayes 36* and *Hayes 37* which represent dishes and bowls relevant to the B1 series (**fig. 4, 6-8**) and some plates *Hayes 53* and *Hayes 59* and bowls *Hayes 71* from the transitional series B1/B2, easily distinguishable for their grey to black colour fabric and gloss and dated in the third quarter of 1st century AD (**fig. 4, 9-13**). As one would expect, the marketing of *Eastern Sigillata B* in Aquileia concentrated in the end of 1st and mid/end of 2nd centuries AD, identified in forms related to the series B2. As for the forms present in the assemblages they are basically plates (types *Hayes 60* and *Hayes 58*) (**fig. 4, 14-16**) and bowls (types *Hayes 71, 75* and *Hayes 76*) (**fig. 4, 17-23**).

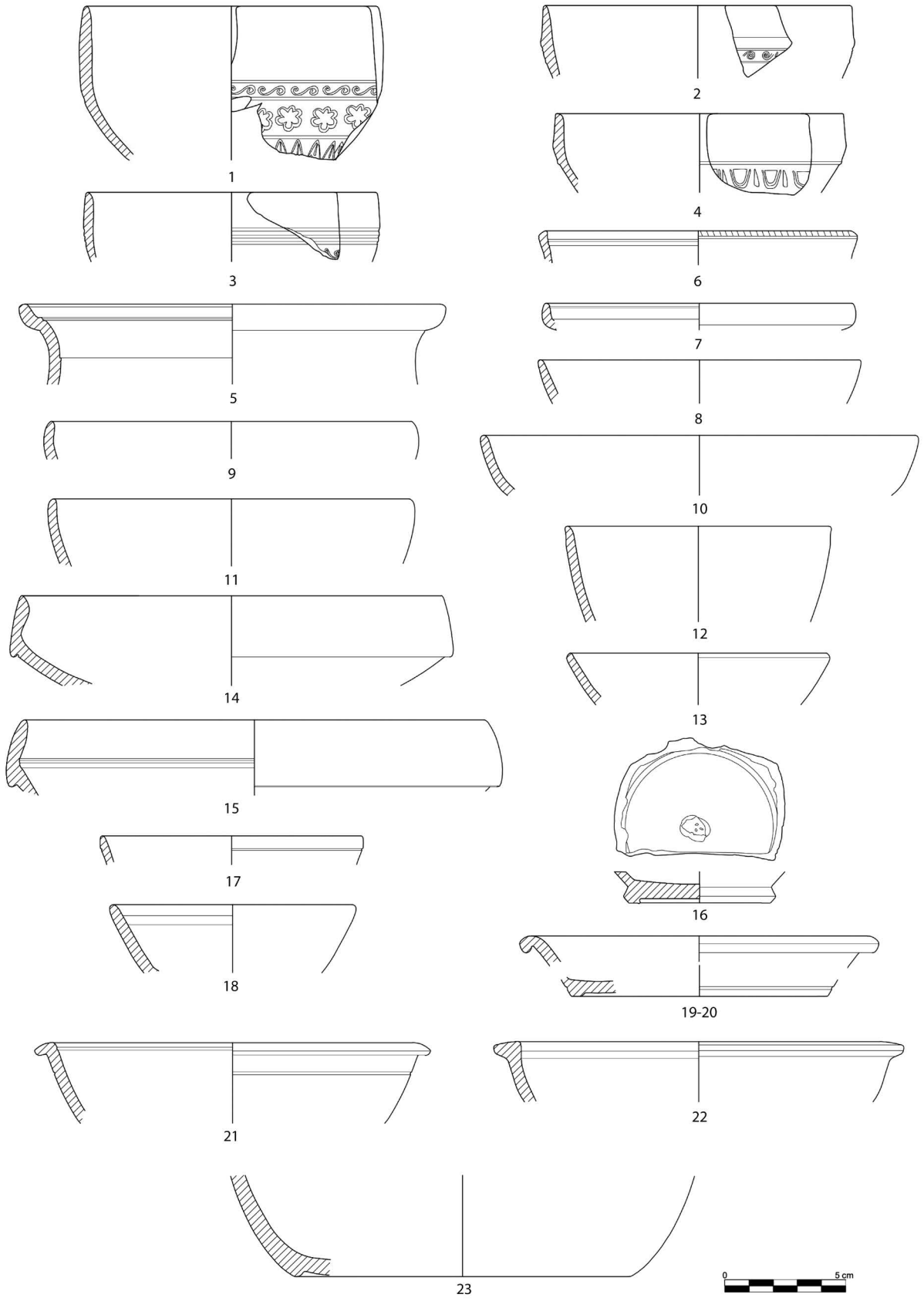


Fig. 4. Aegean and Asia Minor imports from 1st century BC to early Imperial age: 1-4. "Megarian" bowls of western Asia Minor production; 5. *Eastern Sigillata C*; 6-8. *Eastern Sigillata B1* series; 9-13. *Eastern Sigillata* transitional series *B1/B2*; 14-23. *Eastern Sigillata B2* series (drawings by D. Dobreva, A.M. Griggio and V. Mantovani, elaboration by D. Dobreva).

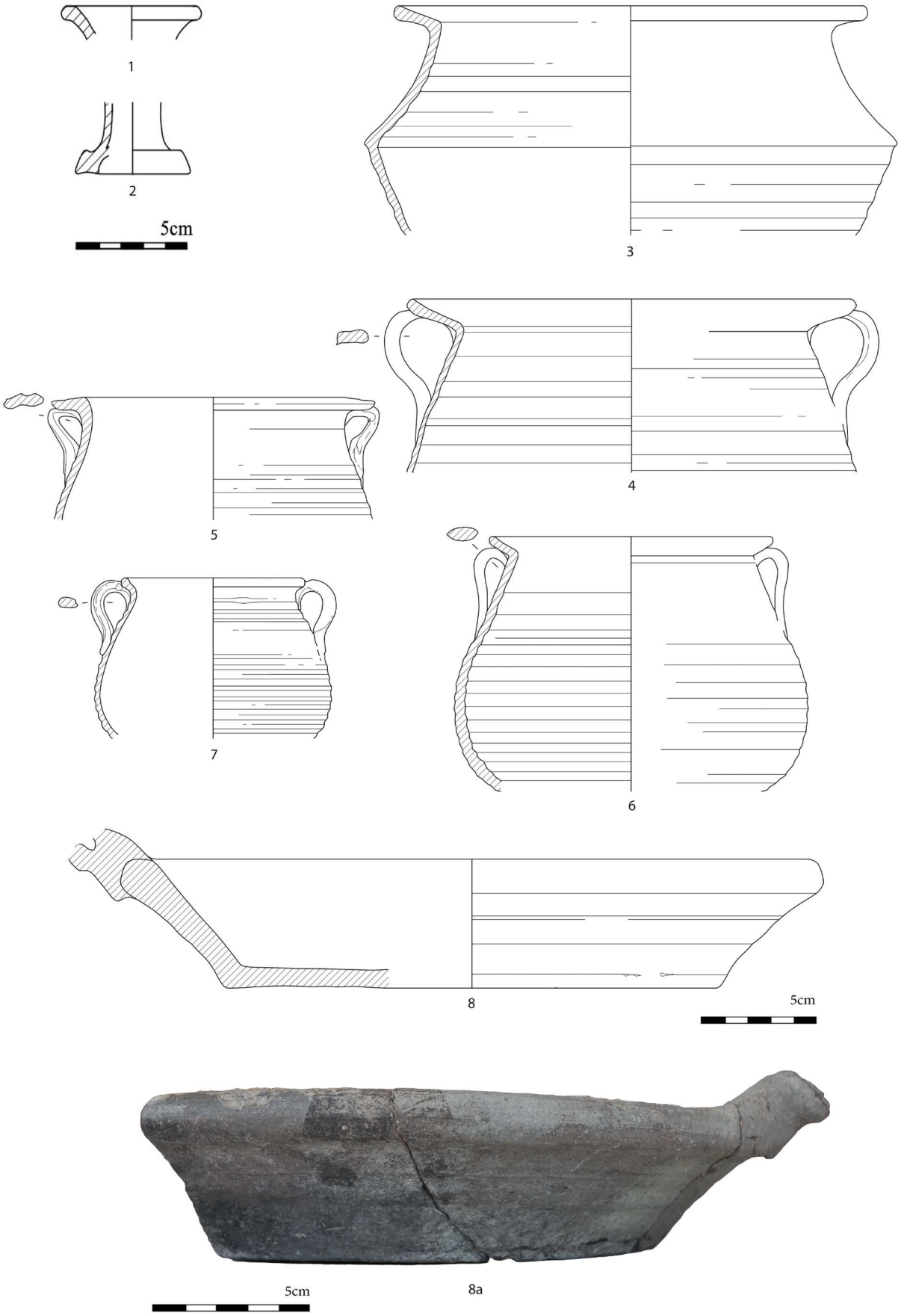


Fig. 5. Mid-Imperial imports from the Aegean and western coast of Asia Minor territories: 1-2. Amphora *Agorà F 65/66* or *similis*; 3-8. *Aegean Cooking Ware* (drawings by A. Riccato, elaboration by D. Dobreva).

Looking further into the upper Adriatic area, *Eastern Sigillata B* is well attested along the East and West coasts, and the ability of the pottery class to penetrate into areas also inland but always linked to important river trade routes, as in the case of the Po and Sava rivers, is evident (Dobreva and Griggio 2021: 204-208, fig. 11).

Later on, in the period between the second half of 1st century AD and Flavian times, a few examples of one-handled amphorae *Agorà F 65/66* were exported from the same area. (**fig. 5, 1-2**) Examples of this type present mainly red fine micaceous fabric close to the amphora's fabric A of Ephesus and thought to be typical for the territory around Kuşadasi and the valley of the Meander river (Bezeczky 2014: 387). Mineral-petrographic analyses of some amphorae found in the *Titus Macer*'s House pointed out the existence of at least two petrographic groups[1]. The first one refers mainly to micaceous clay matrix with moderately sorted quartz inclusions and an Ephesian origin could be hypothesised. The second petrographic group is characterised by a beige fine fabric with ferric-calcitic matrix and inclusions of acid metamorphites and limestone. A generic provenance in Asia Minor could be argued for (Dobreva forthcoming).

Numerous finds of *Aegean Cooking Ware* point to the continuing presence of Asia Minor products in the mid-Imperial period and distinguish the peak of the western Asia Minor cooking ware imports in 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The vessel repertoire reveals mainly carinated casseroles, identified as *Knossos type 2* (**fig. 5, 3**) and *Knossos cooking-pots a, type 2* and *type 3* (**fig. 5, 4-6**). Also, well documented are different examples of *Knossos cooking-pot b, type 4* which recall the profile of the casseroles but in smaller dimensions and distinguished by the different shape of the rim. The small dimensions that characterise these vessels have recently led to the hypothesis of their preferential use also as drinking vessels (**fig. 5, 7**). Pans inside the examined pottery assemblages are well attested, identified as types *Agorà G113-115*, *K89* or *J22* (**fig. 5, 8-8a** and **fig. 6, 1 and 4**). Integrate into this scenario are some jugs (often with three-leafed formed rim) (**fig. 6, 10-10a**), cups type *Marabini LXVIII* (**fig. 6, 2-3**) and few lids (**fig. 6, 5 and 8)**. These vessels are very common for the period between the end of 1st and 3rd centuries AD, although for some types of pans and jugs, based on parallels and concerning the chronology of the deposits, it is possible to suggest dating around mid-1st century AD (see Riccato 2020: 150 with previous bibliography).

Macroscopic examination reveals three different groups of fabrics (Riccato 2020: 148-149): the first one, used for jugs, pots and pans, is characterised by red or orange colour fine and compact fabric and by the frequent presence on the outer surface of a grey or brown coating; in some specimens, the fabric sandwich effect with a darker, greyish core is evident. Based on published data it seems hypothetically possible to refer the vessels with this group of fabric to the different productions in the western centres of Asia Minor, as one of Phocaea or nearby territory. The second fabric is used mainly for casseroles and presents a beige-coloured fabric with surfaces darkened by the usual brown or grey coating. Fabrics with similar characteristics were hypothetically traced to the production centres in the Pergamum area (Berlin 1997: 110; Pellegrino 2007: 153; 2009: 257-258; Slane 1986: 312, nt. 76). The third group of fabric, which is also generally rather hard and compact, is also a purplish-grey colour or, more often red or brown, sometimes with a grey surface coating; also, in this case on some specimens, sandwich firing is documented. The surfaces are rough and the fracture irregular. The inclusions are abundant, generally larger than that found in the other groups. This fabric is used mainly for the manufacture of pans, including those of large dimensions and with rather thick walls, and of lids. In this case it is more difficult to speculate on its provenance. Focusing on the *Aegean Cooking Ware* alone, it is possible to note that vessels made with the first group fabrics account for as much as 69% of the attestations, while the second one appears to be marginal (only 4% of the total); 27% are attested as the products of the fabric group 3 (Riccato 2020: 183). This data is in line with the picture offered by all the studies conducted in the Adriatic area, where most of the evidence has been traced back to Phocean production, prompting some authors to speak of mass production and of a true monopoly of this manufacturing centre on the production and trade of cooking ware (Istenič and Schneider 2000: 343; Hayes 2000: 292). However, we should recall here that further sampling is needed, especially on the recently identified finds. Latest studies suggest a plurality of production centres probably to be placed on the western Asia Minor area. It seems to be the case of some finds from Corinth where at least four fabrics have been identified and only two of them match those previously identified by G. Schneider for the Adriatic materials[2]. Due to some generic petrographic composition of the fabrics, the localisation of the production centres is difficult when reference samples are lacking.

Overall, the pottery class seems to enjoy a widespread diffusion along the entire upper Adriatic coastal arc, with a gradual thinning out of attestations as one moves inland. The trade in *Aegean Cooking Ware* could also reach locations far from the littorals, if these offered a sufficiently dynamic market and, above all, were easily accessible via land and river routes (Riccato 2020: 161, fig. 12). The same trend can be observed also for the *Eastern Sigillata C* for which recent chemical analyses have revealed that was produced both in Pergamum and Çandarli (Schneider and Mommsen 2009; Schneider and Daszkiewicz 2020: 430). In middle Imperial age this pottery class marked the period of major exchange in the upper Adriatic. It comprises mainly hemispheric bows with listel referred to type *Hayes L19* or its late version *Hayes H3*, but some plates type *Hayes 4* are also known and possibly one jug (**fig. 6, 6-7 and 9**). Meanwhile the *Eastern Sigillata B* finds definitively disappeared after the end of 2nd century AD. By contrast, concerning the amphorae, their number significantly increases from the end of 2nd to 3rd centuries AD. During this period of time both imports from Ephesus, confirmed by petrographic analyses of some *Agorà M 125* amphora samples (Dobreva in press), and the valley of Meander

[1] The analyses were performed by Claudio Capelli as part of the Aquileia Cossar Project.

[2] Pers. comm. Kathleen W. Slane.

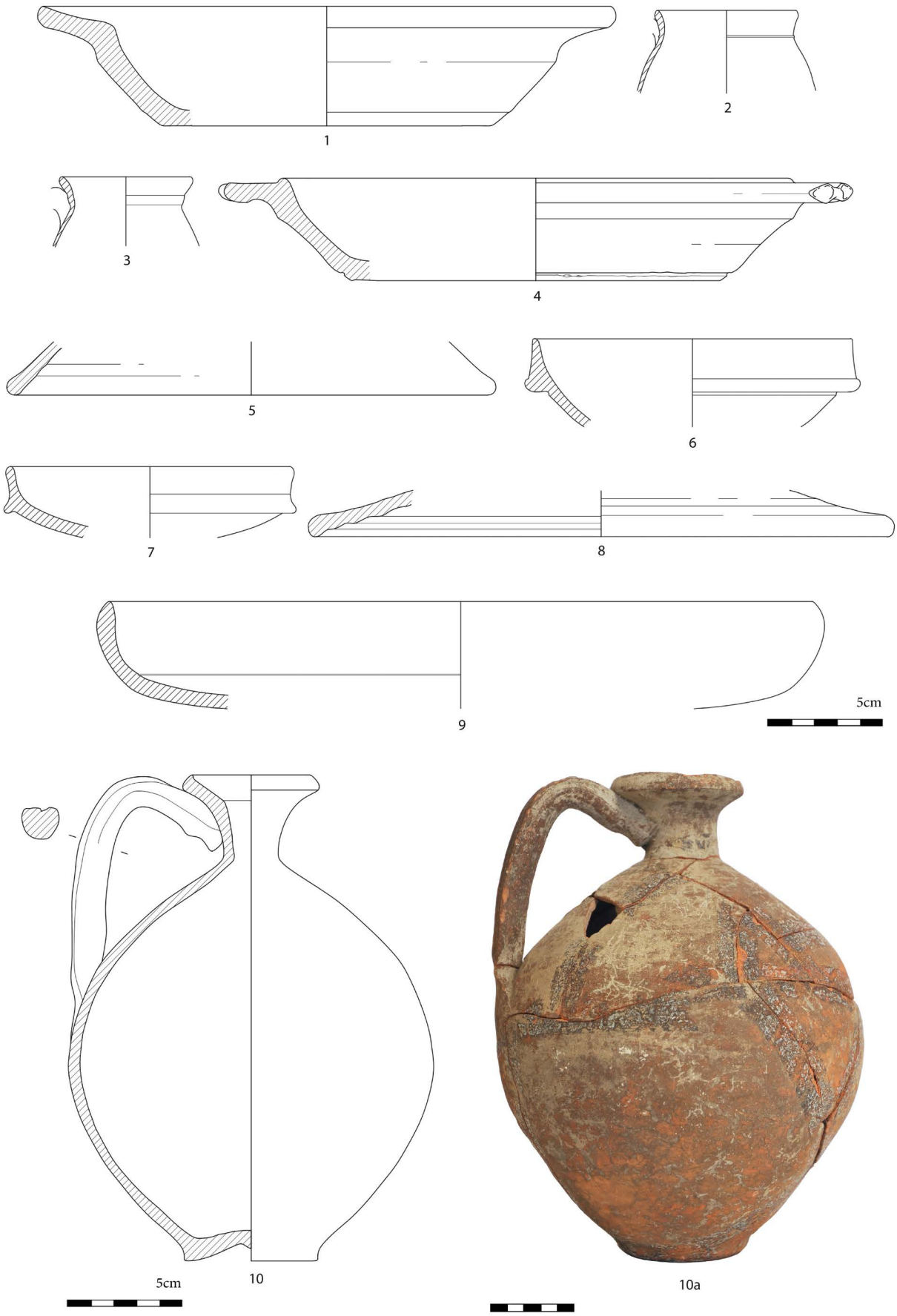


Fig. 6. Mid-Imperial Aegean and Asia Minor imports: 1, 4, 5, 8, 10. *Aegean Cooking Ware*; 2-3. *Thin-walled* pottery; 6-7, 9. *Eastern Sigillata C* (drawings by A. M. Griggio, V. Mantovani and A. Riccato, elaboration by D. Dobreva)

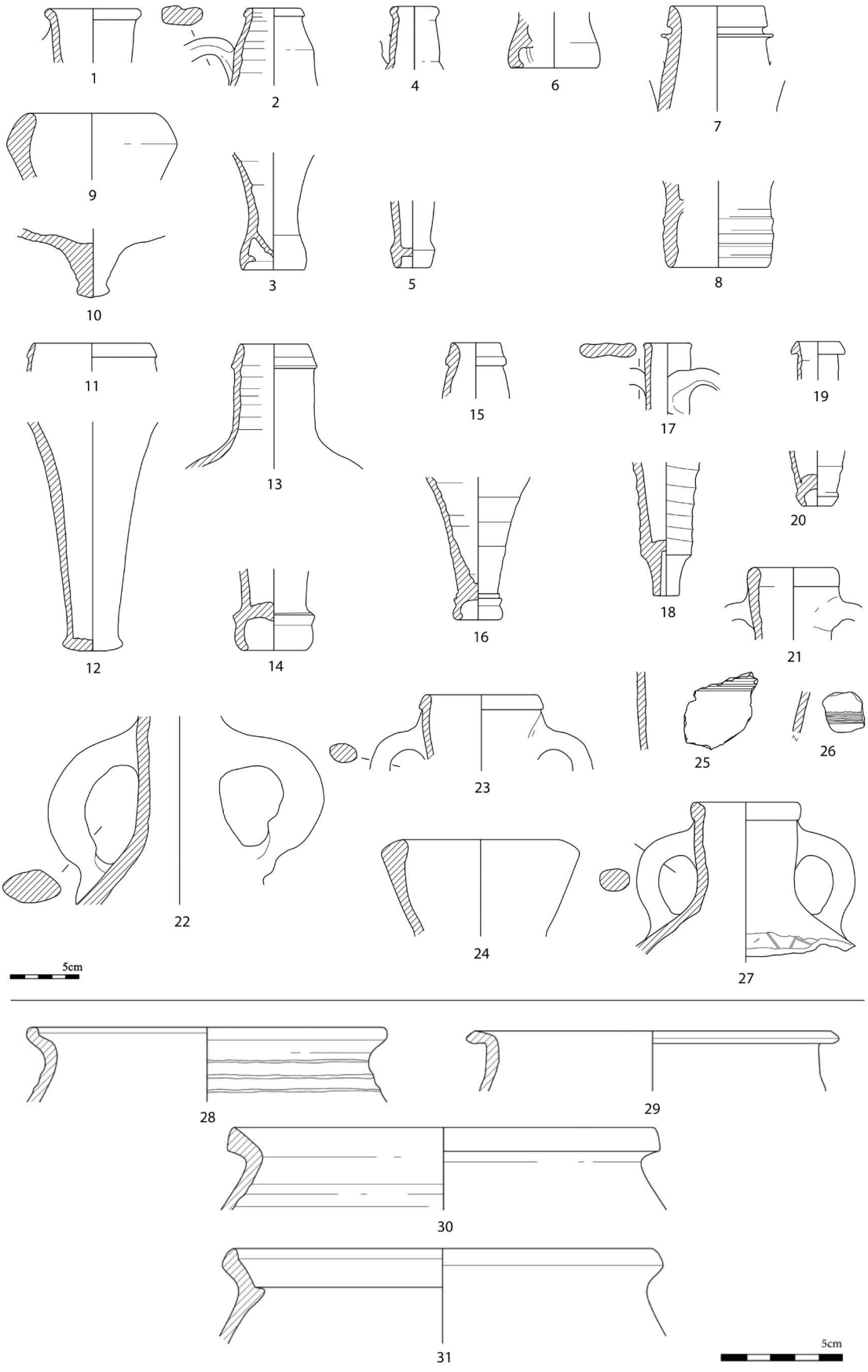


Fig. 7. Aegean and Asia Minor imports: 1-10. Eastern amphorae from 2nd and 3rd century contexts; 11-16. Asia Minor amphorae from 4th century deposits; 17-27. Late Roman amphorae; 28-30. *Late Roman micaceous Aegean Cooking Ware*; 31. The so-called *Ephesos Grey Coarse Ware* (drawings by A. Riccato and S. Tinazzo, elaboration by D. Dobreva)

river (for instance, examples of *Agorà J 46-47*, *Agorà M 125* and *Kapitän II* types) are attested (**fig. 7, 1-8**). Within the mid-Imperial deposits of the *Titus Macer*'s House, imports from the region of Kyme, Phygela, Erythrai, and Chios are also recorded. It is a type of vessel similar to Dressel 24 amphorae, but characterised by some distinct morphological elements, recently identified as Knossos 15/Zeest 90 (see Dobreva 2017: 231-233) (**fig. 7, 9-10**). The characteristics of the fabric, which show some similarities with both the Dressel 24 and also with the later *Carthage Late Roman 2* amphorae, seem to increasingly point to a continuity of production. The fabrics found in the Cossar deposits are similar to those described for products from Chios characterised by light brown to orange-red fabrics, with inclusions of calcite, silver mica, quartz granules and small iron oxides (Tsaravopoulos 1986; Opaiţ and Tsaravopoulos 2011: 303) and Erythrai where it seems that at least two fabrics exist (Lungu 2010: 48), later also confirmed by finds from Ephesus, identified through archaeometric analysis (Erythrai fabric A and B, see Bezeczky 2013: 73-74). The former is beige to pinkish in colour, compact with small limestone inclusions and rare mica, the latter is brown or purplish-brown with numerous limestone inclusions, hard and compact to the touch. On the surface of the amphorae there is usually a light, cream-coloured coating that extends irregularly.

Asia Minor amphorae are dominant at Aquileia also in 4th century deposits. As an example, one could cite the presence of *Agorà M 240-242* and *Agorà M 255* (**fig. 7, 11-16**) in fine micaceous fabric in contexts dated to the third quarter of the 4th century AD (Dobreva 2014: 78-83). Archaeometric analyses once again identify Ephesus as a production centre (Dobreva forthcoming).

During mid-4th century AD, a morphological revolution took place, when the container changed from one-handed to two-handed and the bottom took on a tubular appearance. The most widespread late version, classified as *Carthage Late Roman 3*, is also joined by coeval types such as *Pieri LR 3A* and *B* (**fig. 7, 17-20**) and *Ephesus 56* originating from the Ephesian area (**fig. 7, 21-23**). The chronology of the contexts in Aquileia mainly marks the presence of *Ephesus 56* in late 4th and 5th centuries AD levels. The rest of the presences are identified as *LR 3*, generally documented in the second half of 5th - 6th centuries AD. The deposits dated to late 4th, and especially 5th and 6th centuries AD, are also characterised by the presence of amphorae with a globular body, crossed by ribs and a wide funnel-shaped rim. Macroscopic analyses on the fabrics show similarities to the Argolid production centres. These vessels, generically known as *Carthage Late Roman 2*, become one of the chronological finds in Late Antique urban stratiagraphies. According to published data, *LR 2* amphorae are rare along the Adriatic coast, and Aquileia is no exception in this regard. Excavations conducted at the former Cossar property have only brought to light a few specimens found in contexts dated between the second half of 5th and the beginning of 6th centuries AD (**fig. 7, 24-26**).

The manufacture of some of the wine amphorae found in Aquileia originated in the region of Lesbos, Ephesus, Samos, and Cos. The specimens that can be traced back to these centres show rather coarse, rough, brick-red fabrics, similar to those from Ephesus, without possibly excluding the island of Samos. In the analysed contexts, *Kapitän II* amphorae are known mainly in levels dated between 3rd and 4th centuries AD, in line with the general chronology of the type (**fig. 7, 7-8**). The *Agorà M 273*, considered as the predecessor of the *Samos cistern type* amphorae, come mainly from contexts dated between the second half of 5th and the beginning of 6th centuries AD (**fig. 7, 27**). Carbonate clay matrix with quartz and micaceous inclusions point to an Aegean origin, perhaps along the Asia Minor coast (Dobreva in press).

The vitality of these commercial ties is also proved by some cooking ware finds of Aegean origin. The largest group is represented by the so-called *Late Roman micaceous Aegean Cooking Ware*, manufactured between the 4th and 6th centuries AD in workshops that are still unknown at present, but are most likely to be located along the coasts of Asia Minor or in the Cyclades, and widespread mainly in the period between the middle of 5th century and the beginning of the next century (Slane and Kiriatzi 2014: 910). The represented forms are mostly deep and carinated casseroles, corresponding to the *Stewpots 17* (**fig. 7, 28**) identified by Guy D. Sanders among the Corinth materials of 5th century AD (Sanders 1999: 471, fig. 12). There are also attested deep casseroles with simpler rims with a concave or flattened inner edge, attributable to *Form 1, nos. 61a-d and 64* (**fig. 7, 29-30**) from the S. Giacomo degli Schiavoni site (Albarella, Ceglia and Roberts 1993: 180-182, fig. 11). More rarely attested are shallow casseroles with a low, hemispherical profile, referable to *Form 4, no. 69* of the same site (Riccato 2021: 374, fig. 2, 15). Macroscopically, the analysed fabrics are grey or, more rarely, reddish-brown or beige, with black or grey (even dark) surfaces and small white, black and translucent grey inclusions, which are associated with abundant mica flakes (Riccato 2020: 164-165). The second group is known as *Ephesos Grey Coarse Ware*, but whose workshops, active between 4th and 7th centuries AD, should be sought not only in the region of Ephesus but also in the south-central sector of the island of Samos and probably in other western Asia Minor workshops (Turnovsky 2005; Waksman and Tréglia 2007). The most common form is the *Fulford 35 cooking-pot*, represented both by specimens of the early variants, with ribbed walls and strongly fluted rims at the top, and by variants from the second half of 5th/early 6th centuries AD (**fig. 7, 31**). The fabrics are red-brown with dark outer surfaces and have numerous small, translucent grey or - more rarely - white, black and red micaceous inclusions (Riccato 2020: 168-169). The presence of both groups of cooking wares of Aegean origin in the House of *Titus Macer* deposits dated to the first half of 6th century AD, together with the samples of the bowl *Hayes 3* in *Late Roman C/Phocaean Red Slip Ware* dated back to the same period, testify to the long-lasting links between Aquileia and the Aegean area.

3. The areas involved in Aegean trade to the North Adriatic

3.1 Distribution model of the finds

If we now consider the distribution model of the three main pottery categories used to map this study (eastern sigillata,

cooking wares, and amphorae) in the northern Adriatic region, the role of Aquileia as a commercial hub in the area can be easily distinguished. For example, the diffusion of the earlier *ETS B1* series is mainly attested between Augustan times and the middle of 1st century AD in some important coastal cities (as well as Aquileia, at Triest, Concordia, Sevegliano, Classe, and along the eastern Adriatic coast at Pola, Brioni island, Omisalj, and Narona) but its absence inland is significant. The later *ETS B2* series (between the second half of 1st and the end of the following century) records a widespread diffusion (**fig. 8**) in larger quantities and over a wider area. It reaches many coastal sites, especially on the eastern Adriatic coast, but also sites inland, located near important river and land routes, with a commercial function. The great export of the B2 series is due to the conquest of part of the market previously dominated by *sigillata aretina* and by the products of the Italic workshops, whose activity declines in this phase, leaving space for eastern alternatives.

A similar trend can also be observed for the Ostia market: progressive increase of the *ETS B* imports with values very similar to those of the Ephesus amphorae, and the greater penetration capacity of incoming goods from maritime trade (Rizzo 2023: 484, figs. 7-8). Once again, the topography of the North Adriatic finds points to a predominantly coastal distribution but now with some important penetrations inland and redistribution along the great rivers such as the Po and Adige to the west and the Sava and Drava to the east.

As we have already seen, mid-Imperial period is predominant for the distribution of *Aegean Cooking Ware* in the upper Adriatic area. Considering the typology of sites affected by the presence of *Aegean Cooking Ware*, alongside to the numerous findings in built-up areas, the evidence of *villae*, residential, and/or productive contexts that evidently played a decisive role as centres of consumption of this pottery class. Also significant is its presence in smaller settlements, which perhaps played a role of some importance in the redistribution of this

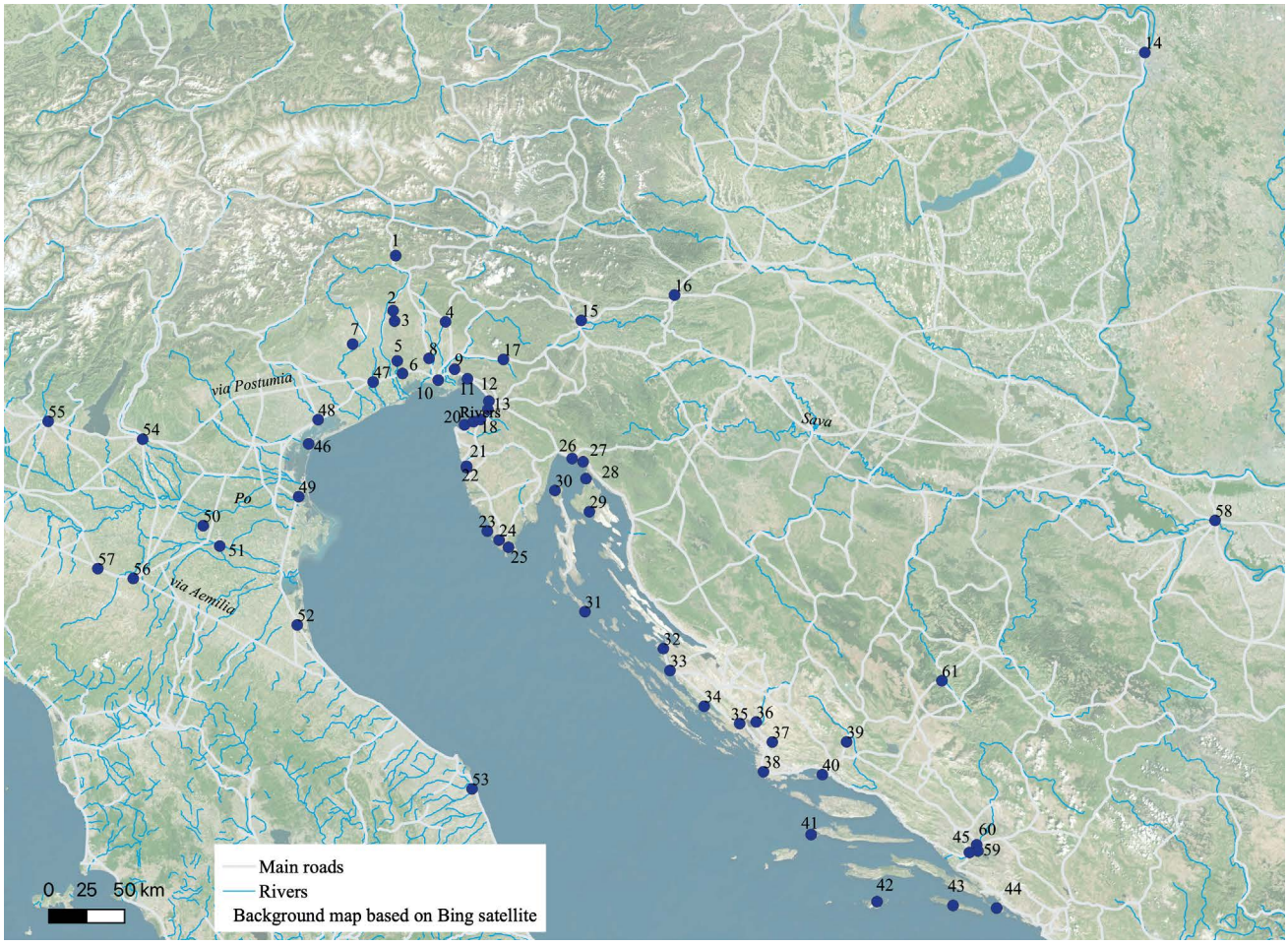


Fig. 8. The distribution of *Eastern Sigillata B* along the North Adriatic coast: 1. Zuglio; 2. San Daniele; 3. Coseano; 4. Cividale; 5. Teor; 6. Palazzolo dello Stella; 7. Torre di Pordenone; 8. Sevegliano; 9. Ronchi dei Legionari; 10. Aquileia; 11. Duino; 12. Trieste; 13. Muggia; 14. *Aquincum*; 15. Ljubliana, 16. Celeia; 17. Ajdovščina; 18. Školarice; 19. Simonov Zaliv; 20. Fizine; 21. Loron; 22. Červar Porat; 23. Brioni; 24. Pula; 25. Medulin; 26. Rijeka; 27. Bakar; 28. Omišalj; 29. Krk; 30. Osor; 31. Ilovik; 32. Nin; 33. Zadar; 34. Pakoštane; 35. Velika Mrdakovica; 36. Skradin; 37. Danilo Gornje; 38. Rogoznica; 39. Sinj; 40. Split; 41. Pakleni Otoci; 42. Lastovo; 43. Mljet; 44. Otok; 45. Narona; 46. laguna nord di Venezia; 47. Concordia; 48. Altino; 49. Corte Cavanella; 50. Chiunsano; 51. Ferrara; 52. Classe; 53. Portorecanati; 54. Verona; 55. Brescia; 56. Modena; 57. Reggio Emilia; 58. *Sirmium*; 59. Višići; 60. Mogorjelo; 61. Čipulić (reworked from Dobreva and Griggio 2021, fig. 11).

pottery locally. This might be the case, for instance, for some small harbours located in the lagoons of Venice and Marano or of the *mansio* located along the Aquileia-Emona route (Ajdovščina, Hrušica, perhaps Bukovica) or along the course of the Po River (Gaiba-Chiunsano). Both in large centres and in those of more modest development, the discovery of *Aegean Cooking Wares* (in particularly of some forms as jugs and mini-pots) in necropolis and production sites is frequent. In addition, a significant quantity of specimens was found inside wrecks or, more generally in the context of underwater research (Riccato 2020: 160-162 with previous bibliography).

However, from 4th century AD onwards, trade with the Aegean area is mainly represented by amphorae from the western Asia Minor coast, whose importance grows and reaches its peak in the first half of 5th century AD, when, alongside the massive arrival of products from North Africa, more and more eastern imports are recorded. Towards the middle of the following century, it reaches and, in some of the contexts examined, even surpasses the levels of North African containers (Dobreva and Zago 2021: 325-332).

As a reflection of this revival in trade with the Aegean area, one can recall here the presence of cooking-pots in *Late Roman micaceous Aegean Cooking Ware* and *western Asia Minor Gray Coarse Ware* which cover 20% of the cooking ware in use between 425 and 475 AD in the House of *Tutus Macer* in Aquileia; the rest of imported kitchen pottery is of North African origin (7%), meanwhile as one might expect the majority of the finds (73%) comprise local and regional productions. This trend continues also in the next period, dated between 475 and 550 AD when the *Aegean Cooking Ware* is the only transregional imported kitchen pottery class and covers 9% of the total (Riccato 2021).

Aquileia played a considerable role in the Adriatic distribution system until at least the first half of 6th century AD; after this period Ravenna became a major commercial hub in the Adriatic. During mid-6th century AD it represents a real social divide when one observes, in a context of general impoverishment, a greater resilience of commercial relations in the regional sites compared to Aquileia. An organism dominated by a single large port with the function of *emporion* at the regional level is replaced by a complex, more dispersive sorting system, made up of several multiple port sites of lesser importance, which have arisen in the recent lagoons of Grado and Marano (Dobreva and Zago 2021: 362-364).

3.2 The imported products

The strong relationships between both territories depends mainly on the prosperity of the Asia Minor area and of the permanent request of foodstuffs originating from the western Anatolian coast. According to literary sources and epigraphy, wine productions of different quality and variety are located in the province of Asia and in the territory of Ephesus. Both Strabo and Pliny the Elder mentioned wines manufactured in the area near Ephesus and in the *Caistrum* river valley. Nevertheless, if we consider some amphora types (as *Ephesus 56*), a hypothesis of oil content has been made. This suggestion is also strongly supported by the tradition of olive growing, still in use in the *Castrum* and Meander valleys. Another critical point is the content of the amphorae of the so-called "Dressel 24" group that brings together vessels that most probably transport different foodstuffs: olive oil, fish sauces, and wine. However, the variety of different goods that could fill these amphorae can be interpreted as the result of several production areas that were involved in the manufacturing. It's important also to remember that the city of Erythrai has been mentioned by the sources for producing a variety of salt wine, sour and pungent in flavour, not aromatic, but particularly suitable for mixing with sweet wines. The produced effect from this recipe was the contemporary destruction of the lesser quality features of the mixed wines by highlighting the aroma of the first and the sweetness of the second (Dobreva 2017: 229).

Therefore, wine and olive oil do not complete the entire spectrum of products for which the Aegean region was famous. We need to mention the marble, sought-after in the West and probably responsible, at least in part, of the widespread distribution of some pottery classes. Recent studies show the primary role of Aquileia in the use of different marble originating from western Turkey (Previato and Mareso 2015: 308, fig. 14b). It's remarkable to mention that in some shipwrecks found in the Adriatic (for instance Izmetište or Veliki Školj), the association between *Aegean Cooking Ware, Eastern Sigillata B* and stone blocks of Asia Minor origin is documented. In other cases, the aforementioned pottery classes represented the predominant part of the load: these, therefore, had to represent goods with an inherent value, specifically requested. In this regard, the case of Nerežine seems particularly interesting: at the site, such a quantity of *Aegean Cooking Ware* containers was observed which suggests the remains of a ship in which this type of pottery represented the main part of the cargo (Jurišić 2000: 37, 70). The trend of *Aegean Cooking Ware* evidence in the Mid Roman stratigraphy of the House of *Titus Macer* in Aquileia (**fig. 9**) leads one to think that *Aegean Cooking Ware* could also have been traded independently and not only as accompanying goods for foodstuffs, marble, or other more valuable products.

Meanwhile extremely interesting is to note the perfect chronological overlap between ceramics and Roman coins (*cistophorus*) from the Pergamum and Ephesian mints found at Aquileia (Stella 2017). To complete this scenario of archaeological evidence, some epigraphic documents can also be used. Significant in this sense are some inscriptions dated to 2nd century AD found at Aquileia that mention *naukleroi* originating from Nicomedia in Bithynia. They are ship owners who were specialised in the trade connections between East and West Mediterranean and who most probably had an important role in the management of Asia Minor supply at Aquileia.

But who were the people involved in the trade between Aquileia and the western coast of Asia Minor?

The most precise information we have dates from 256 AD. A bilingual inscription (in Greek and Latin: *Inscr. Aq*. 182) probably drawn up at Aquileia contains the text that mentions *Tiberius Claudius Magnus*, Ephesian by birth, member of the senate of Aquileia, who has decorated and

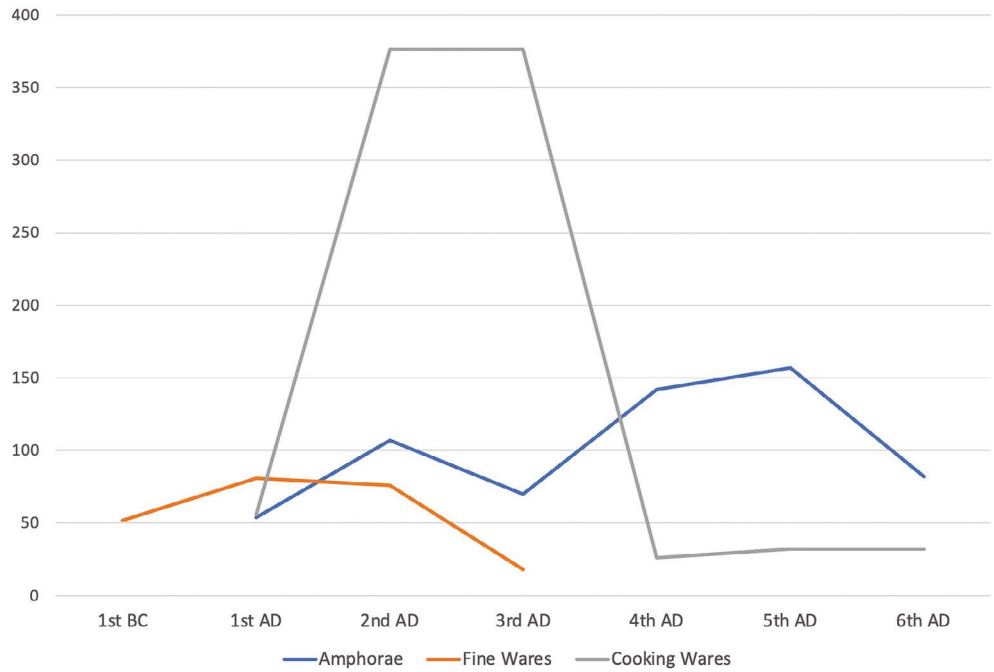


Fig. 9. Overall proportions and distribution of amphorae, fine and cooking wares of Aegean and Asia Minor origin by chronology: total 1738 MNI (minimum number of individuals) (elaboration by D. Dobreva).

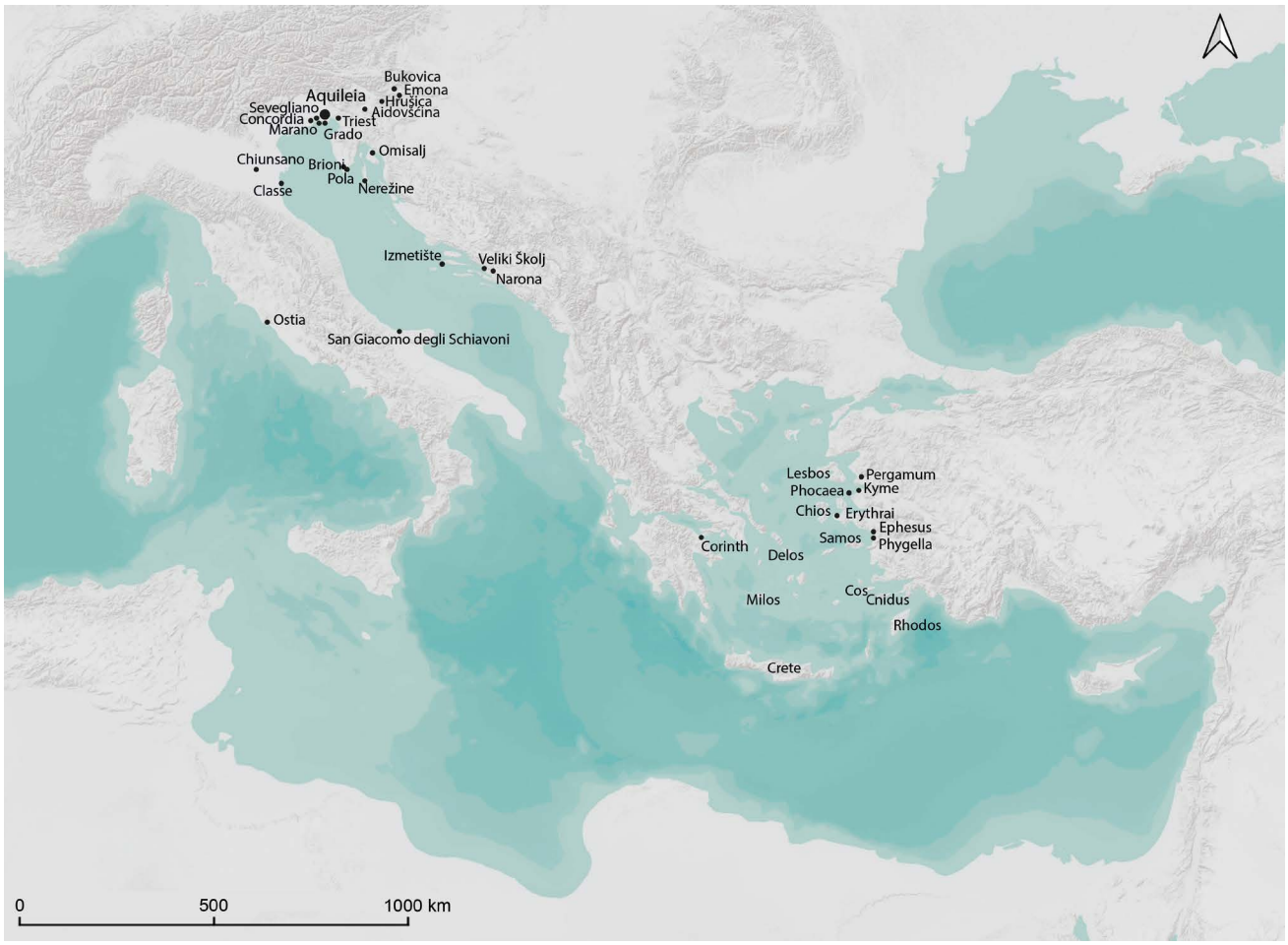


Fig. 10. Sites cited in the text (drawing by Diana Dobreva).

consecrated at his own cost, a temple dedicated to Artemis of Ephesus. The inscription found in 1958 in the former Cossar property sheds light on the multi-ethnic society of Aquileia, in which the Asia Minor community, or better yet, Ephesian one, played a major role (examined in Boffo 1996). Furthermore, the cult of Artemis of Ephesus/Diana is also documented in Aquileia by a votive altar probably dated to Severan period (Maselli Scotti 2002: 142). The reason for this presence is certainly linked to the strategic geographical position of the city, particularly concerning trade patterns with the Asia Minor coastal zone. This business must have been flourishing if it allowed some of those people, as in the case of *Claudius Magnus*, to climb the top of local society, ensuring at the same time the presence of an Ephesian community spokesperson in the city senate.

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LA CERAMICA DA CUCINA AFRICANA DALLA CISTERNA ROMANA DI SPOLETINO (CIVITELLA D'AGLIANO - VT)

African cooking ware is a well-known unique case of utilitarian ware exported on large scale during Roman and Late Roman times. In the fill of the Roman cistern of Spoletino (Civitella d'Agliano - VT) this class is represented by 715 fragments that, considering the significant variety of cooking ware produced in the Tiber Valley in this period, are clear evidence of the great popularity of this kind of cooking ware. The first goal of this contribution is a complete typological study of this class, that in the inland sites is not always well represented as in Spoletino, where is significant and composed of all the usual different forms (lids, casseroles and pans), often in good condition and well preserved. The second goal, not less important, is to realise if the occurrence of the African cooking ware is caused just by its prestige or by a change in the cooking habits, fact understandable comparing the forms of the local cooking ware in this period, analysing if there are local imitations of the African forms and considering the local trade.

Pottery – African cooking ware – Roman pottery – trade – Tiber Valley

Introduzione

La cisterna di Spoletino, situata nella media Valle del Tevere (**figg. 1-2**), è un grande impianto di raccolta dell'acqua piovana relativo a una vicina villa, della quale purtroppo non si hanno evidenze archeologiche, ma solo alcuni indizi. Le indagini condotte nella cisterna ne hanno ricostruito la curiosa storia: la costruzione, in un secondo momento, di un muro trasversale fu funzionale alla divisione non solo fisica, ma anche della destinazione di utilizzo, dato che la parte settentrionale fu colmata intorno alla metà del I secolo d.C. con una moltitudine di materiali di vario genere, mentre la parte meridionale continuò ad essere usata come conserva d'acqua. Solo nel IV secolo d.C. fu obliterata anche la seconda parte, riempita in questo caso con una grande quantità di materiali di natura ancora più varia, come evidenziato dai numerosi resti edilizi (Spanu 2021: 162-166).

Lo scavo di questa struttura ha restituito una eccezionale quantità di materiale ceramico in ottime condizioni di conservazione, il cui studio ha permesso di fornire un quadro completo del contenuto di una villa rurale in due momenti ben diversi tra loro. Sono rappresentate infatti molteplici classi ceramiche: lucerne, sigillata orientale (per la quale vedere il contributo di Emanuela Borgia in questo volume), sigillata italica, sigillata africana, pareti sottili, ceramica comune da mensa e dispensa sia acroma che sovradipinta, ceramica comune da fuoco, *opus doliare*, anfore di produzione locale e di importazione[1].

La ceramica da cucina è la seconda classe più rappresentata dopo le anfore e, nonostante la ovvia e maggiore presenza di vasellame di produzione locale di ottima fattura (per alcuni esempi, Elefante 2023), sono stati rinvenuti un totale di 715 frammenti di ceramica da cucina africana, che rappresentano il 7% della ceramica da cucina, il cui totale complessivo è di 10736 frammenti.

La ceramica da cucina africana rinvenuta a Spoletino

La ceramica da cucina africana esaminata proviene interamente dal riempimento del IV secolo d.C. della cisterna, in quanto appare completamente assente negli strati di riempimento databili alla metà del I d.C. Questo dato, apparentemente scontato, conferma la tendenza della diffusione di questa classe ceramica in Italia. Nei siti costieri o di maggiore importanza la ceramica da cucina africana inizia a essere ben diffusa già nel I secolo d.C., per poi diventare più comune nei secoli successivi, quando in alcuni casi supera anche la ceramica da cucina di produzione locale (Castaldo 2016: 263; Leitch 2013: 288; Pavolini 1996: 233). Ma si tratta di una classe la cui diffusione risente molto della lontananza dai punti nevralgici del commercio, tanto da risultare totalmente assente in alcuni contesti, come nel caso del vicino sito di Lugnano in Teverina (Martin 2005: 71-72) e di diversi altri (Leitch 2011: 181). Non bisogna dimenticare, inoltre, che ci troviamo in una importante area di produzione di laterizi e di ceramica comune che rimarrà tale anche nei secoli più tardi dell'impero (Gasperoni 2003), il che riduce ancora maggiormente la necessità di importazione delle ceramiche di uso quotidiano (Pavolini 1996: 234-235).

La presenza, quindi, di un cospicuo numero di frammenti di ceramica da cucina africana negli strati di IV secolo della

[1] La cisterna e il materiale da essa proveniente sono tuttora in fase di studio al fine della pubblicazione, di conseguenza i dati riguardanti il materiale ceramico sono preliminari. Ringrazio, a tal proposito, il Prof. Marcello Spanu e la Prof.ssa Emanuela Borgia per avermi affidato il materiale oggetto di questo intervento.

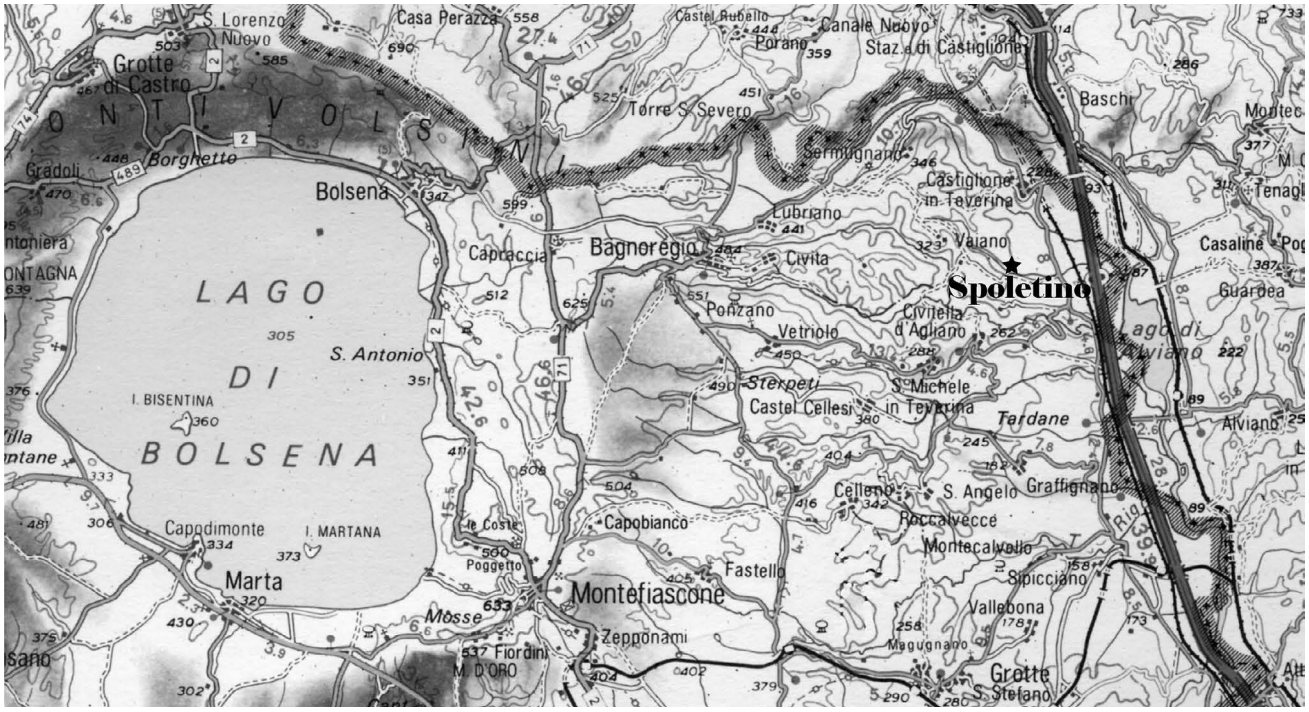


Fig. 1. Posizionamento del sito di Spoletino (elaborazione M. Spanu).

cisterna, conferma la tendenza di una diffusione più tarda nei centri più interni, soprattutto quando sono ben collegati con rotte commerciali, come avviene in questo specifico caso grazie alla vicinanza con il Tevere, strada privilegiata verso e da Roma.

Questi numerosi frammenti, inoltre, sono anche indicativi dell'importanza e della ricchezza della villa da cui provenivano, considerando, come abbiamo visto, la produzione locale, il posizionamento geografico e l'ambito cronologico.

Si tratta di manufatti di ottima qualità, che mostrano solo in pochi casi tracce di uso, soprattutto tracce di esposizione alle fiamme. Questo può portare a due considerazioni di diversa natura: la prima è che tale vasellame non fosse sempre usato per la cottura dei cibi, soprattutto in un contesto lontano dalle influenze di altri costumi e di conseguenza forse anche riluttante all'inserimento di novità nella vita quotidiana; la seconda è che si tratti di materiale nuovo che gli abitanti della villa non fecero in tempo a usare, considerando la cronologia del secondo riempimento.

Su 715 frammenti 331 sono orli, 259 fondi e 125 pareti. Date le buone condizioni di conservazione, è stato possibile identificare la tipologia di tutti gli orli e della maggioranza dei fondi, nonché, quando possibile, riconoscere la forma di un gran numero di pareti. Usando il metodo quantitativo di Orton (Orton 1975; Orton and Hughes 2013: 203-218) si è ottenuto un numero minimo di esemplari complessivo di 349, di cui di seguito si analizzeranno le differenti forme e tipologie (**fig. 3**).

I piatti-coperchio, con un N.M.I. di 62 esemplari e 227 frammenti totali, sono la forma maggiormente presente. Le dimensioni sono abbastanza variabili, dai 15 ai 28 cm, ma la maggior parte degli esemplari ha un diametro che rientra tra i 20 e i 23 cm. Sono assenti quindi i piatti-coperchio di

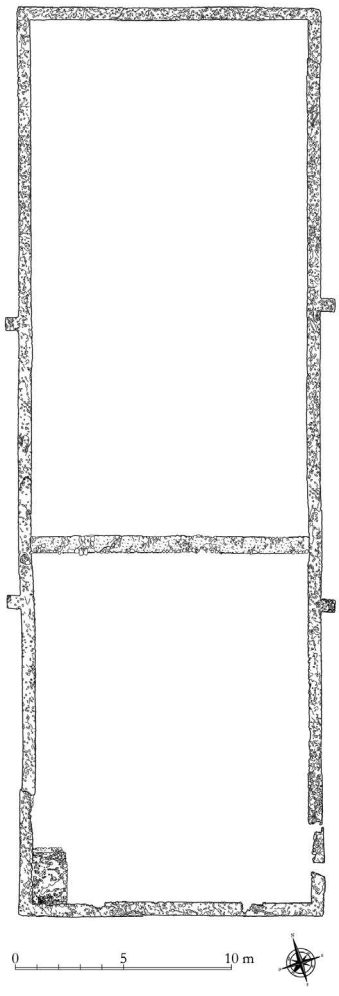


Fig. 2. La cisterna di Spoletino (Spanu 2021: fig. 13).

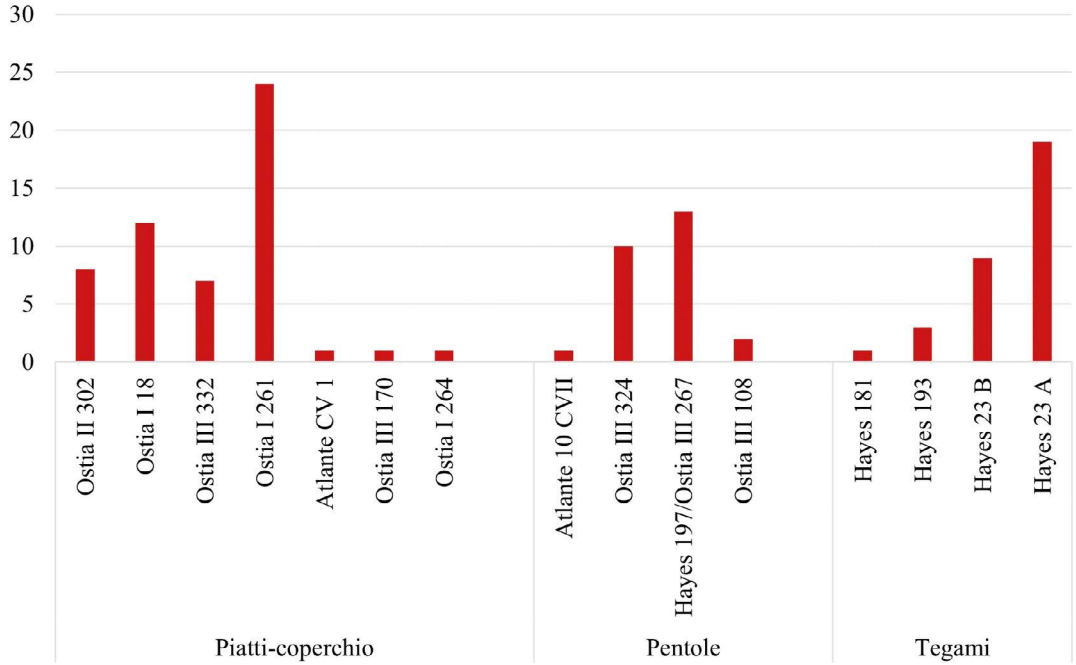


Fig. 3. Numero di esemplari per tipologie ceramiche.

grandi dimensioni, considerando che possono arrivare anche intorno ai 39 cm (Atlante I: 212). Più della metà degli orli (38 su 51) presentano il caratteristico orlo annerito, anche se in alcuni casi appare annerito solo parzialmente. I fondi conservati sono tutti muniti di piede ad anello e solo in pochi casi si può presumere che fossero apodi e convessi, mentre non vi è evidenza di fondi con prese.

Le varianti tipologiche, seppur in molti casi minime, sono molteplici e potrebbero indicare che si tratti di produzioni realizzate in ateliers diversi e forse in momenti leggermente diversi.

La maggioranza degli esemplari è identificabile con il tipo Hayes 196 (**figg. 4-5, nn. 1-35**) caratterizzato da un orlo, molto spesso annerito, indistinto o leggermente ingrossato rispetto alla parete e da un fondo con piede ad anello (Hayes 1972: 207-209). A queste caratteristiche corrispondono diversi tipi, tra cui quello più comune e tipico tra III e IV secolo d.C. è il tipo Ostia I fig. 261 (**fig. 4, nn. 1-15**), il quale a sua volta è suddivisibile in due tipologie minori: Atlante Tav. CIV 6 (**fig. 4, nn. 1-12**) e Atlante Tav. CIV 7 (**fig. 4, nn. 13-15**) (Atlante I: 212). Sono poi ben rappresentati i tipi Ostia I fig. 18 (**figg. 4-5, nn. 16-23**), Ostia II fig. 302 (**fig. 5, nn. 24-30**) e Ostia III fig. 332/Hayes 196 n°1 (**fig. 5, nn. 31-35**) (Atlante I: 212; Hayes 1972: 208-209); in queste ultime due tipologie è presente un esemplare ciascuno caratterizzato dalla superficie esterna polita a bande, caratteristica spesso presente in queste categorie.

Sono presenti, inoltre, solo pochi esemplari di alcuni piatti-coperchio la cui diffusione è meno documentata anche a livello globale, nonostante fossero caratteristici del IV secolo d.C.: i tipi Ostia III fig. 170 (**fig. 5, n° 36**), Ostia I fig. 264 (**fig. 5, n° 37**) e Atlante tav. CV 1 (**fig. 5, n° 38**) (Atlante I: 213-214).

La seconda forma più comune a Spoletino sono le pentole, con un N.M.I. di 58 esemplari e un totale di 198 frammenti. La quasi totalità degli esemplari presenta la caratteristica patina cinerognola su pareti e parte esterna degli orli, e quasi tutti i fondi, apodi e convessi, sono caratterizzati dalle incisioni a cerchi concentrici usate per facilitare la propagazione del calore. I diametri vanno dai 14 ai 29 cm, ma si nota una predominanza di misure che corrispondono a quelle dei piatti-coperchio, indicazione di un probabile uso combinato.

Data la cronologia del contesto, predominano le pentole appartenenti all'ultima fase dello sviluppo morfologico di questa forma, quando, intorno al IV secolo d.C., l'orlo non è più a tesa ed è privo della rientranza interna per appoggiare il coperchio (Atlante I: 218-219).

Il tipo di pentola più rappresentato è infatti Ostia III fig. 324 (**fig. 6, nn. 39-44),** caratterizzato dall'orlo ingrossato e scanalato in modo marcato superiormente e inferiormente, in cui ancora si nota una traccia della tesa. A seguire vi è il tipo Hayes 197/Ostia III fig. 267 (**fig. 6, nn. 45-51**), nel quale sono ulteriormente riconoscibili due varianti: i tipi Atlante Tav. CVII 6 (**fig. 6, nn. 45-47**) e Atlante Tav. CVII 7 (**fig. 6, nn. 48-51**), entrambi caratterizzati da un orlo più ingrossato e più tondeggiante, superiormente scanalato (Atlante I: 218; Hayes 1972: 209).

La tipologia derivante da quelle appena menzionate è Ostia III fig. 108 (**fig. 6, n° 56**), i cui esemplari mostrano un orlo quasi deformato che mantiene però la scanalatura superiore. A mostrare l'evoluzione di questa forma, vi sono poi alcuni esemplari identificabili come una fusione tra i tipi Atlante Tav. CVII 7 e Ostia III fig. 108 (**fig. 6, nn. 52-55**), con un orlo che appare ancora non del tutto deformato, ma che inizia a perdere il suo ingrossamento e la sua estroflessione,

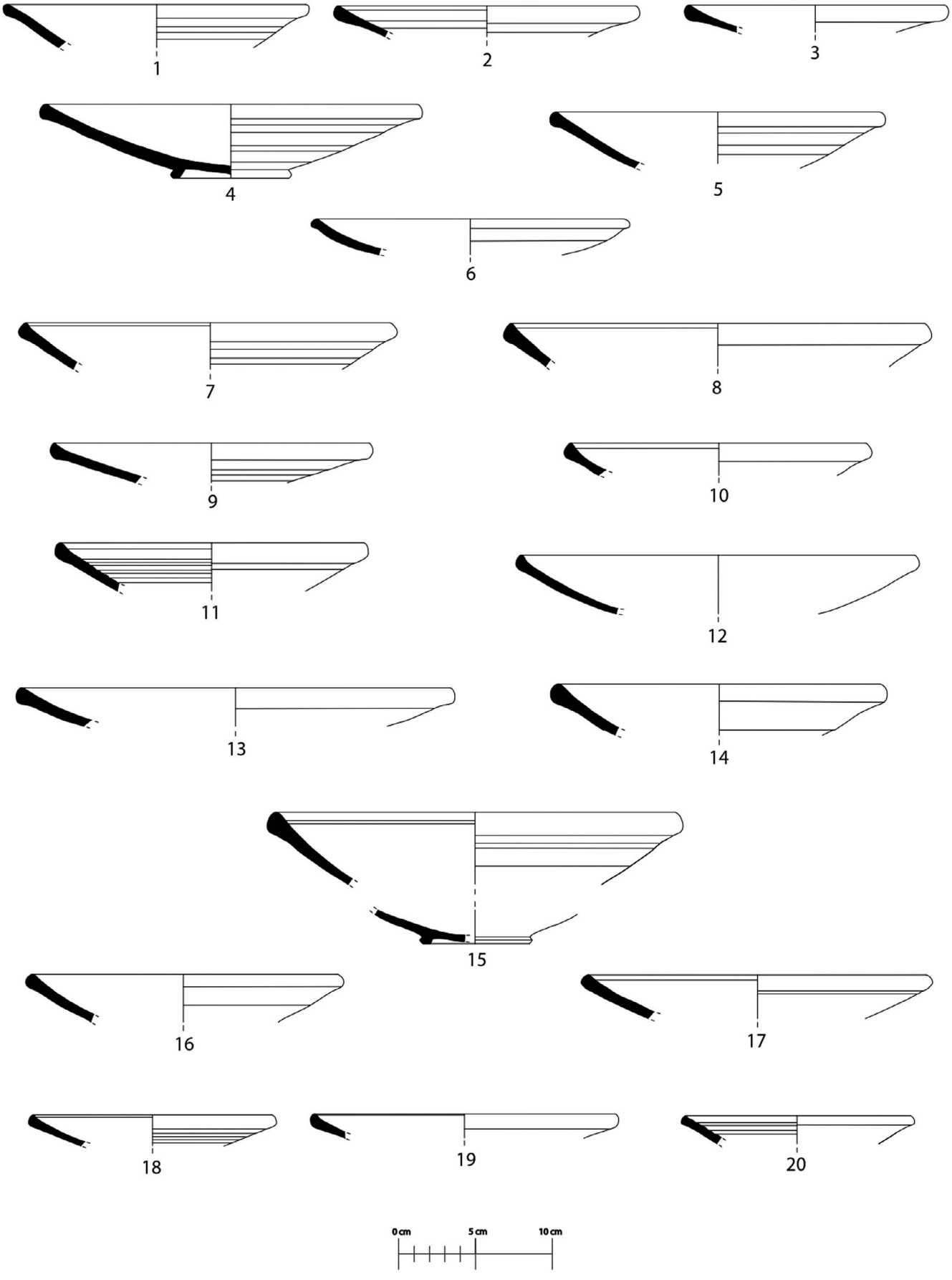


Fig. 4. Piatti-coperchi.

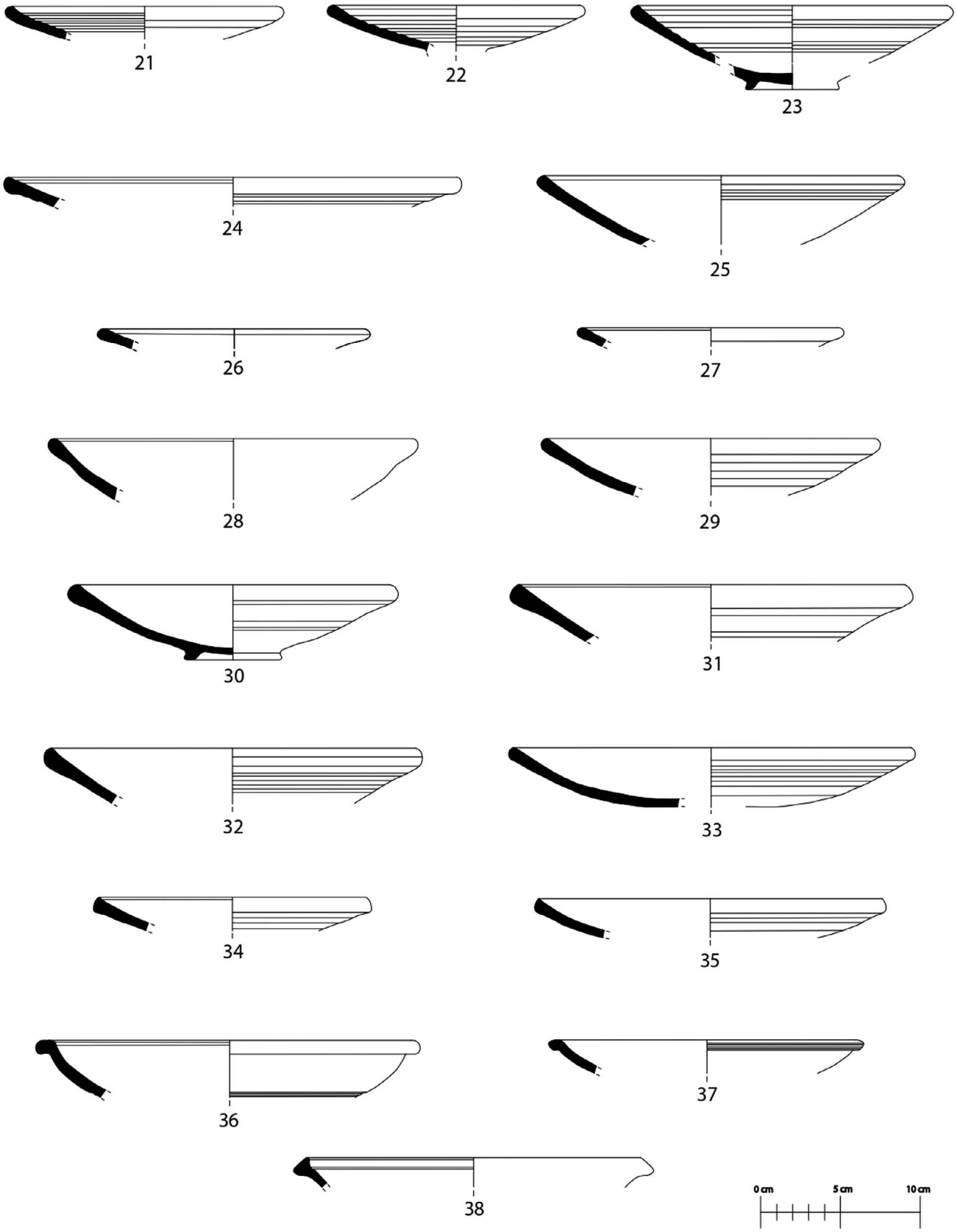


Fig. 5. Piatti-coperchi piatti-coperchi.

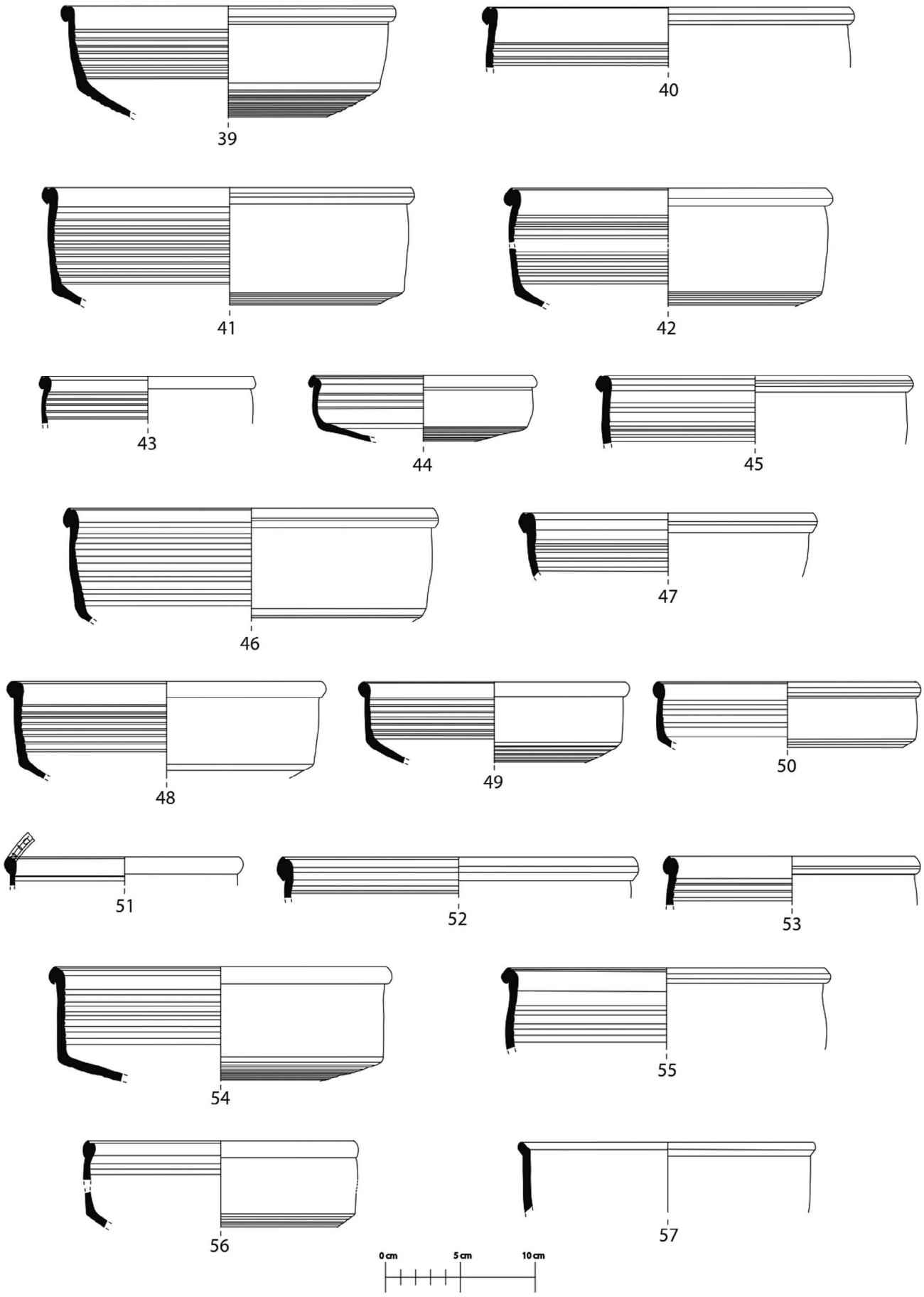


Fig. 6. Pentole.

arcando così la scanalatura superiore che tende a scendere verso l'interno (Atlante I: 218).

Vi è poi un solo esemplare identificabile con la forma Atlante Tav. CVII 10 (**fig. 6, n° 57**), forma poco comune soprattutto al di fuori del continente africano (Atlante I: 219).

Ultima forma presente sono i tegami, con un N.M.I di 39 esemplari e 139 frammenti totali. I diametri sono variabili dai 13 ai 30 cm, ma la maggioranza rientra tra i 16 e i 18 cm.

Il tegame più rappresentato è il tipo Hayes 23A (**fig. 7, nn. 58-68**) con orlo indistinto dalla parete, a cui sono attribuibili tipologie leggermente differenti identificabili con Atlante Tav. CVI 12 (**fig. 7, nn. 58-62**) e Atlante Tav. CVI 13 (**fig. 7, nn. 63-68**), più alcuni esemplari che sono una fusione tra questi ultimi due (**fig. 7, n°69**). Vi è poi il tipo Hayes 23B (**fig. 7, nn. 72-78**), il tegame per antonomasia in ceramica da cucina africana, con orlo leggermente ingrossato verso l'interno (Atlante I: 217; Hayes 1972: 46-48). Solitamente la forma 23A è considerata antecedente alla 23B, della quale si segue lo sviluppo nei secoli tra III e IV secolo d.C.; la compresenza di entrambe le forme può significare un attardarsi della prima forma, probabilmente legato al fatto che ci troviamo in un ambito rurale. Il tipo Hayes 23A in questo caso si colloca quindi come in uso ancora tra fine III e inizio IV secolo d.C., periodo a cui appartiene la tipologia di Hayes 23B (Bonifay 2004: fig. 112, n°2) presente a Spoletino.

Quasi tutti i frammenti di queste due tipologie di tegami presentano il solito rivestimento opaco di colore rosso scuro all'interno, mentre sono limitati i casi in cui è presente la banda nera sotto l'orlo esterno, solitamente presente. Per quanto riguarda i fondi, sembra che siano nella maggioranza apodi e convessi, tra i quali poco di più della metà è caratterizzato dai solchi a cerchi concentrici, mentre il resto è liscio.

Curiosa è poi la presenza di tre frammenti di tegami di tipo Hayes 193 (Hayes 1972: 207), forma più rara e riconoscibile soprattutto per la maggiore profondità delle pareti, oltre che per la conformazione dell'orlo, il quale cambia leggermente a seconda delle varianti (**fig. 7, nn. 79-81**). Un solo esemplare (**fig. 7, n°81**) appartiene dalla variante standard con orlo rastremato e quasi appuntito (Ikaheimo 2003: tav. 10, n° 48), mentre gli altri due (**fig. 7, nn. 79-80**) sono assimilabili con un variante la cui produzione inizia leggermente più tardi (Ikaheimo 2003: tav. 10, n° 49). Entrambe le forme sono comunque attestate come presenti all'inizio del IV secolo d.C. (Ikaheimo 2003: 57-58).

È presente infine un esemplare che ricorda i grandi tegami in ceramica a vernice rossa interna, identificabile con il tipo Hayes 181 (Hayes 1972: 200-203) e caratterizzato dalla fascia annerita appena sotto l'esterno dell'orlo (**fig. 7, n° 82**). Questo tegame trova un confronto puntuale con esemplari di fine III-inizio IV secolo d.C. (Bonifay 2004: 212-215, fig. 112, n° 3).

È doveroso fare un piccolo appunto riguardante i conteggi dei frammenti di pentole e tegami, in quanto i fondi di entrambe le forme, quando non sono presenti gli attacchi con le pareti, non sono facilmente attribuibili, data l'estrema somiglianza e la ricorrenza delle stesse caratteristiche. Di conseguenza si è preferito non sbilanciarsi e non inserirli nei conteggi delle singole forme, ma è probabile quindi che il numero effettivo di pentole presenti superasse leggermente quello dei piatti-coperchio o fosse lo stesso di questi ultimi.

Per quel che riguarda i luoghi di produzione, la ceramica da cucina africana di Spoletino mostra come il commercio dal Nord Africa fino ai centri più interni dell'Italia fosse ben distribuito, coerentemente con la tendenza generale (Bonifay 2004: 66-69, 211-239; Bonifay 2016: 530-532).

Sono infatti rappresentati diversi luoghi produttivi di ceramica da cucina, anche se in proporzioni molto diverse tra di loro, a conferma della vivacità del commercio.

La *culinaire A,* caratterizzata da un rivestimento interno fine e granuloso e un impasto comparabile a quello della sigillata africana A, era prodotta in Zeugitania, molto probabilmente a Cartagine (Bonifay 2016: 530-531). A questa categoria appartengono tutti i tegami rinvenuti a Spoletino: i tipi Hayes 23A (**fig. 7, nn. 58-68**) e Hayes 23B (**fig. 7, nn. 72-78**) (Bonifay 2004: 211), l'unico esemplare di tegame Hayes 181 (**fig. 7, n°82**), la cui variante tarda infatti ben si adatta a questa ipotesi (Bonifay 2004:211-213; Bonifay 2016: 530-531) e probabilmente i tegami Hayes 193 (**fig. 7, nn. 79-81**). Questa ultima attribuzione è però la più incerta a causa della scarsità di attestazioni (Bonifay 2004: 211).

La *culinaire CA* ha come sua principale caratteristica è l'assenza del rivestimento interno e la presenza della cosiddetta patina cinerognola sulla superficie esterna delle pentole o dell'orlo annerito sui piatti-coperchio. Solo i più recenti studi hanno identificato questa categoria con molta probabilità agli stessi luoghi di produzione della *culinaire A*, della quale condivide infatti gli impasti, collocandola quindi sempre nel nord della Tunisia (Bonifay 2016: 530-531). A questa categoria appartengono le forme più comuni e più rappresentate di Spoletino, ovvero le pentole tipo Hayes 197 (**fig. 6, nn. 45-51**) (Bonifay 2004: 225) e i piatti-coperchio tipo Hayes 196 (**figg. 4-5, nn. 1-35**) (Bonifay 2004: 225-227).

Conclusioni

La ceramica da cucina africana proveniente da Spoletino è una conferma del sistema di distribuzione della ceramica di questa classe non solo nelle maggiori città e nei siti costieri, ma anche in quelli rurali e in ville collegati da un commercio prettamente fluviale, come già visto ad esempio nei siti di Lugnano in Teverina e di Chianciano (Leitch 2010: 21).

Confrontando i dati con quelli degli altri siti dell'Italia centrale, si può notare come la presenza di questa classe ceramica sia notevole rispetto ad altri contesti, ma allo stesso tempo è evidente che non ci sia una grande variabilità delle tipologie, fattore tipico della ceramica da cucina africana destinata all'esportazione, che presentava un minor numero di forme simili tra di loro rispetto a quella destinata al mercato locale (Leitch 2013: 282).

L'assenza di vasellame locale imitante la ceramica africana da cucina significa che non si sentisse ancora la necessità, né per prestigio né per qualità tecniche, di copiare ceramica da cucina non locale. Questo potrebbe avere più di un significato: esistenza di una forte tradizione nel mercato ceramico, mantenimento delle vecchie abitudini culinarie, riluttanza all'uso di nuove forme in cucina.

Considerando la scarsità di tracce di utilizzo, si viene quindi a creare un quadro particolare e leggermente in controtendenza rispetto alle altre situazioni in Italia centrale cui

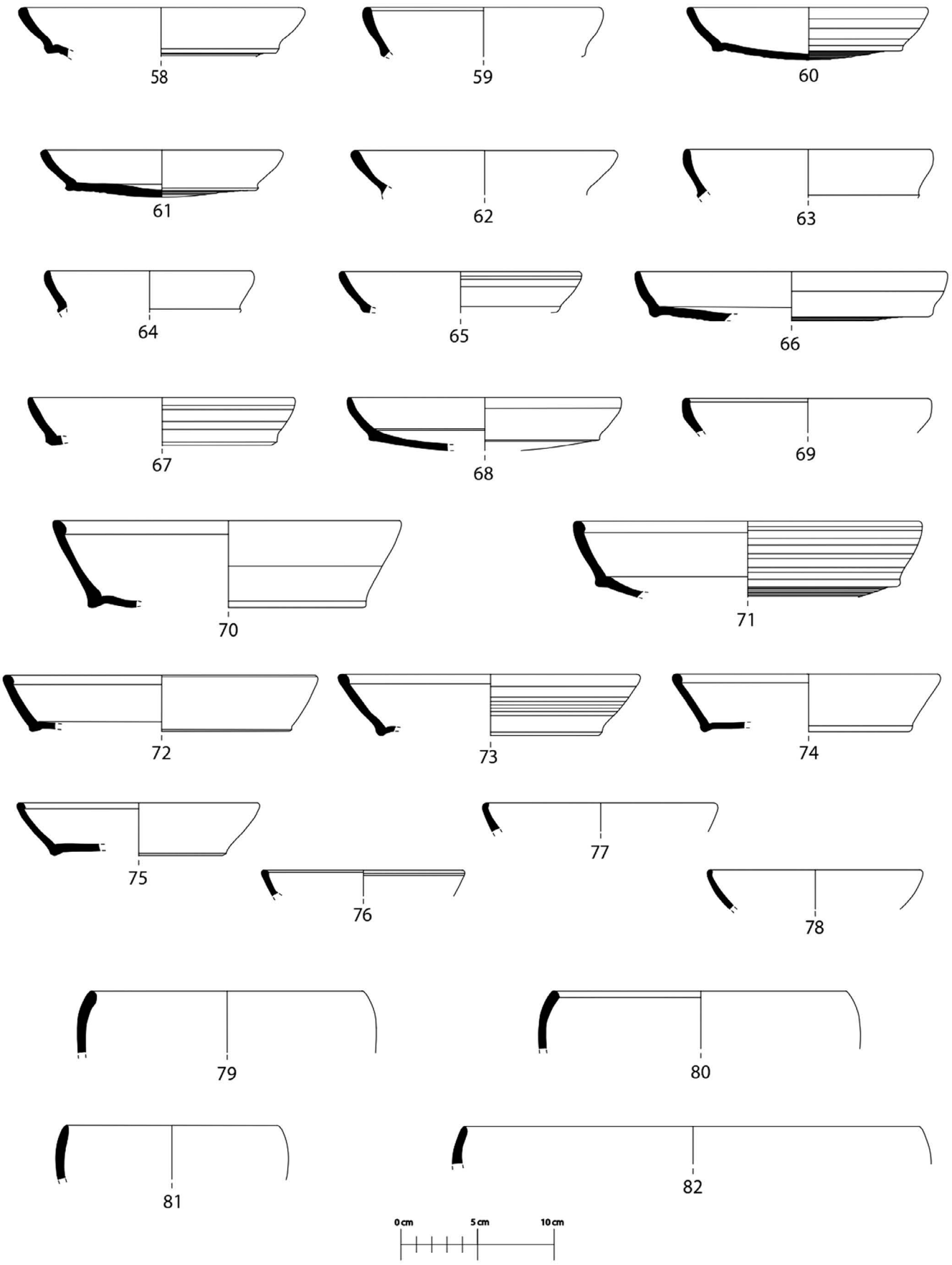

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Fig. 7. Tegami.

la ceramica africana da cucina viene largamente usata e in diversi casi anche imitata, come nel caso di Roma, Napoli e di Pisa (Bonifay 2014: 78-79; Ikaheimo 2005: 394-395).

Ci troviamo quindi in un contesto in cui sicuramente la ricchezza del commercio e del destinatario di questi materiali porta all'arrivo di novità, forse insieme alle numerose anfore africane o forse insieme ad alcune materie prime, o magari anche solo come merce pregiata, ma in cui queste forme non vengono sicuramente ancora apprezzate come succede in molti altri luoghi.

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DISASTRI A CONFRONTO. NUOVI DATI SULLA CULTURA MATERIALE E I TRAFFICI COMMERCIALI DI ROMA E POMPEI TRA LA TARDA ETÀ NERONIANA E L'ETÀ FLAVIA

This contribution examines two documented contexts in the cities of Rome and Pompeii, linked to catastrophic events dating back to the late Neronian period. For Rome, the analysis focuses on deposits from the Colosseum valley, associated with construction activities initiated after the AD 64 fire for the construction of the Domus Aurea. In Pompeii, recently investigated soil layers at the Stabian Baths are explored, related to significant building modifications following seismic events before AD 79. Comparing these materials highlights similarities and differences between the two centers during this historical moment, including aspects like the general composition of archaeological deposits, relationships between local production and imports, and the external supply network. Notably, significant changes in interprovincial trade networks are observed, paving the way for commercial trends, including the growing influence of North African goods, persisting into late antiquity.

Pompeii – Rome – Material culture – Ancient economy – Roman ceramic

Introduzione

Nell'ambito delle ricerche condotte negli ultimi anni presso le Terme Stabiane di Pompei[1] sono stati documentati alcuni interri ricondotti agli interventi edilizi realizzati nell'area in seguito alle distruzioni causate da uno degli eventi sismici che investe il territorio vesuviano nel periodo che precede l'eruzione del 79 d.C. e di cui è ormai noto che il terremoto del 62/63 dovette costituire solo l'evento principale. La pressoché totale assenza di elementi residui (< 5%) tra i materiali documentati ci ha spinti ad esaminare questi depositi per lo studio, anche statistico-quantitativo, dei beni circolanti all'interno della città nel periodo che precede l'eruzione.

Le analogie esistenti con alcune attività edilizie documentate a Roma in relazione alla costruzione della *Domus Aurea*[2], nei 4 anni che seguono il celebre incendio del 64 d.C., hanno inoltre indicato la possibilità di utilizzare questi nuclei di materiale per operare un confronto tra questi due centri dell'Italia centrale tirrenica, sicuramente difformi per importanza, dimensioni e potenza demografica, ma sulla cui cultura materiale esiste ormai - soprattutto per l'arco di tempo esaminato in queste pagine - un'ampia bibliografia (limitandosi alla tarda età neroniana e all'età flavia si veda per Roma: Volpe 1996: 32-36; Rizzo 2003; Pavolini 2006; Rinaldi 2006; Ferrandes 2008; Cardarelli 2013; Castelli 2013; Gualtieri 2013; Bellezza 2013; per Pompei: *Instrumentum domesticum* 1977; Di Giovanni 1996; Gasperetti 1996; Bernal-Casasola e Cottica 2019; Bustamante e Bernal-Casasola 2019; Osanna e Toniolo 2020).

Accanto alla prossimità cronologica dei due contesti, le affinità riguardano le dinamiche di formazione dei depositi. In entrambi i casi, infatti, si tratta di cospicui riporti di terreno funzionali all'innalzamento dei piani di calpestio e all'interno dei quali l'abbondanza del materiale ceramico sembra in parte dipendere dalla necessità di contrastare un possibile ristagno idrico dovuto allo stato di conservazione dei pavimenti dismessi. Il materiale sembra inoltre provenire da immondezzai di recente formazione, come indicano la sostanziale assenza di residui, l'ottimo stato di conservazione di alcuni manufatti e l'elevato numero di attacchi registrati anche tra frammenti provenienti da unità stratigrafiche diverse. Va infine sottolineato come entrambi i contesti appartengono a quel ristretto numero di depositi la cui cronologia è desumibile da fonti diverse dall'archeologia (incendio neroniano e costruzione della *Domus Aurea* nel caso di Roma, terremoto ed eruzione in quello di Pompei), con evidenti ricadute sulla possibilità di precisare le datazioni dei materiali rinvenuti al loro interno.

I contesti

Nel caso di Roma verranno considerati alcuni degli enormi riporti di materiale riversati, dopo l'incendio che devasta la città nella tarda età neroniana, all'interno della valle che sarà del Colosseo, per innalzare i piani d'uso anche di 4 metri, al fine di realizzare la complessa maglia delle fondazioni funzionali al nuovo e grandioso progetto della *Domus Aurea*

[1] Scavi condotti a partire dal 2016 nell'ambito del progetto "*Pompeii: Bathing Culture and Development of Urban Space*" avviato nel 2015 dalla Freie Universität di Berlino, sotto la direzione di Monika Trümper, in collaborazione con la University of Oxford (Mark Robinson) e dal 2021 con l'Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale (Marco Giglio).

[2] Ricerche condotte tra il 1986 e il 2003 lungo il versante occidentale della Valle del Colosseo (area di scavo della '*Meta Sudans*') dal Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità della Sapienza – Università di Roma, sotto la direzione di Clementina Panella. I dati relativi alle ceramiche riesaminati in questo articolo si basano sugli studi realizzati in occasione delle tesi di laurea di Emanuela Fresi, Chiara De Santis e Cecilia Gualtieri, che ringraziamo.

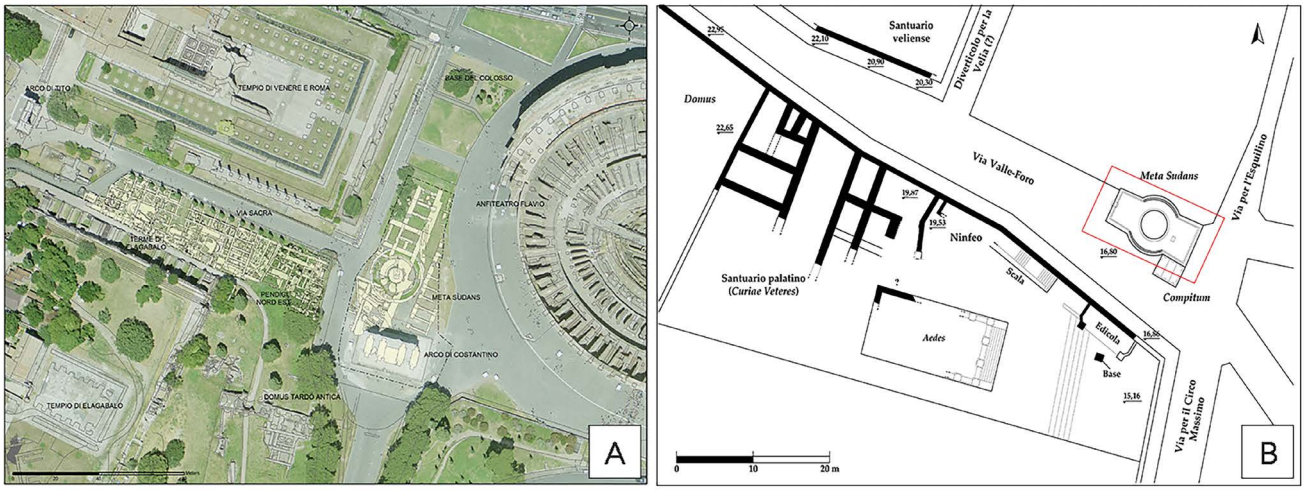


Fig. 1. Roma, a) Ortofoto della valle del Colosseo e dei versanti collinari limitrofi con sovrapposizione, in bianco, delle strutture rinvenute nelle aree di scavo della *Meta Sudans* e delle pendici nord-orientali del Palatino durante le ricerche 1986-2017 (E. Brienza, M. Fano); b) Planimetria ricostruttiva del settore urbano compreso tra Palatino, Velia e antistante valle nel momento che precede l'incendio del 64 d.C. (A.F. Ferrandes, G. Pardini), con indicazione della parte della *Meta* occupata dal vespaio neroniano.

(Panella 2011a-b). Fino al luglio del 64 d.C., infatti, questo settore urbano era caratterizzato (**fig. 1a**) dalla convergenza di una fitta maglia stradale verso un punto in cui in età augustea verrà edificata una fontana monumentale di cui le fonti letterarie hanno tramandato il nome antico di *Meta Sudans* (Zeggio e Pardini 2007; Cante 2013) e che, dopo la breve obliterazione della tarda età neroniana, verrà ricostruita in forme ancora più monumentali in età flavia. I materiali analizzati provengono da un enorme riporto (**fig. 1b**), edito solo preliminarmente (Ferrandes 2013; Gualtieri 2013) e costituito prevalentemente da ceramica e pochissima terra, riversato al di sopra della fontana distrutta, al fine di consentire il drenaggio del terreno in un punto in cui il piano della vasca in cocciopesto, non intaccato dalle spoliazioni posteriori all'incendio, avrebbe potuto determinare problemi di deflusso idrico.

È noto come le evidenze connesse all'incendio del 64 e ai successivi interventi edilizi costituiscano un vero e proprio punto di riferimento per gli studi sulla cultura materiale urbana, dal momento che per questi eventi disponiamo non solo di un preciso *terminus post quem* (la notte tra il 18 e il 19 luglio del 64), ma anche di un *terminus ante*. La morte di Nerone, nel 68 d.C., sembra infatti determinare un importante battuta d'arresto nei lavori per la reggia, per cui è stato possibile distinguere gli interventi attuati tra il 64 e il 68 da quelli realizzati dopo la morte del tiranno.

Una condizione confrontabile, almeno in parte, è quella determinata dal secondo dei disastri evocati nel titolo del contributo, ovvero dallo sciame sismico che colpisce la città di Pompei a partire dal 62/63 d.C. e che determina una serie di interventi edilizi di grande impatto, attuati su scala urbana e ancora in corso di svolgimento nel momento in cui la città sarà sommersa dall'eruzione del 79 d.C. (De Simone 1995; Wallace-Hadrill 2003; Savino 2009). Il contesto esaminato è stato documentato presso l'*insula* della *Regio VII* occupata dalla Terme Stabiane (Trümper et al. 2019; 2022). Le stratigrafie sono riferibili ad una serie di scarichi di terreno, ricchissimi di manufatti ed ecofatti, riversati all'interno delle *tabernae* edificate – proprio nell'ultima fase di vita della città – sul fronte occidentale dell'isolato, in corrispondenza dei civici nn. 53-54 e 61 (**fig. 2**). Questi scarichi obliterano le strutture rasate e i pavimenti di una ricca *domus* che doveva occupare prima del terremoto (la data del primo impianto della *domus* non è certa, ma essa esiste sicuramente alla metà del I a.C.: Trümper et al. 2022) l'angolo sud-occidentale dell'isolato e che proprio in seguito alle modifiche successive ad uno degli eventi sismici *post* 62/63 d.C. viene distrutta per essere inglobata nel perimetro delle terme. I riporti esaminati sono funzionali alla creazione dei piani su cui saranno tracciate le fondazioni cementizie delle nuove *tabernae*. Il rinvenimento dei lapilli a diretto contatto con le stratigrafie in esame e, di conseguenza, la mancata realizzazione dei pavimenti delle nuove *tabernae*, testimonia che i lavori erano ancora in corso al momento dell'eruzione[3].

Queste brevi note introduttive permettono di comprendere come, se per Roma il confronto tra stratigrafia e fonti letterarie fornisce due sicuri *termini* per la datazione del deposito in un arco di tempo di 4 anni, nel caso di Pompei tali *termini* comprendono i 16/17 anni che intercorrono tra il primo grande evento sismico riportato dalle fonti antiche (Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones,* 6, 1, 1-2; Tacito, *Annales,* 15, 22, 2-23) e l'eruzione del 79 d.C. Una ulteriore puntualizzazione è tuttavia possibile sulla base delle monete più tarde restituite dal contesto pompeiano: due assi tardo-neroniani databili al 65 e 66 d.C. e – soprattutto – un asse di Vespasiano del

[3] Le stratigrafie sono state indagate in due campagne di scavo condotte tra il 2021 e il 2022. Per i dati stratigrafici preliminari e ancora in corso di studio si ringraziano in particolare Monica Trümper e Marco Giglio.

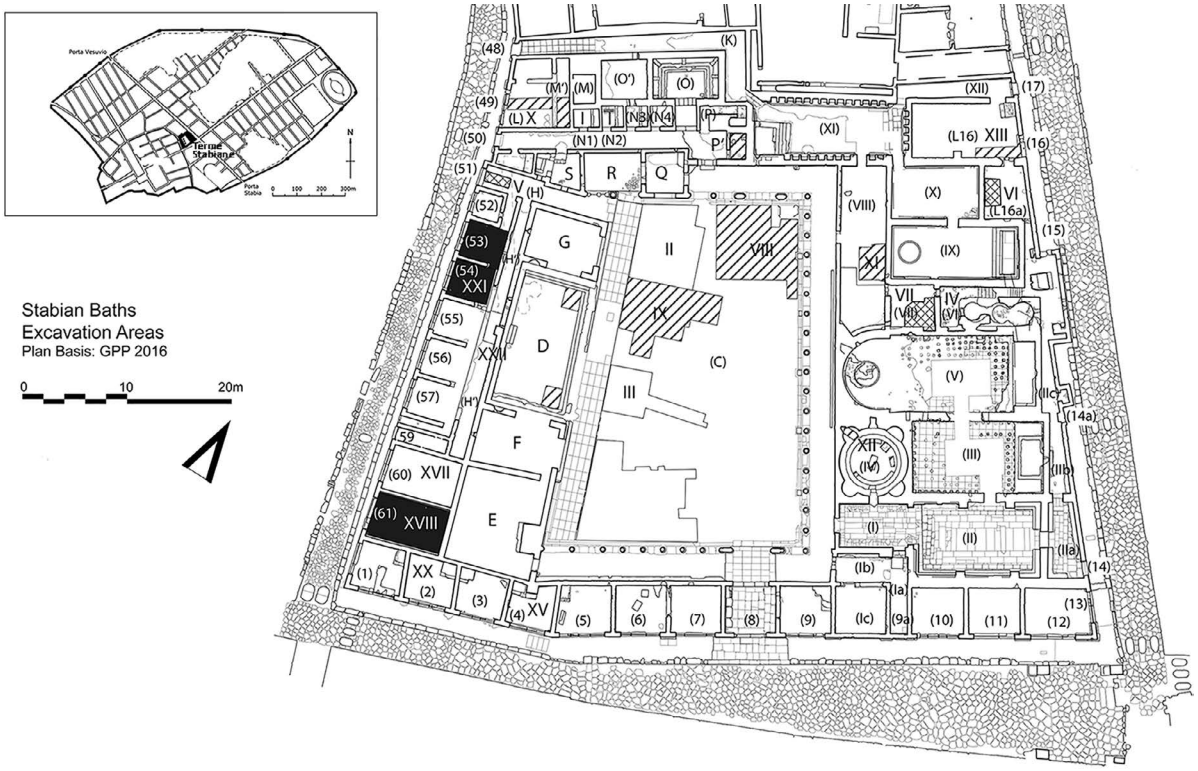


Fig. 2. Pompei, Terme Stabiane: area delle terme con indicazione in grigio scuro delle *tabernae* da cui proviene il materiale esaminato (© FU Berlin; Clemens Brünenberg – Monika Trümper).

71 d.C.[4] Questi elementi ci hanno permesso di limitare – anche nel caso del contesto vesuviano – il periodo di formazione del deposito a pochi anni. Un intervallo 'teorico' piuttosto ristretto (71-79 d.C.), ma che nella realtà dei fatti deve essere stato ancora più breve, se consideriamo da una parte che l'asse di Vespasiano deve aver circolato anche per un periodo ristrettissimo di tempo prima di entrare a far parte del record archeologico, dall'altra che i riporti di terreno in esame hanno costituito solo l'inizio di una complessa serie di interventi edilizi (costruzione degli elevati e delle coperture, decorazione delle pareti) piuttosto avanzati al momento dell'eruzione.

AFF, AP

Depositi a confronto

Che cosa abbiamo imparato dall'analisi di questi due nuclei di materiali, così vicini nel tempo e così simili in relazione alla dinamica di formazione delle rispettive stratigrafie? Il primo dato è quello relativo alla composizione generale dei contesti (**tab. 1**: 30.282 frr. nel caso della *Meta Sudans*, 20.517 in quello delle Terme Stabiane), che vede in entrambi i casi una presenza massiva di contenitori da trasporto, nel caso di Roma superiori all'85% delle attestazioni complessive e a Pompei poco più della metà del campione. Differenti, di conseguenza, anche le percentuali relative alle altre categorie ceramiche, quantitativamente più numerose e qualitativamente più diversificate nel caso pompeiano.

CLASSI CERAMICHE	ROMA, *META SUDANS*		POMPEI, TERME STABIANE	
C. a Pareti Sottili	457	1,51%	836	4,07%
Sigillata Orientale A	3	0,01%	7	0,03%
Sigillata Orientale B	-	-	24	0,12%
Sigillata Italica	122	0,40%	246	1,20%
Sigillata Sud-Gallica	8	0,03%	35	0,17%
Sigillata Sud-Gallica marmorizzata	-	-	26	0,13%
Ceramica invetriata	6	0,02%	-	-
Lucerne	218	0,72%	315	1,54%
Unguentari	-	-	26	0,13%
C. a Vernice Rossa Interna	5	0,02%	158	0,77%
C. Comuni da Fuoco	1.127	3,72%	3.303	16,10%
C. Comuni non da Fuoco	2.365	7,81%	4.167	20,31%
Anfore da Trasporto	25.971	85,76%	11.370	55,42%
Dolia	-	-	1	0,003%
Louteria	-	-	3	0,01%
Totale	**30.282**	**100%**	**20.517**	**100%**

Tab. 1. Attestazioni (frammenti e relative percentuali) delle classi ceramiche attestate all'interno dei contesti esaminati.

[4] Si ringrazia Giacomo Pardini, responsabile dei reperti numismatici del progetto alle Terme Stabiane, per le informazioni fornitoci sulle monete dal contesto in esame ancora in corso di studio.

SIGILLATA ORIENTALE A (ESA)			
Tipo	**Cronologia**	**Roma, *Meta Sudans***	**Pompei, Terme Stabiane**
Hayes 1985, forma 42	*10 – 20/30 d.C.*	-	*1*
Hayes 1985, forma 39	**60 – 80/100 d.C.**	**-**	**1**
Gualtieri 2013, fig. 81		1	-
Totale		**1**	**2**

SIGILLATA ORIENTALE B (ESB)			
Tipo	**Cronologia**	**Roma, *Meta Sudans***	**Pompei, Terme Stabiane**
Hayes 1985, forma 70	**50 – 75 d.C.**	**-**	**1**
Non identificato		-	2
Non identificato (ad ingobbio nero)		-	2
Totale		**0**	**5**

Tab. 2. Sigillate orientali A e B - attestazione dei tipi identificati. In corsivo gli elementi residui e in grassetto gli elementi datanti.

TIPO	CRONOLOGIA	ROMA, *META SUDAN*S	POMPEI, TERME STABIANE
Pucci 1985, XXXI, 5	*ante 20 a.C.-I d.C.*	1	-
Conspectus 3/8	*prima/tarda età augustea- metà II d.C.*	-	*4*
Conspectus 8.1	*prima-media età augustea*	3	*1*
Conspectus 8.3.1	*prima e media età augustea*	-	*1*
Conspectus 7.1.3	*media-tarda età augustea*	-	*2*
Conspectus 9.1.2 (Baia di Napoli)	*media età augustea-età tiberiana*	-	1
Conspectus 3.1	tarda età augustea-metà II d.C.	1	1
Conspectus 3.2.1	tarda età augustea-metà II d.C.	-	7
Conspectus 3.2.2	tarda età augustea-metà II d.C.	1	9
Conspectus 3.3.1	tarda età augustea-metà II d.C.	10	2
Conspectus 3.3.1 (Baia di Napoli)		-	2
Conspectus 3	tarda età augustea-metà II d.C.	-	5
Conspectus 33	tarda età augustea-fine I/inizi II d.C.	2	1
Conspectus 33.2.1	tarda età augustea-fine I/inizi II d.C.	-	1
Conspectus abb. 6.3, p. 159	tarda età augustea-metà II d.C.	3	-
Calamaio non id.	età augustea-età flavia	1	-
Conspectus 27	età tiberiana-età neroniana	-	3
Conspectus 27.1	età tiberiana-età neroniana	-	2
Conspectus 29.1.1 / Bollo: P	età tiberiana-età flavia	-	1
Conspectus 36	età tiberiana-fine I d.C.	-	1
Conspectus 36.4	età tiberiana-fine I d.C.	10	2
Conspectus 36.4 / Bollo: L PL ZOS	25-75 d.C.	1	-
Conspectus 37.4.1	età tiberiana-fine I d.C.	-	1
Conspectus B.1.11	età tiberiana-età flavia	3	-
Conspectus B.4.15	età tiberiana-età flavia	1	-
Conspectus B.3.13	età tiberiana-fine I d.C.	7	-
Conspectus 34.1	tarda età tiberiana-età flavia	1	4
Conspectus 34.2.1	tarda età tiberiana-età flavia	1	1
Pucci 1985, XXXV, 10	20 d.C.-seconda metà I d.C.	2	-
Conspectus 26.2.1	prima metà I d.C.	2	1
***Conspectus* 20.4.1**	**età claudia- età flavia**	**-**	**1**
***Conspectus* 23?**	**secondo e terzo quarto I d.C.**	**-**	**1**
***Conspectus* 23.1.2 (Baia di Napoli)**	**secondo e terzo quarto I d.C.**	**-**	**1**
***Conspectus* 23.2.2**	**secondo/terzo quarto I d.C.**	**4**	**2**
***Conspectus* 23.2.2 / Bollo: C BOV GENT**	**30-60 d.C.**	**1**	**-**
***Conspectus* B.1.11 / Bollo: GENT**	**30-60 d.C.**	**1**	**-**
***Conspectus* B.1.11 / Bollo: C CLO SA**	**50-100 d.C.**	**1**	**-**
***Conspectus* B.4.15 / Bollo: C CLO SAB**	**50-100 d.C.**	**1**	**-**
***Conspectus* B.4.7, 11 / Bollo: C M R**	**50-75 d.C.**	**1**	**-**
Conspectus B.3.19	I d.C.	2	-
Soricelli 1993, fig. 9.3 (Baia di Napoli)		-	2
McKenzie Clark 2012, Form D.1.4 (Baia di Napoli)		-	1
Totale		**61**	**61**

Tab. 3. Sigillata italica - attestazione dei tipi identificati. In corsivo gli elementi residui e in grassetto gli elementi datanti.

Le ceramiche fini

Per quanto riguarda le classi fini da mensa, va innanzitutto rilevata la totale assenza di ceramica invetriata nel caso di Pompei e una maggiore presenza, in quest'ultimo, delle sigillate importate (al computo delle ceramiche fini: 0,6% ESA, 2,04% ESB e 2,98% sud-galliche). La particolare incidenza di queste classi a Pompei e la dicotomia esistente, almeno in relazione a questo aspetto, con il caso di Roma, è un elemento già sottolineato in passato, sebbene sia incerto se esso costituisca effettivamente un tratto distintivo del mercato vesuviano (Pucci 1977) o se invece dipenda dall'eccezionalità di alcuni dei contesti esaminati (Martin 2016). Il contesto pompeiano analizzato permette di rilevare sia tra la sigillata orientale A che B (**tab. 2**) la presenza di tipi databili a partire dalla metà del I secolo d.C., determinanti per la cronologia assoluta del deposito.

La ceramica fine di entrambi i contesti è dominata dalle pareti sottili, principalmente di produzione locale/regionale, e dalle sigillate italiche. Queste ultime presentano una certa varietà di tipi (**tab. 3**) con una prevalenza, in entrambi i siti, del piatto *Conspectus* 3. Nel deposito romano compare con indici elevati anche la coppa *Conspectus* 36, scarsamente documentata a Pompei, dove invece si registrano le coppe *Conspectus* 27, assenti nel contesto della *Meta*. Particolarmente interessante, proprio in relazione alle sigillate, è la diffusione nei contesti pompeiani di vasellame di produzione campana, ed in particolare di quello proveniente dalla Baia di Napoli (Soricelli 1987; 1994; McKenzie-Clark 2012) che nel contesto delle Terme Stabiane raggiunge l'11% ca. delle produzioni italiche, ma che in altri contesti pompeiani del I d.C. arriva in alcuni casi a superare le altre sigillate italiche (e.g. Borriello 2017).

Tra le sigillate meno frequentemente attestate in entrambi i centri si segnalano alcune produzioni sud-galliche. Nel deposito pompeiano si tratta di 2 esemplari marmorizzati riconducibili alle officine di Le Graufesenque (**tab. 4**): un fondo di coppetta emisferica liscia non chiaramente identificabile (una Ritterling 8?), corredata da un bollo in *planta pedis* illeggibile; una coppa carenata Dragendorff 29, decorata da un fregio costituito da metope con animali in corsa, intervallati da riquadri con elementi fitomorfi (**fig. 3**). Nel medesimo contesto compaiono due coppe Dragendorff 29 con decorazione a matrice, una coppa Dragendorff 11a e due piatti Ritterling 1. Il deposito romano ha, invece, restituito due coppe Dragendorff 29 e nessun esemplare marmorizzato.

Per quanto riguarda il materiale bollato (**tab. 5**), le sigillate italiche hanno restituito esclusivamente punzoni in *planta pedis* riferibili a ceramisti attivi dal secondo venticinquennio (ma più spesso alla metà) del I d.C. Tra gli elementi che datano il contesto pompeiano si segnala un fondo che riporta la firma del ceramista pisano tardo-italico *L. Rasinius Pisanus* attivo tra il 50 e il 120 e già attestato a Pompei su esemplari lisci dalla metà del I d.C. (e.g. Luongo 2014: 288) e negli strati dell'eruzione (Pucci 1977: 13-14). Sempre a Pompei sono presenti i manufatti punzonati da *L. Plotius Zosimus*, ceramista attivo a Scoppieto e presente anche nel contesto romano esaminato (Gualtieri 2013: 12; per altri contesti urbani vd. Rizzo 2003: 83), e quelli di *C. Ateius Arretinus*, definito da G. Rizzo 'tardo-ateiano' e attestato nei contesti neroniani della *Meta* da lui analizzati (*ibid.*). Nei depositi di Roma sono inoltre documentati i ceramisti aretini *C. Bovius Gentilis(-ius), C. Clodius Sabinus* e *C. M(---) R(---)* (Gualtieri 2013: 12-13).



Fig. 3. Sigillata sud-gallica marmorizzata. Coppa Dragendorff 29 dall'US 2414 delle Terme Stabiane di Pompei (A. Pegurri).

TIPO	CRON.	ROMA, *META SUDANS*	POMPEI, TERME STABIANE
Dragendorff 11a	10-80 d.C.	-	1
Ritterling 1	20-60 d.C.	-	2
Dragendorff 29	40-90 d.C.	2	2
Dragendorff 29 (O. R. LABIO)	**54-68 d.C.**	**1**	-
Totale		**3**	**7**

Tab. 4. Attestazione dei tipi identificati in sigillata sud-gallica dai due contesti in esame. In grassetto gli elementi datanti.

Tra il materiale bollato di origine sud-gallica compare, nel contesto romano, un fondo firmato da *O. R(---) Labio*, attivo a La Graufesenque tra età claudia e neroniana (*ibid.* 14) e attestato anche a Pompei (Pucci 1977: 16-19), mentre nel deposito delle Terme Stabiane è presente un bollo di difficile lettura sul fondo della Dragendorff 29 di **fig. 3**, probabilmente attribuibile a *Murranus*, sempre attivo a La Graufesenque tra l'età di Claudio e di Vespasiano (cfr. *sim.* Genin 2007: 289.7). Questo ceramista è già noto ad Ostia e probabilmente anche su uno stesso tipo di coppa da Pompei (Martin 1994: 124).

Le lucerne

La suppellettile da illuminazione (**tab. 6-7**) è presente a Roma con percentuali di attestazione (0,72%) dimezzate rispetto al contesto pompeiano (1,54%). In entrambi i depositi prevalgono le lucerne a volute e semivolute. Tra gli elementi più tardi, utili alla datazione dei contesti, si segnala per Roma un esemplare di *Firmalampen* (Bailey N), un tipo ampiamente diffuso dai decenni centrali del I d.C., ma che invece è assente nel deposito pompeiano analizzato (per la presenza in altri depositi della città, soprattutto relativi all'eruzione: Pavolini 1977: 37-38; Caputo e Tamburrelli 2007). Qui sono invece ben documentate le lucerne a disco Bailey P, un tipo in circolazione dall'età neroniana, che risulta assente nel contesto romano analizzato, ma compare invece tra gli altri depositi neroniani della *Meta* (Rizzo 2003: 128). Prodotte

ROMA, *META SUDANS*						
Classe	**Tipo**	**Cartiglio**	**Testo e scioglimento**	**Produzione**	**Cfr.**	**Cronologia**
Sigillata Italica	*Consp.* 23.2.2	*Planta Pedis*	C. BOV. GENT *C. Bov(ius) Gent(ilis, ius)*	Arezzo	OCK 448.1	30-60 d.C.
	Consp. B.1.11	*Planta Pedis*	[---] GENT *C. Bov(ius) Gent(ilis, ius)*	Arezzo	OCK 448.1	30-60 d.C.
	Consp. 36.4	*Planta Pedis*	L. PLO. ZOS *L. Pl(otius) Zo(simus)*	Scoppieto	OCK 1488.7	25-75 d.C.
	***Consp.* B.1.11**	***Planta Pedis***	**C. CLO. SA[-]** ***C. Clodius Sabinus***	**Arezzo**	**OCK 589.1**	**50-100 d.C.**
	-	***Planta Pedis***	**[-] CLO. SAB** ***C. Clo(dius) Sab(inus)***	**Arezzo**	**OCK 589.1**	**50-100 d.C.**
	***Consp.* B.4.15**	***Planta Pedis***	**C. CLO. SAB** ***C. Clo(dius) Sab(inus)***	**Arezzo**	**OCK 589.7**	**50-100 d.C.**
	***Consp.* B.4.7,11**	***Planta Pedis***	**C M R** ***C. M(---) R(---)***	**Arezzo**	**OCK 1067.7**	**50-100 d.C.**
Sigillata sud-gallica	**Drag. 29**	***Planta Pedis***	**O R LABIO** ***O. R(---) Labio***	**La Graufesenque**	**OCK 1013**	**54-68 d.C.**

POMPEI, TERME STABIANE						
Classe	**Tipo**	**Cartiglio**	**Testo e scioglimento**	**Produzione**	**Cfr.**	**Cronologia**
Sigillata Italica	-	*Planta Pedis*	CN. ATE. AR *C. Ateius Ar(retinus)*	Pisa	OCK 282.2	30-80 d.C.
	-	*Planta Pedis*	L. PL *L. Pl(otius) [Zo(simus)]*	Scoppieto	OCK 1488	25-75 d.C.
	Consp. 29.1	*Planta Pedis*	P *[---]P*	-	-	età tiberiana - età flavia
	-	***Planta Pedis***	**L. R. PI** ***L. R(asinius) Pi(sanus)***	**Pisa**	**OCK 1690.38**	**50-120 d.C.**
Sigillata sud-gallica	Drag. 29	*Planta Pedis*	MURANI? *Murranus*?	La Graufesenque	*Similis* Genin 2007, 289.7	40-90 d.C.
	-	*Planta Pedis*	illeggibile	La Graufesenque		

Tab. 5. Sigillata italica e sud-gallica. Corredo epigrafico. In grassetto gli elementi datanti.

TIPO	**CRONOLOGIA**	**ROMA, *META SUDAN*S**	**POMPEI, TERME STABIANE**
Lucerna a vernice nera	*IV-I a.C.*	-	*2*
Biconica dell'Esquilino	*metà III-metà I a.C.*	-	*1*
Dressel 2	*inizi I a.C.-età augustea*	-	*1*
Bailey A	età augustea-prima età traianea	3	3
Bailey A con bollo *pp* SEX	età augustea-prima età traianea	1	-
Bailey A/B/D	età augustea-età traianea	10	2
Bailey B	età augustea-età traianea	-	1
Bailey B/C/D	età augustea-età traianea	9	1
Bailey A/B/C	età augustea-età traianea	-	2
Bailey C	età augustea-età traianea	14	4
Bailey D = Dressel 12-13	età augustea-età traianea	10	2
Bailey M = Dressel 22	età augustea-età severiana	-	1
Bailey M, Pavolini III L	15-80 d.C.	-	2
Bailey G (Ear Lamps)	secondo quarto I d.C.-età traianea	12	2
Bailey O = Dressel 17-19	età claudia-prima età traianea	10	1
Bailey O = Dressel 17-19, con bollo: V	età claudia-prima età traianea	1	-
Bailey H	età claudia-età traianea	4	-
Bailey O/P	età claudia-età adrianea	-	3
Bailey N (*Firmalampen*)	**età claudio/neroniana-IV d.C.**	**1**	-
Bailey G (Ear Lamps), con Bollo: MYRO	**età neroniana-tardo flavia**	**1**	-
Bailey I	**età neroniana-prima età traianea**	**2**	-
Bailey J = Dressel 7-8	**età neroniana-prima età traianea**	**4**	**1**
Bailey P = Dressel 20-21	**età neroniana-età adrianea**	-	**6**
Totale		**82**	**35**

Tab. 6. Lucerne. Attestazione dei tipi identificati. In corsivo i tipi residui, in grassetto quelli datanti.

ROMA, *META SUDANS*						
Classe	**Tipo**	**Cartiglio**	**Testo e scioglimento**	**Produzione**	**Cfr.**	**Cronologia**
Lucerne	Bailey A	Libero	SEX *Sex(tus)*	Centro-italica	CIL X, 8053, 183	età augustea-prima età traianea
	Bailey G	***Planta Pedis***	**MYRO** ***Miro(n)***	**Centro-italica**	**CIL X, 8053, 141**	**età neronaina-tardo flavia**
	Bailey O	*Planta Pedis*	V *[---]V*	Centro-italica	-	-
	-	*Planta Pedis*	C *C[---]*	Centro-italica	-	-

Tab. 7. Lucerne. Corredo epigrafico. In grassetto gli elementi datanti.

a partire dall'età neroniana sono anche le lucerne Bailey I e J, ben attestate nel contesto romano e presenti con un solo esemplare in quello pompeiano. In quest'ultimo si segnalano due Bailey M (*Vogelkopflampen*) di produzione campana (Pavolini 1980: 60-61) quasi integre.

In relazione al corredo epigrafico, tra gli elementi datanti per il contesto della *Meta Sudans* si annovera una Bailey G (*ear lamp*) che reca sul fondo un bollo in *planta pedis* con la firma di *Myron*, ceramista attivo in area romana tra l'età neroniana e la tarda età flavia.

AP

I contenitori da trasporto

Le anfore costituiscono la categoria ceramica più attestata in entrambi i contesti. All'interno della **tab. 8-9** sono stati riportati i dati relativi agli esemplari documentati e alle relative percentuali di attestazione, mentre i grafici in **figg. 4-7** sono stati realizzati sulla base del volume medio stimato per i singoli tipi, secondo un approccio di metodo ormai consolidato (per uno studio che considera anche i dati dimensionali utili all'individuazione di eventuali sottomisure: Peña 1999; per i valori utilizzati nel presente studio cfr. Rizzo 2014 e Molina-Vidal e Mateo-Corredor 2018).

Calcolando le percentuali di attestazione delle differenti derrate (**fig. 4**), si può osservare che nel caso romano prevale il vino (e i suoi derivati: ca. 49%), seguito da olio e olive (ca. 32%) e dai prodotti della lavorazione del pesce (*garum, liquamen* o altro) (ca. 17%), con una presenza marginale di altri beni (2% ca.). Il contesto pompeiano, invece, rimanda ad un'elevata presenza di olio e olive (ca. 53%), seguita dal vino (ca. 41%) e da una limitata quantità di prodotti ittici (ca. 5%). Non possiamo escludere che quest'ultimo dato sia condizionato, a Pompei, da una parte da una produzione locale di una certa consistenza, variamente attestata tra II e I sec. a.C. (Ellis 2011), e dall'altra dalla presenza di impianti di trasformazione del pesce proveniente da altre aree (Toniolo 2020), e dal conseguente smercio, almeno in ambito cittadino, grazie all'uso di contenitori di non facile identificazione. Per quanto riguarda le produzioni locali, noto è il ruolo del cosiddetto *urceus* – tipo Schöne Mau VI (Cappelletto et al. 2013) – la cui fattura risulta del tutto simile alla ceramica comune di produzione locale e, in assenza di elementi diagnostici (orli, anse e fondi), appare di difficile identificazione. Non si può inoltre escludere che per lo smercio a breve e medio raggio siano stati impiegati anche contenitori in materiali deperibili (sullo sfruttamento delle risorse ittiche in area vesuviana, cfr. Bernal-Casasola e Cottica 2013; Toniolo 2020).

I dati relativi ai derivati dalla lavorazione del pesce (**fig. 5**) permettono di osservare come nel caso di Roma questo prodotto provenga per il 57% dalla penisola iberica (principalmente con le Dressel 7-11 betiche e le Dressel 14 *similis* lusitane) e per il restante 41% dalla Sicilia occidentale (con le Dressel 21-22 dal caratteristico impasto delle officine di Alcamo Marina: Capelli e Piazza 2006). Nettamente diverso il caso pompeiano che, pur presentando pressappoco i medesimi tipi, rimanda principalmente ad importazioni dalla penisola iberica (quasi l'85%), mentre marginali sono le salse di pesce locali (ca. 6%, cfr. *supra*) e gli arrivi dall'Italia meridionale (ca. 9%). Da evidenziare, inoltre, che la percentuale insolitamente elevata delle anfore siciliane Dressel 21-22 nel deposito della *Meta Sudans* costituisce un caso abbastanza isolato anche rispetto agli altri contesti urbani coevi (Rizzo 2003; Cardarelli 2013; Castelli 2013), dove tale contenitore sembra comparire solo sporadicamente, mentre la maggior parte dei prodotti ittici proviene - come nel caso di Pompei - dalla penisola iberica. La bassa percentuale di attestazione delle Dressel 21-22 nel contesto pompeiano sembra, infine, in linea con gli altri contesti noti per la città, ad esclusione di quello eccezionale della Bottega del *garum* (I 12, 8) (Bernal-Casasola e Cottica 2019: 120-124; Toniolo 2020).

Passando al vino (**fig. 6**), si nota come nel contesto pompeiano risultino nettamente maggioritari i prodotti locali, nonostante sia nota una crisi almeno parziale delle produzioni vesuviane già poco prima dell'eruzione (e.g. De Sena e Ikaheimo 2003: 312-313). Nel contesto romano, invece, ca.

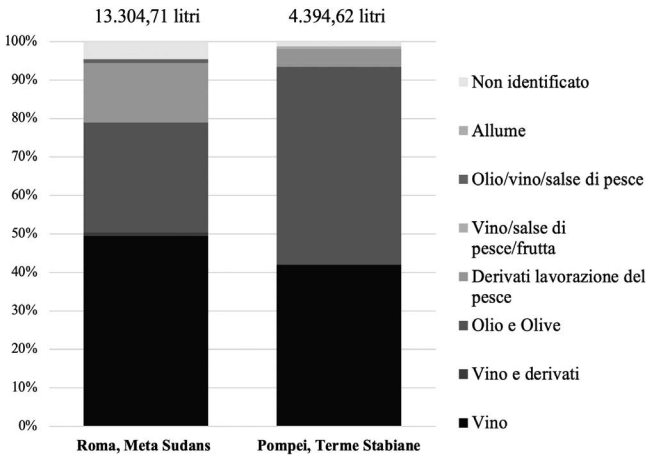


Fig. 4. Distribuzione delle derrate trasportate in anfora nei due depositi calcolate sul valore medio della capacità stimato per i vari tipi anforici.

Area di produzione	Tipo	Cronologia	Contenuto	Capac. (litri)	Roma, *Meta Sudans*		Pompei, Terme Stabiane	
					ess.	%	ess.	%
Versante tirrenico	*Dressel 1*	*145/135 - 10 a.C.*	*vino*	*(res)*	*1*			
	Dressel 2-4	70/60 a.C. - fine II d.C.	vino	30	5	1,06%		
Media e bassa valle tiberina	*Ostia* II, 521/ *Ostia* III, 369-370	14/54 d.C. - fine II d.C.	vino	17	13	2,77%		
Media e bassa valle tiberina?	Non identificato			17	12	2,55%		
Campania	Dressel 21-22	50/25 a.C. - III d.C.	prodotti ittici	17	3	0,64%	1	0,76%
	Non identificato				1	0,21%		
Area vesuviana	*Dressel 1B*	*130/125 a.C. - 10 a.C.*	*vino*	*(res)*			*3*	
	Dressel 2-4	70/60 a.C. - 79 d.C.	vino	30	6	1,28%	25	18,94%
	Schone VI	metà I a.C. - 79 d.C.	prodotti ittici	2,73			4	3,03%
	Dressel 2-4 piccolo modulo	**metà I - 79 d.C.**	vino	16,8			**1**	**0,76%**
Versante adriatico	Dressel 6A	50/1 a.C. - inizio II d.C.	vino	40	3	0,64%	1	0,76%
	Dressel 2-4	I - II sec. d.C.	vino	30	4	0,85%		
Lipari	Richborough 527	secondo terzo I a.C. - metà III d.C.	allume	27,5	1	0,21%	1	0,76%
	Dressel 2-4	I sec. d.C.	vino	30	1	0,21%		
	Non identificato				1	0,21%		
Sicilia	Dressel 21-22	50/25 a.C. - I d.C.	prodotti ittici	21,5	39	8,30%		
	Ostia II, 522	14/54 - 150 d.C.	vino	18,12			4	3,03%
	Ostia II, 523	14/54 - 150 d.C.	vino	18	20	4,26%		
	Ostia III, 464	14/54 - 150 d.C.	vino	22	5	1,06%		
	S. Alessio	I sec. d.C.	vino	18			1	0,76%
	Non identificato				3	0,64%		
Gallia	Gallica 5	1/50 - 150 d.C.	vino	30	6	1,28%	1	0,76%
	Gallica 4	**metà I - III d.C.**	vino	33	**5**	**1,06%**		
	Gallica 1-5	I – III d.C.	vino	31,5	14	2,98%		
Betica	Dressel 12	prima metà I a.C. - fine I d.C.	prodotti ittici (e vino)	22,7	5	1,06%		
	Haltern 70	50 a.C. - 50 d.C.	vino/derivati dall'uva	30	4	0,85%		
	Dressel 28	età augustea - II d.C.	vino	13,5	5	1,06%		
	Dressel 20	età augustea - metà III d.C.	olio	77	45	9,57%	8	6,06%
	Dressel 7-11/13	età augustea - inizi II d.C.	prodotti ittici (e vino)	17,25	10	2,13%	2	1,52%
	Beltran IIA	fine età augustea - fine II d.C.	prodotti ittici (e vino)	31,66			1	0,76%
	Dressel 14	età augustea/tiberiana - fine II d.C.	prodotti ittici (e vino)	24,04	1	0,21%		
	Dressel 2-4	I d.C.	vino	30	1	0,21%		
	Betica da *garum* non identificata		prodotti ittici (e vino)	23,62	24	5,11%	2	1,52%
Lusitania	Dressel 14 *similis*	età augustea/tiberiana - fine II d.C.	prodotti ittici (e vino)	29,71	10	2,13%	2	1,52%
Tarraconense	Dressel 2-4	I d.C.	vino	30	7	1,49%		
Area iberica	Non identificato				5	1,06%		
Tripolitania	Tripolitana I	fine I a.C. - 150 d.C.	olio	56	4	0,85%	4	3,03%
	Mau XXXV	14/54 - fine II d.C.	vino	10,99	29	6,17%	1	0,76%
	Tripolitana II	**metà I - IV d.C.**	Olio/vino/salse di pesce	60	**2**	**0,43%**		
Africa proconsolare	Hammamet 1a	I d.C.	vino	69,9	12	2,55%		
	Dressel 26	I d.C.	olio	86			8	6,06%
	Dressel 2-4	I - II d.C.	vino	30	1	0,21%		
	Ostia LIX	**50/100 - 150 d.C.**	olio	45,95	**1**	**0,21%**	**15**	**11,36%**
	Ostia LIX/XXIII	**50/100 – 150/inizi III d.C.**	olio	43			**1**	**0,76%**
Nord-Africa	Non identificato				2	0,43%	2	1,52%
Egeo/Rodi	Camulodunum 184	I - II d.C.	vino	19,5	91	19,36%	10	7,58%
Cnidos	Mau XXXVIII	I d.C.	vino	17,16	1	0,21%	1	0,76%
Kos	Dressel 5	I - II d.C.	vino	30	4	0,85%		
	Pompei 6	**50 - 100 d.C.**	vino	32	**2**	**0,43%**		
Area egeo-orientale	*Sim.* Dressel 24/ Knossos 15	I a.C. – III d.C.	olio	66,4			1	0,76%
	Agorà F65-66	10/1 a.C. - IV d.C.	vino	8	6	1,28%	1	0,76%
	Dressel 5	I - II d.C.	vino	30	10	2,13%	3	2,27%
	Schoene XIII	**50/75 d.C. - inizio II d.C.**	vino	32,77	**1**	**0,21%**		
	Non identificato				2	0,43%	2	1, 52%
Creta	Cretese 3	età augustea - inizi III d.C.	vino	22	5	1,06%	4	3,03%
	Cretese 4	1/50 - fine II d.C.	vino	12,5	18	3,83%	9	6,82%
	Cretese 1	**50 - fine II d.C.**	vino	22	**1**	**0,21%**	**1**	**0,76%**
	Cretese 2	**50 - fine II d.C.**	vino	22	**12**	**2,55%**	**3**	**2,27%**
	Non identificato				1	0,21%		
Cilicia?	**Knossos 19 *similis***	**50 - II d.C.**	vino	26			**2**	**1,52%**
Area siro-palestinese	Schoene XV/ Camulodunum 189	tarda età tiberiana - inizio II d.C.	vino/prodotti ittici/frutta	2,25			3	2,27%
	Kingsholm 117	I - III d.C.	vino	3,15	2	0,43%	1	0,76%
	Non identificato				4	0,85%		
Non id.	Dressel 2-4	I - II d.C.	vino	30			6	4,55%
Totale					**471**		**135**	

Tab. 8. Attestazione dei tipi anforici identificate dai due contesti in esame. In corsivo gli elementi residui e in grassetto gli elementi datanti.

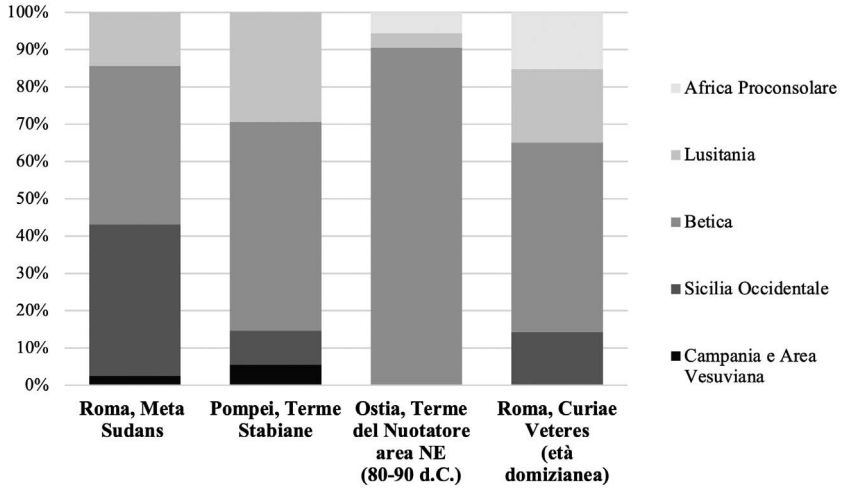


Fig. 5. Indici di attestazione dei prodotti ittici registrati nei due contesti in esame e in quelli dell'Area NE delle Terme del Nuotatore di Ostia datato tra l'80 e il 90 d.C. (*Ostia* VI) e delle *Curiae Veteres* di Roma datato in età domizianea (Bellezza 2013).

il 44% del vino proviene dal Mediterraneo orientale (principalmente dall'area egea insulare), soprattutto all'interno del tipo tardo-rodio *Camulodunum* 184, di quello di tradizione coa Dressel 5 e dei tipi cretesi (in particolare la Cretese 4). A seguire, i vini italici (ca. 20%), nord-africani (18%), iberici (ca. 6%). Quantitativi simili di vini orientali non trovano riscontro in altri contesti coevi della città. Si segnala, inoltre, la quasi totale assenza del vino nord-africano, in particolare quello tripolitano, a Pompei, su cui si tornerà a breve.

Per quanto riguarda olio e olive (**fig. 7**), la prevalenza di prodotti nord-africani all'interno del contesto pompeiano è indiscutibile (ca. 73%), sebbene non manchino le importazioni betiche (ca. 37%). Queste ultime costituiscono invece la quasi totalità della documentazione nel caso romano (ca. 93%), principalmente con la Dressel 20, la cui abbondanza nei depositi urbani è stata da tempo ricondotta alla presenza dell'annona civica e alle dinamiche che essa sembra innescare nella diffusione anche di alcuni beni connessi al libero mercato. Tra

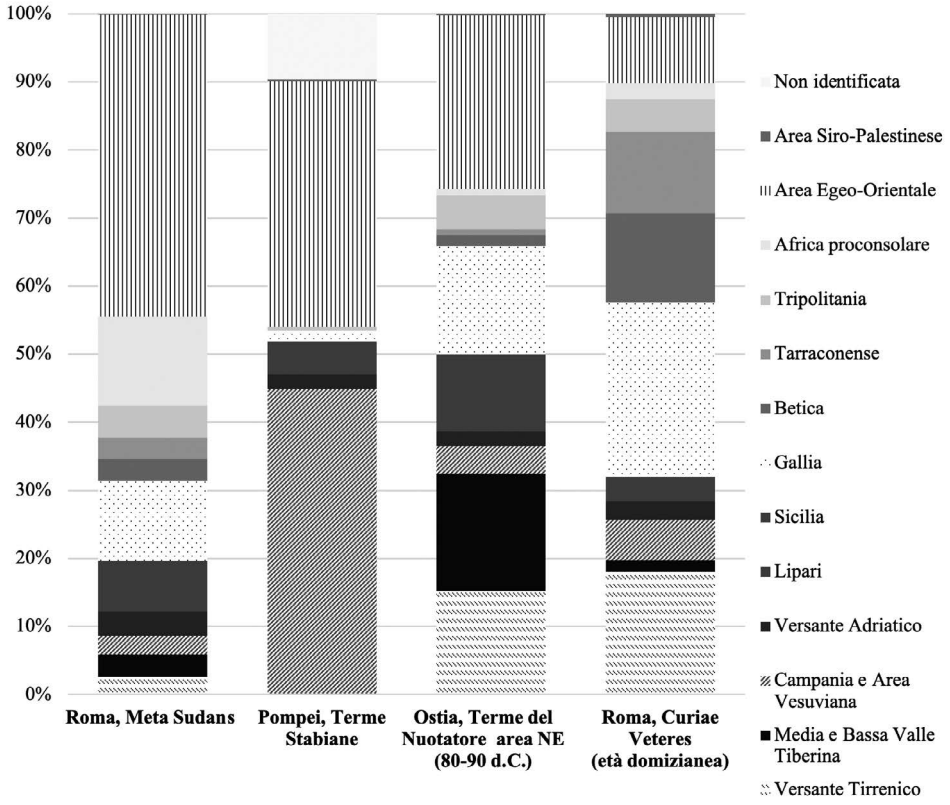


Fig. 6. Indici di attestazione del vino (e derivati) nei due contesti in esame e in quelli dell'Area NE delle Terme del Nuotatore di Ostia datato tra l'80 e il 90 d.C. (*Ostia* VI) e delle *Curiae Veteres* di Roma datato in età domizianea (Bellezza 2013)

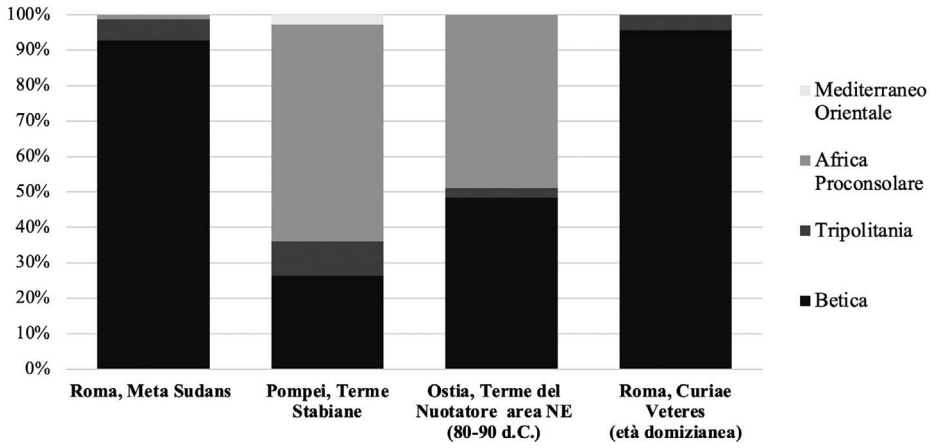


Fig. 7. Indici di attestazione dell'olio (e delle olive) nei due contesti in esame e in quelli dell'Area NE delle Terme del Nuotatore di Ostia datato tra l'80 e il 90 d.C. (*Ostia* VI) e delle *Curiae Veteres* di Roma datato in età domizianea (Bellezza 2013).

i bolli databili dalla metà del I d.C. quelli di *M. F. Cel(eris)*, *Q.C.R.*, *Atittae* e *L. V(aleri) Tromphimi*. Il caso pompeiano sembra, invece, essere più simile a quello ostiense, con una maggiore apertura verso i prodotti dall'Africa settentrionale: l'olio dall'Africa Proconsolare raggiunge infatti, negli strati tardo-flavi di Ostia, ca. il 50% delle importazioni olearie, una percentuale più vicina a quella dal contesto pompeiano esaminato (ca. 63%), che non a quella dei contesti romani urbani.

Il dato emerso dall'analisi dei contenitori vinari ed oleari permette, inoltre, di riflettere sul ruolo dell'Africa Proconsolare nell'approvvigionamento dei due centri esaminati. L'apporto dei prodotti nord-africani nel contesto della *Meta Sudans* è alquanto limitato, costituendo ca. il 12% delle derrate. Si tratta principalmente del vino trasportato all'interno del tipo Hammamet 1a dall'Africa Proconsolare, e delle tripolitane Mau XXXV. Nel caso di Pompei, invece, i prodotti nord-africani raggiungono ca. il 40% delle derrate, ma sono rappresentati principalmente dall'olio trasportato all'interno della Dressel 26 (**fig. 8.1**), o Schöne XI (Contino et al. 2016) – tipo assente nel contesto romano – e soprattutto della Forma LIX di Ostia (*Ostia* III, 571-572), attestata nel deposito da numerosi esemplari tra cui una variante transizionale verso la Forma XXIII (**fig. 8.2-3**; per altri profili con caratteri formali analoghi da contesti flavi di Roma: Ferrandes 2008: fig. 5.34). Almeno un terzo di tutto l'olio (o/e delle olive) presente nel contesto pompeiano viaggia all'interno di queste due anfore nord-africane, che sono praticamente assenti in quello romano (1 solo esemplare) così come negli altri contesti coevi della città (e.g. Rizzo 2003; Ferrandes 2008: 257-259; Cardarelli 2013; Castelli 2013). Si segnala inoltre che tutti i frammenti riferibili alla Forma LIX dalle Terme Stabiane presentano l'impasto maggiormente attestato tra i contenitori dello stesso tipo dai Granai del Foro (Contino 2020: 103), caratterizzato da un colore rosato e scialbatura praticamente assente sulla superficie esterna. Infine, sebbene i due tipi anforici nord-africani siano tipici dell'età flavia e la Forma LIX sia ben documentata tra i materiali appartenenti ai contesti dell'eruzione (Panella 1977: 140-143), una percentuale di attestazione così elevata (nel nostro caso ca. il 12% di tutti i contenitori da trasporto) non è documentata nei depositi pompeiani connessi agli interventi edilizi successivi al 62/63 d.C. (e.g. Pascual e Ribera 2008: 413; Morsiani 2017: 697; Bustamante-Alvarez, Huguet-Enguita e Ribera i Lacomba 2020: 272).

Sono proprio le percentuali di attestazione della Forma LIX di Ostia, la presenza di una possibile variante transizionale verso la più tarda Forma XXIII, nonché l'analogia con i depositi riconducibili all'eruzione e quelli flavi di Ostia, che – insieme ai dati desumibili dalle poche monete e da alcune ceramiche fini – rimandano per la formazione del deposito pompeiano ad un momento prossimo all'eruzione del 79 d.C.

AFF

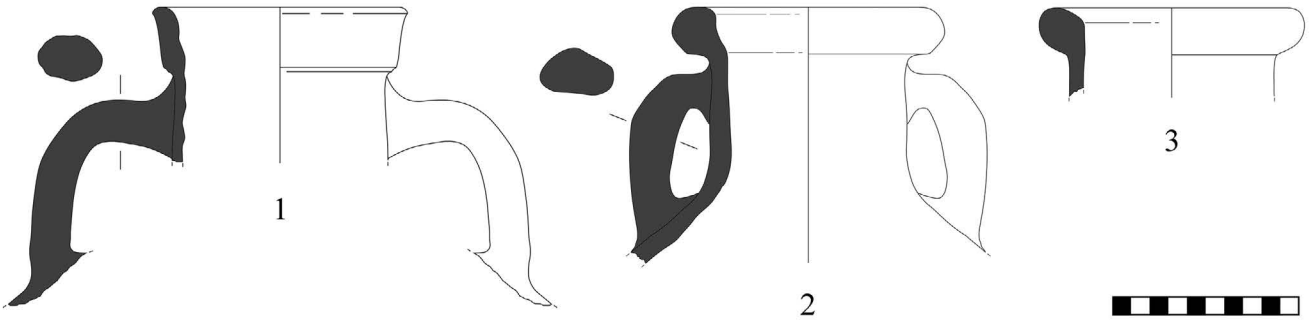


Fig. 8. Pompei, Terme Stabiane: 1) Dressel 26 (Cfr. Contino 2020, POM 26022); 2) Ostia LIX; 3) Ostia LIX/XXIII.

ROMA, *META SUDANS*					
Area di produzione	**Tipo**	**Cartiglio**	**Testo e scioglimento**	**Cfr.**	**Cronologia**
Versante adriatico	Dressel 6A	Assente	[-]OSSI / *C]ossi* o *T]ossi*		50/30 a.C.-60 d.C.
Sicilia orientale	Ostia II, 522-3	Ovale	VII / *VII*	Bellezza 2013, Tab. 11	14/54-150 d.C.
	Ostia II, 522	Rettangolare	NC		14/54-150 d.C.
Betica	Dressel 20	Rettangolare	PONTICI / *Pontici*	CIL XV, 3093 / Callender 1365d	30-70 d.C.
	Dressel 20	Rettangolare	L. S'ER'GI.S'ATU' / *L. Sergi Satu(rnini)*	CIL XV, 3526 / Callender 931	I d.C.
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	L.V.T / L. V(aleri) T(rophimi)?		I d.C.
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	**AT'IT'TAE'/ *Atittae***	**Callender 1547**	**50-70 d.C.**
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	**QCR/ *Q. C(---) R(---)***	**CIL XV, 2763 a-b**	**50-110 d.C.**
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	**Q.C.R./ *Q. C(---) R(---)***	**CIL XV, 2763 a-b**	**50-110 d.C.**
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	**M.F.CEL / *M. F(---) Cel(eris)***	**Callender 1083a-b**	**50-70 d.C.**
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	**L V 'TR'O'PHI"MI' / *L. V(aleri) Trophimi***	**CIL XV, 3228 a-b / Callender 969**	**50-70 d.C.**
	Dressel 20	**Rettangolare**	**[L] V ['TR'O'PHI']'M[I'] / *L. V(aleri) Trophimi***	**CIL XV, 3228 a-b / Callender 969**	**50-70 d.C.**

Tab. 9. Anfore. Corredo epigrafico. In grassetto gli elementi datanti.

Conclusioni

Lo studio dei contesti inediti condotto in queste pagine ha permesso di riesaminare il sistema di approvvigionamento di due importanti centri dell'Italia centrale tirrenica – Roma e Pompei – a partire da casi particolari in cui le stratigrafie analizzate, databili sulla base di precisi eventi storici, sono state confrontate con la documentazione edita per verificare analogie e differenze esistenti tra le due città tra la tarda età neroniana e la prima età flavia.

Tra le classi fini da mensa spicca la maggiore presenza di sigillate non italiche nel contesto pompeiano rispetto a quello romano e poi l'attestazione, nel deposito vesuviano, delle produzioni della Baia di Napoli. Se il secondo dato può apparire scontato, il primo va probabilmente collegato ai numerosi centri di produzione che tra tarda età repubblicana e prima età imperiale nascono lungo il corso del Tevere per rispondere in misura prioritaria ai bisogni dell'*Urbe* (per il caso emblematico di Scoppieto: Nicoletta 2016). L'abbondanza dei materiali provenienti dall'entroterra sembra in qualche modo respingere le importazioni (sia orientali, sia sud-galliche), che non riescono a superare la barriera ostiense.

Sicuramente di maggiore impatto – nella lettura complessiva dei sistemi di approvvigionamento dei due centri – i dati relativi ai contenitori anforici.

Se consideriamo i volumi complessivi dei beni trasportati, ultimi sono i prodotti ittici, che a Roma raggiungono il 15% delle attestazioni, mentre a Pompei superano di poco il 5%. In entrambi i centri - fatta eccezione per un limitato nucleo di contenitori riconducibili proprio agli impianti campani (comunque inferiore, in entrambi i casi, al 5% del prodotto trasportato) - il grosso delle importazioni proviene dalla penisola iberica e dalla Sicilia occidentale. Quest'ultima costituisce a Roma quasi il 40% delle attestazioni, mentre a Pompei non ne supera il 10%. All'industria conserviera iberica spetta il resto del campione (55% del materiale trasportato nel caso di Roma, 85% in quello di Pompei), con una prevalenza delle coste meridionali della Betica sugli impianti lusitani. Ricordiamo, tuttavia, come la diffusione di derivati del pesce nel centro vesuviano potrebbero essere sottostimata a causa di una produzione locale difficilmente quantificabile a partire dai dati della cultura materiale.

Il vino rappresenta la derrata maggiormente documentata nel contesto romano, con un indice di attestazione del 50% delle derrate, contro il 42% di Pompei. I due centri mostrano tuttavia un comportamento piuttosto differente per quanto attiene al rapporto tra produzioni locali e importazioni. Sebbene esista infatti, in entrambi i casi, un entroterra con una produttività agricola di un certo rilievo (la valle del Tevere nel caso di Roma, l'*ager vesuvianus* per Pompei), nel caso romano le produzioni 'locali' superano di poco il 5% delle attestazioni urbane (comprendendo anche quelle genericamente attribuite al versante tirrenico), mentre a Pompei costituiscono quasi la metà del campione. Complessivamente non dissimili appaiono gli arrivi dal Mediterraneo orientale, anche se va sottolineato come il contesto della *Meta* esaminato diverga dagli altri depositi urbani coevi, in cui i vini orientali non sono mai così abbondanti. La loro consistente presenza a Pompei non costituisce, invece, una novità e potrebbe dipendere dalla prossimità di questo centro al grande porto di Pozzuoli, che costituiva il principale approdo e porto di redistribuzione per i beni provenienti dal Mediterraneo orientale. Piuttosto diversi appaiono infine i dati relativi al resto delle importazioni, che nel caso di Roma costituiscono quasi la metà del campione e provengono dai maggiori centri del Mediterraneo occidentale (in prevalenza Sicilia orientale, Gallia e Tripolitania), mentre nel contesto pompeiano non superano il 10% delle attestazioni, così come i vini di origine incerta.

Leggermente diverso appare il caso dell'olio (e delle olive), che a Roma sfiora il 30% delle importazioni complessive, mentre a Pompei costituisce quasi la metà di tutti gli arrivi. È stato già rilevato come le importazioni urbane sembrano dipendere quasi esclusivamente dalle manifatture betiche coinvolte principalmente nella confezione dell'olio fiscale, ma che tuttavia dovettero produrre anche per il mercato libero (Rizzo 2012: 98-100), secondo percentuali ovviamente non ricostruibili sulla base della cultura materiale. Sicuramente più varia appare, invece, la situazione

pompeiana, con una prevalenza degli arrivi – è questa una delle maggiori novità rilevate in questo studio – dall'Africa settentrionale (principalmente dalla Proconsolare e in misura minore dalla Tripolitania). Nel centro vesuviano compaiono inoltre contenitori oleari riferibili al Mediterraneo orientale, sporadicamente attestati a Roma.

Proprio per quanto riguarda i *trend* di importazione dai diversi comparti produttivi del Mediterraneo, uno dei dati storici di maggiore interesse è quello relativo alla comparsa e prima affermazione di suppellettili e derrate provenienti dall'Africa settentrionale. Roma e Pompei mostrano, anche in questo senso, differenze sostanziali, riconducibili principalmente ai contenitori oleari dell Africa Proconsolare. La forma LIX di Ostia, in particolare, benché presente nei principali depositi del Mediterraneo occidentale già a partire dalla metà del I secolo d.C. (Bonifay 2004: 100-101; Contino 2013b: 318-320; Rizzo 2014: 278-280; Contino e Capelli 2016: 547-550), è attestata a Roma (ed Ostia) con indici piuttosto contenuti ancora nella tarda età flavia. Significativamente diversa la situazione di Pompei, in cui questo contenitore sembra mostrare percentuali significative già negli anni '70 del I secolo d.C. Il caso delle Terme Stabiane qui esaminato costituisce tuttavia un elemento piuttosto nuovo, su cui sarà necessario tornare in futuro. Se da una parte, infatti, l'abbondanza del tipo è in linea con i dati relativi ai materiali dell'eruzione, dall'altra ne va rilevata la sostanziale marginalità negli altri contesti pompeiani editi e tradizionalmente datati dopo il 62/63 d.C. Qualcosa di sostanzialmente analogo avviene anche per l'altro contenitore oleario forse prodotto nell'Africa Proconsolare, la Dressel 26. Sporadicamente presente nei depositi urbani e ostiensi del I d.C., il tipo è ben attestato nel contesto pompeiano, mentre compare solo con qualche frammento negli strati tardo-flavi delle Terme del Nuotatore (Rizzo 2014) e nessuno in quello della *Meta Sudans.*

Le differenze esistenti tra le due serie documentali esaminate hanno portato ad ipotizzare che esse potessero derivare non solo da una distanza geografica, ma anche cronologica. Nel caso pompeiano sono emersi alcuni caratteri tipici della cultura materiale della città al momento dell'eruzione, documentati durante della città e di conseguenza non quantificabili statisticamente. È il caso del tipo nord-africano Ostia LIX, ben attestato nel contesto delle Terme Stabiane e quantitativamente confrontabile – almeno sulla base della bibliografia nota – solo con i dati dell'eruzione (Panella 1977: 140-143). Interessante, inoltre, la presenza di una possibile forma transizionale verso il tipo più tardo Ostia XXIII noto solo dalla fine del I d.C. (*Ostia* III, 573; Contino 2013: 320-321) e, pertanto, non attestato a Pompei.

Sebbene i due disastri evocati nel titolo del contributo siano collocati in un arco di tempo piuttosto ristretto (tra il 64 e il 69 d.C. nel caso di Roma e tra il 71 e il 79 d.C. in quello di Pompei), le operazioni edilizie che ne conseguono sembrano da riferire a due momenti ben distinguibili della storia del commercio Mediterraneo. In entrambi i casi si tratta di attività edilizie che implicano ingenti riporti di terreno, ricchissimi di materiale che – per lo stato di conservazione e la quasi totale assenza di residui – sembrano derivare dalla dislocazione di immondezzai formati non molto tempo prima in luoghi prossimi a quelli in cui abbiamo potuto documentarli. Le differenze esistenti tra i due nuclei di oggetti, appena percepibili per alcune classi del materiale, appaiono consistenti per altre. L'analisi qui condotta permette di confermare, soprattutto nel caso pompeiano, come il deposito rifletta gli importanti cambiamenti avvenuti su scala mediterranea nella fase di transizione tra la fine dell'età giulio-claudia e l'inizio di quella flavia.

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Custode Silvio Fioriello

CONTESTI FUNERARI DELLA PUGLIA CENTRALE NELL'ETÀ DELLA ROMANIZZAZIONE: CONSISTENZA E SEMANTICA DELLA CERAMICA NEL 'CASO STUDIO' DI *BUTUNTUM*

Funerary space prove to be an important indicator of the gradual changes that took place, between the 3rd and 2nd century BC, in the progressive acquisition of Roman culture in Southern Ionian–Adriatic Italy, both in the Indigenous sector and on the Italiote side. In particular, the consistency and semantics significance of the pottery in funerary assemblage (together with the topography and typology of burials, the ritual apparatus, the relationship between the necropolis and the settlement structure) contribute to interpreting the forms and phases of a complex and articulated process, in which adaptations to Roman culture and phenomena of persistence, and above all of contamination capable of involving the entire social structure within the same horizon of pan–Mediterranean change induced by Rome, are revealed. In this sense, the rich documentation collected at Butuntum *– a Peucetian centre and then municipium – is here, for the first time, brought back into a systematic study, thus becoming a privileged prism and case study to begin to understand these dynamics and set up a methodological framework that can be applied to other sites.*

Southern Italy – Material-culture studies – Funerary space – Roman archaeology – Landscape archaeology

Il processo di romanizzazione interessò l'area della Puglia centrale, coincidente grosso modo con la *Peucetia*, entro l'arco cronologico collocabile tra gli anni finali del IV–inizi del III secolo a.C. e la fase precedente la municipalizzazione indotta dal *bellum sociale*, dunque tra il progressivo sfaldamento degli *ethne* indigeni e la graduale adesione a Roma della compagine corodemografica di Ἰάπυγες καὶ Μεσσάπιοι, ricordati da Polyb. 2, 24, 11 per la *formula togatorum* del 225 a.C. (Ciancio e L'Abbate 2013; De Juliis 1996: 256-325; Grelle 2005; Grelle e Silvestrini 2013: 75, 80, 115-120, 145) (**fig. 1**).

Senza dubbio lo spazio funerario rappresenta un prisma conoscitivo che, per quantità e articolazione della documentazione disponibile e per vivacità e attenzione della riflessione storiografica, consente di cogliere i successivi e graduali mutamenti occorsi in questa parte del Meridione ionico–adriatico d'Italia, nel segno della progressiva acquisizione della cultura romana e della incipiente ibridazione rispetto alla *koiné* profusa dall'ellenismo mediterraneo. Nondimeno la topografia dei nuclei funerari all'interno delle aree destinate alle deposizioni, la tettonica delle sepolture, il rituale documentato, l'articolazione e la tassonomia tipologica dei corredi, l'etimo socio–culturale riflesso dalle evidenze note, insieme al rapporto biunivoco tra spazio necropolare e assetto insediativo dei singoli poli demici indigeni − molti dei quali destinati peraltro a non raggiungere autonomia municipale − hanno conosciuto una disamina matura e mirata soprattutto alle età arcaica e classico–ellenistica (De Juliis 1988; 1996; 1997; Dell'Aglio e Lippolis 1996; Lippolis 1987; 1994; 1997; Riccardi 2003a; 2008; Small e Small 2022; Todisco 2010). Ancora restano desueti approcci euristici e diagnostici orientati a raccogliere e lumeggiare i *realia* pertinenti il periodo seriore e a ravvisare così *comparanda* capaci potenzialmente di ricostruire forme e fasi di un processo complesso e articolato nel quale si rilevino i fenomeni di persistenza della cultura indigena e i contatti (in area apula precoci, rispetto ad altre zone d'Italia) con la cultura romana, come suggeriscono altri indicatori, purtroppo cospicuamente meno rilevanti nel comparto e periodo qui considerati: topografia degli spazi insediativi, adusi a consolidare l'incipiente affermazione del 'modello urbano'; dinamiche insediative rurali, curvate ad un uso più profittevole e intensificato delle risorse naturali, segnatamente agrosilvopastrorali; infrastrutturazione viaria favorevole all'incremento di collegamenti e traffici; emissioni monetali indigene brevi e rade, adeguate al sistema ponderale della monetazione romana, ma inclini all'adozione di tipi e caratteri greci, a indicare il conservatorismo delle élites locali; produzione e circolazione delle merci, non solo ceramiche (Ceraudo 2015; Ciancio 2002; Fioriello 2017; Mangiatordi 2011).

Pertanto l'opportunità di *intus legere* il contatto tra Roma e le genti indigene della Puglia centrale attraverso la trama dello spazio funerario ha suggerito di svolgere il censimento sistematico della documentazione relativa a contesti e apprestamenti necropolari del comprensorio indicato (Fioriello 2017: 2-36; Peruzzi 2014; Small e Small 2022; Yntema 2014), focalizzando quindi un momento che per l'area peucezia segna 'attardamento culturale' (De Juliis 1988: 179; Montanaro 2007) – ovvero 'volizione autoaffermativa' (Mangiatordi 2011: 35) – e 'precoce assorbimento' all'interno della sfera politico–militare e socio–economica romana (Grelle 2005; Cassano 2015: 507-508; Small e Small 2022): perciò «[...] un periodo che in realtà è noto in maniera ancora insufficiente nella sua configurazione produttiva, artistica e materiale. L'esaurirsi dei riferimenti cronologici tradizionali che provengono dal sistema interpretativo dell'archeologia

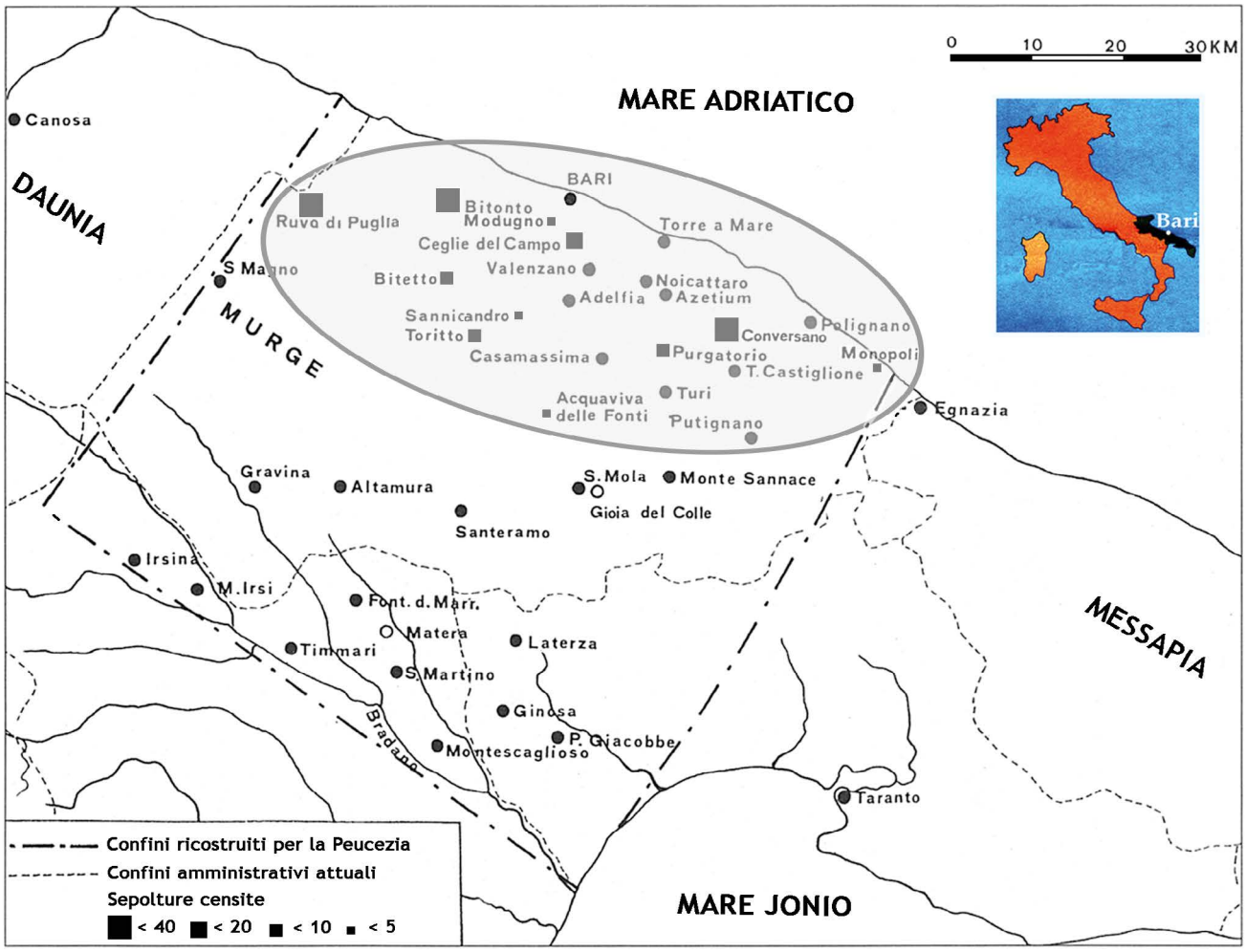


Fig. 1. Italia Sudorientale: area peucezia. Carta schematica con indicazione dei centri principali: in evidenza, gli insediamenti che hanno restituito le sepolture databili all'età della romanizzazione (rielaborazione da De Juliis 1998: fig. 2).

"greca" e il carattere molto frazionato e ancora poco noto delle produzioni italiche, pur all'interno di un avanzato processo di omologazione artigianale e comportamentale, rendono infatti particolarmente difficile la lettura delle stratigrafie e dei contesti di questo complesso periodo di passaggio» (Belvedere e Bergemann 2021; Lippolis 2006: qui 43; Terrenato 2022; Yntema 2013; 2014).

La ricerca, avviata nel 2017, allo stato attuale si fonda sulle referenze bibliografiche stabilite fino al 2010[1] e si focalizza sui nuclei insediativi peucezi dell'ampia fascia adriatica (escludendo quindi quelli del pianoro altomurgiano), che hanno restituito 146 tombe, note per lo più da notizie cursorie e rapporti preliminari di scavo, cui si deve la disomogeneità della documentazione disponibile: l'escussione condotta consente di registrare addensamenti notevoli nei centri di Ruvo di Puglia/*Rubi* (32 tombe), Bitonto/*Butuntum* (40 tombe) e Conversano/*Norba* (27 tombe), dove più attente e concentrate si sono potute svolgere, principalmente negli ultimi lustri, le attività di salvaguardia e di indagine (si vedano, con la bibliografia indicata, Chieco–Bianchi Martini 1964; Ciancio 2002; Ciancio e L'Abbate 2013; Depalo 1984; 1986; Depalo, Scattarella e De Lucia 1984; Depalo e Labellarte 1987; Fioriello 1999b; Mangiatordi 2011; Riccardi 2003a; 2008). I risultati preliminari ottenuti, pur ancorati a margini di provvisorio discernimento, stanno consentendo di disegnare per la prima volta un quadro di multiforme e inedito interesse rispetto alle modalità di organizzazione, occupazione e gestione delle aree necropolari nonché di descrizione e comprensione dei mutamenti occorsi nelle dinamiche culturali e cultuali connesse al 'mondo dei morti' nell'età della romanizzazione (Fioriello 2017: 2-36, 197-203; Peruzzi 2014; Riccardi 2003a; Yntema 2014).

Lo sguardo d'insieme, calibrato su questi temi e prodromico a una loro lettura globale, ha già sortito una rappresentazione incisa per grandi linee (che pertanto pare pleonastico qui ripercorrere e per la quale si rimanda a Mangiatordi e Fioriello 2022 e a Riccardi 2003b), ha portato risultati incoraggianti e autorizza allora a esperire l'ottimistico proposito

[1] Fino a quell'anno si può disporre infatti del supporto assicurato dal *Notiziario delle Attività di Tutela* svolte in Puglia dagli Uffici ministeriali periferici deputati alla salvaguardia dei beni archeologici: uno strumento agile, sintetico eppure puntuale, che per anni si è rivelato assai utile nella condivisione di iniziative di studio, conservazione, divulgazione del patrimonio archeologico regionale e di cui malauguratamente si lamenta l'estinzione non adeguatamente surrogata o emendata da analoghi dispositivi informativi.

di definire la schedatura completa e ragionata delle evidenze funerarie, e delle informazioni a esse collegate, valide per tutto il comprensorio peucezio: un lavoro intenso che evidentemente non può essere perfezionato rapidamente né compreso entro i termini di spazio assegnati a questo articolo. Pertanto s'è deciso di proporre qui un *exemplum* preliminare del catasto integrato di dati e di evidenze intrapreso, confidando nella formula redazionale dello schema tabellare delle notizie gestite, considerando l'articolato impegno *in fieri* di lettura integrata e interpretazione complessiva dei dati e utilizzando il contesto di *Butuntum* quale 'caso di studio', giacché la documentazione guadagnata al nostro assunto ivi si rileva di inusitata dovizia (**Tab. 1**)[2].

Il mutamento considerevole dell'intera *facies* peucezia (Ciancio 1989; 2002; Fioriello 2017; Todisco 2010), stretta da tempo nella diatesi tra Taranto e Roma (Lippolis 1997), emerge – come accennato – anche nell'espressione del corredo – qui *in primis* ceramico – che, da una parte, in antico contempla sempre l'apporto concomitante di *habitus*, *funus*, *ritus*, legati al defunto e alla collettività che ne cura l'*exitus*; dall'altra, risolve in sé un accumulo 'progressivo e altamente simbolico' di cultura materiale preordinata ad accompagnare la 'buona morte' dell'individuo e a veicolare un messaggio preciso anche per la 'società dei vivi' che si riconosce nell'estinto (Laneri 2011; Lepore e Muka 2018; Scheid 2011).

Nella fattispecie, alcuni epifenomeni vanno sottolineati. In confronto con le epoche precedenti, il corredo conosce una complessiva e graduale (d)evoluzione sia quantitativa sia qualitativa: risultano infatti prevalenti, insieme ai pochi vasi a fasce, le classi della ceramica acroma e talora scialbata, che spesso riproducono le forme tipiche delle manifatture del primo periodo ellenistico, abbandonando l'uso del colore e delle decorazioni figurate (Mangiatordi e Fioriello 2022: 956; Peruzzi 2014; Riccardi 2003b: 68-74, 79-87, figg. 75, 78, 82). Così nell'ambito della necropoli NW di Bitonto (occupata da età arcaica ed estesa lungo l'asse della Via Traiana che in tale zona riprende l'antico tracciato della *via* romana: Fioriello 2003a, 27-35; Riccardi 2003a; 2008) risalta il rinvenimento di una brocchetta a corpo globulare (**Tab. 1: 31**) ornata con 'originaria' decorazione lineare, ma poi ricoperta e in parte nascosta da una 'originale' scialbatura. Analogo procedimento si riscontra su un piatto a fasce dal corredo di una sepoltura coeva (**Tab. 1: 34**), indagata nel medesimo contesto necropolare: chiari esempi dunque di un vaso riutilizzato, per riti o deposizioni diversi, e dunque «adeguato al linguaggio decorativo più in voga, secondo un uso già attestato nel secolo precedente in altri contesti della Peucezia» (Ciancio 2002; Riccardi 2003b: qui 83 e 88, nt. 75).

Per quanto riguarda la tipologia vascolare, preponderante appare il cratere (**Tab. 1: 1, 5, 9, 23, 31** [qui se ne contano due nell'*assemblage*], **40**) (**figg. 2-3**): già assai diffuso nella produzione tardoapula a figure rosse, in questo momento esso tradisce una morfologia mutevole in relazione alla tettonica generale, alla conformazione del piede – ora unito al corpo, ora, e più spesso, mobile –, alla forma del coperchio – non necessariamente associato al contenitore – e risulta sempre a mascheroni (applicati sulle anse a figurare volti muliebri



Fig. 2. Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: Via D. Damascelli. 'Tomba 1/2005' (qui Tab. 1: 1): contesto deposizionale in fase di scavo, fine IV-inizi III sec. a.C. (da Riccardi 2010: 90, fig. 73).



Fig. 3. Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: Traversa di Viale Due Cappelle. 'Tomba 1/1998' (qui Tab. 1: 5): corredo, inizi III sec. a.C. (da Riccardi 2003b: 74, fig. 86).

[2] Conviene sottolineare che, nell'ultimo decennio, interventi di archeologia preventiva indotti da esigenze di sviluppo urbanistico hanno consentito di censire ulteriori ambiti deposizionali e di arricchire il grumo informativo sullo spazio funerario attestato tra III e II secolo a.C. nel centro bitontino: un affondo sulle indagini condotte nel 2021 nell'area di piazza Caduti del Terrorismo, con aperture ad altri recenti rinvenimenti, è ora in Annese et al. 2023.

Nr	Deposizione	Corredo	Notazioni – Bibliografia
1	Via D. Damascelli – Tb 1/2005 (10.01.05, cantiere G. Chiddo) – A semicamera, nel banco calcarenitico (182 x 135): coperta da 3 lastroni e foderata su 3 lati da lastre calcaree su zoccolo di 4 filari di conci; fondo roccioso – NS – A N, defunto con tronco supino e arti inferiori fortemente contratti – Fine IV-inizi III sec. a.C.	Posto a S – 12 vasi: 2 verniciati in rosso (*skyphos*, lucerna), 10 acromi o scialbati, simili a topiche forme figurate e verniciate di fine IV sec. a.C. (cratere a mascheroni, *hydria*, anfora, *oinochoe* trilobata, *kantharos* con corpo cilindrico e anse sormontanti, *rhytón* configurato a bovide, *phiale* biansata, brocchetta, piatti)	Area necropolare occupata almeno dal V sec. a.C. – Rispetto a sepolture del medesimo periodo la tettonica segna un *unicum*, evidentemente alquanto consistente per fattura e dimensione, mentre il corredo appare analogo, appena meno ricco in confronto a pochi epifenomeni più cospicui – Defunto è forse un personaggio eminente, come attestato per la tb 4/1981 da Via Traiana, che è però più risalente di alcuni decenni – Riccardi 2010: 90-91, figg. 72-74; Riccardi and Depalo 2003
2	II trav. Via Antica della Chinisa – Tb 1/1989 (gennaio) – A muretti (130 x 79 x 48): pareti costruite con lastrine a secco poggianti sul banco calcareo – WE – Tronco supino; arti inferiori contratti; braccio sinistro flesso sull'omero; cranio a sin, poggiante su lastrina – Inizi III sec. a.C.	1 tazza biansata acroma	Settore con evidenze di un'area abitativo-produttiva (pesi da telaio, frammenti di tegole, ceramica d'uso, dolio, grumi carboniosi) coeva alla necropoli lungo Via Traiana e utilizzata già in età arcaica – Indagata assieme alla tomba a sarcofago monolitico con duplice deposizione: l'antica di V, la recente di inizi-prima metà IV sec. a.C. – Labellarte, Depalo and Desantis 1989: 185-187, tav. LXXVI.1
3	Via Traiana – Tb 2/1989 (17.01.1989, cantiere G. Maggio) – A fossa (153 x 80 x 65) – WE – Resti scheletrici 'cementati' con quasi tutti gli oggetti del corredo: si distingue il cranio, a W – Inizi III sec. a.C.	31 vasi in parte 'cementati' entro compatta matrice di argilla biancastra e pertinenti forme della produzione apula, figurata e verniciata, ma quasi tutti privi di decorazione – Risaltano consistenza quantitativa e varietà tipologica: è un *hapax* la *louthophoros* in 'versione acroma'	Settore con evidenze di un'area abitativo-produttiva coeva all'intero spazio necropolare e utilizzata già in età arcaica – Indagata assieme alla tomba a sarcofago monolitico con duplice deposizione: l'antica di inizio e la recente di fine IV sec. a.C. – Labellarte, Depalo and Desantis 1989: 183-185, tav. LXXV
4	Trav. Via Due Cappelle – Tb ?/1997 (dicembre 1997, proprietà Maggio) – A muretti – EW – «La stessa tipologia strutturale ed identico rito presentava una tomba rinvenuta nel dicembre 1997, nel medesimo cantiere, inviolata, ma del tutto priva di corredo» – Inizi III sec. a.C. (?)	Nessun oggetto	Nei rendiconti ministeriali editi questo rinvenimento non appare altrimenti censito – Indagata assieme a tb 1/1998 della 'scheda successiva' e a una sepoltura a sarcofago monolitico già violata – Riccardi 1999a
5	Trav. Via Due Cappelle – Tb 1/1998 (12.03.1998, proprietà Maggio sas) – A muretti (158 x 64 x 73): lastra di copertura; pareti foderate da lastrine regolarizzate; sottile strato di argilla sul fondo – WE – Adulto: tronco supino; arti inferiori flessi – Inizi III sec. a.C.	Pochi vasi acromi, di tradizione ellenistica: cratere a mascheroni con coperchio, piatto, *kantharos* su basso piede	Vd. 'scheda precedente' – Ai lati del cranio del defunto due piccoli blocchi calcarei infissi, atti forse a evitarne l'inclinazione laterale e a stabilizzare la postura: vd. *infra* 'I trav. Via Antica della Chinisa – Tb 1/1982' – Riccardi 1999a; 2003b: 49, 74, 82-83, 85, nt. 65, figg. 25, 86, 115
6	Via Imperatore Antonino – Tb 5/2011 – A muretti – Giovane donna: scarsi resti scheletrici – Inizi III sec. a.C.	«Composto da nove vasi di piccole dimensioni, in prevalenza a fasce» (De Siena 2014, 486), orecchini in bronzo, fibule in ferro, collana (?), indiziata da vago in pasta vitrea	Nel settore emergono evidenze dell'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa lungo Via Traiana: in particolare, nel medesimo settore, tombe a sarcofago, spesso riutilizzate per più deposizioni – De Siena 2014: 485-486
7	Via Megra – Tb 7/2008_US 64 (02.12.2008) – A muretti, disturbata: fondo su roccia – Adulto, maschio (?): minimi resti scheletrici, giacché il cedimento sepolcrale ha determinato lo sconvolgimento della deposizione – Inizi III sec. a.C.	Nell'implosione della sepoltura «si rinvengono moltissimi frammenti di ceramica prevalentemente in stile di '*Gnathia*' e a vernice nera, ma anche a figure rosse, nonché un anello in argento frammentario di cui si conserva il castone»: M.D. De Filippis, *in verbis*	Area abitativo-produttiva, con spazio necropolare, posta oltre Lama di Macina, a S del centro antico, e frequentata da età arcaica – Nel settore, evidenze del rito funerario (UuSs 15, 41: vd. *infra*) – M.D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43-44, figg. 33, 35
8	Via Palombaio – Tb 6/1982 (19.01.1982, cantiere Maggio) – A muretti (132 x 68): struttura parzialmente lesionata – EW –Deposizione in pessimo stato di conservazione – Prima metà III sec. a.C.	Consistente, ma sommario per esecuzione: 24 vasi acromi (2 anfore con coperchio, 2 *situlae*, *kylix*, *phiale*, *oinochoe* trilobata, boccale monoansato, *skyphos*, 3 piatti [2 su piede], *patera* mesonfalica, 2 pseudo-pissidi, coperchio, *rhytón* configurato a testuggine, brocca monoansata, mortaio, pentola biansata, lucerna a serbatoio aperto) e coppetta monoansata a vernice bruna	Settore entro l'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa in antico lungo l'asse di Via Traiana – De Juliis 1983: 524-525, tav. XLVI.2; Depalo 1984: 8, 25, ntt. 24, 45, fig. 19; Depalo, Scattarella and De Lucia 1984: 187, ntt. 38-40, ove si segnalano confronti con corredi da Conversano (tb 4 del Villaggio del Fanciullo), Rutigliano, Bitetto; Fioriello 2003b: 127-131; Riccardi 1999b: 30-31, fig. 1; 2003b: 80-81, 86, figg. 111-112

Tab. 1. Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: schedatura dei contesti deposizionali databili all'età della romanizzazione (elaborazione C. S. Fioriello e A. Mangiatordi)

NR	DEPOSIZIONE	CORREDO	NOTAZIONI – BIBLIOGRAFIA
9	Via Traiana – Tb 1/1981 (giugno, cantiere Cuoccio) – A muretti (?) – Torso supino; arti inferiori contratti (?) – EW (?) – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Piatto a fasce brune e 6 vasi acromi: cratere a mascheroni con piede 'mobile' (corpo decorato da baccellature incise), *kantharos*, coperchio, elemento circolare (?), *oinochoe* trilobata (che interpreta in maniera autonoma la originaria forma a figure rosse)	Settore entro l'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa in antico lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: vi si segnalano sepolture a fossa, a sarcofago e una tra le due a semicamera note per Bitonto – De Juliis 1982: 310; Depalo 1984: 8, 25, ntt. 22-23, 45; Depalo, Scattarella and De Lucia 1984: 187, ntt. 38-40; Riccardi 2003b: 79, 83-85, figg. 108, 116, 118, 120
10	I trav. Via Antica della Chinisa – Tb 1/1982 (11.05.1982, proprietà N. Maggio] – A muretti – WE – Adulto di sesso femminile: tronco supino; arti superiori piegati sul bacino e inferiori contratti sul fianco dx – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Corredo deposto ai lati del capo (2 pesi da telaio), accanto al braccio destro (brocca) e presso il coccige (pomello di coperchio)	Settore entro l'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa in antico lungo l'asse di Via Traiana – Vd. *supra* 'Trav. Via Due Cappelle – Tb 1/1998' – Depalo 1984: 8, 25, ntt. 25, 45; Mangiatordi 2003: 132-133; Riccardi 2003b: 74, 82, figg. 84-85
11	Via M. Sulmone Calia – Tb 1/1985 (16.11.1985) – A muretti – NE-SW – Tronco supino; arti inferiori flessi – III sec. a.C. avanzato	13 vasi acromi, con un articolato repertorio che tradisce ascendenze da ceramica a figure rosse, dorata, policroma, a fasce, a vernice nera: *oinochoe* (che semplifica la originaria forma), *kantharos*, anfora, *phiale* biansata, brocchetta monoansata, patera con manico costolato, pseudo-pisside (priva di decorazione plastica), *pelvis*, piatto, 2 coperchi, 2 coppette (1 monoansata)	Settore entro l'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa in antico lungo l'asse di Via Traiana – Oggetti di corredo dicono una ricca e curiosa 'contaminazione' di forme e di soluzioni tettoniche rispetto a prototipi legati a classi ceramiche più antiche – Andreassi 1987: 662; Depalo 1986: 13-14, ntt. 15-18, fig. 7; Riccardi 2003b: 79, 83-86, figg. 109, 117, 119, 121-125
12	Viale Due Cappelle – Tb 3 (?)/1986 (in estate) – A cista litica – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Pochi frammenti fittili acromi superstiti, forse pertinenti il medesimo oggetto (?)	Settore entro l'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa in antico lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: vi si segnalano sepolture a sarcofago – Depalo 1986: 15
13	Via Plinio il Vecchio – Tb 3/1991 – A muretti: fossa coperta da lastre calcaree e foderata alle pareti da blocchetti regolarizzati; fondo cosparso d'argilla cruda – Adulto: scheletro assai danneggiato da recenti interventi edili – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Nessun oggetto	Settore entro l'area necropolare e abitativo-produttiva estesa in antico lungo l'asse di Via Traiana – Tracce di ceramica iapigia dicono la frequentazione dell'area già nel IX-VIII sec. a.C. – Sepolture impostate entro i vani dell'edificio attivo tra VI e III sec. a.C. – Riccardi 1991: tav. LXIV.1; 1994
14	Via Plinio il Vecchio – Tb 4/1991 (26.03.1991) – A muretti (vd. 'scheda precedente') – EW – Adulto: femmina – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Tazza biansata e piatto acromi, *olpe* a fasce (simile a esemplari acromi prodotti dalla metà del II sec. a.C.), unguentario Forti IV, anello in argento inadorno	Indagata assieme a tb 3 (?)/1991 (vd. 'scheda precedente') – Riccardi 1991: tav. LXIV; 1994; 2003b: 47, 49, 82, 86-87, figg. 21, 114, 12
15	Cimitero – Tb 2/2000 (?) – A muretti (124 x 71 x 56): lastrone calcareo di copertura; pareti foderate da blocchetti lapidei posti di piatto e regolarizzati – EW – Adulto: tronco supino; arti inferiori contratti – III sec. a.C. avanzato	5 vasi acromi o a fasce brune (?) e diobolo in argento di *Herakleia*	Area con destinazione abitativo-produttiva e necropolare estesa lungo Via Traiana: labili evidenze (muri, piani di calpestio, cisterna) dicono l'utilizzo del settore già dal IX sec. a.C. – Rare in questo periodo le monete in tomba: 1 in AR da 'Via D. Damascelli – Tb 2/2003', 1 in AR da 'Parallela Via Traiana – Tb 8/2002' (vd. *infra*), 1 *litra* tarantina in AR da tb 30/1980 di Rutigliano, diobolo in AR metapontino da tb 6/1976-1977 di Acquaviva delle Fonti-Salentino – Andreassi 2001: 1015; Riccardi 2001; 2002-2003: 70, 73; 2003b: 88, ntt. 62, 72
16	Via D. Damascelli – Tb 1/2003 (ottobre) – A muretti: pareti foderate da blocchetti posti di piatto e lastrine infisse di taglio – Adulto – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Pochi vasi acromi o scialbati e pestello	Area necropolare occupata almeno dal V sec. a.C. In tale contesto, oltre le 2 qui censite, si documentano altre 5 sepolture, di periodo risalente: 1 a fossa e 3 a sarcofago, di adulti, in gran parte riutilizzate, e 1 a cassa, di infante; pure notevoli 2 *unica* per Bitonto: *lekythos* attica a fondo bianco (tb 3/2003) e vago in pasta vitrea di produzione punica (tb 7/2003) – Riccardi 2002-2003: 72-73; 2003b: 88, nt. 62
17	Via D. Damascelli – Tb 2/2003 (ottobre) – A muretti: pareti foderate da blocchetti posti di piatto e lastrine infisse di taglio – Adulto – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Pochi vasi acromi o scialbati, pestello, anello digitale in bronzo, «piccola moneta d'argento» (*sic*)	Vd. 'scheda precedente' – Riccardi 2002-2003: 72-73; 2003b: 83, 88, ntt. 62, 72
18	Via Megra – Tb 1/2008_USD 19 (10.11.2008) – A fossa, con muretti (vd. 'scheda seguente'): riduzione 'interna' – Adulto: scheletro entro strato di argilla saponoso; restano in parte ossa relative a cranio, arti inferiori e tarsi, falangi, vertebre – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Piatto acromo del diametro di 14 cm	Vd. *supra* 'Via Megra – Tb 7/2008_US 64' – Settore («quadrato 6») manomesso da interventi clandestini (9-10.11.2008) – Deposizione ridotta sul limite E-SE della tb 1/2008_USD 20, per il reimpiego strumentale della struttura sepolcrale USM 29 – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43

Tab. 1 (cont.). Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: schedatura dei contesti deposizionali databili all'età della romanizzazione (elaborazione C. S. Fioriello e A. Mangiatordi)

Nr	Deposizione	Corredo	Notazioni – Bibliografia
19	Via Megra – Tb 1/2008_USD 20 (10.11.2008) – A fossa, con muretti nella parte superiore (135 x 65 x 55): 3 lastroni di copertura; fondo su banco roccioso – NW-SE – Bambino, supino: resta parte della gabbia toracica con omero e scapole – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Nessun oggetto	Vd. 'scheda precedente' e *supra* 'Via Megra – tb 7/2008_US 64' – Settore («quadrato 6») manomesso da interventi clandestini (9-10.11.2008) – Deposizione secondaria allocata nella struttura sepolcrale descritta qui *supra* – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43
20	Via Megra – Tb 2/2008_USD 26 – A fossa (125 x 61 x 53:) 2 lastroni di copertura; fondo su banco roccioso – NW-SE – Maschio adulto: scheletro ben conservato; cranio a sin; tronco supino; arti superiori incrociati sul bacino e inferiori contratti e ruotati a dx – III sec. a.C. avanzato	«La deposizione è associata ad un peso da telaio posizionato verosimilmente sotto il cranio [a NW] e ad una ciotola da fuoco monoansata dall'orlo ovalizzato, all'altezza dei piedi [a SE]» (M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*)	Vd. due 'schede precedenti' – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43
21	Via Megra – Tb 3/2008_USD 31 – A muretti (110 x 50 x 45): 3 lastroni di copertura; fondo in argilla e pietre – SW-NE – Infante (?): frammenti del cranio e alcuni denti rinvenuti sia nello strato post-deposizionale sia nella tazza del corredo – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Presso i resti del cranio, a SW, si rinviene la tazza biansata che conserva alcuni denti umani, mentre dal lato opposto della tomba si documenta patera di piccole dimensioni cui è sovrapposta ciotola monoansata	Vd. tre 'schede precedenti' – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43
22	Via Megra – Tb 4/2008_USD 44 – A fossa, con muretti nella parte superiore a N e S (75 x 50 x 45) – 2 lastroni di copertura; fondo su banco roccioso – NE-SW – Giovane (?): scheletro ben conservato; cranio danneggiato, a sin; tronco supino; arti superiori incrociati sul bacino e inferiori contratti e ruotati a dx – III sec. a.C. avanzato	«In associazione con lo scheletro, all'altezza del gomito sinistro, si rinviene una piccola brocchetta monoansata acroma» (M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*)	Vd. quattro 'schede precedenti' – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43
23	Via Megra – Tb 5/2008_USD 47 – A fossa, con muretti nella parte superiore (150 x 70 x 50): 4 lastroni di copertura; fondo su banco roccioso – NW-SE – Adulto, maschio: cranio adagiato su blocchetto lapideo, con mandibola non in connessione; tronco supino, in parte danneggiato; arti superiori volti sul bacino e disassati; arti inferiori contratti e ruotati a dx – III sec. a.C. avanzato	«Cinque elementi di corredo: lungo il limite E si individua un cratere a mascheroni acromo (h 30 cm), sul cui orlo superiore è appoggiata una patera ugualmente acroma. Affiancati al cratere, nell'estremo angolo NE si rinvengono un'anforetta acroma (h 20 cm) e un *kalathos* frammentario (h 15 cm). All'altezza della spalla sinistra, invece, si osserva un'altra patera acroma» (M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*)	Vd. cinque 'schede precedenti' – Su lastre di copertura, evidenze di rito funerario (US 41: residui carboniosi, resti faunistici con indizi di macellazione, corni ovicaprini, tazza monoansata): un setto murario (USM 18) distingue a NE questo contesto dal settore SW che accoglie sia le tbb 6-7/2008 sia l'ambito interessato da analoghe forme di ritualità funeraria – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43-44, fig. 35
24	Via Megra – Tb 6/2008_USD 61 – A fossa, con muretti nella parte superiore (110 x 45 x 45): copertura monolitica collassata a NW; fondo su banco roccioso – NW-SE – Fanciulla (?): scheletro disturbato; cranio non in connessione (presso il bacino); tronco supino; arti superiori distesi, con avambraccio appena flesso al bacino, e inferiori contratti – III sec. a.C. avanzato	Ben conservato, consta di 17 oggetti: 2 orecchini in argento (presso il cranio), 3 fibule (2 in bronzo presso le spalle e 1 in ferro presso i piedi), coppetta monoansata e piatto a vernice nera, piatto acromo, 'tanagrina', 3 statuette femminili fittili, coppetta biansata sovraddipinta, coppa biansata acroma, tazza biansata acroma, *tintinnabulum* in forma di suino, *skyphos* a vernice nera	Vd. cinque 'schede precedenti' – Nel settore S dell'area di scavo, connesso alle tbb 6-7/2008 e distinto a SW dal setto murario USM 18, si documenta una fossetta, con accumulo di matrice terrosa cinerognola (UuSs 15, 17) forse pertinente forme di ritualità funeraria: vi emergono molti reperti ceramici, tra cui 8 unguentari e *askós* a decorazione listata, un *unicum* per Bitonto – Vd. statuetta fittile da tb 15/1981 su Via Traiana (fine IV sec. a.C.) – M. D. De Filippis, *in verbis*; Riccardi and Depalo 2015: 43-44, fig. 34
25	Cimitero – Tb 1/1988_9 (?.11.1988-?.01.1989) – A fossa, con 1 o 2 pareti a muretti (ca. 112/145 x 75/80 x 35/70): strato argilloso sul fondo – NS (?) – Adulto (?): tronco supino; arti inferiori flessi – Metà-fine III sc. a.C.	Corredo minimale, posto ai piedi dell'inumato: 3 o 5 oggetti, in prevalenza acromi o scialbati di scadente livello tecnico: da segnalare che l'unica fonte bibliografica disponibile registra dati genericamente attribuibili a tutte le sepolture 'Cimitero – Tbb 1, 3, 6-8, 10/1988_9'	Area abitativo-produttiva e necropolare, utilizzata dall'età arcaica al periodo ellenistico (ceramica d'uso, subgeometrica peucezia, a fasce, a vernice nera nonché pithoi d'impasto, doli con labbro decorato), cui *in primis* rinvia lo spazio funerario indagato nel settore NW del cimitero – Labellarte, Depalo and Desantis 1989: 181-182, tav. LXXIV.1
26	Cimitero – Tb 3/1988_9 – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
27	Cimitero – Tb 6/1988_9 – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
28	Cimitero – Tb 7/1988_9 – A fossa, di notevoli dimensioni (180 x 95 x 80): disturbata e riutilizzata per deposizioni successive – «Due scheletri non in connessione» (*sic*) – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
29	Cimitero – Tb 8/1988_9 – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'

Tab. 1 (cont.). Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: schedatura dei contesti deposizionali databili all'età della romanizzazione (elaborazione C. S. Fioriello e A. Mangiatordi)

NR	DEPOSIZIONE	CORREDO	NOTAZIONI – BIBLIOGRAFIA
30	Cimitero – Tb 10/1988_9 – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
31	Via M. Buonarroti – Tb 1/1986 (febbraio-marzo) – Riduzione da sarcofago, con pareti interne intonacate (vd. 'scheda seguente'), a deposito, entro fossa addossata ai lati N e W del sepolcro, caratterizzato da resti ossei sconvolti e abbondante materiale ceramico in frammenti – NW-SE (?) – Metà-fine III sec. a.C.	Corredo accumulato, ma riconoscibile in 9 elementi: vasi acromi con tracce di scialbatura (2 crateri a mascheroni, 2 *oinochoai* trilobate*, kantharos*, piatto, brocchetta) e a fasce brune (2 piatti)	Area abitativo-produttiva e necropolare lungo l'asse di Via Traiana, occupata già da età arcaica – Si segnala la scialbatura della brocchetta che nasconde la originaria decorazione lineare e indizia il riuso del vaso, come si attesta anche per un coevo piatto a fasce da 'Cimitero – Tb 2/2022' – Andreassi 1987: 662-663; Depalo 1986: 14-15; Riccardi 2003b: 80, 83, 85, 88, ntt. 73-75, fig. 110
32	Via M. Buonarroti – Tb 2/1986 (febbraio-marzo) – Deposizione in sarcofago riutilizzato (vd. 'scheda precedente') – Adulto (?): tronco supino; arti inferiori flessi – Fine III-II sec. a.C.	2 elementi fittili acromi (coperchio e piccolo sostegno) e 2 due piccoli anelli in argento	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
33	Cimitero – Tb 1/2002 (autunno?) – A muretti: manomessa nella copertura; fondo coperto da strato argilloso – Adulto: tronco supino; arti inferiori contratti e superiori distesi o ripiegati sul torace – Fine III-II sec. a.C.	Pochi frammenti superstiti (?)	Area abitativo-produttiva e necropolare, tra età arcaica e periodo ellenistico, al quale rinvia lo spazio funerario concentrato nel settore NW del cimitero attuale; oltre le 4 qui censite vd. altre 3 sepolture, di età risalente: 2 a cista, 1 'a *enchytrismós*' – Riccardi 2002–2003: 71-72; 2003b: 82, 88, nt. 62
34	Cimitero – Tb 2/2002 (autunno?) – Vd. 'scheda precedente' per le caratteristiche perspicue del contesto deposizionale	Integro: 5 vasi acromi o scialbati, tra i quali emerge un piatto decorato a fasce brune e successivamente scialbato, quindi riutilizzato e adeguato ad un nuovo linguaggio decorativo, come già si è riscontrato in altri casi, e a Bitonto e in altre necropoli, anche peucezie	Vd. 'scheda precedente' – Vd. 'Via M. Buonarroti – Tb 1/1986 (febbraio-marzo)', ove si documenta la brocchetta la cui scialbatura nasconde la originaria decorazione lineare e ne indizia il riuso, come per il piatto qui segnalato – Riccardi 2002–2003: 71, fig. 47; 2003b: 82-83, 88, ntt. 62, 73-75
35	Cimitero – Tb 3/2002 (autunno?) – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Pochi vasi acromi o scialbati superstiti	Vd. 'scheda precedente' – Riccardi 2002-2003: 71; 2003b: 82, 88, nt. 62
36	Cimitero – Tb 7/2002 (autunno?) – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Pochi vasi acromi o scialbati superstiti	Vd. 'scheda precedente' – Riccardi 2002-2003: 71–72; 2003b: 82, 88, nt. 62
37	Parallela Via Traiana – Tb 8/2002 – A muretti – Adulto – Fine III-II sec. a.C.	«I corredi rinvenuti sono composti da vasi acromi o scialbati che ripetono forme della ceramica a figure rosse e a vernice nera. Solo in un caso si è rinvenuta una piccola moneta d'argento, collocata sulla dentatura del defunto» (Riccardi 2002-2003, 70)	Area abitativo-produttiva e necropolare, utilizzata tra età arcaica ed ellenistica; nel settore indiziato vd. altre sepolture, di periodo risalente: 4 a sarcofago, riutilizzate, e 2 a cassa – Sull'attestazione di monete in tomba, vd. 'Cimitero – Tb 2/1999' – Riccardi 2002–2003: 70; 2003b: 82, 88, ntt. 62, 72
38	Parallela Via Traiana – Tb 9/2002 – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
39	Parallela Via Traiana – Tb 10/2002 – Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'	Vd. 'scheda precedente'
40	Parallela Via Palombaio – Tb 1/1985 (10-14.06.1985) – A sarcofago – EW (?) – Tronco supino: arti inferiori fortemente contratti sul lato sin – Inizi II sec. a.C.	Cratere a mascheroni, con coperchio «dalla forma notevolmente irrigidita», collocato presso gli arti inferiori, e piatto acromi nonché tazza biansata a vernice nera Morel 3221	Area abitativo-produttiva e necropolare già da età arcaica – L'accumulo di matrice terrosa mista a numerosi frammenti fittili a vernice nera, rossastra, a fasce e 'di *Gnathia*' indizia la riduzione esterna della deposizione precedente, databile alla seconda metà del IV sec. a.C., e il riutilizzo della tomba – Andreassi 1986: 387–388, tav. XXXVII.2; Depalo 1986: 11-13, figg. 5-6; Riccardi 2003b: 81, 87, ntt. 96-98, fig. 113

Tab. 1 (cont.). Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: schedatura dei contesti deposizionali databili all'età della romanizzazione (elaborazione C. S. Fioriello e A. Mangiatordi)

mediante matrici spesso stanche), talvolta decorato anche sul corpo con false baccellature, incise affrettatamente (**Tab. 1: 9**), nel tentativo sia di riprodurre la superficie di analoghi vasi policromi o a vernice nera o in metallo sia di ribadire, con una sorta di *variatio in imitando*, peculiarità fittili e formali che così lasciano presagire esiti di un pervicace artigianato locale. Assieme al cratere ricorrono, a completare il 'servizio' – in ceramica acroma, con sporadici episodi di scialbatura, talora a fasce brune e, in un caso, un piatto, a vernice nera –, le *oinochoai* trilobate (**Tab. 1: 1, 8–9, 11, 31**), i piatti (**Tab. 1: 1, 5, 8–9, 11, 14, 18, 24, 31, 34, 40**) e i *kantharoi* (**Tab. 1: 1, 5, 9, 11, 31**), che declinano traduzioni più o meno vicine agli originali della manifattura apula a figure rosse quanto a forma, dimensione, decorazione (mancando invero i *kantharoi* di applicazioni plastiche); rare, invece, le lucerne, presenti solo in due contesti collocati nella parte più alta dell'*excursus* cronologico vagliato (**Tab. 1: 1, 8**), benché abbastanza ben documentate nello spazio funerario, non solo apulo–calabro, sia prima sia dopo (Fioriello 2012; Lippolis 1994) (**fig. 4**).

I dati disponibili in letteratura sui corredi di questa fase 'di transizione' rendono difficilmente spiegabile la forte prevalenza di vasi acromi, che sostituiscono quasi del tutto



Fig. 4. Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: Via M. Sulmone Calia. 'Tomba 1/1985' (qui Tab. 1: 11): corredo, III sec. a.C. avanzato (da Riccardi 2003b: 79, fig. 109).

le forme tarde della ceramica a vernice rossa e nera e nello stile 'di *Gnathia*', assecondando una tendenza accertata in tutto il Mediterraneo tardoellenistico e verificata pure in siti di ascendenza e greca e indigena della fascia ionico–adriatica meridionale (Andronico 2006; Hempel 2001; Lepore e Muka 2018; Lippolis 1994; 1997; Morel 1991; Todisco 2010). Vale l'auspicio che l'approfondimento dello studio dei contesti censiti consenta di individuare elementi cogenti. Soltanto si può – con cautela estrema e in attesa di ulteriori approfondimenti e segnali netti, offerti da opportuni e serrati confronti – avanzare l'ipotesi che la preferenza accordata a questa classe ceramica e la concomitante diminuzione del *pondus* dei corredi possano essere dipese e da fattori di tipo economico e da motivazioni di carattere meramente 'estetico' e funzionale, a meno che queste ultime non dipendano dai primi. In breve, la ridefinizione, anche violenta, dei punti di forza nel Mediterraneo, la irresistibile ascesa, anche esiziale, della potenza romana (e di altre compagini statuali, da Cartagine al mondo egeo–macedone), il drenaggio di risorse, anche dirigista, imposto da questi epocali rivolgimenti possono aver intaccato come capacità economiche così approcci simbolici che il 'segno funerario' restituisce alla nostra attenzione (Ciancio 1989; 2002; Ciancio e Amatulli 2012; Ciancio e L'Abbate 2013; Depalo 1986; Herring 2014; Mangiatordi e Fioriello 2022; Morel 1991; Peruzzi 2014; Riccardi 2003b: 82-87; 2012; Terrenato 2022).

Infatti nel corso del III–inizi II secolo, invale l'uso di deporre all'interno della tomba pochi oggetti – anche uno solo (**Tab. 1: 2, 12, 18, 22**) o addirittura nessuno (**Tab. 1: 4, 13, 19**) –, sicché in alcuni contesti il corredo può essere rappresentato da uno o due pesi fittili, anche posti ai lati del cranio del defunto per evitare la postura disassata rispetto alla colonna dorsale (**Tab. 1: 10, 20**): funzione assolta altrimenti da due piccoli blocchi in calcare locale (**Tab. 1: 5**). Da notare altresì nella suindicata 'tomba 1/1982' (**Tab. 1: 10**), femminile, un pomello di coperchio fittile a fasce rosse collocato al coccige – forse assecondando un'intenzionalità di cui sfugge il significato – e una brocca acroma adagiata sull'omero destro, secondo una consuetudine nota altrove in Peucezia (Riccardi 2003b: 82-83, 88, ntt. 65-71; Riccardi e Depalo 2015: 43). Tale ridimensionamento, osservato già dal periodo annibalico, conduce – come indicato – alla scomparsa

graduale del corredo e prelude quindi alla riformulazione del suo assetto che però non necessariamente dice *in nuce* un'erosione progressiva e inesorabile delle capacità economiche dei contesti esaminati. Tale situazione infatti non si manifesta in maniera generalizzata, giacché proprio in questo arco cronologico si diffonde un tipo di struttura sepolcrale che appare caratteristica di questo comparto e che è costituita da muretti ben commessi, a foderare alcune (**Tab. 1: 9, 19, 22–27**) o tutte (**Tab. 1: 2, 4–8, 10–11, 13–18, 21, 33–39**) le pareti della fossa deposizionale, e che tradisce pertanto un impegno costruttivo non trascurabile e *de facto* incompatibile con un profilato, diffuso impoverimento (Riccardi 2003b: 46–50, 82–85). Inoltre elementi di corredo diventano – in alcuni siti assumendo quasi attestazione topica – sia gli unguentari/balsamari acromi, qui del tipo Forti IV e V (Forti 1962)[3], sia monili e altri oggetti personali, anche di pregio (**Tab. 1: 6–7, 14, 17, 24, 32, 37**), ampiamente ricorrenti in età arcaica e classica come indicatori di rango e quasi assenti, invece, tra la fine del IV e l'inizio del III sec. a.C. (**fig. 5**): la loro ricomparsa, sullo scorcio del III–II secolo, potrebbe riuscire sintomatica di una rinnovata volontà di identificazione dello *status* dei defunti e forse pure della loro appartenenza a un '*ghenos*' ovvero all'*ethnos*, secondo quanto è confermato per alcuni coevi contesti di area pugliese, *in primis* messapica, anche in riferimento – per esempio – a elementi di arte suntuaria o a oggetti importanti, come le anfore per il trasporto di merci trasmarine di particolare pregio (Depalo 1986; Grelle e Silvestrini 2013: 215-221, 235-237, fig. 23; Herring 2014; Yntema 2013; 2014).

In tale ambito reclama attenzione il corredo della 'tomba 7/2008' (**Tab. 1: 7**), indagata nel nucleo extraurbano, con destinazione abitativa, produttiva e necropolare, impostato sul costone S della Lama di Macina: quantità, qualità e tipologia dei vasi, nonché l'anello digitale pur frammentario, inducono a riconoscere una sepoltura di notevole importanza, associata alla 'tomba 6/2008' (**Tab. 1: 24**) e legata a una fossetta votiva riempita con residui cinerognoli, reperti faunistici combusti, otto *unguentaria* ricostruibili e un *askós* (quasi integro) a decorazione listata e doppia imboccatura, che finora a *Butuntum* è un *hapax* e per questa forma e per questa classe ceramica. Dati che alimentano perciò la suggestione di leggervi un'area sepolcrale di notevole interesse, contraddistinta da cerimonie e riti funerari celebrati con focolari per cui sono riconoscibili residui di pasto; un'area che tuttavia un setto murario contrassegna secondo due ambiti di pertinenza cofunzionali e cofasici, ma distinti quanto al profilo del gruppo sociale di fruizione: quello a NE, che accoglie le 'tombe 1–2, 4, 5/2008', caratterizzate da corredi sostanzialmente modesti, tutti acromi (**Tab. 1: 19–20, 22–23**), e quello a SW, che ha restituito le 'tombe 6-7/2008', contraddistinte da un apparato ingente di vasi prevalentemente verniciati e sovraddipinti, di statuette fittili, di elementi metallici (Riccardi e Depalo 2015: 42-44, fig. 35).



Fig. 5. Bitonto, necropoli lungo l'asse di Via Traiana: Via Plinio il Vecchio. 'Tomba 4/1991' (qui Tab. 1: 14): corredo, III sec. a.C. avanzato (da Riccardi 2003b: 86, fig. 126).

Non mancano – a decrescere tuttavia dal III al II secolo – complessi ceramici di ampia consistenza (**Tab. 1: 1, 3, 6, 8–9, 11, 24, 31**), notevoli e per numero e per particolarità dei materiali che compongono i corredi e che denunciano una curiosa capacità di interpretare e innovare tipi standardizzati della ceramica non solo a figure rosse, ma anche a vernice nera, a fasce, a vernice rossa, dorata, policroma. Spiccano la 'tomba 2/1989' che vanta ben trentuno reperti, tra cui l'*unicum* 'bitontino' costituito dalla *loutrophoros* in versione acroma; e la 'tomba 6/1982' che accosta una isolata coppetta monoansata a vernice bruna a un copioso novero di vasi inadorni, tra cui molti oggetti d'uso domestico, alcuni di ascendenza ellenistica, due pseudo–pissidi con medaglione ottenuto forse dalla medesima matrice adoperata per le maschere del cratere, due situle riferite a modelli romani medio/tardorepubblicani, un piccolo vaso plastico con cuspide a protome di testuggine che, con maldestra ingenuità, occhieggia al *rythón* 'antico' (Riccardi 2003b: 80-86).

Tuttavia la fine del III sec. a.C. vede estenuarsi anche questa tendenza che, nella parte iniziale del secolo successivo, si va esaurendo e lascia il posto – come *supra* indicato – alla riduzione definitiva dei reperti nei corredi, spesso ridotti a pochi oggetti, alcuni di un qualche pregio esposti a indicare il rango del defunto (**Tab. 1: 32-40**).

In conclusione, il catalogo accurato dei dati pertinenti il comparto di *Butuntum* e l'analisi preliminare dei contesti ceramici trattati – l'uno e l'altra qui approntati per la prima volta – confermano gli spunti di riflessione e consolidano i margini di interpretazione già delineati da Riccardi 2003b e da Mangiatordi e Fioriello 2022, ove se ne proietta l'osservazione diretta all'intera area peucezia e aperta a uno scenario mediterraneo. Dunque l'orizzonte documentario illustrato

[3] Indicativo rimane in Peucezia il corredo della 'tomba 7' da Ceglie del Campo-*Caelia* (scavata da M. Gervasio nel 1930-1931 in Contrada Sant'Angelo e databile alla metà del III secolo), composto pressoché esclusivamente da undici unguentari Forti IV, quasi tutti integri, su cui Fioriello 2017: 149-150, fig. 13; Mangiatordi e Fioriello 2022: 956, nt. 24.

acconsente a stimare che la progressiva romanizzazione e la guerra annibalica abbiano impresso una aspra cesura tra situazioni socio–economiche distanti eppure destinate a sciogliersi e a ricomporsi in termini inediti per l'area indigena e semmai consoni all'elemento romano. Uno iato che, per quasi due secoli, trascina l'incrociarsi e l'estenuarsi reciproci di due sfere declinate tra premesse ed esiti di una situazione nuova: il paradosso di un 'contesto globale' piegato a una 'interpretazione locale' secondo un'ottica di 'conquista differenziale'. La contrazione della committenza di profilo medio pare infatti da un lato incrinare la consueta manifattura seriale (in crisi già da tempo in relazione allo specifico ambito funerario) e dall'altro sostenere soltanto un corsivo artigianato 'generalista', aduso soprattutto a forme multiuso di ceramica acroma e a vernice nera che denunciano l'impoverimento tipologico e il decadimento qualitativo. Questa dinamica esprime – a un tempo determinandolo e subendolo – lo sfaldamento della prassi rituale precedente, verso il quale anche le élites 'superstiti' provano a reagire cercando di riproporre taluni schemi comportamentali identitari riconoscibili – per esempio – nel corredo definito dal 'sistema' cratere/*oinochoe*/piatto/*kantharos* (altrimenti in aree contermini anche tradotto in cratere/piatto/unguentario), talora variato da minime ma significative inserzioni, pure suntuarie, che possono riguardare e gli oggetti e il *modus funeris* e il sepolcro in sé. Una narrazione dunque garantita da produzioni semplici ordinarie e/o da epifenomeni considerevoli occasionali, veri «fossili simbolici» di un mondo tradizionale (e religioso) «che si rivelerà non ripristinabile» se non (paradossalmente e ancora per poco tempo) nella sua inesorabile 'adesione organica' ad un'orbita di mutazione e di 'grande trattativa' capace di abbracciare ormai l'intero bacino mediterraneo e di proporsi – con l'avvento della municipalizzazione in area italica e poi del Principato in ambito 'ecumenico' – quale prospettiva condivisa (Lippolis 1997: 50-54, qui 52; Terrenato 2022; Van Oyen 2017). Una visione che qui recupera la testimonianza peucezia entro un ambito più ampio di situazioni analoghe, non solo nella penisola italiana, ancorché localmente, e caso per caso, verificate secondo modalità dettate da contesti contermini e curvate da istanze specifiche (Fioriello 2017; Hempel 2001; Herring 2014; Lippolis 1987; 1994; 1996; 2006; Peruzzi 2014; Terrenato 2022; Yntema 2014)[4].

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[4] Il diuturno dibattito diacronico e diatopico sul 'paradigma della romanizzazione', inteso quale 'questione empirica' che dunque la cultura materiale può aiutare a scorgere e a risolvere, trova un interessante ritorno critico sia nella recente riflessione promossa da Miguel John Versluys, condotta dai suoi brillanti interlocutori e affidata alle pagine 1-64 di *Archaeological Dialogues* 21.1, 2014, sia nel contributo di Van Oyen 2017, sia nella arguta lettura che Baryshnikov 2023, con bibliografia, fa della miscellanea curata da Belvedere e Bergemann 2021.

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IMPORTAZIONE E DISTRIBUZIONE DELLE ANFORE SAN LORENZO 7 NELLA CISALPINA OCCIDENTALE

The large number of San Lorenzo 7 amphorae found in Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta allows hypothetically to place their production in the northern Aegean and/or Istro-Pontic area. These amphorae seem to be coherent with economic and commercial dynamics in the Po valley and in the Alpine area during the Middle and Late Roman Empire. As the others eastern amphorae, the San Lorenzo 7 revolve around the Po-Adriatic axis. The ports of the upper Adriatic are used to the sorting of merchandise; furthermore, the amphoras go up the river Po to west Cisalpina (Torino) and the surrounding valleys, along the courses of the tributaries of the Po, reaching northern and western Alpine passes (Ivrea and Aosta, Vercelli, Cavour) to the Transalpine provinces. The contexts of Turin and Cavour, where San Lorenzo 7 were reused as cineraries, confirm their diffusion between the 2nd and the 5th century AD.

San Lorenzo 7 – anfore orientali – Cisalpina occidentale – commerci – età medio-tardo imperiale

Introduzione

Dagli scavi effettuati nell'ultimo trentennio dello scorso secolo nella parte di Cisalpina occidentale coincidente con gli attuali Piemonte e Valle d'Aosta è emersa una quantità significativa di anfore San Lorenzo 7, provenienti da contesti distribuiti in prevalenza a nord del fiume Po (*Regio XI-Transpadana*): Torino, Cavour, Vercelli, Ivrea e Aosta; è nota un'unica evidenza nel Piemonte meridionale (*Regio IX-Liguria*), a *Libarna* (Serravalle Scrivia) (**fig. 1**). Il totale di 26 esemplari, quasi tutti frammentari, è inferiore solo alle attestazioni lombarde (Bruno 2003: 88, nota 28) ed è particolarmente rilevante, considerate la limitata produzione e diffusione del contenitore e la posizione periferica dei territori piemontesi, che comunque rientrano nel complesso sistema economico commerciale che ha caratterizzato l'economia dell'impero romano (Lo Cascio 1991: 321-330). Le San Lorenzo 7, prodotte nel Mediterraneo orientale, si innestano in un quadro di importazioni da diverse zone del Mediterraneo, specialmente dall'area adriatica e orientale, che gravita quasi esclusivamente sull'asse adriatico-padano: a partire dai grandi porti di smistamento dell'alto Adriatico le merci raggiungono la Cisalpina occidentale tramite il Po e, grazie ai suoi affluenti, risalgono le valli e i bacini idrografici minori, raggiungendo la Gallia e l'Europa centrale attraverso i valichi alpini settentrionali e occidentali (Cresci Marrone e Roda 1997: 136; Quiri 2017: 224-226).

I siti citati si collocano in una posizione nodale di questo sistema di comunicazioni. I rinvenimenti anforari di Torino (*Augusta Taurinorum*) evidenziano il fervido rapporto con l'Adriatico e con il Mediterraneo orientale (Quiri 2015: 172-175). A sud, Cavour (*Forum Vibii*) si trova lungo la fascia pedemontana al centro di collegamenti con i valichi occidentali e con il Basso Piemonte e la Liguria e, quindi, con la costa tirrenica (Balbo, Barello e Lorenzatto 2020, con bibl. prec.; Barello, Lorenzatto e Quiri forthcoming). A nord, Ivrea (*Eporedia*) e Aosta (*Augusta Praetoria Salassorum*), grazie alla vallata della Dora Baltea, intercettano e ridistribuiscono le merci che dalla valle padana si dirigono verso i passi alpini nord-occidentali (Framarin, Pesavento Mattioli e Rizzo 2016: 136; Gabucci e Quiri 2008: 45). Il territorio di Vercelli (*Vercellae*) è percorso da direttrici est-ovest (Milano-Torino-Ivrea) e nord-sud, che consentono la comunicazione diretta con la valle del Rodano in Svizzera, risalendo il fiume Sesia e le valli del Verbano-Cusio-Ossola (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1987: 154-158; Spagnolo Garzoli et al. 2007: 109). Infine *Libarna*, situata sulla *Via Postumia,* è connessa al ruolo che la strada consolare svolge nei commerci e traffici tra Aquileia e Genova (Venturino Gambari 2014: 10-12).

Le anfore San Lorenzo 7

Le anfore San Lorenzo 7 presentano caratteri uniformi sia dal punto di vista dimensionale sia morfologico, con poche varianti (**figg. 2-3**). L'orlo ingrossato a sezione ellittica è arrotondato superiormente, raramente appiattito; può essere distinto dal collo da una doppia modanatura; il profilo interno concavo evolve talvolta in una risega, anche piuttosto pronunciata, per l'inserimento del tappo. Solo un paio di esemplari presentano un collarino sotto l'orlo. Il collo troncoconico, talvolta tendente al cilindrico, si apre in un'ampia spalla. Le anse, a nastro con una o due costolature longitudinali, più raramente con un'unica solcatura centrale, con ampio profilo ricurvo, si impostano direttamente sull'orlo e sopra la spalla. Il corpo è piriforme, con il punto di massima espansione sotto la spalla, più o meno rastremato inferiormente, desinente in

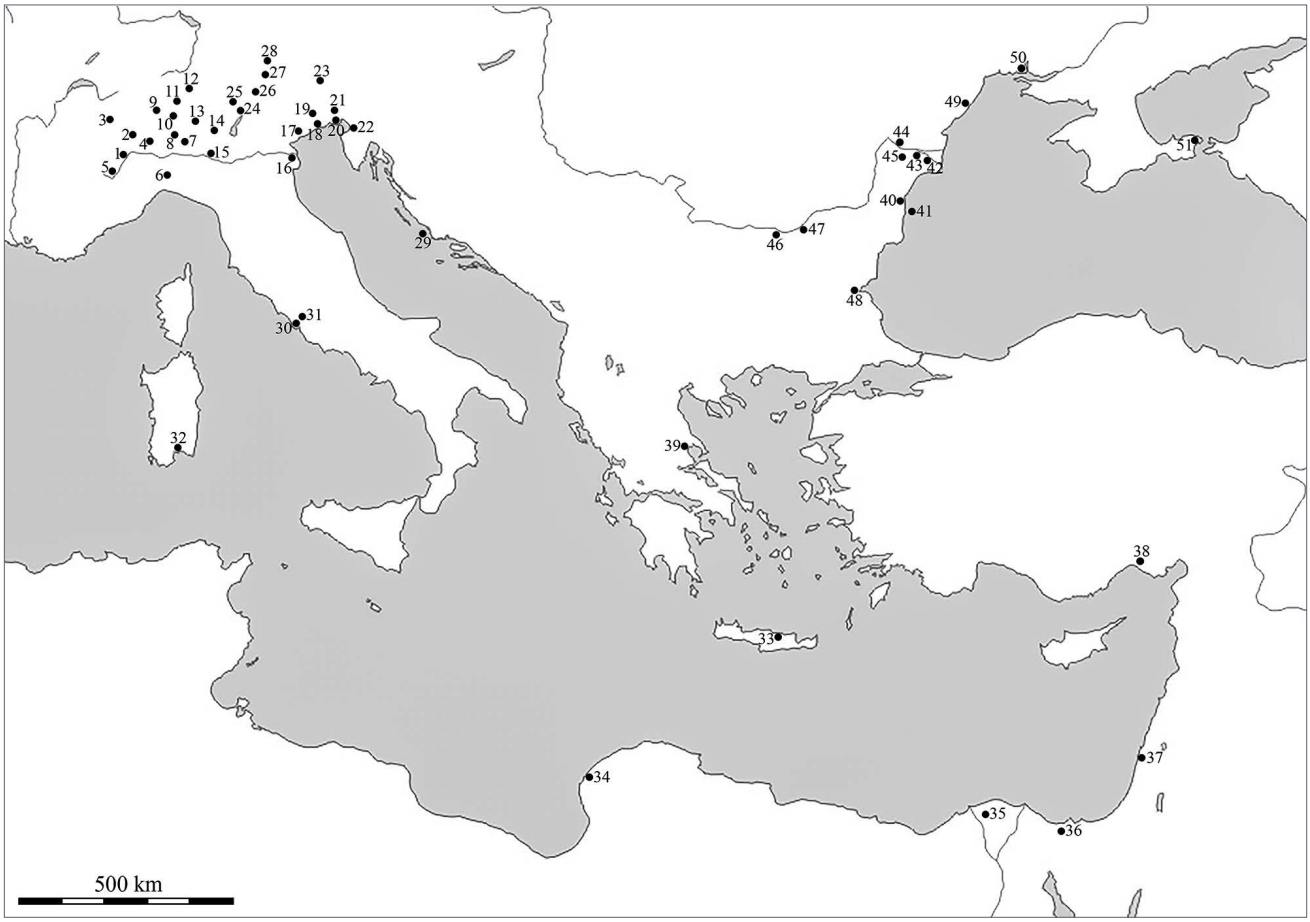


Fig. 1. Carta di distribuzione delle San Lorenzo 7. 1) Torino; 2) Ivrea; 3) Aosta; 4) Vercelli; 5) Cavour; 6) *Libarna*; 7) Milano; 8) Parabiago; 9) Angera; 10) Torba; 11) Como; 12) Chiavenna; 13) Bergamo; 14) Brescia; 15) agro cremonese; 16) Corte Cavanella; 17) Altino; 18) Caorle; 19) Concordia Sagittaria; 20) Grado; 21) Aquileia; 22) Trieste; 23) Zuglio; 24) Monte S. Martino; 25) Bondo; 26) Trento; 27) Ponte Gardena; 28) Villandro; 29) Sebenico; 30) Ostia; 31) Roma; 32) Cagliari; 33) Cnosso; 34) *Berenice*; 35) Bouto; 36) Sinai; 37) *Caesarea Maritima*; 38) Tarso; 39) *Demetrias*; 40) *Tomis*; 41) Costanza-Mangalia; 42) Murighiol; 43) Nufăru; 44) *Noviodunum*; 45) Teliṭa-Amza; 46) *Novae*; 47) *Trimammium*; 48) *Deultum*; 49) *Tyras*; 50) *Olbia*; 51) *Myrmekion* e *Tiritaki* (Kerch).

un corto puntale a bottone. Le varianti morfologiche non sembrano riconducibili ad una seriazione cronologica, come dimostrano emblematicamente i due esemplari di Cavour e l'anfora di *Libarna*, provenienti entrambi da contesti della seconda metà del II secolo d.C. (cfr. *infra*). La parte superiore del contenitore è simile alle lusitane Almagro 50, con cui possono essere facilmente confuse (Villa 1994: 382).

Nonostante alcune somiglianze con tipi lusitani ed impasti betici, è ormai esclusa una produzione iberica. Le analisi minero-petrografiche sugli esemplari del Sinai e su un frammento da Villandro (Dal Ri, Maurina e Capelli 2013: 25) indicano una produzione egea; alcuni esemplari di *Tomis* e di Milano sono compatibili con un areale di produzione più ristretto identificabile con Focea e il Mar di Marmara (Auriemma e Degrassi 2017: 366 con bibl. prec). Secondo P. Reynolds (comunicazione verbale) esse provengono dalla Cilicia e per A. Opait e M. Ionescu (2016: 80), che individuano una varietà di impasti compatibili con più centri produttivi, sarebbero funzionali al trasporto di olio da quest'area, dove tuttavia non sono segnalati rinvenimenti.

Gli impasti delle San Lorenzo 7 dai contesti piemontesi si presentano sabbiosi e ruvidi, duri e piuttosto grossolani, di colore variabile dal beige rosato all'arancio, con molti inclusi di piccole e medie dimensioni. Dal loro esame macroscopico si individuano rara e minuta mica, frequenti impurità bianche (calcare), grigie e rari elementi neri (vulcanici); gli inclusi più caratterizzanti e frequenti sono rappresentati da quarzi e granati, dal tipico colore rosso scuro e aspetto poliedrico (**fig. 4**). Tutti gli esemplari presentano un ingobbio di colore beige chiaro. Gli impasti visionati sono tutti molto simili, quindi se ne deduce la provenienza da un medesimo centro di produzione. Somigliano molto a quelli di alcune forme prodotte nella zona dell'Egeo settentrionale o istro-pontica in età medio-tardo imperiale: con le Kapitan II e le Mid Roman Amphora 5 condividono inclusi calcarei, quarzi e granati; la presenza di inclusi vulcanici rimanda alle Knossos 26/27 (Auriemma e Quiri 2006: 240-242). Anche alcune caratteristiche morfologiche si addicono alla tradizione tipologica dei contenitori istro-pontici di media età imperiale (Knossos 26/27; Knossos 39).

Il quadro distributivo e commerciale delle San Lorenzo 7 è penalizzato dalla difficoltà di identificazione, tuttavia la loro assenza o la sporadicità in alcuni territori, a fronte della concentrazione di rinvenimenti in altre aree, permettono di avanzare alcune caute ipotesi sulla produzione e sulle direttrici commerciali privilegiate (**fig. 1**).

La rarità di attestazioni nell'Egeo centro meridionale - villa di Dioniso a Cnosso (Hayes 1983: 143, fig. 37, tipo 13) e *Demetrias* in Tessaglia (Opait 2004: 42) - lungo la costa microasiatica e levantina - Tarso (Opait 2004: 42) e *Caesarea Maritima* (Arthur e Oren 1998: 203) - e lungo le coste orientali del nord Africa - *Berenice* in Cirenaica (Riley 1979: 208, fig. 88, nn. 298-299), Bouto sul delta del Nilo (Mazou et al. 2019: 256, fig. 14,7), Sinai settentrionale (soprattutto a Qasrawet: Arthur e Oren 1998: 203) - porterebbero ad escluderne la produzione in queste zone. Al contrario, una maggiore frequenza in area danubiana (Dobreva 2017: 319 con bibl. prec.) potrebbe contribuire all'ipotesi di una produzione tra l'alto Egeo e le coste occidentali del Mar Nero. In Romania sono noti i rinvenimenti di *Tomis*, cui si aggiunge un recupero subacqueo di un esemplare intero nelle acque tra Costanza e Mangalia (Paraschiv-Talmaţchi e Custurea 2015-2016: 241); sono consistenti le incidenze negli insediamenti urbani e rurali della *Moesia Inferior*, sia del delta del Danubio (*Noviodunum*, Nufăru, Murighiol, Telița-Amza) sia nell'entroterra lungo il corso del fiume (*Novae*, *Trimammium*), e della *Thracia* (*Deultum*); è attestata la presenza sulle coste settentrionali del Mar Nero (*Olbia* e *Tyras*) e in Crimea (*Myrmekion*, *Tiritaki*).

Ad oggi non sono noti esemplari di San Lorenzo 7 nel Mediterraneo occidentale, fatta eccezione per un unico rinvenimento a Cagliari (Soro 2022: 79). Lungo il versante tirrenico sono attestate solo ad Ostia (Panella e Carandini 1977: 374, fig. 445; Rizzo 2014: 333-334, n. 492) e a Roma (Panella et al. 2010: 64, fig. 4, 46), mentre nell'Adriatico è noto solo un recupero subacqueo davanti a Sebenico (Brusić, Jurišić e Krnčević 2001: 71).

Una privilegiata direttrice commerciale delle San Lorenzo 7 è costituita dall'asse padano, a conferma del ruolo fondamentale del Po e dei suoi affluenti nella distribuzione dei prodotti orientali. Esse raggiungono la laguna veneta (Altino, Caorle, Concordia Sagittaria: Belotti 2004: 82) e i porti dell'alto Adriatico: Trieste (Auriemma 2007: 151), Grado (Donat 1995: 195) e Aquileia (Auriemma e Degrassi 2017: 366; Dobreva 2012: 104-105), che funge da grande centro di ridistribuzione verso il delta padano (Corte Cavanella: Toniolo 1987: 110). Percorrono il Po (insediamenti rurali del cremonese: Mete e Ridolfi 2014: 49, n. 62) verso occidente, oltrepassando Torino, fino a Cavour. Si rinvengono nei centri urbani di pianura a nord del Po: Brescia (Bruno 2002: 283), Bergamo (Medici e Toffetti 1994: tav. XXIV, fig. 104) e nella pianura bergamasca (Latiri 2020/2021: 322); Milano (Bruno 2003: 88) e la vicina Parabiago (Scotti 1996: 168-169), Vercelli (inedita). Risalgono le vallate degli affluenti del Po, con un interessante indice di penetrazione nei siti di altura, alcuni dei quali superano gli 800 metri di altitudine: Zuglio sulle Alpi Carniche (Donat 1995: 193-198); Monte San Martino sul Lago di Garda e Bondo, ai piedi dell'Adamello; Trento, Ponte Gardena e Villandro (Bolzano), situate lungo una delle vallate che conducono al valico del Brennero (Dal Ri et al. 2013: 21-23). Si rileva una presenza significativa presso i grandi laghi, che fungono da cerniera con i territori oltralpe: Angera, sulla sponda orientale del Lago Maggiore, Torba nel varesotto, Como (Mazzochin 2021: 271-272) e, a nord di questo, Chiavenna (Mariotti et al. 2009: 574- 575), sulle direttrici stradali dei passi verso la Svizzera orientale. Nella Cisalpina occidentale, sull'asse fluviale della Dora Baltea, si rinvengono, come già detto, ad Ivrea (inedita) e ad Aosta

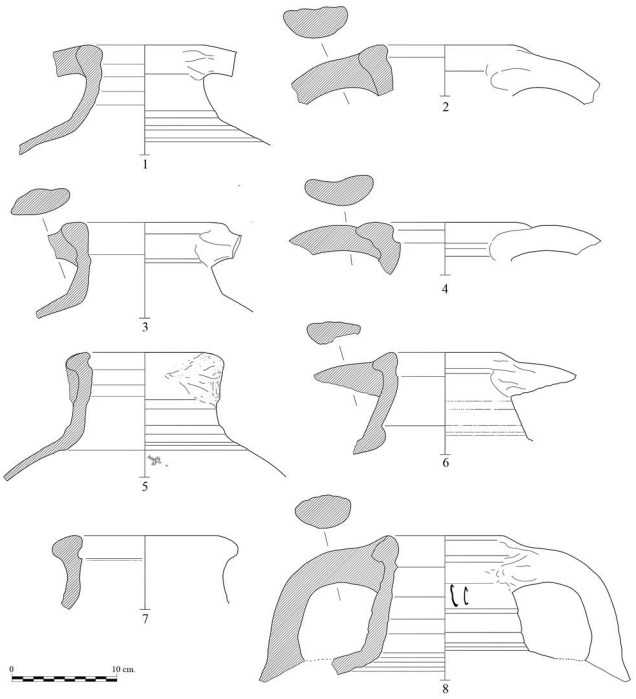


Fig. 2. San Lorenzo 7 da Torino. 1) piazza Castello; 2-4) Giardini Reali; 5-7) via Botero 15; 8) Palazzo Carignano (Disegni B. Bruno e E. Quiri).



Fig. 3. Anfore San Lorenzo 7 da Cavour (1) e da *Libarna* (2) (Disegno S. Salines - E. Quiri. Foto Archivio Musei Reali Torino)

(Framarin, Pesavento Mattioli e Rizzo 2016: 134). L'unica attestazione a sud del Po è costituita dall'anfora di *Libarna*.

La maggior parte dei siti citati indica una prevalente diffusione delle San Lorenzo 7 tra il III e il IV secolo d.C. Molti contesti, tuttavia, permettono di alzarne la datazione alla seconda metà/fine del II secolo d.C.: nel Mar Nero e lungo il Danubio la cronologia più antica è fornita dalla necropoli di *Noviodunum*, datata a metà II d.C. (Honcu-Stănică 2019: 216); il livello di distruzione della villa di Dioniso a Cnosso si data tra 160/170-180 d.C. e poco più tardo è il contesto di *Caesarea Maritima.* Se a Roma i contesti di scavo delle pendici nord-orientali del Palatino sono riferibili ad età tardoantica, ad Ostia le San Lorenzo 7 sono già presenti in livelli tardoantonini o databili tra il 190 e il 200/225 d.C.; anche a Milano gli strati del cortile dell'Università Cattolica risalgono a tarda età antonina-primo severiana. Solo il caso della necropoli di Parabiago, in uso tra la seconda metà del I secolo e l'inizio del II secolo, induce a considerare una cronologia più alta. Sicuramente la diffusione del contenitore prosegue per tutto il V, in modo meno capillare, anche nel VI secolo (*Tomis* e *Trimammium*).

I contesti piemontesi contribuiscono a confermare la cronologia di diffusione delle San Lorenzo 7 tra l'ultimo trentennio del II e il V secolo. Dei 21 esemplari torinesi la datazione più alta è data dagli otto frammenti provenienti dalle discariche di Piazza Castello e Giardini Reali, associati a materiali datati a partire dalla fine del II secolo, tra cui anfore Almagro 50 e africane medio-tardo imperiali (Quiri 2015: 161). Si rinvengono in strati di risistemazioni stradali (Palazzo Madama: Filippi and Levati 1993: 287-290) e di abbandono di III secolo (corso XI Febbraio angolo corso Regina Margherita: Mercando 2003: 240-242; Archivio SABAP-TO). Un consistente numero proviene da livelli maceriosi di V secolo (Palazzo Madama) e da demolizioni inquadrabili tra fine IV e VI secolo (via Botero 15: Mercando 2003: 238), come indiziato dalla presenza di monete tardoantiche, sigillata e invetriata tarda, ceramica comune traslucida, pietra ollare (Archivio SABAP-TO). Due San Lorenzo 7 sono state rinvenute nelle necropoli ad inumazione, posteriori al III secolo, scavate nel cortile interno di Palazzo Carignano e in piazza San Carlo, dove il frammento di San Lorenzo 7 si trova associato a materiali di seconda metà IV/inizio V secolo (Filippi 1991: 13-41; Gabucci e Ratto 2006: 139).

La datazione più alta per le anfore San Lorenzo 7 piemontesi è fornita dai contesti necropolari di Cavour, dove due anfore di questo tipo, segate e ricomposte, sono state riutilizzate come cinerari (**fig. 3, n. 2**). In particolare, il corredo conservato all'interno di uno dei contenitori è costituito da reperti genericamente inquadrabili in età antonina, tra cui un asse di Faustina II datato al 161-175 d.C. e balsamari vitrei della tipologia Isings 82 databili tra la seconda metà del II e l'inizio del III secolo (Barello e Lorenzatto forthcoming). Nella stessa area di sepoltura, parzialmente indagata in anni diversi, sono state identificate finora altre due anfore riconducibili al medesimo rituale funerario: una medio italica a fondo piatto del tipo Forlimpopoli e una Knossos 18 (Filippi 1987: 163-177, tav. LVII, 1.1, 2.1, 7.1), databili tra il II e il III secolo, orizzonte cronologico in cui verosimilmente è da riferirsi anche la San Lorenzo 7.

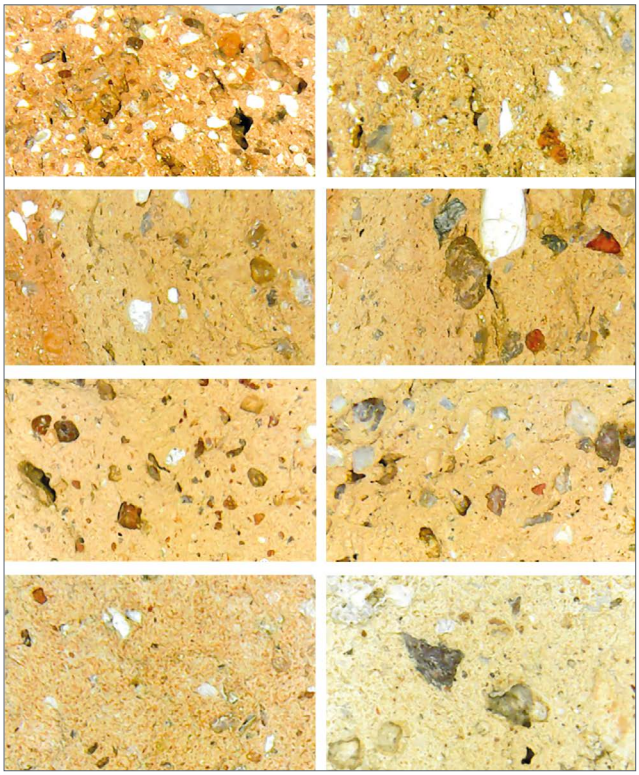


Fig. 4. Impasti di San Lorenzo 7 da contesti piemontesi (Archivio E. Quiri)

Con ogni probabilità si inquadra nello stesso periodo anche la San Lorenzo 7 intera proveniente dalla necropoli in località ex Fornace Balbi di *Libarna*, databile tra l'età flavia/traianea e fine II-inizio III secolo (Filippi 2006: 163). Nel riempimento costituito da carboni e ossa combuste si sono recuperati pochi e frammentari elementi non datanti, fatta eccezione per minuti frammenti di vetro riconducibili ad una forma chiusa con ansa e a due unguentari, il cui largo fondo umbonato rimanda a forme di fine II-inizio III secolo

Nei contesti indagati non emergono elementi utili a chiarire quale fosse il contenuto trasportato dalle San Lorenzo 7, ad oggi sconosciuto. La mancanza di impeciatura interna sembra escludere l'utilizzo vinario. La morfologia, la probabile area di produzione e la frequente associazione con i contenitori della famiglia delle Dressel 24, in particolar modo del tipo Knossos 18, inducono ad ipotizzare un contenuto oleario o ittico.

L'apparato epigrafico sulle anfore San Lorenzo 7 è scarso, pertanto risultano particolarmente interessanti le tre attestazioni piemontesi. Due esemplari da Torino recano sul collo, tra le anse, un *titulus pictus* rosso. Uno dei due, frammentario ed evanido, è illeggibile (Torino, via Botero 15; **fig. 2, n. 5**). Anche per il secondo esemplare l'interpretazione risulta ambigua (Torino, Palazzo Carignano; **fig. 2, n. 8**): la prima lettera sembrerebbe una C, ma in base alla lettura della seconda lettera potrebbe trattarsi di un'epigrafe di tipo numerale (C o I) oppure onomastico (P). L'anfora di *Libarna* riporta sulla spalla un graffito numerale *post coctu-ram*: CCXXXI (**fig. 3, n. 2**). La cifra, superiore al centinaio, esclude un'indicazione di capacità. Non sembra riferirsi ad

un conteggio in fase di produzione, giacché sarebbe più plausibile un'iscrizione a crudo; più probabilmente rimanda a conteggi di anfore in fasi immediatamente posteriori alla produzione, oppure a computi legati a commercio (carico, scarico, compravendita) o stoccaggio.

Le osservazioni esposte permettono di inserire le presenze piemontesi di anfore San Lorenzo 7 nel quadro delle importazioni in Transpadana tra la metà del II e il IV-V secolo d.C., che sono caratterizzate, a partire dal III secolo, da una maggiore apertura nei confronti dei mercati orientali, forse anche come conseguenza di una riduzione delle produzioni adriatiche. Le dinamiche di distribuzione di questi contenitori nella valle padana seguono le medesime direttrici delle merci orientali, smistate nel "port of trade" di Aquileia, con cui almeno *Augusta Taurinorum* sembra avere un collegamento privilegiato (Quiri 2015: 175). Nei siti di pianura si rileva la frequente associazione con le anfore della famiglia delle Dressel 24, con cui condividono, almeno in parte, luoghi e cronologie di produzione, rotte commerciali e forse contenuto (olio e/o salse di pesce). Con la contrazione, già a partire dalla fine del II secolo, delle importazioni di olio adriatico e betico e di salse di pesce dalla Betica, a fronte delle rare importazioni di prodotti ittici lusitani, queste anfore avrebbero contribuito a soddisfare il fabbisogno di olio e salse di pesce, sebbene in quantità inferiore rispetto al *garum* adriatico contenuto nelle anforette tipo Grado immesse in modo massiccio sui mercati della Cisalpina ancora nel III e forse IV secolo (Quiri forthcoming). Dal III secolo le San Lorenzo 7 raggiungono capillarmente i territori di montagna, fenomeno che potrebbe essere connesso all'approvvigionamento delle truppe stanziate lungo le frontiere, come ipotizzato anche per le Kapitän II. Se così fosse si giustificherebbe la rilevante presenza nelle colonie di Torino, Ivrea e Aosta che mantengono anche nel III-IV secolo una forte connotazione militare (Quiri 2015: 169; Roda 1997: 234-235). D'altro canto la diffusione di alcuni tipi di anfore orientali anche nei siti di altura è un fenomeno che caratterizza le dinamiche economiche tardoantiche almeno fino alla metà del VI secolo (Auriemma e Quiri 2007: 38-47; Quiri 2017: 227-230) e che può essere indizio di una cronologia "bassa" per la circolazione delle San Lorenzo 7. Infine le attestazioni di San Lorenzo 7 in Cisalpina occidentale confermano, da una parte, l'alto grado di penetrazione dei prodotti orientali anche nei territori dell'entroterra padano e, d'altra parte, la capacità della regione di attrarre merci differenziate e di nicchia, in grado di soddisfare le diverse esigenze e i gusti di una società che si compone di élites ricche e politicamente forti operanti non soltanto nei centri urbani.

A.L., E.Q.

Analisi paleoproteomica di resti biologici dalla San Lorenzo 7 di *Libarna*

Per chiarire la natura dei resti combusti, ritrovati all'interno della San Lorenzo 7 proveniente da Libarna e conservata nei depositi dei Musei Reali di Torino in vista del futuro riallestimento della sezione Archeologia in Piemonte del Museo di Antichità, si è tentato un approccio biomolecolare utilizzando la cd. *Zooarchaeology by Mass Spectrometry* (ZooMS) (Buckley et al. 2009). Il metodo prevede il campionamento di piccole porzioni di osso per l'analisi del collagene ivi presente. Il collagene è una delle principali proteine presenti nelle ossa (animali e umane) e ha dimostrato un grande potenziale in ambito archeologico al fine di ottenere informazioni tassonomiche da resti osteologici, soprattutto quando non morfologicamente assegnabili ad una specie (Buckley et al. 2009; Demarchi 2023; Richter et al. 2022; Warinner et al. 2022). Il metodo prevede di analizzare i singoli peptidi del collagene (*peptide mass fingerprint*) che, in quanto tradotti dal DNA, sono taxon specifici. Le ossa combuste non rappresentano un campione ideale per l'applicazione del metodo, vista l'accelerazione delle reazioni di degrado delle componenti proteiche che accade ad alte temperature. Specifici studi riguardo l'applicazione di ZooMS su resti cremati (Fellows Yates 2013) hanno individuato la soglia oltre la quale il collagene va irrimediabilmente degradato a 250°-300°, una temperatura che potrebbe non essere stata raggiunta in alcune zone del rogo.

Durante l'estate 2022 presso i laboratori di restauro dei Musei Reali, si è proceduto prima alla pulizia esterna dell'anfora, poi allo svuotamento del contenuto. Visto il prolungato stivaggio dell'anfora, si è proceduto alla rimozione manuale del primo strato del conglomerato di riempimento costituito da ossa, terriccio e cenere, poiché visibilmente contaminati. Lo svuotamento è poi proseguito mediante aspirazione fino ad una profondità di circa 30 cm dall'orlo, corrispondente alla metà del volume di riempimento. A quel punto si sono prelevati 4 campioni di frammenti ossei dimensione varia (dai 3 ai 10g di peso, tra i 3 e 5 cm di lunghezza) da sottoporre ad analisi per verificarne l'eventuale origine umana o animale.

Circa 35/40 mg per ciascun campione, sono stati trattati seguendo il protocollo ZooMS (Brown et al. 2020a; Buckley et al. 2009; van der Sluis et al. 2014), analizzati tramite spettrometria di massa (bench-top Microflex LRF MALDI TOF, Bruker Daltonics, Germany) ed i dati ottenuti sono stati interpretati utilizzando il software libero Mmass (Niedermeyer e Strohalm 2012).

L'analisi degli spettri di massa ha rilevato la presenza dei normali componenti relativi alla procedure di laboratorio (e.g. dell' enzima utilizzato per la digestione proteolitica), di contaminanti (la cheratina, proteina principale della pelle umana e sempre presente negli ambienti) e di esigue tracce di collagene riferibile a mammiferi. Nello specifico, due campioni (A e C) mostrano la presenza di un unico peptide, comune nelle famiglie *Bovidae, Cervidae* e *Suidae* (*m/z* 1180). Due peptidi (*m/z* 1180 e *m/z* 2131) sono rilevati nel campione B, coerenti e comuni nelle famiglie *Bovidae, Cervidae* e *Suidae.* Il campione D infine non ha fornito alcun segnale utile alla determinazione tassonomica. Il campione analizzato, pur esiguo, benché non possa offrire una solida identificazione, suggerisce una presenza di ossa di animali.

Le analisi svolte dimostrano comunque una prima introduzione di 'routine' di applicazioni di metodi archeometrici minimamente invasivi nella prassi della conservazione, dello studio e della valorizzazione di patrimonio museale e la costruzione di un flusso di lavoro integrato a lungo auspicato.

A.M.

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Valentina Mantovani

I MARCHI DI FABBRICA SULLA CERAMICA A VERNICE NERA PADANA TRA LA TARDA REPUBBLICA E LA PRIMA ETÀ IMPERIALE

This paper presents preliminary results of the updated catalogue of Roman Black-Gloss Pottery of the Po Valley with stamps. To date, several attempts have been made to collect evidence of marks on black-glazed ceramics, focusing on different production areas, without being able to produce a complete corpus.
The research, carried out on published and unpublished material, has identified 97 marks in planta pedis*, with rectangular, circular and hides frames, distributed throughout the Po Valley, from Cuneo to Aquileia, and in* Noricum*.*
The study significantly increases the number of quantitative data. It also provides a more detailed knowledge of the forms used for marking, and highlights the chronological margins of the phenomenon in the Po Valley area.
Still completely unknown are the production sites: in fact, the kilns have not yet been discovered. However, the several archaeological analyses provide some clues, and in the future, this will certainly have to be further investigated.

Roman black-gloss pottery – production of the Po Valley – stamps

Introduzione

Il fenomeno della bollatura della ceramica romana a vernice nera è documentato a partire dalla prima metà del III sec. a.C. ed ampiamente esaminato in letteratura soprattutto per quanto concerne le produzioni più antiche, senza tuttavia fornire una trattazione esaustiva che abbracci l'intera forchetta cronologica e i territori interessati da questo costume artigianale peculiare.

Noti sono i sistemi produttivi della Campania (Cales, *Teanum Sidicinum*, *Paestum* e Capua per citarne alcuni), così come Canosa, Monte Vairano, *Praeneste* e dell'Etruria meridionale. Il fenomeno è attestato e conosciuto anche in ambito nord-italico e padano, ove sembra aver avuto uno sviluppo più tardivo. Qui, infatti le attestazioni più antiche e numericamente inferiori possono essere datate a partire dalla tarda età repubblicana, mentre più cospicua e significativa è la documentazione pertinente a reperti collocabili tra la fine del I a.C. e l'età tiberiana, come testimoniano i diversi bolli in *planta pedis* su patere Lamboglia 7/16.

Dopo i più recenti e importanti lavori di censimento dei marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica a vernice nera variamente dedicati a specifiche aree geografiche di interesse (Dolenz et al. 2009: 258; Di Giuseppe 2012; Brecciaroli Taborelli 2013) – i quali si sommano a quanto già registrato in OCK 2000 – si rendeva necessario un aggiornamento che raccogliesse le ultime attestazioni edite note in Cisalpina (nelle *Transpadana*, *Liguria*, *Venetia et Histria* e *Aemilia*), alle quali se ne aggiungono alcune altre inedite[1].

I marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica a vernice nera di produzione nord-italica: i dati

Nel censimento qui proposto confluiscono sia i bolli nominali sia quelli anepigrafi ma con funzione di marchio inscritti entro tutti i tipi di cartiglio.

La definizione del soggetto è passata attraverso l'analisi di alcuni casi critici, ovvero di quei manufatti le cui caratteristiche fisiche o l'interpretazione archeologica li ponevano in una situazione di ambiguità rispetto alla tematica in oggetto. Sono stati pertanto esclusi dalla trattazione tutti i marchi di fabbrica apposti su forme ceramiche pertinenti alla terra sigillata, come nel caso delle coppe Consp. 38 di via Rizzoli a Bologna da considerarsi sigillata nera (Corti 2015; 2016; Mantovani et al. 2022), così come la coppa firmata AUSSI di Capiago Intimiano (CO) (Bianchi et al. 1983: 69; tav. IV.f), il fondo firmato PATAVI di Arcole (VR) (Gabucci 2009) e la patera con marchio SATVR di San Martino Spino (MO) (Tarpini 1997: 85-86, 92, fig. 3,8).

[1] Il lavoro di raccolta è stato possibile grazie anche al contributo di moltissimi colleghi e studiosi che hanno messo a disposizione le loro competenze e che gentilmente hanno provveduto a segnalare materiali inediti o editi in riviste a circolazione locale. I miei ringraziamenti vanno a G. Bolzoni, M. Buora, F. Butti, S. Cipriano, C. Corti, A. Gabucci, H. di Giuseppe, M. Giuliodori, Ph. Kenrick, D. Labate, A. Lorenzatto, S. Magnani, E. Quiri, G. Ridolfi, E. Schindler Kaudelka, G. Sandrini, R. Stuani, S. Zabehlicky–Scheffenegger e G. Tassinari. Si ringraziano qui anche La Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Provincie di Como, Lecco, Monza-Brianza, Pavia, Sondrio e Varese, ed in particolar il Soprintendente Arch. Giuseppe Stolfi, la Dott.ssa Marina de Marchi per aver concesso l'autorizzazione alla pubblicazione del marchio di Arsago Seprio e al Dott. Brandolini per aver fornito il materiale fotografico. Un ringraziamento va anche alla Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città Metropolitana di Bologna e le provincie di Modena, Reggio Emilia e Ferrara, ed in particolare al Soprintendente Arch. Lisa Lambusier, alla Dottoressa Cinzia Cavallari, funzionario incaricato della città e del territorio Modenese, alla Dott.ssa Pellegrini, referente per le raccolte romane e medievali del Museo di Modena ed alla Dott.ssa Elena Righi, Istruttore Direttivo Servizi Museali Museo Civico di Modena, per aver fornito il materiale fotografico relativo al marchio di Modena.

Epurata la casistica dai manufatti che si sono considerati elementi estranei alla trattazione, ed incorporati altrettanti reperti in precedenza erroneamente attributi alla produzione di "protosigillata", sono stati raccolti 97 marchi di fabbrica apposti su recipienti in ceramica a vernice nera di produzione padana dotati di bolli letterali e anepigrafi con valenza di bollo, in quanto attestati su forme terminali della produzione inquadrabili tra l'età augustea e quella tiberiana, periodo in cui le stampiglie decorative non sono più utilizzate.

I cartigli in *planta pedi*s compaiono su 60 esemplari, 23 sono il cartiglio rettangolare, 11 ovoidali (di questi 10 sono anepigrafi), 2 cartigli circolare e 1 a pelle di animale presentati in **tabella 1** e nelle **figg. 1 e 2**. In queste ultime sono proposti gli apografi dei marchi di fabbrica disegnati partendo dalle fotografie e illustrazioni edite. Nel caso in cui tali rappresentazioni fossero originariamente sprovviste di indicazioni metriche il marchio è qui accompagnato da una piccola stella, che ne indica una scala ipotetica non corrispondente alla realtà. Inoltre sono riportati entro frame fittizi di colore grigio chiaro i marchi per i quali nelle edizioni di riferimento non è fornita illustrazioni ma solo una breve citazione. Per alcuni di essi non è stato possibile effettuare riscontro autoptico perché andati perduti o attualmente ancora in attesa di poter accedere al pezzo per poterne rilevare fotografie in scala.

Rispetto all'ultimo censimento dei soli marchi in *planta pedis* proposto da Susanne Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger (Dolenz et al. 2009: 258) la casistica si ampia notevolmente, raddoppiando gli ingressi: oltre ai più noti manufatti con cartigli in *planta pedis* destra, che rappresentano la maggioranza delle attestazioni, compaiono anche *planta pedis* di piedi sinistri, come nel caso dell'esemplare del Magdalensberg marchiato L.TARCO (**tab. 1 n. 57**) e dei reperti di Aquileia (**tab. 1 nn. 76-82**) e della Gurina (**tab. 1 n. 84**) ove il cartiglio è anepigrafe e può presentare un piccolo incavo al centro del piede.

L'unico con conformazione anatomica definita è il marchio presente sull'esemplare adriese firmato BASSI (**tab. 1 1 n. 8**, frame del tipo OCK 605) mentre i restanti cartigli ricadono nell'ampia e variegata casistica attestata sulle coeve sigillate. Accanto a marchi dalle dimensioni estremamente ridotte, come nel caso di Aquileia (**tab. 1 n. 76**), Gurina (**tab. 1 n. 84**) e Cremona (**tab. 1 n. 45**) (tra 1,6 e 1,9 cm) si affiancano quelli notevolmente più grandi che raggiungono anche i 3 e 3,4 cm, come M.BETVTI di Adria (**tab. 1 n. 12**) e TERTI di Solferino (**tab. 1 n. 58**).

I marchi rettangolari sono documentati soprattutto da cornici sub rettangolari semplici o con bordature, come ad esempio nei pezzi firmati da *L. Minucius* (**tab. 1 nn. 35-37**), sui quali compare inoltre l'uso della doppia riga di scrittura identificabile anche nei bolli M.VIRI/PRISCI (**tab. 1 n. 69**) e SILẸ[NVS]/CLAV[I F] (**tab. 1 n. 54**). Il marchio M.VIRI/PRISCI è apposto sul fondo di un fondo di grande patera, probabilmente una Lamboglia 7/16 che faceva parte del corredo della sepoltura n. 2 della necropoli in località Sant'Ambrogio ad Arsago Seprio, insieme ad una punta di lancia in ferro, un falcetto, delle cesoie, un'olla ovoidale in ceramica comune depurata e un vaso a trottola. La sepoltura viene datata al periodo LTD2 (70/60-30 a.C.) (Rapi 2009: fig. 2), ma presumo che la datazione possa essere posta di pochi anni più avanti, forse alla piena età augustea, per la presenza del marchio.

In merito al posizionamento dei bolli, due soli presentano una disposizione radiale rispetto al fondo interno del vaso e trattasi del piatto di Chiunsano marchiato SILENI entro cartiglio ovoidale (**tab. 1 n. 53**) e della patera Lamboglia 7 di Adria con bollo AMPHIO/SARI.L.S entro cartiglio rettangolare (**tab. 1 n. 51).**

Tra i 28 vasai riconosciuti ricorrono con frequenza i marchi M.BETVTI, CALENI, FAVONI, FVSCI, POSTVM, PRISCI, PROBI, PVDENS e VICARI. Per essi non è sempre possibile notare sostanziali uguaglianze o difformità nella fattura, stile e conformazione dei marchi a causa dei diversi supporti grafici (disegni o fotografie) utilizzati per la riproduzione degli stessi. Tuttavia, si può osservare che per *Bassus* (**tab. 1 nn. 8-9**) le dimensioni e la conformazione dei marchi sono certamente differenti tra loro, così come le forme di vasellame su cui compaiono (un bollo su patera Lamboglia 7/16 e uno su coppa Lamboglia 31 *similis*), i bolli adriesi e veronesi di *Calenus* sembrano del tutto simili (**tab. 1 nn. 19-20**), cosi come le quattro attestazioni adriesi di *Fusci* (**tab. 1 nn. 27-30**) e le due di *Pudens* (**tab. 1 nn. 48-49**).

Poche e circostanziali sono le informazioni sulle officine. Alcuni vasai risultano registrati in OCK 2000 ma per la maggior parte di essi ne si conosce per la prima volta la produzione grazie ai marchi sulle ceramiche a vernice nera di più recente edizione.

Per il marchio L.ANAE le autrici propongono l'identificazione con un *L. Anae(us)*, il cui gentilizio

Anaeus – forma priva di raddoppiamento della N del più diffuso *Annaeus* o *Annaus* – è ben attestato nell'Italia nord-orientale (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003: 337-338; Egger 1967: 197-199; Sasel Kos 1998: 102-103). Della sua produzione possediamo solo gli esemplari di Aquileia e Duino le cui caratteristiche macroscopiche li avvicinano alle officine di vernice nera "alto-adriatiche" con impasti compatti giallo/rosati, (Munsell 7.5YR 6/4, 7.5YR 6/6, 7.5YR 7/6, 10YR 4/2) vernice semiopaca con riflessi verdognoli a volte metallescenti (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003: 337-338).

Sempre da Aquileia provengono le due coppe, presumibilmente Lamboglia 28, marchiate CN.BR con punzoni leggermente diversi tra loro (cm 2,3 x 0,8 e 2,4 x 0,8) riferibili ad un *Cnaeus* integrabile forse con un *Braettius* o ancora un *Bruttius* o *Brussius* entrambi, questi ultimi, gentilizi noti nell'agro aquileiese (Buora 2011: 112; CIL, V, 1129). Nel caso di queste due coppe gli impasti polverosi color nocciola rosato (5YR 7/4 e) la vernice più densa e opaca all'interno, con colature e ditate all'esterno e violacea sotto il piede con sottili scanalature lasciate dal tornio (5YR 2.5/1- 5YR 3/3) somigliano di più ad una produzione padana in senso lato che a quella locale (Buora 2011: 112).

Per il terzo marchio aquileiese GAVI (**tav. 1 n. 31-32**) viene suggerita una relazione con la *gens Gavillia*, nota famiglia presente ad Aquilea fin dal I a.C. e conosciuta attraverso quattro iscrizioni che ci informano sull'appartenenza all'aristocrazia locale dei suoi membri (Buora 2011: 112; Mainardis 2002: 572; Bandelli 1987; I.A., 599 e CIL, V, 1234 = Inscr. Aq., 3423). Le due coppe Lamboglia 28 su cui sono apposti i marchi sono attribuite alla produzione locale.

N.	SITO	BOLLO	VASAIO	OCK	CARTIGLIO	FORMA	CRONO.	BIBLIOGRAFIA
1	Coccaglio (BS)	AGRIPPA	*Agrippa*	56?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 5 o 7	AD 15+	Sfredda 1998: 35; Fiorentini 1963: 47 n.77
2	Vicenza, Contrà della Piarda	M•AGRIPPA	*M. Agrippa*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mazzocchin 2013: 187, fig. 140 n. 6
3	Cittanova, t. 61 (MO)	AMANDI	*Amandus*	81?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Inedito, citato in Labate 2010: 326
4	Aquileia, Essicatoio Nord 1996 (UD)	L•ANAE	*L. Anae(us)*	-	rettangolare	coppa Morel 2250; Lamboglia 26	III-II a.C. (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003); II-I a.C. (Buora 2011)	Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003: 388, tav. 2 n. 6
5	Aquileia, Essicatoio Nord 1996 (UD)	L•ANAE	*L. Anae(us)*	-	rettangolare	coppa Morel 2250; Lambogli 26	III-II a.C. (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003); II-I a.C. (Buora 2011)	Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003: 388, tav. 2 n. 8
6	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	L•ANAE	*L. Anae(us)*	-	rettangolare	pisside Lamboglia 3	III-II a.C. (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003); II-I a.C. (Buora 2011)	Buora 2011: fig. 49
7	Duino (TS)	L•ANAE	*L. Anae(us)*	-	rettangolare	-	III-II a.C. (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003); II-I a.C. (Buora 2011)	Sticotti 1911: 211, fig. 28
8	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	BASSI	*Bassus*	435?	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 2
9	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	BASSI	*Bassus*	435?	*planta pedis*	coppa Morel F 2974; Lamboglia 31 similis; Adria 9B	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 3
10	Cremona, via Platina	BATVLL[I] *vel* BATVLL[VS]	*Batullus*	438?	rettangolare	patera Lamboglia 7/16	15 BC-15 AD	Galli 1996: 70, fig. 23
11	Calvatone (CR)	M•BETVLI	*M. Betulius*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 5 o 7	AD 15+	Mirabella Roberti 1972: 113
12	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	M•BETVTI	*M. Betutius*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 4
13	Adria, Ca' Garzoni t. 112 (RO)	M•BETVTI	*M. Betutius*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16 ?	AD 15+	Toniolo 1986: 810, fig. 2
14	Coccaglio (BS)	M•BETVTI	*M. Betutius*	-	*planta pedis*	fondo di coppa conica	AD 15+	Sfredda 1998: 36
15	Cologno al Serio (BG)	M•BETVTI	*M. Betutius*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Sfredda 1998: 36
16	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	CN•BR	*Cn. Br( )*	-	*rettangolare*	coppa Lamboglia 28?	15 BC-15 AD	Buora 2011: tav. IV, 6-7
17	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	CN•BR	*Cn. Br( )*	-	*rettangolare*	coppa Lamboglia 28?	15 BC-15 AD	Buora 2011: tav. VI, 8
18	Cremona, via Garibotti	L•C•F•	*L( ) C( ) F( )*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Galli 1996: 77, fig. 20
19	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	CALENI	*Calenus*	486?	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 5
20	Isola della Scala, Pellegrina/San Carlo (VR)	CALENI	*Calenus*	486?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	*Da Ostiglia a Verona* 2008: 70.
21	Gropello Cairoli (PV)	M•COELI	*M. Coelius*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Frontini 1985: 116, n.1
22	Modena, Parco Novi Sad	FAVON^I	*Favonious?*	-	*planta pedis*	patera n.d.	AD 15+	Mongardi 2014: 56, 240
23	Padova	[FAV]ONI	*Favonious?*	-	*planta pedis*	patera n.d.	AD 15+	comunicazione di S. Mazzocchin
24	Vicenza, Contrà della Piarda	T•FAVO[---]	*Favonious?*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Mazzocchin 2013:187, fig. 140 n. 5
25	Cremona, via Garibotti	L•C•B• o L•C•S•	L.C.B. o L.C.S.	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Amadori 1996: 108, p.110 fig.1
26	Cremona, via Cistello	FELIX	*Felix*	821?	*planta pedis*	probabile patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Amadori 1996:110 fig. 2-5, 54-56; 11 fig. 7
27	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	FVSCI	*Fuscus*	857.6	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 6
28	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	FVSCI	*Fuscus*	857.6	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 7
29	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	FVSCI	*Fuscus*	857.6	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 8
30	Verona, vicolo Tre Marchetti	FVSCI	*Fuscus*	857.6	*planta pedis*	fondo di patera n.d. (Lamboglia 5/7 o 7/16?)	AD 15+	Franzoni 1975: foglio 49, Verona

Tab. 1. Marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica padana a vernice nera tra la tarda repubblica e la prima età imperiale.

N.	SITO	BOLLO	VASAIO	OCK	CARTIGLIO	FORMA	CRONOLOGIA	BIBLIOGRAFIA
31	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	GAVI	*Gavillius?*	-	*circolare*	coppa Lamboglia 28	I a.C.	Buora 2011: 112, fig. 50
32	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	GAVI	*Gavillius?*	-	*circolare*	coppa Lamboglia 28	I a.C.	Buora 2011: 112, fig. 51
33	Ghemme (NO)	C•M•	*?*	-	*rettangolare*	patera Morel 2284	I a.C.	Spagnolo et al. 2017: fig. 24a
34	Coccaglio (BS)	MAGRI	*Magrinus?*	-	*planta pedis*	coppa conica	AD 15+	Fiorentini 1963: 47
35	Rimini	[…]RVS/FECIT	*L. Minucius Karus*	-	rettangolare	n.d.	210+-20	Giovagnetti 1993: 172, fig. 2
36	Rimini	L•MINUCIV[S]/ KARVS FE[CIT]	*L. Minucius Karus*	-	rettangolare	n.d.	210+-20	Giovagnetti 1993: 171, fig. 1
37	Rimini, Palazzo Battaglini	[L•MINU] CIVS/FECIT	*L. Minucius*	-	rettangolare	n.d.	210+-20	Giovagnetti 1993: 174, fig. 4
38	Cremona, via Cistello	OFFA	*?*	-	*planta pedis*	probabile patera Lamboglia 7/16 o 5/7	AD 15+	Amadori 1996: 110 fig. 2-5, 54-56, 111 fig. 7
39	Coccaglio (BS)	[PO]STVMI	*Postumus*	1513?	*planta pedis*	fr. privo di piede	50+	Sfredda 1998: 36; Fiorentini 1963: 47 n.79
40	Ornavasso, necropoli, tomba Pe 23 (VB)	POSTVMI	*Postumus*	1513?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	50+	Graue 1974: 250, tav. 56/1
41	Pianello Val Tidone (PC)	POSTVM	*Postumus*	1513?	*planta pedis*	coppa conica	50+	Grossetti 2007: 241, tav. 1 n. 2
42	Pianello Val Tidone (PC)	POSTVM	*Postumus*	1513?	*planta pedis*	n.d.	50+	Grossetti 2007: 241, tav. 1 n. 2
43	Cremona, via Cistello	PRISCI	*Priscus*	1543?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 5/7 o 7/16	AD 15+	Amadori 1996: 110, fig. 5
44	Cremona, via Cistello	PRI[SCI]	*Priscus*	1543?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 5/7 o 7/16	AD 15+	Amadori 1996: 110, fig. 3
45	Cremona, via Cistello	PRISCI	*Priscus*	1543?	*planta pedis*	coppa conica n.d.	AD 15+	Amadori 1996: 111, fig. 7, 123, fig. 56
46	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	PRO[BI]	*Probus*	1546?	*planta pedis*	coppa Morel F 2974; Lamboglia 31 similis; Adria 9A	15-25 d.C.	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 9
47	Adria, Ca' Garzoni t. 60 (RO)	PROBI	*Probus*	1546?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16 ?	AD 15+	Toniolo 1986: 814, fig. 2
48	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	PVDENS	*Pudens*	1582?	*planta pedis*	patera Morel F 2277c 1; Lamboglia 7/16; Adria 8A?	AD 15+	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 10
49	Adria, Ca' Garzoni t. 11 (RO)	PVDENS	*Pudens*	1582?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 16	AD 15+	Toniolo 1986: 810, fig. 2
50	Trecate,via Pergate, sepoltura n.d. (NO)	PVDENS	*Pudens*	1582?	*planta pedis*	piatto n.d.	AD 15+	Fiorentini 1963: 47; Deodato 2004: 120, fig, 14
51	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	AMPHIO/ SARI•L•S	*Amphius, servus* di *L. Sarius*	*Amph(Io)* 89	rettangolare, radiale	patera Morel F 2284e 1; Lamboglia 7; Adria 7A	15 BC.-15 AD	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 1
52	Adria, c. K. 29 (RO)	SECVNDVS	*Secundus*	1842?	rettangolare	n.d.	1-50 d.C.	Fiorentini 1963: 47. Attualmente irreperibile
53	Chiunsano (RO)	SILENI	*Silenus*	-	ovoidale, radiale	fondo di patera n.d. (Lamboglia 5/7 o 7/16?)		Borghero 2015: fig. 2.37
54	Castello di Serravalle, Monte Alogno (BO)	SILE[NVS]/ CLAV[I F]	*Silenus, servus* di *Clavius fecit*	-	rettangolare	n.d.	15 BC.-15 AD	Ravasio 2008: 100, n. 7 e 102 tav. I,7
55	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	SPOS/IИVS	*Sposinus*	-	rettangolare	patera Morel F 2284a 1; Lamboglia 7; Adria 7B	20-15 a.C.	Mantovani 2015: 199 n. 11
56	Novara	SVCCESS	*Successus*	2001?	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Spagnolo et al. 2008: 80, tav. XXVI n. 1
57	Magdalensberg (AT)	L•TARCO	*L. Tarconius ?*	-	*planta pedis*	piatto n.d.	AD 15+	Dolenz et al. 2009: 259, fig. 22 n. 3
58	Solferino (MN)	TERTI	*Tertius*	2074?	4 *planta pedis*	fondo di patera n.d.	30+	Piccoli 1996: 162, tav. 4
59	Cremona/Sergnano	TERTI	*Tertius*	2074?	*planta pedis*	fondo n.d.	AD 15+	Mete and Ridolfi 2014: 48, fig. 5d
60	Agro modenese	TRINI[---] *hedera*	*?*	-	rettangolare	n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	*CIL XI, 6701,109*
61	Cremona, piazza Marconi	Q•VA[---]R[---]	*Q. Valerius ?*	-	*planta pedis*	fondo di patera n.d.	AD 15+	Ridolfi 2018: 136, fig. 6
62	Panzano, Quattrina, via Cristina (MO)	V[---]	*?*	-	rettangolare	fondo n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	Corti 2004: tav. 92,2
63	Cremona, piazza Marconi	P•VEN^ETI	*P. Venetus*	-	*planta pedis*	fondo di patera n.d.	AD 15+	Ridolfi 2018: 136, fig. 7
64	Verona, Seminario	P•V^EN^ETI	*P. Venetus*	-	*planta pedis*	fondo di patera n.d.	AD 15+	Inedito, comunicazione di R. Stuani
65	Milano, Monastero Maggiore	VENVSTI	*Venustus*	2340?	rettangolare?	n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	Fiorentini 1963:47, n. 73; Sfredda 1998: 35

Tab. 1 (cont.). Marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica padana a vernice nera tra la tarda repubblica e la prima età imperiale.

N.	SITO	BOLLO	VASAIO	OCK	CARTIGLIO	FORMA	CRONOLOGIA	BIBLIOGRAFIA
66	Adria, Retratto Orto Trombini t. 48 (RO)	VICARI	*Vicarius*	-	rettangolare/ pelle d'orso	patera n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	Conton 1908: p. 38
67	Arcole, Santa Maria dell'Alzana (VR)	VICARI	*Vicarius*	-	rettangolare/ pelle d'orso	patera n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	Gabucci 2011: 73-37, fig. 20.1
68	Adria, Ca' Garzoni t. 5 (RO)	VICARI	*Vicarius*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 16	AD 15+	Toniolo 1986: 814, fig. 2
69	Arsago Seprio (VA), S. Ambrogio, T. 2	M.VIRI/PRISCI	*M. Virus Priscus*	-	pelle di animale	patera Lamboglia 7/16	15 BC.-15 AD	Inedito. Per la sepoltura: Rapi 2009: Fig. 2.
70	Zinasco (PV)	[---]ANV[---]	*?*	-	*planta pedis* anatomico	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Macchioro 1984: 13, tav. XVI fig. 13
71	Panzano, Cà Bulgarelli (MO)	E•ET	*?*	-	rettangolare	fondo di coppa n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	Corti 2004: tav. 92,1
72	Pianello Val Tidone (PC)	[…]IFNI	*?*	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	50+	Grossetti 2007: 241, tav. 1 n. 1
73	Adria, Retratto Orto Trombini t. 28 (RO)	M[---]/SA[---]S	*?*	-	rettangolare su doppio registro	-	15 BC-15 AD	Conton 1908: 30. Attualmente irreperibile
74	Caraglio (CN)	illeggibile	-	-	rettangolare	patera n.d.	15 BC-15 AD	Molli Boffa 1980: nota 43
75	Ro, Alberone (FE)	illeggibile o **assente**	-	-	*planta pedis* mutilo delle dita	fondo di patera n.d. (possibile una 5/7 una 7/16)	AD 15+	Cesarano et al. 2018: fig. 2.6, p. 174
76	Aquileia, Fondi Cossar (UD)	illeggibile o **assente?**	-	-	*planta pedis* non anatomico	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Griggio 2021: tav. XIV n. 21
77	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis* piede sinistro con incavo al centro	fondo di piatto n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: p. 109, fig. 38, tav. II n. 10
78	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis* piede sinistro con incavo al centro	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: fig. 39, tav. III, 1
79	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis* piede sinistro con incavo al centro	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: p. 109. tav. II n. 11
80	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis* piede sinistro con incavo al centro	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: p. 110, tav. III n. 2
81	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis* piede sinistro con incavo al centro	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: p. 110, tav. III n. 3
82	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis*	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: tav. III, 5
83	Aquileia, scavi delle Fognature (UD)	-	-	-	*planta pedis*	fondo di coppa n.d.	AD 15+	Buora 2011: fig. 40, tav. III, 4
84	Gurina (AT)	-	-	-	*planta pedis*	n.d.	AD 15+	Gamper 2011
85	Curno, t. 31 (BG)	illegibile, abraso	-	-	*planta pedis*	coppetta troncoconica Morel 2864/Consp. 7 sim.	AD 15+	Frontini 1985: 14, 147, tav. 25.3
86	Bene Vagienna (CN)	illeggibile	-	-	*planta pedis*	-	AD 15+	Fiorentini 1963: p. 47 nota 4
87	Nave (BS), T. 46	illeggibile	-	-	*planta pedis*	patera Lamboglia 7/16	AD 15+	Bessi Trevale 1987: cat. 54, 155, tav. 14.2
88	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	patera Lamboglia 5 o 7	15-0 a.C.	Mantovani 2015: p. 197
89	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	coppa Morel F 2621j similis?; Adria 10A	15-0 a.C.	Mantovani 2015: p. 197
90	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	coppa Morel F 2621j similis?; Adria 10B	15-0 a.C.	Mantovani 2015: p. 197
91	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	coppa Morel F 2621j similis?; Adria 10B	15-0 a.C.	Mantovani 2015: p. 197
92	Adria, via Retratto (RO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	coppa Morel F 2621j similis?; Adria 10B	15-0 a.C.	Mantovani 2015: p. 197
93	Ivrea (TO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	fondo Morel 165a	post 100 a.C-secondo quarto I a.C.	Brecciaroli Taborelli 1988: nn. 116-118, tavv. XIII, XVI
94	Ivrea (TO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	fondo Morel 165a	post 100 a.C-secondo quarto I a.C.	Brecciaroli Taborelli 1988: nn. 116-118, tavv. XIII, XVI
95	Ivrea (TO)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	fondo Morel 165a	post 100 a.C-secondo quarto I a.C.	Brecciaroli Taborelli 1988: nn. 116-118, tavv. XIII, XVI
96	Comacchio (FE)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	patera Lamboglia 7	20-10 a.C.	Mantovani 2018: 95, tav. 3 n. 3
97	Comacchio (FE)	anepigrafe	-	-	ovoidale	patera Lamboglia 7	20-10 a.C.	Mantovani 2018: 95, tav. 3 n. 4

Tab. 1 (cont.). Marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica padana a vernice nera tra la tarda repubblica e la prima età imperiale.

Una menzione meritano alcuni marchi provenienti da Cremona (L.C.B. o L.C.S, **tab. 1 n. 18**; FELIX, **tab. 1 n. 26**; OFFA, **tab. 1 n. 38** e PRISCI, **tab. 1 nn. 43-45**) in precedenza attribuiti ad una produzione locale di transizione o di "presigillata", varianti di Lamboglia 5/7 e 7/16 e sulle quali sono apposti marchi in *planta pedis.* La presenza di questi marchi esclude possa trattarsi di manufatti riferibili ad una fase iniziale o sperimentale della sigillata (Amadori 1996) bensì un chiaro esempio di vernici nere terminali, caratterizzate da un rivestimento non uniforme e non omogeneo nella colorazione, con costanti dischi di impilamento rossi.

Approfondimento merita sicuramente il fondo di patera di Solferino (**tab. 1 n. 58**). L'esemplare, realizzato con argilla e rivestimento di colore grigio, presenta sul fondo interno quattro marchi in *planta pedis* TERTI posizionati attorno ad una stampiglia centrale a forma di rosetta stilizzata. Nella parte esterna dei *planta pedis* compare un ulteriore giro di impressioni composto da uno schema di conchiglie stilizzate o semicerchi a raggiera alternati ad elementi sub rettangolari con decorazione a losanghe. Si tratta di un *unicum* in ambito padano, sia per quanto riguarda la composizione sia per quanto concerne l'iconografia delle stampiglie. Gli autori non sono concordi sulla lettura del manufatto, interpretato come una terra sigillata alterata o addirittura un probabile falso (Della Porta 1998: 114).

Gli esempi più prossimi al pezzo mantovano, almeno per quanto riguarda la composizione ma del tutti privi di bolli nominali, sono stati rinvenuti a Jesi (AN). Si tratta di coppe in vernice nera locale della seconda metà III-prima metà II sec. a.C. con fondi interni decorati da un rosone con sei petali trapezoidali posto al centro e attorno ad esso, con posizione radiale, una serie di impressioni geometriche – perlopiù elementi circolari con scansione interna a raggiera – intervallati a stampiglie sub rettangolari, elaborazione originale dell'officina esinate (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998: 156, nn. 65-66). Al Magdalensberg è invece attestato un fondo di coppa Consp. B 4.15 sul quale compare il marchio in *planta pedis* CANTABER impresso 4 volte con il medesimo andamento al centro della coppa (Zabehlicky–Scheffenegger 1998: fig. 9. 2), privo in questo caso di ulteriori punzoni anepigrafi.

Il marchio TER[TI] è attestato anche sul fondo di un esemplare a vernice nera in *planta pedis* destra rivolta a destra (**tab. 1 n. 59**) da Cremona e su un piatto Consp. 21 (Amadori 1996: 108) e un fondo in sigillata (Mete and Ridolfi 2014, p. 48, fig. 5c).

Altri marchi di *Tertius* sono impressi anche su vasellame corallino da Aquileia (UD), Concordia (VE), Emona (SLO) e Katsch (AT) (OCK n. 2074); in questi siti il bollo è sempre in *planta pedis* destra rivolta a sinistra, mentre nel pezzo di Solferino, nella vernice nera e nelle sigillate cremonesi la *planta pedis* destra è rivolta a destra. Non sembra pertanto possibile stabilire una connessione certa ed univoca tra i vari marchi attestati in vernice nera e sigillata.

Per quanto concerne il marchio **n. 63** rinvenuto in piazza Marconi a Cremona si propone qui la lettura P. VEN^ETI anziché VEN.TI. P. VENETI richiama un fondo di piatto, o forse patera, di cui mi segnala l'esistenza il collega Roby Stuani, che ringrazio (**tab. 1 n. 64**). Si tratta di un esemplare con argilla aranciata e vernice bruno rossastra che potrebbe essere compatibile sia con la produzione di sigillata sia con la vernice nera. Roby Stuani evidenzia che la poca superficie di vaso di colore bruno rossastro conservatasi potrebbe essere compatibile con il disco di impilatura di una vernice nera. Sul fondo interno è impresso il bollo in *planta pedis* P. V^EN^ETI. L'esemplare, proveniente dal sito del Seminario di Verona risulta inedito e, venutane a conoscenza in fase finale delle bozze non posso fare altro che segnalarne la presenza senza poterne fornire qui un apografo.

In fase di consegna delle bozze vengo a conoscenza di un altro nuovo bollo in corso di studio da parte di Stefania Mazzocchin la quale comunica l'esistenza di un marchio frammentario sul fondo di una patera, probabilmente una Lamboglia 7/16, di cui rimangono visibili le sole lettere [---] ONI (**tab. 1 n. 23**). La studiosa lo integra in [FAV]ONIS e ne evidenzia la totale somiglianza con l'esemplare di Modena (**tab. 1 n. 22**). Anche il nuovo bollo padovano viene inserito nella tabella e nelle tavole senza tuttavia fornire un apografo. Per l'analisi completa dell'esemplare si rimanda allo studio di Mazzochin, ancora in corso.

I *planta pedis* anepigrafi sono documentati ad oggi solo ad Aquileia (UD) (**tab. 1 nn. 76-83**) e nella Gurina (AT) (**tab. 1 n. 84**). I marchi sembrano essere molto simili tra di loro, e la presenza di un incavo nella parte centrale del cartiglio potrebbe essere un elemento caratterizzante di questo gruppo.

Le impressioni ovoidali sono state rinvenute ad Adria (RO), Comacchio (FE) e Ivrea (TO). Compaiono sia in coppia posizionate al centro di coppe coniche con risegna interna alla parete (Morel F 2621j *similis*?), forma attestata ad oggi solo ad Adria **(tab. 1 nn. 89-92**), o di patere Lamboglia 7 (Comacchio, **tab. 1 nn. 96-97**). Impronte ovoidali singole con disposizione radiale compaiono poi su un fondo di una probabile Lamboglia 5 o 7 da Adria (**tab. 1 n. 88**) e sui fondi Morel 165a da Ivrea (**tab. 1 nn. 93-95**). Questi ultimi, che possono presentare anche una sottile impressione circolare a rotella, hanno un profilo del piede abbastanza tipico con una carena nella porzione interna del disco. In merito alla datazione del marchio, le patere piemontesi sono state genericamente inquadrate nel I sec. a.C., o al più al 89/70–45-40 a.C. mentre gli esemplari comacchiesi, così come quelli adriesi alzano la cronologia almeno alla prima età augustea, grazie non solo alla datazione puntuale del carico da parte dei lingotti plumbei, ma altresì dalla frequenza nello scarico cittadino adriese che non presenta materiali così antichi in quantità elevate.

Allo stato attuale della ricerca non sembra possibile definire in maniera chiara la relazione delle officine che marcano la vernice nera con le coeve attestazioni sulla sigillata.

Tra il materiale censito non è stato possibile identificare la presenza di una evoluzione formale dei cartigli di una stessa officina, con il passaggio da frame rettangolari a *planta pedis*. Sono tuttavia suggestive le assonanze tra alcuni figuli documentati sulle vernici nere e gli omonimi che firmavano le terre sigillate.

Il marchio A^MP^H^I^O/SARI.L.S (patera Lamboglia 7 da Adria, **tab. 1 n. 51**) trova una stretta somiglianza con il bollo A^MP^H^I^O/SARI (*Amph(Io*) OCK 89?) apposto su una Consp. 14 (?) da Concordia (Vasa Rubra 2007: scheda 144). Per essi sembra plausibile poter pensare ad una stessa officina: la forma delle lettere e delle legature nella prima riga di entrambi i bolli sono le medesime, così come la S utilizzata nella seconda riga. Da lì in poi i punzoni si differenziano:

nell'esemplare a vernice nera di Adria è esplicitata la condizione di *Amphio*, servo di *Sarius*, nella coppa concordiese viene omesso, senza perdere tuttavia il significato, come a voler semplificare la lettura della seconda riga che qui è più ariosa e facilmente comprensibile. L'esemplare è di estremo interesse sotto molti punti di vista: se da un lato parrebbe possibile ricercare una seriorità nel pezzo concordiese che presenta un solo bollo al centro, la presenza di lettere del tutto uguali all'interno dei due bolli – e pertanto foggiate in periodi ragionevolmente ravvicinati tra loro – presuppone che i due manufatti non possano essere stati prodotti in momenti così diversi. Non siamo in gradi di stabilirne una assoluta contemporaneità ma parrebbe ragionevole presuppore che in quel momento l'officina producesse sia vernice nera che terra sigillata.

Di *Calenus* conosciamo i marchi sulle Lamboglia 7/16 di Adria (**tab. 1 n. 19**) e Isola della Scala (**tab. 1 n. 20**), pressoché uguali tra loro ma anche assai diversi dal CALENI in *pl. pedis* sul fondo di piatto Consp. B 1.8 ancora una volta adriese (Mantovani 2015: 63, tab. 5 n. 27).

Più difficile è l'analisi degli altri bolli su vernice nera che compaiono anche su forme di sigillata perché non è possibile rilevare sostanziali concordanze formali così evidenti da presupporre una comune origine all'interno della medesima officina, a testimonianza di bilinguismo cromatico da parte dei figuli o di un passaggio di produzione da nero al rosso. Tuttavia, si segnalano omonimie per *Agrippa* attestato su vernice nera (**tab. 1 nn. 1**) e terra sigillata (OCK 56), così come *Amandus* (**tab. 1 n. 3** e OCK 81), *Bassus* (**tab. 1 nn. 8-9** e OCK 435), *Batullus* (**tab. 1 n. 10** e OCK 438), *Felix* (**tab. 1 n. 26** e OCK 821), *Fuscus* (**tab. 1 nn. 27-30** e OCK 857.6), *Postumus* (**tab. 1 nn. 40-42** e OCK 1513), *Priscus* (**tab. 1 nn. 43-45** e OCK 1543), *Probus* (**tab. 1 nn. 46-47** e OCK 1546), *Pudens* (**tab. 1 nn. 48-50** e OCK 1582), *Secundus* (**tab. 1 n. 52** e OCK 1842) e *Successus* (**tab. 1 n. 56** e OCK 2001).

Distribuzione

La distribuzione dei manufatti bollati copre quasi per intero il comprensorio padano, da Caraglio (CN) fino a Duino (TS), giungendo anche a nord delle Alpi nei siti norici della Gurina e del Magdalensberg. Dalla carta di distribuzione si nota in maniera eloquente che la diffusione interessa i siti di grandi, medie e piccole dimensioni ubicati lungo i principali assi stradali e nodi viari, nonché la grande arteria del Po e le vie endo e peri-lagunari alto-adriatiche (**fig. 3**).

La commercializzazione dei manufatti ha seguito una diffusione abbastanza capillare e il fenomeno della bollatura sulla vernice nera, sebbene di esigue dimensioni rispetto all'intero volume delle produzioni di ceramica fine di quel periodo, deve aver riscosso un certo successo per poter aver raggiunto anche piccoli insediamenti sparsi lungo tutta la pianura padana.[2]

I siti con maggiori attestazioni sono Adria (23 marchi), Aquileia (15 marchi) e Cremona (11 marchi), seguiti da Coccaglio (BS) e Rimini con 3 bolli, Ivrea (TO) e Pianello Val Tidone (PC) con 3 e Comacchio (FE), Panzano (MO) e Vicenza con 2 marchi.

Il triangolo inscritto tra Cremona, Adria e Aquileia non è casuale ma descrive e circoscrive i territori che – almeno per quanto riguarda il momento storico di nostro interesse – hanno rappresentato dei capisaldi commerciali e viari dell'economia padana e all'interno dei quali le merci, soprattutto determinati tipi di ceramiche fini da mensa, hanno goduto di una capillare diffusione. La distribuzione dei manufatti con marchi di fabbrica interessa anche territori all'interno dei quali non è così altrettanto facile trovare confronti e similitudini per il vasellame fine, in particolare per la ceramica a vernice nera e la terra sigillata. I siti dei laghi lombardi più settentrionali, ad esempio, non hanno una familiarità così elevata con le ceramiche che comunemente circolavano nell'angolo orientale della pianura padana. Tuttavia, anche lì giungono vernici nere con marchi di fabbrica, a memoria che non sempre ciò che non possiamo facilmente identificare non esiste. In effetti, contatti abbastanza stringenti tra l'area deltizia e quella comasca erano emersi grazie al confronto con una olletta in ceramica a pareti sottili da Adria la cui particolare decorazione applicata rimandava ad analoghi esemplari comaschi (Mantovani 2015: 44, forma 55).

Le forme

Il censimento amplia la casistica delle forme in ceramica a vernice nera prodotte e commercializzate con marchi di fabbrica. Tra i materiali meglio conservati e per i quali la definizione della forma è certa i tipi più antichi sono le patere Lamboglia 26 (**fig. 4, 1**) (con marchio rettangolare L.ANAE, **tab 1 n. 5**) e 28 (**fig. 4, 3** (con bolli circolari GAVI, **tab. 1 nn. 31-32**) e la pisside Lamboglia 3 (**fig. 4, 2**) (marchio rettangolare L.ANAE, **tab 1 n. 6**). In prossimità della seconda metà-fine del I sec. a.C. il panorama è rappresentato quasi ed esclusivamente dalle patere con fondo piatto e breve parete obliqua con orlo indistinto pertinenti al tipo Lamboglia 7 (**fig. 4, 4-5**) e Lamboglia 7/16 (**fig. 4, 7**), quest'ultima più longeva e fossile guida per la fase terminale della produzione a vernice nera padana inquadrabile entro il primo ventennio del I sec. d.C.. La presenza di *planta pedis* sulle Lamboglia 7/16 permette di riflettere sulla sostanziale indipendenza formale di questa patera rispetto al repertorio della terra sigillata (si veda anche Dolenz et al. 2009: 258) nella cui produzione compare una forma simile ma non uguale, ovvero al Consp. 1, commercializzata tra il 40 ed il 15 a.C., e caratterizzata da marchi rettangolari.

A queste più note forme si aggiungono le coppe coniche con piccolo piede ad anello modanato e orlo indistinto (Lamboglia 31 *similis,* Morel F 2974 *simili*s) (**fig. 4, 8**). Su di esse sono attestati, fino ad oggi, marchi in *planta pedis* dei vasai *Bassus* (Adria, **tab. 1 n. 9**), *M. Betutius* (Coccaglio, **tab. 1 n. 14**), *Magrinus* (?) (Coccaglio, **tab. 1 n. 34**), *Postumus* (Pianello Val Tidone, **tab. 1 n. 41**), *Priscus* (Cremona, **tab. 1 n. 45**), e *Probus* (Adria, **tab. 1 n. 46**), e più genericamente coppe dalla forma non determinabile come nei casi dei *planta pedis* anepigrafi di Aquileia (**tab. 1 nn. 77-83**).

[2] In merito al fenomeno della bollatura e più in generale dell'attardamento della vernice nera in area padana rimane valido ancora oggi quanto indicato da Morel (1985: 125-130).

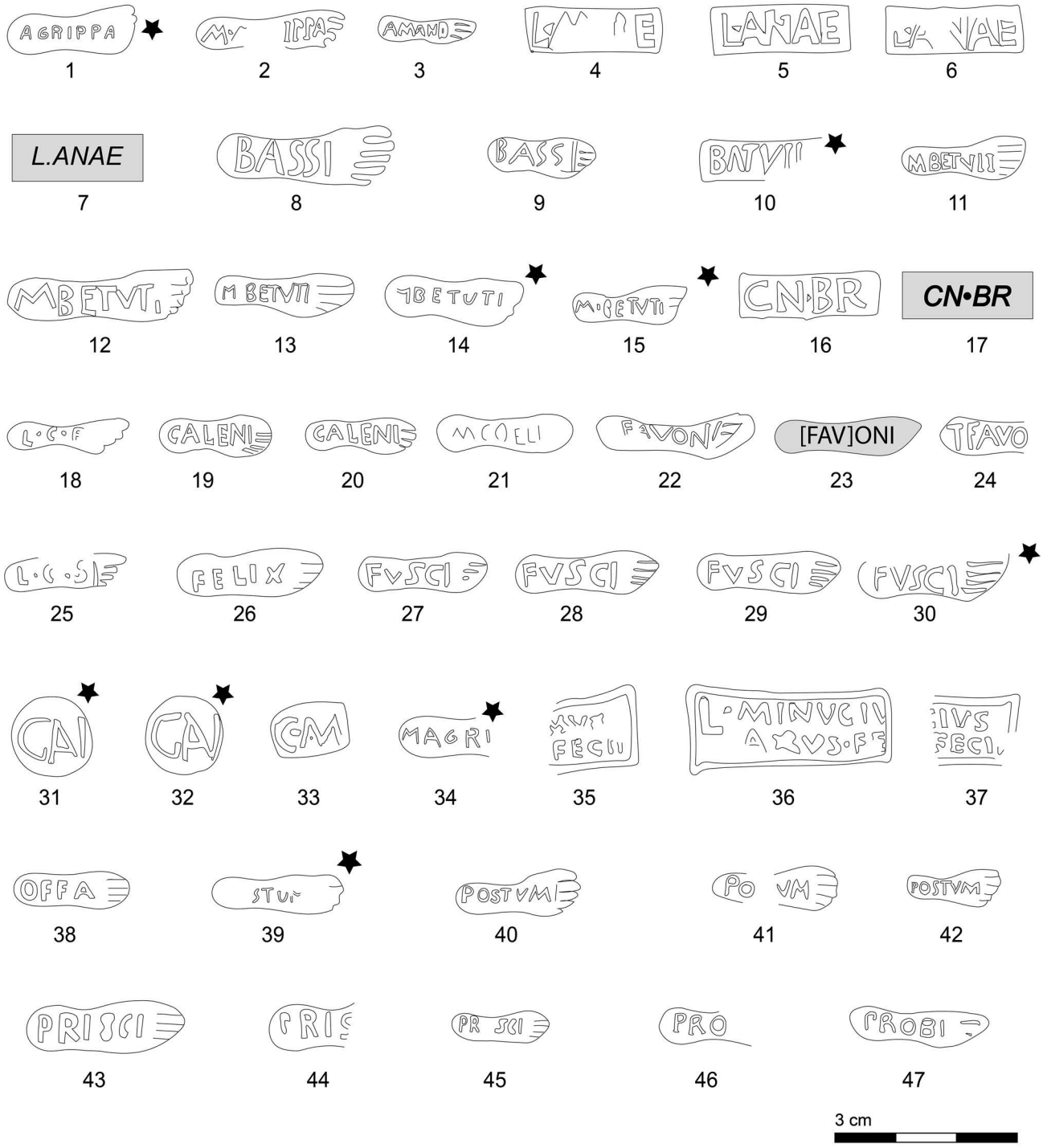


Fig. 1. Marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica padana a vernice nera (scala 1:1). Elaborazione grafica di V. Mantovani.

Ad un secondo tipo di coppe coniche (Morel F 2621j *similis*?) (**fig. 4, 6**) caratterizzate da una risega nella parete interna della parete e attestate per il momento solo ad Adria sono riferibili, invece, le coppie di bolli anepigrafi ovoidali (Adria, **tab. 1 nn. 89-92**). Analoghi marchi con medesima fattura e disposizione compaiono anche su una patera Lamboglia 7 del carico del relitto di Valle Ponti, a Comacchio (**tab. 1 nn. 96-97**), e sul fondo di una patera – forse una Lamboglia 5 o 7 – da Adria (**tab. 1 n. 88**) e su altre tre da Ivrea (**tab. 1 nn 93-95**).

La cronologia

I marchi più antichi paiono essere la serie riminese attribuita a *L. Minucius*, di cui sono attestate le firme […]RVS/FECIT, L. MINUCIV[S]/KARVS FE[CIT] e [L. MINU]CIV§S/FECIT (**tab. 1 nn. 34-37**) apposte su frammenti di fondo dalla forma non determinabile e pertinenti a rinvenimenti casuali o collezioni che non aiutano gli studiosi nella datazione dell'officina ad oggi collocata indicativamente al 210 ± 20 a.C. su base paleografica (Giovagnetti 1993).

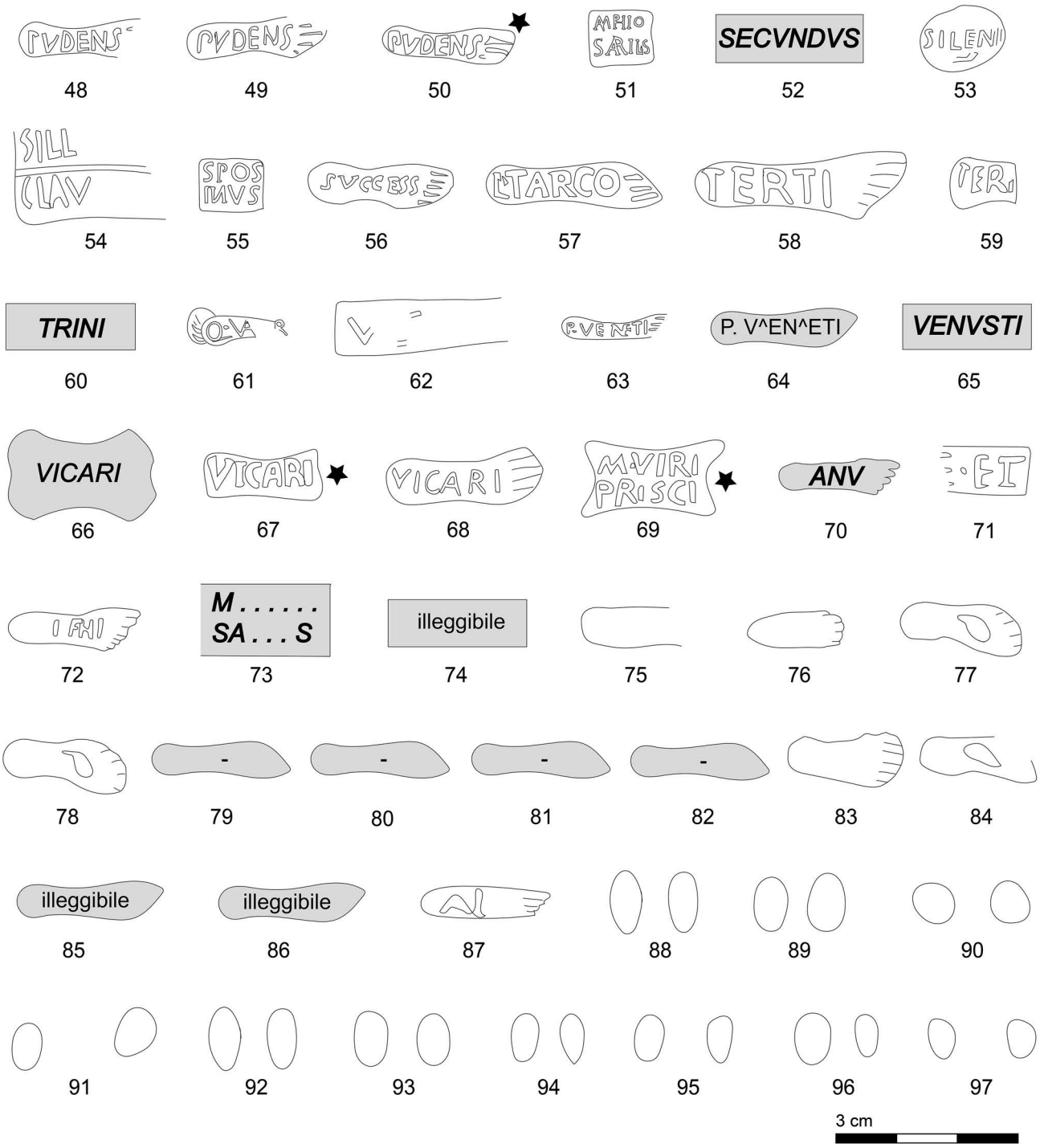


Fig. 2. Marchi di fabbrica sulla ceramica padana a vernice nera (scala 1:1). Elaborazione grafica di V. Mantovani.

Potrebbero essere riferibili ad una produzione del III o forse II sec. a.C. anche i marchi di *L. Anae(us)* (Aquileia e Duino, **tab. 1 nn. 4-7**) (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003), proposta cronologica che andrebbe avanzata al II o addirittura ai primi decenni del I sec. a. C. (Buora 2011: 112)[3].

Dall'analisi morfologica dei vasi, dal posizionamento dei marchi e dalla forma degli stessi seguono, come seriorità AMPHIO/SARI.L.S entro cartiglio rettangolare con posizionamento radiale su una patera Lamboglia 7 (**tab .1 n. 51**) e SILENI entro cartiglio ovoidale con posizionamento radiale su una patera Lamboglia 5/7 o 7/16 (**tab. 1 n. 53**) da datare alla prima età augustea, entro il 15-10 a.C.

Tra la media e la tarda età augustea si concentrano gli altri marchi rettangolari, circolari e a pelle d'animale disposti al centro del fondo interno, mentre a partire dal 15 d.C. i restanti marchi in *planta pedis*. La datazione dei bolli è mutuata dalla sigillata per la quale i periodi di evoluzione della produzione

[3] Dello stesso avviso parrebbe anche Susanne Zabehlicky–Scheffenegger, alla quale va la mia riconoscenza per i preziosi consigli.

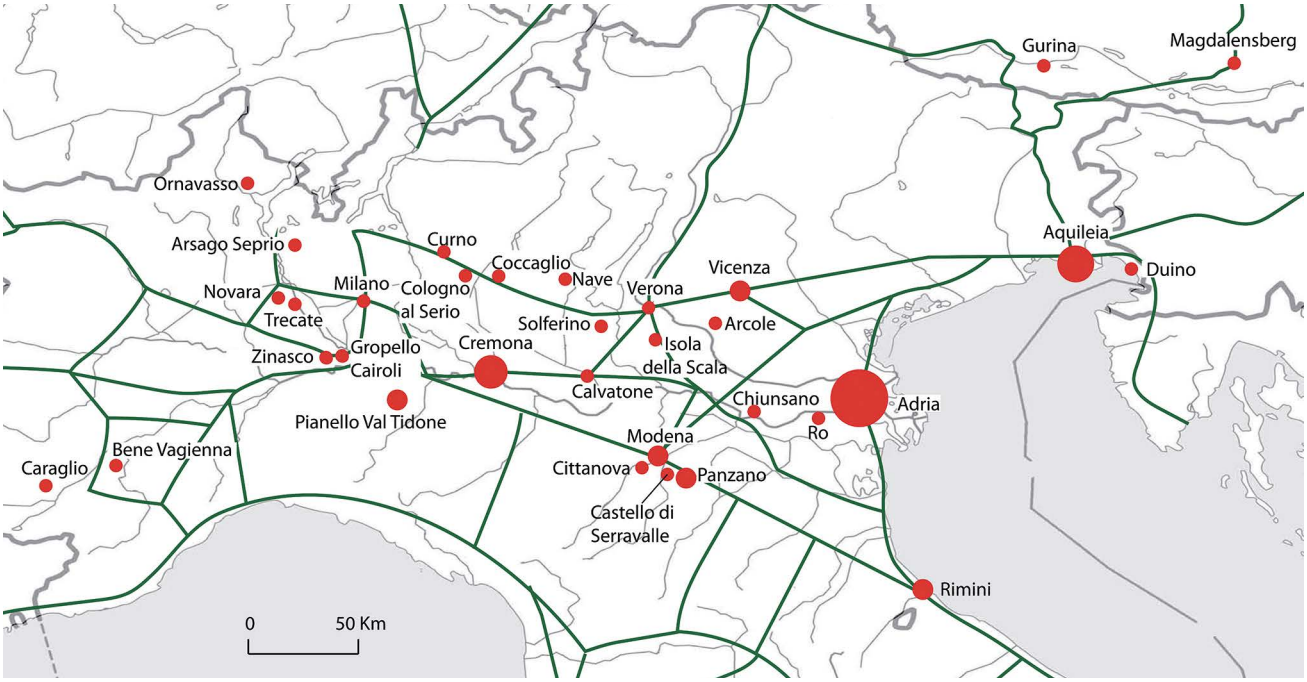


Fig. 3. Carta di distribuzione della ceramica padana a vernice nera con marchi di fabbrica nota. Elaborazione grafica di V. Mantovani.

sono chiaramente scanditi (OCK: 36). Per il nostro soggetto è certamente di grande importanza la definizione delle caratteristiche dei Periodi A, B e C. Il primo Periodo è caratterizzato da forme precoci e non standardizzate con una grande variabilità di fabbriche dedite alla sigillata ed alla vernice nera: è esattamente quanto di riscontra anche con l'analisi dei marchi di prima ma anche di media età augustea sulla ceramica a vernice nera con la sola differenza che nella produzione padana con rivestimento nero, cosi come ancor prima in quella campana e centro italica, la data inziale pertinente all'utilizzo dei marchi di fabbrica precede giocoforza quello della sigillata. Le sostanziali diversità tra il Periodo B e il C sono da ricercare nel passaggio massiccio verso una produzione sempre più standardizzata, nella qualità dei rivestimenti, nella tipologia delle forme e nell'assenza almeno fino alla fine dell'età augustea dei marchi in *planta pedis*, che invece diventeranno tipici della produzione a partire dal 15 d.C.. Questo momento stabilisce un *non ante quem* per la datazione del vasellame a vernice nera con marchi in *planta pedis* e conseguentemente un attardamento della produzione in area padana almeno fino ai primi anni dell'età tiberiana. Il dato si ripercuote quindi anche sulla datazione delle forme terminali su cui questi marchi compaiono, ovvero le patere Lamboglia 7/16, canonicamente inquadrate nella seconda metà del I a.C. (Morel Type 2277c, con riferito alla *Poröses Fabrikat* del Magdalensberg).

In merito alla datazione della *planta pedis* in anni più recenti è stato posto il problema di una possibile cronologia di qualche anno più alta rispetto alla canonica data del 15 d.C. (Conspectus: 147-148): potrebbe essere infatti possibile, secondo Ada Gabucci, anticipare al'8 o 9 d.C. l'introduzione del marchio in virtù del fatto che Haltern fu abbandonato dopo la sconfitta di Teutoburgo nel 9 d.C. e che potrebbe essere questo un possibile *post quem* per l'introduzione del bollo, che infatti è assente anche negli strati più recenti dell'accampamento (Gabucci 2009: 181-182).

La studiosa si chiede, inoltre, se a favore di questa teoria possa essere presa in considerazione la vernice nera padana bollata. A tale scopo ho avuto modo di visionare i quattro corredi delle sepolture 5, 11, 60 e 112 di Ca' Garzoni (Adria), le uniche adriesi ad aver restituito vernici nere bollate (tomba n. 5 edita in Dallemulle 1975, le restanti in Mangani 1982). I corredi sono composti da manufatti in terracotta (piccola coppa tipo *Sarius*, coppette a pareti sottili Schindler Kaudelka 68, sigillata padana Consp. 18.2, olle in ceramica grezza, mortai in ceramica grigia e anfora Agora G199), vetro (coppetta costolata Isings 3), bronzo (fibula Aucissa) e osso (arco sagittario in miniatura). Se si esclude dal materiale datante il corredo della sepoltura 11 in quanto manomessa e non attendibile, ed in particolare il puntale di Agora G199, non vi sono elementi che collocano con assoluta certezza la datazione delle sepolture ad un periodo successivo alla tarda età augustea, fatta eccezione per le patere a vernice nera con bollo, che spostano la cronologia ad età tiberiana. Sarebbe quindi importante contestualizzare questi dati in una visione di più ampio respiro, anche in considerazioni delle mode e tendenze delle necropoli adriesi.

Sarebbe quindi interessante ed importante proseguire la revisione del dato come suggerito dalla stessa Gabucci, al fine di comprendere se sia possibile, e di quanto, ridefinire la datazione della *planta pedis*.

Pochi sono ad oggi i nuovi contesti che aggiungono informazioni cronologiche in merito, e sembrano confermare una datazione della *planta pedis* ad almeno età tiberiana: il primo contesto di cui è stata chiaramente indicata la cronologia e che può aiutare nella definizione della problematica

è il settore AA44 del Magdalensberg da cui proviene l'esemplare bollato L.TARCO, datato nell'ultima fase del sito, grazie anche alla presenza di una moneta di Caligola, ai piatti Consp. 20.4 e pareti sottili tipiche della tarda età tiberiana (Schindler Kaudelka 2000: 394; Dolenz et al. 2009: 259). Il secondo contesto è la sepoltura modenese di Cittanova n. 61 contenente la patera firmata AMANDI (**tab. 1 n. 3**): il corredo presentava anche una lucerna a canale chiuso, databile entro l'età tiberiana, ed una moneta di Claudio (Labate 2010: 327).

Localizzazione delle officine

Quasi nulla si conosce sulla precisa ubicazione delle officine, da circoscrivere genericamente all'area padana.

La grande varietà di firme conosciute, ciascuna da pochi o singoli esemplari, non dà la possibilità di valutare il significato di speciali concentrazioni di alcuni marchi e in assenza di ulteriori elementi indiziari, di indicatori di produzione e analisi archeometriche non si può osservare molto di più in merito all'origine dei marchi e delle officine che li hanno utilizzati.

L. Anae(us) è presente solo ad Aquileia con tre esemplari ed un quarto da Duino, e per esso viene proposta una produzione alto-adriatica (Mandruzzato and Scotti 2003: 388). Il marchio BASSI è attestato ad Adria da due soli esemplari, per di più con punzoni molto diversi tra loro. *Cn. Br( )* compare ancora una volta solo ad Aquileia ed anche in questo caso non si esclude possa essere un'officina locale, trattandosi di un gentilizio diffuso nell'agro aquileiese (Buora 2011: 112). *Fuscus* è attestato tre volte ad Adria, così come i due marchi di *Pudens* e le doppie impressioni ovoidali, attestate su quattro coppe e una patera. I due marchi di circolari di *Gavillius?* sono presenti solo ad Aquileia, dov'è attestata anche la maggiore concentrazione di *planta pedis* anepigrafi con incavo al centro. Infine, ricordiamo i tre esemplari riminesi di *L. Minucius*, i due esemplari di *Postumus* a Pianello Val Tidone e i tre di *Priscus* a Cremona.

Merita certamente un approfondimento un piccolo gruppo di materiali adriesi per i quali sembra al momento plausibile poter circoscrivere l'area di produzione. Nel corso del suo studio sulle ceramiche a vernice nera rinvenute nel sito di piazza Marconi a Cremona Giordana Ridolfi ha avuto modo di visionare gli esemplari a vernice nera dello scarico di via Retratto ad Adria campionandone alcuni. La scelta è ricaduta su due fondi di patera firmati BASSI e FVSCI (**tab. 1 nn. 8 e 27**) e due coppette coniche non bollate, di cui una con risega interna della parete.

Le analisi XRD condotte presso il Laboratorio di Analisi Ricerche Archeometriche di Genova hanno constatato una sostanziale omogeneità dei quattro campioni adriesi riferibili tutti al II gruppo caratterizzato da una matrice marnosa di deposito lacustre o marino associata a minerali generici derivanti dal disfacimento di rocce di varia natura le cui cave di approvvigionamento potrebbero essere collocate in depositi costieri a nord di Ravenna (Nole and Sfredda 2018: 513).

I campioni sono stato sottoposti anche ad analisi XRF al fine di utilizzare i risultati come riferimento insieme ad altri di Volterra e di via Platina a Cremona per i pezzi di Piazza Marconi.

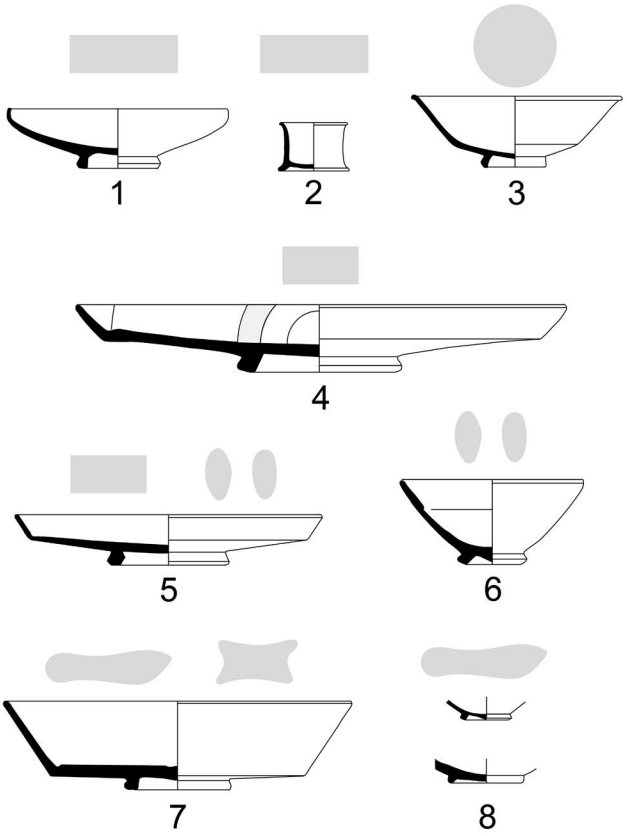


Fig. 4. Forme ceramiche della produzione a vernice nera padana sulle quali sono attestati i bolli. Elaborazione grafica di V. Mantovani.

Le analisi XRF e la successiva elaborazione statistica hanno permesso di inscrivere i campioni di Adria, via Platina e Volterra nel gruppo 2, all'interno del quale i pezzi adriesi formano un nucleo compatto, ovvero il sottogruppo F, in cui ricadono anche il campione n. 35 e n. 38 di Piazza Marconi, rispettivamente una patera Lamboglia 5 e una coppa biansata Morel 3121, attribuiti quindi ad una produzione adriese (Bonizzoni, Meda and Venturelli 2018).

I dati chimici e petrografici non forniscono risposte archeologiche definitive, ma su di essi possono essere sviluppate alcune riflessioni.

In prima battuta va detto che, almeno per quanto riguarda i campioni adriesi con e senza bollo, le analisi hanno validato scientificamente l'impressione archeologica secondo cui gli impasti, i rivestimenti, l'aspetto e la finitura sono sempre molto uniformi ed omogenei, gettando speranze anche sulle sorti degli altri esemplari adriesi che paiono avere analoghe caratteristiche macroscopiche.

Va sottolineato che i due esemplari con marchio BASSI e FVSCI fanno parte di quel gruppo di firme che trovano attestazione esclusiva ad Adria, fatta eccezione per un bollo di *Fuscus* che giunge anche a Verona, in vicolo Tre Marchetti e la firma di un *Fuscus* su una coppa tipo *Sarius* da Cattolica.

Inoltre, l'esemplare di coppetta conica adriese campionato dalla Ridolfi appartiene al gruppo morfologico con risega mediana della parete interna attestato solo ad Adria

e all'interno delle quali sono poste le coppie di impressioni ovoidali (**tab. 1 nn. 90-92**), stampigli che compaiono anche su due patere Lamboglia 7 da Comacchio e su tre fondi di patere da Ivrea. Uno di questi ultimi pezzi piemontesi è stato sottoposto ad analisi minero-petrografica da Sfrecola ed attribuito genericamente a produzione nord-italica (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1988: 107, n. 177).

L'argomento di una possibile produzione locale adriese di vernice nera terminale è già stato affrontato in altre sedi (Mantovani 2015: 15-27) e da allora non sono occorse novità archeologiche dirimenti in questo senso. I risultati delle analisi archeometriche, sebbene compiute su un campione esiguo della popolazione, sembrano confermare le sensazioni scaturite dall'osservazione macroscopica dei reperti e dalla loro concentrazione nel sito di Retratto e ad Adria. Le analisi cremonesi ci dicono che esiste almeno un nucleo di materiali a vernice nera la cui produzione può essere circoscritta ad ambito alto-adriatico, ed in particolare ai territori a nord di Ravenna, città il cui territorio ancora in prima età imperiale era attribuito insieme a Budrio e Adria alla medesima tribù *Camilia*. Non si può escludere quindi che i territori a nord di Ravenna indicati come probabili bacini per la realizzazione delle ceramiche adriesi campionate possano essere pertinenti al territorio del *municipium* di Adria.

Certamente sarebbe necessario proseguire le ricerche in questo senso e collazionare anche i dati archeometrici prodotti da Maggetti, Picon e Galletti relativi ad altri campioni ceramici a vernice nera rinvenuta ad Adria (Maggetti, Picon and Galetti 1998) ed alle successive ricerche che Maurice Picon (Picon 2000: 96-97) ha effettuato su una selezione di bacini argilliferi della pianura alluvionale compreso tra Rovigo e Ferrara, ovvero tra Adige e Po, senza dimenticare tutto il corollario di analisi condotte per la definizione dei gruppi di composizione di vari siti padani (Frontini et al. 1998; Olcese and Picon 1998; Schneider and Daszskiewicz 2020).

Infine, anche il fondo di patera del Magdalensberg con marchio L.TARCO è stato sottoposto ad analisi archeometriche le quali non hanno rilevato significative differenze chimiche rispetto alla composizione delle terre sigillate di produzione nord-italica (Dolenz et al. 2009: 259).

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Archer Martin

HELLENISTIC RELIEF WARE AT POMPEII. THE EVIDENCE OF THE POMPEII ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECT: PORTA STABIA

Fragments of molds for Hellenistic Relief Bowls in a Vesuvian fabric and of relief vessels attributed to Asia Minor (probably Ephesian) production were discovered by the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia. The rarity of Hellenistic Relief Bowls among drinking vessels Pompeii compared to the ubiquitous Thin-Walled Ware shows limited interest in them. As vessel fragments were found throughout the Porta Stabia area rather than in a concentration, that interest must, however, have been sustained. There is no sacral or funerary asssociation. Perhaps the bowls served a minority wanting to drink wine in the Greek fashion. The Vesuvian molds show that someone expected to satisfy a demand for locally made relief vessels, while the lack of any known Vesuvian bowls indicates an unsuccessful endeavor. Maybe the Vesuvian products were of too inferior a quality to compete with imports or the demand for such vessels was already waning when they appeared.

Hellenistic Relief Bowls – Molds – Pompeii

Introduction

The finds from the excavations of the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia, conducted by the University of Cincinnati under the direction of Steven Ellis (https://classics.uc.edu/pompeii/), show some interest in Hellenistic Relief Ware. On the one hand, fragments of four molds were discovered and, on the other, 40 fragments from a maximum of 27 Hellenistic Relief Bowls (one of the largest nuclei of this ware at Pompeii).

Molds

The mold fragments have already been presented elsewhere (Martin 2019) – **fig. 1**. They were found in four stratigraphic units (1028 and 1029 in Trench 1, 6008 in Trench 6 and 24004 in Trench 24), which offer no useful information for determining when the molds were used, as they are fill layers dating to the 1st century CE. The fragments all present a Vesuvian fabric, characterized by particles of black sand, which indicates their local production. Their decorations exclude the molds from the production of Tyrrhenian central Italy (the so-called Italo-Megarian Ware) and suggest that they may be associated with the southern Italian production centers, especially Taranto (Leotta 2019: 51).

Vessels

The vessel fragments were found in 28 stratigraphical units, all fill layers, in 15 trenches. Almost all the pieces must be residual. Two of the units concerned date to the late 1st century BCE or the Augustan period, 14 to the 1st century CE and five more are modern. Of the remaining seven units, which could date to as early as the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE, two present fragments that belong to a vessel of which other sherds were attested in a 1st-century layer. The widely dispersed nature of the finds makes it unlikely that the Hellenistic Relief Bowls derive from a single event or are to be associated with a particular location within the excavation area.

Fabric and Coating

The vessel fragments from Porta Stabia correspond well in their fabric and coating to the description of Ephesian products (Rogl 2014: 122-126) (**figs. 3 and 4**). The fabrics are characterized by white and micaceous inclusions. Some present also occasional reddish or grayish ones. In color they range from reddish to dark gray. All the fragments are coated, once again with much variation in color, as well as in glossiness. Some are red, some blackish and yet others are two-toned or mottled. Many are rather matt, while some have a glossy sheen.

Typology

The 13 fragments that preserve the rim can be assigned to Rogl Type 2, i.e. to the so-called Delian group (Rogl 2014: 122). Two belong to Rogl Type 2a (**fig. 2, 1**), the others to Rogl Type 2b. Of the latter, four present a more marked articulation between the decorated part and the inturned rim (**fig. 2, 2**), while six have a more rounded transition, and one poorly preserved fragment is uncertain. These profiles were used by the ΠΑΡ-workshop and contemporary, possibly

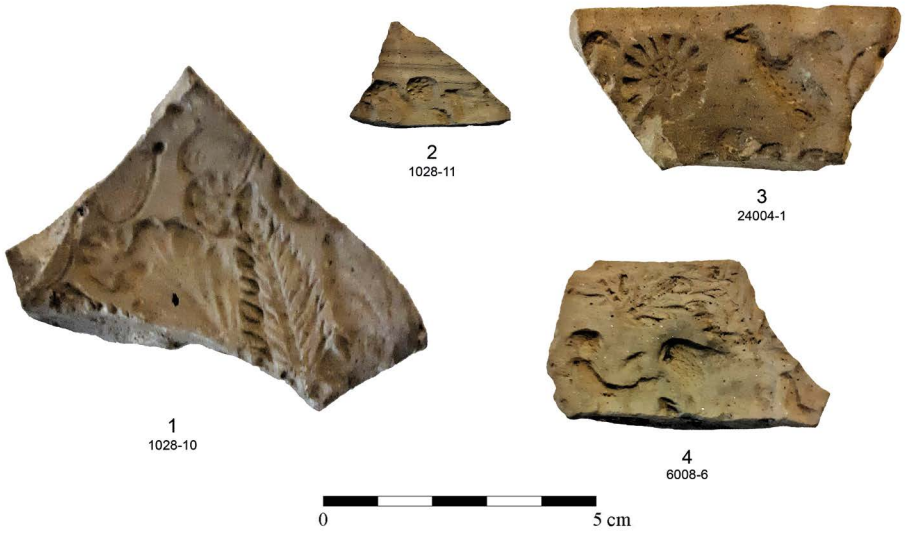


Fig. 1. Mold fragments.

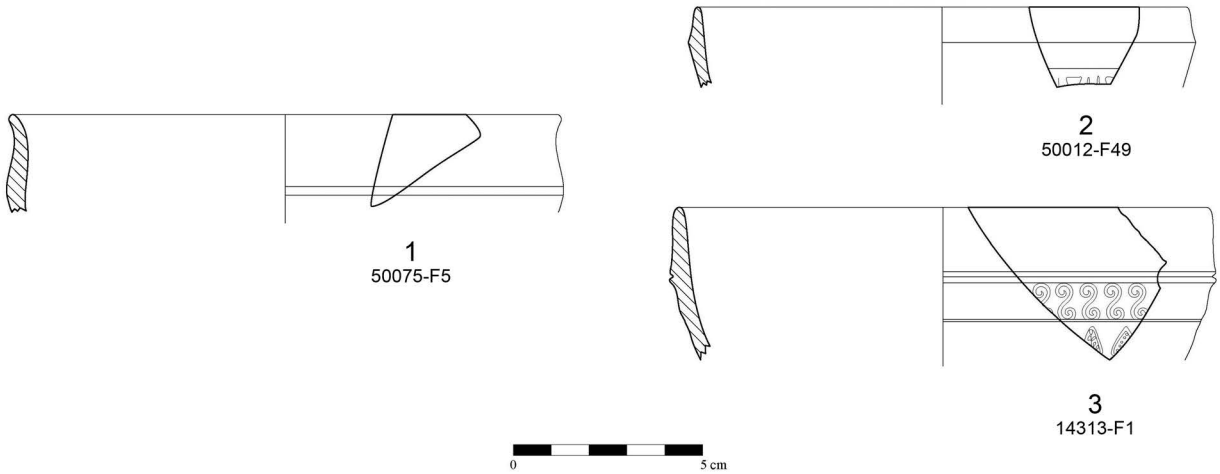


Fig. 2. Typology of the vessels (Rogl 2a – no.1; Rogl 2b – nos. 2 and 3).

related workshops, as well as by succeeding ones, with Type 2a being earlier than Type 2b. The ΠΑΡ-workshop may have started production shortly after 166 BCE and lasted to the end of the 2nd century BCE (Rogl 2014: 133), while the succeeding workshops produced apparently between the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 1st (Rogl 2014: 133-134).

Decoration

The decorated parts of Hellenistic Relief Bowls in general consist of a rim zone (a decorative band of one or more registers), a main decoration on the wall (often in more than one zone) and a medallion at the center of the bottom of the bowl (Rotroff 1982: 3). Ephesian bowls tend to have more zones of decoration than those from other centers (Rogl 2014: 126). The medallion is occupied by a rosette from a limited range (Rogl 2014: 122). In the rim section, especially in the ΠΑΡ-workshop, the Ionian kymation predominates, followed by the meander, the eight-petaled rosette and the Lesbian kymation, as well as the guilloche, the wave motif, the bead and reel and the S motif, while the main decoration is dominated by floral motifs (e.g. seven-petaled rosettes) (Rogl 2014: 126-127).

The Porta Stabia material preserves decoration on one rim fragment of Type 2a. Otherwise, decoration appears on pieces with rims of Type 2b or on body sherds. Most of the surviving decorations belong to rim zones. There are also fragments from the main decoration but none from the medallion.

The Ionian kymation is the most frequent motif among the Porta Stabia material in the rim zone, mostly in the uppermost or only register (**fig. 2, 2**; **fig. 3, 1**). Other common motifs in the rim zone are the meander (**fig. 3, 2**); eight-petaled rosettes (**fig. 3, 3**); guilloches (**fig. 4, 1**); S motifs, upright and recumbent (**fig. 2, 3**; **fig. 3, 2**; **fig. 4, 2 and 3**).

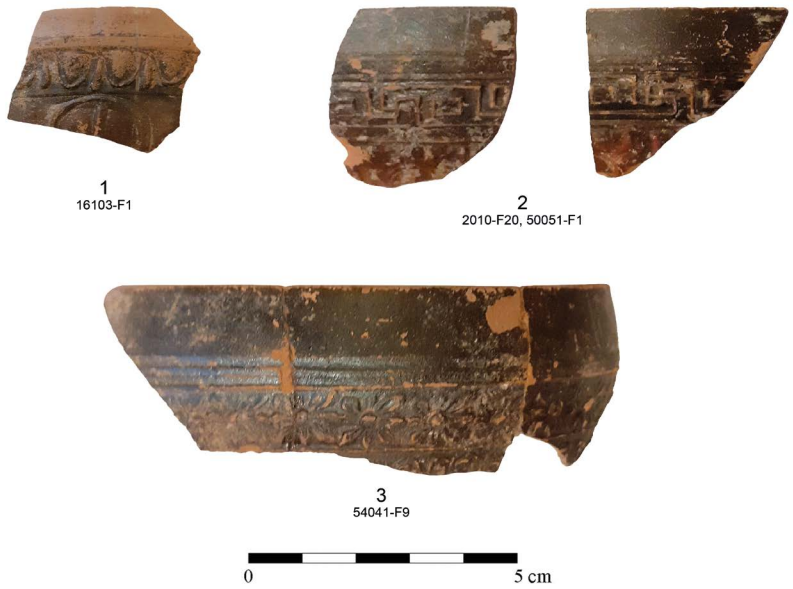


Fig. 3. Decorations on the vessels (rim zones).



Fig. 4. Decorations on the vessels (main zones).

There are also a Lesbian kymation, scrolls (**fig. 4, 3**), upright leaves and a bead-and-reel motif.

The main decoration is vegetal wherever it is preserved. The most complete presents a row with an acanthus leaf, a stylized plant, a seven-petaled rosette and the remains of another probable stylized plant (**fig. 4, 4**). Another fairly large piece preserves a scroll. There are also parts of a palmette and a frond, a nymphaea lotus, an acanthus, a frond and imbricated fern leaves, as well as various vegetal elements (**fig. 4, 3**).

In their decoration, these pieces fit the Ephesian repertoire well. The motifs attested in the registers on the rims and their frequency correspond to the description of the products of Ephesos, as does the vegetal decoration of the the main zone.

Discussion

The presence of fragments of Hellenistic Relief Bowls at Pompeii and all the more so of molds for them indicates some interest there in the ware. Admittedly, it was limited. It has rightly been pointed out that the Italic merchants at Delos, who must have been familiar with such bowls, could have promoted their export to Italy but did not do so on any large scale (Crawford 1981: 279). What the interest was at Pompeii remains to determine. In the Greek world, Hellenistic Relief Bowls count as the usual drinking vessels of the Hellenistic period (Rotroff 1982: 1; Rogl 2014: 113), which certainly was not the case at Pompeii and more widely in the West, where they are greatly outnumbered by Thin-Walled Ware. Hellenistic Relief Bowls have been associated with drinking wine at symposia (Rotroff 1982: 1; Rogl 2010: 657; Rogl 2014: 114, 133-134), although it has been noted that they came simply to form a part of the tableware repertoire (Rogl 2010: 650). Perhaps Hellenistic Relief Bowls served a minority at Pompeii, including perhaps merchants active between Pompeii and the East, that wished to consume Greek wine in the Greek manner (Laumonier 1977: 12-13). The discovery at Porta Stabia of widely dispersed fragments of vessels accords well with this hypothesis. The suggestion has been advanced that Hellenistic Relief Bowls were used by specific socio-cultural groups in religious, funerary and commemorative ceremonies, in Greece and the East as well as in Italy (Leotta 2005: 51; Leotta 2017: 81-82; Leotta 2019: 45-46). Their lack of concentration and of association with anything of a sacral nature speaks against this.

By all indications, the vessels found at Porta Stabia were imported from western Asia Minor, probably most if not all from Ephesos. The fabric, typology and decoration all point toward Ephesos. That is, in fact, the origin of most of the Ionian bowls found at Delos (Rogl 2014: 131). Although other production centers more or less associated with Ephesos are known, for example on Samos (Rogl 2014: 136-137), at Kyme Aeolica (Landi 2012: 75-77), at Priene (Fenn 2014), at Knidos (Kögler 2000, especially 194; Kögler 2005: 51, 54; Kögler 2014: 166-167), their exportation seems to have been limited, and they did not even necessarily dominate their home markets. A western Asia Minor origin is no surprise in that such material has already been attested at Pompeii (Bonghi Jovino 1984; Laidlaw and Martin 2014: 163, 197, 199; Russo 2015 – *contra* the author's opinion Martin 2019: 33; Morsiani 2017).

Nevertheless, the exclusive attestation of imported vessels poses a problem. As molds for Hellenistic Relief Ware were discovered in a Vesuvian fabric at Porta Stabia, one might expect that some of the vessel fragments found there and elsewhere at Pompeii would be Vesuvian. Turning to local products would find a parallel in the tendency in many places for locally produced bowls, often with simplified decorations, to replace imported ones during the second half of the 2nd century BC (Rogl 2010: 658-659). Perhaps the Vesuvian vessels, which to judge from the molds must have been of inferior quality, could not compete with the imports, and therefore few of them were ever made. It is also possible that the attempt to launch the production of Hellenistic Relief Ware in the Vesuvian region occurred toward the end of such bowls' popularity and was unsuccessful for that reason.

Conclusion

The finds of fragments of Hellenistic Relief Bowls and molds for them raise certain questions. Why were locally made molds discovered but only imported vessels? What purpose did the few Hellenistic Relief Bowls attested serve? At the same time, some considerations in answer to the questions can be advanced.

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Roby Stuani & Valentina Mantovani

LA TERRA SIGILLATA PADANA DI MEDIA ETÀ IMPERIALE: *STATUS QUAESTIONIS* E PROBLEMI APERTI

In this paper we present the results of a preliminary study on the mid-Imperial Padana terra sigillata, produced from the 2nd century AD. This pottery is still poorly recognised and studied today, but it affects covering most of the sites in the central and eastern Po Valley, with some significant concentrations in the areas of Brescia and Verona.
The work is based on the review of the published data, through which it has been possible to cross-reference archaeological details, the dating of the contexts, the different classifications adopted and the more or less conserved forms and decorations present in order to propose an initial organization of the forms, types, decorations and to propose preliminary dates.
The aim of the research is to build the foundations for a general classification of this pottery, so that new data can be recorded with greater uniformity, and to advance our knowledge.

Terra sigillata medio-imperiale – produzioni di area padana – Aquileia – Milano – Brescia – Verona

Introduzione

Questo tentativo di riordino crono-tipologico delle forme della sigillata liscia prodotta in area padana tra il II e il III secolo d.C. nasce a seguito dello studio e dell'edizione da parte degli scriventi della produzione decorata a matrice di età medio-imperiale di un contesto veronese (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: 173-184). La revisione dei contesti effettuata per lo studio delle coppe a matrice ha infatti evidenziato alcune problematiche legate alla classificazione del vasellame liscio che cercheremo di sintetizzare, ordinare e, per quanto possibile, affrontare in questa sede.

La prima questione è di carattere prettamente tipologico: gli archeologi che a partire dagli anni '80 si sono occupati dello studio del vasellame padano medio-imperiale hanno classificato le varie forme utilizzando di volta in volta le tipologie di Goudineau, Dragendorff, Ritterling, Curle e Mazzeo Saracino (Della Porta 1998: 81-132), dando vita a una babele di classificazioni nella quale risulta spesso difficile districarsi.

Alcuni tentativi di sintesi dell'edito hanno generato, inoltre, ulteriori fraintendimenti interpretativi, come nel caso dei piatti Dragendorff 31, *Conspectus* 3.2-3, Mazzeo 27A/B e delle cosiddette varianti "Cremona" e "Calvatone" tutti riuniti sotto la denominazione di Dragendorff 31 (Della Porta 1998: 81-124).

Analoghe difficoltà si riscontrano nella definizione cronologica dei manufatti, i quali, facendo riferimento a classificazioni differenti o desuete, hanno spesso datazioni non coerenti o non a fuoco rispetto alla produzione.

Se per il riordino dei manufatti padani anteriori al II secolo d.C. è sufficiente un corretto utilizzo della tipologia e delle cronologie proposte dal *Conspectus* (Ettlinger et al. 1990), il cui mancato utilizzo in pubblicazioni successive agli anni 90 risulta francamente incomprensibile, più ardua è la classificazione crono-tipologica delle forme di II e III secolo d.C. L'unico serio tentativo a riguardo è stato finora tentato da Stefania Jorio nel 2002 la quale, partendo dai materiali rinvenuti in un ambiente di servizio del *Capitolium* di Brescia, ha elaborato una prima tipologia di riferimento (Jorio 2002: 323-325).

I problemi relativi a questi manufatti sono molteplici e per iniziare ad affrontarli abbiamo deciso di procedere con un riordino sistematico dell'edito, tramite il quale cercheremo di dare un miglior inquadramento tipologico e cronologico a buona parte delle forme prodotte in area padana tra il II e il III secolo d.C.

Contesti e limiti

Prima di procedere alla disamina delle forme vascolari sono necessarie alcune precisazioni sul metodo di selezione dei contesti archeologici, oltre che sui limiti imposti del presente riesame dell'edito.

Data l'impossibilità di proporre in questa sede una completa revisione di tutti i manufatti in terra sigillata medio-imperiale di produzione padana editi abbiamo deciso per il momento di prendere in esame solo il vasellame rinvenuto in alcuni contesti selezionati in base a tre caratteristiche principali: affidabilità stratigrafica, attendibilità cronologica e grado di conservazione delle forme. I prototipi descritti nel paragrafo che segue non rappresentano quindi una tipologia della terra sigillata medio-imperiale, ma solo una sintesi preliminare delle forme maggiormente attestate (per la correlazione tra forme e attestazioni si rimanda alla **Tabella 1**). Sono stati pertanto esclusi dalla trattazione i materiali documentati da piccoli frammenti i quali non permettono una

certa e univoca interpretazione morfologica, così come il vasellame dubitativamente attribuibile alla classe in oggetto o di incerta cronologia.

Abbiamo deciso poi di focalizzare la nostra attenzione su un'area geografica specifica, che corrisponde alle odierne regioni italiane del Friuli Venezia Giulia, del Veneto e della Lombardia (**fig. 1**). Questa scelta è legata alle forti affinità formali che caratterizzano il vasellame medio-imperiale rinvenuto in queste aree, accomunate a nostro avviso da una vera e propria *koinè* produttiva[1]. Alcune forme simili a quelle che presentiamo a seguire sono documentate anche in altre aree della Valle Padana (si veda a titolo esemplificativo: Volontè 1997a: 433-450), oltre che nelle Marche (Biondani 2014: 251-291), ma in assenza di un riscontro autoptico abbiamo preferito al momento escludere questi manufatti dalla presente disamina. Unica deroga rappresenta la coppa rinvenuta ad *Aguntum*, di fondamentale importanza per l'inquadramento cronologico della classe.

La sintesi delle forme presenta, come tutti i lavori di revisione dell'edito, alcuni limiti legati principalmente alla cronologia dei contesti e alle descrizioni dei dettagli morfologici e decorativi dei manufatti, per i quali rimandiamo ai contributi dei singoli autori (per la bibliografia di riferimento si veda la **Tabella 1**). Problematica risulta in particolare la cronologia di alcune forme, per le quali non è possibile stabilire il momento di inizio o di fine della produzione/circolazione. Per evidenziare la difformità del dato cronologico abbiamo posto nella **Tabella 1** un doppio asterisco (**) a fianco delle cronologie desunte dall'analisi dei contesti, inserendo ove presente la tipologia dei pezzi e la data delle monete, mentre per le restanti datazioni effettuate tramite il confronto morfologico rimandiamo ai testi dei singoli autori.

Va fatta, inoltre, una precisazione sulla cronologia dei materiali di via Montona a Padova. Le autrici della pubblicazione, Silvia Cipriano e Stefania Mazzocchin, ci hanno scritto al riguardo: "l'officina artigianale di via Montona, a Padova, vede la sicura produzione di forme in sigillata padana di età medio-imperiale nella fase 3, datata complessivamente tra la metà del I d.C. e la metà del II secolo d.C. Tuttavia, poiché i materiali di orizzonte più antico (di I secolo d.C.) sono attestati solo sporadicamente mentre la maggior parte dei reperti è rappresentata da sigillata, comune depurata e grezza, è possibile affermare che questo grande gruppo di materiali rappresenti l'ultima attività della fornace 5, prima della sua disattivazione insieme alle altre due della medesima fase e che quindi si possa datare dagli inizi alla metà del II secolo d.C.".[2]

La produzione e le forme

Le principali forme identificate sono pertinenti a piatti, coppe e bicchieri-tazze inquadrabili principalmente tra il II e il III secolo d.C.[3]

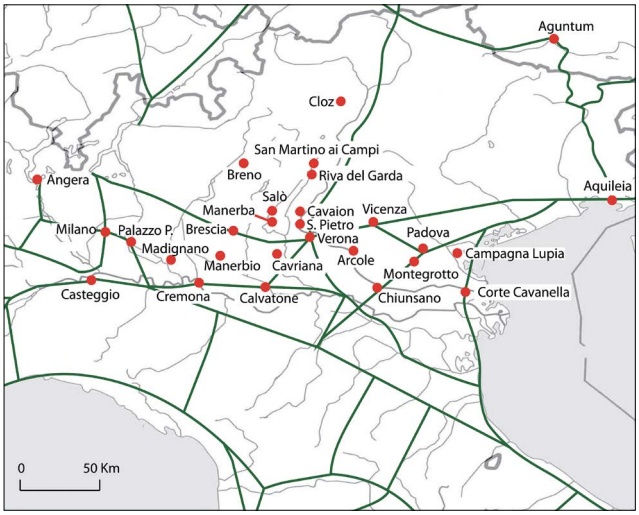


Fig. 1. Cartina di distribuzione dei manufatti in terra sigillata medio imperiale di produzione padana e dei siti citati nel testo e nella Tab. 1. Elaborazione grafica di V. Mantovani.

I limiti cronologici inferiori sono determinati dalle forme compatibili con la classificazione del *Conspectus* ed inquadrabili nei primi decenni/metà del II secolo d.C., mentre i limiti superiori della produzione medio-imperiale sono ad oggi poco chiari ed estremamente sfumati, soprattutto a partire dalla fine del III secolo d.C., momento in cui, con ogni probabilità, l'originalità della produzione autoctona viene meno e si scontra con i modelli africani ormai concretamente radicati nei consumi locali. Ciò ha comportato un adeguamento delle officine padane, che per seguire le nuove tendenze commerciali e culturali virano verso una produzione a imitazione dei prodotti africani. Congiuntamente, si protrae la produzione di ceramiche rivestite che rende ancora più difficile il discrimine con le produzioni terminali di sigillata medio-imperiale.

Ciò che emerge dalla nostra disamina è una sostanziale omogeneità distributiva delle forme, che ad oggi potremmo quantificare in almeno 19 modelli della produzione liscia e decorata a matrice che compaiono con costanza nei principali contesti medio-imperiali. Va ribadito che, come già noto in letteratura (Jorio 1998: 127; 1999: 83-84; 2002: 323-324; Mantovani 2023: 254-255), gli impasti di color rosa/arancio sono solitamente molto polverosi e teneri, mentre i rivestimenti, facilmente riconoscibili per il colore corallo chiaro, difficilmente si conservano per intero su queste superfici molto instabili. Tuttavia, la produzione può presentare caratteri macroscopici estremamente eterogenei come testimoniano gli esemplari decorati a matrice con argille dure e rivestimenti corallo chiaro lucenti e semi vetrificati.

[1] Grazie a richieste di studio abbiamo potuto visionato diversi nuclei di sigillata medio-imperiale, che a una preliminare osservazione autoptica presentano, seppur con alcune differenze, caratteristiche fisiche molto simili.

[2] Citiamo qui parte dello scambio epistolare con le studiose. Ringraziamo Silvia Cipriano e Stefania Mazzocchi sia per il chiarimento che per la grande disponibilità.

[3] Si rimanda alla Tab. 1 per la descrizione analitica di ciascuna forma. Nella tabella è stato marcato con asterisco (*) il riferimento bibliografico da cui è stato estratto il disegno rappresentativo della forma utilizzato nella Fig. 2.

Forma	Caratteristiche	Siti	Datazione
1	Piatto con orlo indistinto, vasca a pareti rettilinee carenate e piede ad anello simile a Hayes 18 in Africana A/D, Lamb. 40 in Africana C e provenzale. Possibile rotellatura esterna e stampiglie di palmetta o gemma sul fondo interno	Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 312, Tav. II.4-5)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 335, Tav. XXI.1-5)	III
		Riva del Garda, santuario di Monte San Martino (TN) (Oberosler 2007: 244-246, Tavv. 3.16-18 e 4.19)	-
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 324, Tav. I.4-8)*	III
		Cloz, necropoli (TN) (Endrizzi 2000: 175-76, Fig. 1)	220/240 – fine III d.C.**
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 85-87, Tav. XXVIII.1-3)	a partire dal III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1997b: 86, Tav. VIII.6)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996a: 260, Fig. 18)	I – II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996b: 109, Fig. 130)	età tiberiana – V-VI d.C.**
		San Pietro in Cariano, sepoltura (VR) (Beschi 1974-1975: 467-472, Fig. 13)	fine II – III d.C.**
		Milano, via Moneta (inedito, Jorio 1999:87)	-
		Brescia, *Domus* dell'Ortaglia (inedito, autopsia)	-
2	Piatto con orlo distinto estroflesso o ingrossato, vasca con pareti rettilinee carenate o arrotondate e piede ad anello simile a Dragendorff 18. Possibili impressioni gemme nel fondo interno	Cremona, piazza Marconi (Palmieri 2018: 284, Tav. I.2)	fine II – III d.C.
		Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 312, Tav.II.1-2)	metà del II d.C. +
		Verona, Capitolium (Morandini 2008: 334, Tav. XX.1-3)	fine II – III d.C.
		Riva del Garda, santuario di Monte San Martino (TN) (Oberosler 2007: 246-247, Tav. 4.20)	-
		Brescia, Capitolium (Jorio 2002: 324, Tav. II.1-6)*	fine II – III d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 85, Tav. XXVII.4)	fine II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1997: 80-81, Tav. VI.4)	I – II d.C.
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: 96, Tav. XXIV.2 - sporadico)	fine I – II d.C.
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: schede 48 - Tb. 25)	190-250**
		Calvatone (CR) (Cocconcelli 1996: 277, Fig. 1-5)	I – II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Favaro 1996: 268, Fig. 1-3)	I – prima metà del II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996a: 259, Fig. 6-7)	I – II d.C.
		Cavaion, necropoli di Bossema (VR) (Bolla 1995: 23-24 e 46-47, Fig. 12)	prima metà del III d.C.**
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 153 e 165, Tavv. III.2 e VI.2)	I – prima metà del II d.C.
		Cavaion, necropoli di Bossema (VR) (Bolla 1995: 21-23 e 46-47, Fig. 11)	A. di Antonino Pio (152-156+)**
3	Piatto con orlo arrotondato, vasca poco profonda a profilo curvilineo e piede ad anello; morfologicamente simile alla forma simile a Dragendorff 32. Possibile rotellatura esterna e impressioni gemme nel fondo interno	Casteggio (PV) (Jorio 2011: 156, Tav. VI.2 – Tb. XXXIII)	seconda metà II d.C.**
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 334-335, Tav. XX.5-8)	fine II – III d.C.
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 325, Tav. I.2)*	III d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 87-88, Tav. XXVIII.4-5 e 7-8)	fine II – III d.C.
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: scheda 22 – Tb. 82)	D/A di Traiano (97-117)**
		Calvatone (CR) (Cocconcelli 1996: 277, Fig. 13)	II – III d.C.
4.1	Piatto con orlo estroflesso a labbro triangolare rialzato, vasca con pareti rettilinee carenate e piede ad anello simile a Dragendorff 36 e Conspectus 40/41/42. Possibile rotellatura esterna sulla tesa dell'orlo e impressioni gemme nel fondo interno	Cremona, piazza Marconi (Palmieri 2018: 284-285, Tav. I.3)	III d.C.
		Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: Tav.II.6)	a partire dal III d.C.
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 335-336, Tav. XXI.7-9)	III d.C.
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 325, Tav. III.1)*	III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 150-151 e 165, Tavv. IV.1 e VI.4)	fine I – II d.C.
4.2	Piatto con orlo estroflesso a labbro triangolare pendente, vasca con pareti rettilinee carenate e piede ad anello simile a Dragendorff 36. Possibile rotellatura esterna sulla tesa dell'orlo e impressioni gemme nel fondo interno	Aquileia, Fondi Cossar (UD) (Mantovani 2021: 175, Tav.1.1-2)	III d.C.
		Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 312, Tav.II.7-8)	a partire dal III d.C.
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 335-336, Tav. XXII.1-3)	III d.C.
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 325, Tav. II.7-8)*	III d.C.
		Novella, necropoli di Cloz (TN) (Endrizzi 2000: 176-176, Fig. 2)	220/240 – fine III d.C.**
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: 96, Tav. XXV.5)	fine I – II d.C.
		Brescia, *Domus* dell'Ortaglia (inedito, autopsia)	-

Tab. 1. Forme e luoghi di rinvenimento della terra sigillata padana di media età imperiale.

Forma	Caratteristiche	Siti	Datazione
5	Piatto con orlo estroflesso ricurvo, vasca emisferica e piede ad anello simile alla forma Dragendorff 36 e Conspectus 39. Possibili impressioni gemme nel fondo interno e bolli in *pl. pedis*	Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 312, Tav.II.1-2)	dalla metà del II d.C.
		Riva del Garda, santuario di Monte San Martino (TN) (Oberosler 2007: 247, Tav. 4.24)	fine II – III d.C.
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 325-326, Tav. III.2, IV.1)*	II d.C.
		Manerba del Garda, necropoli di campo Olivello (BS) (Amigoni 2004: 32 47-48, Tb 10, Tav. 1.13)	A. di Adriano (119-138) e Commodo (non riconosciuta)**
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: schede 15 – Tb. 48; scheda 30 – Tb. 107)	90-99 +**
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: schede 43 – Tb. 117)	S. di Settimio Severo (194-198)**
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 150 e 163, Tavv. I.2 e V.2)	seconda metà I – II d.C.
6	Piatto/coppa con breve orlo estroflesso ricurvo, vasca con pareti rettilinee svasate e piede ad anello simile a Dragendorff 31 denominata anche „variante Cremona". Possibili impressioni di gemme nel fondo interno e bolli in *pl. pedis*	Montegrotto Terme, via Neroniana (PD) (Mantovani 2023: 255, Tav. 8)	II – III d.C.
		Aquileia, Canale Anfora (UD) (Donat e Maggi 2017: 91, fig. 31)	fine I – II/III d.C.**
		Campagna Lupia (VE) (Mazzocchin 2017: fig. 8.1-6)	II – III d.C.**
		Manerbio, necropoli di Cascina Trebeschi (BS) (Portulano e Ragazzi 2010: 62, 73, Tb. 14)	moneta di II d.C.**
		Riva del Garda, necropoli (TN) (Oberosler 2010: 139, Tav. 2.19-20 – Tb. 94 di San Cassiano)	seconda metà I – prima metà II d.C.**
		Riva del Garda, santuario di Monte San Martino (TN) (Oberosler 2007: 247, Tav. 4.21-23)	-
		Padova, via Montona (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: 142, 151-153, Tav. 29.2-4)	inizio/metà II d.C.**
		Cavriana, località San Cassiano (MN) (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 325, Tav. III.3)*	seconda metà/fine II d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 85, Tav XXVII.2)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: schede 20, 25 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 38, 41 – Tb. 18, 11, 83, 58, 144, 21, 22, 92 e 105)	A. di Adriano (119-138); S di Faustina Minore (161-176)**
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: schede 49 – Tb. 109)	199 - 250 d.C.**
		Cremona, fornace di via Platina (Amadori 1996: 101, figg. 20-24)	seconda metà del I – prima metà del II d.C.
		Cremona, piazza Marconi (Cattaneo 1996, p. 158, fig. 30)	-
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991, p. 154 e 166, Tav VI.6)	dalla fine del I d.C.
		Corte Cavanella, Loreo (RO) (D'Abruzzo 1986: Tav. 2.1-2)	I – II d.C.
		Palazzo Pignano (CR) (AA.VV. 1984: 197, PP70-107, fig. 33.3)	-
7	Coppa con orlo introflesso, vasca emisferica o con pareti curvilinee carenate e piede ad anello simile a Goudineau 21 e Lamboglia 8= Hayes 14/17 in Africana A. Possibile decorazione a palmetta sul fondo interno	Montegrotto Terme, via Neroniana (PD) (Mantovani 2023: Tav. 7-8)	II – III d.C.
		Aquileia, Fondi Cossar (UD) (Mantovani 2021: 255-256, Tav.1.4-5)	II – III d.C.
		Cremona, piazza Marconi (Palmieri 2018: 285, Tav. I.7-8)	fine II – III d.C.
		Aquileia, Canale Anfora (UD) (Donat e Maggi 2017: 93, figg. 34-36)	II – III d.C.**
		Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 312, Tav.III.2)	metà del II – inizio III d.C.
		Riva del Garda, necropoli (TN) (Oberosler 2010: 137, Tav. 1.8 – Tb. 60 di San Cassiano)	seconda metà II – III d.C.
		Padova, via Montona (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: 145 e 153, Tav. 30.15-17)	inizio/metà II d.C.**
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 325-326, Tav. III.6-8)*	seconda metà II – inizio III d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 85, Tav XXVII.6)	media età imperiale
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: Scheda 39 – Tb. 93)	A. di Adriano (119-138); D. di M. Aurelio Augusto (161-180)**
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1997b: 82, Tav. VII.3)	-
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996a: 260, Fig. 10)	-
		Calvatone (CR) (Cocconcelli 1996: 277, Fig. 6)	I – II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Favaro 1996: 268)	30 a.C. – fine del II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Paolucci 1996: 244, Fig. 17)	II d.C.
		Cremona (Amadori 1996: 101, Figg. 34-37)	seconda metà II – inizio III d.C.
		Cremona, fornace di via Platina (Breda 1996: 51-52, Fig. 10)	fine I – prima metà II d.C.
		Madignano (CR)(Cazzamalli 1995: 16, 19, Tav. VI.10)	III – V d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 151-153 e 164-165, Tavv. II.2 e V.4-10)	fine I – prima metà II d.C.
		Milano, necropoli (Bolla 1988: 83 Tav. XLIII.23-50)	-
		Cremona (Pontiroli 1974: 126, Tav. LXXXIX)	-
		Cavriana, località San Cassiano (MN) (inedito, autopsia)	-

Tab. 1 (cont.). Forme e luoghi di rinvenimento della terra sigillata padana di media età imperiale.

Forma	Caratteristiche	Siti	Datazione
8	Coppa con orlo ingrossato, pareti arrotondate o carenate e piede ad anello o a disco simile a Lamboglia 2=Desbat 12 in Clair B. Possibile rotellatura esterna e decorazione alla barbottina	Montegrotto Terme, via Neroniana (PD) (Mantovani 2023: 255-256, Tav. 7)	II – III d.C.
		Chiunsano, Ficarolo (RO) (Biondani 2016: fig. 2.21-26; fig. 3.27-33)	II – IV d.C.
		Arcole, località Alzana (VR) (Arzone et al. 2011, pp. 77-78, Fig. 34.1-3)	fine del II – III d.C.**
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 336, Tav. XXIII.4)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Padova, via Montona (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: 145-149 e 153-154, Tavv. 31 e 32)	inizio/metà II d.C.**
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 326, Tav. III.9-11)*	dalla metà del II d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1997b: 85-86, Tav. VIII.5)	II – III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Cocconcelli 1996: 277, Figg. 10-12)	II – III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996a: 260, Figg. 15-17)	media età imperiale
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996b: 109, Figg. 128-129)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Calvatone (CR) (Favaro 1996: 269, Figg. 11-15)	fine I – II d.C.
		Milano, Scavi MM3 (Jorio 1991: 66, XXIII.8-10)	-
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 153 e 164-165, Tavv. III.1 e V.11)	-
9	Coppa con orlo a tesa, leggermente ricurvo o orizzontale, vasca emisferica e piede ad anello simile a Dragendorff 35, Conspectus 44 e Hayes 44 in Africana C. Possibile rotellatura esterna sulla tesa dell'orlo	Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 314-315, Tav.III.4)	fine II – metà del III d.C.
		Riva del Garda, necropoli (TN) (Oberosler 2010: 137, Tav. 1.9-10, – Tb. 60 di San Cassiano)	fine II – inizio III d.C.**
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 336, Tav. XXII.4-6)	III – V d.C.
		Riva del Garda, santuario di Monte San Martino (TN) (Oberosler 2007: 244, Tav. 2.10-14)	III – IV d.C.
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 326, Tav. IV-2-4)*	III +
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 88-89, Tav. XXIX.7-14)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: schede 69 – Tb. 84)	Ant. di Aureliano (270-275)**
		Angera (VA) (Angera Romana II 1995, I.: 93, Tav. 45.6.)	-
10.1	Coppetta con orlo distinto ingrossato, vasca emisferica con listello mediano simile a L. 19 della sigillata di Çandarlı e Dragendorff 44. Possibile rotellatura esterna	Montegrotto Terme, via Neroniana (PD) (Mantovani 2023: 255, Tav. 7)	II – III d.C.
		Campagna Lupia (VE) (Mazzocchin 2017: fig. 8.10-12)	II – III d.C.**
		Aquileia, Canale Anfora (UD) (Donat e Maggi 2017: 95, fig. 37)	II – III d.C.**
		Corte Cavanella, Loreo (RO) (D'Abruzzo 1986: Tav. 2.4-5)	II d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 88, Tav. XXX.4.)*	fine III – IV d.C.
10.2	Coppetta con orlo estroflesso appiattito superiormente, vasca profonda a pareti curvilinee con listello orizzontale appena accennato e piede ad anello simile a L. 19 della sigillata di Çandarlı e Dragendorff 44. Possibile rotellatura esterna	Arcole, località Alzana (VR) (Arzone *et al.* 2011: 67, Fig. 25.4)	III d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 90, Tav. XXX.5)*	dalla metà del II d.C.
11	Coppa con orlo distinto, pareti emisferiche o svasate verso l'alto con listello orizzontale e piede ad anello simile a L. 19 della sigillata di Çandarlı, Dragendorff 38 e 44	Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008, p. 336: Tav. XXII.7-8)*	II – III d.C.
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: Scheda 41 – Tb. 105)	A. di Adriano (119-138); D di M. Aurelio Cesare (159-160)**
		Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: Scheda 49 – Tb. 109)	190-250 d.C.**
		Calvatone (CR) (Volontè 1996a: 260, Fig. 14)	-
		Cremona (Amadori 1996: Fig. 38)	-
12	Coppa con orlo indistinto, pareti rettilinee esoverse carenate e piede ad anello simile a Desbat 20-23 in sigillata Clair B. È sempre presente una decorazione stampigliata a palmette, meno frequenti le rotellature	Montegrotto Terme, via Neroniana (PD) (Mantovani 2023: 256, Tav. 7)	II – III d.C.
		Arcole, località Alzana (VR) (Arzone et al. 2011: 77-78, Fig. 34.4)*	metà del II – III d.C.
		Padova, via Montona (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007:142-145 e 153, Tav. 30.11-14)	inizio/metà II d.C.**
		Cavriana, località San Cassiano (MN) (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Verona, necropoli di vicolo Cicale (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Verona, Cortile del Tribunale (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Verona, Seminario Vescovile (inedito, autopsia)	-
13	Bicchiere con orlo indistinto, vasca con parti rettilinee carenate e piede ad anello. Possibile rotellatura esterna	Cremona, piazza Marconi (Palmieri 2018: 285, Tav. I.9)	III d.C.
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 337, Tav. XXIII.10-12)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 90, Tav. XXX.7-8)	a partire dal III d.C.
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 327, Tav. IV.10)*	III – V d.C.**

Tab. 1 (cont.). Forme e luoghi di rinvenimento della terra sigillata padana di media età imperiale.

Forma	Caratteristiche	Siti	Datazione
14	Bicchiere con orlo distinto triangolare o bipartito esternamente da un solco, corpo cilindrico carenato leggermente rastremato verso l'alto e piede ad anello simile a Symonds 15 della produzione metallescente di Treviri e al tipo Isings 108 in vetro. Possibile decorazione excisa e alla barbottina	Breno, Santuario di Minerva (BS) (Jorio 2010: 314-315, Tav.III.5-6) barbottina	-
		Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: 336-137, Tavv. XXIII.5-7 e XXIII.1-3)	media/tarda età imperiale
		Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 326-327, Tav. IV.5-9)*	tardo III – IV d.C.
		Brescia, Santa Giulia (Jorio 1999: 90, Tav. XXX.6)	a partire dal III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 151 e 164, Tavv e II.1 e V.3)	fine I – II d.C.
15	Bicchiere con orlo esroflesso, breve collo troncoconico, corpo globulare e piede ad anello o a disco simile a Dechelette 72 =Bet 102=Ludowici V della sigillata di Lezoux e Symonds 2 della produzione metallescente di Treviri. Possibile decorazione excisa e a rotellatura	Cremona, piazza Marconi (Palmieri 2018: 285-286, Tav. I.10)	III d.C.
		Brescia, *Catipolium* (Jorio 2002: 327, Tav. V.1-2)*	seconda metà del II – III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Favaro 1996: 269) 20 anni ti testi, rivedere	III d.C.
		Calvatone (CR) (Mirabella Roberti 1972: Fig. 9, inv. 5765)	III d.C.
16	Coperchio con orlo indistinto, breve listello orizzontale e vasca troncoconica simile a Lamboglia 20 in Africana A. Possibile decorazione excisa e a rotellatura	Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 328, Tav. VI.8)*	fine I – II d.C.
		Aquileia (UD) (inedito, autopsia)	-
17	Coppa con orlo ingrossato, vasca emisferica e piede ad anello; morfologicamente simile a Dragendorff 37. Decorazione a matrice	Aguntum (Auer 2018: 106; Auer e Rabitsch 2024 in questo volume)	metà III d.C.
		Verona, Seminario vescovile (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: 173-175, Fig. 2.1,4 e 6, Fig 3.19 e 24)*	metà/fine II – III d.C.**
		Aquileia, Canale Anfora (UD) (Donat e Maggi 2017: 84, figg. 20-22)	II – III d.C.**
		Padova, via Montona (Cipriano et al. 2014: Fig. 4)	inizi/metà II d.C.**
		Cavriana, località San Cassiano (MN) (Portulano 2005: 276, Fig. II.10)	II – III d.C.
		Verona, via Cantore 18 (Morandini 2001: 171, Fig. II.3, 5, 7 e 9)	II – III d.C.
		Corte Cavanella, Loreo (RO) (D'Abruzzo 1986: 241-242, Fig. 3.10)	II – III d.C.
		Brescia, Domus dell'Ortaglia (Roffia 1978: 37-38, II.33-34)	metà II – metà III d.C.
		Aquileia (UD) (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Verona, Cortile del Tribunale (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Vicenza, Corte dei Bissari (inedito, autopsia)	-
18	Coppa con orlo a fascia caratterizzato da una risega interna per l'alloggio del coperchio e corpo globulare e piede ad anello simile a Dechelette 67, Dragendorff 44 e Bet 93. Decorazione a matrice	Aquileia, Fondi Cossar (UD) (Mantovani 2021: 177, Tav. II.1-2	II – III d.C.
		Verona, Seminario vescovile (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: 175, Fig. 4.29)	metà/fine II – III d.C.**
		Aquileia (UD) (Maselli Scotti 2008: 309, Fig. II.1-6)*	II – III d.C.**
		Corte Cavanella, Loreo (RO) (D'Abruzzo 1986: 242, Fig. 2.12)	II d.C.
		Verona, piazza Arditi d'Italia (inedito, autopsia)	-
		Verona, corso Cavour 21 (inedito, autopsia)	-
19	Coperchio con orlo estroflesso ingrossato e vasca sub-emisferica aperta. Decorazione a matrice	Verona, Seminario Vescovile (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: 175, Fig. 4.30-31)*	metà/fine II – III d.C.**
		Corte Cavanella, Loreo (RO) (D'Abruzzo 1986: 242, Fig. 3.11)	II d.C.
		Vicenza, Corte dei Bissari (inedito, autopsia)	-

Tab. 1 (cont.). Forme e luoghi di rinvenimento della terra sigillata padana di media età imperiale.

Spesso l'unico elemento guida nell'identificazione macroscopica dei pezzi risulta essere quindi quello morfologico, ma una buona conoscenza della produzione permette di sviluppare la sensibilità adeguata al riconoscimento di questi manufatti.

Per quanto riguarda le analisi archeometriche, ad oggi sono edite le campagne condotte su un set di campioni di S. Giulia e del *Capitolium* di Brescia, sulle sigillate della fornace 5 di via Montona a Padova e sulle coppe a matrice di Aquileia e Trieste.

Le terre sigillate medio-imperiali di produzione padana rinvenute nel sito del *Capitolium* sono state suddivise in sette principali gruppi di impasto (C1-C7) mediante analisi macroscopica e successivamente sottoposte a indagini in fluorescenza X e al SEM/EDS. I risultati delle analisi hanno dimostrato che da un punto di vista chimico l'impasto e la vernice dei campioni definiscono un unico gruppo composizionale e che le variazioni di aspetto macroscopiche che hanno giustificato la preliminare suddivisione in alcuni gruppi hanno un riscontro nelle caratteristiche microstrutturali dei materiali. Gli esemplari risulterebbero solitamente cotti ad una temperatura tra i 900 ed i 950°, meno frequentemente a 950° e oltre, e la loro composizione risulta fortemente

somigliante alla produzione padana e ancor più con la Tardo Padana (Fabbri, Gualtieri e Massa 2002: 353-369). I dati sono stati confermati anche dal confronto con gli esemplari di S. Giulia (Olcese 1999).

Il secondo set di analisi, effettuato su diversi materiali ceramici dell'impianto di via Montona a Padova, ha analizzato 10 campioni di terre sigillate della fornace 5 riferibili alla produzione di media età imperiale. Le analisi XRD e XRF hanno evidenziato una composizione chimica degli elementi maggiori, minori e in traccia molto omogenea, indice dell'utilizzo della stessa tipologia di materiale argilloso e di tecnologia produttiva. Inoltre, i confronti diretti con alcuni campioni di sigillata medio-imperiale di Arcole, di via S. Fermo a Padova e del Norico hanno evidenziato alcune strette somiglianze tra i reperti di via S. Fermo e quelli di via Montona, mentre i restanti campioni di Arcole e S. Fermo differiscono in misura minore da quelli del sito produttivo e in misura maggiore dai campioni di sigillata padana del Norico (Cipriano, Mazzocchi e Maritan 2014: 210-214).

Il terzo gruppo di analisi interessa la produzione decorata a matrice di cui sono stati campionati 11 esemplari aquileiesi e triestini e i cui risultati evidenziano una composizione chimica collocabile in area alto-adriatica (Maselli Scotti 2008: 310).

Poiché l'analisi macroscopica degli impasti della produzione liscia e decorata evidenzia una sostanziale omogeneità compositiva si spera che in futuro la ricerca possa procedere in questo senso per definire con ancor maggiore dettaglio i caratteri della classe e i rapporti esistenti tra la produzione liscia e quella decorata.

Produzione liscia

Piatti

Il piatto è documentato da almeno 6 differenti forme.

La prima di esse ha pareti oblique e orlo indistinto, corrispondente alla forma 3 della classificazione della Jorio (2002: 324) (**Fig. 2, 1**). Le varianti attestate possono presentare pareti esterne lisce o decorate con una fitta rotellatura che corre dal bordo fino alla carena. La Jorio (1999: 86) sottolinea similitudini con la forma Hayes 18 in Africana A/D e la produzione provenzale. I contesti di rinvenimento padani inquadrano la forma tra la fine del II ed il III d.C., datazione confermata dalla sepoltura di Cloz contenente una coppa Hayes 44 in Africana C (Endrizzi 2000: 176). Trattandosi però di una forma estremamente semplificata e comune anche nelle più antiche produzioni augustee e primo-imperiali non riteniamo che il modello di riferimento debba essere necessariamente da ricercare nelle importazioni di età medio-imperiale.

Il secondo tipo di piatto di medie o grandi dimensioni, corrispondente alla forma 4 della Jorio (2002: 324), ha un orlo distinto estroflesso o ingrossato e vasca con pareti rettilinee carenate (**fig. 2, 2**) a spigolo vivo o leggermente smussato e un fondo a volte decorato con una o più impressioni di gemme. Il modulo formale può presentare vasca più o meno profonda accompagnata da pareti più o meno aperte e oblique. Anche questa forma, per la quale sono evidenti le similitudini con il piatto Dragendorff 18, gode di una buona diffusione in ambito padano ove compare in contesti e sepolture inquadrabili tra la fine del II e il III secolo d.C. Un dato puntuale è fornito dal *post quem* della moneta di Antonino Pio conservata nella sepoltura di Cavaion Veronese (Bolla 1995: 21-23).

Il terzo tipo di piatto ha una vasca poco profonda ed orlo introflesso (**fig. 2, 3**). La forma può presentare decorazioni a rotellatura molto ariose sulla porzione superiore della parete, in prossimità dell'orlo, ed eventuali impressioni di gemme sul fondo interno (Jorio 2002: Tav. 1.2). Il modello, affine al piatto Dragendorff 32, si colloca tra la fine del II e il III secolo d.C.: il limite cronologico inferiore sembrerebbe dato da due monete di Traiano presenti nella sepoltura n. 82 di Salò (Massa 1997: scheda 22 - Tb. 82).

La quarta forma identificata è il piatto con orlo a tesa e labbro triangolare rialzato (**fig. 2, 4.1**) o pendente (**fig. 2, 4.2**) e vasca con pareti rettilinee carenate. Gli esemplari noti fino ad oggi presentano spesso una decorazione a rotella più o meno curata sulla tesa e scanalature concentriche sul fondo interno. La forma è simile al tipo Dragendorff 36, sebbene quest'ultima abbia un orlo estroflesso pendente e arcuato. Somiglianze tra il tipo 4.1 si segnalano anche con i tipi *Conspectus* 40/41/42 in Tardo Padana, dai quali potrebbe essere verosimilmente un'evoluzione. La datazione al pieno III d.C. sembra confermata da tutti i siti presi in esame ed in particolar modo dal reperto della sepoltura di Cloz ove compare in associazione con una Hayes 44 in Africana C, inquadrabile nel terzo quarto del III secolo d.C. (Endrizzi 2000: 176).

Il quinto tipo di piatto ha una bassa vasca emisferica ed orlo esoverso pendente (**fig. 2, 5**), simile alla forma Dragendorff 36 e *Conspectus 39* in Tardo Padana. La forma è riconducibile ai tipi Jorio 5 e 13 (2002: 325-326). A differenza degli esemplari in Tardo Padana i piatti più recenti sono privi di decorazione sull'orlo, ma presentano occasionalmente stampiglie di gemme impresse sul fondo interno (Amigoni 2004: t. 10 n. 3). I principali contesti di riferimento per un inquadramento cronologico della forma a partire dalla fine del II secolo d.C. sono le sepolture n. 10 di Manerba del Garda (Amigoni 2004: 32, 47-48) e n. 107 e n. 117 di Salò (Massa 1997: scheda 15 - Tb. 48; scheda 30 - Tb. 107) ove questo piatto compare in associazione con monete di Adriano e Settimio Severo. L'ultimo tipo di piatto/coppa presenta un breve orlo estroflesso pendente e vasca con pareti rettilinee svasate o troncoconiche (**fig. 2, 6**) affini al tipo Dragendorff 31 e corrispondenti al tipo Jorio 7 (2002: 325-326). Si tratta di una forma largamente diffusa in ambito lombardo e veneto per la quale pare possibile riconoscere almeno un centro produttivo sito in via Platina a Cremona. La forma, per tale motivo, è comunemente denominata anche "Dragendorff 31 variante Cremona" e si colloca cronologicamente tra i decenni centrali del II e il III secolo d.C. come documentano i dati monetali delle necropoli di Salò (Massa 1997: schede 32, 33, 38, 41 - Tb. 21, 22, 92 e 105) e gli altri numerosi siti di rinvenimento. A una datazione poco più precoce rimanda, invece, il materiale rinvenuto nella fornace 5 di via Montona a Padova, databile tra gli inizi e la metà del II secolo d.C. (si vede infra).

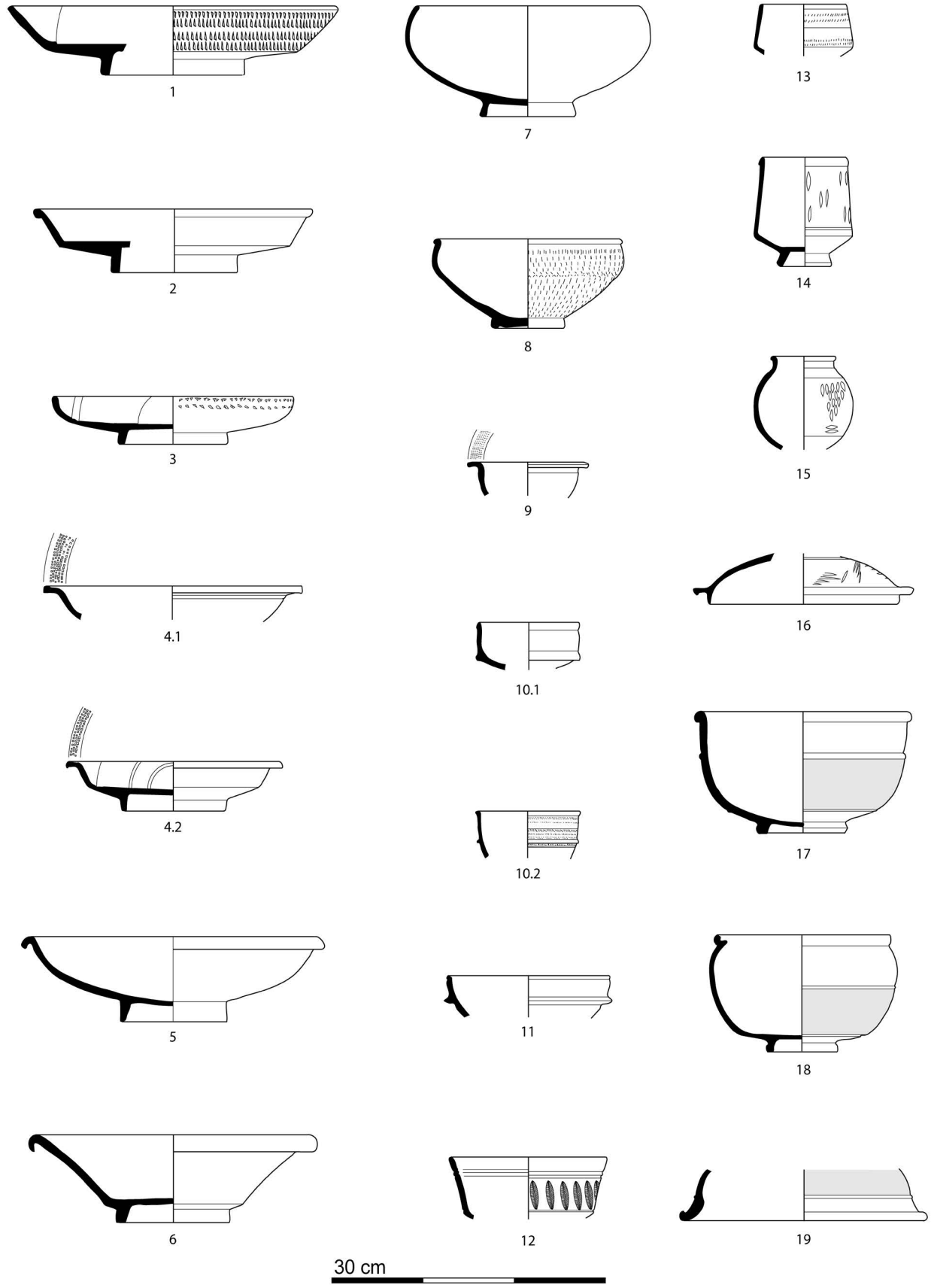


Fig. 2. *Produzione liscia*: 1) forma 1, 2) forma 2; 3) forma 3, 4.1) forma 4.1 4.2) forma 4.2; 5) forma 5; 6) forma 6; 7) forma 7; 8) forma 8; 9) forma 9; 10.1) forma 10.1; 10.2) forma 10.2; 11) forma 11; 12) forma 12; 13) forma 13; 14) forma 14; 15) forma 15; 16) forma 16. *Produzione decorata a matrice*: 17) forma 17; 18) forma 18; 19) forma 19. Rielaborazione grafica di V. Mantovani.

Coppe

Le coppe attestate nella produzione liscia medio-imperiale possono essere inquadrate in almeno sei forme.

La prima, con vasca emisferica ed orlo introflesso (**fig. 2, 7**; **fig. 3, 5-6**), è presente in diverse varianti che combinano pareti più o meno profonde con orli più o meno rientranti e moduli di medie o modeste dimensioni. Viene collocata ancora in via Platina a Cremona una delle officine che l'ha prodotta tra la seconda metà II e il III secolo d.C. La forma, che corrisponde al tipo Jorio 10 (2002: III.6-8), risulta ampiamente diffusa anche in ambito padano ove è solitamente priva di decorazioni, fatta eccezione per l'esemplare di Calvatone che presenta tre giri di rotella sulla parete esterna (Cerri 1991: Tav. 5.7) e la coppa patavina con palmetta impressa sul fondo interno (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: Tav. 30.6). In merito alle similitudini morfologiche, gli studi che si sono occupati dei rinvenimenti cremonesi evidenziano affinità con il tipo Goudineau 21 e Lamboglia 8=Hayes 14/17 in Africana A (Amadori 1996). La forma è attestata anche tra i materiali della fornace 5 di via Montona, a Padova, ove è datata tra gli inizi e metà del II secolo d.C. (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: 145 e 153, Tav. 30.15-17).

Il secondo tipo di coppa ha orlo distinto ingrossato e pareti arrotondate leggermente carenate (**fig. 2, 8**) decorate da una rotellatura che copre tutta la superficie esterna, ad eccezione di un esemplare veronese decorato a barbottina (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXIII.4). Anche questa forma, corrispondente a Jorio 11 (2002: 326), è ben attestata in ambito padano in contesti di II e III secolo d.C. come ad esempio Montegrotto, il *Capitolium* di Brescia e Arcole, mentre alla prima metà del II secolo d.C. rimandano ancora una volta i materiali della fornace 5 di via Montona a Padova.

La terza coppa ha orlo a tesa leggermente ricurvo o orizzontale, vasca emisferica e moduli sempre abbastanza piccoli (**fig. 2, 9**). Negli esemplari editi la parte superiore dell'orlo presenta sempre una decorazione a rotella. La forma, riconducibile al tipo Jorio 14 (2002: 326) ricorda molto la *Conspectus* 44 in Tardo Padana e la coppa Hayes 44 in Africana C. L'esemplare di Riva del Garda viene datato tra la fine del II e gli inizi del III secolo d.C., mentre le restanti attestazioni si spostano, sulla base della datazione dei contesti, più verso il pieno III, giungendo almeno fino al IV o addirittura V secolo d.C.

Il quarto tipo di coppetta ha un orlo distinto ingrossato e vasca emisferica con listello orizzontale mediano (**fig. 2, 10.1-2**). La forma è discretamente attestata nei principali contesti di II e III secolo d.C. in numerose varianti, motivo per cui qui si è scelto di distinguere tra un primo tipo, un piccolo modulo con orlo ingrossato, listello tozzo e privo di decorazione (**fig. 2, 10.1**; **fig. 3, 1**) (Jorio 1999: XXX.4), ed un secondo con orlo distinto appiattito superiormente, pareti più sottili e vasca poco profonda; la superficie tra l'orlo e il listello, più snello del precedente, risulta solitamente decorata a rotellatura (**fig. 2, 10.2**) (Jorio 1999: XXX.5). Numerose sono le similitudini con le coeve forme della produzione della sigillata di Çandarlı (forma L. 19), soprattutto per il primo tipo, privo di decorazioni e con vasca più ampia. Questa coppa ricorda anche il modello *Conspectus* 34 in Tardo Padana e la Dragendorff 44.

La successiva forma presenta un modulo più grande ed aperto rispetto alla precedente, l'orlo è distinto ma non ingrossato e il listello più aggettante, modanato e leggermente rivolto verso l'alto (**fig. 2, 11**) (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXII.7). Il modello richiama ancora una volta le forme L. 19 della sigillata di Çandarlı e la Dragendorff 38 e 44. Anche questa è una coppa discretamente attestata in ambito padano tra gli inizi o la metà del II secolo d.C. – come testimoniato dall'asse di Marco Aurelio Cesare in una sepoltura di Salò (Massa 1997: Scheda 41 - Tb. 105) – e il III d.C. Gli esemplari editi sono sempre privi di decorazione.

La sesta coppa ha orlo indistinto, pareti rettilinee esoverse e carenate (**fig. 2, 12**) (Arzone et al. 2011: fig. 34.4). Tipici della forma sono due solchi paralleli che corrono ai due terzi dell'altezza della parete esterna, ripresi anche nella porzione interna della vasca, alla medesima altezza, ed una scanalatura in prossimità della carena esterna. Nella porzione della parete esterna inscritta tra queste due fasce di scanalature è quasi sempre presente un giro di palmette verticali impresse o, meno frequentemente, una decorazione a rotellature (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: Tav. 30.12) o impressioni circolari come nel pezzo di Vicenza (Corte dei Bissari, inedito, in corso di studio). Le palmette sono molto affusolate e presentano sempre una dettagliata scansione delle venature interne. La Gabucci propone per questa forma similitudini con il tipo Desbat 20-23 in sigillata Clair B (Arzone et al. 2011: 77-78), ma sono evidenti anche similitudini con alcuni tipi pannonici (per esempio Sa/Su 1, Berger-Pavic 2022: 151, taf. 17) e la sigillata di Sagalassos (SRSW 1A161). Per quanto concerne la cronologia, gli esemplari dalla fornace 5 di via Montona a Padova sono datati tra gli inizi e la metà del II secolo d.C. (si rimanda al secondo paragrafo), mentre per l'esemplare di Arcole è proposta una datazione compresa tra la metà del II e la metà del III secolo d.C. anche sulla scorta delle similitudini morfologiche segnalate nella pubblicazione.

Bicchieri

Tre sono le principali forme potorie identificate con chiarezza.

Il primo tipo è un bicchiere-tazza carenato con orlo indistinto e pareti verticali o leggermente rastremate verso l'interno decorato esternamente con una o più fasce, spesso irregolari, di rotellature (**fig. 2, 13**) (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXIII.10) corrispondente alla forma 16 della classificazione della Jorio (2002: 326-327). I contesti editi datano i bicchieri tra il III ed il IV d.C. (Jorio 2002: 326-327).

Il secondo tipo di bicchiere ha orlo distinto triangolare o bipartito esternamente da un solco e corpo cilindrico carenato leggermente rastremato verso l'alto (**fig. 2, 14**). La forma è tipicamente decorata con excisioni semplici (Jorio 2002: 326, Tav. IV-6, 8-9) o con decorazione alla barbottina come accade sugli esemplari di Calvatone (Cerri 1991: 151, 164), Breno (Jorio 2010: 314-315, Tav. III.5-6) e Verona (Morandini 2008: 337, Tav. XXIII.5-7 e 9). La datazione proposta per la forma, corrispondente al tipo Jorio 15 (2002: 326) va dalla fine del I-II d.C. per l'esemplare di Calvatone, fino al tardo III-IV d.C. per i pezzi del *Capitolium* di Brescia. Il tipo trova un'assonanza con la forma Symonds 15 della produzione

metallescente di Treviri, considerato una derivazione dal modello gallico della Dragendorff 30 di pieno III secolo, nonché col coevo vaso vitreo Isings 108.

Il terzo bicchiere ha orlo estroflesso, breve collo troncoconico e corpo globulare (**fig. 2, 15**) (Jorio 2002: Tav. V.1-2). Gli esemplari noti possono presentare decorazione excisa e rotellatura e vengono inquadrati tra la seconda metà del II e il III d.C. La forma è del tutto analoga al bicchiere Dechelette 72=Bet 102=Ludowici V della sigillata di Lezoux e Symonds 2 della produzione metallescente di Treviri. Con gli atelier gallici, e in particolare con la tradizione di Lezoux, ha in comune anche l'utilizzo della decorazione excisa, ampiamente diffusa a partire dalla fine del II-III secolo d.C. Bicchieri gallici Dechelette 72 con decorazione excisa dovevano certamente circolare in ambito italico padano, come testimonia lo splendido esemplare di Pioltello (Bordigone 2016). D'altro canto, l'iscrizione graffita (*ramo di palma*) BIBE[---] sul bicchiere in sigillata padana del *Capitolium* di Brescia (Jorio 2002: Tav. V.1; Portulano 2002: Tav. III.6), richiama le tipiche iscrizioni acclamatorie dipinte con barbottina bianca sui bicchieri in ceramica metallescente di Treviri tipici della metà del III sec d.C., documentati seppure con scarse attestazioni in ambito padano (Mantovani 2022). È quindi verosimile presupporre che gli esemplari di produzione padana riconducibili al nostro terzo tipo di bicchiere possano essere coevi o di poco successivi ai manufatti gallici, databili tra la metà e la seconda metà del III secolo d.C.

Coperchi

Tra le forme della produzione liscia si annoverano almeno due esemplari di coperchio con orlo indistinto, listello orizzontale con labbro pendente e vasca troncoconica molto aperta della quale non si conosce lo sviluppo della porzione superiore e del pomello (**fig. 2, 16**). Gli esemplari corrispondono alla forma 23 della Jorio (2002: Tav. VI.8). La parete esterna è decorata con excisioni comprese tra due fasce di rotellature nell'esemplare bresciano, mentre il coperchio rinvenuto ad Aquileia ha la sola excisione. La Jorio segnala la somiglianza con il tipo Lamboglia 20/Hayes 20 in Africana A, forma prodotta tra la fine del I/inizio II e la fine del II secolo d.C., secondo le datazioni fornite dai contesti ostiensi (Jorio 2002: 328).

Produzione decorata a matrice

Coppe

La prima è una coppa orlo distinto ingrossato e vasca sub-emisferica (**fig. 2, 17**) (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: Tav. 2.1, 4 e 6; 3.19 e 24). La parete esterna è delimitata superiormente e inferiormente da due cordonature o in alcuni casi da solchi che delimitano una fascia centrale entro la quale si sviluppa la decorazione ottenuta mediante modellazione a matrice, così come avveniva per la sigillata italica di prima età imperiale e le più recenti produzioni della Gallia. Le decorazioni hanno un ornato semplice costituito tramite la giustapposizione di punzoni fito/zoomorfi, che compongono teorie di animali terrestri e marini, *venationes* e fregi realizzati da foglie, fiori e tralci di vite. La forma è del tutto simile al tipo Dragendorff 37 della produzione gallica, modello ripreso anche nella coeva produzione a matrice pannonica. I siti di rinvenimento ed i confronti con le contemporanee produzioni d'oltralpe collocano la forma tra metà/fine II secolo d.C. e il III d.C. Importante caposaldo cronologico è ad oggi il rinvenimento di una coppa del tipo 17 tra i materiali dell'incendio che interessò il foro di Aguntum, evento datato con C14 alla metà del III d.C. (Auer 2018: 106; Auer e Rabitsch 2024 in questo volume). Questo manufatto è di rilevante importanza anche per la comprensione del fenomeno produttivo e distributivo padano: trattasi infatti di un esemplare decorato con la medesima composizione e soggetti presenti su esemplari rinvenuti a Brescia, Verona e Aquileia (Mantovani e Stuani 2020; Auer e Rabitsch 2024 in questo volume).

Il secondo tipo di coppa ha un orlo a fascia caratterizzato da una risega interna per l'alloggio del coperchio e corpo globulare (**fig. 2, 18**) (Maselli Scotti 2008: Tav. II.1-6). La forma riprende, almeno per la parte inferiore del corpo il modello della Dragendorff 37, compresa la fascia decorata a matrice con i medesimi soggetti del tipo precedente, mentre lo sviluppo superiore dell'orlo sembra una novità introdotta dalle officine padane. La Scotti ipotizza che la forma possa essere stata prodotta in ambito alto-adriatico, come confermerebbero le analisi condotte su alcuni campioni aquileiesi e triestini (Maselli Scotti 2008: 310), tra il II e gli inizi del III d.C.

Coperchi

Alla produzione decorata a matrice afferisce anche un tipo di coperchio con orlo estroflesso ingrossato e vasca sub-emisferica aperta (**fig. 2, 19**) (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: Tav. 4.30-31). I tre esemplari noti presentano un diametro all'orlo compreso tra i 27 e 21 cm. La decorazione a matrice è posta al di sopra della cordonatura che borda superiormente l'orlo, mentre non si conosce lo sviluppo della forma a partire dalla porzione superiore della vasca. L'attribuzione del tipo 19 alla funzione di coperchio è data dall'orientamento della decorazione figurata (soprattutto piccoli canidi e galli) che altrimenti risulterebbero capovolti con le zampe all'aria. La datazione generica di questi manufatti, che si presume potessero essere utilizzati insieme alle coppe con risega interna per alloggiamento del coperchio, è compresa tra la metà/fine II e il III secolo d.C. Va segnalato, a tal proposito, che la datazione proposta per l'esemplare di Corte Cavanella al II secolo d.C. (D'Abruzzo 1986: 242, Fig. 3.11) non è data dal contesto bensì dalla somiglianza con forme galliche, in un momento in cui la produzione padana di media età imperiale non era stata definita ed inquadrata dal punto di vista morfologico e cronologico.

Decorazioni

La decorazione più comune è la rotellatura che può essere utilizzata per coprire per intero o solo parzialmente le superfici esterne, come nelle forme nn. 1, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15 e 16 o adornare le porzioni superiori di orli a tesa (forme 4 e 9). La fattura

della decorazione varia da dentellature molto strette ed impresse con mano decisa sulla superficie o dentellature più rade e circoscritte a poche file che assumono più le sembianze di picchettature, come nella forma 3.

La rotellatura può comparire in associazione con le stampiglie a forma di palmetta. Di questo tipo di decorazione si conoscono almeno due principali varianti.

La prima con grande foglia slanciata su cui si legge una dettagliata e fitta scansione delle venature che viene apposta sia sulle superfici esterne – come nell'esempio della forma 12, l'unica ad oggi a documentare l'impiego esterno di impressioni – sia sul fondo interno di piatti e coppe. In questo caso le palmette del primo tipo compaiono singole o in coppia, come sugli esemplari patavini (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: 153, Tav. 29.9, Tav. 30.16 e Fig. 98) (**fig. 3, 8**).

Il secondo tipo di palmette è più piccolo e semplificato con forma meno sinuosa e venature interne meno fitte. Queste stampiglie compaiono esclusivamente sui fondi interni di piatti spesso frammentari (Jorio 1999: Tav. CXLII.1-2; Jorio 2002: Tav. IX.14; Morandini 2008: Tav. XXVI.5-9) (**fig. 3, 1**), ma forse riconducibili almeno in parte al piatto di forma 1, come documenta l'esemplare milanese edito da Airoldi (2007: Tav. 1.1, altre palmette a Fig. 3, 3a, 3d).

Le palmette, in particolar modo quelle del primo tipo, richiamano alcune coeve stampiglie e punzoni peculiari della *Pannonische Glanztonware* in auge nel corso del II d.C. e diffuse nei territori di *Aquincum*, Teurnia, *Vindobona* e *Carnuntum* (Berger-Pavic 2022: taf. 9 palmette 1-18; taf. 17, 19). Da questi modelli potrebbe derivare una contaminazione più o meno diretta sia in virtù della conoscenza da parte delle genti padane di prodotti pannonici (Dobreva e Mantovani 2017), sia dal possibile passaggio di manodopera straniera nella valle Padana.

Sul fondo interno dei piatti possono essere impresse anche delle gemme in posizione centrale o plurima, sia allineate che disposte a croce (**fig. 3, 2-3**). Queste tipologie di impressioni ben documentate in area padana – ne sono noti almeno 120 esemplari – compaiono sui piatti del tipo 1 (Endrizzi 2000), 2 (Cerri 1991: Tav. VI.3), 3 (Jorio 2002: Tav. I.2), 4 (Jorio 2002, Tav. II.7-8) e 5 (Amigoni 2004: Tomba 10.1) e più genericamente su frammenti di fondi di forme non determinabili (Jorio 1999: Tav. XXX.11-12, Tav. CXLI.5-6, Tav. CXLII.3-5; Jorio 2002: Tav. VIII.1-9, Tav. II.10-13; Airoldi 2007: Tav. 1.1, 2, 4; Volontè 2002: Fig. 1-25; Morandini 2008: Tav. XXIV.1-5, XXV.1-2, XXVI.1-3). L'analisi dei pezzi editi ha evidenziato come i motivi fossero ottenuti tramite l'impressione di gemme libere o già montate su anelli dei quali si conservano tracce dei castoni impressi nell'argilla, come negli esemplari di Verona e Calvatone (Morandini 2008: 339; Sena Chiesa 2002: 32), ma non si esclude anche l'utilizzo di specifici punzoni (Sena Chiesa 2002: 34; Volontè 2002: Fig. 24).



Fig. 3. 1) Fondo di patera con impressioni di palmetta da Milano (da Airoldi 2007: Fig. 2) fondo di patera con impressioni gemme da Milano (da Airoldi 2007: Fig. 4); 3) di patera con impressioni gemme da Milano (da Airoldi 2007: Fig. 1); 4) frammento di coppa del tipo 10.1 da Aquileia (da Donat and Maggi 2017: Fig. 37); 5-6) frammenti di orli di coppa del tipo 7 (da Donat and Maggi 2017: Fig. 36); 7) frammento di coppa decorata a matrice tipo 17 da Verona (su concessione della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le provincie di Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza; foto di V. Mantovani); 8) fondo di patera con doppia impressione di palmetta da Padova (da Cipriano and Mazzocchin 2007: Fig. 98).

I soggetti scelti ed utilizzati spaziano dall'ambito campestre, bucolico e marino a divinità, tra cui Vittoria, Fortuna, Marte, Minerva, Giove, Mercurio. La presenza di queste impression su forme medio-imperiali, rinvenute soprattutto nell'area di Brescia, Verona e Calvatone, consente di datare questo peculiare tipo di decorazione, che trova al momento un possibile confronto solo con la tarda produzione ispanica de Los Villarese di Andujar, tra il II-III secolo d.C. (Morandini 2008: 339 e bibliografia precedente; per un raffronto tra la produzione padana e quella di Andujar e tra le impressioni tardo-repubblicane/augustee e quelle medio-imperiali si veda: Stuani e Lepri: 2015).

Il terzo tipo di decorazione utilizzata è l'excisione: ad oggi è attestata sulle forme 14 (Jorio 1999: Tav. XXX.11; 2002: Tav. IV.5-6, 8; Favaro 1996: 269), 15 (Jorio 2002: Tav. V.2) e 16 (Jorio 2002: Tav. V.8) di Brescia e Aquileia. La tecnica era nota ai vasai gallo-romani già nel periodo iniziale della produzione di sigillata, ma è a partire dalla fine del II d.C. che l'excisione risulta comune negli *ateliers* della Gallia centrale e in particolare in quelli di Lezoux, divenendo un elemento caratterizzante dei prodotti di III sec d.C. La tecnica era impiegata anche sul vasellame vitreo coevo alle produzioni galliche. È con ogni probabilità che questi due nuclei produttivi siano stati il bacino di approvvigionamento da cui i vasai padani hanno tratto spunto per l'intaglio di composizione di losanghe sui reperti prodotti nelle loro officine. Vasellame in argilla e in vetro decorato con questa tecnica era d'altronde noto in Italia settentrionale, come testimoniano i rinvenimenti di Pioltello (Bordigone 2016) e le numerose attestazioni di vasi vitrei incisi in area padana (Paolucci 1997).

La decorazione a barbottina è sicuramente la tecnica meno impiegata e attualmente circoscritta alla forma 8 (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXIII.4) e 14 (Cerri 1991: Tav. II.1, Tav. V.3; Jorio 1999: Tav. CXLI.1-4; Morandini 2008: Tav. XXIII.1.3). Il soggetto pare sempre il medesimo e combina catene di perle a tratti sinuosi e foglie d'acqua.

L'ultimo tipo di decorazione è la modellazione entro matrice. La tecnica già ampiamente impiegata per la produzione di terra sigillata aretina e padana di prima età imperiale, è qui ripresa, forse sotto la spinta della più recente moda gallica che vede i suoi prodotti esportati in tutto l'impero romano. La decorazione a matrice è impiegata per la foggiatura delle forme 17, 18 e 19 (Mantovani e Stuani 2020 e precedente bibliografia) e prevede l'utilizzo di calchi in argilla conformati a scodella nelle cui pareti interne vengono punzonati in negativo gli elementi che andranno a comporre il soggetto finale (**fig. 3, 7**). Ad oggi non sono note matrici per la produzione della sigillata padana medio-imperiale. I temi scelti dagli artigiani nord-italici hanno carattere puramente decorativo e mai narrativo e prediligono foglie, fiori o tralci di foglie di vite, le teorie di animali affrontati o lanciati in corsa, *venationes* e composizioni di animali marini. Estremamente labili sembrano i punti di contatto tra questi repertori decorativi e la sigillata decorata tardo-italica della quale sembra essersi persa memoria morfologica. Richiami più evidenti si hanno con il mondo gallico, sebbene la scelta dei soggetti sconfini spesso in ambiti iconografici diversi rispetto alla produzione ceramica, come nel caso delle coppe con animali marini o quelle dei filosofi di Brescia e Verona (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: Fig. 2.1, Fig. 3.25).

Bolli e firme

Pochi sono, infine, gli esemplari recanti marchi apposti sul fondo interno (**tab. 2**).

A Verona sono noti due bolli in *pl. pedis* di cui uno solo parzialmente leggibile [---]V (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXVII.2-2) e uno sub-rettangolare illeggibile (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXVII.3).

A Brescia il panorama è pressoché il medesimo con un *pl. pedis* illeggibile, uno anepigrafe e due entro cartiglio ovoidale riportanti entrambi il marchio MAXIM/IANI ripetuto due volte su ciascun esemplare (Jorio 2002: Tav. IX.15-17).

Nei livelli della fornace 5 di via Montona a Padova sono attestati tre fondi di piatti, probabilmente riconducibili alla forma 6, recanti il marchio M·P·P in *pl. pedis*. Gli esemplari sono datati tra la gli inizi e la metà del II secolo d.C. (fornace 5, fase 3, Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: 151-153; per la cronologia si rimanda al secondo paragrafo).

Due bolli con tria nomina sono attestati anche nella necropoli di Riva del Garda: il primo riporta Q·N·P in *pl. pedis* su un piatto n. 6 (Oberosler 2007: tomba 94), mentre il secondo Q·M [-] in *pl. pedis*, anch'esso in un piatto n. 6 (Oberosler 2007: tomba 94).

A Calvatone sono noti almeno quattro bolli in *pl. pedis* dei quali ne resta parzialmente leggibile uno solo C[---]F (Cerri 1991: nn. 14-17), mentre il gruppo più numeroso è quello del Lugone di Salò, con ventitré esemplari bollati. Si tratta di undici piatti del tipo 6 (simile a Dragendorff 31), quattro del tipo 5 (simile a Dragendorff 36), tre del tipo 2, uno del tipo 4 e uno del tipo 1 sui quali sono attestati ventitré marchi in *pl. pedis* (di cui quattro illeggibili) e due dalla forma indeterminabile e illeggibile: CAIVS (Massa 1997: tomba 18), L·C·B (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico), D·I·V (Massa 1997: tomba 22), FL·CNAE (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico), GAIVS e foglia d'edera (Massa 1997: tomba 117 e sporadico), G[A]IVS (Massa 1997: tomba 108), FL[---]·M (Massa 1997: tomba 58), M[---] (Massa 1997: tomba 91), Q·M·M (Massa 1997: tomba 48), [---]NP[---] (Massa 1997: tomba 105), P·PAN (Massa 1997: tomba 21), Q[---] (Massa 1997: tomba 21), LTC (Massa 1997: tomba 92), L·T·V (Massa 1997: tomba 83), V·T [-] (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico), e QVI·L (Massa 1997: tomba 109). Le sepolture in oggetto sono datate con i *post quem* delle monete dei corredi riferibili ad Adriano (A. 119-138 d.C., nelle tombe 21 e 22), di M. Aurelio Cesare (D. 159-160 d.C., nella tomba 105), di Faustina iunior (S. 161-176 d.C., nella tomba 92) e di Settimio Severo (S. 194-198 d.C., in tomba 117).

Nella produzione decorata sono ad oggi due le firme conservatesi su esemplari di coppe del tipo 17: la prima è attestata su esemplare veronese e reca l'iscrizione […] FELIX[…] nella fascia che delimita i due registri decorativi della vasca, manoscritta a lettere libere tracciate probabilmente alla barbottina (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: 175, Fig. 4,28). La seconda è stata rinvenuta nello scavo via Cantore sempre a Verona e reca la firma [---]ERME entro cartiglio rettangolare (Morandini 2000: 171, Tav. II.11).

Bollo/Firma	Cartiglio	Forma	Bibliografia
[---]V	*pl. pedis*	patera n.d.	Verona, *Capitolium* (Morandini 2008: Tav. XXVII.2-2)
illeggibile	sub-rettangolare	patera n.d.	Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: Tav. IX.16)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	patera n.d.	Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: Tav. IX.17)
MAXIM/IANI	ovoidale	patera n.d.	Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: Tav. IX.15)
MAXIM/IANI	ovoidale	patera n.d.	Brescia, *Capitolium* (Jorio 2002: 331)
M·P·P	*pl. pedis*	patera n. 6?	Padova, via Montona (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: Tav. 29.6)
M·P·P	*pl. pedis*	patera n. 6?	Padova, via Montona (Cipriano eMazzocchin 2007: Tav. 29.7)
M·P·P	*pl. pedis*	patera n. 6?	Padova, via Montona (Cipriano e Mazzocchin 2007: Tav. 29.8)
Q·N·P	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Riva del Garda, necropoli S. Cassiano (Oberosler 2007: tomba 94)
Q·M [-]	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Riva del Garda, necropoli S. Cassiano (Oberosler 2007: tomba 94)
C[---]F	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 5	Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 166, n. 17)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 4	Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 165, n. 14)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 165, n. 15)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 1	Calvatone (CR) (Cerri 1991: 165, n. 16)
CAIVS	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 18)
L·C·B	*pl. pedis*	n.d.	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico)
D·I·V	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 22)
FL·CNAE	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 2?	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico)
GAIVS e foglia d'edera	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 5	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 117)
GAIVS e foglia d'edera	*pl. pedis*	n.d.	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico)
G[A]IVS	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 4	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 108)
FL[---]·M	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 58)
M[---]	*pl. pedis*	n.d.	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 91)
Q·M·M	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 5	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 48)
[---]NP[---]	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 105)
P·PAN	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 21)
Q[---]	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 21)
LTC	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 92)
L·T·V	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 83)
V·T [-]	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: 99, sporadico)
QVI·L	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 109)
illeggibile	indeterminabile	piatto n. 2?	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 128)
illeggibile	indeterminabile	piatto n.5	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 117)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 5	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 48)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 1	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 25)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 2?	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 128)
illeggibile	*pl. pedis*	piatto n. 6	Salò, necropoli del Lugone (BS) (Massa 1997: tomba 97)
[…]FELIX[…]	-	coppa n. 17	Verona, Seminario vescovile (Mantovani e Stuani 2020: Fig. 4,28)
[---]ERME	rettangolare	coppa n. 17	Verona, via Cantore (Morandini 2000: Tav. II.11)

Tab. 2. Marchi di fabbrica e firme noti sulla produzione di terra sigillata padana di media età imperiale.

Considerazioni

Il riordino tipologico operato ha consentito di chiarire parzialmente il panorama morfologico e cronologico di alcune forme della produzione medio-imperiale localizzata nell'area centro/orientale della Padana, i cui limiti cronologici sono generalmente inquadrabili tra la metà del II e la fine del III secolo d.C., anche se i margini superiori delle datazioni tendono a sfumare in maniera non uniforme nel IV secolo d.C.

Si tratta di una produzione originale che in parte accoglie e rielabora le forme e le decorazioni dal vasellame ceramico e non solo circolante sui mercati nella media età imperiale: vari sono in particolare i punti di contatto con le coeve manifatture galliche e renane i cui prodotti tra il II e il III secolo d.C. sono documentati sia nel nord Italia che lungo il *limes* danubiano.

Da questo punto in poi solo future ricerche potranno apportare nuovi elementi di conoscenza della classe. Non è sufficiente infatti un riesame ordinato dei dati editi per poter dare risposta alle questioni ancora aperte: la definizione cronologica delle forme e della produzione dipenderà dall'affidabilità dei contesti dei futuri rinvenimenti e forse da un riesame del materiale edito e soprattutto inedito. Una campagna di analisi archeometriche su campioni selezionati da diversi siti e sulle due principali tecniche di lavorazione potrebbe invece portare a identificare i bacini di approvvigionamento delle argille, oltre a relazionare la produzione liscia con quella decorata a matrice.

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IMPORTAZIONI DI CERAMICHE FINI ORIENTALI AD AQUILEIA. NUOVI DATI DALLE COLLEZIONI STORICHE DEL MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. II: LA CERAMICA E LE LUCERNE PLASTICHE DI PRODUZIONE CNIDIA E ALTRE PRODUZIONI MICROASIATICHE

The thorough examination of fine Oriental ceramics in the historical collections of the National Archaeological Museum of Aquileia, previously conducted regarding Eastern sigillata and Corinthian relief ware in RCRF 46 (Ventura e Maggi 2020), has now been completed. This review encompasses Knidian relief ware, along with other productions from Asia Minor (primarily from Pergamon), and fragments of ceramic lamps from the same region.
The pottery collection (51 specimens) comprises both closed forms (such as oinophoroi *or other cylindrical jugs,* pelikai *and amphorae) and open ones (like* lagynoi *and* phialai*), as well as a wide array of plastic vessels (including anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and phallic examples). The lamp collection (19 specimens) includes anthropomorphic or zoomorphic lamps in addition to horse's head ends of the volutes of Broneer XXI lamps and curved handles, sometimes with grooves, terminating in animal heads.*

Aquileia – Knidian relief ware – Asia Minor relief ware – Knidian and microasiatic lamps – trade

1. Premessa

Il presente contributo intende completare la presentazione delle ceramiche fini orientali facenti parte delle collezioni storiche del Museo di Aquileia, avviata in occasione del Congresso di Cluj Napoca nel 2018 al fine di aggiornare le conoscenze riguardo a sigillata orientale, ceramica corinzia e ceramica cnidia; in sede di pubblicazione degli atti si era scelto di trattare solo le prime due classi, rinviando l'edizione dei materiali pertinenti alla terza, per la quale il riordino dei magazzini museali nel frattempo intervenuto aveva portato a un esponenziale incremento delle testimonianze, imponendo una selezione (Ventura e Maggi 2020: 158). Più in dettaglio, se già nel 2018 era stato possibile rivalutare il corpus "storico" delle produzioni cnidie dai 16 esemplari fino a quel momento individuati (23, includendo quelli da scavi più recenti, lucerne comprese) ad almeno 35, ad oggi esso assomma ad almeno una cinquantina di reperti (**Tab. 1**). Va precisato che nel computo sono inclusi anche alcuni vasi a rilievo per i quali appare più probabile una provenienza da altre fabbriche microasiatiche, talvolta indiziata da confronti tipologici e iconografici, ma resta impossibile un'assegnazione certa in assenza di determinazioni archeometriche.

Sono inoltre inseriti nella trattazione una ventina di pezzi ascrivibili a lucerne a matrice o a parti plastiche di lucerne a tornio riferibili al medesimo ambito produttivo; a volte il loro stato molto frammentario non consente di stabilire se si tratti di vasellame o di suppellettile da illuminazione. Tali reperti non compaiono nel catalogo complessivo delle lucerne di età repubblicana ed imperiale di E. Di Filippo Balestrazzi, che tratta un numero limitato di lucerne a serbatoio configurato di tradizione ellenistica, non riconducibili però ad ambito cnidio (Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1988: I, 443-448, esemplari attribuiti a produzioni diversificate).

Infine, va rimarcato che spesso questo materiale, specie se mutilo, è stato erroneamente attribuito alla coroplastica; pertanto non è da escludere la possibilità che altri esemplari, ancora confusi nei depositi, siano sfuggiti anche all'attuale ricognizione.

2. Lo stato delle conoscenze

Come già segnalato in generale per il vasellame a rilievo di produzione orientale (Ventura e Maggi 2020: 158; cfr. inoltre Buora e Magnani 2016: 411; Dobreva e Griggio 2021: 253), le più antiche registrazioni di ceramica cnidia, negli inventari del Museo e nelle notizie degli scavi, non recano l'identificazione della classe: così i due (ma quasi certamente tre) frammenti citati da G. B. Brusin nelle pubblicazioni degli scavi da lui condotti nel porto fluviale (Brusin 1934: 129, n. 1, fig. 73 = qui **Tab. 1, n. 13**) e nella necropoli detta dell'Annia (Brusin 1941: 50, fig. 26: "fondo di padella", ovvero *phiale* = **n. 28**; "manico di padella a testa equina" = **n. 35**). Dopo il riconoscimento di tre recipienti (un *oinophoros*, una *pelike* e un'anforetta) dalle vecchie collezioni da parte di E. Bónis negli anni '50 (Bónis 1952: rispettivamente 24 n. 6, 25 fig. 6, tav. II, 5 = **n. 1**; 24 n. 8, 25 fig. 8 = **n. 3**; 23 n. 3, 25 fig. 3, tav. I, 3a-b = **n. 7**), pure la brocca edita da Brusin nel 1934 viene ricondotta alla medesima produzione da parte di U. Hausmann, che la utilizza come confronto (Hausmann 1958: 270, Taf. 49, 1). Lo stesso Brusin, invece, ripresenta con maggiore completezza due pezzi dalle raccolte storiche dei tre già editi da Bónis (Brusin 1960). Solo questi quattro esemplari di forme chiuse sono perciò citati dagli studiosi successivi (Rohde 1962; Heimberg 1976; Bailey 1972-1973; Bailey 1979 - cfr. riferimenti specifici in **Tab. 1**), almeno fino all'identificazione da parte di J.-W. Salomonson anche

della *phiale* pubblicata da Brusin nel 1941 (Salomonson 1975; 1979). Un'isolata proposta di nuova identificazione si deve poi a F. Maselli Scotti, relativamente a "un vasetto antropomorfo a forma di testa di negro" (Maselli Scotti 1984: 69; 1988: 388), meglio definibile come parte superiore di una *lagoena* (**Tab. 1, n. 15**); la studiosa, che menziona accanto ad esso esclusivamente le tre forme chiuse più complete già note, ancora oggi le uniche esposte nell'allestimento museale, ha altresì il merito di contestualizzare la presenza di questo vasellame ad Aquileia nel quadro delle altre produzioni d'importazione.

Una ricognizione dei depositi viene finalmente condotta da U. Mandel per la sua pubblicazione complessiva della classe (Mandel 1988): nell'opera sono elencati 11 esemplari aquileiesi (inclusi i 5 già accertati), purtroppo in nessun caso con il supporto di disegno o fotografia e generalmente senza l'indicazione delle misure; ciò rende difficoltoso il riconoscimento dei pezzi qui per la prima volta pubblicati, di cui viene fornita solo la descrizione di impasto e vernice.

L'incertezza nell'identificazione emerge anche dalla tabella di sintesi del materiale edito prodotta nel 2016 da M. Buora e S. Magnani[1], che ne costituisce una riproposizione quasi puntuale, con l'integrazione di un ulteriore esemplare reperito nei magazzini (oggetto principale dell'articolo, qui **Tab. 1, n. 25**) e di 6 frammenti da scavi più recenti (fognature e Canale Anfora); nel contributo gli autori segnalano inoltre la presenza di "altri frammenti", ovvero quattro medaglioni di patera (in realtà tre già inclusi nella tabella, per cui solo uno da conteggiarsi in aggiunta), una *lagynos* e due contenitori cilindrici con sileno e *symplegma* (Buora e Magnani 2016: 421-422), portando quindi a 16 i pezzi delle vecchie collezioni identificati come prodotti cnidi, ma nella consapevolezza della presenza di altro materiale inedito (Buora e Magnani 2016: 413, nota 18, con rinvio alla medesima osservazione in Hayes 2008: 103, nota 3).

L'attuale censimento (**Tab. 1**) ha preso in considerazione i pezzi entrati nelle collezioni museali entro la metà del secolo scorso (inclusi gli scavi condotti da Brusin), con l'unica aggiunta (**n. 37**) di un secondo frammento proveniente dalle indagini svolte per le fognature (oltre a quello ripubblicato, con corretto inquadramento, in Buora e Magnani 2016: 411-412 e n. [17], qui non ripreso), che era sfuggito alle svariate presentazioni di quel contesto, inclusa l'ultima di sintesi (Buora 2011; Buora e Magnani 2021). A seguito della verifica autoptica di una cinquantina di esemplari (settanta con le lucerne), in un paio di casi resta dubbia – per i motivi sopra esposti – la corrispondenza con i pezzi pubblicati da Mandel e da Buora e Magnani, il che già potrebbe far salire il totale di qualche unità. Uno scarto ancora maggiore con la consistenza reale è però reso sicuro dai riscontri effettuati sui registri inventariali, come si spiegherà di seguito.

Analogamente a quanto illustrato per la ceramica corinzia (Ventura e Maggi 2020: 159), risalgono alla Raccolta Comunale i pezzi che riportano la sigla RC e/o un bollino blu/verde, solo talvolta accompagnati da un numero ancora leggibile (**nn. 7, 32, 43, 44, 46, 50, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65**). Viste le origini collezionistiche di tale raccolta e le modalità di redazione degli inventari – stilati al momento delle consegne al Museo, avvenute a più riprese –, non sono disponibili di norma dati sul rinvenimento; l'articolazione per classi consente tuttavia di individuare, a partire da numeri noti, eventuali altri reperti possibilmente ascrivibili ad esemplari simili. Nel nostro caso, se l'inv. R.C. 699 (non presente sul pezzo, ma indicato da Brusin per l'anforetta **n. 7**) non è stato riscontrato, la lettura dei numeri R.C. 191, 192, 194 e 195 sulle terminazioni di volute a testa di cavallo **nn. 64, 58, 60** e **65** ha invece trovato puntuale conferma nell'elenco della consegna del 1897, alla sezione "Anticaglie"[2]: la sequenza delle definizioni degli inv. 191-194 "teste di cavallo" e 195 "testa di bue" ci assicura della presenza almeno di un analogo inv. 193 (qui identificabile con il **n. 63**), ma destano qualche sospetto anche gli inv. 190 "testa di leone", 196 "testa di gallo", 197 "uccello", per non dire degli inv. 189 "gruppo bambino con oca" (**n. 36?**) e 198 "viso in caricatura", ed ancor più gli inv. 185-188 "figure ridicole in atteggiamento osceno", benché ovviamente non possiamo avere nessuna prova che si trattasse di produzioni a rilievo orientali e non di altri reperti accomunati solo dall'iconografia.

Riporta all'inventariazione austro-ungarica la sigla S.S. (Staatliche Sammlung), riportata accanto alle indicazioni 25a/95 e 25-b/95 su due frammenti di una stessa *lagynos* (**n. 18**) e 29/95 su un manico di *skyphos* (**n. 24**): purtroppo la deduzione che potesse trattarsi dei progressivi dell'anno 1895 (la numerazione ripartiva da 1 ogni anno) non è stata confermata dalla verifica sull'*Accessionjournal* (registro d'ingresso, spesso contenente dati utili riguardo alla provenienza), ove a quei numeri corrispondevano delle monete; si può forse quindi riproporre l'ipotesi che si trattasse di una siglatura ad uso interno (Ventura e Zulini 2012-2013: 375, nota 45, riguardo alla stessa problematica rilevata per i frammenti di sigillata africana).

Altri frammenti recano il numero della reinventariazione del primo dopoguerra, la quale ha comportato la perdita dei riferimenti al contesto, ove anche precedentemente noto (Ventura e Maggi 2020: 159), per cui i puntuali riscontri non hanno aggiunto elementi di conoscenza (**nn. 9, 15, 34, 47, 48, 57**). Anche in questo caso, però, dal controllo incrociato dei pezzi e delle descrizioni nell'inventario (spesso corredate dalle misure) è stato possibile risalire alla numerazione di numerosi altri reperti, sebbene non più conservata su di essi: è il caso dei **nn. 3, 8, 14, 26, 33, 66** e forse **19, 40, 45, 59, 61, 67** e **68**; in corrispondenza di più descrizioni potenzialmente corrispondenti si può ipotizzare la presenza di altri materiali analoghi, attualmente non reperibili, che incrementerebbero ulteriormente il corpus considerato.

A volte i pezzi mostrano scritte a matita con una data, come i frammenti provenienti dal "recinto degli sconosciuti" nella necropoli della cosiddetta via Annia: 7/3/40 sul medaglione di *phiale* **n. 28** e 8/3/41 (ma corretto 8/3/40) sul manico di una seconda *phiale* (**n. 35**), che si confermerebbe

[1] Non essendovi una numerazione dei pezzi nella tabella (Buora e Magnani 2016: 421-422), per comodità di riferimento abbiamo scelto di citarli qui con un numero progressivo da [1] a [18].

[2] Tale sezione comprendeva 1009 reperti, dalle "Lampade" (ovvero lucerne) a "Vari oggetti in terracotta", vasi aretini e di altra provenienza, manufatti metallici, vitrei, etc.

quindi l'altro pezzo citato da Brusin nella pubblicazione dello scavo (Brusin 1941: 50). Rinvia quasi certamente ad una data pure il bollino 41.8.8 sul vaso fallico **n. 49**, ma non è stato possibile associarlo ad una localizzazione. L'indicazione di un'origine "aus Aquileia, piazza Orfan" riportata da U. Mandel per il manico di *phiale* **n. 31** senza esplicitare la fonte della notizia (Mandel 1988: 242) non trova corrispondenze nella toponomastica nota.

Id.	Fig.	Definizione	Dimensioni (cm)	Descrizione / soggetto iconografico	Num. invent. e provenienza	Bibliografia
1	1	*oinophoros* - fondo e parete	corda fondo 6,2; h 12,5	Pan fra piante di vite, raffigurato mentre danza con le zampe incrociate; tiene il *lagòbolon* con la mano destra e la siringa nell'altra abbassata		Bónis 1952: 24, n. 6 e 25, fig. 6, tav. II, 5; Heimberg 1976: 285, n. A 4; Mandel 1988: 234, K 21; Egri 2003: 172, n. 12; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [11] (con rimando erroneo a Bonis 1952: 24, n. 7, tav. II, 24a-b); Alexandrescu 2020: 174 e 187, Abb. 3.12, Taf. VII, 4 (definito vaso cilindrico)
2	1	*oinophoros* - parete	3,5 x 5,8	Dioscuro nell'atto di incedere verso destra tenendo un cavallo per le briglia		
3	1	*pelike*	diam. orlo 5,8; largh. max 10; corda fondo 5; h 18	Dioniso in posa languida, con tirso; dalla parte opposta del vaso Sileno con folta barba. Piante di vite ai lati di entrambe le figure.	8112 e 8117	Bónis 1952: 24, n. 8 e 25, fig. 8; Brusin 1960: 123-124, figg. 1a e 1b; Heimberg 1976: 287, n. C 18; Mandel 1988: 237, K 51; Maselli Scotti 1988: 287, fig. 17; D'Andria 1995: 422-423; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [13]; Alexandrescu 2020: 176, Taf. X, 5-6
4	1	*pelike* - orlo e parete	corda orlo 4; h 5,7	fila di perline sotto l'orlo; pianta di vite		
5	1	*pelike* - orlo e parete	corda orlo 2; h 6	parte superiore di una figura maschile frontale (Ermes?) sotto due tralci di vite avvolti a spirale		
6	1	*pelike* - parte inferiore della parete	corda max 7; h 9	giovane Satiro fra piante di vite, raffigurato di profilo mentre incede verso sinistra, con la pelle ferina che ricade dalla spalla; tiene il braccio destro alzato a cogliere un grappolo d'uva e stringe il *pedum* nella mano sinistra		D'Andria 1995: 419, nota 8 (attribuito a *oinophoros*)
7	1	anforetta ovoide	diam. orlo 5,1; diam. max 7,5; diam. fondo 4,1; h 14	Pan fuoriuscente da un *kalathos*, intento a suonare la *sirynx*; sul lato opposto del vaso Dioniso fuoriuscente da un calice di foglie, con un braccio piegato dietro il capo e l'altro sul fianco da cui ricade il mantello. Piante di vite ai lati di entrambe le figure. Baccellature sulla spalla e nella parte bassa della parete	R.C. 699	Bónis 1952: 23, n. 3 e 25, fig. 3, tav. I, 3a e 3b; Brusin 1960: 125-126; Heimberg 1976: 288, n. D 3; Mandel 1988: 107 e 236, K 40; Maselli Scotti 1988: 287-288; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [12]
8	1	brocca cilindrica - parte inferiore della parete	a) 7,5 x 12,5; b) 6,8 x 8	cavallo con finimenti gradiente verso destra; a sinistra colonna che sostiene ghirlanda di foglie	8111 e 8115	
9	1	*oinophoros* / brocca cilindrica - parete	2,8 x 4,5	figura maschile rivolta verso destra, con mantello ricadente sul petto (Dioscuro con cavallo?)	7822	
10	1	*oinophoros* / brocca cilindrica - parete	4 x 6,5	Sileno di prospetto		
11	1	*oinophoros* / brocca cilindrica - parete	3,8 x 5,7	figura nuda di prospetto in posa languida, con parte inferiore del corpo coperta da mantello panneggiato		
12	1	*oinophoros* / brocca cilindrica - parete	4,8 x 6,3	figura femminile drappeggiata (Menade?)		
13	1	brocca a bocca trilobata	largh. orlo 6; lungh. orlo 8; diam. fondo 6,3; h 15,7	maschera di Sileno tra due piante di vite; sull'altro lato cratere da cui fuoriescono due tralci di vite che terminano in basso con due grandi grappoli d'uva	dagli scavi del porto e dei magazzini portuali	Brusin 1934: 129, n. 1, fig. 73; Hausmann 1958: 270, Taf. 49, 1; Rohde 1962: 60-61, Abb. 12; Heimberg 1976: 288, n. E 8; Bailey 1972-1973: 13; Bailey 1979: 264; Mandel 1988: 240, K 79; Maselli Scotti 1988: 287, fig. 16; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [14] (definito "brocca a foglie d'edera" - *Kleeblattkanne*)
14	2	*lagynos* - parte superiore	diam. orlo 4, largh. max 5,5; h 9,2	collo conformato a testa femminile	8126	D'Andria 1995: 419, nota 8 (?)
15	2	*lagynos* - parte superiore	corda orlo 1,8; largh. max 5,7; h 9,2	collo conformato a testa femminile dai tratti negroidi	8194	Maselli Scotti 1984: 69; Maselli Scotti 1988: 288

Tab. 1. Catalogo dei materiali.

Id.	Fig.	Definizione	Dimensioni (cm)	Descrizione / soggetto iconografico	Num. invent. e provenienza	Bibliografia
16	2	*lagynos* - parte superiore	largh. max 3,7; h 5,3	testa maschile dai tratti grotteschi		
17	2	*lagynos* (?) - parte superiore	largh. max 4,2; h 6	testa maschile di giovane		
18	2	*lagynos* - spalla	a) corda 8 x 7; h 3; b) corda 8,5 x 7; h 5,5	scena di tiaso con busto di Sileno e busto di Dioniso	S.S. 25a/95 e 25b/95 (bollino)	Buora e Magnani 2016: 421
19	2	*lagynos* (?) - spalla	4,2 x 5,2	scena erotica	9421 (?)	Buora e Magnani 2016: 421 (?) (attribuito a contenitore cilindrico)
20	2	*lagynos* (?) - spalla	6 x 6	scena erotica		In alternativa al precedente: Buora e Magnani 2016: 421 (?) (attribuito a contenitore cilindrico)
21	1	forma chiusa non definibile - parete	4 x 4	figura femminile di profilo verso destra		
22	1	forma chiusa non definibile - parete	3,7 x 8,5	figura femminile drappeggiata di profilo verso destra		
23	1	forma chiusa non definibile - parete	4,2 x 5	tralcio di vite e mano che tiene una cornucopia (?)		
24	2	*skyphos* - orlo e ansa	corda orlo 3,2; lungh 9; h 2,2	figura di Menade a rilievo sulla faccia superiore dell'ansa; serie di cerchielli concentrici incisi sulla sommità dell'orlo	S.S. 29/95 (bollino)	
25	2	*phiale* - fondo	dim. max 15,2 x 7,8; diam. int. 12,2; diam. fondo est. 10,5; h 2,8	scena erotica delimitata da fascia circolare con fila di perline; a lato iscrizione greca. Sul fondo esterno, su piede ad anello obliquo, fiorone entro solco concentrico		Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [8]
26	2	*phiale* - fondo	dim. max 9,7 x 10,5; diam. fondo 10; h 3	scena di Leda con cigno delimitata da fascia circolare con cerchielli concentrici; sul fondo esterno, su piede ad anello obliquo, serie di solcature concentriche	8540	Mandel 1988: 134-135 e 244, K 131; D'Andria 1995: 423-424; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [7]
27	2	*phiale* - fondo	dim. max 10 x 6; diam. fondo 9,6; h 1,8	scena di Erote su delfino, contornata da fila di ovuli e *sagittae*; sul fondo esterno fiorone	21.M268-1.0285	Buora e Magnani 2016: 421 e fig. 6
28	2	*phiale* - fondo	dim. max 8,5 x 7; diam. ric. fondo 10; h 3	trofeo di armi gladiatorie; sul fondo esterno, su piede ad anello obliquo, serie di solcature concentriche	dallo scavo della necropoli della cd. Via Annia, sepolcro V (data 7/3/40)	Brusin 1941: 50, fig. 26; Salomonson 1975: 34; Salomonson 1979: 120, Abb. 11; Mandel 1988: 248, K 172; Baldoni 2003: 68; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [6]
29	2	*phiale* - fondo	dim. max 3,5 x 8,5; corda fondo 7,5; h 2,5	guerriero (o gladiatore) con scudo rotondo e, in basso, tre frecce (o lance?) con la punta rivolta verso l'alto; sul fondo esterno serie di solcature concentriche		
30	2	*phiale* - fondo	dim. max 5,5 x 6; corda fondo 7,5; h 1,8	tralcio di vite con grappoli e mano che tiene una fiaccola (?); sul fondo esterno, su basso piede, fiorone delimitato da solchi concentrici		
31	2	*phiale* - manico	lungh. 12,2; largh. max 3,5; h 3,5	manico tubolare scanalato desinente a testa d'asino		Mandel 1988: 242, K 118 ("aus Aquileia, Piazza Orfan"); Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [3]
32	2	*phiale* - orlo e manico	corda orlo 3,5; lungh. manico 9; largh max 4; h 4	manico tubolare scanalato desinente a testa d'ariete	24 - bollino verde (R.C.)	
33	2	*phiale* - orlo e manico	lungh. 11,5; largh. max 3; h 5	manico scanalato desinente a testa di ariete	uno fra nn. inv. 8484-8490	
34	2	*phiale* - orlo e manico	corda orlo 5; lungh. 8; largh. max 4; h 4	manico desinente a testa di ariete, con gli occhi cavi	9463	Mandel 1988: 242, K 99 o K 100; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [4 o 5]
35	2	*phiale* - manico	lungh. 7,2; largh. max 4; h 3,8	estremità conformata a testa di ariete, con gli occhi cavi	dallo scavo della necropoli della cd. Via Annia, sepolcro V (data 8/3/40)	Brusin 1941: 50 ("manico di padella a testa equina"); Mandel 1988: 242, K 99 o K 100; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [4 o 5]
36	3	vaso plastico	dim. base 9 x 3; lungh. max 9,4; h 8,3	Erote seduto che abbraccia un'oca per il collo. Orlo eccentrico; ansa ad anello	R.C. 189 (?)	

Tab. 1 (cont.). Catalogo dei materiali.

Id.	Fig.	Definizione	Dimensioni (cm)	Descrizione / soggetto iconografico	Num. invent. e provenienza	Bibliografia
37	3	vaso plastico (?)	largh max 4,8; prof. 3; h 6	personaggio maschile vestito di mantello, che porta sulle spalle un montone	67308 - dagli scavi cosiddetti delle fognature 1969, via Pellis	
38	3	vaso di piccole dimensioni configurato a testa umana	diam. orlo 1,7; largh. max 5,2; diam. fondo 2,2; h 7,8	contenitore biansato con corpo conformato a volto di fanciullo, il cui collo si imposta direttamente sul fondo; si conserva una delle due valve		
39	3	vaso configurato a testa umana - parete	largh. max 6; h 6,8	volto maschile (Dioniso?) coronato da grappoli d'uva		
40	3	vaso configurato a testa umana - parete	largh. max 5,2; h 3,2	volto maschile (Dioniso?) coronato da pampini e grappoli d'uva	8651 (?)	
41	3	vaso configurato a testa umana - parete	largh max 2,2; h 4	volto maschile di aspetto grottesco		
42	3	vaso configurato a testa umana (?) - parete	largh. max 4,5; h 5,8	volto femminile incorniciato dai capelli a ciocche ondulate		
43	3	vaso configurato ad animale	dim. max base 5 x 4; h tot. 10	animale (cane?) seduto; base parallelepipeda a spigoli arrotondati	bollino verde con sigla R.C.	
44	3	vaso configurato ad animale - parete	largh. 5,8; h 5,5	ariete	bollino verde (R.C.)	
45	3	vaso configurato ad animale - parete	3 x 2,8	leone	9410 (?)	
46	3	vaso configurato ad animale - parte anteriore	lungh. 4,4; largh. 3,5; h 5,5	animale non identificato (scimmia?) con foro circolare sul muso con funzione di versatoio	bollino verde (R.C.)	
47	3	vaso configurato ad animale (?) - parte anteriore	lungh. 6,5; h 6	leone	9458	
48	3	vaso configurato ad animale (?) - parete	largh. max 5,5; h 8,3	cavallo (o ariete?) con finimenti	8116	
49	3	vaso fallico - parte anteriore	largh. max 6,8; h 20,5	maschera di Sileno con corona di pampini; al di sotto fallo	bollino con probabile data 41.8.8	Mandel 1988: 257, K 297; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [10] (con rimando erroneo a Mandel 1988: 57, K 299)
50	3	vaso fallico - parete	largh. 4; h 3,8	Sileno	bollino blu con X	Mandel 1988: 257, K 296; Buora e Magnani 2016: 422 [9]
51	3	vaso fallico (?) - parete	largh. 5; h 10,5	Sileno		D'Andria 1995: 419-420, fig. 6 (attribuito a vaso plastico di possibile produzione pergamena); probabilmente corrispondente a Buora e Magnani 2016: 421 (definito contenitore cilindrico)
52	4	lucerna plastica	lungh tot. 4,5; largh. 3; h 1,5	fauno (?)		
53	4	lucerna plastica	lungh. 3; largh. 2,5; h 2,2	personaggio grottesco con fori in corrispondenza degli occhi		
54	4	lucerna plastica	lungh. 9; largh 3; h 7,5	figura itifallica, con parte inferiore del ventre segnata da ombelico e becco conformato a fallo		
55	4	lucerna plastica (?)	lungh. max 9; largh. max 3,6; h 5,2	animale non identificato		
56	4	lucerna plastica (?)	lungh. max 5; largh. 4; h 7	animale non identificato (ariete?)		
57	4	lucerna tipo Broneer XXI - voluta e disco	dim. max 7 x 4; h 6	terminazione della voluta sinistra del beccuccio a testa di cavallo con finimenti; a destra fila di ovuli che delimita il disco	8193	
58	4	lucerna tipo Broneer XXI - voluta e disco	lungh. 3,7, largh. max 3; h 3,7	terminazione della voluta destra del beccuccio a testa di cavallo con finimenti; a sinistra fila di ovuli che delimita il disco	R.C. 192	
59	4	lucerna tipo Broneer XXI - voluta	lungh. 4,5; largh. max 2,5; h 4	terminazione della voluta sinistra del beccuccio a forma di testa di cavallo con finimenti	8176 (?)	

Tab. 1 (cont.). Catalogo dei materiali.

Id.	Fig.	Definizione	Dimensioni (cm)	Descrizione / soggetto iconografico	Num. invent. e provenienza	Bibliografia
60	4	lucerna tipo Broneer XXI - voluta	lungh. 6; largh. max 4; h 7	terminazione della voluta sinistra del beccuccio a forma di testa di cavallo privo di finimenti, con due forellini ai lati del muso	R.C. 194	
61	4	lucerna tipo Broneer XXI - voluta	largh 2,5; lungh 7; h 4	voluta destra del beccuccio desinente a testa di cavallo privo di finimenti con due forellini ai lati del muso	8190 (?)	
62	4	lucerna plastica (?)	lungh 4; largh max 2; h 2,8	testa di cavallo con foro in corrispondenza della bocca e altro foro pervio laterale presso la criniera		
63	4	vaso configurato ad animale o lucerna	lungh 6; largh max 3,5; h 6,7	testa di cavallo privo di finimenti, con foro in corrispondenza della bocca	bollino verde illeggibile (R.C. 193)	
64	4	vaso configurato ad animale o lucerna	lungh. 6; largh. max 3,7; h 4	testa di cavallo privo di finimenti, con foro in corrispondenza della bocca	R.C. 191	
65	4	lucerna (?)	lungh 5; largh max 4,7; h 4,2	testa di bue o cane (?) con foro pervio ai lati del muso	R.C. 195	
66	4	lucerna - manico	lungh 11; largh max 3,7	manico curvilineo scanalato, desinente a testa di cavallo, fuoriuscente da un calice; forellino passante trasversalmente dietro le orecchie	8494	
67	4	lucerna - manico	lungh 7,5; largh max 2,8	manico curvilineo, desinente a testa di cavallo con finimenti, fuoriuscente da un calice	8495 (?)	
68	4	lucerna - manico	lungh 9; largh max 4	manico curvilineo scanalato, desinente a testa di pantera fuoriuscente da un calice; foro pervio in corrispondenza della bocca	8496 (?)	
69	4	lucerna - manico	lungh 7,7; largh max 2,5	estremità di manico configurato a delfino	numero illeggibile	
70	4	lucerna - manico	lungh 6; largh. max 2	probabile manico (si conserva parte di una valva) desinente a testa di animale fantastico (?)		

Tab. 1 (cont.). Catalogo dei materiali.

Infine, la presenza del numero di inventario 67308 ha consentito di ricondurre agli scavi per le fognature effettuati da L. Bertacchi nel 1969, in particolare nel settore di via Pellis, il probabile vaso plastico **n. 37**: come sopra accennato, benché il reperto non appartenga alle collezioni storiche, si è deciso di considerarlo, in quanto non compare nelle pubblicazioni dedicate a dette indagini.

3. L'analisi dei materiali

3.1 Il vasellame

Il nucleo di reperti riferibili al vasellame da tavola conta oltre cinquanta esemplari (**Tab. 1, nn. 1-51; Figg. 1-3**), di cui 31 inediti. Sebbene la presenza di alcuni frammenti molto esigui non consenta di giungere ad un'attribuzione morfologica certa nella totalità dei casi, emerge tuttavia un'ampia varietà di tipologie e di motivi decorativi.

È documentata quasi l'intera gamma delle forme chiuse tipiche della produzione cnidia, diffusa tra l'ultimo quarto del I e il III secolo d.C. (Baldoni 2003: 6-7): *oinophoroi* (**nn. 1-2**) o altri recipienti cilindrici (**nn. 8-12**), *pelikai* (**nn. 3-6**), anforette a corpo ovoide (**n. 7**), brocche a bocca trilobata (**n. 13**) e *lagynoi* (**nn. 14-20**). Su questi vasi si nota la predominanza di un repertorio iconografico legato alla sfera dionisiaca: oltre allo stesso Dioniso, compaiono Pan, Sileni o Satiri, spesso incorniciati da tralci di vite con foglie e grappoli. Talora, anche se non interamente conservata, la figurazione può essere ricostruita in modo completo grazie a precisi confronti, come ad esempio nel caso dell'*oinophoros* **n. 1** (Hausmann 1956: 107, Beil. 61, 2; Alexandrescu 2020: 174, Taff. V, 2 e VII) e delle *pelikai* **n. 3** (Hausmann 1954-1955: 137, n. 14, Beil. 45, 1-2; Alexandrescu 2020: Taf. X, 7-8) e **n. 6** (Brusić 1999: 39 e 126, n. 460, Figg. 71 e 115; Brusić 1999-2000: 84, T. 1, 1; Egri 2003: 167, Fig. 13b; Alexandrescu 2020: 175, Taf. XI, 1).

Una scelta figurativa diversa, già nota su *oinophoros* (Robinson 1909: 30-34, Abb. 1-2; Bónis 1952: 23, n. 4, T. II, 1; Hausmann 1954-1955: 133 e 138, n. Ia, 1; Heimberg 1976: 285, A 1; Tortorici 1981, Tav. CXIX e da ultima Alexandrescu 2020: 22, Taf. VI, 1, con ulteriore bibliografia), caratterizza l'esemplare **n. 2**, attribuibile a un'anfora cilindrica ornata con la figura di uno dei Dioscuri nell'atto di incedere tenendo per le briglia un cavallo; a questo soggetto, presente anche su *pelike* (Rohde 1962: 54-56, Abb. 1-3), potrebbe riferirsi pure il frammento **n. 9**.

In base ad analogie con una *pelike* da *Neapolis* in Crimea (Bónis 1952: 24-25, n. 13, T. II, 3; Heimberg 1976: 286, C 2), non è da escludere un'identificazione con Ermes per la figura del pezzo **n. 5**, di cui rimane visibile solo il viso.

Per la decorazione della spalla di due *lagynoi* (**nn. 19-20**) sono invece utilizzate scene a carattere erotico, secondo una



Fig. 1. Ceramica cnidia: *oinophoroi* (1-2); *pelikai* (3-6); anforetta ovoide (7); *oinophoroi* o brocche cilindriche (9-12); brocca a bocca trilobata (13); forme chiuse non definibili (21-23). Ceramica di probabile produzione pergamena: brocca cilindrica (8).

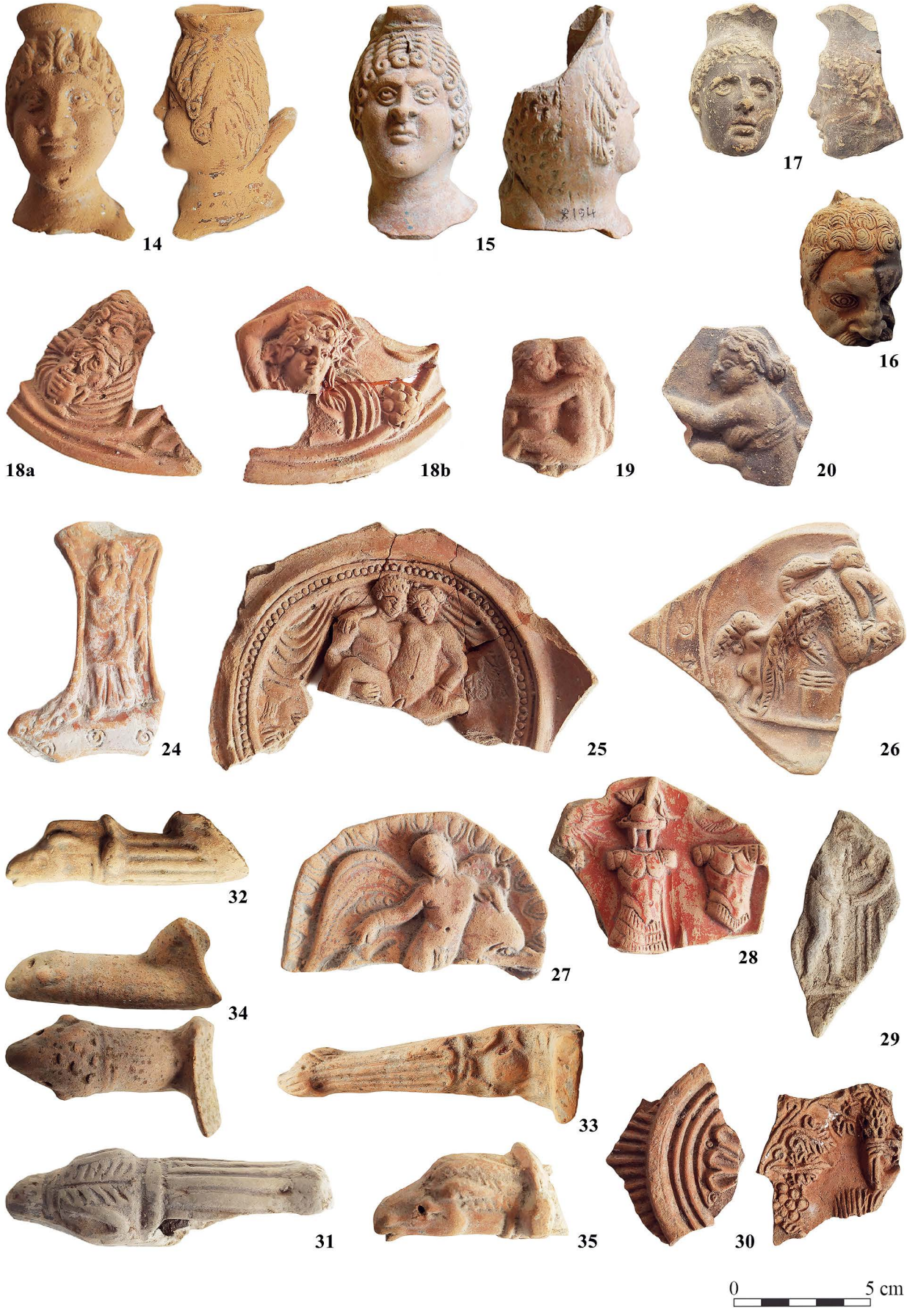


Fig. 2. Ceramica cnidia: *lagynoi* (14-20); *phialai* (25-35). Ceramica di probabile produzione pergamena di tradizione ellenistica: *skyphos* (24).

tendenza ben documentata (Bailey 1972-1973: 20, n. 12, Pl. 3, 3). Questa forma vascolare è altresì testimoniata da colli plastici configurati a testa maschile o femminile dai tratti per lo più grotteschi o negroidi (**nn. 14-17**), che trovano numerosi confronti, anche su vasi conformati interamente a testa umana (in particolare per i **nn. 14-15** si vedano Bailey 1972-1973: 16-17, nn. 3 e 5, Pl. 2,2 e 4; Gabler e Márton 2008: 168, fig. 3).

Due frammenti riferibili a uno stesso contenitore chiuso a corpo cilindrico si segnalano per il rilievo poco accentuato e i caratteri particolari dell'impasto e della decorazione, che mostra la figura di un cavallo entro uno spazio delimitato da una colonna (**n. 8**); tali peculiarità rendono plausibile l'attribuzione del pezzo a una brocca di fabbrica pergamena, produzione pienamente affermatasi nel II secolo d.C., in cui l'ornato tende a disporsi secondo uno schema metopale,



Fig. 3. Ceramica cnidia: vasi plastici (36-48); vasi fallici (49-51).

definito da elementi divisori costituiti proprio da colonnette o da alberelli (Baldoni 2003: 11). Si tratterebbe della prima testimonianza nell'alto Adriatico della presenza di ceramica a matrice importata da Pergamo, vasellame coevo alla ceramica cnidia, ma contraddistinto da una circolazione molto più circoscritta (D'Andria 1995: 420-421; Baldoni 2003: 3-6, Fig. II; La Paglia 2012: 188-190).

Anche fra le forme aperte si registra una presenza particolare: un manico orizzontale piatto allargato all'estremità, decorato superiormente con la figura di una Menade a rilievo (**n. 24**). Esso rimanda a uno *skyphos*, le cui caratteristiche, estranee a quelle del vasellame cnidio, richiamano piuttosto prodotti più antichi aderenti alla tradizione ellenistica, provenienti da officine pergamene o di altri centri microasiatici attive soprattutto nel corso del I secolo a.C. e fino all'età augustea (Brusić 1999: 35-37, 124 e 197, n. 442). Finora la circolazione di ceramica da tavola di questo tipo non era attestata ad Aquileia.

I vasi di forma aperta consistono in massima parte nelle classiche *phialai* cnidie (**nn. 25-35**), il cui fondo a medaglione applicato è decorato con soggetti tratti da un repertorio molto vario: scene mitologiche (**nn. 26-27**) – quali Leda



Fig. 4. Lucerne di fabbrica cnidia o altra produzione microasiatica: lucerne plastiche (52-54, 55-56?, 62-65?); tipo Broneer XXI (57-61); a imitazione di lucerne in bronzo tipo Loeschcke XX o similis (66-70).

con il cigno (tema testimoniato anche su *lagynoi*, cfr. Bailey 1972-1973: 19-20, n. 11) ed Erote su delfino (soggetto riconoscibile su altre *phialai*, cfr. Mandel 2000: 58, Abb. 3, 13-14; Hayes 2008: 107, Pl. 77, n. 1626) –, scene erotiche (**n. 25**) e motivi legati a giochi gladiatori o ad ambito militare (**nn. 28-29**), tra cui un trofeo di armi (per altri esempi Salomonson 1975; Salomonson 1979: 119-120, Abb. 8a-b e 10a-b; Mandel 2000: 64, Abb. 2, 8a). La presenza di queste patere è segnalata anche da diversi manici tubolari con parte terminale conformata, secondo una prassi diffusa, a testa di ariete (**nn. 32-35**) (Kenrick 1985: 333-336, Fig. 62 e Pl. XXII, B 498.3; Rivet 2007: 173-177 e 181-182, con ipotesi sul significato simbolico di questa scelta iconografica) e in un caso, con una soluzione più originale, a testa d'asino (**n. 31**).

Nella collezione museale non mancano le forme plastiche tipiche della produzione di Cnido, caratterizzate da una notevole varietà (**nn. 36-51**). Il repertorio comprende un vaso piuttosto elaborato raffigurante un erote che abbraccia un'oca (**n. 36**), diversi recipienti conformati a testa umana (**nn. 38-42**), fra i quali uno di piccole dimensioni dall'aspetto simile a un *aryballos* forse utilizzato per balsami (**n. 38**), e numerosi *askoi* zoomorfi (**nn. 43-48**). Com'è noto, nel caso di quest'ultima categoria le fabbriche cnidie crearono manufatti di foggia eterogenea, che rappresentano animali di diverse specie, anche se quello più ricorrente è senza dubbio l'ariete (Brusić 1999: 128-129, Figg. 74-75 e 118-119, nn. 471-475; Brusić 1999-2000: 85, T. 4-5; Baldoni 2003: 75-79, Fig. 16, Tavv. LVIII-LXI; Zhuravlev 2002: 251, Fig. 10; Giovannini e Mandruzzato 2017: 139-140, Figg. 1-2; Honcu e Stănică 2020). La frammentarietà dei reperti aquileiesi spesso rende difficile l'identificazione del soggetto ritratto e, talora, non permette nemmeno di stabilirne con certezza la pertinenza a un vaso plastico piuttosto che a una lucerna plastica. Sulla scorta di confronti, sembra di poter riconoscere nell'esemplare **n. 43** un cane seduto (cfr. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1907-0520-68) e nel **n. 48** un cavallo (o un ariete?) dotato di finimenti (cfr. Brusić 1999: 129, Figg. 75 e 119, n. 475 per un cavallo; Buora 2011: 49, Fig. 1 = Buora e Magnani 2016: 411-412, fig. 1 per un ariete).

Nei vasi a testa umana la scelta iconografica ricade nuovamente su personaggi di ambito dionisiaco (**nn. 39-40**), ma si osservano anche volti dalle fattezze grottesche simili a quelli che costituiscono il collo delle *lagynoi* (**n. 41**, con confronto in Baldoni 2003: 74, fig. 15 e tav. LVI, n. 292).

Tre pezzi (**nn. 49-51**) sono infine ascrivibili alla particolare categoria dei vasi conformati a fallo, attestata molto più sporadicamente e datata al II secolo d.C. (Slane e Dickie 1993; Baldoni 2003: 79-80). La decorazione di questo tipo di recipiente dal corpo quasi tubolare, che si ritiene fosse impiegato come contenitore per unguenti, è esemplificata da un esemplare ben conservato (**n. 49**): la parte superiore è occupata dal volto grottesco di un Sileno, mentre in quella inferiore è delineato il membro maschile.

3.2 Le lucerne

Nell'ambito, piuttosto eterogeneo, dei frammenti riferibili alla suppellettile per l'illuminazione (**Tab. 1, nn. 52-70; Fig. 4**) rientra innanzitutto un gruppo di teste equine, bardate o prive di finimenti (**nn. 57-64**). Se per alcune di esse (**nn. 57-61**) è certa l'identificazione con le terminazioni plastiche delle volute laterali del beccuccio nelle lucerne bilicni tipo Broneer XXI, fabbricate a Cnido tra l'età flavia e quella adrianea (Broneer 1930: Pl. VIII-IX; Rosenthal e Sivan 1978: 19-20, n. 44; Bailey 1988: 327 e 336-338, Pl. 76-77, Q 2688-2701), per altre le dimensioni e la presenza di un foro pervio sulla bocca dell'animale non consentono un riconoscimento univoco: potrebbero appartenere a lucerne plastiche oppure ad *askoi* conformati a cavallo.

Un altro nucleo comprende dei manici ricurvi, talora scanalati, desinenti a testa di animale (cavallo, pantera, animale fantastico) fuoriuscente da un calice (**nn. 66-68, 70**), ai quali pare associabile anche un'ansa configurata a delfino (**n. 69**, con confronto in bronzo in Bailey 1996: 43, Pl. 54, Q 3684, e in terracotta in Grandjouan 1961: 69, P. 21, n. 857). Tali peculiari manufatti, ottenuti dall'unione di due matrici, sono ascrivibili a lucerne per lo più di tipo Loeschcke XX realizzate a imitazione di modelli bronzei di età altoimperiale (Bailey 1996: 37-45, tipi *f*, *g* e *h*, Pl. 46, 48-50, 52, 54-55); si tratta di prodotti ritenuti dal Bailey di origine cnidia (Bailey 1988: 328 e 339, Pl. 79, Q 2717-2718), che si inquadrano tra il 70 e il 150 d.C. (Perlzweig 1961: 80, Pl. 4, n. 95; Leibundgut 1977: 292, Taf. 14, n. 940; Rosenthal e Sivan 1978: 90-91, nn. 371-372, da Gerasa; Hayes 1980: 100, Pl. 47, n. 396, con proposta di attribuzione invece a officina alessandrina).

Sono infine documentate vere e proprie lucerne plastiche (**nn. 52-54** e forse **nn. 55-56**, **65**), di varia forma: zoomorfa (**nn. 55-56, 65**), itifallica (**n. 54**) e a figura grottesca o maschera di fauno (**nn. 52-53**, con confronti in Grandjouan 1961: 61, Pl. 11, n. 579 e 72-73, Pl. 24, nn. 906-908, 924; Bailey 1996: 135, Pl. 176, Q 2719 bis).

4. Conclusioni

Si vuole dedicare qualche riflessione finale alla consistenza complessiva ad Aquileia della ceramica di Cnido e di altre fabbriche microasiatiche, integrando i dati aggiornati riguardo alle vecchie acquisizioni con le risultanze degli scavi recenti.

Come già ricordato, l'aggiornamento dell'elenco di U. Mandel di recente effettuato da parte di Buora e Magnani aveva incluso – accanto ai 16 frammenti dalle collezioni storiche – un rinvenimento dagli scavi per le fognature (Buora e Magnani 2016: 411 e 422, n. [17]) e 5 frammenti dagli scavi condotti nel Canale Anfora nel 1988 e 2004-2005 (Buora e Magnani 2016: 421-422, nn. [1-2, 15-16,18], con richiamo a Mandruzzato 2008; i materiali del 2004-2005 sono stati poi ripresi in Giovannini e Mandruzzato 2017; cfr. infine la puntualizzazione e l'aggiunta di un ulteriore frammento dal recupero 1988 in Maggi e Ventura 2022: 252-253, tav. 5, 4-6 e fig. 5,3); era invece omesso un frammento da via Bolivia, all'epoca già edito (Ceazzi e Del Brusco 2007: 123).

Nel frattempo è intervenuta la pubblicazione delle indagini condotte nei fondi Cossar negli anni 2009-2015, con l'acquisizione di 7 nuovi reperti (4 *oinophoroi* a tema dionisiaco, un contenitore zoomorfo, un fondo e una lucerna, cfr. Dobreva e Griggio 2021: 256-258, Tav. X, 8-14, figg. 37-40),

che ha portato il totale dei rinvenimenti di ceramica e/o lucerne cnidie già noti ad Aquileia a 31, a fronte di un numero più che doppio presentato ora in questa sede.

Tale discrepanza numerica risulta ancor più marcata se si considerano le quantità relative alla diffusione di questa classe fornite nell'edizione testé citata, che ammontano a soli 7 esemplari per il resto della regione Friuli Venezia Giulia e 17 per l'area altoadriatica – *rectius* lungo la costa orientale –, con un totale, per l'intero areale, di soli 37 pezzi (Dobreva e Griggio 2021: 253-256, figg. 36 e 41, qui escluse le lucerne; va però specificato che per Aquileia sono computati unicamente 10 esemplari, ovvero i tre contenitori chiusi riconosciuti per primi fra i materiali del Museo, i 6 pezzi allora noti di Canale Anfora e quello di via Bolivia).

Si deve altresì notare che la ceramica cnidia risulta del tutto assente in svariati altri contesti aquileiesi integralmente editi in anni recenti, circostanza che non pare più ascrivibile, come forse in passato, alla difficoltà di inquadramento, specie dei pezzi più frammentari; di contro, proprio l'elemento estetico può aver giocato a favore di una presenza nelle collezioni storiche sovradimensionata rispetto all'incidenza reale.

Pur tenuto conto dei fattori che possono avere alterato questi rapporti percentuali, resta accertata la documentazione ad Aquileia di un vasto campionario di ceramiche cnidie (o di altre produzioni microasiatiche), che comprende le forme e decorazioni più ricorrenti accanto ad attestazioni che al momento non hanno trovato specifici confronti.

Il riconoscimento di una presenza della ceramica cnidia quantitativamente paritaria rispetto a quella quasi coeva di origine corinzia (Ventura e Maggi 2020: 169) e il dato, ancorché al momento isolato, dell'arrivo precoce del vasellame a matrice di area microasiatica già dal I secolo a.C. / età augustea (**Tab. 1, n. 24**), aprono nuove prospettive sui flussi di traffico dei prodotti ceramici dal Mediterraneo orientale.

Tale presenza si inserisce, ad ogni modo, in una tradizione di scambi commerciali che risale alle importazioni di anfore dall'Egeo, di vasellame ellenistico a rilievo per lo più proveniente dall'area efesina, ma anche dall'Attica, di stoviglie in *Eastern Sigillata* A e B, di piatti da portata in ceramica grigia da Efeso (Maggi e Merlatti 2007; Mantovani 2021: 107-108; Dobreva e Griggio 2021: 260-264; Maggi forthcoming). Come evidenziato da una nutrita serie di studi, pure le fonti storiche, epigrafiche e numismatiche indicano una significativa frequentazione di Aquileia da parte di individui di origine orientale, principalmente attivi nel commercio, che svolsero certamente un ruolo propulsivo nell'evoluzione dei rapporti dall'ambito meramente mercantile verso un'integrazione anche di tipo culturale (recente sintesi in Migliario 2017).

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FRA MEDITERRANEO ORIENTALE E OCCIDENTALE: LA CERAMICA CON FIGURE GROTTESCHE

This paper examines the thin and elongated figures, almost skeletal, which are documented in many ceramic productions between the second half of the 1st century BC and the first half of the 2nd century AD: glazed pottery of western Asia Minor, Pontic bottles with barbotine decoration; Cnidian relief pottery; Sigillata Nord-Italica*;* Sigillata *produced in* Arretium *and* Pisae *(workshops of* M. Perennius Bargathes *and* Cn. Ateius*);* Sigillata *produced in Vasanello;* Sigillata Gallica *(*ateliers *of Montans and La Graufesenque);* Sigillata Tardo-Italica*. These figures were found in the Mediterranean area, in the Black Sea area and in the western provinces. The prototypes are to be found above all in the late Hellenistic craftsmanship. These figures are sometimes part of scenes presumably related to mime, but they have a mainly decorative function. In any case, the link with the* symposium *is evident.*

Glazed pottery – Pontic bottles – Cnidian relief pottery – *Terra Sigillata* – grotesque figures

1. Introduzione

Le raffigurazioni grottesche, presenti già nell'arte greca arcaica e classica, diventano popolari in età ellenistica, in corrispondenza con l'interesse per le imperfezioni e le deformità del corpo umano. Sono rappresentazioni di persone con deformità fisiche reali, ma anche di gruppi etnici diversi da quello greco, di mendicanti, di attori comici, di danzatori e di acrobati.

Nell'ambito di queste raffigurazioni si distingue un gruppo di personaggi con corpo quasi scheletrico, teste per lo più rasate e allungate con naso pronunciato, braccia e gambe lunghe e filiformi (Adriani 1963: 85-86). Talvolta presentano falli di grandi dimensioni (ma generalmente non in erezione), cappelli a punta o anche teste di animale. Sono per lo più nudi ma possono indossare vesti della vita quotidiana, come *subligacula*, corte tuniche e mantelli.

Queste figure scarnificate (dette "Hautskelette"), penetrate nel mondo ellenistico-romano probabilmente attraverso l'Egitto, ricorrono in varie produzioni artigianali fra la tarda età ellenistica e la prima età imperiale: piccola plastica in bronzo e in terracotta, pittura e stucchi, glittica, toreutica, lucerne e ceramica vascolare.

2. Le raffigurazioni grottesche nella ceramica vascolare

Nell'ambito della ceramica vascolare, queste raffigurazioni si diffondono a partire dagli ultimi decenni del I sec. a.C. in produzioni dell'Oriente Mediterraneo (ceramica invetriata microasiatica, olpi pontiche con decorazione a barbotina, ceramica cnidia a rilievo) e dell'Occidente (sigillate nord-italica, italica, tardo-italica e gallica). Senza pretesa di esaustività, di seguito si passeranno in rassegna le principali testimonianze relative a questo tipo di rappresentazioni nelle classi ceramiche sopra ricordate.

2.1. Ceramica invetriata microasiatica

Figure grottesche compaiono nella ceramica invetriata di *Pergamon-Smyrna*, in particolare nei gruppi che nella classificazione Hochuli-Gysel sono definiti *Smyrna* 2 e *Smyrna* 3, datati rispettivamente al 50-20 a.C. e fra l'ultimo quarto del I sec. a.C. e gli inizi del I sec. d.C. (Hochuli-Gysel 1977: 122-131), datazioni forse da abbassare all'incirca di una generazione (Dunbabin 1986: 231, nota 169).

L'esemplare più noto con figure di questo genere è il *kalathos* dalla Tracia meridionale conservato a Berlino, collocato dalla Hochuli-Gysel nella fase *Smyrna* 2 (50-30 a.C.) (Zahn 1923; Hochuli-Gysel 1977: 173, S8); sulla parete compare uno scheletro vero e proprio, attorniato da due figure scheletriche danzanti con cappello a punta e da altre raffigurazioni: un'anfora, una corona, due flauti frigi e un oggetto che Zahn identifica come un cosciotto di agnello o di capretto; al di sopra si colloca la scritta *KTO CHRO* (**fig. 1, 1**).

Figure danzanti compaiono anche negli altri esemplari più conosciuti di questa produzione:

- l'*oinochoe* del Metropolitan Museum di New York (**fig. 1, 2**), proveniente da una tomba di *Olbia* della prima metà del I sec. d.C., datata dalla Hochuli-Gysel (1977: 174, S12) nella fase *Smyrna* 2 (50-20 a.C.);

- lo *skyphos* da *Smyrna* o dalla Troade conservato al Louvre (**fig. 1, 3**), inserito dalla Hochuli-Gysel (1977: 181, S83) nel gruppo *Smyrna* 3 (ultimo quarto del I sec. a.C.);

- il frammento da *Smyrna* conservato al Louvre, inserito sempre nel gruppo 3, in cui è parzialmente visibile un danzatore con cappello a punta (Hochuli-Gysel 1977: 181, S84);

- lo *skyphos* trovato ad *Olbia* (**fig. 1, 4**), inserito dalla Hochuli-Gysel (1977: 183, S104) nel gruppo *Smyrna* 4 (primo quarto del I sec. d.C.);

- la coppa conservata a Kassel di ignota provenienza, attribuita ad una officina microasiatica occidentale del 2º-3º quarto del I sec. d.C., nella quale compare una figura danzante del tutto simile ad uno dei danzatori dell'*oinochoe* di New York, collocata fra due Eroti caricaturali (Hochuli-Gysel 1977: 191, W69).

Anche se non rientra strettamente tra le raffigurazioni grottesche scheletriche, va ricordata infine una rappresentazione caricaturale del giudizio di Paride, che compare su di un *kalathos* di *Olbia*, incluso nel gruppo *Smyrna* 2 (50-30 a.C.) (Hochuli-Gysel 1977: 173, S9).

Dal punto di vista iconografico le figure grottesche di questa classe ceramica mostrano strette analogie con la *lagynos* pontica dell'Agorà di Atene (**fig. 1, 5a-b**), che non si esclude sia stata realizzata nello stesso ambiente produttivo: alle due figure laterali di questa *lagynos* (**fig. 1, 5a**) si avvicina il personaggio danzante con testa girata all'indietro dell'*oinochoe* di New York e dello *skyphos* di Kassel, che è accostabile anche a figure che compaiono nella ceramica cnidia a rilievo (**fig. 1, 6**), nella sigillata di *Ateius* (**fig. 3, 2a**) e in un calice di Montans (**fig. 3, 11**). Il personaggio piegato in avanti che batte le mani dell'*oinochoe* di New York mostra invece qualche analogia con una figura della sigillata nord-italica (**fig. 1, 12.1**).

I personaggi scheletrici che compaiono nella ceramica invetriata sono tutti danzatori/mimi, che rimandano al tema del simposio. Particolarmente significativo è il *kalathos* di Berlino, nel quale il legame con il banchetto si evince non solo dalle figure scheletriche danzanti ma anche dalla presenza di oggetti come l'anfora vinaria, le corone e il cosciotto e dalla presenza dello scheletro. Il messaggio che la rappresentazione trasmette è quello che emerge pure dall'iscrizione κτῶ χρῶ (= "acquista" e "usa", nel senso di "godi ciò che hai"). Riguardo alle due figure grottesche con grande fallo poste ai lati dello scheletro, nelle quali Zahn riconosce dei danzatori professionisti (*kordakistai*) che intrattenevano i convitati, la Dunbabin ipotizza possa trattarsi di intrattenitori che manipolano un modello di scheletro (Dunbabin 1986: 217-218), come quello che viene esibito durante la cena di Trimalchione (Petr., 34).

2.2. Bottiglie pontiche con decorazione a barbotina

Connesso con la sigillata pontica è un gruppo di bottiglie decorate alla barbotina, databili al I sec. d.C., prodotte probabilmente nell'Asia Minore nord-occidentale, forse nelle stesse officine che producevano ceramica invetriata (Hayes 2008: 54-55). Di questo gruppo fa parte una *lagynos* trovata nell'Agorà di Atene, in un pozzo con materiali di I sec. a.C.-I sec. d.C. (Shear 1938: 7-8, fig. 8; Hayes 2008: 203-204), decorata da tre figure danzanti con lungo fallo e cappello a punta: quella centrale volta a destra sostiene sulla schiena una palla (**fig. 1, 5b**); le due laterali avanzati verso sinistra con testa girata a destra sono identiche (**fig. 1, 5a**). Presumibilmente alla medesima produzione va riferito un frammento di *lagynos* trovato nell'area dell'*Heraion* di *Samos*, datato alla prima età imperiale ma privo di indicazioni di contesto (Unterkircher 1983: 200, 211). L'esemplare, attribuito con dubbio alla Eastern Sigillata A, conserva parzialmente un personaggio identico alle due figure uguali della *lagynos* dell'Agorà.

I personaggi delle due *lagynoi*, simili a quelli presenti nella ceramica invetriata (cfr. *infra*), sono legati anch'essi al simposio: probabilmente si tratta dei mimi/danzatori o anche giocolieri (come pare indicare il personaggio con la palla sulla schiena) che intrattengono i convitati durante il banchetto.

2.3. Ceramica cnidia a rilievo

Fra le ceramiche a rilievo prodotte nel Mediterraneo orientale durante l'età imperiale, raffigurazioni grottesche che rientrano nell'ambito del gruppo preso in esame sono testimoniate in alcuni esemplari di produzione cnidia trovati a Cnido in contesti di primo impero: due frammenti di *skyphoi* in ceramica decorata ad *applique* (Kögler 2010: 287, G.46; Kn.287) e sei frammenti di vasi a matrice (una forma aperta, due *skyphoi/kantharoi*, una brocca e due punzoni) (Kögler 2010: 318-323: G.164, 166, 172-173; Kn.365, 368). In questi frammenti compaiono due personaggi con varianti: un danzatore nudo con cappello a punta, associato in un caso ad un grande tralcio d'edera (**fig. 1, 6**), ed un suonatore nudo di doppio flauto (**fig. 1, 7**). Il danzatore nudo compare anche in uno *skyphos* trovato nel relitto di Zlarin in Croazia (fine I sec. a.C.-inizi I sec. d.C.), che Brusić (1999: 35; 125, n. 449; 198, fig. 66; 244, fig. 112) attribuisce a produzione pergamena, ma che molto probabilmente è da attribuire alla produzione di Cnido (si ringrazia P. Kögler per la consulenza).

Il danzatore nudo è avvicinabile al danzatore dell'*oinochoe* in invetriata del Metropolitan (**fig. 1, 2**). Il flautista mostra qualche analogia con il suonatore di doppio flauto del vaso ateiano di Bregenz (**fig. 3, 1b**). La frammentarietà degli esemplari non consente di stabilire se le figure conservate fossero o meno legate ad altri personaggi (solo nello *skyphos* di Zlarin compare un altro personaggio, con cui il danzatore non pare però interagire). In ogni caso danzatore e flautista sono figure che rimandano al simposio; l'accostamento edera/danzatore scheletrico itifallico che compare in uno *skyphos* potrebbe alludere, secondo Patricia Kögler (2010: 321), al ciclo eterno della vita.

2.4. Sigillata nord-italica

Fra le sigillate "occidentali", figure grottesche compaiono in primo luogo nella nord-italica. Gli esemplari sicuramente riconducibili a questa categoria sono all'incirca una quindicina, quasi tutti attribuibili a *Sariusschalen* (*Consp.* R13).

Alla prima età augustea sono attribuibili le coppe *Sarius* di *Forum Iulii* (Frejus in Provenza) (Rivet 2019: 443; fig. 4, 8) e di Bolsena (Goudineau 1968): quest'ultima (con la firma di *L. Sarius Surus* come liberto) non presenta le comuni figure scheletriche, ma viene segnalata per la raffigurazione di due gladiatori con teste d'asino (**fig. 1, 8**).

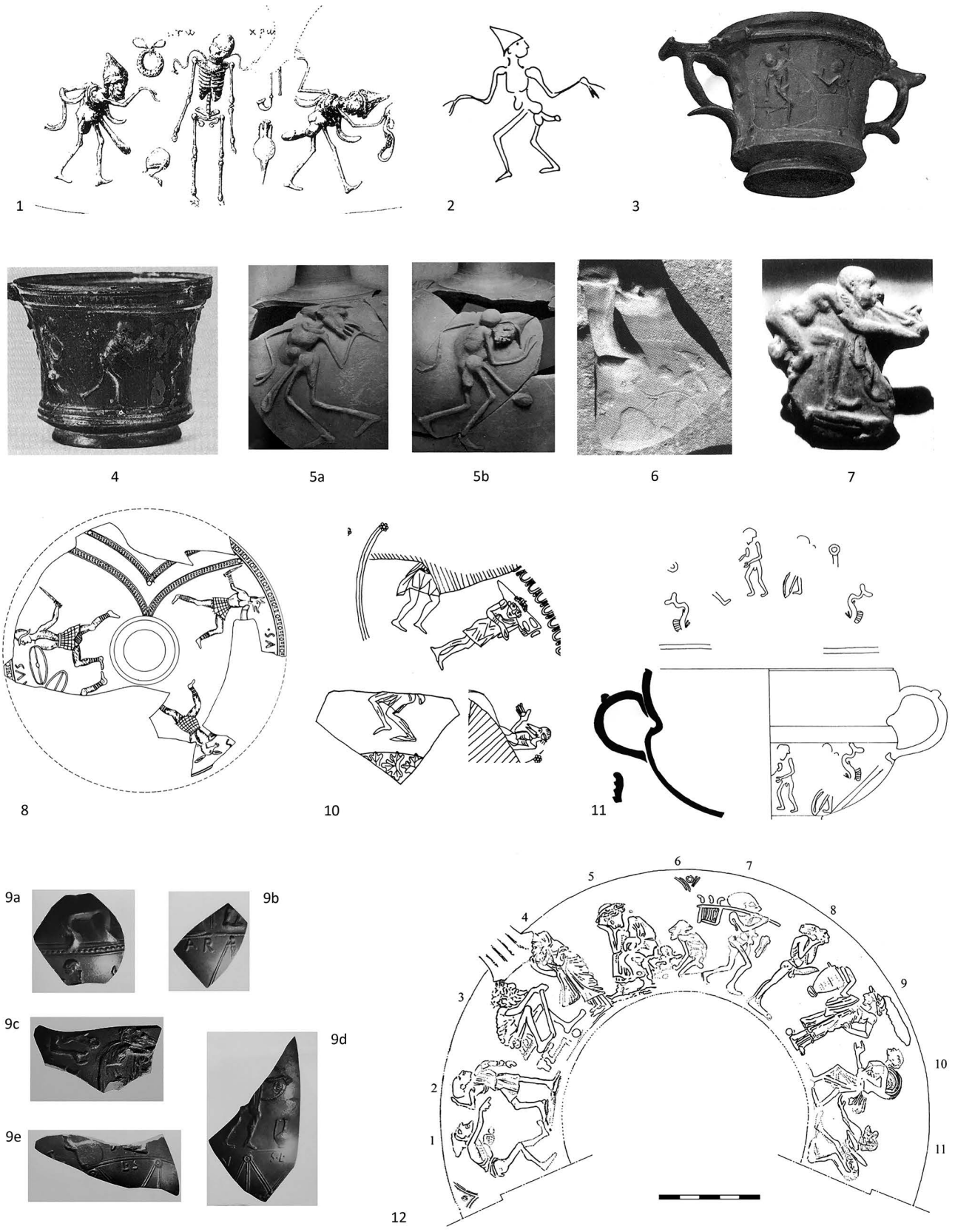


Fig. 1. Ceramica invetriata: 1 *Kalathos* di Berlino dalla Tracia (da Hochuli-Gysel 1977); 2 *Oinochoe* di New York da *Olbia* (da Hochuli-Gysel 1977); 3 *Skyphos* del Louvre da Smyrna o dalla Troade (da Dunbabin 1986); 4 *Skyphos* da *Smyrna* (da Dunbabin 1986). 5a-b *Lagynos* pontica dall'Agorà di Atene (da Shear 1938). Ceramica cnidia a rilievo: 6 *Skyphos* da Cnido (da Kögler 2010); 7 Punzone da Cnido (da Kögler 2010). Sigillata nord-italica: 8 Coppa da Bolsena (da Goudineau 1968); 9a-e Coppa della Collezione Gorga (Museo di Arezzo) (da Stenico 1965); 10-11 Coppe dal Magdalensberg (da Schindler Kaudelka 1980 e 1998); 12 Coppa da Bovolone (Verona) (da Biondani c.s.) (scale varie).

Fra prima e tarda età augustea sono databili alcune coppe *Sarius* rinvenute al Magdalensberg (*Noricum*), fra le quali una porzione di vasca da un contesto anteriore al 10 a.C. ca., in cui compaiono tre personaggi, uno dei quali con anfora sulle spalle (Schindler Kaudelka 1980: 174, 45/1) (**fig. 1, 10**) e una coppa da un contesto di età augusteo/claudia, in cui compaiono tre figure, tra cui una con scudo, con ai lati due delfini (Schindler Kaudelka 1998: 310, 312, 348-349, n. 124; 386, n. 124) (**fig. 1, 11**). Al gruppo dei "Komödienmeisters" sono attribuite probabilmente due figure che compaiono su di un frammento di *Sariusschale* trovato a *Brigantium* (Bregenz) (Schimmer 2005: 32-33; 107, n. 167). Alla coppa di età augustea Mazzeo Saracino 14D (Mazzeo Saracino 1985: 228-229) sono poi riconducibili cinque frammenti con la firma *L. Sarius Surus* come liberto (forse di provenienza romana) (**fig. 1, 9**), facenti parte della collezione Gorga e conservati al Museo archeologico di Arezzo (Stenico 1965: 107-109, n. 2-6; fig. 43, 1-5): fra i vari personaggi si riconoscono una figura maschile con scudo rotondo (**fig. 1, 9d**), interpretabile, secondo Goudineau, come un gladiatore raffigurato in modo caricaturale (Goudineau 1968: 545), e una figura con mantello e tunica e viso deformato (**fig. 1, 9c**), nel quale, secondo Goudineau, si potrebbe ravvisare una testa di animale (Goudineau 1968: 544). A terra compaiono anche una brocca ed un prosciutto (**fig. 1, 9d-e**).

Si segnala poi un gruppo di vasi (definito gruppo "Bovolone" dal vaso più completo della serie), accomunato dalla presenza di personaggi tratti da punzoni identici, anche se combinati in modo diverso. In totale è nota una quindicina di punzoni: i personaggi per lo più stanti ma anche seduti sono caratterizzati da teste deformate generalmente allungate, braccia e gambe lunghe e magre, grandi mani ritorte, talora gesticolanti. Dal punto di vista cronologico, i pochi dati che vengono dai contesti di ritrovamento e la morfologia dei vasi rimandano al periodo tardo augusteo e forse anche ad epoca posteriore (Biondani c.s.).

Ad eccezione di un calice Mazzeo Saracino 15D tipo A (Mazzeo Saracino 1985: 229-230) trovato ad *Arausona* (oggi Velika Mrdakovica in Croazia), databile all'età augustea, tutti gli altri esemplari appartengono a coppe *Sarius* anepigrafi: luoghi di provenienza, oltre a Bovolone (Verona) (**fig. 1, 12**), sono Budrio (Bologna), Chiunsano (Rovigo), Aquileia e *Nauportus* (oggi Vrhnika in Slovenia) (Biondani c.s.: ivi bibl.).

Dal punto di vista iconografico, i punzoni nord-italici non mostrano se non generiche somiglianze con il repertorio delle altre produzioni ceramiche. Per i gladiatori con teste asinine, che presumibilmente riecheggiano la moda egittizzante di inizio impero, si è pensato ad antecedenti diretti "in Egitto e comunque nella sfera ellenistica" (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 2003: 217). Forse poi nella figura piegata in avanti con cappello a punta del gruppo "Bovolone" (**fig. 1, 12.1**) è ravvisabile qualche analogia con le figure che battono le mani ai lati del danzatore presenti nell'invetriata microasiatica (anche nella coppa di Bovolone, peraltro, accanto a questa figura ne compare una che sembra accennare ad un passo di danza).

Per quanto riguarda il significato, un'ispirazione a rappresentazioni sceniche è probabile per gli esemplari di Bolsena e della collezione Gorga, entrambi firmati da *L. Sarius Surus*: nel primo, i gladiatori zoocefali potrebbero alludere non tanto a giochi gladiatori veri e propri, quanto ad una loro rappresentazione parodistica, interpretata da attori travestiti da animali (Goudineau 1968: 542-543); nella coppa Gorga, Stenico ritiene che i personaggi, i gesti e gli oggetti rappresentati (la brocca e il prosciutto) alludano a scene del repertorio comico per noi oscure "ma certo abbastanza familiari agli antichi d'ogni ceto a cui questi vasi erano destinati" (Stenico 1965: 108). A scene di atellana pensa Eleni Schindler Kaudelka, a proposito delle coppe del Magdalensberg (Schindler-Kaudelka 1998: 310, 312), dove pure compare un personaggio che trasporta un'anfora. A rappresentazioni comiche si può pensare anche per i vasi del gruppo di Bovolone, nei quali i personaggi rappresentati si muovono e sembrano interagire; pare tuttavia poco probabile che essi siano legati a specifiche scene, visto che compaiono in varie combinazioni, anche se non si può escludere un prototipo con una disposizione precisa, che poi non sarebbe stata rispettata dai singoli ceramisti.

In generale il legame con il simposio è comunque sempre testimoniato dalla raffigurazione di contenitori usati per trasportare e contenere vino, come la *lagynos* della coppa della collezione Gorga, l'anfora portata sulle spalle dal personaggio del Magdalensberg e il vaso tenuto in mano da una delle figure del gruppo Bovolone (**fig. 1, 12.9**).

2.5. Sigillata italica: M. Perennius Bargathes

Un'isolata figura dai tratti grotteschi in una scena di non chiaro significato compare già nella seconda fase dell'officina aretina di *M. Perennius*, quella detta tigranea (ca. 15 a.C.-primo decennio I sec. d.C.) (Porten Palange 2004: 195; Pre 18a; Taf. 104).

Tuttavia è nella terza fase dell'officina di *M. Perennius*, quella bargatea, datata ultimamente dalla Porten Palange tra il 10 d.C. al 25/30 d.C. circa (Porten Palange 2009: 33) che compaiono varie scene con figure grottesche. Queste figure, già raggruppate dal Dragendorff nel ciclo XXIV denominato "Karikaturen und Possenfiguren", sono state di recente inserite dalla Porten Palange (2009: 111-116) nel ciclo XXXI con l'aggiunta di nuovi soggetti, pubblicati nel frattempo nel catalogo della mostra dedicata a *Bargathes* (Zamarchi Grassi 1984: 48-66), al quale si rimanda per una dettagliata descrizione degli esemplari noti, provenienti da Arezzo, dove sono state trovate anche diverse matrici, oppure da collezioni. Dubbi da parte di Stenico (1960: 40, n. 476) sono stati sollevati sull'attribuzione a *Bargathes* di un frammento di calice di Neuss (Oxé 1933: 52, n. 31; Taf. IX, 31; Taf. LVII, 31) (**fig. 2, 1**), nel quale compare una figura grottesca identica a quella di un frammento trovato a Bourguet à L'Escale (Alta Provenza) (Porcher 2008: 762-763, fig. 3, 3) (**fig. 2, 2**).

Se si esclude il danzatore tipo Porten Palange P re 4a (2004) (**fig. 2, 3 a sinistra**), simile ai danzatori presenti nella produzione orientale (ceramica invetriata e *lagynoi* pontiche) e nelle altre sigillate occidentali (cfr. *infra*), dal punto di vista iconografico i punzoni di *Bargathes* non mostrano particolari affinità con quelli delle altre produzioni ceramiche.

Riguardo ai significati, le scene bargatee, per la loro originalità e complessità, sono quelle che maggiormente hanno suscitato l'interesse degli studiosi. In esse, a partire

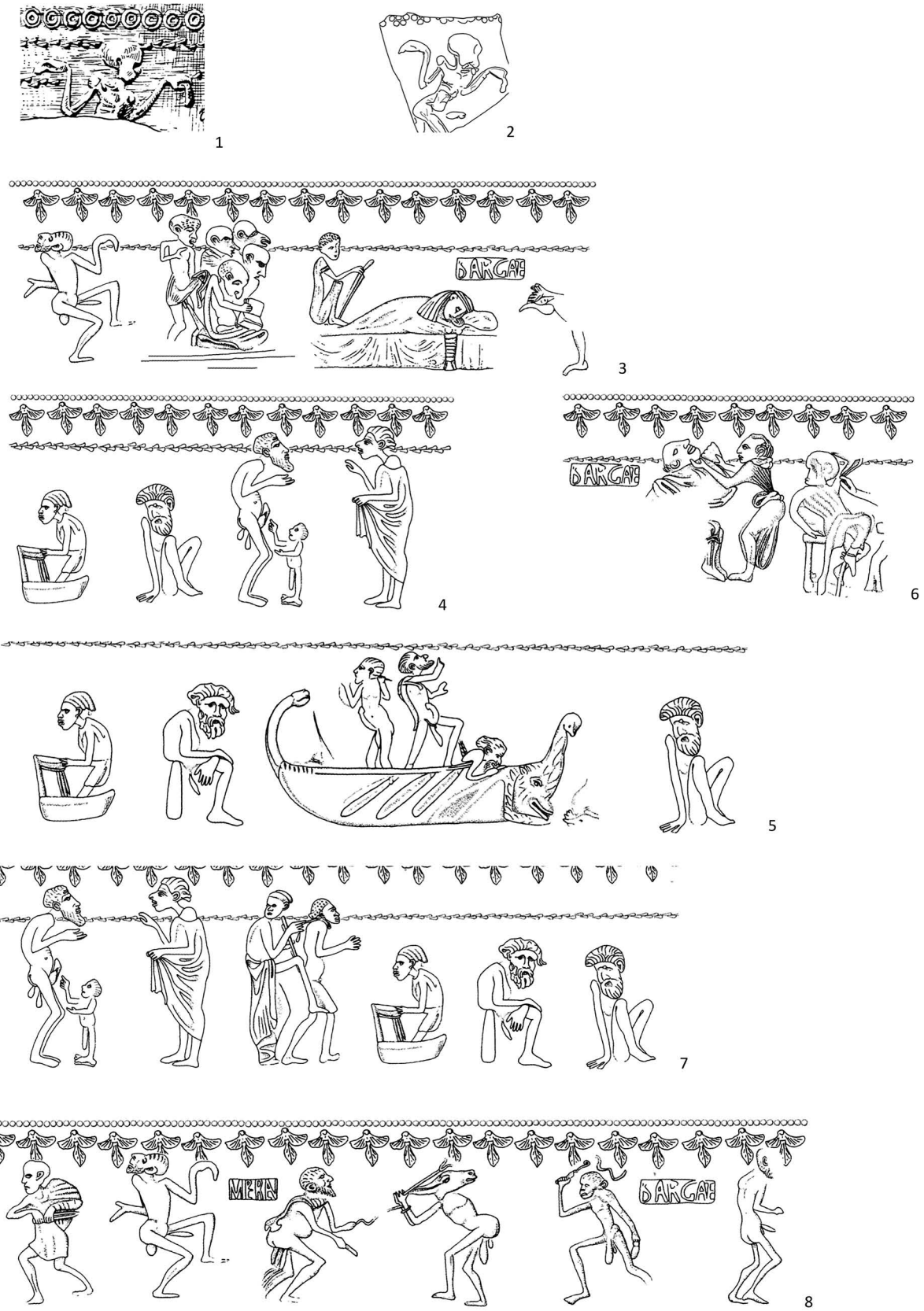


Fig. 2. Sigillata italica: 1 Frammento da Neuss (da Oxé 1933); 2 Frammento da Bourguet à L'Escale (da Porcher 2008). Sigillata italica: bottega di *M. Perennius Bargathes*: 3 Porten Palange Komb. Per 74; 4 Porten Palange Komb. Per 75; 5 Porten Palange Komb. Per 76; 6 Porten Palange Komb. Per 77; 7 Porten Palange Komb. Per 78; 8 Porten Palange Komb. Per 79 (da Porten Palange 2009) (scale varie).

da Ubaldo Pasqui, sono state generalmente riconosciute scene tratte da opere comiche, come farse atellane e mimi, ma anche parodie di tragedie.

Di recente, ad interrogarsi sul significato di queste raffigurazioni è stata Maria Teresa Marabini Moevs (1998; 1999; 2000), la quale, in accordo con l'opinione che l'origine di queste rappresentazioni debba ricercarsi nell'Alessandria di età ellenistica, entra più nel dettaglio circa l'identificazione delle scene. In esse la studiosa riconosce dei personaggi presenti nei *Silloi*, opera del filosofo scettico Timone di Fliunte (ca. 320-230 a.C.), nella quale l'autore derideva i filosofi dogmatici, attraverso l'uso della parodia: le scene bargatee sarebbero derivate da un'edizione illustrata di quest'opera realizzata ad Alessandria non molto tempo dopo la sua stesura, nel III sec. a.C., per il tramite probabilmente di oggetti in argento. Ai *Silloi* si ispirerebbero:

- la scena con personaggio disteso su *kline*, interpretato come un poeta dormiente o morto (Omero), e gruppo di personaggi identificati come letterati, alla cui sinistra è posizionata una figura danzante (Porten Palange 2009: Komb. Per 74) **(fig. 2, 3)**;

- la scena con discussione fra due personaggi, identificati con un *cinaedus* e con il filosofo Arcesilao (Porten Palange 2009: Komb. Per 75), accompagnata da una figura accovacciata (identificata con un ciclope con riferimento a Timone che ci vedeva con un solo occhio) ed una figura maschile inginocchiata in una vasca (già interpretata come *fullo*), che potrebbe rappresentare Cleante di Assos (**fig. 2, 4**);

- la scena con imbarcazione nilotica da pesca (Porten Palange 2009: Komb. Per 76), che rappresenterebbe il "*Piscatus philosophorum*": tentativo da parte dei filosofi dogmatici di attirare nella loro rete i filosofi antidogmatici (**fig. 2, 5**);

- la scena di *toilette* con due coppie di uomini (Porten Palange 2009: Komb. Per 77), volta a mettere in ridicolo l'abitudine di rasarsi e depilarsi (**fig. 2, 6**);

- la scena, di più incerta interpretazione, con uomo nudo che trasporta un altro uomo a cavalcioni sulla spalla, con le redini legate al collo del presunto cavallo (Porten Palange 2009: Komb. Per 78) (**fig. 2, 7**).

Per la raffigurazione in cui compare un uomo con testa d'asino (Porten Palange 2009: Komb. Per 79) (**fig. 2, 8**), la Marabini Moevs (1999: 25; 2000: 491-494) pensa invece ad un mimo di età ellenistica in cui "vengono ridicolizzate le superstizioni religiose degli egiziani". La scena infatti rappresenterebbe Seth (il personaggio con testa asinina), liberatosi dai lacci, che attacca gli esecutori del culto. Anche questa scena andrebbe quindi ricollegata all'ambiente alessandrino di età ellenistica. Autore del mimo potrebbe essere stato lo stesso Timone di Fliunte, che scrisse trenta commedie e versi osceni e che, secondo la Marabini Moevs (1999: 27-29), è forse identificabile con il danzatore grottesco posto a lato della scena.

Sulle figure grottesche di *Bargathes* è ritornata ultimamente Anna Santucci, la quale suggerisce come alcune raffigurazioni potrebbero ricollegarsi a scene e/o titoli di atellane: la scena con la figura dalla testa asinina potrebbe alludere all'*Asina* di Pomponio o all'*Asinus* di Novio; quella con il supposto *fullo* alla *Decuma fullonis* o ai *Fullones* di Pomponio oppure ai *Fullones Feriati* o ai *Fullones* o al *Fullonicum* di Novio; quella con la figura su *kline* guardata da un gruppo di uomini al *Maccus virgo* o alla *Sponsa Pappi* di Pomponio (Santucci 2013: 92-93).

Indipendentemente dalla esatta identificazione delle singole scene, è indubbio che le raffigurazioni di *Bargathes* rappresentino delle scene vere e proprie con vari personaggi che interagiscono.

Alla scena principale sembrano poi fare da contorno altri personaggi "riempitivi", come la figura danzante, il vecchio seduto, il ciclope accovacciato e la figura inginocchiata nella vasca.

2.6. Sigillata italica: Gn. Ateius

Figure grottesche compaiono anche nella produzione di *Cn. Ateius*, ceramista aretino che aprì succursali a Pisa (intorno al 20 a.C.), a Lione e probabilmente a La Graufesenque (OCK: 115-144, nn. 266-278).

Da *Brigantium* (Bregenz) proviene un calice *Consp.* R8 (tarda età augustea-età tiberiana), in cui compaiono fra l'altro un flautista con cappello a punta, una figura con cappello a punta e due bastoni e un personaggio con remo in spalla (**fig. 3, 1a-f**). Già attribuito da Oxè ad un *atelier* provinciale di *Ateius* (Oxé 1933: 69-70, n. 96; Taf. XXI, 96a-c; Taf. LXIII, 96a-c), è stato in seguito oggetto di analisi chimiche che hanno indicato un'origine nella regione di Arezzo-Pisa (Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger and Schneider 1992). Da Haltern proviene un calice *Consp.* R2 con la firma dei liberti *Crestus* ed *Euhodus*, attivi nella succursale di Pisa (Menchelli et al. 2001: 89-92, 99: oltre ad alcune figure frammentarie compaiono un danzatore con cappello a punta e un personaggio con remo sulla spalla uguale a quello di Bregenz (**fig. 3, 2a-d**) (Rudnick 1995: 181, HaNr. 65 e 65a; Taf. 29, 55; Taf. 64, 1). Probabilmente pisani sono anche il calice *Consp.* R9.3.1 con firma CN ATEI datato all'età tiberiana trovato a Luni (*Luni* 1973: c. 288, CM 527/4; tav. 64, 12; tav. 99, 1-5) e i frammenti di calice da Aachen (Oxé 1933: 71; Taf. LXXII, 103a-b), Strasburgo (Oxé 1933: 67, n. 88; Taf. XIX, 88), Moulins in Gallia (Dechelette 1904: 25, n. 9; fig. 9), Benghazi (Berenice) (Kenrick 1985: 182, B241; pl. X) e Bourguet à L'Escale (Alta Provenza) (Porcher 2008: 762-763, fig. 3, 6) (**fig. 3, 4**), che presentano tutti motivi analoghi a quelli di Bregenz, così come il calice *Consp.* R2 trovato a *Flavia Solva* nel *Noricum* in un contesto di inizi età imperiale (Hinker 2006: 36; 82, Kat.-Nr. 55; 137, Abb. 9; 150, Taf. 9). Ad *Ateius* appartengono inoltre frammenti di calice da Neuss (Oxé 1933: 52, nr. 30a-d; Taf. IX, 30a-d; Taf. LVII, 30) (**fig. 3, 3**) e da Mainz: quest'ultimo, con bollo [A] TEI (Oxé 193: 64, n. 76; Taf. XVIII, 76; Taf. LXI, 76a-c), è ritenuto da Stenico (1960: 42, n. 521) un prodotto di Arezzo.

Dal punto di vista iconografico, le poche figure ricostruibili mostrano affinità con quelle delle ceramiche egee, delle sigillate gallica e tardo-italica. In particolare il danzatore grottesco con cappello a punta volto all'indietro del vaso di Haltern è avvicinabile ai danzatori presenti nella ceramica invetriata (**fig. 1, 2**), nella *lagynos* dell'Agorà di Atena (**fig. 1, 5a**) e nella ceramica cnidia a rilievo (**fig. 1, 6**); questa figura probabilmente è anche il modello del danzatore grottesco del calice di Montans (**fig. 3, 11**). Invece uno dei personaggi del

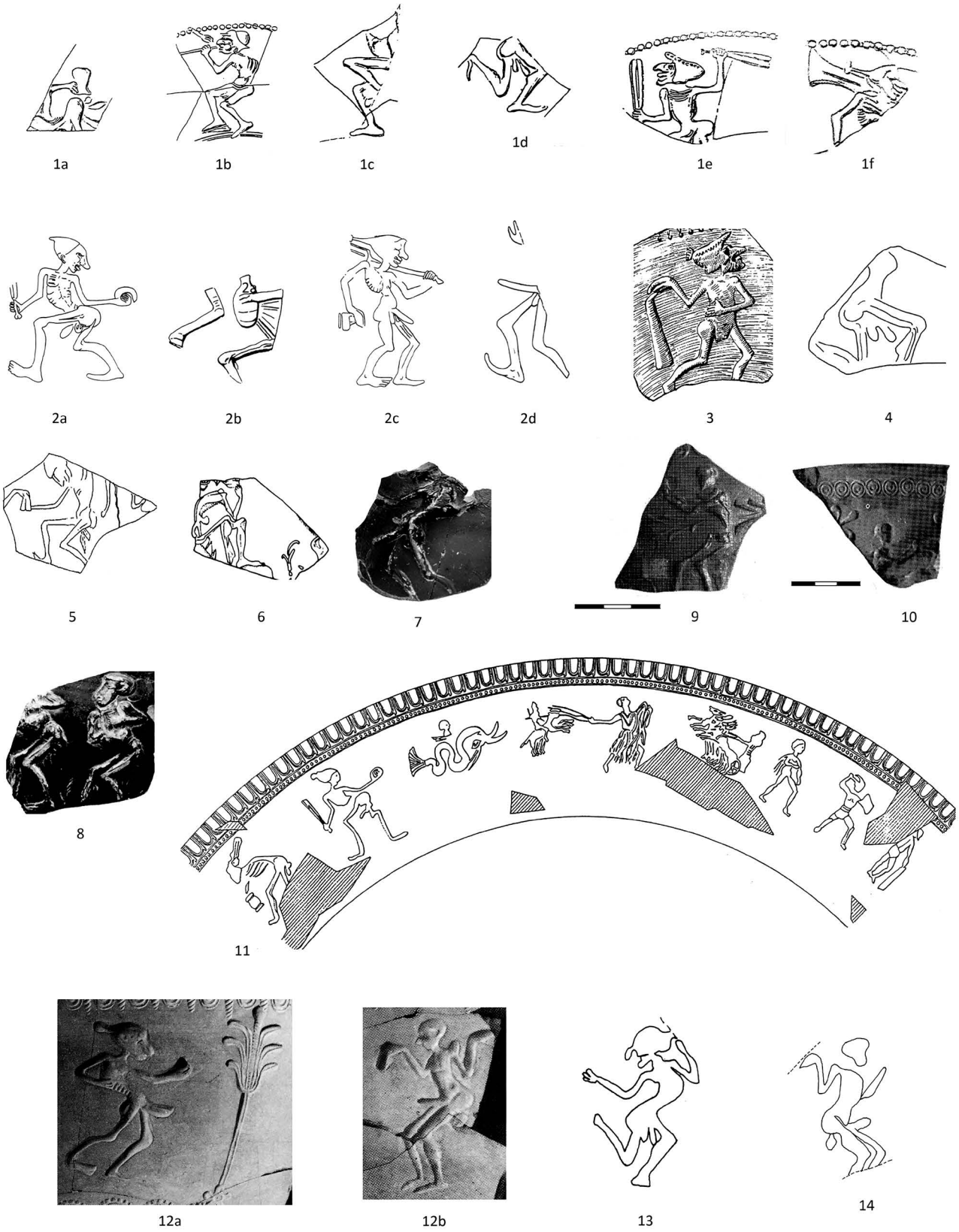


Fig. 3. Sigillata italica: bottega di *Cn. Ateius*: 1a-f Calice da Bregenz (da Oxé 1933); 2a-d Calice da Haltern (da Rudnick 1995); 3 Calice da Neuss (da Oxé 1933); 4 Frammento da Bourguet à L'Escale (Alta Provenza) (da Porcher 2008). Sigillata di Vasanello: 5 Frammento da Roma/*Castra Praetoria* (da Porten Palange 1992); 6 Frammento della Collezione Gorga (Museo di Arezzo) (da Porten Palange 1992); 7-8 Frammenti della collezione Arndt (Monaco di Baviera) (da Porten Palange 1992). Sigillata puteolana: 9-10 Frammenti del Louvre (da Pozzuoli) (da Comfort 1963-1964). Sigillata Gallica: 11 Calice da Montans (da Martin 1999); 12a-b Frammenti di matrice da La Graufesenque (da Hoffmann 1995). Sigillata tardo-italica: 13. Figura danzante tipo Rossetti Tella 56 (da Rossetti Tella 1996); 14 Figura grottesca da Roma (da Medri 1992) (scale varie).

vaso di Bregenz, sia pure frammentato (**fig. 3, 1d**), mostra affinità con il danzatore grottesco presente nella sigillata tardo-italica (**fig. 3, 13**).

Nei pochi esemplari di cui si conserva una porzione significativa, è plausibile pensare ad una sequenza narrativa, legata a rappresentazioni sceniche (probabilmente mimi), per i vasi di Bregenz e di Haltern; un carattere decorativo hanno invece le raffigurazioni del vaso di Luni, dove la stessa figura danzante è più volte replicata, intervallata da una grande cratere a volute e da un giovane danzante. Sono raffigurazioni che comunque rimandano al simposio e agli intermezzi musicali e comici ad esso legati.

2.7. Sigillata italica: Vasanello

Fra i pochi frammenti con figure scheletriche assegnabili alla sigillata italica di Vasanello (Viterbo), gestita da *Ancharius* tra il 20 a.C. e il 15 d.C. circa (Sforzini 1990: 269-270; OCK: 33-35), l'unico di certa provenienza è un esemplare con danzatore trovato a Roma nello scavo dei *Castra Praetoria* (**fig. 3, 5**), privo di indicazioni di contesto (Porten Palange 1992: 250; 260, tav. IV, 14). Sulla scorta dei segni manoscritti, alla produzione di *Ancharius* la Porten Palange (1992: 250; 260, tav. IV, 15-17) assegna poi un frammento della collezione Gorga con figura probabilmente seduta (**fig. 3, 6**) e due frammenti della collezione Arndt conservati a Monaco di Baviera: uno con figura stante (**fig. 3, 7**) ed uno con due figure identiche (**fig. 3, 8**). La Porten Palange (1992: 250, nota 46) ritiene che alla produzione di Vasanello vada riferito anche un frammento conservato a Tubinga, già attribuito dal Dragendorff a *M. Perennius* (Dragendorff and Watzinger 1947: Taf. 3, 139), in cui sono accostati uno scheletro ed una figura scheletrica probabilmente seduta. Si ricorda infine una coppa frammentaria con scena di sacrificio "di gusto grottesco e caricaturale" in cui si è riconosciuta una caricatura di Eracle (Sforzini 1990: 265; tav. III, a), che però non pare rientrare nel gruppo qui considerato.

Per le figure grottesche di Vasanello, generiche somiglianze si possono notare con i punzoni aretini: è il caso soprattutto del danzatore dei *Castra Praetoria*, simile a quello di *M. Perennius Bargathes* (**fig. 2, 3**). L'analogia più significativa riguarda tuttavia la figura stante del frammento della collezione Arndt (**fig. 3, 7**), pressoché identica a quella che compare in una matrice trovata a La Graufesenque (**fig. 3, 12a**).

Se si esclude la scena di "sacrificio", la cui pertinenza al gruppo in esame è però dubbia, per gli altri esemplari non è possibile stabilire se le figure conservate facessero parte di una sequenza narrativa o fossero figure isolate senza rapporti con le altre. L'esemplare con due danzatori identici ripetuti fa pensare ad un intento decorativo, comunque legato al simposio.

2.8. Sigillata italica: **Puteoli**

Tra i vasi in terra sigillata decorata di *Puteoli*, inquadrabili tra il 5/10 e il 20/40 d.C. (OCK: 32-33; Soricelli 2017: 92), Comfort segnala due frammenti, trovati entrambi a Pozzuoli (ora al Louvre), con figure che rientrano nell'ambito del repertorio grottesco: una parete (**fig. 3, 9)** in cui compare un personaggio leggermente piegato con le braccia in avanti (Comfort 1963-1964: pl. II, 6) ed una porzione di matrice (**fig. 3, 10**) con un personaggio che tiene le braccia in avanti (Comfort 1963-1964: pl. III, 1). All'officina puteolana di *N. Naevius Hilarus* appartiene poi un frammento bollato dell'*Antiquarium* di Berlino che conserva una testa con cappello a punta, datato all'età di Tiberio (Oxé 1933: 110, n. 311; Taf. LXX, 311).

Il personaggio curvato in avanti è accostabile a quello che ritma il tempo presente nella ceramica invetriata (**fig. 1, 3-4**) e con una figura che compare nella sigillata nord-italica (**fig. 1, 12.1**). Poco si può dire delle altre due figure, solo parzialmente conservate. Mancano anche elementi per stabilire se i personaggi visibili in questi frammenti avessero un carattere decorativo oppure facessero parte di scene più ampie.

2.9. Sigillata gallica: Montans

Come noto, i motivi decorativi delle sigillate galliche precoci di Montans e di La Graufesenque sono strettamente legati al repertorio delle fabbriche augustee di Arezzo e Pisa, in particolare quelle di *M. Perennius* e *Cn. Ateius*.

A Montans, fra i primi vasi realizzati in sigillata decorata, produzione che comincia agli inizi del I sec. d.C. (Martin 1999: 292-294; Mees 2011: 226-228), figura un calice *Consp.* R2.2.1 (**fig. 3, 11**), nel quale, accanto a vari motivi non in relazione fra loro, compaiono due figure grottesche: un personaggio nudo stante con cappello a punta, che, secondo Martin, potrebbe tenere una siringa e un sistro, e un personaggio piegato in avanti, che, secondo Martin, sulla spalla porterebbe un'otre, analoga a quella posta sulla spalla del personaggio del calice da La Graufesenque trovato a Londra (cfr. *infra*); Martin non esclude tuttavia che si tratti di una rappresentazione molto approssimativa della figura con maschera d'asino che troviamo nel repertorio di *Bargathes* (Martin 1999: 298, nota 9).

Il primo personaggio mostra strette affinità con figure che compaiono nell'invetriata (**fig. 1, 2**), nella ceramica cnidia a rilievo (**fig. 1, 6**) e nel calice ateiano di Haltern (**fig. 3, 2a**): da quest'ultimo, secondo Martin, potrebbe essere stata ricavata la copia *surmoulée* del punzone utilizzato per il calice di Montans.

Dal punto di vista compositivo il calice di Montans mostra qualche analogia con una coppa *Sarius* del Magdalensberg **(fig. 1, 11)** dove pure sono accostate raffigurazioni di vario genere senza rapporti fra loro. Semmai si può notare come varie raffigurazioni siano connesse con attività ludiche di intrattenimento: farse popolaresche (due figure grottesche), corse di carri (auriga su quadriga), giochi gladiatori (due gladiatori), corse di cavalli con acrobazie (*desultor*).

2.10. Sigillata gallica: La Graufesenque

A La Graufesenque, dove si produce sigillata dal 10 a.C. circa (Mees 2011: 230-231), sono stati recuperati, in un contesto tiberiano, i frammenti di una matrice di calice Dragendorff 11, nei quali, oltre ad una palmetta, si conservano un personaggio volto a destra con una sorta di fiocco dietro il cranio (**fig. 3, 12a**) e un personaggio con le braccia alzate (**fig. 3, 12b**)

(Hoffmann 1995: 395-397; tav. XL, 1-2). A La Graufesenque in età tiberiana fu prodotto anche un calice Hermet 11 trovato a Londra in un contesto claudio-neroniano, nel quale compare un personaggio filiforme che versa il vino da una sacca in una coppa (Martin 1999: 298, nota 9).

Dal punto vista iconografico nelle figure della matrice somiglianze si possono notare con la produzione di Vasanello (personaggio volto a destra) (**fig. 3, 7**) e con il punzone da cui sono stati ricavati i frammenti di Neuss (**fig. 2, 1**) e di Bourguet à L'Escale (**fig. 2, 2**).

I due personaggi (ripetuti presumibilmente quattro volte), posti uno di fronte all'altro, potrebbero forse far parte di una scena. Una figura isolata priva di legami con le figure vicine è invece quella del calice di Londra, la cui azione comunque rimanda sempre al simposio.

2.11. Sigillata tardo-italica

Nella sigillata tardo-italica decorata, produzione della quale sono state rinvenute manifatture nel territorio pisano (Menchelli et al. 2001: 91-92; 100-101), datata dagli anni Ottanta del I sec. d.C. sino alla metà del II secolo almeno (Medri 1992: 27-37), con un repertorio iconografico dipendente in larga misura da quello tardo-aretino, sono presenti alcune figure che rientrano nell'ambito dei soggetti grotteschi presi in esame in questa sede. Si segnalano:

- un danzatore con cappello a punta e testa rivolta all'indietro (**fig. 3, 13**) (tipo Rossetti Tella 56). Questo personaggio compare su esemplari trovati a Roma (Medri 1992: 62; 201, tipo 1.3.1.01; Rossetti Tella 1996: 73, tipo 56; 283, n. 77; 362-363, nn. 382-383), Ostia, Luni, *Albintimilium* (Rossetti Tella 1996: 73) e Tarragona (Montesinos i Martinez 2004: 82, n. 4), oltre che su vasi di incerta provenienza facenti parte di collezioni (Rossetti Tella 1996: 73). Su quattro esemplari compare la firma di *L. Nonius Florus*, attestato nelle manifatture pisane (Menchelli et al. 2001: 91-92; 100-101; Menchelli and Sangriso 2017: 55, nota 25) durante la prima metà del II secolo (Rossetti Tella 1996: 410);

- una figura con lungo fallo e gambe piegate volta a destra (**fig. 3, 14**), di provenienza romana (Medri 1992: 202, 1.3.1.02).

Il primo personaggio trova confronti sia nella produzione di *Bargathes* (**fig. 2, 3**) sia in quella di *Ateius* (**fig. 3, 1d**). Il secondo con lungo fallo è molto simile alla figura che compare nella matrice trovata a La Graufesenque (**fig. 3, 12b**).

In questa classe ceramica le figure grottesche sono replicate su tutta la superficie del vaso oppure si alternano con raffigurazioni di vario tipo (eroti, alberi etc.), con le quali non c'è nessun collegamento narrativo: pare dunque che siano utilizzate con scopi puramente decorativi, come peraltro è caratteristico dei motivi presenti in questa produzione.

3. Note conclusive

3.1. Aspetti cronologici

Sulla datazione dei vasi a figure grottesche e di conseguenza anche sugli eventuali debiti iconografici fra le varie produzioni permangono varie incertezze, visto che solo pochi esemplari provengono da contesti ben datati.

I dati cronologici disponibili indicano comunque un periodo di produzione circoscrivibile in un arco di tempo piuttosto ristretto che va dalla seconda metà del I sec. a.C. alla prima metà del II sec. d.C., con la grande maggioranza delle attestazioni che si concentra nell'età augusteo-tiberiana.

Le prime testimonianze sono probabilmente quelle che compaiono nella ceramica invetriata microasiatica. Infatti, anche ammettendo che le datazioni della Hochuli-Gysel vadano abbassate di un paio di decenni, i vasi invetriati rimarrebbero comunque i più antichi.

Precoci sono anche i primi vasi con figure grottesche nord-italici collocabili nell'ultimo ventennio del I sec. a.C. (esemplari di Frejus, Bolsena e Magdalensberg) mentre invece pressoché contemporanei (tarda età augustea-età tiberiana) sembrerebbero i vasi nord-italici del gruppo "Bovolone", quelli aretini e pisani di *M. Perennius Bargathes* e *Cn. Ateius*, quelli di Vasanello, quelli di *Puteoli* e quelli prodotti in Gallia meridionale nelle officine di Montans e La Graufesenque. Nella prima età imperiale si collocano anche le olpi pontiche e la ceramica a rilievo cnidia, mentre tra l'ultimo ventennio del I sec. d.C. e i primi decenni del II secolo datano gli esemplari in sigillata tardo-italica.

L'arco di vita di queste raffigurazioni corrisponde sostanzialmente a quello degli scheletri veri e propri con i quali peraltro gli "Hautskelette" condividono le funzioni e talora sono in associazione: introdotti anch'essi almeno nell'ultimo quarto del I sec. a.C., raramente oltrepassano il I sec. d.C. (Dunbabin 1986: 251).

3.2. Distribuzione

Nelle produzioni in cui sono documentati, i vasi con figure grottesche sono presenti in quantità molto ridotta, anche se nella sigillata nord-italica, se consideriamo la totalità dei vasi con figurazioni antropomorfe che non siano inserite come riempitivo all'interno di decorazioni vegetali ma che predominino nettamente la scena, il loro numero non è neppure così insignificante. Di certo comunque la fortuna di queste raffigurazioni non fu pari a quella dei temi mitologici o di altri temi simposiaci.

Sia pure con numeri limitati, il loro raggio di diffusione è in ogni caso molto ampio e in generale corrisponde a quello della produzione di appartenenza (per le sigillate cfr. OCK: *passim*; Mees 2011: *passim*).

I vasi con raffigurazioni grottesche microasiatici, oltre all'area egea, raggiunsero le coste del Mar Nero e l'area adriatica; quelli in sigillata nord-italica raggiunsero l'Italia centrale e le province limitrofe (Gallia meridionale, *Raetia* ed *Illyricum*). Per quanto riguarda le sigillate centro-italiche, se i vasi "grotteschi" di *Bargathes* sembrano aver viaggiato poco (o per nulla), largamente diffusa, grazie soprattutto alla sua officina pisana, è la produzione di *Ateius*, che raggiunse la Gallia, il *limes* renano, il Norico e l'Africa settentrionale; la produzione di Vasanello arriva a Roma, mentre quella puteolana è documentata solo a Pozzuoli. Non sembra abbiano avuto grande diffusione i prodotti sud-gallici, anche se un vaso di La Graufesenque è testimoniato in Britannia. Maggiore

diffusione ebbero invece quelli della sigillata tardo-italica, documentati, oltre che in Italia centrale, ad *Albintimilium* e nella *Hispania Tarraconensis*.

Vasi con queste figure sono stati trovati in aree urbane, in aree rurali e nei campi militari del confine renano. I contesti di ritrovamento sono prevalentemente abitativi, ma alcuni esemplari, come quelli di *Olbia* e Bovolone, provengono anche da tombe.

3.3. Aspetti iconografici

I prototipi delle raffigurazioni scheletriche presenti nella ceramica vascolare sono da ricercare nell'artigianato tardo-ellenistico: più che nella ceramica a rilievo sembrano ravvisabili nella piccola plastica e nella toreutica. È il caso del personaggio più popolare di questo gruppo, quello del danzatore grottesco (spesso con cappello a punta), documentato in diverse varianti a seconda della posizione delle braccia e delle gambe. Ad esempio, la variante con entrambe le braccia più o meno piegate e sollevate (secondo uno schema a W), presente nella invetriata, nella *lagynos* pontica di Atene, nella sigillata aretina di *Bargathes*, nella produzione di *Ateius*, nella sigillata di Vasanello e di La Graufesenque, è confrontabile con dei nani danzanti di età ellenistica, come quelli del relitto di Mahdia datati alla metà del II sec. a.C. (Adriani 1963: Taf. 32, 1-2); con nani di età ellenistica, come il piccolo bronzo di Baltimora con cappello a punta datato al III sec. a.C. (Adriani 1963: Taf. 36,4), è confrontabile anche la variante con una mano sollevata e l'altra ripiegata sul fianco, presente nella ceramica cnidia, nella produzione di *Ateius* e nella matrice di La Graufesenque. Un influsso ellenistico-alessandrino è peraltro evidente anche per gli scheletri animati che hanno iconografie analoghe e che nella ceramica aretina precedono le figure scheletriche.

Considerando poi gli stretti legami che per alcune figure si riscontrano tra varie produzioni, in particolare fra la ceramica invetriata e le bottiglie pontiche e fra le sigillate di *Ateius*, di Vasanello, della Gallia e tardo-italica, sono probabili influssi da una produzione all'altra.

Va anche ricordato che iconografie e schemi compositivi utilizzati nella ceramica vascolare circolano negli stessi tempi in altre produzioni artigianali: in particolare il gruppo costituito dal danzatore grottesco accompagnato da uno o due personaggi con cappello a punta che scandiscono il ritmo, presente nella ceramica invetriata, compare fra l'altro (con varianti) in un affresco del grande colombario di villa Pamphilj datato all'età augustea (Goldman 1943: 26, fig. 8; 27-28), in uno stucco della Basilica sotterranea di Porta Maggiore datato alla prima metà del I sec. d.C. (Goldman 1943: 29-30; 31, fig. 12) e negli stucchi di una tomba di Cuma datata alla prima età augustea (Dunbabin 1986: 239-240; fig. 49).

3.4. Significati

Le figure grottesche, che nella piccola plastica ebbero probabilmente utilizzi diversi (oggetti apotropaici o cultuali, suppellettile domestica o *souvenirs* teatrali), funzioni diverse ebbero anche nella ceramica vascolare:

- in molti casi la funzione appare essenzialmente decorativa, come è evidente nella sigillata tardo-italica, dove le figure sono ripetute in serie o sono accostate ad altre raffigurazioni senza rapporti contenutistici;

- nei vasi di *Bargathes* e di *Ateius* ed almeno in alcuni vasi nord-italici sono invece riconoscibili personaggi che interagiscono, legati ad azioni sceniche. Tra i generi teatrali in voga nella prima età imperiale, anche se non mancano riferimenti che possono far pensare all'atellana (Santucci 2013), è da pensare soprattutto al mimo, il quale ebbe larga diffusione nella tarda età ellenistica e che rimase molto in voga nella prima età imperiale: piedi scalzi, grande fallo, vesti della vita quotidiana, cappelli a punta, teste calve, assenza di maschere, gesti volgari, presenza di danzatori sono indizi che rimandano a questo genere di rappresentazione. In particolare si deve pensare a "mimi" che si recitavano non tanto nei teatri quanto nelle piazze o anche nelle case private, nei quali scene comiche si alternavano ad intrattenimenti di altro tipo come danze e acrobazie. In alcuni casi è plausibile pensare ad opere ben precise, la cui identificazione per noi rimane tuttavia problematica. Questo è il caso della scena con personaggio zoocefalo di *Bargathes* o della scena della coppa in sigillata nord-italica della collezione Gorga. Per alcune raffigurazioni di *Bargathes* si è anche pensato a scene tratte da un'opera filosofica, come i *Silloi* di Timone di Fliunte. Per lo più, tuttavia, si deve pensare a sketches senza riferimenti ad opere specifiche;

- evidente è poi la connessione con il simposio, specialmente nella ceramica invetriata e nelle bottiglie pontiche. Al simposio rimanda la tipologia dei vasi con queste raffigurazioni (coppe, calici, *skyphoi*, *kalathoi*, *lagynoi*, *oinochoai*) e quella dei vasi e degli altri oggetti che compaiono in alcune scene: anfore, *lagynoi* e *oinochai*; pezzi di carne o corone. Alcune figure sembrano poi alludere ai personaggi deformi, come i gobbi e i nani, che partecipavano ai banchetti come oggetto di riso. Ma soprattutto le figure scheletriche, come gli scheletri veri e propri raffigurati nel vasellame della prima età imperiale con i quali peraltro esse sono talora in associazione, ricordano la fugacità dell'esistenza (*memento mori*) e quindi la necessità di godere dei piaceri della vita, approfittando dell'ora presente (*carpe diem*) (Dunbabin 1986: 193-194), concetto che chiaramente emerge dalla scritta *kto chro* del vaso di Berlino.

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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 crossways 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).

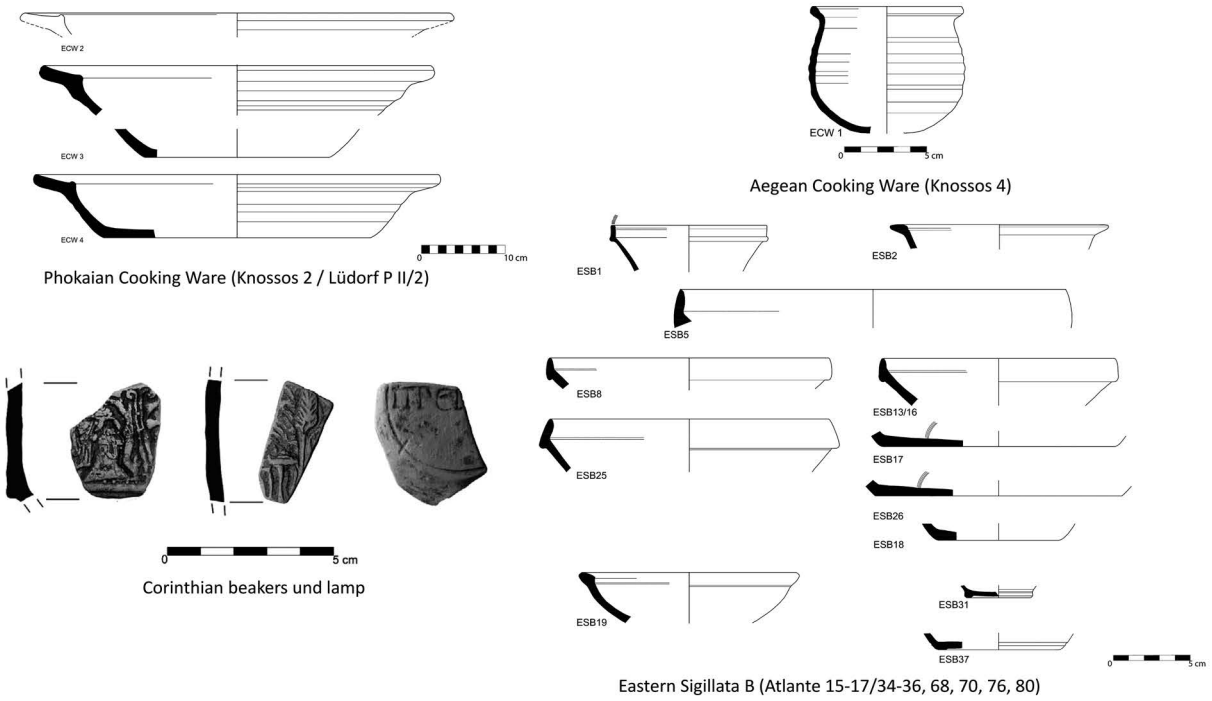


Fig. 3. Eastern imports in *Aguntum*. Examples of ESB, Aegean and Phokaian Cooking Ware from the *atrium* house and Corinthian imports from the *forum* area (drawings: M. Auer, V. Sossau; layout: M. Auer)

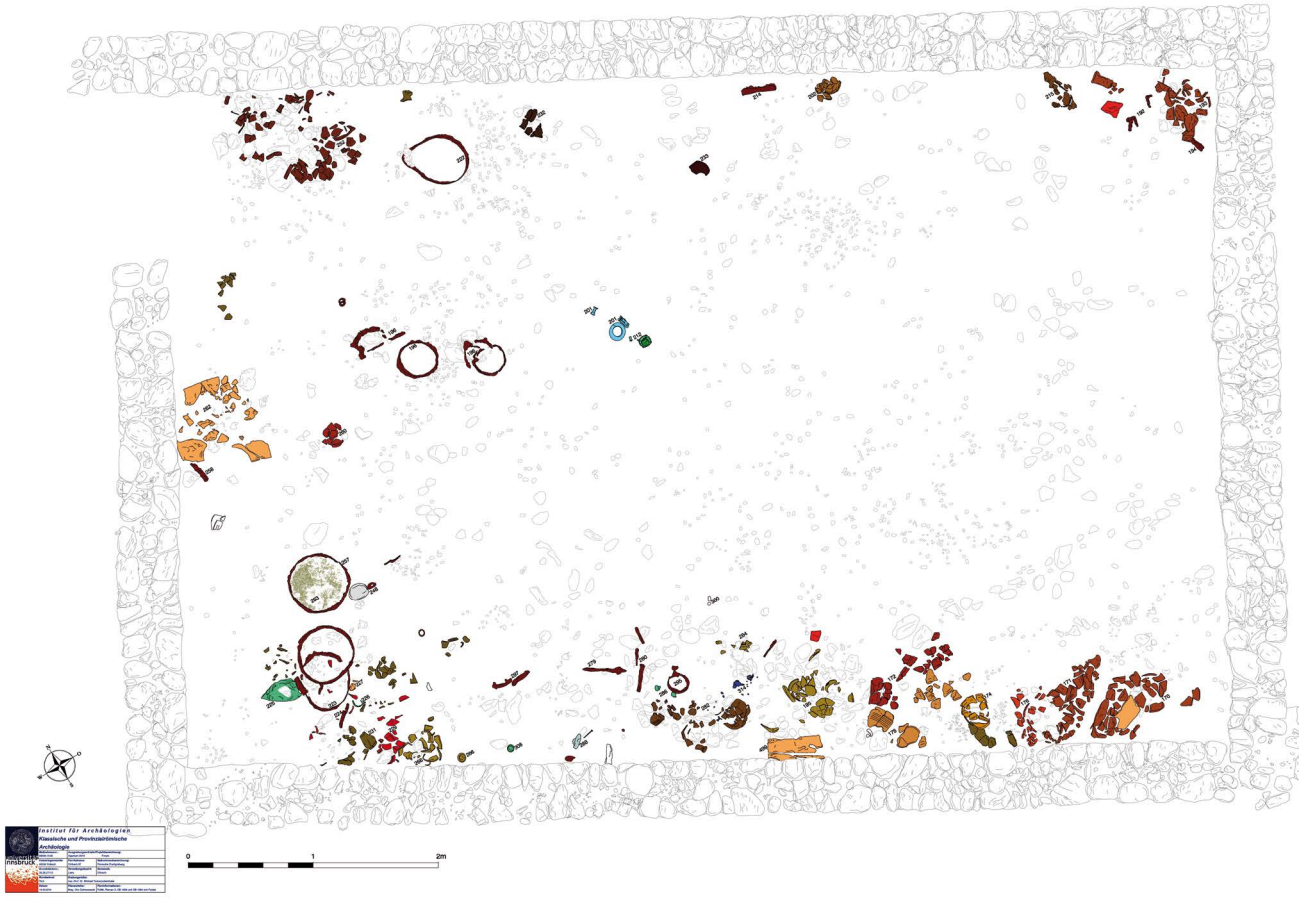


Fig. 4. Drawing of room 289: light to dark red = pottery; brown = iron; green = grain; light green = bronze; light blue = glass; dark blue = azurite; orange = stone (layout: O. Defranceschi)

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, *Doccius*, 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.

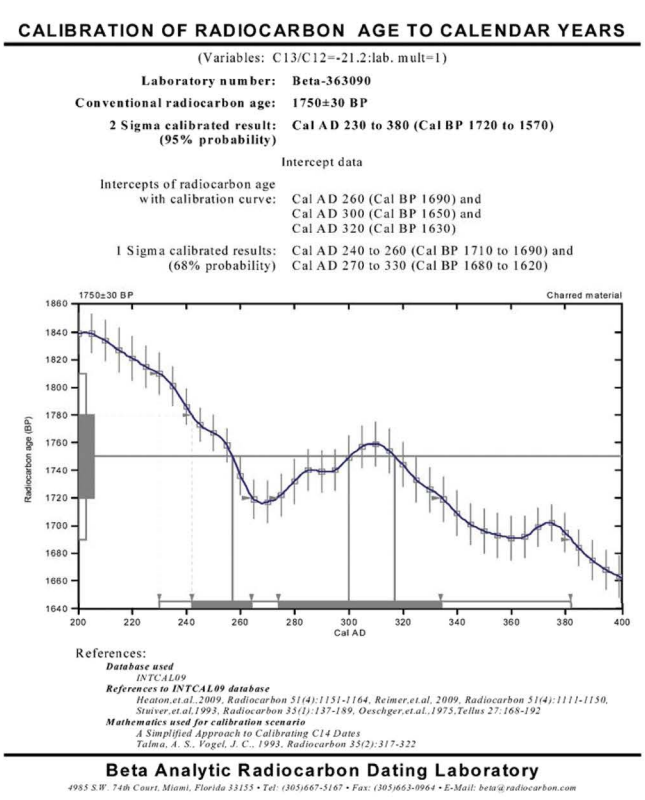




Fig. 5. Radiocarbon-dating of a burnt barley grain and coins from the burnt layer in room 289.

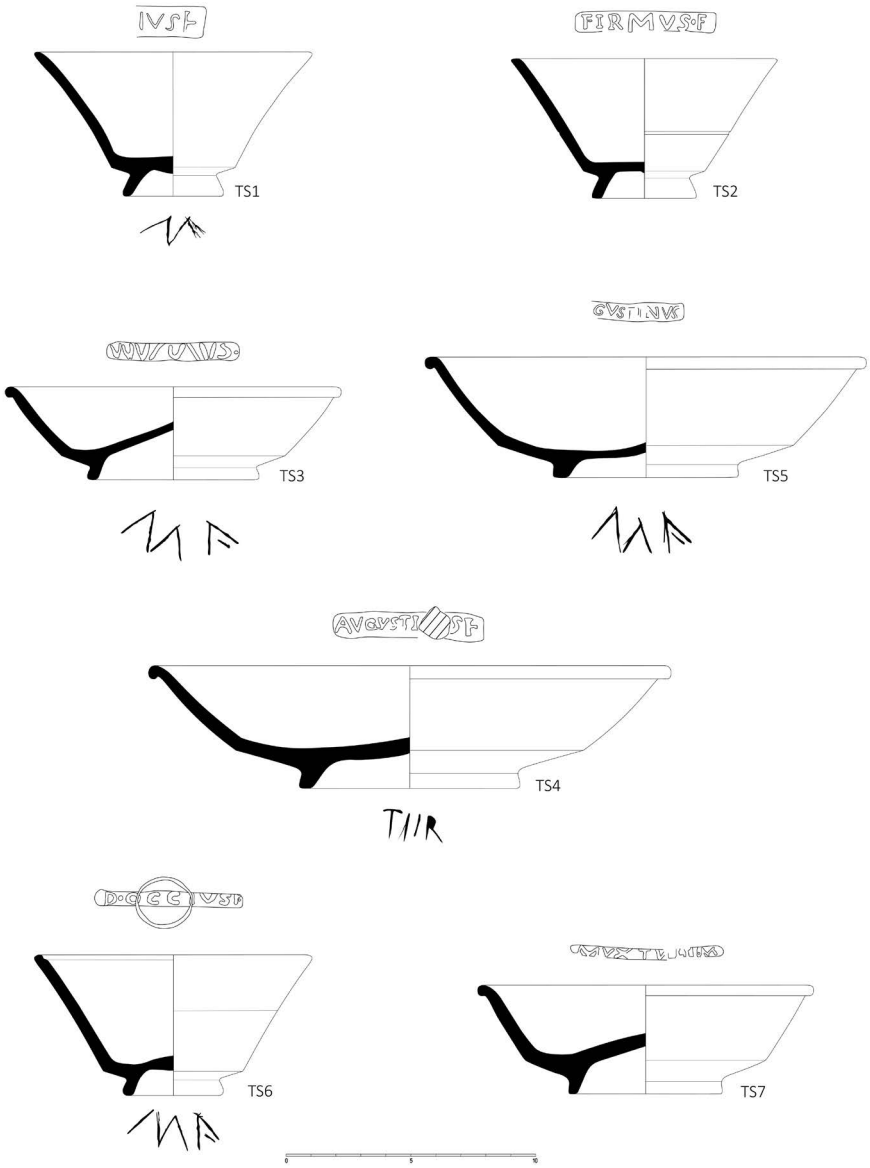


Fig. 6. *Terra Sigillata* vessels from Rheinzabern (TS1–TS5), Gueugnon (TS6) and Lezoux (TS7). Scale: 1:3 (vessels), 1:2 (graffiti), 1:1 (stamps), (drawings: C. Angerer [vessels] and J. Rabitsch [stamps and graffiti]).

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 Consp. 39 (Formgruppe B according to Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1992: 416-422; Schmid and Gschwind 2020: 54-55). The rim is decorated with barbotine grapes and volutes (variant 1 according to Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 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 B[1] is not in uncommon in the *municipium*, as is shown by the findings form 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).

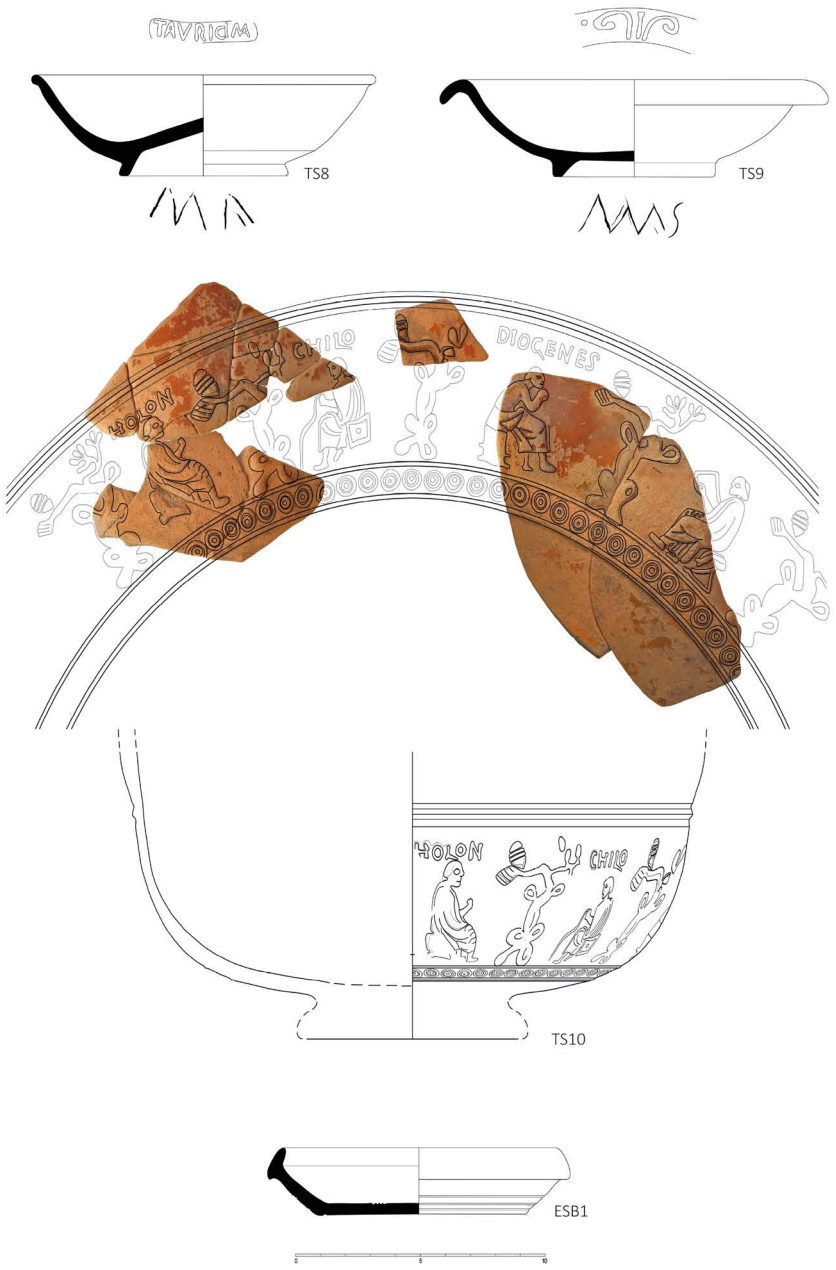


Fig. 7. *Terra Sigillata* vessels from Lezoux (TS8) and Northern Italy (TS9–TS10) as well as Eastern Sigillata B (ESB1). Scale: 1:3 (vessels except TS10), 1:2 (graffiti), 1:1 (stamps), (drawings: C. Angerer [TS8–TS9, ESB1], J. Rabitsch [stamps and graffiti] and U. Janovsky-Wein [TS10]).

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 graffitis 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 graffitis, 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,

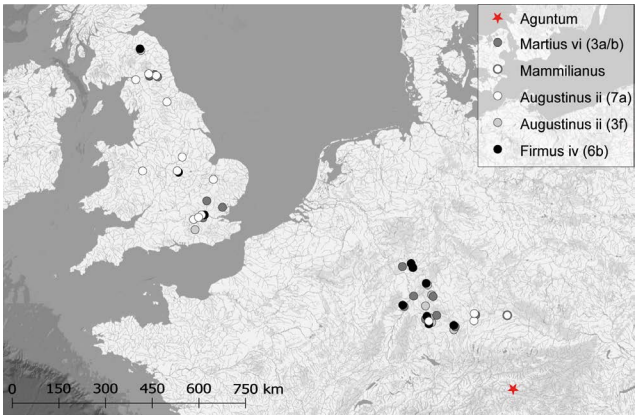


Fig. 8. Distribution of the potter stamps from Rheinzabern (based on data from Hartley and Dickinson 2008a; 2009a; 2009b; Walke 1965. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

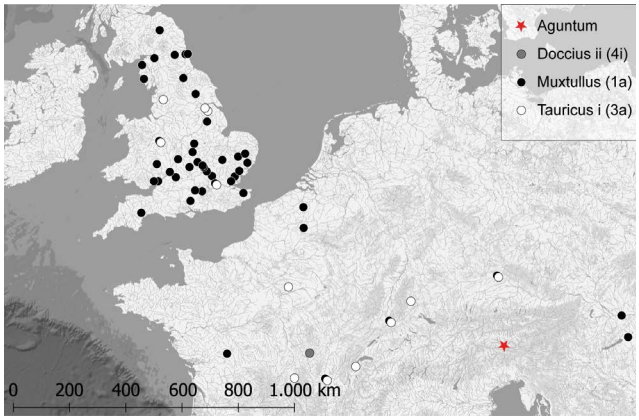


Fig. 9. Distribution of the potter stamps from Central Gaul (based on data form Hartley and Dickinson 2008b; 2010; 2012. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

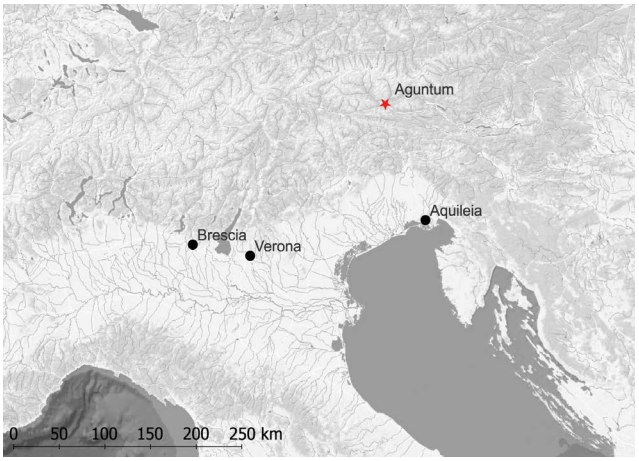


Fig. 10. Distribution of the so-called philosophers' bowls (based on data from Mantovani and Stuani 2020; Masselli Scotti 2008. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

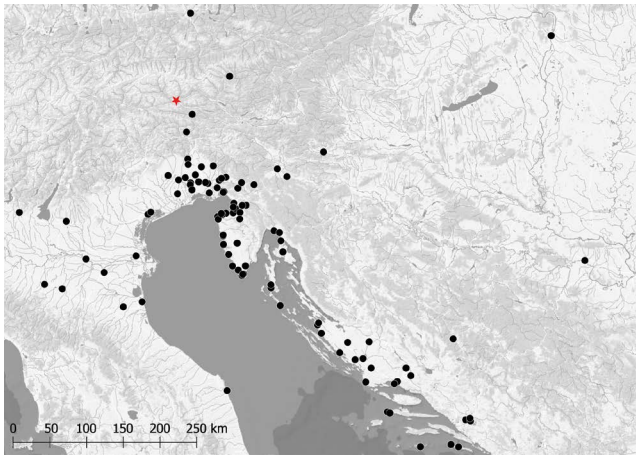


Fig. 11. Distribution of Eastern Sigillata B in the Adriatic Region and in the province *Noricum* (based on data from Dobreva and Griggio 2021; Šelendić and Taras 2021; Gschwind and Sieler 2018; Gamper 2015; Sieler 2008; Žerjal 2008; Gabler 1992. Map data: ESRI Ocean. Layout: J. Rabitsch).

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 lead 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: Doccius 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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Iliana Borisova-Katsarova

LATE ROMAN POTTERY WITH STAMPED DECORATION FROM SERDICA (SOFIA, BULGARIA)

The article discusses preliminary results from the study of late antique pottery known in the literature as "grey Macedonian terra sigillata", discovered during archaeological excavations in ancient Serdica, Bulgaria. The investigations show that the leading feature of these vessels – stamped decoration, is found both on vessels of grey and black surface, and on vessels of red colour. At the same time, technological features of vessels without decoration, but made of similar clay and similar surface treatment suggest that they can be grouped into a type of undecorated and decorated tableware, distributed in a large area in the Late Antique prefecture of Illyricum, but mainly in its Eastern part. Preliminary results of interdisciplinary research reveal new details about the production technology. The outlined area of distribution suggests that this ceramic complex is associated with a population engaged in mining and metallurgy, settled in these lands at the beginning of Late Antiquity.

Stamped pottery – Macedonian terra sigillata – Late Antiquity – Serdica

Introduction

The pottery discussed here is most often referred to in the literature by the term grey Macedonian terra sigillata. As is well known, this term was introduced by J. Hayes, who noted its similarities with Gallic terra sigillata grise. At that time, the main examples were from the territory of Greece and were too limited in number (Hayes 1972: 402-407). Over time, its presence has been established in many parts of the Balkan peninsula, in the Roman provinces of Macedonia, Thracia, Dacia Ripensis, Dardania (Radinović 2011: 114) as well as Dacia Mediterranea. They, except for Thrace, belong to the prefecture of Illyricum of the Late Roman Empire.

For the Bulgarian lands, this pottery has not been fully studied or analysed. There are many questions related to it and the analysis covers many issues. Therefore, I will only deal with some aspects here, drawing on materials from *Serdica*, to outline the directions of the future work.

Serdica (present-day Sofia, Bulgaria) is one of the places where stamped tableware is frequently found during archaeological excavations. It is attested in all surveys in the city in varying quantities, but regretfully there are no publications. The materials presented here come mainly from recent research around the Western gate of the ancient city, supplemented by some examples from other sites in the town (**fig. 1**). The material from the West Gate area of *Serdica* is too scarce and fragmentary to allow solid conclusions concerning the production and use of this type of pottery, but it presents some interesting forms, ornamental motifs and compositions that complement the examples already known from other Bulgarian sites. The sherds originate from secondary contexts and cannot serve to refine the dating. Some of the fragments from the site at the Western Gate and at 15 Veslets Street are

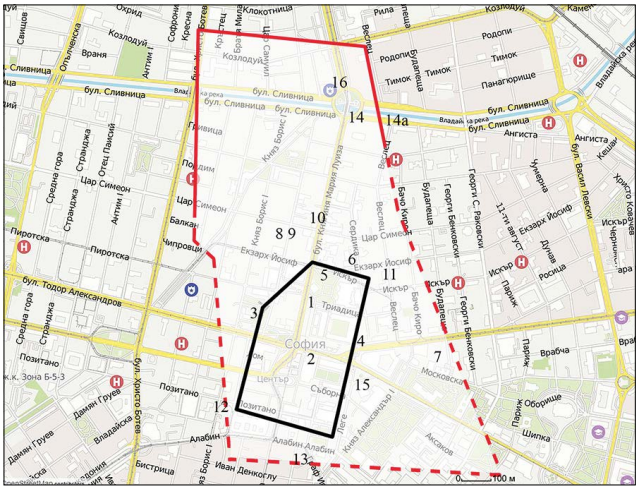


Fig. 1. Archaeological sites in Serdica, investigated during last two decades (after Borisova-Katsarova 2021). N3 – the Western gate of Serdica, N 11 – 15 Veslets Str., N 16 – 12 Tzvetan Minkov Str. – findspots of presented pottery sherds.

from a defensive ditch (Borisova-Katsarova 2020: 299-300; Meshekov and Borisova-Katsarova 2021: 697-700), which had functioned from the end of the 4th to about the middle of the 5th century AD. Those from 12 Tsvetan Minkov Str. are from a thin occupation layer without archaeological structures, dated by coins and other materials generally to the 4th-5th century AD (Borisova-Katsarova, Todorova and Petrova 2018: 256-258). Thirty-three fragments, both characteristic and uncharacteristic, were subjected to archaeometric study. Fifteen of the most diagnostic are catalogued and illustrated here (**fig. 2, 3**).

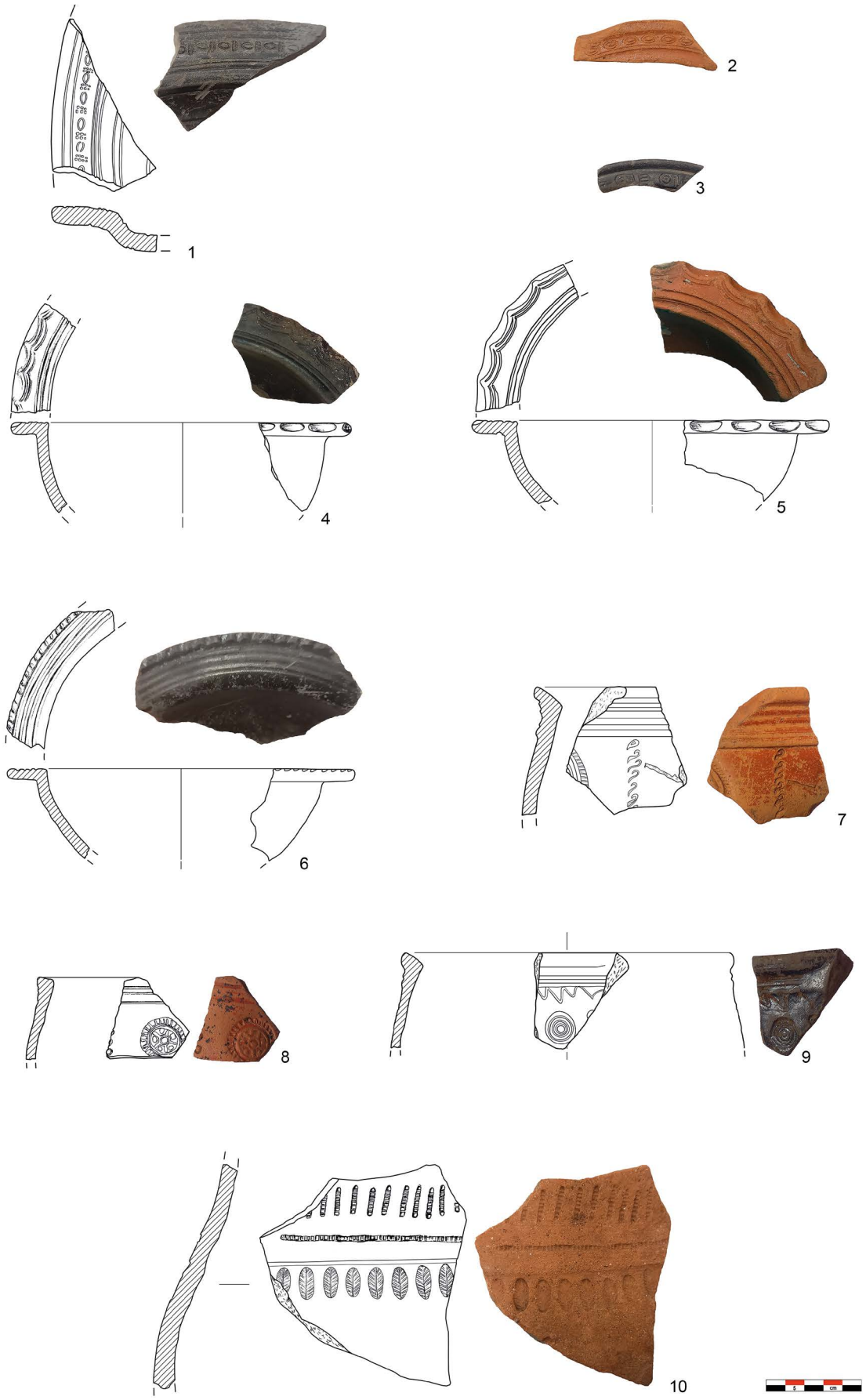


Fig. 2. Pottery sherds from the Western gate (NN 1, 3, 4, 5, 6), 15 Veslets Str. (NN 2, 7, 9, 10), 12 Tzvetan Minkov Str. (N 10) (Drawings by I. Borisova-Katsarova).

Production technology and decorative techniques

All the vessels were made on the potter's wheel, but the use of moulds for some of them cannot be excluded, especially for the decoration. The leading physical characteristic of these vessels is the stamped decoration, but other techniques were also used – incised and appliqué decoration, rouletting and casting in a mould. The vessels were fired in both reducing and oxidizing atmosphere and after firing have a grey/black and red colour on the surface (**fig. 2, 3**).

Some of the sherds are covered with a very high-quality slip, which in some cases has a silvery metallic shine.

All the vessels, both decorated and plane, show similarities in clays and surface treatment, as well as in formal characteristics.

The materials are fragmentary, lacking fully preserved vessels, but this is understandable insofar as they come from a settlement context. For this reason, certain identification of dimensions and shapes is difficult, but it is still possible to relate most of them to the established typology for this type of pottery developed for the Stoby material (Anderson-Stojanović 1992). The fragments with cat. NN 1 to 6 (**fig. 2**) undoubtedly belong to the most widespread Form 1 and Form 2, with cat. N 1 probably attributable to Form 1 (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 66, Pl. 48. 421, 423; Stajkova 1989: fig. 2b; Radinović 2011: Pl. II, 8). Cat. NN 2 and 3 are too small to be identified with certainty and may belong to both Form 1 and Form 2 (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 66, Pl. 48-50). Fragments with cat. NN 4, 5 and 6 belong to Form 2, the first two are with a festooned scalloped rim (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 67, Pl. 49-50; Radinović 2011: T. I/4; Onchevska-Todorovska 2016: T. 21). These forms were fired in a reducing as well as an oxidizing atmosphere.

Cat. NN 7, 8 and 9 are also too small for secure identification, but it is possible to refer them with some reserve to Form 9 (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 70-71, Pl. 54). They were also fired in a reducing and oxidizing environment.

The sherd N 10 is of particular interest. It is of a large, closed vessel, pot, or pitcher, made of local clay and without additional coating on the surface (**fig. 2, 10**). The decoration is of stamped floral and geometric motifs, identical to that on the vessels with a black and red slip surface. A similar sherd was found at a site at 27 Washington Str., yet unpublished. Similar finds have been discovered in Davidovac-Gradište near Vranje (Republic of Serbia) (Radinović 2011: T. VI, 10). This, no doubt, is an indication of the local production of such ceramics, probably an imitation of more high-quality variants.

Bowls with cat. NN 11 and 12 (**figs. 3, 1-2**) appear to be a less common form. They find a quite close analogues in Davidovac-Gradište (Radinović 2011: T. III/1, 2).

Cat. N 13 could belong either to Form 9 or to the more complex Form 8 (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 70-71, Pl. 53-54). Both are well represented among the materials from Bulgaria (Staikova 1989: fig. 5 a, b; Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: Tabl. I b). In southeastern Serbia similar vessels are also attested in the oxidizing variant (Radinović 2011: T. III/3, VI/11). Cat. N 15 also finds a parallel on this site (Radinović 2011: T/5). Specimens of Form 8 and 9 with red-brown

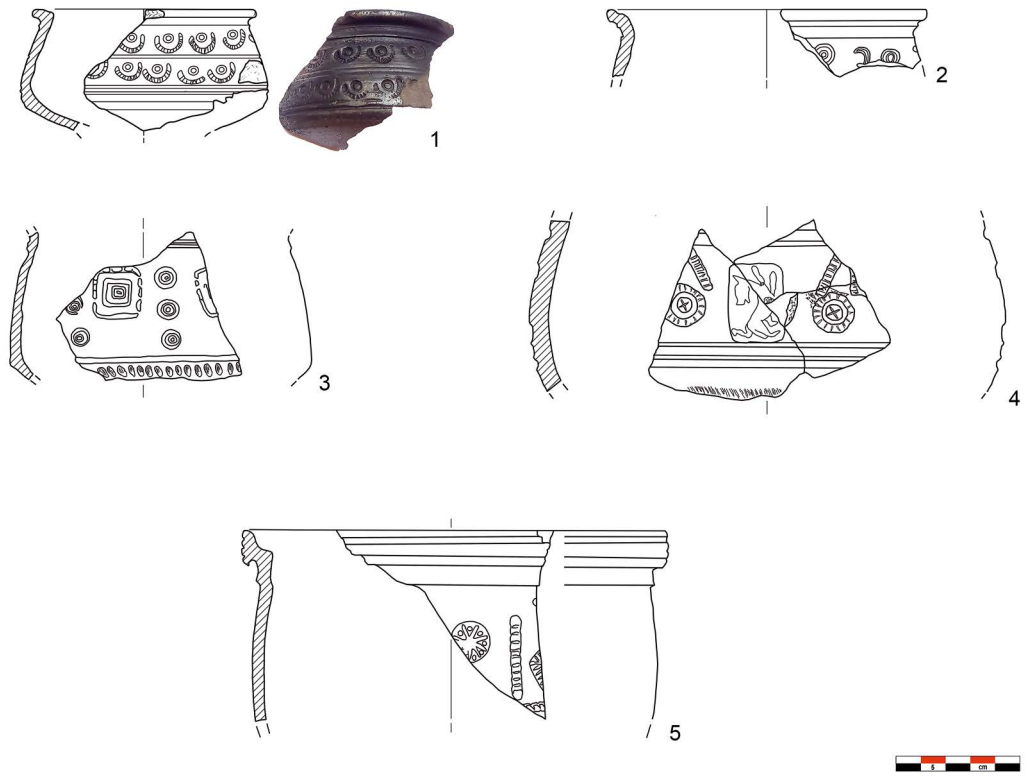


Fig. 3. Pottery sherds from 15 Veslets Str. (N 1) and the Western gate (NN 2, 3, 4, 5) with grey and black slip (Drawings by I. Borisova-Katsarova).

surface are preserved in Regional History Museum of Sofia (Museum N A 3634 and A 3635; A 3890).

Of particular interest is cat. N 14, as figural representations are rare in this type of pottery, although the form cannot be reconstructed. A vessel with a combination of relief and stamped decoration is on display at the National Archaeological Institute and Museum at Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Museum N 8008), with unknown provenance. It is a large bowl with a cylindrical upper part and a conical lower part, in the upper part of which is a band of diagonally arranged rectangular fields in which there are relief images of a running dog. Between these fields diagonal rows of concentric circles are placed. A vessel with images of dolphins is known from the village of Kralev dol, Pernik municipality (Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: 198, Tabl. I/g). A vessel with a depiction of an amphora comes from a metallurgical complex at Plana Planina, Samokov region (Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: 196, Tabl. I/v), and portrait images are known from the village of Popovyane, Samokovo and *Pautalia* (Grozdanov 2010: 133).

Among the fragments subjected to archaeoletric study, there is one of Form 10, a fragment of a screw-necked jug (Anderson-Stojanović 1992: 71, Pl. 54), grey-black, with a high metallic shine.

We can summarize the characteristic features of the pottery discussed as follows:

1. Shapes - bowls and plates of various sizes, shallow and deep, some with scalloped rims, cups, pitchers, and jugs. No doubt some of the forms have metal prototypes and/or are intended to resemble metal vessels.

2. Firing conditions – reduction and oxidizing, resulting in black, grey, and red surface colour in different shades.

3. Clay – generally fine, with a minimum amount of mica, but sandy variations also occur.

4. Manufacturing techniques – on a potter's wheel.

5. Coating – slip of varying quality, glossy, matte, sometimes applied to visible parts of the vessel. An undoubted imitation of metal vessels, especially the metal-like ones.

6. Decoration techniques – incised, stamped, rouletting; embossed/plastic, from a mould; in the case of smooth vessels – grooves on the rims; scalloped mouth margins of the plates; flutes on jug necks and handles. Decorative motifs – geometric (circles, concentric circles, lozenges, squares), floral (palmettes, rosettes), figural (animal and human). Figural motifs are executed in relief, with a mould or concave stamp.

7. Distribution – the eastern part of prefecture *Ilyiricum*, which coincides more or less with the central and partly western Balkan region.

8. Date – the generally accepted date is 4th to 6th century AD but there may be variations in different locations. So far it seems that this pottery was presented in *Serdica* in the 4th and 5th centuries AD.

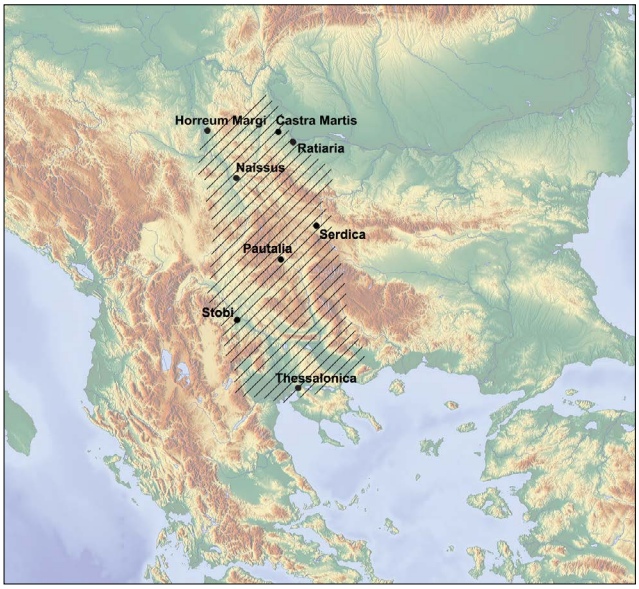


Fig. 4. Distribution area of the so-called Grey Macedonian terra sigillata (maps-for-free.com with additions by I. Borisova-Katsarova).

Interdisciplinary research

Preliminary interdisciplinary studies on a limited number of fragments (a total of 33 specimens, predominantly grey/black in colour) have yielded promising results, although they are at an early stage. The elemental composition of the samples was measured qualitatively and quantitatively by a portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometry instrument (Bruker S1 Titan). Raman spectroscopy was used to determine the phase composition of the samples using a Bruker Bravo portable equipment and excitation radiation at a wavelength of 785 nm. The spectra were analysed with the Opus and Crystal Sleuth software programs, and matches were found using an integrated database of Raman spectra, X-ray diffraction and chemistry data for minerals (RRUF™ Project database).

The composition of the clay was found to be similar in all the examined samples, both with black and red surfaces. Due to the relatively small number of the specimens analysed, complex statistical treatment of the data was not performed. Nevertheless, according to the Sr correlations, the grey/black and the red specimens were most probably produced using an identical clay type or the same clay deposit. The Fe/Mn and V/Ti correlations indicate an additional mineral/clay layer on the outer surface of the black specimens, containing higher Fe and Ti compounds compared to the ceramic cores (**fig. 5**). It seems that the polished surface with the distinctive metallic sheen of some grey/black vessels was achieved by coating with a mineral phase having natural graphite in its composition (up to 70% coincidence with the typical Raman spectra of natural graphite (R050503, RRUF) (**fig. 6**). Such a coating is absent in red vessels, where a mix of complex multielemental minerals can be recognized, including hematite, and substituted iron oxides. However, a significant match with the Raman spectrum of natural graphite is not observed within the red sherds (**fig. 7**). Graphite deposits in Bulgaria are mainly in its southern half, but there is also one in NW Bulgaria, in the Vratsa region. Such deposits have also been established in the Rila mountain, in the valley of the Struma River – the districts of Sandanski, Dupnitsa, Radomir and Kyustendil (Leshtakov 2004: 485, map 1).

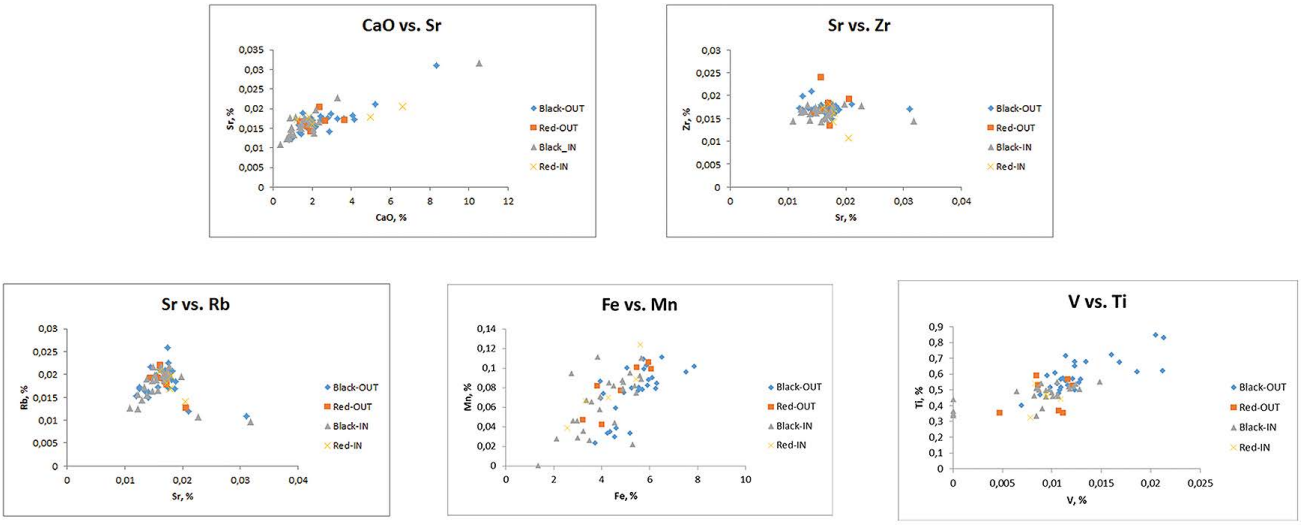


Fig. 5. Biplots of the correlations between some of the elemental concentrations obtained for the analyzed pottery sherds (D. Lesigyarski).

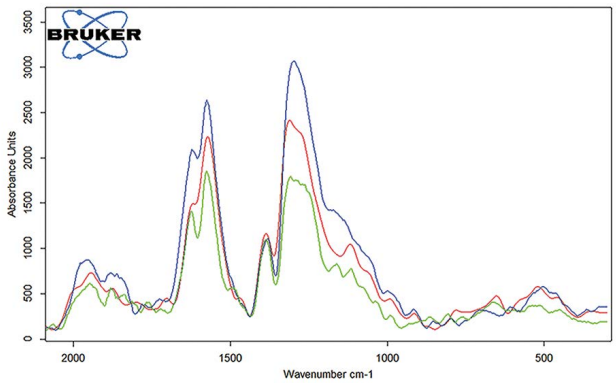


Fig. 6. Recorded Raman spectra of the additional surface layer of the black specimens CE107SOF (green), CE110SOF (blue), and CE118SOF (red) (D. Lesigyarski).

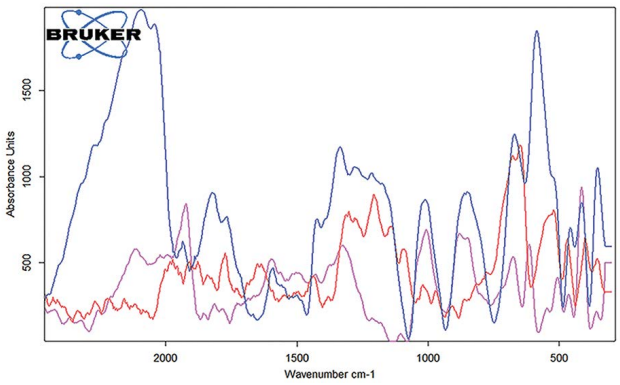


Fig. 7. Obtained Raman spectra of the surface layer of the red specimens CE106SOF (red), CE114SOF (blue), and CE129SOF (purple) (D. Lesigyarski).

In any case, it is important to broaden the investigation using a significant number of grey/black and red samples, decorated and undecorated and from different locations to get a more definite conclusion regarding the technology of manufacturing and their origin. Where possible, additional interdisciplinary methods will be applied.

Discussion

The discussion can go in several directions – origin and distribution, producers and consumers/users of stamped pottery, period of existence etc.

Some authors connect the appearance of this pottery with the Iron Age traditions of the local population revived during Late Antiquity (Anderson-Stojanovic 1992: 61; Bulatovic 2015: 211). Others associate its appearance with a new population (Vladimirova-Paunova 2004: 218-219; Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: 199-200; Onchevska-Todorovska 2010: 64-65). Some of them associate it with the Goths, who penetrated the Balkan Peninsula since the middle of the 3rd century and had a tangible presence in Late Antiquity (Onchevska-Todorovska 2010: 64-65; Onchevska-Todorovska 2016: 388), others with a population that came from the central or western provinces of the Roman Empire (Vladimirova-Paunova 2004: 218) or from the Eastern Mediterranean (Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: 199). The analyses are based mainly on the technological features and decoration of the pottery in question, tracing influences from different eras, regions, and ceramic traditions, but it seems to me that the mechanisms of transfer of these influences are not yet fully understood.

As noted, this pottery is found in many parts of the Balkan peninsula (in the Roman provinces of Macedonia, Thracia, Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea, Dardania) which except for Thrace, belong to the prefecture of Illyricum of the Late Roman Empire. It was found at many sites in Western and Southwestern Bulgaria, mainly along the valley of the Struma River (Staikova 1989: 148), as well as in Serbia, Greece, and the Republic of North Macedonia, mainly along

the rivers Struma and Mesta (Anderson-Stojanovic 1992: 65; Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: 199; Onchevska-Todorovska 2010: 63-65). In the north, stamped pottery is found in present-day North-western Bulgaria (Luka 2011: 363) and by the Danube River is attested at Castra Martis (Kabakchieva 2005: 91-92), Ratiaria (Kuzmanov and Grudev 2013) and others.

Coincidentally or not, most of the stamped pottery is found in metallogenic zones in the prefecture of Illyricum that became particularly important in Late Antiquity (**fig. 4**). In the period of the existence of stamped ware, four imperial weapon factories operated in this area. Despite the traditions of mining and metallurgy in these areas (Velkov 1972), the scale of Late Antique production probably necessitated the recruitment of additional contingents of trained miners and metallurgists. Insofar as such ceramics are found in necropolises that are unambiguously associated with a population of specific occupation (mining, metallurgy) and/or ethnicity different from the local one (Mitova-Dzhonova 2006: 199; Vladimirova-Paunova 2004: 218-219), we can confirm that stamped pottery met the preferences of foreigners in these lands. Where these foreigners come from, however, is a question that has yet to be answered. We can reach answers after a complex analysis of the processes that took place in the Roman Empire during Late Antiquity, the contacts, and interactions between people, reflected in the archaeological and historical record. Unfortunately, the level of publication of archaeological materials in Bulgaria is far from satisfactory. The incomplete publication and uneven study of this pottery have led to a number of misunderstandings in its identification and interpretation (Kabakchieva 2005: 92).

Indeed, individual examples of pottery with stamped decoration are found outside the core of the outlined area, but in Bulgaria, they are still poorly published and studied. Whether they belong to the pottery considered here is not yet entirely clear. Their analysis is forthcoming.

On the territory of Bulgaria, production has been proven so far at *Pautalia* (present-day Kyustendil) (Staikova 1989: 148-149), but it is also assumed for *Serdica*, based on fragments with stamped decoration of coarse vessels made of local clay (**fig. 2. 10**).

Despite the remarkable similarities with Gallic pottery, the direct link with the Balkan pottery is not entirely clear. Clarifying the chronology is of major importance. For the Bulgarian lands, contexts with stamped pottery are dated from the 2nd to the 5th c. AD, even the 6th c. AD, with the earliest and latest dates often being problematic. It is noted that some of the stamped pottery originates from contexts that are not well stratified (Onchevska-Todorovska 2010: 63). It is certainly present in the period of Late Antiquity, in the 4th/5th c. AD.

Since its introduction, the term grey Macedonian terra sigillata (Hayes 1972: 405-407), based on examples known at the time, does not quite accurately reflect the character of this pottery, as the presence of red vessels with the same characteristics as the grey ones has been reported. Alternative names are used in Bulgarian literature - "the so-called "grey Macedonian sigillata" (Staikova 1989), grey pottery with plastic decoration (Mitova-Dzhonova 2006), grey slip ceramics (Kabakchieva 2005: 91-92), grey terra sigillata (Grozdanov 2010: 133-136), grey stamped ware. The term "sigillée paléochrétienne" (Rigoir 1968) is also not adopted in the Bulgarian literature, since Christian symbolism in the decoration is too rare in the examples from Bulgaria (Grozdanov 2010). This is probably related to the fact that its appearance on our lands is in a period of still incipient Christianization of its users. All too rarely the vessels with a red surface are commented on in connection with the grey ones.

The publication and analysis of available materials from Bulgaria, which remain unknown to researchers, is essential. A comprehensive approach and interdisciplinary research would contribute to verifying the opportunities for local production. This will enhance our understanding of the processes and populations of the Balkans in Late Antiquity and may lead to the refinement of the description of the ceramic complex in question.

Conclusion

The pottery discussed here stands out against the usual and traditional for the Eastern Roman Empire ceramic complex. With its complex and sophisticated forms and in some cases rich decoration, it finds a relatively wide distribution both in cities and in suburban settlements, but it is by no means mass production. Some of the necropolises which yielded such pottery undoubtedly belong to a population engaged in mining and metallurgy. The funeral rite was predominantly cremation, which was not characteristic of these lands in Late Antiquity. Some of the pottery discussed here may represents locally produced interpretation of patterns that experienced their initial development in the Central and Western provinces of the Roman Empire and responded to the tastes of settlers in our lands. For the region of South-western Bulgaria, it has already been assumed that professional miners from the province of Noricum moved here in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD (Vladimirova-Paunova 2004: 218). The connection between stamped pottery and a population engaged in mining and metallurgy is also confirmed at sites such as the metallurgical complex in Plana Mountain, Samokov district (Mitova-Dzhonova 2006) and Crveno Pole in the Republic of North Macedonia (Sekulov 2017). An interesting detail is that in the area of distribution of the stamped ceramics are also found rectangular and circular vessels (sometimes called *kernoi*), which some authors perceive as cult vessels (Bulatovich 2015: 45, fig. 25), but others associate with the toolkit of metallurgists and gold panning (Orachev 2018: 75-76).

It is possible that the first generation of settlers brought the idea and technology of stamped pottery. Soon after, local production began, in a relatively restricted territory covering the Central Balkan region. Differences in the quality and style of decoration are probably due to different local resources and the personal abilities of the potters. The localization of the workshops and the establishment of the specifics of their production are subject of future research, as well as the establishment of the distribution patterns of this kind of pottery. These hypotheses, however, need further research and justification.

The commented pottery from *Serdica* completely fits into the outlined picture, as in recent years large-scale

metallurgical and metalworking activity within the city in the 4th century has been proven (Cholakova 2020).

After the 5th century AD, stamped pottery seems very rare in the archaeological record in modern-day Bulgaria. The reasons for this are yet to be discovered.

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Catalogue

1. Fragment of a shallow plate with a horizontal rim (**fig. 2, 1**). Fine fabric with low mica content; grey cross-section with lighter band in the middle. Reduction firing. Grey-black glossy slip. Decoration: located on the protruding rim. Incised parallel bands framing a stamped ornament of ellipses separated by pairs of incised pillars. Rim diameter (D. rim) ca. 26 cm. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
2. Fragment of a plate/bowl with a horizontal rim (**fig. 2, 2**). Fine fabric with low mica content; red/orange cross-section with lighter band in the middle. Oxidation firing. Red glossy slip. Decoration: stamped almond-shaped ornament limited below by two incised parallel bands. D. rim 22/24 cm. Findspot: 15 Veslets Str.
3. Fragment of a plate/bowl with a horizontal rim (**fig. 2, 3**). Fine sandy fabric with low mica content. Reduction firing. Grey-black glossy slip. Decoration: stamped concentric circles and vertical and horizontal incisions. D. rim ca. 20 cm; Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
4. Fragment of a hemispherical bowl with horizontal scalloped rim (**fig. 2, 4**). Fine fabric with low mica content; grey cross-section with lighter band in the middle. Reduction firing. Black glossy slip. Decoration: on the rim, parallel incised bands, straight and wavy. D. rim 14 cm. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
5. Fragment of a hemispherical bowl with horizontal scalloped rim (**fig. 2, 5**). The shape and decoration are identical to No. 4, but it is fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. Fine orange fabric, even cross-section; red-orange dense slip, with a matt sheen. D. rim 14 cm. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
6. Fragment of a hemispherical bowl with horizontal rim (**fig. 2, 6**). Fine fabric without visible inclusions. Reduction firing. Light grey even cross-section. Grey/black matt slip. Decoration: a combination of parallel incised grooves and oblique incisions along the rim. D. rim 14 cm. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
7. Fragment of a bowl/cup (**fig. 2, 7**). Probably biconical, possible to have handles. Oxidation firing. Orange fine fabric, light brown/orange even cross-section; red-brown slip. Decoration: stamped circles and S-shaped motifs arranged vertically. Findspot: 15 Veslets Str.
8. Fragment of a bowl/cup, similar to N 7, including the decoration (**fig. 2, 8**). Oxidation firing. Orange fine fabric with low mica content, cross-section with the same colour, lighter band in the middle. Inside there is a fingerprint from pressing the stamp. Findspot: 12 Tsvetan Minkov Str.
9. Fragment of a bowl/cup, similar to NN 7 and 8, but fired in a reduction atmosphere, with a metallic shine (**fig. 2, 9**). Indication of handle. Decoration: wavy incised band, concentric circles below. D. rim 17 cm. Findspot: 15 Veslets Str.
10. Fragment of a pot/pitcher (?) (2, 10). Brown sandy clay, without additional coating on the surface. Oxidation firing. Decoration: the preserved decoration is stamped on the upper half of the fragment. It consists of vertical pillars followed by a continuous horizontal stripe printed in the same technique and a band with a leaf motif underneath. Findspot: 15 Veslets Str.
11. Fragment of a biconical bowl/cup (**fig. 3, 1**). Outward curved rim. Reduction firing. Very fine fabric with low mica content. Grey even cross-section. Grey black slip with metallic shine. Decoration: concentric stamped circles and semicircles in horizontal rows. D. rim 7 cm. Findspot: 15 Veslets Str.
12. Fragment of a bowl/cup similar to the above (**fig. 3, 2**). Outward curved rim. Reduction firing. Very fine fabric with low mica content. Grey black slip with metallic shine. Decoration: concentric stamped circles and semicircles in horizontal row. Inside there are convex deformations caused by the application of the decoration; traces of a tool used during the throwing. D. rim 12 cm. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
13. Fragment of the middle part of a biconical bowl/cup (**fig. 3, 3**). The presence of handles may be possible. Fine fabric with low mica content. Grey even cross-section. Reduction firing. Significantly thinner than other fragments. No traces of additional coating on the surface. Decoration: set in a horizontal band defined by convex horizontal bands, the lower one also marking the transition to the lower part of the vessel. Two motifs of vertically arranged concentric circles with elements of concentric quadrilaterals between them are preserved. From the decoration of the lower part of the vessel is preserved a band of concave elliptical elements. On the inner side of the fragment there are clearly visible traces left when the stamps were pressed on the surface. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
14. Three fragments of a bowl (?) (**fig. 3, 4**). Fine fabric with low mica content. Broad lighter grey band in the cross-section. Reduction firing. Grey slip with metallic sheen. Decoration: the preserved decoration is arranged in a broad horizontal field, bounded above and below by relatively broad concave bands. It consists of stamped motifs and an embossed animal image set in a rectangular frame. The stamped motifs are concentric circles with a cross-shaped element in the centre and vertical short incisions on the outer part. To the circles diagonally descend elongated strips with horizontal incisions. The animal print is executed by pressing a negative print/matrix against the already formed vessel, so that the lower edge of the rectangular field of the matrix slightly breaks the horizontal line bounding it from below (actually, there is no indication as to which is the upper and which the lower part of the fragment, and therefore the terms "upper" and "lower" are somewhat provisional). Beneath the concave horizontal grooves, a small strip of oblique shallowly incised lines is preserved. On the inside there are traces left by pressing the stamps. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.
15. Fragment of a bowl (**fig. 3, 5**). Fine fabric with low mica content and isolated quartz grains. A denser grey stripe in the cross-section. Reduction firing. Grey slip with metallic sheen. The coating is generally thin and underneath there are visible unevenness on the surface of the vessel. Decoration: preserved are a stamped circle shaped as a floral motif with petals and small dots between them, a small fragment of a leaf-like motif and oblong stripes with diagonal incisions (a small part of one horizontal and one vertical band). D. rim 16 cm. Findspot: The Western gate of Serdica.

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Ludovica Xavier de Silva & Claudia Sediari

ECHOES OF AN EAST-WEST NETWORK THROUGH THE STUDY OF POTTERY IMPORTS AND LOCAL PRODUCTIONS FROM *HADRIANOPOLIS* (ALBANIA). FROM EASTERN SIGILLATA TO PLAIN AND COOKING WARES

The article provides an overview of pottery productions and imports in Hadrianopolis *during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. After a brief introduction to the ceramic context of* Hadrianopolis *and the current* status *of research into the site's productive activity including its network, the primary focus will be on imports from the Eastern Mediterranean, specifically Eastern Sigillata B; the focus thereafter will be on what has been termed a regional "sigillata" that shows imitations of sigillata forms, particularly Eastern Sigillata. The study of the cooking wares has also highlighted a particular receptiveness towards Aegean productions: imported specimens from the kitchens of* Hadrianopolis *can be identified as Aegean Cooking Wares. The presence of these items in* Hadrianopolis *will be put in relation to local productions, such as plain wares and cooking wares, and regional imports, such as Illyrian cooking ware and a red slip production with a significant repertoire of imitations.*

Epirus – Eastern sigillata B – plain ware pottery – cooking ware pottery – Aegean cooking ware

The ceramic context of Hadrianopolis. An introduction

As the undergoing study of the materials from the roman city of *Hadrianopolis* in Southern Epirus is approaching its conclusion, it is now possible to construct a more detailed overview of pottery imports and productions (regarding the previous studies on pottery from *Hadrianopolis*, see the contributions published in Perna and Çondi 2012, as well as some later articles: Perna and Capradossi 2018; Perna, Capponi and Cingolani 2014; Ciccarelli, Cingolani and Tubaldi 2018; Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020)[1].

Between the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, *Hadrianopolis* appears to have been a centre of a commercial dynamism that includes the Chaonian centre in the wider Mediterranean networks, with established connections with the Aegean and Eastern markets. Excavation data, some of which is still unpublished, also provide evidence of artisanal activity (a conglomerate of melted and vitrified pots has been discovered on the site. Some of the most common shapes of plain ware have been recognised in the conglomerate) and hypotheses on possible local productions have been recently made (see Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020. Concluding remarks on the subject will be published by this author and Sofia Cingolani in the forthcoming volume *Hadrianopolis III*: Perna forthcoming).

In *Hadrianopolis*, this period shows significant imports of Eastern Sigillata B (ESB). The study of the ceramics in *Hadrianopolis* and the associations between imports and local productions depict a situation that has parallels both in the main centres of the Southern Illyrian-Epirote region and in Apulia (see Shehi 2015 and De Mitri 2013).

In this context, it is worth mentioning the presence of a conspicuous group of pottery characterised by a red-brownish coating. This group, identified at the start of the archaeological mission at *Hadrianopolis*, has recently been the object of a dedicated study conducted by Sofia Cingolani and this writer (see Ciccarelli, Cingolani and Tubaldi 2018 for the first overview of the subject and Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020 for a preliminary report on the last phases of the study of this group of materials). After further investigating identifiable shapes and clay fabrics, we came to a final categorization into three main production groups. Groups A and B (distinguished only because of their clay fabric that may correspond to two different production centres) have been identified as possible regional “sigillata” productions. The items belonging to this group are characterised by a good quality red-brownish slip and a repertoire of standardised shapes inspired by the main sigillata wares circulating in the Mediterranean at the time, with a significant prevalence of ESB imitations. Moreover, some forms show contamination of sigillata models with a local taste. This production was imported to *Hadrianopolis* through redistribution centres that are for now difficult to identify (Hadrianopolis’ relations with centres along the north-south axis between Nikopolis and the ports on the coast were strengthened at this stage, leading to the multiplication of contacts and forms of supply. The morpho-typological analysis of the materials suggests comparisons with the coeval productions of Apollonia and Durres, while a fragment of oil-lamp with the FORTIS BYLLIS seal

[1] The authors thank Professor Roberto Perna for the opportunity to be part of the Archaeological Mission of the University of Macerata in the Drino Valley, where we had the chance to study the local productions and some imported classes of pottery from the site of *Hadrianopolis*. This article considers the finds unearthed during the archaeological excavations carried out between 2011 and 2016. During that period, the archaeological mission at *Hadrianopolis* was directed by Dimiter Çondi for the Albanian Institute of Tirana (IAT) and Roberto Perna for the University of Macerata. I also take this chance to thank the Directors for the opportunity to anticipate here some data of future publication.

highlights contacts with Byllis. For further considerations see: Cingolani in Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020; Perna forthcoming). The spread of this kind of "sigillata" production is a well-known phenomenon in the whole Aegean area (for the Corinthian production of sigillata imitations, see the contribution of Slane in this same volume) and on the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (this phenomenon in the Adriatic region follows the same pattern as the spread of *Illyrian Cooking Ware*. See: Ciccarelli Cingolani and Tubaldi 2018: 605-618; De Mitri 2013; Tubaldi 2012: 179. For an overview of the phenomenon in the Adriatic and Aegean regions and the related up-to-date bibliography, see Shehi 2015 as well as the considerations made by Cingolani in Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020. Moreover, for a comment on the regional fine wares found in Butrint, see Reynolds 2020: 233-235, while for the context of Apollonia see: Barrière 2022:87-89). The last group identified, called C, is composed of a more heterogeneous repertoire of shapes, and is characterised by a poor-quality red-brownish slip, sometimes preserved only on very small areas of the outer surface. The group also shows some form of inspiration from sigillata productions and is documented as belonging to the same centuries of groups A and B (this production will be mentioned again in the paragraph on plain wares).

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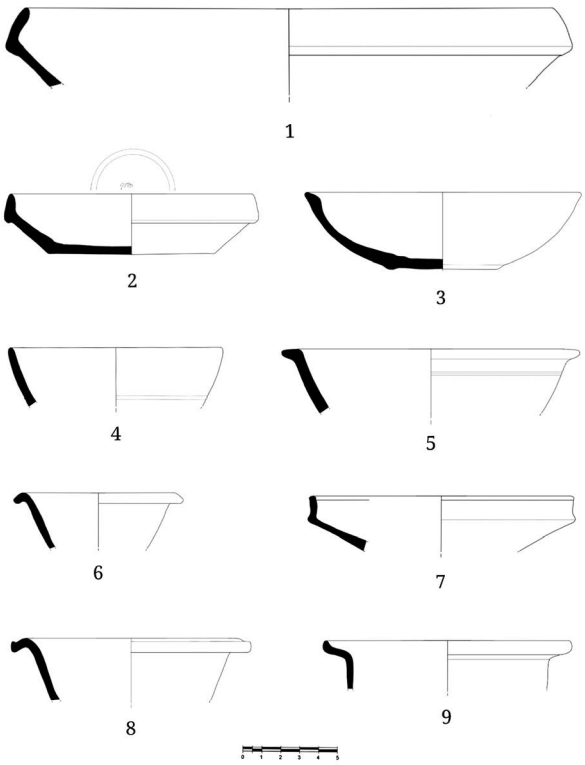


Fig. 1. ESB types found in *Hadrianopolis*.

The imports from the Eastern Mediterranean. The Eastern Sigillata

The excavations at *Hadrianopolis* have brought to light a significant amount of Eastern Sigillata. Among the 465 fragments studies, 438 are identifiable as Eastern Sigillata B, especially its B2 production, the later one (this is a widespread trend in the Mediterranean area since the more refined and ancient ESB production (B1) did not have such a significant diffusion as the later production, possibly because the Italian Sigillata was still very present on the Mediterranean market. For an overview of ESB, see Hayes 1985: 49-52; Hayes 2008; Malfitana 2005: 134-140; Shehi 2015: 235-247).

There is very little evidence of Eastern Sigillata A and the so-called Çandarli in the layers of *Hadrianopolis*. As a matter of fact, it was possible to identify only four fragments as ESA and three as Çandarli. They mainly belong to layers with a significant presence of residual materials, such as black glazed pottery, and Italian sigillata (the scarcity of ESA and Çandarli productions is a common feature in all Epirus and Southern Illyria. Shehi 2015: 247).

Regarding the ESB found in *Hadrianopolis,* it is essential to note that most of the fragments are characterised by very poor conservation of the red slip, almost absent in some cases (**fig. 2, 1**), to the point that the classification was based on the observation of the clay fabric in section. Observation with a microscope of the clay fabrics of each item shows only a few differences, mainly identifiable in the shades of the colour of the clay. Therefore, it has not been possible to identify different groups of ESB imports in *Hadrianopolis* (all the fragments have a micaceous clay fabric characterised by a hazelnut to orange colour and a porous texture. The red-slip, where preserved, has a soapy texture and is characterised by a red-orange colour, which in most cases appears to be matt and can have tone variations from a brighter orange-red to dark, almost black, shades, sometimes visible on the same item).

The most documented shape of ESB in *Hadrianopolis* is the plate/bowl Hayes 60, especially in its more standardised form, characterised by an overhanging rim (which can show some variations in inclinations, presence of external and internal offsets and in the section shape, which can be more or less hooked) and concentric offsets on the inner bottom. All the fragments found in *Hadrianopolis* would appear to belong to the later, more standardised shape, which circulated in the Mediterranean from the 50-60 AD and reached its maximum diffusion during the late 2nd-3rd century AD (an earlier form, with a less protruding, almost triangular rim and a carinated profile, is reported to have circulated until the 80-90 AD. Hayes 2008: 38; For Abadie-Reynal, this type of rim can be dated to the Flavian-Trajan period, while two further types, one with a higher more pronounced rim and a second, grooved on the rim's projection, can be dated respectively to the 2nd century AD and to the second half of the 2nd century: Abadie-Reynal 2007: 90-99).

Among the items studied, the smaller bowls have a diameter of between 12 and 15 cm; they tend to be shallower and have a shorter rim (according to Hayes, the smaller and less refined bowls are the later examples of this type. Hayes 1985: 64). In this group, one item (**fig. 1, 2**) preserves part of a *palmetta* stamp, typical of this type (Hayes 1985: 64). Another group includes larger bowls, with diameters of ca. 20 cm, often characterised by a sunken rim (**fig. 1, 1**), also belonging to the later declination of the type Hayes 60. This

example finds parallels in two fragments from Phoinike, both classified by Shehi in the group of shapes belonging to the late 1st-2nd century AD (Shehi 2015: 64-65, pl. 9.109 and pl. 10.110. Shehi makes a distinction among the later forms of Hayes 60 based on the classification of the materials from Argos. For the latter, see: Abadie-Reynal 2007: 98-99).

All the other types that are recognisable in the finds from *Hadrianopolis* are significantly less documented than type Hayes 60 (for the chronological range of the following types, see, as the main reference, Hayes 1985). There are only two types with more than ten finds; we count eighteen fragments of the bowl Hayes 80 (**fig. 1, 3**), dated between 80 and 150 AD (the bowls found at *Hadrianopolis* do not always show the typical external grooves of this type but that it is possibly due to the poor conservation of the surface of the finds), and eleven fragments of the type Hayes 71 (**fig. 1, 4**), dated between 50 AD and the second half of the 2nd century AD. A small fragment of a bottom (**fig. 2, 3**) with a *rosetta* stamp is probably related to one of these bowls (this kind of stamp is dated between the Flavian and Trajan eras, Hayes 1985: 67). Nine fragments of the type Hayes 76 are also documented; given the small dimensions, it is always documented in its variant A (**fig. 1, 5**). It is more ancient and belongs to the transitional phase between the production B1 and B2 or to the earlier shapes of the B2 and is dated between the third quarter and the end of the 1st century AD (Abadie-Reynal 2007: 103-105; Hayes 1985: 68). Six bowls have been catalogued as type Hayes 75 (**fig. 1, 6**), dated between the end of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century AD. Four items can be identified with the cup type Hayes 70. All the finds from *Hadrianopolis* belong to the later variant of the type, dating between 70 and 125 AD (**fig. 1, 7**). Due to the poor surface preservation, they don't always show the typical notched decoration (**fig. 2, 2**).

Very few of the finds are recognisable as other ESB types: three specimens of Hayes 74 A (**fig. 1, 8**), two of the type Hayes 79 (**fig. 1, 9**) and only one is identifiable with the type Hayes 58, all belonging to the end of the 1st-beginning of the 2nd century AD.

The amount of ESB found in *Hadrianopolis* is among the most significant in Epirus (for an overview of ESB documentation in Southern Illyria and Chaonia: Shehi 2015: 235-247). In all the territory of Southern Illyria and Epirus, the plate/bowl Hayes 60 is the most frequently recorded type. This is also true for the rest of Epirus, like in Nikopolis (Angeli 2007: 529, 357). This type is present in numerous variants both in dimensions and in rim shape. However, in all the Illyrian-Epirote territory, a marked prevalence of this type over all the other types of ESB is a common relevant pattern. This disproportion in documentation between type Hayes 60 and others tends to increase progressively during the 2nd century AD. In most of the Illyrian-Epirote sites from this time, the type Hayes 60 is the most represented shape among EBS finds, especially in its later variants; the second type most present in the territory is Hayes 80 (Shehi 2015: 241-243. Considering what is reported by Shehi, only Phoinike seems to have a shorter gap of documentation between types Hayes 60 and Hayes 80). Given this brief overview, it is clear that *Hadrianopolis* perfectly follows a trend common to the entire Illyrian-Epirote region (for a comparative overview of ESB documentation



Fig. 2. Some details on ESB finds from *Hadrianopolis*.

in other sites of the territory in relation to *Hadrianopolis* see: Ciccarelli 2012. Similar contexts are known over the entire Adriatic region. For recent overviews of Eastern imports and distribution, with a focus on the Ionian-Adriatic area, see De Mitri 2012 and 2013. For recent overviews on Eastern imports and distribution, with a focus on the Northern Adriatic area, see: Maggi 2006 and 2007; Maggi and Merlatti 2007; Maggi and Starac 2000; Mandruzzato 2008; Maselli Scotti 2017; Ventura and Maggi 2020; Žerjal and Vidrih Perko 2017).

LXdS

Plain ware pottery, regional "sigillata" and local production

The almost total absence of open forms, except for basins, in the plain, non-coated ware production matches the presence of a conspicuous group of bowls and dishes identified as regional "sigillata" production with examples produced in a coarser fabric, with a red-brownish, poor-quality red slip. As already mentioned, both productions, especially the former, imitate forms typical of Eastern productions, especially ESB.

The main shapes recognisable in both productions are imitations of Hayes 60, flanged bowls, and small *ollae* Marabini LXVIII (on the presence of this type of olla in *Hadrianopolis*, see: Cingolani 2012; Perna, Capponi and Cingolani 2014: 141-142. For an overview of the imitations of this type in local productions, see Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020: 97). Only the form of the so-called *olla a collarino* seems to be also imitated in non-coated plain ware pottery, while the sigillata inspirations are recognisable only in the red-brownish slipped productions. The local coarser red-brownish slipped production (group C of Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020) belongs to clay fabric group B, which has been identified as local. It is characterised by a soft, powdery texture, a colour showing shades from hazel to pale red/pink, and a frequent presence of white inclusions, sometimes visible on the surface. As mentioned above, this local production, probably inspired by both sigillata productions and imitations circulating in the Mediterranean and regional

networks, is characterised by a broader repertoire of shapes, including both open forms (**fig. 3**), primarily bowls and cups, and closed shapes, such as jars, flagons, and bottles.

In layers where this production is documented and associated with ESB imports, it is possible to identify some plain, non-coated, ware shapes that are more frequently present than others. Variants of jugs and bottles (**fig. 4, 1-4**), characterised by a rim moulded on the exterior surface, are the most recurrent finds (Capponi already recognised this type of jug as typical of the imperial contexts of *Hadrianopolis* production, with evolutions of the rim shape that go from the 2nd to the 5th century and beyond. Capponi 2012: 172). Some of these items show signs of a possible pitch internal coating (as pointed out by Reynolds, some vases that we could identify as jugs or flagons might have been used to transport some specific products, at least on a regional market. Reynolds 2020: 1). Of the bottles and jugs documented in the same layers it is worth mentioning two fragments of bottles or jugs with tronco-conical necks characterised by deep grooves (**fig. 4, 5-6**). The type can be compared to the jug found during the Vrina Plain excavations in Butrint, where Reynolds identifies it as an imported one-handled jug documented in layers of the early and mid-3rd century AD (Butrint's fragment found in the context 1083 is pitched. Reynolds 2020: 36, figure 3.4 n. 3). Moreover, two further fragments of grooved bottles with a flaring rim (**fig. 4, 7-8**) can be compared with the ones Mano found in the necropolis of Apollonia, which would date them to the 2nd-3rd century AD (Mano 1974: 202, tab. V.7-8).

Significantly, this synthetic overview allows us to propose some preliminary considerations about local coarse production. At least during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, we can say with evidence that *Hadrianopolis* saw a local coarse production that could be divided into two main groups, albeit belonging to the same fabrics. The first group is characterised by the absence of any coating and is made up almost entirely of closed forms (*ollae*, bottles, jars) and basins. In contrast, the second group is characterised by a certain variety of shapes but includes nearly the entire production of open tableware shapes like bowls and dishes, sometimes inspired by the most common sigillata types circulating in the Mediterranean at the time.

LXdS

The cooking wares: some remarks on local and imported productions

Concerning the cooking ware pottery, which is the most substantial class quantitatively speaking, it should be noted that most of the diagnostic fragments found in the contexts investigated presented local fabrics. Among all the fragments, cooking pots with bifid rims (**fig. 5, 1**) prevail. Specimens that we can relate to the Albanian production of *Illyrian Cooking Ware*, a typology that unites both sides of the Adriatic (for a general overview of this production and references for the Albanian area: Shehi 2016: 210 and 218, fig. 6; for Southern Italy: De Mitri 2010: 686, fig. 7, p. 686; Semeraro 1992: 69, fig. 4.2 nn. 310-313). Specifically, the most documented type is Type 1 of Shehi (ICW 1. See: Shehi 2016: 216, fig. 1.1). These diagnostic fragments are linked to contexts dated to the 2nd-3rd cent. AD. The fabric of almost all specimens can be considered local. Some of these can be distinguished since they present different clay: solid, with reddish tonalities, the same described by Shehi and found in *Dyrrachium* (**fig. 6, 1**). Another specimen with the same clay (**fig. 6, 2**) refers to Type ICW 3 found in Apollonia (Shehi 2016: 216, fig. 2.1).

Of the *Hadrianopolis'* cooking wares, a single specimen of ICW 6 (**fig. 5, 2**) is preserved. As pointed out by Shehi, this type has an oblique body with deep-sharp grooves on the outer face plain, undistinguished rim with a flat upper face (Shehi 2016: 216, fig. 2.4). This observation is a strong argument for including *Hadrianopolis* within the Epirote and Illyrian production that shared forms and types.

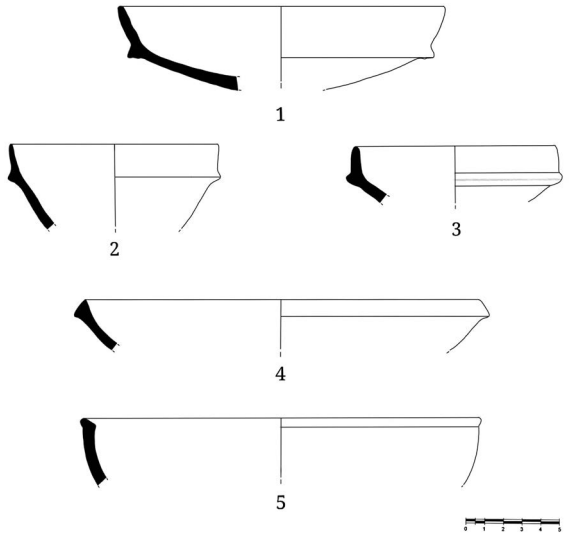


Fig. 3. Examples of cups and bowls produced in the local coarse red-slip production.

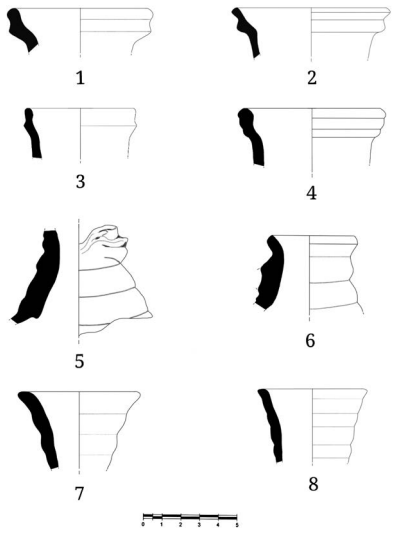


Fig. 4. Plain ware bottles and jugs.

In light of the artefacts found in the contexts investigated we would also make the following considerations regarding the cooking wares of *Hadrianopolis*. From a technological point of view, what characterises this group is the presence of less rough fabric than that which could be called '*rozza terracotta'*. The fabric is marked by chromatic variations ranging from red/orange to beige; some seem to have traces of a cover. It is relevant to note here that many of the artefacts analysed do not present the typical burns of contact with fire (**fig. 6, 3**). As already suggested by Shehi, these artefacts could have been used as storage vessels (Shehi 2016: 210). This type of production was likely used for other purposes, showing that cooking ware is a much more fluid category than has been supposed. Not every pot was probably intended to be exposed to fire but rather some might have been used to preserve and serve hot food, since pots with a more refined fabric, such as plain ware and fine wares, did not have good refractory properties.

Among the cooking ware fragments examined, some show a different fabric, which is therefore identified as non-local, possibly belonging to *Aegean Cooking Ware*, given the typological classification of the shapes belonging to this fabric group. The presence of artefacts from this area among the finds from *Hadrianopolis* is a further demonstration of the existence of a strong relationship with the Aegean and the full integration of the city into the Mediterranean trade.

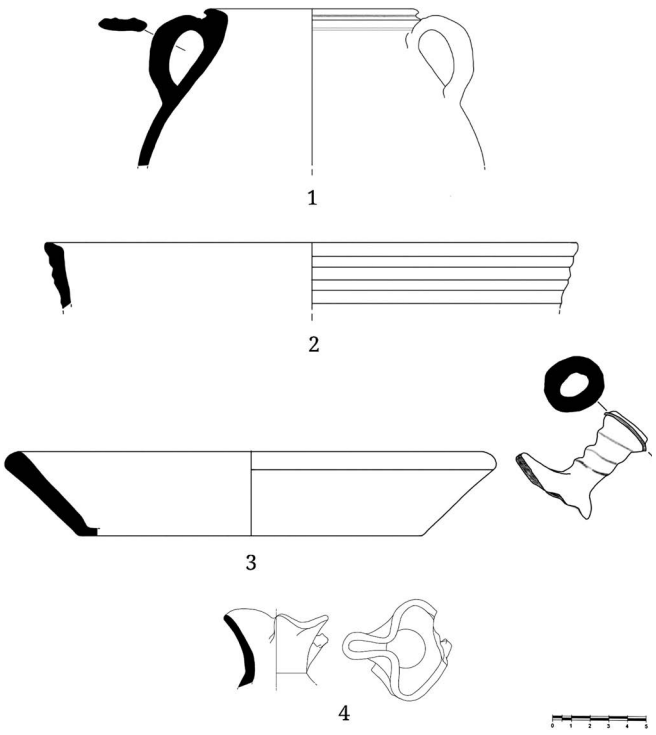


Fig. 5. Cooking wares from *Hadrianopolis*.



Fig. 6. Cooking wares from *Hadrianopolis*.

It should be noted that even when the fabric seems local, the Aegean appears to be the dominant reference model, testifying to a particular receptivity towards these productions (as pointed out by Tubaldi 2012). Specifically, in the kitchens of *Hadrianopolis,* the Aegean set included mainly casseroles, pans and trefoil-mouthed jugs (Istenič and Schneider 2000). The fragments analysed are framed within the phase of *Hadrianopolis'* greater development following the Hadrian foundation, mainly in layers of the 2nd-3rd century AD.

A group of specimens, possibly identifiable as casseroles from their typical features, is of possible Aegean origin due to the type of fabric (chamois colour, smooth to the touch and metallic sound) is In most cases, only the rim (the oblique rims vary in thickness) and part of the straight wall are preserved. From the morphological point of view, they recall the Fulford casserole 29.1 (Fulford 1984:186, fig. 70, nr. 29) and are specimens also produced locally.

Of certain Aegean origin (for comparison see Istenič and Schneider 2000: 345, fig. 4.) is an exemplar of a casserole (**fig. 6, 4**) characterised by a raised, outstretched rim, handles with a flattened section attached directly to the rim, a carinated body, and a convex, umbilicated bottom. Its fabric has a pinkish colour and shows marked blackening from usage.

The contexts investigated have also returned some specimens of pans with rounded rims, thick walls, flat bottoms, a chamois and micaceous fabric, used as *patellae* or *sartago* (**fig. 5, 3**), which means as frying pans to prepare sauces or fry. Among the specimens analysed, some have traces of red paint inside. A tubular device with spiral ribs was used as a handle, of which there are two specimens; the purpose of the hole in the centre was to insert an additional handle, probably wooden. The differences in the fabric compared to the typical cooking wares of *Hadrianopolis* may suggest that they are imports. However, without further evidence or laboratory analysis, it is not yet possible to establish this with certainty.

Some portions of trilobed rims pertinent to trefoil-mouthed jugs are of certain Aegean production (**fig. 5, 5** and **fig. 6, 5**), perhaps of Phocean production. These specimens are characterised by a grey colour on the outside and a light orange shade on the inside. The same fabric is recognisable on a lid grip the rim of which is not preserved, a fragment of a handle and some ribbed walls. The same shape is also reproduced in local fabric, further evidence that the Aegean forms were the dominant reference model in *Hadrianopolis.*

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Conclusions

Having a look at the records of the finds, it is possible to make some preliminary considerations which await further investigation and confirmation with the completion and publication of the final stages of excavations at *Hadrianopolis*[2].

As already noted in the paragraph on ESB, the presence of the plate/bowl Hayes 60 is not only predominant compared to other types, but this gap grows over the course of time, especially from the second half of the 2nd century. Concerning the presence of ESB in the stratigraphy of the site, it is interesting to note that all the types that are not identifiable with the plate/bowl Hayes 60 tend to be documented in layers with residual material and, in general, with a significant amount of Italian sigillata, thin-walled pottery and residual black-gloss pottery. This observation can be related to the gradual decrease in ESB imports, of which there are a greater variety of forms in the earlier stages. ESB imports are restricted almost exclusively to Hayes 60 and 80 in the latter stages of importation (for further considerations see: Ciccarelli 2012; Shehi 2015: 240-247). The only type that does not always follow this trend and seems, therefore, more homogenously documented, is the bowl Hayes 80, which is indeed the second most documented type.

The presence of ESB, when significant, reveals a preference for the later and more standardised shapes of the plate/bowl Hayes 60, which in many cases is the only type present in layers dated after the 2nd century AD. Residual ESB is present in some layers which show a significant amount of African Red Slip ware (these layers generally include also African cookware, Late Roman Amphoras and late Epirote amphora types) dated from the 4th century AD: in this case the only EBS type recorded is Hayes 60 in its later variants.

The most recurrent association in almost all layers where ESB is documented is the one of this class with a group of glass vessels characterised by fire-rounded and enlarged rims, mainly belonging to the type Is. 85b, widely spread in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Foy et al. 2018).

The consistent regional production of "sigillata" and the coarser local red-slip production are documented in significant quantities in the same layers where numerous finds of ESB are reported, especially when the layer includes a broad chronological span of imports from the 2nd and the 3rd century. This data confirms a noteworthy vivacity of the site between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD, shown simultaneously by the imports and the production. *Hadrianopolis* was therefore capable of long and medium-distance commerce, following the trend of the major cities of the Mediterranean, but also of a significant production, inspired by the most common items circulating at the time. The latter was not random or sporadic but part of a well-organised system of imports and productions that resulted in a non-coated plain ware production that perfectly filled the gap in the tableware and utilitarian shapes that were not imported or produced with a red coating (see: Cingolani and Xavier de Silva 2020).

Concerning the cooking wares, as mentioned above, the presence of the Illyrian cooking ware, often in association with ESB and Aegean cooking ware, collocates *Hadrianopolis*

[2] I here thank again Professor Roberto Perna and Sofia Cingolani for the possibility to refer to the preliminary database of the material from the excavation missions 2011-2017, to which I have contributed for the part concerning common ware pottery, Easter Sigillata and the local coarse red-slip production. I also thank Valentina Capradossi for the preliminary data on amphoras. A more complete overview of the material associations and further conclusions will be given in *Hadrianopolis III*, which is currently under redaction and expected to be published between the end of 2024 and the beginning of 2025.

firmly within the context of the Adriatic Sea. However, it should be noted that despite their existence confirming and adding more elements to the commercial contacts of the city with the Eastern Mediterranean, the presence of the Aegean imports is not conspicuous. Nonetheless, they are mostly documented in association with 2nd-3rd century imports and productions.

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FROM THE RHONE TO THE DANUBE: THE CERAMIC PRODUCTION CENTRE AT BUTOVO AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH GAUL IN LIGHT OF A REDISCOVERED MEDALLION MOULD

Trade connections between Moesia Inferior *and the Western Roman provinces have long been studied and evaluated, however this was mostly done by taking into account the ready-to-use imported fine wares, oil lamps and amphora-borne commodities. A ceramic mould with a depiction of Cybele riding a lion, discovered at the industrial site underneath the modern village of Butovo (Northern Bulgaria), could help to shed more light on the importation of technical knowledge as well. Locally produced moulds and medallions with nearly identical depictions were found at sites in the Rhone valley (Southeastern France) and it seems very likely that this was also the point of origin for the Moesian find.*
The aim of this contribution is to assess the Butovo mould in the light of this newly acquired data and in the broader context of the Moesian ceramic centre's production and chronology, thus looking for further evidence about the foreign influences in its repertoire.

Moesia Inferior – Butovo – medallion mould – Cybele – Rhone valley

Dedicated to Professor
Dr. Alexandra Dimitrova-Milcheva

Settled since the Flavian or the early Antonine period, the region of the modern village of Butovo and the neighbouring Nedan (Veliko Turnovo district, Northern Bulgaria) has produced large amounts of archaeological and epigraphic data pertaining to the local settlement network after its inclusion within the territory of the Roman Empire (Sultov 1985: 25; Gerov 1988: 45-47; Vladkova 2020: 251-270; Chakarov 2021: 87-118).

The archaeological sites and the ceramic production centre at Butovo

The major archaeological research underneath and around Butovo (**fig. 1**) was conducted during the 1960s and the 1970s by the late Bogdan Sultov. Remains of a Roman settlement or more likely settlements with adjacent necropoleis were partially uncovered at several locations (**figs. 2-4**). At the south end of the modern village, on the slopes of and atop the Kalvaka hill there was a tumular necropolis, where cremation burials were performed, supposedly between the late 1st – early 2nd century AD, and the 180s AD (**figs. 2,2, 3,1** and **4,1**). Some architectural remains also found there were interpreted as part of a complex, related to the said necropolis (Sultov 1985: 29; Vladkova 2020: 252-257; Chakarov 2021: 97). However, given that the latest coin discovered in a grave at this site was a worn out piece issued during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Vladkova 2020: 253), the terminal date of the necropolis could be placed well after the 180s, for instance around the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century AD.



Fig. 1. Map of the Roman provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thrace (AD 193-250) with the location of the centre at Butovo (after Harizanov 2020: 132, fig.1, with additions and corrections).

To the north-east of Butovo and north-west of the neighbouring village of Nedan, near the confluence of the Lomya River and its tributary Nedanska River, in the Harka locality (**figs. 3,4** and **4,4**), there was another Roman settlement with a necropolis (this one identified without excavations proper), dated from the early 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Vladkova 2020: 262-264; Chakarov 2021: 102-103).

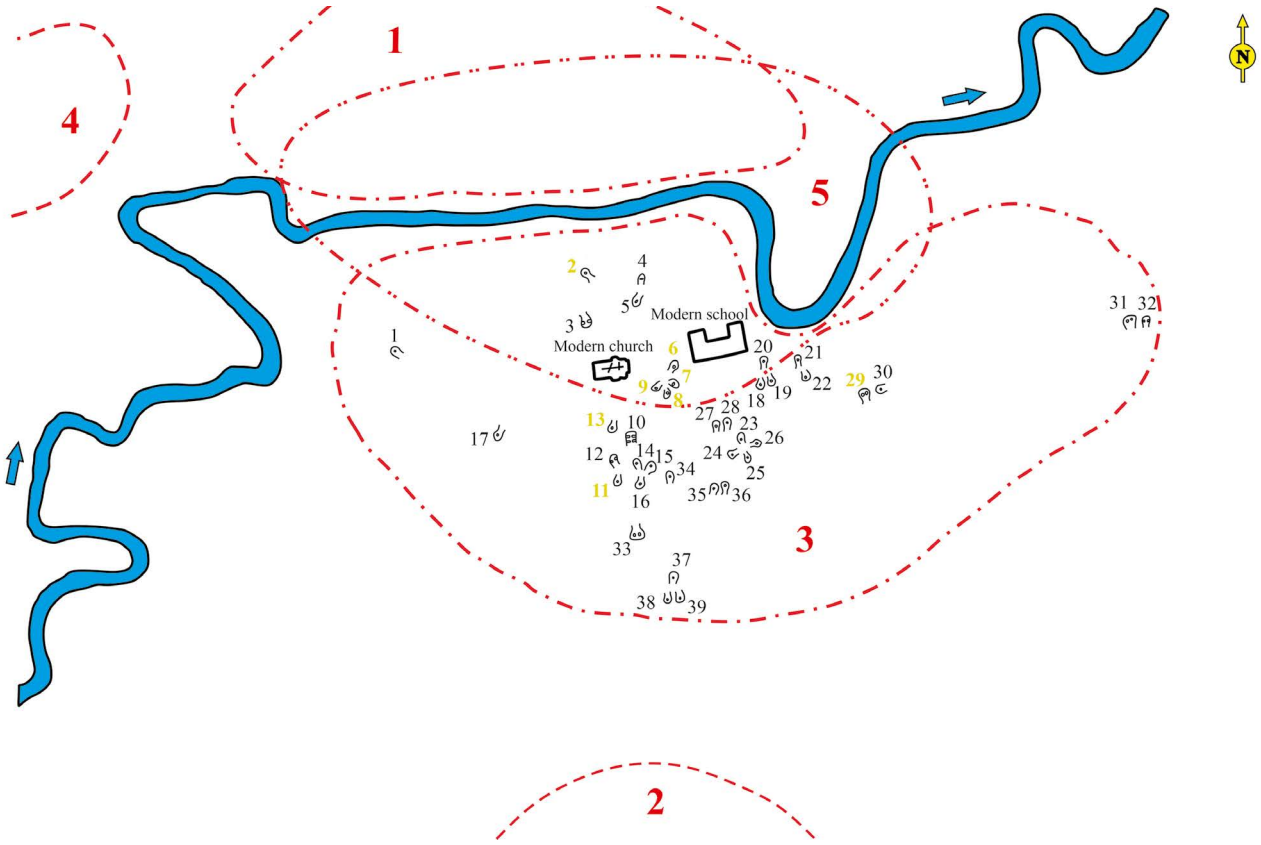


Fig. 2. General scheme of the Roman sites underneath the modern village of Butovo, according to B. Sultov: 1) A settlement on the left bank of the Lomya River; 2) A necropolis at the Kalvaka hill; 3) The manufacturing centre with 39 kilns (the kilns with uncertain original numbers are marked in yellow); 4) A necropolis on the left bank of the Lomya River; 5) A Late Roman settlement (after Sultov 1985: Table VIII.1; digital remastering, corrections and additions by A. Harizanov).

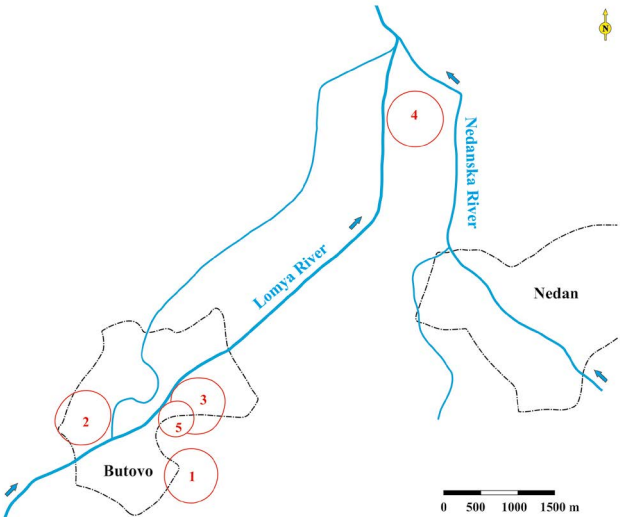


Fig. 3. General scheme of the Roman sites underneath and near the modern village of Butovo, according to P. Vladkova: 1) A necropolis at the Kalvaka hill; 2) A settlement with necropolis on the left bank of the Lomya River; 3) The manufacturing centre with 39 kilns; 4) A settlement with necropolis in the Harka locality; 5) A Late Roman settlement (after Vladkova 2020: 253, Scheme 1; digital remastering and additions by A. Harizanov).

A necropolis with inhumation burials and remains of solid architecture was found on the left bank of the Lomya River, underneath the western and northern parts of the village of Butovo (**figs. 2,4, 3,2** and **4,2**). According to B. Sultov, the Roman settlement structures on that side of the river were inhabited from the early 2nd century AD onwards, while the uncovered graves from the necropolis were to be dated in the late 2nd century AD (Sultov 1985: 26, 29) or the first half of the 3rd century AD (Sultov 1968: 41-43). P. Vladkova argued that this part of the Roman settlement with its adjacent necropolis should be dated from the late 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Vladkova 2020: 258-259).

B. Sultov stated that during the second half of the 2nd century AD, the first pottery workshops and kilns from the well-known Roman manufacturing centre were built on the right bank of the Lomya River (**figs. 2,3, 3,3** and **4,3**). Thirty eight (or more likely thirty nine[1]) production

[1] The exact number of the kilns studied in Butovo is a matter of uncertainty. According to the published text of Sultov's dissertation there were 38 kilns excavated within the manufacturing centre (Sultov 1985, 26). The same number is confirmed by the original manuscript of his thesis, now kept as part of his personal archive in the Regional State Archives – Veliko Tarnovo under no. 1397, archive unit no. 10 (page 43). However, the unpublished catalogue of his work (available in the manuscript only) contains 39 entries for the Butovo kilns (cat. nos.

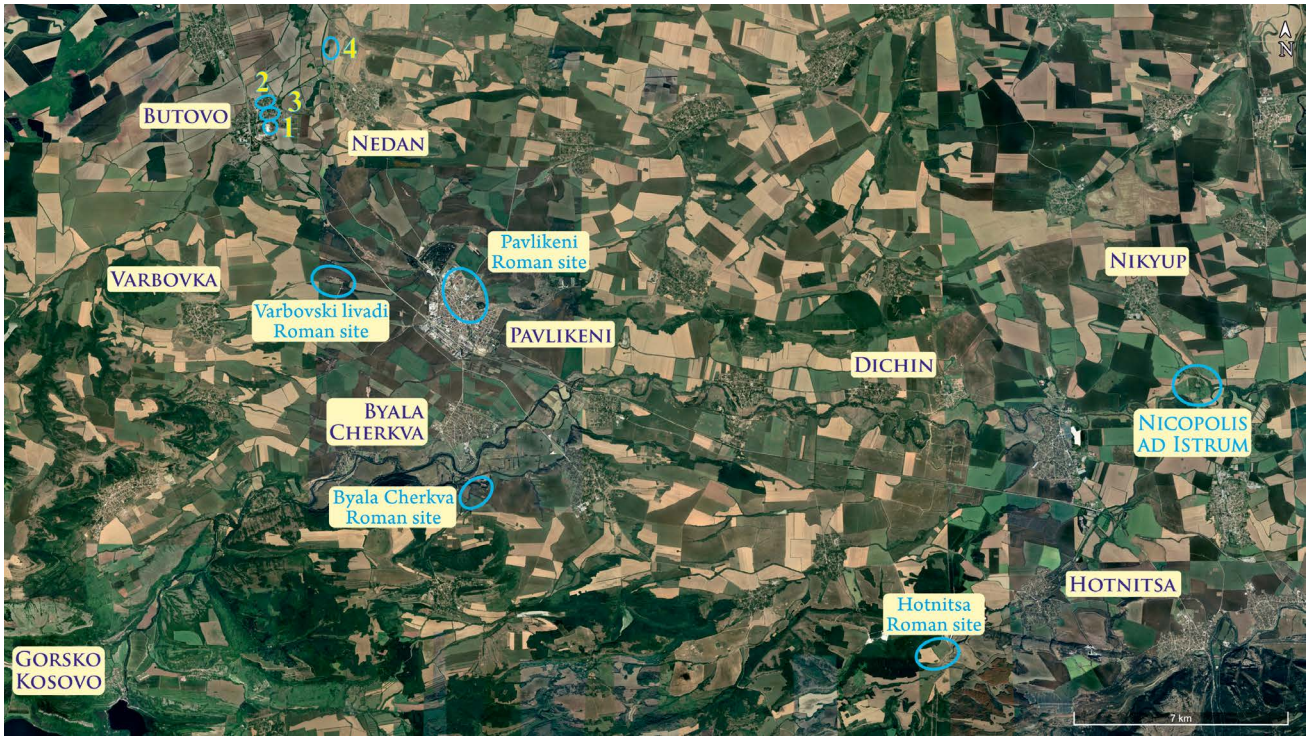


Fig. 4. Satellite image of Butovo and the nearby region with locations of the Roman sites, mentioned in the text: 1) A necropolis at the Kalvaka hill; 2) A settlement with necropolis on the left bank of the Lomya River; 3) The manufacturing centre with 39 kilns; 4) A settlement with necropolis in the Harka locality (site locations after Vladkova 2020; Chakarov 2021; image source – Google Earth, access date 20.02.2023).

installations were found beneath the eastern and southern parts of the modern village, in a zone stretching south to the northern slopes of the Kalvaka hill. The majority of the kilns functioned until the mid- 3rd century AD, while some were supposedly used until the early 4th century AD (Sultov 1985: 25-29; 41-42). According to more recent opinions on the matter, the production centre was active only between the late 2nd century and the middle of the 3rd century AD (Vladkova 2020: 259-260; Ivanov 2022: 100-101) or the early 4th century AD at the latest (Harizanov 2019: 142-143; 196). Considering the numismatic finds published, the last coins related to the ceramics centre were those of Gordian III (according to P. Vladkova) or Trajan Decius (see Sultov 1968: 48, note 25), while the next in chronological order were coins of Diocletian, Maximian and emperors of the 4th century AD, with these later issues being recently related to another rural settlement (**fig. 3,5**), built above the ruins of the potters' establishment (Vladkova 2020: 261). As commonly stated for other sites in the province, the desertion of the manufacturing centre has been associated with the Gothic invasions of the mid-3rd century (Vladkova 2020: 260; Ivanov 2022: 101). This is however not necessarily true given the lack of related destruction layers and the overall small number of numismatic finds available (the ones from the first construction period comprised 44 pieces out of a total of 164 coins published, with the rest being dated from the last decades of the 3rd century to the last decades of the 4th century AD) as well as the dating of some of the kilns studied, where the artefacts and pottery found were at least initially associated by B. Sultov with the second half of the 3rd century or the second and third quarter of the 3rd century AD[2]. It is also possible that other installations (used according to B. Sultov to the beginning of the 4th century AD at the latest – see Sultov 1985: 41-42) were actually operated by the inhabitants of the later settlement rather than by the craftsmen of the ceramics centre.

According to some researchers the ceramic production centre was identical with or at least an integral part of *Emporium Piretensium*, which is known to have existed in the region (Gerov 1988: 119; Sultov 1985: 26, 100 and the literature cited). Another claim has been made that the aforementioned *emporium* was actually located some 20 km to the south of Butovo, near the modern village of Gorsko Kosovo (**fig. 4**; Tsarov 2005: 47-52; Chakarov 2021: 106).

64-102). The same number is visible on the general plan of the site (here **fig. 2**, with kiln numbers added to the original published version in accordance with the description of the catalogue entries), and that is why accepted as the more plausible in previous works on the matter (Harizanov 2019: 142).

[2] Information from a field documentation of B. Sultov for excavations in Butovo in the 1973 and the 1983, acquired at the scientific archive of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia with the aid of Dr. Philip Kolev (NAIM-BAS), to whom I express my sincere gratitude. It should be noted however that the finds mentioned and available with drawings in the field inventory book could have all been produced well before the mid- 3rd century AD (personal observations, detailed analysis to come in a separate article).



Fig. 5. The mould from Butovo (photo-based drawing by A. Harizanov, photos by K. Chakarov).

Recent studies on the topic tend to accept the presence of a similar type of settlement structure beneath Butovo, but not necessarily the one known from the epigraphic sources. There is also a hypothesis that apart from this trading outpost, given the site's location next to the provincial border and near a supposed crossroad between the *Novae – Philippopolis* and the *Marcianopolis – Melta* roads, there were also a road and a customs station nearby (Vladkova 2020: 264). The discovery of *imbrices* with stamps of *Legio I Italica* (of the type 'LEGIITAL') in the vicinity of the modern village, briefly mentioned by B. Sultov (Sultov 1985: 26; 31, note 36), could likewise be added to the discussion regarding this suggestion, if we consider them proof for the presence of a military detachment.

As said above, the manufacturing centre was established very close to the border between *Moesia Inferior* and *Thracia*. Its surroundings were included in the territory of Lower Moesia either at AD 136, when the first organisation of their margins known to date has been done, or in AD 193, when the towns of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* and *Marcianopolis* were transferred under the jurisdiction of the Moesian governors along with their entire administrative territories (see Harizanov 2020b: 107; Vladkova 2020: 267; Chakarov 2021: 106-110, and the literature cited). In any case, given that the Butovo workshops were mainly active between the last quarter of the 2nd century and the 250s or the 270s, these ateliers should be considered Moesian (or more precisely Lower Moesian) as oppose to other closely located centres, which functioned while being within the limits of both provinces (like Varbovski livadi, Hotnitsa and likely also the newly discovered one underneath the town of Pavlikeni – see **fig. 4**; Harizanov 2020b: 105-109, 111-115 and the literature cited). Although this fact is not to be exaggerated, it could have been of some importance for the economic ties of the settlement and thus for the diversity of foreign influences reflected in the repertoire of its ceramic workshops as well.

The ceramic mould find

The main subject of the present contribution was discovered in 1963 during archaeological research within the village of Butovo[3]. In his dissertation B. Sultov writes about a mould for applied decoration with a negative image of Cybele that was found inside a small building (a presumed workshop), near three of the ceramic kilns studied (Sultov 1985: 27[4]). Given that the mould described here is the only one known to date, bearing the image of the Mother Goddess, it seems very likely that it is identical to the find Sultov wrote about.

According to the initial description of B. Sultov, the mould is made of fine clay and represents a woman with a long dress and a veil, sitting on a lion walking to the left. In front of the lion there is a burning altar, while beneath the animal there are uncertain depictions of fish. The woman is holding her left hand up pulling out an arrow, while the right hand is resting on her stomach. There are garlands on both sides of her head, with the latter being covered with something like a crown. The find is 9 cm in diameter and 1.2 cm thick (personal archive B. Sultov, archive unit no. 69).

The same artefact is mentioned in three other publications, where it is dated to the 3rd century or the late 2nd – 3rd century AD and described as a mould with a negative imprint of the image of Cybele riding a lion. The goddess is wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. She is sitting sideways, facing the head of the animal. In front of the lion there is an altar. Cybele's head is covered with a *calathos*. She is holding a tambourine (*tympanum*) with her left hand and a *pathera* in her right. Above her head there are two leafy olive branches (**fig. 5**; Kabakčieva, Sultova and Vladkova 1988: 32, no. 187; Vladkova 2004: 116-117; Gencheva 2013: 99, no. 253).

According to the most recent opinion on the matter, based both on personal observations and newly discovered parallels, the goddess is actually holding part of her veil or dress above her head, while the object in front of the lion could be either an altar or a *calathos* (Harizanov 2021: 173). Furthermore, her head could be covered by a mural crown and not with a *calathos* (see below for parallels of both options).

[3] There is a note for the discovery preserved in the said personal archive of B. Sultov, under archive unit no. 69.
The initial description of the artefact, also given here, is made by the late researcher

[4] This is also noted in the original manuscript of his dissertation (archive unit no. 10, page 45). The kilns mentioned are the ones with nos. 11-13 (see **fig. 2, 11-13**).

Function and parallels

The mould from Butovo was in all probability used for the manufacture of decoration in relief. However, there are two options for its application proper. The first one is using the artefact while making pastries (festive or daily cakes), which depending on the occasion were called *dulcea*, *libum* or *crustula*. Terracotta moulds of similar design found in *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Dacia* and Italy have been supposedly used for the purpose (Alföldi 1938: 312- 341; Cociș and Ruscu 1994: 121-134; Leleković 2004: 103-119; Fényes 2021: 118-129). Bearing the images of reigning emperors, deities related to the imperial cult or other mythological figures and scenes, sometimes connected to certain festivals, many of these finds were larger in diameter than the Butovo find, measuring between 19 and 27 cm, while others had similar dimensions, where the actual image covered an area with diameter of less than 10 cm (Fényes 2021: 118-129).

The second possibility for the use of such moulds is for the application of shaped medallions onto the walls and bases of ceramic vessels. A large number of finds from *Gallia* and especially from the Rhone valley, comprising both moulds and pottery sherds with preserved applied decoration testify for this type of usage (Déchelette 1904: 235-308; Wuilleumier and Audin 1952; Vertet 1969: 93-133). This practise was characteristic for the Western Roman provinces, and as it seems, was also popular in the Balkan territories of the Empire. Medallions depicting mythological figures and scenes, or heads/busts of mythological personages were usually applied as decoration to the walls of krater-shaped and other tall vessels, or on the internal bases of bowls, dishes and trays. Others were supposedly used as pendants or as votive tiles. This trend is thoroughly attested in *Moesia Inferior* and the northern parts of *Thracia*, for instance in the production centres at Varbovski livadi, Montana, Mezdra, Chatalka, Stara Zagora (*Augusta Traiana*) and Plovdiv (*Philippopolis*). Furthermore, medallions and/or vessels with applied decoration of presumed local (intra-provincial) origin were found both to the north and the south of the *Haemus mons*, near or at Gigen (*Oescus*), Tuchenitsa, Hotnitsa (but not at the eponym production centre), Dorkovo, Sofia (*Serdica*) etc. (Sultow 1972: 21-29; Kabakčieva, Sultova and Vladkova 1988: 28-34; Kalčev 1991: 245-273; Martinova 1994: 164-167; Harizanov 2021: 171-172; Ivanov 2022: 39-44, 61-64, 16, 205-209). Moulds, applied and separately used medallions, as well as supposed votive tiles were part of the repertoire of workshops in the neighbouring province of *Macedonia* as well (see Cholakov 2008: 55-76; Nankov 2021: 249-269, Vagalinski 2022: 44-45).

Despite the abundance of moulds and medallions published, finds with the scene similar to the one depicted on the Butovo mould are scarcely attested, as oppose to comparable images occasionally found on ceramic lamps and more commonly on the reverse sides of coins (see Harizanov 2021: 167-171 and the literature cited). For example, in Lower Moesia and Thrace, Cybele riding a lion (either leaping or walking) has been attested in the coinage of the towns of *Serdica*, *Pautalia*, *Traianopolis*, *Bizye*, *Deultum*, *Hadrianopolis*, *Augustra Traiana*, *Marcianopolis*, *Callatis* and *Nicopolis ad*

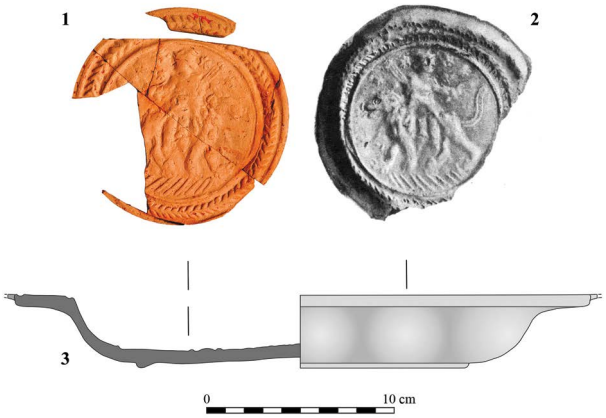


Fig. 6. The ceramic tray from Serdica (1 and 3) and the mould from Phillipopolis (2) (after Harizanov 2021: 162-163, figs. 2, 5).

Istrum, starting from the reign of Antoninus Pius until that of Philip the Arab (see Harizanov 2021: 169 and the literature cited). On the contrary, the only parallels of fired clay from the Roman period in the same region found to date are a ceramic mould from *Philippopolis* and a ceramic tray from *Serdica* (**fig. 6**). Both finds bear the identical depiction of a female figure holding a bow and seated upon a walking lion while facing its back, with the former being identified as the syncretised image of Cybele-Artemis, popular in Thrace and Asia Minor since the pre-Roman period (see Martinova 1994: 164-167; Harizanov 2021: 165-181 and the literature cited). A partially preserved terracotta figurine from the Hellenistic period (3rd century BC) found at the ancient sanctuary of *Aquae Calidae* (located to the west of the Black sea town of *Anchialos,* nowadays Pomorie) is the other artefact discovered in Thrace, shaped as the Mother Goddess on a lion. She wears the usual dress, with a *calathos* or more likely a mural crown on her head. Cybele is probably sitting sideways (?) on the back of a lion standing still[5].

The closest parallels to the depiction on the Butovo mould come not from the said nearby region (considering the images on both metal and ceramic artefacts) but instead from the valley of the Rhone River (**fig. 7**). According to the account of M. Vermaseren, two moulds and a partially preserved medallion were found at and near Vienne, two fragmented medallions at Lyon, and another medallion at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (**fig. 7,1-4; 7,6-7**; Vermaseren 1986: 116, n. 339; 128-129, n. 375, 377, 379; 134, n. 387; 139, n. 398). In a publication by R. Turcan yet another ceramic sherd with a preserved medallion is described, this one being kept in the museum of Saint-Rémy as well (**fig. 7,5**; Turcan 1972: 95; 143; Pl. XII). On two of the finds mentioned (**fig. 7,3-4**) the image of Cybele is only partially conserved. She is riding a running lion, moving towards the right. Her feet rest on a globe, beneath which there are

[5] Unpublished, see https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/30/Burgas_Archeological_Museum_-_Kibela_%28Cybele%29_figure.jpg



Fig. 7. Medallions from Lyon (1-3) and Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (4-5), and a mould from Vienne (6-7) (after https://lugdunum.grandlyon.com/fr/Oeuvre/1818-Medaillon-d-applique-la-desse-Cybele-sur-un-lion; Wuilleumier, Audin 1952: 96, n. 157; https://lugdunum.grandlyon.com/fr/Oeuvre/2003-Medaillon-d-applique-Cybele-sur-un-lion-fragment; Wuilleumier and Audin 1952: 160, n. 305; Turcan 1972: Pl. XII; Déchelette 1904: 268, n. 61; Desbat 2011: 132, Fig. 4).

two birds, situated on both sides of an ovoid object (Wuilleumier and Audin 1952: 160-161, n. 305; Turcan 1972: 95; Pl. XIII.2; Vermaseren 1986: 134, n. 387). On the rest of the artefacts described, the goddess is depicted wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*, sitting on a lion walking to the right and holding the upper part of her dress or a veil behind her head. There is a *calathos* or an altar in front of the animal, and two leafy branches or garlands on both sides of her head and torso (**fig. 7,1-2, 7,5-7**). All the finds are generally dated to the Roman period or more specifically to the 2nd-3rd century AD (Déchelette 1904: 268; Wuilleumier and Audin 1952: 96, 98, n. 157; Turcan 1972: 95; Vermaseren 1986: 116, 128-129, 134-135, 139). The appearance of the second group of finds is almost identical to the image on the Butovo mould, with some minor exclusions such as the position of the altar or *calathos*, which in the case of the Moesian find is depicted almost straight, while being set obliquely on the Gaulish ones (**fig. 8**).

It should be pointed out that the ancient origin of one of the moulds from Vienne (**fig. 7,6-7**), part of a collection of such items, has been recently questioned by A. Desbat, who summarised and presented valuable arguments for the supposed forgery, including their unusual surface colour and somewhat mediocre craftsmanship (Desbat 2011: 129-136). Nevertheless, the Vienne find aside, the rest of the artefacts from the Rhone valley seem strong enough evidence for the production of such items in the local ceramic ateliers, as part of their manufacture of the so-called "sigillee (ceramique) Claire B", which developed in Southeastern Gaul from the second quarter of the 2nd century AD onwards (see Desbat 1987: 267-278; Raynaud 1993: 175-184).

Given all said, it seems much more credible for the Butovo mould to have been used as a tool for the decoration of ceramic vessels rather than baked pastries. Both its small size and the large amount of parallels presented are in favour of the first option. There is also the distinct possibility for a double use, but in such a case one should expect to have two identical moulds utilised for these purposes rather than a single item.

Similar was the opinion of B. Sultov, who wrote that the artefact was designed for the decoration of ceramic vessels (personal archive B. Sultov, archive unit no. 10, p. 45).

Concerning the image depicted, it is probably not by chance that the illustrated deity was Cybele. As already noted, the Mother Goddess was popular in both *Thracia* and *Moesia Inferior*. In addition to the presence of her image on the local coinage, the *collegia* of the *dendrofori* which is usually related to goddess is well attested epigraphically in the two provinces, and in the local administrative centre of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* in particular (Vladkova 2004: 114-115). In this regard, the discoveries of the mould from *Philippopolis* and the tray from *Serdica* mentioned could be also regarded as a supplement to other archaeological and epigraphic data from the two towns, testifying to the worship of Cybele (see Harizanov 2021: 169; 174-176 and the literature cited).

The cult of the Mother Goddess was popular in the Rhone valley as well (for instance Turcan 1972: 48-102), but whether this fact could have been of importance for the choice of items for export/import, one could only hypothesize.



Fig. 8. The mould from Butovo (3-4) compared to a medallion from Lyon (1-2) (drawing after Wuilleumier, Audin 1952: 96, n. 157; photo – https://lugdunum.grandlyon.com/fr/Oeuvre/1818-Medaillon-d-applique-la-desse-Cybele-sur-un-lion; drawing by A. Harizanov; photo by K. Chakarov).

Discussion

The data gathered and analysed seems to testify to the Gaulish origin of the Butovo find. However, it is hard to consider whether the mould was directly imported or has been fashioned by the local craftsmen upon a model bought for the purpose. Given the macroscopic differences, at least, in the fired clay colours (the Butovo find has the paler beige to beige-brown colouring of the local pottery), the latter appears more plausible.

Comparing with the neighbouring *Dacia*, the earliest local moulds there (but for entirely mould-made vessels) were supposedly made by copying imported shapes from Lezoux and Rheinzabern (see Rusu-Bolindeț 2014: 159, 170) and not by obtaining original moulds or models, or by the work of foreign (travelling) craftsmen. In this regard, the option for the image on the Butovo mould to have been taken from an imported vessel rather than a model should also be mentioned. However, no evidence for the importation of medallion decorated Rhodanian pottery shapes to the region in question has been found so far.

Was the described here supposed import an accident (including a personal possession of a foreign merchant or a craftsman) or was it part of established connections between the Butovo artisans and the workshops in Gaul, and the Rhone valley in particular?

Apart from occasional, mostly 1st to early 2nd century AD imports from the East, the majority of the sigillata and related wares in *Moesia Inferior*, especially during the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD, came from the Western parts of the Empire and predominantly from the Gaulish provinces. Starting with products of Italian workshops (mainly Arretine) during the first three quarters of the 1st century AD, as early as the Flavian period it was surpassed by South Gaulish centres like La Graufesenque and Banassac, which in turn were later supplemented and gradually replaced by Central Gaulish imports, mostly coming from the area of Lezoux. After the mid- 2nd century AD the production of Rheinzabern and other Eastern Gaulish centres became more popular. During the 3rd century AD products of Pannonian and Upper Moesian workshops were also to be found in the Lower Moesian territory. In addition, thin-walled pottery was imported from Northern Italy and *Pannonia* during the second half of the 1st century and the 2nd century AD (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000: 5-29).

On the contrary, the development of the local pottery production in Lower Moesia and Thrace is usually related predominantly with Eastern traditions in the craft (mostly coming from Asia Minor) which seems to correspond with the majority of the assemblages published (see for instance Kabakčieva 2000: 313-318; Ivanov 2022: 117-119 and the literature cited). This could be owed to a certain extent to the fact that most of the ceramic workshops excavated were at least initially located within the territory of *Thracia* (see Harizanov 2020b: 103-147), where most of the imported pottery came traditionally from the East, with the Pergamon region being its usual place of origin (see Kabakčieva 2000: 313-318; Harizanov 2020a: 75-110 and the literature cited).

Conversely, at least some of the vessel shapes and decoration styles utilised by the Butovo workshops appear influenced by fashion trends and manufacturing techniques of the Western sigillata and red slipped products, as well as their local alternatives in *Pannonia*, *Moesia Superior* and *Dacia*. Such is for example the production of mould-made vessels and decorations, the medallions as well (for parallels between Butovo items and products of La Graufesenque, Lezoux, Rheinzabern and Upper Moesian centres, see Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000: 18-19, Abb. 3-5; for similarities in pottery decoration techniques with Gaulish ateliers, including medallions, see Kabakčieva 2001: 199-201). One can also note

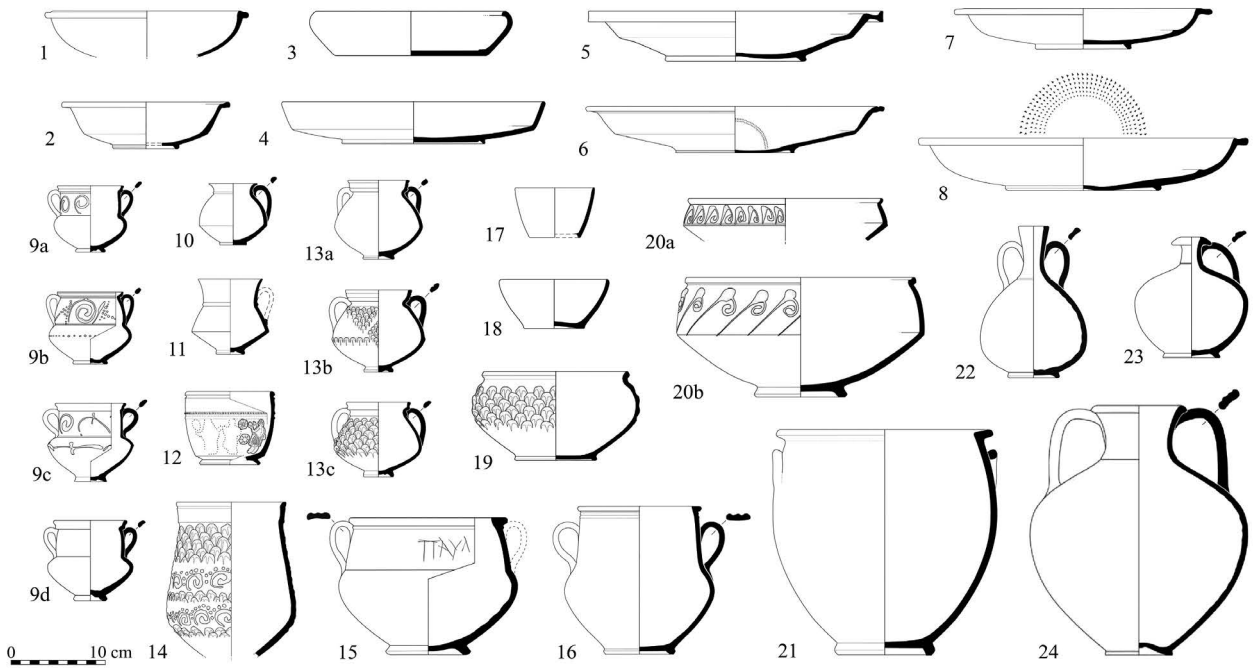


Fig. 9. Red slipped ceramic vessels found at the manufacturing centre at Butovo (after Ivanov 2022: 23-71, figs. 4-7, 12-13, 18-20, 22, 25, 27, 29-30; a compiled image by A. Harizanov).

resemblance between vessels manufactured (or supposedly manufactured) at Butovo and precisely shapes of Ceramique Claire B, for instance with types CLAIR-B 62, 68, G4 of the cups, CLAIR-B 84 of the pitchers, CLAIR-B 105 of the bowls (see Raynaud 1993: 180-184, and **fig. 9,4, 10-11, 13, 23** for the Butovo shapes in question). Some of these forms however are also found in the production repertoire of other centres in the Lower Danube region (like those at *Romula*, *Apulum* – see Popilian 1997: 7-20; Egri 2018: 115-129). Parallels of shape, decoration or both, could be seen in more distant regions as well, for example among the Pannonian thin-walled wares with their distinctive pinecone scales decoration (see Premk 1987: 437-450; Nagy 2016: 633-641), the Aegean "colarino" type mugs (see Hayes 2008: 101-104) and their Pontic sigillata alternatives (Zhuravlev 2010: 91-92), so this issue needs a thorough further investigation. At least for now, though pointed out, the abovementioned similarities cannot be considered with certainty as a proof for regular rather than accidental contacts and exchange of technical knowledge between the Moesian centre and the ones in the Rhone valley in particular.

Adding all said above, it becomes more and more clear that the repertoire of the Butovo workshops has much more divergent origin than recently stated (see Ivanov 2022: 102, according to whom, there was a major predominance of Eastern originated traditions in the craft). While there is Eastern and maybe also Pontic and other influences to be found within it, the products of the local artisans had more in common with the style and techniques used by Western and Western inspired workshops (see above), and foremost with centres like the those at *Romula*, *Acidava* (as previously noted – see Popilian 1997: 12; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2014: 170), probably also *Apulum*, Micăsasa and other Dacian workshops, than with the majority of the more closely located Thraco-Moesian ones, especially those located to northeast and the south of the *Haemus Mons* (for the latter, see for instance Kalčev 1991: 245-273; Harizanov 2020b: 103-147; Ivanov 2022: 110-112). This briefly described here diversity in the repertoire of the Butovo ateliers (see also Sultov 1985: 102) was in all probability owed to craftsmen of both western and eastern origin who settled and worked in this supposed artisanal community (Sultov 1985: 44-45, 101; Harizanov 2019: 143-144).

Conclusion

Despite the many controversies remaining, the discovery of the Butovo mould and its almost identical parallels from the Rhone valley could be viewed as a proof for the importation of technical knowledge from that region to the Lower Danube. Still, more evidence is needed for us to identify the true scope of the trade and industrial connections between the two Roman regions during one of the peaks of their economic development.

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Ivanka Kamenjarin & Anamarija Bralić

PAINTED POTTERY FROM THE KRTINE NECROPOLIS IN KAŠTEL SUĆURAC, CROATIA

A Roman necropolis dating from the 2nd-5th century was found in the former Salonitan ager, at the Krtine site. Among numerous pottery, a small group of 5 vessels stand out. The colour of the pottery is light yellow, almost white (HUE 10 YR 8/3), while two cups have brown painted geometrical motifs. This is the southernmost find in the Roman province of Dalmatia. It is more often found in sites of the northern parts of Dalmatia (today's northern Bosnia) and in the southern parts of Pannonia and Moesia, both in graves and in settlements, but the workshop remains unknown. A much larger quantity and a possible workshop was found at Cioroia Noa, a site in Dacia.
The authors of this paper postulate how it got to Krtine: were they brought from the homeland of the deceased, or are they a sign of trade and a better property status of the deceased?

Painted pottery – Roman period – 3rd - 4th century – Krtine – Salonitanian ager

1. Introduction: the site

The Roman necropolis of Krtine in Kaštel Sućurac is located to the west of Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, in its ager. It was excavated on two occasions, in 2006 (Kamenjarin 2007: 404-406) and 2008 (Šuta 2009: 547-549). The necropolis was found by accident during the construction of a new road, during which the central part of the necropolis was destroyed. 50 graves were discovered and it can be presumed that 20 more graves were destroyed. The necropolis is laid out on a natural terrace, has an E-W orientation, and is confined by limestone ridges on its northern and southern sides (Kamenjarin 2014) (**fig. 1**).

The Salonitan ager spreads around the city itself. There is fertile land to the west, east, and south of Salona, with the largest field being the field of Kaštela. Here, we can see traces of ancient centuriation even today. Since the beginning of the 19th century, Salona has been the focus of many archaeologists and historians. However, the land around it - its ager - is only briefly mentioned. The academic Mate Suić (1955:1-36) did focus more on the ager, however his reconstruction of the centuriation of the Salonitan ager is still accepted. The archaeological excavations of the *villae rusticae* were insufficient - we can say that only two have been fully excavated, and this happened at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century: Miri (Izvještaj 1897: 140-156; 1898: 217-229) and Majdan (Karaman 1936). Thanks to new field survey conducted by the employees of the Museum of the Town of Kaštela, remains of *villas* across the whole field of Kaštela have been found. At the Sustipan site in Kaštel Sućurac, right next to the sea (**fig. 1, no. 2**), Bulić has recorded remains of Roman walls[1] (Kečkemet 1978: 26-32). To the north, approximately

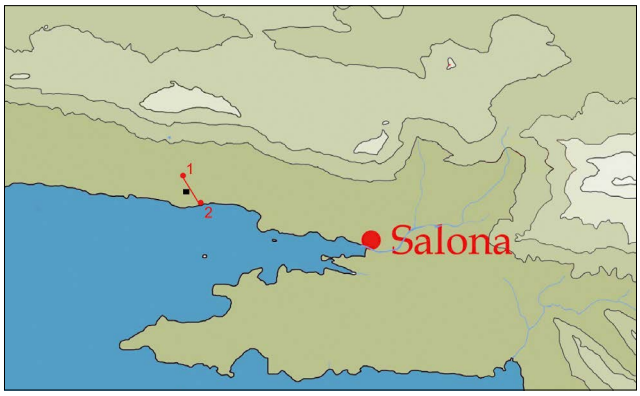


Fig. 1. Position of Krtine necropolis (black square), villas rusticas Krtine (1), Sustjepan (2), red dot - Salona; red line - cardo of the ager (digitalization and drawing D. Žanić)

1 km away, lie unexcavated remains of another *villa rustica* (**fig. 1, no. 1**). Halfway between the two is an excavated necropolis, lying on the *cardo* of the ager (**fig. 1**), which connects these two villas. The deceased could belong to either of them. The graves can be dated to the period between the 3rd and the 5th century AD both according to the burial method and the grave goods. Inhumation is the most common burial method, although three cremation burials with no *ustrinum* have also been found. The soil that was removed from the area where the necropolis was devastated is black, full of soot (an oil lamp was found here and a sherd of a stone plaque), and this is located east of the excavated area. The architecture of grave burials at the Krtine necropolis is composed of graves in amphorae, with flat-roofed or gable-wise arranged tegulae, in wooden coffins and directly in the plain ground. There are examples of multiple burials in the same grave which can therefore be classified as a family tomb. In addition, there

[1] In the 1950s, a plastics factory was built over them.

are several cases of later graves destroying the preceding burials (Kamenjarin 2014: 7-10). Anthropological analysis was conducted on some of the excavated deceased.

The grave goods found next to the deceased comprise mostly oil lamps, smaller ceramic vessels (cups and small jugs), and glass bottles.

2. Painted pottery

Among the ceramic goods, we should emphasize a small group of vessels of the painted pottery variety. Five vessels come from five different graves from the northern part of the necropolis, all of which are almost perfectly lined up one after another from east to west (**fig. 2**). Anthropological analysis was conducted on three graves (Šlaus 2006). Grave 18 is a double female burial, grave 19 contained male remains, and the same is also suggested in grave 45. No analysis was conducted on graves 36 and 43, but judging by the size of the grave and the skeletal remains, we can conclude that these are small children.

These five vessels have in common their light, almost white colour (HUE 10 YR 8/3) and relatively small size (**fig. 3-4**). They are of different shapes: two cups (**fig. 3**), two remains of a three-handled pot (**fig. 4, c-d**), and a juglet (**fig. 4, e**). So, three are complete and two are fragmented. Three vessels (the pots and the juglet) have no decorations and have mostly lost their final coating which is slightly darker than the first coating. Three have thin walls, two have thick ones.

Two vessels – the cups - have painted geometrical motifs on their outer surface. The brown colour was applied on the outer side of the wall after baking and is not stable on the vessel (it comes off easily). They share a similar shape - they both have a small round base, a slightly curved body, and an annular rim. The walls are thinly-made of finely purified clay, and the motifs cover the entire wall. The motifs are geometrical - undulating and straight lines, rectangles, and circles.

The closest analogies for this type of pottery, according to the scarce scientific literature, can be found in the north of the Roman province of Dalmatia (modern-day central Bosnia and Herzegovina) (Čremošnik 1961; 1984) and in some parts of southern Panonia, Moesia and Dardania (Dautova Ruševljan 1992; Fidanovski 1990; Brukner 1981). There is still much unknown about this type of pottery. It is rarely found, mostly as part of grave goods in burials in Dalmatia, with the largest amount found until now at Singidunum (i.e. Belgrade, Serbia),

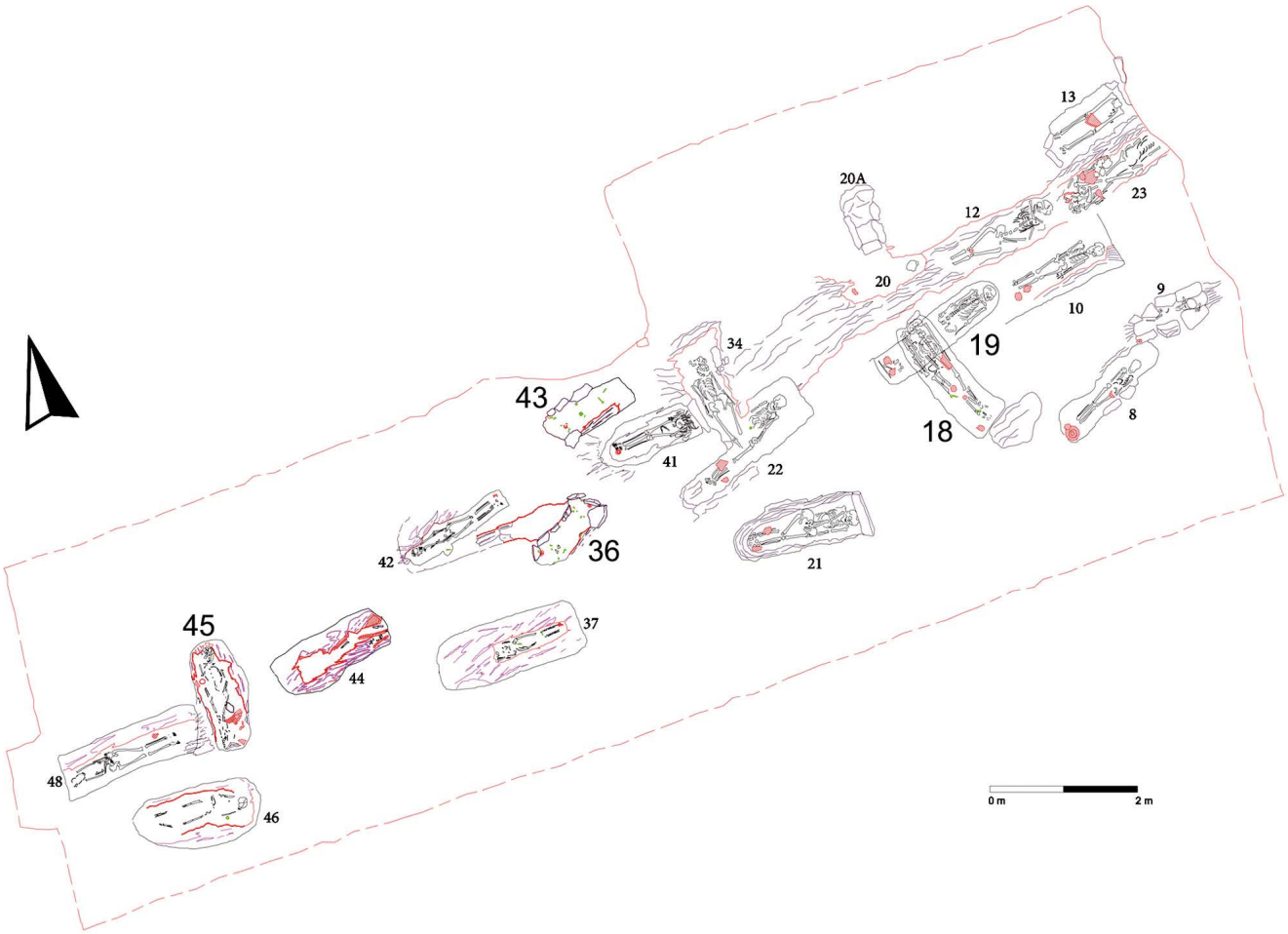


Fig. 2. Plan of northern part of the necropolis with highlighted numbers of graves with painted pottery (digitization of site plan D. Žanić).

from the settlement layer (Nikolić-Đorđević 2000). It has been found also in a settlement layer at Ulpiana[2] (Fidanovski 1990). In the 1960s, Čremošnik was the first to point to this type of pottery in the Roman province of Dalmatia, while she emphasizes its sporadicity, rarity, and the fact that all finds come from graves. The author concludes that this is a phenomenon that survived from the Late Iron Age since this type of pottery could have survived in rural areas which had poor communication (Čremošnik 1961: 189-202; 1984: 260-273). However, this hypothesis is difficult to accept because there is a hiatus of some 200-300 years. Brukner (1981:32-33) disagrees with the hypothesis although she does believe this pottery originates from central Bosnia and thinks that the fact that there have not been many excavations here prevents archaeologists from pinpointing the exact location where it was produced. Nikolić has focused most on this type of pottery recently as she was analyzing pottery from Singidunum (2005:107-113). She divides them into an earlier and a later group, according to the sizes of the vessels and the pigments used to paint them. She dates the earlier group to the first half of the 2nd century AD, and this group is represented by larger pots with multiple handles, while the motifs are painted red. The later group is notable for its beakers (cups) and small jugs, painted with a brown pigment, whose fabric is yellowish-white and which date back to the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 4th century AD. She believes there to be no connections between these two groups, so we cannot speak of any manufacturing continuity in this case.

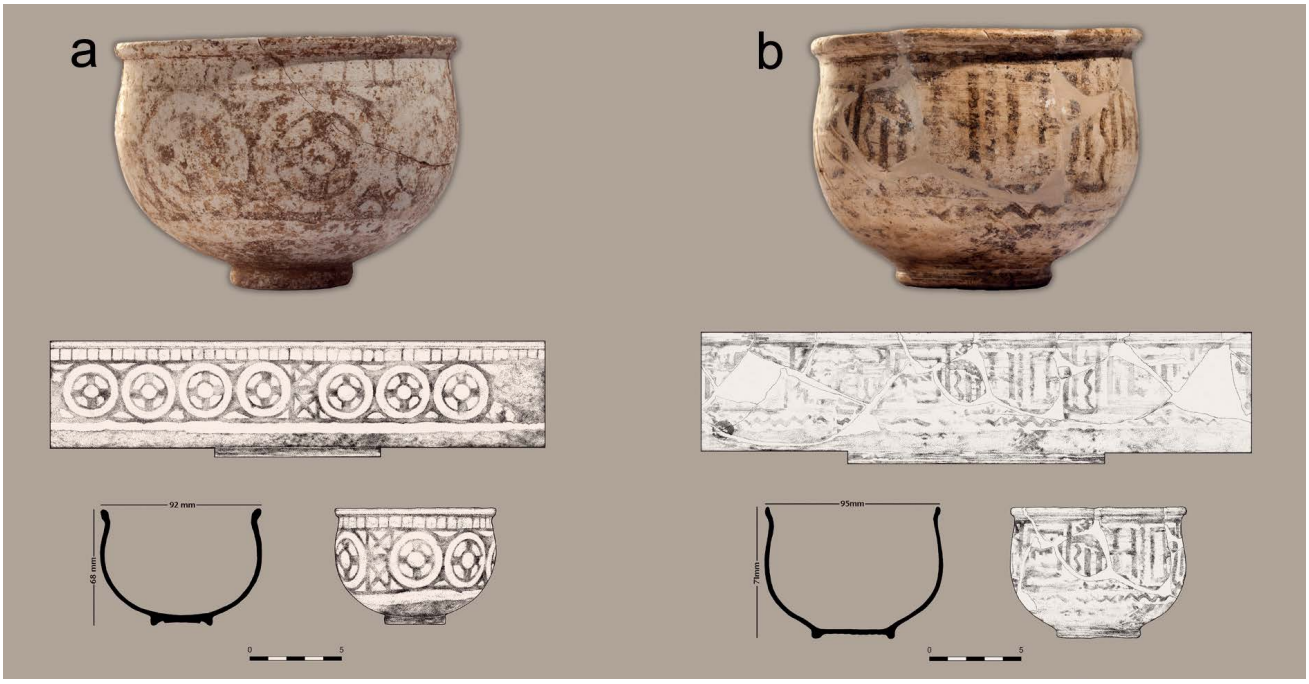


Fig. 3. Painted pottery: a) cup from grave 36; b) cup from grave 18 (drawings D. Žanić).

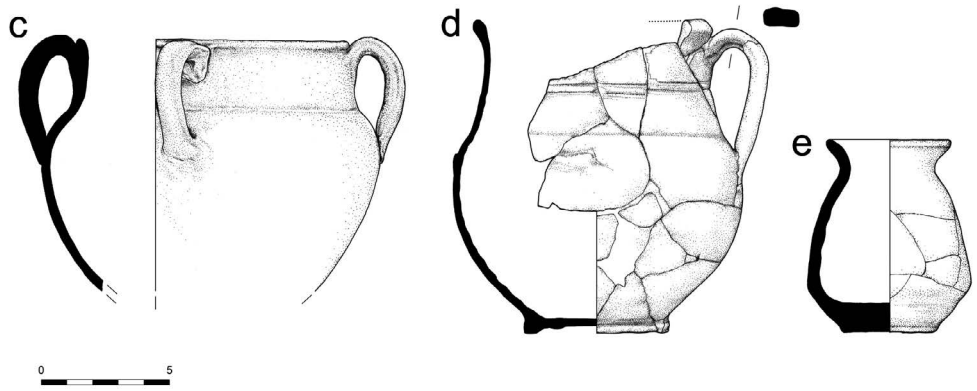


Fig. 4. Painted pottery: c) three- handle pot from grave 45, d) three-handle pot from grave 19, e) juglet from grave 43 (drawings D. Žanić).

[2] Priština, Kosovo.

Fidanovski made the same grouping with the pottery found at Ulpiana a couple of years before Nikolić, in his analysis of Ulpiana pottery. These pieces also came from stratigraphical layers which helps to date it better. Fidanovski states that the Ulpiana painted pottery can be dated 2nd-4th century. He also states that the later group is more diverse in types of vessels and motifs but the colour is not consistent (Fidanovski 1990: 18-22). The objects found at Krtine would belong to this later group, if we accept the classification proposed by Nikolić[3] and Fidanovski.

3. Final remarks

This small pottery collection has been studied by several archaeologists, but more as a sidenote to the remainder of the collected ceramic material. However, none of them has so far been able to provide a satisfactory answer to the question of this pottery's origin. The main problem is the exceptionally small number of items discovered, both in total and at individual sites. While analyzing the material from Singidunum, Nikolić found the largest collection of specimens from a single site - sherds belonging to approximately 20 vessels in the settlement layer. The author emphasizes a general lack of comparable vessels that could be used for comparison and a lack of dating context from other sites, a situation that makes precise dating difficult (Nikolić 2005: 109). The Singidunum finds originate from a settlement, whereas other finds from the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Panonia come from or were found near graves. Earlier scholars (Čremošnik 1984; Brukner 1981) had considered them to be luxury items used only for burials.

While searching for further examples of painted pottery, we found specimens from the Cioroiu Nou site in Dacia, i.e. modern-day Romania (Bondoc 2015: 475-480). The site is approximately 20 km north of the Danube and is an important civilian but also military hub in the 2nd and 3rd century AD. For a while, Legio VII Claudia was located there (this legion was located in Tilurium in the 1st century AD, close to Salona[4]). The large amount of this type of pottery found here, considered to be the largest concentration of painted pottery in Dacia, leads archaeologists to conclude that it was produced there. Bondoc believes painted pottery is a legacy of a La Tène-period Celtic tradition which was brought to Dacia, primarily to Cioroia Noa, by Roman colonists from northern Dalmatia and Moesia. He also connects it to Hispanic soldiers who brought their potters along with them to Dacia, and these potters then spread their tradition of pottery painting. Dacia has many sites with this type of pottery, unlike sites in Roman Dalmatia, Moesia and Pannonia Inferior. In the published literature on Salona's necropolises, there is no mention of painted pottery. There are also no sites discovered so far between Kaštela and central Bosnia with this pottery type, so we can conclude that Krtine is currently the southernmost known site in the Roman province of Dalmatia.

But two main questions still remain - what is the origins of this pottery and can we use it to deduce the origin of the deceased from Krtine?

If we accept the hypothesis of our colleagues from Romania that painted pottery was made in that country, the question is whether it arrived in Kaštela by trade. If it did, was it expensive and considered a sign of wealth and a status symbol? Or did the deceased perhaps bring it here as something to remind them of their homeland? Modern analytical methods - archaeometry - will provide more answers, but for that more pieces of this type of pottery must be found. Should the hypothesis about the connection between the Hispanics and painted pottery be proven correct, its mapping could follow the military campaigns of those parts of the Roman army that had significant numbers of Hispanic soldiers. The type could also have illustrated the movement of Dacians in the eastern part of the Empire.

The purpose of this article is to introduce scholars to this type of pottery and to advise archaeologists that there is a possibility that further similar vessels may be found. These finds will eventually provide evidence to answer the aforementioned questions.

Catalogue [5]

1. cup, inv. no. 2455 **(fig.3, b)**

Grave 18 contained a double female burial. Next to the feet of one of the deceased, a painted cup was found. It has a narrow ring, while the body is slightly curved. The wall is thin and fine, with a light, almost white colour (HUE 10 YR 8/3). It was painted in brown colour, with the geometrical motifs: the vertical and undulating lines alternate within the rectangle. The motif of the wave-line stretches below the frieze, and from that point on to the bottom, everything is painted brown.

Dimensions: h. 71 mm, diameter of the opening 95 mm

Date: 3rd - 4th century AD..

2. three-handled pot, inv. no. 2547 **(fig. 4, d)**

Grave 19 contained a male between 30 and 35 years old, but this grave was mostly destroyed by grave 18. Next to the feet, the remains of a small three-handled pot have been found. The fabric is very fine, purified and of light-ochre colour. Traces of coating, only slightly darker, are visible, but the coating comes off easily. The ribbon of relief decoration is visible below the rim, while the neck is cylindrical and expands towards a ball-shaped belly. The ring is shallow and annular.

Dimensions: h. 114 mm, w. of the belly 100 mm.

Date: second half of the 3rd - 4th century AD.

3. cup, inv. no. 2554 **(fig. 3, a)**

The cover of grave 36 has not been preserved apart from a stone garland which forms an irregular rectangle. Inside were found neatly arranged nails (12 pieces in total) which are evidence of burial with a wooden casket. The skeleton

[3] The dating she proposes corresponds to the dating of this necropolis.

[4] Tilurium is today village Trilj in the hinterland. Gravestones belonging to its veterans are found all over the Salonitan ager (Tončinić 2011).

[5] All items in the catalog were published in the catalog belonging to the exhibition Kamenjarin 2014.

was not preserved apart from a few teeth which suggests a child was buried here. An oil lamp and the remains of a glass bottle were found inside the casket, whereas on the outside was a painted ceramic cup closer to the head.

The cup has a more pronounced annular ring. The body is slightly curved at the bottom, with an annular rim. The clay is fine, the wall is thin, and the colour is light, almost white. The motifs are geometrical and organized in multiple rows. At the top there is a narrow ribbon delineated by brown lines inside of which are even vertical lines. This is followed by a series of triple circles made with thin lines. Squares are placed between the second and the third circle, which creates an impression of a cross. In the middle of this ribbon, there are two crossed squares one above the other. Below that comes a white unadorned ribbon, and the rest of the surface all the way to the ring is painted brown.

Dimensions: h. 68 mm; diameter of the opening 92 mm.
Date: 3rd - 4th century AD.

4. juglet, inv. no. 3144 **(fig. 4, e)**

Grave 43 was also a child's grave. It was partially destroyed, containing a wooden casket of smaller proportions. Remains of a small ceramic pot, light-ochre in colour, with a narrow opening, pear-shaped body and a thicker bottom with a thich, flat bottom.

Dimensions: h. 75 mm, w. of the belly 63 mm
Date: 3rd - 4th century AD.

5. three-handled pot, inv. no. 3147 **(fig. 4, c)**

The deceased who was buried here was laid into the bare ground, which destroyed the grave that had already existed here. The skeleton is in poor condition, and no anthropological analysis has been conducted. Apart from the remains of an oil lamp and a glass bottle, remains of a smaller three-handled pot were also been found next to the head. It was made of very fine clay, almost white in colour. The cylindrical neck is sharply separated from the ball-shaped body. Although almost half of the vessel is missing, the shape can be reconstructed. There are visible remains of a slightly darker coating.

Dimensions: h. 95 mm.
Date: second half of the 3rd - 4th century AD.

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BYZANTINE AMPHORAS FROM THE ROMAN FORT OF APSAROS (MODERN GONIO, GEORGIA)

This paper presents the first study of Byzantine amphoras that were discovered by the Gonio–Apsaros Polish–Georgian Expedition at the Roman fort of Apsaros (modern Gonio, Georgia). Seasons 2018, 2019 and 2020 were particularly rich in Byzantine material as they provided 315 diagnostic fragments of both locally produced and imported transport containers, dated to the late 6th and 7th centuries AD, which form the basis of this study.
Pontic imitations of LRA1 (Antonova 5) were the most common amphoras in Apsaros, with Colchian Ch ID form holding the second post. Containers from Sinope and Heracleia Pontica also reached the fortress in significant numbers; contrary, products from the northern or western Black Sea region were hardly attested. Imports outside of the Pontic area appeared in very low quantities, which points to a regionalization of trade and predominance of the local supply of Apsaros during this period.

Amphoras – Gonio – Apsaros – Colchis – Black Sea region

The aim of this paper is to present the variety of Byzantine transport containers that were discovered during the excavations conducted by the Gonio–Apsaros Polish–Georgian Expedition at the Roman fort of Apsaros (modern Gonio, Georgia) in 2018, 2019 and 2020.[1]

Apsaros was situated at the crossroad of the sea and land routes connecting Trapezus and Sebastopolis, thanks to which it was an important political and economic centre in the Black Sea region during the early and mid-Roman imperial period (Kamadadze 2019: 91). During the first three centuries AD it was one of the principal Roman forts situated at the Pontus-Caucasian frontier; however, it was abandoned in the second half of the 4th century AD. Subsequently, around the mid-6th century AD, the fort was restored, and it continued to be used throughout the Byzantine and Ottoman periods (Kakhidze 2003: 303-323; Mamuladze et al. 2016).

The Byzantine (ca. mid-6th – end of the 6th century AD) amphorological material analysed amounts to 427 fragments, including 315 (74%) diagnostic sherds which can be certainly identified and 80 (19%) that are labeled as uncertain. Additionally, 32 (7%) fragments could not be matched with any known form because of their lack of diagnostic features and / or unique morphological / fabric characteristics. A number of amphora fragments were found in pits from the Ottoman period, in which the earlier material is mixed and out of context, so the dating of the material is not always clear. Nevertheless, there are certain zones inside the fortress untouched by the Turks which yielded layers containing clearly Byzantine amphora types and additional archeological findings, which helped with the identification of Byzantine material. Fragments from every identifiable amphora type discussed within this article could be found within these reliably-dated contexts (the total number of fragments attested in these layers is 104). They include types that are common in the Black Sea region, such as: Pontic Antonova 5, variant D of "Colchian"/"Brown-clay" amphoras (Ch ID), Sinopean containers of the so-called D group (D Snp) and LRA1 of unknown origin. Together with these widely known forms we distinguished another type - Type IV (as classified by M. Khalvashi) that appears statistically important for Gonio (see below).[2] Besides the already classified forms we managed to identify a few new morphological entities which are characterised by their distinctive fabrics: Type III.1, III.2 and III.3 (in some ways related to Antonova 5, but made of different fabrics). Figure 1 presents the quantities of different certainly

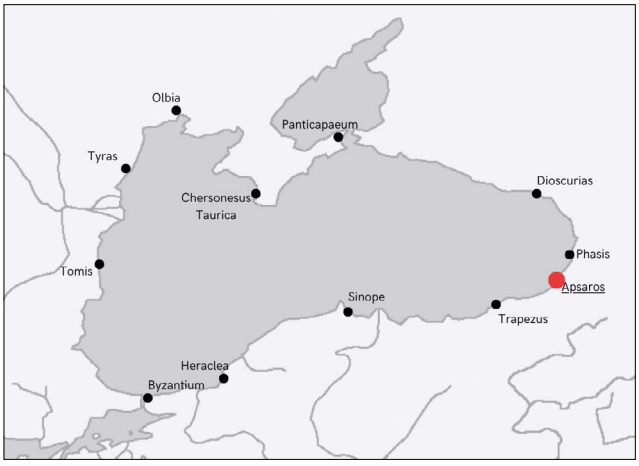


Fig. 1. Map of the Black Sea region with Apsaros.

[1] The research on which this article is based was made possible thanks to the financial support from The National Science Centre in Poland UMO-2021/41/B/HS3/01155.

[2] A local classification name is used since exact parallels for this type (in terms of form *and* fabric) are unknown from the literature.

identifiable amphora types attested in Apsaros during the archaeological campaigns of 2018-2020.

The following part of this paper will discuss general information about the date, origin and distribution of each of the types and analyse their macroscopic, fabric and metric characteristics. The types are ordered according to their statistical significance within the assemblage. Fabrics or fabric groups identified within our collection were marked with the letter "B" (Byzantine) and a unique numeral. Their descriptions are summarised in Table 1 and the measurements of identifiable pieces in Table 2 at the end of the text.

Antonova 5 / Antonova 5 *similis*

The form Antonova 5 was most likely produced in the Pontic area, however its exact place of production remains unclear (Smokotina 2016: 716). According to Smokotina, it might have originated in northern Asia Minor (Smokotina 2016: 716), which seems possible, since its fabric is orange and resembles the fabric of Sinopean group C amphoras. Antonova 5 containers were probably produced from the end of the 2nd until the 7th century AD; however, their typology has not so far been sufficiently developed. Nevertheless, thanks to the discoveries from Bosporus and Tyritake it was possible to establish that the rim diameter of these vessels decreases from the 4th century AD and oscillates around 6-8 cm during the second half of the 6th century AD (Smokotina 2016: 716, fig. 7.7-8).

Fragments that most probably belonged to the form Antonova 5 or Antonova 5 *similis* are the most dominant in Gonio (**fig. 2**). They were represented by the upper part of the neck with the rim, handles and shoulders, in total 103 identifiable sherds. The fabric is orange, sometimes orange-reddish / pinkish with small to large sized red-brown, grey and small to medium sized white inclusions. When the vessel is fired in a higher temperature than the usual, the colour of the fabric goes into pinkish and reddish (Fabric B4). The range of the general metric variation of this type suggests that the form was made in various volumes, while the rim diameter range indicates that the vessels in question should typologically belong to the second half of the 6th century (**table 2**).

This form may be identified with the so-called 'orange-clay' amphoras classified by Inaishvili and Khalvashi in Apsaros and Tsikhisdziri (*Petra Justiniana*) (Type III in Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2011: 267; fig. 3; Khalvashi 2002: 46-47; fig. 38, fig. XV.1-2.), since both types share the same morphological and fabric characteristics, such as: an egg-shaped ridged body, a rounded rim, a low, cylindrical neck and rather oval handles with irregular ridges, and a fine clay with brown and white inclusions.

Similarly to A. Smokotina, the Georgian authors suppose that these amphoras originated in the southern Black Sea littoral (Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2011: 267). however this hypothesis still needs to be confirmed by an archaeometric study.

As for the distribution of this form, taking into account the lack of data concerning the discovered forms and fabrics from different settlements of the Black Sea region, we can currently only identify the above-mentioned three sites (Tyritake, Gonio and Petra Justiniana) as places where amphoras belonging to this form were certainly encountered.



Fig. 2. Antonova 5 / Antonova 5 *similis* amphoras from Apsaros, a - GA.2020.NWXII.6 and b - GA.2019.NOI.296 (right) with their respective fabric photos (photos & drawings: A. Rogava)

Brown-clay, or the so called 'Colchian' amphoras (Ch ID)

Late Roman and Byzantine 'brown-clay' amphoras, known as type Ch ID, classified also as Kuzmanov IX (Kuzmanov 1985), Zeest 103 (Zeest 1960), and East Pontic containers - EP II-III (Opait 2015) appeared around the mid-4th century AD and continued to be produced until the 7th century AD. They were produced using a fabric which was partly similar to the one used for the Ch IC amphoras during the 1st-3rd centuries (typically a brown fabric containing admixtures of pyroxene, as well as other small white, grey and sometimes red inclusions (fabric 2 by Vnukov). However, the ChID fabric was coarser, had less pyroxene and more quartz. The ChID amphoras are smaller than ChIC2 and they have a characteristic rib directly under the rim in the form of a finger-made groove. Their capacity oscillated around 20 litres. They were all wheel-made, and usually had triangular rims, while their handles were always flat. These containers appeared in Sebastopolis around the second half of the 4th century AD and continued to be produced thorough the 5th century AD. At least a part of examples discovered in Abkhazia was manufactured in the district of Sebastopolis; however, based on the fabric analysis conducted by Vnukov we can suppose that similar vessels should also have been produced in other parts of Colchis, as well as outside of this region, for example in Heracleia Pontica (Vnukov 2011: 276-277; Erol and Tamer 2020: 536). It is supposed that late Roman and Byzantine Colchian containers were used for transporting wine, like their early Roman predecessors (Vnukov 2011: 276-277, fig. 7; Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2011: 265-266, fig. 1). However, olive oil might have been an alternative cargo. According to Kassab Tezgör (2020), late Colchian amphoras (the so-called Group Y) were manufactured in the northern part of Colchis as well as in the north-western part of this region, where two kilns producing this type of containers were attested in the Byzantine fortress Archaeopolis (also known as Nokalakevi or Tsikhegoji). Moreover, it cannot be excluded that production continued in Trapezus, where Roman Colchian amphoras were manufactured, and most probably also in the Çoruh Valley (ancient Akampsis). Olive trees were present on the southern coast of the Black Sea region, as well as in the Akampsis Valley. With regards to the contents of ChID amphoras one should mention the insides of this container type were often covered with a dark substance, probably petroleum an example being the fully intact ChID amphora discovered in Tyritake (Kassab Tezgör 2020: 56; for petroleum see also Opait 2015: 284-288).

Colchian amphoras of the ChID variant were probably the containers classified as 'pseudo-colchidiennes' by Kassab Tezgör and Touma in 2001. According to them, the fabric of Pseudo-Colchian amphoras contained predominantly pyroxene and quartz, as well as smaller quantities of grey, gold and red inclusions, which makes them similar to Sinopean products. At the same time, their morphology and the colour of the clay resemble early Roman Colchian containers (Kassab Tezgör and Touma 2001: 113-114).

The distribution of ChID is concentrated in the Black Sea region (Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2013: 351), outside of Colchis they were discovered in Romania, Bulgaria, and the Bosporan Kingdom. For example, Colchian ChID2 amphoras (probably of Abkhazian production) were found in Tyritake (Smokotina 2016: 715) and in Panticapeum, (Fedoseev et. al. 2010: 79-81, fig. 22-23) but they were absent in Novae, a Roman legionary camp situated in the western Pontic region (Biernacki and Klenina 2015: 99-116). Several examples of ChID appear in collections held by Samsun and Antakya museums in modern Turkey, but they were also discovered during excavations in a cistern in Ras Ibn Hani in Syria. It is supposed that examples from Syria might have been produced in a workshop in Seleucia Pieria (Kassab Tezgör and Akkaya 2000: 133; Kassab Tezgör and Touma 2001: 113-114, fig. 13-14). Containers of analogous shape found in the sea and kept in the Samsun Museum were published by D. Kassab Tezgör and M. Akkaya. Pseudo-Colchian amphoras from the Samsun Museum were divided into five types: A, B, C, D, E, where the first two are represented by smaller containers, while the remaining three types include large transport jars. They all have a triangular or rounded rim, a flared or conical neck, flat handles, and an elongated body with a clearly visible waist and pointed toe that sometimes ends with a small protuberance. It is, however, uncertain whether they originated in Colchis, since they might have also been produced in Sinope or in Heracleia Pontica (Kassab Tezgör and Akkaya 2000: 127-141).

The most detailed description of typological variants of Byzantine Colchian amphoras has been presented by Opait (2015), who classifies them as East-Pontic II and III containers (EP II and III). Variant EP II-A (type A and B by Kassab Tezgör and Akkaya) can be distinguished by its cup-shaped rim, a 'waist' in the middle part of the body and a sharp, conical base which has no flourish inside. The body of these amphoras is sometimes covered with grooves, but a number of examples also contain longitudinal traces of smoothing. Their dimensions vary between 59-62 cm or 68,5-72 cm (height) and the maximum diameter of the body oscillates between 18,7 and 19,8 cm. Variant EP II-B (type C-E) by Kassab Tezgör and Akkaya) has a chalice-shaped rim with its lower part thickened and triangular in section, whilst the base has the form of a small, cylindrical foot or knob. The handles are flattened and rectangular in section and are less carefully attached to the neck than in the subtype EP II-A. These containers are also bigger than the previous variant, as their height varies between 78 and 90 cm, while the maximum diameter of the body oscillates between 22 and 32 cm.

The examples representing subtype EP III were discovered in the late 6th and early 7th century AD layers in Chersonesus and they can be divided into three variants. EP III-A has a cup-shaped rim, a narrow, cylindrical neck and an elongated body with a conical base. The handles are flattened and rather rectangular in section (similar to the EP II variant), but they are always carefully attached to the neck and shoulders. Variant III-A is considerably smaller than its predecessor, as its height varies between 57-58 cm, while the maximum body diameter does not exceed 19 cm. The EP III-B amphoras have a chalice-shaped rim that bends towards the interior of the vessel, while the neck is sometimes slightly wider at its lower part. The handles fall almost perpendicularly on the shoulders, while the conical base ends with a small cylindrical foot. This

variant is slightly larger than its EP-III-A predecessor, as its height oscillates between 68,5 and 74 cm and the maximum body width varies between 20 and 20,6 cm. The EP III-C variant has a swollen neck, a rim that is triangular in section, a small, cylindrical foot and crooked and carelessly made handles. This variant is mostly known from the 5th-century AD layers in Chersonesus (Opait 2015: 285-288).

Late Colchian amphoras discovered in Gonio during the years 2018 – 2020 are represented mostly by rims, neck and handles, but no complete example has so far been discovered. Therefore, it is impossible to give the exact measurements of these containers. Nonetheless, it was often possible to measure rim diameters, which varied between 5.7 and 8 centimetres (**table 2**) (This form is classified as Type VII by M. Khalvashi (Khalvashi 2002: 20-21).

ChID containers discovered by the Gonio–Apsaros Polish–Georgian Expedition in Gonio during 2018 – 2020 were represented by three different rim forms (**fig. 3**) and were made using at least 3 different fabrics (**table 1**):

Fabric B1 – a fabric group that has hues ranging from a light brown, light brown pinkish / orange clay containing variable quantities of pyroxene, quartz and grey to reddish rock fragments (65 certain and 4 uncertain fragments). Examples with cup-shaped as well as chalice-shaped rims were attested within this fabric group.

Fabric B2 – a reddish-brown fabric with small and medium sized white inclusions and sporadic rock fragments (11 certain and 3 uncertain fragments). Examples with only chalice-shaped rims were attested within this fabric group.

Fabric B3 – a coarse orange fabric with abundant white inclusions followed by some pyroxene and other indefinite inclusions (2 fragments).

Containers made in Fabric B1 are the only examples that match the Colchian amphora fabric repertoire published by Opait (Opait 2015: 290-291, fig. 19-25). Fabric B1 has the most similarities with the recipe used for EP IIIA and B variants that are dated to the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries AD in Chersonesus. The identification of



Fig. 3. Ch ID amphoras from Apsaros: a – Ch ID amphoras made in Fabric B1 (GA.2018.NOXI.7, GA.2020,NWXII.23 and GA.2020.NWXII.8 (from left to right)); b – Ch ID amphora sub-variants: GA.2018.NOXI.7, GA.2018.NOI.239 and GA.NOI.230 (from left to right); c – Ch ID amphora frag-ment in Fabric B2 (GA.2019.NOI.239); d – Ch ID amphora fragment in Fabric B3 (GA.2018.NOI.7) (photos & drawings: A. Rogava and G. Dumbadze).

ChID's made in Fabric B1 with the EP III subtype is further supported by two arguments: the presence of both cup-shaped and chalice-shaped rims (**fig. 3**) and a match between the chronological ranges of our amphoras (6th – 7th century) and the ones classified as EP III (end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century), which renders this identification most probable (Opait 2015: 286).

The absence of Fabrics B2 and B3 in Opait's repertoire most probably suggests that the actual variety of fabrics (and maybe even the morphological variants) and therefore the number of production centres is even greater than we might assume based on the existing publications.

Type IV

Type IV, as named by M. Khalvashi, forms the third most frequently occurring Byzantine amphora type in Gonio (Khalvashi 2002: 47-48, fig. 39, fig. XV.3-4). These vessels are thin-walled and have typically slightly grooved handles which are always symmetrically arched and carefully attached to the body. The lip is triangular in section, or rounded (**fig. 4**). The fabric is fine-grained, light-brown to greyish or pinkish and is filled with varying amounts of small to medium sized white, grey and brown inclusions (Fabric B14) (**table 1**, **fig. 4**). Khalvashi compares these amphoras to the examples discovered on a couple of settlements on the eastern and northern Black Sea littoral (Khalvashi 2002: 47), however only three of them, Pityus (Berdzenishvili and Puturidze 1975: 273, fig. 59.1), Tsibilium in the Abkhazia region (Voronov and Bgazhba 1985: 72-73, pls. 33.2-3, 7, 25) and Archaeopolis in the Colchian hinterland (Lekvinadze and Khvedelidze 1981: 134. fig. XLIII.3) seem to have yielded fragments similar to Type IV in terms of form and fabric. Based on this type's fabric resemblance to Antonova 5 it is possible that these vessels were made in one of the unknown Pontic workshops.

Judging from the variation of the vessel dimensions (especially the rim diameter) in Gonio it becomes clear that there are different volumetric entities within this type (**table 2**).

'Sinopean' amphoras (D Snp)

During the early Byzantine period Sinope was a very important harbour for the Roman army and fleet in the Black Sea. As a consequence, Sinopean pottery was frequently attested at a number of excavated sites situated on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. (Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2010: 507). Byzantine Sinopean amphoras may be divided into two groups, classified by Kassab Tezgör (2009; 2020) as C and D, which may be easily distinguished due to the colour of their fabric.

Group C containers have a light red or dark orange paste and an elongated form that led to them being classified as 'Carrot amphoras' (II and III C Snp) (Kassab Tezgör 2009: 169; 2011: 198-199; 2020: 21-34; Vnukov 2010: 368; Opait 2010b: 379-398; Dobreva 2017: 266). They are attested in south-western Georgia, for example in Tsikhizdziri, (Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2010: 499); however, their presence in Gonio has not so far been confirmed neither during Georgian excavations (Khalvashi 2002; Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2010: 487-559) nor by the Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition. This may be due to the fact that the Apsaros fortress was abandoned for most of the period during which these containers were produced (4th-6th century AD).

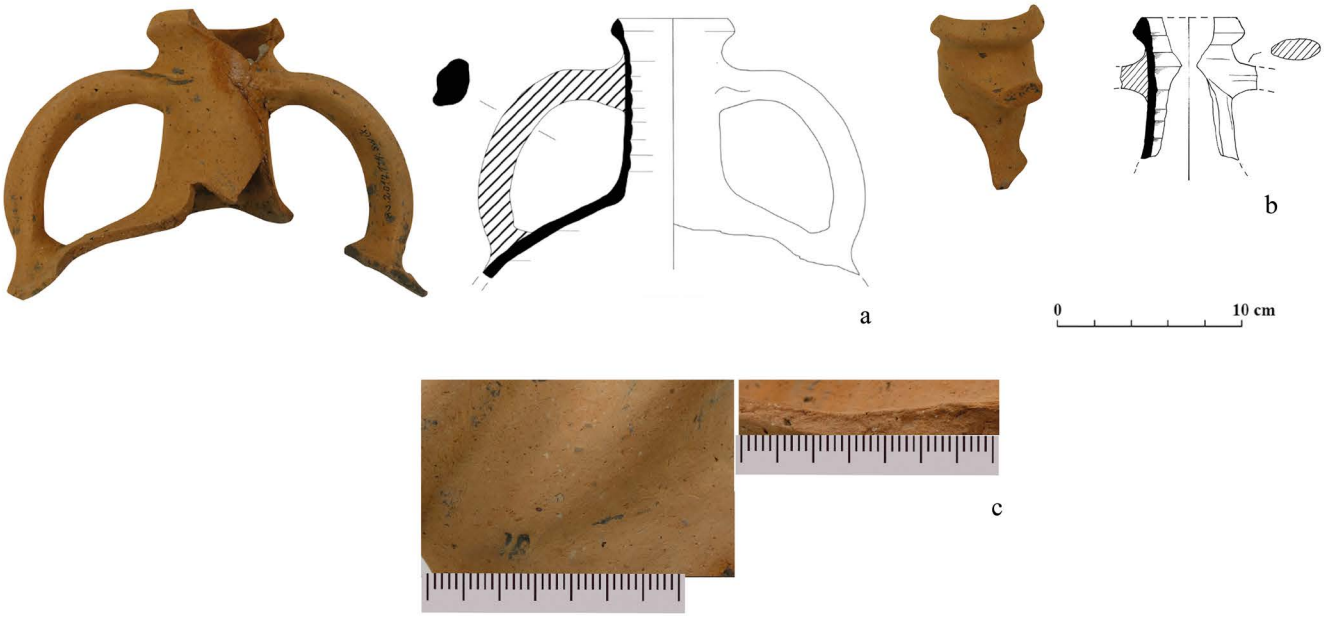


Fig. 4. Type IV amphoras from Apsaros: a – GA.2017.SWIX.114; b – GA.2018.NOI.201; c – fabric of Type IV amphoras (drawings: G. Dumbadze and P. Komar; photos: A. Rogava).

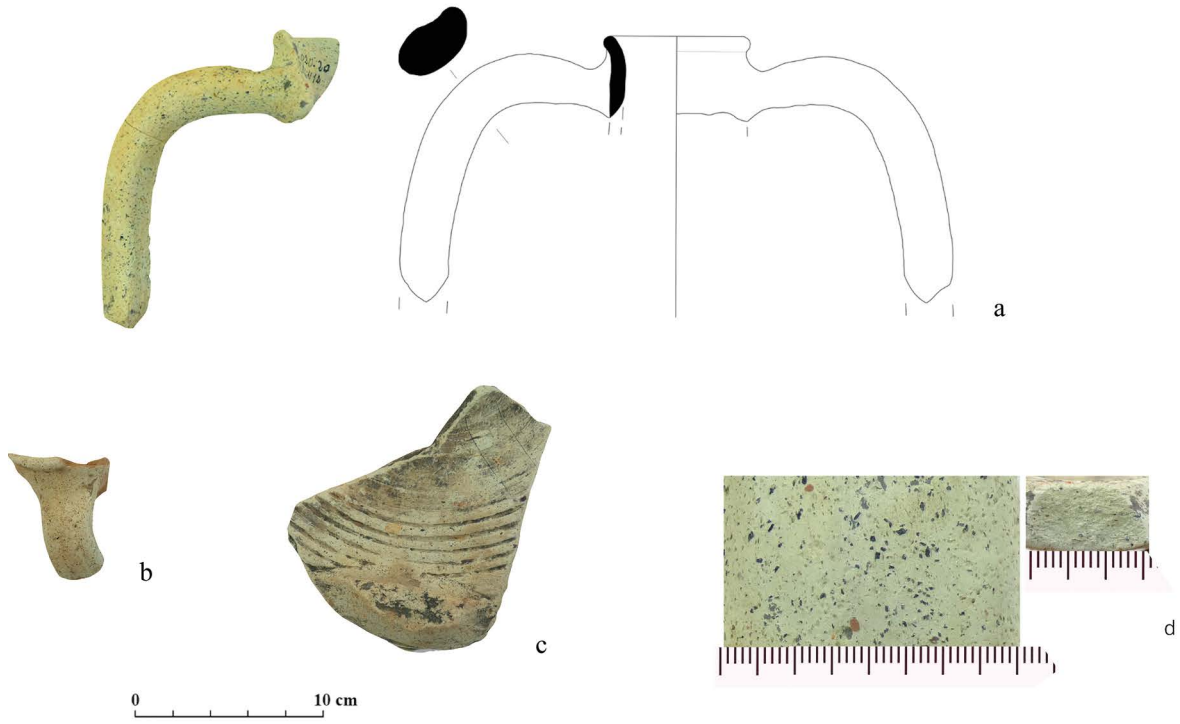


Fig. 5. D Snp amphoras from Apsaros: a – GA.2020.NWXII.20; b – GA.2019.NOI.72; c – GA.2018.NOI.70; d – fabric of D Snp amphoras from Apsaros (drawings & photos: P. Komar and A. Rogava).

On the other hand, examples belonging to group D are well documented in Gonio (31 fragments from 2018-2020) and represent the fourth most numerous form on this site (**fig. 1**). The fabric of this amphora group is characterised by a light-coloured clay (light pink or light beige, sometimes with yellowish or greenish hues), the colour being a consequence of firing the clay at a very high temperature (higher than C Snp) and in a reducing atmosphere (**fig. 5**), however, certain examples of group D amphoras were orange/red, similar to group C. Interestingly the composition of their fabric does not differ from previous Sinopean containers (Kassab Tezgör 2020: 34). D Snp amphoras have a straight neck ending with a rounded and irregular rim, a conical body and grooved handles, and their shape sometimes resembles LRA1 amphoras. According to Kassab Tezgör, types D Snp I and I *similis* have strong links (both morphological and technological) with the LRA1B variant from which they most probably derive, given that they cannot be directly associated with previous Sinopean forms (Kassab Tezgör 2020: 41-93). They are frequently found in the northern Black Sea region, which might suggest that they were produced not only in Sinope, but also in other Black Sea centres. The production of group D containers blossomed during the 6th and 7th centuries AD, which is suggested *inter alia* by coins dated to the reigns of Justin I (527-565 AD) as well as Justin II and Sophie (565-578 AD), which were found together with certain examples. Even though it seems that amphoras belonging to group D were the least popular Sinopean export in the Black Sea region (Kassab Tezgör 2009: 171; 2011: 200; Dobreva 2017: 260), they appeared in south-western Georgia, for example in Petra-Tsikhizdziri and Gonio in deposits that included Justinian coins dated between 527-565 AD (Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2010: 500). M. Khalvashi classifies them as Type VI in Gonio (Khalvashi 2002: 51-51, fig. 43). The 31 fragments identified between 2018 and 2020 in Gonio belong to D Snp I-III, with typical light beige –white fabric (Fabric B9) (**table 1-2**).

The content carried by Sinopean amphoras is uncertain, as wine, olive oil and even fish sauce are possibilities (Kassab Tezgör 2009: 172-173, see also Strab. 2.1.15 and 12.3.12; Xen. Anab. 6.1.15). The remains of pitch found in certain specimens suggest that the containers carried wine or fish products, as resin dissolves in olive oil and does not leave traces (Dobreva 2017: 260). However, there are examples without the resin coating, which could indicate that they carried olive-oil, therefore it cannot be excluded that they were simply multi-purpose containers (Kassab Tezgör 2020: 61).

Type III.1, III.2 and III.3 (group of amphoras resembling Antonova 5 (Type III)

A number of fragments generally resembling Antonova 5 (Type III according to M. Khalvashi) but having smaller or larger dimensions and different fabrics have been regularly attested in our collection. Upon closer inspection three different interrelated types can be identified: Type III.1, III.2 and III.3. These are characterised by two different fabrics, the first being a coarse light brown to light brown – orange / pinkish and containing large amount of brown and red brown rock fragments, and some white (including quartz) and occasional black coloured inclusions (Fabric B5 used for Type III.1),

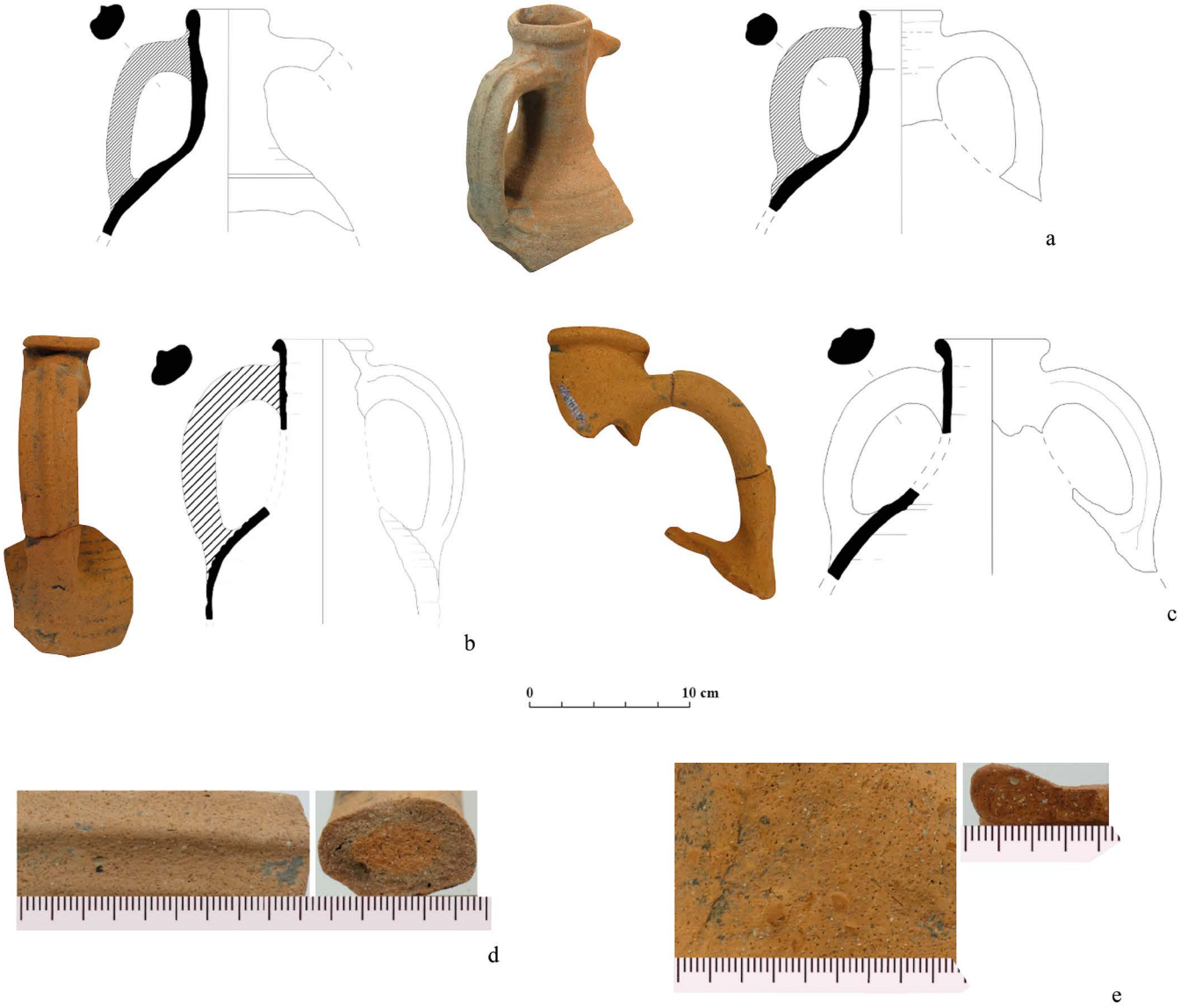


Fig. 6. Type III.1-3 amphoras from Apsaros: a – Type III.1 amphoras (GA.2017.SWIX.20 and GA.2018.NOI.180); b – Type III.2 amphora (GA.2018.NOI.192-223); c – Type III.3 amphora (1,6,7/11/19), d – Fabric B5 used for Type III.1; e – Fabric B6 used for Type III.1-3 (drawings & photos: P. Komar and A. Rogava).

whilst the second comprises of a coarse reddish – brown fabric with variable amount of small to medium sized white inclusions, small to large sized red-brown rock fragments and some white porous particles (microorganisms?) together with other occasional indefinite inclusions. (Fabric B6, used for Type III.1, III.2 and III.3). The latter fabric is similar to Antonova 5 fabric but it is much coarser (**table 1**; **fig. 6**).

Type III.1 amphora (22 fragments) has a simple bulge-shaped or sometimes cup-shaped rim. The handles typically have a central sharp or narrow ridge on the outer surface, while examples with a few slightly profiled ridges are also encountered. Based on rim and handle dimensions (table 2) we can assume that this type was one of the smallest amphora forms used in Byzantine Gonio.

Type III.2 amphora (3 fragments) has a more prominently shaped lip than Type III.1. But the single central ridge on the handle differentiates this form from the similar Type III.1, III.2 as well as from Antonova 5 amphora. Judging from the dimensions the vessels belonging to this type were slightly more voluminous than the Type III.1 (**table 2**). Type III.2 is only attested in Fabric B6.

Type III.3 amphora shape (3 fragments) is similar to that of the Type III.1, but the dimensions are clearly larger (**table 1**). The distinctive element of the type are two parallel ridges on a thick handle with an oval section. In terms of volume this type is similar to Type III.2.

LRA1

The so called LRA 1 amphora was initially produced in Cilicia at the end of the 3rd and during the first half of the 4th century AD. Subsequently, its production spread to other regions that had long wine making tradition, such as Cyprus,

Rhodes and Cos - where workshops have been discovered near Halasarna (Diamanti 2010; Bezeczky 2013: 159), in Aghia Theotis near Cardamaina, in Mastichari and Kephalos (Didioumi 2014: 170-171), as well as on Paros (Diamanti 2015; 2016). The manufacture of this form along the coasts of Lycia, Pamphylia, north Syria, Cilicia and on Rhodes and Cyprus is confirmed by the discoveries of amphora workshops **(**Opait 2010a: 1015-1017; Empereur and Picon 1989: 237, 241-242). Moreover, Riley's analyses also suggest Lesbos and Euboea as places of production, while a *titulus pictus* on a container from Milan mentions Chios **(**Riley 1981: 116; Auriemma 2007: 148, Note 1391). Cretan and Pontic imitations of this type of vessel were also produced (Auriemma 2007: 149; Arthur 1998: 170).

LRA1 has several chronological variants that developed between the late 4th and the 7th centuries AD (Bezeczky 2013: 158-159). According to Reynolds, it evolved from the amphora type Schoene-Mau V (Reynolds 2008: 63-72; he calls this form 'Pompeii V'); however Pieri suggests its prototype was the Agora G197 (AC1) container (Pieri 2005: 70), whilst Opait noted that LRA1 were strongly influenced by Dr 30/ Gauloise 4 amphoras (Opait 2010a: 1015). Pieri argues that LRA1 might have been used for transporting Rhodian wine (Pieri 2007: 613). However, it is equally probable that it transported other beverages, including Coan, Cypriot and Cilician varieties. Most of the examples of LRA1 that have been analysed had a resin or pitch-lining, which is typical for wine amphoras (Peña 2007: 69). However, *tituli picti* that were found on containers of this type that were discovered in Ballana in Egypt mention only olives or oil (Williams 2005: 616-617). On the other hand, Peña argues that *tituli picti* often concern the secondary content of transport jars (Peña 2007: 70, 75 and *passim*). The analysis of the residues found in LRA1 amphoras that were discovered in Florence proved that certain vessels might have contained wine, whereas others transported vegetable oil and animal fats (Pecci et al. 2010: 367, tab. 2). Since certain inscriptions attested on LRA1 containers seem to refer to *artabae,* it cannot be excluded that they might have carried grain; however, this is unlikely according to Riley, due to their wide distribution in primary grain producing areas, such as Cyrenaica and Carthage (Riley 1979: 215).

Riley noticed two variants (large and small) of LRA1 and proposed a hypothesis, according to which the large vessels contained olive oil, whilst the small containers were used to transport wine (Riley 1979: 213-216). Unfortunately,



Fig. 7. LRA1 amphoras from Apsaros: a,b – GA.2018.51, c – GA.2019.NOXI.259, d – GA.2019.NOXI.223; e – GA.2019.NOXI.103; f – LRA1 fabric B11; g – LRA1 fabric B10 (drawings & photos: A. Rogava and P. Komar).

since it is difficult to distinguish between the two variants when dealing only with fragments, this hypothesis is unverifiable (Pacetti 1995: 274; Bonifay and Villedieu 1989: 25). However, if olive oil was the main product carried by these vessels, one would not expect to find so many of them in North Africa, a major olive oil producing region during the late Roman period. Moreover, religious inscriptions found on some LRA1 containers would rather suggest wine as their content (Williams 2005: 617). If this was the case, Rhodian, Coan, Cypriot and Cilician wines could be taken into consideration. Although the Cilician wine called 'Abates' was, according to Athenaeus, merely a laxative (Ath. *Deipn.* I 33b), a different Cilician variety was held in high esteem by Pliny (Plin. *HN* XIV 81), in whose opinion, Cilician *passum*, a raisin wine, was only bettered by Cretan. Pliny also mentions that 'hyssop wine' was produced in this region (Plin. *HN* XIV 109).

In the context of the study of amphora contents the discovery of LRA1 containers in the Yassi Ada shipwreck seems important. Most of the amphoras contained traces of pitch, which is associated with wine, whilst one of them contained a grape seed. However, a graffito deciphered as ΕΛΕ might indicate that at least one container carried olive oil (Van Alfen 1996: 202-203). This, however, could also be evidence for the reuse of this jar (Pieri 2005: 84). On the other hand, pitch lining was also attested in a number of LRA1 examples from the Black Sea region (Kassab Tezgör 2020: 41). Besides the above-mentioned case studies it also becomes apparent that the measured capacities of these amphoras offer no definitive conclusions with regards to the commodity that they were intended to carry, which suggests that they might have been general-purpose containers (Van Alfen 1996: 208-210).

Fragments of this amphora form were discovered by both the Georgian (Khalvashi 2002, fig. 34.1; 35, fig. XIII.1-3) and the Gonio–Apsaros Polish–Georgian Expedition (13 fragments from 2018-2020). M. Khalvashi classifies this form as Type I (Khalvashi 2002: 43). They are all characterised by a cylindrical neck and a flared, at times irregular rim and the handles bear double grooves on the upper side. Providing a detailed description of the fabric used in most of the sherds was difficult due to the abundance of pores and the small size of the majority of the inclusions. However, based on the texture of the paste the fragments could be divided into two fabric groups: Fabric B10 belongs to a hard fired variant, while the clay of Fabric B11 is more porous and can be easily chipped off by hand. Both fabrics contain mainly

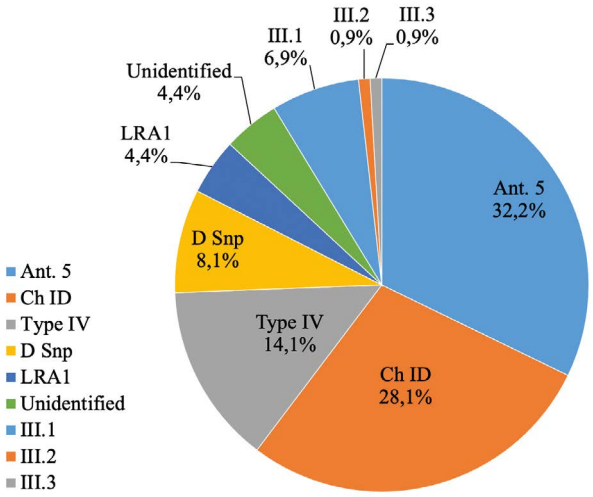


Fig. 8. Overview of amphoras from Apsaros.

Form / Type	Fabric	Fabric description
Antonova 5	B4	Orange, sometimes orange – reddish / pinkish with small to large sized red-brown, grey and small to medium sized white inclusions.
Ch1D	B1	Coarse light brown to light brown pinkish / orange with variable amounts of pyroxene, quartz and grey to reddish rock fragments.
	B2	Reddish-brown fabric with small and medium sized white inclusions and sporadic small to large sized rock fragments.
	B3	Coarse orange fabric with abundant small to large sized white inclusions followed by some pyroxene and other indefinite inclusions.
Type IV	B14	Fine grained light-brown to greyish or pinkish fabric with varying amounts of small to medium sized white, grey and brown inclusions.
D Snp	B9	Light beige – white fabric with abundant pyroxene and some grey and brown inclusions.
Type III.1	B5	Coarse light brown to light brown – orange fabric with big amount of brown to red brown rock fragments, some white (incl. quartz) and occasional black coloured admixtures.
	B6	Coarse reddish – brown fabric with big but variable amount of small to medium sized white inclusions, small to large sized red-brown rock fragments and some white porous particles (microorganisms?) together with other occasional indefinite inclusions.
Type III.2	B6	Coarse reddish – brown fabric with big and variable amount of small to medium sized white inclusions, small to large sized red-brown rock fragments and some white porous particles (microorganisms?) together with other occasional indefinite inclusions.
Type III.3		
LRA1	B10	Light beige fabric mainly containing small sized light coloured inclusions and small to large sized brown to black coloured admixtures.
	B11	Light beige to pink fabric which contains similar inclusions as Fabric N10, but is more porous and crumbly.

Tab. 1. Byzantine amphora types / groups discovered during 2018-2020 and their respective fabrics identified at Apsaros (Gonio).

Type	Rim Diam. (cm)	Handle width (cm)	Handle thickness (cm)
Antonova 5	5 – 8	2,2 – 3,2	1,5 – 2,6
Ch1D	5,7 – 8	3 – 4,4	1,1 – 1,9
Type IV	5,8 – 9,8	2,2 – 3,5	1,1 – 2,4
D Snp	7 – 8,5	2,9 – 4,5	1,8 – 3,2
Type III.1	5 – 6	2,2 – 2,9	1,6 – 2
Type III.2	6 – 6,8	3 – 3,3	2 – 2,3
Type III.3	7,8	3,2 – 4	2,2 – 2,7
LRA1	8,5 – 11	3 – 4,4	2,1 – 3,1

Tab. 2. Measurements of the identified Byzantine amphoras discovered at Apsaros (Gonio) in 2018-2020.

small sized light coloured and small to large sized brown to black coloured inclusions (**fig. 7**). Four fragments using Fabric B11 bear clear traces of white paint. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give their exact production place. Nevertheless, their colour and clay in certain aspects resembles D Snp containers. According to Kassab Tezgör, this characterises LRA1 amphoras produced in Sinope, however, the kilns where Sinopean LRA1 might have been produced have so far not been identified. All examples of LRA1 found in Demirci had a different fabric which suggests that they were imported, while the kiln in Ciflik has not so far been thoroughly investigated (Kassab Tezgör 2020: 41).

Conclusions

Based on our analysis we can state that Antonova 5/Antonova 5 *similis* and Colchian containers (Ch1D) predominated in Byzantine Apsaros, which suggests that the fortress was supplied mostly with local goods. Ch1D was a local product that together with the eastern coast of the Black Sea could also have been produced on the southern littoral, whereas Antonova 5/Antonova 5 *similis* vessels were probably made in the southern Pontic littoral. This seems possible considering that containers from Sinope (D Snp) were common in the Apsaros fortress during the 6th century AD. Interestingly, imports from the northern or western part of the Black Sea region are absent. Also, no examples of containers produced in the Mediterranean have been attested, even though they were imported in significant quantities to Apsaros during the early Roman age. This suggests a considerable regionalisation of the supply chain in the Byzantine period. Considering the uncertainties regarding the content, it becomes quite difficult to estimate the importance of specific products (wine vs. olive oil vs. other) in Byzantine Apsaros. The only thing we can state with certainty is that wine (including local Colchian wine) seems to have been one of the most important products for the inhabitants of the fort in this period. We hope that future residue analyses that we plan to carry out will shed more light on this matter.

As mentioned above, containers that originated in the northern Pontic area as well as Scythian, Moesian, Bosporan amphoras (Zeest 96-97) or Kuzmanov XV (Opait B-Ic) and XVI (Opait B-Id) amphoras, which were attested in other Pontic centres (e.g. in Dobrudja), as well as in the Danube area (Dobreva 2017: 278-284) have not so far been discovered in Byzantine Gonio. One possible explanation for this pattern is that most of the above-mentioned containers were produced between the mid-4th and the beginning of the 7th centuries AD - the period during which Apsaros remained uninhabited for the most part. Another factor is the absence of favourable sea currents which would easily bring ships from the north littoral to Apsaros. To sum up, we can state that similar to the early Roman period the northern and western Pontic regions seem to play an insignificant role with regards to supplying Apsaros during the Byzantine period (for early Roman amphoras from Gonio see Komar 2024).

Apart from the lack of north and west-Pontic containers, the variety of imports in Gonio does not differ considerably from other Pontic centres, though it seems that the variety of goods that reached this fortress was narrower than in many other areas. For example, in Tyritake Sinopean, Heracleian, Aegean (LRA2, LRA1), Anatolian (LRA3), Gazan (LRA4) and African amphoras were attested (Smokotina 2016: 715-717). which stands in a sharp contrast against a couple of LRA1 fragments with unknown provenance in Gonio. It seems especially significant that western Anatolian and Levantine imports that became frequent in the Mediterranean during Late Antiquity and also reached the Black Sea region (Opait 2017, 603; Opait 2018: 702, 706, fig. 19-22; Sazanov 2014: 413; Sazanov 2017: 655), have so far not been attested by the Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition. However, forms resembling LRA3 and LRA4 were encountered in the 1990s during Georgian excavations (Khalvashi 2002: fig. 34; Inaishvili and Khalvashi 2011: 268-269, fig. 5 and 6), albeit in small quantities.

Finally, it should be mentioned that as of yet no amphoras dated later than the 7th century AD have been discovered in Gonio. This includes both northern Pontic containers of the 8th-10th centuries (Sukhanov 2018) and the Günsenin I-IV types produced between the 10th and 14th centuries AD that are known from other centres of the Black Sea region, for example from Paphlagonia, Dobrudja and modern Bulgaria (Stănică 2012; Paraschiv-Talmaţchi 2016; Todorova 2015; Opait 2018). This suggests that there was a break in the continuity of supplies to Apsaros during the 7th/8th century AD, which may be a consequence of the gradual fall of the control of the Byzantine Empire over the eastern Black Sea region.

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TERRA SIGILLATA FROM ŽUTA LOKVA (DALMATIA, CROATIA)

In this paper, we are studying terra sigillata from the roadside station Žuta Lokva. The site was positioned in the hinterland of the province of Dalmatia. In Roman times, this site was set by a road mentioned in Itinerarium Antonini Augusti Ad Aquileia per Liburniam Sisciam. *Today, it is stationed a few meters from a crossroad, Senj-Otočac-Brinje. The presence of the of terra sigillata liscia forms seems consistent with Po Valley decorated production already analysed and published. One 126 terra sigillata Italica liscia shards have been found: 117 Po Valley production and five Arezzo production. The most common forms are cups Consp. 26, 27 and plates Consp. 20.4.*
Four stamps have been identified, but the only integral stamp is MACER in pl. pedis *(*Macer, *OCK 1079) on a dish bottom of an undetermined shape.*

Žuta Lokva – *terra sigillata* italica – *terra sigillata* padana – stamps –

Introduction

In Roman times, the site Žuta Lokva was positioned in the hinterland of the province of Dalmatia. Today, it is stationed a few meters from a crossroad, Senj-Otočac-Brinje. The presence of the site was known from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Brunšmid 1898: 188, 189). It was excavated for the first time during the building of the road in 1996 (Vekić 1996; Kolak 2012; Ožanić Roguljić 2016).

In Roman times, this site was set by a road mentioned in *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti Ad Aquileia per Liburniam Sisciam* (Senia – Avendon – Arrupio – Bibium – Romula – Quadrata - Siscia. The section of the road from Senia (Senj) to Žuta Lokva goes over the Vratnik pass, the shortest natural path from the sea in the continent's interior (Glavaš 2010). Today the distance from Žuta Lokva to Senj is about 15 km (**fig. 1**). In Roman times, in the second half of the 2nd century, publicum portorium Illyrici was stationed in Senia. The imperial customs office Senia controlled the passage and distribution of goods to the hinterland (Glavičić 1994: 54; Glavaš 2010).

By the beginning of the 20th century, a supposedly Roman road near Žuta Lokva was still visible, which is not the case today (Patch 1990: 87; Glavaš 2010: 12). Before the Roman times, this part of the land was occupied by the Illyrian tribe Iapodians.

The site revealed a building with two phases (**fig. 2**). The walls of the building are preserved in their foundation, and the layers of soil above it were very thin. The site is situated on a slope with hill-wash, so the stratigraphy of the site is disturbed. Most of the material found during the archaeological excavations was in mixed stratigraphic units on the western part of the excavated area. Two building phases from the excavation are difficult to date since the layers are filled



Fig. 1. Map of Žuta Lokva's position in Roman Dalmatia's hinterland (made by J. Drpić).

with finds from the beginning of the 1st century CE to the middle of the 2nd century CE. The building of the 1st phase (dimensions 23 x 16 m) was built around the beginning of the 1st century CE and probably lasted until the third quarter of the 1st century CE. The building of a second phase was bigger (dimensions 30 x 20 m), and according to the findings, it was in function until the middle of the 2nd century CE. The building of the first phase is not preserved as a whole, but it might have had four rooms at the front and the courtyard. The second phase had two main rooms at the front and a large courtyard at the back. Rooms of both phases were divided by a small, roofed hall. The rear part of the buildings was a courtyard that might have worked as a half-opened courtyard or stable (dimensions 13x14 m first phase; 17 x 18 m second phase). In the hall, two layers of a gravelled surface were discovered, most probably connected to the second phase.

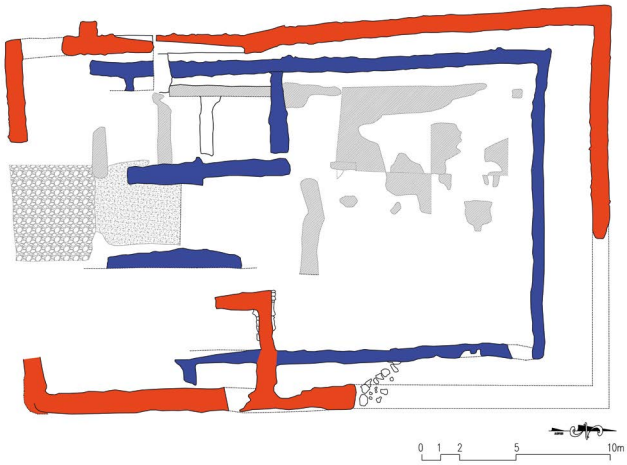


Fig. 2. Plan of Žuta Lokva (made by K. Turkalj).

Terra sigillata

One hundred and twenty-six shards of terra sigillata Italica have been found (117 Po Valley production and 5 Arezzo production) (**fig. 3**).

The north-italic production of Padana B prevails, with 102 specimens (**fig. 4**): the most common forms are cups Consp. 26-27 (six pieces) (**fig. 7, 25; fig 6, 26**), Consp. 27 (16 pieces) (**fig. 8, 27-31**), Consp. 34 (seven pieces) (**fig. 8, 32-36**), cups Consp. 36 (two pieces) (**fig. 8, 37**) and plates Consp. 18 (five pieces) (**fig. 7, 9-11**), Consp. 20 (five pieces) and Consp. 21.3 (six pieces) (**fig. 7, 20-23**). The only integral stamp is MACER *in* pl. pedis (Macer, OCK 1079) on a dish bottom of undetermined shape (**fig. 8, 43**). In another plate, bottom Consp. B. 1.10 (**fig. 8, 39**), they are the last letters, perhaps [---]RI *in pl. pedis*, and at least five other illegible marks *in* pl. pedis on dish fragments of undeterminable shape are preserved (**fig. 8, 44-46**). Two non-determinable dish fragments represent Padana C production (**fig. 8, 40-41**) and Consp. 3 represents the Tardo Padana production (six pieces) (**fig. 7, 1-3**), together with Consp. 20.4 (three pieces) (**fig. 7, 15-17**) and Consp. 39 (one piece) (**fig. 8, 38**) (**fig. 5**).

The Aretine vessels are Consp. 20.4 forms (with very damaged dog applique) (**Fig. 7, 14**), Consp. 21.3 (**fig. 7, 19**), Consp. 26-27 and Consp. 6 (**fig. 7, 5-6** and **fig. 6**).

There are also numerous closed forms (31 pieces), mainly jugs, of which we have rims (**fig. 9, 47-49**), bottoms (**fig. 9, 50-55**), a neck (**fig. 9, 56**) and several handles (**fig. 9, 57-63**).

Terra sigillata was mainly found in the SU that contained primarily discarded or waste material outside the building, on the slope; therefore, the slip is very worn: the vessels are very fragmented, and in some cases, they can be reconstructible, but the surfaces are always very bad and worn, even in the Padana B and Arezzo production. In fact, due to the appalling state of preservation, it is unclear whether some of the vessels can be identified as forms of North Italic production of the middle Imperial age. These are three hemispherical cups with a gently introflexed rim with very soft clay and an almost completely disappeared coating (**fig. 9, 64-65**). The shape and quality of the pieces exclude the possibility of Consp. 36, but instead suggest the Jorio 10 form (Jorio 2002: 325-326) of cups produced in the Po Valley area between the 2nd and at least the 3rd century CE and widespread in the main sites of the Po Valley, from Milan to Aquileia (see the paper in this volume Stuani and Mantovani).

Final Remarks

Tableware pottery from Žuta Lokva gave us the most data for the site chronology. In the first phase of the site, the import of terra sigillata and thin-walled pottery from Italian workshops is present, and by its end, pottery from a Dalmatian workshop appears.

The second phase started at the end of the 1st century CE. Besides products of Italian origin, the arrival of pottery from different regions is present in African Red Slip A, Pannonian slipped ware) dated to the first half of the 2nd century CE.

From the middle of the 2nd century CE, material from eastern Adriatic pottery workshops appeared, like thin-walled pottery from the workshop of Sextus Metillius Maximus in Crikvenica and thin-walled cups of probable eastern Adriatic origin (unknown workshop).

The overview of terra sigillata liscia forms is consistent with Po Valley decorated production already studied and published (Ozanic and Mantovani 2020).

The forms most attested at Žuta Lokva are also common at all other imperial sites, which confirms the site's economic and commercial situation.

The latest sigillata, both Tardo Padana productions and productions of probable mid-imperial age (e.g. the Jorio 10), can be attributed to the second phase of the site and are well in line with other contemporary ceramic imports, such as the African Red Slip Ware, as was the case in the Adriatic region during that historical time.

Despite the abundance of Roman pottery found in other regions of Dalmatia, there has been limited exploration and documentation of pottery in gnereal and especially in the mountainous areas. Analysing pottery from Žuta Lokva in the future holds immense potential for generating new data

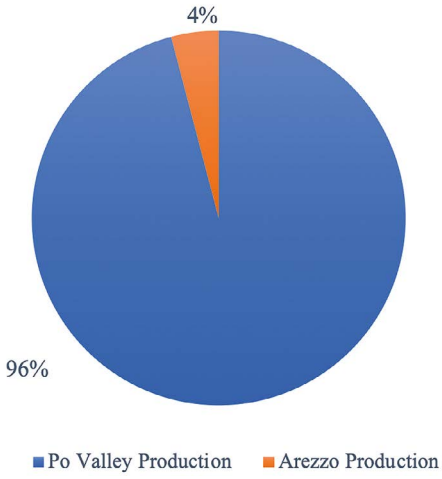


Fig. 3. Proportion of Po Valley and Arezzo production.

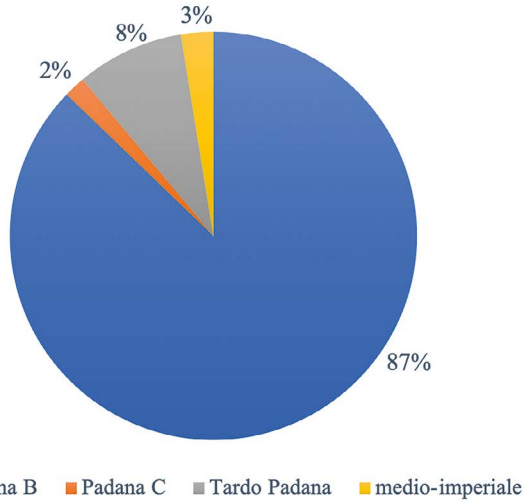


Fig. 4. The proportion of Po Valley production: Padana B, Padana C, Tardo Padana, and Medio Imperiale.

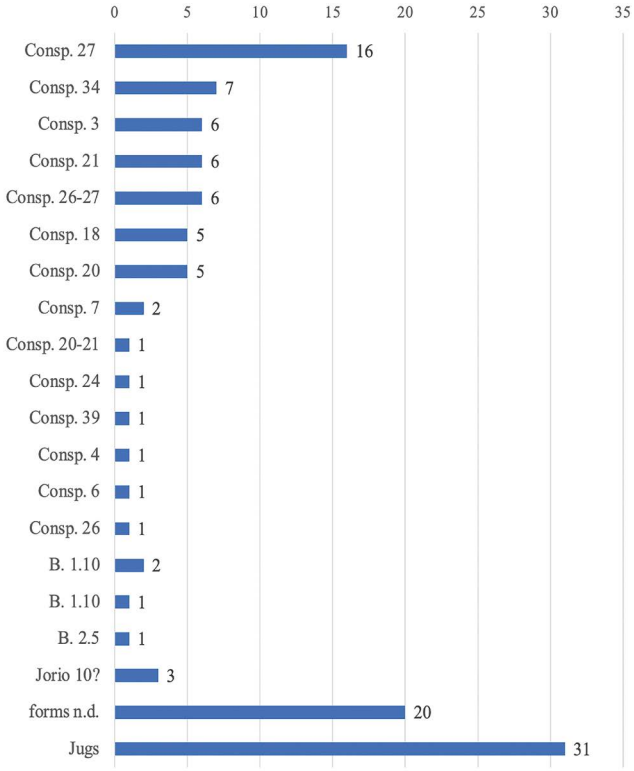


Fig. 5. North Italic production - Forms.

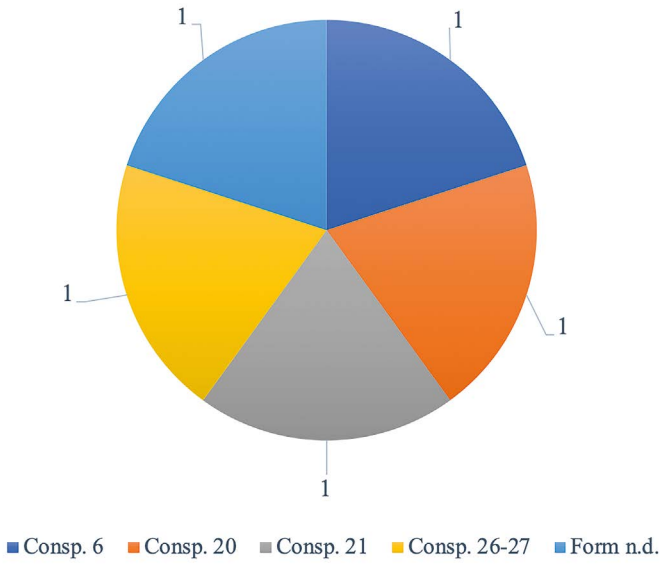


Fig. 6. Arezzo - Forms.

and advancing our knowledge of the region's trade network on the road that connected two provinces, Dalmatia and Pannonia. This connection facilitated the movement of goods, people, and information, enabling efficient trade and communication between urban centres and rural areas that are entirely neglected in the studies.

Acknowledgements

The article results from the project LIFE ON ROMAN ROAD: communications, trade and Identities on Roman roads in Croatia from the 1st – to 8th Century CE, supported by the Croatian Science Foundation.

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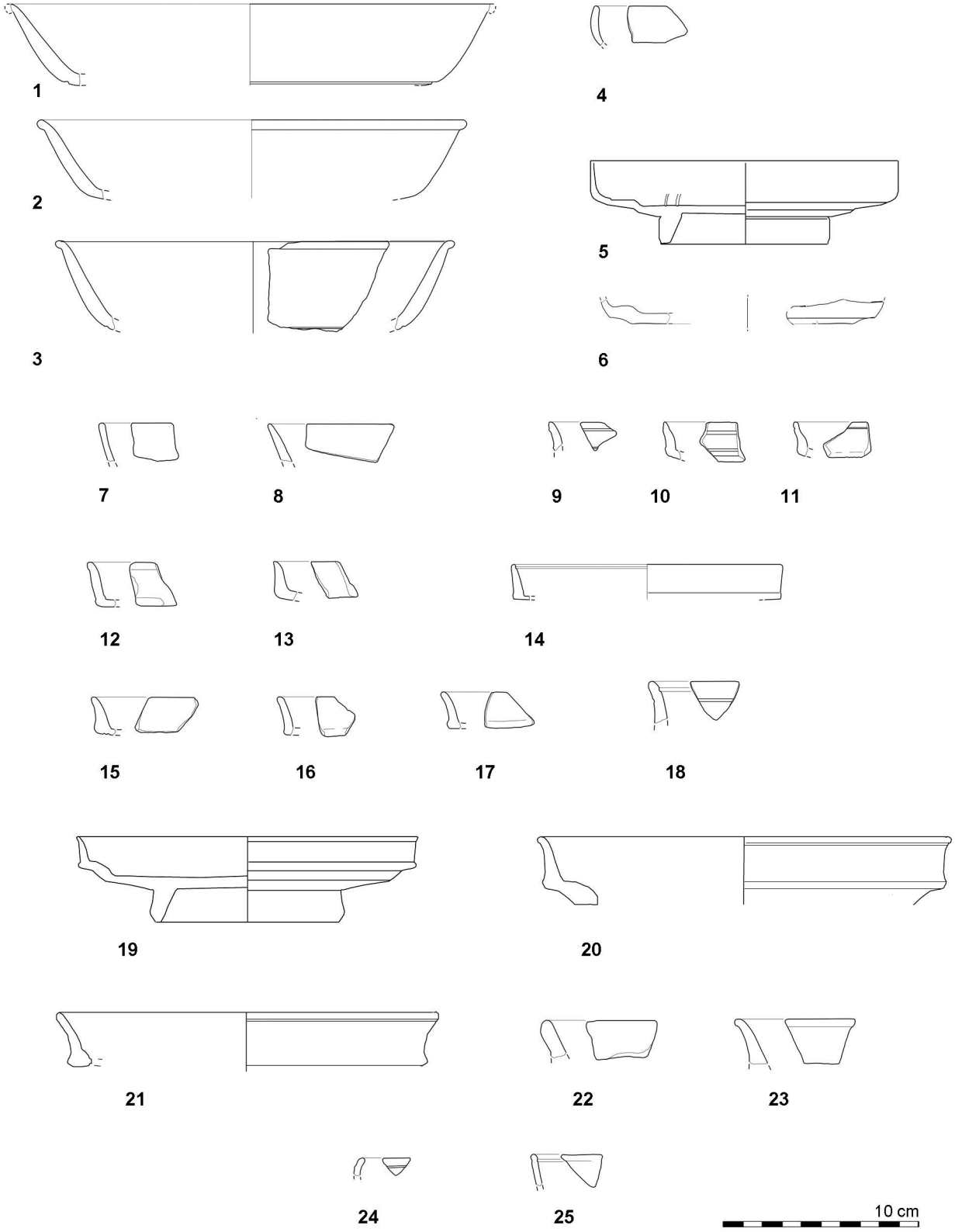


Fig. 7. 1.-3. Consp. 3 in Tardo Padana; 4. Consp. 4 Padana production; 5. Consp. 6 Arezzo production with unlegible stamp; 6. Consp. 6 Padana production; 7. Consp. 7.1 Padana production; 8. Consp. 7.2 Padana production; 9.-11. Consp. 18.1 Padana production; 12. Consp. 20 Padana production; 13. Consp. 20.1 Padana production; 14. Consp. 20.4 Arezzo production; 15.-17. Consp. 20.4 in Tardo Padana; 18. Consp. 20 or 21 Padana production; 19. Consp. 21.3 Arezzo production; 20.-23 Consp. 21.3 Padana production; 24. Consp. 24 Padana production; 25. Consp. 26 Padana production. (drawings by Martina Korić)

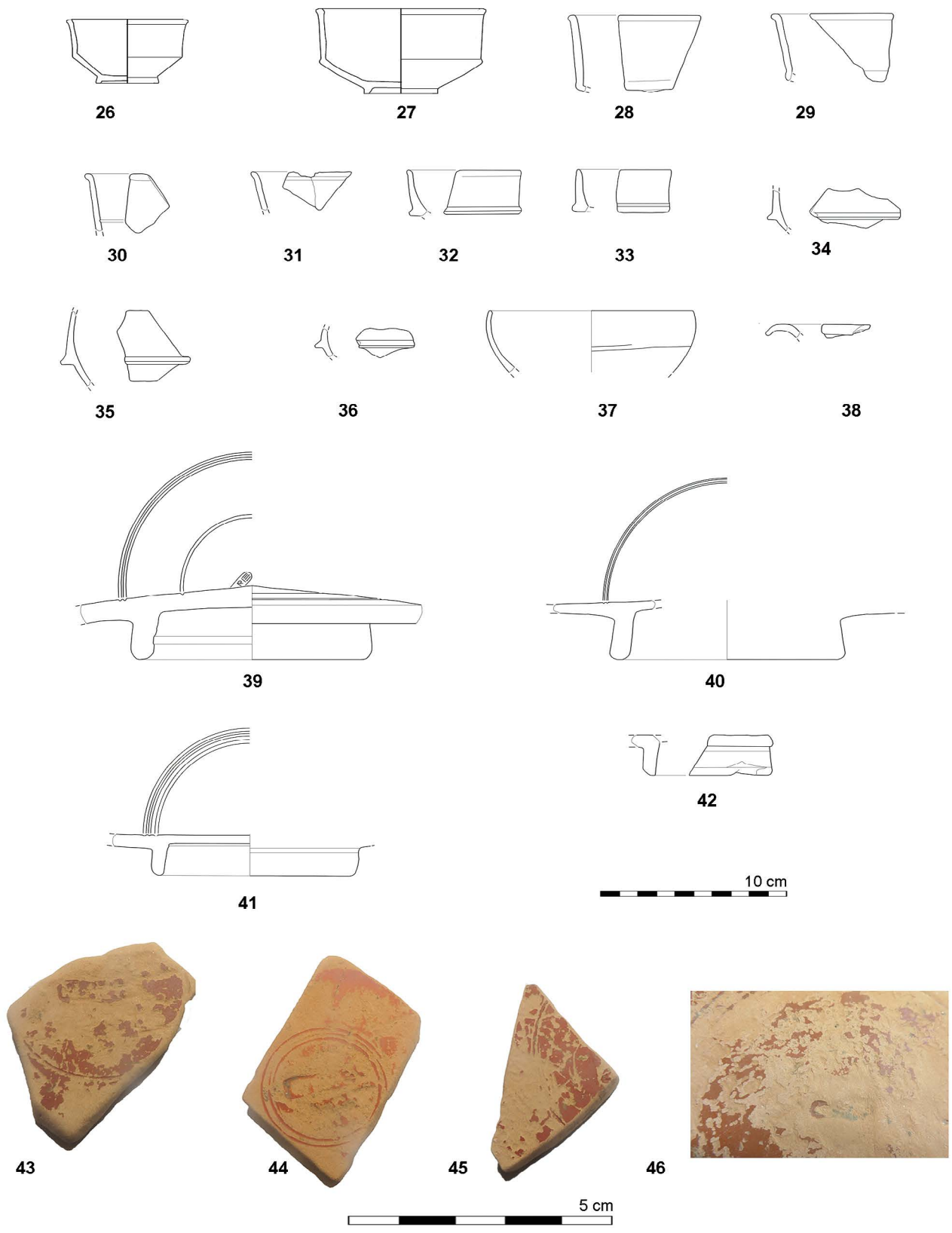


Fig. 8. 26. Consp. 27 Padana production with illegible stamp; 27.-31. Consp. 27.1. Padana production; 32- 36 Consp. 34 Padana production; 37. Consp. 36 Padana production; 38. Consp. 39 in Tardo Padana; 39. B 1.10 Padana production; 40.-41. B 1.11 Padana production; 42. B 2.5; 43. stamp MACER *in pl. pedis* (Macer, OCK 1079) Padana production; 44. illegible marks *in pl. pedis*, Padana production; 45. illegible marks in pl. Pedis, Padana production; 46. illegible marks *in pl. pedis*, Padana production. (drawings by Martina Korić; photo Ivana Ožanić Roguljić)

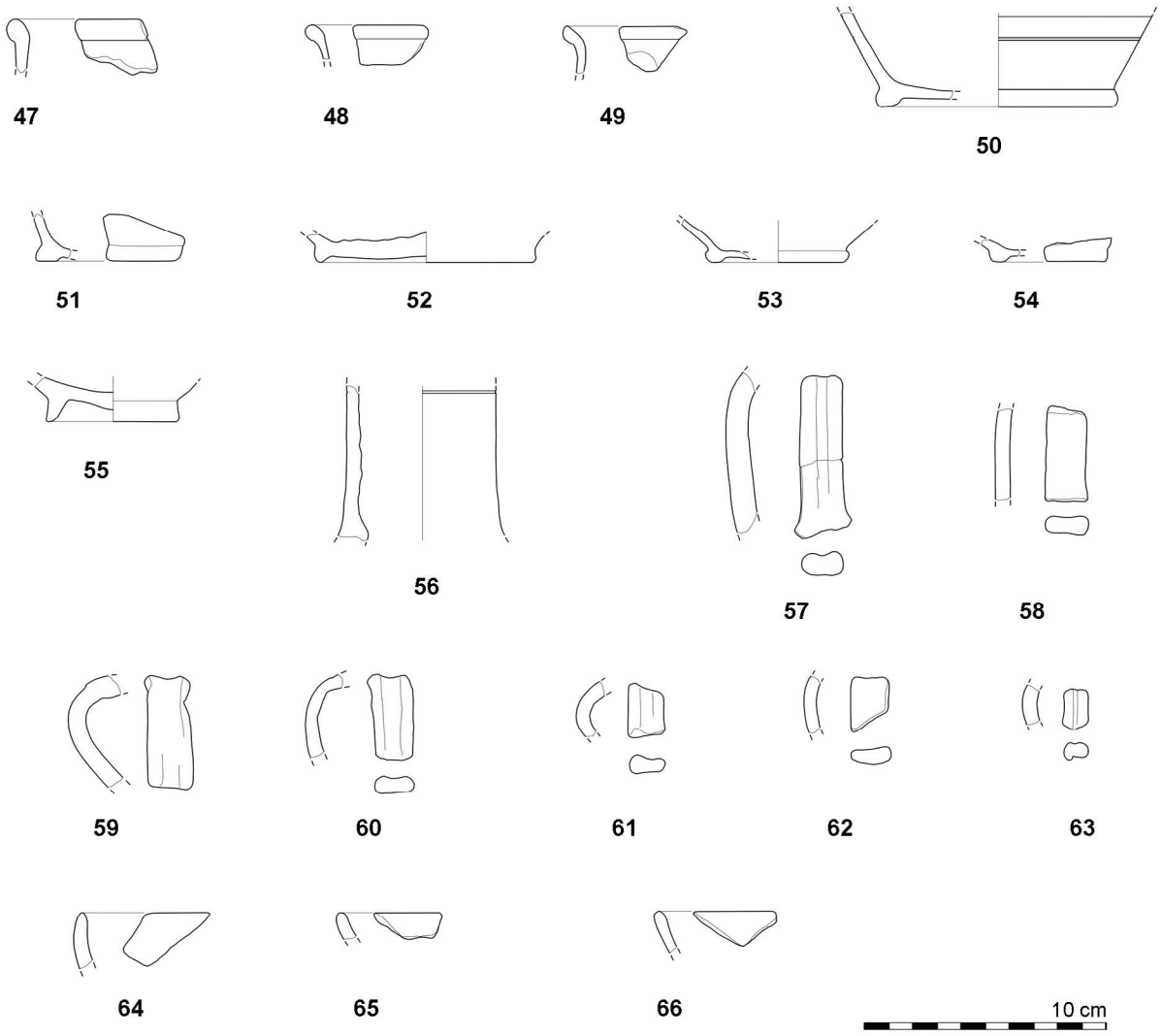


Fig. 9. Padana Production: rim K 9; 48-49 rim K 10; 50-52. bottom Ka; 53. bottom Kd; 54. Bottom Kf; 55. Bottom; 56. neck; 57-63. Handles; 64-66. Jorio 10. (drawings by Martina Korić)

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QUANTIFYING LARGE SCALE ANALYSIS AND TYPOLOGY OF COARSE WARE FROM *FLAVIA SOLVA*, *NORICUM*

The authors of this paper are part of the project team "Examining the finds from Flavia Solva*" and are responsible for the archiving and the scientific analysis of the coarse ware. Large parts of the city have been excavated by the Universalmuseum Joanneum, starting over 140 years ago. Since February 1, 2021, the previously unexamined find material from the above-mentioned excavations has been prepared and archived in a standardized form. The aim of the project is to fully classify and digitally archive the finds in a database, completely digitize the historical documentation, and to carry out a selective, concise scientific examination followed by the subsequent publication of the results. We give a brief description of the procedures and methods used in the project as well as an overview of the initial results.*

Coarse ware – Imperial period – *Noricum* – Roman pottery – typology

Project

The Roman city of *Flavia Solva* was located on the western bank of the Mur River, in the province of *Noricum*, close to what is today the town of Wagna near Leibnitz in Styria (Austria) (**fig. 1**).

On the site of a settlement populated since Augustan times, the municipium of *Flavia Solva* was founded under Emperor Vespasian (a different research approach: Groh 2021).

Large parts of the city have been excavated by the Universalmuseum Joanneum, starting over 140 years ago.

The first work was conducted by Friedrich Pichler in 1877. The main part of the city map is based on the excavations carried out under the direction of Walter Schmid from 1911 to 1918. Between 1950 and 1970, Walter Modrijan and his team focused mainly on areas where research and documentation were necessary due to upcoming construction projects. In contrast, the activities of Erich Hudeczek over the following 32 years and those of Barbara Porod from 2007 to 2011, concentrated on research questions and the study of insulae in the center of *Flavia Solva*. Between 2001 and 2004, three emergency excavations were also carried out by the Federal Monuments Authority Austria.

The more than 140 years of excavation work has resulted not only in a large amount of mainly analog documentation such as hand-drawn plans and diaries, but also an enormous mass of finds.

So far, publications concerning the excavations and the find material have been limited to those dealing with specific districts of the city. These relate to Insula XLI (Groh 1996; Hinker 2014) in the northwest of the settlement, Insula XXIII (Rabitsch 2013) in the east, Insula XLIII (Seehauser 2007) in the southeast, and finally a dissertation on the findings

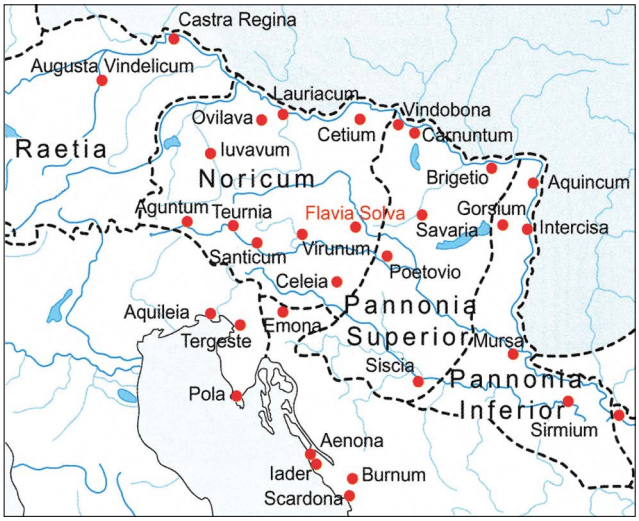


Fig. 1. Position of *Flavia Solva* (archive / Universalmuseum Joanneum).

and finds before the foundation of the *municipium* under the later Insula XL (Hinker 2006) in the northeast. **Fig. 2** shows all archaeological excavations in the city area (Karl 2008).

In addition, an extensive publication has recently been published on *Flavia Solva*, based on the results of geophysical surveys (Groh 2021).

Since February 1, 2021, the previously unexamined find material from the above-mentioned excavations has been prepared and archived in a standardized form as part of the "Examining the finds from *Flavia Solva*" project. This project is funded by the Provincial Government of Styria and the Federal Monuments Authority Austria and runs until December 31, 2025. The research facility in charge of the

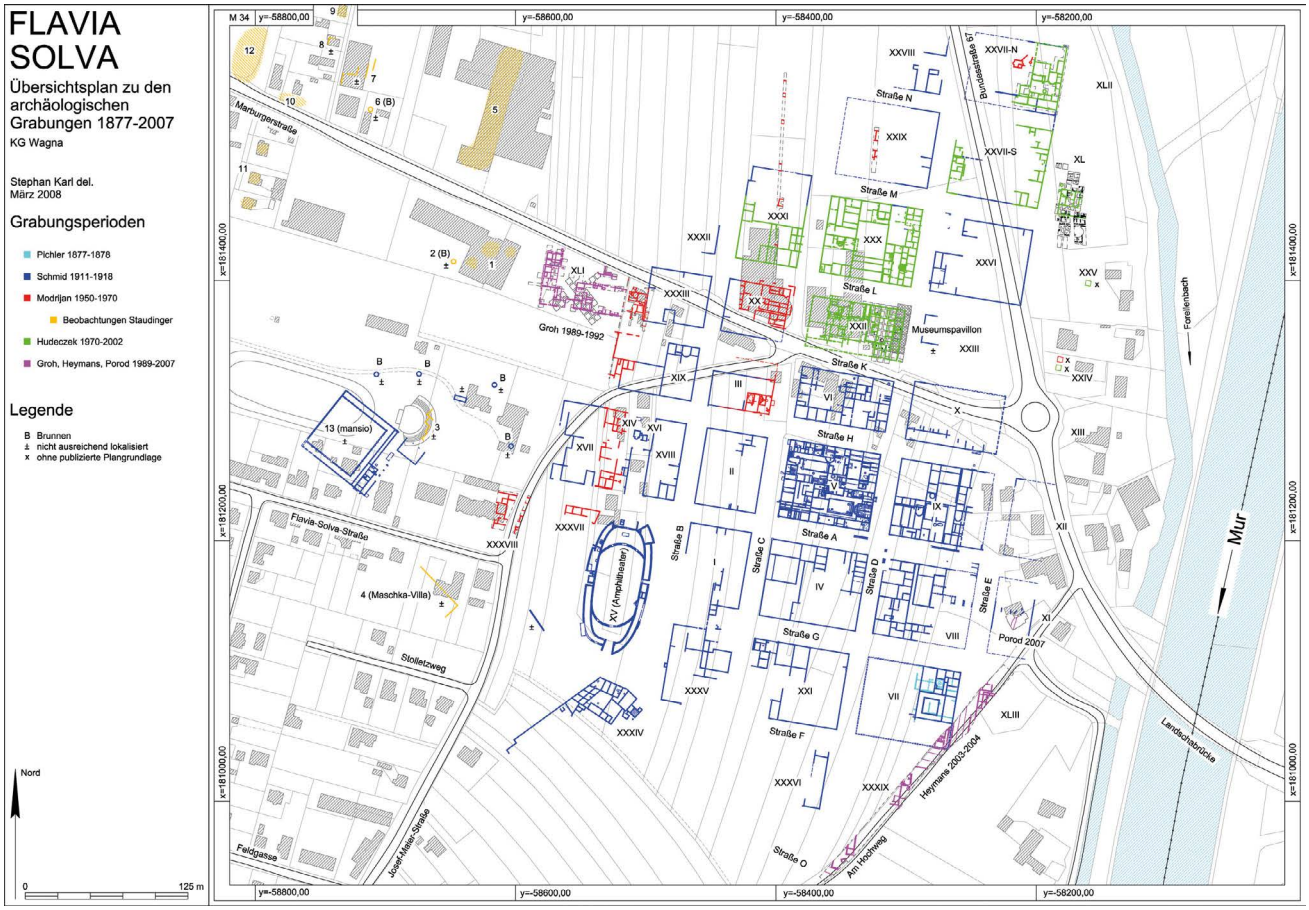


Fig. 2. Map of *Flavia Solva* (Karl 2008).

project, which is led by Dr. Barbara Porod, is the Department of Archaeology & the Coin Cabinet of the Universalmuseum Joanneum. Up to five employees are responsible for examining selected glass finds (by Mag. Gudrun Glöckner), coarse ware (by Mag. Dr. Johanna Kraschitzer, Mag. Dr. Gudrun Praher-Malderle), local and imported fine ware (by Dr. Silvia Radbauer), mural paintings, and Walter Schmid's excavation documentation (by Dr. Ortwin Hesch).

The aim of the project is to fully classify and digitally archive the finds in the "imdas pro" database, completely digitize the historical documentation, and to carry out a selective, concise scientific examination followed by the subsequent publication of the results.

The authors of this paper are responsible for the archiving and the scientific analysis of the coarse ware. This part of the project should largely be completed by March 2023. A brief description of the procedures and methods used in the project is given below.

Methods

The unexamined finds from *Flavia Solva* are stored in 2.350 boxes in the central depot of the Universalmuseum Joanneum. About 1.350 of these boxes contain coarse ware. We use this term to describe vessels that were used as tableware, as well as for cooking and storage.

In the first phase of the project, the coarse ware from excavations from different areas within *Flavia Solva* was studied and analyzed. This helped us to gain an overview of the common shapes and vessel types used in the city. After this, the main focus was on the material from more recent and stratified excavations.

One of these, in the area known as "Hochweg", was carried out in 2003 and 2004. It is located in the south-eastern part of the settlement and intersects four insulae and three roads. It is important because it is the largest sector of *Flavia Solva* that has been excavated in one go and documented consistently.

Before the start of the project, it was planned to examine the entire coarse ware. This quickly turned out to be impossible due to the sheer number of sherds. As a result, it was decided that only the stratified finds from "Hochweg" would be examined and archived digitally as a whole.

This necessary decision was made under the premise that, concerning the domestic pottery, above a certain volume of examined material, no noteworthy new findings could be expected.

Only diagnostic sherds are archived in the database. In our case, these are rim and base fragments as well as decorated wall sherds and functional elements such as handles, spouts, and feet.

First, the fabric of each piece is identified; in the case of the coarse ware, this depends not only on the type of tempering



Fig. 3. Different fabrics of coarse ware from *Flavia Solva* (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

and the firing atmosphere (reducing/oxidizing), but also the size and quantity of the particles added to the clay. The piece is classified using macroscopic observation and with the aid of a magnifying glass. The sherd types defined in this way are examined mineralogically for further analysis in order to obtain information about both the quality of the clay and the type of tempering components (**fig. 3**).

Regarding the shape of the vessels, a distinction is made between the established tall and wide forms. The contours of the rims were systematized in order to be able to identify them without ambiguity. For this purpose, drawings were made of the first 1.294 diagnostic pieces examined. They come from find units from excavations carried out from the 1970s to 1990s, which were selected more or less at random.

The drawings were made using a laser aided profiler (LAP). This device does not scan surfaces, but cross-sections and diameters. Based on this data, the software generates two-dimensional illustrations, as they have been used in ceramics research for decades. The images are saved as vector graphics, which can be further processed as needed. If necessary, the LAP can also take photos to depict three-dimensional and painted decorations. It is thus possible to keep the amount of data generated to a minimum while still having all the visual information required for formal comparisons (**fig. 4**).

Within the vessel shapes as superior hierarchy elements (e.g., pot, plate, or tripod vessel), the types of the rims differ in terms of formal criteria. These are primarily determined based on the formation of the rim—according to the inclination and the shape of the lip—as well as the shape of the neck zone. In addition to formal characteristics, consideration is also given to aspects with chronological significance, such as the use of specific tempering particles or technical criteria.

Stylistic criteria such as decor or surface treatment can be taken into account where they occur regularly and are also decisive for the creation of a group in these cases.

In terms of functionality, the surface treatment – for example, in the form of pitch coatings or slip – can be used to help distinguish between the specific vessel shapes.

Signs of use, such as secondary burn marks or soot deposits, serve as additional criteria that can help identify individual shapes as cooking vessels.

For coarse ware vessels tempered with fine particles, the only manufacturing technique that can be observed is the fast potter's wheel. In the case of the coarsely tempered pieces, the systematization makes no distinction between wheel-thrown pottery and those formed by hand and using the slow wheel. In terms of the larger pots and the dolia, however, craftsmanship by hand cannot only be assumed but also regularly observed.

As is often the case with pottery from settlements, the material base consists of relatively small fragments. Due to the state of preservation of the sherds, a classification which takes into account all features of the shape, manufacturing technique, and decoration is not possible. The main focus is thus on the shape of the rim, the fabric, the surface treatment, and the function. Based on this, analogies with already known shapes of vessels in the city itself as well as regional[1] and supra-regional[2] sites can be used to draw conclusions about the complete forms.

[1] *Vici* (Gleisdorf: Artner 1988/89; Jeschek 2000; Schneeberger 2016; Kalsdorf: Brunnhuber 2009; Pammer-Hudeczek 2009; Saaz: Sedlmayer and Tiefengraber 2006), *Villae* (e.g. Retznei: Schrettle and Tsironi 2020; Rannersdorf: Schrettle and Tsironi 2007; Grünau: Lamm 2011), settlements (e.g. Frauenberg bei Leibnitz: Groh and Sedlmayer 2005; Schrettle 2019; Kugelstein, Riegersburg: Bauer 1997; Schönberg: Oberhofer 2012) and burial grounds (Fuchs 1980) in the Territory of Flavia Solva.

[2] E.g. *Poetovio* (Istenič 1999, 2000; Janežič 2018), *Celeia* (Krajšek 2015; Krajšek and Žerjal 2022), *Carnuntum* (Petznek 1997, 1998), *Virunum* (Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1997, Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger and Gostenčnik 2003).

The edge profiles are classified into relatively few main groups using the above criteria. Within these main groups, the most diverse versions of some rim shapes are defined by subgroups. The main groups (tall and wide forms as well as the lids and bases) are identified by a letter, and variants and subvariants by a numerical code. The custom-made input screen of the "imdas pro" database, with optimized dropdown menus, was tailored to the needs of the project.

Systematizing the vessel shapes made it easy and efficient to input them into the database and rendered it unnecessary to graphically document already known forms (**fig. 5**).

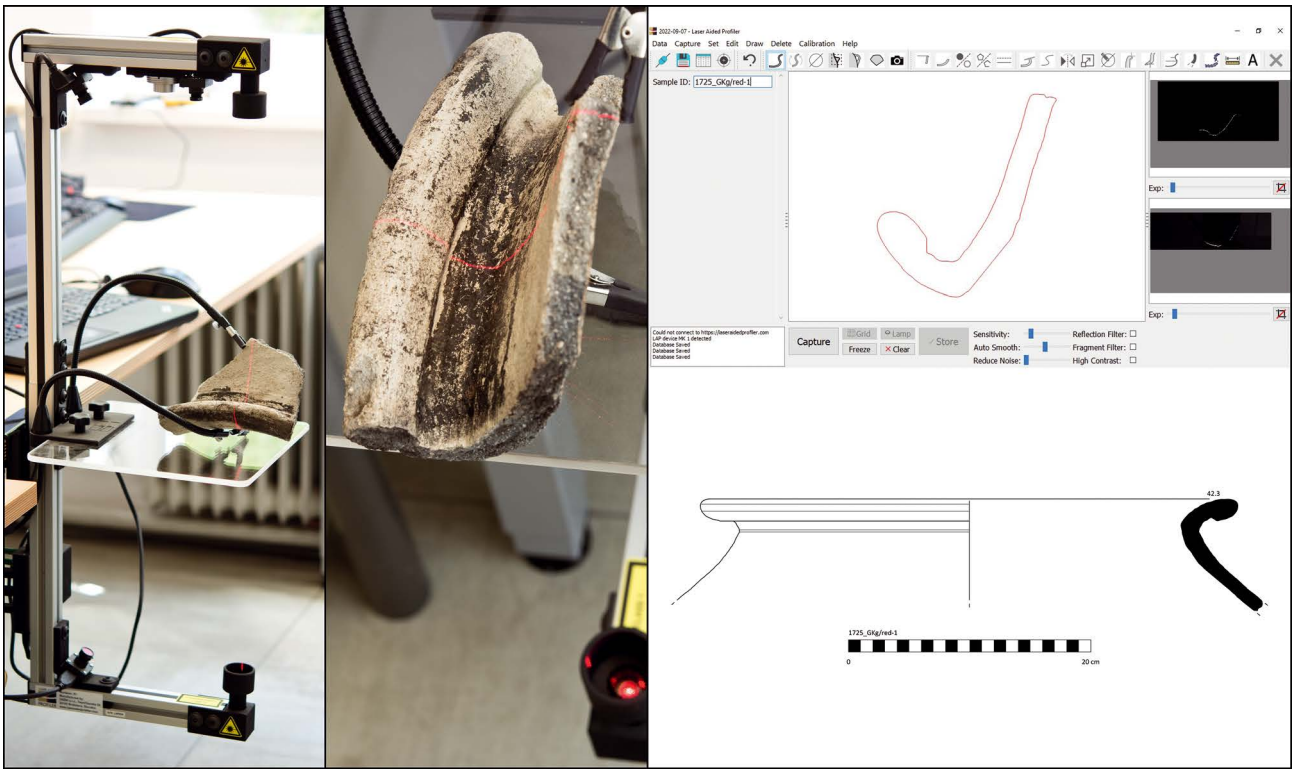


Fig. 4. Laser aided profiler (LAP) (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

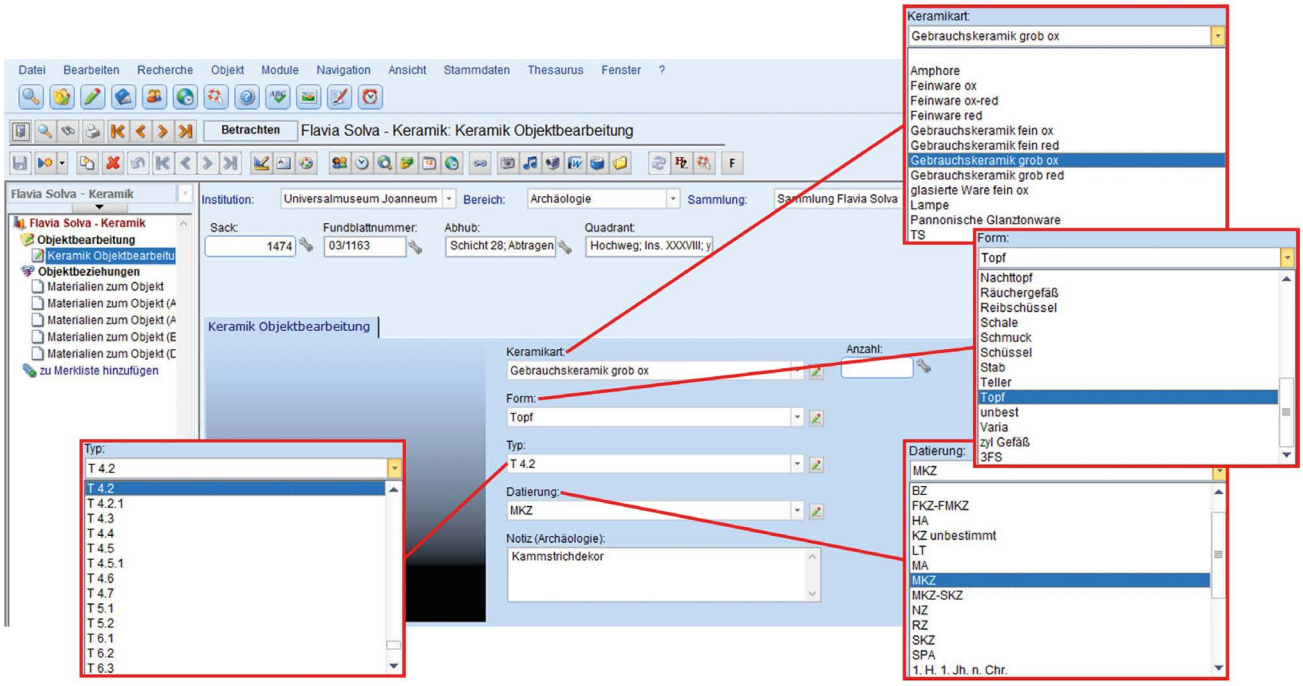


Fig. 5. "Imdas pro" database (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

This grouping of the edge profiles of the pots is shown as an example (**fig. 6**). The profiles with a black filling indicate that those fragments are coarse tempered. The colored pieces (T 12-T 16) are those with fine particles. Here the firing method is also shown (red = oxidizing atmosphere, light gray = reducing atmosphere). Due to the wide range of subgroups, it is possible to assign even small fragmented pieces to a group more easily and efficiently, which ultimately helps to attain better evaluative statistics.

In addition to the coarse ware, the input screen of the database also offers the option to distinguish between imported fine ware, terra sigillata, and specific shapes such as amphorae and lamps. Sometimes, these pottery types had already been separated during the excavation, but often all sherds of a stratigraphic unit are stored together. If this is the case, the different types of ceramics must be separated from one another, and descriptive data sets must be created. The analysis of the fine ware and the terra sigillata is carried out separately.

Aim and initial results

So far, around 19.200 fragments have been archived in the database. Approximately 90 main groups have been created and 223 subgroups, with the dating ranging from the early imperial period to late antiquity.

Our aim is to create an overview of the pottery available in *Flavia Solva*, based on the finds examined and the evaluable results in the database. In addition, a chronological framework will be created in which the shapes occurring in *Flavia Solva* can be classified and in which—ideally—an evolution of individual formal types can be recorded. The sheer number of finds examined and catalogued provides a reliable basis for the discussion of the regionally occurring and supra-regionally traded ceramics. In this way, specific regional characteristics, as well as their influences and their developments, should become more apparent. Vessels from the extensive cemeteries around the city, which have already been examined and published on, can be used as support. This research will make an important contribution to the study of Roman pottery in the province of *Noricum*. It also aims to emphasize the fact that *Flavia Solva* was off the main trade routes and that traditional shapes were therefore able to adapt slowly and more independently to changes in society and habits.

The following provides an overview of the initial results from the material archived in the database so far (**fig. 7-9**).

Fig. 7 shows a selection of the most common shapes of vessels, which can be dated to the early imperial or early middle imperial period.

These are, for example, coarsely tempered cups with a slender body and an S-shaped, vertical lip (Be 2.1); coarsely tempered pots with a spool-shaped, thickened, outwards bent lip (T 4.1); with a narrow, triangular, thickened lip (T 6.3, T 6.4); or those with an only slightly thickened lip pointing inwards and a barrel-shaped body (T 17).

This period also corresponds to finely tempered pots with an S-shaped, vertical lip (T 14), or those with a thickened lip pointing inwards and flattened at the top, sometimes grooved on the outside (T 16.2, T 16.3).

The dolia have a bulging, thickened, strongly retracting edge with a grooved upper side (Do 1.3). Among the coarsely tempered bowls, there are such with a thickened lip that curves inwards (S 3.2). Of the bowls with fine tempering, those with an S-shaped profile and a lip pointing inward (S 10.2) can be distinguished from those with a lip pointing outward (S 11.3). In addition, there are bowls with an outwardly curved lip (known in German as *Lippenrandschüssel*, S 14.1).

Of the tripod vessels, only those with a lip pointing inwards and horizontal grooves on the body belong to this period (DrS 1.1.1.1, DrS 1.4, and DrS 1.5). In the case of jugs, there are those with a short sloping rim (K 4.3) and those with a slightly thickened lip and a cordon on the neck (K 5). Lids with a folded edge also belong here (D 3.2). For the sake of completeness, plates with inwardly curved rims are also shown (Te 1.1), though this shape continues without major changes into later periods.

In the group of finely tempered bowls based on Sigillata shapes, it is possible to distinguish imported forms, for example from Poetovio (Istenič 1999: 93, fig. 79 PTS/ITS 3, PTS/ITS 4) from pieces from local/regional production in group S 10.2, S 11.3, or S 14.1. This is shown by comparative examples from different sites (Artner 2005: 299, Taf. 3/17-24; Fuchs 1980: Taf. A 50: 3102; Jeschek 2000: Taf. 67; Schrettle and Tsironi 2020: 121 Abb. 114 Form 3). The T 16 pots (Istenič 1999: 132, fig. 124 LF/JrF 4. LF/JrF varia) and the DrS 1.4 tripod vessel may also be imports.

Local forms can be identified in the roughly tempered beakers (Fuchs 1980: Taf. A 49: 2403a+b) and pots (Artner 1999: Taf. 19/248. 257, 50/633, 62/770; Groh and Sedlmayer 2005: Taf. 14/329/10; Heymans 2008: 192 Taf. 9/37-3; Hinker 2006: 165 Taf. 24, 169 Taf. 28/194, 170 Taf. 29/197; Schrettle 2019: 392 Taf. 15/6), the tripod vessel DrS 1.5 (Artner 1988/89: Taf. 20/15; Jeschek 2000: Taf. 103), the dolia of typical latenoid shape (Artner 1999: Taf. 49/614; Schrettle 2019: 393 Taf. 16/1) and the folded lid (Artner 1999: Taf. 34/440; Groh and Sedlmayer 2004: 472 Taf.1/4/1; Hinker 2006: 175 Taf. 34/235-241; Schrettle 2019: 381 Taf. 4/1; Schrettle and Tsironi 2020: Taf. 93/16) occurring from the second half of the 1st century B.C.

In the middle and late imperial period we find the groups of vessels shown in **fig. 8**.

A development of different shapes can be seen, for example, the finely tempered bowls S 10.4, S 10.5, and S 10.6, as well as S 11.4 and S 11.5, which are vessels of local or regional production (Jeschek 2000: Taf. 69-71; Lamm 2001: 363, Taf. 11/2002/B6/2; Schrettle and Tsironi 2020: 130, Abb. 119 Schüsseln Form D). In contrast, we assume that some of the vessels that were assigned to the group of bowls S 11.2, S 12.2, or S 14.2 were not produced in the greater municipal area.

In the case of the bowls, we need to differentiate between imported vessels and those from local production. We hope to verify not only formal differences, but also the distinction between regionally and supra-regionally produced pieces in the group of bowls through targeted sampling for

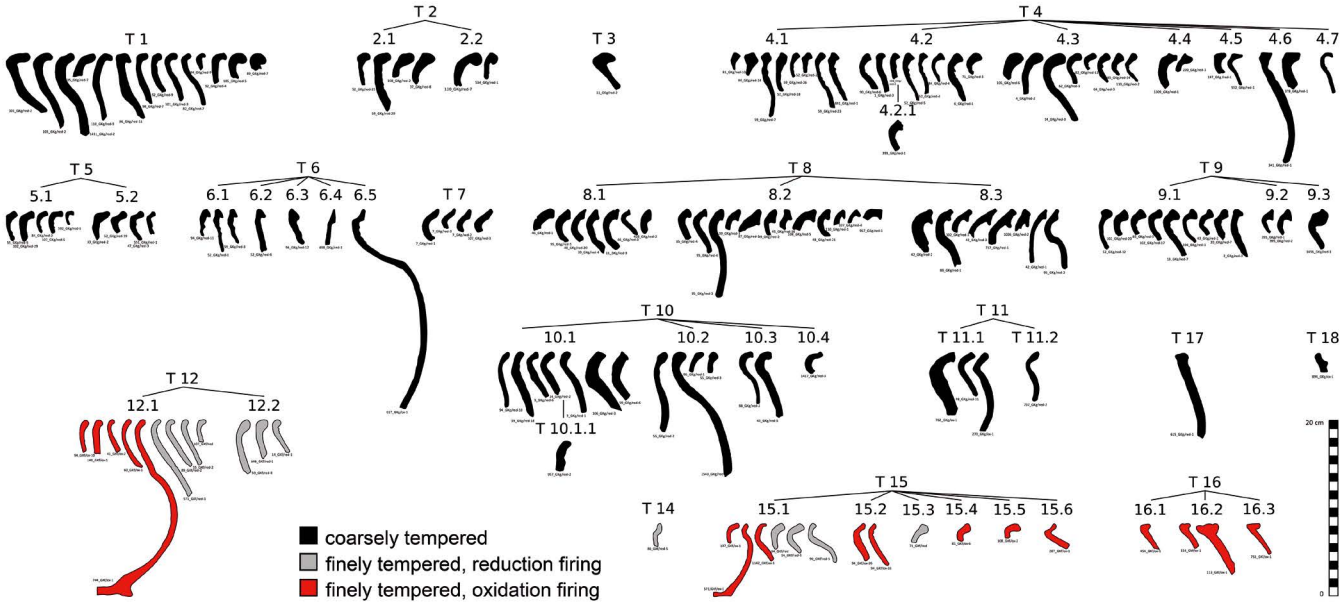


Fig. 6. Grouping of the edge profiles of the pots (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

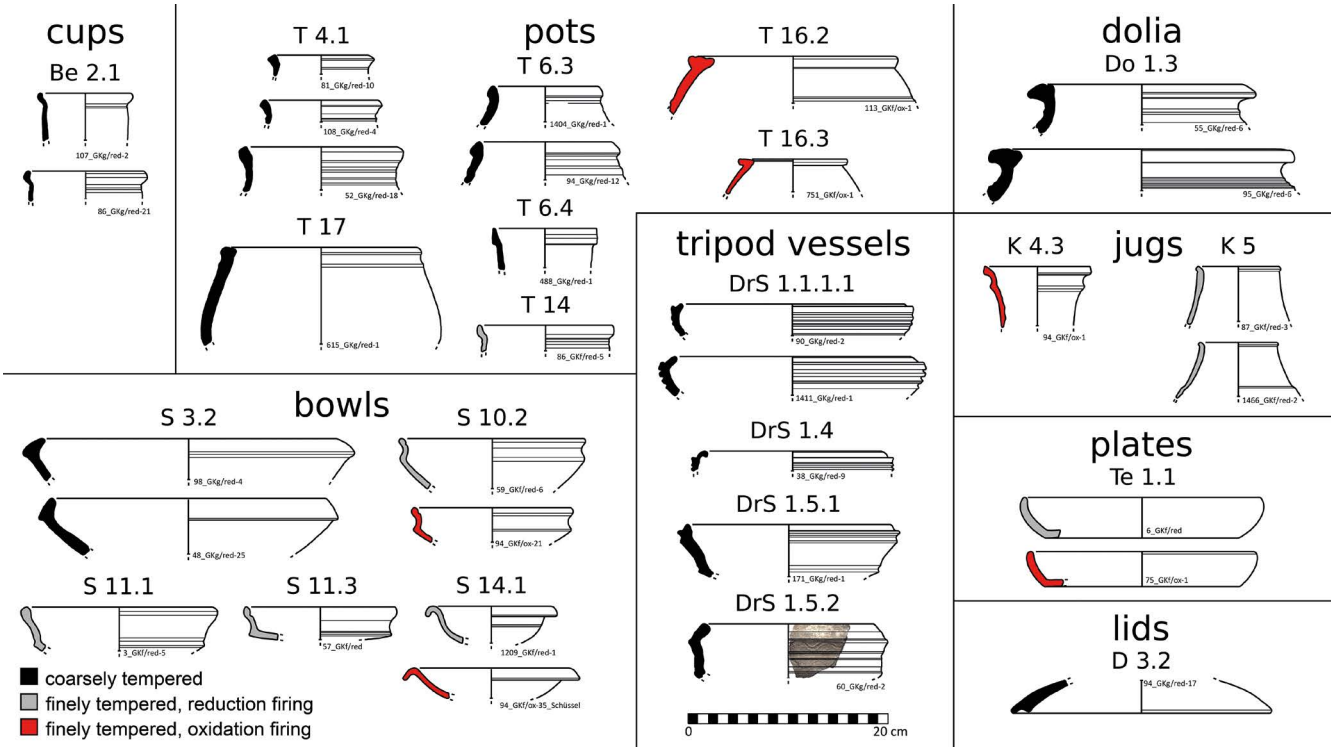


Fig. 7. Groups of vessels from the early imperial or early middle imperial period (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

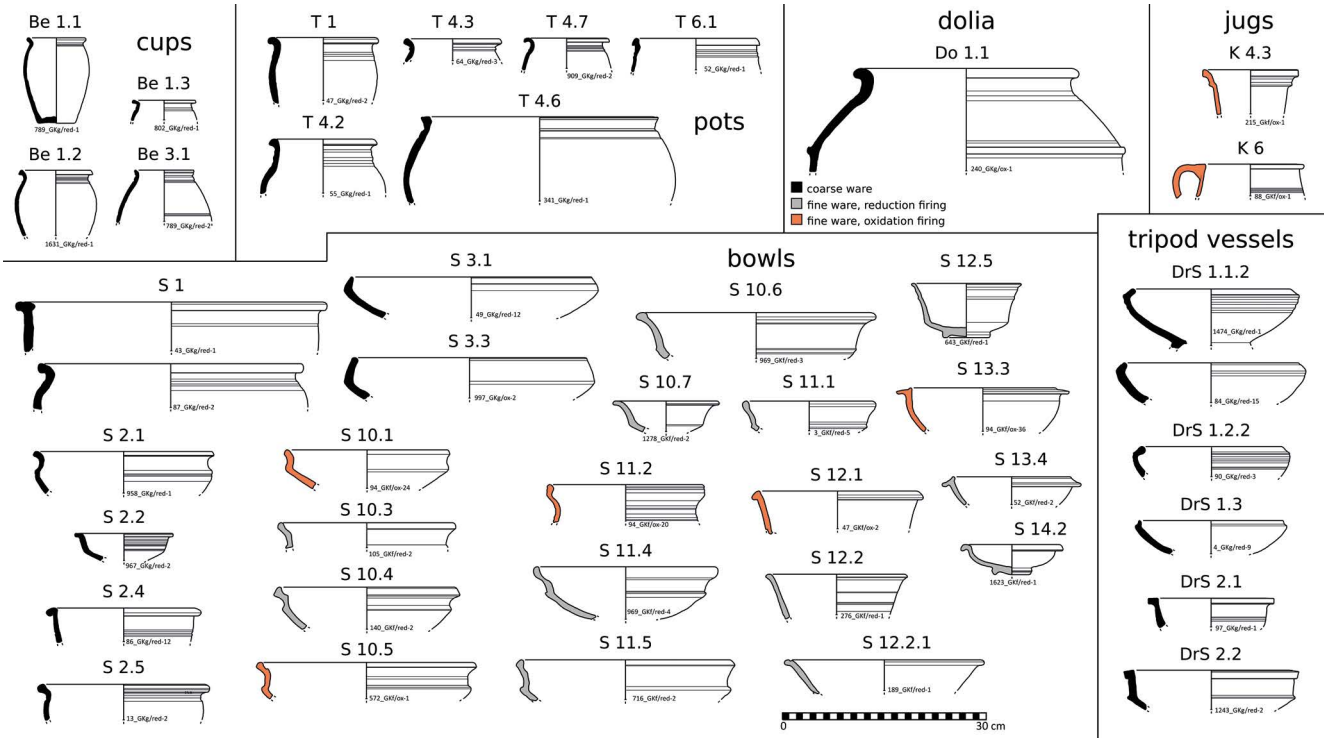


Fig. 8. Groups of vessels from the middle and late imperial period (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

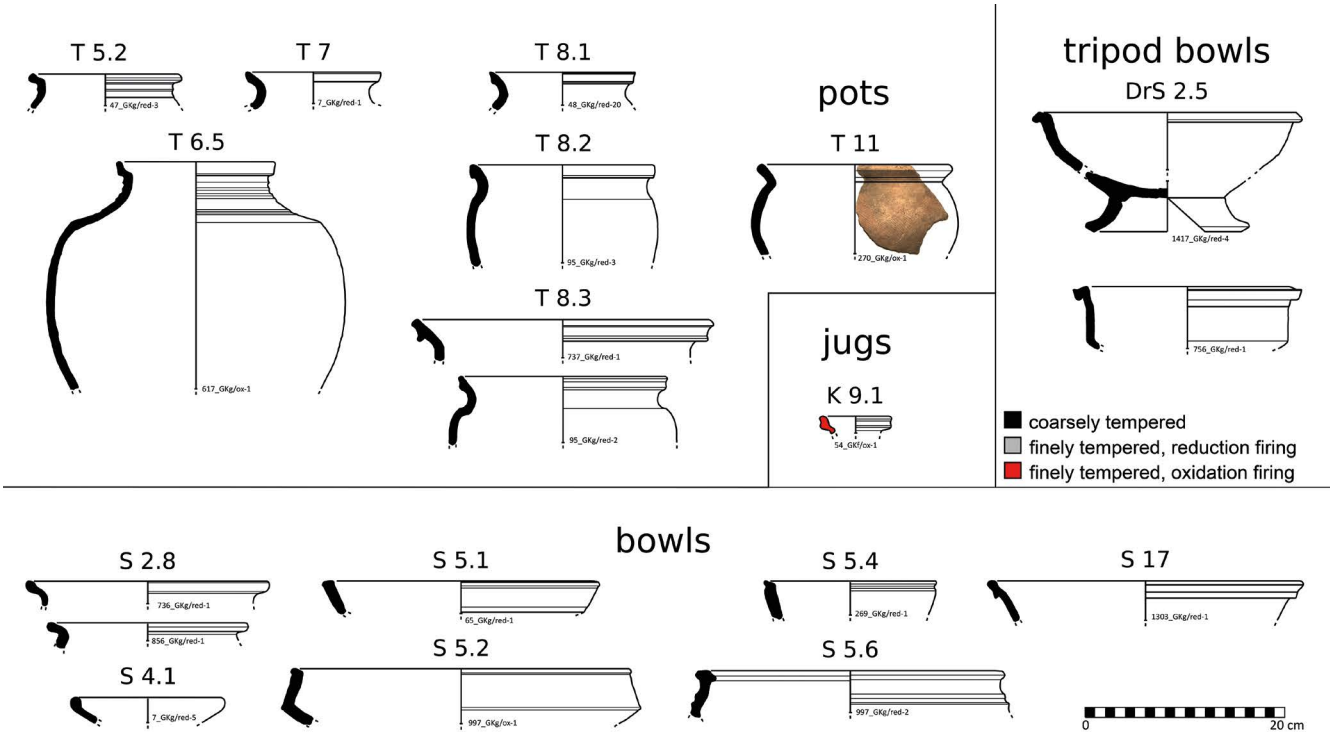


Fig. 9. Groups of vessels from the late imperial period and late antiquity (Johanna Kraschitzer/ Universalmuseum Joanneum).

mineralogical testing[3] of pieces from Poetovio.

A more precise chronological order of the coarse ware will be possible once the results of the evaluation of the fine ware are available. At this point it will also be possible to establish the sequence of dominance of individual vessel types.

Finally, we show shapes occurring in the late imperial period and late antiquity (**fig. 9**). The rims of the pots tend to be narrower (T 7) or triangular (T 8) in shape, with the grooved rim (T 8.3) also being typical. The group of tripod vessels is characterized by outwardly folded, partly overhanging lips and indentations on the top (DrS 2.5). The bowls with coarse tempering show a great variety of shapes. From the late imperial period onwards, carbonate was added to many of the vessels. This tempering method is thus also a chronological criterion.

Looking ahead

We still do not have satisfactory answers to each and every research question, but this is also due to the fact that we have yet to complete our examination of the pottery from Flavia Solva. It is already clear, however, that we not only have a reliable basis for the discussion of the coarse ware used and produced in the city, but we can also provide material for further research. A study of the Norian-Pannonian tripod vessel would, for example, be highly desirable. This shape probably developed in the wider area and is very dominant not only in the city but the whole region. In addition, the dolium with the shoulder ledge comes to mind, which is also a variant that is typical for the area around Solva. Here, too, settlements in the vicinity should be included in the research, and information on dietary habits, storage, and trade can be expected.

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OBSERVATIONS ON POTTERY FINDS FROM THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN *VIMINACIUM* (SERBIA): THE CAMULODUNUM 189 AMPHORAE

This paper presents the find of amphorae of the type Camulodunum 189, discovered during recent research activities conducted around the castrum, in Viminacium. New examples of this form of amphorae have supplemented the knowledge of their presence in this part of the empire and indicated considerably more developed trade connections between distant provinces within the empire. Archaeological units in which pieces of amphorae, as well as a whole one, were discovered were dated into the period of the founding of the legionary camp, in the final decades of the 1st and the 2nd century.

Camulodunum 189 – "carrot" amphora – castrum – Viminacium

Introduction

During the Roman period, Viminacium was located within the province of Moesia Superior, in its northernmost part, while nowadays it is in the vicinity of the village of Stari Kostolac, in eastern Serbia (**fig. 1**). The city was founded on the right bank of the river Mlava during the 1st century, when a military camp was formed, with a settlement surrounding it. At the end of the same century, it became the permanent residence of the Legio VII Claudia, as well as the capital of the province of Moesia Superior. It gained the status of municipium during the reign of the emperor Hadrian, and it reached the rank of colony during the times of the emperor Gordian. In the 3rd century, it reached its peak of progress, as with most cities in the empire. In the meantime, it became the centre of political and military power in the province of Moesia Superior, and the geographic position of the city contributed to its economic and cultural development. It was destroyed in the first half of the 5th century, during the invasion of the Huns.

Numerous activities were present in the territory of Viminacium, as witnessed by a large amount of archaeological material discovered during the research of the necropoles, the urban and the rural milieu, as well as the military camp. Judging by the large number of items made of clay, such as vessels, bricks, terracotta etc., it can be concluded that the ceramic craft was one of the most developed. A complex of 13 ceramic and brick kilns, which was researched around the southern necropolis, indicates intensive production of ceramic items in the period of the 2nd and the 3rd centuries (Raičković 2007). Workshop activities also indicate a high level of expertise of the potters, as confirmed by numerous fragments of vessels with relief decorations and finds of moulds for their production (Bjelajac 1990: 143-147). Aside from products from local workshops, the ceramic material also displayed an impressive number of imported forms, especially types of terra sigillata, as well as vessels made especially for transporting goods – amphorae. They also represent one reliable indicator of the existence of intensive trade between the capital of Moesia Superior and other provincial cities. Specific shapes of amphorae were used for food supply, most prominently for the army, but also for the civilian population, from different parts of the empire. Among the amphorae discovered in the wider area of Viminacium, the most numerous specimens belonged to the forms used for the import of oil and wine from the Western Mediterranean and Pontic area (Bjelajac 1996: 13-27).

Some specimens of amphorae of eastern origin were found in the province of Upper Moesia, mainly in the wider area of Viminacium. These vessels originated from the cen-



Fig. 1. Map of roman provinces and Viminacium site.

tres of the Greek islands – Kos, Rhodes, Crete, Thassos and others, with a long tradition in production, from the time of classical Greece, through the Hellenistic period and further through the Roman era (Bjelajac 1996: 37). The time of the most intensive import at Viminacium is related to the period from the middle of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century, when trade between the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean areas increased due to more favourable conditions for transport. When it comes to the territory of the ancient Near East, there are only sporadic finds of imported amphorae on the entire territory of the province of Upper Moesia. The number of specimens found occurs equally throughout the entire period of Roman domination, as well as through the late Roman period, and even later, even up to the 6th century (Bjelajac 1996: 45-52).

Pottery context

For this paper, the fragments, as well as the whole specimen of the amphora type Camulodunum 189, from the area of the Viminacium military camp and canabae were selected. According to research conducted in certain areas of the north-western and western ramparts, the time of construction of the castrum was placed in the last decades of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century (Nikolić et al. 2018; 2021). The ceramic material that originates from these cultural horizons is very important for the study of pottery in the earliest stages of the formation of the capital of Upper Moesia (Nikolić and Raičković Savić 2023). The vessels are divided into several different groups, including kitchenware, tableware, as well as ceramic for storage and transportation. There are also miniature vessels, which imitate existing forms among the bowls. Apart from the vessels produced in local workshops, the representation of imported forms is not negligible, especially in the form of terra sigillata vessels and marbled pottery. Storage pottery includes large-sized vessels, pithoi, represented exclusively in the oldest horizons at Viminacium. For now, we cannot say anything more about their provenance but, based on analogies from Pannonia, we can assume that they are imported specimens (Brukner 1981: 42; 110; T. 128/14, 19). A specimen from the settlement was found during the research of the older horizons at the thermae. The ceramic material from these layers was determined in the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century, according to the represented forms and based on the found coins of the emperors Alexander Severus and Aurelian. In this case, we must take the dating of the amphora itself with a grain of salt, at least until additional analyses are carried out to establish the exact origin and period of use of this specimen.

Camulodunum 189 / “Carrot” amphora

The specific shape of this type of amphora, as the name itself suggests, resembles a carrot and comprehends a wider rim, with a diameter of between 5.5 and 7 cm, smaller handles with a circular cross-section, a ribbed receptacle and a pointed bottom, ca. 50 cm high. The average volume of the examples from Viminacium was ca. 1.3 l, while the examples from the

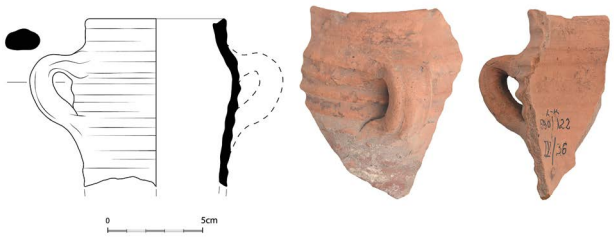


Fig. 2. Camulodunum 189 (drawing and photo).

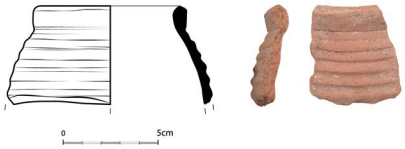


Fig. 3. Camulodunum 189 (drawing and photo).

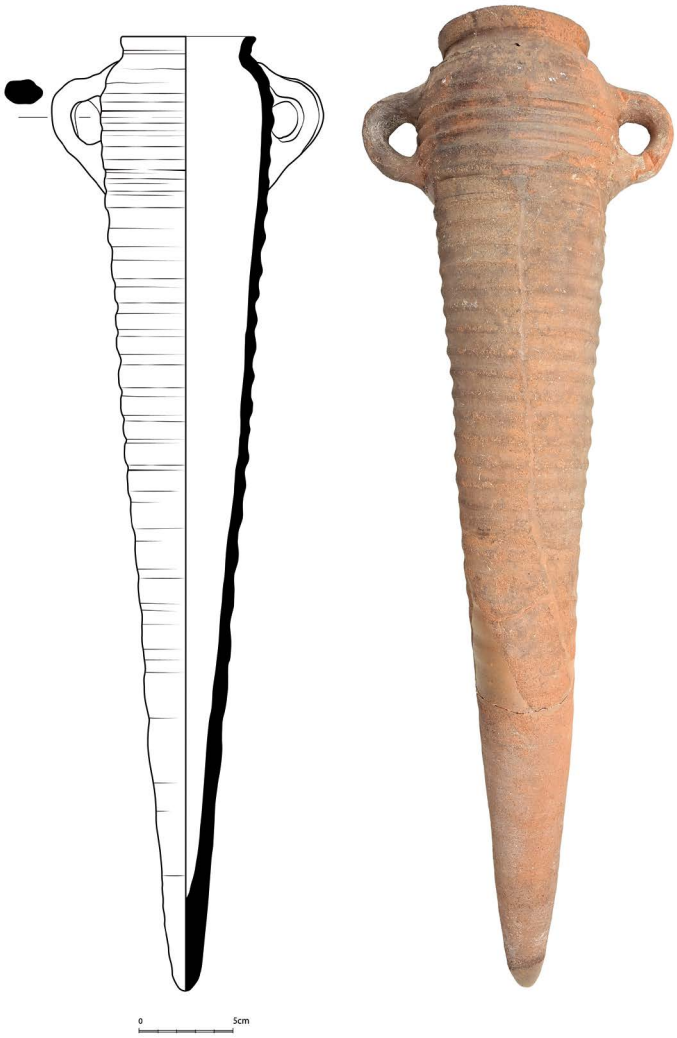


Fig. 4. Camulodunum 189 (drawing and photo).

western provinces tend to be somewhat larger, with volume between 2 and 3 l (Carreras Monfort and Williams 2002: 133).

To date, three vessels classified into this type of amphorae have been registered in the territory of the province of Moesia Superior. The first published example from the mentioned province comes from the city centre of Viminacium, from the area of the canabae (**fig. 2a, 2b**). Due to the lack of a more precise archaeological context, the fragment of the amphora was broadly dated from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century (Bjelajac 1996: 28-29). It was made from well-sifted clay, with a red firing colour (2.5YR 6/8), and has a rim diameter of 7 cm. One fragmented find (**fig. 3a, 3b**), found during the excavation of the castrum, a partially preserved rim and the belly, has a rim diameter of 7 cm, while the other was preserved whole with rim diameter 7.5 cm and height 52 cm (**fig. 4a, 4b**). Both examples (Nikolić et al. 2023: 28, 290) were made from clay with admixtures of fine-grained quartz sand, with a red firing colour (10R 6/8).

Origin

In the past, there were several conflicting opinions about the possible origin of these amphorae. Certain authors believed that centres of production were located in the Western Mediterranean part of the empire, while others assumed that they were located in the Levant region or even in Egypt (Hayes 1983: 158; Peacock, Williams 1986: 109-110). Finds of amphorae of this specific shape have been registered across a wide territory of the Roman Empire, with a considerably higher concentration in its north-western part (Berg 2012: 221, fig. 5) than in the provinces in the Balkans (Brukner 1981: 124; Bjelajac 1996: 28-29; Ožanić 2005: 139) or provinces in the east (Carreras Monfort and Williams 2002: 136). In recent decades, research has been focused on determining origins and discovering production centres. Archaeological research conducted around Beirut resulted in the discovery of pottery kilns on the eastern ramparts of the ancient city. Ceramic material dated to the 1st century was also found inside the kiln, among which were amphorae with ribbed receptacles and pointed bottoms. The vessels found in workshops and kilns in Beirut were analysed, as well as specimens from Gallic sites, to determine a possible common origin (Waksman et al. 2003: 96). The results indicated an existing connection between vessels found in different parts of the empire and led to the confirmation of the production of the Camulodunum 189 type amphora in present-day Lebanon (Kouwalti et al. 2008). Apart from the mentioned amphorae, other types, such as Beyrouth I and Beyrouth II, were found on the territory of the Gallic province, whose production was also confirmed on the Beirut site (Waksman et al. 2003: 99).

Contents of the amphorae

As for the contents of the amphorae, authors mostly concur – these were vessels used for the transport of tropical, exotic fruit. Confirmation for this can be found in several places, starting with literary sources. Martialis, a Roman poet known for his epigrams, described in his work a vessel with a pointy bottom used for transporting plums and figs (Martial 13.28) from eastern provinces. Representations of these amphorae can be found in Pompeii, where a wall painting depicts a vessel similar to a "carrot" amphora. The most significant material is archaeological finds. During the archaeological research of the province of Helvetia, in the city of Aventicum, carbonised dates were discovered inside this type of amphorae, which represent a direct confirmation of the mentioned supposition (Vipard 1995: 65; Carreras Monfort and Williams 2002: 141).

Distribution

The distribution of the amphorae across the Roman provinces began during the reign of the emperor Augustus and lasted up to the Late Antonine period and into the early 3rd century. They reached their peak of production and distribution in the 1st century, as confirmed by finds discovered on most sites in the empire. Interestingly, these amphorae have been found quite sporadically in locations in Beirut. Only 10-12 specimens of this type of amphorae were found during the excavation of the cistern deposit, which are dated to the late 1st century. Since material from the layers of the middle of the 1st century and the beginning of the 3rd century on researched locations is missing, it leads authors to new assumptions. A new hypothesis indicates that these were forms used exclusively for the export of dates from the eastern provinces, i.e., Beirut, to other parts of the empire (Reynolds et al. 2010: 77).

Conclusion

The new finds of the "carrot" amphorae contributed to the improvement of the already existing knowledge of their presence in Viminacium. Since it was not possible to determine the period of use, nor to establish the possible provenance of the existing example, due to the lack of more precise data on the find itself, this new fragment, as well as the whole vessel that was discovered during the recent research of the castrum, significantly contribute to the ceramic repertoire from Viminacium. We can assume that there will be a larger amount of finds in decades to come since research of the oldest horizons within the city and the camp is yet to be undertaken. The Camulodunum 189 type of amphorae also suggests the existence of developed networks of trading routes between cities and provinces, in this case, between Viminacium and the Phoenician region. The import of exotic goods from distant eastern provinces certainly represents a significant element in the study of the economic situation in the province of Moesia Superior. Individual examples discovered in Viminacium also bear witness to the important position that this city occupied in the entire Roman Empire.

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Albert Ribera & Carlo De Mitri

HISPANIC AMPHORAE ALONG ILLYRIA AND EPIRUS. PRELIMINARY REPORT

The presence of western goods and containers, often attested by only a few units, indicates that this area was part of the trade networks that linked the western and eastern Mediterranean. Notably, the Ionian-Adriatic basin was a major market for Hispanic products throughout the Roman period.
Roman amphorae – mostly Greco-Italic and Lamb. 2 types from Adriatic Italy – began arriving to the region in the Hellenistic period. During this early period, Iberian productions were rare, chiefly Punic-Ibizan vessels found from Montenegro (Risan) to Albania (Skhodar, Orikos) and in the Greek Epirus.
From the 1st century AD, Roman Hispanic amphorae, especially Baetican Dr. 7-11, 12, 20 and Haltern 70 types, become common in land and maritime Dalmatian sites. This is less the case in southern Dalmatia, but we think that these differences in distribution are more the result of the poor excavation methodologies in certain sites than a reflection of historical reality. This paper aims at reviewing finds of Hispanic vessels in the region.

Trade – Hellenistic – Roman – shipwrecks, economy

Introduction[1]

The finds reported in the literature and in museum collections and storerooms are, in general, very dispersed and fragmented. The current territorial division of ancient Illyria and Epirus into three states, Montenegro, Albania, and Greece, does not facilitate a homogeneous research approach. In some instances, the catalogue entries of some pieces that have not been examined directly can be regarded as doubtful.

Our aim is to try to fill existing gaps, while trying to clarify whether these gaps are due to a lack of research or if Hispanic amphorae were really that rare in the region, being simply channeled through it on their way to the northern and the eastern Mediterranean.

Hispanic amphorae in the Western Mediterranean

Hispanic amphorae are common in archaeological assemblages in the southern Tyrrhenian coast, as illustrated by numerous finds in Rome and its immediate hinterland. From the earliest research on amphorae, Monte Testaccio and Castro Pretorio have borne witness to the intensity of this trade. More recent, and no less striking, finds in Longarina 1 and 2, Ostia and, within Rome, the Mercato Testaccio, have confirmed this, while demonstrating that Iberian amphorae accounted for a significant proportion of imports in the capital of the Empire from Augustus to the mid-3rd century AD (Blázquez and Remesal 2016; Contino et al. 2022; Rizzo et al. 2020; Sebastiani and Serlorenzi 2011).

Further south, in Pompeii, from the change of era to AD 79, Hispanic amphorae have also been found in great numbers all the way to the eruption (Ribera et al. 2016; Manacorda 1977). From the Hellenistic period onwards, amphorae manufactured in the Iberian Punic regions (e.g. Ibiza and Cádiz) also made their way to the city, although only in small numbers (Pascual, Ribera and Finkielsztejn 2008; Bernal-Casasola and Sáez 2019).

In Pompeii, most of these amphorae are containers of fish products, while in Rome olive oil containers predominate. In Italy, Baetican wine containers are as a rule less common, gradually decreasing in number after a moderate peak in the first half of the 1st century AD.

Imperial Hispanic amphorae are found in some quantity in interior southern Italian cities, for instance Grumentum, where they account for 20% of the total assemblage in some contexts, especially the Baetican Dr. 7-11 and 20 and Beltran IIA and IIB types. The Almagro 50 type has also been attested (De Mitri 2023a). Imported amphorae in Grumentum appear to be connected to Tyrrhenian trade networks, as suggested by the Matrella shipwreck, found near the workshop of Santo Janni (Bottini 2017), whose cargo included the Almagro 50 type. In Maratea, in the Tyrrhenian coast of Lucania, more Iberian containers have been found, including two specimens of the Dressel 20 type, which do not seem to be included in the wreck's cargo, alongside some Almagro 50 amphorae (Bottini and Freschi 1993: 35-39) and a whole specimen of the Dressel 7/11 type found in the mooring area of Santo Janni.

Shipwrecks in southern Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and Tyrrhenian Italy have thoroughly documented this traffic for the 1st century AD but, interestingly, less so for the 2nd century AD. Underwater finds, like those on land, suggest the predominance of oil and fish-product containers (Bombico 2016). Iberian wine only appears to have been a major

[1] The authors are very grateful to Horacio Gonzalez and Guillermo Pascual for their co-operation and retrieval of data and information.

product in the early days of the Empire, especially in Gaul and the Rhenish border.

The end of the Monte Testaccio sequence in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD is parallel to the end of the preeminence of Baetican oil amphorae in Rome and Ostia. Although Dressel 23 amphorae from the Guadalquivir Valley and the Malaga region appear in different contexts in Lazio (Rizzo 2014; Contino and Quevedo 2021), Baetican and Lusitanian fish containers become the predominant Iberian types, with only a few wine amphorae. Recent studies by Alejandro Quevedo, in cooperation with Italian colleagues, have also identified amphorae from the region between Águilas and Mazarrón, in southeast Spain, in archaeological contexts from the Roma area (Contino and Quevedo 2021). We are certain that future studies will increase the presence of this important amphoric production of the 4th and 5th centuries.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, shipwrecks with Hispanic amphorae – forms Keay XIII (Dr. 23), XVI (Almagro 50 / Beltran 72), XIX (Almagro 51 AB / Beltran 52), XXII (Almagro 50), and XXIII (Almagro 51C / Beltran 51) – increase in number in the South Tyrrhenian (Bombico 2016). Although the arrival of Hispanic amphorae, especially fish by-products, has been observed in places farther east, from Greece to Israel (Bernal 2000), some of these sunken vessels were in all probability sailing towards the Adriatic coast.

Hispanic amphorae in the Adriatic

Many Hispanic amphorae from the imperial period have been found on the Italian, Croatian, and Slovenian north Adriatic coast. Baetican fish products appear to have been more popular than Lusitanian ones, both of which are found, although imports were somewhat limited by the local production of similar products. Archaeological activity has been intense in the region, so the evidence is plentiful. The literature covers a large number of sites, including Milan, Brescia, Ravenna, Classe, Trieste, Rijeka, Aquileia, Grado, Concordia, Opitergium, Padova, Imola, Zuglio, Altino, Modena, Adria, Brioni, and Pola, concerning both Baetican and Lusitanian containers (Auriemma, Pesavento and Mongardi 2016).

In the Late Empire there was a relative increase in the number of these amphorae, notably of the Almagro 50 and 51 types, both Baetican and Lusitanian (Auriemma, Pesavento and Mongardi 2016: 419).

In Dalmatia and Pannonia, amphorae from Hispania have been found in at least 40 sites, both at sea and on land. Several cargoes of Hispanic amphorae have been recorded in the waters of the northern and central Adriatic, including the shipwrecks of Parzanj (Hvar) – Dr. 8-10 – and Pupak (Palagruza) – Haltern 70, Dr. 2-4 and Beltran IIA – both dated to the 1st century AD (Vrsalović 2011). The Dr. 28 and 2-4 types were found in Mlim, near Split, but their origin is dubious (Dugonjić 2015: 246; Jurisić 2000: 22). Only one major find of Dr. 20 amphorae has been found in the Adriatic, at the coastal embankment in Spinut, where such amphorae were used as construction material together with African cylindrical amphorae (Afr. II). According to the stamps (SAXO. FERR, FSF. A.QVA, SCOROBRES, SPERATVS, OC.PA, A(I) FF, L.P.M.S., FORTVNA), these amphorae are dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD. Large fragments of individual specimens were found in Fazana, Sveti Ivan, Stipanska, and at the island of Zut (Cambi 1983). As the Dr. 20 type is often found in archaeological collections, more findspots can be expected.

Somewhat later, in the late 2nd or early 3rd century, a shipwreck of the small island of Gusteranski, north of Zirje Island, in central Dalmatia, yielded Keay XVI amphorae in association with the Beltran IIB type (Jurisić 2000: 22, 64). The Almagro 51 type was found in the Sobra shipwreck, off Mljet island (Kisić 1987).

Overall, the proportion of Hispanic amphorae in these waters is low, a fact that stands out particularly in view of the large number of shipwrecks found in the Eastern Mediterranean (Auriemma, Degrassi and Quiri 2015; Dugonjić 2015; Royal 2018).

On land, the data agrees with the evidence yielded by shipwrecks. In northern Adriatic Italy, Hispanic amphorae are abundant in major cities such as Aquileia and Verona (Gonzalez et al. 2000).

In general, in Dalmatia, in the first century AD, *garum* Hispanic amphorae (Dr. 7-11, 12 and Beltran IIA) are common, while wine (Dr-2-4 from *Tarraconensis*, Pascual 1, and Haltern 70) and oil (Dr. 20) amphorae are scarce, although not altogether missing. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, in contrast, the arrival of fish products (of the Beltran IIA and IIB and the Keay XVI types) and oil Dr. 20 amphorae (Borzić and Ožanić 2018) wanes. This pattern is also observed in the bordering provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, and northern Italy. This is illustrated, for instance by Sisak (Siscia), an important and communications hub far from the coast, where many Baetican amphorae have been found, including the Dr. 20, Dr. 7-11, Beltran IIA, and Haltern 70 types and some specimens cataloged as Dr. 8, followed, later, by some Dr. 23 (Novaković, Paro and Radman-Livaj 2018). Even in less connected areas, such as Herzegovina, Hispanic amphorae dated to the early imperial period – Dr. 20 and Beltran IIA – and later – Dr. 23 – have been found (Busuladžić 2019).

In the 4th century, there were still some Dr. 23 olive oil amphorae, but Lusitanian types were more common (Keay XVI, XIX, XXIII) (Borzić and Ožanić 2018). In the village of Školarice (Koper), at a mid-5th century destruction level yielded Dr. 23, Almagro 50, and 51C specimens, in contexts regularly dominated by African productions (Žerjal 2010: 704).

In general, Hispanic amphorae were widely distribution throughout the Upper Adriatic, on the coast of Istria and Dalmatia and also some areas of the interior (Cambi 1983; Borzić and Ožanić 2018).

Some alleged Hispanic finds in the military camp of Burnum and other nearby sites, which have been related to the Dr. 8 type, are not in fact Hispanic, but local imitations of Hispanic types. This matter is not free from controversy. Recent analyses by Capelli have excluded the possibility that these strange Dressel 7-11 amphorae (fairly similar to the Dressel 8 type) were made in the central or southern Adriatic, and are unlikely to come from the northern Adriatic either (although the latter possibility must not be rejected out

of hand). We think that the formal features, the presence of inscriptions in ink mentioning "Hispanum", comparable to those found in Dressel 7-11 specimens from Lyon, and the absence of these amphorae outside northern Italy (with the exception of one example in Bezeczky, Poetovio) suggests a production center not too distant from their main distribution centers in northern Italy (Gonzalez and Berni 2019; Mongardi 2016).

A. R.

Hispanic amphorae in Illiria and Epirus

Hellenistic period

The expansion of Hispanic amphorae took off from the mid-1st century BC, which explains their extreme rarity in Risan, Shkodra, Orikos, and Butrint (**fig. 1**). The Hellenistic corpus of Iberian amphorae is small and certainly not homogeneous, representing different productions and chronologies. At Risan, most amphorae are from the Italian Adriatic coast. The bulk of the assemblage is made up of the Lamboglia 2 type, a predominant type during the 1st century, which was manufactured in many different production centers (Cipriano and Carré 1989; Pascual and Ribera 2013: 252-254). Another type found in the assemblage is the Italo-Adriatic Palazzo-Apani 1/Giancola 2. Graeco-Italic containers whose fabrics point to Adriatic Italy are among the earliest vessels; they are dated from the late 3rd to the mid-2nd century BC (Dyczek et al. 2020).

The most numerous amphora type was the Punic-Ibizan type, made in the island of *Ebusus* (Ibiza) (Ramon 1995). The type has been found in Skhodar (Ribera and Heras 2020) and Orikos (De Mitri 2023a). These containers were common in the Western Mediterranean from the 5th to the 1st century BC. They are found in coastal sites in Iberia, south Gaul, Morocco, and Algeria, but in Italy they are very scarce (Ribera, Salavert y Stannard 2013). None had been recorded to the east of southern Italy (Pompeii). It is likely that these amphorae are more common than this suggests, but they are difficult to recognize. At any rate, they are the first Iberian wares recorded in this area.

To date, the type has not been identified in Epirus.

Painted Iberian wares dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC are common, although in small numbers, in Tyrrhenian Italy. The presence of some fragments in Salona reflects the restricted distribution of Hispanic productions in this area (Puppo 2016; De Mitri 2023b: 181-184).

Finds of Hispanic coins of the pre-imperial period in the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland are an interesting development. These coins are either isolated finds or part of so-called Mazin-type hoards. A total of 28 specimens are known, most of which have not been published to date. Most were minted in Castulo, but there are three specimens from Obulco, and one each from Emporiae, Kelse and Sekobirikes. Isolated examples of these western Mediterranean coins have been found in fifteen different sites, notably in Iapodia and Liburnia. A single example has been found in central Dalmatia, during archaeological excavations in the territory of Resnik, near Split (Čelhar and Ilkić 2019). This concentration of 2nd-century BC Hispanic coins in Liburnia and Iapodia, should be related in part to commercial traffic but above all with Roman army activity during the conquest of Dalmatia.

Roman Empire

The Imperial period was very different. In general, both underwater and terrestrial assemblages off and on the Adriatic coast reflect a substantial increase in the arrival of wine amphorae, most of them oriental, especially of the late Camolodunum 184 type (Auriemma and Silvestrelli 2013: 442; Auriemma, Degrassi and Quiri 2015)

It seems that contacts with Hispania were not direct, but through intermediate harbors. Some shipwrecks detected in Dalmatia, for instance in Pupak (Palagruza), contain mixed cargoes, in which Hispanic amphorae are found in association with alum containers from Lipari, but that of Parzanj only carried Hispanic products (Vrsalovic 2011).

In an early phase, during Augustus's rule, findspots include Risan, Orikos (ovoid) and Butrint (Pascual 1), and, perhaps, Shkodra (Risan: Dyczek et al. 2020; Shkodra: Shpuza 2009; Butrinto: Aleotti and Bolzoni 2018).

Risan yielded a single specimen of Baetican, Dr. 8, a widely distributed type. It is contemporary to the Dr. 6A and 6B types, which also appear in small numbers in Risan. In nearby waters, most amphorae are Hellenistic types from Adriatic Italy, and no Hispanic types have been attested (Bajtler 2016).

No Hispanic amphorae have been recognized in a broad corpus of materials from the Budva area, south of Montenegro, which includes a fair proportion of underwater finds; amphorae from Adriatic Italy, Africa and the eastern Mediterranean are widely represented in this assemblage (Zagarčanin 2021: 409).

In Dyrrachium (Dürres), the presence of the Dr. 17 and 20 and the Beltran II A types have been attested. A little farther inland, the Dr. 20 type has been identified in Shkodra (Shehi 2003: 210 and 216).

In the ancient Illyrian capital, Shkodra, several fragments of Hispanic amphorae of the Dr. 19-20, 7-11 and 28 types have been reported (Shpuza 2009: 223-225). Further south, in Apollonia, the presence of the Dr. 7-11 and 28 and the Beltran IIA types has also been attested.[2] In the waters of Triport, in the area of the Vlorë bay, an allegedly Hispanic Dr. 28 amphora was found (Disantarosa 2017: 271-273). In the interior of northern Epirus, some Baetican containers have also been found, for instance in the city of Hadrianopolis, founded by Emperor Hadrian in Caonia, south of Gjirokaster, including the Dr. 7-11 and 20 and the Beltran IIA and IIB types (Perna 2016: 234).

Most imports spanning the 1st and 4th centuries AD in Butrint are wine transport vessels and include no Hispanic productions. The Hispanic amphorae from the site are containers for oil and fish by-products. They are especially

[2] Information provided by Bashkim Lahi.



Fig. 1. Main sites mentioned in the text.

SITE	PHASE 1 Hellenistic	PHASE 2 50 BC-50 AD	PHASE 3 50 250 AD-	PHASE 3 250-500	Notes
Risan Rhizinium			Dr. 8		
Shkodra	Punic Ebusitan	Pascual 1	Dr. 20; Dr. 19; D. 28; Dr. 7/11		Shpuza 2009: 223-225; Ribera and Heras 2020
Dürres Dyrrachium			Dr. 20; Dr. 7/11	Almagro 51C	Auriemma, Degrassi and Quiri 2012; Shpuza 2009: 223-225
Dyrrachium 3 shipwreck				Almagro 51C	Anastasi and Capelli 2016
Apollonia			Dr. 28, Dr. 7-11 Beltran IIA		Ex info Bashkim Lahi
Triport (sea)			Dr. 28		Disantarosa 2017: 271-273;
Orikos	Punic Ebusitan	Ovoide?			De Mitri 2023a
Butrinto	Punic Ebusitan	Pascual 1	Dr. 20 Dr. 28, Pascual 1	Almagro 51C Beltran 72	Aleotti and Bolzoni 2018; Auriemma, Degrassi and Quiri 2012; Reynolds 2020; Disantarosa 2017: 273
Butrinto (sea)		Pascual 1	Dr. 28	Beltran 72	Disantarosa 2017, 273.
Hadrianopolis			Dr. 7/11 Dr. 20 Beltran IIA e B Gauloise 4		Perna 2016: 234
Sud Albania (sea)		Pascual 1	Dr. 9/10, 20, 28	Beltran 72 Dr. 23	Royal 2018
Nicopolis				Baetican	Reynolds and Pavlidis 2015

Tab. 1. Distribution of Hispanic amphorae along Illyria and Epirus.

abundant in the 1st century and the early 2nd century AD, after which they lose ground to African, Pontic and Aegean containers (Aleotti and Bolzoni 2018). Although they never were very abundant, they are always present in contexts dating to between the 1st and 4th centuries AD. The most common types are the Dr. 20 and some Lusitanian productions.

Intensive surveys in southern Albania waters have attested several Hispanic amphorae, which account for 10% of all republican and early imperial and 3.4% of late imperial material. The most common type is Dr. 20, which account for 5% of all early imperial amphorae and 1.7% overall. The rest belong to the Pascual 1 and Dr. 9/10 and 28 types. Late imperial types include Dr. 23 and Beltran 72 (Royal 2018: 28-30).

In the imperial period, the oldest specimens are the Pascual 1 and Dr. 8 types found in Risan, Shkodra, Butrint, and the sea. Throughout the imperial period, Hispanic containers are documented in the main Roman centers in modern Albania, including amphorae produced in various workshops and intended for the transport of different products. The most common type is the Dressel 20, followed by Dr. 7/11 and, less often, other types such as the Beltran IIA and IIB.

Late Roman period

The Almagro 51 amphorae found in the Sobra (Mljet) shipwreck came together with African amphorae, tableware, and kitchen wares (Kisič 1987). Similarly, the Almagro 51c types found in the Dyrrachium 3 shipwreck were part of a mixed cargo that also included African (I, II, III) and Mauritanian (Keay I) amphorae (Anastasi and Capelli 2016). In the waters of southern Albania, late Hispanic amphorae are represented by the Dr. 23 and Beltrán 72 types (Royal 2018: 28-30).

On land, the Almagro 51 type also appears in Dyrrachium (Auriemma, Degrassi and Quiri 2012) and Butrint (Aleotti and Bolzoni 2018).

In Nicopolis, a doubtful Baetican pivot was attested in a deposit dated to the early 5th century, alongside other amphorae of miscellaneous origin (Reynolds and Pavlidis 2017).

C.D.M.

Preliminary conclusions

These are the preliminary results of a work in progress (**table 1**). For instance, the meaning of the absence or low proportion of certain materials in specific areas remains unclear. For the issue at hand, Epirus is like a black hole, where the presence of Hispanic amphorae is negligible. However, until approximately ten years ago, the Ionic Sea, especially its eastern shores, had witnessed very little archaeological activity, unlike the Aegean, on which most of the work of the Greek Department of Underwater Antiquities focused (Kourkoumelis 2013: 469). The situation has improved somewhat since, both on land and at sea, but the volume of information available is still fairly low, especially when compared with the north-central Adriatic region.

In general, Hispanic amphorae are present in this area, but only in small numbers. In the late Hellenistic period, their presence is dwarfed by that of Italic Adriatic productions. The circulation of goods and pottery from the Iberian Peninsula in the late Hellenistic period is, however, attested by a few specimens. Incidentally, the so-called "sombrero de copa" type, a type of *kalathos* with painted decoration, which was probably used in the honey trade, is found on both sides of the Adriatic, in Ancona and Salona (Puppo 2016). At the same time, a few larger containers, especially Hispanic Punic amphorae, are also found. However, only a few of these containers, whose chronology spans the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, have been found or identified in the late Hellenistic contexts of Shkodra, Orikos, and Butrint (De Mitri 2023b: 181-184).

Hispanic amphorae began to become more common from the mid-1st century BC, when several foodstuffs, such as olive oil, wine, and fish by-products, as well as other goods, especially metals, began flooding the Mediterranean markets (Berti 2017).

In fact, from the reign of Augustus and throughout the imperial period, Hispanic products are attested by amphorae intended to contain different foodstuffs and made in various workshops, especially in Baetica, whence they were shipped to the main centers in modern Albania. The Dressel 20 is the most widespread type, but the Dr. 7/11 and, less often, other shapes such as the Beltran IIA and IIB, are also found. The Dr. 28 type has also been reported, although the fragmentary state of the remains makes this classification uncertain. In this period, the Baetican products were more common than Lusitanian ones.

To date, the central and northern Adriatic area present a much greater number of finds than the southern Adriatic and the eastern Ionian regions. The wide dissemination of eastern Mediterranean products is striking. They are widely represented in several shipwrecks and terrestrial sites (Auriemma, Degrassi and Quiri 2015). On the Albanian Illyrian coast, some shipwrecks from the mid-imperial period have been recorded to include late Rhodian amphorae, but no Hispanic cargoes (Royal 2018). In contrast, on the Dalmatian coast and islands, some sites have yielded only Hispanic amphorae, for instance Pupak and Parzanj (Vrsalovic 2011). The somewhat later Gusteranski shipwreck (c. AD 200), carried a mixed cargo of Hispanic (Beltran IIB and Keay XVI) African and Italians containers (Jurisič 2000: 64).

From the late imperial period and during late antiquity there is a sharp decline in the number of Hispanic finds, which are reduced to the Lusitanian amphorae found in Durres, Butrint and nearby waters. In this period, the few attested Hispanic containers, basically the Almagro 51C type, are unevenly distributed and generally appear mixed with African shapes, for instance in the Dyrrachium 3 shipwreck (Anastasi and Capelli 2016). Other shipwrecks off Albania, such as Joni, dated to the late 4th century, carried African amphorae alongside eastern types (Royal 2018). Mixed cargoes are known in other shipwrecks dated to the late imperial period (Volpe 1998). As a rule, African products constitute the bulk of these cargoes. For instance, in the above noted 4th century Sobra shipwreck, off the island of Mljet, in southern

Dalmatia but very close to Illyria, five specimens of Hispanic Almagro 50 amphorae were found alongside 1,000 African Keay XXV and several African IID, as well as containers from other origins. It is assumed that these ships came from some important entrepot, probably Carthage (Auriemma, Pesavento and Mongardi 2016). The renewed trade patterns in the late empire have been linked to the *annona militaris* and the supply of the Danubian frontier (Kingsley 2008).

Therefore, the Iberian amphorae attested in Illyria and Epirus suggest an uneven distribution over time. Their presence in Albania is more common, but this is where excavation has been most intensive, while the Illyrian coast (Montenegro) coast and the coast of Epirus, on the eastern shore of the Ionian Sea, appear almost empty of Hispanic products. Future finds, both positive and/or negative, should confirm or modify these conclusions.

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Alka Starac

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN RELIEF POTTERY IN ISTRIA

Eastern Mediterranean relief pottery of the Hellenistic period is represented in Istria by cup fragments of so-called Ionic and Megarian bowls, and Pergamene skyphoi. Eastern Mediterranean pottery decorated in relief became more popular in Istria during the Early Imperial period: lamps, table and ritual vessels like cups and paterae are represented. Dionysiac motifs are dominant in categories of lamps and tableware, represented mainly by Corinthian cups. Paterae and oinophoroi of Cnidian production are represented in much smaller numbers. An intensive import of relief tableware and lamps from Eastern Mediterranean sources began in the 2nd century AD and lasted throughout the 3rd century. Corinthian and Cnidian products dominated. Corinthian and Attic lamps (which are present in much smaller quantities) were broadly used daily for lighting and in funerary rituals. Cnidian lamps stand out with their variety of shapes, rich relief decoration, numerous wick-holes and dominant cultic and representative character.

Cup – Eastern Mediterranean – Istria – lamp – patera

Eastern Mediterranean relief ware

Hellenistic and Early Imperial Eastern Mediterranean relief ware for cult purposes and serving wine stands out for its figural decoration. So-called Ionic bowls achieved great popularity from the 3rd to the early 1st century BC. They began to be produced in Ionic centres on the west coast of Asia Minor, and workshops soon sprang up throughout the entire Greek world and in regions under Greek influence. Ephesus remained one of the most important production centres (Rogl 2014). Some Ionic bowl fragments have been found in Pula, in layers that immediately preceded or corresponded to the construction of the Roman sanctuary of Hercules. The red slip orange clay bowl no. 1 shows dolphins below an astragal (**fig. 1, 1**). Dolphins (Rogl 2014: 132-133, fig. 18b) and astragals (Rogl 2008: 524, 526, fig. 4; 2014: 128, fig. 13.11) can be found on Ionic bowls that were manufactured in Ephesus. A workshop centre of Ionic bowls using astragals as a motif, active in the 3rd and 2nd century BC, is documented in Dyrrachium (Hidri 1988: 76, T. I, 6; T. II, 3; Šešelj 2005: 55, fig. 3). Dolphins also appear on Megarian bowls (Brusić 1999: 78-89, figg. 24, 26-28, 31-32; Kamenjarin 2014: 143, no. 5; 147, no. 15). A Megarian bowl mold with dolphins attests their production in Vis (Čargo 2007: 54). Ephesian Ionic bowl fragment no. 2 (**fig. 1, 2**) is made of orange clay and has a shiny brown slip (Rogl 2014: 122). A horizontally placed ovoid cyma, astragals and vegetable motifs appear on bowls of Asia Minor production from the 3rd to the 1st century BC (Mantovani 2021: 110, cat. 13; Rogl 2014: 126-128, fig. 13.2). Bowls with these motifs are attested on the eastern Adriatic coast (Brusić 1999: 93-95, figg. 37-39; Miše and Šešelj 2008: 114, fig. 2.2). The ovoid cyma characteristic for Ephesian bowls (Rogl 2014: 126) was largely adopted by local workshops in Greece during the 2nd century BC (Rogl 2008: 524-525).

Megarian bowls were first produced about 224-223 BC, first in Athens in molds which were taken directly from metal bowls or their casts, and soon after throughout the eastern and central Mediterranean. Their production in Italy lasted from 180 to 50 BC or a little later (Puppo 1995: 17, 32). Black slip gray clay fragment no. 3 (**fig. 1, 3**) shows a band of rosettes and vegetable motifs, present on Ionic (Brusić 1999: 95, fig. 39; Hidri 1988: 76, T. I, 1; T. II, 6; T. III, 5, *Dyrrachium* production; Horvat 1997: 102, T. 5, 8-9; Kamenjarin 2014: 137, 141, cat. 1, supposed to have come from the Resnik workshop; Rogl 2008: 526, fig. 4; Šešelj 2005: 55, fig. 4) and deeper Megarian bowls (Brusić 1999: 82, fig. 27; 93, fig. 37). Red slip orange clay fragment no. 4 of a Megarian bowl (**fig. 1, 4**) carries tiny triangular pinecone scales. This motif appears on Ionic-Ephesian bowls (Mantovani 2021: 110, cat. 14), Megarian bowls of Athenian production from the 2nd and the first quarter of the 1st century BC (Rotroff 2018), and Megarian bowls from *Dyrrachium* workshops (Hidri 1988: 76, T. I, 2, 6; T. II, 3; T. VII, 1; Šešelj 2005: 55, fig. 6). Numerous Megarian bowls decorated with triangular pinecone scales and their corresponding molds from Vis (*Issa*) and Resnik (*Siculi*) indicate local production in the central Adriatic area in the second half of the 2nd and in the 1st century BC (Brusić 1999: 13, 70, fig. 13, 77-78; Čargo 2007: 53, cat. 1, 56, cat. 12; Kamenjarin 2014: 135-137; Miše and Šešelj 2008: 114, fig. 2.6). Black slip gray clay Megarian bowl fragment no. 5 (**fig. 1, 5**) is decorated with rosettes and palmettes, with a foot in the shape of a theatrical comic mask. Supports in the form of comic and/or tragic masks were originally introduced on large moldmade bowls, which were used as kraters, of Corinthian production (Edwards 1975: 171-173, nos. 873-892). The features of Corinthian masks differ greatly from the example from Pula. Bowls and molds with three feet in the shape of theatrical masks, similar but

NO.	SITE / INV. NO. OR LABEL / PUBLICATION	TYPE	DECORATION	DIMENSIONS	PRODUCTION	DATATION
1	Pula / AMI-A-44070+ KAND 08 5621	Ionic bowl	astragal, dolphin	H. 3,5 cm, D. 13 cm	Eastern Mediterranean	220–50 BC
2	Pula / KAND 08 5076	Ionic bowl	ovoid cyma, astragal	H. 3,6 cm, D. 10 cm	Ephesus	220–50 BC
3	Pula / KAND 09 926	Megarian bowl	rosettes	H. 3,6 cm, D. 12 cm	Eastern Mediterranean or Adriatic?	200–50 BC
4	Pula / KAND 09 470	Megarian bowl	pinecone	H. 2 cm, D. bottom 4,5 cm	Eastern Mediterranean or Adriatic?	200–50 BC
5	Pula / AMI-A-44714	Megarian bowl	palm leaves, rosettes, theatrical comic mask	H. 3 cm, D. 13 cm	Eastern Mediterranean or Adriatic?	200–50 BC
6	Pula / KAND 07 5147	Pergamene skyphos	loving couple on a bed	D. 14 cm, D. ring foot 10 cm	Pergamon	150–50 BC
7	Pula / AMI-A-27769	Pergamene skyphos	garland of vines and grapes	H. 7 cm, D. mouth 12,5 cm, D. 14 cm	Pergamon	150–50 BC
8	Pula / Starac 2016: 228	Cnidian relief patera	Satyr attacking a Nymph playing the *cithara*	9 x 11 cm, D. ring foot 9 cm	Cnidus	1–100
9	Osor / Matijašić 1984: 52, no. 4	Cnidian relief patera	anatomical cuirass, *tropaeum*	4.3 x 4.6 cm	Eastern Mediterranean	100–300
10	Brijuni Kastrum / AMI-A-1892-BA	patera	tragical mask	H. 6,6 cm, handle section 1,7 x 2,2 cm, mask 2,7 x 2,4 x 2,8 cm	Eastern Mediterranean	1–500
11	Pula / Majkić 2010: 17, cat. 2	Corinthian cup 1, decoration II	battle scene	H. 5,7 cm	Corinth	150–300
12	Pula / AMI-A-42191	Corinthian cup 1.7, decoration II	battle scenes: D-A-D-I	H. 8,7 cm, D. 14,3 cm, D. ring foot 7 cm	Corinth	150–300
13	Pula / AMI-A-42193	Corinthian cup 1.3, decoration III	Dionysiac scenes: A(variant)-M-N-cypress c-C-[]-I-cypress c-B-cypress c	H. 8,7 cm, D. 16,4 cm, D. ring foot 9,3 cm	Corinth	150–300
14	Pula / AMI-A-42318	Corinthian cup 1.3, decoration III	Dionysiac scenes: G-cypress c	H. 7,7 cm, D. 15 cm	Corinth	150–300
15	Pula / AMI-A-42192	Corinthian cup 1, decoration III	Dionysiac scene A	H. 3,8 cm, D. 8 cm	Corinth	150–300
16	Pula / AMI-A-42194	Corinthian cup 1, decoration III	Dionysiac scenes: C-tree k-D	H. 5,2 cm, D. 8 cm	Corinth	150–300
17	Pula / AMI-A-47021	Corinthian cup 1, decoration III	Dionysiac scenes: LP-tree k	D. 12 cm, D. ring foot 5 cm	Corinth	150–300
18	Pula / Majkić 2010: 17, cat. 3	Corinthian cup 1.1, decoration III	Dionysiac scenes: A(variant)-tree l-G-L-B-F-N	H. 6,5 cm, D. 10,7 cm, D. ring foot 5 cm	Corinth	150–300
19	Pula / Maggi and Starac 2000: 354, cat. 24	Corinthian cup 1.1, decoration III	Dionysiac scene: pine tree g	3,6 x 5 cm, D. 11,5 cm	Corinth	150–300
20	? / Maggi and Starac 2000: 354, cat. 22	Corinthian cup 1.1, decoration III.6.2	Dionysiac scenes: B-tree l-[]-tree k-C-E-F	H. 5,3 cm, D. 8,7 cm, D. ring foot 5,7 cm	Corinth	150–300
21	Pula / Maggi and Starac 2000: 354, cat. 26	Corinthian cup 1.13.2, decoration III	Dionysiac scene G	4,1 x 4,5 cm, D 9,6 cm	Corinth	150–300
22	Pula / Maggi and Starac 2000: 354, cat. 25	Corinthian cup 1.19, decoration III	Dionysiac scene E	D. 7 cm, D. ring foot 4,7 cm	Corinth	150–300
23	? / Maggi and Starac 2000: 354, cat. 23	Corinthian cup 1, decoration III	Dionysiac scenes	D. 9 cm, D. ring foot 5,7 cm	Corinth	150–300
24	Pula / Majkić 2010: 17, cat. 1	Corinthian cup 1	-	D. 12 cm	Corinth	150–300
25	Pula / AMI-A-46454	oinophoros Hausmann III	Dionysiac scenes	D. 10 cm, H. handle 5 cm, D. handle 1,7 cm	Cnidus	100–300
26	Katoro / Bojić and Milošević 2010: 34-35	oinophoros Hausmann II	Dionysiac scenes		Cnidus	100–300

Table 1. Eastern Mediterranean relief ware pottery.

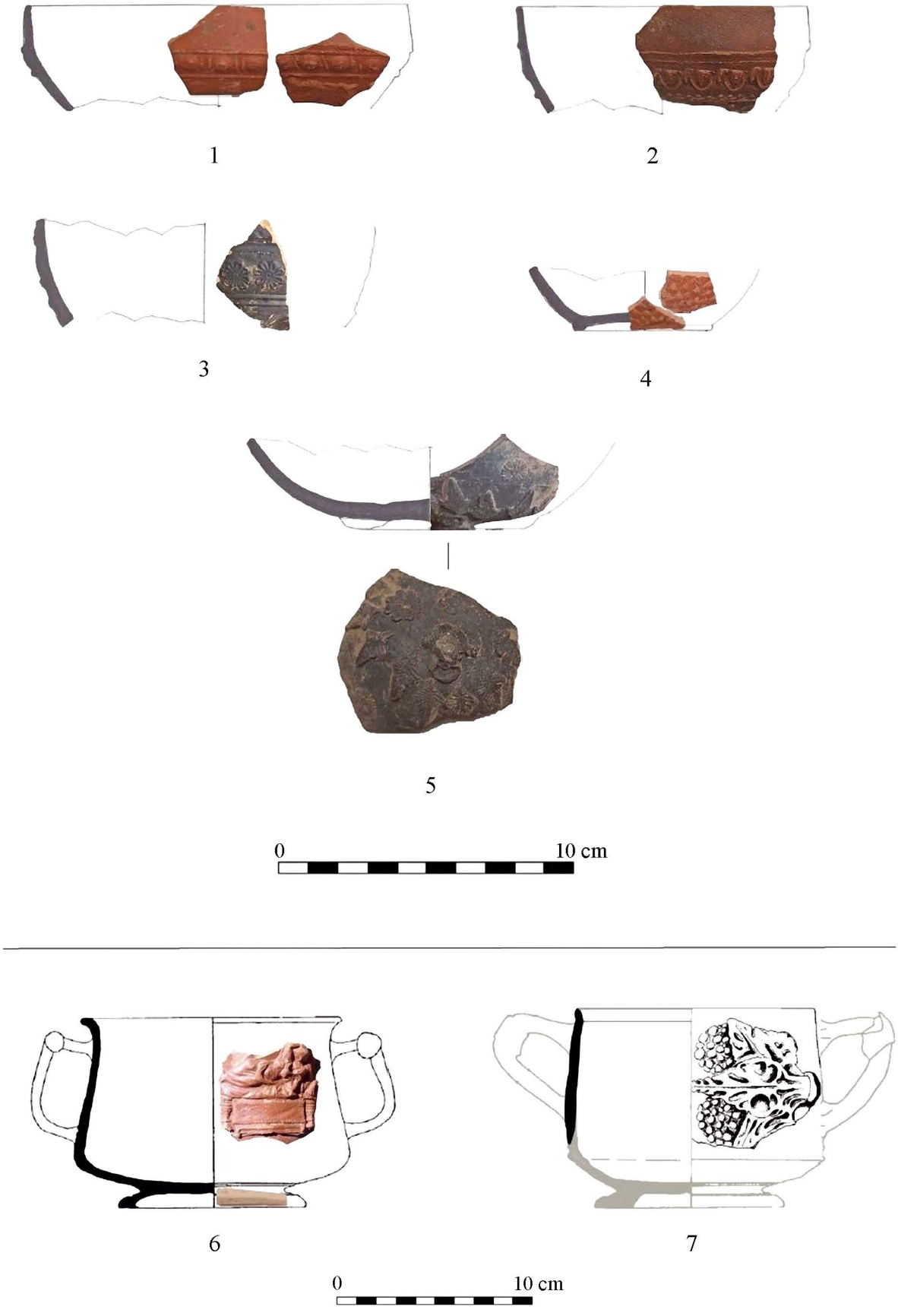


Fig. 1. 1-2: Ionic bowls; 3-5: Megarian bowls; 6-7; Pergamene skyphoi.

not identical to the fragment from Pula, are documented in Vis (Brusić 1999: 77, fig. 22; Čargo 2007: 56-57, cat. 11-12), Palagruža (Miše and Šešelj 2008: 114, fig. 2.5), Resnik and other Dalmatian sites (Brusić 1999: 14, 79-96, figg. 24, 27-28, 30, 32-33, 37, 40). Decoration with rosettes and palmettes is present on Megarian bowls and their molds in Corinth (Edwards 1975: 170, no. 842, 186, pl. 83, 942). Rosettes and palmettes are also widespread on Megarian bowls and corresponding molds in the eastern Adriatic (Brusić 1999: 13-14, 75, cat. 109, fig. 17, 81, fig. 26; Čargo 2007: 53-54; Kamenjarin 2014: 146, T. 3, 11). A particularly similar rosettes and palmettes pattern is documented on a Megarian bowl fragment from Resnik (Brusić 1999: 87, fig. 31, A188). All Hellenistic relief bowl fragments from Pula come from layers that are associated with the Late Republican sanctuary, which was replaced by the temple of Hercules in the third quarter of the 1st century BC.

Two fragmentary skyphoi from Pula were made in (a) Pergamene workshop(s), active from the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 1st c. BC. The fragment no. **6** with a red clay and a shiny red slip (**fig. 1.6**) shows a love scene that is identical to various Pergamene vessels (Bruneau 1991: 606, 609, 634-635, scene on cat. 61, crater no. 14, skyphos no. 42; Hübner 1993). Cup fragment no. 7 (**fig. 1.7**) with



Fig. 2. 9-10: Paterae; 12-17, 23: Corinthian cups; 25: Cnidian oinophoros.

a garland of vines and grapes, made of an orange red clay and with a matte red slip, is comparable to Hellenistic Pergamene skyphoi (Bruneau 1991: 609, 651, no. 23; 654, no. 52; Hübner 1993) as well as Pergamene lead glazed cups (De Luca 2000: 134, fig. 3i; Hübner 1993). Pergamene skyphoi depicting Heracles and Dionysiac figures have been found on the eastern Adriatic coast (Brusić 1999: 35, 124, fig. 64).

Two bottom fragments nos. 8-9 (**fig. 2, 8-9**) are decorated with figures on the interior, the exterior is concentrically grooved in imitation of bronze vessels. Fragment no. 8 with an ochre brown clay and matte red slip probably belonged to a patera of Cnidian production, which started in the beginning of the 1st century AD and evolved during that century (Brusić 1999: 126, fig. 70; Buora and Magnani 2016: 415-417, fig. 2; Mandel 2000). The patera fragment no. 9 (**fig. 2, 9**) is made of a porous ochre brown clay, has a weathered red slip, and is comparable with Cnidian paterae decorated with a *tropaeum* from Chieti, Alexandria and Aquileia (Mandel 2000: 58, fig. 2.8; Tortorici 1981a: 233, T. CXVIII, 1; Ventura and Maggi, in this volume). The patera handle with a polygonal section no. 10 (**fig. 2, 10**) is made of red clay that is orange toward the exterior, and with an uneven matte brown slip, came from an Eastern Mediterranean source (Mandel 2000: 58; Tortorici 1981a: 233, T. CXVIII, 1, Cnidian production, 1st-3rd century AD; 1981b: 254, T. CXXVIII, 3, Athenian production, 3rd-5th century AD). Ceramic relief paterae and jugs were used mostly for sacrificial pouring or ritual hand washing, as a cheaper imitation of bronze vases.

Figure-decorated Corinthian cups nos. 11-24 (**fig. 2, 12-17, 23**) date to the second half of the 2nd and the 3rd century AD[1]. They are made of an orange clay with a matte red slip that can be uneven, varying in dark brown tones. Corinthian cups are common in the northern and eastern Adriatic (Dobreva and Griggio 2021: 245-248, fig. 30). Battle scenes are displayed on cups nos. 11-12, while the others show Dionysiac scenes, and thus suitable as wine cups (Malfitana 2007: 105-108; Ventura and Maggi 2020: 164, fig. 2.1-10). Four Corinthian cups of different dimensions, nos. 12-15, were found in a small auxiliary kitchen full of cooking ware, which belonged to the inventory of a rich domus next to Hercules' sanctuary in Pula. All four cups bear a pearl band (Malfitana 2007: 119, fig. 60iv) below the relief field and belong to the one drinking set. Only cup no. 12 (**fig. 2, 12**) displays battle scenes (Brusić 1999: 129, figg. 76, 120-121; Malfitana 2007: 55, 101-104, fig. 22, II.2.1; Ventura and Maggi 2020: 163, fig. 1.5). Other large Corinthian cups that display Dionysiac scenes are nos. 13 (**fig. 2, 13**) (Malfitana 2007: 46-49, figg. 15, III.1.2, 17, III.2.1) and 14 (**fig. 2, 14**) (Malfitana 2007: 46-49, figg. 15-16; 107, 119, fig. 60, iv). Cup no. 15 (**fig. 2, 15**) with a pearl band from the same service is approximately twice as small (Brusić 1999: 129, figg. 77, 120; Malfitana 2007: 46-50, 105; Novšak and Žerjal 2008: 32, fig. 10).

Fragments of smaller Corinthian cups, nos. 16-17, from the same domus belong to another service which consists of vessels without a pearl band. Fragment no. 16 (**fig. 2, 16**) shows the same maenad and satyr scene as no. 13. This cup no. 13 is similar to a cup from Rome (Malfitana 2007: 177, III.1.5), and cup no. 16 to a cup from Corinth (Malfitana 2007: 179, III.4.3). Cup fragment no. 17 (**fig. 2, 17**) shows a goat and a male figure who is dressed in an *exomis*, and is carrying a *pedum* (Malfitana 2007: 107, scene LP).

A number of poorly preserved Corinthian cups from Pula show Dionysiac motifs: no. 18 (Malfitana 2007: 43, 105-108, 135, fig. 12, III.9.1; Novšak and Žerjal 2008: 32, fig. 10; Tortorici 1981b: 255), no. 19 (Malfitana 2007: 43-45, fig. 12, I.2.21), no. 20 (Buora 2005: 109, T. II, A; Malfitana 2007: 43, 106-108, 135; Novšak and Žerjal 2008: 32, fig. 10; Tortorici 1981b: 255, T. CXXIX, 4. An identical cup was found in *Doclea*: Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Velimirović-Žižić and Srejović 1975: 205-206, Grave 42, 2. Another fragment with the same scene was found in Pula: Maggi and Starac 2000: 354, cat. 26), no. 21 (Malfitana 2007: 72-73, fig. 37, III.35.47; Novšak and Žerjal 2008: 32, fig. 10), no. 22 (Malfitana 2007: 85-86, fig. 47, III.35.48), and 23 (**fig. 2, 18-23**) (Malfitana 2007: 40, 135; Tortorici 1981b: 255, T. CXXIX, 4), 24.

Closed forms are represented by Cnidian oinophoroi nos. 25-26. The peak in their production and distribution was in the 2nd-3rd century AD (Bailey 1979: 257; Hausmann 1955; Tortorici 1981a: 234). Cnidian oinophoroi are widely documented in northeastern Italy and Liburnia (Brusić 1999: 38-41; 1999-2000: 84; Dobreva and Griggio 2021: 253-257, figg. 36-38, T. X, 8-11). The brown clay with uneven dark brown slip of oinophoros fragment no. 25 (**fig. 2, 25**) was found in a domus next to Hercules' sanctuary in Pula, the same place from where Corinthian cups nos. 13-18 originated. The fragment belongs to a bottle of Hausmann type III (Hausmann 1955: T. 43-45; Bailey 1979: 262, D1; Tortorici 1981a: 234, T. CXX, 1), presumably with single figures between vines on the opposite sides. Usually, Dionysus is depicted on one side and one Dionysiac figure or group of Dionysiac figures on the other (Brusić 1999: 126, figg. 71-72; Zhuravlev 2017: 117, fig. 1, 3). Besides Dionysiac figures, the combination of other divinities like Asclepius and Hygieia or Hercules and Hermes also occur (Zhuravlev 2017: 117, fig. 1). Oinophoros no. 26 belongs to Hausmann type II (Hausmann 1955: T. 46, 1-2; Brusić 1999: 127, fig. 72; Tortorici 1981a: 234, T. CXX, 2).

Lamps

The Archaeological Museum of Istria holds in its collection imported Late Hellenistic Greek lamps which were found at now unknown locations in Istria. The Agora type 50A lamp fragment no. 27 (**fig. 3, 27**), made of orange clay and with a matte red slip, belongs to the Greek production datable from the end of the 2nd to the end of the 1st century BC (Bailey 1975: 30, 64, Q106, Athenian production; Broneer 1930: 61-66, fig. 27; Howland 1958: 171, cat. 668, Cnidian production). The Agora type 54A orange clay lamp with a peeled matte red slip no. 28 (**fig. 3, 28**) belongs to the Attic production from the beginning of the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD. This latter lamp type remained popular in Greece during the reign of Augustus (Broneer 1930: 61-66; Howland 1958: 197, cat. 767).

[1] I thank Diana Dobreva and Kathleen W. Slane for their friendliness and information regarding these finds.

NO.	SITE / INV. NO. / PUBLICATION	TYPE	DECORATION	DIMENSIONS	INSCRIPTION / SIGNATURE	PRODUCTION	DATATION
27	? / AMI-A-4679	Agora 50A	Shoulder: wreath	H. 3,1 cm, W. 7,5 cm, L. 11 cm		Greece	100–1 BC
28	? / AMI-A-4685	Agora 54A	Shoulder: olive wreath	H. 3,4 cm, W. 7,3 cm, L. 9.9 cm		Athens	100–1 BC
29	Pula / Mlakar 1970: 7, T. I, 4	Loeschcke V	Shoulder: ovules	H. 2,4 cm, W. 3,3 cm, L. 6 cm	CΠωCI	Corinth	100–200
30	? / AMI-A-4993	Loeschcke V	Shoulder: leaves	H. 4 cm, W. 7 cm, L. 11 cm		Asia Minor, Ephesus	70–130
31	? / AMI-A-4688	Loeschcke VIII	Discus: fourteen-petals rosette	H. 2,4 cm, W. 8 cm, L. 10,4 cm	RΩMANH/ ƧIƧ	Cnidus	100–130
32	? / AMI-A-4448	Loeschcke VIII	Discus: cantharus	H. 2,7 cm, W. 6,7 cm, L. 8,7 cm		Cnidus?	100–200.
33	Pula / AMI-A-4701	Loeschcke VIII	Discus: ten-petals rosette	H. 2,7 cm, W. 7,5 cm, L. 9,7 cm		Cnidus?	100–200
34	Brijuni Kastrum / AMI-A-1871-BA	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: eight-petals rosette	H. 4,6 cm, W. 6,8 cm, L. 11.2 cm	footprint	Cnidus	100–200
35	Pula / Mlakar 1970: 7, T. I, 3	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius. Shoulder: ovules	H. 4,8 cm, W. 9 cm, L. 10,8 cm		Corinth	100–200
36	? / AMI-A-4994	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius	H. 4,4 cm, W. 6,6 cm, L. 9,9 cm		Corinth	100–200
37	Pula / Mlakar 1970: 7, T. II, 2	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: Pygmy and crane fight. Shoulder: ovules	H. 0,8 cm, W. 7,5 cm, L. 8,2 cm		Corinth	100–200
38	Veštar / Starac 1995: 5, T. II, 4	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: fisherman. Shoulder: ovules	H. 4,5 cm, W. 8,6 cm, L. 11 cm	AΓHMONOC	Corinth	100–200
39	Veštar / Starac 1995: 5, T. II, 1	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: woman bathing (Aphrodite?). Shoulder: ovules	H. 4,5 cm, W. 8,6 cm, L. 11 cm	EYΓ[O]ΔOY	Corinth	100–200
40	Veštar / Starac 1995: 5, T. II, 2	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: erotic scene	H. 4,3 cm, W. 8 cm, L. 11 cm	[E]ΠA[ΓAΘ] OY	Corinth	100–200
41	Veštar / Starac 1995: 5, T. III, 1	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: Perseus carrying Medusa head. Shoulder: ovules	H. 4,5 cm, W. 8,6 cm, L. 11 cm		Corinth	100–200
42	? / AMI-A-5834	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: crouching lion	H. 1 cm, W. 7,7 cm, L. 8 cm		Athens	200–400
43	Pula / AMI-A-45938	Loeschcke VIII with handle	Discus: Medusa. Shoulder: ovules	H. 2,5 cm, W. 7,5 cm, L. 8,4 cm		Eastern Mediterranean	180–400
44	? / AMI-A-47089	Egyptian lamp	Shoulder: wheat ears	H. 2,4 cm, W. 6,2 cm, L. 7,8 cm	seven-petals rosette, semicircles	Egypt	100–300
45	? / AMI-A-4800a	Ship-shaped lamp	Discus: Hermes	H. 1,3 cm, W. 6 cm, L. 9,4 cm		Cnidus	70–120
46	? / AMI-A-5756	Loeschcke XX imitation	Handle horse, flower	H. 5,2 cm, W. 6,3 cm, L. 2,7 cm		Cnidus	70–150
47	Pula / Gnirs 1912: 258	triple lampstand	Discus: eighteen-petals rosette. Base: three comic masks, two garlands, five-petals rosette, flutings	H. 18,9 cm, W. 18,6 cm, L. 9 cm		Cnidus	70–120
48	Pula / Starac 1997: 172, T. XV, 1	triple lampstand	Base: Eros holding downturned torch	H. 12,8 cm, W. 5,9 cm, L. 5,5 cm		Cnidus	70–120
49	Pula / Bradara 2000: 106, 122, cat. 173	triple lampstand-censer	Discus: eighteen-petals rosette. Shoulder: wreath with buds. Handle palm. Base: Eros asleep, pinecone, three comic masks, two garlands, six-petals rosette	H. 20 cm, W. 18,2 cm, L. 9,2 cm	ΘEOIC ΛA[BE]	Cnidus	70–120
50	Pula / Starac 1998: 56, 75, cat. 203	triple lampstand	-	H. 5,5 cm, W. 3,9 cm, L. 1,9 cm		Cnidus	70–120
51	Poreč / Kovačić 2006: 17, cat. 23	triple lampstand	Base: theatrical mask	H. 7,9 cm, W. 6 cm		Cnidus	70–120
52	Loron / Kovačić 2006: 17, cat. 24	triple lampstand	Base: theatrical mask	H. 5 cm, W. 4,5 cm, L. 2,7 cm		Cnidus	70–120

Table 2. Eastern Mediterranean lamps.

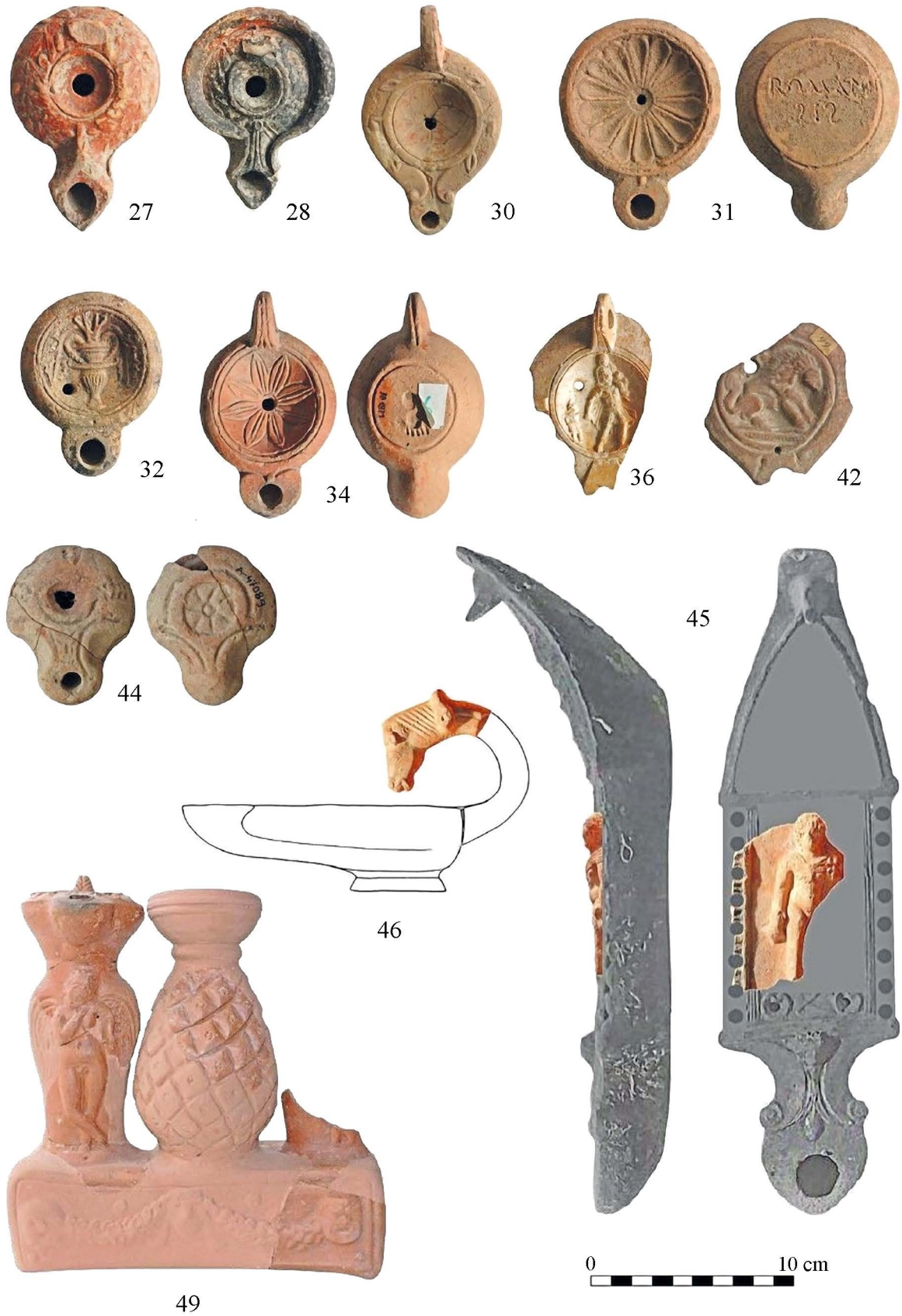


Fig. 3. 27-28: Hellenistic lamps; 30: Loeschcke type V; 31-32, 34, 36, 42: Loeschcke type VIII; 44: Egyptian lamp; 45: Ship-shaped lamp; 46: Loeschcke type XX (clay); 49: Triple lampstand-censer.

Type Loeschcke V is represented by two lamps. The small red clay lamp no. 29 with signature CΠωCI(ANOY) came from a Corinthian workshop (Bailey 1988: 104, 129, Q3241, Q3256; Broneer 1930: 193, cat. 599; 211, cat. 778-779). The orange clay with matte red slip lamp no. 30 (**fig. 3, 30**), with relief leaves Broneer 10 and shoulder profile Loeschcke 7B, originated from the Asia Minor coast, probably Ephesus, and dates to the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD (Bailey 1988: 375, Q3036; Broneer 1930: 80-83).

A number of Loeschcke VIII lamps found in Istria also originated from overseas workshops, mostly Corinh and Cnidus. The ochre orange clay with matte red slip lamp no. 31 (**fig. 3, 31**) has a shoulder profile conform Loeschcke 6B, a H/Bailey Cn.A2 nozzle, and carries a signature reading RΩMANH/ƧIƧ belonging to a Cnidian workshop that was active in the first third of the 2nd century AD (Bailey 1988: 100, 126, 346, Q2782; Vikić-Belančić 1971: 109, cat. 192). The ochre orange clay with matte red slip lamp no. 32 (**fig. 3, 32**) has a shoulder profile Loeschcke 6B and a nozzle L2/ Bailey Cn.D. Nozzle shape, clay quality and choice of motifs all correspond to Cnidian lamps with a cantharus and the signature Romanesis (Bailey 1988: 50, 346-347, Q2786-Q2789, Q2800). Lamp no. 33 with a shoulder profile Loeschcke 6B and nozzle L2/Bailey Cn.B can be attributed to Cnidian workshops of the 2nd century AD, according to its hard orange clay with uneven glossy brown red slip and when compared to similar lamps with the Romanesis (Bailey 1988: 346, Q2782). The Cnidian lamp with an orange clay and an uneven matte red slip no. 34 (**fig. 3, 34**) has a shoulder profile as Loeschcke 6A and a nozzle H/Bailey Cn.A2. Its base carries a footprint with separate toes, typical for lamps made in Cnidus in the 2nd century AD (Bailey 1988: 137, fig. 143, Q2937; 343, Q2753; 345, Q2770). Corinthian lamps Broneer XXVII group 3, made of a yellow buff or pale orange clay without slip, usually have a shoulder which is decorated with ovules and two opposite false suspension lugs (Broneer 1930: 90-102). Corinthian lamps nos. 35-36 (**fig. 3, 35-36**) are decorated with Aeneas carrying his father Anchises and leading his son Ascanius on the run from Troy (Bailey 1988: 38; Broneer 1930: 102). Lamp no. 37 depicts a fight between a pygmy and a crane (Bailey 1988: 40, Q2931; Broneer 1930: 200, cat. 654-655). Four Corinthian lamps, nos. 38-41, were found in a family tomb in Veštar (*Vistrum*) near Rovinj. No. 38 carries the signature AΓHMONOC (Broneer 1930: 188, cat. 561), no. 39 the signature EYT[YXE]ΔOY (Bailey 1988: 102; Bruneau 1977: 294-295, figg. 53-54, no. 84), and no. 40 that of [E]ΠA[ΓAΘ]OY (Bailey 1988: 102; Broneer 1930: 188, cat. 557; Bruneau 1977: 276, no. 67). Lamp no. 42 (**fig. 3, 42**) depicts a crouching lion. The clay is red brown and hard with a matte red brown slip. This lamp originated from an Attic workshop of the 3rd-4th century AD (Brando 2015: 136-137; Perlzweig 1961: 130, cat. 974; Vučić 2009: 42-43, cat. 104). The Eastern Mediterranean lamp no. 43 is found in the bathroom of the domus that was located next to the sanctuary of Hercules in Pula, where also Corinthian cups nos. 12-17 were found. The clay is hard, ochre brown and contains tiny white and shiny inclusions, and has a damaged matte red slip. The lamp dates from the end of the 2nd to the end of the 4th century AD (Perlzweig 1961: 17-22, 118, no. 771). The same type of lamp was found in Salona with ovules, the same depiction of Medusa, and bears the Greek letter Φ (Mardešić 2002: 357, cat. 17). Analogous Medusa lamps of possible Moesian production were found in *Troesmis* (Topoleanu 2016: 68-69, cat. 9).

The only known Egyptian lamp in Istria is no. 44 (**fig. 3, 44**) and belongs to the Egyptian production of the 2nd-3rd century AD (Bailey 1988: 225, 254, Q2089; Vikić-Belančić 1971: 102, T. III, 4). The clay is ochre red, sandy, and with peeled matte red slip.

Cnidian lamps with unusual shapes are represented by lamps nos. 45-46 and the triple lampstands nos. 47-52. Lamp no. 45 (**fig. 3, 45**), which must have had at least seventeen wick-holes, is shaped as a ship, which gives the impression of Hermes 'standing' on its deck. The clay is orange and hard, and without slip. The clay quality, and the lamp's form and decoration indicate a Cnidian production datable to 70-120 AD (Bailey 1988: 6, fig. 8, Q2723; 340, Q2723). The lamp was probably made in the shape of a ship with a high stern, and had a voluted nozzle. Large lamps in the shape of a ship, which were mostly used in the Isis cult, were produced throughout the Empire (Bailey 1988: 340, Q2722-Q2726; Bricault 2020: 191-199, figg. 120-130; Mardešić 2002: 354, 360, cat. 42; Perlzweig 1961: 121, 805; Shehi 2016: 305-308). As a protector of travelers, Hermes was compatible with the navigational aspect of the Isis cult without having any attribute of the Egyptian gods (Bricault 2020: 257-258, fig. 155). Fragment no. 46 represents a horsehead emerging from a flower stem (**fig. 3, 46**). The clay is hard and brown, and is without slip. It can be attributed to Cnidian workshops that were active from 70 to 150 AD (Bailey 1988: 339, Q2716-Q2718; Ventura and Maggi in print, in this volume). Mostly, but not exclusively, bronze lamps with horsehead handles were of Loeschcke type XX, and were imitated in clay in the provinces for centuries (Bussière and Lindros Wohl 2017: 427-428, cat. 581; Korać 2018: 393-396; Krunić 2011: 260-262, cat. 410-411; Perlzweig 1961: 159, cat. 2032-2033). Triple lampstands represent a special group of Cnidian lamps. The early Cnidian lampstand no. 47 was found in the Small Roman Theatre in Pula and dates to the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD (Bailey 1988: 329, 340-342, Q2727-Q2729, Q2738; Bradara 2000: 106; Mardešić 2002: 354, 360, cat. 38). The same applies to the lampstand fragment with Eros holding a downturned torch no. 48, and to the lampstand-censer no. 49 (**fig. 3, 49**) with a thymiaterion bowl on a pinecone support between two lamp supports, with an asleep Eros and a votive inscription ΘEOIC ΛA[BE] which was incised before firing (Bailey 1988: 340-341, Q2727, Q2735; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1988: 387, cat. 1082; Slane 1994: 135, fig. 5.18). The lampstand-censer was found in a building with an apse near the Pula Forum, associated with the Jupiter Sabazius' cult (Starac 2023: 329-332). Similar Cnidian triple lampstands with Harpocrates instead of Eros come from Salona (Mardešić 2002: 354, cat. 39) and Zadar (Vučić 2009: 42-43, cat. 103). Triple lampstand base fragments nos. 50-52 further confirm their use in Istria in both public and private spheres.

Conclusion

Hellenistic relief pottery from Eastern Mediterranean production centres is represented in Istria by fragments of Ionic and Megarian bowls, and Pergamene skyphoi. Eastern Mediterranean relief pottery became more popular in Istria in the Early Imperial period. The majority is represented by Cnidian and Corinthian products: mostly lamps, then cups, oinophoroi and paterae. Dionysiac motifs are dominant in both categories, that is, lamps and tableware. Tableware is represented mainly by Corinthian cups with Dionysiac scenes, much less so by Cnidian paterae and oinophoroi. Figure-decorated Eastern Mediterranean tableware and lamps are relatively rare in Istria during the 1st century BC and 1st century AD. An intensive import from Corinth and Cnidus began in the 2nd and lasted throughout the 3rd century AD. Attic lamps appeared in Istria in small numbers continuously throughout the Imperial period. Corinthian lamps were used for daily lighting and in funerary rituals, while Cnidian lamps had a predominantly cultic character. Last, Cnidian triple lampstands were used in public buildings and in rich private villas.

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EL PROYECTO *CORPUS VASORUM HISPANORUM*: PRINCIPALES RESULTADOS

The results of a research project focused on the analysis of precocturam *epigraphic marks on Hispanic* terra sigillata *located in the Lusitania province are presented. This study was based on an exhaustive compilation of data both from museums and archaeological sites, giving priority to those that had contextual data. To manage the data, an online and open real-time database was developed. This platform had a specific template for each of the pieces containing morphological, contextual, chronological data and graphic documentation.*
Additionally, this project included an analytical component, using archaeometric methods that helped to confirm some production centers in the region. As a result, this study has contributed to redefining the commercial, epigraphic and anthroponymic landscape of a production on a topic, that of the sigilla*, an area that had not been extensively evaluated previously.*

Sigilla – epigraphy – antroponymy – *terra sigillata* – Lusitania

1. Introducción

Presentamos un trabajo que consideramos el broche final a un proyecto que, bajo el título *Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum. Análisis tipológico, cronológico y prosopográfico de los sigilla en terra sigillata hispanica a partir de los centros consumidores*[1], ha pretendido analizar el comercio de la *terra sigillata* hispánica en ámbito lusitano, a partir de sus marcas epigráficas *pre-cocturam*. El montante de *sigilla* recopilados asciende a 2100 ejemplares y se encuentran diseminados, en distinto grado de entidad, por toda la provincia más occidental de la península ibérica, la Lusitania.

La motivación de haber elegido esta provincia se basa en la experiencia previa del equipo de trabajo pero, además, por ser la provincia de la que menos datos teníamos sobre la producción de este tipo de vajilla. De hecho, este estudio ha ayudado, de manera acertada, a ampliar los datos sobre el único centro productor atestiguado en esta provincia, *Caesarobriga*, actual Talavera de la Reina (para más datos ver Castelo et al. 2022).

Esta labor ha sido fruto de un esfuerzo interdisciplinar y coral, siendo esta última característica básica y necesaria al haberse desarrollado durante el periodo de máxima efervescencia de la pandemia Covid-19.

Con esta aportación pretendemos exponer las principales líneas maestras del proyecto CVH que, de manera extensa, cuenta ya con una publicación monográfica (Bustamante-Álvarez y Viegas 2022), así como con una aplicación informática de consulta *open access* (https://demo.threedcloud.com/CVH/).

2. Sobre la filosofía del proyecto CVH

El proyecto CVH surgió de la necesidad imperiosa de poner cierto orden a la práctica del sellado epigráfico *pre-cocturam* en lo referido a la *terra sigillata* hispánica. A diferencia de lo que ocurre con la sigillata itálica y gálica, con intentos interdisciplinares por aportar seriaciones basadas en estudios contextuales y antroponímicos, la *terra sigillata* hispánica no ha gozado de estos esfuerzos. Esto no es óbice para que haya intentos loables por establecer elencos de alfareros (Mezquíriz 1985 o Sáenz y Sáenz 1999), empero, sin aportar datos reflexivos sobre los mismos.

Ante esto tomamos como laboratorio de pruebas una provincia, la Lusitania, y procedimos a una primera recopilación de corte historiográfico que cimentase una posterior pesquisa de piezas inéditas en Museos, así como depósitos de yacimientos. Este plan de trabajo, en múltiples ocasiones, ha sufrido cierta ralentización por la presencia de algunos obstáculos -piezas no clasificadas, materiales sin datos contextuales, accesos limitados a las colecciones, adscripciones incorrectas, entre otras- que hemos podido ir salvando de manera lenta. Además, hay que tener presente que esta aproximación no está cerrada y que evidentemente, por suerte, la Arqueología sigue exhumando a diario datos que podrán ayudar a confirmar, desmontar o ampliar las hipótesis que proponemos.

[1] Este estudio ha sido financiado gracias al proyecto *Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum. Análisis tipológico, cronológico y prosopográfico de los sigilla en terra sigillata hispanica a partir de los centros consumidores* (PGC2018-093478-A-I00 - Convocatoria Proyectos de Excelencia - Plan Estatal de Generación de Conocimiento - Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades - España), así como, al proyecto *Aplicación de nuevas tecnologías para el desarrollo del Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum. Una herramienta para análisis tipológico, cronológico y prosopográfico de los sigilla en Terra Sigillata Hispánica* - Programa Logos - Fundación BBVA y Sociedad de Estudios Clásicos.

Un trabajo de estas características presentaba un primer hándicap en su desarrollo; que el volumen esperable de piezas era amplio y, además, era necesario contar con herramientas de gestión de datos ágiles que permitieran rápidos análisis estadísticos. Ante esto, se ha diseñado una aplicación informática mediante código libre: htlm5, JavaScript, php, basándose en librerías estándares del tipo Bootstrap y jQuery (Angás y Bustamante-Álvarez 2022) que ha dado soporte a un módulo público y otro privado (**fig. 1**).

Al módulo privado, únicamente, podían acceder los componentes del equipo de investigación y permitía el compilado una serie de campos que tenían su reflejo en un apartado público en el cual se podía filtrar y buscar contenidos específicos. En concreto toda la información se ha recopilado en el apartado privado 7 grandes apartados:

. *Registro*: donde se incluye el número de inventario, así como una indicación a si se encontraba o no inédito.

. *Sigillum*: donde se aborda el tipo de sello, texto, transcripción, alfarero, si aparece inserto o no en un círculo inciso o las dimensiones de la cartela.

. *Soporte del texto*: tipo de cartela, forma de la pieza, estado de conservación, taller así como otras posibles prácticas epigráficas (grafitos).

. *Elementos gráficos*: dibujo de la pieza, fotografía, modelo 3d en la plataforma gráfica Sketchfab, modelo 3D en plataforma gráfica y métrica threeDcloud y fotografía de otras posibles prácticas epigráficas (grafitos).

. *Contexto*: tanto de hallazgo como de localización actual.

. *Otros datos de interés*.

. *Bibliografía* si la pieza no fuera inédita.

Todos estos datos, incluidos en la plataforma, permiten al usuario filtrar y buscar tomando como parámetros algunas palabras claves: alfareros, lugar de procedencia, depósito, datación, tipo de cartela, forma, así como un campo que permite incluir nombres de alfareros fragmentados y proceder a su adscripción.

Esta plataforma nos ha permitido albergar más de 2042 *sigilla* de los que *ca*. el 40% se encontraban inéditos, el 97% presentan datos de procedencia y el 60% cuentan con información contextual. Este panorama ha ayudado a presentar novedades de gran interés para el análisis del marcado epigráfico.

3. La *terra sigillata* hispánica en la provincia Lusitania

Gracias al volcado en la aplicación informática CVH de este amplio número de sellos, aportamos una serie de datos genéricos que afectan, no sólo al comercio cerámico en esta provincia, además, aportan pinceladas sobre el modo productivo.

3.1. Sobre los talleres productores

Una de las principales dudas que teníamos a la hora de evaluar el comercio de la *terra sigillata* en ámbito lusitano era saber cuáles eran los talleres que abastecieron a esta provincia. Además, debemos de tener presente que la Lusitania no poseía grandes centros de producción como sí sucedía en la Tarraconense o en la Bética. Para la Lusitania contamos, hasta la actualidad, con un único taller localizado en el entorno de *Caesarobriga* del que, únicamente, teníamos algunos instrumentos artesanales descontextualizados (Juan Tovar 1983), así como evidencias arqueométricas que apuntan a una captación de materias primas del entorno geográfico más inmediato (Castelo et al. 2022).



Fig. 1. Captura de pantalla de la plataforma CVH. El QR da acceso a la misma.

Otro de los debates historiográficos históricos sería la presencia o no de un taller de sigillatas en la capital de la provincia, *Augusta Emerita* (desde Mayet 1970 hasta el más reciente Jerez Linde 2016). Estas hipótesis se han ido rebatiendo, fundamentalmente, a partir de análisis arqueométricos (caso de Mayet 1984 o Madrid y Buxeda 2013). Sin embargo, recientemente Jerez Linde (2016) propuso una interesante línea de investigación a partir de un nuevo sello AVG EME.

Por ello, uno de los apartados fundamentales de este proyecto era plantear una aproximación arqueométrica a este sello AVG EME y a otras marcas históricas aludidas en este extenso debate: *Attius Paternus, CIAEIGLO, Flaccus Tritiensis, Lapillus, Octavius Maternus, Petronius Ero* o *Sempronius, Valerius Paternus*. En este caso, todos estos alfareros, junto a AVG EME, presentan una procedencia claramente norteña, diluyéndose, de nuevo, la posibilidad de que estemos ante un taller emeritense (Dorado y Bustamante-Álvarez 2022).

El análisis de todos los sellos nos ha permitido definir que más del 99% de los *sigilla* procede de los talleres de la Rioja, concretamente de Arenzana de Abajo, Arenzana de Arriba (La Puértola, La Cerceda o la Puebla), Bezares (Los Morteros) o Tricio (Prado Alto, Los Pozos o El Quemao). De los talleres de la Bética, encontramos la débil presencia de los talleres de Andújar con, escasamente, 0.4%, muy concentrado al sur de la provincia. En relación al taller de ámbito provincial localizado en *Caesarobriga*, su impacto apenas llega al 0.1% de la recopilación y se concentran, únicamente, en el *municipium* y su *ager*.

3.2. Sobre la cronología

Uno de los principales problemas del estudio de las *sigillatas* hispánicas es la escasez de datos estratigráficos que afecten tanto a los centros productores como a los consumidores. Esta problemática, en parte, fue evaluada por nosotros a propósito del análisis de la capital de la Lusitania, Mérida (Bustamante-Álvarez 2013).

El conjunto de *sigilla* analizado presenta un elevado número de piezas de los que contamos datos sobre su procedencia (*ca.* 97%), sin embargo, sólo el 60% se complementaban con información contextual. Teniendo presente estos datos concluimos la siguiente información:

. el 20% de los sellos se concentra en el tercer cuarto del I d.C.

. el 40% de las marcas se ubican en un arco concentrado entre fines del I y muy inicios del II d.C.

. el 22% se ubican en la primera mitad del II d.C.

. el 10% se concretan en la segunda mitad del II d.C.

. el 8% proceden de contextos ubicados cronológicamente más allá de la mitad del II d.C. De ellas consideramos que un 6% serían residuales y un 8% correspondería con las producciones más tardías en el tiempo, concretamente, aquellas letras incluidas dentro de los discursos decorativos de las producciones de *Caesarobriga*.

Es evidente que esta muestra afecta a una provincia con unas características comerciales muy concretas que, fundamentalmente, se basan en que los centros productores que lo abastecen se encuentran alejados por lo que los ritmos de distribución pueden presentar ciertos decalajes.

A pesar de ello, podría ser sintomático el arco cronológico definido entre época Flavia hasta la mitad del II d.C. con un clavo hiato a partir de mitad del II d.C. cuando las evidencias que aparecen son bien piezas residuales o bien prácticas decorativos con presencia de sellos, concretamente, los localizados en el taller de *Caesarobriga* (**fig. 2**).

3.3. Sobre el soporte

El análisis estadístico sobre el tipo de soporte que recepciona estos sellos nos habla de una apabullante presencia sobre copas/cuencos (74%), frente a un 22% sobre plantos. Además, hay una serie de piezas (*ca*. 4%) que el grado de fragmentación que presentan no permite definir ante qué

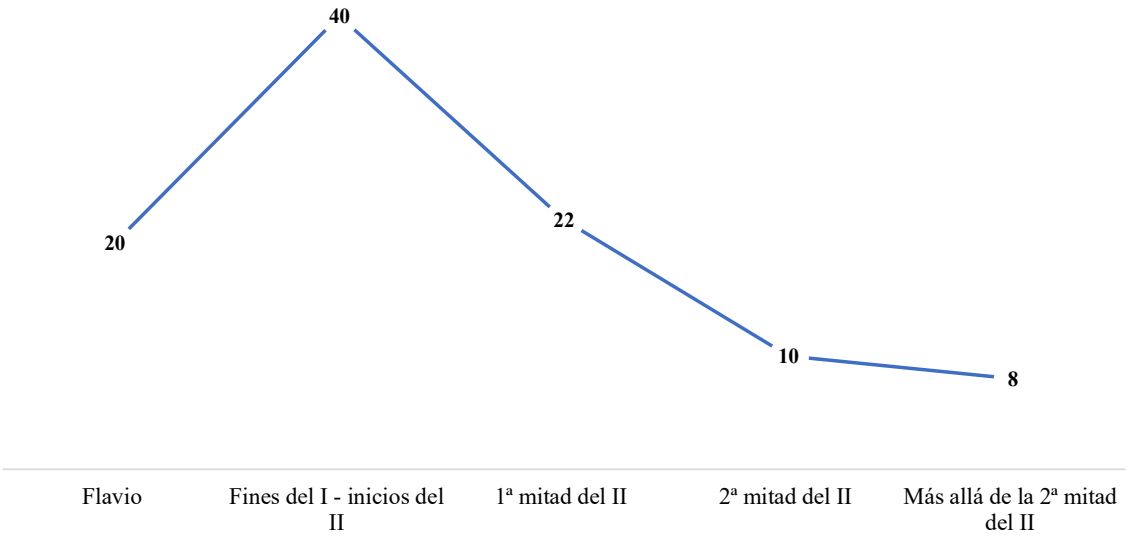


Fig. 2. Porcentajes de aparición de sellos por cronología.

estamos (**fig. 3**). Hay que unirle un ejemplar de *signaculum* procedente del taller de *Caesarobriga* (Juan Tovar 1983) que consideramos un *unicum* no sólo en la Lusitania, además en ámbito peninsular.

En relación a las formas concretas diagnosticadas, sobre salen las copas Hisp. 27, así como las Hisp. 15/17. Por consiguiente, las formas principalmente selladas corresponden al principal servicio hispánico formado por la Hisp. 27 y 15/17 (**fig. 4**).

3.4. Sobre la morfología

Los sellos localizados, en más de 99%, aparecen insertos dentro de una cartela. Frente a esta práctica también hay algunos ejemplares sin ningún tipo de cartucho que delimite el mensaje epigráfico, práctica que se focaliza, en exclusividad, en los sellos intradecorativos (**fig. 5**).

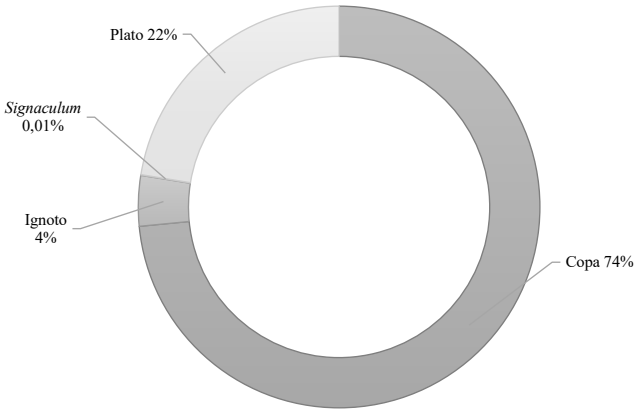


Fig. 3. Gráfico sinóptico sobre las categorías de formas selladas.

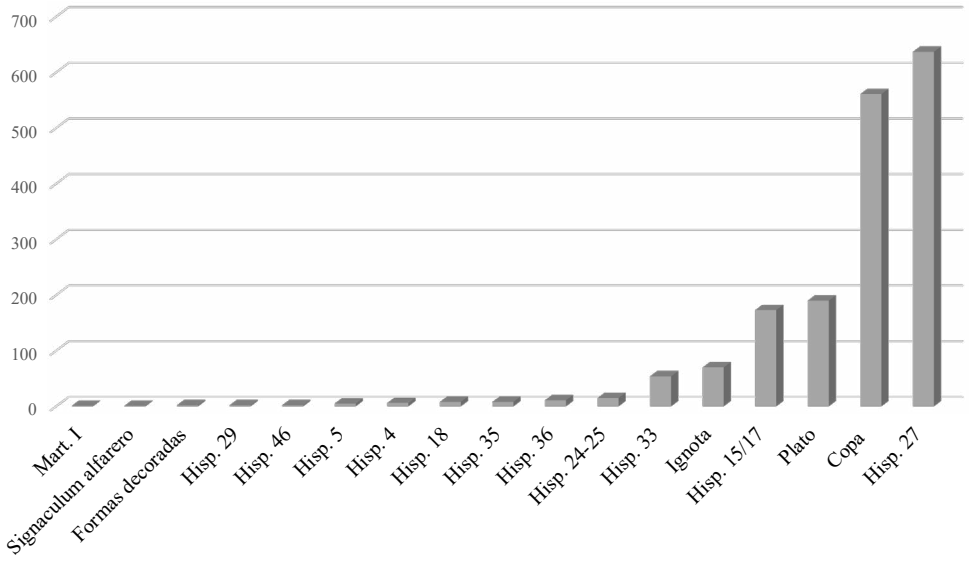


Fig. 4. Principales tipos de recipientes sellados.

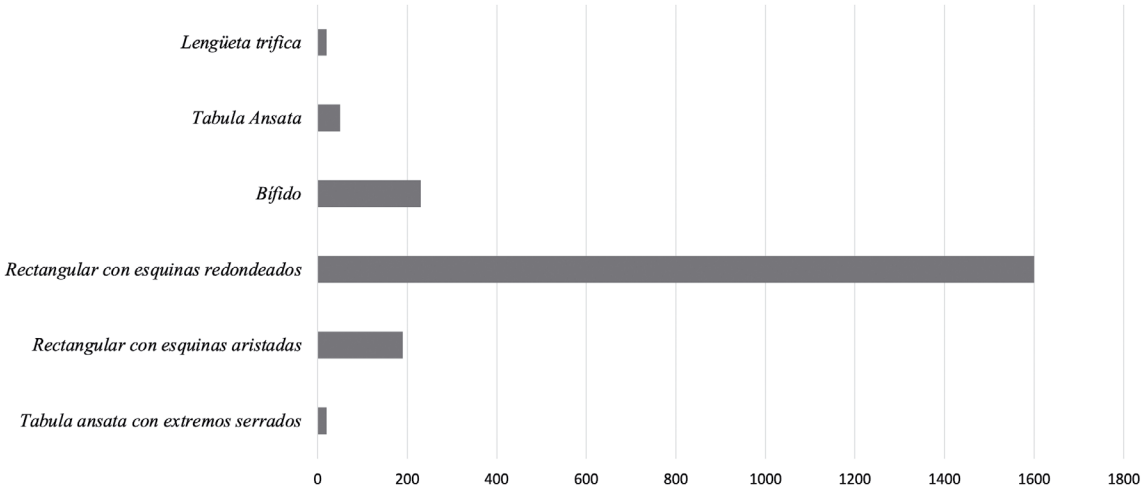


Fig. 5. Principales tipos de cartelas.

Además, en un 80% de los ejemplares se repite la práctica de que los sellos aparecen insertos dentro de un círculo hecho a mano alzada que centra el cartucho. Este círculo a mano alzada se hace, previamente, a la impresión de los sellos. Esto se advierte al tener varios ejemplares en los que se observa cómo el *signaculum* ha pisado dicho círculo. Por consiguiente, pensamos que el círculo a mano alzada podría responder a una posible línea guía donde centrar el sello evitándose posibles reparaciones.

En lo concerniente al tamaño de las cartelas y centrándonos en su longitud tenemos ejemplares entre los 12 y los 40 mm. (**fig. 6**). El grueso de las piezas se ubica entre 18/19 mm. a 30 mm. (**fig. 7**). Fuera de estos parámetros el tamaño podría estar asociado a otros factores, caso de desmolde del *signaculum*.

3.5. Sobre los hábitos epigráficos

Mayoritariamente, únicamente aparece un ejemplar de sello por pieza. Las excepciones únicamente se observan en momentos puntuales (Solovera y Garabito 1990: 76, fig. 10). En la nuestra compilación, sólo tenemos un ejemplo con doble sellado. Concretamente, nos referimos a un fondo de copa de *Lapillius* en el que aparece una doble marcación como una manera de rectificar ante una primera débil impresión (Bustamante-Álvarez y Simón 2022; fig. 189, CVH 336).

En relación al contenido, en todos los casos únicamente tenemos una línea de plasmación. El uso de marcas retrógradas tanto en lo referido a una sola letra como a su totalidad es reducido no alcanzando ni un 10% de la muestra.

En relación al mensaje recogido pueden aparecer los nombres y, además, acompañarse con el formulario *ex, ex officina* u *officina*. En el caso de que aparezca *officina*, podemos encontrar esta partícula abreviada de la siguiente manera *of(f)icin(a), off(f)ic(ina), o(f)i(cina), of(ficina), o(fficina)* delante o detrás del nombre del alfarero.

El nombre de los alfareros puede aparecer abreviado a partir de tres letras coincidentes con su *tria nomina* (caso de CAH o C·I·C) o dos letras (por ejemplo, con CF). También es común el desarrollo del *praenomen, nomen* y *cognomen* (caso de *Fulvius Paternus Festus*) en un mismo sello; el *praenomen* y *cognomen* (como *L. Clodius*) o bien el *nomen* y *cognomen* (*Paternus Ale*).

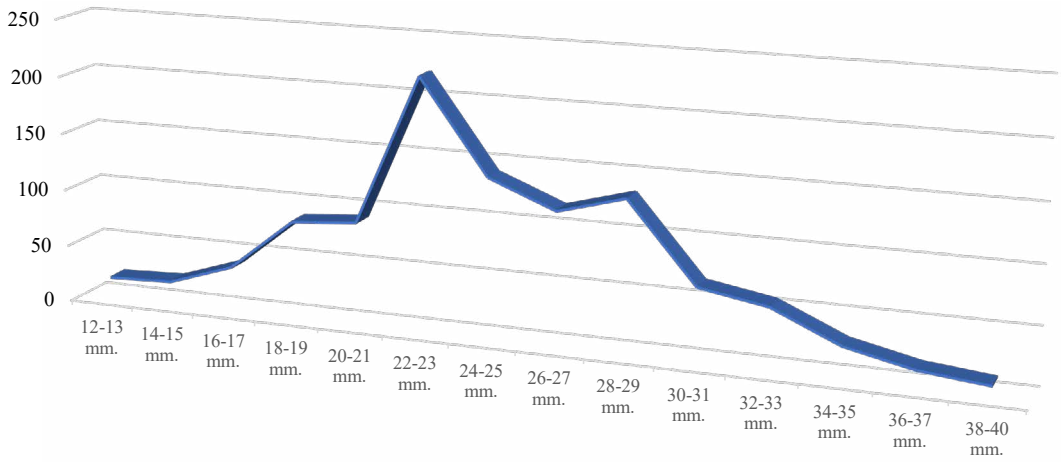


Fig. 6. Gráfico de la longitud de las cartelas.

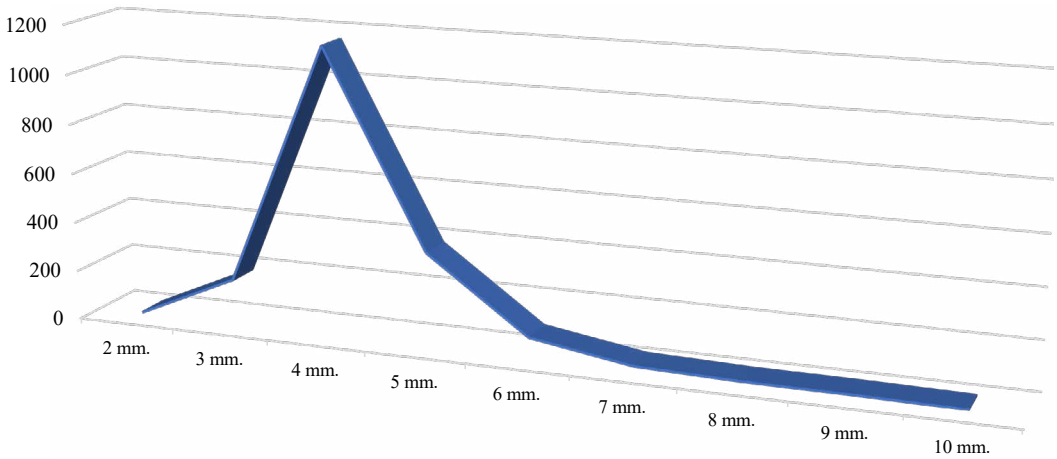


Fig. 7. Gráfico de la altura de las cartelas.

También es habitual el uso de las interpunciones en número de uno, dos y hasta en tres ocasiones. De igual modo, se atisba una interesante nómina de nexos que aglutinan AE, AN, AV, IR, MA, TE, TI o VAL, entre otros.

Igualmente se perciben algunas letras que aparecen con signos, claramente, cursivos casos de la A sin línea horizontal, la E plasmada a partir de dos líneas verticales, la F con un solo trazo horizontal ligeramente ladeado y, para finalizar, la L con el trazo horizontal en diagonal.

En algunos casos, también aparecen incluidos como *cognomina* algunos datos que afectan a su *origo*, concretamente, *tritiensis* (por ej. *Lucius Tritiensis* o *Maternus Tritiensis*).

3.6. Sobre la antroponimia

Este proyecto nos ha permitido evaluar más de 2100 sellos de 191 alfareros. De 23 de ellos (ver **fig. 8**), hasta el momento

Alfarero	Nº piezas	Alfarero	Nº piezas
ABIVS CI(?)	2	CARK	1
ACA	1	CF	1
ACCVNES	5	C. I(?) C(?)	2
AEMILIVS	3	CIAEF	11
AEMILIVS E(?)	3	CIAEFGLO	4
AE(MILIVS?) FRO [---]	1	CLODIVS	11
AEMILIVS P(?)	1	C. O(?)	1
AGILEIVS	1	COR(?) FIR(?) EMI(?)	1
AGILIANVS	7	CORNELIVS F(?)	1
AGILEIVS o AGILIANVS	4	C. S(?)	6
A. HE (?)	1	C. S(?) H(?)	1
AIT	1	CVRS(?)	1
ALBINVS	1	C. V(?) H(?)	3
ANNIVS MART(IALIS?)	2	DI(?) VI(?)	1
AN(NIVS?) O (?)	2	EIMIE	1
APRIL(IS?)	1	EOK	2
AK (?)	1	F(?)	1
AST (?)	2	FES(TVS?)	1
ATEDITIVS	3	FIRMVS	32
ATEIVS	1	FR(?) AGI(?)	1
ATTIVS	5	FIRMVS TRI(TIENSIS?)	39
ATTIVS BRITTO	37	FLACCVS	51
ATTIVS FESTVS	22	FLACVVS A(?)	1
ATTIVS FLACCVS	3	FLACCVS TR(ITIENSIS?)	39
ATTIVS FLAVVS	1	FLAVIANVS	1
ATTIVS PATERNVS	33	FLAVINVS	3
AT(ITVS?) PEN(?) TRI(TIENSIS?)	1	FON(TINVS?)	1
ATTIVS PRI(?)	1	FR(ONTONIVS?) PA(?)	3
ATTIVS TRI(TIENSIS?)	2	FVL(VIVS?) IA(?)	4
AVG(?) EME(?)	1	FVLVIVS PATE(RNVS?)	6
AVITIANVS	1	FVL(VIVS?) PAT(ERNVS?) FESTVS	4
AVI(TVS?) y A(?) A(?) V(?)	1	FVSCVS	3
A(?) VO(?)	1	G. AN(NIVS?) T(RITIENSIS?)	2
BRITTO	12	GAIVS	2
C. A(?)	1	G. N(?) C(?)	6
C. A(?) F(?)	3	G. S(?) R(?)	3
CAEMARO	1	IAN (?)	1
C. A(?) H(?)	21	[---]ILIVS SOTER	1
CAIVS	1	IVNIVS	2
CAO	1	IVS(?) / OCTA(?)	1
CALVO o CA(IVS?) LV(CIVS?)	15	KARACTER	4
CAIVS VALERIVS	2	L. CLO(DIVS?)	5
CALVINVS PR(?)	1	L. MARCEL(LIVS?)	1
CA(?) MVR(?)	1	L. NAS(?) DE(?)	5
CAN(?)	1	L. SEM(PRONIVS?)	14
CANIVS o CANVS	1	L. SEMPRONIVS VALE(?)	7
CANTABER	44	LABI C(?) P(?) I(?)	1
CANT(VS?)	1	LAPILLIVS	134

Fig. 8. Listado de alfareros con número de ejemplares localizados. Resaltados aquellos no atestiguados hasta el momento.

no se conocía ninguna marca asociada y el 60% han sufrido una relectura que aporta, a partir de los principios de la Antroponimia y la Epigrafía, un discurso más fiable.

Genéricamente, podemos decir que los nombres que aparecen mayoritariamente corresponden a gentilicios y *cognomina* de origen latino. Sin embargo, dentro de la nómina, hay ejemplares que, claramente, responden a otras realidades culturales que nos hablan de la permeabilidad y perdurabilidad de las tradiciones antroponímicas o, incluso, de la emigración de alfareros de otras provincias (algo que ya apuntamos en otros trabajos Bustamante-Álvarez 2013-2014).

Entre ellos aparecen derivados de etnónimos de procedencia regional (caso de *Cantaber*), antropónimos de origen griego (como *Soter*, *Karakter, Pill*(¿), *Ero*, [.]*rotae*); ejemplares cuyo registro sólo se encuentra en la *Gallia Belgica* (como *Perticius*) o bien elementos que claramente apuntan a un origen indígena indoeuropeo (como *Segianus*, *Aio* o *Apilus* del que pudo derivar *Lapillius*).

Alfarero	Nº piezas	Alfarero	Nº piezas
L. C(?) A(?)	1	P. RE(?)	2
LVBER o L. VER(CIVS?)	1	PERTICIVS	1
L. VA(LERIVS?) PILL(?)	1	PETRONIVS o PETRANVS	3
LVCIVS	8	PET(RONIVS?) ERO(S?	19
LVCIVS ANNIVS	3	PON(TIVS?) PE(?)	1
LVC(IVS?) FIR(?)	19	PON(TIVS?) R(?)	1
LVCIVS PI(?)	3	POTA(?)	1
LVC(IVS?) TRI(TIENSIS?)	2	PARA [---]	1
LVCRETIVS FE(?)	2	P. T. (?)	3
LVPIANVS	17	Q. VETIVS DENT (?)	1
L. C(?) PI(?)	1	QVIETIVS	2
M. FLA(?)	1	[---]ROTAE	1
M · FLAV(IVS?) IN(?)	1	RVFVS	1
M. FLA(VIVS?) LVP(?)	1	SATVRNINVS	2
MALVTI o MA(NLIVS?) LVT(?)	1	SATVRVS	4
MANLIVS	2	SCAPVLA	1
MAL(LIVS) o MANL(IVS) MAT(ERNV?) T(RITIENSIS?)	2	SEGIANVS	3
MARTIA(LIS?)	1	SEGIVS TRIT(IENSIS?)	8
M. ASE(?)	6	SELIESIVS FI(?)	2
MATERNVS	4	SEMPRONIVS	90
MAT(ERNIVS?) BLAND(VS?)	5	SE(?) NICO(?)	6
MA(TERNVS?) TRI(TIENSIS?)	1	SENTIVS	1
MEM(?) MI(?)	1	SEXT[IVS?]	1
MICCIO	22	S. MA(?)	3
MIMIVS	2	S(?) NI(?)	10
M. S(?) M(?)	1	SVRIVS	11
M. AQV(?) T(?)	1	T. ATTIVS	2
NAS(?) DE(?)	8	TANNVS	1
NASTVS	2	TELV(?)	2
NAVVS	2	T. I(?) F(?)	4
NEMI(IVS?) PONT(IVS?)	1	TITIVS AIO	2
NOMVS	1	TITIVS LVPVS	1
NOVIVS	1	TI. FV(LVIVS?) PA(?)	1
OCTAVIVS	3	TIL(?)	1
OCT(AVIVS?) AES(?)	1	TITVS SEMPRONIVS	1
OC(TAVIVS?) FES(TVS?) TR(ITIENSIS?)	1	T. L(?) S(?)	2
OCTA(VIVS?) FRON(TO?)	10	T(?) L (?) S(?) T(?)	1
OCT(AVIVS?) MA(?)	28	TREB(IVS?) TR(ITIENSIS?)	8
OC(TAVIVS?) QVIE(TVS?)	1	VALERIVS	3
P. AVILIANVS	1	VALERIVS FIRM(VS?)	3
P. CA(?)	1	VALERIVS MA(?)	3
PARK	1	VALERIVS PAT(ERNVS?)	412
PAT(?) LV(?)	2	VA(?) P(?) MAS(?)	1
PATERNVS	14	VAL(?) PRI(?)	1
PATERNVS ALE(?)	35	VALERIVS S(?)	2
PATERNVS TR(ITIENSIS?)	3	VICT(OR)	1
P. AT(?) OCT(AVIVS?) TR(ITIENSIS?)	1	VIL(?)	1
P. AVIT(?)	1	V(?) P(?) ARI(?)	1

Fig. 8 (cont.). Listado de alfarero con número de ejemplares localizados. Resaltados aquellos no atestiguados hasta el momento.

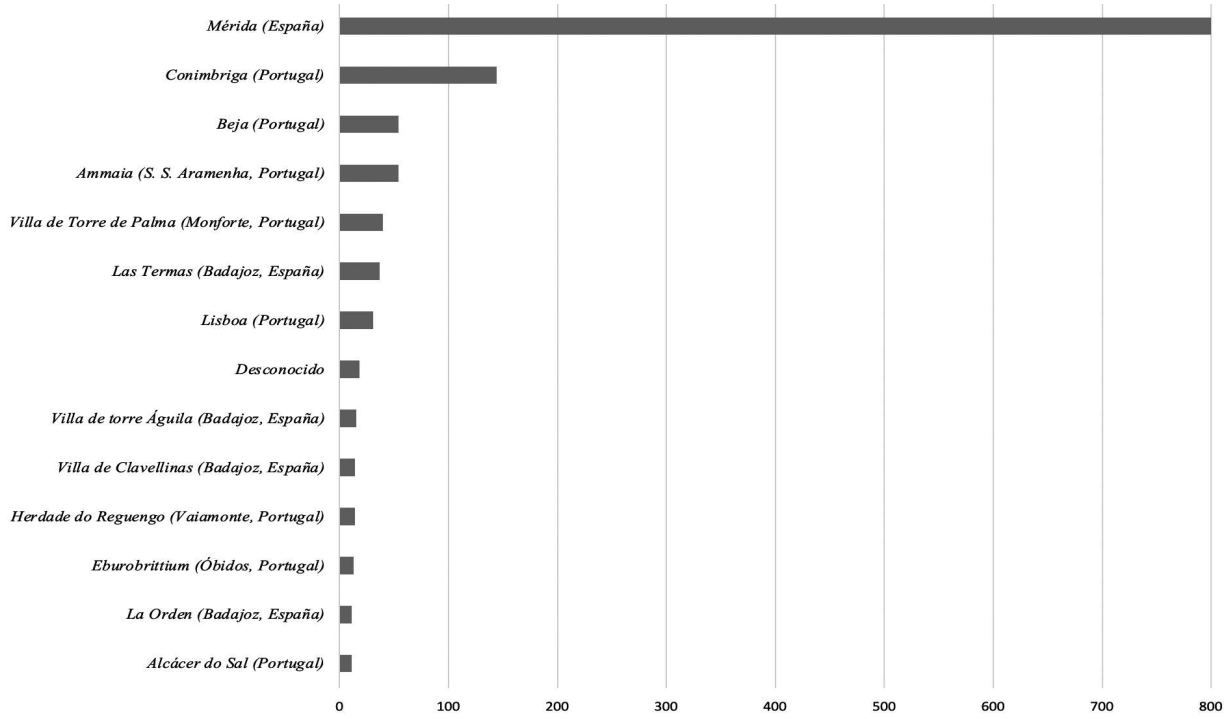


Fig. 9. Gráfico cuantitativo del número de sellos por procedencia (se reflejan aquellos que tiene una representación de 10 o más)

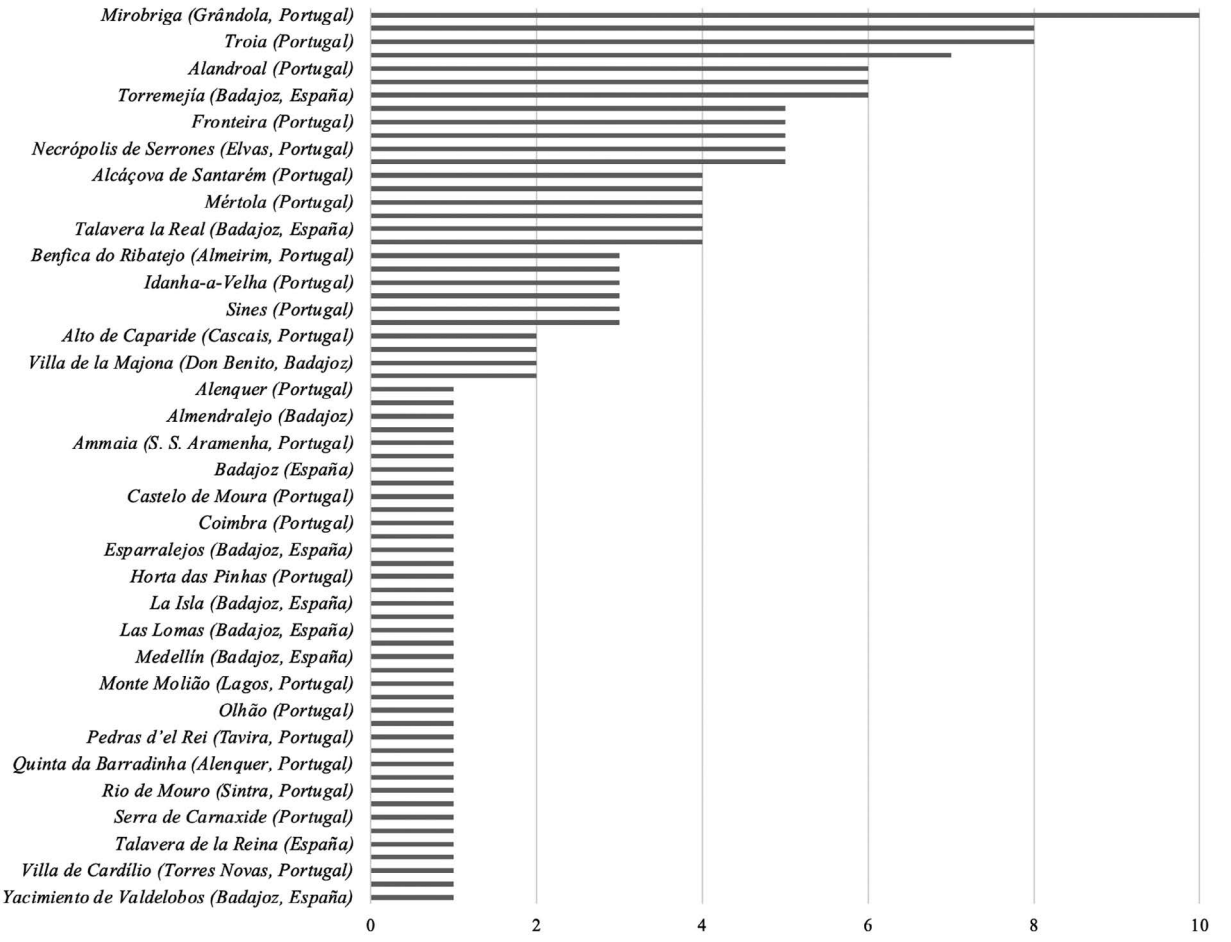


Fig. 10. Gráfico cuantitativo del número de sellos por procedencia (se reflejan aquellos que tiene una representación de menos de 10)

3.7. Sobre la geografía comercial: rutas de acceso

En relación a las rutas de acceso pensamos firmemente en el desarrollo de tres grandes circuitos. En concreto nos referimos a dos con acceso vía marítima y uno claramente terrestre. En relación a los marítimos tenemos un acceso por *Olisipo* y, a partir de ahí, redistribución terrestre afectando mayoritariamente a los productos de *Tritium Magallum*. En este caso hemos sido capaces de rastrear un posible desarrollo por coincidencia de alfareros en lo referido al *iter Olisipo – Augusta Emerita*. En segundo lugar, tenemos una posible ruta de entrada fluvial por medio del Guadiana hasta Mértola. En este caso, se observa cómo en este punto, esta ruta se corta por el paso geográfico de Pulo do Lobo y no parece que continúe hacia el norte como se desprende del análisis de dispersión de los alfareros jienenses CAH o CIC los cuales queda recluida su dispersión en este espacio sureño de la provincia de la Lusitania. En tercer lugar, tenemos el paso de la vía de la Plata que afecta, como es lógico, a las producciones de la Rioja (**fig. 9** y **10**).

En el planteamiento de estas rutas se observa cómo hay algunos puntos que actúan como centros de redistribución por el abundante y, sobre todo, variado repertorio de sellos. En este sentido *Augusta Emerita, Conimbriga* o *Pax Iulia* pudieron ser candidatas con este cometido. Sin embargo, a día de hoy dudamos si esta representatividad puede venir de la mano de una larga tradición de excavaciones que han permitido una exhumación más abultada de sellos.

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Macarena Bustamante-Álvarez & Elena H. Sánchez López

NEW DATA FROM THE CARTUJA KILN COMPLEX (GRANADA, SPAIN). KILN BEIRO 7

Partially excavated by Manuel Sotomayor in the second half of the 1960s, Kiln 7 in the Beiro Sector was re-excavated during the most recent interventions at the site. This latest archaeological study has provided new data on the kiln construction process, its structure and its phases of use and abandonment.
In this work, a typological and functional analysis of it is proposed. There is also an intense search for other parallels that help clarify this interesting structure.
Based on the information compiled over the years, a proposal for the reconstruction of the pyrostructure has also been made.

Roman archaeology – *Baetica* – *Florentia Iliberritana* – pottery production – 3D reconstruction

Introduction

Archaeological excavations on the land of the present-day University of Granada Cartuja Campus began in 1963 under the direction of Manuel Sotomayor Muro, who supervised them until 1970. His campaigns revealed the remains of 10 pottery kilns of varying shapes and sizes (Sotomayor 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1970; Serrano 1974), as well as a series of adjacent rooms and waste dumps. Annual excavation campaigns have been carried out at the site since 2009 as part of the practical training of the University of Granada Archaeology Degree and Master's Degree.

The excavations undertaken in recent years have allowed us to determine that the pottery manufacturing industry occupied a larger part of the hill than had previously been thought (Moreno and Orfila 2017; Sánchez and Bustamante 2018). The excavations in the 1960s revealed part of a large quarter devoted to craft activity, the so-called Beiro Sector. We now know that this pottery-making quarter, located on a hill near the Roman town of *Florentia Iliberritana* (today in the El Albaicín neighbourhood of Granada), in ancient times would have occupied a large part of what is now the Cartuja University Campus.

The excavations in recent decades have brought to light different areas related to pottery manufacture. They range from clay extraction quarries in the highest part of the University of Granada Campus, mainly in the area known as Albercón del Moro, to a large number of kilns (Sánchez and Bustamante 2018) concentrated on the lower part of the hill, as well as three vats for the processing of clay.

Since the 2019 campaign, one of the objectives of the archaeological interventions in the so-called Beiro Sector has focused on Kiln 7, whose excavation was initiated by Sotomayor. The results of this work are presented here[1].

Kiln 7 general characteristics

Located in Area 5 of the Beiro Sector, Kiln 7 stands out among the pyrostructures exhumed by Sotomayor due to its size (**Fig. 1**).

It has a 5.10 m x 6 m quadrangular ground plan. The 1960s excavations documented a Cuomo IIb type ground plan with transversal walls that acted as *suspensura* (Sotomayor 1970: 721). It has a north-south orientation with the kiln entrance to the north of the structure. The mouth is 65 cm wide with an opening of 60 cm.

The kiln was built using a mixed technique: *opus incertum* of medium-sized river pebbles for the construction of the external skeleton and *opus testaceum* on the central arch that runs throughout the kiln. To these materials we can add the use of mud for the interior lining of the walls that define the entire structure and would have hidden the stone skeleton and adobe for the bracing walls and perforated floor (**Fig. 2**).

Of particular note among the building materials is the recycling and reuse of pottery of various types, possibly not suitable for sale or the result of surpluses that did not end

[1] This research has been funded by the FEDER 2014-2020 Operational Programme/Junta de Andalucía/Ministry of Economic Transformation, Industry, Knowledge and Universities/the CarqTUJA (A-HUM-088-UGR18) and CARTU-TIC (B-HUM-16- UGR20) Projects. The archaeological excavations are part of the "Campus de Cartuja" General Research Project approved by the General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums of the Junta de Andalucía Ministry of Culture.

up being sold. In this respect, there are fragments of *tegulae* with obliterated tabs or even *imbrices* used in the grill work, as well as fragments of *dolia* in the construction of the furnace reinforcement buttress (Sánchez and Bustamante 2020 ;Bustamante and Sánchez 2021).

New data on the kiln construction process

The documentation and excavation tasks carried out on Kiln 7 since 2019 are providing new information about its structure and building process. Thus, the results of the new interventions confirm that a quadrangular interface was made for the construction of the kiln. This delimited a quadrangular stone structure made of local sandstone and calcarenite whose walls were, in general, between 60-63 cm thick. In addition, this was accompanied by a pavement of large stone blocks that has only been preserved at some points and perhaps indicates the existence of a floor on which the material to be burned would have been placed with the objective of increasing and prolonging the required temperature. In addition, *opus incertum* walls were built to form the solid structure.

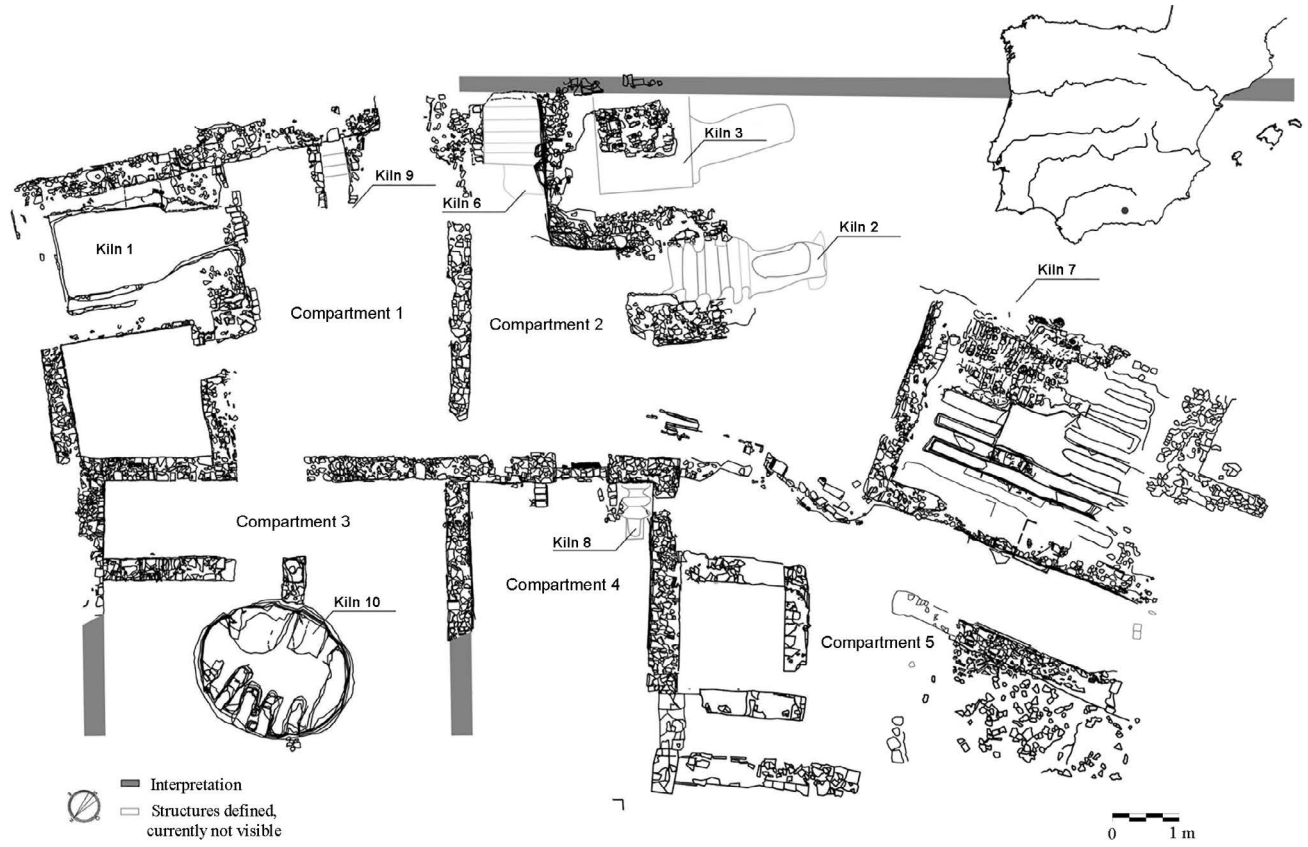


Fig. 1. Plan of the structures identified in the Beiro Sector and location of the archaeological site on the Iberian Peninsula.



Fig. 2. Condition of Kiln 7 in 1970 (photograph by M. Sotomayor).



Fig. 3. Adobe bricks fallen on the Kiln 7 grill (photograph by M. Sotomayor).

In order to avoid cracks in the stone due to the thermal oscillations that would have occurred in this underground substructure, the walls were covered with a layer of rammed earth about 50 cm thick. The plasticity of this material was able to withstand that type of oscillation.

Once the container had been formed, seven braced walls 30-32 cm wide with an east-west direction were built. They were constructed with adobe and characterised by being solid at both ends as a buttress for a central arch that ran from north to south throughout the entire kiln and would have constituted the combustion corridor itself, which was about 65 cm wide. It is interesting to note the absence of what is traditionally known as a *praefurnium*, perhaps to avoid heat loss.

The grill would have been built on the braces (well preserved in the southeastern quadrant). For their construction, first a kind of mesh with quadrangular openings was woven from the placement of adobe bricks positioned by pressure in a zipper-type edge formation. No type of binder was used in this first part of the process. Secondly, these quadrangular holes were initially covered with a mud slurry that was spread by hand, as can be seen from the finger marks imprinted before the combustion process ended up hardening this layer. Before it set, this would be perforated again to create a smaller opening than that of the first stage to favour a more controlled rise of air.

What we are unable to provide any information about is its covering, a factor we could also extrapolate to any possible nozzles and chimney flues. It was the study undertaken by Sotomayor (1970: 721) that highlighted that the structure was very superficial at the time of its discovery, a circumstance that affected the conservation of the elevations of the kiln firing chamber. However, the photographs taken during the excavation process show the discovery of adobe remains fallen on the grill, indicating that either the roof, the chamber walls, or perhaps both, had been made of that material (**Fig. 3**).

The excavation of the southern enclosure of the kiln did not allow the documentation of the entire side wall, as that must have been removed at a time it has so far not been possible to date. It did however show that, on this side, the width of the perimeter wall in the sector in which it is preserved was greater than that identified on the other sides, up to 1.09 m. This was probably an attempt to reinforce the structure against the slippage of the slope that can be seen at this point where the hill descends to the bed of the River Beiro. This hypothesis appears to be corroborated by the later construction of a buttress to reinforce the structure.

Building phases and abandonment processes

It is difficult to clearly date the construction of a structure with the characteristics of Cartuja Kiln 7. However, the find embedded in the work of Stay 7 of a fragment of Hisp. 37 with the indication of a smooth rod and the beginning of a corded circular brace allows us to propose a *terminus post quem* of the late 1st century AD.

Nevertheless, a detailed analysis of the span of the entrance arch to the central corridor has shown the possible existence of at least two construction phases, probably related to the repair of damage caused by the continued activity of the structure over a period of time (that is difficult to define). Furthermore, at a time after the furnace was built, the buttress to reinforce the southern enclosing wall was added, giving the structure stability against the downhill slope.

Regarding the abandonment phases, the excavation of the interior sedimentary levels of the kiln that had not been affected by previous interventions in the area, has only produced finds of Roman chronology, which could indicate that the structure had already been silted up in antiquity. The find of a Hayes 50 ARSW C sherd probably indicates that this could have taken place from the 3rd century on. The inactivity in the late roman period is confirmed with the discovery of a Hayes 58B ARSW-D sherd associated with an adobe structure that cut through the southeastern wall of the kiln.



Fig. 4. 3D reconstruction proposal for Kiln 7 (made by Balawat).

Reconstruction hypothesis

Based on the results of the Kiln 7 excavations, a 3D reconstruction has been proposed, at least in what is considered to be its first construction phase. However, while the elements that composed the structure up to the level of the grill and the bottom of the firing chamber walls seem clear (as described above) and allow a fairly definitive reconstruction, the information relative to the closure is very poor and only allows hypotheses to be put forward.

For this reason, parallels were sought in proposals for the reconstruction of Roman kilns with similar characteristics that would serve as a guide for the 3D modelling of Kiln 7. Thus, among the quadrangular kilns for which proposals of this type have been made are, for example, the two twin kilns with a rectangular ground plan measuring 5.2 x 3.85 m excavated in Giancola (Brindisi), a group dating from the Republican period (Pallecchi 2007). Later, from the first half of the 1st century AD, there are two of the kilns at Port-la-Nautique (Narbonne): Kiln 1 (7.80 x 7.30 m) and Kiln 2 (6.60 x 5 m inside) (Sánchez, Carrato and Favennec 2011; Carrato et al. 2018). Kiln 3 at Saint-Bézard (Aspiran), from a similar chronology, measured 3.37 x 4.17 m in its first phase (Carrato 2012). From the second half of the 1st century AD we have the pottery kiln at Sivier (near Istre, Bouches-du-Rhône), which in its first phase measured 3.55 m on each side (Marty 2003), and the Ca l'Arnau kiln in Cabrera de Mar, with a built area of approximately 45 m^2 (Martin 2002)[2].

Based on these previous proposals, the modelling of Kiln 7 at the Cartuja pottery began along two different lines. Starting in both cases from an elevation of the adobe walls, the hypotheses proposed the existence of a vaulted roof, as found in most of the proposals in the bibliography, or a domed roof, as proposed for the Port-la-Nautique kiln.

The calculations[3] showed that a solution similar to that proposed for Narbonne did not fit the thickness of the walls of the Granada kiln, forcing the generation of a complex roof that used the technical resource of pendentives. On the other hand, the use of a lowered barrel vault, similar to that proposed in most of the proposals found in recent historiography, adapted better to the structure's measurements and characteristics (**Fig. 4**).

Final remarks

The new interventions in the Cartuja kiln complex make it possible to provide new data on one of the largest and best-preserved ceramic kilns on the peninsula. The associated materials define a productive area from the end of the 1st AD and late in the 3rd century AD. The interesting data have also allowed us to define a new reconstruction proposal that we present here.

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[2] The reconstruction of the kiln can be seen at https://www.cabrerademarpatrimoni.cat/romans/la-terrisseria/ (consulted 03-10-2022)

[3] The reconstruction modelling proposal was carried out by the BALAWAT company.

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Xavier Deru

CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SOUTHEAST SECTOR OF BAELO FORUM, TARIFA, SPAIN: A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Between 2009 and 2011, collaboration between a Spanish and a French team led to the excavation of an area of 500 m² near the Baelo Claudia forum in Tarifa, Andalucia. The excavation yielded a significant pottery assemblage of 83,875 sherds (MNI 6,878), meticulously categorized by fabric and type. Using a methodology based on stratigraphy and assemblage similarity, we initially focused on our excavation data before extending our study to include pottery assemblages from the broader southern Iberian Peninsula.
Subsequently, three seriations allowing the comparison of terra sigillata from Baelo with regional and empire-wide samples enabled the transition from a relative to an absolute chronology, incorporating independent dating criteria such as coins and historical documents.

Southern Spain – Baelo Claudia – Roman Pottery – Chronology – Methodology

1. Introduction

During 8 years, from 2011 to 2019, collaboration between a Spanish and a French team led to the excavation of an area of 500 m² near the Baelo Claudia forum in Tarifa, Andalucia[1]. The excavation revealed a phased development, beginning with the construction of a domus (phase 2) on previously unsettled land (phase 1). Subsequently, a public building emerged in the southern half of the domus (phase 6) (Rodriguez Gutierrez et al. 2023). Following a destructive earthquake, the town suffered devastation and pillaging (phase 7), leading to the occupation of small houses in the sector (phase 8) (Brassous et al. 2017). While prior publications have detailed structures from phases 6 and 8, only limited attention has been given to the pottery assemblage (Deru et al. 2018).

Pottery analysis involved identification by ware (Samian, Amphorae, etc.) and type, with samples taken for fabric analysis. The meticulous counting of sherds, employing rim comparisons to reduce counts to a minimum number of individuals (MNI), revealed a total of 83,875 sherds, with an MNI of 6,878. The final stages of the analysis benefited from the use of *ONICer*, a digital tool for recording ancient pottery (Onicer.org; Deru et al. 2019) used during the last two years of the study.

2. Theoretical framework

The chronology was determined in two steps, first by relative dating, then by absolute dating.

Relative dating is based on two axioms. The first defines that a topographical relationship (layer A on layer B) is equivalent to a chronological relationship (layer A on layer B), as everyone knows. The second axiom is less often quoted, but is unconsciously used. It states that a relation of similarity of pottery assemblages (pottery assemblage X is similar to pottery assemblage Y) is also equivalent to a chronological relation (pottery assemblage X is contemporary with pottery assemblage Y, or X and Y belong to the same period). This axiom is based on an economic model (pottery is a simple commodity): in a market area, people consume more or less the same things at the same time (Deru et al. 2007). In this way, the stratigraphic axiom emphasises post- or ante-relations and the similarity axiom synchronic relations.

These two axioms form the basis of relative dating. Relative dating remains a descriptive approach, based on observations and comparisons of layers in the field or sherds on the table. Absolute dating is more abstract because we often forget from which contextual finds dates are given.

In our approach, stratigraphic arguments take precedence over pottery assemblage comparisons. However, on excavations, many contexts lack connections, so assemblage comparisons allow contexts without stratigraphic connections to be linked. The combination of these two arguments leads to two concepts. First, we define the 'phases' of settlement development, in other words, a period from one new building to another or the cessation of occupation.

Secondly, the 'horizon' (H) is a less used concept. It means both the assemblage of finds and the period in which these finds were used. We use this concept in two scales. At a site (site horizon, HS), the assemblage is often formed during the period just before the end of the phase, when waste accumulates, and so is placed between phases. On a regional scale (regional horizon, RH), a horizon is a discrete period in the continuity of pottery history.

[1] X. Deru was Lucienne Domergue fellow at Madrid Institute of Advanced Study (Casa de Velazquez, Madrid). The excavation was conducted by L. Brassous, X. Deru and O. Rodriguez; the study of pottery by X. Deru, G. Florent, M. Gomes, S. Lemaître and S. Renard.

Writing this history is a work in progress and is neither the purpose of this article nor of our project. All data and arguments will be developed in the monograph of the excavations and the database will be available for download.

3. Relative Dating

Within the Baelo excavations, stratigraphic analysis and pottery inventory identified eleven phases, with the last four numbered 8.1-8.4 due to the similarity of pottery within short temporal sequences.

3.1. Baelo in the regional context

To contextualise the Baelo horizons, pottery assemblages from 33 sites on the southern Iberian Peninsula were compared, from the 2nd century BC to the 6th century AD. A complete dataset of 17,082 vessels was assembled using *ONICer*, which facilitated a global analysis using correspondence analysis (CA) (Djindjian 1991: 167-200; Deru et al. 2007).

From the inventory, a contingency table (or cross-tabulation) was formed. Types unrepresented or poor assemblages were removed. The subtypes had often to be integrated in main types to improve the statistical weighting (for instance,

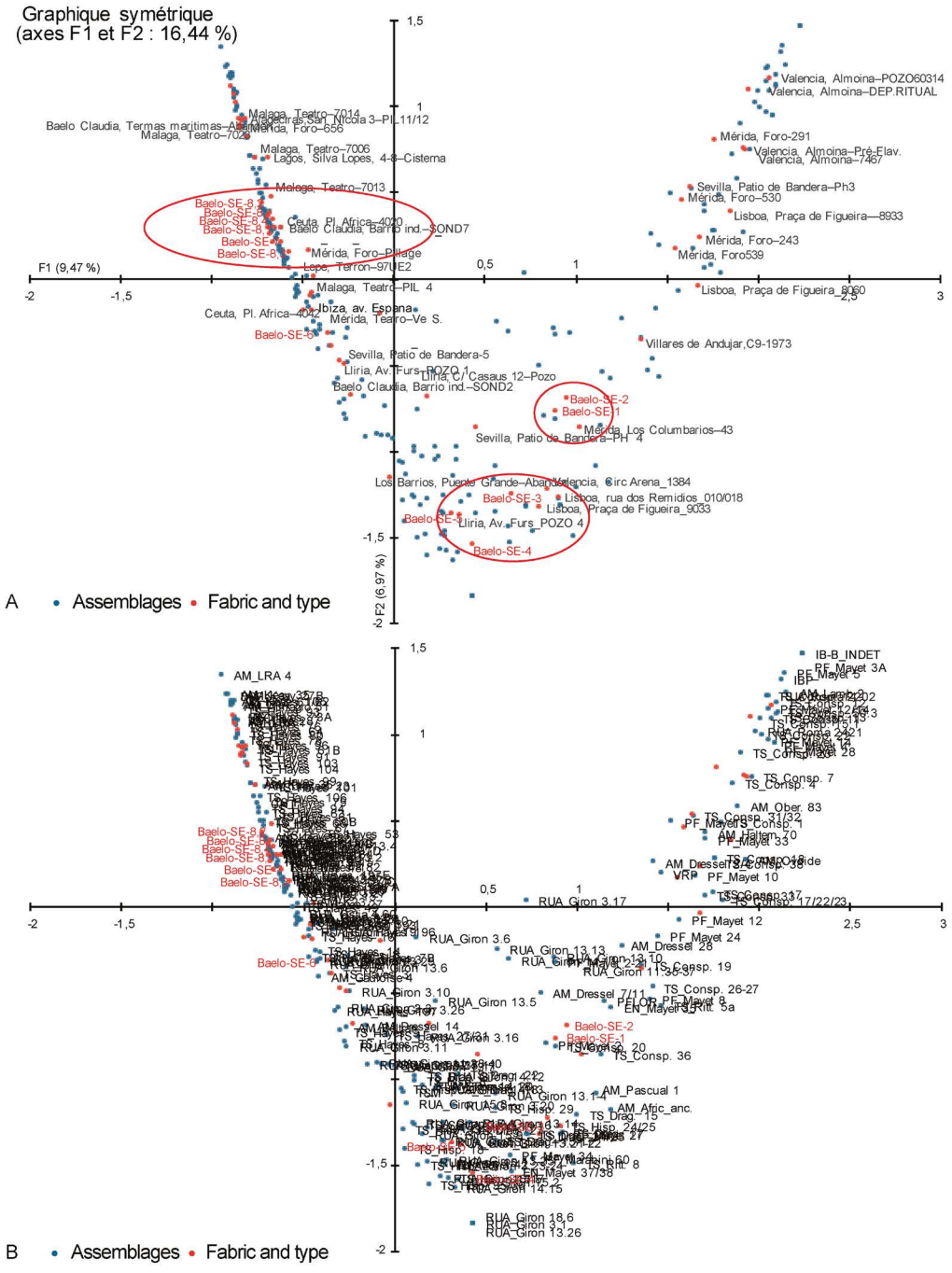


Fig. 1. Correspondence analysis of assemblages from southern iberian peninsula. A. Sites; B. Fabric and type.

Hayes 61A, B, A/B, C to Hayes 61). A few types not relevant for chronology were taken out of the table. In same way, the process is empirical, at each step, we can test which identification is the more accurate. This method finally made it possible to group the assemblages by similarity, respecting both the stratigraphic sequences and the chronological order (**fig. 1**). The red dots represent assemblages and the blue dots represent types. While the CA orders assemblages according to the axiom of similarity, the stratigraphic sequence of each regional site and of Baelo has been respected.

The earliest contexts are clustered in the top right and the latest ones in the top left. The Baelo H.1 and H.2 are very close, H.3-5 are grouped, and H.6 is isolated, H. 7 and H.8.1-4 are mixed. A context from Merida "los Columbarios" is similar to H.1-2 (Bello: Rodrigo et al. 2010) whereas Valencia (Arena, 1384: Huguet i Enguita et al. 2014), Lisboa (Remédios 010/018 and Figueira 9033: Banha da Silva 2018) and Lliria (Furs, Pozo 4: Escrivà Torres 1995) provide the most similar pottery assemblage to our H. 3-5. For the late H. 7-8, are contemporary to a context of the Merida forum (Aquilué Abadias et al. 2009), one in Malaga (Teatro 7013: Corrales Aguilar et al. 2018) and two other contexts published by D. Bernal, one in Baelo (B. Industrial S7: Bernal Casasola et al. 2007b) and the other in Ceuta (Africa, 4020: Bernal Casasola et al. 2014). The coins discovered in Ceuta date of 425-450.

3.2. Terra sigillata in an extended area

The rest of the analysis focused on terra sigillata, comparing assemblages from the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and Gaul. The method is optimal on the scale of a small market, but at present, the documentation forces us to work on a larger scale. The Matrix reorganisation revealed distinct horizons characterised by specific types of pottery, providing a better understanding of chronological evolution.

Horizons 1 and 2 from Baelo were characterized by Italic Terra Sigillata (TS-IT). 37 references from the Western Empire dating from the late 1 century BC and early 1st century AD have been added to the matrix. Ordering revealed three TS-IT horizons, with the Baelonian (H. 1-2) being located in the most recent (C) with, for example, Haltern Fort (von Schnurbein 1982), Ostia, Schola del Traiano (285: Deru et al. 2016) or Valencia. Alm. (Ritual and Pozo: Albiach et al. 1998; Ribera 2010) (**fig. 2**).

Horizons 3, 4 and 5 from Baelo were characterized by Samian from South Gaul, Spain and Africa (ARS-A). For this period, we only took 15 Iberian assemblages, because Sigillata Hispanica was not largely exported outside the Peninsula (**fig. 3**). Three TS-SG/HISP/A horizons (A'-C') cut the period. In A' and B', we find some Gaulish and Hispanic products whereas African only appears in C'. The Baelonian H. 3 and 4 belong to B' as the context 1384 from Valencia Arena (Huguet and Ribera 2014), one from Merida (43: Bello Rodrigo et al. 2010). The H. 5 is sorted to C' with contexts from Sevilla Banderas (Vázquez Paz et al. 2018) or from Baelo Claudia, Barrio industrial (2: Bernal Casasola 2007a).

For ARS-D, the amount of assemblages allowed a specific correspondence analysis (**fig. 4**). In the contingency table we globalized types of ARS-A and ARS-C found in these late contexts. In this graph, earliest assemblages are at the top right and the latest at the top left. Baelonian contexts are badly situated, in the middle of the seriation, due to contamination

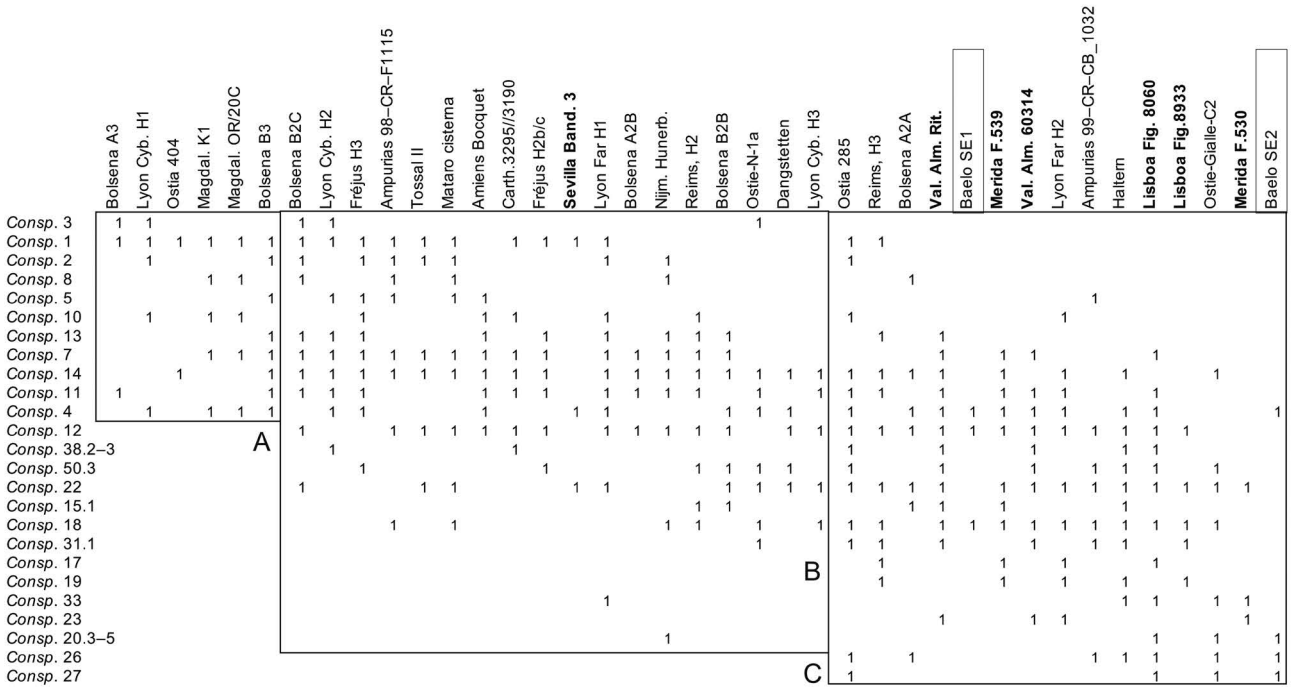


Fig. 2. Matrix reordering of assemblages of italic terra sigillata. The Baelo horizons are framed and the assemblages participating in the general AFC are marked in bold.

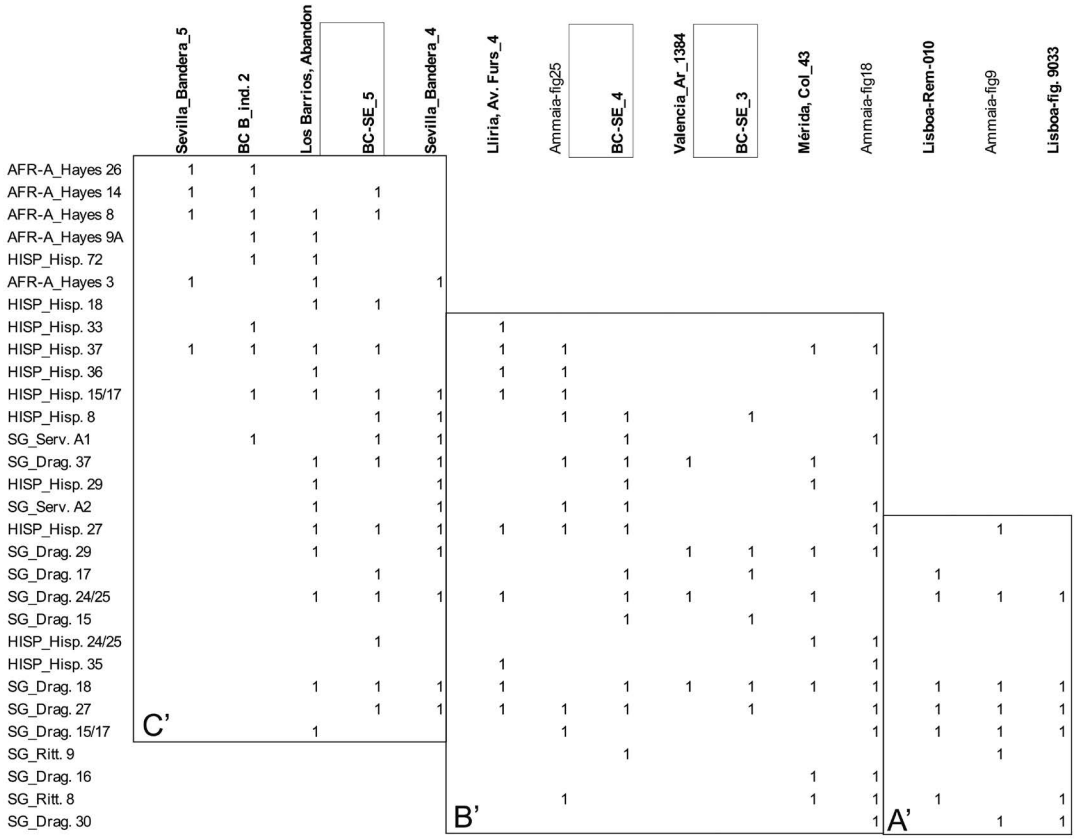


Fig. 3. Matrix reordering of assemblages of Gaulish, Hispanic and Early African terra sigillata. The Baelo horizons are framed and the assemblages participating in the general AFC are marked in bold.

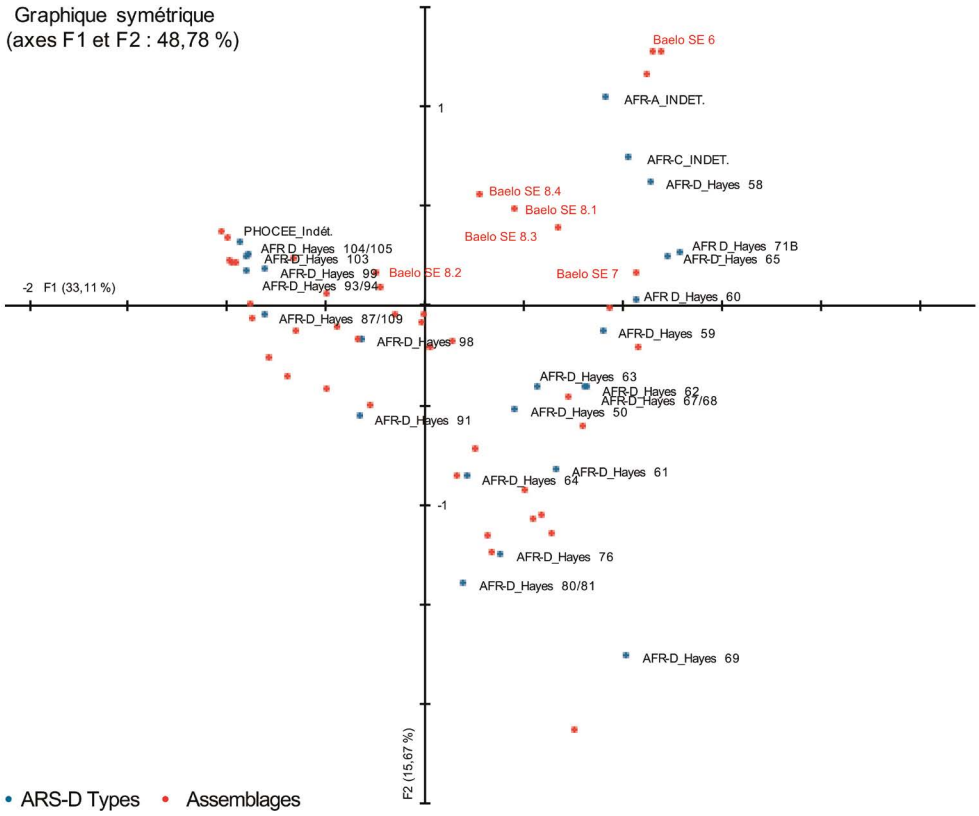


Fig. 4. Correspondence analysis of assemblages of African terra Sigillata.

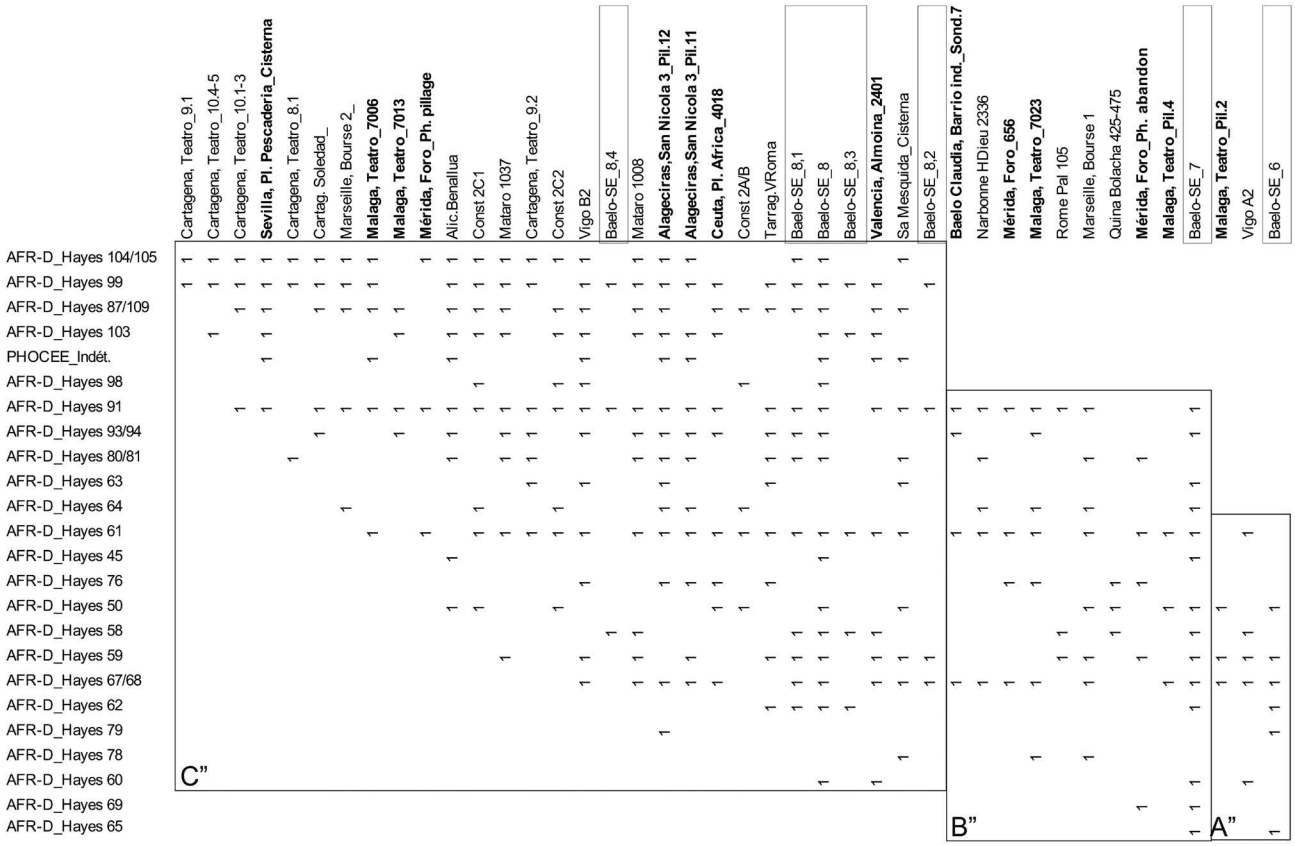


Fig. 5. Matrix reordering of assemblages of african terra sigillata. The Baelo horizons are framed and the assemblages participating in the general AFC are marked in bold.

by residual pottery, though in matrix reordering the stratigraphic sequence is globally respected (**fig. 5**). Once more, three horizons (A”-C”) are observed. Besides the assemblages already cited, the association Baelo H.6 belongs to A” with Vigo A2 (Fernandez 2014). H. 7 is placed in B” with context excavated in Marseille (1 : Bonifay 1983) or Narbonne (Ginouvez 1996-1997) and H. 8.1-4 in C” with more contexts in particular from Cartagena (Ramallo et al. 1996).

4. Absolute dating

At Baelo, absolute dating was based mainly on coins, 80% of which were found in the contexts of phases 6 and 7. Although these coins provided valuable dating evidence, difficulties persisted in the dating of phases 1-5 and 8.1-8.4 due to the circulation of coins over long periods. Coins from other comparative contexts offer new perspectives for proposing dates for the Baelonian horizons (**Table 1**).

Although the occupation is continuous and the site horizons are punctual elements, the uncertainty inherent in dating leads to gaps and overlapping phases in the chronology. These uncertainties are inherent in archaeology, but should diminish with further research.

Horizon	Date
1	1-25
2	1-40
3	40-60
4	60-90
5	100-130
6	360-400
7	420-470
8.1-4	500-530

Tab. 1. Dating proposal.

5. Conclusion

Although this paper does not provide a definitive chronology for the south-east sector of Baelo, it does highlight the methodological process used to establish chronological frameworks. Emphasising the ongoing nature of chronological research, our approach combines stratigraphic analysis and assemblage similarity, enriching our understanding of temporal sequences within the Baelo Claudia site and its wider regional context.

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Victor Filipe & Rui Roberto de Almeida

LUSITANA 3 AMPHORA IN LUSITANIA: RESAMPLING THE COMMERCE AND CONSUMPTION OF LUSITANIAN WINE PRODUCTION

Although they have been characterized for decades, there is still lack of knowledge about the relevance of the Lusitana 3 type in the Lusitanian wine trade. A recent study of the amphorae of Olisipo *(Lisbon), where Lusitana 3 are dominant among the wine containers, has highlighted the great development of wine production in the Tagus Valley during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. At the same time, the importance of this amphora type, with evident Gaulish influences, is noticeable in the wine trade of the province. However, this relevance is less recognizable throughout the remaining territory of Lusitania. The present study, which is based on the analysis of amphorae assemblages from several consumption sites in Lusitania, focuses on the Lusitanian wine trade and highlights the importance of the Lusitana 3 amphora in this context.*

Lusitana 3 amphora – Lusitanian flatt-bottom amphorae – Roman wine production – Roman wine trade

1. Introduction

Although three decades have past since it was first identified and described, there is still a considerable lack of knowledge about the Lusitana 3 amphora type, with regards to its real importance and significance in the Lusitanian wine trade. The systematic recognition and documentation of this type in the territory of Lusitania itself, and also in the Mediterranean frame, has not yet been prioritized in research agendas.

A recent study on goods consumption in *Olisipo* (Lisbon), based on the extant amphorae material record (Filipe 2023), recognized the importance of Lusitana 3, revealing that it is dominant among the wine containers, and at the same time, highlighted the development of wine production in the Tagus Valley during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. However, this great development of wine production and commerce does not seem to be exclusive to Lisbon or the Tagus Valley, as suggested by the presence of Lusitana 3 in the ongoing work that one of the authors (RRA) is conducting on several amphorae assemblages from other Lusitanian archaeological sites, and also the research currently underway at the Roman *villa* of *Cardilium* (Filipe et al. 2024, in this volume), one of the sites where these amphorae were probably produced.

Thus, this new evidence has led us to ask some questions: what would be the commercial importance of these amphorae in other areas of Lusitania? Was it a homogeneous consumption scenario across the entire province? It was, therefore, from this perspective that we set out to analyse the trade of Lusitana 3 amphora type in Lusitania.

In this study, we evaluate the amphorae assemblages from several sites in the Tagus Valley as a starting area, following to other Lusitanian areas and consumption sites (cities, *villae*, other), with the aim of providing a general overview of the Lusitana 3 spread in this roman province, and focusing on the weight that its consumption achieved, demonstrating the importance of this particular amphora type in the context on the Lusitanian wine trade.

2. The Early Empire amphorae production in Lusitania and the "birth" of the wine container Lusitana 3

2.1. The Lusitanian production: 1st – mid 3rd century AD

Why were the Lusitanian wine amphorae and Lusitanian wine exports recognized so late?

First of all, classical literature rarely mentions Lusitanian wine. Nevertheless, Polybius (XXXIV.8) refers to cheap wine in Lusitania and Strabo (III, 3, 1) mentions the existence of vineyards in the Tagus Valley well before the 2nd century AD.

Secondly, archaeological research on roman consumption in Portugal has focused primarily on fish products, and on the amphorae produced to export it, due to its more dominant volume of evidence (e.g. fish salting units all over the coast and main river valleys, a diversified repertoire of fish products amphorae, *tituli picti*, etc). Research on the production of amphorae in Lusitania goes back to the late 19th century, when José Leite de Vasconcelos excavated the first Roman kiln, located at São Bartolomeu de Castro Marim, in the current territory of the Algarve (Vasconcelos 1898; Almeida et al. 2021). Since then, especially in the last 40 years, several pottery workshops, where amphorae were produced, and kilns have been systematically documented (see Fabião 2004 for a detailed synthesis). In general terms, those workshops were located in four producing regions: the Tagus and Sado river valleys, the western coast (Peniche) and the Algarve coast. These regions shared a common specificity: they also corresponded to areas of production of fish-products, where

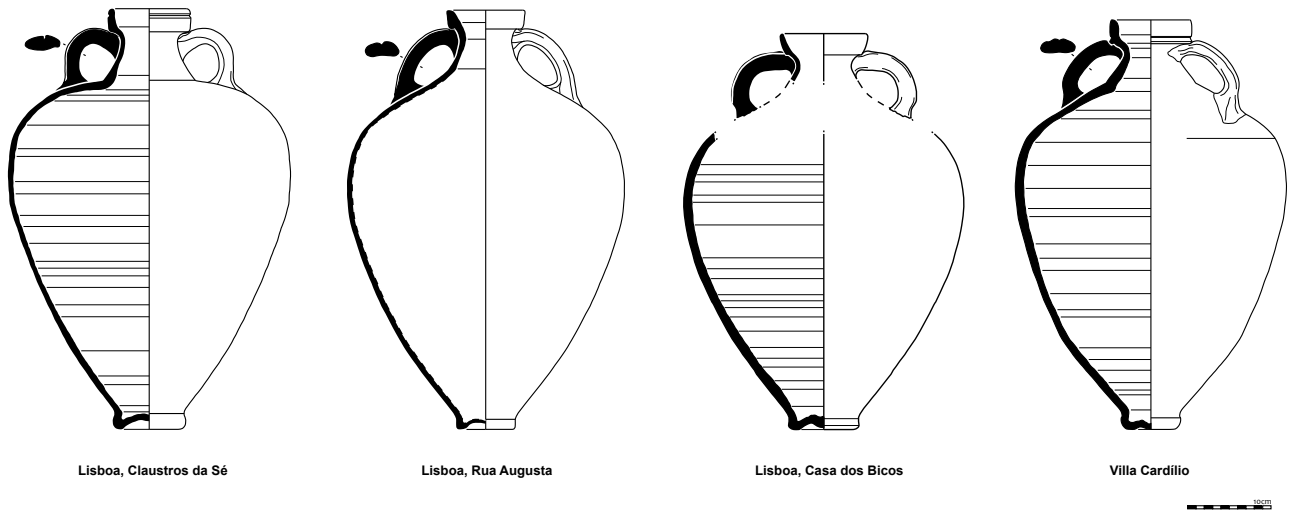


Fig. 1. Lusitana 3 complete examples from Lisbon and *villa* Cardílio (© V. Filipe).

several factories and production units have been discovered and studied (see Fabião 2004 for a synthesis, and Pinto et al. 2021 for an update), with the exception of Peniche, where no such constructions have been documented until now.

This intense exploitation of marine resources led to the large-scale production of amphorae used to package those products and which dominated the Lusitanian amphorae repertoire. These containers, whose representativeness in the archaeological record stands out in an expressive way, were initially composed of the so-called "Early Lusitanian" and Lusitana 12, and from the mid-1st century AD by the hegemonic Dressel 14, whose manufacture lasted until the beginning of the 3rd century AD (see Fabião 2008 and Viegas, Fabião and Almeida 2023, for synthesis and bibliography).

Thirdly, this "unidirectional" research led to the neglect of wine production and its hypothetical trade, assuming that its production occurred strictly in a local or regional context, primarily in rural settlements – *villae*, destined for self-consumption or close urban markets.

Concerning the production of wine amphorae, until the end of the 1st century AD/beginning of the 2nd century AD the data is sparse, indicating a low expression of Lusitanian wine transported in amphorae. With regards to the wine amphora types produced in Lusitania up to the end of the 1st century AD, they were all imitations of Baetican amphorae: *Urceus* type, Haltern 70, Dressel 2-4 and Dressel 28 (Filipe 2021). Only Lusitanian Haltern 70 achieved some expressiveness and dissemination, having even been documented in Southern Gaul (Djaoui and Quaresma 2016: 359; Quaresma 2018: 202; Almeida and González Cesteros 2016) and in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the recognition of this type as a wine container is not fully accepted, with it also being considered as a fish-products container (Viegas, Fabião and Almeida 2023, for synthesis and bibliography), corresponding to a similar assimilation phenomenon as other types, like Dressel 1 from Hispania.

The recognition of a specific Lusitanian production of a wine amphora type – Lusitana 3 – only happened in the 1990's (Diogo 1987; Fabião 1998; 2008), and for several years even Portuguese scholars were quite reluctant in accepting it. This, of course, was reflected outside of Portugal, in the majority of other regions of the ancient Roman Empire, where a general lack of knowledge about the shapes of Lusitanian amphorae and the characteristics of its fabrics, have made its identification fairly difficult. This is particularly true of the Lusitana 3, even though it has been identified in several foreign contexts, namely in the Hispanic province of *Baetica* (Fabião 2006; García Vargas 2012; 2016; Bernal Casasola 2011).

But the main issue is that the intraprovince and extra province scenario of the Lusitanian wine transported in amphorae changed from the beginning of the 2nd century AD with the advent of the Lusitana 3 type.

2.2. The Lusitana 3 amphora: state of the art

Individualised by A. Dias Diogo (1987) with the number 3 of his Lusitanian amphorae typology, it was also named "Dressel 30 related type" in the production of Porto dos Cacos in the Tagus Valley (Raposo 1990), and, later, as variant A of Almagro 51C in the potteries of the Sado Valley (Mayet and Silva 1998; 2002).

Inspired by Gaulish flat-bottomed models, Lusitana 3 is characterised by an ovoid or pyriform body, ending in an annular foot. The rim develops as a vertical or arched smooth band with a subrectangular or subtriangular section on the outside, sometimes with one or more thin grooves on its external face. Starting just below the lower part of the rim, the handles are arched or semi-circular in profile, small in width and thin, usually with one smooth longitudinal groove and occasionally with more than one, resting on a broad, rounded shoulder (Diogo 1987: 184; Raposo 1990: 126; Mayet and Silva 1998: 122; Quaresma and Raposo 2016) (**fig. 1**).

The oldest archaeological contexts in which the Lusitana 3 is documented seem to date from the beginning of the 2nd century AD, not being possible, for the moment, to date the

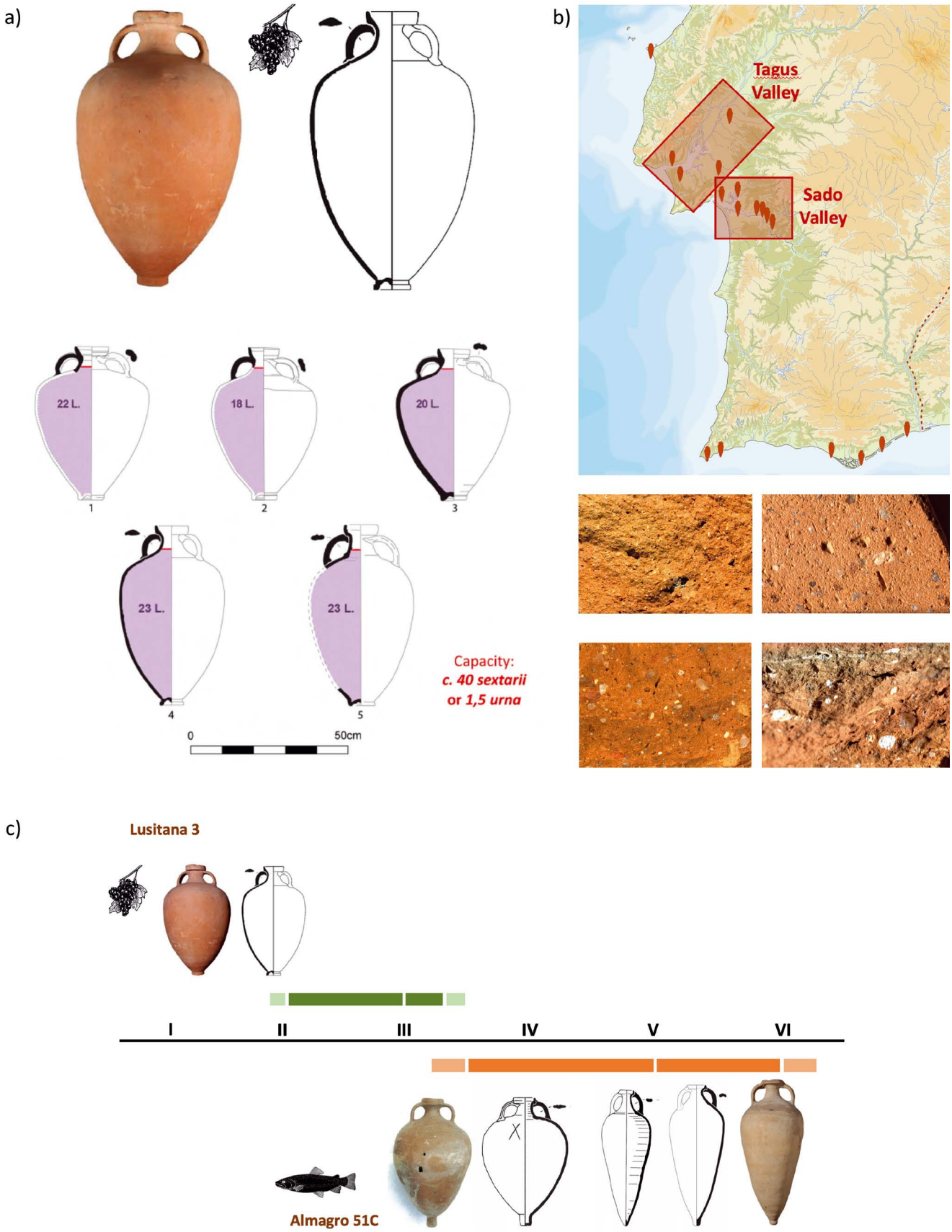


Fig. 2. Lusitana 3. a) general morphology (after Diogo 1987) and capacities (after Viegas, Fabião and Almeida 2023); b) production areas and petrographic samples (© R. R. de Almeida and V. Filipe); c) life spam schema of Lusitana 3 and Almagro 51C (© R. R, de Almeida and V. Filipe).

beginning of its production in the end of the previous century. Its production lasted until the middle of the 3rd century (Fabião 2008; Mayet and Silva 2016; Quaresma and Raposo 2016).

In the Tagus Valley, Lusitana 3 production is attested at the workshops of Porto dos Cacos (Raposo 1990; 2017), Quinta do Rouxinol (Duarte 1990; Duarte and Raposo 1995; Raposo 2017), and maybe at Garrocheira (Amaro and Gonçalves 2016). In the Sado Valley it was produced at the workshops of Pinheiro (Mayet and Silva 1998), Abul (Mayet and Silva 2002), Enchurrasqueira, and possibly at Quinta da Alegria (Fabião 2008; Quaresma and Raposo 2016) (**fig. 2**).

Although they are usually considered to be wine amphorae, there is still a lack of direct evidence concerning contents to prove this. the most compelling evidence for it being a wine container is its morphological characteristics and its similarity to Gauloise 4, which are usually pointed out, and also the existence of some exemplars pitched inside (Diogo and Alves 1988-9: 230 and fig. 2, n. 1; Quaresma 2005: fig. 2, n. 2), as well as its chronological non-coincidence with the periodisation of Lusitanian fish sauce amphorae (Diogo 1987: 184; Fabião 1998: 185-186; 2008: 735). On the other hand, other authors argue that its contents were fish-products, based on the assumption that this type corresponds to the first evolutionary stage of Almagro 51C because on the Sado workshops this type only "appears" in contexts from the 3rd century AD in association with other fish-products types (Mayet and Silva 1998: 122; 2002: 177) (**fig. 2**).

Recently, it has been highlighted that there are three modules of this amphora with different capacities (Viegas, Fabião and Almeida 2023: 130-131). According to these researchers, the capacity of the "conventional" module of Lusitana 3 would be about 22 litres (40 *sextarii*, 7 *congii*, or 1.6 *urna*). Module 2 had a capacity of about 17 litres (30 *sextarii*, 5 *congii*, or 1.25 *urna*) and module 3 at 11 litres (20 *sextarii*, 3.5 *congii*, or 0.8 *urna*). Modules 2 and 3 are apparently a minority, and one should not overlook the fact that only with complete pieces is it possible to tell which module the piece belongs to (**fig. 2**).

3. New data: resampling Lusitana 3 provincial consumption

Until a few years ago, the Lusitana 3 distribution in the current Portuguese territory was considered to be relatively discreet, but recent research has shown its common presence in the lower Tagus and in the Lisbon Peninsula, though not particularly representative and, to a lesser extent, in the Sado Valley, in the interior of Alentejo, and also sporadically in the Algarve, on the Lusitania southern coast.

Considering that Lusitana 3 was produced in substantial quantities in the Tagus and Sado valleys workshops, its low presence (in quantitative terms) in most of the published amphorae assemblages of Lusitania comes as quite surprising. Equally surprising is its apparent absence in several consumption centres of the province, some of its main cities and *villae,* both inland and along the coast; our knowledge is even more bleak in north-western Hispania, where it does not seem to be documented. Recent studies, namely in *Ammaia* (Vendetti 2016), *Emerita*, the capital of the Roman province of Lusitania, nowadays Mérida in Spanish Extremadura (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo 2013: 50; Almeida 2016: 207), and particularly in *Olisipo* (Filipe 2023), actual Lisbon, the most important port of the Atlantic façade, demonstrates that not only did Lusitana 3 amphorae play an important role as intervenient in the long distance trade to inland territories, but also how abundant they were with regards to the supply of Lusitanian wine to the main maritime city of the province (**fig. 3**); at the same time, current research at *villa* Cardílio (Diogo and Monteiro 1999: 203; Filipe et al. 2024), a Roman *villa* nearby the Middle Tagus basin, the Lusitana 3 are very dominant allowing us to consider this site was likely one of its production centres. Furthermore, we believe that the general consumption scenario known for Lusitania remains underestimated, due to problems associated to research bias. It must be stressed that to this day there is still a lack of quantified data/amphorae assemblages of consumption centres of Lusitania, which is why the reception/consumption of this amphora type in particular is now the focus of our attention.

The present study is a new reading of the known data in addition to new data collected in the frame of our present studies, with the intention of overcoming the existing gaps of information and to amplify the picture described above concerning the trade of Lusitana 3 amphorae and wine trade in Lusitania.

The questions we sought to answer with the analysis of these samples involved understanding, on the one hand, how widespread Lusitana 3 was in the territory of the province of Lusitania, and on the other hand, in what proportions it reached places of consumption and its statistical significance in the general consumption of goods transported in amphorae, and wine in particular.

To carry out this study, in a first phase, we analyzed and quantified amphorae assemblages of c. 150 sites in Lusitania, both unpublished and published, consisting of a global sample of around 14,549 amphorae individuals (MNI) of all types. Lusitana 3 amphorae were registered in 58 of these sites (**tab. 1,** with bibliography; **fig. 4, b**).

From the outset, in general terms, Lusitana 3 is currently represented in the amphorae assemblages, and normally surpassed in quantitative terms by Lusitanian fish amphorae types Dressel 14 and Almagro 51C.

From the analysis of its spatial distribution, it is worth highlighting, firstly, its absence in the territory north of *Conimbriga* (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**). The northernmost places where they were documented are Eira Velha, Quinta do Ervedal and *Egitania*/Idanha-a-Velha. In the opposite extreme of Lusitania, in its meridional area, Lusitana 3 are attested in scarce quantities and with low statistical representation, on the majority of the assemblages as well as in the wine trade of the main cities, *vicus* and *villae* on the current Algarve coast that had port structures/facilities or anchorage conditions, such as Monte Molião, *Ossonoba*/Faro, *Balsa*, Cerro da Vila, Loulé Velho or Quinta do Lago (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**). A bit further to the north, on the southwest Atlantic façade, it is documented on coastal sites of Ilha do Pessegueiro and Sines, and inland, towards the interior of the important agricultural territory of Baixo Alentejo, it is recorded in Miróbriga, Cerrado do Castelo,

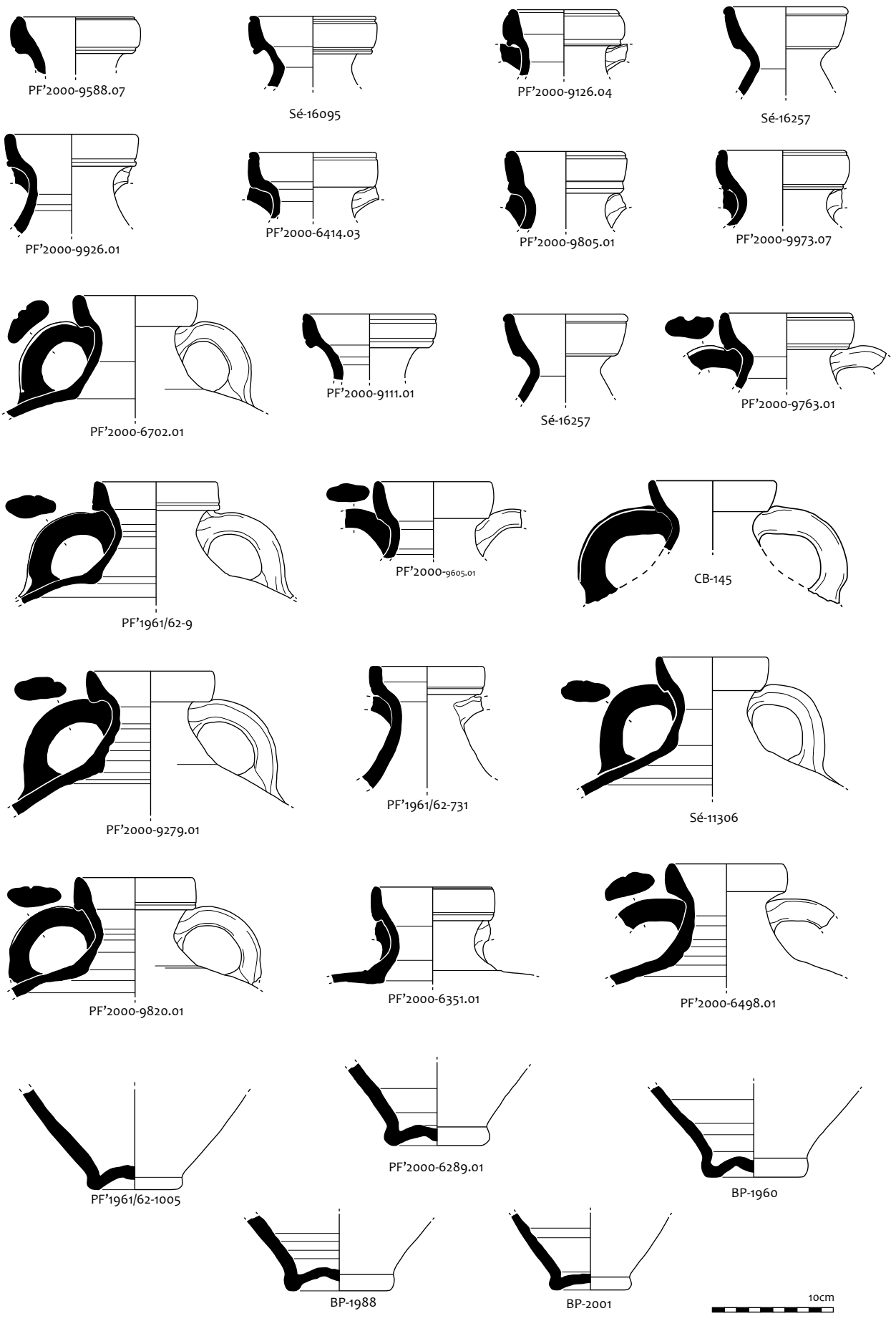


Fig. 3. Lusitana 3 frgamentary examples from Lisbon (after Filipe 2023).

Pax Julia, Monte da Cegonha and São Cucufate. Of all these places, the only place where Lusitana 3 is significantly represented is at the city of Miróbriga.

Quite diverse and relevant is the central western half of Lusitania, where the highest number of occurrences and the denser dissemination of Lusitana 3 can be traced, with particular prominence in the Tagus Valley. In the interior of the territory, bordering the roads heading towards Mérida (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**), sites such as São Pedro, Santa Vitória do Ameixial, *Abelterium* and Torre de Palma stand out, with it occurring in the city of Ammaia. Further within the territory, already in Merida's direct influence area, it does not seem to have reached great expression in the *villa* of Torre Águila nor in the provincial capital of *Emerita Augusta* itself, where a different pattern of consumption has already been demonstrated (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo 2013; Almeida 2016).

On the coast of this central strip, although attested in places such as Parreitas, *Eburobritium*, Freiria and São Miguel de Odrinhas, Lusitana 3 only acquires some quantitative expression at Alto da Cidreira, near Cascais (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**).

As stressed previously, the Lower Tagus Valley is simultaneously the region where a greater concentration of sites with Lusitana 3 is recorded and where a greater expressiveness of this type is observed, representing in almost every known amphora assemblages somewhere between 10% and 30% of the consumed amphorae/goods. The exceptions are, on one hand, Santarém/*Scallabis*, Vale de Tijolos and Porto Sabugueiro, with weaker representations (between 1% and 10%), and, on the other hand, by *Villa* Cardílio, where Lusitana 3 represents 50.9% of the total sample. Concerning the first exceptions, its absence at Santarém is certainly explained by the lack of studies of Early Empire assemblages from that city, fish-products amphorae and to consumption contexts from a chronological span prior to the existence of the Lusitanian wine types achievement; similar situation is the one of Porto Sabugueiro, whose occupation ended in early Roman times. The case of Villa Cardílio is different, where it is worth noting that the high percentage of this type may indicate the export of wine produced in the *villa* (Diogo and Monteiro 1999; Fabião 1998), something that the research project we are currently developing there will seek to clarify (Filipe et al. 2021).

Looking now at the role played by Lusitana 3 amphorae from the perspective of wine consumption in Lusitania between the early 2nd century and mid 3rd century AD, first of all, it has to be mentioned that the number of sites with quantified samples is much smaller. Besides this, from these assemblages, the number of those that are representative enough is even smaller, statistically speaking. Therefore, the data presented here and the trade/consumption values must be seen with caution and mainly as a potential approach and outline of main trends for further research.

The first conclusion concerning wine consumption that can be read from amphorae reception in Lusitanian sites is that it is completely dominated by Lusitana 3. To the north of Lusitania, the city of *Conimbriga* corresponds to 38% of wine consumption in the Principality, and further into the northeast territory, at *Egitania*/Idanha-a-Velha, it reaches just 15%; is quite tempting explain its weaker presence in this city through the presence of local wine production, given that it has significant local amphorae (Banha 2010).

The major occurrences of Lusitana 3 are undeniably in the Tagus Valley. In urban places such as *Ierabriga*/Monte dos Castelinhos and *Olisipo*/Lisboa, Lusitana 3 represents between 50% and 70% of wine consumption. The dominance of Lusitania 3 at Olisipo between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, demonstrates its importance to the trade of the Lusitanian wine and to the supply of the most important Lusitanian maritime city (Filipe 2023). Still in the Tagus Valley, but further into the interior of the province and served by one of its main terrestrial axes, at the city of *Ammaia,* an identical statistical expression is observed, reaching 50%.

On rural sites like Ponta do Mato, *villa* of Almoínhas, *villa* of Quinta da Barradinha, *villa* of Vale de Tijolos and *villa* Cardílio, Lusitana 3 represents between 50% and 91% of the wine consumption, while in *Eburobrittium* it falls to 23% and at *Seillium*/Tomar only corresponds to 30% of the sample, where other imported wines are more dominant (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**).

In the Sado Valley, surprisingly, the expression of Lusitana 3 in wine consumption only stands out in Salacia, where it represents 30%, it being relatively small at Tróia, where it represents only 14%. This reduced expression of Lusitana 3 in the Sado Valley should only be apparent and probably more related to the scarcity of studies, especially considering that this type was also produced in that region.

Beyond the particular percentual value in each of these subregions, the present data on the Lusitana 3 presence also indicate an important increase in wine production in the Tagus and Sado valleys from the end of the 1st century AD, with a sufficient surplus to enable exports to other provinces of the Empire.

Concerning *Emerita Augusta* and its territory, as mentioned above, Lusitanian wine or wine-based products haven't reached a significant market share, with Lusitana 3 not exceeding 6% of wine amphorae. This doesn't seem to be accidental but indeed an intentional and differentiated pattern of consumption, dominated by Italian, Central and Eastern Mediterranean wines (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo 2013; Almeida 2016). A similar scenario can also be observed in *Pax Julia*, in the interior of Alentejo territory (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**).

On the Alentejo coastal strip, at Sines and Ilha do Pessegueiro the Lusitana 3 amphora represents 89% and 73% of the wine amphorae, and on the Algarve coast the panorama changes. In spite of standing out at sites like the mouth of the River Arade and Loulé Velho, representing 20% and 26% of the wine amphorae respectively, and at Balsa decreasing to 11%, the majority of sites, both cities and *villae* (**fig. 4, b-d; tab. 1**), are characterized by a minimum number of presences of this type, showing that Lusitania's extreme meridional area has been outside the scoop of the particular trade and market of Lusitana 3 amphorae and Lusitanian wine produced on the Tagus and Sado Valleys.

In summary, distinct consumption patterns can be observed in the territory of Lusitania, with different proportions of local/regional items, with emphasis on the Tagus Valley and the Alentejo coast, where the presence of Lusitana 3 is constant and almost always the most common, demonstrating the success of Lusitana 3 as the main Lusitanian wine container during 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

no. Map	Site	Total amph. MNI	L3 % MNI in total of the samples	% MNI of the wine amphorae late 1st - mid 3rd AD	% MNI wine amphorae by regions late 1st - mid 3rd AD						
					Lusitania	*Baetica*	*Tarraco-nensis*	*Gallia*	Italy	North. Africa	Eastern Medit.
1	*Conimbriga*	206	5,3%	36%	38%	36%	6%	10%	7%	0%	3%
2	Eira Velha	10	9,0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Quinta do Ervedal	25	3,4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	*Egitania* / Idanha-a-Velha	140	2,8%	15%	15%	19%	8%	-	15%	-	43%
5	*Seillium* / Tomar	55	10,9%	35%	35%	30%	10%	15%	0%	0%	10%
6	Parreitas	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	*Villa* Cardílio	273	50,9%	93%	93%	2%	1%	1%	2%	0%	2%
8	*Eburobrittium*	131	2,3%	23%	23%	15%	8%	31%	15%	0%	8%
9	*Ammaia*	133	6%	50%	50%	0%	0%	19%	25%	0%	6%
10	Santarém	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Vale Tijolos	114	6%	64%	64%	10%	8%	0%	9%	0%	9%
12	Porto Sabugueiro	128	1,6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	*Abelterium* / Alter do Chão	13	9,0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	S. Pedro, Alter do Chão	15	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	Torre de Palma	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	Quinta da Barradinha	152	24,3%	79%	79%	4%	2%	2%	6%	0%	6%
17	*Ierabriga* / Monte dos Castelinhos	60	3,3%	50%	50%	38%	-	-	13%	-	-
18	Sub-serra Castanheira do Ribatejo	47	21,3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Quinta da Marquesa	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	Povos	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Vila Franca de Xira	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Sta. Vitória do Ameixial	11	9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	Torre Águila	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	*Emerita Augusta* / Merida	492	1,6%	6%	6%	10%	14%	17%	19%	-	35%
25	Tagus, underwater finds	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	S. Miguel de Odrinhas	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	Quinta do Morgado	33	27,2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	Almoinhas	473	26,4%	91%	91%	2%	1%	5%	1%	1%	-
29	Frielas	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	Quinta do Belo	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	Quinta da Bolacha	59	15,3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	Freiria	253	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	Alto da Cidreira	41	29,0%	100%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	*Olisipo* / Lisbon	4270	13,1%	68%	68%	8%	3%	9%	5%	1%	7%
35	Ponta do Mato	84	3,6%	83%	83%	17%	-	-	-	-	-
36	Endovelico, S. Miguel da Mota	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	Comenda	29	3,4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	*Caetobriga* / Setúbal	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	Troia	3605	0,4%	15%	15%	23%	13%	19%	17%	2%	11%
40	*Salacia* / Alcácer do Sal	293	0,7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	Sado, underwater finds	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	Cerrado do Castelo, Grândola	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	São Cucufate	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	Monte da Cegonha	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	*Pax Iulia* / Beja	380	0,7%	5%	5%	27%	8%	19%	5%	3%	32%
46	*Miróbriga*	95	25,3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	Sines	72	6,9%	89%	89%	-	-	11%	-	-	-
48	Ilha do Pessegueiro	200	4,0%	73%	73%	-	-	18%	9%	-	-
49	Cabo Sardão	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	Monte Moliao	625	0,2%	0,7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	Montemar	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	Rio Arade	483	0,8%	20%	20%	14%	10%	33%	13%	-	10%
53	Cerro da Vila	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	Loulé Velho	195	2,6%	26%	26%	16%	11%	26%	21%	0%	0%
55	Quinta do Lago	83	1,5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	Milreu	Undet.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	*Ossonoba* / Faro	887	0,1%	3%	3%	45%	3%	21%	7%	7%	14%
58	*Balsa*	367	0,8%	11%	11%	33%	11%	11%	11%	0%	22%
Total NMI all amphorae types		**14549**									

Table 1. Lusitana 3. Significance in the studied amphorae assemblages from Lusitana.

no. Map	Site	References
1	*Conimbriga*	Alarcão 1976; Buraca 2005; Viegas 2011
2	Eira Velha	Unpublished (RRA)
3	Quinta do Ervedal	Gadanho 2019
4	*Egitania* / Idanha-a-Velha	Banha 2006; 2010
5	*Seillium* / Tomar	Banha and Arsénio 1998
6	Parreitas	Antunes 2008
7	*Villa* Cardílio	Diogo and Monteiro 1999; Filipe et al. 2024; Unpublished (VF)
8	*Eburobrittium*	Unpublished (RRA)
9	*Ammaia*	Venditti 2016
10	Santarém	Personal observation (RRA)
11	Vale Tijolos	Unpublished (RRA)
12	Porto Sabugueiro	Unpublished (RRA)
13	*Abelterium* / Alter do Chão	Quaresma and António 2017
14	S. Pedro, Alter do Chão	Diogo 1999-2000
15	Torre de Palma	Diogo 1999-2000
16	Quinta da Barradinha	Pimenta 2022; Unpublished (RRA)
17	*Ierabriga* / Monte dos Castelinhos	Pimenta, Mendes and Norton 2008; Pimenta and Mendes 2014; Pimenta 2015; 2022
18	Sub-serra Castanheira do Ribatejo	Cardoso 2009
19	Quinta da Marquesa	Unpublished (RRA)
20	Povos	Banha 1991-92
21	Vila Franca de Xira	Pimenta and Mendes 2006; 2007
22	Sta. Vitória do Ameixial	Diogo 1999-2000; Gomes, Macedo and Brazuna 2000
23	Torre Águila	Unpublished (RRA)
24	*Emerita Augusta* / Merida	Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo 2013; Almeida 2016; Unpublished (RRA)
25	Tagus, underwater finds	Quaresma 2005; Cardoso 2013
26	S. Miguel de Odrinhas	Pimenta 1982-1983
27	Quinta do Morgado	Pimenta, Mendes and Almeida forthcoming
28	Almoinhas	Lopes 2022; Unpublished (RRA)
29	Frielas	Silva 2009; Policarpo 2010; Unpublished (RRA)
30	Quinta do Belo	Silva and Santos 2009
31	Quinta da Bolacha	Quaresma 2017
32	Freiria	Cardoso 2018
33	Alto da Cidreira	Cardoso 2018
34	*Olisipo* / Lisbon	Filipe 2023
35	Ponta do Mato	Raposo, Santos and Henrique 2014
36	Endovelico, S. Miguel da Mota	Unpublished (RRA)
37	Comenda	Viegas 2016
38	*Caetobriga* / Setúbal	Silva 2018
39	Troia	Almeida et al. 2014
40	*Salacia* / Alcácer do Sal	Silva et al. 1980-81; Faria 1998; Pimenta et al. 2006 and 2015
41	Sado, underwater finds	Diogo and Alves 1988-1989
42	Cerrado do Castelo, Grândola	Ferreira, Faria and Diogo 1991
43	São Cucufate	Pinto and Lopes 2006
44	Monte da Cegonha	Pinto and Lopes 2006
45	*Pax Iulia* / Beja	Lopes, Almeida and Pinto 2020; Unpublished (RRA)
46	*Miróbriga*	Diogo 1999; Quaresma 2012; Quaresma and Raposo 2016
47	Sines	Diogo 1999; Silva and Coelho-Soares 2006
48	Ilha do Pessegueiro	Silva and Soares 1993
49	Cabo Sardão	Diogo and Reiner 1987
50	Monte Moliao	Arruda et al. 2008; Arruda and Sousa 2012; Viegas and Arruda 2013; Arruda and Viegas 2016
51	Montemar	Unpublished (RRA)
52	Rio Arade	Silva, Coelho-Soares and Soares 1987; Diogo, Cardoso and Reiner 2000; Unpublished (RRA)
53	Cerro da Vila	Personal observation (RRA)
54	Loulé Velho	Almeida and Viegas forthcoming; Unpublished (RRA)
55	Quinta do Lago	Arruda 2019
56	Milreu	Personal observation (RRA)
57	*Ossonoba* / Faro	Almeida et al. 2014; Unpublished (RRA)
58	*Balsa*	Viegas 2011; Unpublished (RRA)

Table 1 (cont.). Lusitana 3. Significance in the studied amphorae assemblages from Lusitana.

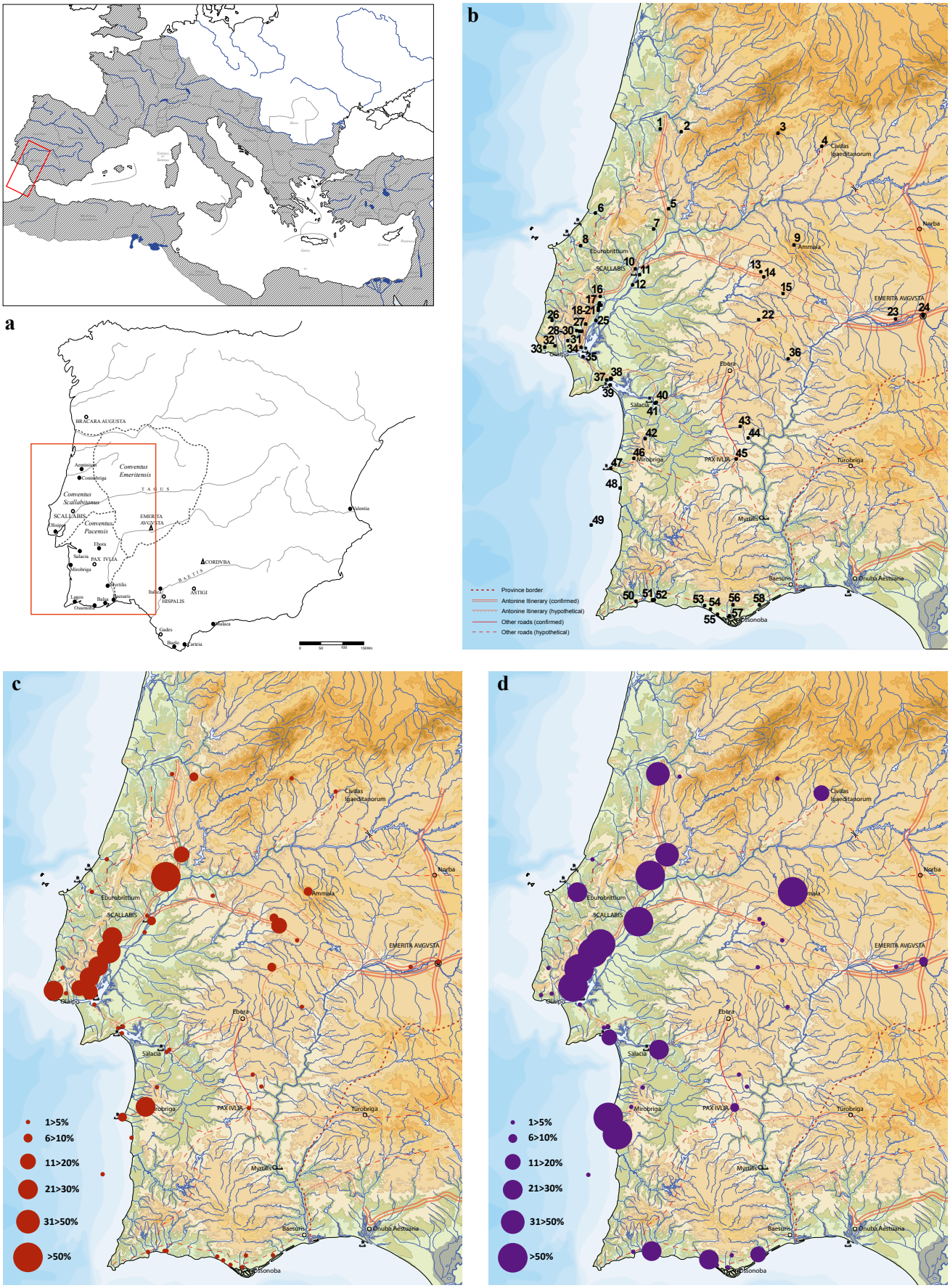


Fig. 3. a) Location of Lusitania in the Mediterranean and in Hispania; b) sites and assemblages with Lusitana 3 amphorae in Lusitania; c) distribution of Lusitana 3 amphorae by % of MNI in the total of the samples; d) distribution of Lusitana 3 amphorae by % of MNI of the wine amphorae between the late 1st and mid 3rd century AD (© Almeida and Filipe).

4. The other side of the coin: the Lusitana 3 diffusion outside Lusitania

At the same time, the recent identification of Lusitana 3 wine amphora exports to several places in the western Mediterranean confirmed that its commerce is not confined to the provincial markets and allows us to draw new paths of study (**fig. 5**). In the last 10 years, Lusitana 3 has been very well documented in *Baetica*, especially in the Guadalquivir Valley (Fabião 2006; Vazquez Paz 2012; Garcia Vargas 2015; 2016), which is the first region outside Lusitania where it was recorded in large quantities.

In the cities of Seville (García Vargas, 2015: 398; 2016: 288-294) and Munigua (Fabião 2006: 106-107), Lusitana 3 is the major wine amphora type in the 2nd and 3rd century AD, surpassing the wines from Gaul, *Italia,* and the Eastern Mediterranean. Still in the Guadalquivir Valley and near Seville, Lusitana 3 is also well documented in the city of Italica (Vázquez Paz 2012: 261, fig. 2; García Vargas 2016: 287).

Despite having been registered on the Baetican coast, it only appears occasionally in Cadiz and in Carteia (Algeciras) (Bernal Casasola 2001: 267; 2011: 11-12; 2016: 301). It is not known in the Tarraconensis province.

Outside *Hispania*, Lusitana 3 has only been recorded in small quantities. Even so, its presence is attested throughout the western half of the Mediterranean, which is quite significant regarding its extra-provincial diffusion. It is recorded in *Gallia*, in the cities of Bordeaux (Laubenheimer and Watier 1991: 14, fig. 15) and Arles (Quaresma 2018: 204), and also in the Island of Sardinia (Bombico 2016: tab. 25).

In the Italian Peninsula, Lusitana 3 is known both in the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coast, respectively at Ostia (Palma and Panella 1968: 101 y tav. XXVIII, fig. 460) and Aquileia (Gaddi and Degrassi 2016: 439). Finally, a complete Lusitana 3 amphora was found in the Pupput necropolis in Tunisia, North Africa (Bonifay 2004: 150, n. 16). Regarding the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the provinces of *Brittania* and *Germania,* in the North of the Empire, Lusitana 3 does not seem to have been found yet.

5. Final remarks

Lusitana 3 was produced perhaps from late 1st, certainly from early 2nd century AD (Quaresma and Raposo 2016; Fabião 2021: 76; Filipe 2021: 205), and it seems to have been produced in large proportions only from the second quarter of this century onwards, till mid-3rd century AD.

Considering the data from the pottery production centres as well as the consumption sites, it looks like the production of Lusitana 3 could have been more expressive in the Tagus Valley than in the Sado Valley. We believe future research will hopefully clarify this question.

In this study, the importance of Lusitana 3 has been highlighted in the consumption of wine in the province, representing between 30% and 90% of the wine amphorae in the cities and *villae*. Nevertheless, beyond the apparent robustness of these values, there is still a huge need for research and of quantified amphorae assemblages in order to allow a deeper and more detailed analysis of this amphora type, its distribution and commerce across the provincial frame.

The increase of wine production in the Tagus and Sado Valleys in the 2nd century AD is visible both in regional supply of wine and in its export to other provinces. This is corroborated by pollen analysis in sediments as well as by the increasing of wine presses and *cella vinaria* in the *Olisipo* area (Fabião 2021; Rocha 2021; Currás et al. 2021). This brings us to reconsider the importance of the viticulture activity in the economy of Lusitania, especially in the Tagus and Sado Valleys, as one of its main economic drivers, along with the exploitation of marine resources (Filipe 2021; 2023; Fabião 2021).

As to exports, Lusitana 3 was exported heavily to Baetica (Fabião 2006; García Vargas 2015; 2016). This privileged commercial relation is still not easy to understand, not least because on the Baetican coast the same thing does not seem to happen. We should also mention the inscription of *Marcus Cassius Sempronianus*, *Diffusor olearius* from *Olisipo*, who had a commercial activity associated with the Baetican olive oil business, underlining the strong economic and commercial ties between *Olisipo* and *Baetica* (González Fernández 1983; Loyzance 1986).

Finally, we should draw attention to the fact that Lusitana 3 is most probably under-represented in other provinces of the Empire, and that the real volume that its exportation reached remains to be seen.

Bearing in mind what has been said above, it seems time to reconsider the importance of viticulture as one of the main economic driving forces of the Tagus and Sado river valley regions at least since the 2nd century AD, together with the better known and studied exploitation of marine resources.

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THE ROMAN *VILLA* OF CARDÍLIO (TORRES NOVAS, PORTUGAL) IN THE MEDITERRANEAN TRADE: THE IMPORT OF COMMODITIES IN AMPHORAE

Situated in the Tagus Valley, the Roman villa *of Cardílio was positioned, during Roman times, on the borderlands between the territories of the* civitates *of* Scallabis *(Santarém) and* Seilium *(Tomar), as well as between mountainous and plain regions. Its proximity to the XVI road of Antonino's itinerary and to the Almonda and Tagus rivers facilitated connections to the coast, particularly to* Olisipo *(Lisbon), thus enabling participation in regional commercial networks and the acquisition of goods from distant regions. This study aims to present the assemblage of amphorae imported from various Mediterranean regions and to delineate the main trends and consumption patterns within the* villa *between the 1st and 4th/5th centuries AD.*

Lusitania – Roman *villa* – Roman trade – amphorae – imports of foodstuffs

Introduction

Villa Cardílio is the most emblematic Roman site in the present-day territory of Torres Novas Municipality and one of the most renowned Roman *villae* in the Portuguese Extremadura. This is attributed, on one hand, to the various excavation campaigns carried out in the 1960s and 1980s, which uncovered an extensive area of the *domus*, and on the other hand, to some of the *villa*'s unique features, notably the quantity and quality of the *opus tessellatum* pavements. Among these pavements, the mosaic featuring an inscription of the landlords' names and their probable portrait representations is particularly noteworthy (Paço 1963; Monteiro 1999).

The project '*Villa* Cardílio and the Romanization of the Almonda basin' initiated in 2021, emerged within the framework of a cooperation agreement between the Municipality of Torres Novas and UNIARQ - Centre for Archaeology of the University of Lisbon, School of Arts and Humanities. It encompasses three primary research strands: the examination of artifacts and archaeological contexts from previous excavations at *Villa* Cardílio (1960s and 1980s); new archaeological excavations in the *pars rustica* and *pars fructuaria*; and an analysis of Roman influence in the territory of the hydrographic basin of the Almonda River (Filipe et al. 2021).

This paper aligns with the first research strand mentioned above, focusing on the study of the ceramics recovered during the earlier excavations. The objective is to analyse the collection of amphorae imported from various regions of the Mediterranean and to establish the main trends and consumption patterns in the *villa* commerce relations between the 1st and 4th/5th centuries AD.

It is worth noting that a summary publication of an amphorae assemblage from *Villa* Cardílio was published some years ago (Diogo and Monteiro 1999). However, this publication, besides being incomplete and not fully representative of the overall imports discovered at the *villa*, lacks detailed characterization of some amphorae in terms of provenance and typology. This justifies a revision of the amphorae set's characterization, as well as the publication of the entire assemblage of imported containers (**fig. 1**).

Sample overview

The analysed amphora assemblage primarily originates from archaeological excavations conducted in the *pars urbana* of the *villa* by António Nunes Monteiro in the 1980s and, to a lesser extent, by Afonso do Paço in the 1960s.

Provenance	TS (total sherds)	% TS	MNI	% MNI	% MNI extra province
Lusitania, Tejo/Sado	515	84,3%	224	82,1%	
Lusitania, Peniche	2	0,3%	2	0,7%	
Total *Lusitania*	517	84,6%	226	82,8%	
Baetica, West coast	33	5,4%	17	6,2%	37,0%
Baetica, Guadalquivir Valley	34	5,6%	15	5,5%	32,6%
Total Baetica	67	11,0%	32	11,7%	69,6%
Tarraconensis, North coast	5	0,8%	2	0,7%	4,4%
Gallia Narbonensis	1	0,2%	1	0,4%	2,2%
Italia, Tyrrhenian coast	11	1,8%	4	1,5%	8,7%
Sicilia, Lipari Island	1	0,2%	1	0,4%	2,2%
North Africa	1	0,2%	1	0,4%	2,2%
Eastern Mediterranean	7	1,2%	5	1,8%	10,9%
Indeterminate	1	0,2%	1	0,4%	
Total	**611**	**100%**	**273**	**100%**	**100%**

Tab. 1. Global quantification of *villa* Cardílio amphorae.

The overall sample comprises 611 classifiable amphora sherds and 273 MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals): 83% correspond to Lusitanian productions, and 17% to extraprovincial imports. Within the latter category, 77% represent amphorae from the Principate era, and 23% pertain to Late Antiquity containers, spanning a chronology from the beginning of the Principate of Augustus to the 4th/5th century (**Table 1**).

Principate

Imports are predominantly represented by products from *Baetica* (70.6%), with the Guadalquivir Valley (41.2%) particularly standing out in comparison to the coastal regions (29.4%). From the western coast of Baetica, examples of Dressel 7-11, dating back to the 1st century AD, along with Dressel 7 and Dressel 9 from the last decades of the 1st century BC

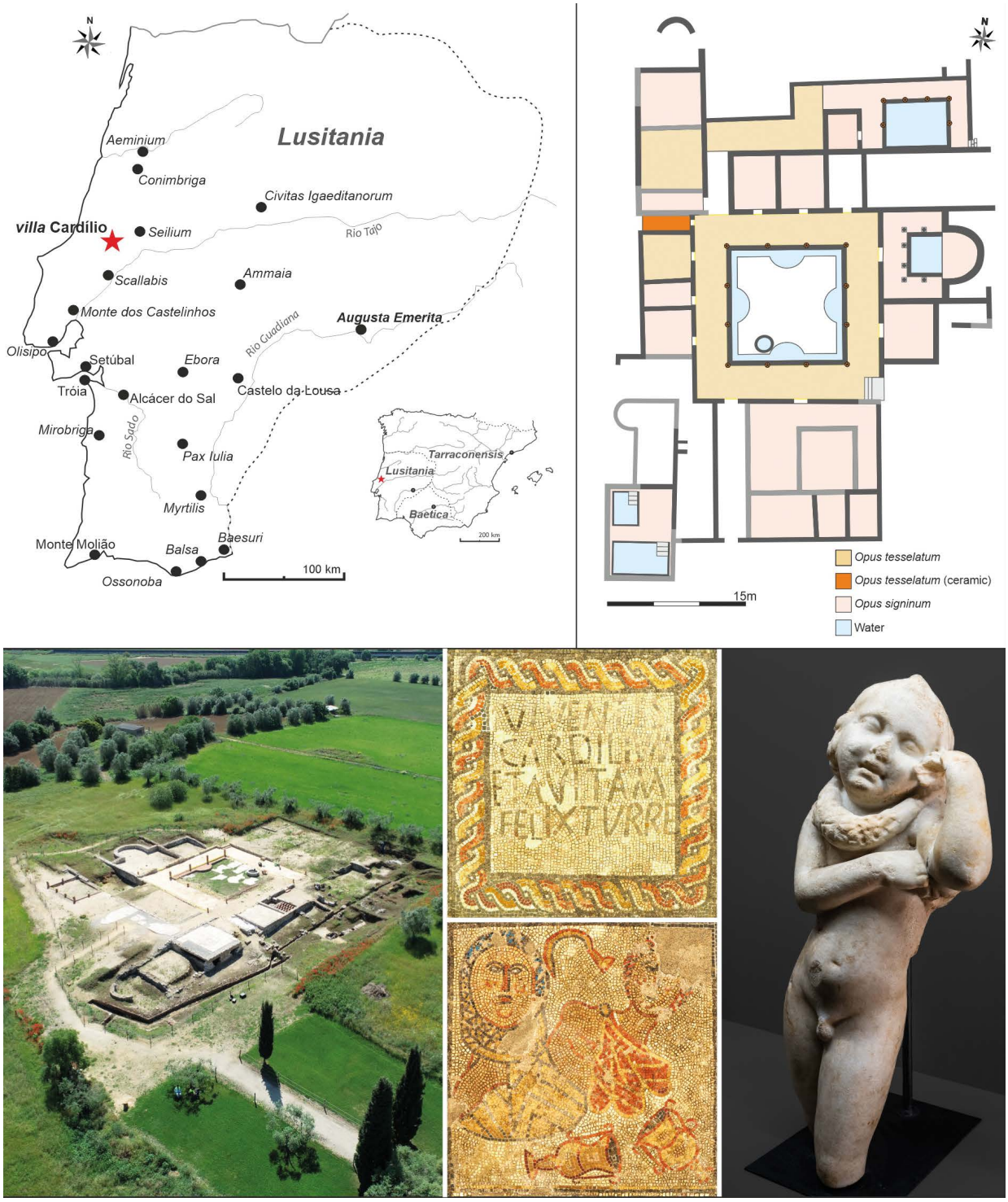


Fig. 1. Location of *villa* Cardílio; *pars urbana* plan; aerial photograph; details of some *villa*'s *opus tesselatum*; and statue of Eros, recovered in the 1963/64 excavations.

Provenance	Amphora type	MNI	% MNI	% MNI. in region	% MNI in province
Baetica, West coast	Dressel 7	1	2,9%	10%	4,2
	Dressel 9	1	2,9%	10%	4,2%
	Dressel 7-11	3	8,8%	30%	12,5%
	Dressel 28	1	2,9%	10%	4,2%
	Beltrán IIA	2	5,9%	20%	8,3%
	Beltrán IIB	2	5,9%	20%	8,3%
	Total	**10**	**29,4%**	**100%**	**41,7%**
Baetica, Guadalquivir Valley	Oberaden 83/Ovoid 7	1	2,9%	7,1%	4,2%
	Haltern 70 (Augustus-Tiberius)	3	8,8%	21,4%	12,5%
	Haltern 70 (Claudius-Nero)	1	2,9%	7,1%	4,2%
	Dressel 2-4	2	5,9%	14,3%	8,3%
	Dressel 20 (Julio-Claudian)	1	2,9%	7,1%	4,2%
	Dressel 20 (Nero-Vespasian)	1	2,9%	7,1%	4,2%
	Dressel 20 (Flavian-Trajan)	1	2,9%	7,1%	4,2%
	Dressel 20 (Antonin)	4	11,8%	28,6%	16,7%
	Total	**14**	**41,2%**	**100%**	**58,3%**
Tarraconensis, North coast	Dressel 3-2	2	5,9%	100%	100%
	Total	**2**	**5,9%**	**100%**	
Gallia Narbonensis	Gauloise 4	1	2,9%	100%	100%
	Total	**1**	**2,9%**	**100%**	
Italia, Tyrrhenian coast	Dressel 2-4	3	8,8%	100%	100%
	Total	**3**	**8,8%**	**100%**	
Sicilia, Lipari Island	Richborough 527	1	2,9%	100%	100%
	Total	**1**	**2,9%**	**100%**	
Eastern Mediterranean	Late Rhodian/Camulodunum 184	1	2,9%	33,3%	33,3%
	Dressel 2-4/5	2	5,9%	66,7%	66,7%
	Total	**3**	**8,8%**	**100%**	**100%**
Total		**34**	**100%**		

Tab. 2. Extraprovincial imports quantification during the Principate, by provenance regions.

Content	Provenance	Amphora type	MNI	% MNI	% MNI in region	% MNI in province	% MNI in content
Fish products	*Baetica*, West coast	Dressel 7	1	2,9%	11,1%	11,1%	11,1%
		Dressel 9	1	2,9%	11,1%	11,1%	11,1%
		Dressel 7-11	3	8,8%	33,3%	33,3%	33,3%
		Beltrán IIA	2	5,9%	22,2%	22,2%	22,2%
		Beltrán IIB	2	5,9%	22,2%	22,2%	22,2%
		Total	**9**	**26,5%**			**100%**
	Total		**9**	**26,5%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Wine	*Baetica*, West coast	Dressel 28	1	2,9%	100%	14,3%	6,3%
		Total	**1**	**2,9%**	**100%**	**14,3%**	**6,3%**
	Baetica, Guadalquivir Valley	Haltern 70 (Augustus-Tiberius)	3	8,8%	50%	42,9%	18,8%
		Haltern 70 (Claudius-Nero)	1	2,9%	16,7%	14,3%	6,3%
		Dressel 2-4	2	5,9%	33,3%	28,6%	12,5%
		Total	**6**	**17,6%**	**100%**	**100%**	**37,5%**
	Tarraconensis, North coast	Dressel 3-2	2	5,9%	100%	100%	12,5%
		Total	**2**	**5,9%**	**100%**	**100%**	**12,5%**
	Gallia Narbonensis	Gauloise 4	1	2,9%	100%	100%	6,3%
		Total	**1**	**2,9%**	**100%**	**100%**	**6,3%**
	Italia, Tyrrhenian coast	Dressel 2-4	3	8,8%	100,0%	100%	18,8%
		Total	**3**	**8,8%**	**100,0%**	**100%**	**18,8%**
	Eastern Mediterranean	Late Rhodian/Camulodunum 184	1	2,9%	33,3%	33,3%	6,3%
		Dressel 2-4/5	2	5,9%	66,7%	66,7%	12,5%
		Total	**3**	**8,8%**	**100,0%**	**100%**	**18,8%**
	Total		**16**	**47,1%**			**12,5%**
Olive oil	*Baetica*, Guadalquivir Valley	Oberaden 83/Ovóide 7	1	2,9%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
		Dressel 20 (Julio-Claudian)	1	2,9%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
		Dressel 20 (Nero-Vespasian)	1	2,9%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
		Dressel 20 (Flavian-Trajan)	1	2,9%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
		Dressel 20 (Antonin)	4	11,8%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
		Total	**8**	**23,5%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	Total		**8**	**23,5%**			**100%**
Alum	*Sicilia*, Lipari Island	Richborough 527	1	2,9%	100%	100%	100%
		Total	1	2,9%	100%	100%	100%
	Total		**1**	**2,9%**			**100%**
Total			**34**	**100%**			

Tab. 3. Extraprovincial imports quantification during the Principate, by content.

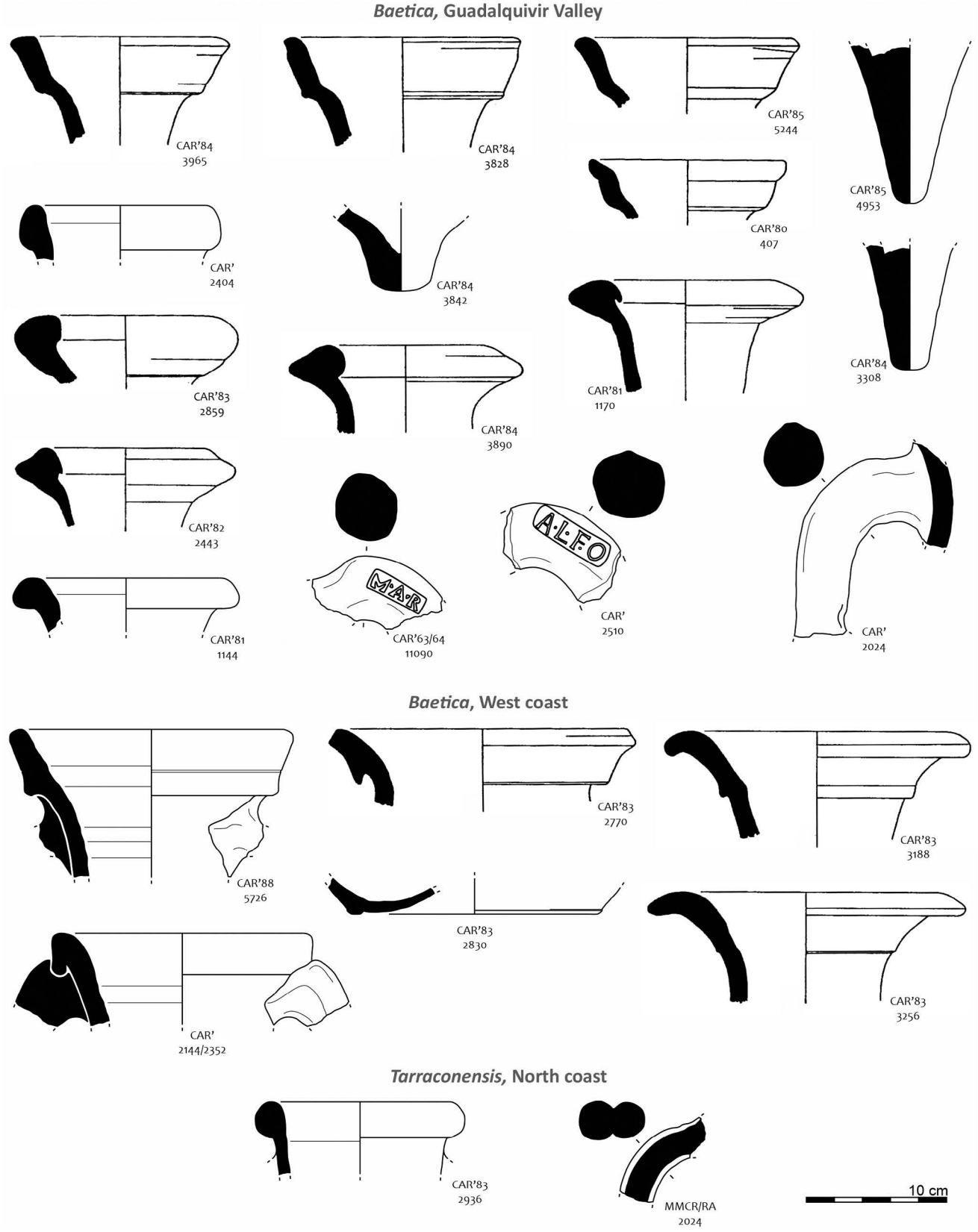


Fig. 2. Principate imports. *Baetica*, Guadalquivir Valley: Haltern 70 Augustus-Tiberius (3965*, 3828*, 407*), Haltern 70 Claudius-Nero (5244*), Haltern 70 (4953, 3308), Oberaden 83/Ovoid 7 (2404), Indeterminate Ovoid (3842), Dressel 20 Julio-Claudian (2859*, 11090), Dressel 20 Flavian-Trajan (1170*), Dressel 20 Antonin (3890*, 2443*, 2510, 2024), Dressel 2-4 (1144). *Baetica*, West coast: Dressel 7 (5726), Dressel 9 (2770*), Dressel 7-11 (3188*), Dressel 28? (2830), Beltrán IIA (2144/2352), Beltrán IIB (3256*). *Tarraconensis*, North coast: Dressel 3-2 (2936, 2024). * in Diogo and Monteiro 1999.

and early 1st century AD, have been identified. Additionally, Beltrán IIA and IIB, circulating primarily between the middle of the 1st and the 2nd century AD, are present in slightly smaller proportions. Dressel 28 is also noted from the western coast of *Baetica*.

Among imports from the Guadalquivir Valley, Oberaden 83/Ovoid 7 stands out, dating from the last two decades of the 1st century BC to the first decade of the 1st century AD. All the variants of Dressel 20 are attested, spanning from the Julio-Claudian Dynasty to the Antonine era, with a notable predominance of the latter. Haltern 70 is mainly represented by the Augustus-Tiberius variant and, to a lesser extent, by the Claudius-Nero variant. Additionally, two Dressel 2-4 specimens produced in the Guadalquivir Valley were identified.

Following Baetican imports in significance are those from *Italia* and the Eastern Mediterranean (8.8% each). From the former, only Dressel 2-4 was recorded, a common occurrence in Lusitanian sites, with exceptions noted in *Olisipo* (Filipe 2023) and *Augusta Emerita* (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo 2013) where other types from that region during the Empire period were observed.

Similarly, regarding imports from the Eastern Mediterranean, only the most common forms in the Western Iberian Peninsula are present: Late Rhodian/Camulodunum 184 and Dressel 2-4/5, the latter being more prevalent (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo 2013; Filipe 2023). Although less prominent, imports from Tarraconensis (5.9%), Gallia (2.9%), and Lipari Island (2.9%) are also documented, each represented by a single amphora type: Dressel 3-2, Gauloise 4, and Richborough 527, respectively.

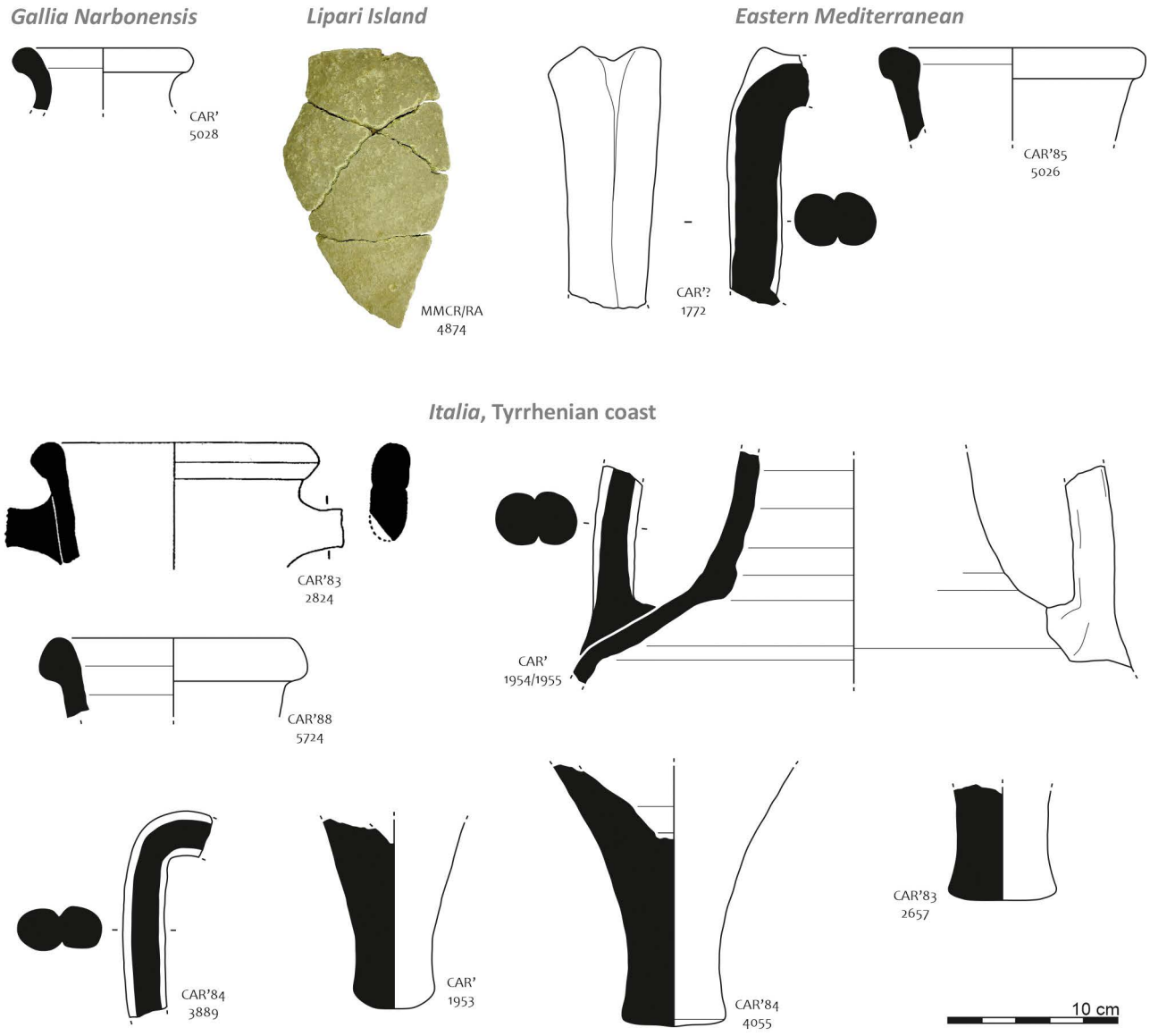


Fig. 3. Principate imports. *Gallia Narbonensis*: Gauloise 4 (5028). *Sicilia*, Lipari Island: Richborough 527 (4874). *Italia*, Tyrrhenian coast: Dressel 2-4 (2824*, 1954/1955, 5724, 3889, 1953, 4055, 2657). Eastern Mediterranean: Dressel 2-4/5 pinched handle (1772), Late Rhodian/Camulodunum 184 (5026). * in Diogo and Monteiro 1999.

Regarding foodstuffs, wine imports predominate (47%) over olive oil (23.5%) and fish products (26.5%). Unlike fish products and olive oil, wine imports come from various regions across the Mediterranean, primarily from the Guadalquivir Valley (37.5%), *Italia*, and the Eastern Mediterranean (18.8% each). Products from *Tarraconensis*, *Gallia*, and the western coast of *Baetica* are also included. Olive oil and fish product imports exclusively originate from the Guadalquivir Valley and the Baetican coast, respectively. Imports are supplemented with *alumen* from Lipari Island, comprising 2.9%.

Late Antiquity

During Late Antiquity, *Baetica* remains the predominant importer (70%), with products from the coastal area standing out in this period (60%) compared to those from the Guadalquivir Valley (10%). From the latter region, only the 3rd-century variant of Dressel 20 is attested, carrying olive oil, which continues to be imported exclusively from the Guadalquivir Valley.

The prevalence of imports from the Western coast of *Baetica* is primarily based on the prominence of Keay XVI, which, along with Almagro 51C, also from *Baetica*, constituted the only extraprovincial imports of fish products in *villa* Cardílio during this time. This resurgence of Baetican fish product imports, in significant quantities, is also evident in other consumption centres in Lusitania, particularly in *Olisipo* (Filipe, Pimenta and Almeida 2021: 122; Filipe 2023: 549).

There are also imports from the Eastern Mediterranean (20%) and from North Africa (10%). From the former region, LRA 1 and LRA 3 are attested, both used for the transport of wine, providing valuable evidence of the continuity of food product imports in a later phase. They probably arrived at *villa* Cardílio between the 4th and 5th centuries, periods during which they were more common (Pieri 2005). From North Africa, only the presence of Africana IIA has been documented. The question regarding which product they carried has not yet been fully resolved, with both wine and fish currently being considered (Rizzo 2014; Bonifay 2021).

In summary, during Late Antiquity, fish products constitute the majority of food imports (67%), predominantly represented by Keay XVI type amphorae from the Baetican West coast. Wine (22%) came exclusively from the Eastern Mediterranean, and olive oil (11%) from the Guadalquivir Valley.

Final Remarks

Villa Cardílio, situated in the Tagus Valley, benefitted from significant fluvial and terrestrial trade routes within the territory, facilitated by the Tagus River and the XVI road

Provenance	Amphora type	MNI	% MNI	% MNI. in region	% MNI in province
***Baetica,* West coast**	Keay XVI	4	40%	66,7%	57,1%
	Almagro 51C	2	20%	33,3%	28,6%
	Total	**6**	**60%**	**100%**	
***Baetica,* Guadalquivir Valley**	Dressel 20 (3rd century)	1	10%	100%	14,3%
	Total	**1**	**10%**	**100%**	**100%**
North Africa	Africana IIA	1	10%	100%	100%
	Total	**1**	**10%**	**100%**	**100%**
Eastern Mediterranean	LRA 1	1	10%	50%	50%
	LRA 3	1	10%	50%	50%
	Total	**2**	**20%**	**100%**	**100%**
Total		**10**	**100%**		

Tab. 4. Extraprovincial imports quantification during Late Antiquity, by provenance regions.

Content	Provenance	Amphora type	MNI	% MNI	% MNI in region	% MNI in province	% MNI in content
Fish products	*Baetica*, West coast	Keay XVI	4	40%	67%	67%	67%
		Almagro 51C	2	20%	33%	33%	33%
		Total	**6**	**60%**	**100%**		**100%**
	Total		**6**	**60%**			**100%**
Wine and wine products	Eastern Mediterranean	Late Roman 1	1	10%	50%	50%	50%
		Late Roman 3	1	10%	50%	50%	50%
		Total	**2**	**20%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	Total		**2**	**20%**			**100%**
Olive oil	*Baetica*, Guadalquivir Valley	Dressel 20 (3rd century)	1	10%	100%	100%	100%
		Total	**1**	**10%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	Total		**1**	**10%**			**100%**
Indet.	North Africa	Africana IIA	1	10%	100%	100%	100%
		Total	**1**	**10%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
	Total		**1**	**10%**			**100%**
Total			**10**	**100%**			

Tab. 5. Extraprovincial imports quantification during Late Antiquity, by content.

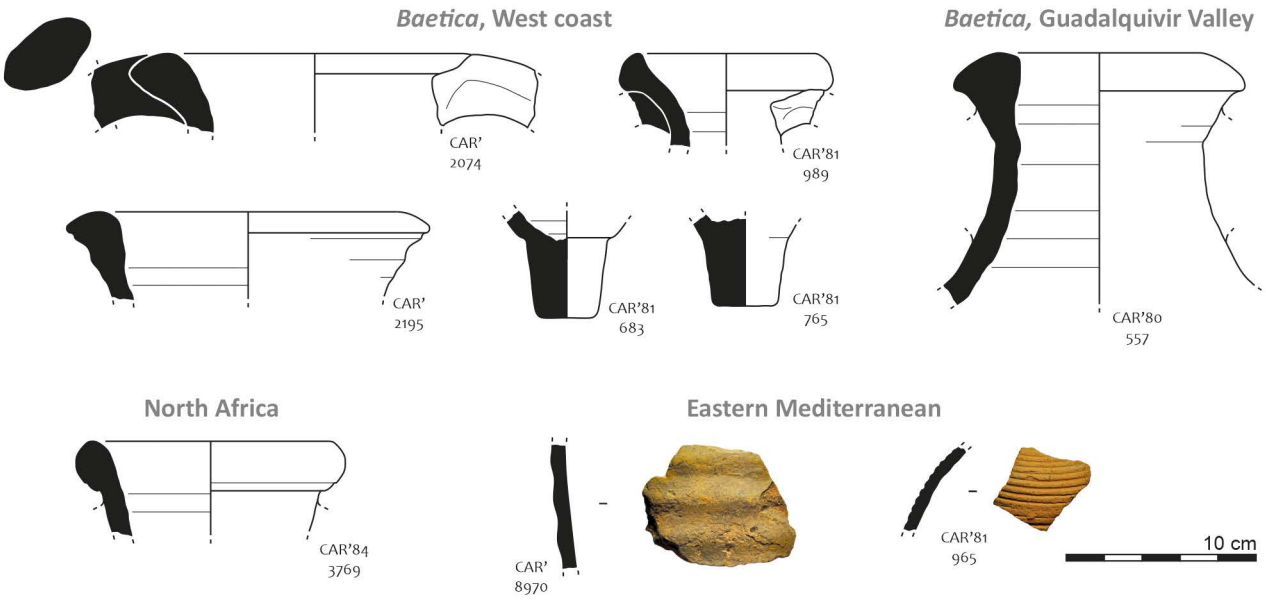


Fig. 4. Late Antiquity imports. *Baetica*, West coast: Keay XVI (2074, 2195), Almagro 51C (989, 683, 765). *Baetica*, Guadalquivir Valley: Dressel 20 3rd century variant (557). North Africa: Africana IIA (3769). Eastern Mediterranean: Late Roman 1 (965), Late Roman 3 (8970).

of Antonino's itinerary (*Olisipo-Bracara Augusta*). This connected the *villa* to *Olisipo*, serving as a vital commercial hub for the inland regions. The accessibility to regional trade networks is evidenced by the diverse range of food products imported from across the Mediterranean.

It's important to note that the precise chronology of the *villa*'s establishment remains unclear. António Nunes Monteiro suggests a possible foundation in the 1st century AD (Monteiro 1999: 105), although current knowledge only definitively places it during the Principate of Claudius. This is supported by the volume of materials unearthed in earlier excavations, indicating a more substantial occupation during this period, with fewer artifacts from earlier periods.

Nevertheless, the presence of somewhat older amphorae among the extraprovincial imports is intriguing. These include Dressel 7, Dressel 9, Oberaden 83/Ovoid 7, and Haltern 70, Augustus-Tiberius variant, which circulated roughly between the last quarter of the 1st century BC and the Principate of Tiberius. Additionally, imports of *terra sigillata*, thin-walled ware, and coins from the Augustus and Tiberius periods have been documented, indicating an earlier occupation at the site, possibly related to a rural and agricultural nucleus.

Interestingly, 77% of the imported amphorae from *Villa* Cardílio are attributed to the Principate, with only 23% attributed to Late Antiquity, despite the known ruins at the *villa* mainly dating to the Late Period.

During the Principate, extraprovincial imports appear more significant during the 1st century AD, with a slight decline observed in the 2nd century AD. This decline coincides with the peak of the fish products industry and wine exploitation in Lusitania during the 2nd century AD, which likely supplied regional markets. These trends are observable in consumption centers throughout the province.

In Late Antiquity, there is a noticeable decrease in imports, particularly in wine imports, which represent only 20% and originate exclusively from the Eastern Mediterranean in the 4th and 5th centuries. Baetican fish products are prevalent in the 3rd and 4th centuries, while the import of olive oil seems to be restricted to the 3rd century and to Baetican products. Though data for this period is limited, these trends are generally consistent with those observed in *Olisipo* (Filipe, Pimenta and Almeida 2021).

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CERAMIC CONTEXTS OF THE OCCIDENTAL NECROPOLIS IN TROIA (PORTUGAL)

The recent excavation of an area lying northwest of the so-called Mensa-Tomb Necropolis (excavated in the 1970s) at the site of Troia revealed the continuation of the same funerary area, the whole cemetery having been recently renamed as Occidental Necropolis. Similar rectangular and sigma-shaped mensa tombs were exposed, but heavy disturbance caused by several interventions in the relatively recent past also revealed earlier phases of the necropolis. Relative stratigraphy and tomb type allowed the grouping of some 60 tombs into four main phases.
The ceramics collected in the recent excavation of the necropolis (2021), and especially the sigillata and the amphorae, indicate funerary activity running from the 2nd century until the second half of the 4th century AD.

Troia – Roman necropolis – *Mensa* tombs – African Red Slip Ware – Amphorae

1. Introduction

The Roman ruins of Troia are located on the southwestern coast of Portugal, set on a sand embankment between the Sado Estuary and the Atlantic Ocean. It was probably an island in Roman times, and today comprises a peninsula (**fig. 1**). Roman remains extend for 2km and multiple investigations have demonstrated an intense fish-salting production from the 1st to the 5th centuries AD (Étienne, Makaroun and Mayet 1994; Pinto, Magalhães and Brum 2014) with vestiges of occupation until the 6th century, or even the 7th (Magalhães, Pinto and Brum 2020).

The importance of the fish-salting industry seems to have created the conditions for the development of an urban settlement, as demonstrated in the construction of some infrastructures to support the daily and ritual life of this community: a residential quarter, a bath complex, a mausoleum, wells, several necropolises and, late in the day, an Early Christian church.

According to the data recovered so far (Pinto, Magalhães and Brum 2018), the first fish-salting workshops were built in the Tiberian period, initiating the first phase of fish-salting here. The archaeological data shows that, after more than a century, there was an interruption of activity, somewhere in the second half of the 2nd century: exactly when is unclear. In the early 3rd century, after an extensive remodeling that subdivided the large workshops into smaller ones, a second phase of production restarted. In the late 3rd century or first half of the 4th century, further remodeling in workshops 1 and 2 occurred, starting a third phase of activity that continued until the second quarter of the 5th century.

In 2021, as part of an environmental impact study to evaluate a touristic project proposed in the area of the Roman ruins, a number of rescue archaeological investigations were developed. In two contiguous areas, more structures of an already known Roman necropolis were exposed.

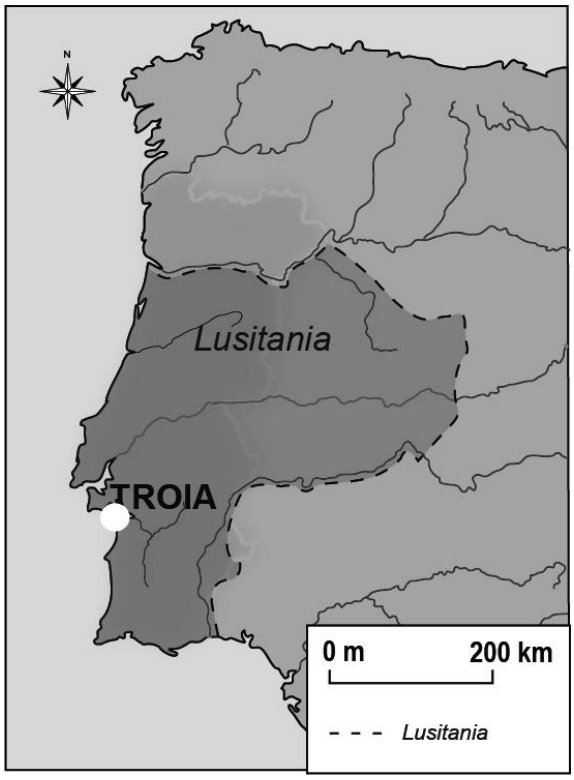


Fig. 1. Location of Troia.

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The first area (area 1) of excavation took place inside a room of a modern house, where the other one (area 2) was a much larger open space at the east and southeast of the same (**fig. 2**). In area 1, the current floor of the compartment was c. 1.5m below the top of the archaeological levels in area 2, indicating that the most recent levels of the necropolis had there been removed to build the structure. Therefore, in area 1, only the earliest occupation of the necropolis was preserved. In area 2 the modern and contemporaneous disturbances were restricted, and mostly concentrated to the northwest limit of the area explored. So, here several later phases of the necropolis were preserved.

In this part of the necropolis, it was possible to identify a complex and diverse stratigraphy. There was recorded a succession of deposits of anthropic origin – of greater and lesser extent – as formed by a succession of floors, determinable by the deposition of compacted clayish sediments. These deposits were cut into for the placement of new graves, which reused materials and structures taken from others. They were interspersed with levels of sand laid down by wind action, evidently marking moments with less human presence.

The analysis of the relative stratigraphy and tomb type allowed the definition of four main phases, and a later one with only a few scattered and diverse tombs.

This paper presents the *terra sigillata*, the African Red Slip Ware, the lamps, the African Cooking Ware and the amphorae of the stratigraphic units that contribute to the phasing of the necropolis. The study of these and other ceramic types, as well as of the other artifacts, will be developed in a more extended publication.



Fig. 2. Aerial view of the necropolis (orthophoto THEIA): areas 1 and 2.

2. Ceramics from the different phases of the necropolis

Phase 1 corresponds to a period with cremations and infant inhumations, either in a simple ditch or in a structured grave. Stratigraphy allowed the further definition of three subdivisions in this phase.

In area 1, two large overlapping deposits were excavated, which should correspond to two successive clay surfaces: the S.U. [42] over S.U.'s: [60]=[81]=[93].

In the most recent deposit – S.U. [42], four children were buried: two were inhumed in simple ditches (tombs 56 and 58) and one in a brick-built tomb – tomb 60 (S.U.'s [75] and [82]). A cremation grave was also made – tomb 57 – but was much affected by the later graves 62 and 58.

In the deposits [60], [81] and [93], three newborn babies were buried in simple ditches – tombs 55, 55 and 59. Also a *bustum* type structure – S.U. [100] – was built, inside which tomb 63 was identified. With the exception of tomb 58 (west-east) all the inhumations from the two layers of tombs were oriented southeast-northwest.

Under the earliest surface was a sandy deposit [166], only partially excavated, and not yet clearly interpreted.

With regard to the ceramic finds, this earliest deposit [166] only offered a small fragment of a Baetican volute lamp (**fig. 3, 1** no. 19958), possibly form Bailey B / Loeschcke IV / Dressel 10/11. Its shoulder is of type IIIB, equivalent to Malagoli L.7a. Its date spans the reigns of Tiberius to Trajan, not later than the second decade of the 2nd century.

The circulation level where the first tombs were cut ([60]=[81]=[93]) presented Gaulish *sigillata* form Drag. 27 (**fig. 3, 2-3**, nos. 24375 and 24382), Hispanic *sigillata* form Drag. 15/17 (**fig. 3, 4**, no. 18996) and Drag. 27, African Red Slip Ware A form Hayes 3B (**fig. 3, 5**, no. 18998) and Hayes 9A (**fig. 3, 6**, no. 18698), and finally fragments of Dressel 14 amphora handles.

The deposit [42] that covered the first tombs offered different types of ceramics. The fine wares include Gaulish *sigillata* forms Drag. 27 (**fig. 3, 7**, no. 18709), Drag. 15/17 (**fig. 3, 8**, no. 18710), Drag. 24/25 and Hispanic *sigillata* form Drag. 15/17, African Red Slip Ware A forms Hayes 3C (**fig. 3, 9**, no. 18743) and Hayes 9B. There were also African Cooking Ware forms Hayes 23B (**fig. 3, 10**, no. 18771) and Hayes 185C (**fig. 3, 11**, no. 18751). The amphorae were represented by the regional Lusitanian Dressel 14 variant C (**fig. 3, 12-13**, nos. 18719 and 18721) and the African II A (**fig. 3, 14**, no. 18730).

The filling of tomb 60, S.U. [75] and [82], presented fragments of Hispanic *sigillata* form Drag. 15/17, unclassifiable fragments of African Red Slip Ware A, regional Lusitanian amphorae Dressel 14 variant C (**fig. 3, 15**, no. 18930) and

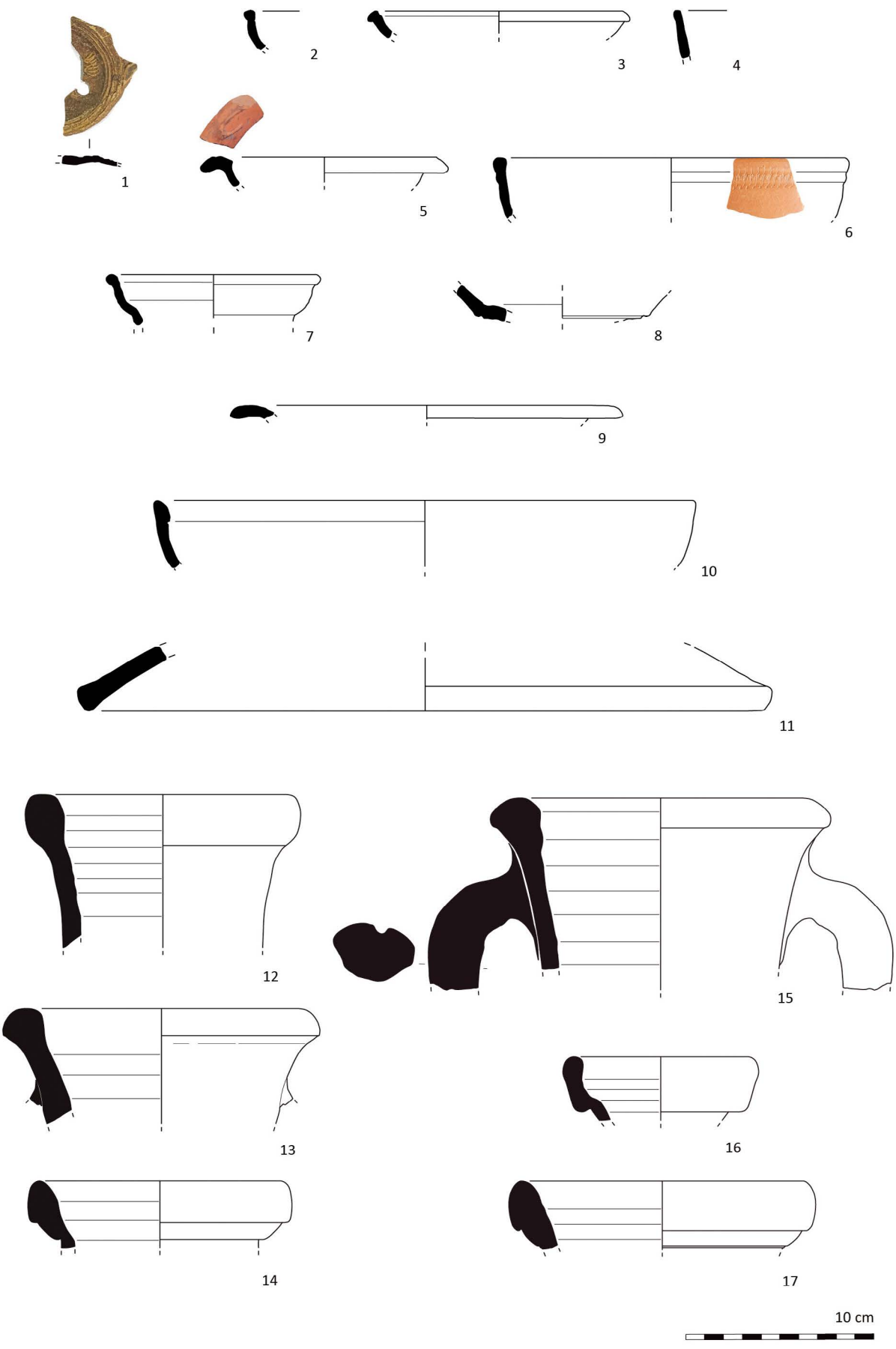


Fig. 3. Ceramics of phase 1.

Lusitana 3 (**fig. 3, 16**, no. 26111), alongside African II A (**fig. 3, 17**, no. 19008).

The ceramics above mentioned suggest that the earliest deposits where the first tombs were cut dated to the 2nd century, since they have mainly Gaulish with Hispanic *sigillata* and African Red Slip Ware forms produced in the 2nd century, as well as the regional Lusitanian amphora Dressel 14 var. C, typical of that century. The deposit that covers the first tombs and the filling of one of those tombs also presented Gaulish and Hispanic *sigillata*, as well as the regional Lusitanian 2nd century Dressel 14 amphora. However, slightly later forms also appear, pointing to a second moment of burials: African Red Slip Ware A form Hayes 9B, from the second half of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 3rd century (Hayes 1980: 515; Carandini et al. 1981: 27) and the amphora African II A, under production since the end of the 2nd century (Bonifay 2004: 111). This amphora places the tombs of the second stage at the very end of the 2nd century, if not in the early 3rd century.

One of the most interesting elements of this necropolis is a funerary precinct identified in the large open area 2. Inside was a rectangular brick tomb with the ashes of a cremation with an exceptionally well preserved and unique set of 11 glass vessels and a number of metal, ivory and bone objects, but no ceramics. Danièle Foy dates the glass vessels from the end of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century (Foy and Pinto, forthcoming).

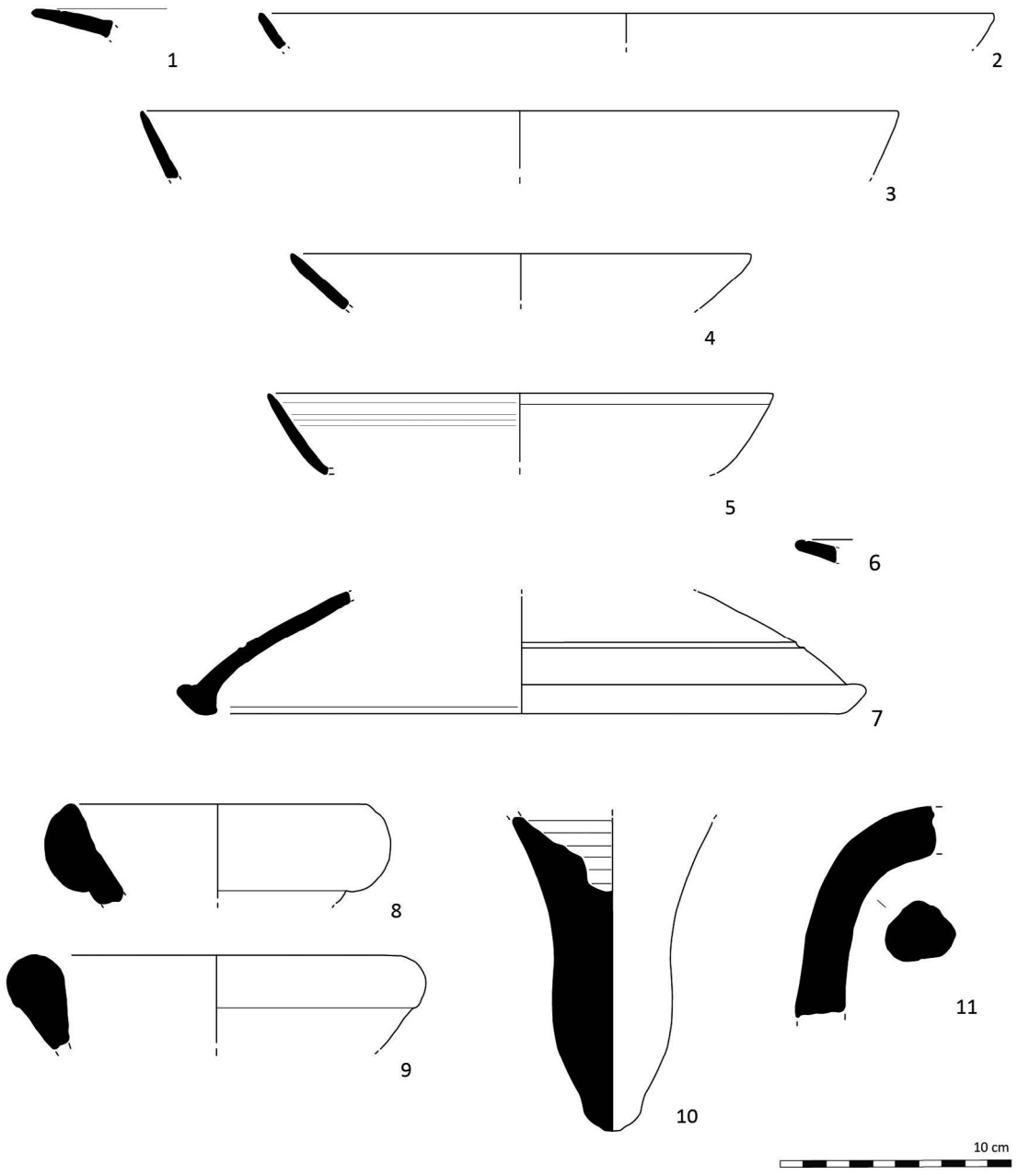


Fig. 4. Ceramics of phase 3.

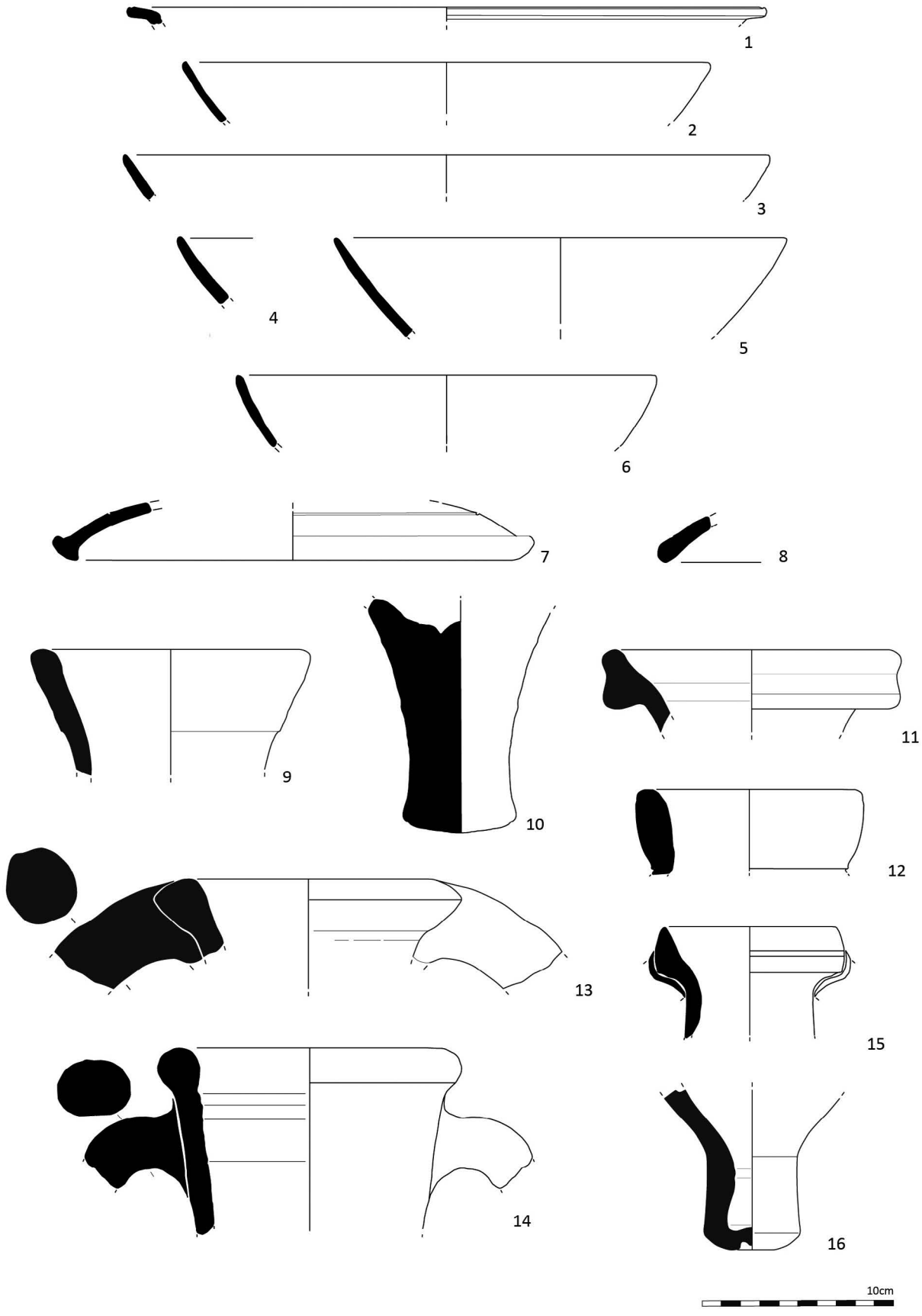


Fig. 5. Ceramics of phase 4.

Even though this tomb and funerary precinct do not have any direct stratigraphic connection yet found with the child tombs of area 1, there are indirect cultural associations, like the funerary rite of cremation and the fact that inside the precinct there were also two newborn inhumations in ditches, very similar to those in area 1. This tomb in its funerary precinct could be from the end of Phase 1, thereby representing a third moment in this phase. Another possibility is to relate this tomb and its funerary precinct to the *cupae* and funerary monuments of Phase 2 that may have either cremations or inhumations (none of them was excavated).

Phase 2 includes *cupae* and funerary monuments that have been exposed, or partially exposed, but, as just stated, not excavated. Therefore, only relative stratigraphy may date this phase.

Phase 3 is marked by the early rectangular *mensa* tombs with an *opus signinum* covering, but without a structured funerary casing to them, as well as by simple graves made of bricks and/or stone. This phase is defined by data from successive and overlapping layers and tombs. They may reuse part of earlier *cupae* as their base, cutting and rearranging diverse sandy and clayey deposits to varying degrees. In this phase, the materials under scrutiny come from the different deposits that were filling tomb 17 (S.U.'s [263] and [302]), tomb 19 (S. U. [332]) and tomb 23 (S.U. [370]).

The most distinctive element in the ceramics of this phase is the appearance of African Red Slip Ware C in forms Hayes 45B (**fig. 4, 1**, no. 24998), Hayes 50 (**fig. 4, 2**, no. 24996), Hayes 50A (**fig. 4, 3**, no. 25000, **4**, no. 25190 and **5**, no. 24999) and Hayes 51 (**fig. 4, 6**, no. 24997**)**. Form Hayes 50 is produced over a long period, but variant A is dated between 240 and 325, whilst form Hayes 45B should not circulate after 320, and the presence of Hayes 51 places this phase in the 4th century (Hayes 1972: 65, 73 and 75; Carandini *et al*. 1981: 64-65). The presence of an African Cooking Ware lid form Hayes 182A (**fig. 4, 7**, no. 25195) (Hayes 1972: 201-203) is residual, and so is the Baetican amphora Dressel 20 / Haltern 71 (**fig. 4, 8**, no. 24961) and the Beltrán II B, as well as the regional Lusitanian Dressel 14 (**fig. 4, 9**, no. 24960). Also present are an African II base (**fig. 4, 10**, no. 24890), a Keay 16, a Mid Roman A (**fig. 4, 11**, no. 24968) and handle fragments of Lusitanian Almagro 51c. All these amphorae begun their production before the 4th century and do not affect the chronology as indicated by the African Red Slip Ware evidence. Therefore, Phase 3 with its *mensae* without any casing and other simpler tombs should be placed in the first half of the 4th century.

Phase 4 corresponds to the use of *mensa* tombs with masonry cases (at least masonry walls) within which to lay the body. Some of these tombs appear on the west side of area 2, cutting through large clay deposits, such as S.U. [338]. These tombs did not have any grave-goods with the exception of tomb 7 with a complete dish of grey coarse ware.

The ceramics considered for this phase come from the deposit [338] and from the excavated tomb 10 (S.U. [170], [183] and [227]) and tomb 12 (S.U. [206]) (**fig. 5**).

African Red Slip Ware C dominates with forms Hayes 48A (**fig. 5**, **1**, no. 25078) and Hayes 50, some of which variant A (**fig. 5, 2**, no. 25079**, 3**, no. 25081, **5**, no. 24169, **6**, no. 24440). We stand out one example with a more flaring wall from the Continental Workshops, namely Sidi Aïch or Henchir es-Srira (**fig. 5, 4**, no. 25080). African Cooking Ware of an earlier date is represented by forms Hayes 182B (**fig. 5, 7**, no. 24166) and Hayes 196B (**fig. 5, 8**, no. 24168).

Imported amphorae are varied and some of them early, such as a Haltern 70 (**fig. 5, 9**, no. 25054), a Campanian Dressel 2-4 (**fig. 5, 10**, no. 24054), a Dressel 28 (**fig. 5, 11**, 25053), an African II A (**fig. 5, 12**, no. 24565) and a Keay 16 (**fig. 5, 13**, no. 25052). The regional Lusitanian amphorae are the Dressel 14 (**fig. 5, 14**, no. 24564) and the Almagro 51c (**fig. 5, 15-16**, nos. 24124 and 24130), this last form being better represented in this phase than in Phase 3.

The African Red Slip Ware form Hayes 50 is the most common form found on the necropolis, but it is not a good chronological marker since it changed little until the mid 4th century and after that only the fabric is a good marker (Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011: 5) and the ones from the Continental productions are not very common on production sites and require more stratigraphic data to become a good chronological pointer (Bonifay 2004: 196-197).

Due to the almost complete absence of African Red Slip Ware D, and to the absence of the three amphora types typical of the late 4th – first half of the 5th centuries (Almagro 51c variant C, Sado 1 variant B and Almagro 51a-b), this phase could still be placed in the first half of the 4th century, or slightly later.

After Phase 4 with its *mensa* tombs, there is no other coherent assemblage of burials to form a clearly new horizon. One rough child's tomb was built with stone elements bonded with clay and three new born burials were placed in amphora. The best preserved funerary amphora (**fig. 6**) was lying on the dune, over the abandoned so called "funerary precinct". It is an African amphora with a transitional form between the African II D and the African III, made in the first half of the 4th century, though repurposed in what has to be a later burial, due to its position atop the stratigraphical sequence and the chronology already evidenced from the previous phases.



Fig. 6. Funerary amphora (tomb 1, no. 23367).

Conclusion

The study of the ceramics of the small portion of the *mensa*-tomb necropolis in Troia as excavated in 2021 has allowed the dating of three of its phases. Phase 1, with child inhumations and cremations, dates from the 2nd century, according to the presence of Gaulish and Hispanic *sigillata* and an early form of ARSW A. A later form of ARSW A and the Africana II A amphora implies that it lasted until the late 2nd – early 3rd centuries.

After a significant Phase 2 with its funerary altars and *cupae*, which cannot be dated without further excavation, comes Phase 3, characterized by *mensa* tombs without masonry surrounds for the body. This dates to the first half of the 4th century, according to the presence of ARSW C with forms Hayes 50 variant A and Hayes 51.

Phase 4, with *mensa* tombs both rectangular and sigma-shaped, all with masonry casings, dates to the first half / mid-4th, according to the presence of ARSW form Hayes 50 from the Continental productions, and to the absence of ARSW D and of the amphorae typical of the second half or late 4th - first half of the 5th centuries.

Previous studies had suggested that *mensa* tombs dated from the mid–second half of 4th century (Pinto 2016: 105-106; Pinto et al. 2022: 116). The data resulting from this study confirms that *mensa* tombs in Troia date to the 4th century, but suggest Phase 4 could be earlier than it was first assumed, in between the first half and the middle of the 4th century.

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REI CRETARIÆ ROMANÆ FAVTORES

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