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CLAY STATUETTES
OF THE ROMAN WESTERN PROVINCES

by

Frank Jenkins, M.A., F.S.A.

March 1977

68787

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Preface	1 - 4
Part 1. The production of clay statuettes and the techniques employed.	5 - 12
Part 2. (a) The central Gaulish and allied centres of production.	13 - 32
(b) Inscribed statuettes and moulds produced at those centres, and the significance of the inscriptions.	33 - 37
(c) Examples of the work of individual craftsmen who worked at those centres, and the distribution of their products.	38 - 86
Part 3. (a) The Rhine and Mosel centres of production and their locations.	87 - 99
(b) Inscribed statuettes and moulds produced at those centres, and the significance of the inscriptions.	100 - 105
(c) Examples of the work of individual craftsmen who worked at those centres, and the distribution of their products.	106 - 138
Part 4. The chronology of each industry.	139 - 170
Part 5. A regional survey of the markets supplied by each manufacturing centre.	171 - 279
Part 6. A catalogue of the clay ststuettes found in Britain.	280 - 416
Part 7. The significance of selected types and the origins of the art-types.	417 - 527

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG. NO.		PAGE NO.
1.	<u>Dea nutrix</u> Canterbury, Kent.	285, No. 1
2.	" Canterbury, Kent.	285, No. 2
3.	" Canterbury, Kent.	285, No. 4
4.	" Springhead, Kent.	291, No. 22
5.	" London.	286, No. 5
6.	" London.	285, No. 6
7.	" Silchester, Hants.	287, No. 11
8.	" Exeter, Devon.	288, No. 14
9.	" Denver, Norfolk.	289, No. 17
10.	" Arkesden, Essex.	289, No. 10
11.	" East Bridgeford, Notts.	290, No. 19
12.	" East Bridgeford, Notts.	290, No. 20
13.	" Chester, Cheshire.	288, No. 12
14.	" London.	286, No. 7
15.	" Welwyn, Herts.	288, No. 15
17.	" Canterbury, Kent.	286, No. 5
18.	" Reculver, Kent.	293, No. 01
19.	" Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	46, No. 376
20.	" Detail of rear of chair.	217.
21.	" Wroxeter, Shropshire.	295, No. 004
22.	Heads of <u>Deae nutrices</u> London.	293, No. 05
23.	<u>Dea nutrix</u> Bad Reichenhall, Bavaria.	276, No. 2
24.	" ditto	276, No. 2
25.	" Snodland, Kent.	286, No. 9
26.	Mother-goddess Canterbury, Kent.	302
27.	Head by Servandus Colchester, Essex.	299, No. 1
28.	Base by Servandus Lancaster, Lancs.	299, No. 2

ILLUSTRATIONS

(continued)

FIG. NO.		PAGE No.
29. Goddess	Chichester, Sussex.	303
30. Infant	Caerleon, Monmouthshire.	304
31. Matron by Vindex of Cologne	cf. No. 30 above. Zugmantel.	119, No. 7
32. Diana	London.	356 and 467
33. Diana	Trier.	467
34. Diana	Trier.	467
35. Minerva	Caerwent, Monmouthshire.	357-8, No. 5
36. Minerva	Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	358, footnote
37. Minerva	London.	356, No. 1
38. Minerva	Shenstone, Staffordshire.	357, No. 3
39. Venus Type IA	Wickford, Essex.	325, No. 8
40. Venus Type IB	Chart Sutton, Kent.	324, No. 17
41. Venus Type IB		
42. Venus Type IB	London.	341, No. 36
43. Venus Type IC	London.	337, No. 14
44. Venus Type II	Springhead, Kent.	333, No. 12
45. Venus Type II	Horperath (Mrs. Mayen).	260
46. Venus Type III	Vechten.	309; 355, No. 4
47. Venus Type V	Lexden, Colchester, Essex.	323-4, No. 1
48. Venus Type VII	Allier	310
49. Venus Type VII	London.	338-9, No. 21
50. Venus Type VIII	London.	342, No. 38
51. Venus Type I		
Hair Style 1.	London.	313 and 337, No. 13
52. Venus		
Hair Style 5.	London	314 and 336, No. 7

ILLUSTRATIONS

(continued)

FIG.No.		PAGE No.
53.	Venus, Hair Style 3. London.	313 and 337-8, No. 1
54.	Venus (part of group found in debris of potter's shop) Gauting, Bavaria.	192
55.	Group of fragments <u>dea nutrix</u> and Venus types Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly.	294, Nos. 08-09 349, Nos. 1-6
56.	Luna London.	360
57.	Luna Nijmegen.	360
58.	Leda and Swan London.	361
59.	Epona)	
60.	Epona)-----	
	Caerwent, Monmouthshire.	362
61.	Epona Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	362
62.	Apollo Hatcheston, Suffolk.	363, No. 1
63.	Apollo Bedford, Bedfordshire.	364, No. 2
64.	Apollo Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	364
65.	Apollo Hochscheid (Krs. Bernkastel).	483
66.	Bacchus Flitwick, Bedfordshire.	366
67.	Bacchus Bingerbrück.	111 and 366
68.	Hercules Colchester, Essex.	367
69.	Mercury Corbridge, Northumberland.	368
70.	Mars Mucking, Essex.	369
71.	Genius Cucullatus Reculver, Kent.	369-70
72.	Genius Cucullatus Jagsthausen (Württemberg)	268, No. 13
73.	Votive base Isle of Skye.	234, 412 and 527
74.	Goat Vechten.	234
75.	Bust Type 1. Brighton, Sussex.	372, No. 2
76.	Bust Type 1. Welwyn, Hertfordshire.	372, No. 1

ILLUSTRATIONS

(continued)

FIG. NO.		PAGE NO.
77. Bust Type 1.	Ixworth, Suffolk.	373, No. 5
78. Bust Type 1.	Welwyn, Hertfordshire.	372, No. 3
79. Bust Type 2.	Brighton, Sussex.	374, No. 1
80. Bust Type 3.	Hassocks, Sussex.	375, No. 1
81. Bust Type 3.	Rawreth, Essex.	375, No. 2
82. Bust Type 4.	Chichester, Sussex.	376, No. 1
83. Bust Type 5.	London.	378
84. Bust Type 6.	London.	378-9
85. Bust Type 7.	Colchester, Essex.	379
86. Bust Type 8.	York, Yorkshire.	380, No. 1
87. Bust Type 8.	London.	380, No. 3
88. Bust Type 9.	Springhead, Kent.	381, No. 1
89. Boy bearing fruits	Chelmsford, Essex.	384, No. 1
90. Boy bearing fruits	Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.	384, No. 2
91. Boy holding a bird	Cowden, Kent.	384-5, No. 4
92. Horseman	Great Chesterford, Essex.	390, No. 1
93. Bull	Amiens (Somme).	395
94. Horse	Wroxeter, Shropshire.	397, No. 1
95. Horses (yoked)	Newstead, Roxburghshire.	397-8
96. Dog	London.	399, No. 1
97. Cockerel, Type 1.	Amiens (Somme).	401
98. Cockerel, Type 1.	London.	402, No. 1
99. Cockerel, Type 1.	London.	402, No. 2
100. Cockerel, Type 2.	London.	402, No. 1
101. Cockerel, Type 2.	Silchester, Hants.	402, No. 2
102. Hen or pigeon	Colchester, Essex.	405, No. 4
103. Pigeon (toy whistle)	Colchester, Essex.	406, No. 1

ILLUSTRATIONS

(continued)

FIG.No.		PAGE No.
104-105.	Thorn-puller London.	386, Nos.1-2
106.	Thorn-puller London.	387, No. 3
107.	Thorn-puller Lezoux.	387
108-114.	Shrines	410-411
115-116.	Caricatures Colchester, Essex.	391 a-d; 393
115 A.	Caricature Usk, Monmouthshire.	393-4 (reconstruction)
115 B.	Caricature Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	392
117.	Vases in forms of animals Colchester, Essex.	408, No.1 a-j.
	Bull Colchester, Essex.	395, No. 1
118.	Mother-goddess	
	signed Servandus? Cologne.	110, No.15
119.	Fortuna	
	signed Servandus Cologne.	497, No. 2
120.	Cybele Cologne ?	111, No.20
121.	Abundantia Bonn.	110, No.17; 495
122.	Mother-goddess,	
	signed Fidelis Pommern (Krs.Cochem).	128, No. 6
123.	Mother-goddess,	
	signed Fidelis Titelberg, Luxembourg.	126, No. 1
124.	Minerva,	
	signed Fidelis Niederwampach, Luxemb.	127, No. 4
125.	Minerva,	
	signed Fidelis Cologne	126, No. 2
126.	Mother-goddess,	
	signed Fidelis Trier.	130, No. 5
127.	Mother-goddess,	
	signed Fidelis-Melausus Hochscheid (Krs.Bernkastel).	131

ILLUSTRATIONS

(continued)

FIG. N ^o .		PAGE N ^o .
128. <u>Matronae</u> signed		
	Fabricius Cologne	122, No. 1
129. <u>Matronae</u> signed		
	Ianetus Bonn.	123, No. 1
130. Mould for Bust Type 6.	Karden (Krs. Cochem).	90
131. <u>Dea nutrix</u> signed		
	Pistillus Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	71-76
132. Venus, mould, signed		
	Pistillus Autun (Saône-et-Loire).	45, No. 293
133. Venus signed		
	Ioppillus St. Albans, Herts.	328-9, No. 1.
134. Mercury signed		
	Pistillus Clermont-Ferrand.	49, No. xv.
135. Mould signed Priscus	Toulon-sur-Allier.	54, No. 26
136. Mother-goddess	Cologne.	422
137. Cybele	Dhronecken (Hunsrück)	425
138. Cybele	Vechten.	425
139. Mother-goddess	Paestum.	449
140. Mother-goddess	Boiotia.	450
141. Mother-goddess	Megara Hyblaea.	451-2
142. Jupiter	Trier.	474
143. Jupiter	Dhronecken (Hunsrück).	478
144. Mars	Trier.	487
145. Victoria	Trier.	499
146. Fortuna	Vechten.	240, No. vi.
147. Cupid and Psyche	Dhronecken (Hunsrück).	501
148. Bust of female wearing lunar amulet	Rhineland type.	509

ILLUSTRATIONS

(continued)

FIG. NO.		PAGE NO.
149.	Jupiter-Taranis Allier	478-481
150.	Jupiter-Taranis Allier	478-481
151.	Aesculapius and Telesphorus	
	Ivory diptych (Liverpool Museum)	504 footnote

MAPS

1. Principal sites in Gaul where kilns for the manufacture of clay statuettes are located, and possible sites inferred by the discovery of moulds etc.
2. Enlarged map of sites in the valleys of the Allier, Loire, Besbre and Arroux shown on Map 1.
3. The distribution of the work of Pistillus.
4. The distribution of the moulds signed by Priscus.
5. Distribution of statuettes of Venus decorated with various symbols, found in France.
6. The distribution of moulds signed by Sacrillos.
7. Principal sites in the Rhine-Mosel region where kilns are located.
8. Distribution of the work of Servandus of Cologne.
9. Distribution of the work of Fidelis.
10. Region 1 (Zones 1a and 1b).
11. Region 2 (Zone 2a).
12. Region 2 (Zone 2b).
13. Region 2 (Zone 2c).
14. Region 3.
15. Romano-Celtic temples in Normandy.
16. Region 4 (Zone 4b).
17. Region 5.
18. Britain, Region 6. Distribution of dea nutrix types.
19. Britain, Region 6. Distribution of Venus types.
20. Britain, Region 6. Distribution of all types.
21. Sketch map showing centres of manufacture of clay statuettes with indications of trade routes.

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ADDENDUM

p. 382. No. 2 Brough-on-Humber.

Subsequent to the submission of this thesis to the examiners, Mr. John Wacher, B.Sc., F.S.A., has drawn our attention to the revised date of the Period II rampart at Brough-on-Humber.

This was previously attributed to the second quarter of the second century, but is now considered to be somewhat earlier, i.e. early Hadrianic, and the rampart belongs to a fort rather than a civilian settlement.

J. Wacher, Excavations at Brough-on-Humber 1958-61 (Leeds 1969)

pp. 5-29.

ERRATUM

p. 284(a) It is regretted that after binding it was found that this page had been misplaced hence the reason for its inclusion as page 284(a) in the pagination.

PREFACE

The scope of this thesis is confined to clay statuettes which were produced by the use of the mould technique, as a comparatively minor activity of certain potteries situated in various parts of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Germany. Compared with the other pottery forms produced at those centres, they may have been of less economic importance, but they were evidently in sufficient demand to be a profitable side-line, and travelled far in consignments as objects of trade, and singly in personal baggage. No claim can be made that they display a high order of artistic merit, but as the last examples of the terracottas of Antiquity, they are not without interest to archaeologists and students of Roman provincial art.

The aim of this study is to work from the basis of the factual material derived from many archaeological reports and the collections preserved in the continental and British museums. No attempt has been made to give an exhaustive description of all the types of statuette produced, but where possible a comparatively full account is given of those statuettes which possess some value for advancing our knowledge of the various facets of the industry and its products, which may be conveniently summarized as follows:-

- (1) The locations of the several centres of manufacture.
- (2) The chronological sequence of the development of each centre.
- (3) Their capacity for supplying more distant markets and the main lines of the distribution of the trade from each centre.
- (4) The distribution of the work of individual craftsmen as revealed by the signatures inscribed on the statuettes and the moulds.
- (5) The significance of the inscriptions.

- (6) The use to which the statuettes were put.
- (7) The significance, religious or otherwise, of certain types.
- (8) The origins of certain art-types.

This thesis is arranged in seven parts as follows:-

- Part 1. The production of clay statuettes and the techniques employed.
- Part 2. (a) The central Gaulish and allied centres of production and their locations.
(b) Inscribed statuettes and moulds produced at those centres, and the significance of the inscriptions.
(c) Examples of the work of individual craftsmen who worked at those centres, and the distribution of their products.
- Part 3. (a) The Rhine and Mosel centres of production and their locations.
(b) Inscribed statuettes and moulds produced at those centres, and the significance of the inscriptions.
(c) Examples of the work of individual craftsmen who worked at those centres, and the distribution of their products.
- Part 4. The chronology of each industry.
- Part 5. A regional survey of the markets supplied by each manufacturing centre.
- Part 6. A catalogue of the clay statuettes found in Britain.
- Part 7. The significance of selected types and the origins of the art-types.

Although it is the result of intensive research the catalogue of the statuettes found in Britain is probably not complete but it is sufficiently comprehensive for the main lines of distribution to be determined. It is perhaps mentionworthy that in particular this catalogue, the associated distribution maps, the statistical analyses and the chronological tables are the results of research never before attempted in this country.

PART 1.

THE PRODUCTION OF CLAY STATUETTES

PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES.

The technique for the production of moulded pottery seems to have been introduced into Gaul in the reign of Augustus and resulted in the founding of the industry for the mass production of clay statuettes. The technique was simple and efficient. An original model was created by an artist modeller from which a clay mould was made and then fired in the kiln. By this means any number of mechanical copies could be obtained, so that the only person who merited the name of artist was the creator of the original model. It is curious that although moulds are quite numerous the original models are virtually absent. A female figure in white clay which is solid and has slots in the sides, published by Tudot (cf. Tudot, pl.19) is thought to have served that purpose.⁽¹⁾

(1) E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, oeuvres premières de l'art gaulois (Paris, 1860) pl.19. Hereinafter this work will be referred to as Tudot.

There is also a thorn-puller type of statuette which is considered to be a model or prototype whence the original mould was produced, cf. M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales", XXIV Supplement à Gallia (Paris 1972) p.254, No.625, Saint Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No. 28040; A. Blanchet, Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 6th série XLI (1891) p.190.

For simple subjects having no awkward appendages which would have made extraction difficult, two piece moulds were adequate. For more complicated statuettes several moulds were necessary, as for example, the "Thorn-Puller" type which needed ten or twelve separate mould elements.⁽¹⁾ A group of three seated goddesses mounted on a single pedestal at Autun needed eight separate moulds, respectively, two for the front and back halves of the pedestal, and two for each of the goddesses.⁽²⁾ Variations could also be produced by combining the head or limbs of one subject with the body of another.

Normally the statuettes were left hollow after the various moulded elements had been luted together, and then the interior was sealed by the provision of the basal plinth or a thin pad of clay. Because of this it was necessary to provide a small hole or several holes or a knife-cut slit in various parts of the finished item to connect with the hollow interior as vents to allow the expanding gases generated within it to escape and thus prevent disintegration or at best distortion when subjected to the high temperatures during the firing process. Safety devices of this kind are more commonly present in the statuettes made in the Gaulish factories, and although several instances are known in the Rhine-Mosel series, the majority of statuettes do not feature it as the hollow interiors were not sealed by any kind of basal pad.

The modelling operation began by pressing the malleable clay into the moulds which had been prepared by dusting with powdered silica,

(1) Tudot, pl.70 A, C and D; pl.71 left; pl.9; Chapter IV text fig.89.

(2) H. Vertet, Mémoires de la Société Eduenne LII, fasc.1 (1971) p.48.

clay or wood ash. The edges of the moulded pieces were then painted with slip before they were assembled by luting them within the casing. The moulds were then removed and the rough edges along the joins were trimmed by means of a knife or spatula. While still in the green state the main surfaces of the statuette were sometimes burnished, or left in the biscuit state, and others were painted with a different coloured slip. Finally, the statuette was fired in an oxydising atmosphere.

The practice of colouring clay statuettes, evidently after the firing process, followed the conventions of decorating marble sculpture developed by the Greeks and adopted by the Romans. Although Romano-Gaulish clay statuettes decorated in this manner are not numerous, several certainly bear traces of matt paint, and it is clear from their geographical distribution that its use was not confined to any single workshop or region. One suspects that this technique was more common than is now apparent, for it is conceivable that many more statuettes were similarly decorated but the pigments have not survived centuries of burial in the soil.

Tudot cited a few found at Vichy which bear traces of brown paint applied to the hair and garments; for delineating simple linear designs on the bases, and to accentuate the wings of birds.⁽¹⁾ A good example is a model of a cockerel, found at Amiens, on which the crest, wattle and eyes are picked out in matt brown paint.⁽²⁾ Red paint survives on a statuette from Tigy (Loiret).⁽³⁾ At Dijon a Venus statuette

(1) cf. Tudot op cit p.81 footnote.

(2) Ashmolean Museum Oxford Inv.No.R 243. (FIG.97)

(3) Jollois and Vergnaud-Romagnesi, Figurine trouvée à Tigy (Loiret)

coloured red is mentioned.⁽¹⁾ The two examples of the Thorn-puller (Spinario) found in London have also been coated with a dark red pigment which may have been an attempt to reproduce the colour of samian ware.⁽²⁾ Another statuette of the same general type also found in London is evidently a product of Toulon-sur-Allier and follows closely the style of Tiberius. This is quite differently adorned with various motives in black paint, consisting of two parallel lines placed about 9 mms apart, bounded by small dots to form a band which passes over the left shoulder to lie diagonally across the back and the front of the body to the right hip. Within this band is a painted design which is now very indistinct but seems to include semi-circular motives and one possibly of figure of eight form. Above and below this band, large cordate leaves outlined in similar paint are distributed over the front and the back of the torso, as also on the surviving left hip.⁽³⁾

Two lines of S-shaped motives, an asterisk and the letters QVQVI are painted on the outer face of a mould for a mother-goddess found at St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier). The name which these letters represent is unknown, but there is a chance that it may have been QVINTILLVS, whose name is incised on a mould found in the

(1) Mémoires Commission des Antiquités de la Côte d'Or VII (1865-69) p.LXXXIX.

(2) British Museum Inv.Nos.1942,4-6, 1 and 2. (FIGS.104-105)

(3) British Museum Inv.No.83/5-9, 12. (FIG.106)

Lyonnais. This modeller produced portrait busts of a curly-headed, chubby-faced boy identical to one found at Vichy, and which has traces of brown paint on the drapery and a painted line round the pedestal.

At Soings "a grotesque personage" wearing a mantle over the shoulders, with traces of red paint in various places is recorded.⁽¹⁾

The application of paint to statuettes was also carried on in the Rhine-Mosel production centres. One from Zugmantel signed by Vindex must be a product of Cologne. This is of a standing woman which has the lips and the nostrils picked out in red, and the same colour is used to delineate a saltire cross within a rectangular frame on the front of the rectangular plinth.⁽²⁾ Three statuettes of seated mother-goddesses holding dogs on their laps now in the Landesmuseum at Trier also bear traces of a red pigment. One of these also has a saltire cross in the same colour within an incised rectangular frame on the front of the rectangular plinth.⁽³⁾ Other statuettes of the same goddess have been found at Dhronnecken and bear traces of colouration, for example, one has the usual traces in the folds of the robe,⁽⁴⁾ while two others had the hair coloured yellow.⁽⁵⁾ Another of these goddesses bearing part of a name FID presumably for Fidelis has the remains of a red pigment in the hair and the folds of the robe. A statuette of Fortuna made of white clay also from Dhronnecken has the mid-rib and inner side of the blade of the rudder picked out in red, as also the small globe on which the rudder is supported. The robe of the goddess, however,

(1) Musée Tours Cours d'Antiquités monumentales II 2^e partie (1831) p.222.

(2) Saalburg Jahrbuch 5, 101 E, Abb.29 right; ibid 9 (1939) p.10 No.7, Taf.5,3; Saalburg Museum Inv.No.Z 4552. (FIG.31)

(3) L.M. Trier Inv.Nos.99733, 99794 and G.F.426, respectively.

(4) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier 1901) Dhronnecken Abb.IX, 15.

(5) ibid Abb.IX, 3, p.62, No.67; Abb.IX, 11, p.63, No.78.

does not appear to have been coloured.⁽¹⁾

Three figures of birds (or cocks) made of yellowish white clay with traces of paint are briefly mentioned.⁽²⁾ There is also a bust of a male personage wearing a cucullus which has red and black paint on the face.⁽³⁾ A group of statuettes found at Tongres includes five examples which bear traces of pigments. Two of these are seated mother-goddesses, one wearing the characteristic turban-like cap of the Cologne matronae, the other is headless. Both have a diamond shaped pattern in dark brown paint drawn on the front of the basal plinths.⁽⁴⁾ The many parallels contained in this group of statuettes show the close commercial ties which existed between Tongres and the Rhineland, particularly Cologne where it is virtually certain that they were made. From the same centre probably derives the lower part of a figure of Diana, including the base on the front of which are diagonal lines drawn in dark brown paint,⁽⁵⁾ and a statuette of a cock in white clay now in the Brömser Castle Museum at Rüdeshelm has traces of brown paint outlining the tail feathers, and on the head, eyes and crest.

(1) F. Hettner, op cit p.61, No.56, Abb.IX, 42.

(2) cf. Westdeutsch Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst XVI (1897) p.349, pl.XVII, 4.

(3) Bonner Jahrbuch 79, (1885) p.186.

(4) H. Van de Weerd, "Romeinsche Terracottabeeldjes van Tongeren" in L'Antiquite Classique I (1932) p.277 ff., pl.III, 7-8 and pl.IV 2-3 and 5.

(5) British Museum Inv.No.60,8-9, 1. (FIG.32)

The application of lead-glaze to clay statuettes, presumably to provide a finish resembling that of the more expensive ones in metal, was not widely practised. In fact it seems to have been a speciality of a small group of officinae in the Allier, particularly at St. Remy-en-Rollat where in the early days of the Empire small phials in the form of recumbent animals of various species bearing a green, yellow or brown glaze, were produced. Although these phials and other glazed products travelled quite far as exports to various parts of Gaul, the Rhineland and Britain, the technique of glazing was not extended to other statuettes, and did not outlast the reign of Nero.⁽¹⁾

(1) Revue archéologique I, 360-394 and Déchelette, Vases ornés de la Gaule-romaine I, 41 for St. Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier).

T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum Nos.1116-1122, for the examples from Colchester.

(FIG.117)

PART 2.

THE CENTRES OF MANUFACTURE

(a) THE CENTRAL GAULISH AND ALLIED INDUSTRIAL CENTRES.

In France, the serious study of the rich collection of clay statuettes made in Gaul was inaugurated just over a century ago with the publication of the comprehensive and well illustrated account, by E. Tudot, of the kilns discovered in the Champs Lary and La Forêt near Toulon-sur-Allier.⁽¹⁾ Soon afterwards C. Roach Smith reviewed the corpus for the benefit of English readers, and cited parallel examples which had been found in Britain.⁽²⁾

Some years later A. Blanchet drew upon the rich collection found in Gaul and Germany for an exhaustive survey of the main types, their significance, religious or otherwise, and their geographical distribution. The results of his researches were published in two parts which brought the subject up to date to the year 1900.⁽³⁾

The recent publication of the catalogue of the vast collection of clay statuettes now in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye has

- (1) E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, oeuvres premières de l'art gaulois (Paris 1860).
- (2) C. Roach Smith, Bulletin de la Société d'Émulation du Dept. de l'Allier, VII (1859), 451 ff., Collectanea Antiqua VI (1868) p.48 ff.; "Works of the Romano-Gaulish Ceramists" in The Gentleman's Magazine, December 1860.
- (3) A. Blanchet, "Étude sur les figurines en terre-cuite de la Gaule-romaine" in Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 6th series XLI (1891) 65 ff.; ibid LX (1901) Supplément 189 ff.

proved a useful guide to the present author who, during the course of his research, has studied most of the material first hand.⁽¹⁾

The most important centres of the industry were situated in that part of Gaul now included in Bourbonnais and Auvergne, particularly on the alluvial soils in the valleys of the Allier, Loire, Besbre, Acolin, and Arroux, while another was set up in the Dordogne (see Maps Nos.1 and 2). Normally the statuettes of the Allier are of pure white clay (so-called pipe-clay) while the fabrics of Aurillac (Central) and Bordeaux (Gironde) are black or grey in colour. White clay statuettes coated with a yellow lead glaze are characteristic of Vichy, and St. Rémy-en-Rollat, but this technique had a comparatively short life and did not survive the reign of Nero. At Thiel-sur-Acolin (Allier) a group of statuettes of Venus are in a rosé coloured clay.⁽²⁾

F. Benoit briefly mentions a group of statuettes in the Musée Borély labelled "Chateau de Salle, Gironde". They appear to be poor imitations of the products of the Allier. The clay is grey fawn in colour and has been badly fired. There are three fragments of Venus, two heads of busts,⁽³⁾ a neck⁽⁴⁾ and several pieces of various statuettes.⁽⁵⁾

(1) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en terre-cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales," XXIV^e Supplément à Gallia (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifiques Paris 1972)

(2) R. Gavelle and Hugnes Vertet, "Nouvelles Statuettes Gallo-Romaines en terre cuite blanche" in Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est.

(3) F. Benoit, Ogam XII fasc.2-3, p.182, footnote 25.
MB Inv.Nos.7419, 7420.

(4) F. Benoit, ibid. MB Inv.No.7422.

(5) F. Benoit, ibid.

Suitable natural deposits of clay which remained white after the firing process were readily available in the Departement of the Allier, and were exploited by the manufacturers of the clay statuettes, e.g. as at Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre. A deposit of Kaolin also existed in the parish of Echassiere.⁽¹⁾ The potters of Toulon-sur-Allier obtained their white clay from pits situated about three kilometres from the officinae, upon a hill in a place named Les Segauds. This clay, of very good quality and free of impurities, upon analysis was found to consist of sixty-two parts silica, twenty-five parts alumina, and the residue made up of magnesium, iron and lime.⁽²⁾ Beneath this deposit at Les Segauds a vein of similar, but slightly inferior, more sandy clay, provided the material for making the moulds according to Tudot.⁽³⁾

An ancient pond or pool about twenty-four metres in circumference situated at Chantenay near Moulins, may have been connected with the industry as it is possibly a clay pit, but excavations carried out in the last century failed to reveal a seam of clay. The quantity of potsherds recovered from one part of this pit suggested that it was open in the second century A.D.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Tudot, p.77, note.

(2) Tudot, p.77.

(3) Tudot, pp.58 and 76.

(4) Tudot, note to pl.68.

Tudot suggested that the potters stored their reserve stocks of clay in ditches, where it could be maintained in damp conditions and subject to weathering, in order to make it more easy to work, and to maintain the same standard of quality after subjection to the firing process.

THE KILNS.

It is unfortunate that although several kilns used for the firing of clay statuettes have been found, detailed descriptions of their structures do not appear in the published reports. From what information we do possess it is clear that they were of the normal updraught type used extensively by the Romans for the firing of all kinds of pottery, and only vary in the shapes of the ovens. These were either circular with internal diameters varying between 1 and 2.5 metres as at La Forêt (Allier),⁽¹⁾ Geugnon (Saône-et-Loire)⁽²⁾ and Cologne,⁽³⁾ or rectangular as at Xanten where the overall dimensions were about 0.70 metres long by 1.10 metres broad.⁽⁴⁾ Normally the ovens stood above the furnaces which were below ground level, but where more permanent kilns were employed as for example at Toulon-sur-Allier, they

- (1) H. Vertet, "L'officine de Toulon-sur-Allier" in Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta II (1959) p.73.
- (2) Groupe Archéologique de Gueugnon-Montceau, "Découverte d'une officine céramique à Gueugnon (S.et.L) Résultats des premières fouilles" in Publication de "La Physiophile" Société des Sciences Naturelles et Historiques de Montceau-les-Mines No.66 (Juin 1967), pp.3-53, figs.26-29 illustrate the statuettes.
ibid No.69, "Les fouilles de 1967-68."
- (3) Bonner Jahrbuch 110, p.188 ff.
- (4) Bonner Jahrbuch 163 (1963) pp.398-401, Abb.5, Taf.48.

were standing side by side in rows; the furnaces were stoked from the floor level of the officina.⁽¹⁾

The survey which follows brings together the information concerning the places in Gaul where the kilns for the manufacture of clay statuettes were certainly located, and other sites where that evidence has not been forthcoming, but the presence of moulds and other evidence suggests that local potters were also involved in the industry. See Maps Nos.1 and 2 for the distribution of these sites in Gaul.

(1) E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, oeuvres premières de l'art gaulois (Paris 1860) frontispiece.

PRINCIPAL SITES IN GAUL WHERE KILNS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF CLAY STATUETTES ARE LOCATED, AND POSSIBLE SITES INFERRED BY THE DISCOVERY OF MOULDS, ETC.

KEY TO MAPS 1 and 2.

- (1) Toulon-sur-Allier (Allier).
- (2) Moulins (Allier).
- (3) Coulanges (Allier).
- (4) Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier).
- (5) Saint-Bonnet-Yzeure (Allier).
- (6) Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier).
- (7) Vichy (Allier).
- (8) Thiel-sur-Acolin (Allier).
- (9) La Guerche (Cher).
- (10) Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).
- (11) Gueugnon (Saône-et-Loire).
- (12) Cesson, near Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine).
- (13) Treguennac (Finistère).
- (14) Rezé (Loire-Inférieure).
- (15) Bordeaux (Gironde).
- (16) Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire).
- (17) Autun (Saône-et-Loire).
- (18) Avocourt (Meuse).
- (19) Meaux (Seine-et-Marne).
- (20) Troyes (Aube).
- (21) Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme).
- (22) Vez-en-Valois (Oise).
- (23) Montans (Tarn).
- (24) Banassac (Lozère).
- (25) Salle (Gironde).
- (26) Le Havre (Seine-Inférieure).

(1) Toulon-sur-Allier.

At a distance of 1 km. from the town a small stream called La Sonnante forms the boundary between two properties known as Champ Lary and La Forêt. In 1856-7, Bertrand, Esmonnot and Tudot excavated the sites of the kilns and recovered many clay statuettes and clay moulds used in their production. The kilns were 3 metres square in plan and were built of large bricks, 40 cms long, 30 cms wide and 15 cms thick. The oven floors were formed of tiles 25 cms square, each pierced with a circular hole 10 cms in diameter, into which clay tubes 33 cms long were inserted. Into the tubes others of the same size were fitted in order to conduct the heat upwards through the oven and to protect the objects therein from contact with flame, smoke or fumes. According to Tudot these kilns were mainly used for firing pottery. A circular kiln at La Forêt was apparently used for making statuettes. The pits where the white clay was obtained were located upon a hill in a place called Les Segauds about 3 kms from the kilns. Tudot reported the finding of coins of Nero, Hadrian and Septimus Severus on the site, and one large brass of Hadrian lay near one of the kilns. (Tudot, pp.23 and 57). For a more recent paper see H. Vertet, "L'officine de Toulon-sur-Allier" in Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta II (1959) p.73.

(2) Moulins (Allier).

A mould for a Venus Type I B statuette is in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye (Inv.No.7291).

M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales", XXIV^e Supplément a "Gallia" (Paris, 1972) p.92, No.2.

(3) Coulanges (Allier).

A mould for statuette of Mercury found in the foundations of a potter's hut and also numerous fragments of statuettes came from the deposits dated to the second century A.D., near the kilns. H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot, Figurines Gallo-Romaines en Argile d'Autun Collections du Musée Rolin (Autun, 1973), p.9 and footnote 12.

(4) Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier).

The officina produced statuettes and samian ware as did those at Toulon and Vichy. Many statuettes of various types and several moulds are preserved in the Musée Nationale at Saint Germain-en-Laye.⁽¹⁾ The discovery of a deposit of white clay, which remained white after firing, near Saint Pourcain, was reported at the meeting of the Societe de l'Émulation de l'Allier, 5th June 1868.⁽²⁾

(1) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquites Nationales, (Paris 1972).

(2) Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 6^e series I (1890) p.71, footnote 4.
cf. H. Vertet, Hommages à A. Grenier (1962) p.1610, pl.CCCXXX, fig.9-10.

(5) Saint Bonnet-Yzeure (Allier).

Excavations by A. Bertrand in 1901-2 revealed the sites of many kilns, two of which were completely cleared. With various moulds for samian ware were statuettes of white clay. The series of coins included one of Vespasian, two of Trajan, one of Hadrian and one of Faustina II.

J. Déchelette, op cit p.207;

A. Bertrand, Fouilles dans les officines de Saint Bonnet (1901).

In the autumn of 1960, Vertet excavated the site of an officina, and recovered from a deposit well dated to the end of the second century by the associated pottery, clay statuettes of horses and Venus. Information provided in a letter from M. Vertet.

(6) Saint Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier).

The excavations of J. Déchelette proved the existence of an officina at Saint Rémy-en-Rollat.⁽¹⁾ He recovered from the debris numerous clay statuettes of Venus of the type Tudot pl.22-23; a mould for a mother-goddess bearing the incomplete name GIIRT..O in capital letters; a bust of the so-called "Risus" type (qv); as also two moulds for clay medallions. The latter were both inscribed with the name Sextus in cursive script, one portraying Leda and the swan, the other Venus standing before drapery supported by two erotes. With these were many fragments of pottery in white clay, and one vase in the form of a double face, male and female, with the mark of AVIT (Avitus) on the base of the neck. The pottery moulded in fine white pipe-clay coated with a vitreous glaze either pale yellow, yellowish brown or green is characteristic of the local ware at Saint-Rémy whence it derives its name. The industry flourished there from the end of the reign of Augustus until about the middle of the first century.

Apparently samian ware was not produced at this officina; in fact it seems that very little was made at Saint-Rémy.

(1) Revue archéologique ser.III, tome 38 (1901) p.360 ff., for account of the excavations by Déchelette; cf. also J. Déchelette, Vases céramiques ornés, tome I, p.41 ff.

Possibly this was because the potters specialized in the local vitreous glazed ware, or that the local clays were unsuitable for the production of samian ware. It cannot have been as once thought that the neighbouring samian industry was yet to be established, for the excavations at Lezoux by Hartley and Vertet have proved that it was active in Tiberian times.

It would be useful if it were known for certain that these statuettes and the moulds found in the debris of the officina were actually contemporary with the moulded glazed pottery evidently produced at that site. This, however, is not certain but if it were true then an approximate date in, or soon after, the second decade of the first century of our era would be appropriate. Unfortunately this date cannot be accepted, mainly on the grounds that the types of statuettes seem to belong to a much later period. In fact, it would seem that they probably arrived on the site in debris derived from another officina which was active in the neighbourhood almost a century later.

The presence of a unique group of clay statuettes with Saint-Rémy pottery in a grave at Colchester makes it certain that other types of statuettes were being made in the early first century. This is confirmed by the associated coinage, viz:- twelve coins of Agrippa and twenty-four of Claudius, which suggests that the burial took place not much later than A.D.50, and obviously the date of manufacture and exportation of the statuettes to Britain must be earlier. ⁽¹⁾

(1) T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum p.252.

The actual officina where the Colchester statuettes were made is at present unknown, but it is fairly certain that it was situated in Central Gaul. The fabrics which are fairly hard and whitish are comparable with those of Saint Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier) so that centre may be the one. On the other hand as several pieces which clearly belong to statuettes of the Colchester types have been found at Clermont-Ferrand,⁽¹⁾ at Autun⁽²⁾ and Vichy⁽³⁾ it could mean that there were officinae which produced them at places other than Saint-Rémy.

(7) Vichy (Allier).

Ten kilns for samian ware and clay statuettes were found near the railway station.

Bulletin archéologique (1890) p.xl; J. Déchelette,
Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule-romaine I, p.61.

- (1) Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme) Musée des Antiquités Nationales Saint Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28112.
- (2) H. Vertet et G. Vuillemot, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun (Marcelin-Autun 1973) p.68, pl.13 e, Inv.No.26 Musée Rolin.
- (3) A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines en terre cuite de la Gaule-Romaine, Mémoires Société des Antiquaires de France, tome LI, (1890) p.202, fig.5.

(8) Thiel-sur-Acolin (Allier).

The village of Thiel-sur-Acolin is situated on the road from Bourges to Autun. At a place called "Les Velles" on land which formed part of a property called "Domaine des potiers", workmen found a quantity of broken clay statuettes which, to judge by their condition, evidently represent the waste products of an officina. The clay of which they were made is not so white and clean as that used at other statuette officinae, i.e., at Toulon, Saint Bonnet and Vichy, etc. It is generally reddish with a coating of white slip. Many of the pieces have the colour of old ivory, and one example is of clean red clay analogous in hardness to the fabric of samian ware. Near the site is a very ancient clay quarry.

The types of statuette represented in the collection fall into four categories:- (1) Venus; (2) Venus standing in a shrine; (3) Male personage holding an attribute which is not readily identifiable; (4) A male personage wearing the cucullus.

The surviving statuettes are in the following collections:- Fanaud (Moulins); Nuri (Thiel-sur-Acolin); Belcot (Thiel-sur-Acolin) and Litaudon (Chevagne).

H. Vertet, Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est tome XI (1960), pp.303-314.

(9) La Guerche (Cher).

A mould (complete) for a personage enveloped in a cucullus.

St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.32064 and 32065.

M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, op cit, p.253, No.624.

(10) Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).

At a distance of 27 kms to the east of Clermont-Ferrand is Lezoux, the site of one of the most important centres of the samian industry. Clay statuettes in white clay do not seem to have been made in any quantity at Lezoux, probably because the local deposits are ferruginous and when fired in the kiln produce the characteristic colour of samian ware.

(11) Gueugnon (Saône-et-Loire).

Gueugnon is situated on the river Arroux about 21 kms east of Bourbon-Lancy. In the southern environs of the town two pottery kilns and the associated working areas have been examined. The kilns were of the normal circular updraught type with ovens having internal diameters of 1.75 and 2.45 metres, respectively. The pottery produced on the site consisted of undecorated samian ware as also metallic glazed wares. Moulded, applique and also barbotine techniques were used for the decorated samian pottery.

Statuettes in white clay were evidently made in the officina as shown by the presence of a demi-mould for the back of a Venus of our Type I. Other statuettes included part of the torso of a Venus of the same type (our Type I B); a small standing figure of a male personage garbed in a short tunic with a hood hanging over the shoulders; a small rectangular clay plaque has the supine figure of a swaddled infant with a small dog lying by its left side in low moulded relief. Finally, there is a fragment which clearly belongs to the type of dea nutrix who suckles two infants.

The main period of activity of this industry is indicated by the samian ware which according to Vertet is fairly late,

i.e., second half of the second to early third century, corresponding with that of statuettes of Venus and the dea nutrix types found in datable contexts elsewhere.

Groupe Archéologique de Gueugnon-Montceau, "Découverte d'une officine céramique à Gueugnon (S.et.L) Resultats des premieres fouilles" in Publication de "La Physiophile" Société des Sciences Naturelles et Historiques de Montceau-les-Mines No.66 - Juin 1967, pp.3-53, figs.26-29 illustrate the statuettes.
ibid No.69, "Les fouilles" de 1967-68.

(12) Cesson near Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine).

A large quantity of clay statuettes, mostly fragmentary, was found in 1850, in a field in the vicinity of the small village of Cesson. The majority of statuettes represented Venus and the dea nutrix nursing twin infants. Some of the former were of yellowish clay fired to a light brick-red and had no glaze. There was a kiln in the vicinity of this group.

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France LX (1901) p.195.

(13) Treguennec near Pennmarc'h (Finistère).

It is said that a kiln was found in 1853 still loaded with clay statuettes of Venus and mother-goddesses, about eighty altogether, arranged in rows in the oven ready for firing.

Catalogue de Musée archéologique de Quimper (1885) Nos.290-297.

P. Du Chatellier, Les époques préhistoriques et gauloises dans le Finistère (Rennes, 1907) p.327. Three statuettes of Venus from the Du Chatellier Collection are now in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.75815.

Possible sites of officinae suggested by the discovery of moulds and/or other indications of the industry.

(14) Rezé (Loire-Inferieure).

At Rezé near Nantes, cakes of white clay and fragments of moulds seem to indicate the site of an officina.

Catalogue de Musée d'archéologie de Nantes (1869) No.128.

(15) Bordeaux (Gironde).

Clay statuettes signed by Julius Allusa and Sabinus Allusa have been found only at Bordeaux where there are no less than six examples. It is therefore possible that they worked at Bordeaux and that as the signed statuettes of mother-goddesses are so closely similar to those of Pistillus they were contemporaries of the latter.

C. Jullian, Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux I (1887) p.469-471.

SABINEI ALLVSA ibid No.386

VTRIANV ibid II p.640

A. Blanchet mentions a kiln and statuettes found near the Porta Medoc.

"Étude sur les figurines en terre cuite de la Gaul romaine, Supplément, p.262.

(16) Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire).

At Bourbon-Lancy about 36 kms east of Moulins (Allier) on the site of the road (N.73), numerous statuettes and moulds were found in 1892. Some of the moulds are signed, for example, one for a mother-goddess signed (VRB)ICVS a name frequent in the officina at La Forêt, Toulon-sur-Allier; a demi-mould for the bust of a smiling boy signed ANT, either Antonius or Antoninus, was found at Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre; and a fragment of a Pan-

like personage signed PISTILLVS a well known name in Gaul.

Many of the moulds are of Venus and a goddess holding a cornucopia; one is Jupiter standing holding a thunderbolt on his right forearm and with an eagle standing by his left side. Another is of Apollo seated and holding in his left hand a patera above a lyre and a plectrum in his right hand (as found at Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre). Three demi-moulds are of groups of couples, male and female, embracing each other. These are of two types: the first shows them fully clothed while the other shows them partly nude and the man endeavouring to uncover the woman. The former also occurred in the officina at Toulon-sur-Allier⁽¹⁾ and the latter at Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme) now in the Saint Germain-en-Laye Museum.⁽²⁾ A fragmentary mould of Minerva with the aegis on her breast and holding a patera in the right hand is of the same type as found at Vichy, Saint Pourcain and Toulon-sur-Allier. There is a mould of Mars, and a semi-mould of a male personage wearing a hood and carrying a large oval plate in both hands - a type frequent in the Allier district. Several fragments of moulds are of horses, and others are for shrines, medallions, large masks, and one of a grotesque human head.

'Notice sur une officine de potiers-modeleurs gallo-romains découverte à Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire)' in Bulletin archéologique du Comité (1892) pp.264-5.

(1) Tudot, pl.39.

(2) Saint Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.28111.

(17) Autun (Saône-et-Loire).

As the result of the discoveries made in the year 1841 in the park of Saint-Jean-le-Grand near the porte d'Arroux at Autun the existence of an officina possibly belonging to Pistillus was suspected. The finds comprised two moulds for Venus statuettes, two moulds for mother-goddess types, and two different moulds both signed by Pistillus, associated with many statuettes.⁽¹⁾ Not far from that place in 1866, twelve clay shrines containing reliefs of the figure of Venus and also several other objects of clay came to light.⁽²⁾ In the catalogue of the Musée Rolin at Autun the signed statuettes and the moulds as well as the statuettes which by reason of their style may be attributed to Pistillus, have a prominent place.⁽³⁾ In fact there is now every reason to believe that this skilled potter was working at Autun and the site of his officina was in the vicinity of the ancient porte d'Arroux.

In the collection of moulds in the museum is one which bears the name [VR] BICVS à signature which has also occurred in the officinae situated in the valley of the Allier.⁽⁴⁾

(1) H. de Fontenay, "Inscriptions céramiques gallo-romaines découvertes à Autun," Bulletin de la Société Eduenne (1874) pp.82-91.

(2) ibid p.88.

(3) H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot, Collections du Musée Rolin, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun (Imp. Marcelin-Autun) published 1973.

(4) ibid p.36. Inv.No.325.

- (18) Avocourt (Meuse).
cf. Index of Names of Potters and Modellers Part 2 b of this thesis under Agesillus.
- (19) Meaux (Seine-et-Marne).
Fragment of a mould.
Revue des études anciennes (1900) pp.142-3.
cf. Index of Names of Potters and Modellers Part 2 b No.24.
- (20) Troyes (Aube).
Moulds for Venus statuettes.
Mémoires de la Société académique de l'Aube (1873) p.24.
- (21) Clermont Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme).
Mould for head of a horse.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France (1890)
6^e serie Tome I, p.220.
- (22) Vez-en-Valois (Oise).
Clay statuettes found with tiles thought to be a kiln site.
E. Woillez, Repertoire archéologique de l'Oise (1862) p.183.
- (23) Montans (Tarn).
Gallia IV, p.166, No.237.
- (24) Banassac (Lozère).
A few fragments of white clay statuettes were found when excavating the site of a potter's house and kiln. They are a fragment of Venus, part of the pedestal for a Thorn-puller type (19614), a detached head of a boy who looks very sulky (19613), a female bust (19612) and finally a stallion which has neither bridle nor saddle (19611).
St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.Nos.19611, 19612, 19613, 19614.
M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, Les Figurines Gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée Nationales, XXIV^e supplément à Gallia (Paris,1972) pp.98; 259; 285; 327.

(25) Salle (Gironde).

F. Benoit briefly mentions a group of statuettes preserved in the Borély Museum. These he considered were very poor imitations of the types from Toulon-sur-Allier. He describes them as made of grey fawn coloured clay, badly fired and evidently of very faulty manufacture. They are labelled in the Museum "Chateau de Salle, Gironde".

The group includes three fragments of Venus; two heads of busts (Nos.7419 and 7420); a draped personage very badly made (No.7418); a female head with tresses of hair on the neck (No.7422); and fragments of various other statuettes.

Ogam XII, fasc.2-3, p.182, note 25.

As the clay is not the same as the Allier clay and the group seems to be composed of "wasters", it is possible that the local Gironde potters were copying the products of the Allier.

(26) Le Havre (Seine-Inférieure).

A mention of indications of a workshop for the manufacture of clay statuettes appeared in Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie (1824) p.lx; ibid (1826) p.204.

Footnote

Baux-Sainte-Croix near Evreux (Eure).

In dealing with the places where clay statuettes have been found A. Blanchet in his list of such objects found in pools, streams and rivers, refers to a group found in the pool named Argilliere (also given as Mare Lardilliere and Argillieres). He said it was possibly the site of an "atelier" (workshop) for the manufacture of clay statuettes, but this seems to be unlikely.

Excavations in 1825 revealed the foundations of a building which on plan corresponded with that of a Romano-Celtic temple in the immediate vicinity of which was the pool, where statuettes of Venus were found. Hence it is more likely that they represent votive deposits.

A. Blanchet, Étude (1890) pp.143; also 65-66 and 209.

P. Chedeville, Bulletin de la Société normande d'Études préhistoriques (1907) p.74.

R. Rever, Bulletin Société Agriculture de l'Eure (1827) IV, 117-138.

L. de Vesly, Les Fana ou petits temples gallo-romains de la région normande (Rouen, 1909) p.9.

E. Tudot, op cit pl.XXXIV c, d, e. White clay statuettes of Epona.

PART 2.

(b) THE INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY STATUETTES
OF CENTRAL GAULISH ORIGIN

The names of individuals employed on the production of clay statuettes in the workshops of the Allier and closely allied centres fall into three main categories, depending on where they appear on the moulds.

- (1) A name in capital letters, either in relief or incised, normally in retrograde fashion inside the mould for reproduction in correct order on the finished statuette. It is therefore reasonable to accept this as the name of the creator of the original model whence the mould was taken, and the only person who merits the name of artist, for subsequent reproduction of any number of facsimiles was a purely mechanical process.
- (2) A name is sometimes inscribed on the exterior of the mould which is usually roughly finished. It is very obvious that a name in this position could never be reproduced on the finished statuette. The names which appear in this manner are almost certainly the names of the makers of the moulds, although a few perhaps may signify ownership.
- (3) Instances are known where two personal names appear together on the outside of the same mould, e.g., Sacrillos and Caratus who, if the inscription was intended to be read in two vertical columns, are combined with the words Avot and form respectively,

hence SACRILLOS CARATI (1)
 AVOT FORM

(1) E. Tudot, pl.4.

Now the combination of nominative and genitive very frequently occurs in the names of those employed in the potteries at Arezzo in Italy, where it seems to indicate a master-potter to slave relationship. As there is no hint of this being the case with the names associated with the Gaulish statuette industry, some other relationship must be indicated, but before reaching any conclusion other evidence will now be examined.

The meaning of the word form is reasonably certain; it is the Latin verb for fashion or shape which could be applied to the maker of the mould. It follows therefore that the inscription on a mould for a clay medallion enclosing a female bust in relief, may be expanded to read NATTI FORMA M (amu), i.e., "the mould made by Nattus".⁽¹⁾

Various suggestions have been made in the past to explain the meaning of the verb avot, such as, it is the Gaulish word for "potter",⁽²⁾ or perhaps the equivalent of a word similar to "pinxit" of painters of more recent times, or the Gaulish word meaning fecit.⁽³⁾ Now as a result of a recent detailed study of the sculptured reliefs on the triumphal arch at Orange the true meaning has been revealed.⁽⁴⁾

(1) E. Tudot, pl.7, p.53; St. Germain Museum Inv.No.27966.

(2) ibid, p.65. He states that Avotus was the name of the potter.

(3) Heron de Villefosse, Revue archéologique I (1888) pp.155-159.

(4) R. Amy and others, "L'Arc d'Orange" (XV^e Supplément à Gallia) 1962, pp.90-92.

A shield of Celtic pattern included in the sculptured reliefs on that monument is inscribed with a personal name, either Audillus or Rudillus (probably the former)⁽¹⁾ coupled with avot, which on the evidence of an inscription in Gaulish in Greek letters on a stele from the source of the Seine, can now be accepted without question as the equivalent of fecit.⁽²⁾ With this knowledge the reading of the inscription on the mould is simplified. It now seems more likely that

Sacrillos Carati means "Sacrillus the son of Caratus", for another inscribed stele from the source of the Seine shows that in Gaulish one could describe oneself in this manner.⁽³⁾ Hence the inscriptions which occur on two moulds

i.e., SACRILLOS AVOT⁽⁴⁾ and SACRILLOS⁽⁵⁾ AVOT FORM

seen to be abbreviated versions of the same formula.

(1) The name is not Boudillus as frequently stated.

(2) *Revue des Études anciennes* 58 (1956) 71-82

Δαγολιτους αβουωτ i.e., Dagolitus avouot.

(3) The inscription reads ARE SEQVQNI AREOS IOVRVS LVCEO (N) NERTECOMA (ri), which is interpreted APVD SEQVANAM PROPINQVI EREXERVNT LVGIVM NERTECOMARI, i.e., at (the source of) the Seine his relatives erected (this stele) (in honour of) Lucius the son of Nertecomarus. see Eydoux, Hommes et dieux de la Gaule (1961) p.68. cf. also the following:- Holder, Altceltischer Sprachschatz i col.317; '= fecit ?'; ibid Supplément col.780 f.: '= maker ?' (following Stokes, who suggests derivation from pavoti-s, cf. Latin pavio). Dottin, La Langue Gauloise (1918); 41 f. 'avotis the full form which shows it to be a noun and not a verb'. 230: the interpretation 'fabricant', i.e., maker, is provisionally accepted. J.A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson, Central Gaulish Potters (Oxford University Press 1958) p.161.

(4) E. Tudot, pl.12.

(5) A. Blanchet, Étude (1890) p.89.

The problem concerning the true significance of the names engraved on the reverses of the moulds is further complicated where three names appear one above the other as, for example, on the exterior of a mould found at Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) viz.,

ATILANO
SACRILLOS AVOT (1)
ANAIILOS

In discussing this combination of names Blanchet⁽²⁾ suggested that it might indicate that the mould had passed into the hands of successive owners, but in our view this is not too satisfactory for the following reasons. The names appear to have been engraved in the mould before it was baked in the kiln, and therefore were inscribed at one time. Furthermore, the name Atilano is inscribed on the reverse of a mould for a statuette of Venus, and on the inside of the same is the name IOPPILLO which would be reproduced on the finished statuette.⁽³⁾ Hence in this case IOPPILLO was the artist who made the original model, and Atilano made the mould taken from it, which probably implies that he made the mould found at Meaux also. Next then we pass to the name Sacrillos which is coupled with the word Avot, which must indicate the name of the artist. Finally, there is the name Anaiilos which, although unique so far as clay statuettes are concerned, is known in various forms stamped on samian ware.⁽⁴⁾ It is therefore reasonable to regard this name as that of the potter. If this is correct then the mould

(1) Revue des études anciennes (1900) pp.142-.43.

(2) A. Blanchet, Étude Supplément (1901) pp.208-209.

(3) E. Tudot, pl.3.

(4) H. de Fontenay, Inscriptions céramiques gallo-romaines découvertes à Autun, p.29, No.14.

from Meaux provides us with (a) the name of the mould maker,
 (b) the name of the artist who made the original model, and
 (c) the name of the potter who commissioned the work to enable
 him to produce any number of copies in his kiln. (1)

(1) Revue des études anciennes (1900) pp.142-143.

For other useful papers concerning cursive inscriptions
 cf. Sir John Rhys, Proceedings of the British Academy 1911-12,
 "The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul", p.298 ff., pl.VII, Nos.13,14,15.

E. Tudot, "Marques et Signatures de Potiers trouvées dans le
 Bourbonnais" in Bulletin de la Société de l'Émulation du
 Dept., de l'Allier VII, 44 ff. (1856)

F. Oswald, "Cursive Writing of Gaulish Potters" in The Journal
 of Roman Studies XVII (1927) 162 ff., pl.VI & VII.

INDEX OF NAMES WHICH ARE INSCRIBED ON THE MOULDS.

(1) ABVDINVS

- (a) Front half of dog Tudot pl.5.
 (b) Fragment Tudot pl.11.

(2) AN

- (a) Left side of cockerel St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
 with head erect. Tail St. Germain-en-Laye
 feathers lost through Inv.No.28072.
 breakage.
 (b) Venus Type I St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
 rear half now lacking St. Germain-en-Laye
 head due to breakage. Inv.No.28154.

(3) ANT

- (a) Mercury St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
 part of front half St. Germain-en-Laye
 showing caduceus. Inv.No.28026.
 (b) Left side of bull. St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
 St. Germain-en-Laye
 Inv.No.28065.
 (c) Mercury Moulins Museum Inv.No.375.
 (d) Venus Autun Musée Rolin Inv.No.
 (e) Cockerel 329.372.

(4) ANACCIINO

- Base of Thorn-puller ? St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
 St. Germain-en-Laye
 Inv.No.28048.

(5) ARCANVS

- Journal of Roman Studies
 XVII (1927). Tudot p.66.

- (6) ATIIANO
 Back of seated monkey. Toulon-sur-Allier
 St. Germain-en-Laye
 Inv.No.28136. Tudot pl.11;
 pl.63.
- (7) ATILANO
 On a mould for Venus Tudot pl.3. Moulins Museum
 by IOPILLO (qv) Journal of Roman Studies
 XVII (1927).
- (8) BELINICCI MANVS
 (a) Back of bust of youth. Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme)
 St. Germain-en-Laye
 Inv.No.32436.
 (b) Tudot pl.13 BIILINI
 Toulon-sur-Allier
- (9) CABA
 Back of male figure, St. Germain-en-Laye
 attired in a tunic. Inv.No.27972.
- (10) CERTV|AN
 Back of Venus. St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
 St. Germain-en-Laye
 Inv.No.28017.
 CIIRT..0 St. Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier)
 Mother-goddess. Revue archéologique I
 pp.390-392.
- (11) CARATI FORM
 AVOTI FORMA SACRILLOS CARATI
 Reverse of mould. Tudot pl.4; pl.12.

- (12) COSSI M
- (a) Mother-goddess dea nutrix nursing one infant. La Forêt kiln at Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28137.
- (b) Identical to above. Moulins Museum. Cat.No.811
G.COSSI MA. Tudot pl.11.
- (13) IOPPILLO
- (a) Back of bust of Risus type. Toulon-sur-Allier
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28156.
- (b) Venus. Toulon-sur-Allier
Moulins Museum Cat.No.5.3.3.
- (14) IVLI
- (a) Front of Venus Type I B. Moulins (Allier)
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.7291
- (b) as above. Toulon-sur-Allier, Champ Lary
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28138.
- IVLIA
- Rear of basket chair. Toulon-sur-Allier ?
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28165.
- (15) LIBIIRARIS
- Front half of Venus Type I A. Toulon-sur-Allier
Tudot pl.11. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28139.
- (16) LVCANI
- Toulon-sur-Allier
Tudot pl.11.

(17) MARCELLO

Dea nutrix
with one infant.

Memoires Societe des
Antiquaires de France XXVI
(1862) pp.41-42.

(18) MA

(a)

Moulins Museum Cat.No.746.

(b) Nutshell

Vichy Musée Rolin Autun
Inv.No.52.

(19) MAB

Arm of Thorn-puller.

Vichy (Allier)
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.2546.

(20) MARTINI

(a) Front upper part of

Toulon-sur-Allier

Venus Type I B.

St. Germain-en-Laye

Stamped in relief.

Inv.No.28140.

(b) Identical to above but
broken above the navel.

Tudot pl.23. Moulins Museum
Cat.1885 p.54, No.814.

(21) MIIRCI

Front half of Venus Type I. Moulins Museum

(22) NATTI.

(a) Back of Venus

St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre

N]ATTI FOR [MA

St. Germain-en-Laye

Inv.No.28155.

(b) Back of Venus

St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre

N]ATTI

St. Germain-en-Laye

Inv.No.28157.

- (22) (c) Back of male standing figure.
N/ATTI FORMA
St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28158.
- (d) Round base;
NATTI
St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28159.
- (e) For human bust;
NATTI.
Clermont Ferrand
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28164.
- (f) Mould for small altar ?
NATTI
Clermont Ferrand
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28109; Tudot pl.11.
Moulins Museum Cat.No.518.
- (g) Head of a horse.
A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines en terre cuite de la Gaule Romaine Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1890) 6^e serie Tome I, p.220.
- (23) OPPO
Moulins Museum Cat.No.525.
- (24) PISO
- (a) Front of dea nutrix with one infant at breast.
St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.20811.
- (b) Standing figure
Abundantia
St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28022.
- (c) Fragment of bust of female wearing bead necklace.
St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre
St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.20857. cf. also
Moulins Museum Cat.No.838.

(25) PISTILLVS

(i) ARRAS (Pas-de-Calais).

Mother-goddess signed PISTILLVS.

J. Quicherat, Mélanges d'archéologie I, p.428.

(ii) VERMAND (Aisne).

Mother-goddess signed PISTILLVS, found in the Gallo-Roman cemetery.

Bulletin archéologique de Comité (1887) p.191.

(iii) AUBENTON (Aisne) canton of Capelle.

Mother-goddess signed PISTILLVS.

Bulletin Société académique de Laon (1854) III, p.338.

(iv) LA GARENNE-DU-ROI (Oise).

(a) Mother-goddess with one infant, found in the foundations of one of the Roman gates.

Catalogue du Musée Vivenel à Compiègne (1870)

No.793.

(b) Back of basket chair PISTILLVS

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.29209.

(v) REIMS (Marne).

Mother-goddess signed PISTILLVS.

Revue archéologique (1862) II, p.124.

(vi) SENS (Yonne).

Mother-goddess suckling an infant, signed PISTILLVS on the base.

M. Prou, Notice sur deux statuettes gallo-romaines trouvées à Sens, (Sens, 1869); Caumont, Abécédaire, Ère gallo-romaine, p.430, fig.

(25) (vii) ENTRAIN (Nievre).

Mother-goddesses nursing one infant (three examples). On the bases of these statuettes is the name PISTILLVS inscribed with a pointed implement.

Revue archéologique (1876) XXXI, p.44.

(viii) MANDEURE (Doubs).

Statuette mentioned by M.F. Mader, Antiquités de Mandeuire (Montbeliard 1957) pl.51.

(ix) DIJON (Côte d'Or).

Female head signed PISTIL. Catalogue du Musée Moulins Inv.No.255. Risus type of bust signed PISTILLV (retrograde).

H. Baudot, Rapport sur les découvertes archéologiques faites aux sources de la Seine(1845) p.17 and p.20, pl.XV and pl.VII.

(x) BOLARDS near NUITS-SAINT-GEORGES (Côte d'Or).

Statuettes of mother-goddess suckling infants signed PISTILLVS.

E. Thevenot, Gallia VII, tome 1 (1949) fasc.1. (1950) p.336, Nos.105-7.

(xi) AUTUN (Saône-et-Loire).

The following group of statuettes and moulds which bear the name of Pistillus are now in the Musée Rolin at Autun and was published by H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot in Collections du Musée Rolin, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun (Imp.Marcelin-Autun). The number preceding

each item is that in the Musée Rolin inventory.

Moulds:-

(336) Mother-goddess nursing one child.

Front half of mould with PISTILLVS FECIT stamped vertically within a cartouche on the right edge of the exterior.

H. de Fontenay, Inscriptions céramiques gallo-romaines découvertes à Autun,

Mémoires de la Société Eduenne III, No.557;

found in 1869 in the jardin Laurain in

Arroux a suburb of Autun.

(322) Mother-goddess nursing two infants.

Front half of mould with PISTILLVS deeply incised in semi-cursive lettering on the unfinished exterior.

(370) Mother-goddess.

Two pieces of a mould for rear half. On the interior on the base of the chair

]IST[]LLVS. On the outside of the mould is the letter P presumably the initial of Pistillus.

(324) Venus standing.

Front half with PISTILLVS on the outside.

(293) Venus standing. (FIG.132)

Front half with PISTILLVS incised by the same hand as that of No.324 above.

(334) Venus standing.

Front half with P incised in the outside face.

(343) Venus standing in a shrine.

]LLVS in semi-cursive style on outer face.

(335) Cock. Mould for right side. On exterior is P presumably for PISTILLVS.

(327) Mould for small circular plinth. On the exterior is P.

(383) Unidentified subject. On the exterior of the mould is PISTIL[within a cartouche.

Statuettes:-

(89) Mother-goddess nursing one child.

The name PISTILLVS appears on the base at the back of the chair the letter P was in the right side and the final S in the left side of the front half of the mould originally.

(383) Three fragments of the basket chair of a mother-goddess. On the base]ISTILL and part of the V.

(377) Mother-goddess nursing one child.

PISTILLVS on back of the base of the chair.

(73) Fragment of basket chair. PISTILLV[on the back in the usual position.

(371) Part of the base of the basket chair showing the feet of a mother-goddess with the letters]ISTIL.

(376) Mother-goddess nursing one child.

PISTILLVS on the back of the chair in the usual position. (FIGS.19 and 131)

- (380) Fragment of the left side of the chair
and the base PIST[
- (90) Mother-goddess nursing one infant.
Part of front and back. On the bottom of
the chair is P|PISTILLVS|S.
- (379) Fragment of the base showing the feet of a
mother-goddess with the name]ISTILLVS(S.
- (316) Abundantia seated.
On the base of the chair is PISTILLVS.
The final S is possibly retrograde.
- (221) Mother-goddess nursing two infants.
On the back of the bottom of the chair
PISTILLVS.
- (350) Triad of mother-goddesses seated side by
side on a bench and each holding a patera
in the right hand and the left hand holds
a cornucopia against the left shoulder.
H. Vertet, Mémoires de la Société Eduenne
LII Fasc.1, pp.50-55, Figs.1-3.
On the top moulding at the back of the base
PISTILLVS FECIT.
- (353) Venus.
On the back is the stamp PISTILLVS in a
cartouche.
- (375) Base in form of an altar presumably for
Venus standing with an amor. PISTILLVS FECIT
in a cartouche on the front of the base.

(382) Venus.

On the back of the drapery held in the left hand is PISTI.

(386) Venus in a cockle-shell ?

On the veins of the shell at the back is
]VS FECIT (Pistillus fecit).

(301) Couple embracing in bed. On the interior is
PISTILLVS in a cartouche. cf. a similar
complete example from Bordeaux under
Bordeaux No.23 qv.

(123) Boy wearing a cucullus with PISTILLVS
stamped on the rear flap of the hood.

(125) From the same mould as No.123 above.
PISTILL[

(43) Bust of smiling boy "Risus" type.
PIS [TI] LLVS.

(38) Bust of boy with stamp PISTILLVS below
the nape of the neck.

(321) Oscillum with scene of toilet of Venus
or some erotic subject. On the back
stamped in a cartouche is]LLVS FECIT.

(xii) BOURBON-LANCY (Saone-et-Loire).

Fragment of Risus type signed PISTILLVS.

Melin and Bertrand, Notice sur une officine de
potiers-modeleurs gallo-romaines découverte a
Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire) in the Bulletin
archéologique du Comité (1892) pp.264-265.

(25) (xiii) TOULON-sur-Allier (Allier). Champ Lary.

E. Tudot, pl.10. [P] ISTILLVS on the back of a basket chair; PISTILLVS retrograde across the shoulders of a female figure ibid pl.30 A.

Tudot also published PISTILLVS on the back of a basket chair from an unspecified site in the Bourgoigne. The officina at La Forêt adjoining that of Champ Lary also yielded a fragment signed P]ISTI[LLVS, Catalogue du Musée de Moulins Inv.No.366.

]ISTILLV[on the bottom of basket chair at back. St. Germain Museum Inv.No.7280.

(xiv) MÂCON (Saône-et-Loire).

Mother-goddesses two examples signed PITILLVS.

Macon Museum Collection Lacroix. Also St. Germain Museum Inv.No.78820]ISTILLV on rear base of complete dea nutrix suckling two infants.

(xv) CLERMONT FERRAND (Puy-de-Dôme).

Standing figure of Mercury signed PISTILLV on back of caduceus. Height 14.8 cms.

Clermont-Ferrand Museum Inv.No.56-513-42.

(FIG.134)

(xvi) BELLEY (Ain).

A nude seated man with his leg placed on the right knee. Lacks the head and left foot. On the left side is the name PISTILLVS.

H. Greppo, "Souvenirs de quelques artistes lyonnais de l'époque romaine", Revue du

Lyonnais (1840) XII, p.352. Thorn-puller ?

(xvii) ANNECY (Haute-Savoie).

Fragment of a statuette signed PISTILLVS.

Revue savoisiennne (1896) p.34, No.289.

Annecy Museum.

(xviii) VIENNE (Isère).

Mother-goddess signed PYSTILOS on the chair.

Comarmond, Antiquités du Musée de Lyon

pl.III, No.11.

(xix) ARLES (Bouches-du-Rhône).

Mother-goddess signed PISTILLVS.

D. Martin, Religion des Gaulois II,

pl.XXXVII, p.265.

(xx) JAVOLS (Lozère).

On the base of a statuette PISTILLVS.

Annuaire de l'Institut des provinces (1857) p.228.

(xxi) MONTANS (Tarn).

Marie Durand Lefebvre, Étude sur les vases de

Montans du Musée Saint Raymond de Toulouse,

p.166, No.129. Horse in white clay mould.

(xxii) EAUSE (Gers).

Du Mege, Archéologie Pyrénéenne II, p.262, pl,

p.264. Mother-goddess signed]ISTILLV[

(xxiii) BORDEAUX (Gironde).

Bas-relief in the form of a cockleshell mounted on a pedestal. Inside the shell is a nude Venus seated with a small casket behind her. She holds a tress of her hair in her left hand and possibly

her girdle in her right hand. In front of her is a winged cupid holding up a mirror held in his right hand. On the back of the cockleshell is PISTILLVS FECIT.

C. Jullian, Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux I, p.472.

A model of a couch on which is an embracing couple with a dog lying at their feet. Height 6 cm.

On the back of the couch is **PISTILLVS FECIT** stamped in bold relief in capital letters 5 mm high.

C. Jullian, op cit II, p.639; Musee des Antiquites Nationales, Saint Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.72474.

There is another model couch of this type found in a Roman cemetery at Locarno, Jahrsbericht der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte XXVIII (1936) p.66, pl.VIII, No.3.

The form PIXTILOS is also recorded cf. P.C. Robert, Revue des Sociétés savantes (1878) VII, p.106, note 2; cf. also No.24 infra.

(xxiv) BRIOUX (Deux-Sievres).

Minerva signed PIXTILLI

B. Fillon, Art de terre chez les Poitevins, pp.20-21.

(xxv) SANXAY (Vienne).

Venus pudique standing in a shrine signed PISTILLVS.

F. Eygum, Le Sanctuaire de Sanxay in Gallia II (1944) p.109, fig.16.

(xxvi) ALISE STE.REINE (Côte d'Or).

On the back of basket chair of a dea nutrix suckling twins PISTILLVS damaged by flaking.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.71450.

(xxvii) VICHY (Allier).

(a) On the back of basket chair of a dea nutrix
suckling one infant.]ISTILLVS

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28084.

(b) On the back of the neck of a detached head of
a female whose hair hangs down in long tresses.
PISTILLVS retrograde.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28163.

(xxviii) ROANNE (Loire).

Complete statuette of a dea nutrix suckling an
infant at the right breast. On rear of the base
of the basket chair PISTIL []VS.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.23250.

(xxix) Exact Provenance unknown but from Valley of the
Saône. Complete dea nutrix suckling twin infants.
On the rear of the base of the basket chair
PISTILLVS.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.80364.

(xxx) LOSTORF near OLTEN (Canton Solothurn) Switzerland.

Fragment of a mother-goddess signed PISTILLVS F.

Prof. Laur, Jahrbuch der Schweizer Gesellschaft für
Urgeschichte 29, (1937) p.90.

(xxxi) TRIER (Germany).

Fragment of basket chair with incomplete stamped
name P ///LLV, possibly Pistillus.

S. Loeschke, Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu
Trier, Heft I, 62, No.16.

The following examples are tentatively attributed to Pistillus:-

(a) CANTERBURY (England)

Complete figurine of the dea nutrix nursing one infant at the right breast. Found in Sun Street, Canterbury, 1867, formerly in the Cecil Brent collection but its present whereabouts is unknown. It bore an inscription on the underside which Haverfield published as follows:-

"Rude figurine in white earth found at Canterbury in 1867 now in possession of Mr. Cecil Brent F.S.A. A goddess on a basket work chair gives suck to a child, a common type; on the underside in rude letters SILI (Sili = made by Silius). Copied by myself, the figurine but not the inscription is given in Mr. John Brent's Canterbury in the Olden Time p.41, pl.6, fig.5.

It is one of the ugly Gaulish statuettes of which a few have been found in Kent and Essex, this being the only inscribed one known to me. In this as in other details we can trace the continental influences which were naturally stronger there than elsewhere in Britain", vide F. Haverfield; "Romano-British Inscriptions 1892-3" in The Archaeological Journal L, pp.282-3; cf. also F. Haverfield, Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, No.1355.

Judging by the illustration in Brent, the overall height of the figurine was c. 14.8 cms. This illustration shows the weave of the basketry in the same style as the chairs of Pistillus, hence it is possible that the correct reading is STIL as part of that modeller's name, but unfortunately the statuette is lost.

(b) NÉRIS (Allier)

Upper part of dea nutrix suckling twins broken off just below the arms. The hair style and the weave of the basket chair are in the style of Pistillus, cf. Tudot pl.30 E. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28099.

(26) PRISCVS

- (i) Front half of mould for Venus. PRISCVS X (FIG.135)
Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28141.
- (ii) Front half of mould for Venus. PRISCVS X
Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.9753.
- (iii) Front half of mould for Venus. [PR]ISCVS X
Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28141.
- (iv) Rear half of mould for Venus. PRISCVS
Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28141.
- (v) Mould for right side of a dove. PRISCV[S]
Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27998.
- (vi) Mould for right side of cockerel. PRISCVS
Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27995.
- (vii) Mould for right side of cockerel. PRISCV[S]
Probably from Vichy. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25454.
- (viii) Mould identical to No.2 above. PRISCVS
Musee Lapidaire, Auxerre Inv.No.171.
- (ix) Mould for rear of basket-chair. PRISCVS
Probably from Vichy. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25443.
- (x) Mould for unidentifiable subject, possibly a double cornucopia or the horns of a bovine animal.
PRISCV[Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier).
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28184.

(26)

(xi) Mould for Venus.

Mémoires de la Société académique de l'Aube (1873)

p.24. Troyes, (Aube).

(xii) Mould for the right side of the crest of a

helmet for Minerva. PRISCVS

Vichy. Musée Rolin, Autun Inv.No.333.

"VÉNUS À GAINÉ" (MAP 5)

Statuettes Signed by REXTVGENOS

(a) Caudebec-les-Elbeuf (Seine Maritime)

RIIXTVGENOSSVLLIASAVVOT in relief.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.78722 (cast of original
statuette).A. Héron de Villefosse, Revue archéologique I (1888)

p.145 ff., pl.VI.

Drouet, Bulletin comm. ant. de la Seine-Inferieure VII

pp.167-169 and 308-311.

E. Pottier, Les statuettes de terre-cuite dans l'Antiquite

(Paris, 1890), fig.83.

L. Coutil, Les figurines en terre-cuite des Eburovices,Velio et Lexovii. Etude générale sur les Vénus à gainede la Gaule romaine (Evreux, 1899), p.18, pl.I.Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10.015, 85 c.

(b) Bro-en-Fégréac (Loire-Maritime)

REXTVGENOSSVLLIASAVVO T in relief.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.31462.

A. Heron de Villefosse, op cit p.151;Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10.015, 85 b.

(c) La Tourelle, Quimper (Finistere)

Eight fragments, one of which bears part of an inscription
which reads }XTVCEN[(= Rextugenos)

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.75814.

(d) Angers (Maine-et-Loire)

REXTVGENOS

A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines de terre-cuite de
la Gaule romaine in Mémoires Société des Antiquaires
de France XLI, (1891) p.166.

(e) Corseul (Côtes-du-Nord)

REXTVGENOS

A. Blanchet, ibid p.162.Statuettes Signed by PESTIKA

(a) Provenance Unknown

"Vénus à gaine" St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.6897.

(b) Toulon-sur-Allier

Same type as (a) above. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.7275.

(c) Toulon-sur-Allier

(Unsigned). Identical to above.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.9746.

(d) Allier

(Unsigned). Same type.

Photograph provided by H. Vertet. (FIG.48)

(e) St. Jean-de-Losne (Côte d'Or)

Abundantia seated. On the base]STIKA

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.14018.

Signed Moulds of SACRILLOS

(a) Mould for Bull (right half). SACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27988.

(b) Seated dog (rear half). SACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28143.

(c) Dove (right half). SACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27998.

(d) Hen (right half). SACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27996.

(e) Dove (right half). SACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.3.75.

(f) Dove as (e) above. SACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.3.78.

(g) Horse (left side). S]ACRILLOS

Toulon-sur-Allier. Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.3.106.

(h) Cockerel head erect. SACRILLOS

St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28144.

- (i) Horse (right half), wearing ornamented saddle cloth.
St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre. SACRILLOS AVOT
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28142.
- (j) Front half of dove with wings folded across breast.
SACRILLOS St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28161.
- (k) Pigeon (right half). SACRILLOS
Moulins (Allier). St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.30395.
- (l) Dove (right half). SACR[I]LLOS AVOT
Unknown Provenance. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.9752.
- (m) Dove. SACRILLOS CARATI AVOT FORM
M. Durand-Lefebvre, "Le Vases de Montans" in Gallia IV,
p.166, No.237. Dated Trajan-Antonine.
Found Montans (Tarn).
- (n) ATILANO/SACRILLOS AVOT / ANAILOS
Meaux (Seine-et-Marne)
G. Gassies, Revue des études anciennes (1900),
pp.142-3.
- (o) SACRILLOS AVOT FORM
Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.2.60. From Vichy.
- (p) SACRILLOS CARATI AVOT FORM
Mould for bird. Tudot pl.4.
- (q) SACRILLOS CARATI
Tudot pl.12. Moulins Museum Catalogue (1885)
p.XXVI, No.813.

Signed Moulds of TIBERIVS

- (a) Complete mould for a draped female figure, possibly Abundantia. TIBIIRIVS on front half; TIBERIVS on rear half. Toulon-sur-Allier.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27957.
- (b) Front of Thorn-puller. TIBER
Toulon-sur-Allier.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27969.
- (c) Back of Thorn-puller. TIBER
Toulon-sur-Allier.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27969.
- (d) Rock on which the Thorn-puller is normally seated.
TIB with X incised above and below.
Toulon-sur-Allier.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28005.
- (e) Venus Type I rear half. TIBIIR
Toulon-sur-Allier.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28147.

(28) QVIQVI

Written in paint on the back of a mould for the front half of a dea nutrix suckling one infant to left.

St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28011.

(29) SABINVS

Tudot p.66.

(30) SACRILLOS

For examples of his work see Part 2 c.

(31) SEVERI SEVERIANVS

Bust of Risus type holding a cock.

Tudot pl.13. Allier.

Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.6.3.

Bulletin Société archéologique de l'Orleanais VII

(1878) p.38.

(32) SIINILLVS

Venus Type I. Moulins Museum.

(33) SIIXTVS SIICT

Venus Type I, rear half of mould.

Toulon-sur-Allier, Champ Lary officina.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28162.

(34) SILVINI

(a) Venus Type I. Toulon-sur-Allier.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28146.

(b) Unidentifiable subject, perhaps a bull.

Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28145.

cf. also Tudot pl.14.

(35) 2TVB

Risus type bust. Possibly Stabilis.

Tudot pl.8.

(36) TAVRVS

Fully clothed embracing male and female couple (front half). Toulon-sur-Allier.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27970. Tudot pl.39.

(37) TIBERIVS

For examples of his work see Part 2 c.

(38) TRITOGIINO

(a) Front half of Venus Type I A. Toulon-sur-Allier.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28148. Tudot pl.13.

(b) Two halves of a mould. On front half TRITOGIINO;

on rear half VIVI (cf. VIVI; VILIS below, No.41)

Provenance Unknown. Could be Vichy (Allier).

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25486.

(39) VRBANVS

Fragment of a mould. VRBANVS

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.14.

(40) VRBICVS

(a) Fragment of a mould. VRBICVS

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.14.

(b) Fragment of a mould for back half of Venus.

VR]BICVS Autun (Saône-et-Loire).

Musee Rolin Autun Inv.No.325.

(41) VIVI

(a) On mould for back half of Venus Type I.

There is a possibility that this name may be VILIS

Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28149.

(b) See No.38 b above where it occurs with the name of

TRITOGIINO

(42) VCOGIO

Mould for front half of Venus.

Moulins Museum Inv.No. not given.

(43) VTRIANV

Mould for front half of Venus. Bordeaux.

C. Jullian, Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux I (1887),

p.640.

INDEX OF NAMES ON THE STATUETTES

(1) ABVDINVS

(a) Base on which are two feet. Semi-cursive.

Vichy (Allier) ? St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25490.

(2) AETVS

Basket-chair of Mother-goddess.

Autun. Musée Rolin Inv.No.331.

(3) ALLVSAE

(a) Mother-goddesses. Bordeaux.

(b) Venus in shrine. Bordeaux.

IVLIVS ALLVSA;

IV ALLVS F MAN;

ALLVSAE MANV.

SABINEI ALLVSA on a mother-goddess.

C. Jullian, Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux I (1887)

pp.469-471. ibid No.386.

(4) ARILIS

(a) Fragment. Tudot pl.11.

(b) Bust of female. Moulins Museum Catalogue, No.752.

(5) ATTINO

(a) On base of truncated pyramid form in relief.

St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28023.

(6) ESTRVS

On rear of base of monkey.

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.64.

(7) GALLVS

On base of Mother-goddess.

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.64.

(8) GRECVS

(a) Across back of hooded cape.

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.42 A.

(b) On back of hooded standing personage.

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.43.

(c) Vertically on lower part of tunic of similar standing figure as (b) above.

Toulon-sur-Allier. Tudot pl.42 C.

(9) IOPPILLO

Stamped vertically on back of tunica held by Venus.

Verulamium, St. Albans, Herts., England.

Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No.XI Verulamium p.203, pl.LXI, 3.

(10) IOPPIOS

On rear of tunica held by Venus.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10.015,75.

Tudot pl.21.

(11) IVLOS

Stamped in relief below the breasts of Venus type standing against the ornamented background. Provenance unknown.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.9745.

(12) LVRBICVS

On the back of a seated monkey wearing a hooded cloak.

Tudot pl.64. Provenance unknown.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.7288.

(13) MARCELLVS

Seated mother-goddess nursing one infant.

Mémoires Société des Antiquaires de France (1862) XXVI

pp.41-42.

(14) M LVS

On mother-goddess nursing one infant.

Bolards (Côte d'Or)

Gallia VII (1949) p.336, No.115.

(15) M NATTI ARV

(a) Radial stamp in relief on small disc attached to front of incomplete bust. M·NATT·ARVE

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.1641.

(b) Radial stamp as above but with crown-like object in centre instead of a leaf.

Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme)

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.1642.

It has been suggested that the name NATT was that of an Arvernian cf. "Un Céramiste arverne" in Revue archéologique (1861) II, p.262.

(16) PESTIKA

For examples of his work see Part 2 b. pp.56-57.

(17) PISTILLVS

For examples of his work see Part 2 b. pp. 43-54.

(18) POSTIKADA TASIA ?

Much restored. Tudot, p.32.

(19) REXTVGENOS

For examples of his work see Part 2 b, pp.55-56.

(20) SVLPICINI

Entrains.

Révue archéologique (1876) XXXI, p.44.

(21) TETIO

(a) Stamped in relief on the domed plinth of a Venus type statuette. Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.65156.

(b) On a similar base to that above.

London (England).

British Museum Inv.No.56/7-1, 322.

(22) VERIANV

On mother-goddess. Blois.

Catalogue du Musée Vivienal à Compeigne (1870) No.794.

(23) VTRIANV

On mother-goddess. C. Jullian, Inscriptions

romaines de Bordeaux (1887) II, p.640.

(24) JARCI

Bolards (Côte d'Or).

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 10005, 92.

Gallia VII (1949) p.336, No.104.

Nîmes Museum.

PART 2

(c) EXAMPLES OF THE WORK OF INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN
THE PRODUCTION OF STATUETTESIOPPILLOS

A statuette of Venus (Type I A) found at Verulamium in Britain bears on the back of the tunica held at her side, the name IOPPILLO stamped in incised letters from the mould.⁽¹⁾ (FIG.133)

The occurrence of the same name in relief in a mould for a similar figure found at Toulon-sur-Allier, implies that it was incised on the original clay model whence the mould was taken, and that it is therefore the name of the actual modeller.⁽²⁾

It is of interest that on the outer face of the same mould, and obviously not intended to be reproduced on the finished statuette, is the name ATILANO which was engraved in the clay while it was still in the plastic state. The implication is therefore, that ATILANO was the maker of the mould, perhaps the one who seems to have made a mould for the modeller Sacrillos found at Meaux (Seine-et-Marne), the significance

(1) Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.XI, R.E. Wheeler and T.V. Wheeler, Verulamium A Belgic and two Roman Cities (London 1936) p.203, pl.LXI, 3.

It should be noted that the find-place of this statuette is given in this report as in the filling of the cellar of Building II.1 which must be incorrect as that building had no cellar. It is almost certain that this is a typographical error and Building I.1 which had a cellar is the one where the statuette was found.

(2) E. Tudot, pl.3, p.64.

of which has already been discussed (Page 36).⁽¹⁾

The recognition of Ioppillos as a modeller is complicated however, by the occurrence of the same name on another mould found in the Allier district.⁽²⁾ This signature was attributed at one time to Toulon-sur-Allier, but more recently it has been pointed out that the clay is more characteristic of Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre, so it is more likely that it was made at that officina,⁽³⁾ The position of the name of Ioppillos is important for it is incised on the reverse of the mould and from this it follows, if the foregoing reasoning is correct, then it ought to be the name of the maker of the mould.

This raises the question whether or not the two signatures do differ in certain respects which could mean that there were two people bearing the same name, one being a modeller and the other a mould-maker who perhaps worked in different officinae. If on the other hand it is the name of one person then one can only assume that Ioppillos the modeller occasionally produced the moulds.

(1) Revue des études anciennes (1900) pp.142-3.

(2) Musée des Antiquités Nationales St. Germain-en-Laye
Inv.No.28156.

(3) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités" XXIV^e supplément à "Gallia" (Paris 1972) pp.265-6, No.693. The mould is for a bust of a smiling boy of the so-called "Risus" type.

NATTVS

The moulds which carry the name of Nattus are confined to the valley of the Allier, four having been found at St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier)⁽¹⁾ and two at Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme).⁽²⁾ There is also a mould for a medallion which came from the officina at Toulon-sur-Allier,⁽³⁾ and the name is stamped on two busts also from Clermont-Ferrand.⁽⁴⁾

An examination of the signatures which occur on the outer faces of the moulds, reveals that the handwriting is virtually by the same hand, the letters T and F in particular display identical styles. This suggests that they all refer to the same individual who, because the word forma is sometimes included, should be the maker of the moulds. The two busts on the other hand are stamped respectively, M NATTI ARV and M NATTI ARVE, the capital letters being arranged in radial fashion in relief on the small flat disc attached to the front of each pedestal. Although this stamp has been read with the letter M preceding the name, it seems more reasonable to think that it signifies manu and therefore ought to be placed at the other end of the formula, i.e., NATTI ARVE M (anu). As this

- (1) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.28155; 28157; 28158; 28159.
- (2) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.28109; 28164.
- (3) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.27966 and Tudot, pl.7 and 53.
- (4) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.1641-1642.

was stamped on the small disc it is possible that it did not appear in the mould but was applied by a small hand stamp after the bust had been extracted from its matrix. In any case it is more than likely that Nattus made the original models.

The true interpretation of the letters ARV or ARVE which follow the name is uncertain, but it has been suggested that they signify that Nattus was an Arvernian by birth, which is a plausible theory since Clermont-Ferrand (Augustonemetum) where examples of his signed moulds have been found, was the capital of the civitas of the Arverni.⁽¹⁾

All the moulds of Nattus are far from complete so that the types of statuettes taken from them cannot be readily identified. Two from St. Pourcain may be for Venus types, and one for a standing male figure,⁽²⁾ while one from Clermont-Ferrand is evidently for a bust of a personage, possibly one of the so-called "Risus" type.⁽³⁾

(1) "Un Céramiste arverne" in Revue archéologique (1861) II, p.262.

(2) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.28155; 28157; 28158.

(3) St. Germain Museum Inv.No. 28164.

PISTILLVS (Map 3)

A maker of clay statuettes whose signed products and moulds are particularly numerous is Pistillus who was once thought to have been the potter of that name who produced samian pottery at Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme) in the Antonine period.⁽¹⁾ At present there is no evidence to support this hypotheses for not one of his moulds for statuettes or statuettes bearing his name have been forthcoming from that important centre of the Central Gaulish pottery industry.

A map of the distribution of the statuettes and moulds of this artist-modeller is instructive for it reveals that they are fairly widespread through Gaul (Map No.3). Of the thirty-two places, five only lie to the west of an arbitrary line drawn from north to south from St. Omer to Perpignan, and there is one other possible place in Britain. When Blanchet first drew attention to this distribution he suggested that Pistillus did not belong to the Allier but worked elsewhere, probably somewhere in East Gaul.⁽²⁾ As signed examples of the work of Pistillus have been found at other officinae such as at Toulon-sur-Allier, St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre, Vichy and Bourbon-Lancy it is possible that his activities were not confined to one centre of the industry.

- (1) F. Oswald, Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata, (Nottingham 1931).
- (2) A. Blanchet, "Etude sur les figurines en terre cuite de la Gaule romaine," Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, XLI, (1891) pp.98-99.

Perhaps then he was an itinerant modeller travelling from place to place working for a time for a master-potter. Here we ought to proceed with caution because there were considerable numbers of moulds and statuettes at Toulon-sur-Allier for example, which bore the names of others engaged in the production of clay statuettes. In view of this it may be prudent for us not to be too hasty in our judgement for it may well be that the master-potters were not artist-modellers, but had acquired the moulds or the original models from Pistillus, who worked at some other place, perhaps some distance away from the site where his moulds were used.

One thing that is noticeable with the statuettes of Pistillus, particularly those of the dea nutrix type is that they display a higher standard of workmanship compared with numerous examples evidently made by other modellers. This could mean that Pistillus created the prototypes which became very fashionable. If so, then it is possible that other statuette-makers sought to profit from the increasing demand by copying his work and using his name. Whether this was done with his permission cannot now be proved, but the reproduction of a popular product complete with the name of the original master-craftsman is not without parallel in the history of the provincial Roman pottery industry. For example, the so-called "firm-lamps" or proprietary lamps originally made in Cisalpine Gaul were definitely being reproduced in the local clays at Holdeurn (Holland) complete with the names of the North Italian master lamp-makers, around the turn of the first to second century. (1)

(1) J.H. Holwerda and W.C. Braat, De Holdeurn bij Berg en Dal (Leiden 1946) pp.37-38, pl.XIX, 2 a-d; pl.XX, 1.

In attempting to fix the location of the place where Pistillus worked we have the advantage over Blanchet for the recent research carried out by Vertet has produced some valuable information relating to the problem.⁽¹⁾ The material which formed the basis of his study is now preserved in the Musée Rolin at Autun (Saône-et-Loire). It comprises a considerable number of clay statuettes and moulds which bear the name of Pistillus, and many more statuettes which were either derived from his moulds or on stylistic grounds may be attributed to him. Although the kilns have not been found, this evidence makes it virtually certain that Pistillus worked at Autun whence his moulds or original models were probably distributed to other centres of the industry by way of the Arroux, to the Loire and its tributaries the Acolin, Besbre and Allier.

The name Pistillus appears in various forms and styles of lettering on the moulds and the statuettes. It is sometimes stamped in small, fairly neat capital letters in relief in a small rectangular sunken frame, or in large letters in bold relief on the statuettes, or in deeply incised semi-cursive script on the roughly finished exterior faces of the moulds. Variations in the spelling are also known but in Blanchet's opinion these did not present any great difficulty for the same artist-modeller could have signed his work either as Pistillus or as Pixtili.⁽²⁾

(1) H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun (Marceline Autun) Collections du Musée Rolin.

(2) A. Blanchet, op cit, p.99.

The form Pystilos however is worthy of mention for it is quite different and is almost certainly of Gaulish origin. Blanchet also expressed the opinion that there is no guarantee that the name belonged to a single individual for there may have been others engaged in the industry who also bore it.⁽¹⁾ This implies that not all the statuettes which bear the name were made by the same modeller, but in our view despite the variations in the style of the lettering as displayed on the statuettes and the moulds at Autun this is unlikely. The reason for this is that we have no proof that Pistillus made the moulds which could have been the work of a specialist mould-maker who quite possibly would have inscribed the name of the modeller as a means of identification.

An analysis of the series of statuettes produced by Pistillus reveals that he had a fairly wide range of subjects to offer. Of upwards of fourteen main types the most numerous are those of a matron seated in a high-backed basket chair nursing either one or two infants, i.e., the so-called dea nutrix. These all display a distinctive feature shared by only one other modeller, namely Marcellus. This is the manner in which the weave of the basketry of the chairs is uniformly realistically represented, instead of being sketchily indicated by the herring-bone pattern of short oblique incisions so commonly used on the very numerous statuettes of the same subject produced by Priscus and other at present anonymous modellers elsewhere.⁽²⁾

(1) A. Blanchet, ibid.

(2) Compare FIG.19 (Pistillus) with FIGS 20-21.

PRISCVS (Map 4)

As moulds bearing the signature of Priscus were found at the officina at Champ Lary, Toulon-sur-Allier there is every reason for accepting that he worked there.⁽¹⁾ This is confirmed by the distribution of the places where his moulds have been found for with only two exceptions they all lie within a few miles of that centre, namely, Autun, Vichy and Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre which were also centres of the industry.

In studying the significance of these moulds it is important to bear in mind that in each case we possess only half of the complete mould so that it is at present impossible to say whether the name of Priscus appeared in the negative inside the lost half, to be reproduced as a positive impression on the finished statuette. On the other hand not one statuette bearing his name has been found which could indicate that he was the creator of the original model whence the mould was taken. In view of this lack of evidence it is safer to assume that Priscus was not the modeller, but was the maker of the mould, and was employed in that capacity by a master-potter who probably owned several officinae in the Allier valley.

Because of the close proximity of the officinae at Toulon-sur-Allier, Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre and Vichy to one another it would be reasonable to think that the demand for the moulds of Priscus came from fairly local sources, were it not for one of

(1) For example FIG.135.

his signed moulds which was found at Troyes (Aube), and another of unknown provenance now preserved in the Musée Lapidaire at Auxerre. The presence of the mould at Troyes some 150 miles north of the Allier centres could be explained in several ways. It is possible that a master-potter who worked at Troyes had either acquired a mould by purchase direct from the officina where Priscus worked, or perhaps, less likely, he was an itinerant mould-maker who peddled his stock-in-trade over a wide area. Another possibility is that a branch of the Allier firm with which he was associated had moved to Troyes, but as the kilns have not been found this must remain an open question, as also must the possible migration of Priscus himself to that area.

The extant demi-moulds signed by Priscus reveal that he included in his repertoire several subjects, namely, six versions of Venus of the same general type; one example each of a pigeon and a cockerel; a Minerva, and a mother-goddess seated in a basket chair of the usual dea nutrix type. Regarding the latter it is noteworthy that the weave of the basketry of the chair is treated rather perfunctorily without much attempt at realism, for it is merely indicated by short, oblique incised lines arranged in herring-bone formation in vertical bands between ridges representing the vertical rods up the sides and the back of the chair. This style is in direct contrast to that produced by Pistillus and to a lesser extent by Marcellus who both depict the weave in a more realistic fashion arranged in horizontal rows.

REXTUGENOS (Map 5)

The artist who bore the name Rextugenos seems to have specialised in the creation of figures of female personages the art types used being those of certain versions of Venus. These are portrayed standing stiffly erect with the legs placed close together, between pedestal-like uprights which may be menhirs (standing stones). Statuettes of this type form a well defined group which is distinguished by the ornamentation stamped in relief which adorns the "pedestals" and is sometimes distributed over the front of the body of the goddess. As the name of Rextugenos occurs in fairly bold relief stamped from the mould down the rear face of the "pedestal" to the right of the goddess it seems virtually certain that it appeared on the original model and is the name of the actual modeller.

The inscriptions which include this name are of interest for several reasons. The name is undoubtedly Gaulish and is coupled with that of SVLLIAS. This combination of two personal names we have already seen (page 35) indicates that this was how one could describe himself on Gaulish stelae as "the son of", hence in this instance we can accept that Rextugenos was the son of Sullias. Coupled with this statement is the word AVVOT a variation of avot which on the evidence of the inscriptions on sculptured reliefs and stelae can now be accepted without question as the Gaulish equivalent for the Latin verb fecit. It follows therefore that the inclusion of avot in the inscriptions on the statuettes of Rextugenos means that he, the son of Sullias, was the artist who made the original model. The spelling of avot with a double V so far as we know at present is confined to the

statuettes of this general type, but was not peculiar to the work of Rextugenos for it occurs on a fragment of a similar statuette in rather badly arranged lettering in relief which reads IAVVOT. The inscriptions which provide the complete formula Rextugenos Sullias Avvot are rather cramped in layout down the back of the "pedestal", and the letters O are much smaller than the other letters. Another peculiarity is that the letter N appears in reverse although the other letters forming the inscription all occur the right way round. This is not uncommon for it seems that the letter N was particularly vulnerable to reversal in this manner for it occurs occasionally in other inscriptions; quite frequently in the names of potters stamped on samian ware, and also on the pre-Roman coinage. The reversal of this letter on the statuettes of Rextugenos implies that it appeared in reverse on the original model and therefore perpetuates an error made by the artist when writing the full inscription. Finally, the use of II or I in lieu of the letter E is typically Gaulish.

St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.78722.

A. Héron de Villefosse Revue archéologique I (1888) p.145 ff., pl.VI.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10.015,85 c.

The site of the officina where Rextugenos was employed is at present unknown. The inference to be drawn from the distribution of his signed statuettes is that it could have been situated in that part of north-west Gaul which embraced the country of Armorica, now the provinces of Normandy and Brittany where unsigned statuettes of closely similar types are concentrated, but before reaching any conclusions concerning this it is necessary to turn now to the work of Pestika.

Two statuettes of Pestika evidently from the same mould, have the name in moulded relief across the back of the shoulders of the Venus type personage, thus inferring that it is that of the artist. Another example in the same general style has the name IVLOS in relief across the body just below the breasts of a similar female personage. It seems clear therefore that other artists produced this distinctive type of statuette. Unfortunately not one of the examples we have cited can be dated with any precision, but the close similarity in style strongly suggests that they belong to the same period. Although this may be true it is impossible to identify which artist was the innovator of this style, and which of his contemporaries were influenced by his work and in consequence produced their own reasonably good imitations.

When we turn to the provenances of the two signed statuettes of Pestika we find that one came from Toulon-sur-Allier while the find place of the other is unknown. In addition to these there are two unsigned examples which are otherwise identical to those of that artist. Both were found in the Allier district, one certainly from Toulon-sur-Allier, but in the absence of the actual moulds at that centre of the industry, the site of the officina where Pestika was employed must remain a matter for conjecture, although there is every reason for thinking that it must have been somewhere in that part of the Allier. (FIG.48)

At this juncture it seems appropriate to reconsider whether the officina of Rextugenos was really in north-west Gaul despite the distribution of his statuettes in that region. In this we

are hampered by the fact that at present not one of his moulds have been found there. In the absence of this evidence little more can be said, but if the site of his officina was not in north-west Gaul and was somewhere in the Allier well away from the area where his statuettes are distributed, then they can only be regarded as indicative of the pattern of the trade in his products, which is an aspect of the industry to which we shall return later (see Part 5, Region 4).

SACRILLOS (Map 6)

The map of the distribution of the moulds which are engraved with the signature of Sacrillos indicates that the main incidence of find-places lies in the valley of the Allier centred on the officina at Toulon-sur-Allier. It is therefore virtually certain that he worked there.

From our discussion of the significance of the inscriptions engraved on the reverse of the moulds which couple his name with that of Carati there seems sound reasons for thinking that Sacrillos was the son of Caratus. In addition to this the inclusion of the Gaulish word avot (= fecit) makes it virtually certain that he was the artist who created the original models whence the moulds were taken.

It is of interest that a mould found at Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) some 200 miles or more to the north of the Allier centres of the industry couples his name with that of his colleague the mould-maker Atilano, and also that of Anailos. Now the latter name is at present unique so far as clay statuettes are concerned, but it is known in various forms stamped on samian ware. It is therefore reasonable to regard this as the name of the potter who commissioned the making of the mould, and worked in a northern, perhaps independent pottery centre in the Marne region.

As we have found with Priscus, for example, at present we have no moulds of Sacrillos which bear his signature on the interiors to be reproduced on the finished statuettes, neither have we any statuettes which bear his name. Because of this we do not know his full repertoire, and until further examples of his work are forthcoming it seems that Sacrillos specialised



in the creation of small models of birds and animals, such as doves, pigeons, hens, cockerels, dogs and horses.

A mould of Sacrillos found at Montans (Tarn) is another outlier from the main centre of distribution. This, however, like the mould from Meaux cannot be taken as positive proof of the migration of Sacrillos to a more distant officina.

In fact it may merely indicate that due to the popularity of his work the mould was acquired by a master-potter who worked at Montans in order to introduce a new and presumably popular line in statuettes to his local customers.

TIBERIVS

The known examples of the name Tiberius all occur on the outer faces of the moulds, and as all have been found at Toulon-sur-Allier it is virtually certain that he worked at that officina. From these moulds we find that three types of statuettes are represented. There are three demi-moulds for producing various parts of the Spinario (Thorn-puller) type copied from the famous Greek original sculpture.⁽¹⁾ There is also a complete mould comprising two demi-moulds for a fully robed standing female personage almost certainly Abundantia; and lastly a demi-mould for the back of a Venus statuette of our Type I.

The style of the lettering used in writing the name of Tiberius is interesting for on the moulds for the Thorn-puller type of statuette the letter B appears in semi-cursive form as , whereas the letter E takes the normal Latin form. On the mould for the Venus type of statuette the letter B is likewise in the semi-cursive form, but the Gaulish  is substituted for the Latin form. This Gaulish type of letter E is also used in the name of one half of the complete mould for the figure of Abundantia but it is curious that on the other half it takes the Latin form, while the letter B on both halves appears as a capital letter and not in the semi-cursive style.

(1) FIG.106.

It is possible therefore that these variations in the style of lettering may indicate that three persons may have been involved in writing the name of Tiberius on the moulds for identification purposes. Perhaps one was Tiberius himself while the others may have been his assistants who were given the task of roughly finishing the outer faces of the moulds prior to firing in the kiln.

AGESILLVS

At present the name of Agesillus is known to us in cursive script on a thin base plate of white clay, which is all that remains of what must have been a figure seated on a throne or chair which had a curved back. This piece was found at Canterbury in a stratified deposit with late 2nd-early third century pottery and coins of Faustina I and Septimius Severus.⁽¹⁾ The name is evidently Gaulish and it has occurred as a potter's stamp on samian ware at Avovourt,⁽²⁾ dated by Oswald as Antonine, cf. F. Oswald, Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata.

That being the case it could be that as the name does not occur in the series of names of statuette makers in Central Gaul, then the Canterbury statuette was the work of the potter who may have migrated from Central Gaul if the hypothesis of Oswald and Pryce is correct concerning the migration routes of the industry.

The use of a thin flat plate of clay to seal off the base of the hollow statuette is a feature of the Central Gaulish products and rarely if ever was resorted to by the Rhine-Mosel manufacturers.

(1) R.P. Wright, Roman Britain in 1970 in *Britannia* II (1971) p.297.

(2) G.Chenet and G. Gaudron, La Céramique sigillée d'Argonne des II^e et III^e siècles pp.21; 112 and 202, Supplément à Gallia VI, Avocourt, champ de Bierres officina in which Agesillus is listed as an Antonine potter.

Perhaps it is worthwhile to mention the fact that a potter named Agedillus worked in the samian factories at Luxeuil also in East Gaul, cf. F. Oswald, op cit; also F. Oswald and T. Davies Pryce, An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata p.34. As the substitution of the letter D (usually D) for the letter S, which presumably had the same sound value, is known from other sources, e.g., the Gaulish and pre-Roman British coinage,⁽¹⁾ it is possible that these are really different spellings of the same potter's name. However, as the name in the form Agesillus is known from Avocourt, there seems a very slight chance that the Canterbury statuette was made there. On the other hand there is no evidence at present of statuette manufacture in any of the officinae in the Argonne,⁽²⁾ and no other example of an incised graffito of the name of Agesillus has been found in the Gaulish potters' workshops.⁽³⁾ Hence the origin of this example of his name at Canterbury must remain an open question.

(1) For the coinage cf. Archaeologia 90 (1944) p.15, footnote 6.

(2) We are indebted to Mr. Brian Hartley for this information.

(3) We are indebted to Monsieur Hugues Vertet for this information.

PART 3.

THE CENTRES OF MANUFACTURE

(a) THE CENTRES OF THE INDUSTRY AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN
GERMANIA INFERIOR AND NORTH-EAST GAUL. (Map 7)

COLOGNE.

One of the first of the German archaeologists to draw attention to the clay statuette industry which flourished in the Rhineland was J. Klein, who published a brief account of the discovery of kilns and associated clay statuettes near the Hahnentor at Cologne in the year 1883.

The kilns were situated in the Rudolfplatz close to the Hahnentor, outside, and about 400 metres due west of the west wall of the Roman city. They were of the normal updraught type about 1 metre in diameter and survived to a height of about 0.5 metre. The statuettes found therein included human busts, Mercury, Mars holding a trophy (perhaps a Mars Ultor), a seated Minerva, Victory holding a trophy and female figures, one of which holds a child cradled in her arms, while another holds a naked child on her left arm, and a child stands at her side. There were also a few animal figures, such as a running boar, a lion, a cow, and a charming figure of a seated squirrel nibbling at a nut held in its fore-paws. Certain statuettes were inscribed in cursive script before baking in the kiln, and these provide the names of the makers, namely, Alfius, Servandus Vindex qv.

Some years later H. Lehner published a more critical study of the material in which he set forth the evidence for dating the industry,

the identification of the manufacturing centre, and the names of the modellers who worked the industry. (1)

In his list of the sites of clay statuette manufacturing centres Schumacher includes Bornheim-bei-Bonn. Unfortunately, after consultation with the museum authorities at Bonn, there seems to be nothing known of this site and therefore in their opinion Schumacher's statement may be false. (2)

(1) J. Klein, "Römische Thonwarenfabriken von Köln" in Bonner Jahrbuch 79, p.178 ff.

H. Lehner, "Zur Kenntnis der römischen Terrakottafabriken in Köln" in Bonner Jahrbuch 110, p.188 ff.

(2) K. Schumacher, Siedlungs und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande Band II, (Mainz 1923) p.267, "Terrakottenfabriken"; Bonner Jahrbuch 113, p.62.

XANTEN.

A potter's kiln was found in the Kriemhildstrasse in the earliest level of the stone built colonia at Xanten (Colonia Traiana). It was an updraught type with an oven area rectangular on plan which measured internally 0.70 m. long by 1.10 m. broad. The oven floor was made of tiles each 20 cms square. Associated with this kiln were moulds for making clay statuettes:-

- (1) A demi-mould for a dove. Incised in semi-cursive script on the rough exterior of the mould is VICTOR F.
Overall length of the mould 13.5 cms.
- (2) A fragment of the mould for the front half of a statuette of Jupiter standing and brandishing his thunderbolts.
- (3) Part of a mould for a Venus statuette showing the right hand raised to grasp a tress of hair. On the rough exterior an incomplete name is incised in semi-cursive lettering, ---TOR F, perhaps VICT OR F.

An earlier find of a Venus statuette thought to be from this mould is recorded from a field called the Alte Burg near Xanten.⁽¹⁾

(1) H. Hinz, "2 Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in der Colonia Traiana nordlich von Xanten", Bonner Jahrbuch 163 (1963) pp.398-401, Abb.5, Taf.48.

KARDEN (Lkr. Cochem).

A potter's kiln and waste products as well as moulds for making statuettes "of the beginning of the third century" were found at a place known as "Im Hohlweg" in Karden on the Lower Mosel.⁽¹⁾

The moulds were for statuettes of Venus and Fortuna, as also a human bust. The latter is a demi-mould, the front half for a personage which at the time of publication was erroneously identified as female.⁽²⁾ Actually it represents a chubby-faced boy with luxurious, richly curled hair in which are bunches of grapes and flowers.

He wears a panther skin over the right shoulder, and therefore it is virtually certain that he is the infant Bacchus. Very similar busts have been found at the temple area at Dhroncken⁽³⁾ and at Alttrier (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg).⁽⁴⁾ A statuette of Venus found at Karden is reported as coming from the site of the "Neues Postamt" (Kiln II). Bonn Museum Inv.No.34197.

(1) Bonner Jahrbuch 136/7 (1932) p.297 and p.334.

(2) ibid 146 (1941) p.219, Taf.28, Abb.1; Bonn Museum Inv.No.39,1185. (Our FIG.130).

(3) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande p.76, Taf.XI, Nos.15 & 17, identified therein as the infant Bacchus.

(4) J. Dheedene, "Alttrier un atelier de figurines en terre cuite ?" in Helinium I (1961) p.221-222, fig.18.

NORTH-EAST GAUL.

The Mosel centres of the industry ranked equally with those of the Rhine. An exact date cannot be assigned with certainty to the earliest origins of the industry, but it is likely that some potters were actively engaged in statuette production in the first half of the second century. Prior to that time the region provided a market for the traders associated with the Central Gaulish officinae.

The known sites of the statuette officinae are located in Belgica Prima at Trier, Bad Bertrich and possibly Alttrier (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg). The products of these centres like those of the Rhine are numerous and travelled far as objects of trade, and a high percentage of the output was directed to the local markets in the canton of the Treveri. Many of the statuettes are made of red or yellowish red clay which occurs in natural deposits at Trier where the statuettes were normally coated with a cream or white coloured slip. Those made in white clay at Trier suggest that the raw material was exported from farther afield, probably from the district around Cologne.

TRIER (AVGVSTA TREVERORVM).

Excavations in 1933-4 uncovered the site of a fairly extensive pottery works on the right bank of the River Mosel (formerly Horst Wessel Ufer, now St. Matthias Ufer), a short distance above the Roman city of Trier. There were twenty kilns of various dates, several of which had been used for the production of samian ware. A cellar used by the potters for storing clay adjoining a yard in which stood three kilns also for samian production. The filling of this cellar yielded most of the moulds found on the site, including several for making clay statuettes. Some have the names of the makers on the outside incised in capital letters, as follows:-

(1) SERI

This name was the most numerous: it occurred on five moulds, once with FVSCINIUS. Moulds bearing this signature were used for making statuettes of a hooded dwarf (genius cucullatus), birds and a dolphin.

Moulds other than those for clay statuettes signed by him, were one for a phallus, one for an applique figure for samian ware, a mould for an erotic group, and four moulds for clay lamps.

- (2) A mould for a model of a bird having a human head, has on one half the name GAVDEN TI, and on the other SET RR.
- (3) PVLI is on a demi-mould for a model of a crested bird.
- (4) SAM occurs in relief in one mould, apparently to appear in the space between the legs of an animal; and also in the same manner on another mould in the same position as SAM FFC.

Imported white clay was used for statuettes the identifiable subjects being Venus, Fortuna, a seated mother-goddess, and horses. Those in the local red clay included a mother-goddess enthroned holding a bowl and with a dog on her lap. Birds of various kinds, including the human-headed type, as also hooded dwarfs and a fine bust of Minerva. Some examples bore a coating of white slip, sometimes with certain minor details picked out in brown or reddish-brown paint. (1)

It is perhaps noteworthy that the names listed under 2-4 above do not appear in the series of potters' stamps on the samian ware and the moulds for same at this site. Perhaps this is a further indication that the names on the exteriors of the moulds are those of the makers of the moulds in this case.

The Kilns.

A short distance westwards of the cellar which had served as a clay store and had contained the dumped moulds and wasters, was an enclosure built of masonry, which evidently had undergone several structural alterations. Three kilns were found to have been inserted into this enclosure at various periods. These were used

(1) Trierer Zeitschrift 9 (1934) pp.137-139, 164-173,
Abbs.34-37, Tafs.XV-XXIII.

for the production of the local samian ware and one at least seems to be connected with the statuette industry although it is now difficult to determine which.

These kilns were all of the normal circular updraught type. The earliest was very badly ruined and lay partly under the angle of the walls of the enclosure. The best preserved kiln had been built in the north-east corner. It had a furnace arch, central flue channel, and cross vents built of tiles. The oven area was circular internally, about 1.5 m., diameter, and was rectangular externally. To the west of these two kilns was another in a much ruined state. For the plan see Trierer Zeitschrift 9 (1934) pp.136-139, Abb.1-5, Nos.23-27.

BAD BERTRICH.

In the vicinity of Bad Bertrich, on the right bank of the Üssbaches, from the place where a statue of Diana and an inscription to Vercana-Meduna were found, a group of moulds for clay statuettes came to light. There were eight demi-moulds, front and rear for various statuettes, namely, seated mother-goddesses and Venus. Two of these moulds were for a seated mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap.

- a. Mould for seated mother-goddess holding a dog (front half)
28636.
- b. Rider on a horse. 28632 b.
- c. Mother-goddess holding fruits on her lap as attributes.
28639 b.
- d. Female head.
- e.f.g. Venus mould 28633 b.
- h. Mould for seated mother-goddess holding dog (upper part)
front half. 28637 b.

Trierer Zeitschrift 16 (1941) Taf.3, Abb.29 a-h.

cf. also Mainzer Zeitschrift 8/9 p.100; Bonner Jahrbuch 104 (1899) p.188; in which W. Fusbahn mentions the site as at "am Heinzenberge" and that clay statuettes of Mercury and Venus and a bust were found there.

ALTTRIER (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg).

Alttrier, today a small village on the road to the crossing of the Sauer at Echternach, was a flourishing vicus in Roman times. It is distinguished from other Roman sites in the Grand Duchy because of an unusually large number of clay statuettes which have been found there. One of the earliest records is contained in a letter, cited by Minola in 1818, in which the Richters Clottern speaks of sixty examples found between Alttrier and Hersberg, which were given to the local children as playthings.⁽¹⁾ In fact about five hundred have come to light and many of them are now in the museums at Luxembourg and Trier.

The discovery of so many clay statuettes implies two possibilities, viz:-

- (1) A temple existed at Alttrier where they were used as votive offerings.
- (2) An officina was established there for the manufacture of these products.

Many years ago, J. Engling was convinced that these statuettes did belong to a sanctuary of some kind, and that it was an extension of the cult of the goddess Nehalennia which had its chief centre at Domburg on the Isle of Walcheren, because many statuettes represented a seated matron holding a dog.⁽²⁾ It is true that the animal

- (1) Minola, Beitrage zur Übersicht der römisch-deutschen Geschichte (Köln 1818) 305 ff.
- (2) J. Engling, "Maria im Walde"-zwischen Alttrier und Hersberg und die durch sie verdrängten Nehalennian,"in Publications de la société pour la recherche et la conservation des monuments historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg Tome XV (1859) pp.180-198.

accompanies Nehalennia, but Engling's theory is hardly tenable for the collection from Alttrier includes several mother-goddesses of different types, as also Minerva, Fortuna, Cybele, models of horses, busts of various personages and human male figures. Hence it seems virtually certain that not one cult but several cults are represented in this collection.

Other students who have attempted to explain the presence of this large collection at Alttrier, have stated without further comment that an officina did exist.⁽¹⁾ It is therefore of interest and perhaps significant that in another article on the Roman remains at Alttrier Engling mentions the discovery of kilns in "Komeshaus" and "Komesgarten" where it is known that many of the statuettes were found.⁽²⁾

More recently Dheedene in a re-appraisal of the evidence has drawn attention to the existence of these kilns and suggests that they represent the site of an officina which produced these statuettes.⁽³⁾ It is important to note, however, that no moulds were found. Dheedene also published illustrations of several statuettes and busts which he suggested may have been made in the kilns at Alttrier.⁽⁴⁾

(1) K. Arendt, "Das Luxemburgerland" Erster Vortrag.

J. Demarteau, L'Ardenne belgo-romaine (1904) p.200.

A. De Løe, Belgique Ancienne (Bruxelles 1937) Tome III, p.284.

(2) J. Engling, "Das Römerlager zu Alttrier" in Publications etc., Tome VIII (1853) pp.107-108.

(3) J. Dheedene, "Alttrier un atelier de figurines en terre cuite ?" in Helinium I (1961) pp.211-222.

(4) J. Dheedene, op cit., pp.221-222, Fig.18.

One of the busts is of the infant Bacchus of the same general type as found in the temple area at Dhronnecken,⁽¹⁾ and is represented by a demi-mould found at Karden.⁽²⁾

Dheedene supposed that the industry was set up at Alttrier to meet the needs of a strictly localized market, and the statuettes did not have a wide distribution because of the competition from the officinae at nearby Trier where they were produced in considerable quantities and were of superior quality. He also pointed out that typologically many of the Alttrier statuettes do not closely resemble those produced at Trier. Furthermore, the local clay at Trier is dark red whereas the clay used for the Alttrier statuettes is either white or yellow. When white clay was needed for statuettes at Trier it had to be imported from much further afield. Unlike the fabrics at Alttrier which are much coarser and of inferior quality the white clays used at Trier are very fine.

Although the theory of Dheedene is very attractive it seems that lacking the precise details of the discovery of this unusually large group of statuettes, and also the absence of the moulds used in their production, the existence of an officina connected with such an industry is unproven. In view of the firm evidence proving the existence of the industry at Bad Bertrich and at Karden it is more likely that the Alttrier statuettes were made at either one or both of those places.

(1) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande, p.76, Taf.XI, Nos.15 and 17; the personage is identified therein as being the infant Bacchus.

(2) Bonner Jahrbuch 146 (1941) p.219, Taf.28, Abb.1; Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.39,1185. (Our FIG.130).

SPEICHER.

It is curious that the extensive Roman potteries which flourished in the Speicher district due north of Trier, have not as yet yielded the slightest evidence that clay statuettes were ever made there.

For an excellent summary of the industry
cf. J. Steinhausen, Archaeologische Karte der Rheinprovinz I,
Ortskunde Trier-Mettendorf (Bonn, 1932) pp.300 ff.

(b) INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY STATUETTES OF RHINE-MOSEL ORIGIN.

(GERMANIA INFERIOR - NORTH-EAST GAUL)

The inscriptions which sometimes occur on the statuettes in the Rhine-Mosel region are of two kinds. Normally they were written in the damp clay in semi-cursive script by means of a pointed implement before firing in the kiln. More rarely they appear in capital letters in relief direct from the mould. They constitute a valuable source of information concerning the industry, for they provide us with the names of the artists or the potters, sometimes the location of the officinae in the city where they worked as also the name of the city, while a few state the date when the statuette was made.

Lacking the moulds whence these statuettes were taken it is difficult to decide whether the inscriptions in semi-cursive script were incised in retrograde fashion in relief in the mould, or were inscribed later after the statuette had been extracted. The inscriptions in capital letters in relief, however, almost certainly had been cut in retrograde in the mould. It is perhaps worthwhile to note that many of the cursive inscriptions on samian ware are in relief and must have come from the moulds.

Typical examples of the inscriptions which occur on the statuettes are as follows:-

- (1) Serv | andus | CCAA | fecit
- (2) Servan | dus CCAA | ad forum | hordiari (um)
- (3) Vindex fe | CCAA ad ga | ntunas novas
- (4) Accep | tus f CCAA
- (5) Lucius | fecit ad | gantun | as novas

The foregoing were inscribed in the wet clay of the statuette by means of a pointed implement. There is also one which appears

in capital letters on the statuette in high relief direct from the mould, viz:- (6) CCAA ipse Fabricius f (FIG.128).

These inscriptions provide us with valuable information.

First the name of the city of manufacture is given in the abbreviated form CCAA i.e., Cologne, Coloniae Claudiae Arae Agrippinensium.⁽¹⁾

Secondly, it is evident that Servandus worked in the forum hordiarium, i.e., the barley market in that city. The inscriptions of Vindex, Lucius and Alfius also provide information of either topographical interest or of a temple of the Gantunae who may have been local protective deities of Cologne.

F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln Band II (Berlin, 1950) p.9.

The words ad gantunas novas are sometimes included in the inscriptions on certain clay statuettes signed by Lucius and Vindex, but their true meaning is at present unknown. That they refer to something closely connected with Cologne is strongly suggested, for on one statuette signed by Vindex there are the additional letters C.C.A.A., the initial letters of the official name of the city (Coloniae Claudiae Arae Agrippinensium). Fremersdorf was of the opinion, but without giving any reason, that gantunas was the name of a group of protective goddesses local to Cologne and therefore the inscriptions refer to their temple which stood somewhere in that city.⁽²⁾

(1) FIGS.27, 28, 118, 119, 120, 128 are good examples.

(2) F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln (Berlin 1950) Band II, p.9.



This could also mean that Lucius and Vindex worked in the vicinity of this supposed temple to supply clay statuettes as votive offerings. On the other hand, as it appears that alternative interpretations have not been forthcoming, the following are suggested with the proviso that, at best, they are purely conjectural.

Although the phrase is evidently latinized, as it contains the preposition ad = at, and the adjective novas = new, the word gantunas is otherwise unknown and does not appear in any Latin vocabulary. That being the case it must derive from a non-Latin source, possibly a native German word, perhaps in the local dialect of the Cologne region, which in the inscriptions appears in a latinized form. If this is assumed to be valid then we can advance a stage further in our argument.

Gantunas is in the plural and could contain the root gant, as in the modern German singular noun Gant (plural Ganten), which means "public sale(s) or auction(s)". Furthermore, a similar phrase occurs on other clay statuettes made in Cologne, viz:- ad forum hordiarium meaning "at the barley market", therefore if for our purpose we dismiss any reference to a temple it is possible that some other place is indicated. If then gantunas, which is plural and does really contain the root gant as in the modern German Gant or Ganten (in other words they have a common derivation), perhaps gantunas was the native German equivalent of the Latin word forum = market place, hence the complete reading of ad gantunas novas could be "at the new market place".

Finally, there is a possibility that there is a connection with Ganta which according to Pliny means white goose.⁽¹⁾

(1) Pliny, Naturalis Historia X, 53.

He tells us that "White geese yielded a second profit in their feathers. In some places they are plucked twice a year, and clothe themselves again with a feather coat. The plumage closest to the body is softer, and that from Germany is most esteemed. The geese there are bright white, but smaller. The German word for this bird is Ganta. The price of their feathers is five denarii per pound".

The Loeb translator renders gantae vocantur as "the German word for the bird is Ganta" which is rather loosely translated as it just means "they are called Gantae". However, he probably means "in German". If, therefore, Gantunae is a diminutive of this, or connected with it, and taking into account the reference to "at the barley market" which appears on other clay statuettes made in Cologne, it could be that ad gantunas novas refers to the new goose market.

Even more informative are the inscriptions which provide the year of the date of manufacture, as is certain because they were inscribed in cursive script while the clay was still plastic. The year of the joint term of office of two consuls, namely, Q. Pompeius Senicio and P. Coelis Apollinaris in A.D. 169, is given on the base of a statuette made by Servandus of Cologne, found at the Roman fort at Arentsburg in Holland. This reads as follows:-

Servan|dus CCAA|fec Sen|Coelio Ap | cos.

17 Bericht der Römische-Germanische Kommission (1927) 104, No.312;

J. Holwerda, Arentsburg, Een romeinsch militair vloodstation bij

Voorburg, (Leiden, 1923) p.141, No.7, Abb.104 left, 102, 7.

The base of a statuette (now in the Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn, Inv.No.15636) provides more complete information relating to the date, for it sets forth the day, month and year as follows:-

V K Mart|Macrin | et Celso | cos, i.e., 25th February A.D. 164.

H. Lehner, Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) 188 ff., Fig.1, 1.

In discussing the significance of the date Wilhelm Reusch has pointed out that the Vita Antonini Pii 4, 6, refers to the fact that Antoninus Pius was adopted by Hadrian on the 25th February A.D. 138 (adoptatus est V Kl Mart die in senatii gratias agens quod de se ita sensisset Hadrianus). In view of this it seems reasonable to think that the 25th February A.D. 164 was a festival to commemorate the founding of the Antonine dynasty, and that the statuette was suitably inscribed for that purpose.

Another festival day seems to be indicated by an inscription on the base of a statuette found at Gondorf-Mosel which reads as follows:-

Idibus Sep/Macrino/et Celso/ [cos], i.e., 13th September A.D. 164.

Now this day is distinguished in the Fasti as Iovi epulum (Banquet to Jupiter) to commemorate the foundation of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus the centre of the oldest games, namely, the Ludi Romani.⁽¹⁾

Also of interest because it is unique is part of an inscription which appears in semi-cursive script on the right side of the throne belonging to a statuette of the seated mother-goddess type found in Trier. Only that part of the statuette has survived with one line of the inscription which reads:-

IIT ROGO TII[(et rogo te) . Traces of letters below this are too fragmentary for certain identification.⁽²⁾

(1) W. Reusch in Germania XX (1936) 112-114. In the Walraf-Richartz Museum Köln Inv.No.35, 2.

(2) W. Binsfeld, Kölnner Jahrbuch für vor und Frühgeschichte II Band (1970), p.75, Abb.1. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.70, 646.

It is possible that the surviving line is part of a prayer of entreaty arranged as a hexameter, which was continued in the second line now lost, or began on the other side of the throne which has not survived. It is equally possible that the complete line et rogo te was the beginning of the prayer although a sentence commencing with the word et is unusual. The fragment is dateable to the second century A.D.

(c) EXAMPLES OF THE WORK OF INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED
IN THE PRODUCTION OF STATUETTES

SERVANDVS. (MAP 8)

The name of Servandus occurs on thirty-six statuettes of various types of semi-cursive lettering incised in the clay with a pointed implement before baking. Several of these provide additional information such as that he worked in Cologne, and that the location of his officina was at the forum hordiarium (the barley market) in the vicinity of the site now occupied by the Opera House in that city.

An inscribed base of a statuette attributed to Servandus gives the date as 25th February A.D. 164 (LM Bonn Inv.No.15636), which must be either the date of manufacture or that of the day when the statuette was dedicated, for it was inscribed prior to baking. As another inscription which certainly includes the name of this maker of clay statuettes gives the year as A.D. 169 it may well be that his officina had a working life of from seven to ten years in extent in the latter half of the second century.

Another piece of interesting information is provided by an inscribed base belonging to a statuette of Mercury. On the back of this is a much worn inscription of which only the first part of the name is now legible as Serv.... while on the front of the same is incised in semi-cursive lettering Acceptus f CCAA. As this was inscribed before baking it is a fair assumption that the statuette was made by Acceptus from a worn mould which had once belonged to Servandus who, perhaps for some reason, had ceased production and the former had either taken over the officina or had purchased some of the equipment.

If this is true then it is reasonable to think that the working life of Acceptus overlapped that of Servandus to a later date, or he acquired the mould some time after Servandus had gone out of business. There is not, however, any evidence available by which the period of activity of Acceptus can be fixed with any degree of certainty.

From the appended catalogue of the signed works of Servandus it is seen that he produced a fairly wide range of subjects, and that his statuettes had a widespread distribution. A map of the find-places of his signed statuettes reveals that one group lies along the limes from Zugmantel southwards to as far as Wimpfen, while the remainder follow the course of the Rhine from Mainz down to the North Sea, and at least two statuettes found their way to Britain from Cologne by way of this trade route. (FIGS.27,28)

SERVANDVS

The following are examples of the work of Servandus found in Cologne:-

- (1) Lower part of figure perhaps of Venus in brown clay with a whitish slip coating. On the back of the base is deeply incised Serva|ndus|C C A A fec.
R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.144.
- (2) Upper part of Cybele. On the back of the throne is deeply incised Ser|van|dus|C C A A|fec. Formerly in the
- (3) Upper part of Cybele. On the back of the throne is deeply incised Ser[.....
R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.24,83.
- (4) Lower half of figure of the Thorn-puller. On the front of the base in deeply incised lettering with leaf stop S F.
Possibly meant for Servandus fecit. White clay.
R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.9227.
- (5) Lower part of Cybele. On the back the remains of a stamped inscription possibly by Servandus.
R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.29,2.
- (6) Base of statuette of figure with crossed legs; to the right an altar. On the back deeply incised [Se]rvan|dus C C A A|fecit.
Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.3258. White clay.

- (7) Mercury holding a purse ? in the right hand and a caduceus in the left. On the back of the base is a very worn inscription of which only the first part Serv is now legible. On the front of the base is an inscription incised with a sharp implement before firing in the kiln:- Accep|tus f CC|AA.
White clay. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15 476.
See also under Acceptus infra.
- (8) Base of figure. On the back in deeply incised lettering is inscribed Servan|dus C C A A|ad forum|hordiari(um).
White clay. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.3257.
- (9) Base perhaps of Mars. Deeply incised on the back is the inscription V K Mart|Macrin|et Celso|cos (i.e. A.D.164)
White clay. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15 636.
- (10) Base of statuette in white clay. On the back is part of an inscription of which the second and third lines are illegible.
Servan [..... Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15 477.
- (11) Two identical bases with the remains of a figure, to the
(12) right of which is a small dog. On the back is an incomplete inscription of which the second and third lines are illegible.
Serva[.. White clay. Landesmuseum Bonn Nos.15478 and 15479.
- (13) Base with remains of feet, in yellowish clay. On the back is a badly worn inscription probably of Servandus.
Landesmuseum Bonn No.15480.
- (14) Figure of Minerva found between the Hahnentor and Ehrentor in 1841 was in the Antiquarium Berlin No.I C 3461.

- (15) Seated mother-goddess holding dog on her lap.

The long illegible inscription could belong to Servandus.

R-G Museum Inv.Nos.340 and 23,198. (FIG.118)

- (16) Seated Fortuna with cornucopiae and rudder.

On the back of the throne in deeply incised lettering:-

Serv|andus|fecit|C C A A . White clay.

Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.2850.

The Distribution of the work of Servandus outside of Cologne

(Map No. 8)

- (17) Abundantia enthroned. Her left leg is crossed over the right and her feet rest on a foot-stool. There is a cornucopia on either side of the goddess supported on the sides of the throne. On the back of the throne is an inscription in deeply incised cursive lettering which reads:-

SERV|AND|VS|CCAA|FEC (it) (FIG.121)

Servandus was a well known potter-modeller who was active around A.D.160, and seems to have had his workshop on the site of the present Opera House in Cologne. Found Coblenzerstrasse, Bonn (1903). Height 17 cms.

Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln Inv.No.33,8.

F. Fremersdorf, Germania XI, S 41-2, Abbs.6a-6b.

- (18) Fortuna enthroned, with only one cornucopia at left side and the ship's rudder by the right side of her throne. On the reverse of the throne is an inscription which reads:-

SERV|ANDVS|FECIT|CCAA (cursive script).

J. Klein, Bonner Jahrbuch 87 S.82.

H. Lehner, ibid 110, S.198, Fig.1,7-8.

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.2850.

(19) BACCHVS

The art-type is Classical in origin. The god wears a wreath of vine leaves and grapes, and is standing nude with his left leg crossed over the right. Drapery hangs over the left shoulder covering the left side at the back and concealing the legs. He supports a fold of the drapery over the left forearm whence it lies diagonally across the legs to the right knee leaving the genitals exposed. He holds a two-handled vessel in his right hand, perhaps a cantharus but it may be an amphora is intended. A panther emerges from beneath the drapery by his left side, and gazes upwards.

Bingerbrück. (FIG.67)

This is the one described above. On the back of the hollow rectangular base is the inscription:-

Servan|dus fec|CCAA ad Yellowish-white clay.

Landesmuseum Bonn No.15 484. Height 21 cms.

Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) 189, Fig.1, Nos.5-6.

Flitwick, Bedfordshire, England. (FIG.66)

A detached head once belonging to a statuette of Bacchus almost identical to that of the complete example from Bingerbrück (supra) and therefore almost certainly the work of Servandus (see Part 6 under Bacchus).

(20) Cybele wearing a mural crown, and seated on a throne flanked by lions. She holds a patera in her right hand and a tympanum in her left. Her feet rest on a foot-stool. On the back of the throne in deeply incised cursive script is an inscription which reads:- SER|VAN|DVS|CCAA|FEC

Römisch-germanisches Museum Köln, ex Sammlung Niessen No.3180.

H. v-Petrikovits, Novaesium, Das Römische Neuss, Führer des Rheinischen Landesmuseum in Bonn No.3, S 65-6 Abb.18.

Exact provenance unknown; perhaps Cologne. (FIG.120)

(21) Seated mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap. (FIG.118)

Römisch-Germanisches Museum Cologne Inv.Nos.340 and 23,198;

pieces join. There is an almost illegible inscription in

cursive script incised on the back, possibly eight lines of

which the letters C.C A A are clear in the fourth line.

Above it may be the name SERVANDVS. The type is closely

related to that of VINDEX cf. R-G Köln Katalogue Niessen

No.3182, especially in the Flavian-Trajanic hair style,

cf. F. Fremersdorf, Saalburg Jahrbuch 9 (1939) p.6 ff and Taf.5;

for a mention of the inscription ibid p.9, 5 & 6.

A detached head from this type of statuette was found in the

Habsburgerring at Cologne on the site of Kiln No.1 about

100 metres directly south of the Hahnentor, (R-G Museum Köln

Inv.No.52,82) the principal centre of manufacture.

W. Binsfeld, Kölner Jahrbuch 7 (1964) p.29, Taf.5, 1.

(22) GONDORF (Mosel)

Base of a figure; on the back is a deeply incised

inscription which reads Idibus Sep|Macrino|et Celso

i.e. September 13th A.D.164. Germania 20 (1936) 112.

R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.35,2.

(23) BINGERBRÜCK

Bacchus with panther. On the back of the base a deeply

incised inscription:- Servan|dus fec|C C A A ad.....

Yellowish-white clay.

Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) 189, Fig.1, No.5-6.

Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15 484.

(24) ZUGMANTEL

Base of a figure. On the back the slightly incised
inscription:- Serva/ndus f/ C C A A

5th Bericht der Röm-Germanischen Kommission (1909), 56,6.

(25) MAINZ

Bacchus with panther. On the back a slightly incised
inscription:- Serv/andu|s fec.

Westdeutsches Zeitschrift 16, Taf.17, 9;

Körber, 3 Nachtrag S.119, No.201. R-G Museum Mainz.

(26) MAINZ

Lower part of statuette of Mercury ?

On the back near the left leg, the inscription:-

[S]ervan(dus)

Körber, 4 Nachtrag (1905), 53, No.74;

Mainzer Zeitschrift XII, 43, Abb.34, 1. R-G Museum Mainz.

(27) KASTEL (Mainz)

Base of figure. On the back the deeply incised

inscription:- Servandus C C A A fecit ;

Mainzer Zeitschrift 15/16 (1920-21) 34. R-G Museum Mainz.

(28) HEDDERNHEIM

Bacchus lacking head and feet. The inscription is lacking.

Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) 197;

Festschrift des Stadt. Hist. Museums in

Frankfurt-a-Main (1903) Taf.1, 6-7.

(29) HEDDERNHEIM

Figure of a negro who has a large phallus on his head.

On the back is a deeply incised inscription Servandus fecit.

Germania 12 (1928) 188 right. Frankfurt Museum.

(30) RINSCHEIM in BADEN (Kastell)

Remains of a female figure, draped. On the back deeply incised inscription Serv|and|us.

Der Obergermanische-raetische Limes Römerreiches

Sections 7-9, Taf.23. Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.

(31) ZÜLPICH

Lower half of a statuette of Bacchus. With inscription

on the back Servan|dus|fec C C A A . Düren Museum.

(32) NIJMEGEN, Holland (FIG.119)

Fortuna with cornucopia and rudder. Lightly incised on the back is the inscription SERVA ... A A ...

Museum-Kam, Nijmegen Inv.No.33.

(33) ARENTSBURG, Holland

Base of statuette with deeply incised inscription on the back. Servan|dus C C A A|fec Sen|Coelio Ap|cos.

(i.e. A.D.169). J.H. Holwerda, Arentsburg, Een romeinsch militair vloodstation bij Voorburg,

Leiden (1923) 141, No.7, Abb.104 left, 102, 7.

(34) ARENTSBURG, Holland

Fragment of the back with deep inscription

..]s C C A A|fecit.

Holwerda, op cit 141 No.6, Abb.104 right.

(35) WIMPFEN

H. Aubin, "Der Rheinhandel in Römischer Zeit" in
Bonner Jahrbuch 130 (1925) p.25, Abb.9.

(36) COLCHESTER, England (FIG.27)

Head only in white clay of mother-goddess wearing a large turban-like cap which fits close to the head and is secured by a lace, the knot of which is by the right temple. This distinctive headgear was a local style worn by the mother-goddesses (matronae) of the Rhineland, particularly in the district around Cologne and Bonn. Around the back of the cap is an inscription incised in cursive script which reads:-
SERVANDVS CCAA FECIT i.e., Servandus C(oloniae)C (laudia) A (rae) A (grippinensium) fecit

F. Haverfield in Ephemeris Epigraphica IX, No.1356.

(37) LANCASTER, Lancs., England (FIG.28)

A fragment of a seated figure presumably a goddess wearing an ankle length robe to reveal bare feet, mounted on a rectangular pedestal. On the back of the pedestal was an inscription. The fragment is now lost and the inscription was incorrectly read by J. Whitaker⁽¹⁾ and F. Haverfield considered it to be corrupt.⁽²⁾ R.P. Wright has now published the correct reading after a study of drawings contained in the papers from the Roman Catholic Presbytery, Hornby, Lancs., now in the Lancashire Records Office (Ref. R.C.Hy). These belonged to Father Thomas West (1717-79). A letter from him dated

(1) cf. R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I (Oxford 1965) No.608.

(2) Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, 945.

1st February 1776, read to the Society of Antiquaries of London on May 9th of that year, reported the finding at Church Street, Lancaster, at five feet from the surface in a stratum of household rubbish "the pedestal and feet part of a small image, thought to have been a Lar, with an inscription (it seems to be made of Plaster of Paris or some such matter". (Archaeologia V (1779) 98.).

Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (3rd series) IV, 104.

It is mentioned in the West papers as having been found in 1775 in a cutting to the west of Daniel Wilson's house at a depth of 6 ft in a layer of ash, bones and pottery.

R.P. Wright has now corrected the reading of the inscription as given on a drawing with the same papers, as follows:-

SERVAN | DVS CCA^|[A] D FOR [V]M

In line 3 the final letter seems to be M whereas the others are uncertain. It is possible that this reads A|FOR[V]M and that a fourth line did not fit the pedestal

HORDIA[RIVM] FE(CIT)

cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10015,108 c.

VINDEK.

The approximate period of the activity of Vindex at Cologne may be derived from two sources.⁽¹⁾ Firstly, a statuette bearing his name and others of precisely the same type, but only fragments and therefore unsigned, which are evidently his work, portray a female personage affecting a hair style which was in fashion in the reign of Trajan (A.D.98-117).⁽²⁾ Secondly, there are a few clay lamps signed by Vindex (see below) which are almost certainly the work of the maker of the clay statuettes.⁽³⁾ One of these bears the additional information that he worked at Cologne as shown by the letters C.C.A.A., which are coupled with his name. These lamps have the low body and the narrow nozzle groove which are typologically characteristic of lamps which may be ascribed to the early second century. If the statuettes and the lamps are the work of the same individual, then it is virtually certain that Vindex was working at Cologne at some time in the first two or three decades of that century.

- (1) For statements concerning the date of Vindex
 cf. H. Lehner, Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) 192;
 F. Fremersdorf, Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (1939) p.7; and
 W. Binsfield, Kölnner Jahrbuch 7 (1964) pp.30-31.
- (2) F. Fremersdorf, op cit Taf.5.1,2 and 4 from Cologne, 3 from Zugmantel.
- (3) One lamp in the Römisch-Germanischen Museum Cologne, Sammlung Lückger, inscribed on the underside of the base Vin dex fec.
 cf. W. Binsfeld, op cit Abb.6, 1, p.30; another from Trier inscribed Vin dex f C C A A, cf. Lehner, op cit Fig.2, 2-3, p.191; and one now lost also from Trier, cf. S. Loeschke, Lampen von Vindonissa (Zurich 1919) p.113.

THE WORK OF VINDEK

- (1) Seated matron with dog seated on her lap. White coarse clay.
On the back is Vindex|fec. CCAA. Found Cologne.
Formerly in the Niessen Collection.
- (2) Lower part of figure of Bacchus with panther. Yellowish
clay white at surface. On the back Vindex fe.
Landesmuseum Bonn D 79. Found Cologne.
- (3) Base of a female with robe reaching to the feet.
Whiter clay. Found Cologne. Landesmuseum Bonn No.2898.
On the back in deeply incised lettering is
Vindex|CCAA ad ga|ntunas novas.
- (4) Two pieces possibly of figures of Diana (cf.No.6 below)
(5) raised letters on the back Vindex fe|ad gantun|nov
Found Cologne. White clay. Landesmuseum Bonn Nos.29,105
and 29,106. On the former the lower part of the inscription
has been smoothed with a knife.
- (6) Lower part of figure of Diana with a dog like Nos.4-5 above.
On the back in raised lettering is
Vindex fe|ad gantun|as novas.
Der Obergermanisch-raetische Limes des R merreiches 8,
p.176, 1. Found in the Roman fort at Zugmantel.
Saalburg Museum No.Z 1005.

- (7) A complete statuette of a standing female with a Flavian-Trajanic hair style, holds a vase by the rim in her right hand by her side, and supports a nude infant seated on her left arm. She wears a tunic which is caught in at the waist by a double cord, and rolled down to leave the right shoulder and breast exposed. A full length skirted garment is worn under the tunic and completely covers the legs.

The fabric is yellow with a yellowish white surface. The lips and the nostrils are picked out in light red paint, and on the front of the hollow rectangular base is a saltire cross within a rectangular frame painted in the same colour. The height is 21.2 cms; the base 4.8 by 3.7 cms. Lightly inscribed on the back is an inscription which reads:-

Vindex|fec|CCAA. (FIG.31)

Found Zugmantel. Saalburg Museum No.Z 4552.

Saalburg Jahrbuch 5 (1924) 101 E and Abb.29 right.

ibid 9 (1939) p.10, No.7, Taf.5, 3.

- (8) Wreathed Goat or Ram. Inscribed Vindex fecit.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10015, 115 e.

Found Nijmegen, Holland.

- (9) Found Melick, Holland. Inscribed Vind(e)|x fec|CCAA.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10015, 115 d.

Leiden Museum.

LVCIVS.

There are four known examples of the signed statuettes of Lucius. One of these, found in a grave at Marienmunster (Worms), has an inscription which reads Lucius|fecit ad|gantun as|novas. Although the name of a city is not included it is quite clear that Lucius worked at Cologne, as proved by the signed statuettes of Vindex found in that city (Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.Nos.2898; 29,105/106) which in addition to the words ad gantunas novas includes the letters C C A A, i.e. Coloniae Claudiae Arae Agrippinensium

Certain clay lamps which are stamped Lucius or Luci, and an example signed Luc in incised cursive script, may, or may not, be the work of the same Lucius who signed the statuettes, but as Lehner pointed out the "u" on the lamps bearing this name is in the form of a "v". If Lucius the maker of lamps and the statuettes was the same individual, then a lamp found in a grave in Trier associated with coins of Faustina the Elder could be useful in fixing an approximate date for the period of activity of this ceramist.

(1) COLOGNE

Upper part of a Minerva wearing a helmet. On the back the inscription Lucius fecit | [ad?]

Brown clay with white slip coating.

R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.3618.

(2) COLOGNE

Lower part of a female draped figure with the left leg crossed over the right in a standing position with a bird perhaps a hen or dove standing by the left leg, against a small pillar, or fold of the garment. On the back of the base in deep cursive script] ecit ad/.antum. and on the back of the pillar or fold of the garmentS F. White clay. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.4349.

(3) ZUGMANTEL (Fort)

Small piece of a figure. On the back deeply inscribed [L]ucius[f]ecit. Saalburg Jahrbuch 1 (1910) 58 D, Taf.10, 8.

(4) WORMS-MARIENMÜNSTER["]

Lower part of a standing female figure of the same type as No.2 above. On the back is the inscription

Lucius|fecit ad|gantun as|novas

S. Weckerling, Die römische Abteilung des Paulus-Museums der Stadt Worms 2, 82, Taf.16, 2. Worms Museum.

For suggested interpretations of ad gantunas novas

see F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln

Band II (Berlin, 1950) p.9; and also those set forth in the foregoing dissertation.

FABRICIVS. (FIG.128)

- (1) Group of three mother-goddesses seated side by side on a bench. The matron in the centre is bare-headed and her long hair falls down over her shoulders, while her companions wear the quaint, turban-like caps which were the distinctive head gear of several triads of matronae in the Rhineland, e.g., the Aufaniae, Afliae, Gesehenniae and Octaganii. Each matron wears a necklace from which is suspended a lunar-shaped pendant. They wear long enveloping robes reaching down to the ankles, and open at the front to reveal the hands which hold clusters of fruits in their laps. The underside of the bench has five slit-like apertures in it as a precautionary measure in order to allow the pent-up gases to escape during the firing process. Height 10.6 cms; length 10.6 cms. White clay. On the back of the bench is an inscription in capital letters in bold relief, straight from the mould which reads:-
- C C A A IPSE
FABRICIVS F

Germania 8 (1924) 27 ff; Bonner Jahrbuch 138 (1933) 106, Taf.VII, Abb.1;

F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln (1950) Taf.35.

Found Bonnerstrasse No.261 in Cologne in May 1923.

Römisch-germanischen Museums Köln Inv.No.23,35.

This group should be compared with that of IANETVS (qv).

- (2) A small fragment of a similar group from Holland was published by F. Fremersdorf, Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanak 52 (1934) 94 ff.;
"Bruchstück einer Terrakottagruppe der Drei Matronen aus Holland."

IANETVS. (FIG.129)

- (1) Group of three mother-goddesses seated side by side on a bench. The style is the same as the group made by Fabricius, and it is thought that Ianetus had acquired one of the former's old original moulds. The back of the bench exhibits signs of the mould having been trimmed with a knife and then the name Ianetus was added. This appears twice in retrograde, one above the other IANETVS FEC and very indistinct. Found Bonn. Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn No.15475. Germania 8 (1924) 28, Abbs.3-4; Bonner Jahrbuch 138 (1933) p.106, Taf.VII, Abb.1 right; ibid 105 (1900) 78, Taf.VII.

- (2) Venus with sandalled feet. On the back is the name IANETVS. Der Obergermanisch-raetische Limes der Römerrreiches 22,29, No.2, Taf.5.1. Hanau Museum No.R.361. Found Kastell Rückingen.

VICTOR.

Up to the present time moulds and statuettes bearing the name of Victor have not been found in the kilns at Cologne, but two or three moulds for making clay statuettes found in the remains of a potter's kiln at Xanten were evidently made by him because the signature Victor f is incised in semi-cursive lettering on the rough exterior.⁽¹⁾

- (1) H. Hinz, "2 Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in der Colonia Traiana nördlich von Xanten," Bonner Jahrbuch 163 (1963) pp.398-401, Abb.5, 1-6, Taf.48.

There are a few statuettes found elsewhere in the Rhineland which also bear the name.⁽¹⁾ For example it occurs on the back of the throne on which Fortuna is seated and was found at Andernach. A bust of a smiling boy present in a fairly large collection of clay statuettes of various types found at Tongres has letters in the form of a monogram stamped in relief on the small flat disc attached to the pedestal. These have been read as either F F or EF by Van de Weerd, but Silber thought that V F was intended, hence the latter could be expanded to read Victor fecit. An equally plausible reading is V F F possibly for Victoris filius fecit.

At Bonn a different type of bust portraying a personage having a wide, flattened nose and with the hair arranged in tresses falling over the shoulders has the name arranged in a radial fashion within a circular beaded frame in relief on the small flat disc.⁽²⁾ As this and the other example are stamped from the mould and are quite unlike that found on the mould at Xanten it is not possible to determine whether they all represent the work of one man or of others who bore the same name. With regard to this it may be worthwhile here to mention that the name Victor was stamped on several samian vessels of Hadrianic date which were found with other samian ware and some unsigned clay statuettes in what seems to have been a potter's depot at Bingen-Bingerbrück.⁽³⁾

(1) C. Koenen, Bonner Jahrbuch 86 (1888) p.36, Taf.6, 36.

J. Klein, ibid 87 (1889) p.82.

(2) H. Lehner, Bonner Jahrbuch 113 (1905) p.152.

Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15751.

(3) G. Behrens, Mainzer Zeitschrift 10 (1915) 98 ff.

FIDELIS AND MELAVSVS. (Map 9) (FIGS.122-127 inclusive)

The signature of Melausus occurs on four fragmentary statuettes found in the temple area at Dhronacken. On three of these and also on a more complete statuette of a mother-goddess holding a dog from the temple area in the Altbachtal at Trier, his name is coupled with that of Fidelis. The relationship between the two is provided by another statuette of a mother-goddess nursing a swaddled child from a temple at Hochscheid. This bears the inscription in cursive script impressed from the mould which reads MILAVSI F [or] MA FIDIILIS F i.e., Melausus forma Fidelis fecit, hence Melausus was the maker of the mould and possibly made the original model, while Fidelis was the potter. A similar partnership in the Marne region is possibly that of Sacrillos with Atilus and Anailos (see page 36).

The date of the activity of Melausus and Fidelis is not firmly established but their statuettes on stylistic grounds imply a date at some time in the second century. The precise location of their officina is at present unknown. It does not seem to have been on the Rhine but rather in the canton of the Treveri in the Mosel district, as suggested by the distribution of their statuettes. Dheedene and others suggested that there was a centre of production for statuettes at Alttrier in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg where more than a century ago, excavations yielded a very large number of statuettes and also a kiln. It is important to note, however, that this large collection which is now housed in the museums at Trier and Luxembourg possesses only one example signed by Fidelis, but the reading is in some respects doubtful.⁽¹⁾

(1) J. Engling, Publications de la Société pour la recherches et la conservation des monuments historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg 8 (1853) 107-8; K. Arendt, Das Luxemburger Land 10; J. Dheedene, Helinium 1 (1961) 219; W. Binsfeld, Hémecht 1 (1970) pp.91-93.

Seated Mother-Goddess holding on her lap a small dog.

- (1) Found at the Gallo-Roman hill fort the Titelberg. (FIG.123)

White clay. On the back of the throne is deeply incised capital letters FIDELIS FECIT within an incised frame.

Below the inscription are four stamped star-like symbols.

Height 18 cms.

G. Thill, "Titelberg site archéologique" (Luxemburg 1965) No.180.

Publications de la Société pour la recherches et la conservation

des monuments historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg 82

(1967) p.350, Abb.14 (hereinafter abbreviated as P.S.H. Lux.);

Les époques gallo-romaine et mérovingienne au Musée d'histoire

et d'art Luxembourg (1969) Abb.46;

L'Art au Luxembourg (1966), p.94.

- (2) Found at Cologne south cemetery. (FIG 125)

Like the above example but differing in certain details;

and is evidently from the same mould as an example found at

Dhronecken (qv). West-deutsche Zeitschrift 15 (1896) p.382.

Height 14.4 cms. J. Klinkenberg, Das römische Köln in

Kunstdenkmaler d Rheinprovinz VI, 2, (Düsseldorf 1966) 314.

The name FIDEL[IS] is written lengthwise downwards, from the

same mould as at Dhronecken. R.G.M. Köln 3576.

(3) Dhronecken (Hunsrück)

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande p.63, No.82.

Four fragments of thrones with angular backs from the same general type of seated mother-goddess bear incomplete signatures of Fidelis. ibid, Nos.259 a-d.

Landesmuseum Trier Nos.99,933 a-c; 99,934.

Enthroned Minerva.

(4) Found at Niederwampach (G-D Luxembourg). Two examples.

Minerva seated on a throne which has an angular top. She wears a helmet, and the gorgoneion is on her breast. A circular shield stands against the left side of the throne. She holds a cluster of fruits on her lap, and a patera in her right hand. At the top of the chair on the back is the inscription in capital letters FIDELIS FECIT in two lines. Height 16.4 cms. (FIG.124)

J. Engling, P.S.H.Lux. 9 (1853) 1854, 26;

ibid 15 (1860) 188, Taf.2, 1;

K. Arendt, Das Luxemburger Land (Luxemburg (1903)) 10;

Cahiers Luxembourgeois (1935) Taf. on p.285.

C.M. Ternes, "Les inscriptions antiques du Luxembourg,"

Hemecht 17 (1965) No.117.

(5) Cologne, Luxemburgerstrasse

Minerva in this case does not hold fruits, and has no gorgoneion on her breast. Signed FIDELI S FECIT

Römisch-Germanischen Museum Cologne Inv.No.N.3161.

S. Loeschke, H. Willers, Beschreibung römischer Altertümer,

Collection of C.A. Niessen (Köln 1911) No.3161.

Mother-Goddess Nursing a Swaddled Infant on her left arm.

(6) Pommern (Kreis Cochem, Mosel) (FIG.122)

Mother-goddess seated on a high backed throne with curved top. She holds a swaddled infant on her left arm; left breast is bare. On the back of the throne from top to bottom is the incised inscription FIDELIS FECIT. Height of statuette 14.5 cms. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.G.F.408.

Mother-Goddess.

(7) Frankfurt (Main-Heddernheim)

A. Rieses, Festschrift zur Feier des 25 Jahr.

Bestehens des Stadt Frankfurt/M 1903 78, No.46

Inv.No.Frankfurt X 17998.

FId .../ FI Fidelis F ecit

The type is similar to the following statuettes from Dhronnecken.

L.M. Trier Inv.Nos.99,1192 - 93 and 1254.

(8) Berghem (Noord-Brabant)

Upper part of a throne with rounded back.

J.E. Bogaers, Brabants Heem 22 (1970) 64 ff. ('s Hertogenbosch)

FId LIS / FIICIT.

(9) Round back of throne. F. Hettner, ibid 78 No.263;

L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,935. FID...

Parts of the backs of thrones all of the same type.

F. Hettner, op cit 78 Nos.259 a-d; L.M. Trier Inv.Nos.99,933 a-c;

934. FIDELIS/ FECIT: Nos.9-15 inclusive are all from

Dhronnecken.

- (10) Round back of a throne.
 F. Hettner, ibid 79 No.265; L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,936.
 LIS / ...IT
- (11) Indeterminate fragment inscribed Id.../ F CI.
 F. Hettner, ibid 79 No.266; L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,961.
- (12-
15) Amor and Psyche, all of the same type.
 F. Hettner, ibid 78 Nos.260-262; L.M. Trier 99,939-940 b.
 Fidelis f ecit Nonas Mai as
 If the last word is Maias then we possess additional
 information that Fidelis made this on 7th May, but the year
 is not given.
- (16) Alttrier (Grand-Duchy Luxembourg)
 Part of the back of a throne. FID.../ F... ?
 Fidelis fecit ?
 F. Hettner, ibid 78 No.259; L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,214.
- (17) Trier possibly but exact provenance of find unknown.
 Head of a mother-goddess wearing a triple pointed crown.
 Unpublished. It may be F. Hettner's ibid Taf.9-6 and 30.
 L.M. Trier Inv.No.359. FId ... ?

The following statuettes bearing the name of Melausus were found in the temple areas at Dhronnecken, Nos.1-4 inclusive and Trier Altbachtal Nos.5-6.

- (1) Part of the throne and the head of a mother-goddess.

White clay.

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande 79, No.268 a, Taf.XIII, 16. L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,937. MELAVSI / F

- (2) Part of the throne and the head of a mother-goddess.

White clay.

F. Hettner, ibid 79, No.268 b. L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,938. MEL

- (3) Fragment of a throne. White clay.

F. Hettner, ibid 79, No.268 c. L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,942. MIILA .../FOR.../FI.../F...

- (4) Part of a throne with rounded top. White clay.

... / ...LAVSII/ ...LIS

F. Hettner, ibid 79, No.269. L.M. Trier Inv.No.99,938 a.

- (5) Enthroned mother-goddess holding a dog which faces to the left.

White clay. Height 14.8 cms. Found in temple district in Altbachtal at Trier. L.M. Trier Inv.No.S T 10059.

MEL

..DELI. / F.

(FIG. 126)

The head and upper part of the inscription are identical to No.2 above, while the lower part is remarkably similar to the signature of Fidelis.

F. Hettner, ibid 79, No.264.

- (6) Enthroned mother-goddess nursing a swaddled infant at the breast. Whitish clay. Found in the temple at Hochscheid. Germania 25 (1941) Taf.16, 4. Around the rounded back of the throne in incised lettering
MILAVSI F or MA FIDIILIS/ F.
(FIG.127)

THE WORK OF ALFIVS-MANLIANVS

(1) COLOGNE

Mars ? with animal to the right. Alfiv s fec

Bonn Museum No.2904.

(2) COLOGNE

Seated Fortuna. On the front of the throne Alf ;

on the back of the throne Alf/ivs fec

Bonn Museum No.9520.

(3) MAINZ

Fortuna, lower part only.

Manlianvs ? ad gantunas/novas fecit

Katalogue Inschriften, Mainz (1900) 118, No.200.

(4) MAINZ

Cybele wearing a mural crown, upper part of statuette only.

Alf Ma/nlian]vs

Mainzer Zeitschrift 22 (1927) 31, Abb.14.

(5) REMAGEN

Fortuna with two amors perhaps the work of Alfivs.

Found Remagen, now in Remagen Museum. Similar to No.2 above. From a grave of the Flavian period.

H. Schoppa, Germania 22 (1938) 242 and Bild 2 right.

H. Lehner, Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) 196, Fig.2,

Nos.8 and 9. It is unsigned.

- ACCEPTVS Trier, Altbachtale. Bust.
S. Loeschke, Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu Trier II,
92, No.27.
- AQVITANVS Dhronnecken.
Aquit an us fe cit on back of a throne of a seated goddess.
F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande p.78,
No.257, Taf.XIII.
- ATTO Dhronnecken. On the back of a relief of Cupid and Psyche.
atto f ecit The name is probably incomplete.
F. Hettner, op cit p.80, No.277.
- LAS The fragmentary inscriptionatus fecit L.A.S. from
Dhronnecken was described by Hettner as not clear.
F. Hettner, op cit p.80, No.278.
Bohn saw in L.A.S. the name of the owner of the potteries
and the name ending inatus that of the employee,
cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10015, 98.
L.A.S. is, however, a known potter's name at Trier,
cf. Krüger in Schumacher Festschrift (Mainz 1930) 249.
A seated mother-goddess from a temple at Pelm-bei-Gerolstein
(Eifel) wears a large rather grotesque half-moon-shaped
headdress and holds a spindle in the right hand and a distaff
in the left. On the back of the throne is inscribed L A S F
(Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.29.91) Germania 14 (1930) p.110;
Trierer Zeitschrift 5 (1930) p.173, Taf.VI, 5a-5b (height
17 cms). There is also a fragment IVS FIICI (Landesmuseum
Trier Inv.No.9414).
There are also two examples from the Altbachtal, Trier,
LAS F, Landesmuseum Trier Inv.Nos.A6974 and A7426.

A seated Fortuna found with other statuettes in a lararium at Hohdoor, Martelange (Belgian Luxembourg) and now in Luxembourg Museum Dr. Malget Collection is inscribed L A S.

Also from Trier is a seated goddess holding a dog on her lap, cf. Trierer Zeitschrift 7 (1932) 186.

L T M F C A This enigmatic inscription is on the back of a clay plaque bearing a relief showing Cupid and Psyche embracing.

F. Hettner, op cit No.168, p.70, Abb.X, 30, also ibid, p.81, No.282 with fig. in text p.81.

It is to be noted that the second letter in the first line is shown in the illustration as T but Hettner read it as I in the text. He suggested that the letters L T M F were abbreviations for a tria homina followed by F (ecit), and the C A in the second line may have stood for C(olonia) A (ugusta) hence Colonia Augusta Treverorum (i.e., Trier).

PERIGRINVS.

Perigrinus is known from an inscription on the back of a fragment of a statuette found at Dhronnecken. It appears in raised lettering as V /S ET / PERE / GRIN / VS on the back of a unique type of bust. It is evidently a partnership but the name of the first person is incomplete. The first letter of the lost name was B, D, E or L and there are two or three letters before the termination US.

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier 1901) p.79, No.270, Taf.III, 270, Taf.XIII, 18.

J. Dheedene, Helinium I (1961) p.219 gives a brief mention of the name and states that it is on a bust of a unique type.

Hettner loc cit, however, does not provide any information concerning the type. This is the bust of a boy wearing the cucullus and paenula from Alttrier, cf. Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 20 (1901) 364; Bonner Jahrbuch 108/9 (1902) p.360.

SEXTVS.

The name apparently occurs in capital letters in bold relief on an indeterminate fragment of a statuette at Dhronnecken, viz:- SEX. F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier 1901) p.80, Taf.XIII, 7. Landesmuseum Trier, 99,953.

STRAMBVS.

Parts of inscriptions in semi-cursive lettering from the mould appear on four pieces of the backs of clay plaques portraying an Amor and Psyche at Dhronnecken. Two of these although having the letters in different forms make it possible to suggest that the name was Strambus, which also appears stamped evidently from a hand-stamp in capital letters in a small oblong panel as is usual on samian ware.

F. Hettner, op cit pp.79-80, Taf.III, 273a - 273b.

The former shows the serif of what seems to be the letter T followed by RAM on the first line and on the line below is part of the letter S with a space before the letters FE followed by part of what must be the letter C, hence S t ram bu s fec it ; while the latter inscription has the surviving letters RA on the first line and part of a letter V followed by S on the second line. For the potter's stamp cf. Hettner, ibid Taf.XIII, 37 Gusenburg.

The name of Strambus is also recorded from Trier. Three bases only. Westdeutsche Zeitschrift I (1882) 169; Trierer Zeitschrift 6 (1931) 193. Gladiator statuette, Landesmuseum Trier No.5259. Two busts of children. S. Loeschcke, Der Tempelbezirke im Altbachtale zu Trier Heft 2, p.92, No.27.

VRSIVS.

Mainz. Mother-goddess with inscription on the back VRSIO F
Jahrsbericht des Röm. Germ. Zentralmuseums zu Mainz (1938/9) 4,
 Taf.III, 3.

CARALOS.

Mainz. Demi-mould for statuette of a horse with CARALOS on
 the exterior. ibid Taf.II, 1.

CEN.

Bingen (near). Seated mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap.
 On the back of the throne in incised lettering CEN. Height of
 statuette 17.3 cms. Museum für Volkerkunde Berlin Inv.No.IV 312.

In the museum at Mainz there is a cast of a similar statuette,
 Inv.No.2525. Another example of unknown provenance is in the museum
 at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.14706.

Mainzer Zeitschrift X (1915) 103, Taf.VI, B 12; ibid XI, 337.

G. Behrens, Katalogue West-und-Süddeutscher Altertumssammlungen IV,
Bingen, Taf.22, No.12.

VASSI.

Trier. Female figure (incomplete) seated side-saddle on the
 back of a horse. Stamped in relief on the side of the head of the
 animal is VASS I O . The clay is red and is coated with a cream or
 white slip, typical of the statuettes made at Trier.

VESTRVS.

Dhronecken. F. Hettner, op cit p.80, No.274, seated goddess.

VRSIVS.

Mainz. Mother-goddess with inscription on the back VRSIO F
Jahrsbericht des Röm. Germ. Zentralmuseums zu Mainz (1938/9) 4,
 Taf.III, 3.

CARALOS.

Mainz. Demi-mould for statuette of a horse with CARALOS on
 the exterior. ibid Taf.II, 1.

CEN.

Bingen (near). Seated mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap.
 On the back of the throne in incised lettering CEN. Height of statu-
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VESTRVS.

Dhronecken. F. Hettner, op cit p.80, No.274, seated goddess.

VITALIS.

Dhronecken. F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande
(Trier 1901) p.70, No.164, Nos.275-6. Amor and Psyche type of
relief.

ROXT—

A male personage astride a horse which is mounted on wheels,
presumably a child's toy. The rider is dressed in a Gaulish hooded
cloak with the hood hanging down over his shoulders. On the left
shoulder of the horse are the incised letters ROXT (Roxtanus) which
may represent the name of the modeller who is otherwise unknown.
Saalburg Jahrbuch 9 (1939) p.11, Taf.7, 7. R-G Museum Cologne
No.3099.

(N.B. the wheels are modern but the holes bored through the
hooves show that originally it had wheels).

cf. also ibid Taf.7, 6, from Zugmantel, Saalburg Museum Z 1004;
and from Cologne loc cit No.2907.

A fourth example may be No.32,20, loc cit.

PART 4.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE INDUSTRY.

(a) INTRODUCTION.

Early attempts at classifying the Romano-Gaulish clay statuettes into periods of manufacture were far from satisfactory. Tudot for instance basing part of his arguments on the associated coinage postulated four main divisions, viz:-

- (1) Before the Roman conquest of Gaul.
- (2) The half century following that event.
- (3) The period extending from the first century B.C.,
down to the fourth century A.D.
- (4) A period later than the fourth century.⁽¹⁾

Blanchet rejected this scheme as purely fanciful, and he recognized the fact that the associated coinage rarely provided a firm basis for dating.⁽²⁾ He asserted that the production of clay statuettes in Gaul did not commence until after the conquest but later with the introduction of samian ware. With regard to the value of the hair styles for dating purposes he was inclined to agree with Tudot. In his view the similarity of the hair styles affected by certain female subjects made it possible for some to be attributed to the end of the first century A.D., or the commencement of the second.⁽³⁾ On the other hand his acceptance of the

(1) Tudot op cit p.18 and p.23.

(2) A. Blanchet, "Étude sur les figurines de la terre-cuite de la Gaule romaine", Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France XLI (1891) pp.108-112.

(3) A. Blanchet, ibid pp.112-114.

use of the archaic forms of certain letters in the inscriptions on the moulds, e.g., A and E, as a criterion for dating is untenable for the evidence is inconclusive. Finally, he was convinced that the period from the reign of Augustus into Imperial times was that of the production of clay statuettes.⁽¹⁾

Pottier's classification is now quite untenable for the three periods that he postulated are broadly based and not clearly defined, viz:-

- (1) The introduction of Italian art-types borrowed from those of the earlier Hellenistic period.
- (2) The influence of Greco-Roman art-types.
- (3) The decadent period under the Empire with the appearance of inferior techniques and stiffness in style.⁽²⁾

Déchelette was also of the opinion that the industry was not established soon after the conquest but was contemporaneous with the production of samian ware at the end of the reign of Augustus and continued into the middle of the second century.⁽³⁾ When Blanchet returned to the subject in his second survey he apparently found little to modify his earlier conclusions.⁽⁴⁾

(1) A. Blanchet, ibid, p.114 ff.

(2) E. Pottier, Les Statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité (1890) p.237, cited by Blanchet, op cit, pp.120-123.

(3) J. Déchelette and A. Bertrand, Fouilles de l'officine des potiers modeleurs gallo-romains de St-Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier) in Revue archéologique (1901) pp.386-394.

(4) A. Blanchet, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France LX, (1901) Supplément, p.231.

The value of the evidence available to us for assigning dates to the stages in the growth of the industry is conditioned by various difficulties.

- (1) Where statuettes have been found in association with coins we cannot be absolutely certain that they are contemporary, for the individual coins may have been in circulation a considerable time before they were deposited with the statuettes (or vice versa).
- (2) Many recorded discoveries of statuettes associated with coinage are useless for close dating because the coin series includes issues of several reigns which extend over lengthy periods, e.g., perhaps from the first to the fourth century.
- (3) Coinage of course would be of value in providing approximate dates for statuettes found in stratified deposits, but unfortunately systematic reports on the stratification of such sites are virtually absent in French archaeological literature.
- (4) Another factor to be taken into account is the length of time which elapsed between the manufacture and marketing of a statuette.
- (5) There is also the possibility of a statuette being kept for some time, perhaps years, in the house of the purchaser before it reached the place where it was eventually found.
- (6) Finally there is the possibility of survival of statuettes in rubbish deposits of later Roman times, perhaps dating from considerably later than the period when they were first made.

It is with these facts borne in mind that the following tentative sequence is given.

(b) THE CENTRAL GAULISH INDUSTRY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.

In the early years of the Empire, from about the reign of Augustus, the potters of Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier) adopted the mould technique to reproduce cheaper copies in clay of more expensive metal vessels and statuettes.⁽¹⁾ Doubtless it was to reproduce the metallic effect that they coated their products with a lead glaze. As clay statuettes and a clay mould for a mother-goddess type of statuette were recovered from the debris of an officina which evidently produced the moulded lead-glazed pottery at Saint-Rémy, it follows that the statuettes were actually made there and could be of the same general date.

Although the lead-glazed ware of Saint-Rémy type found in Britain is pre-Flavian, it is now thought that similar ware was made in Gaul at a much later date.⁽²⁾ If, on the other hand, the production of this ware at Saint-Rémy had ceased by the year A.D.50 at the latest, and the statuettes were contemporary products of the same industry, then it follows that the commencement of the moulded statuette industry in Central Gaul ought to lie somewhere between A.D.20 at the earliest, and before the end of the reign of Claudius at the latest. Confirmation of this may be provided by the contents of a grave at Colchester comprising Saint-Rémy ware and a group of statuettes of similar fabric, together with twelve coins of Agrippa and twenty-four of Claudius.⁽³⁾ Hence the inference to be drawn from

(1) J. Déchelette and A. Bertrand, op cit.

(2) B.J. Hartley, Dating Town Buildings and Structures in The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain, edited by J.S. Wacher, (Leicester University Press 1966) p.54, footnote 21.

(3) T. May, Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum p.251 ff., pl.LXXV, Grave Group 3/124.

this group is that it was deposited in the grave perhaps not much later than A.D.60, and that the date of manufacture of the statuettes in Central Gaul ought to be somewhat earlier.

At present conclusive evidence has not been forthcoming to prove that other centres in Central Gaul continued to produce statuettes from the time when the potters of Saint-Rémy ceased production. It is this hiatus in our knowledge which demands some kind of explanation. It is possible that the troubles which led up to the accession of Vespasian (A.D.69) may have seriously disrupted the pottery industry for a time, and when peace was restored the production of statuettes which had been a minor off-shoot of the industry was not given a high priority in the general reorganisation. If so, then it follows that a few years may have elapsed before the decision was made to develop the market. It is also unfortunate that the associated archaeological material does not help much in arriving at a firm date for the commencement of the industry elsewhere in Central Gaul. This leaves only one line of inquiry open to us, and that is to turn to the statuettes for guidance in the hope that stylistic differences may provide a clue.

The obvious approach is to examine the hair styles affected by the female personages thus portrayed. In following this line of inquiry Tudot expressed the opinion that certain of the so-called portrait busts were probably intended to be likenesses of Julia Sabina, daughter of Titus, as the hair style bears some resemblance to that on certain coins which bear her portrait, and which were issued at the time of her death. It must be noted, however, that the example cited by Tudot has a hair style more comparable with that of Marciana, sister of Trajan. Blanchet, in reply to Tudot's hypothesis, drew attention to the fact that so far as Julia Sabina was concerned her coins display three variants which are characterized by the arrangement of the hair at the back of the head.

He therefore suggested that if these busts really reflected contemporary hair styles they were more likely to have belonged to Domitia who affected a closely similar coiffure.⁽¹⁾

In addition to the clay busts there is a type of statuette of a seated mother-goddess whose hair style is even more elaborately arranged. Although this has been treated rather summarily by the modeller it certainly is comparable with that affected by Vibia Matidia who became the sister-in-law of Hadrian (A.D.100). Now this coiffure, as Jocelyn Toynbee has pointed out, was almost certainly composed of alien hair covering a frame, and is a style which was fashionable with Flavian and Trajanic ladies and went out of fashion after the accession of Hadrian when more simple styles were adopted.⁽²⁾

An indication of an early second century date for one particular hair style frequently affected by clay statuettes of the Venus type is provided by the scene of the institute alimentaria carved on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum (A.D.114). This portrays various allegoric female personages with their hair arranged in deep waves drawn back into a neat bun at the nape of the neck and with wayward tresses falling on to the shoulders, which are characteristic of

(1) A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines en terre cuite de la Gaule-romaine, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France LI (1891) pp.112-114.

(2) J.M.C. Toynbee, The Art of the Romans (Thames and Hudson 1965), p.36, pl.13.

the most common hair style of the clay statuettes of Venus. At this point it seems appropriate to extend our inquiry to include that goddess.

Two important building projects undertaken in Rome in the period covering the second to fourth decades of the second century may be significant and relevant to our study. These were the restoration and enlargement of the temple of Venus Genetrix by order of Trajan (113), and the building of the new temple of Venus and Rome by Hadrian (c.121-135). The fact that these major works were carried out under the patronage of the Emperors, coupled with the strong possibility that Hadrian himself collaborated in the planning of his temple, which was and remained the most grandiose in Rome, certainly suggests that both Emperors held the goddess in unusually high esteem. It may be inferred therefore, that there was a reawakening of interest in the cult which from that time became fashionable and increased in popularity. If this is true then it is not unreasonable to think that under imperial patronage the popularity of the cult spread quickly to the provinces and was responsible for an ever increasing demand for votive clay statuettes of Venus by many worshippers influenced by the fashionable renewal of interest in her cult.

In a recent comprehensive study of the numerous statuettes almost certainly manufactured at Autun, Hugues Vertet has suggested with commendable caution that Pistillus, influenced by Hellenistic art, began producing clay statuettes at the end of the first century A.D. ⁽¹⁾ If this source of inspiration for the art-types of this

(1) H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun Collections du Musée Rolin (imp. Marcelin Autun 1973), p.76.

modeller is correctly attributed, then it is possible that we have further evidence of the influence of Hadrian's philhellenism on the art of the provinces. If, therefore, for the purposes of argument we accept this, then time should be allowed for this vigorous revival of interest in Hellenism to become fashionable in provincial Gaulish circles. Hence minor artists, including Pistillus in particular, may have come under its influence later than proposed by Vertet, and a date well into the reign of Hadrian, say about the year 130 may be permissible.

Until firm evidence is forthcoming from a reasonable number of officinae in Central Gaul to provide satisfactory proof of the date when they ceased manufacturing clay statuettes, any opinions expressed must be very tentative. However, there seems some reason for thinking that at the end of the second century the industry was in decline and its products were no longer being exported. Whether or not this was due to a drastic decrease in demand which made production of these statuettes unprofitable, or that there was a lack of skilled modellers and specialist potters, or that they had been forced out of business by their northern competitors, are questions which at present cannot be answered.

On the other hand the export of Central Gaulish samian pottery had virtually ceased at the end of the second century due to a decline in the standards of production, but mainly because of the serious disruption of the industry in the war between Severus and Albinus (197) from which it never recovered. As the Central Gaulish clay statuette industry was so closely allied to that which produced samian pottery, it seems reasonable to think that even if the former was producing statuettes up to the outbreak of the war, it suffered a similar fate, and did not survive for long, if at all, into the third century.

(c) THE INDUSTRY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN
NORTH-EAST GAUL AND GERMANIA INFERIOR.

In this section we shall attempt to determine the date when clay statuettes first made their appearance in the Mosel and Rhine regions.

MOSEL REGION.

An analysis of the series of published clay statuettes found in stratified deposits in the temple district in the Altbachtal at Trier reveals the following sequence.

(1) Claudian-Neronian.

Only one fragment is recorded from this level, namely, part of the left hind leg of a hoofed animal in whitish hard clay, with a thick, almost blackish-green glaze. Although the published report does not comment on its significance, it is possible because of the glaze and its date, that it came originally from the central Gaulish region, perhaps from Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier) where glazed statuettes and pottery were produced in the period from the end of the reign of Augustus down to about A.D.50.

(2) Shortly before the mid-second century (after A.D.145).

(3) Last quarter of the second century.

(4) About A.D.276 in the debris left after the destruction by the incursions of the barbarians.

(5) Late fourth century destruction debris.

(6) Post-Roman survivals in rubbish down to the sixteenth century.

From this it seems clear that the use of clay statuettes as ex votos did not become a common practice until just prior to the mid-second century, that is, in the reign of Antonine Pius or (less certainly) no earlier than the reign of Hadrian.

Many clay statuettes were found during the excavations on the site of a temple complex at Dhronnecken (Hunsrück). According to Hettner the statuettes date from the end of the first century A.D. to the second century, and to judge by the incidence of the coinage, the flourishing period of the temples was between the reigns of Trajan and Gordian. Those statuettes which can now be assigned to stratified deposits came from a layer of burnt material over the floor, but as they were associated with coins ranging from the reign of Augustus to that of Theodosius they obviously cannot be closely dated.

More definite evidence of date is provided by the contents of two graves which with two others, all cremated burials, were found in a row just outside the north wall of the temenos near the north-east angle. As the two graves designated in the report Nos. 1 and 2 contained bronze brooches of types dating from the reign of Augustus to that of Nero, the inference is that the associated statuettes were Central Gaulish.

A cremated burial at Xanten may be cited in support of this dating. It contained pottery of late first century type, a fragment of a statuette of a lion, closely similar to that found in Grave 2 at Dhronnecken, and also a clay lamp stamped with the name of Strobilus. The presence of this is useful for dating as the lamps of Strobilus were found at Pompeii in a box containing a consignment of South Gaulish samian pottery, which proves conclusively that he was at work before the year 79. Hence the fact that one of his lamps was associated with the statuette in the grave at Xanten strongly suggests that the latter may be similarly dated and ought to be Central Gaulish.

The Roman cemetery about 200 metres north-east of Stahl near Bitburg (Eifel), on the north-east slope "auf Büchelsbach" was partly excavated by Welter about the year 1911. The objects from the graves are now in the Landesmuseum Trier (Inv.Nos.13,250 a-m and 13,365). One grave contained a statuette of a dog in pinkish clay associated with pottery of Saint-Rémy type, which suggests a date in the first half of the first century A.D.

A grave in the extensive Roman cemetery in the southern suburb of Trier, now the district of St. Matthias, contained a statuette of a dove (Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.08972a) associated with a Gallo-Belgic terra-nigra platter stamped VARICO, and a Saint-Rémy ware jug (Grave 712). Another grave in the same cemetery (Grave 56) contained a statuette of a dog in white clay bearing traces of a greenish glaze. In the museum at Trier is a similar statuette of a dog which bears traces of a green glaze (Inv.No.G.508).

Clay statuettes of dogs of this type were definitely produced at Toulon-sur-Allier where a mould was found on the site of the officina at Champ Lary, cf. E. Tudot, pl.5, signed ABVDINVS in semi-cursive script. There is no reference to any statuettes bearing a glaze of any colour, but glazed pottery was produced in the kilns at Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier) and it is likely that statuettes of this type bearing a coating of greenish coloured glaze could have been made there, but at present the evidence for this is lacking. We also cannot tell whether these statuettes received the glaze intentionally or by accident, for the remains of the glaze they bear is extremely patchy. In any case the associated objects in the graves cited above strongly suggests that clay statuettes of that kind had arrived in the Trier region in the first half of the first century A.D. (For this type of dog statuette cf. FIG.96).

Many thousands of fragments of clay statuettes were found at Gusenburg on the site of a temple before and at the time of the excavations carried out by Hettner, but many were so small that only about one hundred examples were saved for the museum at Trier. Hettner considered that the majority of the statuettes and other objects appeared to belong to the second century A.D.⁽¹⁾

At Barweiler (Eifel) a temple of Romano-Celtic type yielded fragments of clay statuettes of a standing Minerva with her left hand supporting her shield, a Venus, a seated mother-goddess, four detached heads of female deities, a bird and other pieces. Associated finds included a series of coins commencing with Vespasian and Domitian, and ranging to the early fourth century. A group of small pots all complete, and evidently ex votos were dated by the associated samian beaker to the last quarter of the first century A.D.⁽²⁾

On the left bank of the Mosel, at the foot of the Markusberg, opposite the city of Trier, is the site of another temple district.⁽³⁾ Here the smaller and earlier of two adjacent shrines standing in their own temenos, dates from about the middle of the second century. It underwent two renovations, the later one dating from after 275. The building seems to have lasted into the last decade of the fourth century, when it was burnt down. This has been attributed to the

(1) F. Hettner, op cit p.86.

(2) Bonner Jahrbucher 143/144, p.392.

(3) E. Gose, Der Tempelbezirk des Lenus Mars in Trier (Berlin,1955).

result of the issue of the edict by Theodosius (A.D.392) prohibiting paganism for the last time.

The stratified deposits which were homogeneous and post-dated this destruction contained numerous statuettes and were as follows:-

- (1) Inside the building. Layer of debris immediately over the actual burnt destruction deposit (Sixty statuettes).
- (2) Outside the building; destruction deposit (Twenty-six statuettes).

The latest coins in the burnt layer were of Valens and Gratian. Unfortunately this information does not assist us in dating the statuettes, for clearly they are survivals in debris, and they could have been stored in the temple for a long time before they were finally desecrated. Hence all that can be said is that they must date after the time the temple was first built, that is, from the second half of the second century, slightly later it seems than the appearance of the statuettes in the temple district of the Altbachtal across the river.

RHINE REGION.

It is fortunate that three of the inscribed statuettes made in this region provide precise dates, presumably referring to the year of manufacture for the inscriptions were written in the clay before the statuettes were baked in the kiln. From one of them we learn that Servandus was certainly working at Cologne in the year 169.⁽¹⁾

- (1) A base inscribed Servan|dus C C A A|fec Sen|Coelio Ap|cos thus giving the year of the joint term of office of the two consuls, namely, Q. Pompeius Senicio and P. Coelis Apollinaris, that is A.D.169. Found at Arentsburg (Holland).
 J. Holdwerda, Arentsburg, Een romeinsch militair vloodstation bij Voorburg (Leiden, 1923) p.41, No.7, Abb.104 left, 102, 7.

The others omit the name of the maker but have been attributed to Servandus,⁽¹⁾ which if correct must indicate that he had been working for five years before that time for the dates given belong to the year 164, namely, 25th February and 13th September, respectively.⁽²⁾

The period of activity of the statuette makers may be summarized as follows:-

- Vindex - the beginning of the second century;
- Servandus - the second half of the second century;
- Lucius - generally in the same century.

The date of the activity of Vindex may be inferred from the hair style affected by a seated mother-goddess which bears his signature.⁽³⁾

This hair style was fashionable in the reign of Trajan and is frequently featured on other statuettes of female personages made at Cologne.⁽⁴⁾

The period of activity of the kilns in the Rudolfplatz in Cologne, the principal centre of the industry, is indicated by the pottery, the clay lamps and the statuettes, as running from the

(1) F. Fremersdorf, "Erzeugnisse Kölner Manufacturen," Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (Frankfurt am Main 1939) p.9, No.A 11 and No.B 2.

(2) A base inscribed V K Mart|Macrin|et Celso|cos that is 25th February 164, the year of the joint term of office of Macrinus and Celsus. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15 636.
A base inscribed Idibus Sep|Macrino|et Celso that is, 13th September 164. Found Gondorf a.d. Mosel.
R-G Museum Köln Inv.No.35, 2. Germania 20 (1936) p.112.

(3) Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln Inv.No.N.3182

(4) Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln Inv.Nos.2475; 4225; N3197.24, 81.

beginning of the second century to about the year 180.⁽¹⁾ They seem to have ceased production before the end of that century for reasons which are quite unknown. It may have been due to the deaths of the proprietors and the extinction of their families who could have carried on the trade. Perhaps the great plague which ravaged the Empire from 166-180 struck down these people, or the war of Albinus (196-7) was the cause. On the other hand it is possible that rival firms had set up elsewhere and had captured the market.

(1) W. Binsfeld, Kölner Jahrbuch 7 (1964) pp.30-31.

(d) THE DATING OF CLAY STATUETTES FOUND IN BRITAIN.

(The catalogue numbers referred to in the footnotes accompanying this section are those to be found under the relevant entries in Section 6)

As will be apparent from a study of the data set forth in the appended tables (Tables 1 - 3 inclusive), the dating of many of the clay statuettes found in Britain is severely restricted by the lack of information concerning the circumstances in which they were discovered. Our comments therefore must be confined to those examples for which more precise information concerning associated archaeological material and stratification is available.

TABLE 1.

The earliest statuettes to appear in Roman Britain are evidently those included in the collection of offerings recovered from the grave of a child at Colchester (Essex).⁽¹⁾ The evidence for their date is derived from the associated objects. There are thirty-six coins eleven of which are of Agrippa, and the remainder of Claudius. Included in the collection of pottery are examples of the moulded ware bearing a shiny yellow lead glaze, characteristic of the products of the potteries at St. Rémy-en-Rollat (Allier).⁽²⁾ Although much more has to be learned of this pottery and the industry which produced it, it is now generally agreed that those examples found in Britain, and assigned to that centre, are pre-Flavian.⁽³⁾ In addition to this

- (1) C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI (1868), p.228, pl.XLVI;
 J.E. Price, Catalogue of the Private Museum of Anglo-Roman Antiquities Collected by Mr George Joslin of Colchester, Colonia Camulodunum (Colchester 1888) pp.84-8, Inv.Nos.1103-1148 inclusive.
 T. May, Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum pp.251-3 Grave Group 3/124.
- (2) J. Déchelette, Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine (Paris,1904) I The Colchester jug Inv.No.1112 = Déchelette 62 pl.III; and jugs 1113-4 are similar to Déchelette 60; the tetina is similar to Déchelette p.45, fig.28.
- (3) B.R. Hartley, Dating Town Buildings and Structures in The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain ed. J.S. Wachter, (Leicester University Press, 1966) p.54.

evidence there is a samian plate (Dragendorf Form 18) which bears the name of Nestor (NESTOR FEC), a potter who is now known to have been at work in the reign of Claudius (41-54).⁽¹⁾

Small yellow glazed phials or vases moulded in the forms of various species of animals, ten of which are in this grave group, are quite rare in Britain.⁽²⁾ They were a speciality of the potters at St. Remy-en-Rollat or at some other centre in the area. Although the dating of these curious little vessels is imperfectly known, their association with the coins and the St. Rémy ware at Colchester must indicate that they are also pre-Flavian and may well be Claudian.

(1) T. May, op cit Inv.No.1106.

F. Oswald lists Nestor as Nero-Vespasian in date, but his example which is the one we are discussing, and other examples found elsewhere at Colchester need not be later than Claudian.

For this view cf. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.XIV, Camulodunum (London, 1947) p.198, and p.200.

F. Oswald, Stamps on Terra Sigillata (1931).

(2) T. May, op cit Inv.No.1116 (goat or ibex) = Déchelette op cit Vol.2 p.323, pl.X,10; Inv.Nos.1117-9 (hare) = Déchelette pl.X, 6; Inv.Nos1120-1 = Déchelette pl.X, 11. For comparable vases also cf. E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, oeuvres premieres de l'art gaulois avec les noms des céramistes qui les ont exécutées (Paris,1860) pl.67 Hare; pl.67 ibex; pl.65 lion. M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationale", XXIV^e supplément à "Gallia" (Paris 1972) No.1106 ibex found possibly at Vichy (Allier); No.1112 hare Vichy (Allier); No.1099 lion found Caudebec-les-Elbeuf (Seine-Maritime), St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.Nos. 25503, 6884 and 17404 respectively.

The statuettes are all made of fine white clay (FIGS.115-6). They are of various types, and those which portray male personages posed either seated, standing or reclining are particularly interesting. With the exception of two of the latter they portray old men of rather grotesque appearance, and those seated appear to be reading from open scrolls. No comparable group is known in the western provinces, and there is only one other statuette of this class known in Britain. It is far from complete, but the surviving piece is sufficient to show that it belonged to a statuette of the above mentioned type. It was found during the excavations carried out on the site of the pre-Flavian fort at Usk (Monmouthshire).⁽¹⁾

It is curious that statuettes of these types are at present extremely rare in Gaul. One probably found at Clermont Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme)⁽²⁾ is incomplete, but enough has survived to show that it belongs to a reclining personage clearly identical to one of the Colchester examples (FIG.116 G). There is also a detached head of an old man found at Autun (FIG.115 B)⁽³⁾ which in every respect bears a remarkable resemblance to the Colchester examples, and finally, another detached head of an old man resting his right hand against his chin, probably found at Vichy, is of the same kind.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) The reconstruction of this statuette is based on one of the Colchester examples. Colchester Inv.Nos.1128-32. Our (FIG.115 A); C-E; G-H.
- (2) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, op cit p.231, No.554; St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.28112.
- (3) H. Vertet et G. Vuillemot, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun, Collections du Musée Rolin, p.68, pl.13 e.
- (4) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, op cit p.318, No.937; St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.25497.

The statuette of Hercules (FIG.68) is at present unique in Britain and is unparalleled in the Gaulish series of statuettes which portray the god. It displays certain features shared in common with the other statuettes in the Colchester group; the eyes are similarly indicated, and the ears are equally protruding. The prominent ears are referred to by the late Sir Ian Richmond when commenting on the Colchester statuettes which he said "... are the counterpart in Roman art of Horace and Petronius in literature and give a caricaturist's version of the hard-faced, flap-eared Italian types engaged in the banquets and recitals which were the hallmark of Roman cultivated society".⁽¹⁾ In view of this it is perhaps noteworthy that the ears are similarly prominent on the bronze head of Claudius found in Suffolk⁽²⁾ and the figures of certain soldiers of Italian extraction who appear on gravestones belonging to the early part of the first century.⁽³⁾ The ears are also prominent on the head of a chubby-faced, dimple-cheeked child probably from a so-called "portrait-bust" which is also included in the Colchester grave group. (FIG.85).⁽⁴⁾

(1) I.A. Richmond, The Four Coloniae of Roman Britain,
Archaeological Journal CIII (1947) p.60 ff.

(2) Found in the River Alde, now in the British Museum.

(3) For example, the tombstone of Marcus Favonius Facilis at Colchester, and that of Marcus Caelius at Bonn.

(4) 6 D 3, 7.

The identity of the child is unknown, and the reason for portraying the ears in that manner is obscure. Clearly extensive research into the whole field of Roman provincial sculpture is needed before it is possible to determine whether it was a convention of first century sculptural art to show the ears in that manner or whether faithful portrayals of the "flap-eared Italian types" to which Richmond has referred, were intended.

Of equal interest are the hair styles affected by Hercules and two of the reclining personages at Colchester. Although to a certain extent sketchy in presentation they bear a very close resemblance to hair styles affected by Claudius and his contemporaries, which may mean that the statuettes reproduce a current mid-first century fashion. If this is true then it is possibly another piece of dating evidence for these statuettes.

The statuette of the bull (FIG.117) is also unique in Britain, but there is an undated example found at Amiens (Somme) (FIG.93) which is almost, if not identical in every respect.⁽¹⁾ Both statuettes display a band or strap encircling the bodies of the animals, indicated by two incised parallel lines. This is presumably the vitta usually worn by beasts destined for sacrifice, and is similarly indicated on a slightly different statuette of a bull found at Clermont Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme).⁽²⁾ On all three examples we have cited, the folds of flesh on the necks and the dewlaps are moulded in the same manner.

(1) Ashmolean Museum, Evans Collection Inv.No.R 242.

(2) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, op.cit p.339, No.1028;
St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.1667.

In conclusion it is necessary to point out that the officina which produced these statuettes still awaits discovery, and due to the rarity of its products it is impossible at present to present a satisfactory picture of the pattern of distribution. There is reason to think that the statuettes were made in Central Gaul, and some of the original models were created probably by a single artist-modeller. It is of course very obvious that the date of exportation cannot correspond with that of origin. Some time must have elapsed for the initial development to take place, and local demand would have to be met before more distant markets could be exploited. We must then accept that the date of manufacture may be Tiberian Claudian. As the statuettes must have reached Britain after the year 43, time must be allowed for the foundation of Colchester as a Roman colonia, hence as the complete grave group is demonstrably pre-Flavian, an early Neronian date for the burial seems tenable.

So far as can be determined at present there is no evidence to prove that other potters in Central Gaul continued producing clay statuettes after the St. Rémy potters ceased production. All that can be said is that what evidence there is suggests that the production of clay statuettes on a scale much larger than at St. Rémy, was not inaugurated until after the accession of Vespasian in 69. If we accept that this is true, then allowance must be made for the time taken for the initial development to meet the local demand, and to increase production to supply the markets farther afield. It follows, therefore, that the Central Gaulish statuettes may not have arrived on the British market much earlier than the year 80.

At this stage in our inquiry it may prove useful to refer to the appended Table 2 which sets forth the evidence of the dates derived from the archaeological material associated with certain statuettes found in Britain, some of which are of the Venus type. This provides a series of dates for the latter covering the period c. 70/90 to c. 200. The terminal date, however, need not concern us at the moment. It is the earlier date that is interesting, and may be significant, for it tends to suggest that clay statuettes of the Venus type could have arrived in Britain in, or soon after, the year 80.

A similar date is suggested for the importation of the so-called "portrait" busts, we have classified as Type 4, and exemplified by an example found at Chichester. The subject portrayed is an unknown female personage whose elaborate hair style is reminiscent of those affected by the ladies of Flavian and Trajanic times. This is supported by the date provided by the stratified archaeological material associated with this bust, for it is late Flavian.⁽¹⁾

The statuettes of the deae nutrices seem to have reached Britain at a later time, for the evidence suggests a date in the early years of the second half of the second century. Two fragments which belong

(1) Part 6 D 4, 1 Sussex 1; (FIG.82)

to statuettes of mother-goddesses of a different type are certainly important for they may be more closely dated. One is a detached head of a mother-goddess who wears the large bonnet so popular with the Ubian ladies in the Rhineland in the second century.⁽¹⁾ The other is the lower part of a seated mother-goddess.⁽²⁾ Both of these statuettes are certainly the work of Servandus of Cologne as testified by the inscriptions they bear. A detached head evidently from one of his statuettes of Bacchus has been found in Britain, and closely matches that of one of his signed statuettes of the god found at Bingerbrück.⁽³⁾ The approximate date of the activity of Servandus is provided by an inscription on one of his statuettes found at Arentsburg (Holland) which includes the date evidently when it was made, viz:- A.D.169.⁽⁴⁾ This then allows us to say with confidence that the British examples of the work of Servandus must date about that time.

(1) Part 6 A 1, 2. 1. Colchester, Essex; (FIG.27)

(2) Part 6 A 1, 2. 2, Lancaster, Lancashire; (FIG.28)

(3) Part 6 B, Flitwick, Bedfordshire; (FIG.66)

cf. the Bingerbrück complete statuette of Bacchus (FIG.67)

(4) J. Holwerda loc cit Dated signature of Servandus.

The Thorn-puller (Spinario) type of statuette is Central Gaulish. The fact that two examples were found in a layer of debris attributed to the second fire of Roman London which occurred between the years 125-130, obviously shows that they must have arrived in Britain prior to the disaster.⁽¹⁾ In view of that evidence it is reasonable to think that these statuettes belong to the Hadrianic period.

The busts of female personages which we have classified Types 1-2,⁽²⁾ and the two statuettes of Apollo⁽³⁾ seem to belong to the second half of the second century, but to which decade is less certain.

The four statuettes of dogs, all of the same type, but only one now represented by a small fragment, has been found in a dated context. It came from a deposit containing occupation debris of the second half of the second century.⁽⁴⁾

The yoked pair of horses found in the filling of a rubbish pit in the annexe to the Roman fort at Newstead (Roxburghshire) is the sole representative of the type in this country (FIG.95).⁽⁵⁾

As there is insufficient dating evidence all that can be said is that it arrived in that part of Scotland either during the first Antonine occupation of the fort (140-158) or later when it was re-occupied c. 160-180. In any case it would not have reached

(1) Part 6 F London 1 and 2; (FIGS.104-5).

(2) Part 6 D 1 Hertfordshire 1 and 6; Sussex 2 (all Type 1); Part 6 D 1 Sussex 1; Type 2 (FIGS.75-79).

(3) Part 6 B 1, Suffolk 1; Bedfordshire 1; (FIGS.62-3).

(4) Part 6 J 3, 3 Alcester, Warwickshire; statuette of a dog.

(5) Part 6 J 3 Roxburghshire.

Newstead after 184 the approximate date when the Antonine fort was dismantled and that region was evacuated by the Roman army. During that last twenty years of the occupation the garrison consisted of the Ala Petriana milliaria, but if the horses arrived during that time, their connection with that cavalry regiment is a question which at present cannot be answered. Perhaps there was none, but assuming otherwise, and without stressing what at best is pure conjecture, statuettes of that kind would have been singularly appropriate for cavalymen to acquire.

The date for the statuette of a pigeon which was included in a group of grave offerings at Colchester (Essex) is difficult to determine (FIG.103).⁽¹⁾ It is unfortunate that the associated pottery cannot be more closely dated than 80-120 so that we must accept the conclusion that the date of manufacture of the statuette ought to lie somewhere within those rather wide limits.

Finally, the latest statuette in the British series may well be the genius cucullatus which certainly was made at Trier (FIG.71).⁽²⁾ It was found outside the Roman fort at Reculver (Regulbium), and the few pieces of associated pottery suggests that it belonged to the Severan occupation, that is, the first quarter of the third century. Evidence in support of this date is provided by the contents of a grave at Cologne which included a statuette of this type with a coin of Julia Domna (193-211).

(1) Part 6 K 3 Essex 1.

(2) Part 6 C Kent 1; genius cucullatus

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande p.74;

Römisch-Germanischen Museum Cologne Inv.No.2909.

THE DATING OF CLAY STATUETTES FOUND IN BRITAIN

TABLE 1 +

A.D.43-60

(1) Colchester, Essex	Male personages (caricatures ?) 6 I 1 a-d inclusive Hercules 6 B 3,1. Bust of boy 6 D 3,7. Bull 6 J,1. Animal vases 6 L 1 a-j.	Burial group with coins of Agrippa and Claudius.
(2) Usk, Monmouthshire	Fragment of a seated male personage as 6 I 1 b above. 6 I 2.	Found in the pre- Flavian fort.

+
N.B. The serial numbers which appear in the Tables 1-3 inclusive are as in the catalogue of clay statuettes found in Britain, see Part 6.

For example 6 A1 9 signifies:-

Part 6 A1 (Mother-goddess) 9 (Find-place No.)

TABLE 2.

c.A.D.90-200.

Snodland, Kent. 6A9	<u>Dea Nutrix</u>	Cremated burial	Second half of 2nd century
Arkesden, Essex. 6A10	<u>Dea Nutrix</u>	Cremated burial Samian and Castor Ware	c.190-200
Welwyn, Herts. 6A15	<u>Dea Nutrix</u>	Cremated burial Lezoux Samian ware	Hadrian- Antonine
East Bridgeford, Notts. 6A1	<u>Dea Nutrix</u> 2 examples	Domestic rubbish	Second half of 2nd century
Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly 6A1, 08-09	<u>Dea Nutrix</u> 2 examples	Occupation layer 1st Period Site abandoned c.A.D.200	Second century
Colchester, Essex. 6A1, 2.1	Seated Mother- Goddess	Signed Servandus of Cologne	c.160-170
Lancaster, Lancs. 6A1, 2.2	Seated Mother- Goddess	Signed Servandus of Cologne	c.160-170
Wickford, Essex. 6A2, 8	Venus Type 1A	Filling of a Roman well closed in Antonine times	c.138-169
Silchester, Hants. 6A2, 1	Venus Type 1A	Mound of earth probably contempor- ary with building of early rampart	193-197

TABLE 2 (continued)

Verulamium, Herts. 6A2, 3	Venus Type 1A	Cremated burial	Hadrian- Antonine
London 6A2, 36	Venus Type 1B	Occupation layer Samian pottery	A.D.70-90
London 6A2, 37	Venus Type 1A	Timber-lined pit Pottery c.130	A.D.130+
London 6A2, 38	Venus Type 1B	Occupation layer Trajanic pottery	First half of second century
London 6A2, 44	Venus Type 1	Filling of a ditch	mid-late second century
London 6A2, 45	Venus Type 1	Filling of a ditch	mid-late second century
Caerleon, Mon. 6A2, 4	Venus Type 1A	Vicus main drain dated not later than A.D.140	Mid second century or later
East Bridgeford Notts. 6A2, 2	Venus Type 1	Associated with second century pottery	2nd century
Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly	Venus Type 1A 2 examples	Occupation layer 1st period which closed c. A.D.200	2nd century
Wye, Kent. 6A2, 4	Venus Type 1	Occupation layer First-Second century pottery	2nd century

TABLE 3.

Survivals in later occupation debris
3rd - 4th centuries.

Brenley, Kent. 6A1, 24	<u>Dea Nutrix</u>	Occupation layer with 2nd-4th century pottery and 4th century coins.
Canterbury, Kent. 6A1, 2.4	Seated Mother- goddess	Layer containing late 3rd-4th century pottery and coin of Salonina
Springhead, Kent. 6A1, 2.3	Seated Mother- goddess	Occupation layer with 'radiate' coins c. A.D.270.
Springhead, Kent. 6A2, 13	Venus Type 1	In filling of Watling Street drainage ditch accumulated 3rd-4th century.
Birdoswald, Cumberland. 6A2, 1	Venus Type 1	In fourth century barracks block.
Holt Down, Hants. 6A2, 8	Venus Type 1	Rubbish pit containing 4th century New Forest pottery and series of coins ranging in date from Trajan to Constantine I.
Verulamium, Herts. 6A2, 1	Venus Type	From 2nd-3rd century filling of a cellar in Building II.1.

TABLE 3 (continued)

Verulamium, Herts. 6A2, 2	Venus Type 1	Deposit of late 3rd century date.
Hemel Hempstead, Herts. 6A2, 6	Venus Type 1	Filling of a deep room at Gadebridge Park villa, with large number of coins dated no later than c. 350.
London 6A2, 41.	Venus Type 1A	Occupation layer with 2nd-3rd century pottery.
London 6A2, 42	Venus Type 1	Occupation layer with 3rd-4th century pottery.
Caerleon, Mon. 6A2, 4	Venus, face only.	From <u>vicus</u> main drain, associated material 140-230.
Chesterholm, Westmorland. 6A2, 2	Venus Type 1 (head only)	North end of <u>mansio</u> courtyard above a water channel with 3rd-4th century pottery.
Chesterholm, Westmorland. 6A2, 2	Venus Type 1	Found in the <u>vicus</u> attached to the fort; late 3rd century floor level site XXX.
Verulamium, 6D Misc.1	Fragment of Bust of female.	In 2nd-3rd century filling of a cellar.

TABLE 3 (continued)

London		
6H2	Bull	Occupation layer 3rd century.
London	Aedicula (shrine)	Occupation layer
6M7		3rd-4th century.
London	Aedicula (shrine)	Occupation layer
6M8		4th century.

PART 5.

THE MARKETING OF CLAY STATUETTES

A General Regional Survey.

Very little is known of the organization of the export trade in clay statuettes, but it is reasonably certain that it was an off-shoot of the more extensive trade in pottery, particularly samian ware. The widespread distribution of these clay statuettes clearly shows that the merchants who managed and organized the trade had contacts of varying degrees of success with the markets in the areas covered by this survey.

Broadly speaking the whole region served by the trade can be divided into marketing areas classified according to the main source of supply under the following headings.

- A. The Rhine industry markets.
- B. The Mosel industry markets.
- C. The Central Gaulish and allied markets.
- D. Marginal markets which received supplies from two or more of the foregoing centres.

In the preliminary stages of this study it was found that this system was difficult to use in practice, not being sufficiently flexible to support a lucid and systematic survey of the evidence. A different method has accordingly been adopted here, namely, the study of the region area by area with an analysis of the various sources which supplied it.

The lists which appear in the appendices to Part 5 may be found convenient as keys to the distribution of the statuettes in each region. More comprehensive lists relating to Britain (Region 6) are contained in Part 6 (q.v.).

REGION 1. (Map 10)

This may be divided into two zones.

Zone 1a. This embraces the whole of Germania Inferior, from its southernmost limits on the Vinxtbach (Ad Fines) down the Rhine through Holland to the North Sea.

Zone 1b. The northern area of the present country of Belgium adjoining the province of Germania Inferior but actually lying in Gallia Belgica in Roman times.

An analysis of the find-spots of the clay statuettes in Zone 1a clearly shows how the trade followed the course of the Rhine from Cologne, the chief centre of production.⁽¹⁾ Moulds for statuettes found in the remains of a potter's kiln belonging to the colonia at Xanten indicate the existence of another workshop. At present only one kiln is known so that it is impossible to determine whether it represents a minor branch of the Cologne industry or that it was an independent firm (see page 89).⁽²⁾

(1) According to K. Schumacher there was a "terrakottenfabrik" at Bornheim-bei-Bonn, but this appears to be an erroneous statement according to the authorities of the Landesmuseum Bonn who kindly checked the records.

K. Schumacher, Siedelungs-und-Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande II (Mainz, 1923) p.267.

(2) H. Hinz, "2 Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in der Colonia Traiana nördlich von Xanten," Bonner Jahrbuch 163 (1963) pp.398-401, Abb.5, 1-6 Taf.48.

The potteries which produced samian ware at Sinzig⁽¹⁾ as a branch of the parent industry at Rheinzabern do not seem to have been involved in the clay statuette trade, as did those of Central Gaul. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary it is virtually certain that there were no officinae in Holland connected with the trade. It is noteworthy that the extensive potteries situated at Holdeurn have not yielded any evidence of the trade although grotesque theatrical masks in clay, and clay lamps were included in the potter's repertoire.⁽²⁾

Nijmegen which was one of the chief markets supplied by the Holdeurn potters has, however, yielded several statuettes which are attributable to the Cologne workshops, as have several intermediate sites along the Lower Rhine from Nijmegen to Arentsburg. Although a few statuettes of Central Gaulish manufacture are present in the zone under discussion, the products of Cologne predominate to an extent which suggests that the Cologne traders had a virtual monopoly.

Two associated Romano-Celtic temples were excavated to the west of Nijmegen close to the River Waal. The complex buildings belonged to the Roman town which lasted from c. A.D.70 - c. 270. Prior to this discovery excavations in the close vicinity of these temples revealed

(1) For the samian potteries at Remagen cf. F. Behn, "Römische Keramik mit Einschluss der hellenistischen Vorstufen" in Katalogue des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz (Mainz, 1910) p.262.

Mr. Brian Hartley has confirmed that an officina for the manufacture of samian ware was never established at Remagen, and all the pottery attributed to it actually came from Sinzig.

(2) Holdeurn. J.H. Holwerda and W.G. Braat, "Die Holdeurn bij Berg-en-Dal" in Oudheidkundige Medelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden Nieuwe Reeks 26 (1946).

another building, presumably another temple, probably built in the Flavian era. Most of the pottery associated with this building was Flavian, second-century pottery being scarcely represented. The coin series included ten of Trajan, four dating from Hadrian to Gallienus, and four to the fourth century, but these were collected from around the area, and do not provide evidence for close dating. Other finds were a limestone statue of Minerva, a bronze figure of Mercury, a limestone relief of Fortuna-Abundantia, and a clay statuette of Fortuna.⁽¹⁾

In Zone 1b, that is, North Belgium, there is also negative evidence for no potteries have come to light which were engaged in the statuette trade. With the exception of Tongres which has yielded a fairly large collection of statuettes certainly attributable to the Cologne centres of production,⁽²⁾ other sites in this zone seem to have drawn their supplies either solely from Central Gaul or to have a small admixture of Cologne origin, and may therefore be regarded as marginal markets. An examination of the contents of the collections found in this zone serves to illustrate this.

First there is Assche-Kalkoven (Brabant) where a group of upwards of fifty individual statuettes of horses (p.249) was found as a single deposit.⁽³⁾

(1) H. Brunsting, "Een opgraving van Reuven en Leemans bij het fort Krayenhoff te Nijmegen in 1834," Oudheidkundige Medelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden Nieuwe Reeks 30, (1949) p.47-65.
J.E.A.Th. Bogaers, De Gallo-Romeinse Tempels te Elst in de Over-Betuwe, in Nederlandse Oudheden I (s-Gravenhage 1955), p.29 footnote 6.

(2) H. Van de Weerd, "Romeinsche Terracottabeeldjes van Tongeren," L'Antiquite Classique I (1932) p.277 ff., planches I-VI.

(3) S.J. De Laet, "Figurines en terre cuite de l'époque romaine trouvées à Assche-Kalkoven" in L'Antiquité Classique XI (1942) p.41 ff; Latomus (1951) p.177.

These may represent the stock-in-trade of an itinerant trader who had hidden it for safety, but it must be stated that most of the statuettes were in fragments. A more likely explanation for the presence of this group at one place is that the statuettes had served a votive purpose at a neighbouring shrine and had been collected together and later buried by the devotees as an act of piety. But as the site of the temple up to the present time, however, has not been found, this conclusion is conjectural.

The style and fabrics of these horse statuettes are similar and are characteristically Central Gaulish. On the other hand, one statuette of a horse found at Elewijt (Brabant)⁽¹⁾ not far from Assche-Kalkoven, is closely paralleled by two examples found in Maria-im-Walde near Alttrier (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg), where the site of an officina for the production of clay statuettes is strongly suspected.

At Hofstade (East Flanders) a few miles to the north-west of Assche-Kalkoven, a temple of Romano-Celtic type yielded a small number of statuettes,⁽²⁾ two of which are of Venus and one of the dea nutrix which are well authenticated Central Gaulish types, while another of Venus and a seated figure of Cybele are more akin to the styles of Cologne, and the latter certainly is reminiscent of the work

(1) J. Mertens, "Terre cuites de l'époque romaine, trouvées à Elewijt (Brabant)", Latomus 10, p.170 ff.

(2) S.J. De Laet, "Een Gallo-romeins Helligdom op de steenberg Hofstade bij Aalst (Oostvlaanderen)" Verslag van de opgravingscampagnes 1949-1950 in Cultureel Jaarboek van de Provincie Oostvlaanderen 1950, pp.269-314.

of Servandus who definitely worked at that centre. The presence of the products of two distinct manufacturing centres in this part of Belgium serves to demonstrate, therefore, the overlapping of the trade from both, in a zone which may be regarded as containing marginal markets.

REGION 2. (Map 11)

This region may be conveniently sub-divided into three zones, viz:- 2a; 2b; and 2c.

Zone 2a.

This zone embraces the Central Mosel, much of the Eifel-Hunsrück region, the Ardennes, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and the Luxembourg province of Belgium, which collectively comprised the civitas Treverorum in the extreme north-east of Gallia Belgica. The principal centre of the industry was at Trier with a minor subsidiary at Bertrich, while the existence of another at Alttrier in the Grand Duchy is suspected.

The map of the distribution of the statuettes indicates that the trade was carried over several routes. One went northwards into the Eifel district, and another north-eastwards down the Mosel valley and through the Hunsrück. A third route carried the trade westwards, avoiding the difficult terrain of the Oesling by crossing the southern part of the Grand Duchy to Arlon which probably served as the chief distribution centre for the district now comprising the Luxembourg province of Belgium. Lastly, there was a route which followed the course of the Upper Mosel into the neighbouring civitas of the Mediomatrici.

Clay statuettes of many types are widely distributed throughout this zone. At times individual sites have yielded impressive quantities which testify to the existence of a popular demand.

It is of interest and probably significant that statuettes bearing the names of the makers who worked at Cologne are not found in this zone. On the other hand the signed statuettes which do occur there are virtually confined to sites within the canton of the Treveri and so far as is at present known only three examples of these signatures have been found outside it. It follows, therefore, that a high percentage of the output from the Treveran centres was directed to the home markets where there was a lively demand.

A scrutiny of the list of sites where clay statuettes have been found in this zone clearly reveals the prime reasons which prompted this high demand, namely, the religious practices of the local populace. First and foremost in this respect are the large quantities which have been found at many shrines in the civitas of the Treveri. For example many thousands of fragments were found at Gusenburg prior to, and at the time of, the final excavation of the temple area. The temple district in the Altbachtal in Trier yielded an impressive number, particularly one shrine dedicated to Aveta, a local goddess, which was full of them. The temple of Lenus Mars and the neighbouring shrine of the attendant goddesses the Xulsigiae, situated on the left bank of the Mosel in a suburb of the Roman city, yielded statuettes in quantity. The Dhronnecken temple area also contained numerous examples of various types, and to a lesser degree other religious sites at Möhn, Hochscheid, Graach, Horperath and Barweiler, the hilltop shrine on the Titelberg in the Grand Duchy, and a small shrine at Martelange (Belgian Luxembourg). Very early in the last century sixty clay statuettes, at least, had occurred as sporadic finds at Alttrier, and later many more came to light and many found their way into the Luxembourg and Trier museums' collections.

The practice of offering clay statuettes to the dead was also very popular throughout the zone under discussion, and was another factor which maintained an increasing demand. The extensive cemetery at Ulmen was exceptionally rich in graves containing these objects, as also those at Trier, while individual graves at many places have yielded examples.

Zone 2b. (Map 12)

This zone embraces the Lower Mosel district down to the confluence with the Rhine at Coblenz, and those parts of the Eifel and the Hunsrück and the country on the left bank of the Rhine, comprising the extreme north of Germania Superior, lying to the north of the Roman road from Bingen to Trier.

The officinae at Trier, Bad Bertrich and possibly Alttrier seem to have supplied the markets in this zone, as also a minor branch of the industry situated within its boundaries at Karden on the Mosel. The northern industry, centred on Cologne, also had access to these markets by way of the Rhine valley either by river or road. The demand for clay statuettes here was evidently comparable with that of the neighbouring zone (Zone 2a), as indicated by the numerous examples of various types which have been found in several shrines and graves distributed throughout the countryside.

Bingen-Bingerbrück, situated on the bank of the Rhine at the point where the road from Trier terminated, may have been a centre of distribution as suggested by the discovery of a pottery trader's centre or depot in the Hasengasse. According to Behrens, the statuettes, which accompanied a collection of samian ware, were dated by the latter to the second century. Other statuettes found elsewhere in the town and therefore unconnected with the "Depotfundes", namely, a cock, a dove and two human busts, were, according to the same authority,

of an earlier date and were imported from Gaul.⁽¹⁾ Hence these serve to show that the Central Gaulish trade had a share of the market, and possibly supplies reached this area before the time when the Rhine-Mosel officinae began trading in statuettes.

Zone 2c. (Map 13)

This zone comprises that part of Germania Superior extending southwards from the Trier-Bingen Roman road along the left bank of the Rhine to Basle.

At present there is no evidence to suggest that branches of the industry were ever established in this region, despite the fact that it contained the important samian potteries at Rheinzabern and their off-shoots at Ittenweiler and Heiligenberg. It is certain that the Cologne manufacturers had a substantial share of the markets in this zone and several of their signed statuettes have occurred at the following places: (i) Mainz, two by Alfius-Manlianus and one by Servandus;
(ii) Bingerbrück, one example of the latter's work was found, and
(iii) Worms, one by Lucius.

(1) G. Behrens, Katalogue West-und-Süddeutscher Altertumssammlungen IV, Bingen (1920) pp.56 ff., Taf.21;
G. Behrens, Mainzer Zeitschrift X (1915) p.98 ff.

REGION 3. (Map 14)

This region is bounded on the north and east by the limes of Upper Germany, on the west by the Rhine and on the south by the Danube. It is convenient here to consider it as a separate region as it embraces the military zone and the agri decumates annexed by the Flavian emperors between A.D.74 and 90 to shorten the communications between the Rhine and the Danube armies. As the result of the disastrous barbarian invasions all this trans-Rhenish territory was abandoned by the Romans at some time between the years 260 and 270, and was never regained. It is probable that the trade in clay statuettes began after the initial date of the annexation of this territory and did not continue after it was finally lost.

There is practically no evidence of any potteries in this region which produced clay statuettes. In describing the material found on the site of a pottery works in front of the north gate of Nida (Heddernheim), Welcker has drawn attention to six fragmentary statuettes found there, five of which were in white clay and one of yellowish colour. The former, he considered, were not made locally, but the latter, because of the fabric and the much blurred detail due to faulty moulding (a waster ?) he suggested may have been made in the kilns at Nida.⁽¹⁾ According to the compilers of the Tabula Imperii Romani

(1) R. Welcker, "Die Fundstücke aus der römischen Töpferei vor dem Nordtore von Nida (Heddernheim);" Mitteilungen über Römische Funde in Heddernheim IV (1907) p.143.

(Moguntiacum Sheet) there was also a pottery works which produced clay statuettes at Friedberg (Hessen) to the north-east of Nida but this is considered now to be extremely doubtful.⁽¹⁾

Clay statuettes are particularly plentiful in the vicinity of the Taunus sector of the limes. Here the products of the Cologne industry are well represented, and several bear the names of the makers who are known to have worked in that city. For example statuettes of Servandus have been found at Wimpfen,⁽²⁾ Zugmantel,⁽³⁾ Heddernheim⁽⁴⁾ and Rinsheim;⁽⁵⁾ others of Vindex and Lucius at

(1) Tabula Imperii Romani, Moguntiacum Blatt M 32 (Römisch-germanische Kommission Frankfurt 1940) p.21 under Friedberg (Kr. Friedberg, Hessen) 50/8 "Terrakottenfabrik".

This was included on the authority of Schumacher who provided no further information cf. K. Schumacher, Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit Bd.5 (1911) 381. Consultation with Dr. Franz Josef Hassel of the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum at Mainz yielded no further information and suggests that Schumacher was mistaken in this, as also in the case of a "Terrakottenfabrik" at Bornheim near Bonn (see Region 1, Zone 1b, footnote No.1).

(2) H. Aubin, "Der Rheinhandel in Römischer Zeit" in Bonner Jahrbuch 130 (1925), p.25, Abb.9.

(3) Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (1939) pp.6-11.

(4) G. Wolff, "Das Gräberfeld an der römischen Feldbergstrasse" Heddernheim IV (1907) Taf.VI, p.29; ibid V (1911) Taf.IV.

(5) Der Obergermanisch-raetische Limes der Römerreiches, Strecke 7-9 Taf.23.

Zugmantel,⁽¹⁾ and one by Ianetus at Rückingen.⁽²⁾

The placing of clay statuettes in graves as offerings to the dead or to the gods of the underworld appears to have been a common practice in the civitas Tauensium centred at Nida (Heddernheim).⁽³⁾ Among the various types which have been recorded mention may be made of the following. Standing figures of Jupiter, Mercury, Fortuna and Venus, a seated Minerva, a bust of a woman who wears the turban-like cap typically worn by matronae of the Cologne region, and a bust of a smiling boy of the so-called "Risus" type. Another well known type is the mother-goddess who has a dog seated on her lap;⁽⁴⁾ this was associated with a coin of Hadrian and pottery of Hadrian-Antinine date. Small models of birds and animals have also been found in the graves in this region, such as cockerels, doves and a ram. It cannot be claimed, however, that this custom was confined to this region for it was widespread throughout the regions covered by the present survey.

- (1) Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (1939) p.9; (our FIG.31)
5 Bericht der Römischen-Germanisch Kommission (1909) 56,6.
- (2) Der Obergermanisch-raetische Limes der Römerreiches 22-29
 No.2, Taf.5,1.
- (3) G. Wolff, op cit.
- (4) A well-known type produced in the Mosel factories,
 e.g., our FIGS.119; 123; 126.

Not many of the statuettes found in this region are securely dated so that it is difficult to recognize the latest types. What is probably one of the latest was found at Jagsthausen; this is the figure of an unbearded dwarf-like male personage garbed in a hooded cloak and holding a scroll in his right hand.⁽¹⁾ Statuettes of this type were definitely made in the potteries at Trier where they are particularly plentiful.⁽²⁾ Single examples also occurred in the region now under survey, e.g., at Niederbieber,⁽³⁾ Wiesbaden,⁽⁴⁾ Heddernheim⁽⁵⁾ and Rottweil.⁽⁶⁾ Another found in a grave at Cologne provides a clue to the date of this type of statuette, for it was accompanied by a Rhenish motto beaker of early third-century type, and a coin of Julia Domna (193-217).⁽⁷⁾ Unfortunately the condition of

- (1) Haug-Sixt, Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs, p.644, No.610 (1914); Archaeologia Cantiana LXVI (1953) p.90, pl.I; Robert Koch, Kunst der Römerzeit, Heilbronner Museum Hefte i (1971) Abbs.60-61. "F. Krapf bei der Ausgrabung des Graberfeldes in Grab 72 gefunden". Light grey clay. Height 13 cms. In private collection. (FIG.72)
- (2) Trierer Berichte über des Geschäftsjahr 1933 in Trierer Zeitschrift 9 (1934) Taf.XXII 8a-8b (a mould); E. Gose, Der Tempelbezirk des Lenus Mars in Trier, pp.51-54. Taf.35, Nos.9-16.
- (3) Niederbieber (Kr.Neuwied) Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.E 1805.
- (4) A. Riese, Festschrift zur Feier des 25 Jahrigen Bestehens des Städtischen Historischen Museums in Frankfurt-a-M, Taf.IV, 9-10 and p.173. Inv.No.5443.
- (5) Heddernheim ibid Inv.No.15315.
- (6) Haug-Sixt op cit p.173 No.155.
- (7) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande p.74 R-G Museum Köln Inv.No.2909.

the coin is not recorded, so the length of time spent in circulation prior to the burial cannot now be estimated. Neither can we know how long it took for the statuette to pass from the factory into the hands of the purchaser, nor how long it remained in his possession before it reached the grave. Taking into account the date of the associated beaker, its fragile nature, and that of the statuette it is possible that not a very long time elapsed between their manufacture and final burial, hence the date may lie somewhere in the period covered by the second and third century. A similar date may be suggested for the example from Jagsthausen,⁽¹⁾ a suggestion confirmed by the discovery of the one at Niederbieber,⁽²⁾ for that fort was not established until towards the end of the second century.

REGION 4.

This region comprises France (ZONE 4a) with the exception of those districts previously included in Region 2 (Zone 2a and 2b); and also contains the central plateau of Switzerland, the old territory of the Helvetii (Zone 4b).

The centres of production in this region have been described in a previous section of this thesis. The comprehensive lists compiled by Blanchet and appended to his two scholarly essays at the beginning of the present century amply confirmed that clay statuettes were extremely popular in this region. Many more have been discovered since that time and supplement the evidence set forth by Blanchet. As the demand

(1) Haug-Sixt loc cit. (Our FIG:72)

(2) Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.E1805.

increased a flourishing industry was established and the distribution was organized by traders who received their supplies of statuettes from the Central Gaulish and allied factories.

It is also apparent that the distributors of the Rhine-Mosel statuettes did not provide any serious competition for they seem to have had a very insignificant share of the trade. It appears that their trade penetrated only into the markets situated along the northern fringes of this region where their statuettes are present with others attributable to the more southerly centres of production; for example, statuettes from both centres have occurred at Boulogne and Tournai, which indicate marginal markets.

Broadly speaking the map pattern of the overall distribution in France does not reveal any significant trends. The reason for this is that the clay statuettes and the places where they have been found are too numerous, and are not confined to any one area. Accordingly the distribution maps here are concerned with certain groupings which appear to be exceptional and therefore invite comment. It is noteworthy that clay statuettes are virtually absent in the extreme south of Gaul, in Gallia Narbonensis. The reasons for this are obscure. Perhaps in that highly romanized and sophisticated society there was no demand for these objects as cheap copies of the more expensive metal and stone statuettes were not needed by the more affluent population. On the other hand the clay statuettes are a symptom of provincial Celtic culture and Narbonensis lay outside the focus of this.

Several statuettes which have been found at various places in Gaul are of a female personage sometimes standing against a cippus or some sort of rectangular background. (Map 5)⁽¹⁾

(1) FIGS. 48-49

These are distinguished by the ornamentation in relief which adorns the background or the body of the personage who seems to be a version of Venus. This ornamentation normally takes the form of various symbols, such as stars, crescents, rosettes, a dot within a circle, concentric circles, or plain circular studs.

Examples of this type are illustrated by Tudot, pl.24, pp.23 and 33, which he described as "Divinités gauloises étrangères a l'Allier". Coutil, in his study, localized the centre of the industry somewhere in the territory occupied by the Ebuovices, the Vellocasses and the Lexovii, that is, the area corresponding with modern Normandy. Jullian pointed out that the type was archaic and primitive in style, and was possibly one of the earliest in the series of clay statuettes in Gaul. Although the greatest incidence of finds of this type is in the west, he suggested that though the cult was local to that region, the statuettes were made in the Allier or elsewhere, possibly because one was found in the kilns at Vichy. Reinach, on the other hand, pointed out that there was also proof of the existence of officinae at Reze and Treguennec: hence it was unnecessary to suppose that the main centre of production was in the Allier. He thought that the people of north-west Gaul wished to conserve their local art-type and preferred their statuettes to be in this primitive style bearing ornamentation which was already out of date in the first century A.D.

If, on the other hand, some officina in the Allier was the sole source of statuettes of this type, the map pattern of the distribution which emerges from this inquiry suggests that they were exported down the Loire into Brittany and northwards into Normandy.

This type of statuette is also represented by three examples which were found in graves in the extensive cemetery in the Grand Jardin

district of Lisieux (Noviomagus), the capital of the civitas of the Lexovii in the modern province of Normandy.⁽¹⁾ It was here that a grand total of 150 clay statuettes was recovered from the many graves. Many of these were of Venus and of the dea nutrix suckling either one or two infants, as also cocks, doves and at least one dog.

Unfortunately the discovery of this important group was made over a century ago and now it is impossible to reconstruct the grave groups; so we must console ourselves with the fact that the funerary customs of the Lexovii created a high demand for clay statuettes of various types and Lisieux must have been the main centre of the market.

Normandy is also distinguished for the number of Romano-Celtic temples which are concentrated around Rouen (Rotomagus).⁽²⁾ (Map 15) Of the fourteen sites which have been identified there are nine where clay statuettes are included in the assemblages of votive objects. The predominant type is that of Venus (our Type I) and to a lesser extent that of the dea nutrix suckling either one or two infants, but both types occurred together at three of these temples, which is not unusual throughout the whole Gaulish region.⁽³⁾ At Harfleur, however, ^{pu} the dea nutrix type did not occur with Venus who here was associated with a statuette of a bull.⁽⁴⁾

There is also a remarkable number of sites which have yielded clay statuettes in quantity in the province of Brittany, formerly

(1) Congrès archéologique de France XXXVII^e Session à Lisieux (1870) p.56 ff., figs.60-62 inclusive.

(2) L. de Vesly, Les Fana ou petits temples gallo-romains de la région normande (Rouen, 1909).

(3) ibid pp.114-115.

(4) ibid pp.146-147, Fig.40.

Armorica, now comprising the modern departments of the Ille-de-Vilaine, Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère and Morbihan. An examination of these statuettes reveals that those of Venus (our Type I) and the dea nutrix were the most popular and have occurred together on single sites. A noteworthy series of clay statuettes occurs in the region around the Gulf of Morbihan, particularly in certain Breton Megaliths, e.g., at Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys, Arzon⁽¹⁾ and Locmariaquer.⁽²⁾ At these sites both Venus and the dea nutrix occur together. They were also similarly associated in the remains of a small square building excavated by Miln at Carnac in Morbihan, presumably as votives at a temple.⁽³⁾ Another deposit of both types in quantity, almost certainly votive in character, was recovered from the Marais de Treguennec near Penmarc'h (Finistère).⁽⁴⁾

An enormous number of fragments of clay statuettes many of which represented those of the Venus and dea nutrix types were found as a single deposit at Saint-Jean-Trolimon, Tronoën (Finistère). The presence of these is difficult to explain and in the absence of more precise details of their association with the site where they were found, any conclusions to be drawn must remain highly conjectural.

(1) Catalogue de Musée archéologique James Miln-Zacharie le Rouzic pp.88-89.

(2) Rosenzweig, Répertoire archéologique du Morbihan p.7.

(3) James Miln, Fouilles faites à Carnac Morbihan (Paris 1877) "Les Bossenne Butte D"; for general description cf. pp.143-144; also p.145, pl.IV, Venus statuettes of our Types IA and IB; p.147, pl.V, deae nutrices; p.149, pl.VI, Venus statuettes. Coins of Marcus Aurelius, Gallienus, Tetricus, Constans and Magnentius also found, Revue archéologique (1875) II, p.264.

(4) Bulletin monumental (1856) p.447.

There is a slight chance that these statuettes formed a consignment destined for some distribution depot in that part of Armorica, and suffered damage in transit so that the unfortunate trade discarded and buried them. On the other hand they could have been ex votoes which were buried after the desecration of a temple situated somewhere in the vicinity, the site of which still awaits discovery. In assuming that a temple did exist, it has been suggested that the most popular ex votoes were clay statuettes and so many were proffered at the temple that it became overcrowded, with no space for others which were still arriving in considerable numbers, the decision was made to dispose of the earlier gifts of that kind. If this really happened then it is reasonable to think that this would have been carried out with full observance of religious rites. These could have included the ritual breakage of the statuettes to devitalize them followed by burial in a single deposit in the place where they were found.

Another possibility is that the whole deposit is debris from an officina which produced clay statuettes in the immediate neighbourhood. But as no moulds were present and the kilns have not been found, this cannot be proved. It seems certain that clay statuettes were made in Brittany for a kiln containing eighty examples was found at Treguenec but with the exception of three only, the others are now lost.⁽¹⁾

At Bolards near Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d'Or) clay statuettes were found in considerable quantity in an area which may have been the

(1) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée des antiquités Nationales, XXIV^e Supplément à "Gallia" (Paris 1972) p.38 and footnote 23.

forum of the Roman town.⁽¹⁾ The most numerous are those of the deae nutrices suckling either one or two infants stamped with the name of the maker Pistillus, and several clay aediculae of various types containing figures of Venus, as also other statuettes of Venus accompanied by a small child. These are all of Central Gaulish manufacture and belong to the second century. Although the collection was found not very far from the site of two sanctuaries, one of which was a mithraeum, no trace of a temple was found in the immediate vicinity of the find-spot: hence, it is more likely that the site of a shop may be indicated.

Zone 4b. (Map 16)

The inference to be drawn from the distribution of statuettes found in Switzerland is that the trade penetrated into that region from Central Gaul via the basin of the Doubs to Besancon whence two routes were available. The first went direct to Basle and followed the south bank of the Rhine to Windisch (Vindonissa). The second route went in a south-westerly direction to Lausanne to join the road to Windisch via Solothurn and Olten, which presumably carried the trade to Bern and Allmendigen.

A study of the various types of clay statuettes found in Switzerland suggests that most came from Central Gaul. One fragment of a seated mother-goddess found at Lostorf, near Olten, certainly came from that centre for it bears the name of Pistillus, presumably of Autun, whose signed products have a fairly widespread distribution in Gaul.

(1) E. Thevenot, La Station Antique des Bolards à Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d'Or) Gallia VII (1949) fascicule 1 Extrait (1950) p.315, and p.324. Plan of site Fig.2.

REGION 5. (Map 17)

This region includes those countries which lie to the south of the Roman frontier of the Danube, namely, Southern Bavaria, Austria and Hungary. Here the province of Raetia must have served as the link for the transit of the trade between the manufacturing centres of Lower Germany and Gaul to the Danube provinces of Noricum and Pannonia.

In Austria, Salzburg (Iuvavum) is distinguished by the number of clay statuettes found there. This led Blanchet to suggest that there may have been a local officina in the vicinity.⁽¹⁾ If this is correct then the predominance of types of statuettes attributable to a Central Gaulish source of manufacture should mean either the purchase of moulds by a local potter, or the migration of a maker of statuettes from one of the centres in that region. But the suggestion must remain an open question for the sites of the kilns belonging to this supposed officina have not been found in the vicinity of Salzburg. Until this evidence is forthcoming therefore, it is better to assume that this group of statuettes at Salzburg arrived on the local market as exports from one of the Central Gaulish factories.

Gauting in Bavaria is one centre which may have received supplies from the Central Gaulish factories. As Bratannanum it developed as a market town where the road from Salzburg to Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicum) joined the road to Kempten (Cambodunum). Excavations

(1) A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines de terre cuite de la Gaule Romaine (Supplément) Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1901) p.213.

have shown that part of the town was destroyed by a fire which, according to the associated coinage, seems to have occurred during the reign of Hadrian.

One of the destroyed buildings was evidently the depot of a pottery trader (negotiator artes cretariae) because two hundred and fifty pottery jugs, whole or in fragments, were recovered from its ruins. With these were twelve pipe-clay statuettes of Venus, all of the same well known Central Gaulish type.⁽¹⁾ Their presence, therefore, is highly significant for they obviously had arrived in Gauting before the fire, whence it follows that statuettes of this type must have been in production in the reign of Hadrian, and if as seems very possible they are truly imports from Central Gaul then clearly the trade had penetrated the markets in the region under discussion by that time.

If we assume that Central Gaul was the main source of supply for this region, the most likely route by which the trade penetrated into the provinces of Raetia and Noricum may well have been via Basle across North Switzerland to Bregenz (Brigantium) and thence to Salzburg and to Gauting.

In this region there was a demand for clay statuettes of various kinds for use as offerings to the dead. Two cemeteries where they were particularly plentiful were at Salzburg⁽²⁾ and at Karlstein near

(1) Hans-Jörg Kellner, Die Römer in Bayern (Suddeutscher Verlag, München 1971) pp.53 and 97, Abbs.17 and 49. (Our FIG.54)

Nearest parallels are a statuette from St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre and a mould from Toulon-sur-Allier officina, the latter signed PRISCVS X on the exterior. St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.Nos.28012 and 9753, respectively.

(2) M. Silber, Die Tonfiguren vom römischen Gräberfeld am Bürglstein in Salzburg, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien 56 (1926) pp.370-385.

Bad Reichenhall.⁽¹⁾ Several statuettes found in these cemeteries are of religious subjects, e.g., those of Minerva, Venus, Fortuna and the dea nutrix. The so-called portrait busts, the models of dogs, horses, doves and cockerels, however, do not fall easily into that category.⁽²⁾ A noteworthy type in this respect is that found in the cemetery at Salzburg, for it is quite certainly a copy in clay of the well known Graeco-Roman sculptured figure of the Spinario (Thorn-puller).⁽³⁾

- (1) M. v. Chlingensperg, Die römischen Brandgräber bei Reichenhall in Oberbayern (1896); Graves at Bregenz yielded three statuettes of dogs in the year 1864, Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde der K. und K. Zentralkommission für Kunst und historische Denkmale III (1909) p.98 ff. For Dea nutrix type cf. our FIGS.23-24.
- (2) For a fuller discussion of the significance of clay statuettes of these types see Section 7, pages 513-526.
- (3) Archaeologisch Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich (1881) V, Taf,VI, s.187.

REGION 6. (Maps 18-19-20 & Catalogue Part 6)

This region embraces the province of Britain. The most convenient method for the compilation of the catalogue of the clay statuettes found in Britain was to record the find-places under the modern counties. When this information was transferred to the maps it was realized that it did not reveal the pattern of the distribution as it was in Roman times, so it was re-cast in the framework of the Roman administration by dividing the province into three zones.

Zone 1, the south-eastern region which was under civilian administration and embraced London and the civitates of the Cantiaci, Catuvellauni, Trinivantes, Icenii, Regnenses and Atrebates.

Zone 2, the peripheral civitates which were also under civilian administration, namely those of the Dumnonii, Belgae, Durotriges, Silures, Demetae, Dobunni, Cornovii, Coritani, Parisi/; that part of the territory of the Brigantes which was not under military rule, and the Isles of Scilly.

Zone 3, the military regions of north Britain and the Welsh mountains.

It should be noted that the mid-first century material found at London, Colchester, Usk and Preston (Kent) is not included in this survey as it represents a distinctly earlier and separate phase in the distribution of statuettes in this province. It was also felt that it was more reasonable to include in Zone 2 those statuettes found in the settlements attached to the legionary forts at Caerleon, Chester and York because it is virtually certain that those places were civilian in character, and in any case the first two, situated as they were on the boundary of the military zone, may be regarded as

marginal. Finally, in using this method of recording it is necessary to bear in mind that the evidence obtained is conditioned by certain limitations.

- (1) The definition of the boundaries of the civitates is difficult and can be only conjectural.
- (2) The areas embraced by the civitates were not uniform in size, neither did they contain the same size of population, nor the same number of settlements within their confines.
- (3) Some civitates have been more extensively explored by archaeological excavation, with the result that the evidence could be misleading.

Having said this we are now in a much better position to assess the evidence derived from the comparative statistical data which have been produced for the three zones used in our inquiry.

The Dea Nutrix Types (Map 18)

Statistical Table 1.

The distribution of the dea nutrix types of statuettes reveals that about 70.6% of the total number found in the province is in Zone 1, and 27.5% in Zone 2. This difference in percentages plainly infers that the main concentration of these statuettes is in those districts nearest to Gaul, the source of manufacture, and the immediate homeland of the cult which they represented.

Turning to Zone 3 we find that these statuettes are absent from the military regions of the Welsh mountains and the Pennines, while only one example seems to have reached the northern frontier district of Hadrian's Wall, and as yet there is no record of one having been found further north. Although the latter occurred at Chesterholm and others at Chester, Caerleon, York and Leintwardine, all military sites, it should be noted that they were not found in the forts, but

in the vici attached to them. The inference to be drawn from this therefore, is that these statuettes were popular in the civilian districts of the province, and seem to have had little or no place in a purely military environment. Another example found at Aldborough does not conflict with this argument, for this, the cantonal capital of the Brigantes, whatever its origins, plainly became a civilian settlement.

It is, however, rather odd that although the cults of the matronae as expressed by a number of stone monuments were very popular with certain elements in the Roman army in Britain, the clay statuettes of the dea nutrix do not appear to have achieved the same measure of esteem with the military. One is therefore led to conclude that the cult these statuettes represented was somewhat specialised, and the strongly maternal characteristics displayed by the goddess in this guise makes it virtually certain that her worshippers were drawn from the female population in the civilian areas of the province.

STATISTICAL TABLE 1 (MAP 18) REGION 6 DEA NUTRIX

ZONE 1 36 examples = 70.6%

CANTIACI

(1) Canterbury	6
(2) Reculver	2
(3) Dover	3
(4) Brenley	2
(5) Snodland	1
(6) Cliffe	1
(7) Springhead	2
(8) Orpington	1

LONDON

(9) London	6
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REGNENSES

(10) Beauport Park	1
(11) Highdown Hill	1

ATREBATES

(13) Silchester	1
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CATUVELLAUNI

(14) Hambleden	1
(15) Verulamium	1
(16) Welwyn	1
(17) Ware	1
(18) Flitwick	1
(19) Arkesden	1

TRINOVANTES

(20) Braintree	1
----------------	---

ICENI

(21) Denver	1
(22) Brancaster	1

ZONE 2 14 examples = 27.5%

DUMNONII

(12) Exeter	1
-------------	---

CORITANI

(23) Margidunum	2
-----------------	---

DOBUNNI

(24) Cirencester	1
------------------	---

SILURES

(25) Caerleon	2
---------------	---

CORNOVII

(26) Leintwardine	1
-------------------	---

(27) Wroxeter	2
---------------	---

(28) Chester	1
--------------	---

BRIGANTES

(29) Aldborough	1
-----------------	---

(30) York	1
-----------	---

ISLES OF SCILLY

(32) Nor'nour	2
---------------	---

ZONE 3 1 example = 1.9%

(31) Chesterholm	1
------------------	---

OFF-SHORE SITE (not included in above)

(33) Galloper	1
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The Venus Types (Map 19)

Statistical Table II

The pattern of the distribution of these types reveals that they are far more numerous than any other type of clay statuette found in Britain. The proportions for Zones 1 and 2, that is, 70.7% and 19.2% respectively, are comparable with those for the dea nutrix types (see above) but unlike the latter, they are certainly more numerous in Zone 1, and are widely spread elsewhere throughout the province.

The distribution map also reveals that 9.2% occurs in the military zone of the north, and that the statuettes spread northwards in noticeably decreasing numbers as far as Hadrian's Wall. Only two examples seem to have reached places beyond that frontier, one of which was found at High Rochester, an Agricolan fort which was burnt down c.105 and was not reconstructed as a new outpost fort till Antonine times. The other example was found much further north at Murrills, a fort on the Antonine Wall, the vicus of which was burnt down c.160-170. Others have occurred at several places along the line of Hadrian's Wall, but the precise details of their discovery are not recorded. One certainly was found in the vicus of the fort at Chesterholm. It is noteworthy that the Venus types of statuettes in common with others of different types are absent from the highland zones of the Pennines and the mountains of Wales, where there are fewer vici, and very few of these have been adequately explored.

From the foregoing statistical survey we may conclude that the statuettes of Venus were very popular cult objects in the civilian districts of the province, particularly in those areas in close proximity to Gaul whence they were exported and the cult with which they were associated spread to Britain. Finally, although there is a lacuna in our knowledge concerning the precise relationships of those statuettes of Venus which penetrated into the northern frontier districts it is conceivable that their presence indicates civilian rather than military contexts.

STATISTICAL TABLE 2 (MAP 19) REGION 6 VENUS TYPES

ZONE 1 123 examples = 70.7%

CANTIACI

(1) Canterbury	2
(2) Reculver	1
(3) Richborough	2
(4) Eastry	1
(5) Dover	1
(6) Wye	1
(7) Teynham	1
(8) Rochester	1
(9) Chart Sutton	1
(10) Cooling	2
(11) Eccles	1
(12) Springhead	3
(13) St. Paul's Cray	1

LONDON

(14) London	45
-------------	----

REGNENSES

(15) Beauport Park	1
(16) Southwick	1
(17) Alfoldean	2
(18) Chichester	1
(19) Fishbourne	1
(20) Holt Down	1

ATREBATES

(21) Silchester	7
-----------------	---

CATUVELLAUNI

(32) Staines	1
(33) Hemel Hempstead	1
(34) Verulamium	5
(35) Flitwick	24
(36) Roxton	1
(37) Godmanchester	1

TRINOVANTES

(38) Colchester	5
(39) Canvey	1
(40) Wickford	1
(41) Guestingthorpe	1
(42) Hawkedon	2
(43) Scole	1

ICENI

(44) Hockwold	1
(45) Brampton	1

STATISTICAL TABLE 2 (MAP 19)

REGION 6 VENUS TYPES

ZONE 2 35 examples = 20.1%

BELGAE

(22) Winchester 2

(23) Clausentum 1

(25) Bawdrip 1

(26) Charterhouse/
Mendip 1

(27) Bath

DUROTRIGES

(24) Dorchester 1

DOBUNNI

(28) Cirencester 2

(29) Shakenoak 1

(30) Kenchester 1

CORITANI

(46) Margidunum

(47) Leicester 1

CORNOVII

(31) Leintwardine 1

(48) Wall 1

(49) Wroxeter 3

(50) Chester 1

SILURES

(51) Caerwent 2

(52) Caerleon 2

(53) Merthyr Tydfil 1

DEMETAE

(54) Carmarthen 1

BRIGANTES

(55) York 4

(56) Catterick 1

ISLES OF SCILLY

(68) Nor'nour 2

ZONE 3 16 examples = 9.2%

(57) Ribchester 1

(58) Maryport 1

(59) Carlisle 3

(60) Birdoswald 1

(61) Chesterholm 2

(62) Housesteads 1

(63) Chesters 3

(64) Corbridge 1

(65) South Shields 1

(66) High Rochester 1

(67) Mumrills 1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL TYPES OF STATUETTES

AND ALLIED PRODUCTS IN BRITAIN (Map 20)

Statistical Table 3

The proportions expressed as percentages of the total number of clay statuettes and allied products at present known to have been found in Britain reveals that 72.6% is in Zone 1; 19.7% in Zone 2 and 7.7% in Zone 3. From this it is clear that these objects are more numerous in Zone 1, particularly in London and the adjoining civitates of the Cantiaci and the Catuvellauni. The concentration of finds in these regions strongly implies that they were imported into the province mainly through the south-eastern ports, one of which must have been London which by that time had become the centre of a wide commerce with the continental ports and river systems.

Doubtless the excellent road systems facilitated the distribution in the territory of the Cantiaci, for the majority of the find-places are on, or close to the route of Watling Street and its various branches which linked the ports of East Kent via Canterbury with London. Compared with the other civitates embraced by Zone 1, the territory of the Catuvellauni was much larger in area. On the other hand it has fewer settlements where statuettes have been found although the percentage is comparable with that of the Cantiaci. In the present state of our knowledge it would be extremely rash to attach too much significance to this for future finds may well modify these figures one way or the other. It is more prudent therefore to point out that the statuettes must have arrived in Catuvellaunian territory from some external source of distribution. That it was London is virtually certain, for situated as it was actually on the southern boundary of that civitas it had direct access to the latter by means of Watling Street.

The percentage figures for each of the other civitates in Zone 1 are noticeably much lower than those for the above-mentioned districts, possibly because the former were not in such close proximity to the continent and were further away from the main trade route, which directed much of the distribution to the civitates of the Cantiaci and the Catuvellauni. In attempting to interpret the pattern of distribution in the civitas of the Regnenses it is tempting to assume that as there are several find-places strung out along the coastal belt between Hastings and Chichester, the statuettes arrived there direct from the continent rather than from some intermediate centre elsewhere in Britain such as the port of London. As the evidence for this is inconclusive it must be left an open question.

The statistical survey also reveals that the percentage of statuettes is considerably lower, and the find-places are less numerous and spaced more widely apart in Zone 2 compared with Zone 1. As both Zones were entirely under civilian administration it is necessary to provide an explanation for this apparent discrepancy. Two factors which may have conditioned the distribution are geography and demography. First, because Zone 1 was nearest to the continent, and secondly there may have been a higher percentage of the native population in that zone which had closer cultural and religious ties with the continental peoples whose strong partiality for clay statuettes is well attested. It follows therefore, that their immediate neighbours in Britain (Zone 1) were influenced by this, with the result that a greater demand for clay statuettes was stimulated in Zone 1, and much less so in Zone 2.

Turning now to Zone 3, which was entirely military, we find that the percentage of statuettes is considerably lower than in the two civilian zones. Although the precise details concerning the discovery

of most of the statuettes in this zone are unrecorded, what evidence we do possess suggests that they were found in the vici attached to the forts and therefore may be ascribed to certain elements of the civilian population rather than the military.

Finally, when interpreting the pattern of distribution throughout the province of Britain it is important to bear in mind that as the distance from the main areas of concentration increases, it may not be the activities of traders which are indicated by the find-places, but the movements of immigrants or travellers who may have carried statuettes singly in their baggage.

STATISTICAL TABLE 3			(MAP 20)	REGION 6	ZONE 1
CANTIACI			REGNENSES		CATUVELLAUNI
(1) Canterbury	12	(23) Beauport Park	2	(55) Staines	1
(2) Reculver	3	(24) Hassocks	1	(56) Hambledon	1
(3) Richborough	9	(25) Brighton	2	(57) Verulamium	7
(4) Eastry	1	(26) Southwick	1	(58) Hemel- Hempstead	1
(5) Preston	1	(27) Alfoldean	2	(59) Welwyn	3
(6) Deal	1	(28) Highdown Hill	1	(60) Ware	1
(7) Dover	3	(29) Chichester	2	(61) Puckeridge	1
(8) Wye	2	(30) Fishbourne	1	(62) Arkesden	1
(9) Brenley	2	(31) Holt Down	1	(63) Great Chesterford	1
(10) Teynham	1	(32) Ashstead	1	(64) Flitwick	28+
(11) Rochester	1	ATREBATES		(65) Bedford	1
(12) Eccles	1	(33) Silchester	10	(66) Roxton	1
(13) Boughton- Monchelsea	1	(34) Lowbury Hill	1	(67) Godmanchester	1
(14) Chart Sutton	1	TRINOVANTES		(68) Wakerley	1
(15) Snodland	1	(43) Rawreth	1	ICENI	
(16) Cliffe	1	(44) Leigh-on-Sea	1	(69) Ixworth	1
(17) Cooling	2	(45) Leigh-Beck	1	(70) Hockwold	1
(18) Springhead	9	(46) Mucking	1	(71) Denver	1
(19) St. Paul's Cray	1	(47) Wickford	1	(72) Brampton	1
(20) Orpington	1	(48) Chelmsford	1	(73) Brancaster	1
(21) Cowden	1	(49) Braintree	1		
LONDON		(50) Colchester	9		
(22) London	80	(51) Guestingthorpe	1		
		(52) Hatcheston	1		
		(53) Hawkedon	2		
		(54) Scole	2		

STATISTICAL TABLE 3	(MAP 20)	REGION 6	ZONE 2
BELGAE		SILURES	
(35) Winchester	2	(80) Caerwent	3
(36) Clausentum	2	(81) Usk	1
(37) Box	1	(82) Caerleon	2
(38) Bath	1	(83) Merthyr Tydfil	1
(39) Charterhouse	2	(84) Llechfain	1
(40) Bawdrip	1	DEMETAE	
DUROTRIGES		(85) Carmarthen	1
(41) Dorchester	1	CORNOVII	
DUMNONII		(86) Leintwardine	2
(42) Exeter	1	(87) Wroxeter	7
CORITANI		(88) Shenstone	1
(74) Leicester	1	(89) Wall	1
(75) Margidunum	4	(90) Middlewich	1
DOBUNNI		(91) Chester	3
(76) Shakenoak	1	PARISI	
(77) Cirencester	6	(92) Brough-on-Humber	1
(78) Alcester	1	BRIGANTES	
(79) Kenchester	2	(93) York	7
SCILLIES		(94) Aldborough	1
(110) Nor'nour	5	(95) Catterick	1

STATISTICAL TABLE 3 (MAP 20) REGION 6 ZONE 3

MILITARY ZONE

(96)	Ribchester	1
(97)	Lancaster	1
(98)	Bootle	1
(99)	Maryport	1
(100)	Carlisle	3
(101)	Birdoswald	1
(102)	Housesteads	1
(103)	Chesters	3
(104)	Chesterholm	3
(105)	Corbridge	5
(106)	South Shields	1
(107)	High Rochester	1
(108)	Newstead	2
(109)	Mumrills	1

EXTRA-TERRITORIAL SITES (Not included in statistics)

NORTH SEA

(111)	Galloper Sands	1
(112)	Isles of Skye	1

STATISTICAL TABLE 3 (MAP 20) REGION 6

SUMMARY

ZONE 1		ZONE 2		ZONE 3	
London	80	Cornovii	15	Military Zone	25
Cantiaci	54	Dobunni	10		
Catuvellauni	49	Belgae	9		
Trinovantes	22	Brigantes	9		
Regnenses	14	Silures	7		
Atrebates	11	Coritani	5		
Iceni	5	Demetae	1		
		Durotriges	1		
		Dumnonii	1		
		Parisii	1		
		Isles of Scilly	5		
TOTALS	235		64		25
	72.6%		19.7%		7.7%

N.B. The items not included in the foregoing statistical survey of the whole series of clay statuettes and allied products found in Britain, are certain statuettes and animal vases from London, Colchester, Usk and Preston, all of which are of mid-first century date and therefore represent an earlier phase of importation into the province. Also excluded is the clay votive model of a bale of wool found in the Isle of Skye because it lies outside the military zone, and the statuette of the dea nutrix dredged up from the Galloper.

PROBABLE SOURCES OF MANUFACTURE OF VARIOUS TYPES
OF CLAY STATUETTES FOUND IN BRITAIN.

It must be stated at the outset that any attempt at assigning sources of manufacture to individual statuettes is severely restricted by the lack of any precise data derived from the spectrographic examination of a wide sampling of the fabrics of the Continental series of statuettes, particularly of those known to have been made at specific centres of the industry. Unfortunately this highly specialized research has never been undertaken, and as it is beyond our resources the only course left open to us is direct visual examination of the statuettes. Hence our only source of information derives from the types, the styles and the colour of the fabrics, as also the comparison of these features in the Continental series. If this is borne in mind in assessing the evidence we may now proceed with our investigation into the possible sources of manufacture of those statuettes found in Britain which are sufficiently complete for fairly certain identification.

An examination of these suggests that they may be conveniently classified under two headings, viz:-

- (1) Those statuettes which evidently arrived as imports from the Central Gaulish and allied centres, hereinafter referred to as the Gaulish trade.
- (2) Those statuettes which arrived as imports from the Rhine-Mosel centres of the industry.

One fact which emerges from this examination is that most of the statuettes found in Britain are almost certainly of Central Gaulish manufacture while very few are from the Rhine-Mosel centres. Of the latter nineteen only can be identified with any degree of certainty,⁽¹⁾ They include variants of the Venus type, mother-goddesses, the Roman deities Diana, Mercury, Luna and Bacchus, busts of various personages and a hooded dwarf which will now be discussed in that order.

Statuettes of mother-goddesses which may be ascribed to the more northern centres of the industry are not well represented in the British series, only four seated and one standing version being readily identifiable. One type which is at present unique in this country is a seated mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap. Numerous versions of this subject occur in the Rhine-Mosel region where the kilns and the moulds testify to the existence of officinae at Cologne, Trier and Bad Bertrich. Statuettes of this type do not seem to have been made in the Central Gaulish and allied factories and as their distribution is concentrated in the Rhine-Mosel region it is clear that the sole example found in Britain is a product of that industry.⁽²⁾

Another seated mother-goddess type is represented by a fragment which displays certain features present on more complete statuettes found in the Rhineland. All that has survived is the front of the

(1) For the distribution in Britain see Map 21.

(2) Part 6 A 1 Kent 1.

right side of the throne, the right hand of the goddess holding a patera and the folds of her robe covering her right leg. The throne has three square bosses or knobs spaced at intervals up the front of the side of the throne. These are featured on the thrones of certain versions of mother-goddesses, for example, in the Landesmuseum Bonn (Inv.No.A 1099) and in the Römisch-Germanischen Museum Cologne (Inv.No.340).

Another distinctive feature is that the folds of the robe between the legs of the matron are arranged in loops like the links of a chain or a figure of eight. This arrangement also occurs on the example from Bonn cited above, and two others from Bonn (Inv.Nos.A 300 and 15481) as also on a statuette of a seated goddess holding fruits, found at Cologne and another from Alttrier in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Some of the goddesses who are seated on thrones which have the boss decoration and who are attired in robes with the folds arranged in the manner described, also wear the distinctive turban-like cap of the Cologne-Bonn region. Hence in view of the style of the fragmentary example found in Britain it must also have been made in that region.⁽¹⁾

By far the most numerous of the statuettes of Venus found in Britain are those which conform to our Type I, while those of Types II - VI inclusive are rarities, mostly expressed by single examples. It is also very noticeable that statuettes of Type I are extremely numerous in the areas served by the Central Gaulish trade, whereas in those areas where the Rhine-Mosel dominated the markets there is a

(1) Part 6 A 1 Kent 2.

very marked decrease in numbers. As it is in the latter region where statuettes of Types II - VI are plentiful the inference is that they derive from some centre or other which served the local markets.

If this assumption is accepted then those few examples of statuettes of Types II - VI inclusive which found their way to Britain may be regarded as imports from the Rhine-Mosel officinae. The distribution of these types in this country is set forth below. For the complete documentation of each item see the catalogue in Part 6 of this thesis.

Type II. Part 6 A 2 Kent 12 and 18; London 6 and 22.

Type III. Part 6 A 2 Yorkshire 4.

Type IV. Part 6 A 2 Shropshire 1.

Type V. Part 6 A 2 Essex 1.

Type VI. Part 6 A 2 London 11.

Unclassified. A detached head from London (Part 6 A 2 London 7)

is closely similar to that of a Type I Venus found at Neuss.

cf. H. v. Petrikovits, "Novaesium Das Römische Neuss", Führer des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn Nr.3, p.90, Nr.68, Abb.31.

It is fortunate that we possess two examples of mother-goddesses in this country which bear inscriptions proving that they were made at Cologne by Servandus. One is the plinth clearly of a seated goddess,⁽¹⁾ the other a detached head of a matron who wears the distinctive turban-like cap of the Cologne-Bonn region.⁽²⁾ (FIGS.28 and 27 respectively)

(1) Part 6 A 1 Lancashire 1. For the inscription and its significance cf. Part 3 (b) and ibid (c) under Servandus.

(2) Part 6 A 1 Essex 1, and for inscription as above.

A small fragment showing the head and left shoulder of an infant evidently belongs to a type of statuette of a standing female personage wearing what appears to be a tunica over a skirt; the former is caught up by a double-corded girdle which is worn rather high. The garment is rolled down off the right shoulder to expose the right breast and arm. The matron holds a vase in her right hand at her side and supports a nude male infant facing to the front on her left forearm. This type was certainly made at Cologne by Vindex.⁽¹⁾ (FIG.31)

It is perhaps noteworthy that statuettes of deities of the Roman pantheon are rare in Britain. Bacchus is represented by a detached head of a statuette which is clearly identical in every respect to that of a more complete example found at Bingerbrück (Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15484) which bears the name of Servandus of Cologne. It is therefore virtually certain that the British example is his work and the date of manufacture was around the year 170.⁽²⁾ (FIG.66)

At present only one statuette of Mercury has been found in this country.⁽³⁾ It has been published but its present whereabouts is unknown. From the photographic illustration and a drawing made for the author of this thesis by Mr. W. Bulmer at Corbridge Museum the statuette lacked the head but was otherwise complete. Two features displayed by this figure are noteworthy and provide clues to its probable source of manufacture, namely, the purse which the god holds in his right hand, and the goat or ram which lies on the ground by his right

(1) Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (1939) p.7, Taf.5, 1-4.

Part 6 A 1 Monmouthshire 1.

(2) Part 6 B 2 Bedfordshire 1. (FIG.66)

(3) Part 6 B 4 Northumberland 1. (FIG.69)

leg. The purse is covered with small indentations very similar to those on the purse held by a Mercury statuette found near the site of the officina where clay statuettes were produced near the Hahnentor at Cologne where doubtless it was made.⁽¹⁾ (FIG.69)

The inclusion of the goat with a standing figure of Mercury in clay is noteworthy and perhaps significant, for Vertet has drawn attention to the fact that almost all of the statuettes of Mercury which were made in the Central Gaulish officinae do not have the animal.⁽²⁾ At Cologne on the other hand it does accompany Mercury and lies by his side. Two examples, now incomplete and evidently from different moulds have been found in the city, while another of a different style also came from the vicinity of the Hahnentor officina. In view of the foregoing evidence there seems a strong possibility that the statuette found in Britain is a product of Cologne.

The goddess Luna is represented in the British series of clay statuettes by an incomplete example which is closely similar but not identical to a complete statuette found at Nijmegen, and now in the Rijksmuseum G.M.Kam (Inv.No.XIX b,6).⁽³⁾ At present no other example is known either in the Rhineland or in Central Gaul. In our survey of the regional markets we have shown that the district of the

(1) Kölnner Jahrbuch für vor-und frühgeschichte 7 Band (1964)
p.19 ff., Taf.7, Nos.2-4 inclusive.

(2) H. Vertet, "Remarques sur l'aspect et les attributs du Mercure gallo-romain populaire dans le Centre de la Gaule" in Hommages à Albert Grenier, Collection Latomus LVIII (Bruxelles-Berchem 1962)
p.1612.

(3) Part 6 A 5 London 1. (FIG?56).

Lower Rhine was served to a great extent by the industry centred on Cologne,⁽¹⁾ hence lacking any parallels in Central Gaul we are prompted to assign the Nijmegen and the British examples to the former rather than the latter industry. (FIG.57)

The lower part of a statuette of a standing human personage from the knees down, wearing boots (caligae) and with a bow standing in an upright position by the left leg is tentatively identified as a representation of Diana.⁽²⁾ On the front of the hollow rectangular plinth are diagonal lines drawn in dark brown paint, a decorative feature which appears on the plinths of several statuettes in the Rhineland.⁽³⁾ The lower part of a similarly booted figure but without the bow and the painted decoration, which has been provisionally identified as Mars is now in the Landesmuseum Bonn (Inv.No.15636). The style of this piece so closely resembles that found in Britain that there seems justification for regarding the latter as a product of Cologne.

An interesting type of statuette, one of which has been found in Britain portrays a male personage of dwarf-like proportions who wears the native Gaulish hooded cloak (cucullus) and for that reason has been identified as the genius cucullatus.⁽⁴⁾ Although it is far from complete enough has survived for it to be matched exactly with an example at Trier where statuettes of this type are known to have been made, and where the main incidence of find-spots is situated.

(1) Part 5 Region 1, Zone 1 a.

(2) Part 6 A 3 London 1. (FIG.32)

(3) Part 1.

(4) Part 6 C Kent 1. (FIG.71)

The clay is red with a coating of whitish coloured slip which is a characteristic fabric of Trier.⁽¹⁾

A bust of a bare shouldered boy with a chubby face and richly curled hair wreathed with what appear to be grapes, and wearing a simple necklace with a knot of lunar shape or a pendant of that form, is probably the infant Bacchus.⁽²⁾ The bust is closely paralleled by a few found in the temple area at Dhronnecken.⁽³⁾ An identical example from Alttrier has been regarded by Dheedene as a product of a workshop in the locality of that village.⁽⁴⁾ A slightly different version is represented by the front half of a mould found on the site of a kiln with other moulds for various types of statuettes at Carden (Kreis Cochem) on the Mosel.⁽⁵⁾ The clay of which the British example is made is visually the same as the local fabric of Trier. It is therefore virtually certain that this bust was made in one of the officinae situated in that part of the Mosel valley.

Another bust of a boy, wearing a garment secured on the right shoulder by a circular brooch, is mounted on a moulded circular pedestal and is very similar to one found in the temple area at

(1) S. Loeschke, Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu Trier Heft 2 Taf.21, No.4, p.91.

(2) Part 6 D London 1. Our Type VI.

(3) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier 1901) p.76, Taf.XI, 15-17.

(4) J. Dheedene, "Alttrier - Un atelier de figurines en terre cuite ?" in Helenium I (1961) pp.221-222, fig.18.

(5) Bonner Jahrbuch 136/7 (1932) pp.297 and 334; ibid 146 (1941); Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.39,1185.

Gusenburg.⁽¹⁾ They both rise from the midst of what may be stylized petals of a flower. This type is rare so that it is very difficult to determine its source of manufacture, but in view of the carefully moulded base which is unlike the domed plinths of the series of busts made in Central Gaul, and the presence of the one in the Mosel region there is a strong possibility that this type is a product of the Rhine-Mosel industry.

The incomplete bust of a personage wearing a hooded cloak (cucullus)⁽²⁾ which we have classified as Type 9 in the short series found in Britain, is very similar in style to an example found at Trier although the latter is in red clay and the former is white.⁽³⁾ Instead of the small flat disc which is usually attached to the front of the pedestal there is a swelling or roughly shaped boss. As the different busts produced in the Central Gaulish workshops are invariably dome-shaped while many from the Rhine-Mosel are more usually reel-shaped with sometimes several mouldings and the British example has the latter type, it is tentatively ascribed to the latter industry.

Turning now to the various types of statuettes found in Britain which are identifiable as products of the Central Gaulish industry, it is evident that those of the dea nutrix present no difficulty in that respect. First, the basket chairs which are so characteristic of the whole series were never featured in the long series of seated

(1) Part 6 D London 2. Our Type 5. (FIG.83).

(2) Part 6 D Kent 1. Our Type 9. (FIG.88).

(3) S. Loeschke, op cit Heft 2, p.168, Taf.22, 10.

mother-goddesses produced in the Rhine-Mosel officinae.

Secondly, several moulds for the deae nutrices have been found at the sites of the officinae in the district of the Allier, for example, at Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ Lary and La Forêt) and Vichy.⁽¹⁾ Hence it is virtually certain that with one exception all the examples found in Britain were made in that area. The sole exception clearly differs from the others for the weave of the basketry of the chair is more realistically represented.⁽²⁾ As chairs in this style are exclusive to the statuettes of the deae nutrices which bear the name of Pistillus it is reasonable to think that the statuette which displays his distinctive style of chair should be an example of his work and was probably made at Autun (Saône-et-Loire) where it is now believed his officina was situated.⁽³⁾ (FIGS 119 and 131)

We have already shown that certain types of Venus statuettes, namely, Types II - VI inclusive are, because of their styles, of Rhine-Mosel origin. Therefore, bearing in mind that we can rely only on direct visual observation without the advantage of spectrographic examinations of the clays used, our Types I A-B appear to be Central

- (1) Moulds found at Toulon-sur-Allier St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.Nos. 27954 (two examples), 7281, 28180, 28137. A statuette found in a kiln at La Forêt cf. Tudot op cit pl.26 a and d. Another mould Inv.No.25443, and one signed Priscus are probably from Vichy.
- (2) John Brent, Canterbury in the Olden Time pp.40-41, pl.6, No.5; Archaeological Journal I p.281; ibid L, pp.282-3. For the inscription cf. Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, No.1355.
- (3) H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun Collections du musée Rolin Autun pl.1 and pl.2, pp.72-76 for discussion of the work and possible site of the officina of Pistillus.

Gaulish. With Type VII, however, we are on more certain ground for the sole example found in London is very distinctive and certainly corresponds very closely with a well defined group concentrated in the north-western provinces of France.⁽¹⁾ Because of this some scholars have suggested that this type with its several variants may have been a speciality of some unknown officina situated either in Brittany or Normandy.⁽²⁾ On the other hand as two identical examples of this general type have been found at Toulon-sur-Allier⁽³⁾ perhaps the concentration of this distinctive type in north-west Gaul may be indicative of the pattern of trade in these statuettes from that Central Gaulish centre.

Type VIII is represented by a single example found at Southwark (London), for which there is an exact parallel found in the Allier district.⁽⁴⁾ Although the latter appears to be the only example of its type and therefore unique in the Central Gaulish series and has not occurred at the northern centres, it is reasonable to attribute it to one of the officinae at Toulon-sur-Allier or perhaps somewhere else in that district.

Although Types I A-I B are the most numerous of all the statuettes of Venus found in Britain two examples only bear the names of

(1) See Part 6 A 2 London 21. (FIG.49)

(2) See Part 5 Region 4 for the information concerning the supposed sites of the officina where Rextugenus may have worked, and where Venus Type VII may have been produced.

(3) Two statuettes of Venus Type VII found at Toulon-sur-Allier, St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.7275 and 9746. cf. our FIG.48 (Allier).

(4) See Part 6 A 2 London 38, Fig.No

modellers which are known in Central Gaul, namely, Ioppillo and Teti. The former worked at Toulon-sur-Allier⁽¹⁾ and his name is stamped on the back of the tunica of a Venus found at Verulamium,⁽²⁾ while the latter's name appears stamped in relief on the plinth of a statuette of this type found in London.⁽³⁾ Only the plinth now survives but the attribution to a statuette of our Type I B is proved by a more complete statuette stamped with the same name in the same style of lettering and in the same position on the plinth, found at Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme).⁽⁴⁾ This name is otherwise unknown in Central Gaul but it is a fair assumption that it belonged to a modeller who worked either at Lezoux or at some other centre in that part of the province.

Of the statuettes of Minerva only two are complete enough for their source of manufacture to be determined with some degree of certainty.⁽⁵⁾ They are identical to a type produced at Vichy where a

(1) See Part 2 C under Ioppillus for a fuller discussion of the work of that modeller.

(2) Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. XI, R.E.M. Wheeler and T.V. Wheeler, Verulamium a Belgic and two Roman Cities (London, 1936) p.203, pl.LXI, 3.

(3) See Part 6 A 2 London 31.

(4) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.65156.

(5) See Part 6 A 4, 5. Caerwent; Part 6 A 4, 10. Wakerley.

a mould has been found,⁽¹⁾ hence there are strong reasons for regarding them as Central Gaulish products. Other deities of the Roman pantheon are not well represented in Britain. There are two statuettes of Apollo both of which are in a style not present in the repertoire of the Rhine-Mosel series.⁽²⁾ They are, however, closely paralleled by examples found at St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier), Autun and Pupillin (Jura).⁽³⁾ A mould for a statuette of Apollo closely similar but not quite identical in style found at Vichy⁽⁴⁾ makes it virtually certain that the two examples found in Britain are Central Gaulish. At present statuettes of Jupiter have not been found in Britain but there are two examples of Hercules. One is represented by a detached head in full Classical style made of black clay which should indicate a source of manufacture in the Gironde district where the local deposits of grey and black clays were used.⁽⁵⁾ The other example of Hercules is complete and is made of white clay, but as it was associated with other statuettes of various types it

- (1) Tudot, op cit pl.37, St. Germain Museum Inv.No.25492 probably from Vichy. There are also two identical statuettes from Vichy in Moulins Museum Inv.Nos.5.2.134 and 5.2.135 and a mould Inv.No.5.2.156.
- (2) See Part 6 B 1, Hatcheston, Suffolk and Bedford, Bedfordshire.
- (3) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28019 Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre; Inv.No.32909 Pupillin (Jura); Musée Rolin Autun Inv.No.294 Autun (Saône-et-Loire). (FIG.64).
- (4) A mould found at Vichy is in Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.2.153.
- (5) See Part 6 B 3-2 found at Deal, Kent.

will be more convenient to defer our comments on its source of manufacture until we deal with the group in its entirety, see below.⁽¹⁾

The Celtic goddess Epona is represented in the British collection by a single fragment⁽²⁾ which is closely matched by a more complete example found at Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier)⁽³⁾ and there are variants also from the region which display similar styles. It is noteworthy that the few statuettes of the goddess found in the Rhine-Mosel region are quite different from those of Central Gaul which suggests that the British example is a product of the latter region.⁽⁴⁾

The busts of female personages, Types 1 - 4 inclusive, are unparalleled in the series produced in the Rhine-Mosel officinae but are well represented in Central Gaul. Those of our Type 1 have been found at Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre and at Vichy;⁽⁵⁾ Type 2 certainly at Pourcain and possibly at Vichy;⁽⁶⁾ Type 3 has a possible Vichy provenance⁽⁷⁾ while Type 4 has certainly been found at

(1) See Part 6 B 3-1 found at Colchester. (FIG.68).

(2) See Part 6 A for this statuette of Epona found at Caerwent (Monmouthshire). (FIGS.59-60).

(3) Tudot op cit pl.35 (Champ Lary); also an example from La Tourelle near Quimper (Finistère) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.75823; also (FIG.61) from Autun.

(4) R. Magnen, Épona (Éditions Delmas 1953) pls.13-15 inclusive for statuettes of Epona from Baarlo (Holland), Boppard, Bonn and Mainz.

(5) Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre, a detached head of a bust Type 1 is in St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28058; and Inv.No.28091 from Vichy.

(6) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.28058 and 25484 from Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre and Vichy (?), respectively.

(7) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.25484, 28055 and 27977, respectively, Vichy (?), Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre and Toulon-sur-Allier.

Clermont-Ferrand and at Banassac.⁽¹⁾ In view of this evidence the examples of the foregoing types of busts found in Britain must therefore be Central Gaulish.

The busts of male juveniles, Types 7 and 8 are evidently Central Gaulish. The style of the former is comparable with a number of similar heads of juveniles found in that region, and the single British example is matched exactly by one found in the extensive Roman cemetery at Lisieux (Calvados) where 150 statuettes all of Central Gaulish origin had been deposited as grave goods.⁽²⁾ The type of bust which portrays a bald-headed smiling boy who has been identified for convenience as "Risus", our Type 8, has a wide-spread distribution in the regions we have discussed in the foregoing Market Survey (see Part 5). This in our view merely indicates the pattern of trade and popularity of the subject, and as moulds for busts of this precise type have been found in the Allier district and not in the Rhine-Mosel region there seems to be every reason for regarding this type as a speciality of the Central Gaulish officinae.⁽³⁾

Exact parallels have not been traced for the four different types of statuettes which portray youths or boys standing either completely or nearly nude holding either a bird or fruits of various kinds in their arms. Only the one from Cowden (Kent) is complete enough for the style to be examined in some detail.⁽⁴⁾ The head

(1) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.25484 (Vichy ?); 28118 Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme); Banassac (Lozere) 19612.

(2) Congres archéologique de France XXXVII^e Session à Lisieux (1870) p.62, fig.

(3) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.27978 (Toulon-sur-Allier); 28092 (Vichy) and also a mould from Toulon-sur-Allier Inv.No. 28156. Part 6 D 4 York 1 and 2; London 3.

(4) See Part 6 E 4.

fortunately has survived to reveal the pose slightly inclined to the left, the facial expression with its simpering smile, the style of the hair, the modelling of the nose and the treatment of the eyes, all characteristic features of the work produced by the Central Gaulish modellers.

The three examples of the "Thorn-puller" (Spinario) found in London may be attributed with confidence to the Central Gaulish industry.⁽¹⁾ One of these is clearly in the style of Tiberius as shown by his moulds found at Toulon-sur-Allier.⁽²⁾ The presence of a base for one of these statuettes with pieces of other statuettes of different types in the remains of a potter's establishment at Banassac can at present be only regarded as circumstantial evidence of an industry for no moulds were found.⁽³⁾

The group of seated and reclining male personages found in a grave at Colchester (Essex) includes one of the latter types which is closely paralleled by one found at Clermont-Ferrand.⁽⁴⁾ There is also a detached head from Autun in the same caricatured style very similar to one of the other Colchester reclining figures.⁽⁵⁾ At present an exact

(1) See Part 6 F 1-3 inclusive.

(2) See Part 6 F 3, British Museum Inv.No.83/5-9, 12.

(3) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.19614, a base of a statuette of the Thornpuller found at Banassac (Lozère).

(4) T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum Nos.1127-1136 inclusive. The reclining figure No.1136 is closely similar to a statuette of the same type found at Clermont Ferrand. St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28112.

(5) Musée Rolin Autun Inv.No.26, comparable with Colchester Nos.1134-1135.

parallel has not been traced for the statuette of Hercules which was associated with this group, but as the style of the hair, the prominently projecting ears and the way the eyes are indicated, are common characteristics of the statuettes found with it, there seems little doubt that all were the work of the same modeller.⁽¹⁾ As the associated pottery is in the ware produced at Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat it seems reasonable to think that even if the statuettes were not made at that centre, another officina in that part of the Allier district produced them.

A fragment found at Great Chesterford (Essex) is the only representative of a type of statuette of a cavalryman seated astride a horse, bearing a circular shield on his left arm and holding his right arm upraised as if in salute.⁽²⁾ This type is unknown in the Rhine-Mosel series but a few examples have been found at Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre, Clermont Ferrand, Les Bolards (Côte d'Or) and Tronoën (Finistère),⁽³⁾ while a mould for a similar cavalryman but without a shield has also been found at Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre.⁽⁴⁾ In view of this evidence it is virtually certain that the British example was made in one of the Allier officinae.

The statuettes of horses either singly or yoked in pairs⁽⁵⁾ are

(1) See Part 6 B 3.

(2) See Part 6 H.

(3) St. Germain Museum Inv. Nos. 28046 (Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre); 28115 (Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme)) and Tronoën (Finistère).

(4) St. Germain Museum Inv. No. 28045 a mould from Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre.

(5) See Part 6 J 2, 1-5 inclusive.

quite unlike the horses produced in the more northern centres, and as there are quite a number which have been found in Central Gaul, including several moulds, the Allier seems to be the most likely district whence the examples found in Britain were exported.⁽¹⁾

Of the four statuettes of dogs found in this country, three are represented now by small fragments and one is reasonably complete.⁽²⁾ All are identifiable as products of the Allier for they are of the type certainly made at Toulon-sur-Allier, possibly at Vichy, and at Autun as suggested by the moulds discovered at those places.⁽³⁾ This type of statuette is widely distributed outside France, in Britain, Belgium, and along the Rhine from Windisch (Switzerland) down to Nijmegen in Holland as also in the Mosel region centred on Trier, and another has been found at Salzburg in Austria. As not one of those places has produced any proof that this type of dog statuette was made outside Central Gaul, it seems that this was the sole centre of production, and it was from there that the British examples arrived as imports.

Although exact parallels have not been traced for the few statuettes of cockerels and hens found in Britain, and they differ in slight details, they are comparable with those produced in several moulds

(1) e.g., a mould and statuette from Toulon-sur-Allier, St. Germain Museum Inv.No.27985. A statuette from Banassac (Lozère) Inv.No.19611, but there are numerous other examples which could be cited.

(2) See Part 6 J 3 1-4 inclusive.

(3) Tudot op cit pl.57 top right; bottom left and right; ibid Text Fig.LV, p.37; ibid pl.5, a mould signed ABVDINVS. St. Germain Museum Inv.No.25449 (Vichy ?); Musee Rolin, Autun Inv.No.206.

found in Central Gaul where these statuettes are quite numerous.⁽¹⁾

The only example of a pigeon is also similar to those made in the Allier where the moulds have been found, and was probably made there.⁽²⁾

On the other hand it should be mentioned that a pigeon statuette of this type is represented by a mould found in the remains of a potter's kiln at Xanten.⁽³⁾ Hence until it is possible for the clays to be subjected to spectrographic examination, the source of manufacture of the British example must remain unproven.

(1) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28144, a mould signed Sacrillos from Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre; Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.2.60 from Vichy.

(2) St. Germain Museum Inv.Nos.25478 (Vichy ?); 28177 (Toulon-sur-Allier); 30395 (Moulins, Allier) a mould signed Sacrillos.

(3) See Part 3 A for the kiln at Xanten.

TRADE ROUTES AND MARKETS SUPPLIED

CONCLUSIONS (MAP 21)

In conclusion, let us glance at the evidence as a whole and evaluate the pattern of trade which has emerged from this regional survey. Statuettes of Central Gaulish manufacture certainly reached the markets in the two provinces of Germany, as also in north-east Gaul, but they are far from plentiful compared with the noticeably large numbers supplied by the more local centres, Cologne and Trier. This suggests that the merchants who managed and organised the Gallic trade never secured a substantial share of the markets in those provinces. Their competitors, on the other hand, appear to have had a virtual monopoly of the trade in those provinces as well as in the Trans-Rhenish territory forming the hinterland of the frontier of the German limes. The industry centred on Trier appears to have established strong ties with the markets of north-east Gaul, particularly in the civitas of the Treveri where the demand for clay statuettes seems to have been greatest.

The central Gaulish centres produced for a widespread market throughout the three provinces of Gaul, viz., Belgica, Lugudunensis and Aquitania, and also seem to have been the principal suppliers to the provinces of Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia. It must be admitted that at present the only criterion for determining the sources of manufacture of any statuettes found in Britain is visual examination. This suggests that the Central Gaulish factories were the main suppliers and only a small quota arrived in Britain from the more northerly centres on the Rhine and Mosel.

The limits of these spheres of influence of the continental production centres inevitably merge one into the other so that markets

which may be termed marginal received supplies from more than one source. Doubtless the pattern of trade was facilitated to a considerable extent over routes which were advantageous to a particular centre and less so to a more distant competitor. For example, the various branches of the Central Gaulish industry were situated along the tributaries of the Loire, and could send their products by barges to places conveniently situated for subsequent distribution. The industries centred on Cologne and Trier also had similar advantages, the Rhine and Mosel, respectively, carrying the trade to the widespread markets where they were the chief suppliers.

Another convenient outlet for the Central Gaulish trade was probably by road through the basin of the Doubs. It was vitally important for access to the Rhine and one of the very few reasonable routes through the Jura ranges where many of the deep sided gorges (cluses) which break through the high ridges are scarcely wide enough to contain a roadway in addition to a river. This route therefore may have carried the trade via Basle into Switzerland and from thence by an excellent road network to Southern Bavaria and Austria.

It is known that the Rhineland and the Mosel traders in pottery conveyed their merchandise down the Rhine to its delta where they had established their bases at such places as Domburg and near

Colijnsplaat.⁽¹⁾ Thus access to a much shorter sea route ought to mean that these traders had a considerable advantage over their Gaulish competitors, but this does not appear to have been the case. So far as can be determined from a visual examination of the statuettes found in Britain, those of Rhine-Mosel origin are very much in the minority compared with those that can be ascribed to the Gaulish factories. This apparent difference in numbers requires some explanation.

From what can be gleaned from the dating of the types of statuettes of Rhenish origin it seems that the trade did not get under way until circa 160, a date which agrees with the import of Rhenish pottery⁽²⁾ and certainly much later than the setting up of the Central Gaulish venture. It is possible, therefore, that the export trade from the Rhine had not made much headway before the war between Albinus and Severus forced the traders out of business.

(1) For example the negotiator cretarius Britannicianus (that is, a pottery merchant-shipper who traded with Britain) who dedicated altars to Nehalennia at Domburg and at Colijnsplaat.

A. Hondius-Crone, The Temple of Nehalennia at Domburg (Amsterdam, 1955) p.70, No.23, p.71 A; Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII; 8793.

P. Stuart and J.E. Bogaers in Deae Nehalennia Gids bij de Tentoonstelling Nehalennia de Zeeuwse Godin, Zeeland in de Tijd, Romeinse Monumenten uit de Oosterschelde (Middelburg-Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1971) pp.40-41 and pp.65-66, No.11, Afb.11 a,b,c.

(2) Sheppard Frere, Britannia (Routledge, Kegan Paul London 1967) p.289.

But whether this cessation of the trade in Rhenish statuettes was due to the lack of skilled modellers and specialist potters, or whether it was a drastic decrease in demand for statuettes from the British markets, are questions which at present cannot be answered with any degree of certainty.

Trade with Britain was necessarily sea-borne, but too little is known of the organization of shipping in British waters to be certain whether ships made lone voyages or went in convoy from the continental ports river systems. Hence any conclusions we may reach must be highly tentative.

As a starting point in our inquiry it seems reasonable to assume that although sea-routes are less sensitive to archaeological recognition than the overland routes, the former were largely coastwise because in antiquity the seamen hesitated to venture too far from land. Hence in the approaches to Britain, difficult to navigate because of unpredictable weather conditions and complex tidal systems, the safest routes from Gaul and the Rhine delta would have been coastwise to the narrow crossing points in the vicinity of the Straits of Dover.

It could be assumed that many of the statuettes made of the white clays of the Allier were included in the cargoes of samian pottery carried by barge down that river and then by way of the Loire to the estuarine ports for shipment to Britain. The statuettes of the Gironde region may well have passed through the great port of Bordeaux, but statuettes made of the black or grey clays characteristic of that region are so few in Britain that no significance can be attached to them for they may have arrived singly in personal baggage.

The presence of many clay statuettes at places along the Gallic coast and its hinterland facing Britain, that is from Le Havre to around Boulogne, may be an indication of another trade route. It is possible that this coastal region served as an intermediate stage for the export trade, and the statuettes if not transported from the western ports by coastwise shipping, may have arrived overland from the Central Gaulish centres. If this is acceptable then one may envisage that the men involved in the trade had established transit depots at any of the ports conveniently linked to Britain by the very much shorter sea routes. Sea transport, on the other hand, has always been said to be cheap. It is land transport which is expensive. Nevertheless the time gained was bound to affect the overheads, not to mention sea losses and breakages. It seems prudent to remember that the channel ports served as the principal points of departure for Gauls visiting Britain either singly or as merchants' crews.

It is very obvious that if the statuettes were exported from the Loire and the Gironde direct to Britain, lengthy sea voyages were necessary. At present there is nothing known of which British ports were involved in the importation of clay statuettes but the remarkable concentrations of the find places in the south-east, particularly in Kent, and in London, suggests that this was the main point of entry as it was for the samian trade.

The distribution pattern of the clay statuettes in south-west Britain tells us virtually nothing of the use of the western seaways in carrying the trade to that part of the province from the western estuaries of Gaul, although they had been very important for centuries before the Roman occupation. It is true that there are several

find-places in the civitates bordering the Severn estuary, but they are far too few to provide convincing proof of the western seaways having been in any way involved in the trade with Britain. If we take into consideration Sir Cyril Fox's dictum concerning the relationship of the western seaways to the two major physiographical regions of Britain (i.e., highland and lowland) it appears very likely that they were not. He maintained that whenever continental cultures impinged upon the lowland zone of south-east Britain, the western sea-routes became particularly active, and when more peaceful conditions returned they became less active, and communications with the continent proceeded by way of the narrow seas.⁽¹⁾ It therefore follows that after the Roman conquest of Britain, with the south-east lowland zone firmly held, the western seaways declined in importance, and economic and cultural relations with the continent proceeded peacefully by way of the narrow crossings of the English Channel.⁽²⁾

With the exception of a single statuette found in Exeter, there is a noticeable absence of these objects from the Dumnonian peninsula. The reason for this is probably because the Romans made no serious attempt to open up the area before the third century by which time the production of clay statuettes in Gaul had ceased, and no further supplies reached Britain.

(1) Sir Cyril Fox, The Personality of Britain 4th edition (Cardiff 1947);

(2) E.G. Bowen, Britain and the Western Seaways (Thames & Hudson 1972) p.70.

In view of our remarks concerning the western seaways it is now necessary to provide some explanation for the presence of a few pieces of clay statuettes in the Isles of Scilly where very little of the Roman period has otherwise been found.⁽¹⁾ That these statuettes arrived by ship is very obvious. Nor'nour, the islet on which they were found is many miles from any town on the British mainland which has yielded statuettes of any kind. Exeter is the nearest place, and apparently the furthest point in the south-west peninsula to which any statuette reached. It is of course quite possible that the statuettes were carried to the Scillies on board a coaster from a British port either along the south coast or the shores of the Bristol Channel. Before accepting this, however, there is another piece of information which may be relevant.

The Nor'nour statuettes are of Venus and the dea nutrix, two types which are very common in Armorica where their popularity as votive offerings in the native religious cults is well attested. That both types of statuette were made in that region is certain for a kiln still loaded with a batch has been found in Brittany. Until the source of manufacture of the Nor'nour examples is proved by spectrographic analysis of their fabric compared with those known to have been made in Gaul, little more can be said. They may have come from Central Gaul direct to mainland Britain, then overland to the south-west and finally by a coaster to Nor'nour. Alternatively, it is equally possible that people from Armorica, either traders or immigrants, carried these statuettes, actually made in Brittany, direct to the Scillies.

(1) cf. The Map of Roman Britain 3rd edition (Ordnance Survey Chessington 1956).

For the statuettes see our FIG. 55
Archaeological Journal CXXIV (1967) pp.19-21, pl.IVb.

The votive clay model of a securely corded bale of wool from the broch at Dun an Iardhard on the Isle of Skye, it is quite unique.⁽¹⁾ It was originally painted green on a white slip, which may indicate that it was made in one of the officinae in the Rhine-Mosel region where the statuette makers at times employed the techniques of slip coating and painting of their products. (See Part 1 Production Techniques). Another piece of evidence which may be relevant is that the tufts of wool which appear in relief on the model bale are remarkably similar to the tufts of hair on a clay statuette of a goat found at Vechten (Holland).⁽²⁾

On the other hand the bale may have been made in Central Gaul for the tufts of wool are very similar to those displayed on two clay statuettes of rams found respectively, at St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier)⁽³⁾ and Toulon-sur-Allier, the latter actually from the site of the statuette officina in the Champ Lary.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland lxvi, 289; ibid xlix, 66.

National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland Edinburgh Inv.No. GA 1013. (OUR FIG.73).

(2) Provinciaal Oudheidkundig Museum Utrecht Inv.No.G 41=5648. Jansen, Bonner Jahrbuch (1846) p.23, No.15. (our FIG.74).

(3) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales" XXIV^e supplément à "Gallia" (Paris, 1972) p.343, No.1042, pl.1042.

(4) E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, œuvres premières de l'art gaulois, avec les noms des céramistes qui les ont exécutées (Paris, 1860) pl.62.

How this enigmatic votive object reached the remote Isle of Skye must remain a matter for conjecture, but expert opinion regards it as a direct indication of a Roman interest in the crofters' woollen industry, and the presence of merchants from the British province in the Western Isles.⁽¹⁾

Passing from the foregoing review of the possible trade routes it is now necessary to decide whether the pattern of distribution actually reveals convincing proof of the existence of and the scale of the trade in clay statuettes between the continental centres of the industry and Britain.

In reaching our conclusions it is important to bear in mind that during the second century, that is, the period when the majority of statuettes arrived in Britain, it is well attested that the Central Gaulish samian potters shipped vast quantities of this fine table ware to Britain, and eventually had a virtual monopoly of the market. As it is virtually certain that the manufacturers who specialised in statuettes were associates of the makers and the exporters of samian ware, one might expect the pattern of distribution to reveal positive evidence of the involvement of the statuette makers in a similarly flourishing trade with Britain.

This, however, has not emerged from our researches into the published reports, the museum collections, and the unpublished

(1) V.G. Childe, Scotland Before the Scots (London, 1946) p.85, fig.20; Stuart Piggott, "Native Economies and the Roman Occupation of North Britain" in Roman and Native in North Britain, edited by I.A. Richmond (Nelson, 1958) p.26.

Sheppard Frere, Britannia (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) p.295.

material derived from more recent archaeological excavations in this country. In fact the 324 items which have been traced and examined, the majority of which came from the Central Gaulish factories, certainly do not provide convincing proof of a flourishing export trade comparable with that in samian pottery from the same region. We are therefore left with alternative propositions, the first being that many of the statuettes did not arrive in large consignments included in cargoes of samian pottery, but may have been carried singly in the baggage of immigrants from Gaul. Secondly, despite this rather inadequate evidence, we may be permitted to take a more optimistic view, for it is strongly suspected that many more statuettes will turn up during future archaeological excavations in Britain. In fact, to our knowledge, during the past six years an average number of six statuettes per annum has been derived from such sources. Because of this we are led to conclude that it is perhaps too early to draw any definite conclusions from the evidence we possess, but taking the long term view there is every reason for thinking that a more convincing picture of the trade will emerge.

The pattern of the distribution of the markets supplied by the various centres of the clay statuette industry may be summarized as follows:-

<u>REGION 1</u>		SOURCES OF MANUFACTURE
Zone 1 a.	Germania Inferior	Rhineland
Zone 1 b.	Gallia Belgica (part) i.e. North Belgium	Principally Central Gaulish with a very small quota from the Rhineland
<u>REGION 2</u>		
Zone 2 a.	Upper and Central Mosel, Gallia Belgica (part) i.e. Luxembourg and the eastern provinces of Belgium	Mosel
Zone 2 b.	Lower Mosel	Rhineland-Mosel
Zone 2 c.	Germania Superior	Rhineland
<u>REGION 3</u>		
	Trans-Rhenish territory bounded by the line of the German <u>limes</u>	Rhineland
<u>REGION 4</u>		
Zone 4 a.	Gallia with the exception of those areas included in Regions 1 and 2 above.	Central Gaulish and allied centres
Zone 4 b.	Helvetia, central plateau of Switzerland	Central Gaulish
<u>REGION 5</u>		
	Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia	Central Gaulish
<u>REGION 6</u>		
	Britain	Principally Central Gaulish and allied centres with a very small quota of Rhine Mosel products.

APPENDIX TO PART 5

The places where the discovery of clay statuettes has been recorded are so numerous that to compile a complete list together with a detailed description of the statuettes would entail years of research by a team of investigators. It therefore cannot be claimed that the following lists relating to the regions covered by this survey are exhaustive, but they seem to be sufficiently representative to establish with some finality the main lines of distribution.

A list for the whole of Region 4 a (France) is not included as the statuettes and the find-places are too numerous, and are not confined to any one area. In consequence the overall distribution does not reveal any significant trends. The distribution maps for Region 4 a are therefore concerned with certain groupings which appear to be exceptional and invite comment.

For Region 6 (Britain) the lists are fairly comprehensive, and are set forth in Part 6 (q.v.).

CATALOGUE

REGION I

ZONE 1a (Map 10)

1. ARENTSBURG (ZUID-HOLLAND)

(i) Base of statuette inscribed

Servan dus CCAA fec Sen Coelio Ap cos (i.e. A.D.169)

J.H. Holwerda, Arentsburg, Een romeinsch militair

vlootstation bij Voorburg Leiden (1923) p.141, No.7,

Abb.104 left; 102,7.

(ii) Fragment of back of statuette inscribed s CCAA fecit

2. ROOMBURG

(i) Female personage perhaps a nymph pouring water from a jug. White pipe-clay. It may be a Cologne product.

From the Roman fort at Roomburg, near Leiden.

J. Holwerda, "Roomburg" in Oudheidkundige van het

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden N.R. VIII (1927).

3. VECHTEN (HOLLAND)

A considerable number of clay statuettes has been found at Vechten, most of them apparently from the site of the Roman auxiliary fort on the left bank of the Kromme Rijn to the south-east of Utrecht, but nothing is now known of the actual find-spots. The statuettes are now in the Provinciaal Museum at Utrecht and in the Rijksmuseum at Leiden.

(i) Standing Minerva cf. L.F. Janssen, Bonner Jahrbuch (1846) p.23, No.2.U 5617.(ii) Venus standing draped supporting the robe which has slipped down over the hips leaving the upper part of the body nude. U 5646. ibid No.3.

- (iii) Venus standing, the lower part from the hips
evidently from the same mould as U 5619 below.
U 5618 ibid No.4.
- (iv) Venus two fragments which join, lower part only
front and back showing bare right leg and drapery.
U 5619 & U 5636.
- (v) Venus standing, similar to those above. U 5641.
- (vi) Minerva. U 5630.
- (vii) Fortuna, standing supporting the rudder by right side
and holding a cornucopia on the left shoulder.
U 5645. (FIG.146)
- (viii) Fortuna head and shoulders only with cornucopia on
left shoulder. U 5620.
- (ix) Lion. cf. Janssen op cit p.24, No.16;
G. van Hoorn, "Een Leeuw uit Fectio," Miscellanea
H. van de Weerd, l'Antiquité Classique XVII (1948)
pp.339 ff. U 5644.
- (x) Goat. cf. Janssen, op cit p.23, No.15. U 5648.
- (xi) Venus standing with amor standing on a small plinth
at right side. The goddess has drapery covering her
back and right shoulder and she supports a fold at
her left side leaving the front of the body nude.
Excavated in 1893, cf. Verslag van het verhandelde
in de Algemeene Vergadering van het Provinciaal
Utrechts Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen,
1895, p.135, pl.VI. U 5621.

(xii) Baldheaded dwarf, height 15 cms, wearing a hooded cloak with the hood lying on the shoulders. He holds an open scroll in both hands. The nose is wide and flat, the lips thick and almost negroid; the ears are large and protruding.

cf. W. Pleyte and Th. Roest, Inventaris van de collectie oudheden ... Jhr. H.W. Bosch van Drakestein No.516; G. van Hoorn, Een Romeinsche terracotta-caricatuur uit Vechten; Verslag....Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap ... 1925, pp.56 ff;

G. van Hoorn, Antieke dwergen. Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut to Rome V, 1925, pp.25 ff.

Revue des musées et collections archéologiques (March-April 1926) No.6, p.228 (Xavier Aubert, Dijon);

G. van Hoorn, Gids door de Verzameling van Nederlandsche en Romeinsche Oudheden van het Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap van Kusten en Wetenschappen in het Centraal-Museum te Utrecht (1936) p.22, Afb.11;

C. Isings, "Antieke Kunst in Nederlandse Musea," Hermeneus 33 (1962) pp.226 f. U B.v.D 516.

(xiii) Cybele seated on throne with lion by left side. U 5615.

(xiv) Minerva standing without any kind of club in her right hand and supporting shield by left side.

F. de Graaf Collection (private) Maria van Reedestraat 1, Utrecht. Found on surface after cleansing of drainage ditches at Vechten.

The following statuettes from Vechten are in Leiden Museum.

- (xv) Bust of a child wearing a lunar amulet.
- (xvi) Embracing couples, two examples.
- (xvii) Head of Silenus (fragment).
- (xviii) Dog seated on its haunches.
- (xix) Bull (fragment).
- (xx) Cock with head erect.

(4) RHENEN

Mother-goddess, seated and holding a dog.

L.J.F. Janssen, De Germaansche en Noordsche Monument
van Leyden (1840) p.2, pl.I, fig.5. Found at Rhenen,
now in Leiden Museum.

(5) NIJMEGEN

The following statuettes found at Nijmegen are now in the
Rijksmuseum G.M.Kam.

- (i) Venus standing with her right hand placed on her
chest. Her robe has slipped down over her hips to
leave the upper part of her body nude. The garment
is gathered in a knot over the pudenda where it is
held in the left hand. Found in the Krayenhofflaan
cemetery in use c.70-260 A.D. Inv.No.G.N.IX 54.
- (ii) Luna standing as if poised for flight.
Height 19.7 cms. Found in the Nijmegen Hees
cemetery in use c.70-260 A.D. Inv.No.XIXb, 6.

- (iii) Fortuna, enthroned. She has the rudder by her right side and supports a cornucopia held in her left hand against her shoulder. On the back of the throne is part of an inscription which reads SERV A(N)D... .. A A, i.e., Servandus of Cologne. The letters are incised. Height 19.1 cms.
Inv.No.XIXb, 35.
Found in the Nijmegen Hees cemetery in use c.70-260 A.D.
- (iv) Mother-goddess of dea nutrix type seated on a basket chair and suckling two infants.
Height 15 cms. Inv.No.12.1951.2.
Found at the Doddendaal Nijmegen.
400 Jahr romeinse bezetting van Nijmegen Taf.38.
- (v) Goddess with child by her left side. A patera is held in her right hand. Found at the Kronenburgertoren Nijmegen. Inv.No.G.N. IX 1.
- (vi) Venus standing with a child standing by her left side. She holds a patera in her right hand. A robe envelops the backs of the two figures. Red clay. Height 18.7 cms. Found 1933 in the Nijmegen Hees cemetery in use c.70-260 A.D.
Inv.No.G.N.IX 40.
- (vii) Cockerel. Height 9.7 cms. Inv.No.XIXb, 42.
Found in Nijmegen W W cemetery (sic).
400 Jahr romeinse bezetting van Nijmegen Taf.36.

(6) 's HEERENBERG

Lower part of standing figure from waist down to the ankles of a boy, wearing "bikini" like trunks, otherwise nude. Centraal Museum Utrecht Inv.No.G15 = 5616.

The site is not a Roman one according to Dr. Clasina Isings of that museum.

(7) BERGHEM (NOORD-BRABANT)

Upper part of mother-goddess on throne inscribed

Fidelis Ficit. J.E. Bogaers, Brabants Heem 22 (1970)

64 ff. (s'Hertogenbosch)

(8) BAARLO

(i) Epona seated side-saddle on the back of a mare which faces to the left. She holds a small animal on her lap probably a dog but the figurine is badly moulded. Found Baarlo (Central Limbourg). Height 14 cms, length 9.5 cms.

M.J. Vermaseren, De Romeinse beschaving in Midden-Limburg (Roermond 1951) p.50, fig.

Leiden Museum Inv.No.GL 247.

(ii) Similar to above but the detail is quite clear.

Epona holds a patera in her right hand and a dog facing to the left is on her lap. The horse faces to the right. Height 12 cms, length 8 cms.

Leiden Museum Inv.No.GL 248.

M.J. Vermaseren, op cit, p.50, fig.

Found Baarlo (Central Limbourg).

(9) MELICK (LIMBURG)

Part of a statuette with the inscription

Vind (e) x fec CCAA. Leiden Museum.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10 015, 115 d.

(10) XANTEN

(i) Kiln and moulds for statuettes.

H. Hinz, 2 Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in der
Colonia Traiana nördlich van Xanten,

Bonner Jahrbuch 165 (1965) pp.398-401.

cf. also Part 3 of this thesis.

(ii) Seated mother-goddess holding fruit and corn-ears
as attributes. Found in Grave 69 with a coin of
Vespasian.

P. Steiner, Xanten I (1911) p.37, Taf.VII, 3.

(iii) Seated mother-goddess holding a dog.

P. Steiner, "Das Trümmerfeld vor dem Clever Thore
der Stadt Xanten," Bonner Jahrbuch 88, p.95.

(iv) Clay shrine with bas-relief of Venus in the niche
flanked by cupids. On the back is the letter H.
Found Huhnerstrasse 7, Xanten. Landesmuseum Bonn
Inv.No.32463. Germania XI (1927) p.154.

(11) NEUSS

The following have been published cf. J.v.Petrikovits,
Novaesium Das Römische Neuss, Führer des Rheinischen
 Landesmuseums in Bonn No.3 (Böhlau-Verlag Köln Graz 1957):-
 p.66, Abb.17. Seated mother-goddess holding a patera
 in each hand.
 p.62, p.90, No.67, Abb.30. Standing mother-goddess
 nursing a nude infant.
 p.90, No.68, Abb.31. Venus; p.92, No.70, Abb.33.
 Reclining figure of a ram.

(12) JULICH

Seated mother-goddess found in Grave 3.
 Bonner Jahrbuch 170 (1970) pp.392-393, Abb.33.

(13) COLOGNE

Centre of industry. For full discussion
 cf. Part 3 of this thesis.

(14) BONN

Numerous statuettes. See Part 3 of this thesis.

(15) REMAGEN

Seated dog found in a grave (cremation).
 E. Funck, "Römischer Brandgraber in Remagen,"
Bonner Jahrbuch 122, Taf.XXII, fig.1.
 In the Heimatmuseum at Remagen⁽¹⁾ there are several

(1) S. Gollub, Führer durch das Heimatmuseum Remagen/Rhein
 (Verkehrs Verlag Remagen/Rh.) unpaginated.

detached heads of mother-goddesses affecting various hair styles. There are also statuettes of animals such as a sheep, a boar, a deer and a lion, and there is a statuette of a hen. A headless statuette of Fortuna or Abundantia found in a grave accompanied by a set of bone gaming pieces, a dice and a gaming board made from a flat tile. The goddess is seated on a throne flanked by erotes one of whom supports a cornucopia. The style closely resembles that of a Fortuna signed with the name of Alfius of Cologne.⁽¹⁾

(16) HEERLEN (LIMBURG)

Statuette of Apollo.

Köln, Römer am Rhein, No.E.138, Taf.110.

REGION 1

ZONE 1 b (Map 10)

(17) JUSLENVILLE (BELGIUM)

Musée archéologique Liege.

(i) Venus standing in a shrine in the form of two columns supporting a shell-like canopy forming a niche.

Height 19.5 cms. Found at Juslenville near Theux, canton of Spa.

(ii) Seated matron holding a dog on her lap.

Height 15.5 cms. Found Juslenville.

(1) Found Cologne. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.9520.

- (iii) Similar matron but rather indistinct, presumably holding a dog. Height 13.0 cms. Found Juslenville. A. Blanchet, "Étude sur les figurines de terre cuite de la Gaule Romaine", Supplément Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 6^e serie Tome X; Tome LX (1901) p.236 fig.29.

(18) TONGRES

The statuettes were found while trenching in the rue de Hasselt at Tongres (Tongeren), lying in a pit at a depth of about 2 metres from the surface. All are of white clay, and several carry traces of a brown paint. The collection includes a number of duplicates evidently from the same mould (Fortuna; Minerva; a goddess holding a sceptre; and two types of Venus; Dionysius, and a personage wearing a skull-cap). The statuettes are all of the same fabric and it may be that they were a trader's stock-in-trade rather than a votive deposit. The many parallels to be found in the Rhineland and listed by Van de Weerd show the close commercial and cultural ties of Atuatica Tungrorum with that region.

H. Van de Weerd, "Romeinsche Terracottabeeldjes van Tongeren", L'Antiquite Classique I (1932) p.277 ff. planches I-VI.

(19) GORS-OPLEEUW

Cremation burial without any evidence for dating containing fragment of white clay statuette of a female on a domed plinth, head and the arms are lost.

Height 16 cms. Probably made at Cologne.

G.V. Lux and H. Roosens, "Een Gallo-Romeins Grafveld te Gors-Opleeuw" in Archaeologia Belgica 128

(Brussels 1971) pp.21-22, fig.15, Grave 9.

(20) ASSCHE-KALKOVEN

In 1875-6 upwards of 50 individual statuettes of horses in white clay were found in a field at Assche-Kalkoven and were described and discussed by L. Galesloot, Ch. Piot and C. Van Dessel. These objects forming the Crick Collection are now in the museum at Alost, and have been described in detail by Professor S.J. De Laet.

As a result of his examination he was able to arrange them into four main groups. The horses were mounted on flat rectangular bases which had not been made in a mould but by hand and smoothed with the fingers. Some of the bases show that two horses were attached to them while others carried one horse.

The horses were all made in moulds and are hollow, some having a small hole under the body to allow for the escape of the gases during the firing process.

Some wear a harness while others do not and sometimes two horses were yoked together.

One fragment is of a male torso which Galesloot identified as a soldier, but the man evidently wears a tunic secured by a belt. The stitches are shown by fine zig-zag striations. These are too small for them to represent the scales covering a cuirass, and furthermore the double collar is in the form of a deep V in rigid folds falling to the waist, and is very unmilitary-looking. It is therefore quite possible that the man is supposed to be a civilian.

Statuettes of horses are otherwise quite rare in Belgium, and those found other than at Assche-Kalkoven are quite different in style and evidently derive from the Rhineland industry. As De Laet has pointed out the makers of statuettes and terra sigillata worked in the same officinae and at Assche the potteries of Lezoux, Vichy and Lubie are frequently represented, but those of Rheinzabern and Trier are rare. It is therefore reasonable to think that these statuettes were produced in the Allier and were exported to this part of Belgium.

The diverse styles of these statuettes show that they were not made at the same kiln and according to De Laet they cover the period from the end of the first century to about the third quarter of the second century.

It is uncertain whether this group of statuettes was the stock-in-trade of a trader who hid his property for safety or whether it represents a group of ex votos.

As many are incomplete it may be the latter which had been carefully buried after the desecration of a shrine, perhaps to a deity of horses (Epona ?) still to be discovered in the area.

S.J. De Laet, "Figurines en terra-cuite de l'époque romaine trouvées à Assche-Kalkoven" in L'Antiquité Classique XI (1942) p.41 ff.

Latomus (1951) p.177. L. Galesloot, Bulletin Academie royale Société L. et B-A de Belge 44^e année II^e série, tome XXXIX (1875) p.217 seq.;

ibid XL (1875) 594 ff. Ch. Piot, op cit, tome XL, p.585.

C. Van Dessel, Annales Academie Archeologique Belg. XXXIII 3^e serie tome III (1876) p.574 seq.

M. Renard, Latomus (1951) p.181.

(21) HOFSTADE bij AALST (EAST FLANDERS)

Romano-Celtic temple.

The temple was built on what seems to have been the site of an earlier temple which had been destroyed by fire. The north-west angle of the foundations cut through the top of a rubbish pit which contained the burnt debris from the earlier building, as also pottery and the clay statuettes. The dateable objects from this pit and the associated destruction level under the floor of the temple range from late Flavian times (c. 80-90) to the third decade of the 2nd century (c. 130). A coin of Hadrian (117-138) provided a terminus post quem for the earlier temple

which was probably destroyed by fire by accident shortly before the middle of the 2nd century.

S.J. De Laet, Een Gallo-romeins Heiligdom op de steenberg te Hofstade bij Aalst (Oostvlaanderen)
Verslag van de opgravingscampagnes 1949-1950 in
Cultureel Jaarboek van de Provincie Oostvlaanderen
 1950, p.269-314.

289. (pl.II, C.) Upper half of a seated goddess holding a patera in her right hand. She wears a veil. Height now 14.5 cms; white clay.
290. (pl.II, B.) Venus complete but for the plinth. Height now 16.5 cms.
291. (pl.IV, D.) Cybele, lower part from knees down showing a patera in her right hand and the tympanum by her left hand. There is a lion on each side. Width of base 4.8 cms; height of base 2.5 cms, width from lion to lion 5.5 cms. The style is very similar to the statuette of Cybele from Cologne by Servandus. R.G. Museum Köln No.3180.
292. (pl.IV, C.) Seated goddess suckling twin infants. Allier type of dea nutrix.
- 293, 294, 295. Bases only.
296. (pl.IV, A.) Head of a Venus. Height 10 cms.
297. Fragment of Venus broken off at knees and above the breasts.
298. Fragment of what may have been a mother-goddess.

(22) ELEWIJT (BRABANT)

Clay statuettes of horses have been found at Elewijt.
 cf. J. Martens, "Terre-cuites de l'époque romaine,
trouvées à Elewijt (Brabant)," Latomus 10 p.170 ff.

(23) MALINES

Statuette of a horse now fragment, height 7.5 cms.
 The animal wears a lunar shaped amulet suspended
 from a double collar.

Mechelse Bijdragen I (1934) p.61.

Musée archéologique Malines. Latomus 10, pl.IX, 4.

(24) VELZEKE-RUDDERSHOVE (OOST-VLAANDEREN)

Statuette of the dea nutrix type, Central Gaulish.

A. Van Doorselaer, Archeologie en Historie, Feestbundel

H. Brunsting (Brussel 1973), p.277.

REGION 2

ZONE 2a (Map 11)

Belgian Luxembourg

(1) ORTHO

Squatting dog (cf. Tudot pl.57) and numerous fragments of other statuettes. Date of discovery unknown.

The dog statuette is now in the museum at Arlon.

(2) LAVACHERIE

Three detached heads of females, all in white clay, found 1871 by the Abbe Baltus and now in the Musée Rouaux d'art et d'histoire at Brussels,

Baron De Lœe, Belgique Ancienne, Catalogue descriptif et raisonné III, La Période Romaine (Bruxelles 1937) p.285.

(3) HATRIVAL

Head of a statuette and two seated mother-goddesses without attributes found in an extensive cemetery.

Now in Arlon Museum.

(4) BURNON (MORONRUE)

Cockerel. Collection Dr. Malget now in Luxembourg Museum.

(5) MASSUL (COMMUNE of LONGLIER)

Mother-goddess in red clay, with large nimbus type hat and holding fruits as attributes. Found in a grave.

J-B. Sibenaler, "Les tombes romaines de Massul" in

Annales de l'Institut archéologique du Luxembourg XLII,

(1907) pp.168-170. Was in the Arlon Museum.

(6) CHEVIGNY

Seated matron upper part only in red clay. Found in the remains of a Roman building, Annales de l'Institut archéologique du Luxembourg V, p.292. Musée Royaux Bruxelles.

(7) MARTELANGE

Dr. Malget discovered twenty-three statuettes in 1907. Three fragments are in Arlon Museum, viz., Helmeted head of Minerva; a head of Fortuna ? and a head of a goddess wearing a city gate crown.

The collection of Dr. Malget was acquired by purchase by the Museum at Luxembourg. Several are still identifiable and are listed as follows under "lararium du Hohdoor, viz., Fortuna, Venus, Pomona, Minerva, dog, Mars, Jupiter, Diana and busts. Two others are listed as found in "tumulus I 'Im Baulich' at Martelange". Annales de l'Institut archéologique du Luxembourg (1907) pp.194-197.

(8) ARLON

A seated matron and also a bust of a female with turban style cap were found by M.A. Bertrang in 1936 in a Roman cemetery of the second century. Now in Arlon Museum.

(9) SAMPONT

Numerous small fragments of clay statuettes found at Sampont three miles to the north of Arlon, but date of discovery is not known. Information kindly supplied by M. Bertrang.

(10) GÉROMONT

Two statuettes of seated mother-goddesses holding a small dog on their laps.

F. Liénard, Archéologie de la Meuse II, p.84, pl.XIX, figs.1-2.

(11) VIRTON-ST.MARD

Venus, seated mother-goddess, a Fortuna ?, detached head of a goddess, a dove and another bird perhaps a hen, found near Virton many years ago, with a large number of Roman pots of various forms. Now in Arlon Museum but unpublished. Information from A. Bertrang. For more recent discoveries cf. Archaeologia Belgica 119, "Fouilles dans le vicus romain de Vertunum (1961-69)". Epona holding a dog, ibid pp.92-93 Fig.41; and fragment of a draped female figure ibid pp.93-94, Fig.42.

GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG

(1) NIEDERWAMPACH (FIG.124)

Minerva seated and holding fruits as attributes.

Hémecht 22 (1970) p.91 ff., Taf.III a-b.

Two examples of the same type signed by Fidelis.

(2) TITELBERG (FIG.123)

Seated mother-goddess holding a small dog, signed by Fidelis. G. Thill, Tetelbiere site archeologique, Luxembourg (1965) No.180; G. Thill, Les epoques gallo-romaine et mérovingienne au Musée d'histoire et d'art Luxembourg (Luxembourg 1969) Abb.46; Hémecht 22 (1970) p.91, Taf.1 a-b.

(3) BIRGELBACH (WALLENDORF)

Seated mother-goddess holding a small dog. Found in the Gemarkung "Kasselt" near Wallendorf.

Publications de la Société pour la recherche et la conservation des monuments historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg 23 (1868) p.160.

(4) BUSCHDORF

Bust of boy wearing a necklace with lunar pendant; in white clay with traces of a red pigment on surface. Information Luxembourg Museum.

(5) ALTRIER

Many clay statuettes found at various times between Altrier and Hersberg. For full account see the foregoing section dealing with the centres of clay statuette production.

(6) STEINSEL

Statuette of a seated squirrel eating a nut held in its forepaws. Found in 1957 during the excavations carried out by the late Joseph Meyers, at that time Director of Luxembourg Museum, on the site of a Romano-Celtic temple.

(7) DALHEIM

Several statuettes were found but only a few can now be identified in Luxembourg Museum. One is a statuette of Epona in white clay, the forelegs of the horse and the head of the goddess now missing.

GERMANY

(1) LEUDERSDORF

Jahrbücher Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen

Trier (1878-81) 56.

(2) BARWEILER (EIFEL)

Temple. Statuettes of Minerva, Venus, a seated mother-goddess, four detached heads of female deities, a bird and other pieces.

Bonner Jahrbuch 143/144 (1938/39) p.392.

(3) PELM bei GEROLSTEIN (EIFEL)

Seated mother-goddess with LAS F stamped on the back of the throne. Trierer Zeitschrift 5 (1930) 173, Taf.VI, 5a-5b. L.M. Trier Inv.No.29.91.

Mercury Trierer Zeitschrift 4 (1929) 175, L.M. Trier 4720.

(4) FLIESSEM-OTRANG

Temple. Three fragments of horses.

Trierer Zeitschrift 7 (1932) 135.

L.M.Trier Inv.Nos.11307; 11314; 11315.

(5) BITBURG

Squatting dog. L.M. Bonn Inv.No.LIV.

(6) OBERWEIS

Trierer Zeitschrift 9 (1934) 55 ff.

(7) STAHL

Grave XIII. Squatting dog.

L.M. Trier Inv.No.13250 H.

- (8) SCHLEIDWEILER
 Head of clay horses Trierer Zeitschrift 9 (1934) 144.
- (9) MOHN
 Temple site.
 F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande
 (Trier, 1901).
- (10) MEHRING
 Grave. Horse statuette.
Trierer Zeitschrift 3 (1928) 191.
- (11) GUSENBURG
 Temple site. F. Hettner, op cit.
- (12) DHRONECKEN
 Temple site. F. Hettner ibid.
- (13) HUNDHEIM
 Seated Minerva. Standing mother with child, Venus,
 Diana and Hercules.
Trierer Zeitschrift 12 (1937) p.287, Abb.23.
- (14) HOCHSCHEID
 Temple site.
Germania 25 (1941) 104 ff, Taf.16.
- (15) GONZERATH
 Mother-goddess with child. Germania 21 (1937), 195.
- (16) GRAACH
Trierer Zeitschrift 9 (1934) 145; ibid 11 (1936) 235.

(17) BERTRICH

Kiln and moulds for statuettes.

Trierer Zeitschrift 16 (1941) Taf.3, Abb.29 a-h.

(18) ULMEN (EIFEL)

Graves. Bonner Jahrbuch 18, p.97, Taf.IV figs.1-2.

Among numerous statuettes found in the graves are the following:-

(Bonn Museum Inv.Nos.)

Fortuna U246; Mother-goddess seated holding fruits
U244-245; Seated mother-goddess holding a dog U247 and
U249, as also several pieces of statuettes of horses.

(19) HÖRPERATH (Kr. MAYEN)

Temple site.

Bonner Jahrbuch 143/144 p.398, Taf.73, Abb.1.

(20) THOLEY (Kr. St. WENDEL)

REGION 2

ZONE 2b (Map 12)

(1) ETRINGEN

Venus. Bonner Jahrbuch 148 (1948) p.385.

(2) KRETZ

Fortuna standing holding a cornucopia in her left hand against her left shoulder; rudder supported at right side. Found in a cremated burial enclosed in a stone cist with pottery and glassware as also a dupondius of Titus (M&S 200) minted at Rome A.D.80-81. The whole group was dated by W. Haberey to the turn of the first to second century. Bonner Jahrbuch 143/144 (1939) pp.401-407, Abb.36, Taf.74, Abb.1. L.M. Bonn 37479/r.

(3) GEHRING-KEHRIG

Roman cemetery. Graves III and VIII contained birds L.M. Bonn 24172 c and 24177 c; Grave V contained a statuette of Fortuna, L.M. Bonn 24174 f.

(4) BRACHTENDORF

Temple area. Mother-goddess seated holding a dog. "Found behind Cella II". L.M. Bonn 33228.

(5) POMMERN

Seated mother-goddess nursing an infant. On the back is incised the name Fidelis. L.M. Trier No.G.F.408.

(6) KARDEN

Kilns for making clay statuettes. Mould for bust of Bacchus. Bonner Jahrbuch 136/137 (1932) p.297 and 334; ibid 146 (1941) p.219, Taf.28, Abb.1; L.M. Bonn 39,1185.

(7) GONDORF

Inscribed base of statuette. Germania 20 (1936) 112. See under inscriptions Part 3b in this thesis R-G Museum Cologne 35,2.

(8) ANDERNACH

Fortuna found on Martinsberg. Has the name Victor in raised capital letters. Bonner Jahrbuch 86, p.176, Taf.VI, 36,87 and 82. L.M. Bonn 1413. Seated goddess nursing an infant, cf. Tudot pl.X fig.30 B, p.5. L.M. Bonn 36200.

(9) KÄRLICH

Bonner Jahrbuch 145 (1948), p.322; W. Haberey, Rheinische Vorzeit in Wort und Bild 2 (1939) p.110, figs. Groups of five hooded figures found in a cremated burial dated first century A.D. Grave 74/b. L.M. Bonn 381229 c. A dog in a lying position found between Kärlich and Weissenturm. L.M. Bonn 24223.

(10) COBLENZ

From cremation graves along the Lohrstrasse.

A seated mother-goddess, standing Fortuna, Venus,
an embracing male and female, a seated dog, a cock
and a dove. Bonner Jahrbuch 142 (1938) p.46.

(11) BOPPARD

Epona riding a horse. S. Reinach, Revue archéologique
I, (1895) No.58, hence R. Magnen, Épona (Delmas 1953)
p.47, No.73.

(12) BINGERBRÜCK

Bird statuette from a Grave I, in L.M. Bonn 38233.
Bacchus by Servandus of Cologne; L.M. Bonn 15484.
Bonner Jahrbuch 110 (1903) p.189, fig.1, Nos.5-6.

(13) BINGEN

Horse unsaddled and unbridled.

G. Behrens, Katalogue Bingen (1920) p.271, Abb.130;
also Germania Romana V, p.6, Taf.1, 3.

Mother-goddesses holding dogs as L.M. Bonn 15104.

Bonner Jahrbuch 113 (1906) p.62.

Thorn-puller, Mainz Museum No.775.

REGION 2

ZONE 2c (Map 13)

(1) HERRNSHEIM

S. Reinach, Épona Revue archeologique II (1898), p.193.

Statuette of Epona in the museum at Mannheim.

(2) WORMS

Two statuettes of Epona in red clay. The goddess appears to hold a small animal, possibly a dog.

Worms Museum. (S. Reinach, ibid I (1895) Nos.48-49).

Also another example from Worms is in the museum at Mainz, ibid No.49 bis.

Base of statuette signed by Lucius (see foregoing section dealing with statuettes. Part 3b p.121).

(3) SPIRE

S. Reinach, op cit I, No.45.

(4) RHEINZABERN

Epona statuette. S. Reinach op cit I, No.43.

The animal in this case resembles a bull but this may be due to bad moulding.

Two mother-goddesses seated and holding a dog on the lap. Karlsruhe Museum, Nos.C 897-898.

A few statuettes were found in graves, cf. W. Ludowici, Römischer Ziegelgräber (1908-1912) Munich 1901-1912, Rheinzabern, Grave 322 an incomplete bird, a female

bust lacking the base, Figs.29-30; Grave 347, a dog, Fig.46; Grave 355, Fig.53; Grave 363, torso of a male figure holding a patera in the right hand, Fig.74.

(5) STRASSBURG

Mother-goddess seated and holding a dog on her lap.

Bulletin Société des Antiquaires de France (1870)

p.260.

REGION 3 (Map 14)

(1) NIEDERBIEBER

Genius cucullatus. J.M. Bonn Inv.No.E 1805.

Mother-goddess; a Venus and Nymph. Wiesbaden Museum.

A.v.Cohausen, Antiquarisch-technischer Führer durch das

Alterthums Museum zu Wiesbaden p.99 No.71.

(2) MARIENFELS

Mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap. Wiesbaden

Museum Inv.No.5431. Lindenschmitt, Die Alterthümer

unserer heidnischen Vorzeit II, text and ibid, I pl.VI.

(3) ZUGMANTEL

Diana signed Vindex, Der Obergermanisch-raetische

Limes der Römerreiches 8, S 176, 1. Saalburg

Museum Inv.No.Z 1005. (Hereinafter referred to as O.R.L.)

Standing matron holding a vase and a child signed

Vindex. Saalburg Jahrbuch 5 (1924) 101 E. Abb.29 right.

Saalburg Museum Inv.No.Z 4552.

Base of statuette of Servandus.

5 Bericht der Römisch-Germanische Kommission (1909) 56.6.

Saalburg Museum Inv.No.Z 2173.

Fragment of statuette signed Lucius,

Saalburg Jahrbuch I (1910) 58 D, Taf.10,8.

(4) PRAUNHEIM

Venus.

(5) WIESBADEN

There is a large collection of statuettes catalogued by A.v.Cohausen in Antiquarisch-technischer Führer durch das Alterthums-Museum zu Wiesbaden p.99, Nos.62-70 and 73-75. Venus, Minerva, Vulcan, several of Abundantia, mother-goddesses, Flora, Epona, various animals and birds, a genius cucullatus, busts, a monkey and a dog.

For the Epona statuette see S. Reinach, Revue archéologique I (1895) Cat.No.54; also Rene Magnen, Épona (Delmas, 1953) p.46, No.71. Genius cucullatus.

A. Riese, Festschrift zur Feier des 25 Jährigen Bestehens des Stadtischen Historischen Museums in Frankfurt-a-Main, Taf.IV, p.173. Inv.No.5443.

(6) FRANKFURT-A-MAIN

Mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap.

A. Riese, ibid. Frankfurt Museum Inv.No.X 17998.

(7) HEDDERNHEIM

Six fragmentary statuettes one of which may have been a "waster" found on the site of a pottery works according to R. Welcker, Die Fundstücke aus der römischen Topferei vor dem Nordtore von Nida (Heddernheim):

Mitteilungen über Römische Funde in Heddernheim IV (1907) p.143. A. Riese, ibid, Taf.III, 10, No.3045.

A negroid type with a phallus lying on his head, signed by Servandus. Germania 12 (1928), 188 right. Bacchus, by Servandus, Bonner Jahrbuch 110, (1903) 197 lower. A. Riese, ibid Taf.1, 6-7. Frankfurt-a-Main Museum.

- (8) KASTEL-MAINZ
 Mother-goddess holding a dog on her lap.
Sammlung Dorow Katalogue 2nd Part, p.27, and p.50.
 Epona, (Mainz Museum). S. Reinach, op cit (1895) No.53;
 R. Magnen, op cit p.46, pl.15.
- (9) RÜCKINGEN
 Venus stamped with the name Ianetus; O.R.L. 22-29,
 No.2, Taf.5.1. Hanau Museum Inv.No.R 361.
- (10) STOCKSTADT
 Venus. Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (1939) p.11.
 Saalburg Museum.
- (11) DARMSTADT
 Epona in Darmstadt Museum. S. Reinach, op cit, (1895)
 Catalogue No.50; R. Magnen, op cit p.46, No.69.
- (12) RINSCHEIM
 Fragment of statuette of female signed by Servandus,
O.R.L. 7-9 Taf.23. Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.
- (13) JAGSTHAUSEN
Genius cucullatus, Haug-Sixt, Die römischen Inschriften
und Bildwerke Württembergs (1914) p.64, No.610.
 Was in a private Collection.
- (14) WIMPFEN
 Statuette by Servandus.
 H. Aubin, "Der Rheinhandel in Römischer Zeit,"
Bonner Jahrbuch 130 (1925) p.25, Abb.9.

(15) PFORZHEIM

Venus incomplete, Karlsruhe Museum.

(16) ROTTWEIL

Genius cucullatus, Haug-Sixt, op cit, p.73, No.155.

REGION 4

ZONE 4a (Map 5)

THE DISTRIBUTION OF VENUS STATUETTES DECORATED WITH VARIOUS
EMBOSSSED SYMBOLS

(1) LA GUERCHE (CHER)

The rear half of a mould.

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du
Centre XVI (1888-9) p.11, pp.21-23, pl.V.

(2) CAUDEBEC-LÈS-ELBEUF (SEINE-INFÉRIEURE)

Complete statuette bearing the signature
REXTVGENOS SVLLIAS AVVOT.

Revue archéologique I (1888) p.145, pl.VI.
St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.78722.

(3) CORSEUL (CÔTES-du-NORD)

ibid p.151.

(4) CORSEUL (CÔTES-du-NORD)

ibid loc cit. Signed REXTVGENOS.

(5) CORSEUL (CÔTES-du-NORD)

Revue des Sociétés savantes (1878) p.105.

(6) GIEVRES (LOIR-et-CHER)

Antiquités de la Sologne blésoise (Paris 1844)
pl.XII, p.44.

(7) SOINGS (LOIR-et-CHER)

Revue archéologique I (1888) p.151.

- (8) SOINGS (LOIR-et-CHER)
Tudot p.19, No.XVIII, pl.24 E. Tours Museum.
- (9) SOINGS (LOIR-et-CHER)
- (10) BRO-EN-FÉGRÉAC (LOIRE INFÉRIEURE)
REXTVGENOS SVLLIAS AVVO T
Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux
historiques (1887) pp.209, 322.
St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.31462.
- (11) LISIEUX (CALVADOS)
Three examples from Roman graves.
Bulletin monumental (1866) pp.641-643, fig., p.462;
Congres archéologique de Lisieux (1870) p.61.
- (12) GIEVRES (LOIR-et-CHER)
Revue archéologique I (1888) p.152, No.7.
- (13) TOULON-SUR-ALLIER (ALLIER)
Complete statuette signed PESTIKA in capital letters
in relief across the back of the shoulders.
St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.7275 - 6897.
- (14) TOULON-SUR-ALLIER (ALLIER)
Incomplete statuette identical to No.13 above, but
unsigned. St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.9746.
- (15) ALLIER
As Nos.13-14 above. Unpublished. Photograph
kindly supplied by M. Hugues Vertet. (FIG.48)

(16) VICHY (ALLIER)

Fragment of a statuette similar to one found at Soings (Loir-et-Cher) was found in the debris of a kiln at Vichy and was in the collection of Bertrand at Moulins according to A. Blanchet, Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France XLI (1891) pp.166-7. Another example is in Vichy Museum Inv.No.597; A. Morlet, Vichy Gallo-Romain (Mâcon, 1957). p.137, fig.81; cf. Tudot pl.24.

(17) BERNARD (VENDEE)

Baudry and Ballereau, Puits funéraires gallo-romains du Bernard (Vendée) 1873, p.104, fig.3 and 4.

(18) ANGERS (MAINE-et-LOIRE)

Signed REXTVGENOS. Angers Museum Catalogue 1884, No.9. Revue des Sociétés savantes VII (1878) p.104, pl., fig.1.

(19) TOULVERN-BADEN (MORBIHAN)

Vannes Museum Catalogue 1881, p.45.

(20) TRONCEN, ST-JEAN-TROLIMON (FINISTÈRE)

Revue archéologique (1888) I, p.153.

St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.75814.

(21) TRONCEN, ST-JEAN-TROLIMON (FINISTÈRE)

Detached head of this class of statuette.

St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.75816.

(22) LA TOURELLE on MONT FRUGY near QUIMPER (FINISTÈRE)

Eight fragments are now identifiable in the collection at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.75814.

One has the incomplete signature]XTVGEN
for REXTVGENOS.

(23) ISLE-AUX-MOINES (MORBIHAN)

Fragment of Venus statuette. The sides of the background are adorned with concentric circles. In the centre of the back is a wheel with eleven crescents and the same number of stars. In one of the angles are six letters confusedly arranged which read, IAVVOT.

"Rapport sur les antiquités trouvées dans l'île aux Moines (Morbihan), Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie IV-V (1827-8) pp.255-256.

Vannes Museum.

(24) MONTPELLIER (HÉRAULT)

Moulins Museum Inv.No.5-8-14, cat.695; Tudot pl.24.

(25) LONDON (ENGLAND)

Found Bank of England site (see Part 6, Catalogue of Clay Statuettes Found in Britain, London No.21. qv.).

(26) TOULON-SUR-ALLIER

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.7283.

REGION 4

ZONE 4b (Map 16)

SWITZERLAND

(1) WINDISCH (VINDONISSA)

Brugg Museum.

Statuettes of Venus. Also statuettes of other types
 cf. Fuehrer durch das Vindonissa Museum p.126, Taf.41,
 birds and a dog, the latter as Tudot pl.57 and his
 pl.5 showing the mould signed Abudinus, and text
 fig.LV, p.37. Human bust Taf.42 a; figure of gladiator
 Taf.42 b.

(2) LOSTORF near OLTEN (CANTON SOLOTHURN)

Fragment of seated mother-goddess of dea nutrix type
 stamped PISTILLVS. Laur, Jahrbuch die Schweizer
 Gesellschaft fur Urgeschichte 29 (1937) p.90.

(3) ALLMENDIGEN-bei-THUN

Clay statuettes of lions, dogs and birds as well as
 one of Venus found on the site of a temple.

O. Tschumi, Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde
 (1926) p.81 ff., Taf.I.

(4) BERN

Statuettes of Venus and two busts of female personages
 found in graves situated in the Engelhalbinsel within
 the loop of the River Aare near Bern.

J. von Wiedmer, Die römischen Überreste auf der
 Engelhalbinsel bei Bern in Anzeiger für Schweizerische
 Altertumskunde (1909) p.24 ff., fig.13.

Zurich Museum.

(5) VIDY-LAUSANNE

Seated goddess of dea nutrix type suckling twin infants.

V. von Gonzenbach, Ur-Schweiz 20 (1956) p.49, Bild 38.

Musee romain de Vidy Inv.No.1702. There is also a head from a similar statuette ibid p.48 ff.

(6) MURALTO-LOCARNO

F. Stähelin, Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit 3rd edition (1948) p.519 ff.; also a model couch found in the Roman cemetery cf. Jahrsbericht der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte XXVIII (1936) p.66, pl.VIII, No.3.

(7) AUGST ?

A seated mother-goddess of the dea nutrix type made of whitish clay, (height 14 cms), is said to have been found at Augst. According to the records in the Historisches Museum Basel there is no proof that this is correct. The statuette was purchased for the museum, Inv.No.1935.124.

The foregoing list includes only those clay statuettes for which the circumstances of their discovery are reasonably certain.

This statement is necessary for copies of original Allier types of statuettes were produced in Switzerland from about the time of the Paris Exhibition 1867 until the second World War.

M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musee des Antiquites Nationales", XXIV^e supplément à Gallia p.35.

REGION 5

(Map 17)

BAVARIA

(1) REGENSBURG

Dea nutrix seated on basket chair suckling one infant.

H. Lamprecht, Verh. d. hist. Ver. v Oberpfalz und

Regensburg N.F. 50 (1906) Taf.7.

(2) BAD REICHENHALL (LANGACKER-KARLSTEIN) (FIG.24)

Cremated burial (Grave 328) found in the year 1900.

Yellowish clay. Height 18 cms; width 7.5 cms;

front to rear 6.5 cms. The joints clearly show that

the statuette was made in four separate moulds,

i.e., two for the head, two for the body, front and back

respectively, and a flat D-shaped pad of clay sealed the

base. K. Lindenschmidt in Altertümer unserer Heidnischen

Vorzeit Band 5, No.1202, Taf.65; F. Jenkins, Hommages à

Albert Grenier, Latomus LVIII (1962) pl.CLXXIII, Fig.4.

(3) GAUTING

Twelve complete statuettes of Venus found with a large collection of pottery vessels in what seems to have been the shop of a trader in pottery destroyed by fire in the reign of Hadrian.

H-J. Kellner, Die Römer in Bayern (1971) Taf.49.

(4) STRAUBING

Statuette of Venus (our Type I B).

Das Römische Donaukastel Straubing-Sorviodunum, Taf.117, 4.

(5) PFAFFENOFEN-am-Inn (near ROSENHEIM)

Mould for a bust of Jupiter found in excavating a potteries site. H-J. Kellner op cit p.101.

AUSTRIA

DEA NUTRIX

- (1) Nursing a single swaddled infant. Found Halstatt a.d. Friedelfeld (Upper Austria). Halstatt Museum Inv.No.9801. F. Morton, Osterreich Jahresberichte 40 (1953) Beiblatt 174, Bild 83 ff.
- (2) With one infant. Found Salzburg. M. Silber, Mitt. Anthr. Ges. Wien 56 (1926) 374.
- (3) Nursing two infants. Found Wels (Upper Austria). G. Trathnigg in K. Holter and G. Trathnigg, Wels von der Urzeit bis zur Gegenwart (Wels 1964) 25.
- (4-5) Nursing two infants and seated in a basket chair. Found Salzburg. Salzburg Museum.
- (6-7-8) Nursing two infants and seated in basket chair. Bayern National Museum Munchen. Found Salzburg.
- (9) Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Found Salzburg. M. Silber, Mitt. Anthr. Ges. Wien 56 (1926) 372, Bild 1,5. O. Klose, Juvavum (Wien 1929) 76, Bild 36. R. Noll, Die Kunst der Römerzeit in Osterreich (Salzburg 1949) p.17, Bild 20.

VENUS

- (1) Venus standing with an eagle and a small girl stands at her left side. Found Salzburg. Museum Antiker Kleinkunst München Inv.No.1510.
M. Silber, Mitteilung. Anthr. Geschichte Wien 56 (1926), 377, Bild 1,4. O. Klose, Juvavum (Wien 1929) 76, Bild 39.
M. Silber, Mitteilung. Anthr. Geschichte Wien 56 (1926), 377, Bild 1,4.
Height 22 cms.

- (2) Venus standing holding a mantle over five small human figures, a woman and boy to her right, and a woman and two boys to her left side. Found Salzburg. Salzburg Museum.
Height 24.5 cms.
M. Silber, op cit 56 (1926) 371 f., Bild 1.4.
Klose-Silber op cit 75 f., Bild 35;
H. Kenner, "Österreich Jahresberichte 43 (1956-58) 64.
Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

DOG

Found Salzburg.
R. Noll, Die Künste der Römerzeit in Österreich (Salzburg 1949)
p.17, Bild 21.

THORN-PULLER

Found Salzburg.
Archeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich V
(1881) Taf.VI, S 187.

BOY with GOAT

Found Salzburg. H-J. Kellner op cit.

HUNGARY

- (1) Dea nutrix type of mother-goddess seated nursing an infant.

Found Dunaujváros (Intercisa).

Ungarisches Museum Budapest Inv.No.64/1904-17.

K. Sz. Póczy, Budapest régiségi 20 (1963) p.241, Bild 17.

PART 6.

Catalogue of the various types of clay statuettes found in Britain.

(A) Female Deities :-

1. Mother-goddesses
2. Venus
3. Diana
4. Minerva
5. Luna
6. Leda
7. Epona

(B) Male Deities :-

1. Apollo
2. Bacchus
3. Hercules
4. Mercury
5. Mars

(C) Genii

(D) Busts :-

1. Female Personages
2. Youthful Personages
3. Children
4. Risus

(E) Boys holding fruit, etc.

(F) Thorn-puller (Spinario)

(G) Gladiator

(H) Horseman

(I) Caricatures

(J) Animals :-

1. Bulls
2. Horses
3. Dogs

(K) Birds :-

1. Cockerels
2. Hens
3. Pigeons

(L) Vases in the form of
Animals

(M) Shrines

(N) Miscellaneous
Unclassified pieces

A

I DEA NUTRIX

There are numerous statuettes which portray a maternal figure, evidently a mother-goddess, seated in a basket chair, in the act of suckling either one or two infants. For this reason she will be referred to as the dea nutrix although her true identity is at present unknown. A common and characteristic feature of the whole series is the basket chair. This has a rounded back which supports the matron up to the level of her shoulders, while the sides curve round towards the front to form the arms. All these chairs apparently stand on the ground on semicircular bases without any feet. Although the definition varies from statuette to statuette depending on the efficiency of the moulding and the condition of the original moulds, the woven wickerwork and the outlines of the vertical canes which supported it are always discernable. There is also a band of plaited design outlining the edges of the back and sides. With one exception from Canterbury, all the examples of this type of statuette at present known to have been found in Britain, have the pattern of the weave indicated by short oblique incised lines arranged in herringbone formation in vertical bands up the sides and the backs of the chairs. (1)

This is commonly featured on most of the statuettes of this type which were produced in the Allier region, e.g. at Toulon-sur-Allier, Vichy, etc., whereas the exception from Canterbury is like those

(1) Canterbury, Sun Street (now lost) the illustration of which published by John Brent, Canterbury in the Olden Time, pp.40-41, pl.6, No.5, shows the weave of the chair indicated in the more realistic manner and may therefore be an example of the work of Pistillus. (ie. as FIGS 19 and 131)

produced by Pistillus of Autun and Marcellus who both depicted the basketry in a more realistic fashion with the weave arranged in horizontal rows. (FIGS. 19 and 131)

The date at which the basket chair first appeared in Western Europe is uncertain, but by the second century of our era the type had become firmly established on the carved stone and marble reliefs of the West, to which time these statuettes belong (cf. Joan Liversidge, Furniture in Roman Britain (Tiranti, 1955) pp.16-24).

Those statuettes which are sufficiently complete for the details of the garments to be studied reveal that the matrons wear what might be termed a maternity robe over an ankle-length tunica. It is commonly worn by numerous matrons of this type, and not one displays any evidence to suggest that it opened down the front, or that it was secured by a brooch or any other kind of fastening. In fact it seems to have been made of a single rectangular shaped piece of material to hang down the back and the front, with a hole provided for the head with a v-shaped cut to form the collar, and open at both sides from top to bottom to leave the arms bare. The garment is gathered together in the front to expose both breasts and hangs in deep narrow folds between the matron's legs.⁽¹⁾ It is noteworthy that this garment seems to be worn only by the Central Gaulish deae nutrices, for the analogous statuettes of nursing matrons from the Rhine-Mosel region are garbed in a different style and there it seems to be the orthodox garment for it is featured frequently on the stone monuments, and is worn either to leave one shoulder and breast exposed,⁽²⁾ or over both shoulders and seemingly arranged to be opened

(1) cf. the example from Canterbury, Kent (Catalogue No.2). (FIG.2)

(2) cf. F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901) p.65, Taf.IX, Nos.9-20 from Dhronnecken.

down the front.⁽¹⁾ In the Gaulish series therefore we may have a regional variation of the garments worn by nursing mothers.

A common feature of many of the Gaulish statuettes is that the skirt of the undergarment hangs in deep v-shaped folds which are represented by incised lines from the mould.⁽²⁾ The hem of the skirt is either represented by a single line or a narrow raised band presumably to indicate the stitching. Sometimes the skirt hangs in vertical pleats and the hem is edged with a single row of six small circular studs or bosses in relief, as for example from Snodland, Kent.⁽³⁾ Deae nutrices without this adornment but with similarly pleated skirts are illustrated by Tudot (cf. Tudot, pl.25 left and centre)⁽⁴⁾ and others signed by Pistillus have been found at Bolards, near Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d'Or).⁽⁵⁾ Sometimes the folds of the skirt are moulded more realistically to suggest the shape of the concealed legs of the matron, a technique which is also displayed by a group of three mother-goddesses signed by Pistillus from Autun,⁽⁶⁾ and by a single statuette of the dea nutrix type found at Nor'nour (Isles of Scilly).⁽⁷⁾

(1) cf. example from the Altbachtal temple area Trier.

Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.S.T.12128.

(2) As on the Canterbury example supra. (FIG.2)

(3) cf. similarly arranged folds of the robe on a complete statuette of this type found at Toulon-sur-Allier (St. Germain-en-Laye Museum, Inv.No.7277) Snodland, Kent (Catalogue No.9); British Museum Inv.No.1962-4-3.3. (FIG.25)

(4) E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, oeuvres premières de l'art gaulois (Paris, 1860).

(5) Gallia VII (1950) fasc.1, p.336, Nos.105-114 not illustrated.

(6) Mémoires de la Société Eduenne LII (1971) fasc.1, p.50, fig.1.

(7) Archaeological Journal CXXIV (1967) pp.19-21, pl.IV B. (Our FIG.55)

The hair styles of the dea nutrix type of statuettes are of various kinds, and the examples found in Britain may be classified as follows:-

TYPE I. (FIGS. 2 and 18)

The hair is parted in the centre and is arranged in deep, full waves framing the brow, almost concealing the ears. It is gathered or plaited in a spreading pad up the back of the head and is secured high up on the crown. This hair style is affected by the following examples found in Britain. (N.B. Hereinafter the numeration in parenthesis refers to that in the catalogue of dea nutrix statuettes which follows this discussion *qv.*).

(01) Reculver, Kent; (02) Cliffe, Kent; (03) Beauport Park, Sussex; (04) Cirencester, Gloucestershire; (09) Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly; all of these are detached heads.

(2) Canterbury, Kent; (15) Welwyn, Hertfordshire; both complete statuettes.

TYPE 2. (FIG.1)

The hair is drawn up on either side close to the head leaving the ears uncovered, and is secured in a large chignon perched high on the crown.

(1) Canterbury, Kent; a complete statuette.

TYPE 3.

The hair is similarly arranged as in Type I but is secured in a bow-shaped knot on the top of the head.

(3) Canterbury, Kent; a complete statuette now lost, but the representation of the basketry of the chair is realistic and in the style of Pistillus of Autun, whose statuettes have this hair style.

TYPE 4. (FIG).22)

This is a very elaborate coiffure resembling that affected by ladies of high rank in Flavian and Trajanic times, which was probably composed of alien hair. The hair is piled high in the front in a large roll and has a central vertical parting down the back of the head and is secured in a small neat bun at the nape of the neck. The roll of hair is ornamented with small motives in relief resembling a letter S in retrograde fashion, perhaps to represent small curls. One of this type was found in London.

Several statuettes of deae nutrices and moulds for similar types with variations of this coiffure have been found at Toulon-sur-Allier where they were made. (1)

For the statuettes and moulds from Toulon-sur-Allier cf. the series in St. Germain Museum, Inv.Nos.7277, 7278, 27952 (all statuettes) and 27954 (two examples of the moulds).

Another closely similar hair style is featured on a detached head from a statuette of the dea nutrix type found in a Romano-Celtic temple at Carnac (Morbihan) cf. James Miln, Fouilles faites à Carnac (Morbihan) Paris 1877, pp.143-144, pl.V on p.147 centre row No.5.

For the London example see Part 6 A 1 London No.05.

(1) E. Tudot, op cit pl.25.

A

I FEMALE DEITIES

DEA NUTRIX

- (1) Canterbury, Kent. St. Dunstan's Roman Cemetery in a cremated burial. (FIG.1)
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (2nd series)I, p.330;
Archaeologia Cantiana XVII, pp.34-7; ibid LXXI, pp.38-46, pl.I.
 Royal Museum Canterbury Inv.No.933. The associated pottery now lost. Hair style 2.
- (2) Canterbury, Kent. Site of Hammond's Bank, now Lloyd's Bank, High Street. (FIG.2)
Archaeologia Cantiana XVII, pp.34-7, text fig; ibid LXXI, pp.38-46, pl.I. Royal Museum Canterbury Inv.No.931.
 Hair style Type I.
- (3) Canterbury, Kent. Found in Sun Street.
 John Brent, Canterbury in the Olden Time, pp.40-41, pl.6, No.5.
The Archaeological Journal I, p.281; ibid L, pp.282-3.
 Bore an inscription read by F. Haverfield as SILI;
Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, No.1355. The statuette is now lost.
 The goddess holds one infant at the right breast. Hair style Type 3.
- (4) Canterbury, Kent. From site west of Iron Bar Lane and just south of Burgate Street. Excavations by S.S. Frere. (FIG.3)
Archaeologia Cantiana LXXI (1957), pp.38-46, pl.II.

- (5) Canterbury, Kent. Site on the south side of St. John's Lane. Excavations by J. Boyle and F. Jenkins. The goddess holds one infant at the right breast. (FIG.17)
Archaeologia Cantiana LXXI (1957), pp.38-46, pl.III.
Royal Museum Canterbury.
- (6) London. Austin Friars. (FIG.6) London Museum Catalogue No.3, London in Roman Times, p.48, pl.XXI, No.5.
London Museum Inv.No.A.243. Collection Latomus 103 p.314, No.2, pl.cxxvi, fig.1 centre row left.
- (7) London. Cophthall Court. (FIG.14) London Museum Catalogue No.3, London in Roman Times, p.49, pl.XXI, No.6. London Museum Inv. No.A.244. The goddess holds one infant at right breast.
- (8) London. Liverpool Street. (FIG.5)
Journal of the British Archaeological Association XXVII, p.373;
Guildhall Museum Catalogue p.70, No.30; Collection Latomus 103, p.314, No.1. Guildhall Museum London Inv.No.2088.
- (9) Snodland, Kent (Ham Hill Sandpit). (FIG.25)
Found on the site of a Roman cemetery in September, 1961.
British Museum Inv.No.1962-4-3.3.
- (10) Arkesden, Essex. (FIG.10)
In 1844 objects from a burial, later described by R.C. Neville, "were found in draining work in an open field.... close together". This group included a headless clay statuette of the dea nutrix suckling two infants, two samian platters, a complete bowl of form Dragendorf 78, a small buff flagon lacking the neck, and a toy platter. All the objects except one of the samian platters are now in the Museum of Archaeology and

Ethnology, University of Cambridge. One of the samian pieces of Ludowici type Tg bears the stamp CVNO PI CI a Colchester potter of about A.D.190, according to Mr. M.R. Hull who suggests that the Drag. form 78 being unusual may not be samian. A large deep red bowl, similar to a spreading form 30 or large form 78, is very crude and is perhaps an imitation. There is also a tall waisted Castor ware beaker, so that the date of the group lies in the second half of the second century, and possibly in the last quarter of that century. The toy platter now seems to be lost.

R.C. Neville, Sepulchra Exposita 40 ff.

Archaeological Journal V, 236.

Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society I, 145, 194.

Victoria County History of Essex (1963) 39.

Cambridge Museum Inv.No.48.815.

The height of the statuette is now 11 cms. It is in buff white clay. The usual herringbone pattern indicating the wicker work of the chair is not shown, but there are vertical half round mouldings on the back and slight traces of the pattern on the front of the sides of the chair. It is noteworthy that the hand of the infant at the left breast is placed higher than that on the right. There is the usual blow-hole in the left side of the chair.

(11) Silchester, Hampshire.

T. May, The Roman Pottery found at Silchester, p.162, pl.XXXIX B,

No.14. Reading Museum. Archaeologia LV (1896), p.239.

(FIG.7)

- (12) Chester, Cheshire. The Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society and Historical Journal (new series) XXVII, pp.93-102, fig. Grosvenor Museum, Chester. Found on site of Forest House, when Co-operative Stores were built in 1903-4, at the corner of Love Street and Foregate Street, associated with late Flavian to third century pottery. (FIG.13)
- (13) Hambleden, Buckinghamshire. Archaeologia 71, p.198. Hambleden, Bucks Museum. Found on the site of the third house north of the west stokehole at a depth of two feet.
- (14) Exeter, Devon. Journal of Roman Studies XV, p.237. The Royal Albert Memorial Museum Exeter Inv.No.33/1924.1. Found 1924 at a depth of 8 feet beneath foundations behind Messrs Colson's premises, 34 High Street, and between it and St. Katherine's Street. Two coins, of Pius and Valens, also found on this site. (FIG.8)
- (15) Welwyn, Hertfordshire. Complete figurine of the dea nutrix nursing one infant at the right breast. Found 1967, on the site of a Roman cemetery, with pottery from a disturbed grave, during rescue excavations by Mr. A. Rook and the Lockleys Archaeological Society at The Grange, just behind Welwyn church. The moulded detail, particularly the wicker work is unusually distinct. The hair style is our Type I. Height of the figurine overall c. 14.5 cms, height of the rear of the chair 10 cms. Current Archaeology No. 3 (July 1967) p.78 illustration. Archaeologia Cantiana LXXI (1957), 44 No.3, pl.I (b); and also detached heads (02) Cliffe; (04) Cirencester (05) Beauport Park, Hastings. (FIGS.15-16)

The associated pottery included a samian bowl Dragendorf form 31 which has the potter's stamp BVCVARAM. This, according to Mr. Brian Hartley, M.A., F.S.A., is rare as there is only one other example of this potter's work known, and that is from Lezoux, "It should be Hadrianic or Antonine."

The associated coarse ware pottery included the following items:-

- (1) Lower part of a jar in light buff ware.
 - (2) Small beaker with a globular body and outward splayed rim and stump foot in light grey ware.
 - (3) Flagon lacking the mouth and the handle in red ware with a coating of red slip.
- (16) Ware, Hertfordshire. Found on the site of Messrs Allen and Hanbury, Ware. Fragment definitely of dea nutrix nursing one infant.
Hertford Museum. Unpublished.
- (17) Denver, Norfolk. Found as a surface find at Salter's Lode, close to the track of the east-west Roman road across the Fens. Most of the chance finds in this area are of Antonine date, according to Mr. J.P. Smallwood. Publication pending.
Norwich Castle Museum. (There is also a cast of this piece in King's Lynn, Norfolk Museum).
Fragment of the front from the neck down to below the knees. Surviving height c. 7 cms. The hand of the infant at the left breast is placed higher than that at the right.

(FIG.9)

(18) Caerleon, Monmouthshire. Found in the 1954 excavations in the main drain of the canabae outside the legionary fortress. The associated material belonged to the period A.D. 140-230.

(a) The neck and shoulders of a dea nutrix; only the hands of the two infants now remain, that at the left breast is placed higher than that at the right. White clay with smooth white "soapy" surface. Surviving overall height c. 3.5 cms. Front half.

Caerleon Museum No.54.389 A, F 204.

(b) The lower part of front half of dea nutrix showing the lower part of her robe and her feet. Surviving overall height c. 3.3 cms. Buff clay soapy surface.

Caerleon Museum No.54.389 A, F 203.

(c) Fragment of basket chair showing usual wicker work pattern. White clay. Caerleon Museum No.54.389 A, F 205.

(d) D-shaped plate of whitish buff clay normally used to seal the base of dea nutrix types of statuettes. This piece, however, does not belong to the above described pieces (b). Caerleon Museum No.54.389 B, F 67. Unstratified.

It seems therefore, that at least two statuettes are represented.

(19-20) East Bridgeford, Nottinghamshire (Margidunum). (FIGS.11-12)

Two incomplete clay figurines each of the dea nutrix type nursing two infants. Found 1968, in domestic rubbish to the rear of a simple building probably erected about the middle of the second century A.D.

Malcolm Todd, Roman Settlement at Margidunum, the Excavations of 1966-8; Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire LXXIII (Nottingham 1970) with note on the statuettes by F. Jenkins, pp.93-95.

- (1) Lacks head which has broken off at the base of the neck. Height is now 10.4 cms, and the height of the back of the chair is 10 cms. Fine white smooth clay.
- (2) The head is broken off at the top of the neck, and the lower front part of the seated figure and the pedestal are broken off. Height is now 11.7 cms, and the height of the back of the chair is 9.8 cms.
- (21) Dover, Kent. Found during excavations directed by B.J. Philp, September 1971. Headless, but otherwise complete. Publication pending. Inv.No.DV 2580.
- (22) Springhead, Kent. (FIG.4)
Found in the temple area excavations, September 1971, directed by S. Harker. Headless, but otherwise complete. The detail of the basketry of the chair is very well moulded. The width of the D-shaped base 5.4 cms, depth of same 4 cms; height to the top of the back of the chair is now 10.6 cms.
- (23) Aldborough, West Riding, Yorkshire.
Upper part of torso of matron, lacking the head, suckling one infant at the right breast.
M.U. Jones, Aldborough West Riding 1964 Excavations at the South Gate and Bastion and at Extra-Mural Sites,
Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 43 (1971) p.70, fig.20.
- (24) Brenley near Faversham, Kent.
Fragment of front of statuette showing the characteristic folds of the gown over the breasts and part of the hand of the infant at the right breast. Also a piece of the curved back of the basket chair with rounded top (No.002 infra).
Found within a few yards of each other in a stratified Roman deposit with second century pottery but with fourth century coinage.

Evidently a survival in later rubbish. The site is just to the south of the London Road (A2) close to the remains of a small square building with a cobbled floor.

Canterbury Archaeological Society rescue excavations prior to the construction of the Boughton by-pass road September 1972.

- (25) Chesterholm, Westmorland. Found in the vicus of the Roman fort at Vindolanda. The matron suckles an infant at the right breast. Unstratified. Headless; height now 10 cms.
Archaeologia Aeliana 5th series I, (1973) p.117, pl.XVII, 12.
- (26) Galloper Sands, North Sea. Dredged up off the Galloper Sands 20-25 miles off the coast of Essex, April 1971, by a Dutch trawler fishing just outside British territorial waters. Complete example nursing two infants. Height 15.5 cms.
A. Van Doorselaer, in Archeologie en Historie Festbundel
H. Brunsting (Brussels, 1973) pp.275-280, Afb.1.

The following are detached heads almost certainly belonging to statuettes of the dea nutrix type. All hair styles are our Type I.

(01) Reculver, Kent. (FIG.18)

Found on the foreshore near the Roman fort (Regulbium) by Mr. Anthony Swaine.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXI (1957) pp.38-46, pl.IV.

Royal Museum Canterbury.

(02) Cliffe, Kent.

Unpublished and present whereabouts unknown. A drawing taken from a photograph by Mr. Ian Jackson shows that the head is closely similar in size and style to the one from Reculver (supra).

(03) Beauport Park, Hastings, Sussex.

Unpublished. Found 1973 on the site of the Roman bath-house.

Excavations directed by Mr. G. Brodrigg, M.A., F.S.A.

(04) Cirencester, Gloucestershire. Insula XXI, Castle Street.

Found during excavations under the direction of Mr. A. McWhirr, B.Sc., M.A., F.S.A., in 1970. Of precisely the same type as the foregoing examples 01-03 inclusive.

Antiquaries Journal LIII (1973), p.209.

(05) London. Three pieces. Hair style Type 4. (FIG.22)

Face and lower part of the hair over the forehead. Height 5.2 cms. British Museum Inv.No.56/7-1/325.

Fragment of the lower part of very elaborate hair style.

Height 4.5 cms. British Museum Inv.No.56/7-1/326.

Rear of head complete showing halo-like hair style and neat bun at nape of neck. Height 3 cms.

British Museum Inv.No.56/7-1/328.

C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI, p.239, fig.

The following are detached heads mainly incomplete which may have belonged to statuettes of the dea nutrix type.

(06) Ashstead, Surrey.

Surrey Archaeological Collections XXXVII (1927) pp.156-7,
fig.2, 16.

(07) Orpington, Kent.

Part of the face from the bridge of the nose down to the chin with the neck attached.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXXIV (1969) pp.72-73, fig.13 r.

(08-09) Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly. (FIG.55)

Two fragments of different heads found with other pieces of clay statuettes of the dea nutrix and Venus types. Occupation of the site commenced c.A.D.100 and ceased c.A.D.200.

Archaeological Journal CXXIV (1967) pp.19-21, pl.IV B.

The following are fragments which display certain details characteristic of the dea nutrix type of statuette, such as part of the basket chair, the robe, etc.

(001) Reculver, Kent. Found excavations 1954, in Saxon Shore Fort of Regulbium.

Part of the right side of the chair, the right arm and part of the hand, and lower part of robe with usual deep v-shaped folds.
Herne Bay Museum.

(002) Brenley, Kent.

Fragment of the curved top of the chair showing weave of the basketry. (Found near No.24 supra).

- (003) Wroxeter, Shropshire. Found in excavations directed by Dr. A.W.J. Houghton, F.S.A. Two fragments which join at the back of the basket chair, evidently belonging to a larger size of statuette than is usually found in Britain.
Height 11 cms; maximum width 7.5 cms.
- (004) Wroxeter, Shropshire.
Lower part showing right side of chair and robe of the goddess.
Height now c. 5.6 cms.
Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report, Wroxeter I (1912)
p.31, pl.XI, fig.2, No.3.
- (005) Highdown Hill, Sussex. Found during the excavations of the Roman bath-house. Part of the side of the basket chair.
Sussex Archaeological Collections LXXX, fig.XV, No.4.
- (006) Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly.
Three pieces, perhaps representing two separate basket chairs.
With other statuettes.
Archaeological Journal CXXIV (1967), pp.19-21, pl.IV B.
Site occupied from c.A.D.100, destroyed c.A.D.200.
- (007) Canterbury, Kent.
Part of the back of the basket chair showing curved top and wicker work. Found in excavations on the site just north of Whitehall Road in 1959, now under Rheims Way; directed by F. Jenkins
- (008) Leintwardine, Herefordshire.
Right side of the chair and lower part of the robe showing the feet.
Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club XXXIX (1968),
p.296, fig.32, No.20.

- (009) Dover, Kent. Found in excavations, September 1971, directed by Mr. B. Philp. Inv.No.DV 1946. Publication pending. Small piece of basket chair in buff coloured clay. This does not belong to the more complete statuette from the same site (see No.21 above).
- (0010) Springhead, Kent.
Fragment of the back of a basket chair. Found September 1971 in the same area as No.22 (supra).
- (0011) Ruxox Farm, near Flitwick, Bedfordshire.
Eight fragments found with eighty-two pieces of other clay statuettes principally of Venus on the surface of a field at Ruxox Farm (National Grid Reference TL 052359) by the farmer Mr. J. Course. The collection is now in the museum at Longsands School, St. Neots, Hunts.
- (1) Fragment showing the infant suckling at the right breast and the hand of the goddess. Height now 4.1 cms. (No.65).
 - (2) Part of the right side of the basket chair showing the right foot of the goddess and part of her robe falling in deep v-shaped folds. (No.68).
 - (3) Part of the curved top of the back of the basket chair on the right side. (No.71).
 - (4) Part of the left side of the basket chair very much abraded. (No.72).
 - (5) Part of the back of the basket chair displaying the usual wicker work pattern. (No.70).
- (6-8 inclusive) Very small pieces of the basket chair.
(Nos.63-74-81).

The only piece which provides a clue to the type of dea nutrix is the first in the above list which shows that the goddess was shown originally suckling two infants. The other pieces are too small and do not join so that we cannot say for certain how many statuettes they represent.

The numeration is that on each piece in the collection at Longsands School Museum.

(0012) Braintree, Essex.

Fragment of the back of the shoulders and neck of the goddess with part of the top of the basket chair below. Found in an occupation deposit dated to the first half of the 4th century.

Essex Archaeological Society excavations directed by Mr. G.D. Pratt.

(0013) Verulamium, Hertfordshire.

Fragment of left side of basket chair.

R.E.M. Wheeler & T.V. Wheeler, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.XI, Verulamium, p.203, pl.LXI, 6.

(0014) Brancaster, Norfolk.

Small piece broken off just below the knees showing part of the front of the skirt of the robe with the characteristic v-shaped folds which are particularly well moulded.

Excavations by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Site Inv.No.BRC 1002 (20) CW27.

Found in late third or fourth century occupation debris (evidently a survival) in the extra-mural settlement of the Saxon Shore fort.

(0015) London.

New Fresh Wharf on the Thames Waterfront near the site of London Bridge. Two pieces.

- (a) Fragment of the front half showing the side and arm of the basket chair, the right arm of the goddess, a portion of the head of an infant who is held at the right breast, and a portion of the skirt of the robe. Too incomplete to determine whether the matron nursed one infant or two. Hard, fine white clay. Height now 8 cms. Excavations by the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London. Site Inv.No.NFW 74, 166, 75.4, 284. Unpublished. Found in a deposit of mid-third century date.

- (b) Small piece of the left side of the back of the chair showing the weave of the basketry. Hard, fine white clay. Height 4.3 cms. Excavations and site as above. Site Inv.No.NFW 74, 75.4, 389. Unpublished. Found in a deposit dated second half of second century.

(0016) York.

Bishophill - Car Park 1973.

Piece of the back of the chair showing the weave of the basketry. Height now c. 6.7 cms. Hard, fine white clay.

Excavations by the York Archaeological Trust.

Site Inv.No.1973.15.II 10977. Unpublished.

Found in a deposit dated mid-late second century.

A1. 2.

SEATED MOTHER GODDESSES

(1) Colchester, Essex. (FIG.27)

Head only in white clay, of a mother-goddess wearing a large turban-like cap which fits close to the head and is secured by a lace, the knot of which is by the right temple. This distinctive headgear was a local style worn by the mother-goddesses (matronae) of the Rhineland, particularly in the district around Cologne and Bonn. Around the back of the cap is an inscription incised in semi-cursive script, which reads:-

SERVANDVS CCAA FECIT that is, Servandus C(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(rae) A(grippinensium) fecit.

For the reading cf. F. Haverfield in Ephemeris Epigraphica IX, No.1356. The head is now in the Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester.

(2) Lancaster, Lancashire. (FIG.28)

A fragment of a seated figure, presumably a mother-goddess, wearing an ankle length robe to reveal bare feet, mounted on a rectangular plinth. On the back of the plinth was an inscription. This piece is now lost and the inscription was incorrectly read by J. Whitaker (cf. R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I (Oxford 1965), No.608)

F. Haverfield considered it to be corrupt (Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, 945). R.P. Wright has now published the correct reading after a study of drawings contained in the papers from the Roman Catholic Presbytery, Hornby, Lancs., now in the Lancashire Records Office (Ref.R.C.Hy).

These belonged to Father Thomas West (1717-79). A letter from him dated 1st February 1776, read to the Society of Antiquaries of London on May 9th of that year, reported the finding at Church Street, Lancaster, at five feet from the surface in a stratum of household rubbish "the pedestal and feet part of a small image, thought to have been a Lar, with an inscription (it seems to be made of Plaster of Paris or some such matter".

Archaeologia V (1779) 98.

Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (3rd series), IV, 104.

It is mentioned in the West papers as having been found in a cutting to the west of Daniel Wilson's at a depth of 6 ft in a layer of ash, bones and pottery. Mr. R.P. Wright has now corrected the reading of the inscription as given by the drawing with the same papers, as follows:-

SERVAN|DVS CCA|[A]D FOR[V]M

In line 3 the final letter seems to be M whereas the others are uncertain. It is possible that this reads A|FOR[V]M and that a fourth line did not fit the plinth HORDIA[RIVM]FE(CIT).
cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10015, 108 c.

(3) Springhead, Kent.

Fragment of a mother-goddess seated on a throne which has three knob-like projections spaced at intervals up the front of each leg. The goddess holds a patera in her right hand resting on her knee, and probably other attributes such as fruits on her lap but these have not survived.

The leg of the throne is closely paralleled by those of thrones of seated mother-goddesses in the Landesmuseum Bonn (Inv.No.A 1099) cf. Germania Romana V, Taf,III, 2; and from Tongres now in the Gallo-Romeins Museum, Tongres cf. Exposition Tongres Point de Rencontre Romain 30th August-2nd November 1958 Catalogue p.67 and plate central statuette. There is also another example from Cologne, but in this case the goddess holds a small dog on her lap. It is now in the Römisch-Germanischen Museum Cologne Inv.No.340.

Between the legs of the goddess the folds of the robe are arranged in the form of the links of a chain or figure of eight. This is closely similar to that on the statuette from Bonn cited above (A.1099), and on two others from Bonn Inv.Nos.A300 and 15481; and also on the robes of seated goddesses holding fruits found at Cologne (lower part only survives) and from Alttrier, Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, cf. M. Böss, "Zum Terrakottentöpfer Vindex" in Bonner Jahrbuch 155/156 (1955) pp.314-316, Abb.2; Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 19 (1900) p.410, respectively.

Goddesses of this type in clay usually wear the distinctive turban-like cap of the Cologne-Bonn region. On the Bonn example (A15481) the letters $\begin{matrix} V \\ R \end{matrix}$ in relief from the mould are almost certainly the initials of the modeller, perhaps VICTOR or VINDEX who were both makers of clay statuettes in the Rhineland; the latter certainly worked at Cologne at the kilns near the Hahnentor. The clay is white and similar in texture to the statuettes of that industry.

Height overall now 6.3 cms, width c.2.5 cms. Associated with radiate type coins c.A.D.270. (1968 site, Section 4, Strat.3).

SEATED MOTHER-GODDESS WITH A DOG

(4) Canterbury, Kent. (FIG.26)

The statuette here illustrated is of a matron seated on a high-backed chair, holding a small dog in both hands on her lap. The type is well known in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland where numerous examples have been found, and as two moulds were found at Bertrich, it is not unreasonable to suppose that these statuettes belong to an industry centred in the Rhine-Moselle region. Furthermore, they do not seem to have been included in the repertoire of the modellers who worked for the central Gaulish industry.

For the moulds found at Bad Bertrich cf. Trierer Zeitschrift 16 (1941), Taf.3, Abbg.29 a & h, Nos.28636 and 28637 b.

Seated personages represented by fragments too small for accurate identification of the type.

Richborough, Kent.

Found in the inner ditch outside the west wall of the fort. An unpublished piece of a white clay statuette of a seated figure, seemingly female, is in the museum at Richborough (Inv.No.1752). The height is now 5 cms.

All that remains is the right side of a straight backed chair or throne which shows no sign of basketry, standing on the ground on a rectangular base without feet. The side of the chair, which is set at right-angles to the back, when viewed from the side has an ogee curve to form the arm-rest. Only the lower part of the seated figure remains showing that the right side of the skirt of the robe is folded diagonally over the left. The feet of the figure emerge from under the hem.

STANDING MATRON

Chichester, Sussex. (FIG.29)

A statuette of a female figure standing erect in a frontal attitude and wearing a long chiton or mantle covering the arms to the elbows and adorned with a large circular brooch. It is possible that she wears a necklace with pendant or amulet. The right arm is close to the body and slightly raised to hold a small round object against the right side and below the brooch. The left hand holds an object which may be a vase. The hair is waved, full and round and twisted back being surmounted by a coil of hair like a diadem itself. The clay is red with a white clay slip coating and therefore it may be a product of Trier but this type of statuette is unparalleled in the vast collection in the Landesmuseum, Trier. The statuette was made in a two-piece mould and a blowhole is provided in the centre of the back to ensure the escape of gases during the firing process. It was found at a depth of three feet in the bank of the River Lavant, south of a Roman bastion in the south-west town wall where some 330 feet west of the south gate it forms the boundary of the Residentiary Gardens (1943). Now in Chichester Museum. A note appeared in Sussex Notes and Queries IX, 183; and it is fully described in Antiquaries Journal XXIV, pp.153-4, fig. The statuette is 14 cms, but is broken towards the bottom.

STANDING MATRON HOLDING AN INFANT

Caerleon, Monmouthshire. (FIGS.30-31)

Fragment showing the head and left shoulder of an infant.
Height now 3.2 cms. Now in the National Museum of Wales,
Cardiff. Unpublished.

This piece evidently derives from a statuette of a standing female personage wearing a tunica under a palla, the latter being caught up by a double-corded girdle which is worn rather high. The garment is rolled down off the right shoulder to expose the right breast and arm. She holds a vase at her right side in her right hand, and supports a nude male infant facing to the front on her left forearm. This type of statuette was made by Vindex at Cologne. There is a complete specimen from Zugmantel bearing his name, and fragmentary examples from Cologne. cf. Zugmantel signed by Vindex (Vindex fec) Saalburg Jahrbuch 5 (1924) 101 E, Abb.29 right; for fragments of other statuettes of this same type found at Cologne ibid 11 (1939) pp.6-7, Taf.5,1,2 and 4; also Part 3c of this thesis under Vindex.

A 2

VENUS.

Of all the clay statuettes recorded as found on sites in Britain, the most numerous are those now generally identified as representations of the Roman goddess Venus. Although varying in minor details they represent a nude or semi-nude female personage, normally moulded in the round, and free standing on a small hollow plinth, which usually is dome shaped, but is sometimes rectangular. The modelling of many of these statuettes is rather flat, the buttocks are more prominent than the breasts which appear as slight swellings with the nipples very rarely indicated. The detailing is usually coarse, the face is in low relief, the lips are thick, the nose is flattened, and the eyes are bulging in typical Celtic style. Having outlined the general characteristics displayed by these statuettes we can now proceed to discuss the various versions in more detail.

TYPE I (FIGS.39-43)

The predominant type, which hereinafter we shall refer to as Type I, portrays the goddess completely nude, and her right hand holds a lock of her hair near her right ear. Similar locks hang down over the front of her left shoulder and down the back of both shoulders. In her left hand she supports a sleeveless tunica or undergarment which hangs down to the ground by her left leg. Usually the definition of the details of the garment is rather sketchy but occasionally the left and right armholes are clearly indicated on the back and front respectively, and the neck of the garment is shown on the front with the collar sometimes emphasised by a rouletted border. Normally the creases of the garment in front are indicated in low relief, and similarly at the back where they sag in large folds to the ground.

The statuette from Chart Sutton, Kent, No.17, is a good example of an attempt to indicate the decoration on the garment. (FIG.40).

Down the front of the fairly wide shoulder strap which hangs on the left wrist, is a rectangular panel formed by single incised lines within which are two obliquely placed incised lines, presumably to indicate the stitching or embroidery, while down the outer edge are moulded rectangular lines and small circles in low relief.

The variations of Type I fall into three categories as follows:-

Type I A. The back of the left hand faces outwards and the right shoulder of the garment is held in the fingers,
cf. the example from Wickford, Essex No.8. (FIG.39)

Type I B. The left hand is thrust through the neck and shoulder of the garment so that the shoulder strap is supported on the wrist, cf. the example from Chart Sutton, Kent No.17. (FIG.40)

Type I C. The garment is supported in the manner similar to that of Type I B, but the hand also holds an object resembling a sea-shell, cf. the example from Coleman Street, London No.14. (FIG.43)

VENUS TYPE I A

COUNTY CATALOGUE NOS

Bedfordshire	19. 24.
Cheshire	1.
Cumberland	2. 4.
Essex	2. 8.
Gloucestershire	1. 2.
Hampshire	1. 5. 10.
Herefordshire	1. 2.
Hertfordshire	1. 3. 4.
Huntingdonshire	1.
Kent	7. 11. 14.
Leicestershire	1.
London	1. 2. 16. 17. 24. 25. 26. 37. 40. 41.
Middlesex	1.
Monmouthshire	1.
Norfolk	2. 3.
Northumberland	1. 5.
Scillies	1. 6.
Shropshire	2. 3.
Stirling	1.
Sussex	1. 4.
Westmorland	2.
Yorkshire	1. 2. 3.

VENUS TYPE I B

Essex	5.
Hampshire	11.
Kent	2. 5. 17.
London	3. 4. 7. 23. 36. 39.

VENUS TYPE I C

London	14.
--------	-----

VENUS TYPE II (FIGS.44-45)

Venus standing; nude above the hips. Her left hand supports her robe which has slipped down over the hips leaving the legs covered. The position of the right hand is the distinguishing feature for the variants of this type which may be sub-divided as follows:-

- A. The right hand holds a lock of her hair on the right shoulder.
- B. The right hand covers the left breast.
- C. The right hand covers the right breast.
- D. The right hand rests on the lower part of the abdomen just above the pubic zone.

Doubtless all these versions are very late copies of a Hellenistic prototype in stone, and is reminiscent of the Venus de Milo, but lacks the relaxed twisted composition of the latter.

The main incidence of find-places of this type of Venus is in those regions adjacent to the Rhineland served by the industry centred on Cologne. Fragmentary examples of this type but not complete enough to be placed in any of the aforementioned categories, have occurred at Springhead, Kent, No.12; London, No.22.

It is virtually certain that these are products of the Cologne or allied workshops and arrived in Britain as imports.

VENUS TYPE III (FIG. 46)

Venus standing semi-nude with drapery covering her back. She supports a fold over her right shoulder by her right hand pressed against the right breast. Another fold completely covers her left leg and is supported on her hip by her left hand. To the right of the goddess is an amor who stands on a pedestal or altar, and holds a globular shaped object on his right shoulder. At present only one example of this type has been found in Britain at York. Yorkshire, York No.4. (as FIG 46. from Vechten, Utrecht Museum Inv.No.5646)

VENUS TYPE IV

Venus standing nude with her right hand grasping a tress of hair. The hair falls over the shoulders in the usual fashion. In her left hand she supports drapery hanging down by her left side. In front of this is an eagle. To her right stands a bird, possibly a dove. Wroxeter, Shropshire No.1.

VENUS TYPE V (FIG.47)

Venus standing nude with her right hand pressed against the left breast. Her right hand rests on the top of a cippus in front of which is an amor who stands holding a globular object, possibly an apple, as if proffering it to the goddess. She wears a bracelet on her upper left arm. Lexden, Colchester, Essex No.1.

VENUS TYPE VI

Venus standing with a small male figure (amor) standing at her left side. Both are covered by a robe or cloak at the back. Venus wears anklets. London, Bond Court, Wallbrook No.11.

VENUS TYPE VII (FIG.48 Allier; FIG.49 London)

Comparable examples are illustrated by Tudot, pl.24, p.23 and p.33, which he described as "Divinités gauloises étrangères à l'Allier". Coutil in his study of this type of figurine, localized the centre of manufacture somewhere in the territory occupied by the Eburovices, the Vellocasses and the Lexovii, that is the area corresponding with modern Normandy. Jullian remarked that the type was archaic and primitive in style, and was possibly one of the earliest in the series of Romano-Gaulish figurines. Although the greatest incidence of finds is in the west, he thought the cult was local to that region, but that the figurines were made in the Allier or elsewhere, possibly because one was found in the kilns at Vichy. Reinach, on the other hand, pointed out that there was also proof of the existence of officinae at Rezé and Treguennec, hence it was unnecessary to suppose that the main centre of production was in the Allier. He thought that the people in north-west Gaul wished to conserve their local art-type and preferred their statuettes to be in this primitive style ornamented with stamped motives which were perhaps already out of date in the first century of the Christian era. The London example is a nude standing female figure framed by a rectangular cippus which is decorated on the front and the rear with various symbols embossed in relief. Her right hand is placed below the breasts which are

covered by a band, and the left arm is held against her side. At present this type is unique in Britain. London, Bank of England, Lothbury site, No.21.

VENUS TYPE VIII (FIG.50)

The nude female personage, evidently Venus, supports the tunica at her left side like our Type I B, but instead of her right hand apraised to hold a tress of hair her right arm is placed close to her side and she holds what seems to be a purse or vanity bag which has a large handle or annular form.

London, 1/7 St. Thomas Street, Southwark No.38.

cf. an almost exact parallel in similar broken state but mounted on a small hollow domed plinth from the Allier (photograph H. Vertet).

<u>VENUS TYPE II</u>	COUNTY CATALOGUE NOS
Kent	12
London	22
<u>VENUS TYPE III</u>	
Yorkshire	4
<u>VENUS TYPE IV</u>	
Shropshire	1
<u>VENUS TYPE V</u>	
Essex	1
<u>VENUS TYPE VI</u>	
London	11
<u>VENUS TYPE VII</u>	
London	21
<u>VENUS TYPE VIII</u>	
London	38

An examination of the hair styles affected by the statuettes of Venus found in Britain reveals that there are several variations which may be classified as follows:-

- (1) The hair is combed back and secured in a neat bun at the nape of the neck. A thick roll frames the temples, and above it is another roll falling in tightly rolled tresses, one on each shoulder. (FIG.51)

London 13 and 32; Hawkedon, Suffolk 2; Wall, Staffordshire 1.

- (2) The hair which has a medial parting is drawn straight back over the ears, and arranged in a tight roll which encircles the head and is secured in a small circular bun at the nape of the neck. The usual tresses fall over each shoulder. Common in the series from Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ Lary). (FIG.40)

London 10; Silchester, Hampshire 4; Chesters, Northumberland 2 and 3; Carlisle, Cumberland 2 and 4; Chart Sutton, Kent 17.

- (3) The hair is centrally parted above the forehead and is arranged in deep waves to frame the temples, and is caught up in an elaborate bow-like knot high on the head. The usual tresses hang down over each shoulder.

London 16. (FIG.53)

- (4) The hair is parted at the centre of the brow and is arranged in deep waves to frame the face, with the usual tresses falling over each shoulder. (FIG.39)

London 1; Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly 1 and 2; Godmanchester, Huntingdonshire 1; Hawkedon, Suffolk 1; Flitwick, Bedfordshire at least seven examples; St. Albans, Hertfordshire 4; Wickford, Essex 8.

- (5) The hair is arranged in a deep roll almost horizontally above the brow and falls in thick rolled tresses over the back of the shoulders. The modelling of this type of statuette is rather flatter and the detailing is rather coarser than the foregoing types. (FIG.52)

London 7. This head belongs to a statuette of our Type I B, and was probably made at Cologne, cf. a close parallel from Neuss, H. v. Petrikovits, Novaesium, Das Römische Neuss, Führer Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Nr.3, S.90, Nr.68, Abb.31.

The appended table sets forth the various hair styles affected by the statuettes found on British sites.

VENUS

Provenance	County No.	HAIR STYLES					FIG.No.
		1	2	3	4	5	
London	No.13	1					FIG.51
London	No.32	1					
Hawkedon, Suffolk	No. 2	1					
Wall, Staffs.	No. 1	1					
London	No.10		1				
Silchester, Hants.	No. 4		1				
Chesters, Northumberland	No. 2		1				
Chesters, Northumberland	No. 3		1				
Carlisle, Cumberland	No. 2		1				
Carlisle, Cumberland	No, 4		1				
Chart Sutton, Kent	No.17		1				FIG.40
London	No.16			1			FIG.53
London	No. 1				1		
Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly	No. 1				1		FIG.55
Nor'nour, Isles of Scilly	No. 2				1		FIG.55
Godmanchester, Hunts.	No. 1				1		
Hawkedon, Suffolk	No. 1				1		
Flitwick, Beds.					7		
St. Albans, Herts.	No. 4				1		
London	No. 7					1	FIG.52
London	No.30						
London	No.33						
Wickford, Essex.	No. 8					1	FIG.39

VENUS

The catalogue of statuettes of the Venus types which follows is arranged by counties. Many are only fragments but the Type No. is given where it can be identified, and where possible the sub-division of Type I variants, as also the hair style when the head has survived.

BEDFORDSHIRE

- (A) An important and at present unique collection of clay statuettes from a single site in this country was found in a field at Ruxox Farm, near Flitwick in Bedfordshire (Nat. Grid Ref. TL052359). The farmer, Mr. J. Course, who until recently cultivated the land, made a collection of fragmentary statuettes found scattered over a fairly wide area on the surface of the field, and others came to light when a pipe-line was laid across the same field about the year 1965. Recently, 1970, Mr. K. Fadden, Chairman of the Ampthill Archaeological Society, discovered two further fragments. With the exception of the latter, the collection totalling eighty-eight pieces has been presented by Mr. Course to the Longsands School Museum at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire.

An examination of this collection, totalling 90 fragments, has revealed that at least five types of statuettes are represented, namely, Venus (our Type I A), a dea nutrix, Minerva, Bacchus and a nude Human torso.

- (1) VENUS. The fragments of Venus are the most numerous, totalling sixty-two. An examination of these has established that at least twenty-one individual statuettes can be positively identified. Originally there may have been more than thirty but as none of the remaining pieces join

or are too small, it is now impossible to determine to which statuettes they belong. There are ten detached heads of Venus, six of which are more or less complete. The hair style is uniform, the hair being arranged in deep waves to frame the forehead, combed up in a roll to encircle the head and drawn back with a central parting into a neat bun at the nape of the neck. One headless figure has the hair falling in eight tresses down the back, shoulder length, with a tress falling over the front of each shoulder. This is very similar to an example from Verulamium (cf. our FIG.133, Catalogue Herts.No.1), which is signed IOPPILLOS.

The majority of the fragments are in white clay, but there are a few which are in either a buff or greyish fabric.

- (1) Base with feet and lower part of tunica, much worn. Longsands Museum No. 16
- (2) ditto No. 26
- (3) ditto No. 17
- (4) Feet and lower part of tunica front only, lacks the base. No. 29
- (5) Feet and lower part of tunica with small portion of front of base. No. 25
- (6) Feet and small portion of tunica on piece of base. No. 19
- (7) Feet and portion of legs only, lacks the base 2.4 cms high. No. 33
- (8) Feet and lower part of tunica, lacks base. No. 28
- (9) Feet very indistinct on portion of base. No. 21
- (10) Feet and legs with lower part of tunica, lacks base. No. 23
- (11) ditto 3.2 cms high. No. 30
- (12) ditto with portion of base. 4.5 cms high. No. 24
- (13) ditto base complete. 4.2 cms high. No. 14
- (14) ditto with part of base. 3.3 cms high. No. 20
- (15) Front of feet on portion of base, the rear broken off. No. 31
- (16) Feet, lower part of legs and tunica, lacks base. 3.6 cms high. No. 18
- (17) Feet and legs just below the knees with part of tunica and small portion of the rear of the base. 5.5 cms high. Buff clay. No. 27
- (18) Feet and legs below the knees, lacks the base. 4.5 cms high. No. 22

- (19) Torso and legs down to the ankles, showing hand grasping the tunica. Brownish-buff clay.
8.7 cms high. No. 35
- (20) Torso from neck to just below the breasts front and rear showing the right hand raised to grasp tress of hair. No. 37
- (21) Torso, front from waist down to just above the knees, showing the left hand grasping the tunica.
c. 5.5 cms high. No. 41
- (22) Rear part showing the buttocks. 3.8 cms high. No. 42
- (23) Rear part showing the buttocks. 5 cms high. No. 43
- (24) Front showing the knees and hand grasping the tunica. No. 47
- (25) Front and rear to just below the breasts. Eight tresses of hair falling over the back of the shoulders. Right hand raised to grasp tress over front of right shoulder. 4.1 cms high. No. 36
- (26) Torso, rear from neck down to buttocks. 4.4 cms high. No. 39
- (27) Legs from below knees down to the ankles. No. 52
- (28) Torso, front from waist down to the knees; left hand on tunica; height 5.6 cms. No. 40
- (29) Front and rear of legs with part of tunica.
Condition worn. No. 54
- (30) Part of left leg and tunica, lower portion. No. 62
- (31) Torso, front from neck to waist. No. 38
- (32) Front half with feet broken off above ankles; showing lower part of tunica. Buff clay. No. 32

- (33) Left hand resting on the tunica, front half. No. 49
- (34) Rear portion showing buttocks only. No. 44
- (35) Fragment of left buttock. Buff clay. No. 58
- (36) Front of legs from just above the knees down to the ankles with portion of the tunica. No. 53
- (37) Rear portion of legs from knees to ankles. No. 55
- (38) Fragment showing the left hand on the tunica. No. 48
- (39) Portion of the front and rear of tunica.
Greyish clay. No. 61
- (40) Portion of rear of right shoulder showing tress of hair. No. 46
- (41) Detached head, front and rear. No. 22
- (42) Head and front of torso down to the waist, with rear top part of the head. The face much abraded.
Buff coloured surface. 7.3 cms high. No. 6
- (43) Detached head with right hand. Front only. No. 3
- (44) Detached head, front only. No. 4
- (45) Detached head, front only with right side of face broken off. 2.7 cms high. No. 8
- (46) Detached head broken off at the neck. 2.9 cms high. No. 7
- (47) Rear of head. 3.6 cms high. No. 9
- (48) Detached head rear with part of front but face missing. No. 5
- (49) Rear of head. 3.1 cms high. No. 10
- (50) Rear of head. 3.5 cms high. No. 11
- (51) Portion of a base, larger than usual showing ankles and lower part of the tunica. No. 15
- (52) Face only, chin to forehead. 2.4 cms high. No. 12

- (53) Part of head showing the eyes and high piled hair style. No. 13
- (54) Rear portion showing left buttock and part of the left arm. A blow-hole c. 4mm diameter is provided behind the wrist. No. 59
- (55) Piece of a domed plinth. Whitish clay. No. 34
- (56) Back of the waist just above the buttocks with portion of the left arm. No. 60
- (57) Portion of domed plinth in white clay. No. 78
- (58) Portion of bare leg. No. 75
- (59) Portion of the waist and left hand, in drab white clay. No. 51
- (60) Portion of rear of the right shoulder in buff clay. No. 56
- (61) Legs front and rear, lacking the feet; tunica at left side. 3.9 cms high. Fadden
- (62) Rear of the legs from behind the knees to base. A small portion of the tunica survives at the left side. Fadden
- (B)
- (63) Roxton 1973. Type I A.
- Two pieces which join of the front of the legs from the waist to just below the knees showing the hand on the upper part of the tunica. Sent for examination by Mr. Peter Woods. Unpublished.
- Excavation Inv.No.ROX Q4D XV 3 .

CARMARTHENSHIRE

(1) Carmarthen.

The base and legs of Type I.

CHESHIRE

(1) Chester, St. Mary's Hill.

Archaeological Journal XIX, p.186;

W. Thompson-Watkin, Roman Cheshire, (1886), p.220, text fig.

Grosvenor Museum, Chester, (Potts Collection).

Type I A. Only the lower part from the waist down to the feet survives.

CUMBERLAND

(1) Birdoswald.

Found in a fourth century barrack block, vide R.C.M. Wheeler in London Museum Catalogue No.3, Roman London p.48.

(2) Carlisle.

Found in a burial at the rear of the Crown Inn, Botchergate in 1898.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society XV, p.504, pl.I.

Tullie House Museum. Type I A, hair style 2.

Feet and the pedestal missing; height now 15.2 cms.

(3) Carlisle.

English Street, found 1872. Carlisle Public Library and Museum Inv.No.15-20, 9.

(4) Carlisle.

Found when dredging the River Eden, south of Stanwix (Petriana) October, 1952. Now in the possession of the finder

Mr. W.R. Allen, 35 Etherby Street, Carlisle. Lacks the lower part of the legs and the pedestal. Type I A. Hair style 2.

(5) Maryport.

Face mask only. Height c. 3,8 cms.

Found in excavations (Excavations Inv.No.66 cg.); in September 1971 at the Archaeological Department University College, Cardiff.

DORSET

(1) Dorchester, Wollaston House. Unpublished.

There is an interim report of the excavations in Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society 70, (1948) pp.61-2, but with no mention of this statuette. Probably from a well filling with samian ware dated c. A.D.120 ?

DURHAM

(1) South Shields.

Found in the Roman fort on the Lawe in "2v Well".

Black Gate Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Inv.Nos.9/7/79; 23/8/77, two pieces which join at the back of Venus from the nape of the neck down to the buttocks, and showing the upraised right arm, a tress of hair falling over each shoulder, and the left arm. Inv.No.2/10/79. The feet and lower part of the tunica on a domed hollow plinth. All the pieces belong to a statuette of our Type I.

ESSEX

(1) Colchester. (FIG.47)

Found at Lexden. Statuette of Venus and amor (Type V).

The head of Venus is missing. Height now 15.2 cms. The clay is dull red in colour. Venus is standing nude,

with her right hand covering her breasts. She wears a bracelet on her left arm just above the elbow. The amor stands by her left side against a kind of cippus; he raises his right arm and holds a globular object, probably an apple, as if proffering it to the goddess.

Colchester and Essex Museum Inv.No.1691.

A.G. Wright, Colchester Museum Report (1908-9) p.15, pl.VIII, No.3.

J.M.C. Toynbee, Art in Roman Britain, (Phaidon Press, 1962), p.187, pl.174, Catalogue No.147.

This statuette is comparable with an incomplete one consisting of Venus from the knees down standing on a similar base and with an amor standing by her in the same pose, found at Dhronnecken.

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande, p.58, No.15 b, Taf.VIII, No.13, also in red clay.

N.B. T. May, in The Pottery Found at Silchester (Reading 1916) p.103, states that this Colchester statuette was found near the Roman villa, St. Osyth's Park, Colchester.

(2) Colchester.

Found North Hill. Type I A.

Colchester and Essex Museum No.2084.10. The head and the feet are missing and the height is now 13 cms.

(3) Colchester.

Colchester and Essex Museum Joslin Collection Inv.No.978.

The head and the legs are missing. Type I.

(4) Colchester.

Colchester and Essex Museum Joslin Collection Inv.No.977.

Type I.

(5) Colchester.

Found in 1855. Type I B.

British Museum Inv.No.65,4-8.17, ex E. Lichfield Collection.

(6) Canvey Island, Leigh Beck.

Found unstratified in 1965 on a Roman site on the present-day saltings. Four conjoining pieces of domed base with lower part of legs and the tunica at the left side. Type I.

Nat. Grid Map Reference TQ 823833. Information kindly supplied by Mr. W.J. Rodwell. Southend Standard Nov. 3rd, 1966, p.5, fig.

(7) Gestingthorpe.

Found Hill Farm. Approximate Nat. Grid Map Reference is 82853872. Now in the possession of the farmer, Mr. H.P. Cooper.

Feet and the legs of Venus. Type I.

Victoria County History Essex III, p.134.

(8) Wickford. (FIG.39)

Found in the filling of a Roman well closed in Antonine times but not necessarily late in that period. Information from Mr. W. Rodwell. Type I A; hair style 4; complete.

Height c. 17.7 cms. White clay.

GLAMORGANSHIRE

(1) Merthyr Tydfil, Penydarren Park, Roman building "H".

Archaeologia Cambrensis VI (6th series), 1906, pp.201, 205-6, fig.11. Upper part. Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, Merthyr Tydfil.

Information given by the late Dr. V.E. Nash-Williams.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(1) Cirencester.

Front half of figure, torso only from the neck down to the knees;

the left hand rests on the drapery, much of which is broken off.

Height now c. 12 cms. Type I A.

Corinium Museum, Bathurst Collection Inv.No.1547. Unpublished.

Information and a drawing supplied by Lady Fox.

(2) Cirencester.

1962. Fragment front and back of legs below knees, with lower part of tunica, now lacks plinth. Excavations Inv.No.

CIR 62 RI 1 Publication pending. Sent for examination

by Mr. John Wachter B.Sc., F.S.A., who is compiling the report.

HAMPSHIRE

(1) Silchester.

From mound of earth probably contemporary with the commencement of the building of the early rampart bank, built A.D.193-7, Site B. From the waist down but lacking the plinth and the left hand. Type I A.

Archaeologia XCII, pp.129 and 147, pl.XXXVI d. Traces of red colouring.

(2) Silchester.

T. May, The Pottery Found at Silchester (Reading, 1916) p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.9. Back of figure from shoulder down to just below the knees. Type I. Height now 14 cms.

(3) Silchester.

T. May, op cit, p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.10.

Front of figure from the neck down to the groin, showing upraised right arm. Height now 7.6 cms.

(4) Silchester.

T. May, op cit, p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.7.

Detached head, hair style No.2. Height 2 cms.

(5) Silchester.

T. May, op cit, p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.11.

Torso from left shoulder down to right knee, showing hand on tunica. Type I A. Height now 11.2 cms.

(6) Silchester.

T. May, op cit, p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.12.

Feet with end of the tunica on hollow domed plinth, c. 4.4 cms diameter. Type I.

(7) Silchester.

T. May, op cit, p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.13.

Feet on plinth as above. Type I. 4.4 cms diameter.

(8) Holt Down.

Found on the site of the Roman villa between Horndean and Butser in 1925, in a rubbish pit with New Forest, Castor and samian pottery and coins of Trajan, Caracalla, Gallienus, Urbs Roma and Constantine.

Torso only, minus the head, hands, and broken off just above the knees. Type I.

Journal of Roman Studies XVII, p.208.

Cumberland House Museum, Portsmouth.

(9) Southampton.

Found in the period V level of site C2 in level 4 of the ditch silt dated c. 150-170/180. M.A. Cotton and P.W. Gathercole,

Excavations at Clausetum, Southampton 1951-54, p.48.

(10) Winchester.

Wolvesey Palace 1968. Torso front and back, Type I A.

Lacks head and legs below the knees. Height now 9 cms.

(11) Winchester.

Front from waist down to ankles. Height now 8.1 cms.

Type I B.

HEREFORDSHIRE

(1) Kenchester.

Front part from just below the bust down to below the knees.

Type I A.

Report of the Excavations at Kenchester 1924-5, pl.35, issued

by the Woolhope Field Club. Hereford City Museum Inv.No.7601.

(2) Leintwardine. Roman fort.

The Roman Forts at Leintwardine and Buckton in Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club XXXIX (1968) part II,

p.297, fig.32, 19.

Torso lacking the head and legs. Type I A.

HERTFORDSHIRE

(1) St. Albans (VERVLAMIVM) (FIG.133)

Headless statuette also lacking the feet and the plinth.

Type I A. Height 13 cms. A Tress of hair falls over the front of each shoulder, and the lower parts of eight tresses hang down the back. On the back of the tunica is the name IOPPILLO in incised lettering stamped from the mould. The name occurs in relief in a mould for a statuette of Venus from the kilns at Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ Lary), and is probably the name of the

modeller, while the name ATILANO is inscribed in cursive script on the exterior of the same mould, and is probably the name of the mould maker.

E. Tudot, Figurines en argile pl.3.

Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report XI, Verulamium,
p.203, pl.LXI, 3.

From the second and third century filling of the cellar in Building II, 1.

(2) St. Albans (VERVLAMIVM)

Rear of the torso of a statuette Type I. Height 5.7 cms.

ibid p.203, pl.LXI, 4. Deposit of late third century date.

(3) St. Albans (VERVLAMIVM)

Front and rear of statuette lacking the head and broken off just below the knees. Type I A. Height 11.5 cms.

ibid p.203, pl.LXI, 5.

(4) St. Albans.

Found in a grave (cremation) in Everlasting Lane, November 1950, with a samian ware dish with incomplete potter's stamp SILV... of Hadrian-Antonine date; a square green glass bottle containing the ashes; a taller green glass bottle of the same type; a white glass bottle lacking the neck. This statuette lacks the right arm and the feet are broken off at the ankles (since restored with plaster, see photograph). Almost all of the face and front of the hair have been broken off. It is of Type I A with hair style No.4. Information concerning the discovery and associated material kindly supplied by Mrs. Audrey Grimes, M.A., F.S.A.

(5) St. Albans (VERVLAMIVM)

The lower part of the torso of a Type I statuette found during the excavations in 1960 directed by Professor Sheppard Frere. No significant associated material for dating purposes.

(6) Hemel Hempstead.

Found in deep room No.20 at Gadebridge Park Roman villa.

Fragment of Type I, part of the legs from below the knees down to the ankles, with part of the tunica at the left side. A piece of lead is between the two halves and is securely wedged.

A repair perhaps? Associated with a large number of coins dated no later than c.A.D.350, according to Mr. D. Neal who directed the excavations for the Dept. of the Environment.

Publication pending in Antiquaries Journal. (O.S. Map Reference Sheet 160,TQ 051986).

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

(1) Godmanchester.

Found in a domestic rubbish pit dated last quarter of the second century.

Archaeological Newsletter 7 (1961) pp.11-12, fig.

Complete except for the plinth. Height 16 cms.

Rather friable white clay with smooth soapy surface. Type I A.

Hair style No.4, but badly moulded; rather distorted.

Current Archaeology 16 (September 1969) p.133, fig.

KENT

(1) Canterbury, King's Street.

Excavations September 1952.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXII (1958) p.71, No.1, pl.II B.

Fragment showing feet and lower part of tunica on piece of the domed plinth. Type I.

(2) Canterbury, Burgate Street.

Excavations by J. Boyle, 1954.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXII (1958) p.71, No.2.

Front and rear of legs lacking the plinth, with left hand supporting tunica. Fine white clay. Type I B. Height now 8.5 cms.

(3) Rochester.

Found in occupation layer under rampart behind the south-west angle of the Roman city wall, in association with pottery of the third quarter of the second century. Rear of shoulders of Type I.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXXIII (1968) p.57, footnote 5.

(4) Wye.

Found April 1970 on the Roman site due north of the railway station associated with 1st-2nd century pottery, and iron slag in quantity. Information from Mr. J. Bradshaw who excavated the site.

Front half, now headless and lacking the feet and the left hand; height now 9.2 cms; max width 3.65 cms. A rather smaller version than is usual. Type I.

(5) Eastry-next-Sandwich.

Found in a Romano-British rubbish pit at the Hammill sand-pit. Fragment of the hips showing the left hand and arm of the tunica, Type I B. Well moulded in very white clay. Height now 4.7 cms.

British Museum Inv.No.1949.6-1,1.

(6) Teynham.

Found in the field immediately west of Radfield Farm on the south side of the London Road (A2) between Teynham and Bapchild. Information from Mr. H.P. Mills.

Excavation Inv.No.RAD.229.

Front half of the legs and the feet with lower part of tunica, lacking the domed plinth. The detail is blurred.

Height now 6.5 cms. Type I.

(7) Richborough.

Two pieces which join, one found inside and one outside a building on Site 4, which may have served as a small temple with a portico or a flight of steps at the east end.

Front and rear from neck down to just below the knees.

Height now 10.8 cms. Type I A.

Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.X, Third Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent (1932) p.82, pl.XIII, No.43.

(8) Richborough.

Portion now 6.1 cms high from just below the knees to the plinth with lower part of the tunica at the left side. The plinth is 3.5 cms diameter. Type I. Unpublished.

Richborough Museum Inv.No.1661.

(9) Reculver.

From excavations in Roman fort by the Reculver Group.

Unpublished. Excavation Inv.No.59:5.

Fragment showing the feet on broken plinth. Type I.

(10) St. Paul's Cray.

Find spot Nat. Grid 6 inch Kent Sheet VIII S.E. /474697

according to Mr. J. Parsons. Fragment of the thighs and lower part of the abdomen. Type I. Height now 4 cms.

Unpublished.

(11) Eccles.

Found on the site of the Roman villa. Information and photograph from Mr. A.P. Detsicas, M.A., F.S.A., Type I A. Piece from just below the breasts down to the ankles. Unpublished.

(12) Springhead. (FIG.44)

Found in the cella of Romano-Celtic temple I. Part of Type II.

¹⁰
Archaeologia Cantiana LXXII (1958) p.60ff., pl.I A;

ibid LXXXII p.26, pp.56-60, fig.12, No.1.

(13) Springhead.

Found in the ditch filling alongside Watling Street accumulated in 3rd-4th century. Domed plinth with feet and lower part of tunica at left side. Height now 4.4 cms. Type I.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXIX (1964) pp.172 and 189, fig.5, No.12.

(14) Springhead.

Found in 1953, in a stratified deposit dated early second century.

Front of statuette Type I A, from the waist down to the ankles.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXII (1958) pp.89 and 106, fig.10.4.

Height now 10 cms.

(15) Cooling.

Found at Bromhey Farm, and now in the possession of the farmer.

Rear part from the waist down to the knees. Type I.

Victoria County History, Kent III, p.151;

Archaeologia Cantiana XLII (1929) proceedings p.xlviii.

(16) Cooling.

Found at Bromhey Farm during excavations by Mr. A. Miles.

Excavation Inv.No.CBF.PK.1969.

Lower part from the knees down on domed plinth. Type I.

This is not part of the one described above.

Height 6.5 cms. Unpublished.

(17) Chart Sutton. (FIG.40)

Found on the site of the Roman villa. Complete with the head but the legs and the plinth are lacking. Height now 12.7 cms.

Type I B; hair style 2.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXIII (1950) p.155;

ibid LXXII (1958) p.171, pl.II A.

(18) Dover.

Found in the excavations, September 1971, directed by Mr. B. Philp.

Publication pending. Fragment of rear of Type II showing bare

buttocks and part of the tunica below. Inv.No.DV 2517.

LANCASHIRE

(1) Ribchester.

Rear half of Venus Type I from shoulders down to just above the ankles. Unstratified. Now in Ribchester Museum.

LEICESTERSHIRE

(1) Leicester, Red Cross Street.

Leicester Museum No.32.1916. Donor W. Adcock.

Left hand holding tunica by the side, broken above the navel and just above the ankles. Height now 10 cms. Type I A.

LONDON

(1) Complete except for the plinth. Height now 16.6 cms.

Type I A; hair style No.4.

Guildhall Museum Catalogue 2nd edition 1908, p.70, No.33, pl.XVI, 5. G.H.Inv.No.2091. Latomus 58 (1962) pl.CLXXV, 7.

(2) Head and the feet missing. Height now 12.6 cms. Type I A.

Guildhall Museum Catalogue 2nd edition 1908, p.70, No.34, pl.XV,2. cf. Tudot, pl.21. Latomus 103 (1969) p.316, pl.CXXVII, fig.3. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2092.

(3) Height now 11.4 cms. Type I B.

Guildhall Museum Catalogue p.70, No.35. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2093.

(4) London Wall. Type I B. Height now 7.6 cms.

ibid No.36. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2094. cf. Tudot pl.20.

(5) Plinth only showing the feet and lower part of the tunica.

Found Mark Lane. ibid No.37. Diameter of plinth 5.1 cms. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2095.

- (6) London Wall.
 Venus draped from left hip with the left leg bent forward.
 Type II. Height now 8.9 cms. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2096.
- (7) Head only, 4.45 cms high. Hair style No.5. (FIG.52).
ibid No.39. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2097.
 cf. a close parallel probably made at Cologne and found at
 Neuss, H. v. Petrikovits, Novaesium Das Römische Neuss,
 Führer des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn Nr.3, S 90,
 Nr.68, Abb.31. Our Type I B.
- (8) Feet on square plinth with lower part of the tunica at the
 left side. Type I. Founders Court, Lothbury (1927).
 Guildhall Museum Inv.No.17598.
- (9) Domed plinth with lower part of the tunica. Type I. Bank
 of England site 1928-34. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.1936-336/14,
 234.
- (10) Head and shoulders only, broken off just beneath the breasts.
 Hair style No.2, evidently from a statuette of our Type I.
 Found St. Martin's-le-Grand G.P.O. site 1913.
Archaeologia 66, p.241, pl.XXV, 1.
 cf. those from Silchester, Hampshire No.4 and Carlisle,
 Cumberland No.2 qv. An identical example from Toulon-sur-
 Allier (Champ Lary) is now in the museum at St. Germain-en-
 Laye No.27956, therefore the London example probably belongs
 to that industry. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.10533.

- (11) Legs and base only with portion of small human figure standing at left side. Both figures were evidently covered by a tunica at the back. Venus wears anklets. Buff clay. Type VI. Found Bond Court, Walbrook. Archaeologia 68, pl.LXIX, fig.11. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.10,371.
- (12) Rear of shoulders showing tresses of hair and part of the upraised right arm. Type I. Found 129/130, Upper Thames Street. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.12599 A =1931.7.
- (13) Front and rear from the knees upwards, and only the top of the tunica survives. Height now c. 14.5 cms. The head is comparable with those from Hawkedon, Suffolk No.2; London No.1; Wall, Staffordshire No.1 qv. Found Lawrence Lane. London Museum Inv.No.31.27/1; Latomus 103, p.317, No.20, pl.CXXVIII, fig.5. Type I. Hair style No.1. (FIG 51).
- (14) From the waist down including the plinth. (FIG.43) Found Coleman Street. Type I B. An object resembling a scallop shell is held in the left hand to obscure the fingers. London Museum Catalogue No.3, London in Roman Times p.48, pl.XXI, 1. London Museum Inv.No.A 1693 (ex Hilton Price Collection). Latomus 103, p.317, pl.CXXVI, fig.1.
- (15) Rear half lacking the head and the plinth. Found Cophall Court. Type I. London Museum ibid pl.XXI, 2. London Museum Inv.No.A 249. Latomus 103, p.317, pl.CXXVI, fig.1.
- (16) Upper part of figure down to the knees. Type I A. The hair style, our type 3, is closely paralleled by that affected by

certain statuettes of Venus by IOPPIOS of Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ Lary), cf. Tudot, Figurines en argile..... pl.21. London Museum ibid pl.XXI, 3 Inv.No.A 24911 (ex Amherst collection). Latomus 103, p.317, pl.CXXVI, fig.1.

- (17) Torso lacking the head and the legs from the knees downwards. Type I A. Found Angel Court. London Museum ibid pl.XXI, 4, Inv.No.A 21573. Latomus 103, p.318, pl.CXXVI, fig.1.
- (18) Rear of head of Venus. All Hallows Church (1931). Unpublished. A brief mention of this piece appeared in The Times, 13th February 1931.
- (19) Rear of shoulders only. All Hallows-by-the-Tower, now in the collection displayed in the crypt of the church. Type I.
- (20) Rear of head only. All Hallows-by-the-Tower (1934), also in the crypt.
- (21) Incomplete, lacking the head and the base. Type VII. (FIG.49) Height now 14.2 cms. Bank of England site Lothbury. British Museum Inv.No.1928,7-13,10. Antiquaries Journal VII, pp.524-5, fig.
- This type is at present unique in Britain. It is in rather flat relief, the arms especially, the hands being ill proportioned. The goddess is standing nude except for a broad band edged with a bead row which covers the breasts. A necklace of large circular beads hangs round the shoulders. The right hand is placed below the breasts, and probably holds some object which may be an apple. The left arm hangs loosely down by the left side with the ill formed fingers outspread with the back of the hand facing outwards.

The body is framed by a rectangular background, ornamented with various embossed symbols. On the front, to the right of the leg are ten small circular studs, and to the left side three small rosettes or stars within circles. On the back of the rectangular frame to the left side are three small rosettes or stars within circles, and to the right side, seven small crescents within circles. Although these motives may have been merely space fillers, it is equally possible that they had some religious significance.

- (22) Fragment of the rear of a standing figure of Venus of the type where the tunica has slipped down over the hips to leave the upper part of the body nude, and the legs completely covered. Type II. Unpublished. Found on the site of Regis House, Fish Street Hill, Guildhall Museum No.1932.192.

It is similar to a statuette from Cologne cf. Saalburg Jahrbuch IX, S11, Taf.6.3 and a fragment from Springhead, Kent cf. Archaeologia Cantiana (1958) pp.60 ff.

ibid LXIII (1959) p.26, pp.55-60, fig.12, No.1.

- (23) Venus from the waist down with domed plinth which has a scored line round it. Type I B; height now 10.7 cms. Roughly trimmed and blurred in the mould. British Museum, C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No.56/7-1, 314.

- (24) Lower part of front from the waist and has the plinth.

Type I A. Found St. Paul's Churchyard. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No.56/7-1, 315.

Height now 11.5 cms. Blowholes are provided behind the left hand and in the centre of the underside of the domed plinth.

C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI, p.239 fig.

- (25) Torso lacking the head and the plinth. Type I A.
 Height now 14.5 cms. Found Haydon Street, Minories (1854).
British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain
 (London 1958) p.62, fig.30, 5. British Museum Inv.No.
 54/11-30, 42, ex Ingall Collection.
- (26) Torso lacking the head and the legs below the knees. Type I A.
 Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology No.R.C.23,533.
- (27) Front from waist down but lacking the feet. Greyish clay.
 Height now 9.3 cms. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection
 Inv.No.56/7-1, 316.
- (28) Part of the torso from shoulder to groin. Greyish clay.
 Type I. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection 56/7-1, 317.
- (29) Rear of shoulders and the right arm. Type I. Greyish clay.
 Height now c. 4 cms. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection
 Inv.No.56/7-1, 318.
- (30) Rear of head and shoulders. The hair is drawn back and secured
 in a neat bun at the nape of the neck, cf. Tudot, pl.23
 middle row, extreme left. Height 6.6 cms. Type I, but there
 is not enough to be precise about the complete hair style.
 British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No.56/7-1, 319.
- (31) Lower part of the tunica with the feet mounted on a hollow
 hemispherical plinth, 4.6 cms. Type I. Well fired hard
 white clay. On the front of the plinth below a groove is
 TET stamped from the mould in capital letters in bold
 relief as on the plinth of an incomplete Venus statuette of
 this same type found at Lezoux. St. Germain-en-Laye Museum
 Inv.No.65156. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection
 56/7-1, 320.

- (32) Head only, the facial expression and the hair style are closely paralleled by the one from London No.13 supra, Wall, Staffs No.1 infra, and Hawkedon, Suffolk No.2 infra.
Hair Style 2, Type I. Height now 4.8 cms.
British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection 56/7-1, 324.
- (33) Rear of head only; cf. Tudot, pl.23, and L. de Vesly Le Fana ou petits temples gallo-romains de la région normande (Rouen, 1909) pl.IV, 11 from Catalier-de-Criquebeuf-sur-Seine, Eure. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No. 56/7-1, 327.
- (34) Fragment of the legs only in greyish clay. Height now c. 3.1 cms.
British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No.56/7-1, 322.
- (35) Hollow hemispherical plinth. The fracture scar suggests that it belonged to a statuette of Venus. British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No.56/7-1, 321. About 3.2 cms diameter, average height 1.1 cms.
- (36) Front and back of an incomplete statuette Type I B from just below the breasts down to the ankles. Overall height is now c. 11.5 cms. The details of the tunica held by the goddess are unusually elaborate. In lieu of the usual small circular vent to ensure the escape of the expanding gases generated during the firing process, a vertical slit evidently made by the blade of a knife and about 2.5 cms long is in the front between the legs and connects with the hollow interior of the statuette. Found in excavating the site of 93/5 Borough High Street, Southwark by the Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee 1975. The associated pottery included plain and decorated samian ware ranging in date from A.D. 70-90. Information kindly provided by Mr. G.D. Marsh of that Committee. (FIG.42)

- (37) Front and back of a statuette Type I A, lacking the head and the feet and the basal plinth. Overall height is now c.13 cms. Found in excavating the site of 1/7 St. Thomas Street, Southwark, by the Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee 1975. Well stratified in the fill of a small timberlined pit with a group of pottery dated c.130. Information provided by Mr. G.D. Marsh.
- (38) Front and back of an incomplete statuette of which the body from just below the breasts to below the knees survives. One incomplete example of this type has been found in the Allier and is designated Type VIII in our classification. The goddess supports the tunica on her left wrist as our Type I B, but the right arm is held down close against her side and she holds in her hand a large annular shaped object which is attached to something below it which may be a purse or vanity bag. (FIG.50) Found in excavating the site of 1/7 St. Thomas Street, Southwark by the Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee 1975. Well stratified in an occupation layer with pottery which is probably of Trajanic date according to Mr. G.D. Marsh.
- (39) Fragment of rear part showing the buttocks. Height now c.5.6 cms. Found during the excavations at Lefevre Road, Bow. Not securely stratified, hence it was not published in the report which appeared in Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Vol.23, part 1 (1973).

- (40) Type I A. Complete but for the feet and the plinth.
Hair style No.4. Height now 13.3 cms. Fine white clay.
Found New Fresh Wharf on the Thames Waterfront near London Bridge. Excavations by the Museum of London Department of Urban Archaeology.
- (41) Type I A. Incomplete now lacks the head, the right arm, the feet and the plinth. Height now 11 cms. Fine white clay. Found New Fresh Wharf as above in a deposit dated by the pottery 2nd-3rd century.
- (42) Type I. Incomplete, the left hand is broken off so that it is not certain whether it is a I A or I B. Height now 11 cms. Found New Fresh Wharf as above in a 3rd-4th century context.
- (43) Type I. Fragment showing lower part of legs broken off at the knees lacking the feet and the plinth. The lower part of the tunica is by the left leg. Height of the legs c. 4 cms. Fine grey white clay. Found New Fresh Wharf as above.
- (44) Southwark, 199, Borough High Street.
Portion of legs with lower part of tunica, the folds of which are moulded in very low relief. Type I. Filling of a ditch mid-late 2nd century. Southwark Archaeological Committee excavations 1975.
- (45) Southwark, 199, Borough High Street.
Very small fragment of the left leg with portion of tunica attached. Filling of a ditch mid-late 2nd century. Southwark Archaeological Committee excavations 1975.

MIDDLESEX

(1) Staines.

Found during emergency excavations carried out by members of the Egham-by-Runnymede Historical Society on behalf of London Museum, under the direction of Mrs. Maureen Rendell, Archaeological Officer, Egham Museum. Site of Barclays Bank, 69-71 High Street, Staines, November-December 1969. Two fragments of statuette or statuettes of Venus. Fine white clay with burnished finish, soapy feel. Type I A.

(a) Portion showing left hand resting on top of drapery, and part of the left thigh. Height now 4.5 cms.

(b) Portion of rear showing back of bent right arm and two locks of hair falling over the right shoulder.

Height now 4.5 cms.

MONMOUTHSHIRE

(1) Caerwent.

From the site of House XII (north) at about the level of the bottom of the foundation. Archaeologia LX (1906) p.121.

Torso only broken off at just below the bust and below the knees.

Type I A. Height now 9.1 cms. Newport Museum.

(2) Caerwent.

From the site of House XXIV (north). Base only, showing the two feet. Type I. Newport Museum.

(3) Caerleon.

From the main drain of the vicus (1954 excavations). Feet and the lower part of the tunica on domed base, which has two incised lines round the lower edge. Dated by associated material A.D. 140-230. Type I. National Museum of Wales Museum Caerleon Inv.No.62.265 b. F 46.

(4) Caerleon.

From the vicus main drain (1954 excavations). Face only in buff coloured clay with smooth white "soapy" surface. Dated not later than A.D. 140. National Museum of Wales Museum Caerleon Inv.No.56.214 A. F 61.

NORFOLK

(1) Scole.

Found on a Roman site abandoned by the early third century.

Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and

Natural History, XXII, p.267, pl.VI. White clay with smoothed surface and fumed patch. Rear part from the waist down to the knees. Type I. Overall height c. 6.3 cms.

Norwich Castle Museum.

(2) Hockwold-cum-Wilton.

Found 1931, unpublished. Fragment of upper part of legs and the left hand on the tunica. Type I A. White clay with smoothed surface and fumed patch of greyish black colour like No.1 above. Norwich Castle Museum.

(3) Brampton.

Type I A, lacks the head, feet and plinth. Overall height now 10.5 cms. Found in mid-late 4th century context in the extra-mural settlement of a small town on the site of an earlier kiln field.

Excavations 1973/4 directed by Mr. Christopher Green for the Norfolk Archaeological Unit. Excavations Inv.No.BRM 73(34)C.W.19.

NORTHUMBERLAND

(1) High Rochester (BREMENIVM)

J. Collingwood Bruce, The Roman Wall, 3rd edition (1867)

p.326, fig. Was at that time in Alnwick Castle Collection.

Type I A. Headless, the height is now 8.2 cms.

(2) Chesters (CILVRNVM)

The Roman Antiquities in the Museum at Chesters, p.366, pl.63

fig.59. Upper part from the waist. Type I; hair style No.2.

Height now 6.3 cms.

(3) Chesters (CILVRNVM)

op cit p.366, pl.63, fig.60. Upper part as No.2 above but

with the left arm and shoulder broken off. Type I; hair

style No.2. Height c. 6.3 cms.

(4) Corbridge (CORSTOPITVM)

Found in the 1906-14 excavations but no further details.

Part of the left side of the torso of Venus showing the left

arm from the shoulder down to the wrist, and also the left

breast. Type I. Corbridge Museum but without Inv.No.

(5) Housesteads (BORCOVICIVM)

Housesteads Museum, unpublished. National Trust.

Statuette of our Type I A, lacking the head and the plinth.

(6) Chesters. (CILVRNVM)

Domed hollow plinth showing the feet of Venus. Diameter 3.7 cms.

Found May 1892. op cit p.167, No.143.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

(1) East Bridgeford (MARGIDVNVM)

Lower half found in Ditch 3. Thoroton Society Report
(1938) p.5.

(2) East Bridgeford (MARGIDVNVM)

Fragment of statuette from thigh down to centre of shin.
Associated with second century pottery. loc cit
F. Oswald, Margidunum, City of Nottingham Art Museum,
Nottingham Castle publication (Thoroton Press) p.26.

OXFORDSHIRE

(1) Shakenoak, near Wilcote.

Conant Brodribb, A.R. Hands and D.R. Walker, Excavations at
Shakenoak Farm near Wilcote, Oxfordshire Vol. I, p.40.
Privately printed 1968. Base only.

ISLES OF SCILLY

- (1) Nor'nour an uninhabited islet in the Eastern Group. (Fig. 55)
 Three pieces which join, of the front half of the goddess, now lacking the small domed plinth. Height 16.5 cms. Type I A, Hair style No.4. For a very close parallel cf. one from London (Guildhall Museum No.2091).
Latomus LVIII, pl.CLXXV, fig.7.
- (2) Head broken off at the neck. Same style as No.1 supra.
 Height 3.8 cms. Type I.
- (3) Two pieces which join, showing the feet and a portion of the drapery at the left side. Type I.
- (4) Small fragment of the feet which are badly moulded; the toes being scarcely indicated.
- (5) Small fragment of the front of the bare right thigh.
- (6) Two badly abraded pieces which join, showing the front part of the legs and the left hand which is barely distinguishable.
 Evidently Type I A.

Archaeological Journal CXXIV (1967), pp.19-21, pl.IV B.

This group belonged to the Period 1 occupation of the site destroyed c. A.D. 200.

For the pieces of statuettes of the dea nutrix type found with the aforementioned pieces of statuettes of Venus see page 294 Nos.08-09, and p.295 No.006.

A discussion of the possible sources of origin and the routes taken for the whole group to reach the islet of Nor'nour appears on page 233.

SHROPSHIRE

(1) Wroxeter.

Society of Antiquaries of London Research Reports I, Wroxeter,
p.31, pl.XI, fig.2, No.4. This fragment showing an eagle
standing at the left side evidently belongs to our Type IV, for
a complete example of which cf. G. Behrens, "Beitrage zur römischen
Keramik Römische Terrakotten aus Bingen," Mainzer Zeitschrift X
(1916) S 102, Taf.VI, B 5. Bingen Museum Inv.No.255.

Height now 15.2 cms, lacking the head and the right arm. A
naked female figure standing on a rectangular base, holding a
tress of hair in the right hand. The hair falls in two tresses
over the shoulders, while the left hand holds drapery in front of
which stands an eagle. On the other side of the figure is a
second bird, possibly a dove. Behind the left hip is a small
hole to allow for the escape of gases during the firing process.
The style of the figure according to Behrens, and the colour of
the clay recalls those of a group showing Venus with worshippers
found at Wiesbaden, cf. Lindenschmidt, Altertümer unserer
heidnischen Vorzeit V, Taf.65.

(2) Wroxeter.

Torso of Venus, Type I A. Found in a deposit between second
and third floors Site IV, dated A.D. 110-130.

ibid, loc cit, pl.XI, fig.2, No.1.

(3) Wroxeter.

Torso of Venus, Type I A. ibid loc cit, pl.XI, Fig.2, No.2.

SOMERSET

(1) Charterhouse-on-Mendip.

Two pieces perhaps of one statuette viz., head and the base.

Type I. Victoria County History of Somerset I, p.337.

Capper-Pass Collection in Bristol City Museum (1867-76).

Inv.No.A 15.

(2) Bawdrip.

From the remains of a complex of buildings probably a villa at Knole according to Mr. Dewar of Bridgewater. No specific dating material. Torso only showing lock of hair and upper part of thighs. Type I. Bridgewater Museum (unpublished).

(3) Bath.

Found during the excavations of the Great Bath, and now in the Roman Bath museum. Unpublished. Lower part only from the knees down and includes the plinth. Type I.

STAFFORDSHIRE

(1) Wall (LETOCETVM)

Site of the Roman Bath-house. Left side of face only.

This is of the same type as No.32 from London, and No.2 from Hawkedon supra. Now in the Museum at Wall (unpublished).

Also the front and rear of legs with drapery at the left side.

Overall height is now 5 cms.

STIRLINGSHIRE

(1) Mumrills.

National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland Inv.No.FRB 872.

Part of Venus from waist down to just below the knees.

Type I A. Overall height c. 9 cms.

SUFFOLK

(1) Hawkedon, Glebe Farm.

Found January 1880 in an amphora (dolium) which lacks the handles, neck and mouth. With it was a score of nails.

Head and bust only. Type I. Hair style No.2.

Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology VI (1888-9)

p.9 ff., fig. left.

(2) Hawkedon, Glebe Farm.

Found with the above. Type I. Hair style No.1.

Both statuettes and the amphora are in Bury St. Edmunds Museum.

ibid p.9 ff., fig. right.

SUSSEX

(1) Alfoldean.

Found on the site of the Roman station in 1923. Front half of torso lacking the legs below the knees and the head.

Height now 8.2 cms. Type I A. Sussex Archaeological Society

Collections LXV, p.131, fig. p.132. Barbican House Museum,

Lewes, Sussex.

(2) Alfoldean.

Found on the site of the Roman station 1923. Rear half but not from the same statuette above. loc cit not illustrated.

Type I. Barbican House Museum Lewes, Sussex.

(3) Southwick.

Found on the site of the Roman villa.

Sussex Archaeological Society Collections LXXIII, p.29.

(4) Fishbourne.

Found on the site of the Roman palace in a late 3rd-early 4th century context. Lower part of figure from the groin down to the ankles. Type I A. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.27, Excavations at Fishbourne (B.W. Cunliffe 1971) 1961-69, II p.150, No.1, pl.XXII a. Fishbourne Museum.

(5) Beauport Park near Battle.

Found in excavations on site of the Roman ironworks by Mr. G. Brodribb. Domed plinth 3-8 cms diameter, 4.4 cms high, showing two sets of toes of Type I.

(6) Chichester.

Found Sadler's Gardens about 1935 (now the site of the Central Car Park). Front part from neck down to the hips. Type I. Chichester Museum.

WESTMORLAND

(1) Chesterholm (VINDOLANDA)

Archaeologia Aeliana 4th series XLVIII (1970) p.144, fig.5, No.6.

Head only. Found with 3rd-4th century pottery at north end of the mansio courtyard above a water channel.

(2) Chesterholm (VINDOLANDA)

Archaeologia Aeliana 5th series I (1973) pp.116-117, pl.XVII, 11.

Type I A. Found in the vicus. Late 3rd century floor level in site XXX, possibly used as married quarters ?

Height now 11 cms, lacks base and head.

YORKSHIRE

(1) York, Fawcett Street.

Found 1872. Type I A, waist to ankles only. Greyish cream pipe clay. Height now 8.2 cms. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (H.M.S.O. 1962) Roman York, p.69 B. York Museum Inv.Nos.a.891; c.863.

(2) York, Blossom Street.

Found 1954. Type I A, lacking the head and the lower part below the knees. Creamy white pipe clay with burnished surface. Height c. 10.2 cms. York Museum. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal (1958) XXXIX.

(3) York, The Mount.

Found 1872. Type I A, similar to No.2 above but the clay is greyish, orange-white. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Roman York, p.100 B, footnote 11

(4) York, The Mount.

Found 1872, Friends' School site. Venus standing with amor standing on a small altar-like plinth at her right side. The goddess has drapery covering her back a fold of which hangs over her right shoulder and is supported in her right hand to cover the right breast. The left hand supports the drapery against her left thigh to conceal the left leg. The head, feet and base are missing. Our Type III. York Museum Inv.No.81. Very close parallels almost certainly from the same mould are in the museums at the Saalburg and Utrecht. For the latter cf. Verslag van het verhandelde in de Algemeene Vergadering van het Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap van Kusten en Wetenschappen (1895) p.135, pl.VI. Found 1893. Utrecht Museum Inv.No. U 5621 (formerly No.G 47) (FIG 46)

(5) Catterick.

Found in the excavations in 1959. Information from
Mr. John Wacher, F.S.A. Unpublished.

A 3

DIANA

Found in the City of London, British Museum Inv.No.60,8-9, 1.
Part of a standing human figure from knees down on small
hollow rectangular plinth. Height c. 8.8 cms. Boots (caligae)
are worn, and a bow stands in an upright position against the
left leg. On the front face of the base are diagonal lines
drawn in dark brown paint. (FIG 32)

A 4

MINERVA

(1) London, King William Street. (FIG.37)

British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection No.56-7-1,323.

Fragment of the front of a statuette of Minerva, the shoulders
and the breastplate displaying the gorgoneion. Height is now
4.1 cms. F. Jenkins, "Romano-Gaulish Clay Figurines as
Indications of the Mother-Goddess Cults in Britain" in Hommages
à Albert Grenier, Collection Latomus LVIII (Bruxelles, Berchem
1962) p.849, footnote 3.

(2) London, precise find-place not recorded.

British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection No.56-7-1,329.

Fragment in grey clay of the lower part of a tunic worn over
a stola. The folds of the tunic are very similar to those

on a more complete example from the Allier probably from Vichy;¹
 two statuettes of the same type and also a mould, all from Vichy.²
 A statuette of the same type from Caerwent is described below
 (No.5).

(1) Tudot op cit pl.37; St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.24592.

(2) Moulins Museum Inv.Nos.5.2.134 and 5; and
 5.2.156, respectively.

(3) Shenstone, Staffordshire. (FIG.38)

A fragment of the front of a standing figure of Minerva from the neck down to the hem of the tunic. The gorgoneion is displayed on the breast. The tunic is caught in at the waist by a girdle in the form of a triple cord. The clay is white. Height c. 6.5 cms. Now in the possession of C. Foden, Esq., at Shenstone Hall, Shenstone; unpublished.

(4) Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

Lower part of the front of a standing Minerva. Her left hand rests on the rim of a shield to support it at her left side. White clay. The Corinium Museum, Cirencester Inv.No.A 212.5. Unpublished.

(5) Caerwent, Monmouthshire. (FIG.35)

The front and back of a standing figure of Minerva, the lower part from the waist downwards now lost due to breakage in antiquity. Minerva has her right hand upraised to grasp a tress of hair which falls over the shoulder, a pose remarkably similar to that of many statuettes of Venus (cf. our Type I A and B). The gorgoneion is displayed on her breast.

The crest of the helmet is now lost. The overall height is c. 7.6 cms. This is the type published by Tudot op cit pl.37.⁽¹⁾

This example was found at the Pound Lane site in the open space between House XXVI N and House XXVII N, on the west side of the site, during excavations carried out by G.C. Dunning on behalf of the then Ministry of Works Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. Interim reports of the excavations have appeared in The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 13 (1948) p.56;

Archaeologia Cambrensis (1948) p.93.

For the statuette see F. Jenkins op cit p.849, pl.CLXXV, fig.8.

Now in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. White clay.

(6) Middlewich, Cheshire.

The back of a standing figure of Minerva. The left hand rests on the rim of the shield supported by the left side. Height now c. 6.2 cms. Found at the Kinderton site, and now in the Public Library Archaeological Collection, Victoria Buildings, Middlewich, Unpublished.

(7) Wroxeter, Shropshire.

All that survives is a small rectangular hollow plinth in white clay which has a fracture scar on the left side suggesting the position of the shield normally supported by Minerva. Found in the Roman town (Viroconium) and now in the Viroconium Museum Inv.No.N.13 (1914).

(1) See under No.2 above. Another example of the same type may be No.3 above. cf. also one statuette from Autun, H. Vertet & G. Vuillemot, Musée Rolin Inv.No.99, p.54, pl.10c. (our FIG.36)

(8) Flitwick, Bedfordshire.

Found in a field at Ruxox Farm with a large collection of other types of clay statuettes all very fragmentary including Venus, the dea nutrix and Bacchus (qv). The fragment and the collection is now in the Longsands School Museum, St. Neots, Huntingdonshire.

(9) Newstead, Roxburghshire.

Detached head of Minerva wearing a single crested Attic helmet. The clay is red which implies a Mosel source of manufacture, possibly Trier.

Surface find in a field on the site of the Roman fort finally abandoned c. 184. Finder Mr. Walter Elliot of Selkirk.

(10) Wakerley, Northamptonshire.

Five fragments of statuette of Minerva in the same style as No.5 Caerwent above. Information from Mr. P.J. Woods.

A 5

LUNA (FIG.56)

Found in Leadenhall Street, London (1878)

The head and veil of the goddess, closely paralleled by a complete statuette found at Nijmegen, Holland, now in the Rijksmuseum G.M.Kam, Nijmegen (FIG.57). This shows the goddess, poised as if in flight, wearing the crescent moon on her head with a large veil billowing up around it, no doubt symbolic of the all enshrouding night. The goddess is clad in a short tunic worn over a long robe, the folds of which billow out behind her. She holds as attributes a kind of sceptre, perhaps a torch, in her left hand and in the other an empty patera. For similar figures in metal cf.

K.A. Neugebauer, "Selene auf Weltkugel", Mainzer Zeitschrift XXVIII (1933), S.83 ff., Taf.XI, 1, Abbs.1-3 inclusive.

The London figure is now in the Guildhall Museum, London, No.18001. It is probably a version of the statues of Diana Lucifera like the one now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

cf. John Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire (Thames and Hudson 1970) pl.29, which portrays the goddess with the crescent moon as a tiara, and a torch in her hand proclaiming her as the light-bearer. The swirling scarf according to Ferguson assimilates her to the sea-goddess. Another bronze statuette is in the museum at Mainz, cf. Bilderhefte des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz "Römische Kleinkunst" (Mainz,1957) Tafel 3.

The clay statuettes of this type are copies of a fourth century B.C., prototype and were evidently made in the second century A.D.

A 6

LEDA AND SWAN (FIG.58)

A complete statuette of Leda, nude, and seated with her right arm embracing the neck of the swan which stands by her right leg. The clay is white with the surface covered with a dull red pigment similar to that on the Thornpuller statuettes found in Queen Victoria Street, London.

The statuette is catalogued as found in London but without any further details.

Guildhall Museum Catalogue 2nd edition (1908), p.71, pl.XVI, 6.

Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2098. Height 17.2 cms.

At present there seems to be no parallel in the continental series of clay statuettes. A clay cake mould of Leda and the swan was found in the statuette and pottery workshop at Saint Rémy (Allier). The similarity of the dull red slip coating on the London statuette to that on the Thorn-puller statuettes, as also the white clay fabric strongly suggests that the former was also a product of the Central Gaulish workshops.

A 7

EPONA (FIGS .59-60)

Fragment of a statuette representing the lower part of a seated, robed female figure from the knees down to the hem of the garment. The fracture scars show that her hands were placed on her knees. The object upon which she is seated is not a chair but the back of an animal. The robe hangs in deep v-shaped folds. The height and the length of the fragment are 4.45 cms and 5.4 cms, respectively, and the clay is fine and white. From Room 8, House VII (south), Caerwent, Monmouthshire (Venta Silurum). Now in Newport Museum and Art Gallery collection. A comparison of a complete statuette found at Toulon-sur-Allier (Champs Lary)⁽¹⁾ reveals that this fragment is of the same type, namely, a female personage seated side-saddle on the back of a horse and evidently a representation of the Celtic goddess of mules and horses, Epona.⁽²⁾ Comparable examples are one from La Tourelle near Quimper Finistère (St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.75823) evidently from a mould belonging to the Allier, and an incomplete example found at Autun (Saône-et-Loire).⁽³⁾

(1) E. Tudot, Figurines en argile..... pl.34 c.

(2) Rene Magnen, Épona. Déesse gauloise des chevaux protectrice des cavaliers (Editions Delmas, 1953) p.47, No.76.

(3) H. Vertet et G. Vuillemot, Collections du Musée Rolin, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun, p.47, No.59, pl.89. (our FIG.61)

B MALE DEITIES

1 APOLLO

The two statuettes found in Britain portray this god as Apollo Citharoedus, that is he stands supporting a lyre and holds a large plectrum as if either preparing to play the instrument or is resting after the performance.

(1) Hatcheston, Suffolk. (FIG.62)

(National Grid Reference TM/31065702).

From a metal working and pottery making site, and was found in a disused bowl furnace with various bronze trinkets, sherds of a butt-beaker and a late second century mortarium (Hull Form 497).⁽¹⁾ Information kindly supplied by Miss Elizabeth Owles, Archaeological Assistant at Ipswich Museum. The statuette is at present in the possession of Mr. M.J. Campen, Swanley Cottage, Snape, Saxmundham, Suffolk.

This standing figure of the god is fairly complete, but lacks most of the face and the legs just below the knees. He wears a toga draped over the left shoulder and supported on the upper part of the arm to lie diagonally across the front of the body to conceal the genital region, and is wrapped round the right hip to cover the buttocks. In the left hand is a disc-like object, presumably a patera, which rests on the top of a five-stringed lyre supported against the left hip with folds of drapery below it. In the right hand he holds a large plectrum.

(1) M.R. Hull, The Roman Potters' Kilns of Colchester (University Press Oxford, 1963) p.190, Fig.107, Form 497.

The hair, combed upwards and tied in a knot above the forehead, is arranged in a tight roll encircling the back of the head, and centrally parted at the back, and secured in a small neat bun at the nape of the neck. Wavy tresses fall over the shoulders. This hair style is very effeminate and closely resembles that affected by many statuettes of Venus. The left leg is bare from the hip down, and the right leg below the knee. The clay is creamy-white. The style of this statuette closely resembles that of an Apollo from Bedfordshire (q.v. infra).

A very similar although not identical example is recorded from Pupillin (Jura)⁽¹⁾ as also another from Autun which is thought to be in the style of Pistillus.⁽²⁾ (FIG.64)

(2) Bedford, Bedfordshire. (FIG 63)

Mile Road site of South Bedford Allotment Gardens Association (O.S. Sheet 147 National Grid Reference TL 058476).

Found trodden into a spread of rammed gravel and pebbles overlying a mid first century A.D., circular enclosure ditch accompanied by potsherds and debris derived from a nearby second century kiln, and two samian Dragendorf form 33 bases stamped SEVERAO F and ATTI respectively. A mass of kiln debris was in the ditch filling.

(1) M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, Les Figurines Gallo-Romaines en Terre Cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Paris, 1972) p.221, No.530, Inv.No.32909.

(2) H. Vertet et G. Vuillemot, Figurines Gallo-Romaines en Argile d'Autun p.56, pl.12 a.

The fragment of the statuette is in fairly fine hard white clay with a carefully smoothed surface. It is the front part of a standing figure of Apollo from the lower part of the abdomen down to about the knees. He wears a toga which originally was draped over the left shoulder to cover his left side back and front, and wrapped round the right hip leaving the genitals and remainder of the body nude. In his left hand he holds a small circular patera about 1.3 cms diameter, in which the prominent central boss and six radial mouldings are visible. This rests on the top of a five-stringed lyre which stands on the top of the shaft of a short pilaster or altar. The right hand is broken off but it evidently supported some object against the right hip, either a branch or a plectrum or perhaps a cornucopia of which only the rounded end has survived. The bare left leg is slightly bent at the knee and is slightly in advance of the right leg.

Maximum height is now 4.8 cms; the overall width 5.9 cms. Information concerning the circumstances of the find supplied by the director of the excavations, Mr. Gerald J. Dring.

Statuettes of Apollo of the type found in Britain were made in Central Gaul. A clay demi-mould for one was found with other moulds and statuettes at Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire).⁽¹⁾

(1) Melin and Bertrand, "Notice sur une officine de potiers-modeleurs gallo-romains decouverte à Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire)" in Bulletin archéologique du Comité (1892) pp.264-5.

The god holds a plectrum in his right hand and his left hand supports a patera which rests on the top of the lyre standing by his left side. Another mould for a similar statuette from Vichy is in Moulins Museum (Inv.No.5.2.153). Closely similar statuettes have been found at Saint-Pourcain-sur-Besbre, Alise-Ste-Reine⁽¹⁾ and Autun, the latter probably made by Pistillus.⁽²⁾

B 2

BACCHUS

(1) Bedfordshire.

Flitwick, Ruxox Farm. (FIGS.66-67)

Now in the Longsands School Museum at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire. Unpublished. A detached head which is clearly identical to that of a more complete statuette of Bacchus found at Bingerbrück (Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.15484) which is inscribed with the name of Servandus of Cologne who was active around the year A.D. 164. Hence the Flitwick example must be similarly dated. (See Part 2 and Part 3 under Servandus).

(1) A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines de terre cuite de la Gaul-romaine in Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France tome LX, (6th séries) tome X, p.206 footnotes 2 and 3.

(2) H. Vertet et G. Vuillemot, loc cit.

B 3

HERCULES (FIG.68)

(1) Colchester, Essex.

Found in a grave of a child at Beverley Road, Grave Group No.124 (Joslin Collection) with a remarkable assemblage of other clay statuettes, samian and St. Rémy ware pottery. With this group were thirty-six coins, of which twelve were of Agrippa and the rest of Claudius I, and this statuette must therefore be one of the earliest yet found in Britain. One samian ware platter Dragendorf form 18 bears the stamp of Nestor, a pre-Flavian potter. Hercules is standing nude and bearded, with prominent flap-ears, and his hair brushed forward over his forehead. He holds his club in his right hand resting on the ground by his side, and the skin of the Nemean lion is held in his left hand hanging down by his left side. The statuette is made of white clay. The overall height including the rectangular base is 15.2 cms.

C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI, p.230 ff;

J.E. Price, Catalogue of the Joslin Collection No.1126;

Thomas May, Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum, p.251 ff., pl.LXXV, Grave Group 3/124.

(2) Deal, Kent.

Found in the garden of No.10 Hallstatt Road, Mill Hill, below the site of a second century Roman rubbish trench. Head only, height 6.4 cms, made of black clay which may mean that it was made in the Gironde district.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXIV (1951) pp.151-2, pl.I.

The hair is arranged in tight curls close to the head and

the beard is similarly curled. The workmanship is of a much higher order than the statuette of Hercules from Colchester, and is said to be a copy of the Farnese Hercules.

B 4

MERCURY (FIG.69)

(1) Found Corbridge and was in the Corstopitum Museum but its present whereabouts are unknown.

R.H. Forster and W.H. Knowles, Corstopitum: Report on the Excavations in 1909, Archaeologia Aeliana 3rd series VI, p.271, fig.12, but with only a very brief mention.

Mercury standing on a small circular reel-like plinth with concave profile. The head is lost, and the present height is 19.7 cms. Mercury holds in his left hand the shaft of the caduceus which rests on his left shoulder. He wears a chlamys which covers the upper part of his body down to his knees. In his right hand he holds a purse resting on the horns of a goat which lies on the ground by his right leg. His feet are winged.

B 5

MARS (FIG.70)

Found in excavations at Mucking, Essex, carried out under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.

Statuette of Mars now lacking head and the feet and base. He wears a cuirass and his legs are greaved. A cloak is slung over his shoulders and draped down the back also concealing the left side. A shield stands on its rim supported by his left side. The right arm is broken off but it is reasonably certain that he grasped a javelin in his right hand for the shaft survives in a vertical position by his right side. Blemishes in the original mould appear as small lumps here and there on the surface of the figure. Height c. 41.6 cms. It is the stereotyped art-type of Classical origin.

Journal of Roman Studies LIX (1969) p.224, pl.XV, 2-3.

C GENII

Genius Cucullatus

(1) Reculver, Kent. (FIG.71)

Found 1949 with a small quantity of Roman pottery of late second-early third century date, in the remains of a rubbish pit exposed by the sea in the cliff face, some 800 feet west of the Roman fort (Regulbium). Fragments of pale red coloured fabric once coated with a white or pale cream slip, representative of a statuette of a man of dwarf-like proportions standing in a frontal attitude on very short

legs, and having a disproportionately large head, and a broad, stumpy body. He wears the native Gaulish garment, the cucullus, a kind of hooded cloak, the hood of which hangs over the shoulders to form a deep v-shaped collar in front. Both arms are bent so that they lie across the body in a horizontal position. The fingers of the left hand are fully extended and placed lower than the right hand in which a roll of parchment is grasped.

Royal Museum, Canterbury, Inv.No.1952/10.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXVI (1953) p.86 ff., pl.I.

D BUSTS

1 FEMALE PERSONAGES

The very few clay busts of female personages which have been found in Britain are of two types which may be distinguished by the hair styles and by the arrangement of the garments which cover the shoulders.

TYPE 1 (FIGS. 75-76)

The hair is arranged in deep waves pressed close to the head to frame the forehead and leaving the ears exposed. It is plaited behind and is gathered up in a round coil which is perched on the crown of the head, a style affected by Faustina I, the wife of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161).⁽¹⁾ cf. also the hair style of an unknown woman portrayed on a marble relief from Ostia which is similarly dated:-

J.M.C. Toynbee, The Art of the Romans (Thames and Hudson, London, 1965) p.29, pl.4.

Turning to the garments worn by the woman portrayed by the clay bust we find that she wears a stola which has a v-shaped neck-line, under a palla, a fold of which is wrapped round the shoulders from right to left. Examples of this type of bust have been found at Welwyn, Hertfordshire and Brighton, Sussex. Two incomplete examples now lacking the heads and the plinths judging from the arrangement of the folds of the garments are evidently from busts of this same type (at Welwyn, Herts., and Cirencester, Glos.).

(1) cf. a detached head of a statuette or bust from St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier) St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.28058.

TYPE 1

(1) Welwyn, Hertfordshire. (FIG.76)

Found in a cremated burial with pottery of the latter half of the second century. Traces of a bronze necklace were on the neck. Now in the Hertford Museum.

Antiquaries Journal II, p.24, pl.V, figs.1, 2 and 3.

(2) Brighton, Sussex. (FIG.75)

Found in a cremated burial of the later second century on the site of the Endeavour Motor Company's showrooms, Preston Road in 1962. Height c. 11.4 cms.

Journal of Roman Studies LV (1965) p.220, pl.XVI, 4 left.

This example probably came from the same mould as that found at Welwyn (supra), and was found in the same grave as the clay bust of our type 2 (infra).

(3) Welwyn, Hertfordshire. (FIG.78)

Found on the same site as No.1 above but not associated with a burial. Hertford Museum. The head and the plinth are lost; the surviving portion measures c. 6.2 cms wide across the shoulders.

(4) Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

Found in 1894 and now in the Gloucester Museum; Old Catalogue Inv.No.582. This is an incomplete example almost identical to that from Welwyn (No.3 supra) and the surviving width across the shoulders is c. 6 cms.

(5) Ixworth, Suffolk. (FIG.77)

The lower part of a female face in creamy-white clay. The pose of the head and the facial features closely resemble those of the two complete busts of our Type 1 from Welwyn and Brighton (Nos.1 and 2 above). Found during the excavations at the Roman villa, Ixworth, but there is no record now of associated objects which might have dated it.

(6) Puckeridge, Hertfordshire.

Clay bust badly damaged by fire. Found in cremated burial of Antonine date at Skeleton Green. The burial was a double cremation consisting of a set of calcined bones in a pottery urn, and another set in a glass bowl, the latter probably of a child. Fragments of the clay bust were found under and around the glass bowl, and some small fragments were inside it. Information from Mr. Clive Partridge who was in charge of the excavations, March 1973.

TYPE 2 (FIG.79)

With this type of female bust the hair is arranged in a much fuller style. The face is framed by deep waves which conceal the ears, and there is a central parting above the forehead. The hair is also drawn up at the back in a thick pad and secured in a prominent bow-like knot perched on the crown of the head. This hair style is featured on many clay statuettes of the dea nutrix type and certain statuettes of Venus, both of which certainly date to the Antonine period. That the two styles namely our Types 1 and 2 are similarly dated is confirmed by the associated material in the graves in which they have been

found, and also by the presence of busts of both types in a single grave at Brighton. It is, therefore, virtually certain that the two types display contemporary hair styles.

cf. the hair styles of the statuettes of the deae nutrices from Bolards (Côte d'Or) Gallia VII (1950) fasc.1, p.336, Nos.105-114 not illustrated: and the photograph of the same in the section dealing with the dea nutrix types of statuette in this dissertation. A similar hair style is affected by the bronze bust of a goddess from Allmendigen near Thun, cf. F. Stähelin, Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit (2nd edition Basel 1931) Abb.128, dated second century and now in the Historisches Museum Bern.

The personage portrayed by the clay busts of our Type 2 is garbed in a stola which has a v-shaped neck-line, but without the palla. Only one example of this type has been found in Britain, that is the above-mentioned one from Brighton.

TYPE 2

(1) Brighton, Sussex. (FIG.79)

Found in the same grave as the bust of our Type 1 (No.2 supra).

Height c. 11.4 cms.

Journal of Roman Studies LV (1965) p.220, pl.XVI, 4 right.

TYPE 3 (FIG.80)

The hair is arranged in a fashion very similar to that of Type 2 but is secured in tightly plaited formation instead of the bow-like knot on the crown of the head. This hair style is frequently featured on the statuettes of the dea nutrix type

made at Toulon-sur-Allier (Tudot, pl.26 and 29),
 cf. examples in the Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.Nos.
 7281, 7282, 27952 and a mould 28180; also 1558, the latter
 from Clermont Ferrand (Puy de Dôme).

Two detached heads found in Britain are closely similar in
 size and style to that of a complete portrait bust probably from
 Vichy (Allier) now in the St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.25484.
 Hence they are included here instead of in the section dealing
 with the dea nutrix types of statuettes found in Britain.

(1) Hassocks, Sussex. (FIG.80)

Found on the site of a Roman cemetery. Sussex Archaeological
 Collections LXVI, p.xlii; ibid XCI p.135, fig.(a).

Barbican House Museum, Lewes, Sussex.

(2) Rawreth, Essex. (FIG.81)

White's Gazetteer and Directory of Essex (1867-88) p.567;

P. Benton, History of the Rochford Hundred (1867-88) p.686;

Victoria County History, Essex III, p.168;

British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain (1958)

p.62, fig.30, No.6. British Museum Inv.No.56/7-1/5108.

TYPE 4 (FIG.82)

The female personage almost certainly wears a wig of alien hair,
 composed of short curls placed end to end, and piled high in
 three tiers in a large semi-circle to frame the temples leaving
 the ears exposed. If it is a wig then the subject's own hair
 behind is combed straight back to the nape of the neck where it
 is gathered into a "pony tail" which is coiled up anti-clockwise

and secured midway between the nape of the neck and the crown of the head. Globular objects are below each ear.

(1) Chichester, Sussex. (FIG.82)

Found in excavations supervised by A. Down in Chapel Street. Publication pending. Stratified with late Flavian pottery. Head only belonging to a portrait bust of this type. Overall width 6 cms. For a complete example cf. one in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25484 probably found at Vichy (height 13.2 cms); also two heads Inv.No.19612 Banassac; Inv.No.28118 Clermont-Ferrand. Elaborate coiffures of this kind were affected by the ladies of the Flavian court, e.g. Domitia, and remained in vogue throughout the reign of Trajan. For the Trajanic styles cf. those of the coinage Mattingly and Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage, Plotina pl.IX, 160; pl.XII, 215; Vibia Matidia pl.IX, 160; Marciana pl.XII, 216; Vibia Sabina pl.IX, 335.

Under Hadrian there was a return to the simpler Greek and Hellenistic models (J.M.C. Toynbee, The Art of the Romans Thames and Hudson, 1965 p.36). The same general style is affected by a female personage, possibly Vibia Matidia, the subject of a portrait bust in marble (Rannuchio Bianchi, Rome, The Centre of Power Thames and Hudson).

(2) Silchester, Hampshire.

Part of the face of a similar bust, now lacking the hair but there is a globular object below the left ear as the Chichester example (No.1 supra). The facial expression and the dimensions are also very similar. T. May, The Pottery Found at Silchester (Reading, 1916) p.103, pl. XXXIX B, No.8. Height now 5.6 cms. Reading Museum. An identical fragment found at Tannkirch near Ribeauville (Haut-Rhin) is now in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.6880.

(3) Wye, Kent.

The head and shoulders of a much abraded bust of a female personage with hair style resembling that of our Type 4 above. Overall height now c. 7 cms. Width of hair style 5 cms. Found on the surface of a field near the edge of the bank of the River Stour near the site of the Harville Roman villa, 1976. Similar but not identical examples have been found in the Puy de Dôme at Clermont-Ferrand and Lezoux, and also at St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier). A mould, front half, for a bust with a very similar hair style was found in the officina at Toulon-sur-Allier. St. Germain-en-Laye Museum
 Inv.Nos.1592; 1615; 1620; 1621; 1622 (Clermont-Ferrand)
 66502 (two fragments Lezoux)
 27979 (mould Toulon-sur-Allier).

D 2

YOUTHFUL PERSONAGES

TYPE 5

Bust of Boy draped. Found Copthall Court, London. (FIG.83)

The garment is secured on the right shoulder by a circular brooch.

The bust rises from the midst of what may be the stylized petals of a flower, and is mounted on a moulded circular pedestal.

There is no clue to the identity of the subject; it could be that a youthful Caesar is intended, but this identification is not stressed here. London Museum Catalogue No.3,

Roman London, p.49, pl.XXI, 9, A 245.

Latomus 103 (1969) p.322, No.50, pl.CXXVI, fig.1.

This bust is closely paralleled by an example found in the temple area at Gussenburg cf. F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901) p.92, Taf.XIII, 44.

Height about 15 cms originally,

D 3

TYPE 6

London, Great Winchester Street, 1867 (FIG.84)

Bust of bare-shouldered boy with richly curled hair in which appears to be grapes. He wears a simple necklace with a knot or pendant attachment of lunar shape. This is probably Harpocrates and has been identified as such at Dhronnecken where very close parallels were found in the temple area.

cf. F. Hettner op cit p.76, Taf.XI, 15-17;

Guildhall Museum Catalogue 2nd edition p.70, No.2090;

Latomus 103, p.324, No.52, pl.CXXVII, fig.2.

Height 12.7 cms.

An identical example from Alttrier (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg) now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.0,158, is included by Dheedene in his catalogues of statuettes which he regarded as made in that locality. J. Dheedene, "Alttrier - Un atelier de figurines en terre cuite?" in Helenium I (1961) pp.221-222, fig.18. Mould from Carden (Lkr. Cochem) (FIG.130) beginning 3rd century. BJ 136/7 (1932) pp.297 and 324 ibid 146 (1941) p.219, Taf.28, Abb.1. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.29,1185.

D 3

TYPE 7

Colchester, Essex. (FIG.85)

Found with the group of statuettes in the grave at Beverley Road. Grave group No.124. Head and shoulders of a young boy in white clay. C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI, p.230 ff., pl.XLVI. Catalogue of the Private Museum

Mr. George Joslin p.87, No.1138. Width across face 6.3 cms.

The subject is chubby faced with pronounced dimples in each cheek. The pupils of the eyes are indicated by circular concave depressions. The ears are rather protruding. The hair is combed close to the head and forwards over the forehead. The remains of the edge of some kind of drapery survives on the right shoulder while the other shoulder seems to be bare. It has been suggested that it belonged originally to a child's doll, but the size is comparable with the various types of so-called portrait busts, therefore the latter seems more reasonable. The head is also closely similar to that found in a grave at Lisieux and published in Congrès archéologique de France XXXVII^e Session à Lisieux (1870) p.62, fig.

D 4

BUSTS of so-called RISUS

TYPE 8

(1) York. (FIG.86)

Found in 1890 near Fishergate Postern in the area in which a small cremation cemetery was situated, and therefore it probably came from a disturbed burial. Handbook to the Antiquities in the Grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (1891) p.117; hence Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Roman York (H.M.S.O. 1962) p.69, pl.31. Height 12.65 cms. Now in York Museum.

(2) York.

Bishophill - Skeldergate 1974.

Three pieces which join of an incomplete bust of "Risus", similar to No.1 above but now lacks the face.

Excavations by York Archaeological Trust.

Site Inv.No.1974. 14/917. Unpublished.

Found as a survival in a deposit dated probably 10th century.

(3) London. (FIG.87)

Found with urns and human bones on the site now occupied by Liverpool Street Railway Station. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (1874) second series, p.172; British Archaeological Association Journal 28, p.75; Guildhall Museum Catalogue 2nd edition (1908) pl.XV, 1. Guildhall Museum, London, ex Walker-Bailey Collection, Guildhall Museum Inv.No.2106. Height 13 cms.

TYPE 9

Human Bust wearing a Cucullus.

(1) Springhead, Kent. (FIG.88)

Found during pipe-laying along the A 2 road at Springhead in 1964, exact site and associations not known. Front of a human bust in white pipe-clay, now lacking the head and the plinth.

When complete the personage wore a cucullus similar in form to the modern so-called "pixie hood", of which only the bib-like attachment covering the chest remains. Along the lower edge of this is an impressed design consisting of a row of three crescents each of which encloses a small raised stud or dot. Only the top of the moulding of the plinth remains, and on the front above it is a small, roughly made swelling or boss. The bust was made in a two-piece mould, and the vertical joint has been roughly trimmed by a knife or spatula before firing in the kiln. The overall height is now 7 cms.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

The following are pieces evidently from clay busts but too small for definite identification of the types.

(1) St. Albans, Hertfordshire.

Found Verulamium in the second and third century filling of the cellar in Building II, 1. Back of a female head with hair arranged in a similar style as that of our Type 2.

Also fragment of a face perhaps from a similar bust.

Society of Antiquaries of London Research Committee Reports XI
Verulamium, pl.LXI, No.1, No.2.

(2) Brough-on-Humber, Yorkshire.

Portion of the left side of a man's face in white pipe-clay. Superior workmanship. Found among the stones at the bottom of the clay rampart (Period II) which has been dated to the second quarter of the second century. (see *Addendum p.xxii*)

P. Corder, Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society XXVIII (part 2) p.76, No.14, Fig.8, No.14.

Height 2.8 cms, c. 5.6 cms from front to back.

(3) London, Upper Thames Street, No.129/130.

Small hollow domed plinth with the usual small flat disc attached to the front. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.12599 B 1931.107.

(4) Wroxeter, Shropshire.

Small hollow domed plinth with usual flat disc attached to the front. Now in the Viroconium Museum, Wroxeter.

(5) London, New Fresh Wharf on Thames waterfront near site of London Bridge. 1974.

Small hollow domed plinth with usual small flat disc attached to the front. Round the bottom of the plinth is a dark coloured painted band c. 0.5 cms deep. Hard fine drab white clay. Height c. 4.3 cms; overall diameter 4.5 cms.

Excavations by the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London Site Inv.No.N.F.W. 74 75.4, 388. Unpublished.

Found in a deposit dated second half of the second century.

E STANDING YOUTHFUL MALE PERSONAGES HOLDING FRUITS, ETC.

(1) Bootle-in-Cumberland.

Torso, front and rear, lacking the head and having the right leg broken off at the hip, and the left leg halfway to the knee. It is very much broken and weathered but is evidently a male figure, naked except for a sort of apron tied behind the waist. It is standing with both hands raised to the chest where they clasp what appear to be ears of wheat or fruit of some kind. Surviving length is c. 7 cms. It was exhibited at the meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society held at Kendal, September 11th 1929, and published in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society new series XXX, p.119, fig; but its present whereabouts are unknown.

According to Collingwood ibid, the combination of the apron and the fruits suggests Priapus, but the figure is not ithyphallic. Silvanus also appears in a somewhat similar guise. He suggested that it is perhaps the representation of a native Celtic deity whose attributes, according to the well-known practice, were regarded as justifying a representation of him in human form, modelled on the current statues of a Graeco-Roman god with attributes of the same general kind.

(2) Chelmsford, Essex. (FIG.89)

Unpublished. Chelmsford Museum A 1304/1 and A 1304/2.
Torso, front and rear, lacking the head and having both legs broken off just above the knees. It is evidently a male figure, naked, but does not appear to wear an apron like that from Bootle-in-Cumberland. It is a standing figure with both hands raised to the chest where they clasp what appears to be fruits of various kinds. Height now c. 7.2 cms. Found in the Roman baths, Chelmsford.

The back of the figure is very similar to an incomplete example found at s'Heerenberg Utrecht, now in the Centraal Museum at Utrecht Inv.No.15.5616.

(3) Leigh-on-Sea, Essex. (FIG.90)

Torso, front only, lacking the head and right shoulder, and having the right leg broken off at the hip, and the left leg halfway above the knee. It is evidently a male standing naked except for bikini-like briefs two cords of which survive along the left groin. The hands are raised to the chest where they clasp indistinct objects, one of which may be a key. Height is now 6.8 cms. It was found by chance on the foreshore at Leigh-on-Sea where it had been washed out of the rubbish fallen through a breach in the sea-wall in the year 1949. Now in the Chelmsford Museum.

(4) Ludwalls Farm, Cowden, Kent. (FIG.91)

Upper part of the figure of a nude boy, now broken off at the waist. The head is slightly inclined to the left, and the hair is arranged in curls hanging close to the back of the

head and combed forward on the forehead. A crested bird with one wing upraised (presumably a cockerel) is held by the left hand close against the boy's chest, and he extends the forefinger of his right hand to touch the tip of the bird's beak which is open. Fine white clay. Height is now 5 cms.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXXVI (1971) pp.203-205, pl.I.

F THORN-PULLER (Spinario)

1 - 2 London. (FIGS.104-105)

Two incomplete statuettes of the torso of a seated nude male. Found associated with a group of samian ware on a site in Queen Victoria Street, London. The pottery figured and plain, including a series of potters' stamps, was examined by Miss Grace Simpson, D.Phil., F.S.A., who has informed us by letter that the pottery and the statuettes seem to have come from the layer of debris attributed to the second fire of Roman London, and confirm the date first postulated by Mr. G.C. Dunning as c. A.D.120-130.

(Antiquaries Journal XXV (1945) pp.48-77)

Both statuettes are coated with a dull red coloured pigment.

The subject represented by these statuettes is a nude youth seated on a rock, caught in the act of drawing a thorn from his foot, and are therefore reproductions in clay of the Spinario, the well known Graeco-Roman sculpture in marble, a bronze replica of which (apparently from a fountain) was set up in front of the Lateran in Rome where it was seen by Master Gregory in the twelfth century (British Museum Guide to the Dept., of Greek and Roman Antiquities 5th edition 1920 p.77, No.1755;

A.M. Smith, Catalogue of Sculpture in the Dept., of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum 1904 3, pp.108-109, pl.VIII, No.1755;

Magister Gregorius, De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae.

Statuettes of the thorn-puller were made in the officinae at Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ-Lary) where the moulds have been found, and travelled far as objects of trade. (cf. Tudot, pl.70 A, C and D; pl.71 left; pl.9; chapter IV text figure p.89) also F. Jenkins, "Romano-Gaulish Figurines Found in London" in Collection Latomus 103 (Bruxelles 1969) pp.320-321, pl.CXXIX, fig.6, Nos.42-43 in the catalogue, Hommages à Marcel Renard III, British Museum Inv.Nos.1942/4-6, 1 and 2. (cf. our FIG.107 a comparable example from Lezoux.

(3) London.

Another example of the thorn-puller type of statuette is now in the British Museum (Inv.No.83/5-9,12) and although found in London the precise find spot is not recorded. It was purchased by the museum in 1883, FIG.106. It is the torso of a youthful male complete with the head but lacks the arms and the legs. The stump of the left leg and the pose of the body suggests that the figure was seated. A painted band consisting of two parallel lines bounded by dots and short strokes lies diagonally across the front and back of the torso and runs over the left shoulder. Cordate leaf motives outlined in paint are distributed over the body. The hair is arranged in waves to frame the face and to cover the ears and is combed up high above the centre of the forehead. It hangs in curls close to the back of the head.

M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les figurines Gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales" XXIV Supplément à Gallia, p.254, No.626, Inv.No.27969.

A mould for a statuette of this precise type, bearing on the reverse the signature of Tiberius was found at Toulon-sur-Allier, where this London example was undoubtedly made.

G GLADIATOR

Found on the site of the National Safe Deposit Company's premises, Queen Victoria Street, London.

Only the greaved legs of the figurines have survived, and are of white pipe-clay. A mould for a figurine of a gladiator was found at Vichy (Allier) and statuettes from other places in Gaul; also one found in Cologne.

Guildhall Museum, London No.3813

RXV.
396

F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln, Band I, Taf.52.

Germania Romana V Taf.III, 3, p.7.

Other statuettes of gladiators equipped as Samnites

- (1) Arles (Bouches-du-Rhone) St. Germain-en-Laye 8356 568
- (2) Vichy (Allier) Mould in Moulins Museum 570 Samnite
- (3) Vichy (Allier) ? St. Germain-en-Laye 25465 571

H HORSEMAN

(1) Great Chesterford, Essex. (FIG.92)

Found during excavations carried out by the Hon.R.C. Neville. The fragment shows the legs of a rider seated astride the back of a horse which has a bridle. The human figure is broken off at the waist and the head of the horse and the lower parts of its legs are now lost. It is evidently from a statuette of the type illustrated by Tudot, namely, a bare-headed horseman who wears a short tunic caught in at the waist, and bears a small circular shield on his left arm. His right arm is raised so that the hand rests against the side of his head as if in salute. ⁽¹⁾

This type has been recognized as a native Gaulish type of equestrian god skin to Mars, ⁽²⁾ but it is possible that it is intended to be a Gaulish cavalryman.

(1) E. Tudot op cit pl.35.

(2) E. Thevenot, "Sur les traces des Mars celtiques" in Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses III (Brugge, 1955) pp.133-134, footnote 1.

I HUMOROUS SUBJECTS, CARICATURES OF MALE PERSONAGES

(1) Colchester, Essex. (FIGS.115-116)

(a) Standing, bearded, bald-headed old man with flap-ears.

He is attired in a short hip-length tunic gathered in at the waist. The sleeves are short leaving the forearms bare, and the hands are raised against his chest. Colchester Museum Inv.No.1127.

(b) Five seated, bald-headed flap-eared old men attired in togas. They read from scrolls. The arm-chairs with low curved backs show no signs of basketry and therefore were intended to represent ones of wood. Height 13.9 cms. Colchester Museum Inv.Nos.1128-1132 inclusive.

(c) Reclining bald-headed flap-eared old men attired in togas. Two examples, one scratches his head, and the other is holding a bowl with both hands. Colchester Museum Inv.Nos.1134-5. Length 12.7 cms.

(d) Two reclining men attired in togas. The hair is arranged close to the head and brushed forward on to the forehead. One holds his right hand against his left cheek, the other rests his chin on his left hand. Length 12.7 cms. Colchester Museum Inv.No.1133; 1136.

The facial expressions are closely similar to that of a head found at Vichy now in the Musée Nationale at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25497. cf. A. Blanchet, "Étude sur les figurines en terre-cuite" in Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 6^e séries I, (1890) Tome LI, pl.I, 5, p.202.

One seated figure lacks the head and is slightly larger than the others. The bodies of the smaller ones were made in the same mould, and the heads in each case were cast separately.

Three of the reclining figures came from the same mould for the drapery is identical in each case, but the heads which were cast separately are different, and the right arms were also attached separately and at different angles. All the elements forming the complete figure were made in two-piece moulds as shown by the joints.

The head and pose of the reclining figure (Inv.No.1136) are the same as an incomplete statuette (the upper part) found at Clermont Ferrand, (Puy-de-Dôme).

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28112.

Another closely similar head found at Autun (Saône-et-Loire) 1872 Croix-Blanche, Faubourg St. Jean. Musée Roulin Autun Inv.No.26.

This series of clay statuettes which may be classified as humorous subjects or caricatures, are virtually unique in Britain. These were found with other statuettes, animal vases, etc., and coins of Agrippa and Claudius in the grave of a child. See also under Sections B, D, J and L of this catalogue. To quote the late Sir Ian Richmond "they are the counterpart in Roman art of Horace and Petronius in literature and give a caricaturist's version of the hard-faced, flap-eared Italian types engaged in the banquets and recitals which were the hall-mark of Roman cultivated society".

I. A. Richmond, "The Four Coloniae of Roman Britain"

Archaeological Journal CIII (1974) p.60 ff.

Catalogue of the Private Museum of Anglo-Roman Antiquities

Collected by Mr. George Joslin of Colchester, Colonia Camulodunum,

Catalogued by John Edward Price, F.S.A., F.R.S.L. (Colchester 1888)

pp.84-88, Nos.1127-36 inclusive. Grave Group 124.

C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI, p.228, pl.XLVI;

pl.XLVII, Fig.7.

T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum,

p.252, Nos.1127-36 inclusive, pl.LXXV.

(2) Usk, Monmouthshire. (FIG.115A reconstruction)

A fragment in buff clay, 7.4 cms high, is the left side of a seated figure from the shoulder down to just above the ankle.

The figure is attired in a toga which is draped over the left shoulder and covers the left leg to just below the knee.

Only the stump of the left arm survives. Its position shows

that the figure was holding some object in his hands. The

fragment is closely similar if not identical to a complete

statuette, one of a group, found in a mid-first century

grave at Beverley Road, Colchester, for the pose and the

arrangement of the folds of the robe closely match those of

the seated, bald-headed old man, attired in a toga holding

a tray on which was an open scroll from which he was reading,

cf. Colchester Museum statuette Inv.No.1132. It is evident

that the body of the figure and the tray were made separately

and then the latter was luted on to the stumps of the arms

for there is no sign of any horizontal joint across the folds

of the toga which cover the chest.

The fragment was found in the excavations on the site of the pre-Flavian fort at Usk in 1968 directed by Dr. W.H. Manning of the University of Wales, Cardiff.

Comparison of this piece with the Colchester statuettes has shown that the clay is softer than the latter, and the brown colour is almost certainly due to staining. The small incisions have either been enlarged with a knife before firing or another mould was used.

J ANIMALS

1 BULL

(1) Colchester, Essex. (FIG.117)

Found in a grave with a group of other statuettes (see I 1 a-c above), pottery and coins, eleven of Agrippa and twenty-five of Claudius, in Beverley Road.

C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua VI, p.232, pl.XLVII, fig.7;

T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum, p.252, Grave Group 3/124, No.1137.

Figure of a standing bull in white clay mounted on a flat rectangular base, height 9.5 cms. The band or strap (vitta) worn round its body is indicated by two parallel incised lines. In view of the associated material in the grave in which this statuette was found it is clear that it must belong to a time not very long after the initial Roman occupation of Colchester.

The statuette is closely similar to one found at Amiens (Somme) in 1872, and now in the Sir A. Evan's Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Inv.No.R 242. Tudot illustrates one from the Allier cf. Tudot, pl.62. (FIG.93)

(2) London.

New Fresh Wharf on the Thames waterfront, near the site of London Bridge. Found in excavations carried out in 1974 by the Museum of London, Department of Urban Archaeology, Site Inv.No.N.F.W. 74.166, 75.4,279. Publication pending.

In a third century deposit. Part of a statuette of a quadruped in fine hard white clay. Height now 5.3 cms, length c. 9 cms. Also part of a detached leg possibly from the same. The animal is a bull for it has a pronounced

dewlap hanging down from its throat. A fracture scar on the back of the animal shows that some object was luted on to it. Just behind the shoulder of the animal there is a thick moulding in relief which is roughly S-shaped and vaguely resembles a short human leg. That this is not a leg is proved by a more complete statuette of a bull which was found at Chantenay (Nievre). This example shows that the object on the bull's back was the neck of a vase having a slightly swelling profile and the S-shaped moulding is merely one of four ornamental motives, two of which appear below it on each side of the body of the animal. It is undated and is now in the museum at Moulins (Allier), and there is a cast of same in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28172. It has been described as either a candlestick or a dummy vase in the form of a bull.

cf. M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, "Les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales, XXIV^e supplément à "Gallia" (Paris, 1972) p.340, No.1031, pl.1031.

As Chantenay in the Department of Nievre adjoining that of the Allier there seems strong reason for accepting this type of bull vase as a product of one of the officinae in the latter region.

2 HORSES

(1) Wroxeter, Shropshire. (FIG.94)

The Society of Antiquaries of London Research Committee

Report IV, Wroxeter III, p.34, pl.XXIII, fig.2;

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXVII (1962), p.143, pl.I, 3.

White clay. Our Type 2.

(2) London, All Hallows-by-the-Tower Church.

Archaeologia Cantiana loc cit. The type is uncertain due to breakage but the horse wears no saddle. Now in the collection exhibited in the crypt of the church. White clay.

(3) Canterbury, Kent.

Found on a site to the west of Iron Bar Lane and just south of Burgate Street.

Archaeologia Cantiana LXXVII (1962), pp.142 ff., pl.I, 2.

Royal Museum Canterbury Inv.No.7854. White clay. Our Type I.

(4) Springhead, Kent.

Fragment of what seems to be the forepart of a horse showing shoulder of the right foreleg. White clay. Found temple ditch site. Archaeologia Cantiana LXXIX (1964) p.188.

(5) Newstead, Roxburghshire. (FIG.95)

Now single horse and legs and tail of another, two horses standing side by side and yoked together. White clay.

Our Type 3. J. Curle, A Roman Frontier Post and its People,

The Fort at Newstead in the Parish of Melrose (J. Maclehose Glasgow 1911), pp.137 and 305, pl.LXXIII B.

cf. A. Blanchet, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires des France 6^e séries, I (1890) LI, pl.I, 14; also a complete example found in a grave in the Roman cemetery at Sougeres-sur-Sinottes. Information and a photograph kindly supplied by Monsieur Hugues Vertet of Yzeure, Allier.

Height of Newstead group 17.2 cms. The type figure for Nos.1-4 inclusive above is Tudot pl.59 from the Allier and Seine-Inferieure.

National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland Inv.No.FRA 1600.

3 DOGS

The type figure is that illustrated by Tudot.⁽¹⁾

The dog is terrier-like with pointed ears and a pointed muzzle. The eyes are rather prominent and the brow is puckered. The animal is seated on its haunches with its slender forelegs fully extended, and is ithyphallic.

It wears a double collar from which is suspended an object of trapezoidal form, sometimes circular, probably a bell or perhaps an amulet. Moulds for this type have been found at Toulon-sur-Allier⁽²⁾ and at Autun.⁽³⁾ Another mould was found presumably at Vichy.⁽⁴⁾

(1) London, Southwark. (FIG.96)

Found by a workman on a site adjacent to 93-95 Borough High Street, presumably in the late first century-mid-second century deposits in a filled stream. Present whereabouts unknown, but a photograph was taken by a member of the staff of Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee. Height c. 9.5 cms. The forelegs and much of the base have

(1) Tudot op cit pl.57 top right bottom left and right,
ibid Text Fig.LV, p.37.

(2) Tudot ibid pl.5, a mould signed ABVDINVS on reverse.

(3) H. Vertet and G. Vuillemot, Figurines gallo-romaines en argile d'Autun, Collections de Musée Rolin, Autun Inv.No.206.

(4) St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.25449, formerly in the Ayme Rambert collection at Vichy and probably found there.

gone but the statuette otherwise is complete. The dog wears a double collar with a bell or amulet suspended from it. Height c. 8.5 cms.

(2) London, Mark Lane.

This fragment was seen and drawn by the present writer at the Guildhall Museum, but subsequently it was returned with other pottery to the owners of the site and there is no knowledge of its present whereabouts. The front half of the head and shoulders remain. Height of the fragment was 5.7 cms.

(3) Alcester, Warwickshire.

A fragment of the chest of the dog showing the pendant (a bell ?) suspended from the collar. The positions of the stumps of the forelegs make it virtually certain that it is a dog of this type and is not another animal. Found in an occupation layer dated to the second half of the second century, according to the director of excavations Mr. H.V. Hughes. Excavation Inv.No.ALC/63.Ts.31, S2. Size now 5 cms by 4 cms.

(4) Wroxeter, Shropshire.

A fragment of the front showing the double collar with pendant, and also the stump of the right foreleg. Found during the excavations in 1958. Site Inv.No.WB 16 64/1958 64.

K BIRDS

1 COCKERELS

Statuettes of cockerels may be broadly classified into two main types, viz:-

- (1) The bird stands with head erect.
- (2) The bird stands with head thrust forward in a fighting attitude.

Both types were produced in two-piece moulds for the left and right halves of the body which were then luted together and mounted on a separately moulded base in the form of a flat disc or a dome-shaped plinth which carried the mouldings of the claws of the bird.

The details of the feathers display degrees of stylization which vary from statuette to statuette. For instance, the neck feathers may be indicated by plain incised lines without any real attempt at naturalism, or they may be absent, the neck being quite plain. The flight feathers may be merely indicated by obliquely placed finely incised lines in rows, which are repeated on the tail, e.g., as on the example from Silchester. The modellers of two examples from London have attempted a more or less naturalistic representation of the neck feathers which are moulded and not incised.

Normally there is a plain band in relief placed vertically on each wing, a feature which also appears on the statuettes of other birds such as hens and pigeons.

A cockerel of our Type 1 from Amiens (Somme) has the crest, wattle and the incised circle representing the eye picked out in brown paint, but those found in Britain bear no traces of this.

(FIG.97).

TYPE 1

(1) London. (FIG.98)

Found on the site of the Bull Inn, 91 Bishopsgate Street in 1865. Height 10.2 cms, including the small hollow domed base.

Guildhall Museum Catalogue 2nd edition, (1908) pl.XVI, 1, No.52, Inv.No.2110; Latomus 103 (1969) p.326, pl.CXXIX, 1, No.54.

(2) London, Bank of England site. (FIG.99)

Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Museum Inv.No.1948.61. Length from beak to tail 9.2 cms. Unpublished. Was acquired by purchase in Sotheby's sale 12-13th April 1948, Lot 47.

TYPE 2

(1) London, St. Clare Street, Stepney. (FIG.100)

Found February 8th 1965 near the burial place of Ann Mowbray. Mounted on a small flat disc-like plinth which has a diameter c. 3.1 cms. Overall length 8.6 cms. Present whereabouts unknown as the statuette disappeared from the site a few days after it had been seen and photographed by the late Mr. W.S. Penn. Latomus 103 (1969) p.327, pl.CXXIX, fig.8.

(2) Silchester, Hampshire. (FIG.101)

Found in the fill of a rubbish pit (Pit Y) in Insula XXI in the Roman town Calleva Atrebatum. Now in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington in Reading Museum. Archaeologia LVII (1900). T. May, The Roman Pottery Found at Silchester p.103, pl.XXXIX B, No.15.

The following are detached heads of cockerels probably of our Type 1.

(1) Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

Found in archaeological excavations, Dyer Court, in 1957.

G. Webster, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological

Society Transactions LXXVIII (1960) p.61, No.5, Fig.7, No.5.

Corinium Museum Inv.No.A281.

(2) Lowbury Hill, Berkshire.

Found in excavations on the site of what may have been a rural hill-top shrine.

D. Atkinson, The Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill, Berkshire,

p.70, Fig.19. Head and part of the neck of the bird which

from the posture seems to belong to our Type 1.

cf. Tudot, pl.60, bottom centre.

(3) Charterhouse-on-Mendip, Somerset.

No further details. Head of cockerel.

Bristol Museum Inv.No.A22.

K BIRDS

2 HENS

It is very questionable whether the identification of these birds is correct for they have no crest and the body and the wings are more like those of pigeons. In view of this the form of the tail and its position has been used to distinguish the type of bird which for convenience is classified as a hen.

(1) London, King William Street.

Found 1915. Height 9.5 cms. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.10549.

cf. Tudot pl.60 top left and ibid pl.6 for a mould signed PRISCVS. There are also two moulds signed SACRILLOS found respectively, at Toulons-sur-Allier and at Moulins

(St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.27996 and Moulins Museum Inv.No.5.3.75). A similar statuette was in a grave at

Rheinzabern cf. W. Ludowici, Römischer Ziegelgräber Rheinzabern

(Munich 1908-12) fig.53, Grave 355, dated to the second half of the second century. Latomus 103, p.326, No.56, for the London statuette.

(2) London, King William Street.

Height 7.1 cms. London Museum Catalogue No.3, London in

Roman Times (1930) p.49, pl.XXI, 7. Inv.No.A 28386;

Latomus 103, No.58; cf. Tudot loc cit.

This example is similar to No.1 above.

(3) London, Bishopsgate Street.

Height 7.9 cms. Guildhall Museum Catalogue pl.XV, 7.

Inv.No.2111. Latomus 103, p.326, No.57.

(4) Colchester, Essex. (FIG.102)

Height 9.1 cms. Now lacks the beak but otherwise complete.

British Museum Pollexfen Collection No.70.4-2, 466.

British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain

(1958) p.62, fig.30, No.7.

K BIRDS

3 PIGEONS (FIG.103)

(1) Colchester, Essex.

Length 10.1 cms. T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Castle Museum, Colchester, pl.LXXXII, 53, Grave Group No.18, a cremation burial of a child, dated A.D. 80-120.

It seems to be a child's toy whistle.

cf. a mould for a similar pigeon probably from Moulins (Allier) signed on the exterior SACRILLOS in semi-cursive script, now in St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.30395.

K BIRDS

Fragments of statuettes of birds too indeterminate for any accurate identification of species.

- (1) Small base on which are claw-like mouldings which may be all that remains of the figure of a bird but too fragmentary to identify the type with any degree of certainty.

Diameter 3.8 cms, height 1.3 cms. Richborough Museum No.786
Site 4.

- (2) Fragment showing the right wing of a bird, the tips of the flight feathers now lost through breakage.

Found in Well III. This piece is also too fragmentary to identify whether the bird was a cockerel or dove, but it is quite certain that it must have been one or the other.

Small blow-hole in the underside.

Overall length of fragment 5.5 cms.

- (3) Llechfaen, Brecknockshire.

Fragment of the right underside of a bird almost certainly a cockerel showing rather stylized flight feathers and two rows of neck feathers, broken off at the junction with the base. Buff clay with white surface. This was taken to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff by a schoolboy and is said to have been found with a few pieces of rather non-descript pottery which could also be Roman. No other details are recorded. Now in the Museum at Cardiff.

L ANIMAL VASES

(1) Colchester, Essex. (FIG.117)

Ten examples forming part of a large group of grave goods with several statuettes, moulded St. Rémy pottery and gold coins, viz., twelve of Agrippa and twenty-four of Claudius I. T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum, p.251 ff., Nos.1116-1125.

(a) Goat	height 10.1 cms	(1116)	yellow glazed
(b) Hare	height 7 cms	(1117)	yellow glazed
(c) Hare	height 7 cms	(1118)	yellow glazed
(d) Hare	height 7 cms	(1119)	yellow glazed
(e) Lion	height 7.6 cms	(1120)	
(f) Lion	height 7.6 cms	(1121)	
(g) Boar	height 7 cms	(1122)	
(h) Monkey seated	height 10.1 cms	(1123)	yellow glazed
(i) Monkey seated	height 8.9 cms	(1124)	yellow glazed
(j) She monkey seated suckling a young monkey at left breast	height 8.9 cms	(1125)	yellow glazed

(2) Colchester, Essex.

Part of a lion vase exactly as 1e and 1 f above.

Found Camulodunum. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.XI (1947) Camulodunum, p.202. cf. T. May, op cit pl.LXXV, 3b.

(3) Colchester, Essex.

Part of a yellow glazed vase in the form of a boar as lg above.
Colchester and Essex Museum Joslin Collection Inv.No.976.

(4) Preston-next-Wingham, Kent.

From a grave in a Roman cemetery at Goodson's Pit Deerson.
Associated material not recorded.

Complete yellow glazed vase in the form of a hare.

Present whereabouts unknown. It is described with a line
drawing in George Dowker's report.

Archaeologia Cantiana XX (1893) pp.51 and 53, fig.3, No.23.

(5) London, find-place unrecorded.

Fragment of the head of a lion from a vase similar to those at
Colchester, cf. 1e-1f above. Guildhall Museum, London, not in
Inventory.

(6) London.

Fragment of a yellow glazed vase showing part of the head of
an animal perhaps a lion similar to those from Colchester.
Unstratified, in excavations carried out by the Inner London
Archaeological Society.

M SHRINES

cf. Tudot, pl.15, 16, 17 and 18.

Small bas-reliefs in the form of shrines containing the figure of Venus in a niche and also empty shrines, were made in the workshops at Toulon-sur-Allier. A few have been found in the Rhineland and probably were products of the Allier industry. One of these is of the bas-relief type and contains a figure of Minerva.⁽¹⁾ The examples recorded from sites in Britain are far from complete, and are listed below.

- (1) Fragment of a pilaster of a shrine, found on the site of the General Post Office Building, St. Martin-le-Grand, London. Archaeologia 66, p.241, pl.XXV, fig.1. A fragment of a clay Venus was found near it but does not necessarily belong to it.
- (2) Fragment of the pediment of a shrine found at Clausentum, 1939. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society XV, (part 1) p.109, fig. (FIG.108)

- (1) Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthums freuden im Rheinlande, 89, (1890) pp.135-150. Found at Carden (Worms Museum). There is also a fragment of a shrine found at St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier) in the Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye (Inv.No.28038) which seems to have contained a bas-relief figure of Mercury.

A shrine with Venus was found at Dhronnecken.

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (1901) p.59, No.27, Tafel VIII, 29.

- (3) Two fragments of a shrine, part of the side and the arch. (FIG.109)
 Found at Wroxeter (1913). Both join. Reports of the
Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London,
 No.II, Wroxeter 2nd Report, p.18, fig.10.
- (4) Fragment of upper part of a pilaster or column square in cross-
 section, found at Corstopitum (site XVI). Now in Corbridge
 Museum. (FIG.110)
- (5) Finial of a shrine found Bridge Street, Chester, now in the
 Grosvenor Museum. Unpublished. (FIG.111)
- (6) Fragment of the pediment of a shrine, found St. Margaret's Street,
 Canterbury, on site of the Roman theatre. Canterbury Excavation
 Committee. Unpublished. (FIG.112)
- (7) London, Southwark.
 Fragment of the lower part of a pilaster which is fluted and
 stands on a moulded plinth, evidently that on the left hand side
 of the shrine. Fine white pipe-clay. Found in what seems to
 have been Roman plough soil dated third-fourth century.
 Information provided by Mr. G.D. Marsh. Unpublished. (FIG.113)
- (8) London, 199 Borough High Street, Southwark.
 Fragment of a pilaster on the right side of a shrine as viewed
 from the front. Decorated with large S-shaped motives and
 circular studs in relief. Found as a survival in a 4th century
 deposit in excavations by Southwark Archaeological Committee 1975.
 This piece is closely similar if not identical to a fragment of
 a shrine thought to have been found at Vichy and now in the
 museum at St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.25501.
 (FIG.114)

N MISCELLANEOUS

Isle of Skye. Dun an Iardhard.

A clay model of a votive bale of wool. (FIG.73)

Originally painted green on a white slip.

V.G. Childe, Scotland before the Scots (1946) p.84.

Stuart Piggott, Native Economies and the Roman Occupation of North Britain in Roman and Native in North Britain edited by

I.A. Richmond (Nelson 1958), p.26.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland LXVI, p.289;

ibid xlix p.66.

Sheppard Frere, Britannia (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967)

p.295.

N MISCELLANEOUS

The following are fragments of statuettes in white pipe-clay which are too small for accurate identification.

(1) Richborough, Kent.

Corner fragment of a square base. Found in the middle layer of the inner ditch S. Richborough Museum Inv.No.3913 B.

(2) Richborough, Kent.

A small square plinth on which are two human feet.

Found top layer ditch N. Richborough Museum Inv.No.1893.

(3) Richborough, Kent.

Fragment of a human leg which appears slightly bent at the knee.

Richborough Museum Inv.No.761. (Tr. N.W. angle Site I).

(4) Richborough, Kent.

Fragment of a human figure front half the feet and lower part of right leg missing and also upper part of body from about the waist. The legs are apart and the left hand is placed on the upper part of the left thigh. Sex uncertain but may be female.

Overall height 6.4 cms. White clay. Found Pit 11 dated not earlier than the late 1st, and not later than the mid-2nd century.

(5) London.

Small domed hollow plinth of normal type. Found Bank of England site. Guildhall Museum Inv.No.1936/337. White clay.

(6) London.

Small domed plinth of normal type. White clay.

British Museum C. Roach Smith Collection Inv.No.56,7-1,321.

(7) Scole, Norfolk.

Fragment of the left side of the back of a draped figure.

Fine hard white clay. Height now 10.9 cms.

Found in the third century back filling of a Roman well excavated by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

The folds of the drapery are arranged as those of the Type II Venus found at Springhead (cf. Kent No.12 above) hence this piece may have belonged to a statuette of that type. On the other hand, the folds of the chlamys worn by Mercury as represented by a statuette found at Cologne, are also arranged in the same style (cf. Kölner Jahrbuch 7 Band (1964) p.29, Taf.7, 3/4).

The following is a list of clay statuettes found in Britain, which have been recorded but the present whereabouts of each example is now unknown.

(1) Alchester, Oxfordshire. (Wendlebury Common).

Head of female in white clay, said to have been of Diana.

Found 1856. Archaeological Journal XII, p.156, hence

Antiquaries Journal VII (1927), p.156 footnote 9.

"a head of Diana, of good workmanship, of the local white clay".

(2) Oxford, Gloucester Green.

Clay figurine found 1841. Listed in the Catalogue of the

Exhibition of Antiquities held at Buckingham in 1855, during the meeting of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological and Architectural Society.

(3) Gloucester, The Cross.

Three terracottas found in 1894 at a depth of ten feet, on the site of a bank building then under construction in Tolsey.

These were a Cupid, a veiled goddess and part of a figure

apparently carrying a wine vessel. Transactions of Bristol and

Gloucester Archaeological Society XIX, p.158, pl.IX.

(4) Box, Wiltshire.

Found at the Roman villa, a little female figure seated, with a cloak wrapped round her, and her head enveloped in a hood.

Hard, fine terracotta. Found in the year 1898, by

Mr. J.P.E. Falconer. Archaeological Journal LXI, p.28.

(5) Boughton Monchelsea, Kent.

Found at the Roman villa, "part of a terracotta figure of a common Gaulish type".

Victoria County History Kent III p.106; Archaeologia XXIX.

(6) Colchester, Essex.

A dog wearing a collar around its neck. Light coloured terracotta. Found near villa on Balkers Hill,

Colchester and Essex Museum Joslin Collection Catalogue,

p.74, No.975.

PART 7

THE PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CLAY STATUETTES
AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ART-TYPES.

Introduction

(A) Female deities :-

1. Seated mother-goddesses bearing fruit etc., as attributes.
2. Seated mother-goddesses holding a dog.
3. Seated mother-goddesses nursing infants.
4. Venus.
5. Diana.
6. Minerva.
7. Epona.

(B) Male deities :-

1. Jupiter.
2. Apollo.
3. Bacchus.
4. Hercules.
5. Mars.
6. Mercury.

(C) Personifications :-

1. Abundantia.
2. Fortuna.
3. Victoria.
4. Cupid and Psyche.

(D) Cucullati.

(E) Thorn-puller.

(F) Busts of male and female personages.

(G) Animals.

(H) Birds.

(J) Votive bale of wool.

THE PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CLAY STATUETTES
AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ART-TYPES.

A wide range of subjects were mass-produced to meet a popular demand for cheap images for use as dedications to the gods, for household worship, as offerings to the dead, as household ornaments, and as toys for the children. Hence they fall into two distinct categories, one religious, the other secular. This clear cut theoretical division, however, cannot be followed in practice for there are a number of instances where statuettes, which might be placed in the secular sphere, appear in an undoubtedly religious context. It is with the latter aspect that we shall be concerned in the ensuing discussion.

It must be admitted at the outset that any attempt to explain the ideas and the beliefs which must have lain behind the use of these statuettes as votive offerings, is confronted with the initial difficulty of the lack of epigraphical evidence. Because of this we can never know exactly what was in the minds of the worshippers, but by examining the scraps of evidence available to us, we may glean some knowledge of the place of these statuettes in the complex structure of native religion in provincial Romano-Celtic society.

In the whole series of Romano-Gaulish clay statuettes one can detect very little evidence to suggest that the art-types stemmed from pre-Roman native art sources. Only one seems to fall into this category, namely, the curious and at present unique figure from Quilly (Loire Inférieure). It portrays a nude and unbearded male personage seated with legs arranged in a squatting position. This same posture is seen in the well known stela of the Gaulish god Cernunnus at Reims, as also on the Gundestrup cauldron; the bearded and seemingly once horned deity from near Autun (Saône-et-Loire); and the bronze

figure from Bouray (Seine-et-Oise). This squatting type of figure can be shown to go back at least to the second century B.C., for it is found at the Celto-Ligurian sanctuaries at Entremont and Roquepertuse. From the existence of numerous analogous figures in the Near East it has been suggested that the art-type of a squatting figure had a common source of dissemination in that region, and as we have seen in the case of the Entremont and Roquepertuse figures it must have arrived in Gaul at an early date. On the other hand it is a reasonable supposition that the Celts were accustomed to assuming this posture when seated on the ground. Therefore the source of this seated posture must be left as an open question, and as the date of the Quilly statuette is unknown there is very little to go on. However, the ill proportioned and rather primitive appearance, together with the seated posture, which is characteristic of the above mentioned native deities, may well indicate that the art-type was derived from a purely Celtic rather than a Classical source.

With the exception of the Quilly statuette all the clay statuettes may be placed into two main categories according to their art-types.

- (1) Many are comparable with those of Italy and Greece. There are for example the "Thorn-puller", Eros and Psyche, and the boy seated astride or lying on the back of a dolphin which are found in earlier Greek art and were frequently copied in Roman times. The seated mother-goddesses also fall into this category.
- (2) Other subjects are comparable with those found at Pompeii and elsewhere in Italy, such as Minerva, Mercury, Minerva and genre types such as small figures of gladiators.

Blanchet was of the opinion that the earliest statuettes made in Gaul were copies of types which were popular in Italy during the first

century A.D., and therefore the prime models derived from that region.

It is noteworthy that certain important Roman deities do not figure largely in the Romano-Gaulish series of clay statuettes. For example, Jupiter and Hercules are quite rarely represented while Neptune at present is absent. The reason for this is difficult to explain. Perhaps these gods were more commonly revered by the more affluent sections of Gaulish society who could afford the more expensive images in metal and stone, and had no need for cheap clay substitutes. That clay statuettes of these gods did exist is certain for Pliny and Juvenal mention clay statuettes of Jupiter and Martial mentions one of Hercules.⁽¹⁾ This apparent sparsity of information may however be illusory for the mere fact that clay statuettes belonged to the lower classes of Roman society may have placed them beneath the notice of sophisticated literary circles.

(1) Pliny, Hist. nat., liv, xxv c.xlv, a figure of Jupiter;
 Juvenal, Satires XI, 116 Fictilio et nullo Jupiter auro;
 Martial, Epigrams XIV, 178, Hercules.

A. FEMALE DEITIES

(1) SEATED MOTHER-GODDESSES BEARING VARIOUS ATTRIBUTES.

The worship of aspects of the great universal mother-goddess⁽¹⁾ is a constantly recurring theme in many forms and under many titles in the religious beliefs of Roman Gaul and Germany. It is clearly manifested in a wide series of clay statuettes which portray the goddess as an enthroned matron, an art-type which originated in very early times and found its expression in Greek art as representative of Demeter and Hera. By the time that the production of clay statuettes had spread to the Roman provinces of Gaul and Germany this art-type was firmly established and the images of a goddess portrayed in this manner were extremely popular.

The garments worn by all these matronly personages display no differentiation from region to region. In every instance they wear a long robe in full Roman style, but the coiffures and at times the head-dresses are extremely varied. We also find that these goddesses most often are seated individually and very rarely in groups of three. They may carry baskets of fruit, loaves of bread, ears of corn and sometimes a patera, clear symbols of their connection with earthly and human fecundity. There are also statuettes of seated matrons who although clad in the garments of the mother-goddesses do not carry any kind of attribute, but there is every reason for thinking that they are members of this same circle of female deities. It is also virtually certain that many of the statuettes of enthroned matrons whether they bear attributes or not, were intended to represent native goddesses in Roman guise.

(1) Apuleius, The Golden Ass (Penguin Classics 1950) p.271.

St. Augustine, De Civitate Deo Book VII, Chapter XXIV.

One local version is a seated mother-goddess, who is enveloped in a large mantle open at the waist to reveal her hands which support a cluster of fruits in her lap. (FIG.136). She wears the large bonnet which is characteristic of the Matronae who appear under several names or titles in the region of Cologne and Bonn. She also wears a necklace from which is suspended a crescent shaped pendant or amulet, also worn by the aforementioned Matronae.⁽¹⁾

(1) Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln Inv.No.4129.

CYBELE. (FIG.120)

Cybele the central figure of an age old fertility cult of Asia Minor was, to quote Sir William Ramsay, "the expression of a religious belief which regarded the life of God as embodying and representing the life of nature and proceeding according to the analogy of the natural world."⁽¹⁾ Her cult was brought to Rome in 205-4 B.C., after consultation with the Delphic oracle. By the fourth century B.C., the art type of the goddess was firmly established, and she was usually represented as a dignified matron enthroned, wearing the mural crown or calathos, carrying a patera and tympanum. Lions intended either as actual animals or as ornamental features flank her throne, and sometimes she holds a lion upon her lap. A Greek terracotta from Asia Minor dated to the fourth century B.C., is a good example of the conventional art type just described.⁽²⁾ Under the Roman Empire the cult continued to increase in popularity and spread through the provinces especially in Gaul and Africa, where it was readily accepted as a municipal cult. By the second century of our era it seems to have secured a foothold in the Rhineland where the makers of clay statuettes took for their model of the goddess the earlier art types of fourth century Greece.⁽³⁾

Due to its agrarian character the cult was popular with the civilians rather than the soldiery, being particularly favoured by women. It is at this point that St. Augustine's quotation of Varro's description of

(1) Seton Lloyd, Early Anatolia (Pelican Books 1956) p.203.

(2) Dr. E.F. Prins de Jong, Grieksche Terracottas
(F.G.Kroonder-Uitgever, Bussum 1944) p.67, fig,81.

(3) e.g., the Cybele by Servandus of Cologne, Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln Inv.No.3180.

Cybele is of interest.⁽¹⁾ He tells us that her worshippers called her Magna Mater (the Great Mother); her timbrel was a sign of the earth's roundness, her mural crown the towns, and her throne her eternal stability when all things else were moved. The agrarian character and antiquity of the cult is indicated by her brass cymbals, which Varro said, signified the noise of plough-irons and other implements in husbandry which were also of brass before the use of iron was discovered. Furthermore the lions tamed by her signified that the roughest land might by tillage be made fertile.

It is therefore possible that the pronounced agrarian character of the cult appealed to Cybele's worshippers in N.E. Gaul and the Rhineland. On the other hand it is equally possible that her clay statuettes found in those areas were not directly connected with this foreign cult, but with that of a native deity. Perhaps the worshipper was unaware of the cult and saw in a statuette of an eastern deity a perfectly pleasing offering for a native one whose basic functions, if not identical, were not very different.

There are a few statuettes of Cybele which have been found in the Rhine-Mosel region. One example was definitely made by Servandus of Cologne as testified by the inscription stamped on the back. This represents the goddess seated on a throne with her feet resting on a foot-stool. One each side of the throne there is a lion. Cybele is attired in full classical style and wears a mural crown covered at the

(1) St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei Book VII, Chapter XXIV, in which he quotes Varro, Antiquitatum rerum Humanarum divinarum libri XLI.

~~at~~ the back by a veil which falls over the shoulders. She holds in her right hand a patera, and supports with her left hand a tympanum which rests upright on its rim on the back of one of the lions.⁽¹⁾ (FIG.120)

Another version of Cybele is represented by a complete statuette and two pieces of others evidently of that same type, all of which were found in the temple area at Dhronnecken (Hochwald)⁽²⁾ These are very similar to the Cologne example but differ in certain details. The mural crown is of a different pattern but is similarly veiled, and a slightly different style of robe is worn. The tympanum appears in the same position but is tilted slightly outwards, and in lieu of the patera an object which may be a twig or branch is held in the right hand. In addition to these attributes there are castanets or cymbals placed on her lap. (FIG.137)

A slightly different type of Cybele seated on a throne flanked by lions is a statuette found at Vechten. Much of the detail is indistinct either due to the use of a worn mould or subsequent abrasion, but it is clear that she holds a patera in her right hand as her only attribute.⁽³⁾ (FIG.138)

(1) Saalburg Jahrbuch IX (1939) p.8, Arbeiten des Servandus 5,2.

H. v-Petrikovits, Novaesium, Das Romische Neuss, Führer des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn No.3, s 65-66 Abb.18.

Probably found at Cologne. (FIG.120)

(2) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier 1901)

s 68-69, Nos.153-155 inclusive Tafeln X, 20 and XII, 34. (FIG.137)

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier Inv.Nos.99,910,991098 and 99,1101.

(3) Centraal Museum Utrecht Inv.No.U 5615. (FIG.138)

(2) SEATED MOTHER-GODDESS WITH A DOG AS HER ATTRIBUTE. (FIG.26)

The clay statuettes of a matron seated on a high backed chair holding a small dog either in her arms or on her lap have for a long time provided an enigma concerning the identity of the personage thus represented. That they had some religious significance is certain from their frequent occurrence at the sites of temples in considerable numbers in the Rhine-Mosel region.⁽¹⁾ Their presence in graves is also indicative of some ritual purpose.⁽²⁾ Curiously enough in spite of all this abundant material, the name of the goddess has in no case been revealed. It is this lacuna in our knowledge that has stimulated the search for evidence which might shed light on her identity.

(1) S. Loeschke, Der Tempelbezirk in Altbachtale zu Trier (Berlin 1938) Heft I, Taf.24; Nos.12-13.

F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901) Taf.XIII, Nos.62-63, from Gusenburg; ibid Taf.XI, Nos.1-16 from Dhronnecken.

(2) e.g., J. Freudenburg, Darstellungen ^{der} die matres oder matronen in Thonfiguren aus Uelmen in Bonner Jahrbuch XVIII, p.97, Taf.IV, Nos.1-2.

Many years ago the opinion was expressed that the matron was Nehalennia because one of these statuettes had been found at Rhenen in Holland, the homeland it seems of the cult of that goddess.⁽¹⁾ That, however, does not take us very far, for it would be extremely rash to base this supposition on the evidence of a single statuette. What is needed is a critical examination of the whole range of statuettes of this matron, and a comparison of them with the stone reliefs which bear the image of Nehalennia.⁽²⁾

As a starting point in our inquiry we may turn to the stone reliefs found at the site of the temple of Nehalennia at Domburg on the Isle of Walcheren. On thirteen of these monuments the goddess is shown with a dog seated at her side as her constant companion. This is a point of great importance for as we have seen the same animal accompanies the enigmatic matron of the clay statuettes. Of equal interest is the fact that the animal, whether coupled with Nehalennia or with the matron, never displays a fearsome aspect. It is always shown in the same attitude of peaceful alertness. But there is one difference: unlike Nehalōnnia's animal, the matron's dog never appears at her side. In all cases she holds it either in her arms or seated on her lap. Nevertheless, this variation need not in any way affect the symbolism.

- (1) A. Blanchet, "Étude sur les figurines de terre cuite de la Gaule romaine Supplément" in Mémoires de la société nationale des Antiquaires de France 6^e series Tome I (1890) p.194.
- (2) A. Hondius-Crone, The Temple of Nehalennia at Domburg (Amsterdam 1955); "Deae Nehalenniae" Gids bij de tentoonstelling Nehalennia de zeeuwse godin Zeeland in de romeinse tijd, Romeinse monumenten uit de Oosterschelde at the Stadhuis 1971 (Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1971);
Piet Stuart, "Nehalennia: Goddess from the Sea" in Delta (Autumn 1971) pp.5-23.

The presence of the animal clearly indicates the chthonic connexions of both deities, as also its own basic role as the protector and companion of mankind. Furthermore, its constant appearance with both deities strongly suggests that it was either their main attribute, or had an important place in their respective cults; even if the two goddesses were not actually identical.

Having now recognized in the dog a symbol common to both, we can now proceed to search for other common attributes. The stone reliefs which bear the image of Nehalennia are a useful source of information in this respect. We observe that the goddess has fruits of various kinds in a basket, on a dish, or in a cornucopia. Sometimes these fruits are held in the hands of the goddess, generally singly. An ear of corn and a pomegranate are the most usual combination. From this class of attributes it is clear that Nehalennia was a vegetation goddess concerned with the fertility and the abundance of the crops, and perhaps by analogy, with the counterparts of those qualities in human beings. As Nehalennia was concerned with the prosperity of merchants perhaps these attributes also had a reference to that kind of prosperity. When we examine the various attributes held by the matron of the clay statuettes we find that they are, with but one exception, identical with those displayed by Nehalennia. Only the cornucopiae in the case of the matron are missing. This may be significant, for it is very curious that where they are present on the Nehalennia reliefs, either as a decorative feature on the side panels, or as an actual attribute of the goddess, the dog does not appear. What the connexion was between the animal and the cornucopia is a question which cannot be answered. Perhaps there was none. But of one thing we can be certain, and that is very obvious; if the dog did not appear with the matron of the clay statuettes, then it would be impossible to distinguish her from all

the other mother-goddesses who carry fruits as attributes. We must, then, accept the conclusion that the dog is the distinctive symbol of her cult.

We have seen that the other attributes are shared by both deities. For instance, some of the statuettes show the matron supporting a cluster of fruits which rests on her lap in front of the dog.⁽¹⁾ Others show her holding a small bowl filled with fruits, towards which the dog gazes with an air of expectancy.⁽²⁾ A contrasting theme is that where the matron holds an empty patera, and the dog is seated with its back turned to it.⁽³⁾ The matron's close similarity with Nehalennia is again apparent when she holds a fan-like object, which is almost certainly a sheaf of corn ears in one hand, and a globular fruit, possibly a pomegranate, in the other.⁽⁴⁾

While there are certain differences in the manner in which these attributes are presented, the attributes themselves are definitely shared by Nehalennia and the matron. This suggests that they had closely similar, if not identical functions. Furthermore, their membership of a circle of female deities displaying all the various manifestations of the universal mother-goddess, is proved by the nature of their attributes. This great divinity, the personification of mother-earth from whom all life springs, is sustained, and to which at death it returns,

(1) F. Hettner, op cit Taf.XII, No.35; also Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.99,822.

(2) e.g., one unpublished from the Altbachtal Trier.

(3) Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.249, provenance unknown.

(4) F. Hettner, op cit Taf.IX, No.8.

played an important role in the religion of the Romano-Gaulish peoples long before they lost their independence. The fact that they worshipped her under various forms and many titles suggests that there were regional variations of the theme, and in this connection a study of the iconography of the matron and of Nehalennia may be helpful.

The most obvious line of approach is to examine the hair styles and the garments worn by both goddesses, for these might betray local fashions. Unfortunately, the garments worn by the matrons are, in this respect, disappointing. In every instance we find a stola in full Roman style, similar to those worn by all the mother-goddesses who do not have the dog as a companion. There is no sign of any differentiation from region to region. The headgear and the hair styles of the matrons are extremely varied. Sometimes the hair is piled high upon the head and so arranged that it resembles the curious turban-like caps or wigs of the Rhineland matronae, e.g., the Aufaniae.⁽¹⁾ On occasion the actual cap is worn, and at other times a veil completely covering the back of the head,⁽²⁾ or alternatively a triple pointed diadem, with the hair falling in long tresses over the shoulders.⁽³⁾ Other matrons wear a simple fillet which encircles the head,⁽⁴⁾ or a mural crown.⁽⁵⁾ Sometimes no headdress is worn, the hair being pinned up and elaborately plaited,⁽⁶⁾ or allowed to fall naturally over the shoulders.⁽⁷⁾

(1) H. Lehner, Bonner Jahrbuch 135, Taf.VIII.

(2) F. Hettner, op cit Taf.IX, No.8.

(3) F. Hettner ibid Taf.IX, No.15;
Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.ST 12128.

(4) Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.U250, from Luxembourg.

(5) Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.99,246.

(6) Cologne, Sammlung Niessen Inv.No.N3182.

(7) Germania Romana V, Taf.II, 2; Landesmuseum Bonn
Inv.No.12914.

But it would be extremely rash to try to detect in this wide variety in fashions distinctive local styles, for all these types of coiffures and headdresses have been found together in the temple areas in the Rhine-Mosel region. It seems, therefore, safer to assume that the modellers of these statuettes of the matron and her lap dog provided a range of styles to cater for the individual whims and fancies of the purchasers who wished to offer an image of their own goddess at their local shrines.

Having failed in our quest for evidence of strictly local forms of the matron, we must now turn to the appearance of Nehalennia. Her garments we find are instructive. At times she wears a short cape which seems to be exclusively hers, as also the small cap.⁽¹⁾ These distinguish her clearly from the other mother-goddesses, who are represented as quite differently apparelled. It would seem an almost certain inference that Nehalennia is attired in a fashion native to the Walcheren district in Roman times. This distinctive costume of Nehalennia undoubtedly weakens the case for identifying the matron with her. But before rejecting this theory altogether, a consideration of the geographical distribution of the clay statuettes may have a useful bearing on our inquiry.

A study of this distribution indicates that the majority of these statuettes has been found along the two great fluvial trade routes of north-east Gaul and Germany, namely, the Rhine and the Mosel. Another fact which emerges is that their main incidence occurs in the middle Mosel centred on Trier, where there is a remarkable concentration. From these facts we may reasonably infer that the cult spread along these rivers from some local centre. We therefore must ask in what

(1) A. Hondius-Crone, op cit p.102.

directions was the cult disseminated, and where was this religious centre? At first glance Trier seems to be the obvious answer to the second part of this question. An analysis of the find-spots in the temple area (Altbachtal) in that city shows that they were used as offerings at certain shrines where the mother-goddess was worshipped in various forms under several names, one of which was Aveta.⁽¹⁾ One shrine is of interest, for although no statuettes of this type seem to have been found deposited therein, there was standing by the entrance a stone statue of a seated goddess holding the usual fruit basket on her lap, and at her side the now much mutilated figure of a dog.⁽²⁾ Her name is quite unknown, but she closely resembles the representations of Nehalennia.

An important discovery in 1970-71 is most revealing and highly relevant to our study. As the result of the discovery of pieces of an altar dedicated to Nehalennia by fishermen trawling in the Eastern Scheldt off Colijnsplaat, a village in Zeeland, an expedition employing divers under the direction of Dr. P.J.J. Stuart of the National Museum in Leiden recovered 122 altars, three statues, hundreds of roofing tiles and many fragments of hewn stone, clearly the remains of a temple belonging to the goddess.⁽³⁾ Approximately sixty-four legible inscriptions provide information about the people who did homage to Nehalennia. Of these, three donors inform us that they were citizens of Trier;

(1) S. Loeschcke, Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Althachtale zu Trier (Berlin 1928) p.29.

(2) S. Loeschcke, ibid p.26, Abb.6,15 and 17.

(3) "Deae Nehalenniae", Gids bij de teentoonstelling Nehalennia de Zeeuwse godin, Zeeland in de romeinse tijd, romeinse monumenten uit de Oosterschelde, Stadhuis Middelburg (Middelburg-Leiden 1971).

two, both of Cologne, were salt merchants, and two who traded with Britain were Gauls from north-east and north-west France, respectively. One trader, who dedicated an altar to Nehalennia with exactly the same inscription at Domburg, was a pottery merchant trading with Britain who fulfilled his vow because his merchandise had safely survived the voyage.⁽¹⁾ The maritime connexions of the goddess are also confirmed by the presence of Neptune on five of her altars at Domburg,⁽²⁾ and on one at Colijnsplaat, and altars from both places display the nautical attributes - a ship's prow and steering oar.⁽³⁾

There thus can be no doubt that near Domburg and Colijnsplaat was the assembly point where river-borne craft from the great industrial centres inland gathered, either to transfer their cargoes to sea-going ships, or before putting to sea. Here would be the port offices of the wealthy ship-owners and the merchants who, ever mindful of divine providence, would turn to the deity whom they believed to be concerned with their protection and general welfare. To her they donated votive reliefs and altars as tokens of their respect and gratitude. But these people were wealthy and could afford these expensive monuments; what of the humble members of the crews who manned the sea-going ships?

These men from a much lower stratum of society doubtless were recruited from the towns along the Rhine and the Mosel, which may have a bearing on our problem. It is possible that these sailors having come

(1) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 8793.

(2) H. Hardenberg, "De Nehalennia-relief" in Archief uitgegeven door het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen (1948) p.13; also A. Hondius-Crone, op cit p.106.

(3) ibid.

into contact with the cult of Nehalennia through their employers, were attracted by it and decided to adopt the goddess as their own protectress. If this were so, it would be natural to suppose that, being unable to afford the expensive stone monuments and altars, they resorted to the poor man's substitutes, namely, the clay statuettes: and that they created a market for cheap images of the goddess -- thank-offerings for a safe return home. These they deposited in local shrines in their own towns. We could then explain the differences in type between the matron and Nehalennia reflecting social distinctions among the devotees of a single deity. The fine and elaborate stone reliefs found on the coast of Holland may well depict the goddess in the strictly local fashion favoured by the wealthy traders who were domiciled in the Eastern Scheldt district. Meanwhile the number of clay statuettes definitely increases as we penetrate farther inland along the Rhine and Mosel valleys. Is this the homeward path of her more humble worshippers?

It is quite possible that the two altars with dedicatory inscriptions bearing her name, found at Deutz, a suburb of Cologne, indicate one place where she was worshipped many miles from Domburg.⁽¹⁾ The evidence, however, is rather scanty and it is equally possible that the altars had been ordered from a Deutz mason and were for some reason never dispatched to the coast of Zeeland. Might we not then find, if a temple did exist near Cologne, other evidence of Nehalennia's cult along these rivers? Indeed several reliefs and statues of seated matrons accompanied by dogs, may be such pieces of evidence. Although of stone they are mostly inferior efforts as compared with the coastal monuments.

(1) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 8498-8499 (both altars now lost).

In respect of one from Cologne,⁽¹⁾ doubt has been expressed whether the goddess is really Nehalennia, on the grounds that she does not wear the latter's distinctive cape, and is seated on a different type of chair.⁽²⁾ The same could be said of the other matronly figures from Dalheim,⁽³⁾ Bonn⁽⁴⁾ and Trier.⁽⁵⁾ But in our view these variations are not significant by comparison with the fact that they have either one or more of Nehalennia's attributes. For instance there is the basket of fruits and the dog seated at her side, or the animal alone on her lap. The presence of these attributes makes it virtually certain that the goddess is Nehalennia; and this leads us back to the stone statues already mentioned, of a similarly seated matron with fruit basket and a dog found outside the temple at Trier, and the clay statuettes so numerous in the whole of the temple quarter of the city. If the statue is really Nehalennia's, the clay statuettes must represent her likewise. There are eight other stone monuments of the same kind which have strong claims if our hypothesis is correct, for they all come from Trier, and it is of great interest that three were certainly found in the close environs of the temple quarter. Again two stone statues from the region of the Upper Seine may claim to be of the same goddess,⁽⁶⁾ although here it should be noted that, while the dog accompanies both

(1) F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln II, Taf.30.

(2) A. Hondius-Crone, op cit p.117, footnote No.60.

(3) Found at Dalheim; now in the Luxembourg Museum (Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg)

(4) H. Lehner, op cit Taf.XXV, No.59.

(5) Two examples from the arena cellar in the Amphitheatre at Trier now in the Landesmuseum Trier Inv.Nos.09,3414 and 09,3415; a third example was found in the Olewigerstrasse near the Fausenburg Trier, Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.23,31.

(6) G. Drioux, Cultes indigènes des Lingones pp.112-113 in which he lists two statues found at Poiseul-la-Grange.

figures, one has no other attributes, and the other carries a cornucopia, an object which as we have seen, is not combined with the dog in any of the Domburg representations.

Having ventured thus far, mention may be made of the gravestone of the Rhine shipper, Blussus, which was found near Mainz.⁽¹⁾ Here he is seen with his wife seated at his side with a small dog seated on her lap. Is the animal here only a well-loved household pet? Or could it be that the wealthy shipper's wife is portrayed in the guise of Nehalennia, the protectress of men of his profession? Although the second possibility cannot be proved and is not stressed here, nevertheless it is at least worthy of consideration.

It is now time to summarize the evidence so far obtained. First, we have established that the dog companion is a constant and significant symbol common to both the matron of the clay statuettes and Nehalennia. Secondly, with the sole exception of the cornucopiae the attributes of Nehalennia are shared by the matron of the clay statuettes. These facts could mean that we are dealing in both cases with the same deity. Furthermore, if the aforementioned statue from the Upper Seine is also Nehalennia in spite of the unusual dog-cornucopia combination, it would seem to follow that the iconography of the goddess did not conform to rigid convention, but was varied according to the taste or beliefs of individual worshippers. Can we then definitely identify the figure of the clay statuettes with the divine protectress of the Domburg-Colijnsplaat mariners? The answer at present must be in the negative for at no time is her name revealed to us by an inscription, but the arguments we have set forth may be cogent enough to favour the alternative.

(1) Mainzer Zeitschrift XI (1916) p.90ff., No.45 with text figure.

Returning to the long series of clay statuettes, we have seen that the essential characteristic is the dog, which suggests that it was the matron's main attribute and indicated her principal function. The animal, it seems, was not her only attribute, for she usually holds other objects such as the pomegranate or alternatively a small bowl or patera in one hand, and in the other what appear to be ears of corn. This combination strongly suggests that she presided over the bestowal of plenty and fruitfulness. If this is true, then the deity is either Ceres or her Gaulish counterpart. But how does the dog fit into this assemblage of attributes which are of undoubted agrarian character? Its presence is not easily explained, but a partial explanation may be forthcoming if the cults associated with agriculture are examined.

The Roman festival the Robigalia (April 25th) was held in honour of Robigus the numen of rust (mildew) in wheat. The appropriate sacrifice to that deity according to Ovid, who claimed to have witnessed the ritual, was a red dog.⁽¹⁾ It is possible that it was the original intention to kill Robigus, in which case the dog may have been regarded as his substitute. Clearly the ritual was of an agrarian character, therefore the offering must have been made to an earth spirit. Furthermore the Robigalia followed the Cerealia (April 19th), which was held annually in honour of Ceres who was particularly concerned with the growth and fertility of the crops, and by Roman times had become identified with Greek Demeter. Although the latter was not originally connected with the class of deities collectively known as the chthonioi, she later became associated with them; and the ritual of her mysteries (at Eleusis and elsewhere) was concerned with the death and rebirth of

(1) Ovid, Fasti LV 805 ff.

the corn, which by analogy was extended to human beings. In becoming identified with Demeter, Ceres acquired her character.

The chthonioi had two main functions, namely, to ensure the fertility of the crops, and to preside over the realm of the souls of the dead. Demeter and Ceres are no exceptions, and in the discussion which follows the subject will be treated under the headings of their two main aspects, that of the corn-mother, and that of the goddess of the underworld. The most important role of Demeter was as the giver of corn, while her daughter Kore (Persephone) represented the life cycle of the crops. The myth, which first appeared in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, is too well known to be repeated here. It is sufficient to emphasize the intimate connection which existed between these divinities and the growth and fertility of the crops, especially corn. In this respect the ears of corn held by the matron of the clay statuettes are appropriate symbols, as also the pomegranates, since as Persephone had eaten its seed in the underworld she was compelled to spend part of every year in Hades. Moreover, in Roman funerary art the pomegranate is a common symbol of after-life beatitude. The dog, however, even at this stage in our inquiry, remains an enigmatic figure.

There is, as we have seen already, a connection of some kind between the dog and agriculture, especially those cults concerned with the growth of the corn, as in the robigalia rites. This seems to be the only evidence we possess of the role played by the animal in agrarian rituals in Classical times. But in certain harvest and other folk customs of later ages the dog is prominent -- a fact which leads us to think that there is some support for the belief in its ancient agricultural associations.⁽¹⁾ It seems that in eastern Gaul and in Austria

(1) J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (London 1949) abridged edition pp.448-9.

the countryfolk regarded the dog as a corn-spirit. When the last corn was cut in those areas, the harvesters spoke of killing the dog of the harvest. It is of interest to note that in east Gaul the area in which this superstition was most prevalent is precisely the region where the clay statuettes of the matron and her dog are most plentiful.

If these quaint customs are genuine survivals from the Roman period, then the symbolism expressed by these statuettes may be defined. It must, however, be clearly understood that the argument claims no more than that it is based on the possibility that the later idea of the dog as a corn-spirit is a survival from pagan times. It is also necessary to bear in mind the remarks of Rose when dealing with the subject of survivals from Roman religion, where he cautions us as follows — "What has survived here then is not the ancient religion itself but some part of the mentality which made it acceptable."⁽¹⁾

Bearing this in mind we may now set forth a tentative definition of the symbolism expressed by these clay statuettes.

On the one hand there is the corn-mother, on the other the corn-spirit, the latter in the form of a dog. Both aspects of the cult in that event would be concerned with the same things, namely, the promotion of the growth of the crops and the fertility of the corn.

Hence we may have here Gaulish agrarian rites in parallel to the Italian Robigalia and the Cerealia.

We may now turn to the second function of the goddess, namely, her role as an underworld deity, and in this context we continue our investigation of the place of the dog in religious ritual. It is well known that in Romano-Gaulish religion certain deities were linked with animals as revealed by their names, the epithets attached to their names and also by their attributes. Of these, Cernunnus, Epona, Mullo,

(1) H.J. Rose, Ancient Roman Religion (London 1948) pp.152-3.

Moccus and Artio may be cited as good examples.⁽¹⁾ It is possible that in the case of these deities, in the course of time a primitive zoomorphic gradually changed to an anthromorphic conception of their divinity which culminated in the actual animal becoming merely the symbol of the new metamorphozed deity. The dog, however, in Romano-Gaulish religion, seemingly has no direct link with a specific deity whose name reveals its primitive zoomorphic or canine form. As the animal appears with Nehalennia and also with Sucellus⁽²⁾ it seems that it was not excluded entirely from Celtic ideas of the supernatural. The latter deity, "the good striker" who carries a mallet, was a Celtic god identified ultimately with Dispater from whom all the Gauls claimed descent.⁽³⁾ The presence of a dog as his companion, together with other features of his imagery, has been interpreted as symbolic of his underworld connections. It is in this role as a companion of a deity of that kind, and as a denizen of the realm of the dead that the dog is frequently featured in the mythologies of a number of races in early times. At this juncture, therefore, it may be useful to mention those which may be relevant to our study.

The part that the dog played as the sacrificial animal in the Robigalia to ward off mildew from the corn strongly suggests that it had a definite connection with the infernal regions. The same applies to its association with Hecate the underworld goddess,⁽⁴⁾ for the main

(1) The stag, horse, mule, boar and bear, respectively.

(2) E. Linckeheld, Sucellus et Nantosuelta in Revue d'Histoire des Religions XCIX 1929; also A. Hondius-Crone op cit.

(3) Julius Caesar, De Bello Gallico I, 1.

(4) Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica III, 1029 ff.

constituent of the Hecate Supper was the flesh of a dog.⁽¹⁾ Demeter and her successor Ceres besides being corn-mothers also had a sterner aspect as infernal deities. Both symbolized the earth, and as remarked by Guthrie, "In the Greek mind the two functions of the earth as receiving the seed which is later to spring up in new and fertile life, and as the home of departed souls, were always connected."⁽²⁾ Demeter's daughter, Persephone, as the wife of Hades, was queen of the underworld and the dead. Hence arose the belief in Demeter's concern with the immortality of the human soul. Furthermore, the dreaded guardian of the gates of Hades, the canine monster Cerberus was visualized as the symbol of death, which had a voracious appetite for the bodies of human beings. Quite frequently the dog appears on Romano-Gaulish grave monuments in the act of devouring a human figure. Cerberus normally is found seated at the side of the lord of the underworld, Pluto, in Roman imagery, the art-type being derived from the earlier Greek. It is therefore of interest that the clay statuettes of the matron and her lap dog seem to have been associated with the realms of the dead, for several have been found in graves of the Romano-Gaulish period. There are also small clay models of dogs which were placed in graves, which further strongly suggests that at times the dog had a part to play in the funeral rites. (FIG.96)

(1) Oxford Classical Dictionary sv. "Hecate." Black bitches were sacrificed to her at night, at Kolophon.

Pausonius, Description of Greece III "Laconia" 14.9.

(2) W.K.G. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods (London, 1950) p.284.

If then the matron of the clay statuettes is really intended to be a Demeter-Ceres type of goddess, or perhaps Persephone-Proserpine, then her role in this context is clear. But the presence of the dog still presents an enigma. It could be that in the burial rites the dog assumed the role of a guardian spirit which accompanied the souls of the dead on their journey to the underworld. That the dog was a corn spirit is equally plausible. The seed corn, buried in the ground and seemingly dead, at last springs into new life; and at the harvest is killed so that the corn may be born again next year. This annual death and resurrection of the corn spirit had a prominent place, and was enacted at Demeter's Eleusian mysteries. It follows, therefore, that the life cycle of the corn is paralleled by human life; hence it could be that the dog, as the symbol of the corn spirit, also symbolized the soul of the departed, killed at the "harvest of death" so that it might spring forth into eternal life.

We have seen that the dog in ancient myth features as a man-devouring monster in the realm of death.⁽¹⁾ In discussing the animal's association with Nehalennia, Hardenberg cites several of these myths, but in his study of that goddess he could find nothing to indicate that her canine companion had this fearsome character.⁽²⁾ The same may also be said of the dog who appears with the matron of the clay statuettes, for it is always shown in an attitude of peaceful alertness. Hardenberg was therefore inclined to think that by the time the iconography of Nehalennia had assumed the forms in which we know it, the

(1) Servius, Commentary on the Aeneid VI, 395.

(2) H. Hardenberg, op cit p.14.

ancient savage idea had given place to a more humane one. In other words, with the loss of the primitive fear of death, the dog exchanged its awe-inspiring aspect for that of a more benevolent spirit. Hence the monstrous guardian of Hades may have been degraded in the course of time to assume the role of a harmless lap-dog, but without losing entirely its contact with the realm of death. A small stone statuette found in Bonn may also be relevant. It came from the same place as an inscription addressed to Pluto and Proserpine, and is of a seated matron feeding a small dog from a bowl.⁽¹⁾ It is not certain how far these two monuments are related, for the latter is uninscribed, but it may have similar underworld affinities. If the matron is Proserpine, she may be offering a sop to Cerberus, who by the time that the sculpture was produced, had been transformed into a more harmless creature. If the dog who accompanies the matron of the clay statuettes is in fact the monster thus transformed, then it follows that we may be in possession of the answer to the problem of its significance.

The principal role of Cerberus was that of guardian of the gates to Hades. It may therefore not occasion surprise that the placing of small models of dogs in graves is a practice which can be traced back to Mycaenian times at least.⁽²⁾ Of course these could have been merely toys belonging to the dead and nothing more, but it is possible that as the faithful guardian of the household, the dog was regarded as the

(1) H. Lehner, op cit Taf.XXIII, No.2 No.54;
 ibid Taf.XXV, No.1, No.59.

(2) E. Funck, "Römischer Brändgräber in Remagen" in Bonner Jahrbuch 122, p.59, Taf.XXII, 1; F. Fremersdorf, op cit I (1928) Taf.116.

appropriate companion for the dead person on the last grim journey to the underworld. The marked spectral look of the clay dogs of the Romano-Gaulish period, mentioned above, particularly their eyes, suggests funereal associations, and may be taken as further evidence of this role. This same idea may also lurk behind the practice of carving dogs on Laconian gravestones in the sixth century B.C.,⁽¹⁾ as also in Roman times, as for example on a stela found at Bonn.⁽²⁾

The presence of ex votos in the form of clay statuettes of the mother-goddess and dog type, and also models of dogs at the sites of temples associated with sacred springs, leads naturally to the supposition that the dog had some part to play in the Gaulish water-cults. Here then we must enquire how the animal fitted into this environment. The symbolism of the water is clear. At such places were sacred springs, source of all life, welling up from the earth, (the womb of the great earth-mother) and bringing good health and sustenance to living things. From this it could be argued that the indwelling spirit of the water was concerned with fertility, both that of human beings as well as animals, and that at times the dog was the divine symbol. The animal, however, hardly seems to be appropriate in this context, unless we suppose that it was intended as a symbol or instrument of fertility. But why should the worshippers, whose whole economy was based on agriculture, have regarded this particular animal as a symbol of the

(1) H. Hardenberg, op cit p.13.

(2) Espérandieu, Receuil général des bas-reliefs, et statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine VIII (Paris 1925) No.6284.

fertility desired for their live-stock? It is clear that in order to answer this question we must examine further the not unimportant role played by the dog in Gaulish religion.

As a starting point we may now turn to the evidence provided by certain inscriptions found at Epidaurus which reveal the existence of a strong belief in the power of the dog to perform miraculous cures under the patronage of Asklepios (Aesculapius).⁽¹⁾ At his temples dogs were kept in the sacred precincts for that specific purpose, and one of the inscriptions from Epidaurus records the restoration of the sight of a blind child who had been licked by the sacred animals. This is not the only evidence of miraculous cures attributed to the dog in ancient times, and it is at least noteworthy that even today in some regions there is a widespread belief that the licking of a wound by the animal is beneficial to the sufferer. It is certain that the role of the dog in the Classical healing cults was firmly established by the time Gaulish religion was subjected to romanization. That being the case we ought to be able to detect traces of this in Romano-Gaulish religious circles. It is therefore necessary to examine the evidence derived from sites in the western provinces where hydrotherapeutic cults have been suspected or are known to have been practised in Roman times.

Of these places, the temple of Sequana at the sources of the Seine is an excellent example, for it is very obvious from the numerous ex votos found there that the healing of the sick was uppermost in the minds of her worshippers. Several statues of stone unearthed from the

(1) Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV, 952, 1, 36-38.

ruins would appear to express the gratitude of the donors, who are portrayed holding small dogs in their arms.⁽¹⁾ In addition to these monuments are two bone amulets, designed for suspension, which are in the form of dogs.⁽²⁾

In Britain, in the collection of votive objects recovered from the temple at Lydney dedicated to the British god Nodens, there are several images of dogs.⁽³⁾ The number of these found suggests that the animal had a place in the cult ritual. Furthermore, the resemblance of the temple complex to some of the Classical shrines of healing, coupled with the presence of the dogs, led the excavator to place the site in that category. It is then a reasonable conjecture that one aspect of Nodens' cult was that of healing and that in some way this native British deity had acquired the role of Aesculapius.

The association of the dog with healing and the underworld is also suggested in Roman Germany. One clay statuette of the seated goddess holding a dog in her arms was found in a small temple set over a spring which from the associated inscription and statuary was apparently sacred to Apollo and his native Gaulish consort, the goddess Sirona.⁽⁴⁾ The combination of the sacred spring and Apollo strongly indicates a cult of healing. Furthermore, the stately figure of his consort is very

(1) e.g., M. Prole, The Art of Roman Gaul (Galley Press 1961) p.74, pl.221, now in the Archaeological Museum at Dijon.

(2) As communicated by Professor É. Thevenot in a letter to the present author.

(3) R.E.M. Wheeler, "The Temple of Nodens at Lydney, Glos.", in the Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report IX, p.39 ff.

(4) W. Dehn, "Ein Quellheiligtum des Apollo und Sirona bei Hochscheid" in Germania 25 (1941) pp.104 ff., Taf.16, No.10.

reminiscent of Hygieia daughter and companion of Aesculapius, with whom Sirona may have been identified in the process of the interpretatio Romana.

Another piece of evidence which seems to have a direct bearing on our study is the above-mentioned stone monument found at Bonn. This is of a seated male personage by whose side is the now much mutilated figure of an animal.⁽¹⁾ The inscription leaves no room for doubting that he is Pluto since it is addressed to that god and his consort Proserpine. Although in its present state the species of animal cannot be determined, we can be almost sure that as the companion of the lord of Hades it can be none other than Cerberus. The full text of the inscription is extremely revealing for it records the gratitude of the donor to Pluto and his consort for the restoration of either his own sight or that of a member of his family.⁽²⁾ This fact is interesting and significant for as we have seen the cure of blindness with the dog as an agent of healing also had a prominent place in the cult of Aesculapius.

We have also noted the association of the animal with medicinal springs, healing cults, and the underworld, which is in perfect agreement with its supposed therapeutic qualities. As the companion of Pluto it is the guardian of the gates of Hades, and we may hazard a guess that, as the demon of sickness was regarded as living beneath the earth, the belief arose that Pluto must be invoked, so that his hound would prevent the forces of disease breaking out into the world above. The Etruscans

(1) H. Lehner, loc cit.

(2) H. Lehner, Bonner Jahrbuch 135, Taf. XXIII, 2, No. 54, p. 22.
Dis infernis Plutoni et Proser(pinae) Q Iul Agelaus vet leg
I M.p.f. pro lumine suo pro salute sua (e)t Meletinis v.s.l.

(3) As on Mount Soracte where Apollo was identified with Soramus Pater.

apparently shared this belief, for the sanctuary of their wolf-shaped god of death was eventually taken over for the worship of Apollo, who had the power to send disease and pestilence.

(3) THE DEA NUTRIX (FIGS.1-25).

The conception of the universal mother-goddess as an enthroned matron either suckling an infant or infants, or nursing the same, appears at a very early date in the Mediterranean world. The art-type of the earth mother and divine infant is a recurring theme in ancient iconography, and had certainly emerged in Crete before 1400 B.C., in the clay statuettes, stylized in the extreme, but recognizable as a seated female nursing a child. This genre of clay statuettes did not outlast the fall of the Mycenaean world by which time it had travelled far (for example, one which was found at Zengövarkony in Hungary).⁽¹⁾

It was not until the seventh century B.C., that a new technique was introduced, namely, the use of a clay mould for the mass production of clay statuettes, which made its appearance in Greece and spread to its colonies. One of the oldest examples of the mother and child type in classical art is that found at Posidonia (Paestum), which was apparently an import of Corinthian manufacture according to Dr. P.C. Sestieri who has identified it as a representation of "Hera Kourotrophos". It has a hand-made highly schematic body formed from a flat strip of clay bent at right angles in two places to represent a seated pose, and a moulded head. The matron wears the divine headdress, the polos, and her shoulder-length hair falls in stiff horizontally waved tresses. The arms are crudely represented (FIG.139). An equally crudely made figure of a child with bird-like features, similar to the Cretan and Hungarian type just described, which is supported in the crook of the left arm, while the right hand clasps some kind of fruit, possibly a pomegranate. Two rod-like supports at the back represent a

(1) N.K. Sanders, Prehistoric Art in Europe (Penguin 1968) pl.116.

rudimentary chair. According to Sestieri the schematic rendering of the subject and comparison with typically Boeotian clay statuettes does not permit a date earlier than the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. (1)

Next in the series in the development of this art-type is a clay statuette from the Boeotian workshops dating c.450 B.C. (FIG.140). It represents a matron seated on a throne with a carved top, nursing a sleeping infant attired in swaddling clothes, on her lap. She wears the polos and is therefore evidently divine, and her hair falls in wavy tresses over her shoulders. She wears a chiton which falls in stiff folds, over a pleated himation. The pose is stiffly frontal, the eyes gazing straight ahead, and the facial expression is stern but dignified. (2)

A more natural pose began to appear by the end of the fifth century as displayed by a statuette of a matron suckling an infant, identified as "Hera Kourotrophos". It was found at Paestum, and its style suggests that it was a local product. The bland, affectionate expression on the face of the mother as she gazes down at her child is in marked contrast to that from Boeotia described above. (3)

This same expression of motherly tenderness is encountered in the later clay statuettes of the fourth-third century B.C., from Tanagra.

(1) P.C. Sestieri, Iconographie et culte d'Hera à Paestum translated in French from Italian in La Revue des Arts 5^e année (Paris, 1955) p.153, fig.8.

(2) British Museum Inv.No.1911.4-16-2.

(3) P.C. Sestieri, op cit, p.153, fig.9.

In the statuettes of that industry the religious element is less apparent, and this matron wears a veil in lieu of the divine polos, which may indicate that a mortal rather than a divine mother was intended. (1)

Further west in the Mediterranean the proto-Sardinian, so-called "nuragic" culture had adopted this same art-type, and the modellers of bronze statuettes included it in their repertoire at some time between the eighth and sixth century. (2)

The same art-type was apparently firmly established in an advanced form in Etruria by the middle or third quarter of the fifth century. About that time an unknown Chiusian sculptor produced a hollow statue in sandstone to serve as an ossuary in the form of an enthroned matron nursing a sleeping infant dressed in swaddling clothes. Her features are grave and calm with a suggestion of sadness befitting the funerary role. The statue is a fine example of the Etruscan Classical style of which few have survived. The matron in this case may be the embodiment of the universal motherhood, the sustainer of the living and here represented in her other role as the protectress of the dead. (3)

The statue was found at Chianciano near Chiusi.

Perhaps the most remarkable stone sculpture of a seated matron suckling twin infants is from Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, firstly because according to Dr. G.V. Gentili it is the earliest in stone yet brought to

(1) British Museum C 278.

T.B.L. Webster, Greek Terracottas (King Penguin Books 1950) p.35, pl.44. C.A. Hutton, Greek Terracotta Statuettes (1899) fig.25.

(2) N.K. Sandars, op cit p.230.

Cagliari Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

(3) M. Pallotino and M. Hirslmann, Art of the Etruscans (Thames and Hudson 1955) p.148, pl.92.

light in the Central Mediterranean region; secondly, because it so closely resembles the much later Romano-Gaulish clay statuettes which portray the same theme, although it now lacks the head. It was found in a tomb of about 550 B.C., and has been described as an unusual product of a minor local school of sculptors of that time.⁽¹⁾ (FIG.141)

From the close of the Hellenistic period down to the early years of the Roman empire clay statuettes appear to have been rare in Gallia Narbonensis. Because of this there is a lacuna in our knowledge concerning any which might have served as prototypes for those which were produced in such numbers in Central and Northern Gaul. This apparent scarcity has been taken to mean that, as the south was completely romanized at a much earlier date than the other Gaulish provinces, the more sophisticated inhabitants of Narbonensis purchased better quality statuettes in metal in preference to the clay statuettes manufactured in a dull provincial style. In any case the Italian terracotta industry had declined, one of the reasons being undoubtedly the increasing cheapness of bronze which was now within the reach of those who would previously have been content with clay.⁽²⁾ Doubtless, at first there was very little demand for moulded clay statuettes in Gaul outside, let alone inside, Narbonensis so that the industry began as a minor activity of the main pottery workshops.

- (1) J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas (Pelican Books A 581, 1964) pp.189, 207, pl.14b.
 L. von Matt, Ancient Sicily (1960) pl.52.
 G.V. Gentili, The Illustrated London News (19th December 1953) p.1033, fig.5.
- (2) R.A. Higgins, Greek Terracotta Figures (British Museum London 1963) p.27.

The crux of the problem seems to be the identification of the goddess who appears in this guise. Therefore our first task should be to seek her counterpart in other religions of the period, remembering of course that so far as the clay statuettes are concerned there is no epigraphic evidence to guide us. Scholars who have touched on this problem have put forward several suggestions in an attempt to identify her, namely, Night, Sleep, Death, Nature, the earth, a sky goddess, a manifestation of the universal earth mother-goddess as venerated by the Gauls, Latona suckling the divine twins Apollo and Diana, Juno-Lucina who presided over childbirth, Rumina the one who suckled infants, Proserpine goddess of the underworld, Fecunditas, and even an unnamed deity bearing the souls of the dead who appear as infants. Whichever is correct it is clear that the deity thus personified comes in the category of the Kourotrophoi.

One likely candidate in the foregoing list is Fecunditas whose cult attained official recognition at Rome where it enjoyed great popularity, and reached its peak during the reigns or period of the Antonines and continued in equal favour under the Severi. The goddess as the personification of the fecundity of the Empresses of both dynasties appears on their coinage in the guise of a nursing mother under the title Fecunditas Augusta. The art-type, it may be noted, is closely akin to those of the clay figurines, but they belong to such a low order of provincial art that it would be unwise to recognize Empresses in any of these matrons. Nevertheless, it may be significant that the appearance of these clay statuettes in quantity on the market coincided with the period when the cult of Fecunditas was extremely popular.

Another Roman goddess for whom iconography is appropriate was Juno-Lucina, whose prime functions were concerned with human motherhood, for she presided over childbirth and made the newborn child see the light of day. Perhaps then she was the goddess the modellers of these statuettes had in mind, but lacking any epigraphic evidence this cannot

be proven. Less certainly, but apparently in the same sphere of activity, is Rumina, who may have been a numen of suckling if her name is really connected with ruma (breast), but she is an obscure figure and her function is highly conjectural.

Some scholars have held the view that the goddess could be Cybele. Her cult, it is true, was brought to Rome at an early date, and by the second century of the Christian era was officially recognized as a state religion, by which time her art-type had become firmly established. This shows her as a dignified matron wearing a distinctive mural crown, and bearing her attributes, namely, the tympanum, the cymbals and a pomegranate, while she is seated in a cart drawn by lions or on a throne flanked by lions. (FIG.120) It is true that a clay statuette of precisely the latter type was found in the remains of a Romano-Celtic temple at Hofstade, with one example of a clay statuette of the goddess suckling two infants, but in our view this is not significant. If clay statuettes of Cybele were needed they would have portrayed her in the usual form, rather than as a nursing mother who lacked all the attributes by which she would have been immediately recognized by her worshippers. Furthermore, her cult was non-Celtic in origin, and although she was undoubtedly a mother-goddess, one would hesitate to assign her to any specific environment in provincial Gaulish religion. By that time the universal mother-goddess had become such a highly syncretistic figure, that it is likely that at Hofstade her art-type was borrowed according to the whims, fancies or aesthetic tastes of an individual worshipper who saw in Cybele a goddess akin to his own conception of the universal mother-goddess. This may be the reason why quite a number of provincial Roman religious sites have yielded clay statuettes of diverse types which seemingly do not relate to the chief deity to whom the site was originally dedicated. From this one could assume that each type of

statuette expressed only one aspect of the power and function of the presiding deity, but in our view this is a far too easy conclusion for a highly complex problem. It is clear that the diversity of subjects portrayed by these statuettes, and at times the inclusion of personages of both sexes, whether divine or not, is a far too frequent occurrence to explain in simple terms. On the other hand the tutelary spirit of these places could have been regarded by the worshippers as the link which connected mankind with the invisible world, and was believed to possess the means of communing with the beneficent powers of the supreme being to whom the divine agent in the forms of these statuettes was subservient. Thus it is likely that these statuettes personified the avatars of the universal mother-goddess, associated with the land in all its aspects, its fertility and embodiment of the powers of life and death to whom the individual worshipper turned with specific requests to ensure that favourable results would accrue in answer to his prayers and supplications.

It is also well attested that in Roman times natural features such as springs, streams, mountains, etc., and even villages, cities and provinces, as also arts and crafts, had their own divine patrons to whom prayers were said on appropriate occasions. These were regarded in much the same way as the patron saints and local madonnas of the Roman church today, who likewise receive sacred images at their shrines. From this one can conclude that whether or not this is a survival of actual Roman cult or practice, the same fundamental idea of an intermediary between the worshipper and the supreme deity underlies both rituals.

(4) VENUS. (FIGS. 39-55)

The art-type of a nude female figure has a long prehistory. Steatopygous nude female figures of ivory and stone had already made their appearance in Europe in Upper Paleolithic times. A special feature of the Late Neolithic period in the Near East are the numerous rather conventionalised terracottas portraying the same subject, which form a widely spread group occurring over a large part of that region.

The nude human female form is similarly featured in the Early Bronze Age plastic art of Mesopotamia, where doubtless it was derived from some Neolithic prototype. One of the commonest classes of religious objects in the Semitic areas of the Eastern Mediterranean are the clay plaques impressed from the mould displaying a figure of a naked goddess, as also clay figurines, the models for which were those of the Near East. These representations of the Semitic goddesses Ishtar and Astarte are important to our study for it could be that they are the prototypes which provided the models for the long series of nude female figures which subsequently appeared in the art of Greece and Rome.

It was probably close contact with the Semitic world which influenced the emergence of the cult of Aphrodite in Greece, for it is to Ishtar and Astarte that the goddess is closely akin. Like them, she was a goddess of generation and fertility, a personification of the sexual instinct and the power of love. But only from the time of Hesiod does it seem that the meaning of her name was known to the Greeks, as derived from *ἀφρός* = foam, in reference to the myth of her birth from the sea.

In Greece the evolution of her art-type was a slow process. In Archaic art Aphrodite appears in the guise of the nude goddess of the Near East, and it was not until the appearance of the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles in the fourth century B.C., that the art-type reached its apogee. It was this master who introduced a new and exciting portrayal of the nude female form, for it was he that endowed it with majestic calm and beauty. His famous masterpiece showed the goddess leaving the water with a modest gesture regarded by some scholars as recalling that of the seventh century Astarte-Aphrodite figures. From the fourth century onwards the female nude becomes a chief subject for art. New poses were introduced and the Cnidian Aphrodite became the model for the numerous copies of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The Romano-Gaulish modellers of clay statuettes of Venus lacked the means and the artistic talents required to produce works of high quality, so resorted to the production of cheap inferior clay replicas of these copies of older works of art in order to satisfy the needs of the lower orders of provincial society. At this point therefore, it may be useful to set forth the main features of the finer pieces of statuary whence these modellers derived their inspiration.

One copy of the Aphrodite of Cnidos shows the goddess completely nude, supporting in her left hand her robe which is draped over an amphora standing by her left leg. The Venus of Cyrene is also completely nude, and although her arms are now lost, apparently did not hold her robe which is supported on the tail of a dolphin for which it serves as a background by her right leg. Another Roman copy of a mid-fourth century original statue also does not hold the robe in the hand for it is draped over a large vase standing by her

left leg as a support, and the left hand shields the pubic region while the right hand rests just below the left breast.

In a different category is the Venus de Milo, a work of about 100 B.C., but adapted from a fourth century original. This shows the goddess with her robe slipped down on to the hips, and apparently unsupported by the hands, to leave the upper part of the body nude but concealing the legs. The so-called Venus of Arles shows the goddess similarly attired but supporting the garment wrapped round the left forearm to fall in long folds to the ground by her left side. On the other hand the Venus of Nîmes, now restored from many fragments, wears the robe further down over the hips to reveal the upper parts of the buttocks, falling in billowing folds, and supported in her left hand to conceal the pubic region but leaving the legs bare.

The art-types adopted by the Romano-Gaulish modellers for these clay statuettes are evidently those of Roman Venus which stemmed from those of the earlier Greek Aphrodite. Hence we could assume that the female personage thus represented is in fact Venus, but can we be absolutely certain? Perhaps not, for certain continental scholars have put forward cogent arguments in favour of the hypothesis that she is a native Celtic deity in Classical guise, who originally was venerated in Gaul in pre-Roman times.

Renel, however, does not agree that this was so, and he thinks that the cult of Venus was not firmly established in Gaul, neither was a native deity assimilated with the Roman goddess.⁽¹⁾

(1) C. Renel, Les religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme (Paris, 1906) p.322; hence G. Drioux, Cultes indigenes des Lingones (Paris, 1934) p.59.

In view of the very numerous clay statuettes so widely spread throughout the Western Empire, the first part of his statement is very curious. Clearly their presence must be explained if the Roman origin of the goddess is to be convincingly rejected, for in that event she must have been a native goddess. Furthermore, if the art-type of the figurines is actually that of Venus then it must follow that under the influence of the interpretatio Romana the native goddess was assimilated to the Romans. Having arrived at this point it seems to be necessary to pose two questions. First, was the assimilation suggested only because of real or imagined similarity of functions? Second, was it because a nude female deity was already featured in Celtic iconography prior to the Roman conquest of Gaul?

As the principle of identifying the gods of one race with those of another as a powerful instrument in the fusion of two different cultures was well known to the Romans, who invariably practised it, an affirmative answer to our first question seems plausible. The answer to the second question on the other hand does not come so easy, for at present it is very doubtful whether images of a nude goddess akin to Venus ever existed in a purely pre-Roman Celtic religious environment.

In approaching the problem from a different angle, Villefosse many years ago expressed the opinion that it was very certain that all the clay statuettes that for convenience of identification are recognized as Venus actually represent an unnamed deity, wanton and fertile in character, who occupied an important place in the religion of the Gauls.⁽¹⁾ This view certainly seems to be most attractive,

(1) H. de Villefosse, Revue archéologique I (1888) p.154; also A. Blanchet, Étude sur les figurines en terre-cuite de la Gaule romaine in Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de la France (1890) p.126.

but before reaching our own conclusions perhaps it would be as well to consider the type of deity Villefosse had in mind.

What then of the supposed wanton side of her character? Now the absence of a goddess of love from Celtic religion has exercised the minds of several scholars. Some of these have sought to identify one on very slender evidence, while others have rejected the idea altogether. In drawing attention to these opposing arguments, Mlle Sjoestedt has remarked that although a number of novel suggestions have been put forward to explain the absence of a goddess of that type, for example, the chastity of the Gauls, and the predominance of the maternal over the amorous, in her opinion it was an illusion.⁽¹⁾ In fact she affirmed that most of the Gaulish mother-goddesses display sexual characteristics in varying degrees, hence one need not expect to encounter a goddess exclusively engaged in amorous pursuits in the sphere of Gaulish religion. In her view such an idea was alien to Celtic religious thought, and was based upon foreign conceptions imported into Gaul after the loss of independence.⁽²⁾ If this view is acceptable, then it can only mean that the goddess was of Roman origin, and to all intents and purposes was Venus. But now let us consider the other quality the goddess was supposed to possess, namely, fecundity.

(1) M.L. Sjoestedt, Gods and Heroes of the Celts (Methuen, London 1949) p.37.

(2) ibid.

If she was concerned with fertility, whether it was of the crops, or of animals, particularly that of human beings, it is a fair assumption that she was a member of the wide circle of female deities who displayed the manifestations of the universal mother-goddess. In discussing this possibility, Thevenot has suggested that all the clay statuettes of the so-called Venus type, whether they represent the deity alone, or with attendant children, may well be images of a deity of the mother-goddess type, once venerated in Gaul in pre-Roman times.⁽¹⁾ Another scholar, Lambrechts, shares this view and in expanding his arguments has drawn attention to the apparent rarity of stone images of the same goddess.⁽²⁾ To explain this comparative lack of stone monuments Schleiermacher suggested that it was due to the activities of the early Christian iconoclasts.⁽³⁾ In reply to this Lambrechts affirms that the marked difference between the numbers of clay statuettes and the stone monuments existed in Roman times, and was due to some other reason.⁽⁴⁾ If the latter view is correct, then one of the most obvious reasons was economic, because the cult was confined to the poorer classes of provincial Gaulish society who could not afford to buy images made of more expensive materials. Hence as the cult gained in popularity, a demand was created for cheap images of the deity, which resulted in the setting up of a flourishing industry to meet it.

(1) E. Thevenot, "Le culte des déesses-mères à la station gallo-romaines des Bolards" in Revue archéologique de l'Est de la France II (1951) p.166 ff.

(2) P. Lambrechts, Contributions à l'étude des divinités celtiques (Bruges, 1942) pp.170-171.

(3) W. Schleiermacher, Studien p.122, quoted by Lambrechts, loc cit footnote 3.

(4) P. Lambrechts, loc cit.

If this is really true, why then was the art-type of Venus adopted? In posing this question we are back again to the possibility that a native Gaulish deity was equated with her Classical counterpart, presumably because of the similarity of their functions, however real or imagined they might have been. In our view, it is not necessary to assume that spiritual identity played any part in the selection of the art-type, for it is reasonable to think that the female personage, represented by the clay statuettes, displayed all the sexual qualities which the Gauls believed their own goddess possessed. At this stage in our inquiry, it seems then that there may be some justification for casting doubts on the Roman origin of the goddess thus portrayed. It is for that reason, the name given by continental scholars to the deity seems singularly appropriate, namely, the "pseudo-Venus". Therefore, henceforth for the purposes of our essay, we shall refer to the deity by that title. The evidence relating to the cult associations of the clay statuettes of the "psuedo-Venus" type in Gaul and to a slightly lesser extent in Germany is well authenticated, for many Romano-Celtic temples have yielded numerous examples. Their frequent occurrence at the sites of sacred springs and spring sanctuaries particularly in Gaul is well attested, and strongly indicates that in some way they were closely connected with the water-cults which were such a feature of Gaulish religion. To these places the devotees resorted in order to invoke the spirit of the water for the bestowal or restoration of good health, and including especially fertility. In return for these benefits they proffered ex votos in the form of clay statuettes of the goddess. It is clear that the symbolism of the sacred springs is in complete agreement with this belief, for as they welled up from the depths of Earth, the great mother-goddess of the Gaulish people, they brought life, fertility and good health to all living things, including human beings.

In Greek and Roman mythology the Nymphs were personifications of local topographical features, such as the woods, streams and springs. As water was the natural environment of the water-nymphs, they are usually portrayed in Roman art as beautiful women caught either in the act of bathing or emerging from the water. When this art-type is compared with the clay statuettes of the "pseudo-Venus" it is clear that there is a very strong likeness, which could mean that the latter was regarded at times as a water-nymph. In any case the stereotyped art form of Venus Anadyomene may have been selected to portray these semi-divine beings whose sphere of influence was very localized, and who had individual names and titles which varied from place to place throughout the provinces. Although we cannot be too certain, the presence of so many clay statuettes on the sites of sacred springs in Gaul raises the possibility that we may be dealing with a divine being of that kind.

We have seen that although portrayed as Venus, the native Gaulish goddess may not have been primarily concerned with amorous pursuits, but was regarded by her worshippers as a personification of the Universal mother-goddess, invested with the potent forces of generation and fertility of the crops, and by analogy the same qualities in human beings. In view of this it may therefore be worthwhile to enquire whether Roman Venus can be placed in the same category. According to Lucretius she was, for he certainly regarded her as the personification of all creative forces.⁽¹⁾ As the ancestress of the Julian family she may well have been a goddess of that kind for the cult of Venus Genetrix was certainly important from the time of Augustus.

(1) Lucretius, De natura rerum, I, 2-21.

Another aspect of her character is provided by Varro who tells us that at the Vinalia rustica the gardeners kept a holiday in her honour,⁽¹⁾ and she was *procuratio hortorum*, as "keeper of gardens".⁽²⁾ That the dealers in pot-herbs and vegetables celebrated her festival on the dedication day of her temple at Rome certainly seems very significant, and must indicate that she presided over their welfare by protecting their crops. The meaning of the name Venus seems to provide another link in the chain of evidence to show that she was a goddess of vegetation, for it ought to signify "delightful appearance". This, as Rose points out, was not of women, but that of a plot of well-tilled land, in fact a vegetable garden.⁽³⁾ With this evidence before us it is but a short step to regard Venus as the personification of the numen which made the vegetable gardens beautiful and fertile. This side of her character perhaps facilitated the assimilation with her native Gaulish counterpart under the influence of the interpretatio Romana.

The curious custom of placing clay statuettes of the "pseudo-Venus" in graves reveals her in a grimmer role as a goddess of the dead and the underworld. Here again the symbolism is closely linked with that of the great earth goddess, whence all life springs, and to whom at death it returns to be born again, as manifested in the life cycle of the crops, and by analogy that of human beings who at death return to Earth to be reborn in a life of blessedness.

From the evidence we have set forth it will be apparent that the clay statuettes of the "pseudo-Venus" type had some profound significance in Romano-Gaulish religion, and there seems little reason for

(1) Varro, De Lingua Latina, 6,20.

(2) Varro, De Re Rustica 1, 1,6.

(3) H.J. Rose, Ancient Roman Religion (Hutchinson, University Library 1948) pp.92 ff.

doubting that this also applied in Britain. In Gaul, the frequent occurrence of these objects at the sacred springs must surely indicate that they are closely connected with the water-cults, while the custom of placing them in graves suggests that they had a part to play in the funeral rites. In both spheres the symbolism is closely linked with that of mother-earth and her potent life-giving forces. If this is true, then the "pseudo-Venus" must have had these qualities, which qualified her membership in the circle of female deities displaying the manifestations of the universal mother-goddess. In this capacity, she would have been concerned with fertility and abundance as also good health. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that her votaries were women who invoked her aid in conceiving children, in warding off disease, and to assist them during the actual childbirth, a clay statuette of the goddess being the orthodox gift on such occasions. The gratitude of the recipients of these favours would no doubt have been expressed in the same manner.

Finally we arrive at the major issue, namely, the identity of the goddess portrayed by the clay statuettes. Roman Venus, goddess of love, at once springs to mind, as suggested by the art-type which has several variations, but it is very difficult to detect a deity of that kind in the sphere of Gaulish religion. Perhaps the art-type merely expressed the physical qualities of a native deity of the mother-goddess type, who had no real spiritual kinship with Venus, for it should be remembered that many of the statuettes display marked sexual characteristics. On the other hand it should be borne in mind that these clay statuettes could equally have been representations of local water-nymphs who were venerated as the guardian spirits of the sacred waters, the source of all life, which again brings us back to the belief in fertility and abundance which is such a strong feature of Celtic religion. Thus there seems little doubt that the goddess was

primarily concerned with those qualities. If we are correct in recognizing her as a deity of that kind, then it follows that she was venerated by a large section of the native Gaulish population in Roman times, not as Roman Venus, but as a native deity who to us remains anonymous, and lacking any inscriptions which would prove her identity, it seems appropriate and convenient for us to regard her as the "pseudo-Venus".

(5) DIANA. (FIGS.32-33-34)

Diana is represented as the divine huntress in Classical style wearing a chiton, her legs bare, supporting with her left hand her bow which stands by her left side. Her right arm is raised so that she is in the act of taking an arrow from her quiver which is secured to her back by crossed straps attached to a girdle worn just below her breasts. Her hair is piled high on the head and drawn tightly back and secured in a neat bun at the nape of her neck. All the known examples have been found in the Mosel region, and are listed below.

(1) Alttrier (G-D Luxembourg) Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.99,204.

Complete.

(2) Gusenburg. Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande p.90, Abb.XIII, 71.

Fragment.

(3) Gonzerath. Germania 21 (1937) p.195.

(4) Hundheim. Trierer Zeitschrift 12 (1937) 287.

(5) Horperath. Bonner Jahrbuch 142 (1937); ibid 143/144 (1938/39) 398.

(6) Hochscheid. Germania 25 (1941) pp.104-111 Taf.16.

(7) Leudersdorf. Jahrbericht der Gessellschaft für Nützlicher Forschungen 1878/81, 56.

(8) Trier, Altbachtal. Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu Trier 1, p.61, Taf.24, 11. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.F 7290.

(6) MINERVA. (FIGS. 35-36-37-38)

Some interesting examples of an apparent combination of Roman and native provincial symbolism are provided by certain clay statuettes of Minerva which were popular in the Rhine-Mosel region where they were made. These portray the goddess enthroned, wearing the high-crested helmet, with or without the gorgoneion displayed on her breast, and with a circular shield standing supported against the side of the throne. It is rather odd that her other well known attribute, the javelin, is not present. In lieu of this she may carry a patera or has a cluster of fruit in her lap, or a loaf of bread. The substitution of these for the javelin may therefore be significant. It could mean that her prime role as the Roman war-goddess had become subordinate to that of the more pacific one of mother-goddess.

This unwarlike side of Minerva's character is referred to on several occasions in Classical literature. For instance, Ovid exhorts Mars to follow the example set by the goddess and put aside his javelin for a time to take up more peaceful pursuits.⁽¹⁾ As the goddess of all arts and handicrafts all skilled workers were under her protection, hence the retention of her shield, and at times the gorgoneion, may have been intended to emphasize her prime function of divine protectress.⁽²⁾

The inclusion of the patera, the fruit, etc., which are attributes shared by all the mother-goddesses strongly suggests that this type of

(1) Ovid, Fasti III, 7-8.

(2) ibid III, 815.

Minerva was concerned with earthly and human fruitfulness, a side of her character which may have stemmed from her identification with Athena who had similar interests.⁽¹⁾ Varro according to St. Augustine classified Minerva as an earth-goddess,⁽²⁾ but we are also told that she was regarded by her worshippers as the highest sky and the moon in the lower sky.⁽³⁾ This raises the question whether her identification with the moon is a reference to her concern with fertility. It is possible in view of her identification with Athena at an early date. If this is tenable then as one interested in fertility both vegetable and animal, including that of human beings, Minerva may well have been regarded as a mother-goddess. Her appearance as such therefore could explain her involvement in the development of the embryo in the womb as the divine custodian of the infant's memory.⁽⁴⁾

The statuettes of Minerva are of two types which portray her either seated on a throne or free-standing. Of the two types the former seems to have been the most popular in the Rhine-Mosel region and the adjoining countries Luxembourg and Eastern Belgium. She wears the high Corinthian type of helmet and frequently has the gorgoneion on her breast-plate. At the left side of the throne stands a circular shield which sometimes she supports with her left hand grasping the rim. It is noteworthy that at no time is her javelin included, but instead she frequently holds attributes which are commonly shared by the many mother-goddesses, namely, patera or bunches of corn-ears. There is also an example from Cologne which portrays her without the

(1) H.J. Rose, 'Athena' in Oxford Classical Dictionary (1964) pp.113-114.

(2) St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei Book VII, Chapter XXVIII.

(3) ibid Book VII, Chapter XVI.

(4) ibid Book VII, Chapter III.

gorgoneion and holding a large loaf of bread with both hands on her lap.

The quality of workmanship varies throughout the series the detail on some being very summary while others display quite good attention to naturalism.

TYPE I.

This type may be broadly classified into two groups according to the style and quality of the workmanship, viz., (a) the more inferior and (b) the better quality examples.

(a) The statuettes in this category display very little attention to detail on the part of the modeller, the treatment of the features of the goddess and the helmet being very sketchy.

Representative examples are as follows:-

(1) Trier-Altachtal. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.7412.

S. Loeschcke, Altachtal 2, Taf.21, 1a-1b. The gorgoneion is displayed on the breast.

(2) Trier-Maar. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.3717. The gorgoneion is absent.

(3) Tongres, Belgium. Provincial Museum Tongres.

L'Antiquité Classique I (1932) p.277 ff., pl.ii, 6,7,8.

(b) Statuettes of Minerva which display a higher order of workmanship are as follows:-

(1) Trier. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.991064 b. With the gorgoneion.

(2) Dhronnecken. S. Loeschcke, op cit p.58, No.10, abb.VIII, 22. With the gorgoneion.

(3) Niederwampach (Grand Duchy Luxembourg). Signed by Fidelis. W. Binsfeld, Hémecht I (1970) Taf.III a. With the gorgoneion.

TYPE II.

Representative of the standing Minerva types are the following:-

- (1) Trier-Altachtal. Landesmuseum Trier No.35,175. For a second example cf. S. Loeschecke, op cit 2, p.89, Taf.21, 5.

Minerva stands arrayed in full classical style wearing the high-crested Corinthian type of helmet and the gorgoneion is displayed on her breast. She grasps a javelin in her right hand and holds the rim of her shield in her left hand to support it by her side. The shield is oval and between it and the left foot of the goddess stands an owl.

- (2) Vechten, Holland. Provinciaal Museum Utrecht No.U5617.

Headless but otherwise complete.

cf. L.F. Janssen, Bonner Jahrbuch (1846) p.23, No.2.

Although all the examples listed under Types I and II above are recognizable images of Minerva, those of Type I which bear attributes, such as fruits or patera in lieu of the javelin, and the seated pose, strongly suggest that the modellers were influenced by the many representations of the matronae in the Rhineland who are likewise enthroned and to whom these attributes belong. It is a reasonable supposition that these inspired the modellers to portray Minerva in a purely local form, not primarily as a goddess of war but as another form of the native mother-goddess.

It is true that the modelling of Type II(1) is clumsy and to some extent the figure is not well proportioned, but it is clear that the art-type was copied from Classical statues of the goddess, which stemmed originally from that of Greek Athena. No.(2) is also derived from the same art source.

(7) EPONA. (FIGS.59-61)

Epona, the goddess of horses and mules, although essentially a Celtic deity, normally appears in provincial Roman sculptural art attired in full classical style and very rarely in native costume. The latter is exemplified by one type of statuette which portrays her wearing the native Gaulish hooded cloak (cucullus).⁽¹⁾ In the whole range of Rhineland and Central Gaulish statuettes she is represented seated sideways on the back of a horse either on the left side or right side of the animal, facing the observer, and bearing the attributes commonly shared by the many versions of mother-goddesses.

In the Central Gaulish series sometimes she supports a cornucopia in an upright position against one shoulder and holds a patera in the other hand, the positions of these attributes at times being reversed.⁽²⁾ Other versions of the goddess show her holding a basket of fruits on her lap,⁽³⁾ and there are examples where none of these attributes is included.⁽⁴⁾

The statuettes of Epona from the Rhineland also represent her garbed in classical style, sometimes without any attributes,⁽⁵⁾ and a few show her accompanied by either one dog or two seated on her lap.⁽⁶⁾

(1) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.27962 from Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ Lary), cf. E. Tudot, *op cit* pl.35.

(2) The above mentioned statuette.

(3) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.1664 from Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme).

(4) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28029 Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier).

(5) Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. R. Magnen, Épona (Editions Delmas 1953) pl.14 found at Bonn.

(6) Leiden Museum Inv.No.G 247-248 two examples from Baarlo, Holland; M.J. Vermaseren, De Romeinse beschaving in Midden-Limburg (Roermond 1954) p.50, fig; Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn an example from Boppard, cf. R. Magnen *op cit* pl.14.

Another type shows her seated on a throne behind which is a horse,⁽¹⁾ an interesting variant for if the animal did not accompany her she would be indistinguishable from all the other mother-goddesses who are seated and hold various attributes.

At this point it is better for a more detailed discussion of the religious significance of these statuettes of Epona to be deferred until we can deal with it in conjunction with that of the clay statuettes of horses (see Part 7 G infra).

(1) Mainz Museum found at Kastel. cf. Magnen, ibid pl.15.

B. MALE DEITIES

ORIGIN OF THE ART-TYPE.

(1) ENTHRONED JUPITER. (FIG.142)

This type of statuette is exemplified by one now in the Rheinische Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.PM 934. Although the pose is stiffly frontal and lacks movement, the dignity and majestic character makes it virtually certain that the art-type stems from that of a larger statue of a much earlier period. One masterpiece which immediately springs to mind is the Olympian statue by Pheidias which is described for us by Pausanias and Dion Chrysostom.⁽¹⁾ According to these writers Pheidias seems to have rejected the Homeric conception of Zeus as the supreme god of war and hurler of thunderbolts, and depicted him instead as the god of peace, the father of mankind holding a victory in his right hand.

Our clay statuette, however, shows Jupiter holding the fulmen and not a victory, hence it differs in this respect from the Pheidian statue and therefore must derive from another art-type. In fact Cook has shown that the masterpiece of Pheidias was not imitated, and that the Hellenistic versions of Zeus were allied to the figure which appears for the first time on a coin of Alexander the Great.⁽²⁾

Miss Jitta has therefore suggested that this figure might have been inspired by one of the statues of Zeus by Alexander's court sculptor Lysippos. She also points out that in Hellenistic and Roman times

(1) Pausanias V, ii, 1-2; Dion Chrysostom Orations XII, 78.

(2) A.B. Cook, Zeus, a study in Ancient Religion (Cambridge 1914-40) III, 761.

Lysippos was regarded as great an artist as Pheidias, and that his works were better known in Italy. It is known that his Herakles which had been set up at Tarentum was brought to the Capitol, and that his Herakles Epitrapezios had a prominent place in the festivals of Sulla, who, Jitta suggests, probably gave the commission for the statue of Juppiter Capitolinus when rebuilding the Capitoline temple after its destruction by fire with all its contents in 85 B.C.⁽¹⁾

After the temple was again burnt down in A.D.69, it was rebuilt by Vespasian who set up a seated cult statue as portrayed on the coin which commemorated the event.⁽²⁾ It is not known whether this statue survived the fire in A.D.80, but if Domitian had to supply a new one it is reasonable to think that it would have been similar to the one it replaced, and as Zadoks Jitta remarks it might even have been made by the same artist.⁽³⁾

If her conclusions are valid then it is possible that the art-type for the clay statuette may be traced back to the style of Lysippos. Hence the Sullan Juppiter Capitolinus appears to be a typical example of late Hellenistic sculpture which embodied the Roman ideal of divinity and majesty appropriate to the god. It is possible therefore that any of the statues and statuettes of the Imperial period later than the Julio-Claudian era, which represent Jupiter in this posture, and evidently stem from a celebrated original, are copies of Juppiter Capitolinus of a date later than A.D.69.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Annie Zadoks Jitta, "Juppiter Capitolinus" in the Journal of Roman Studies XXVIII (1936) p.55.

(2) H. Mattingly, British Museum Catalogue of Coins (Empire) II, pl.29, 5-6.

(3) A.Z. Jitta, op cit p.51. (4) A.Z. Jitta, ibid p.55; and cf. H. Mattingly, op cit I, 209, No.67 for an aureus of Nero (A.D.64-8) on the reverse of which is an enthroned figure of Jupiter holding the fulmen under the title of Juppiter Custos.

When the Republican and Imperial versions of the statue are compared, certain stylistic differences are apparent. The active pose of the Republican Jupiter is seen to be in marked contrast to the solemn and stiffer, almost frontal attitude of the Imperial version. The earlier was probably seated on a backless or low-backed seat, the later one certainly on a high-backed throne. Again the earlier statue represents the god with nude torso; the later with the himation covering part of the back and hanging down in a fold over the left shoulder. Good examples of both periods which display these stylistic differences are two reliefs of the Capitoline Triad in which Jupiter is the central figure. The earlier one, from Alise-Sainte-Reine, dated by Espérandieu to the first century A.D., may be derived from the Republican Jupiter Capitolinus. The later example, from Trier, dated by Espérandieu to the second century, shows the god in a stiffly frontal, solemn attitude with a fold of the himation hanging over his shoulder which is characteristic of the Imperial version. (1)

Two other statues of enthroned Jupiters which display the Flavian Capitoline style are of interest for they were found at Cologne and Trier respectively, that is, in the same region where the clay statuette was undoubtedly made. (2)

In addition to these the striking resemblance of the seated Jupiter which surmounts the Gallic Jupiter columns in the same region is noteworthy. Hence it is abundantly clear that the artist who

(1) Espérandieu, Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule-romaine III, 2346; ibid VI, 4927.

(2) F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln (Köln, 1950) Band II, Taf.1; S. Loeschcke, Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier (Berlin, 1928) p.11, fig.

produced the clay statuette of the enthroned Jupiter had several pieces of local statuary whence he could take his model.

The precise details of the discovery of the clay statuette of the enthroned Jupiter from Trier are not recorded so that it is now difficult to estimate its date by archaeological methods. However, comparison with contemporary Roman portrait sculpture is revealing. The long thin face, the mop of curly hair and the luxuriant tapered beard are clearly stylistically characteristic of the portraits of Marcus Aurelius found in Rome, e.g., on the three marble reliefs now in the Capitoline Museum, and on his equestrian bronze statue which now stands in the Piazza del Campidoglio. The clay statuette being of a lower order of art does not allow us to identify the personage it portrays as that Emperor in the guise of Jupiter; but this is not an impossible idea, yet it seems prudent to regard it as simply reflecting the hirsute styles of his reign. The inference is therefore that the date of this statuette lies between 161 and 180.

(2) STANDING JUPITER. (FIGS.143, 149, 150)

Evidently a Mosel version of the classical art-type of a standing figure of Jupiter is a statuette found in the temple area at Dhronnecken (Hunsrück). This represents the god with a long sceptre in his upraised left hand, a mantle thrown over his left shoulder, and a thunderbolt in his right hand. (FIG.143)⁽¹⁾

A few statuettes assignable to the Allier potteries represent a Jupiter-like personage who is attired in a short sleeved, closely fitting tunic, caught in at the waist by a belt. His main attribute is a wheel, either held against the thigh or supported on the shoulder, and sometimes he also holds a thunderbolt. (FIGS.149-150) The combination of these two attributes is significant for it also occurs on an altar dedicated to Jupiter at Aigues-Mortes (Gard).⁽²⁾ The wheel was a very ancient solar symbol representative of the movement of the sun in the heavens, and obviously the thunderbolt has heavenly associations. The inference is therefore that the god of the wheel represented by the clay statuettes is a Romano-Gaulish version of the Roman sky-god Jupiter, but before accepting this identification it may be useful to examine other evidence we possess.

We may turn first to Julius Caesar's concise interpretatio Romana of the facts relating to the existence of a pantheon of gods worshipped by the Gauls.⁽³⁾ One of these, he tells us, ruled the heavens like

(1) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901) S.57 No.1, Taf.VIII, 26.

(2) In Nîmes Museum, cf. E. Espérandieu, Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine IX (Paris 1925) No.6849.

(3) Julius Caesar, De Bello Gallico (Loeb translation, London, 1958) Book VI, 17.

Jupiter, hence a Celtic sky-god must be indicated. Caesar does not mention the god's name, but we have a strong hint provided by Lucan in his poem.⁽¹⁾ He mentions three deities by their Gaulish names, one of whom is Taranis who was appeased by burning human victims in cages of wood. From a scholiast's marginal notes to Lucan's poem we learn that Taranis and Dispater were equated with Jupiter. This is confirmed in several dedicatory inscriptions which expressly identify Jupiter with Taranis,⁽²⁾ the name of the latter being cognate with thunder, which designates him as "the thunderer".⁽³⁾

Sometimes a wheel is featured with the figures of Jupiter which surmounted certain Jupiter columns set up in the Rhine-Mosel region and in north-east and central Gaul. It is either carved on the side of the throne upon which the god is seated, or is held by him when portrayed as a horseman riding down a giant who supports the fore-legs of the horse on his shoulders. The idea which lies behind the latter group is obscure, but it may have stemmed from the Greek myth of the Titanomachia, the battle in which the gods of Olympus led by Zeus the sky-god, defeated the Titans, the monstrous offspring of Gaea (Earth). As the giant of the Jupiter columns has in lieu of human legs, serpents the characteristic appendages of the Titans frequently featured in classical art, he is possibly of that genre.

(1) Lucan, De Bello Civili I, 444-46.

(2) As for example on an altar from Chester IO M TARANO
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VII, 168.

(3) cf. Irish torann = thunder.

At this point it is necessary to turn to other types of the god of the wheel in the Allier series of clay statuettes. One of these shows him holding the wheel against his thigh, but without a thunder-bolt and he appears to be restraining a small, rather grotesque looking personage, possibly a female, who stands (or kneels ?) with arms upraised on the ground at his side. (FIG.150)⁽¹⁾ Another version shows the god holding the wheel on his shoulder with the small personage quite definitely female at his side.⁽²⁾

From what has been said it is virtually certain that the god of the wheel is a romanized conception of the Celtic god Taranis who according to Lucan demanded human sacrifices. Although the custom was forbidden by the Romans, the memory of the offerings appropriate to the god must have lingered on in the minds of his worshippers. It follows, therefore, that this small enigmatic figure who appears with Taranis, was possibly merely symbolic and replaced the human victims who were no longer sacrificed to him.⁽³⁾

If on the other hand a human victim was not intended, then it is possible that the small figure is a Romano-Gaulish version of a captive Titan, transformed into female form by unintelligent copying of an art-type which stemmed from classical sources. This unfortunately cannot

(1) Found at Nérès (Allier). St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.63906. M. Prou, "Figurine du dieu à la roue trouvée a Nérès", Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de France (1915) pp.101-104.

(2) This type is represented by a cast in St. Germain-en-Laye Museum. A. Blanchet, Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (1891) p.187, fig.25; also A. Blanchet, "Le Juniter à la roue trouvé à Champagnat (Creuse)", Bulletin du Comité 1923, pp.157-160.

(3) The marginal notes to Lucan's poem do not specify the sexes of the victims. Some may have been women, hence the female figure may be appropriate.

be proved, but it is evident that the god dominates his captive companion, whether a Titan or not. Hence the idea which lies behind this companionship may have been the underworld forces of chaos, darkness and death overcome by the sky-god known to the Romans as Jupiter, and to the Gauls as Taranis. As in the process of the interpretatio Romana they became equated it would be quite appropriate for them to have the solar wheel and the thunderbolt as attributes.

(2) APOLLO. (FIGS.62-64)

According to Julius Caesar, Apollo, who was so widely worshipped in the Greek and Latin speaking world, was assimilated with a native Celtic god whom the Gauls believed had the power to drive away diseases, one of the chief qualities of his Graeco-Roman counterpart.⁽¹⁾ Although Caesar placed this Celtic deity next in order of importance to the principal god of the Gauls who was akin to Mercury,⁽²⁾ it is curious that Apollo is rarely featured in the series of clay statuettes made and found in Central Gaul, and seemingly not in the regions supplied by the traders associated with that centre of the clay statuette industry. The only examples that exist have been found, respectively, at Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier),⁽³⁾ Pupillin (Jura)⁽⁴⁾ and at Autun (Saône-et-Loire).⁽⁵⁾ In addition to these there is a mould for a statuette of the same general type found at Vichy (Allier).⁽⁶⁾ In each case the art-type is purely Classical, the god being portrayed as Apollo Citharoedus standing in a relaxed pose, holding a lyre and plectrum as if preparing to play the instrument or resting after a performance.

(1) Julius Caesar, De Bello Gallico VI, 17 translated by H.J. Edwards in the Loeb Classical Library (Heinemann and Harvard Press 1958 edition), "Apollinem morbos depellere".

(2) Julius Caesar, loc cit.

(3) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28019.

(4) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.32909.

(5) Musee Rolin Autun Inv.No.294.

(6) Moulins (Allier) Museum Inv.No.5,2.153.

Unfortunately all the statuettes do not assist us much in determining the precise role they played in Romano-Gaulish religious ritual for they apparently were not found in any significant context. Lacking this evidence we must now turn to two statuettes of Apollo found in the Mosel region for guidance. Here also they are rarities for they are the only examples known. Again Apollo is portrayed as the citharoedus so popular in other forms of Roman and provincial art, but unlike the Central Gaulish versions in clay, he is not standing but is seated on a throne.

Both statuettes were found in temple surroundings and must have been ex votos. That being the case, and in view of Caesar's reference to the healing powers of Apollo and his Gaulish congener, the example from a temple at Hochscheid (Kreis Bernkastel) is highly relevant to our study.⁽¹⁾ (FIG.65) It was there that Apollo was coupled with the important Celtic healing god Grannus and had as his consort the Celtic water-goddess Sirona who presumably presided over the spring which was the central feature of the temple.

According to Dio Cassius, Grannus was credited with curative powers and was invoked by the emperor Caracalla with two other gods of healing, namely, Aesculapius and Serapis. In particular Grannus was patron of therapeutic springs and performed that function at Aachen (Aquae Granni). One of his chief sanctuaries was at Grand (Ad Grannum) in the Vosges where he delivered oracles as well as cured diseases.

(1) W. Dehn, Ein Quelheiligtum des Apollo und Sirona bei Hochscheid (Kreis Bernkastel) in Germania 25 (1941) p.104 ff., Taf.16, 1; For example from Dhronacken (Hochwald) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier 1901) p.60, No.47.

In view of this evidence it is virtually certain that the clay statuette found in the temple at Hochscheid which stood over the sacred spring, was proffered to Apollo Grannus in the hope that he would either cure the worshipper of some disease or protect him from it, or it may have served as a thank offering for such benefits previously bestowed. It is possible, therefore, that although this statuette is a copy of the purely classical art-type of Apollo the worshipper regarded it as a representation of Celtic Grannus in Roman guise.

(3) BACCHUS. (FIGS.66-67)

At present only one statuette and a detached head from the same type are known but it is certain that they were made at Cologne.⁽¹⁾ The god stands with the left leg crossed over the right. He wears a wreath of vine leaves and grapes. Drapery hangs over his left shoulder covering the left side at the back and concealing the legs. A fold of the drapery is supported on his left forearm whence it lies diagonally across the legs to the right knee leaving the torso and the genitals exposed. He holds a two-handled vessel, perhaps a cantharus but it may be an amphora is intended. A panther recumbent emerges from beneath the drapery by his left leg and gazes upwards. The statuette is clearly a copy of the well known art-type which frequently occurs in other forms of Roman art.

(1) See Part 3 c Servandus No.19 and Part 6 B.2.1.

(4) HERCULES. (FIG.68)

The very few clay statuettes of Hercules are clearly inspired by the classical art-type, for they portray him bearded, standing completely nude, supporting his club which stands on the ground in an upright position by his side, and either holds the lion's skin in one hand,⁽¹⁾ or has it draped over his shoulders.⁽²⁾ The rarity of these clay statuettes in Central Gaul and their absence in the Rhine-Mosel region suggests that they were not popular, perhaps because Hercules was mostly worshipped as a hero and only occasionally as a god for whom there was no Celtic equivalent.

It is perhaps noteworthy that in private worship he was appealed to as warder-off of evils and victor over them. Hence it is reasonable to think that the presence of one of his statuettes in a grave was to protect the contents from allevil spirits which might beset them.⁽³⁾

(1) See Part 6 B.3, a statuette found at Colchester, Essex is of this type.

(2) St. Germain Museum Inv.No.28031 found at Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre (Allier).

(3) The example from Colchester cited in footnote 1 supra.

(5) MARS.

Up to the present time it seems that not one clay statuette of Mars has been convincingly identified in the Central Gaulish series, but there are a few which have been found in the Rhine-Mosel region. These are of various types now to be described.

I. Standing. (FIG.144)

- (1) This version stems from a classical art-type, although in this case the style is very naive. The god is bearded and wears a helmet, while a cloak is draped over the left shoulder and down the back of the figure which is otherwise nude. His right hand grasps the rim of a shield which stands in an upright position by his right leg. His left hand holds the javelin which is very crudely represented. The workmanship is rather crude and the style is so similar to that of a statuette of Mercury, that it seems reasonable to assign the two to the same school of modellers. Both came from the temple district in the Altbachtal at Trier, actually from the same temple.

Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.A 7452.

Trierer Zeitschrift IV (1929) p.164, Abb.9 (centre).

Buff white clay with traces of a brownish coloured slip or paint coating. Height c.14 cms.

- (2) A male figure wearing a kind of triangular apron or loin cloth. He supports a trophy with his left hand against his left shoulder, similar to that held by a figure of Victory found with it on the kiln site by the Hahnentor at Cologne. This could be a representation of the god Mars-Ultor for a similar figure definitely of that god is on the coinage cf. Cohen I,89 No.192, and I,99 No.258. Bonner Jahrbuch 79, p.183; *ibid* 120 p.194, Taf.IX, fig.3. R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.3106.

II. Seated.

- (1) Two headless examples are in the Landesmuseum Trier Inv.Nos.54, 50 and ST 5915. Mars seated on a throne. His hand rests on the rim of a circular shield standing against the left side of the throne. That of the latter has a roughly made central umbo. The legs wear greaves with a gorgon's head in moulded relief on each knee. He wears a cuirass with a cloak draped over the left shoulder. Both examples are in fine light buff clay, and the style of both is so similar that it is reasonable to think that they were made by the same modeller. Height respectively now 12.5 cms, and 12.8 cms.
- (2) Similarly seated but now headless. The figure is draped over the left shoulder and covers the lap and the right leg, leaving the left leg bare. He rests his left hand on the rim of a round shield standing by the left side of the throne. His right hand rests on his right knee and probably holds a bunch of corn ears in lieu of the javelin which is absent. Height now 14 cms. White clay. Dhronecken Taf.VIII, 31, No.1061.

(6) MERCURY.

Statuettes of Mercury evidently products of the Rhine-Moselle industry are of various styles and portray the god either standing or seated. The latter types show him either seated on a rock or on a throne and seem to be confined to that industry for they do not occur in the Central Gaulish series. The following examples have been selected to illustrate the principal types. Most of these are now incomplete.

I. Enthroned.

- (1) The lower part from the knees down. A ram stands by the left side and a purse held in the right hand rests on the god's right knee. cf. Gusenburg p.89, Taf.XIII, 58 and 59, Landesmuseum Trier Inv.Nos.18662-3; also Dhronecken p.60, Taf.XII, 49, Landesmuseum Trier 1100.
- (2) Incomplete. The purse is held in the right hand resting on the right knee. The caduceus is held in the left hand supported against the left shoulder. The chlamys covers the left shoulder and the right leg; the torso and the left leg are bare. An animal which has straight tapering horns, evidently a goat lies by the left side of the throne. Drab white clay; height now 13.2 cms. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.GF 501.
- (3) Lower part from the waist down. The right hand holds the purse on the right knee, and the surviving shaft of the caduceus is held in the left hand and the bottom end rests on the head of a ram at the left side. The folds of the chlamys which leave the left leg bare, are deeply and sharply moulded. The wool of the ram is indicated by short incisions, but the left side of the animal is not indicated in this manner being roughly finished by knife trimming. Height now 10.2 cms. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.6434.

- (4) Seated on a rock. Incomplete, the lower part only from the knees down. The legs are bare, and the caduceus stands upright by the right leg. Centrally placed on the rock just below the feet of the god is the mask of a ram. The folds of the chlamys hang between the god's legs. The moulding is particularly good. Buff white clay. Height now c. 11.7 cms. Landesmuseum Trier Inv.Nos.F 504, GF 502, PM 3356, the latter a fragment from the Altbachtal (Unionbrauerei site).

II. Standing.

- (1) Lower part only from the waist down to the ankles. The chlamys hangs down the back. The purse is held in the right hand, and the left hand supports the caduceus which stands in a reversed position (i.e., the entwined snakes downwards) in front of a short pillar standing on the left side of the god. Height now 7 cms. The rectangular base is a modern restoration.⁽¹⁾
Landesmuseum Trier 18661.
- (2) The god is completely nude and holds a purse in the right hand and a roughly shaped caduceus is held in an upright position against the left shoulder. The statuette is mounted on a reel-shaped base. The god is bearded. The workmanship is very primitive-looking and may be from the same workshop as produced a statuette of Mars and Hercules qv.⁽²⁾ All were found in a temple in the Altbachtal district of Trier.

(1) Gusenburger Taf.XIII, 60.

(2) Siegfried Loeschcke, in Trierer Zeitschrift IV, (1929) p.164, Abb.9.

- (3) Headless. The chlamys is slung over the right shoulder and covers the left arm and the back of the god. He holds a purse in his right hand resting it on the horns of a goat which lies by his right side. The caduceus is held in his left hand against the left shoulder. Made in Cologne.

W. Binsfeld, "Zu den römischen Töpfereien am Rudolf-Platz in Köln" in Kölner Jahrbuch für vor-und früngeschichte 7 Band (1964) p.19 ff., Taf.7, Nos.2-3-4.

- (4) Rectangular base for a standing figure of Mercury on which the feet of the god and the body of the ram survive. On the back are the letters C I M in retrograde in relief from the mould, but the name they represent is unknown.⁽¹⁾ This was found in Cologne as a stray find on the site of the Habsburger Ring No.28. R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.51,43.⁽²⁾

The inclusion of the ram with a standing figure of Mercury in clay is noteworthy because in a recent study H. Vertet has drawn attention to the fact that almost all the clay statuettes of the god in that pose, which were made in the officinae of Central Gaul, do not include the animal.⁽³⁾ He also prudently points out that this need not be an

(1) cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII, 10001, 158.

(2) R-G Museum Cologne Inv.No.3619 is comparable but is unsigned. Kölner Jahrbuch 4 (1959) 52 ff., Taf.7, 2.

(3) Hugues Vertet, "Remarques sur l'aspect et les attributs du Mercure gallo-romain populaire dans le Centre de la Gaule" in Hommages à Albert Grenier Collection Latomus LVIII (Bruxelles, Berchem, 1962) p.1605 ff., planches CCCXXVII-CCCXXIX inclusive. (As for example our FIG.134).

expression of a religious idea which ignored the familiars of the god, but it was more likely that simple moulds were required for speedy and economic production. It seems, however, that he was unaware of the Corbridge statuette (FIG.69), as also three others from Cologne, all of which clearly demonstrate that certain modellers included the animal without any apparent difficulty. So far as is known at present, the officinae which were situated at Le Champ Lary and La Forêt in the vicinity of Toulon-sur-Allier, Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre and Bordeaux (Gironde), only made clay statuettes of Mercury standing without his familiar animal. Those from Cologne, on the other hand, include the animal hence it is reasonably certain that local artists produced this type. Two from that city, now incomplete and differing in certain details, and from different moulds, have the animal lying at the god's side.⁽¹⁾ Another example, again of a different style also came from the same area, namely, in the Rudolf Platz Habsburger Ring, close by the Hahnentor kilns where it is known that clay statuettes were produced in the second century of our era.

The art-type of the Corbridge and the Cologne statuettes is Classical, and although that of the Central Gaulish series stems from the same source it displays a more naive presentation. It is because of this that the Corbridge Mercury is assigned to the Cologne or closely allied officinae, and ought therefore to belong to the period covered by the first and second decades of the second century.⁽²⁾

(1) W. Binsfeld, "Zu den römischen Töpfereien am Rudolf-Platz in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch für vor-und frühgeschichte, Band 7 (1964) p.19 ff., Tafeln 7, 2-3-4 and 8, 3-4.

(2) For the general art-type compare the series of stone votives dedicated to Mercurio Gebrinio from Bonn, which may have influenced the work of the modellers of clay statuettes at Cologne. H. Lehner, "Römische Steindenkmäler von der Bonner Münster kirche" in Bonner Jahrbuch 135, p.20, Tafeln XX, 1 and 2; XXI, 1-2; XXIII, 1. These votive stones which portray Mercury with his animals are of the same date as the clay statuettes produced in the officinae at Cologne.

C. PERSONIFICATIONS.

Several qualities inherent in human beings or desired by the same frequently appear in Roman art in the form of female personifications under the relevant titles, as for example on a wide series of coins of the period.⁽¹⁾ In the series of clay statuettes on the other hand only a few personifications seem to be represented, namely, Abundantia, Fortuna and Victoria. The qualities of Fortuna are amply illustrated by the occurrence of one of her statuettes in a grave, presumably of a gambler, at Remagen accompanied by a set of bone gaming pieces, a dice and a gaming board made of a flat tile.⁽²⁾ Very little comment is needed concerning the origins of the art-types for they are clearly conventional copies of those which stemmed from Greek originals.

With the exception of Victoria who bears the usual palm branch and wreath as attributes, the others have cornucopiae and sometimes paterae which as we have seen, are commonly shared by several manifestations of the universal mother-goddess in Graeco-Roman art. It is clear that these attributes display the close connection of these personifications with the bounty of nature.

(1) E.G. Aequitas (Philip I) 27 b; Fortuna (Domitian) 326 a; Felicitas (Trajanus-Decius) 115; Hilaritas (Caracalla-Plautilla) 371; Liberalitas (Pupienus) 14; Providentia (Macrinus) 80. The numbers in each case refer to those in the volumes of Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*.

(2) S. Gollub, Führer durch das Heimatsmuseum Remagen/Rhein (Verhahrs-Verlag Remagen Rh.) unpaginated last page.

(1) ABUNDANTIA.

Central Gaulish Types.

Statuettes of Abundantia made in Central Gaul portray her either seated or standing. Those in the former category differ from the ones made in the Rhine-Mosel officinae for they are seated on high-backed basket chair was frequently used by Pistillus for his dea nutrix types, and an at present unique version of Abundantia which bears his signature is seated on a chair of that kind. Another of his signed products is the group of three goddesses each bearing the attributes of Abundantia who are seated side by side on a backless bench.

(a) Seated Goddess.

(1) The goddess is fully clothed in garments of Classical style and is seated on a basket chair. She supports a fluted cornucopia against her right shoulder and holds an empty patera in her left hand. On the back of the base of the chair are the letters ILLV in relief (i.e. Pistillus).
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.6873 found at Lyon (Rhône).

(2) Another version of the same general type seated on a basket chair which is of the same pattern used by Pistillus bears an incomplete name]STIKA possibly Postika. On the front of the base is a boar in moulded relief.
St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.14018 found near St. Jean-de-Losne (Côte d'Or). cf. Tudot pl.33, p.32, pl.XLIV for another example.

(b) Standing Goddess.

(1) Standing figure of the goddess similarly attired. She holds a patera in her right hand, and supports a cornucopia against her left shoulder.⁽¹⁾ This piece is unusually elegant and was produced by TIBERIVS of Toulon-sur-Allier where a complete mould was found.⁽²⁾

(2) Standing figure of the goddess supporting a cornucopia which stands in an upright position on the ground by her left leg.

St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27958 found Toulon-sur-Allier;
cf. Tudot pl.34 A and B.

Rhine-Mosel Types.

(1) A seated mother-goddess fully clothed in garments of Classical style, supporting a cornucopia in an upright position against each shoulder. (FIG.121)

cf. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln Band II, Taf.17; Römischen-Germanischen Museum Köln Inv.No.33,8 signed by Servandus of Cologne.

(1) St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.28104 found Clermont Ferrand (Puy de Dôme).

(2) St. Germain-en-Laye Inv.No.27957 (Toulon-sur-Allier).

- (2) A seated mother-goddess similarly attired, holding in her left hand a cornucopia in an upright position resting against her left shoulder, and in her right hand an empty patera.

cf. an example from Hochscheid (Kreis Bernkastel)

Germania 25 (1941) 104 ff., Taf.16 9; and another

from Trier, S. Loeschke, Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale

zu Trier (Berlin 1938) Heft I, 63, Taf.24, 8, No.S.T.14579.

- (3) A seated mother-goddess similarly attired. The throne is flanked by amors one of whom supports a cornucopia.

Found in a grave at Remagen.

S. Gollub, Führer durch das Heimatmuseum Remagen/Rhein.

(Verkehrs Verlag Remagen Rh.)

This style is closely similar to that of the signed statuette of Fortuna by Alfius of Cologne.⁽¹⁾

(1) See Part 7 C 2, No.3.

(2) FORTUNA.

(1) A standing goddess similarly attired, holding in her left hand a cornucopia supported in an upright position against her left shoulder. By her right side stands a ship's rudder which she supports with her right hand.

cf. an example from Trier, S. Loeschcke, op cit I, 61, Taf.24, 10, No.S.T.10019.⁽¹⁾

(2) A seated goddess similarly attired, holding in her left hand a cornucopia which rests against her left shoulder in an upright position. By her right side stands a ship's rudder which she supports with her right hand.

cf. the example signed by Servandus of Cologne,

J. Klein, Bonner Jahrbuch 87, 82;

H. Lehner, ibid, 110, 198, Fig.1, 7-8.

Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No,2850. (FIG.119)

(3) A seated goddess similarly attired. At her right side is a rudder on a globe; to her left is an amor standing on a flatter globe signed Alfius fec on the back of the throne.

Found Cologne. Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.9520.

(1) cf. FIG.146 Vechten.

(3) VICTORIA.

Victoria, the Roman equivalent of Nike the goddess of victory in Greek religion was worshipped by the Roman army and was given various titles by individual legions.⁽¹⁾ She was the personification of victory in the most far reaching sense of the word, not only in war-time but also in nature as ensuring the annual renewal of life, which by analogy was extended the after-life of human beings, each rebirth being a victory over death.⁽²⁾ Hence as the symbol Victoria was a favourite motif of Roman allegorical art; images of her appear frequently on sarcophagi and other funerary monuments. For example on a sarcophagus in Rome, an imago clipeata on the centre of the lid, evidently a portrait of the dead man, is upheld by two figures of Victory presumably as a reference to his victory over death.⁽³⁾

(1) A. v-Domaszewski, "Die Religion des römischen Heeres" in Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst 1895 pp.4 ff.

(2) A. Hondius-Crone, The Temple of Nehalennia at Domburg (J.M. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam 1955) pp.110-111.

(3) Museo Nazionale Romano Inv.No.39400, found in the Via Collatina, Rome. cf. Salvatore Aurigemma, The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano, Guide Books to the Museums and Monuments of Italy No.78 (Rome 1955) 95, p.46, pl.XX.

Two types of Victoria are of Rhine-Mosel origin.

- (1) A standing, winged female figure fully clothed, and poised as if descending from the sky holding a wreath aloft in her right hand and a palm branch in her left resting against her left shoulder. This is a very inferior copy of the Roman art-type derived from that of the Greek Nike, featured so many times in stone and metal. The style is crude and summary, the hair, the folds of the robe and other details being indicated by incised lines. Height c. 13 cms.
Landesmuseum Trier Inv.No.1975. (FIG.145)

- (2) A standing female figure draped and bearing a trophy on the left shoulder. Both known examples lack the outstretched right arm so that the object once held is now unknown, but it was almost certainly the victor's wreath. They were found at Bonn and Cologne respectively, the latter on the site of the kilns near the Hahnentor, associated with a small base bearing the name of Vindex of the early second century, Made in Cologne.

K. Woelcke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte de Tropaiens" in

Bonner Jahrbuch 120, p.170, Taf.IX, figs.1-2.

J. Klein, Bonner Jahrbuch 79, p.185.

H. Lehner, Führer p.103, Inv.Nos.2670 and 2900.

(4) CUPID AND PSYCHE. (FIG.147)

Small plaques bearing a bas-relief of a youthful winged couple, a nude male and a fully clothed female facing each other and embracing, are presumably intended to be Cupid and Psyche. The wings of the female, however, are those of a bird rather than the butterfly wings of Psyche in classical art.⁽¹⁾

As several examples were found in the temple areas at Dhronneck and at Gusenburg it is virtually certain that they are ex votos, but their precise religious significance is far from clear.⁽²⁾ We also cannot be too certain whether nothing more than a simple love scene was intended, hence any conclusions we may reach must be regarded as purely conjectural. An attractive theory is that these plaques were the offerings of newly-wed couples who made their vows in the presence of the gods.⁽³⁾ Equally plausible is the suggestion that as Psyche personified the soul, as her name suggests, then the plaques were thought to be appropriate offerings to ensure that under divine

(1) As for example an early first century B.C., terracotta group from a grave at Myrina, D. Burrs, Terracottas from Myrina in Boston (Boston 1934) pl.VI, No.15, Museum of Fine Arts Boston Inv.No. 01.7700, hence T.B.L. Webster, Greek Terracottas (King Penguin Books, 1950) pp.26-27, pl.49.

(2) See appended description of the various types of clay plaques found at Dhronneck and at Gusenburg (qv).

(3) Tudot and Blanchet were of the opinion that certain groups made in the Allier workshops, which portray a fully clothed male embracing either a nude or fully clothed female were connected with marriage. A. Blanchet, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France XLI (1891) p.189-190. Blanchet also suggested that these personages were Cupid and Psyche ibid p.189, but it is to be noted that they do not have wings, and may equally be human beings.

patronage the dead would be regained by the mourning partners when they also entered the after-life.

It is also curious that certain types show Psyche holding a wreath like Victoria, who as we have already seen was regarded at times as the personification of victory over death.⁽¹⁾ It is difficult to be certain, but it seems worthy of mention that the Psyche-like figure who holds the wreath is possibly symbolic of the triumph of the souls of human beings over death.

A few of the plaques from Dhronnecken and Gusenburg bear the names of Fidelis and Strambus⁽²⁾ who probably worked at Trier or at some other place in that part of the Mosel valley.⁽³⁾ There are four variations of this theme which may be classified as follows:-

Cupid is nude and his pose remains unaltered throughout the series.

- (1) Psyche is in the guise of Victory and holds a laurel wreath in her right hand by her side. The front of the rectangular base is unornamented.

cf. Dhronnecken Taf.X, 26; Gusenburg Taf.XIII, 75.

- (2) The same pose but the front of the base is ornamented with a large two-handled cantharus flanked by dove-like birds in moulded relief.

cf. Dhronnecken Taf.X, 27. cf.(FIG.147)

(1) See Part 7, 3 under Victoria.

(2) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901) under Dhronnecken and Gusenburg. Taf.XIII, 2, 950.

(3) See Part 3 C under Fidelis and Strambus.

- (3) The front of the base is similarly ornamented, but Psyche does not hold a wreath and her right hand is placed against her waist. One of this type was found in the earth and timber period fort at Saalburg in the Taunus.

F. Hettner, op cit p.69 citing L. Jacobi, Das Römerkastell Saalburg bei Hombourg vor der Hohe (1897) p.406.

- (4) Psyche has her right hand placed on Cupid's left forearm. The base is plain. Two small holes are placed to either side of the heads of the figures, presumably for suspension of the plaque. cf. Dhronecken X, 30.

D. CUCULLATI.

Male personages who, for want of a better name, are usually referred to as cucullati because they wear the cucullus, a hooded garment, are frequently featured in Graeco-Roman and provincial Roman art. The cucullus worn separately or attached to a cloak was a popular everyday garment favoured by inhabitants of the north-western parts of the Roman empire.

As most of the cucullati figures in various materials have been dealt with by W. Deonna in his comprehensive study, we may confine the present survey to the series of clay statuettes of this general type which derive from the Gallic and Rhine-Mosel officinae.⁽¹⁾

It is fairly certain that the modellers who worked in those regional industries on many occasions must have copied the cucullus as worn in real life, rather than have taken it from art-types of a much earlier period. If so it is possible that some of the personages thus attired were not divine, but were intended to be representative of the individual worshippers who used them as gifts for the gods. A further indication of the wearing of the garment by subjects who cannot claim by any stretch of the imagination to have been divine beings is provided by a series of statuettes made in the Allier. They are quaint figures of seated monkeys or apes, garbed in the cucullus, which call to mind the words of Martial when he mocks the Roman fashion of wearing the cucullus of Aquitanian Gaul which he recalls was worn by monkeys.⁽²⁾

(1) W. Deonna, "De Telesphore au moine bourru Dieux, genies et demons encapuchonnes", Latomus XXI, 1955.

(2) Martial, Satires XIV, 128, "Gallia santonico vestite bardocucullo. Cercopithecorum paemula nuper erat."

On the other hand there is a well defined group of clay statuettes for which the art-type seems to have been derived from another source. These are clearly a speciality of the Rhine-Mosel officinae and have a fairly wide distribution along the two rivers and the German limes, and the greatest number come from the Romano-Celtic temples of the Eifel, the Hochwald and in the environs of Trier, the main centre of the cult with which they were associated. At present the true identity of the personage has not been firmly established. He is represented as a man of dumpy proportions, evidently a dwarf, wearing the cucullus off the head so that it hangs down over the shoulders to form a deep v-shaped collar in front. He usually holds an open scroll in both hands as if reading from it, or a rolled scroll in one hand. (FIGS.71-72) It is clear that this hooded dwarf had some religious significance, but it is not certain whether the cult was originally pre-Roman Celtic or purely Classical. It is therefore necessary to examine what evidence is available to us in order to shed some light on this problem.

A deity, who appears in Roman art as a dwarf-like figure garbed in the cucullus and holding a scroll as if reading from it, is Telesphorus the small attendant of Aesculapius and Hygeia.⁽¹⁾ Their cult, however, originated in Asia Minor and was Graeco-Roman, and was not of native Gaulish origin. It was a cult of healing: hence it does seem highly significant that twenty-three clay statuettes of dwarfs holding scrolls came from the temple of Lenus-Mars at Trier, a local god of the Mosel district, who is known from an inscription to have been concerned with healing. The presence of cucullati at the source of the Seine is even more convincing for hundreds of ex voto

(1) As on an ivory diptych now in Liverpool Museum (FIG.151).

offerings found there testify to the concern of Sequana with healing diseases of all kinds suffered by her worshippers. It is therefore reasonable to think that the clay statuettes of dwarfs are a Gaulish version of Graeco-Roman Telesphorus, who is portrayed holding the scroll on which the oracular instructions of his master were set down.

An instance of funerary associations of the cucullati is the group of five personages in clay found in a first century grave at Karden (Landkreis Koblenz).⁽¹⁾ The central figure is a man garbed in a knee-length hooded cloak, with a second figure in a similar but longer hooded cloak beside him. There are two smaller figures in front, and a small girl wearing a pleated dress. The identity of these personages is quite unknown. If they are not genii then the inclusion of the adults with children suggests that it is a human family. It is curious that the small girl is attired differently, and it is possible that she is the dead person, and the figures who accompany her in their all-enveloping cloaks could conceivably be the family mourners (or toys ?). Unfortunately it is not now possible to determine the sex and age of the dead person, as this does not seem to have been recorded.

Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn Inv.No.381229 c. For a similar group from Mainz cf. Schumacher, Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit V, p.378, Abb.3; Siedlungs und Kultergeschichte de Rheinlande II p.267, Abb.3.

(1) W. Haberey, "Kapuzengötter im Rheinland" in Rheinische Vorzeit in Wort und Bild 2 (1939) p.110-112, Abbs.1-2; Bonner Jahrbuch 145, p.322; For clay statuettes of the genius cucullatus found in graves at Trier and Jagsthausen cf. respectively, Triërische Landeszeitung 80 Jahrgang, Seite 4, Samstag/Sonntag 19/20th Juni 1954; Haug-Sixt, Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke, Württembergs (1914) pp.670-671, fig., and p.644, hence Germania Romana V, Taf.III, No.1; Cologne with pottery beaker beginning of 3rd century and coins of Julia Domna, F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901), p.74.

Another Roman deity who at times appears in Roman art wearing the cucullus is Priapus, but, unlike the dwarf-like clay statuettes just described, he had strongly accentuated ithyphallic characteristics. It is in the collection of clay statuettes from the officinae at Trier that we find several versions of cucullati which are grossly ithyphallic accompanied by several models of phalli, which may have been destined as cult objects for Priapus. If this is true, then the statuettes were intended to express his supposed powers, namely, the fertility of human beings, the fields, the protection of the fertility of gardens, the tombs and the dead. In this grimmer sphere it is known that he assumed the title of custos sepulchri.⁽¹⁾ In view of this it is interesting to find that one of the non-ithyphallic clay statuettes of a dwarf garbed in the cucullus was deposited in a grave at Trier. Although for the reasons stated he can hardly have been Priapus, it is more likely that in this sphere he may have acquired the funerary role of Telesphorus who at times was the deity of the night, sleep and death. Although we cannot be too certain, perhaps in this case the symbolism of the cucullus refers to the all-enshrouding darkness in the realm of death, where the dwarf assumed the role of protector and conductor of the souls of the dead on their journey to the after-life.

(1) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI, 5173.

E. THE THORN-PULLER. (FIGS.104-105-106-107)

Clay statuettes of a nude youth seated on a rock caught in the act of drawing a thorn from his left foot were made at Toulon-sur-Allier (Champ Lary) where the moulds were found.⁽¹⁾ They are quite certainly reproductions of the Spinario, the well known Graeco-Roman sculpture in marble, a subject which also occurs in bronze in the Palace of the Conservatore at Rome, a replica of which was set up in front of the Lateran in Rome where it was seen by Master Gregory in the twelfth century.⁽²⁾

These clay statuettes travelled far as objects of trade as revealed by the appended list of find-places. As they do not appear to have had any obvious religious associations it is virtually certain that they served as attractive ornaments in the house. On the other hand two examples have been found in graves at Salzburg, but lacking any proof of the intentions of the mourners, one can only think that these statuettes which gave pleasure in life were appropriate gifts to the dead person for his enjoyment in the after-life.

(1) E. Tudot, pl.70 A, C and D; pl.71 left; chapter IV text fig., p.89.

F. Jenkins, "Romano-Gaulish Figures Found in London" in Collection Latomus 103 (Bruxelles 1969) pp.320-321, pl.CXXIX fig.6, and Catalogue Nos.42-43.

(2) British Museum Guide to the Dept of Greek and Roman Antiquities 5th edition (1920) p.77, No.1755;

A.M. Smith, Catalogue of Sculpture in the Dept of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum (1904) 3, pp.108-109, pl.VIII, No.1755; Magister Gregorius, De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae.

F. BUSTS. (FIGS.75-88)

A well known feature of Roman religious thought and practice was the significance attached to the portrait or imago in the funeral rites. Busts of ancestors and relatives were regarded as objects of great veneration to be set up in household shrines and to be placed in family tombs. As clay busts of male and female personages are sometimes found in graves it would appear that this custom was not confined to the rich but was also followed by the less affluent elements in Roman society, who, unable to afford expensive busts in stone and metal, made do with cheap clay substitutes for that purpose. These, however, were made in moulds so that large numbers of mechanical copies were obtained. Hence they can be regarded only as stock or typical renderings serving only to express the sex and age of the dead person commemorated, and can hardly be accepted as portraits of individuals in whose graves they were placed.

Several scholars have suggested that certain clay busts may be rather low-grade portraits of members of the Imperial family, who we know were intimately associated with the divinity of the Emperors. If this is really true it would explain why there are a number of identical copies of certain types of clay busts. The low-grade representations of these "portraits" may not be very significant, for in fairly recent times before control of souvenir art relating to royalty was introduced, clay likenesses of members of the reigning royal family were equally primitive in execution. It follows, therefore, that those busts found in temple surroundings could have been proffered to the gods at the time of annual festivals which served as occasions for private individuals to express their loyalty and gratitude to the State or the Imperial family. It is equally possible that similar loyal sentiments gave clay busts of this type an honoured place among the penates in the shrines of the households.

Several portrait busts of children portray them wearing a distinctive hair ornament which covers the central parting of the hair. It consists of a narrow band usually formed of metal links set with small jewels attached to which are small jewelled pendants which lie on the centre of the forehead.

L. Hahl, "Zur Erklärung der niedergermanischen Matronendenkmäler" in Bonner Jahrbücher 160 (1960) p.9 ff.

The lunula motif had a widespread popularity in antiquity as an amulet to promote and protect fertility, particularly that of human beings. It is frequently seen as a pendant attached to the necklaces worn by numerous female personages featured on votive stone reliefs, stelae and sarcophagi of the Roman period, as also in the series of clay statuettes and busts. It is noteworthy that it is worn in this manner by the matronae of the Rhineland especially those who wear the distinctive turban-like headgear of the region around Cologne. (FIG.136)

A type of clay bust of which several examples are known portrays a female personage wearing the amulet as a pendant on her necklace. (FIG.148) Her hair is piled high in almost turban-like form, and there is a band-olier over the right shoulder. Her identity is unknown, and we cannot say with certainty whether she is a divine or human being, but as busts of this type have been found in temple surroundings a goddess may have been intended. It is possible that she was a priestess of the cult of the matronae, or perhaps representative of their worshippers, who, unable to afford expensive sculptures purchased these clay busts which were not true portraits, and only expressed the sex and possibly the age of the individual worshipper. In discussing the bust of a woman who wears the turban-like headgear of the matronae and the lunar pendant on the sarcophagus of Trainia Herodiana found at Cologne, Hahl has suggested that

as she wears the attributes of the matronae, it is possible that she was a priestess of their cult, but the evidence is far from conclusive.⁽¹⁾

(1) Germania 23 (1939) pp.115-117;

F. Fremersdorf, Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln Band II (1950)

Taf.71.

"RISUS". (FIGS.86-87)

This type of bust is of a youthful, round-faced, smiling male personage apparently bald-headed and with shoulders bare. It is mounted on the usual small domed hollow plinth to the front of which a small flat disc of clay is attached. Two moulds found at Toulon-sur-Allier, one signed STAB.... and the other IOPPILLO in cursive lettering proves that this type of bust is a product of that industry.⁽¹⁾

The true identity of the personage is quite unknown. Tudot thought that the smiling expression suggested that it was the god "Risus", that is, "the smiling one", but there is no foundation for his assumption. Blanchet on the other hand rejected this identification, but thought that the name "Risus" was a convenient one by which this bust could be identified by students.

A bust of this precise type was found in the temple area at Gusenburg where it had evidently served as an ex voto.⁽²⁾ Examples also occur in burials such as at London and York. With regard to the latter it may be appropriate here to correct the statement referring to it by the compilers of the Royal Commission's volume Roman York.⁽³⁾ This cites the example from Gusenburg as evidence for regarding this type of bust as a product of the Rhineland, which clearly is incorrect as shown by the presence of the moulds at Toulon-sur-Allier. Hence the Gusenburg example must be regarded as an import.

At present it is difficult to determine the reason for the use of this type of bust as an offering to the dead. It does not seem reasonable to regard it as a portrait either of the dead or of an ancestor,

(1) Tudot, p.26, xxxii, pl.7 and pl.8, possibly the name is Stabilus.

There is also a mould of IOPPILLO in the St. Germain-en-Laye Museum Inv.No.28156.

(2) F. Hettner, Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande (Trier, 1901) p.92, Taf.XIII, 45, No.18696.

(3) Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Roman York p.69, pl.31.

for there are too many identical copies which have a wide-spread distribution.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps, therefore, the smiling youthful personage was regarded by the mourners as a benign spirit who was supposed to ward off evil influences from the grave and its contents.

(1) For example, at places as widespread as Dillingen on the Danube, Gusenburg (Hochwald) and also in Britain. For the latter see Part 6 D 4, of this Thesis.

G. ANIMALS.

HORSES. (FIGS.94-95)

In this section it is proposed to examine what evidence we possess which may reveal the significance of clay statuettes of horses which were produced in the Allier workshops.⁽¹⁾ About 1875-6 a group of about fifty statuettes of this kind was unearthed in a field at Assche-Kalkoven (Belgium). In a more recent critical study of this group De Laet was of the opinion that it did not represent the cache of a trader who never returned to claim his property; neither did it follow that the horse statuettes were merely children's toys nor amulets. Furthermore the absence of graves in the area precludes any suggestion that they were connected with the funeral rites. He therefore concluded that this assemblage of statuettes probably represented a vestige of a cult of a local deity who was a protector of horses or to whom these animals were sacred. In other words it is possible that the statuettes were ex votos collected together and carefully buried just before or after the desecration of a shrine of a deity of that kind, still awaiting discovery in the vicinity of the place where they were discovered.⁽²⁾

Another statuette of precisely the same type found at Wroxeter probably had a similar use.⁽³⁾ It was found in the vicinity of a

(1) E. Tudot, Collection de figurines en argile, oeuvres premières de l'art gaulois (Paris 1860) pl.59.

(2) S.J. De Laet, "Figurines en terre cuite de l'époque romaine trouvées a Assche-Kalkoven" in L'antiquité classique XI (Brussels 1942) p.41 ff.

(3) Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London I, II and IV (1912-16) Wroxeter Reports 1, 2 and 3.

temple of classical affinities, in an area which also yielded fragments of other clay statuettes in the form of the dea nutrix and the "pseudo-Venus".⁽¹⁾ Amongst the sculptural fragments from the same temple are pieces of life-sized statuary of a god or gods connected with horses, as also a small bas-relief depicting an emblem of fertility, namely, a winged phallus, drawing a quadriga.⁽²⁾ From this collection of objects one can only conclude that the cult was of a complex kind which included fertility and had a connection in some way with horses.

It is also possible that similar evidence for a cult of this kind has been found at Canterbury. Here a statuette of a horse of this type was recovered during excavations carried out in the close vicinity of a small building which in plan suggests that it was a temple.⁽³⁾ It is therefore noteworthy that two other clay statuettes of the dea nutrix⁽⁴⁾ and of the "pseudo-Venus", respectively,⁽⁵⁾ came from the same area. Thus as at Wroxeter, the association of the horse and these goddesses seems likely. Here it may be worthwhile to mention the possibility of similarly associated objects in London. Although the discovery is insufficiently documented one statuette of a horse was found on the site of the church of All Hallows-by-the-Tower, as well as fragments of perhaps two statuettes of the "pseudo-Venus" type, which by inference could be taken as indicative of the presence

(1) ibid IV, Wroxeter 3 (1916) pl.XXIII, Fig.2. Rowley Museum Shrewsbury.

(2) The small bas-relief is unpublished and is now in the site museum at Wroxeter.

(3) Archaeologia Cantiana LXXVII (1962) p.142 ff., pl.I, No.2.

(4) ibid LXXI (1957) pp.38-46.

(5) ibid LXXII (1958) pp.60-76.

of the remains of a shrine somewhere on Tower Hill.⁽¹⁾

If then there is some substance of fact in the foregoing hypothesis our next step is obviously to examine other evidence which may be relevant to our inquiry concerning the significance of these statuettes of horses in a Celtic religious environment.

The horse evidently had a prominent place in the symbolism of the Gaulish peoples. It is featured many times on the pre-Roman coinage and thus testifies its popularity as a coin type. At present the true significance of the animal is not fully understood. Perhaps it had a totemic origin or was regarded as a divine creature by the Celtic peoples. In Gaul several deities seem to have been concerned with the protection and welfare of the animal. The origins of the cults are obscure and are still debated. Reinach held the view that a cult of a divine animal preceded the worship of a divinity in human form, because certain Gaulish deities seem to have had zoomorphic origins.⁽²⁾ Of these, two may be mentioned here, namely, Cernunnus the stag-god⁽³⁾ and Artio the bear-goddess,⁽⁴⁾ while animal gods such as the three-horned bull, the sacred stag and the ram-headed serpent still survived. Perhaps what really happened was that the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic ideas became confused in the minds of successive generations of worshippers to coalesce and finally find an expression

(1) ibid LXXVII (1962) p.143.

(2) S. Reinach, "Les survivances du totemisme chez les Celtes" in Cultes, mythes et religions I, p.30.

(3) P. Mac Cana, Celtic Mythology (Hamlyn 1970) with illustrations pp.42-43.

(4) F. Stähelin, Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit (Basel 1931) Abb.126.

in an art-type which portrayed the deity in human form with the attributes of the sacred animal or perhaps accompanied by the actual animal as the main symbol by which the godhead was recognized.

Among the animal deities of the Gauls there were a few who were connected with horses. There were, for example, Rudiobus of Neuvy-Sullias, and perhaps Segomo and Mullo although the two latter seem to have been more concerned with mules.⁽¹⁾ Epona, "the divine horse" or "the Horse goddess" was one of the more important who won particular favour among the cavalrymen in the Roman army.⁽²⁾ She belongs to one of the most widespread of Celtic myths, and her cult is firmly attested by many of her monuments⁽³⁾ and by several references to her in Classical literature.⁽⁴⁾ The possibility of the cult having had its origin in primitive totemism with a divine horse, or more probably a mare as the central figure, is not the view of some scholars. Thevenot rejected this on the grounds that Epona is a specialized form of the universal mother-goddess whose anthropomorphic form was firmly established as an idol of fecundity at a very nearly date (e.g., the pre-historic steatopygous figurines of the so-called Venus of Willendorf types) and from that all the art-types of the mother-goddesses stemmed.⁽⁵⁾

(1) e.g., Rudiobus, Segomo and Mullo.

(2) cf. The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford Clarendon Press 1964) under "Epona". The root epo is Celtic meaning a horse; cf. the Latin form equus.

(3) R. Magnen and É. Thevenot, Épona (Delmas, Bordeaux 1953) listing all the known Epona monuments up to the date of publication.

(4) Apuleius, The Golden Ass (Penguin Classics 1950) p.92, translation by Robert Graves.

(5) É. Thevenot, "Le cheval sacré dans la Gaule de l'Est" in Revue archéologique de l'Est (1951) p.140.

As Epona seems to belong to that circle of female deities, Thevenot therefore concluded that she was neither a divine mare originally nor was she that animal in human form. In other words he concluded that she was simply a mother-goddess whose prime role was the care and protection of horses. Hence the horse was the symbol of her sphere of influence, and did not become sacred by virtue of its own divine origin, but because of the divine being who rode it.

Epona is frequently represented in Romano-Gaulish art holding the attributes shared in common by the whole series of mother-goddesses, e.g., the fruits, cornucopiae, etc., hence we cannot fail to recognize in her another form of the divine earth-mother who was so popular in the religions of many primitive peoples. It is therefore probably not mere coincidence that one of the features common to early Greek and Italian conceptions of the great mother-goddess, was her appearance in the form of a horse, the goddess Demeter and Ceres being excellent examples.⁽¹⁾ This idea seems to have been inherited from the Indo-European cultural complex, for it was prevalent in India where the deified earth was regarded as Manu's Mare in the rituals of kingship.⁽²⁾ We encounter it again in Irish and Welsh mythology,

(1) F. Altheim, A History of Roman Religion (Methuen 1938) p.160. cf. also Pausanias, Guide to Greece Book VIII, 25, 5-10 in which he recounts the Arcadian myth of the mating of Poseidon, in the guise of a stallion, with Demeter who had changed into a mare to trick the god. From this union came a daughter whose name by holy law could not be revealed to the uninitiated, and also the divine stallion Aereion. The coinage of Thelpusa where this took place, commemorated the event by having Demeter's head on one side and the divine horse on the other.

This close relationship of the divine horse to the divine earth-mother may therefore have been the reason why her attributes were transferred to Epona the goddess of horses as another form of the universal mother-goddess.

(2) T.E.G. Powell, The Celts (Thames and Hudson 1959) p.124.

where horse symbolism is closely attached to the goddesses comparable with Epona, namely, Etaine Echraide and Mebd of Tara; Macha of Ulster whose lover Fergus, whose name means "virility", was also called Ro-ech (Great Horse); and Welsh Rhiannon (Great Queen) who has been recognized as a mare-goddess.⁽¹⁾ In fact in this sphere supernatural horses are frequent, sometimes carrying off mortal men to the other-world of the dead.

We have already remarked that Epona frequently bears the attributes of the mother-goddesses, and it is very obvious that if the horse did not appear with her it would be impossible to distinguish her from that circle of deities, as we have already noted in the case of Nehalennia and the clay statuettes of the goddess who is accompanied by a lap-dog.⁽²⁾ In view of this we are forced to conclude that the horse was the main symbol by which Epona was recognized. Furthermore, as Lambrechts has so convincingly argued, the presence of the other emblems of fruitfulness must identify her as a specialized manifestation of the universal mother-goddess.⁽³⁾

It is unfortunate that the name of the deity to whom the horse statuettes were proffered is in no case revealed. Perhaps it was Epona or at any rate a local deity concerned with the protection and welfare of horses. On the other hand it is equally possible that a

(1) ibid, loc cit ; Gwyn and Thomas Jones, The Mabinogion (Everyman's Library 1950) p.3 ff., Pwyll, Prince of Dyffid;
J. Gricourt, "Épona-Rhiannon-Macha" in Ogam VI (1954) p.25 ff.

(2) F. Jenkins, "The Role of the Dog in Romano-Gaulish Religion" in Latomus XVI (Brussels 1957) p.60 ff;
Archaeologia Cantiana LXX (1956) p.193.

(3) P. Lambrechts, "Épona et les Matres" in L'antiquité classique (1950) pp.103-112.

local manifestation of the universal mother-goddess was believed at times to have taken horses under her divine protection. It seems therefore only natural that if a votary sought divine aid to benefit his horse he would have chosen an appropriate ex voto in the form of that animal, and if he was in humble circumstances this would perhaps have been an inexpensive clay statuette.

BULLS. (FIG.93)

Clay statuettes of bulls seem to have had some ritual significance for one example was recovered from the remains of a Romano-Celtic temple at Harfleur (Seine-Maritime), where it is virtually certain that it served as an ex voto.⁽¹⁾ Another was present in a grave at Colchester.⁽²⁾ Both statuettes may have served as substitutes for the actual sacrificial beast, particularly so in the case of the Colchester bull which wears the band or strap (vitta) round its body as symbolic of its sacrificial character but so does the three-horned bull which was a divine beast. Possibly it is significant that both statuettes are made of white clay, for white oxen were normally used for sacrifices on Roman altars.⁽³⁾ They do not, however, have the third horn which appears on several bronzes of the animal in Gaul and Britain, and was probably given to the animal in an attempt to intensify its power.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) L. de Vesly, Les Fana ou petits temples gallo-romains de la région Normande (Rouen 1909) pp.114-115 and 147, fig.40.
- (2) T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum p.252, Grave group No.3/124, No.1137.
- (3) Virgil, Georgics II, 174-175 edited by E.N. Gardiner (Oxford Clarendon Press 1928). The white oxen used for sacrifice were supposed to owe their whiteness to the waters of the River Clitumnus, ibid p.96, note 11.
- (4) F. Stähelin, Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit, 2nd edition (Basel 1930), p.152, Abb.22; ibid p.510, Abb.147. For British examples cf. R.E.M. Wheeler, Maiden Castle, Dorset, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.XII (Oxford 1943) p.75, pl.XXXI B; K.M. Kenyon, Excavations at the Jewry Wall site Leicester. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No.XV (1948) p.272, fig.96; Willingham Fen sceptre Antiquaries Journal VI (1926) pp.178-179, pl.XXXI.

As the ex votos associated with the bull statuette from Harfleur do not provide any positive clues to the identity of the deity worshipped there it may be useful to examine other evidence concerning the place of the bull in the religions of the Celtic peoples. All that we can say of the ex votos from Harfleur is that they seem to indicate that the cult or cults practised there were of the usual complex character, in which clay statuettes of Venus had some role to play.⁽¹⁾ If we assume that the bull statuette was proffered to one particular deity, it follows that there may have been a native Celtic deity in Roman guise who was originally worshipped in the form of a bull and later under the influence of anthropomorphism the animal became the chief symbol by which the godhead was recognized.

Divine bulls figure prominently in the mythology of the Celtic peoples, which implies the notion of a zoomorphic deity in that form.⁽²⁾ The bull which appears under the title Tarvos Trigaranus, "the bull with the three cranes" on a sculptured relief of the reign of Tiberius at Paris,⁽³⁾ and on another relief at Trier are clearly related.⁽⁴⁾ Their true significance is not fully understood but it seems a fair assumption that they refer to an otherwise unrecorded episode in Celtic mythology.⁽⁵⁾ Relevant also to our study is the stone statue of a

(1) L. de Vesly loc cit.

(2) P. Mac Cana, Celtic Mythology (Hamlyn 1970) p.52.

(3) ibid pl.33, (Musée Cluny Paris).

(4) S. Loeschcke, Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier (Berlin 1928) Text fig. p.14. Landesmuseum Trier.

(5) P. Mac Cana, op cit p.33.

bull found outside a shrine in the temple area in Trier.⁽¹⁾ The animal wears the sacrificial belt and pinions between its forelegs a man with his hands tied behind his back. This group has been said to be reminiscent of human sacrifice or punishment for certain offences, but this interpretation is at best merely conjectural.⁽²⁾ The carvings of fish on two sides of the base on which the group stands are intriguing for they may indicate that a bull-god closely connected with a water cult is intended.⁽³⁾ Unfortunately in the absence of any epigraphic evidence to guide us in identifying a native bull-god in Roman guise in the case of the clay statuettes of the animal, the question must remain open. Certainly they had a religious usage, and there was a divine bull in the religion of the Celtic peoples but their connection with a deity of that kind is not proven. Therefore in the state of our present knowledge their substitution for actual bull sacrifices seems the more likely explanation for their presence in religious and funereal surroundings.

(1) S. Loeschcke, op cit Abbs.6 and 24-27, pp.26-27.

(2) E.M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (Rupert Hart Davis 1970) p.218.

(3) S. Loeschcke, op cit p.27.

H. BIRDS. (FIGS.97-103)

The reason for the production of clay models of birds of various species is rather obscure. One could assume that they were merely household ornaments or even children's toys. In fact some examples do contain a loose piece of material in the hollow bodies which suggests their use as rattles. Several, however, have been found in circumstances which strongly suggest that they had some ritual usage. It is possible that they served as substitutes for actual bird sacrifices, a well known feature of the religious rituals of the Romans who also believed that the birds were capable of revealing the secrets of the gods to the augures and auspices.⁽¹⁾ Ovid tells us that the gods gloated on the guts of "tale-bearing fowls", and that was why a white hen dove was burnt on Italian hearths.⁽²⁾ Doves were symbols of Aphrodite and Venus, and Ovid describes the latter being drawn through the air by her team of doves.⁽³⁾ According to Pausanias the Aitolianus and their Akarnanian and Epirote neighbours believed that the most truthful oracles came from the wild doves.⁽⁴⁾

Ovid states that a crested fowl was sacrificed to the goddess of night (deae Noctae) because with wakeful notes he summoned up the warm day.⁽⁵⁾ The cockerel was also sacred to Mars and Mercury, and appears

(1) Cicero, The Nature of the Gods Book II 160 (Penguin Classics 1972)
McGregor translation p.188.

(2) Ovid, Fasti, I, 450-456, (Heinemann translation 1931).

(3) Ovid, loc cit.

(4) Pausanias, Guide to Greece Book VII (Penguin Classics 1971)
Vol.I, p.281.

(5) Ovid, loc cit.

quite frequently with the latter in Roman art. It was also the custom of invalids to sacrifice a cock to Aesculapius, as Socrates did to signify that he did not fear death after drinking the hemlock, but regarded it as a cure and a convalescence.

As the clay models of birds appear to have served as cult objects in Romano-Celtic religion we may now turn to the evidence of the existence of deities in the shape of birds or deities who had a bird or birds as attributes in that sphere. For example, Lug the god of Lugudunum may have been a crow or raven, while Sucellus and his female consort Nantosuelta had their sacred crow.⁽¹⁾ Furthermore, magic or divine birds are quite numerous in Celtic mythology where they figure in the myths of the happy after-life.⁽²⁾

Doves are featured in several cults which have been identified in the Côte d'Or. At Beire-le-Châtel six votive stone monuments, each consisting of groups of four doves were found on the site of a sanctuary connected with a water-cult, where a goddess Januaria seems to have been the principal deity. Amongst the other ex votos from the same place, clay statuettes of Venus and the mother-goddess are well represented.⁽³⁾

(1) An altar to Sucellus and Nantosuelta showing a crow-like bird as one of their attributes is now in the Musée de Metz.

(2) For example the birds of Rhiannon which sang to the companions of Bran in the Happy Other-world in Harlech as recounted in that portion of the Mabinogi Branwen which is called Ysbyddawd Ben.

(3) G. Drioux, Cultes Indigènes des Lingons (Paris-Langres 1934) pp. 82-86.

Similar groups of doves in stone, either in pairs or in fours have also been found in the religious area of the settlement at Bolards near Nuits-Saint-Georges in the same region, but here the name of the deity to whom the birds were sacred is at present unknown. Not far from the site of this discovery, but obviously not closely associated with the monuments, was a deposit of clay statuettes which included many of Venus and the dea nutrix as also several doves, all of which must have been made in the Allier workshops.⁽¹⁾ At Alise-Sainte-Reine (Alesia) another dove-deity had his cult centre and like Januaria was connected with a water-cult. The name of the deity is unknown but the view has been expressed rather tentatively that it could have been the native Gaulish local deity Moritasgus.⁽²⁾

Toutain has expressed the opinion that as the denizens of springs, pools and the marshes, birds may have been regarded as sacred to the nature deities who presided over such places.⁽³⁾ If this is true then it follows that as the association of the clay statuettes of Venus with the water-cults is well attested in Gaul, and that doves were sacred to that goddess the clay models of that species of bird may have been connected with her cult.

One curious custom which claims our attention is that of placing clay models of either doves, cockerels or hens in graves. It was a widespread practice as shown for instance at Lisieux (Calvados),

(1) E. Thevenot, Gallia VII (1949) fasc.I pp.304-5.

(2) A.N. Newel, "The dove-deity of Alesia" in Revue Archéologique II (1939) pp.133-158.

(3) J. Toutain, Mémoires Société antiquaires de France (1936) p.175.

Rheinzabern and Colchester.⁽¹⁾ As the reason for this practice is not readily apparent, the following possibilities are suggested. It could be that the dead were thought to take pleasure in the things they had enjoyed in life. Doubtless a number of articles which were deposited in graves come into that category, but it seems rather odd that a model of a bird should be selected. It is perhaps therefore more reasonable to suppose that these models served as substitutes for actual bird sacrifices in the funeral rites. In that event the mere act of burial may have been considered symbolically as the destruction of the appropriate victim. By burial perhaps the intention was to liberate the inherent potency which the bird was supposed to possess to appease the wrath of the spirits of the underworld who might beset the grave, or in order to find favour with the deity who was believed to have the grave under divine protection. The story of the sacrifice of a cock to Aesculapius by Socrates might tempt one to think that where clay cockerels are present in funerary surroundings the mourners may have held similar views to his on death, that is, as a cure and convalescence to be enjoyed by the dead in the after-life, though perhaps not mourners in rural Gaul. Furthermore, the descent into the darkness of the underworld at death may have been associated in the minds of the mourners with the onset of night. Hence the inclusion of a clay cock in the offerings placed in the grave was necessary so that the bird could awaken the dead at the dawn of the new life of blessedness in the hereafter.⁽²⁾ In the case of the Rhineland graves it may be significant that in German folk tales a bird sometimes symbolises the departed soul. On the other hand it is possible that the statuette is nothing more than a representation of something to eat on the journey.

(1) Congrès archéologique de France XXXVII^e Session à Lisieux (1870) p.56ff.
W. Ludowici, Römische Ziegelgräber Rheinzabern (Munich) 1908-12
fig.53, Grave 355 T. May, The Roman Pottery in the Castle Museum,
Colchester pl.LXXXII, 53, Grave Group No.18.

(2) Pausanias, op cit, Book V, 25,9. "and the cock is the sacred bird of the Sun, and cries out before sunrise."

J. MODEL OF A BALE OF WOOL. (FIG.73)

A model of a securely corded bale of wool found on the Isle of Skye on the site of the broch at Dun an Iardhard reveals nothing concerning any religious associations it may have had.⁽¹⁾ If it is truly an ex voto as has been frequently stated by several writers, then certain possibilities spring to mind.

First, this model could have been carried to Skye by a Romano-British merchant venturer as a talisman appropriate to his profession of wool factor, in order to ensure success in his dealings with the native crofters. Secondly, if it really belonged to such a person he may have proffered this model as a symbol of his profession to the gods in gratitude for his safe arrival on that remote island, or for the profitable outcome from his bargaining with his clients. Unfortunately as there is not a scrap of evidence to show that a Romano-British shrine ever existed on the island, this must remain purely conjectural.

Finally, there is a slight chance that this model bale of wool never had any religious significance, for it may have been presented to some native supplier of wool in order to gain his confidence, or to seal a transaction which had been to the advantage of the British trader. From what has been said it will be clear that the reason for the presence of this enigmatic model on the Isle of Skye, and its significance, religious or not, must remain open questions.

(1) Stuart Piggott, Native Economies and the Roman Occupation of North Britain in Roman and Native in North Britain edited by I.A. Richmond (Nelson 1958) p.26; also Sheppard Frere, Britannia (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1967) p.295.



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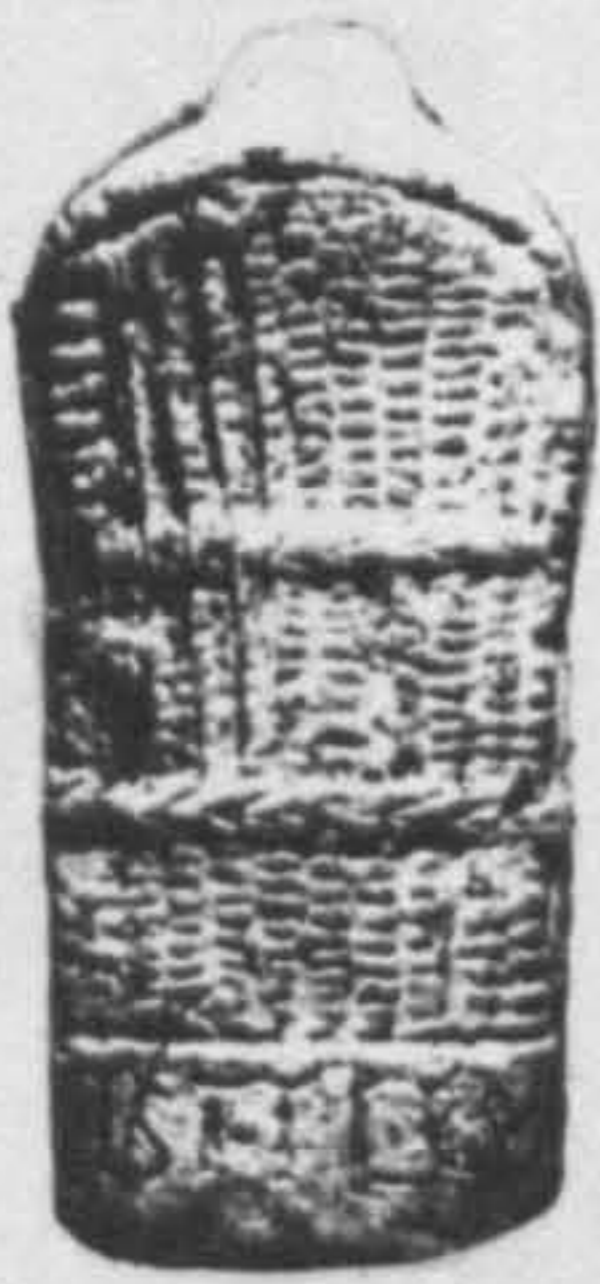
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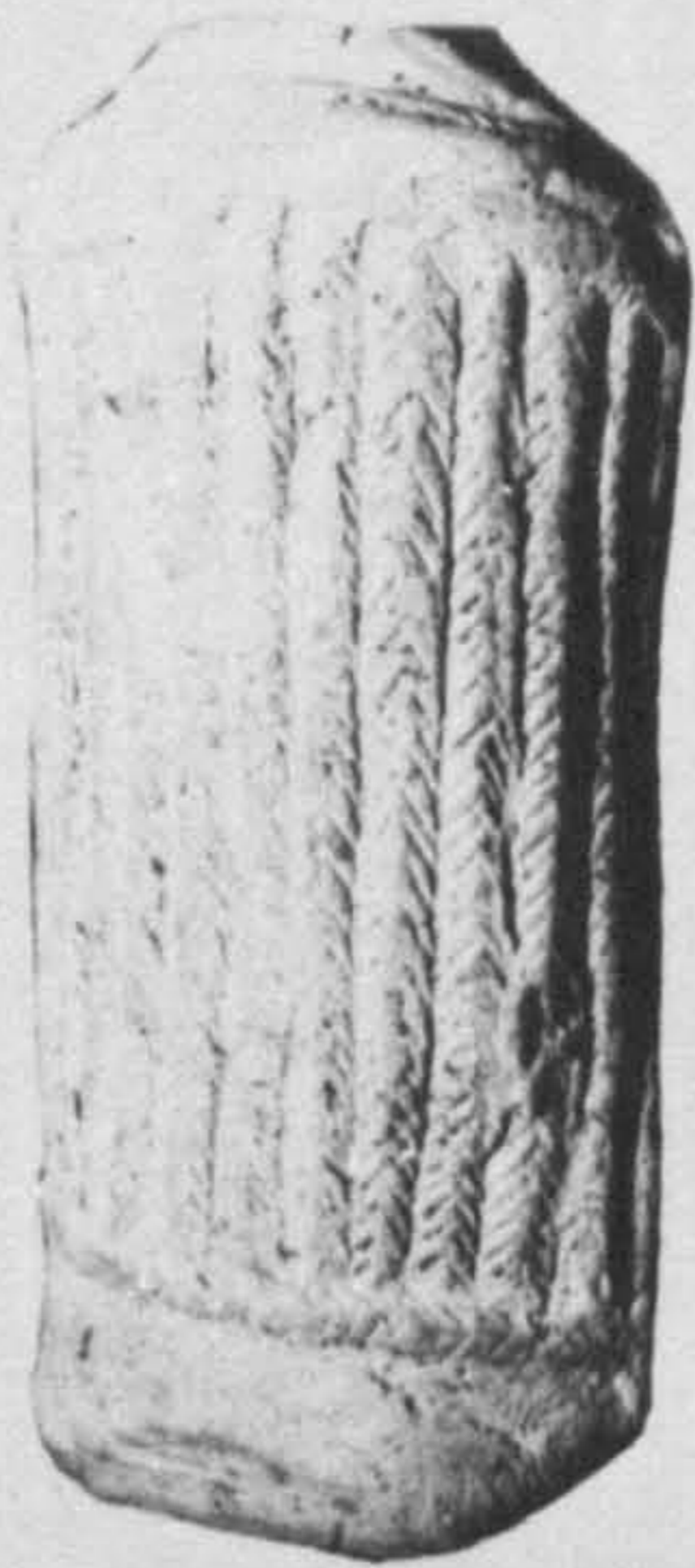
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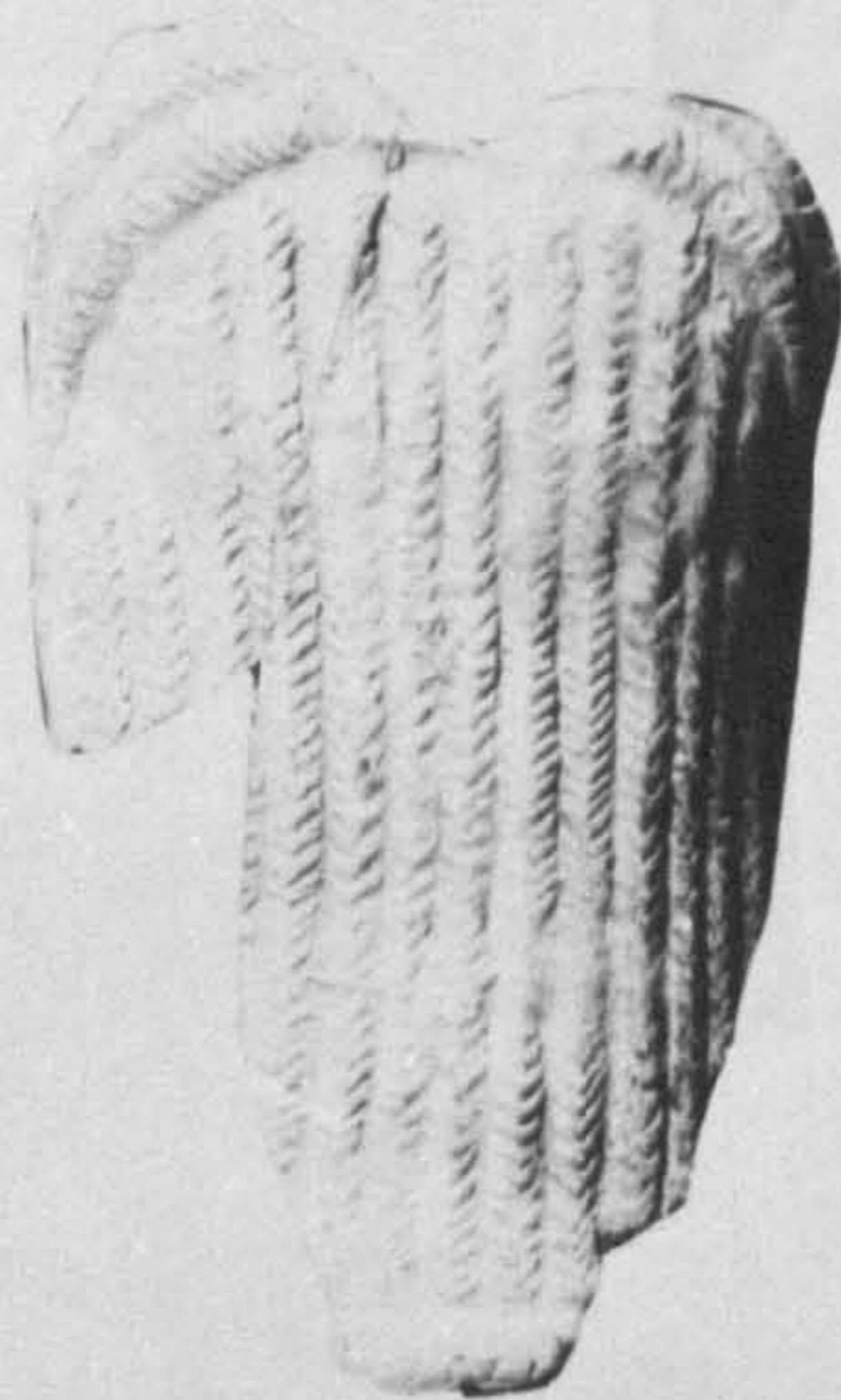
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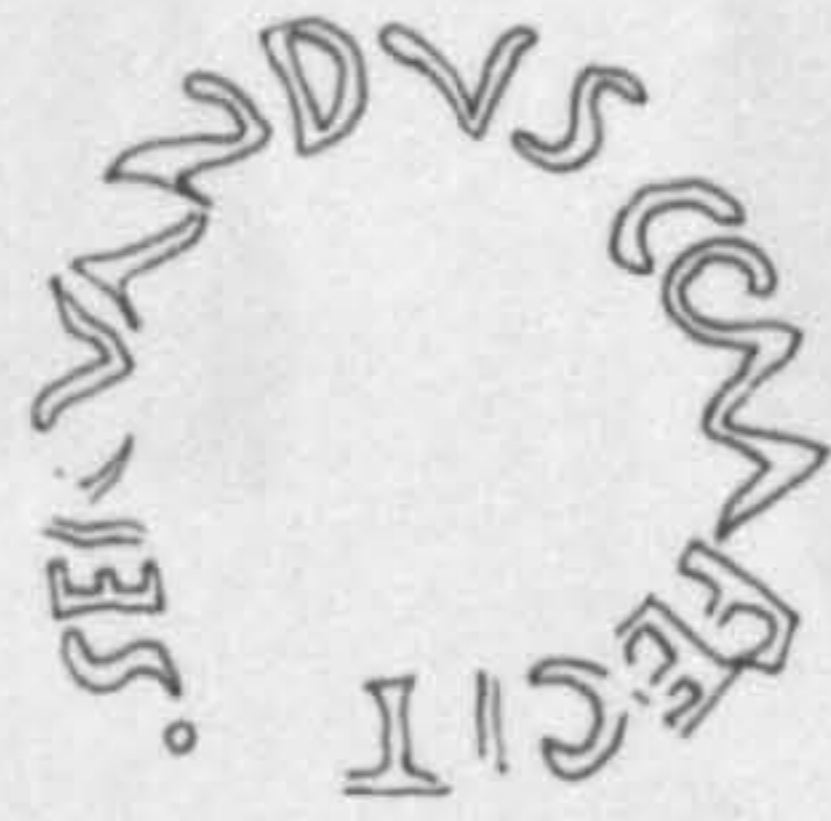
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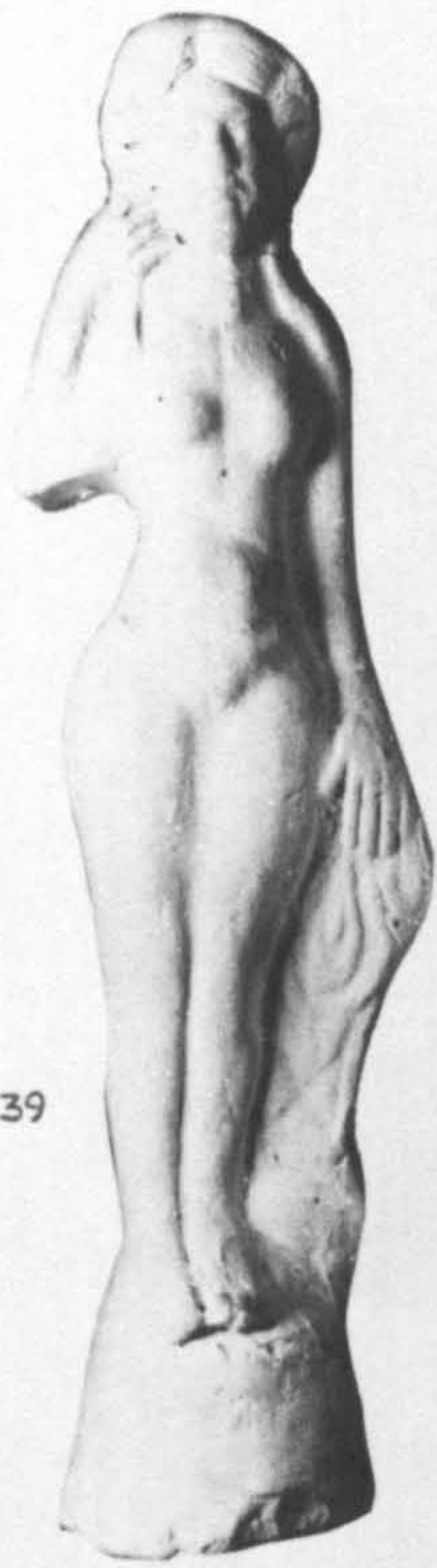


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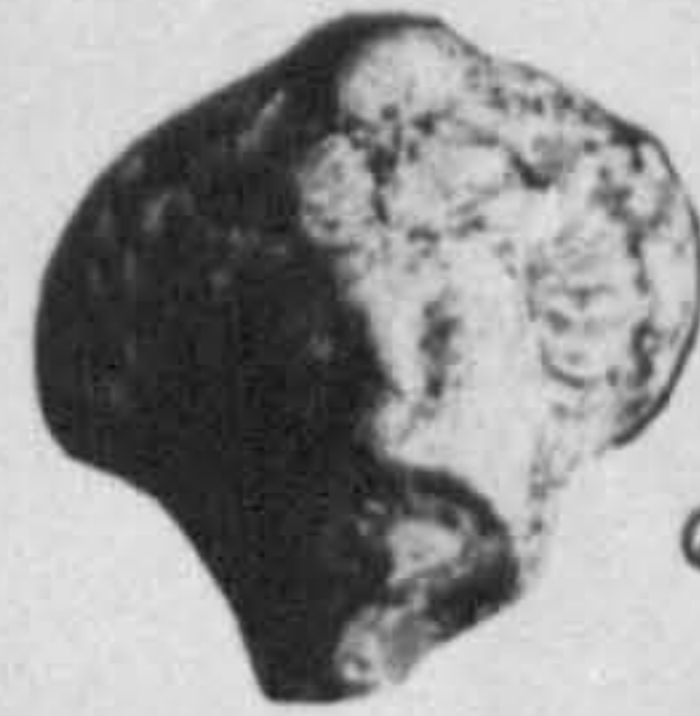
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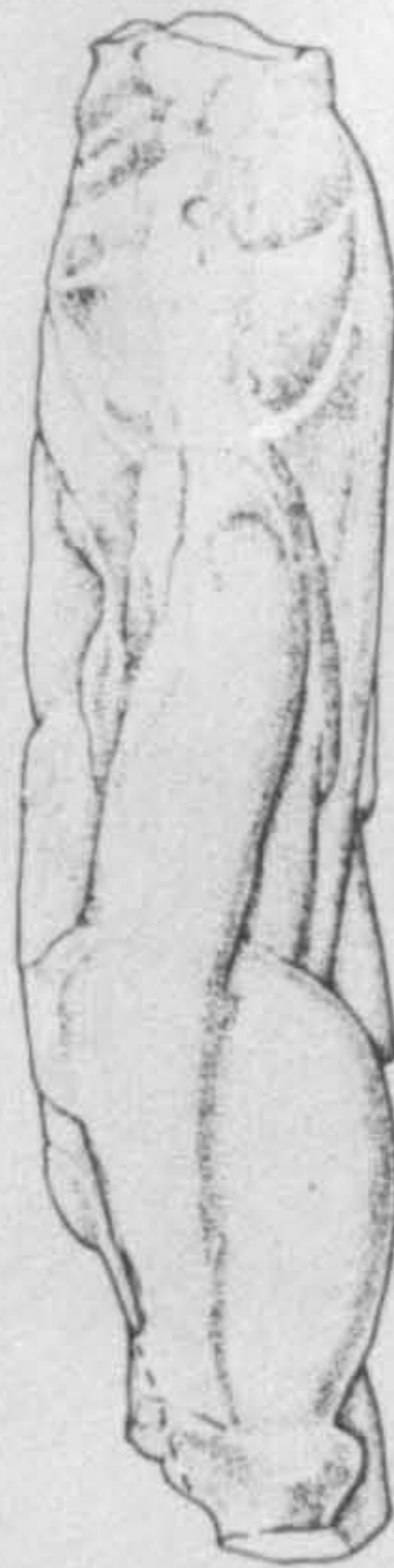
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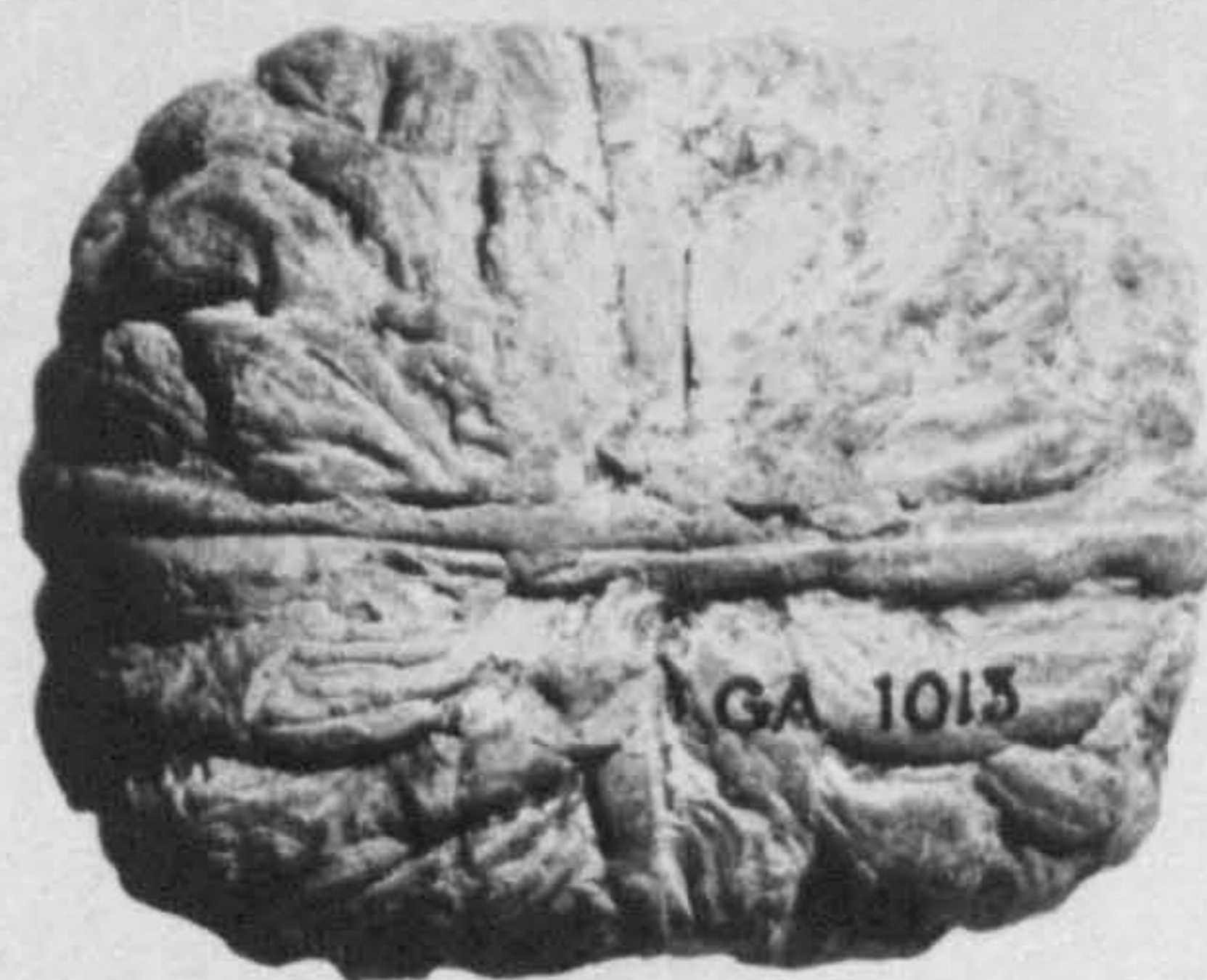
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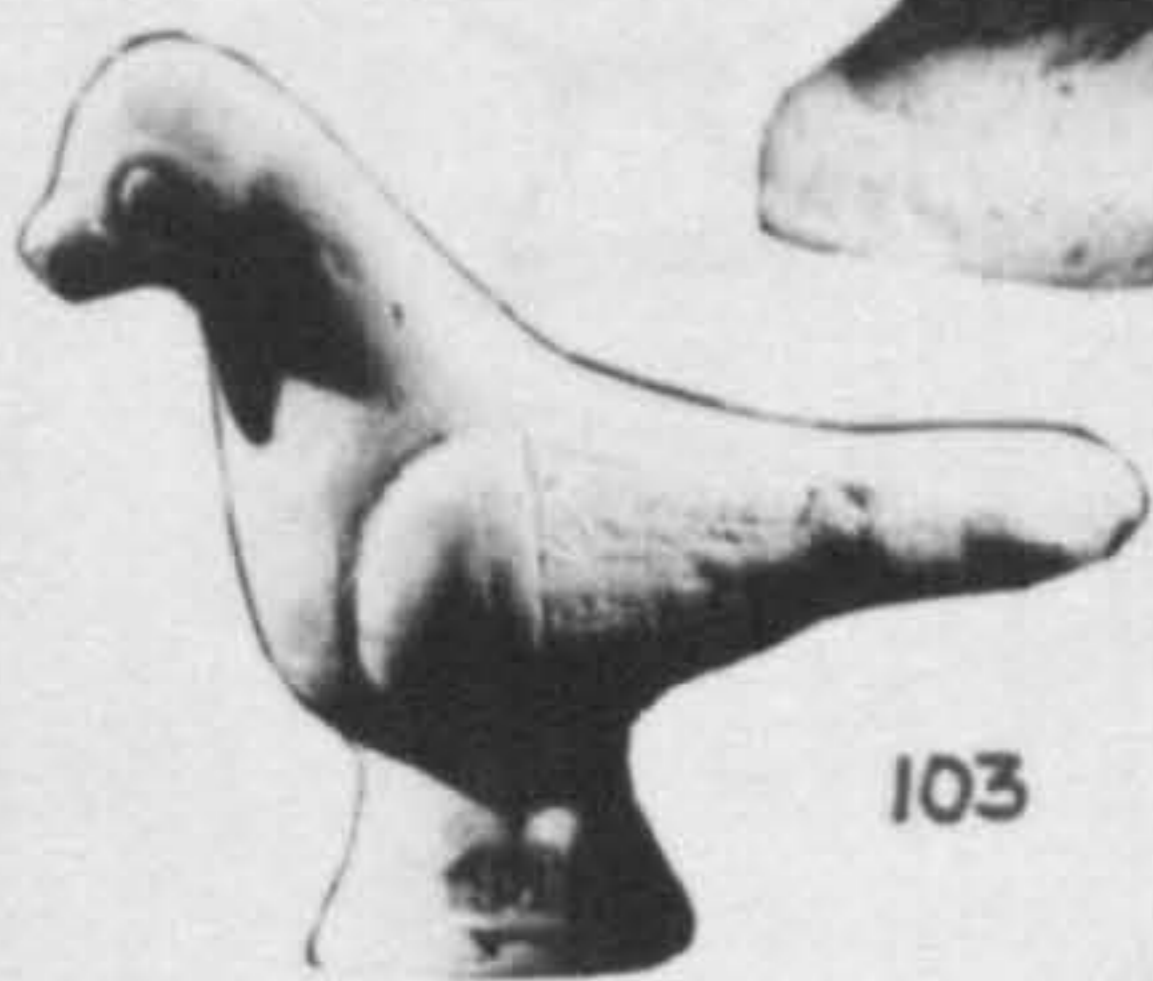
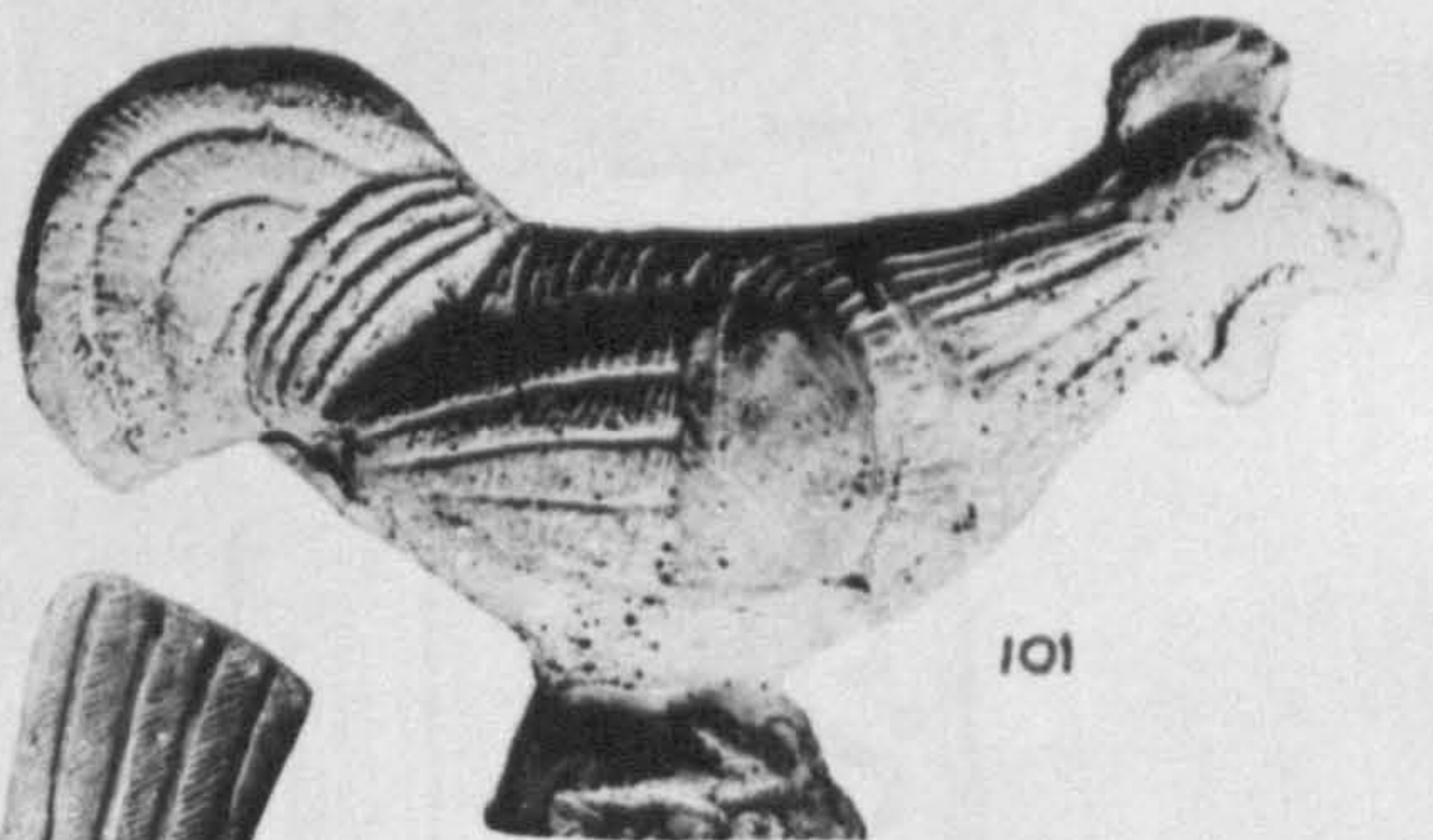
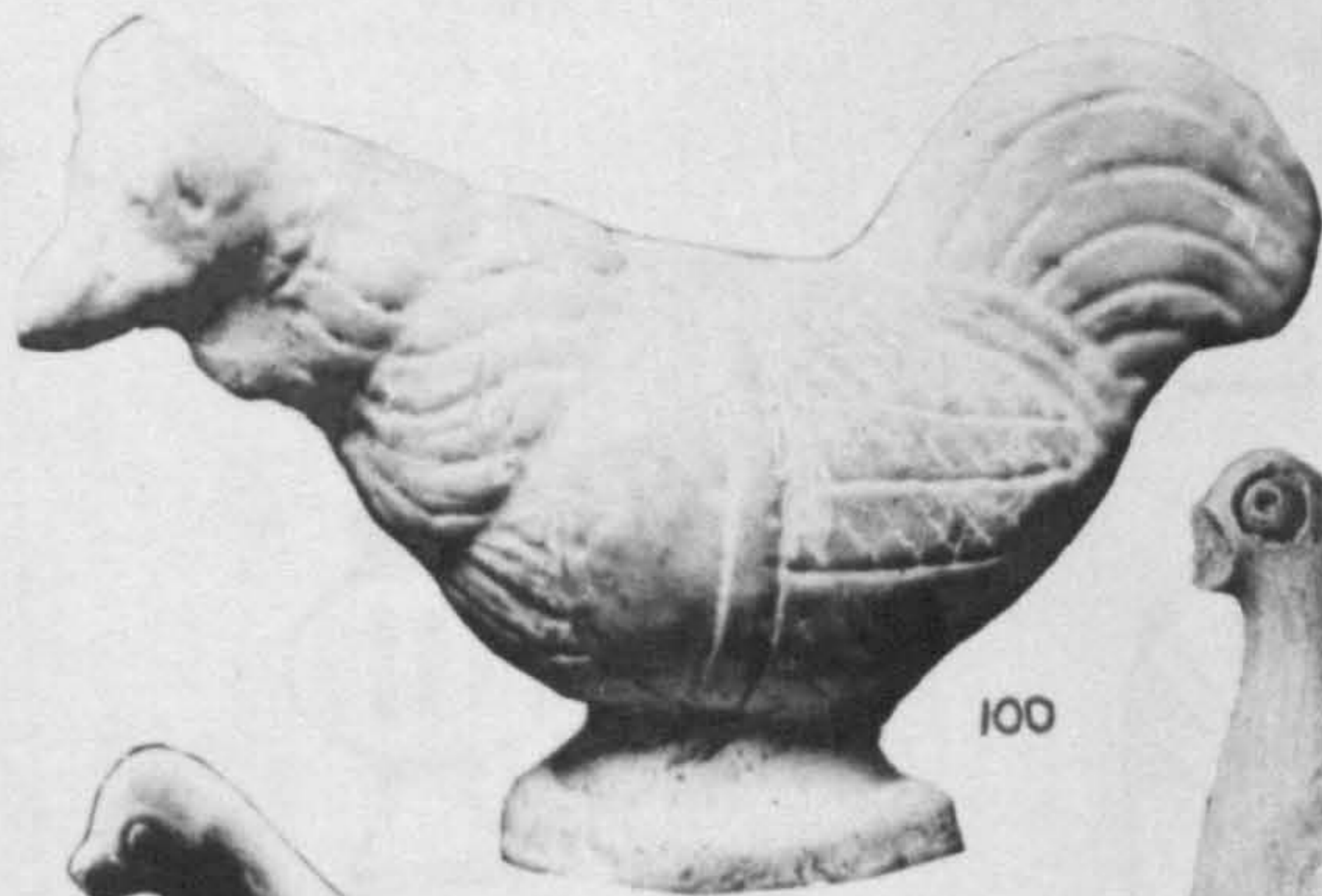
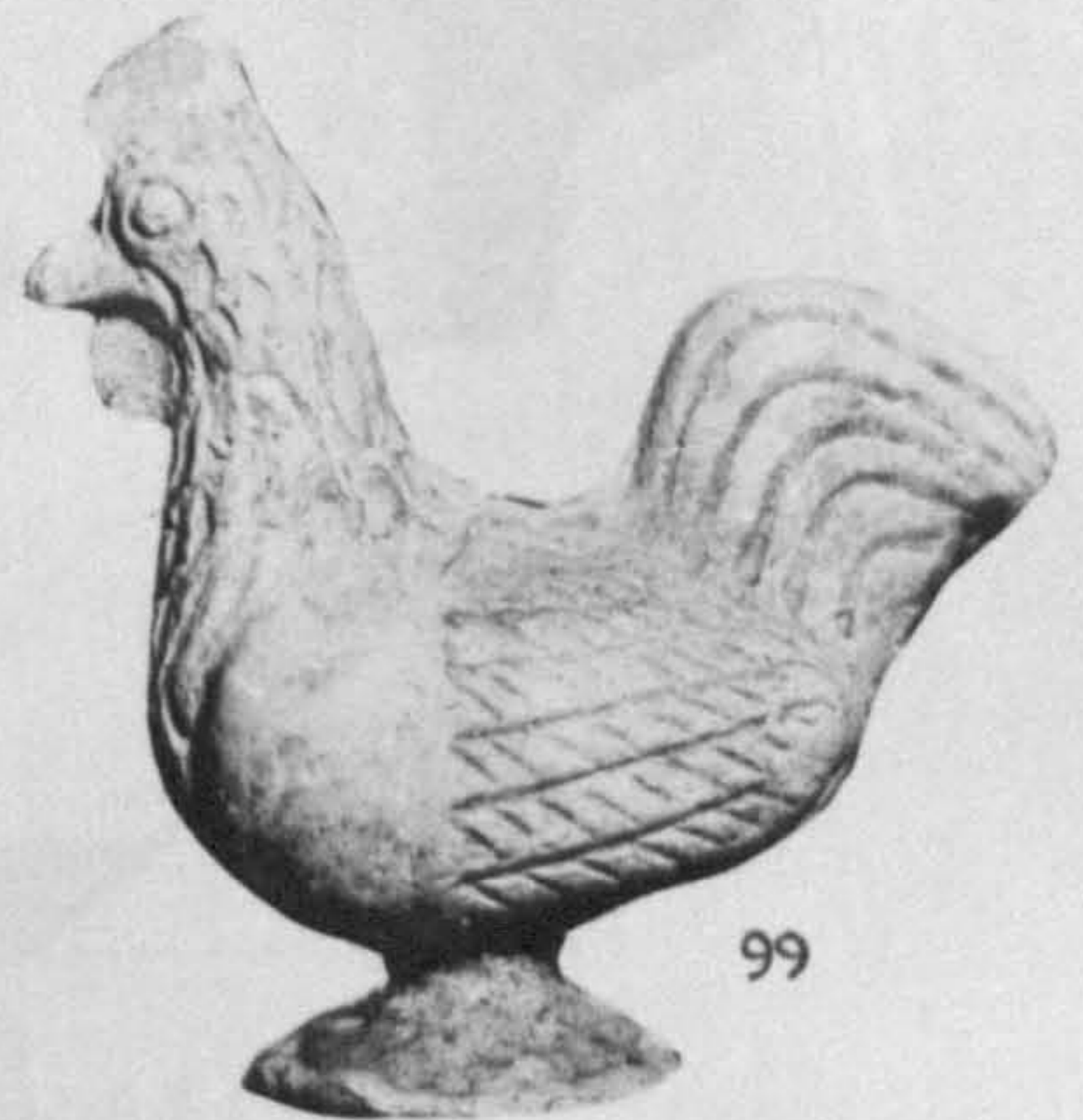
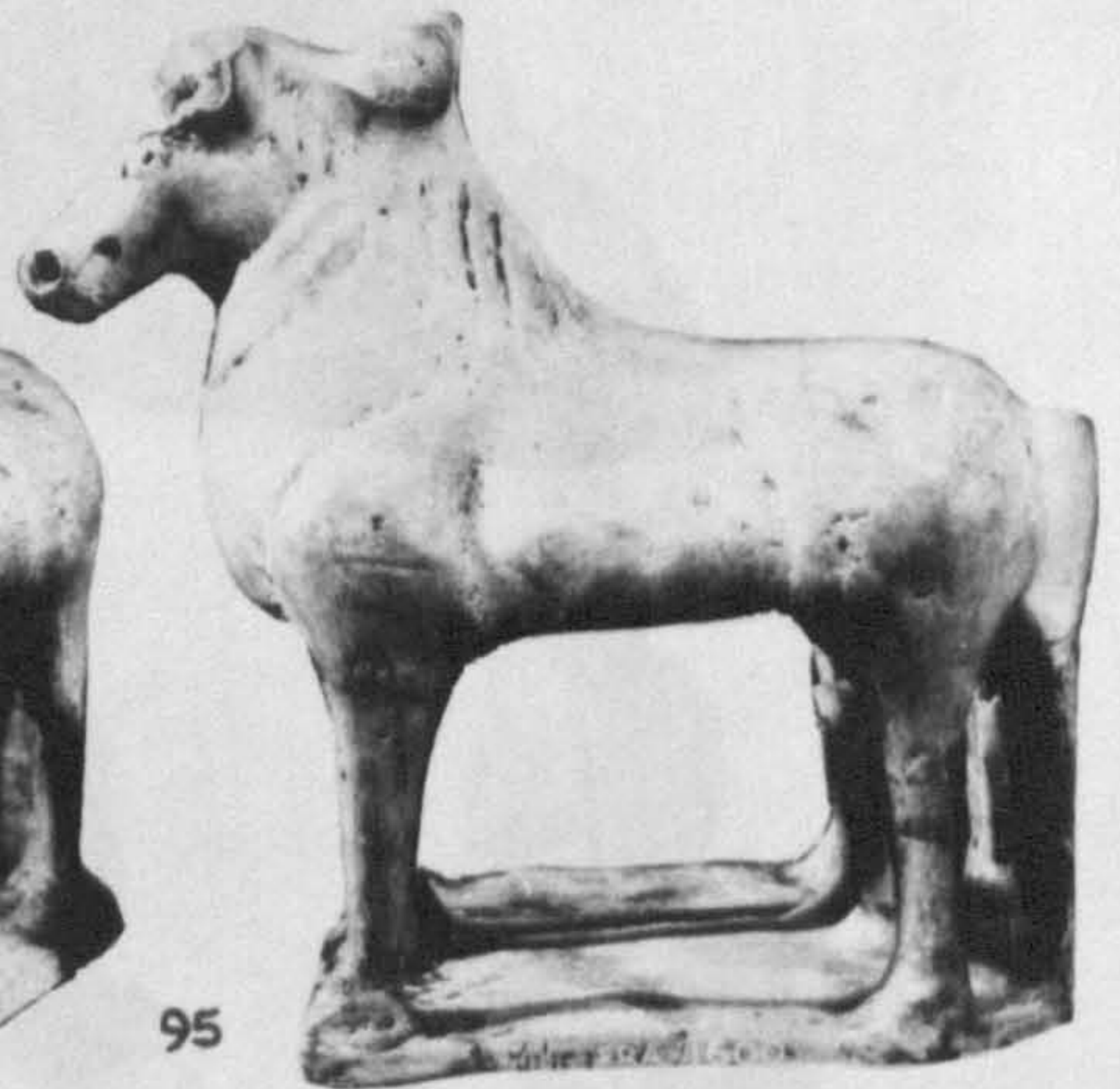
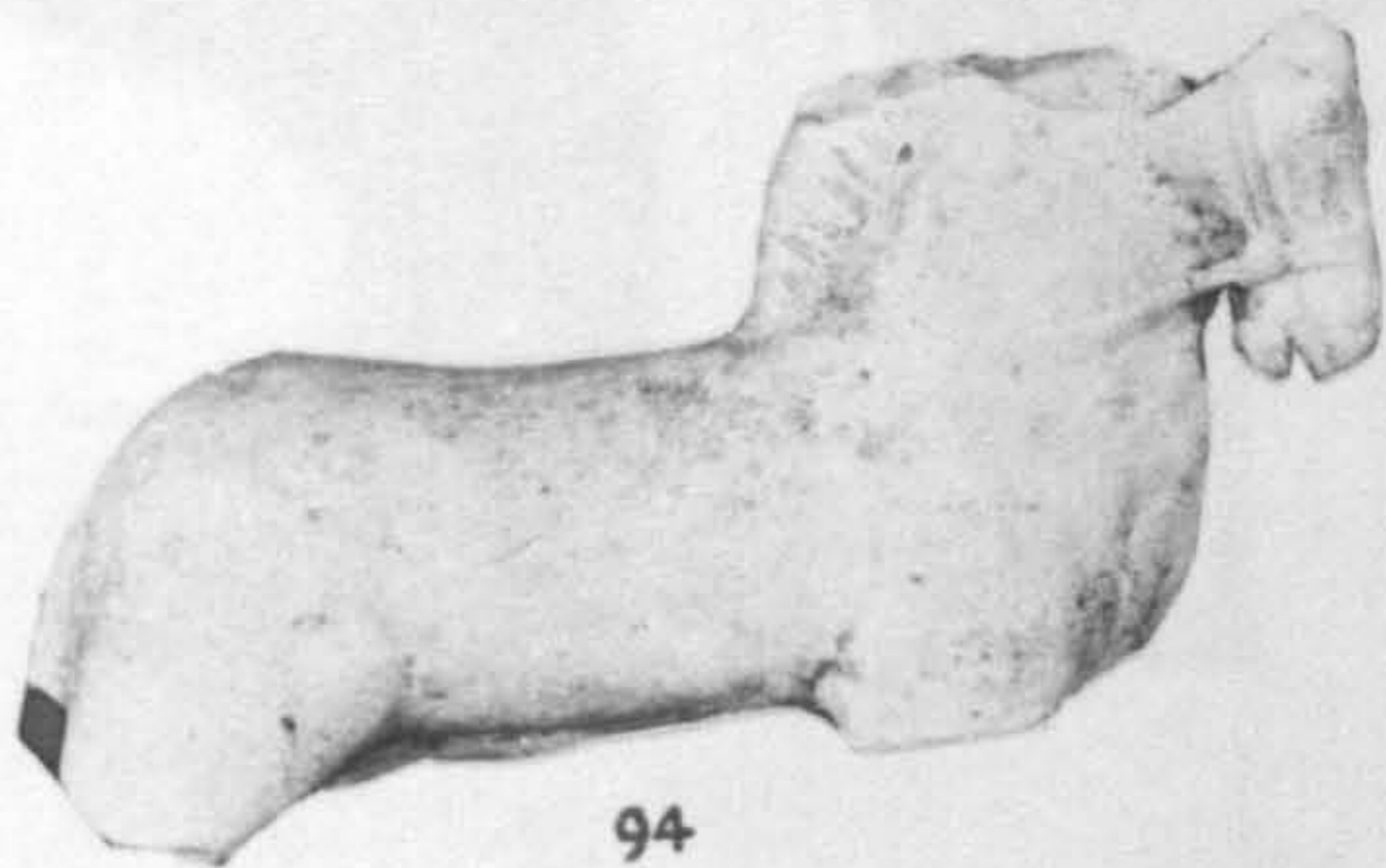
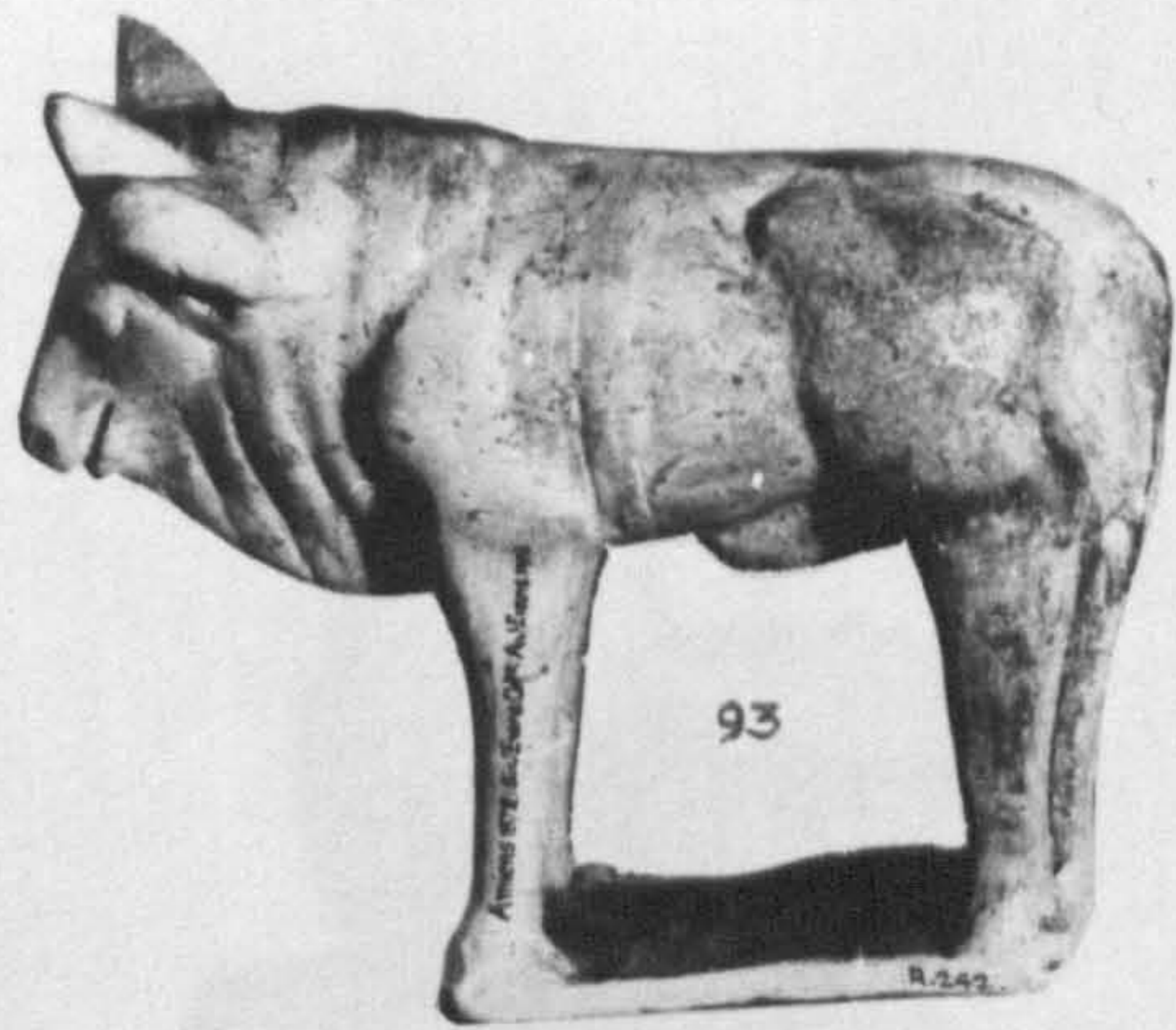
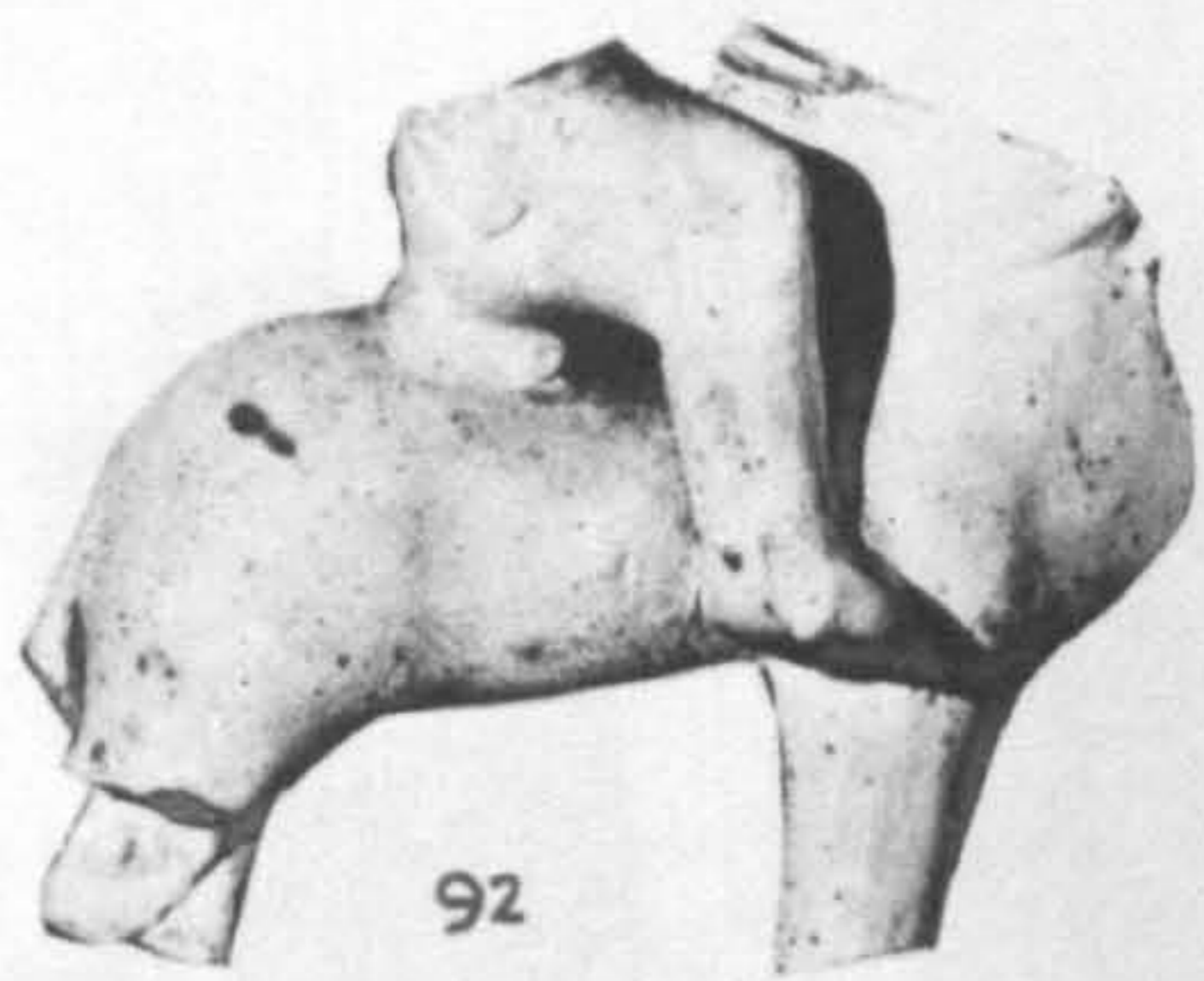
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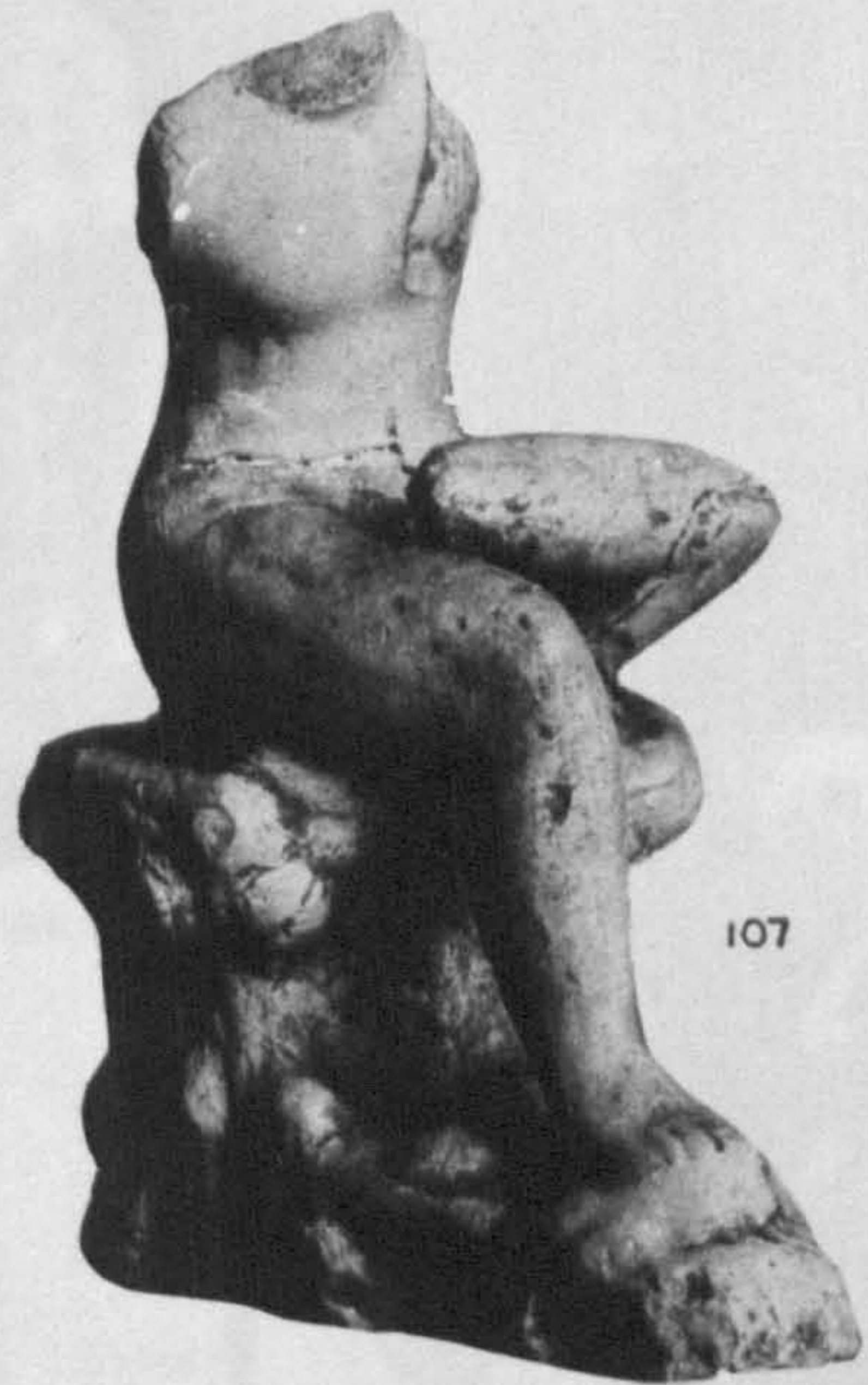
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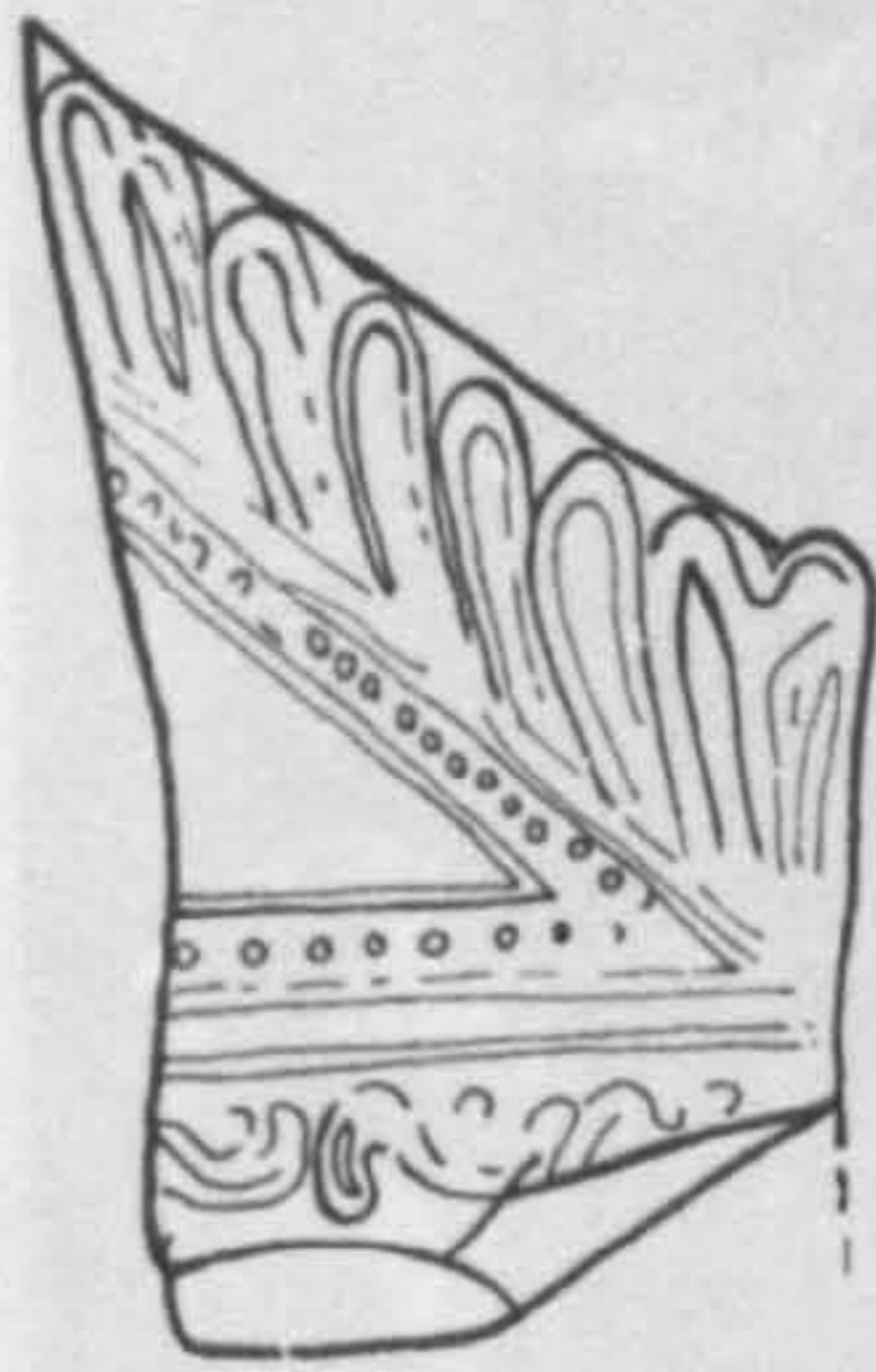
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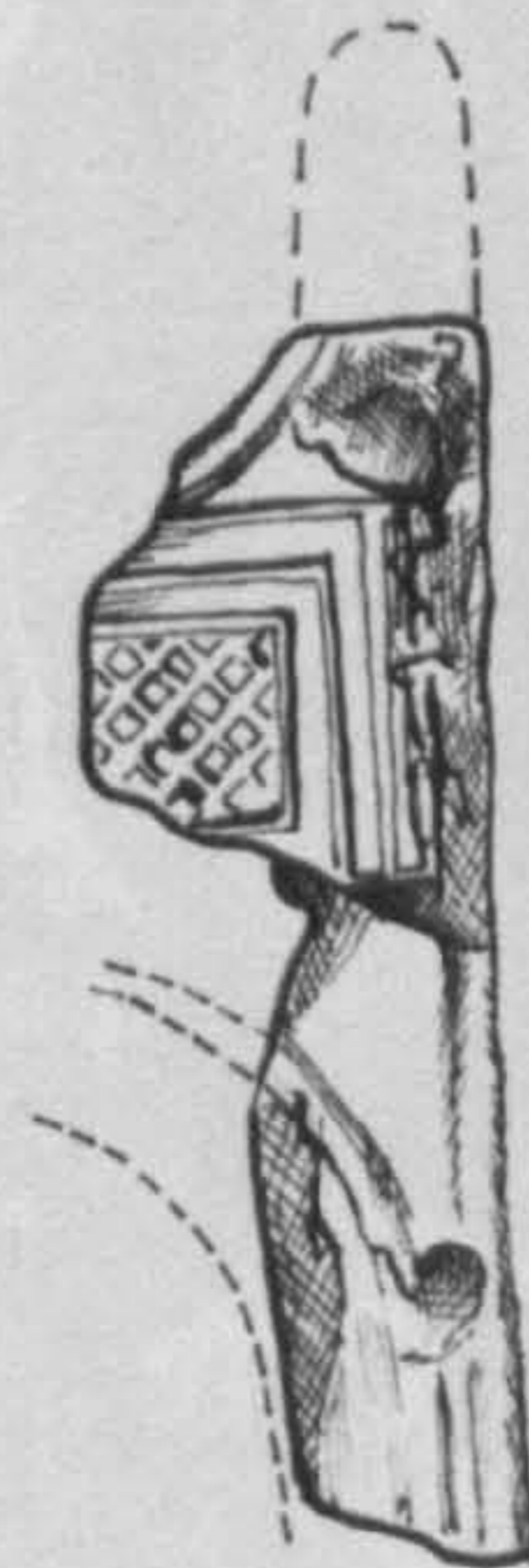


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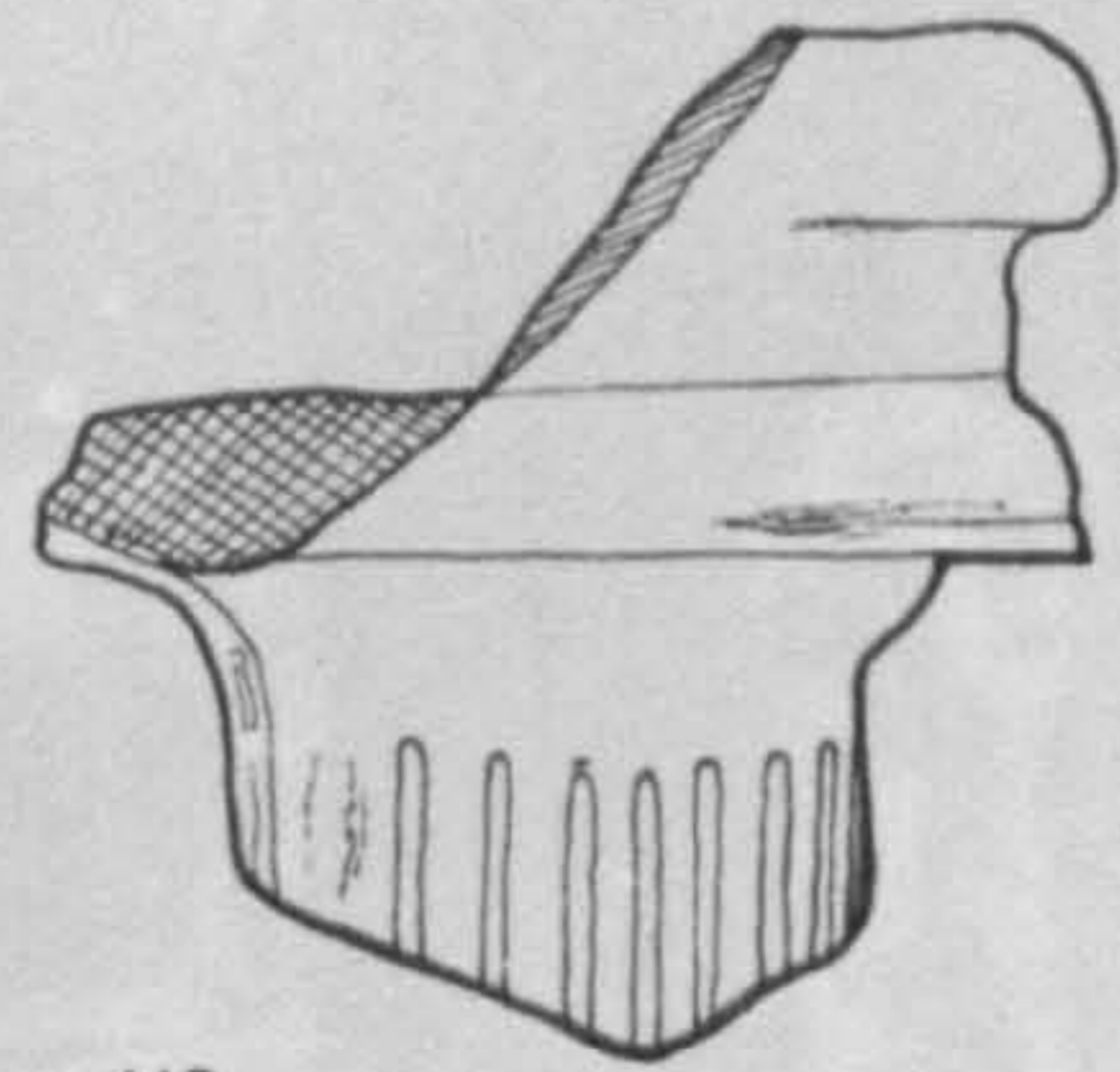
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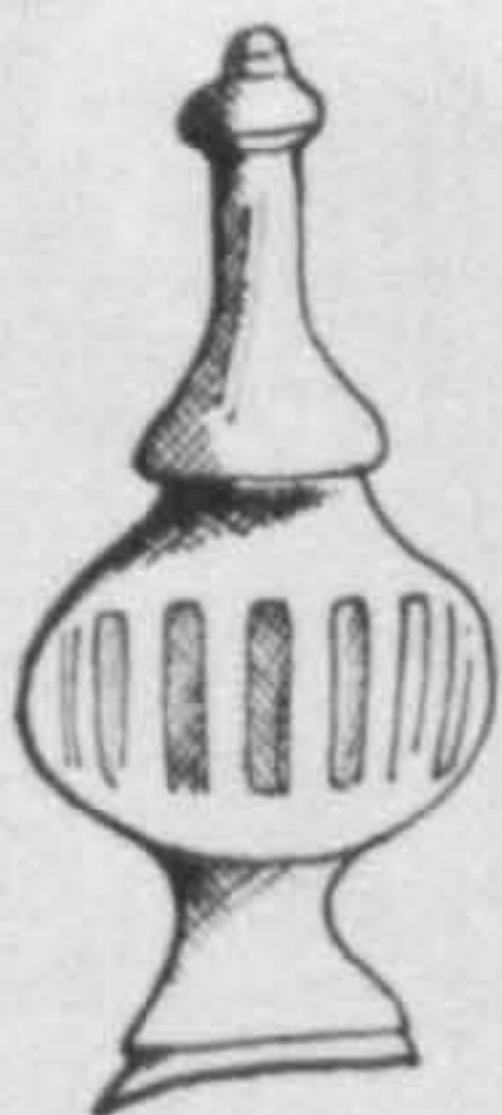
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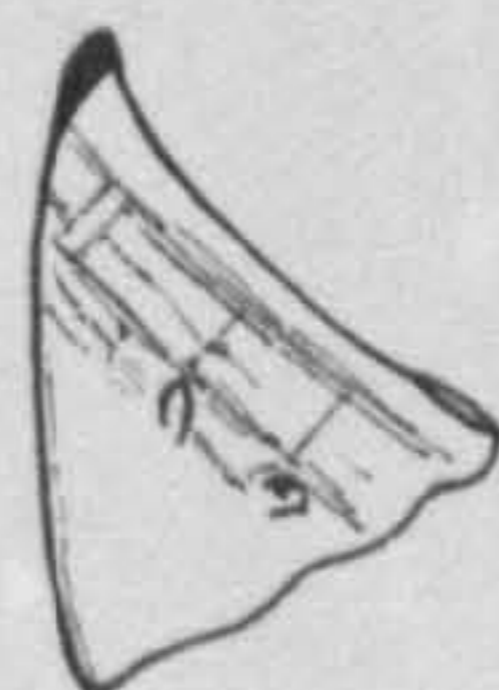
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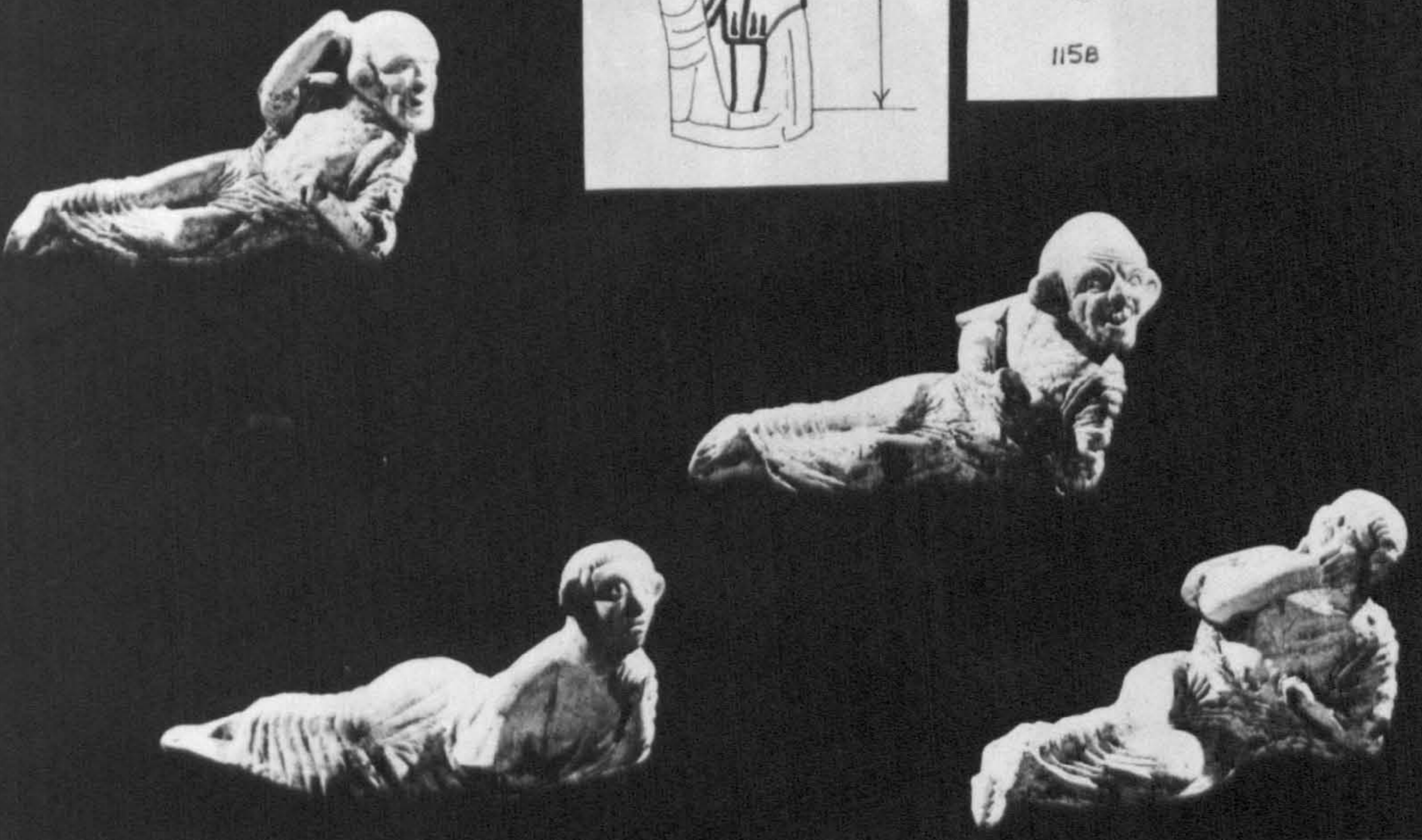
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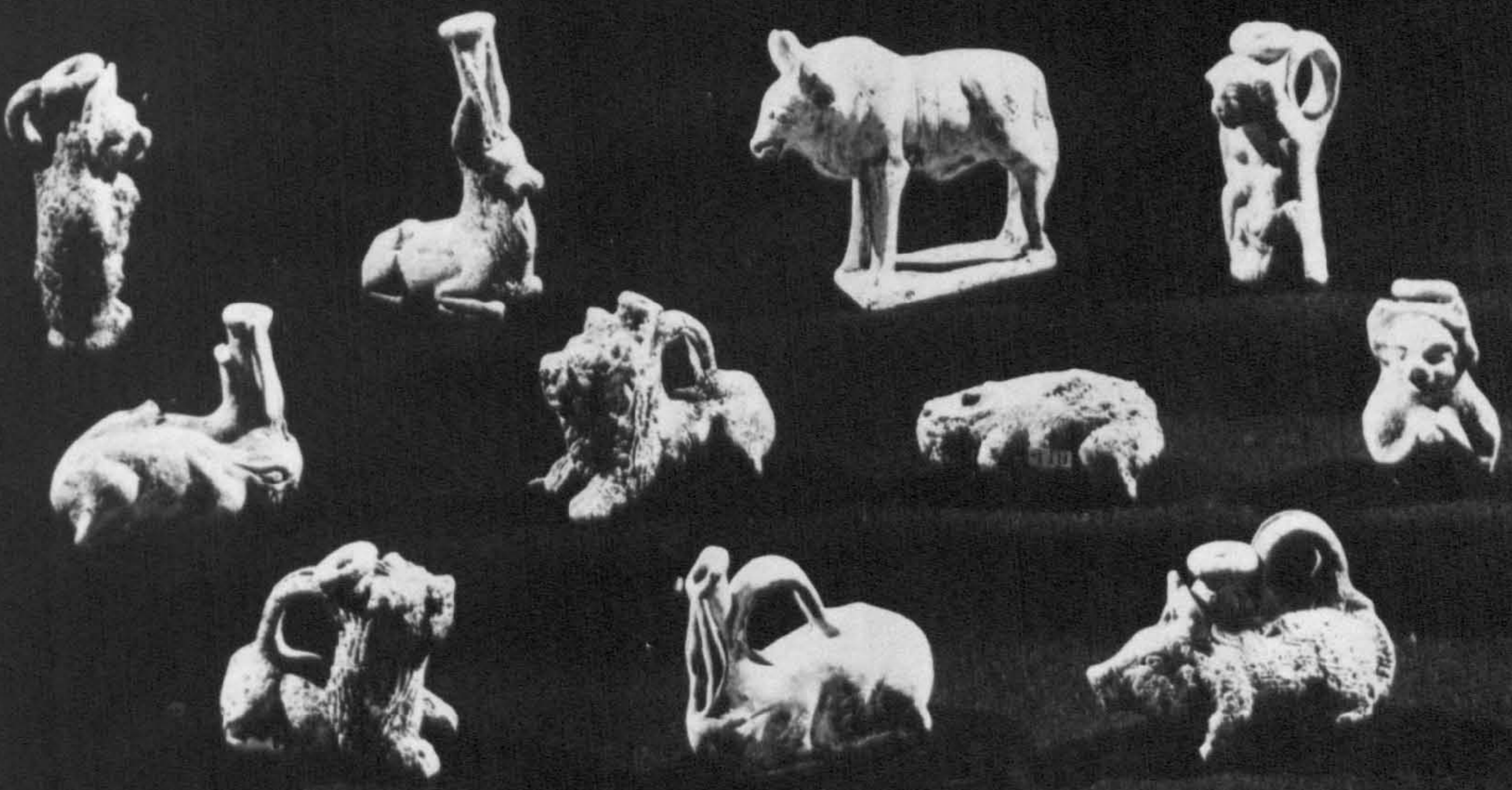
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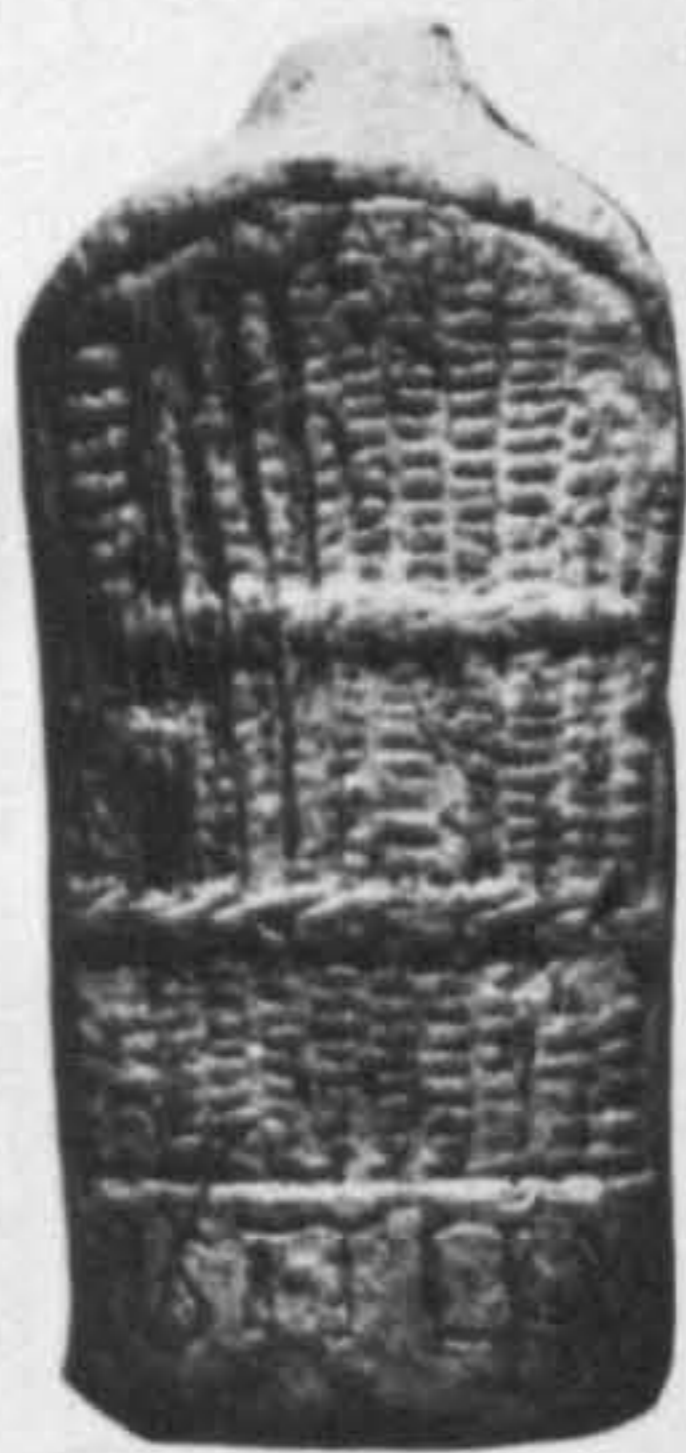
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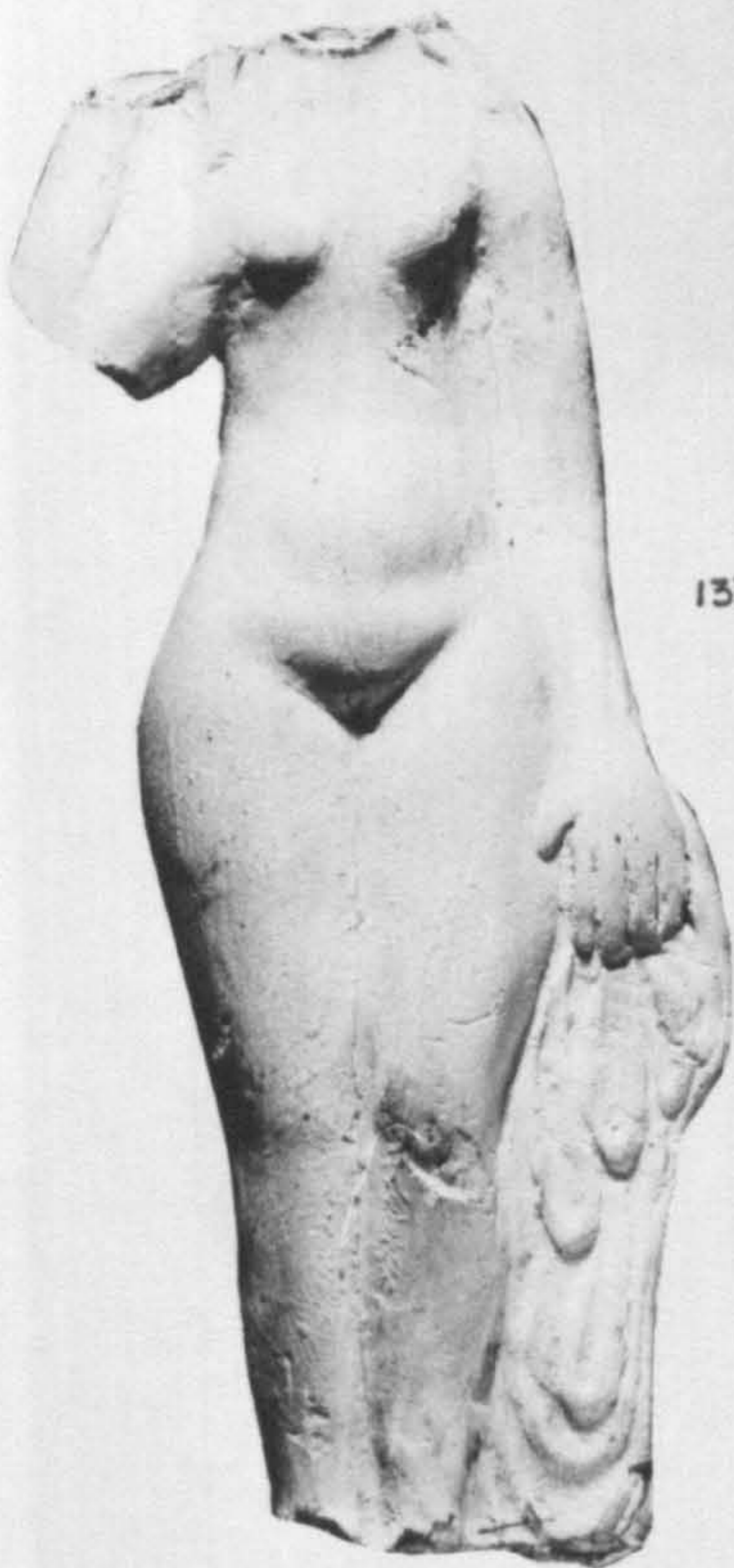
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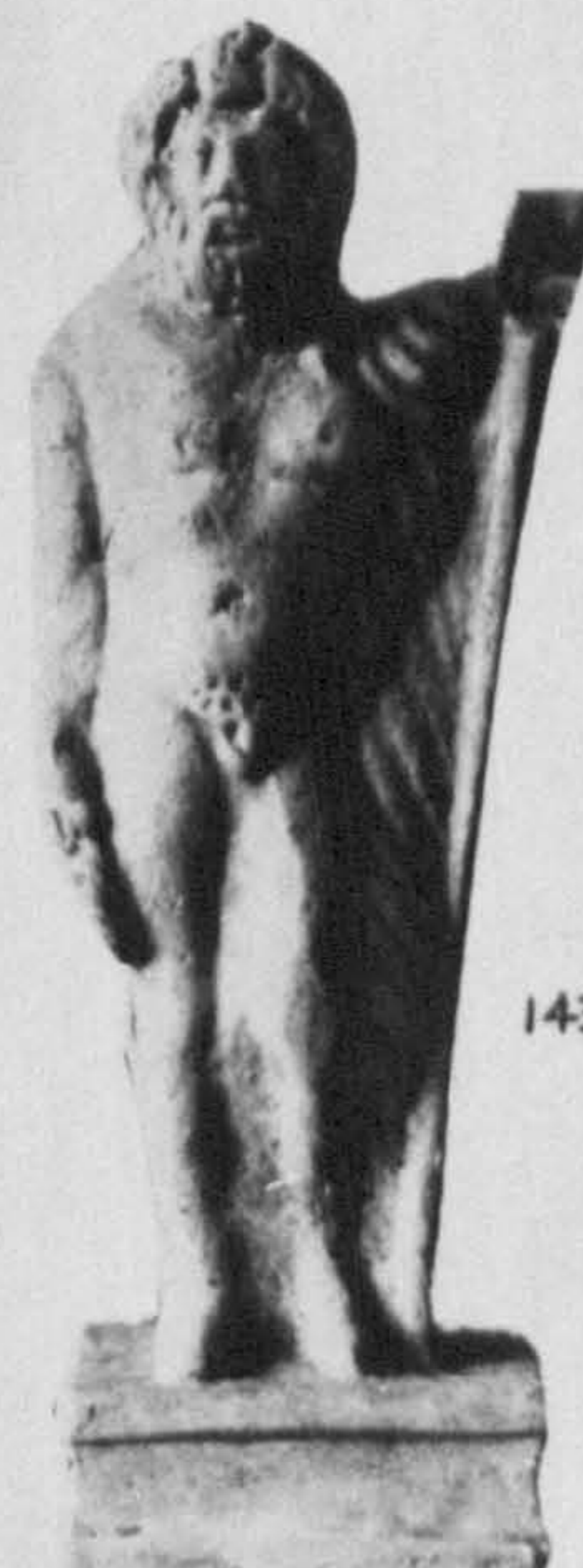
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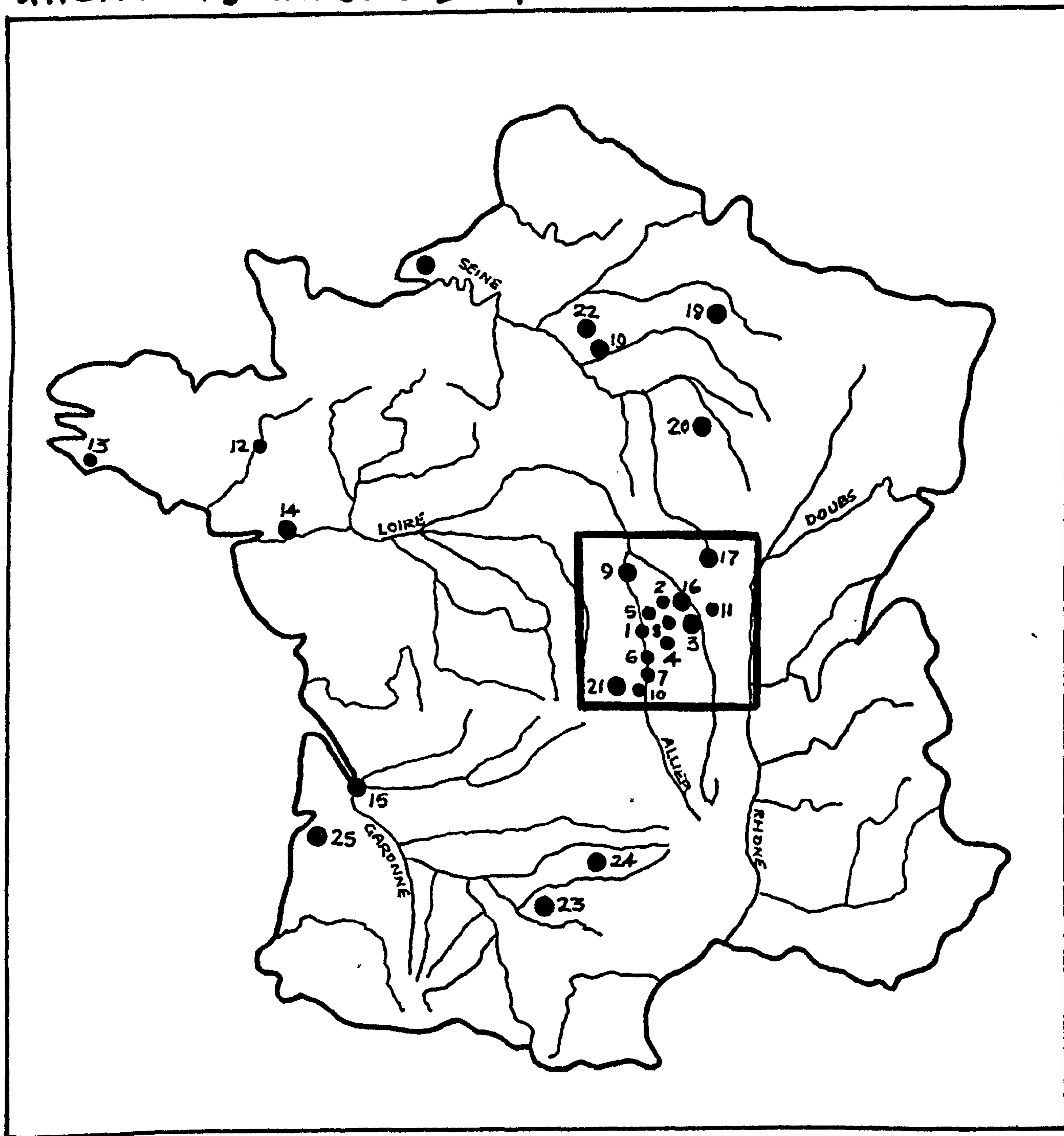
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MAP N° 1

Principal Sites in Gaul where Kilns for the Manufacture of Clay Statuettes are located, and possible Sites inferred by discovery of Moulds etc.



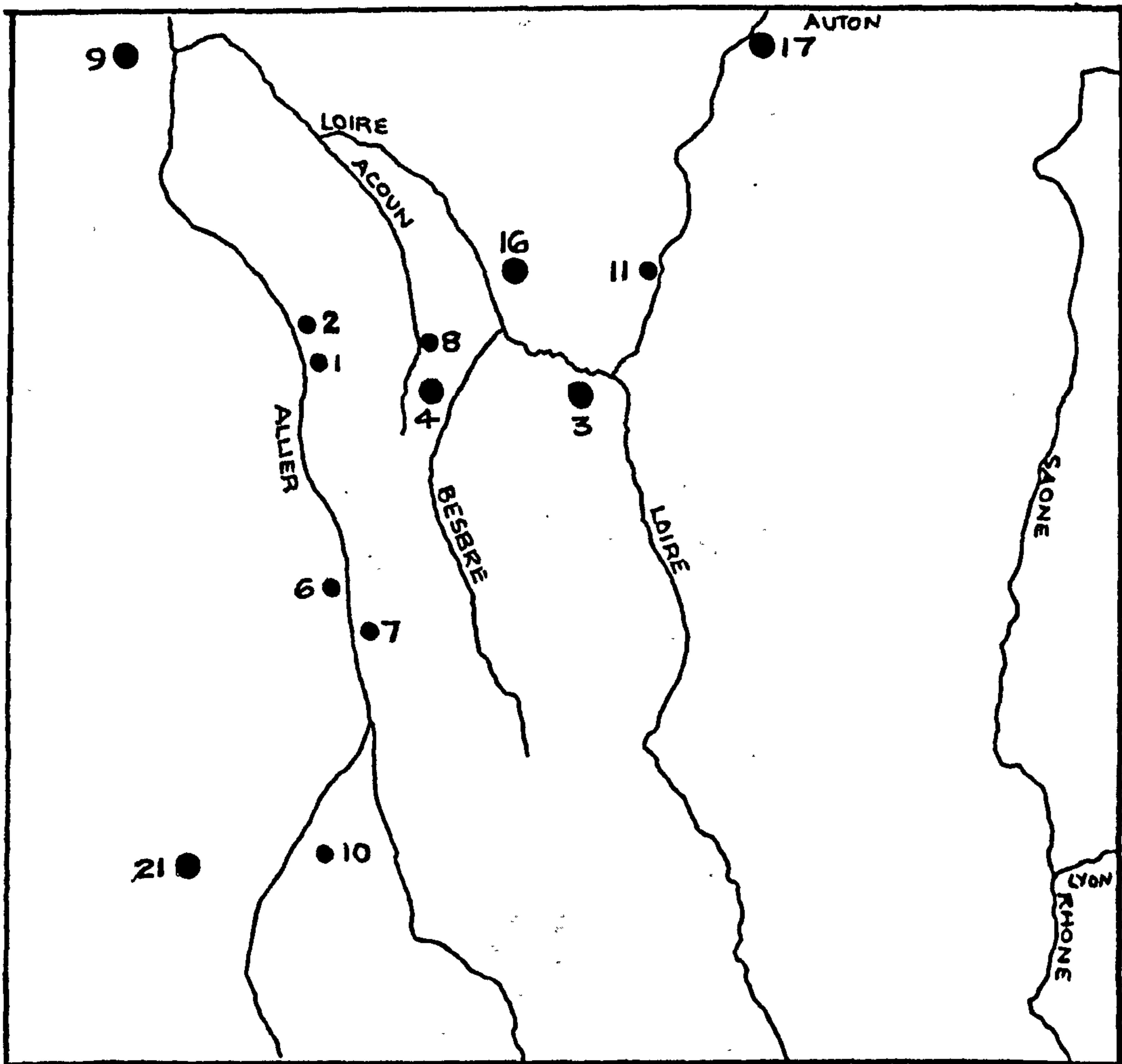
● Kilns

● Inferred Sites

For enlargement of inset see Map N° 2

MAP N° 2

Enlarged Map of Sites in the Valleys of the Allier, Loire, Besbre and Arroux shown on Map N° 1

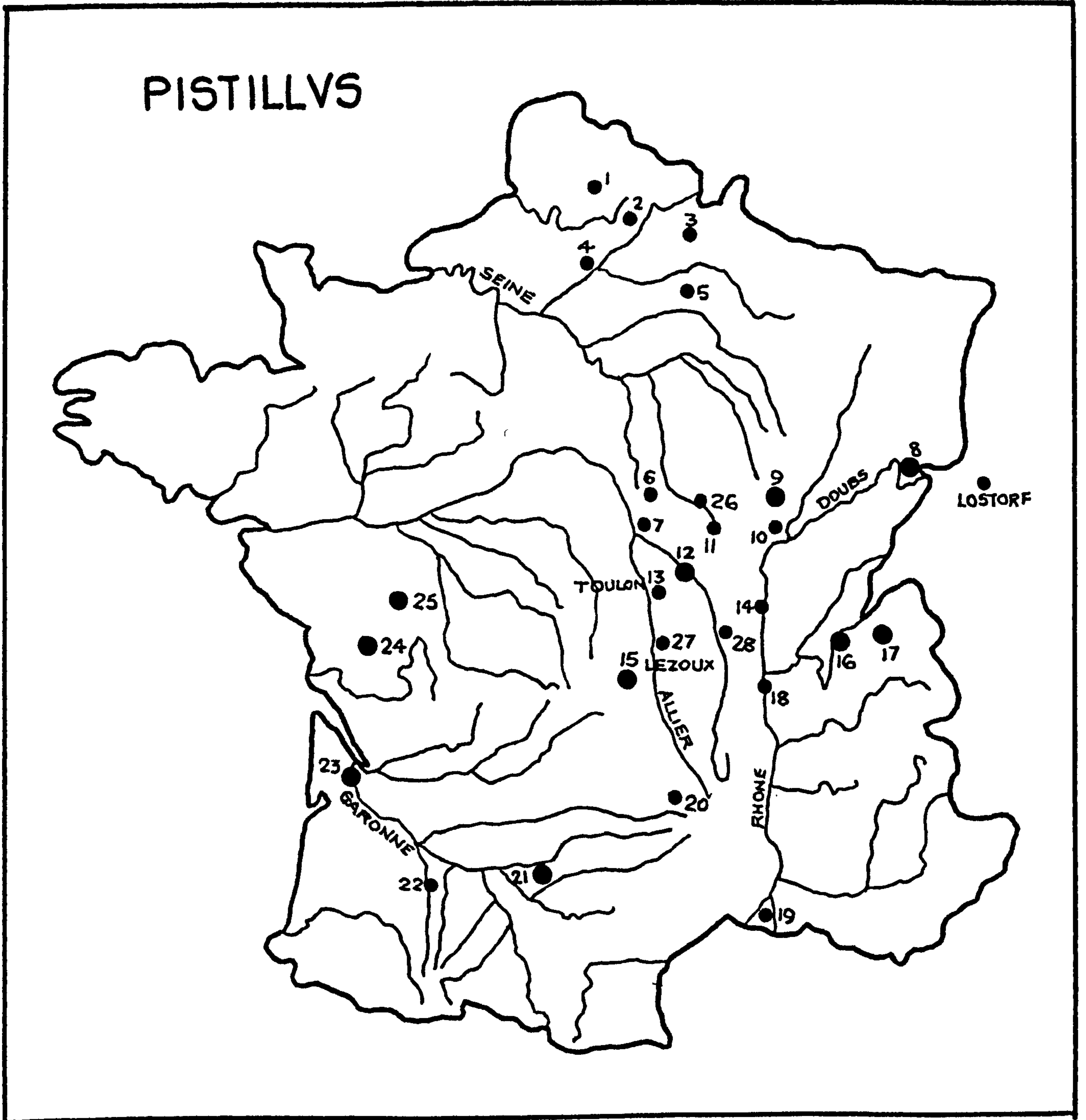


● = Kilns

● = Moulds

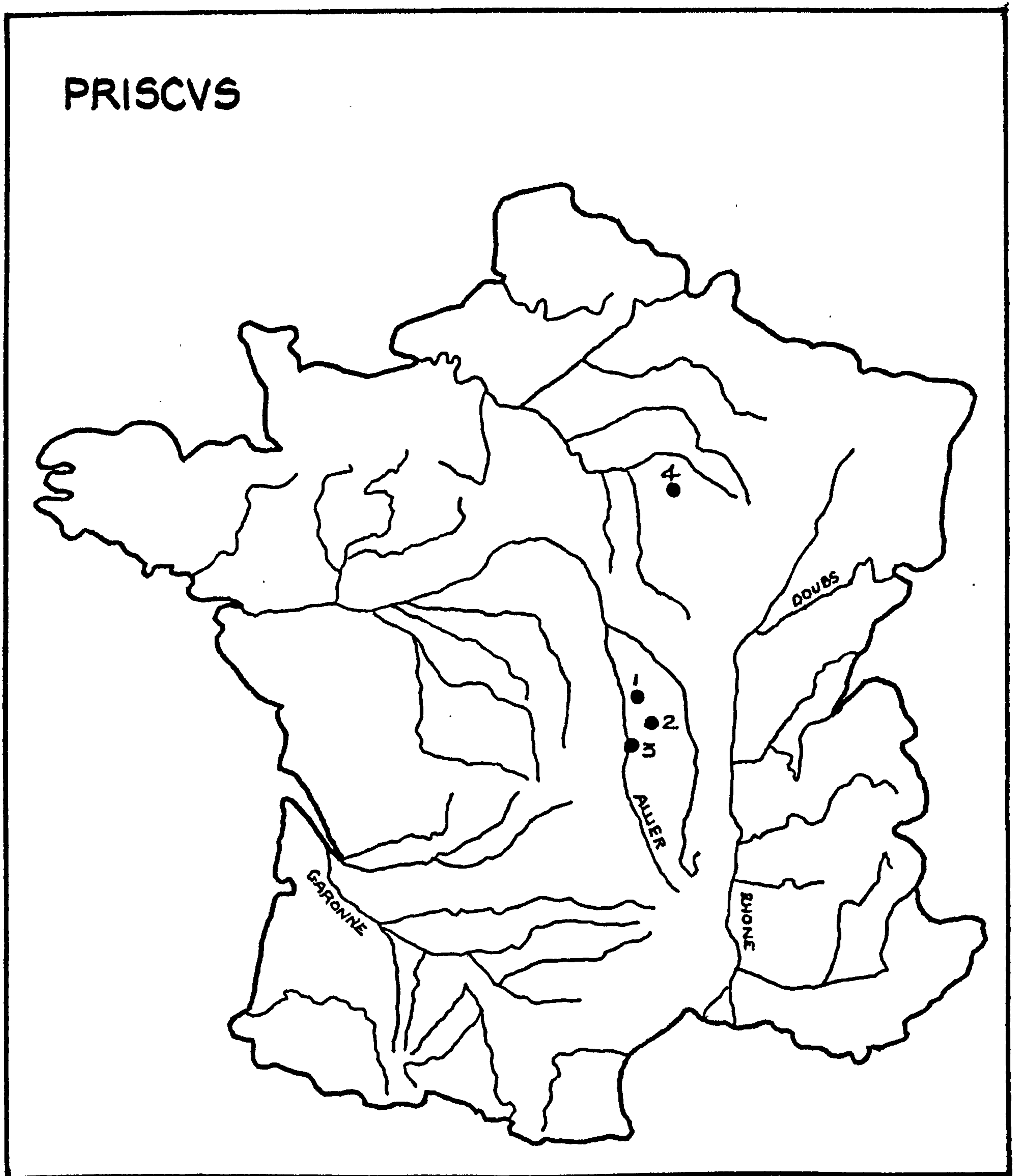
MAP N° 3

The Distribution of the Work of Pistillvs



MAP N° 4

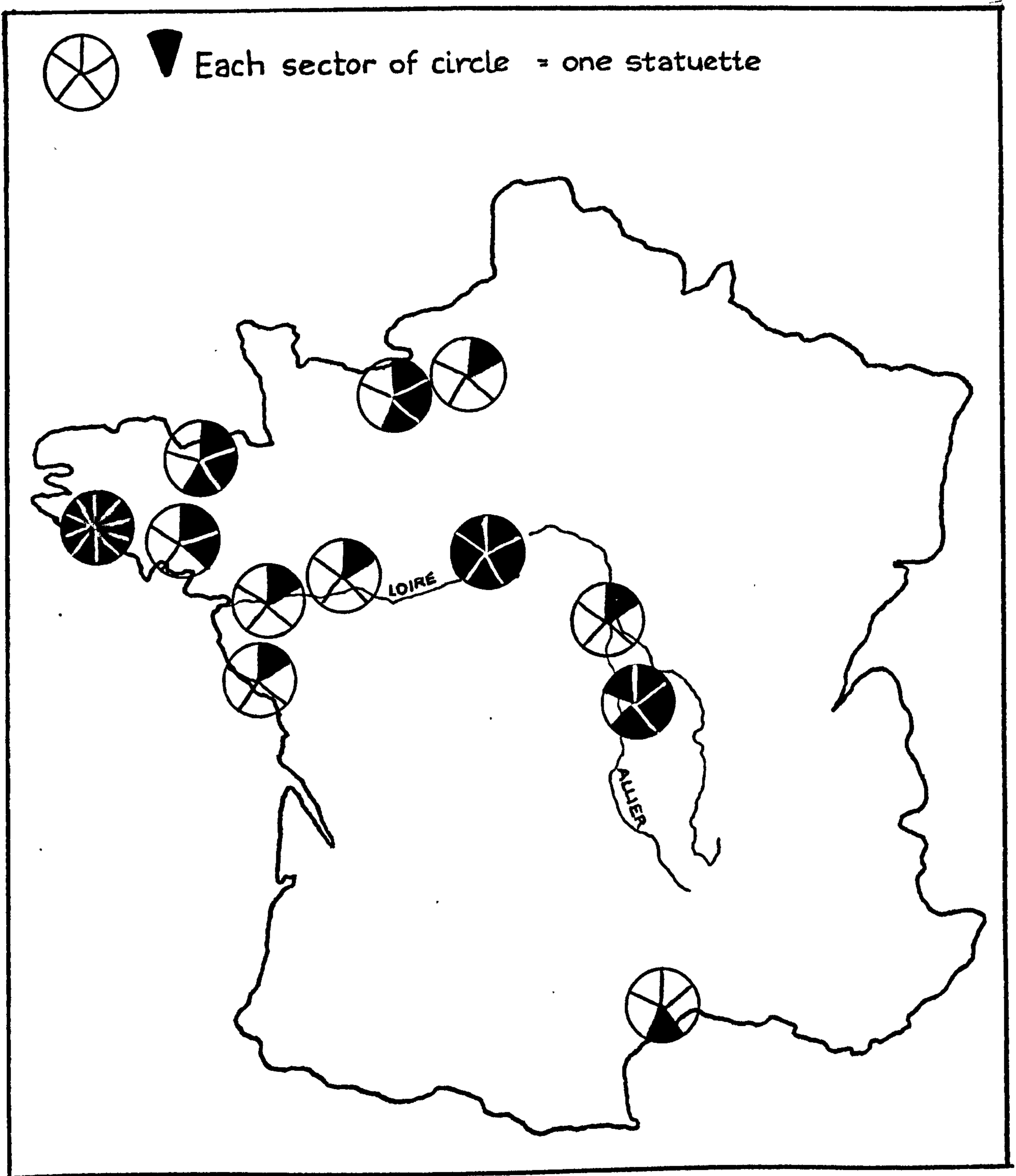
The Distribution of Moulds Signed by Priscus



1. Toulon - sur - Allier
2. Saint - Pourcain - sur Besbre (Allier)
3. Vichy (Allier)
4. Troyes (Aube)

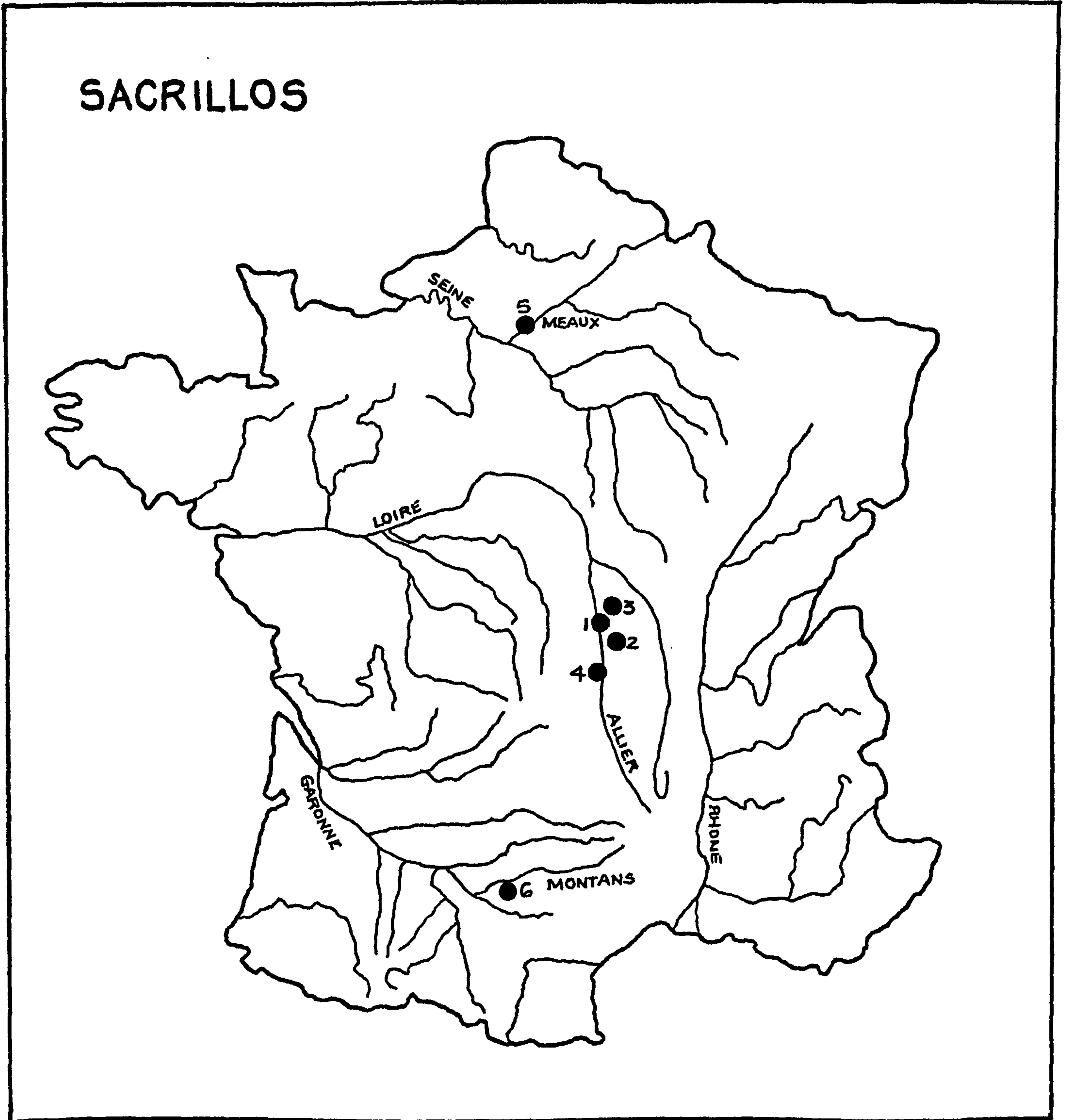
MAP N° 5

Distribution of Statuettes of Venus decorated with various symbols, found in France



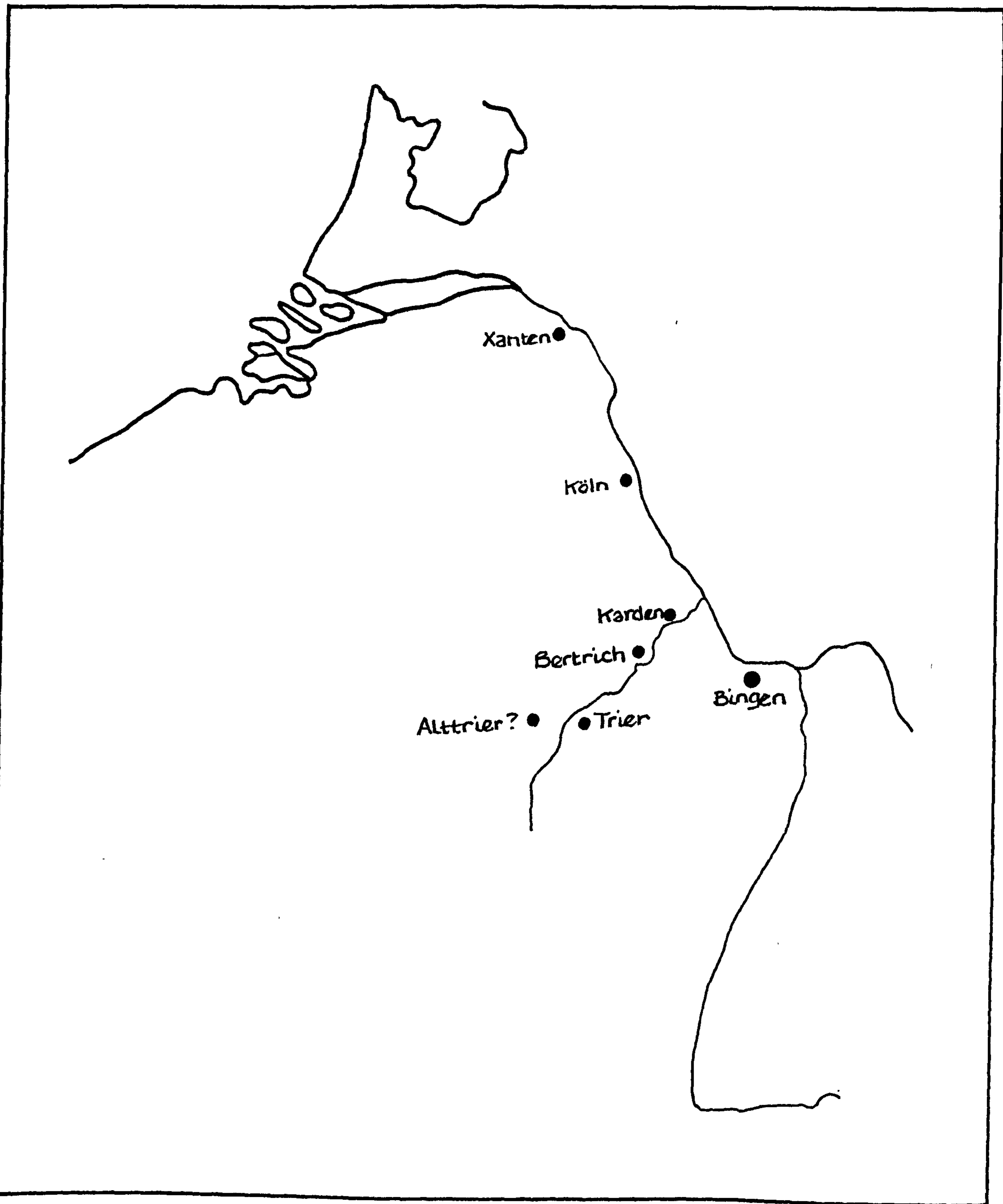
MAP N° 6

Map of the Distribution of Moulds signed by Sacrillos

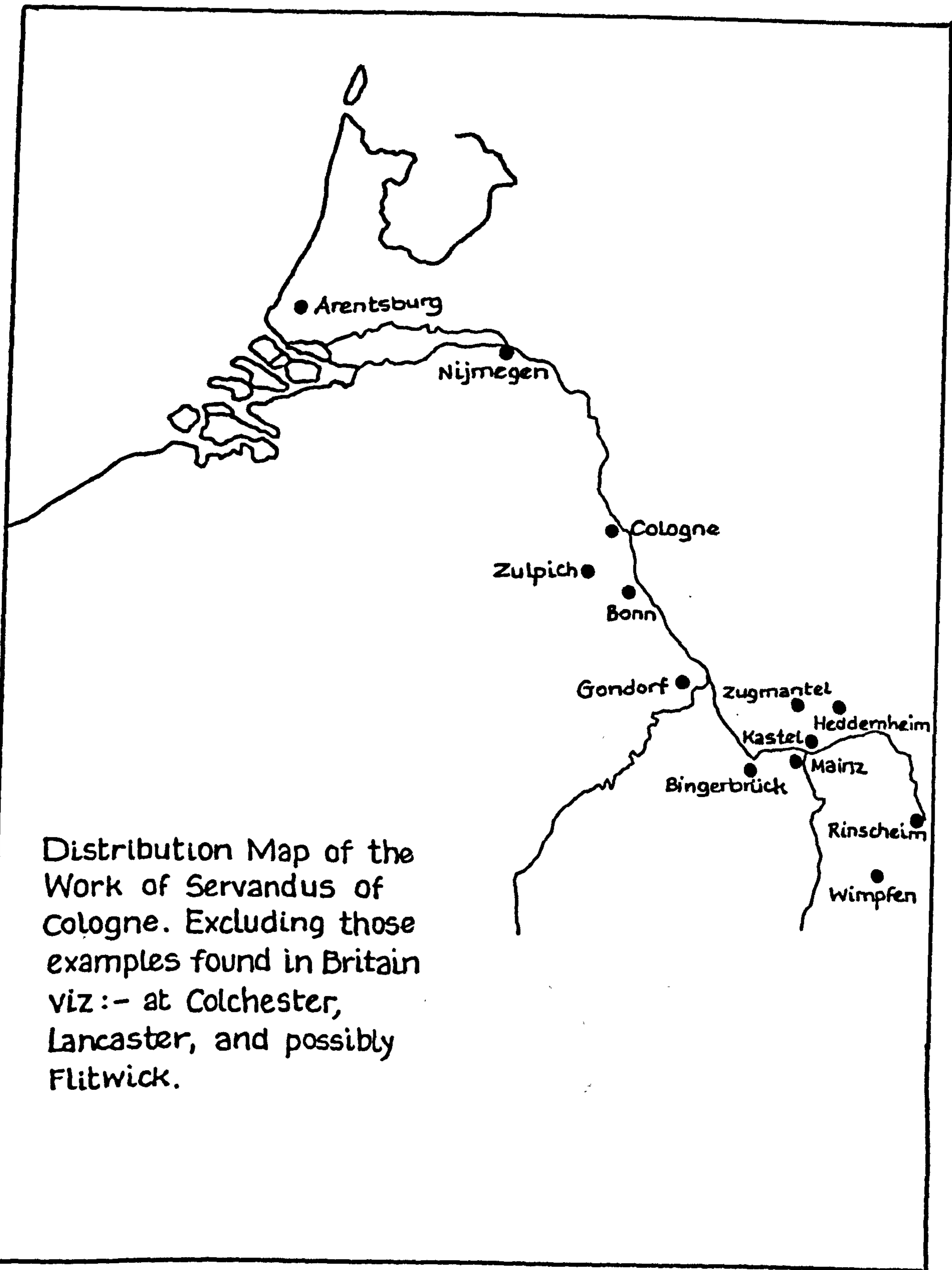


MAP N° 7

Principal Sites in the Rhine-Mosel Region where Kilns are located.

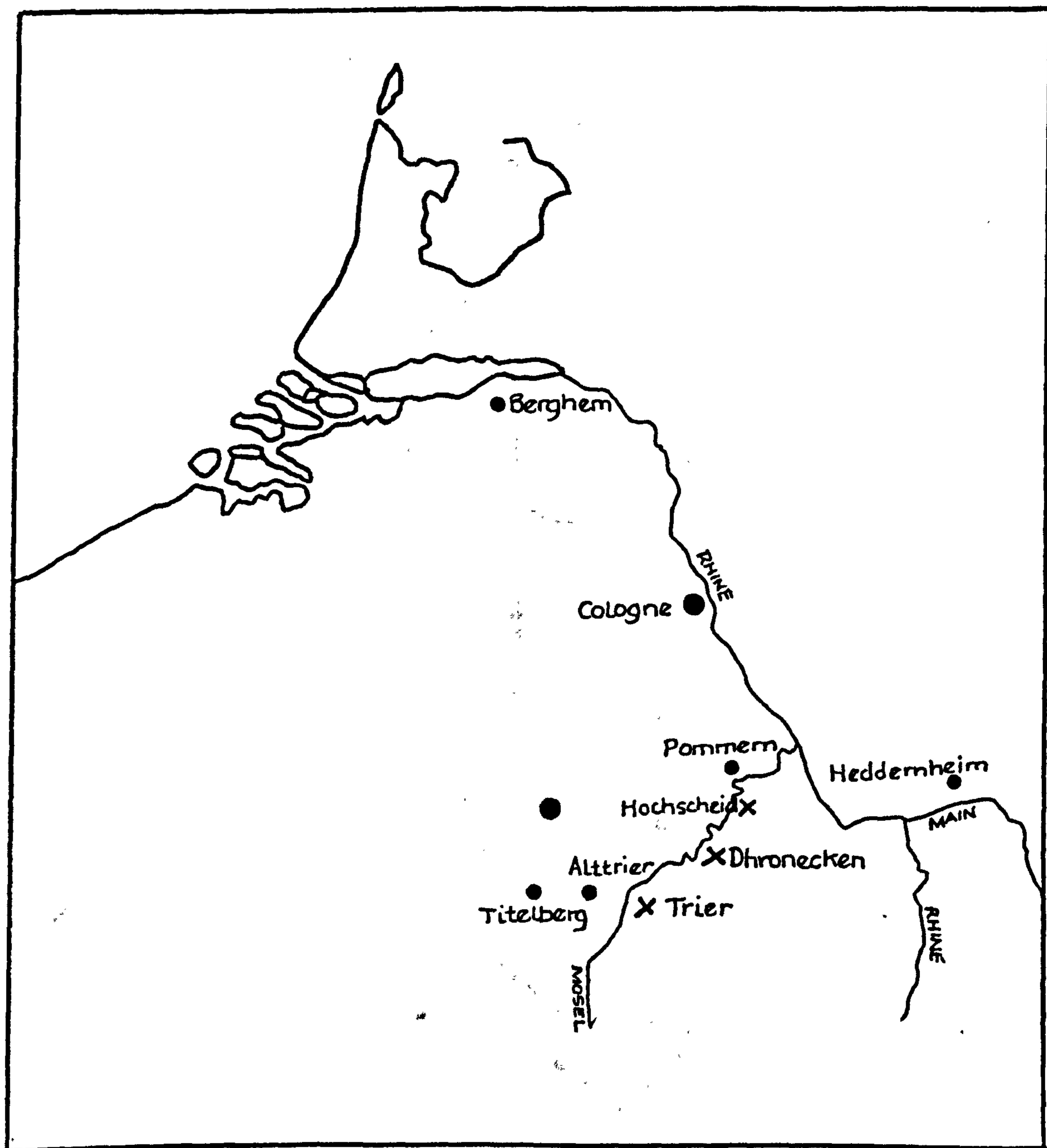


MAP N°8



MAP N° 9

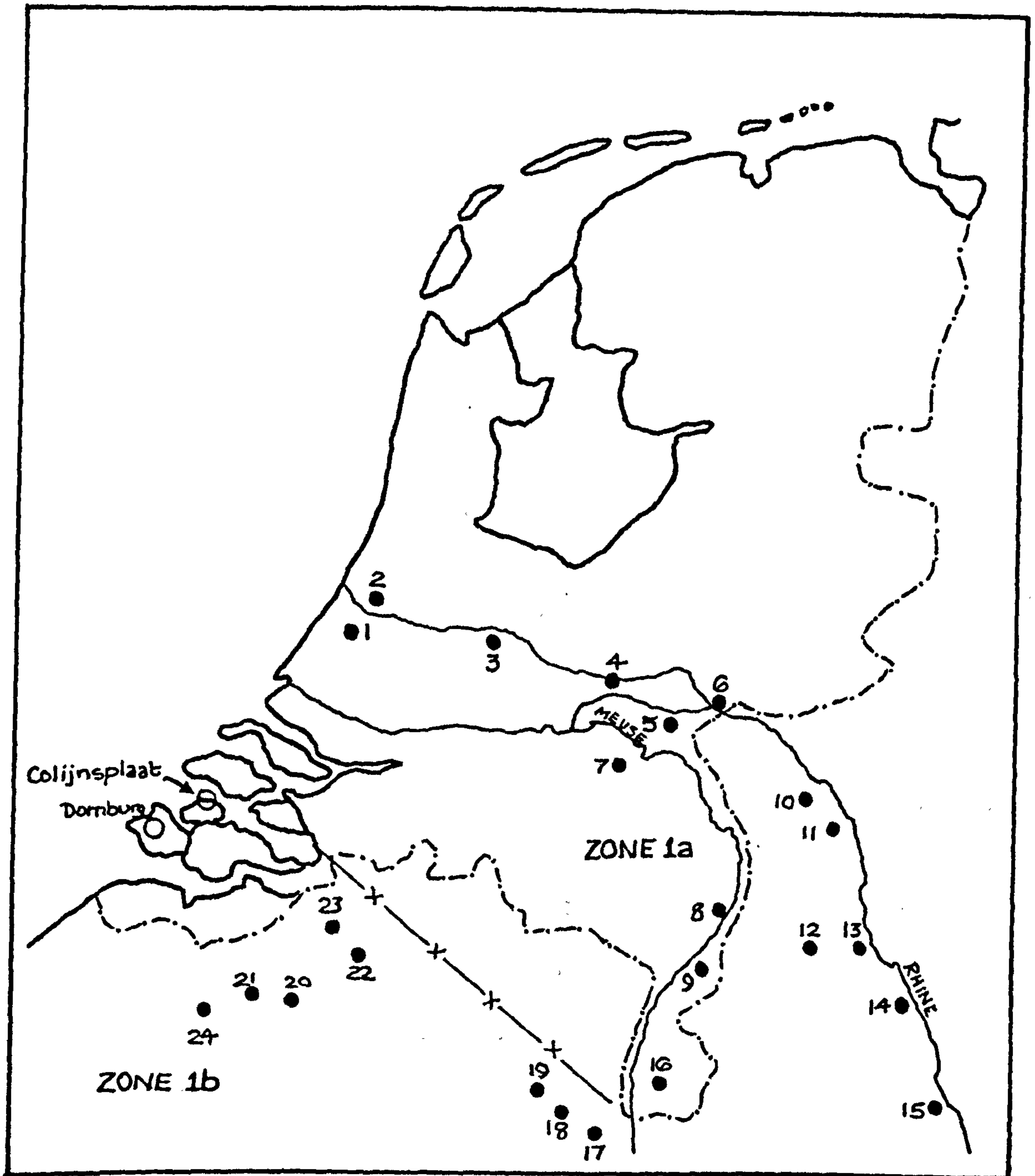
Distribution Map of the Work of Fidelis



- = single examples
- = two or more examples
- X = Fidelis with Melausus

MAP N°10

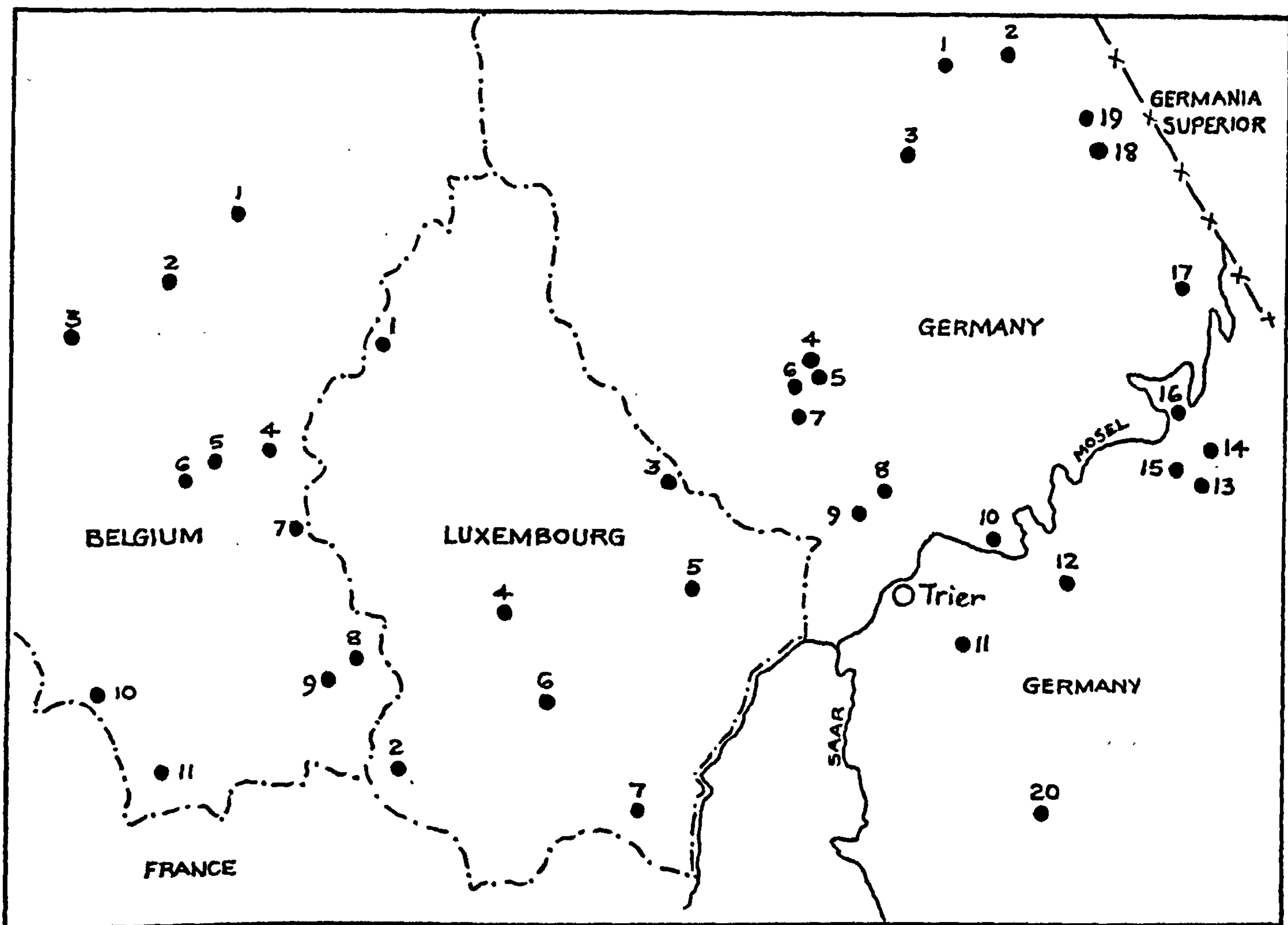
Region 1 (Zones 1a and 1b)



Modern Frontiers - - - - -
Zone Boundaries - x - x -

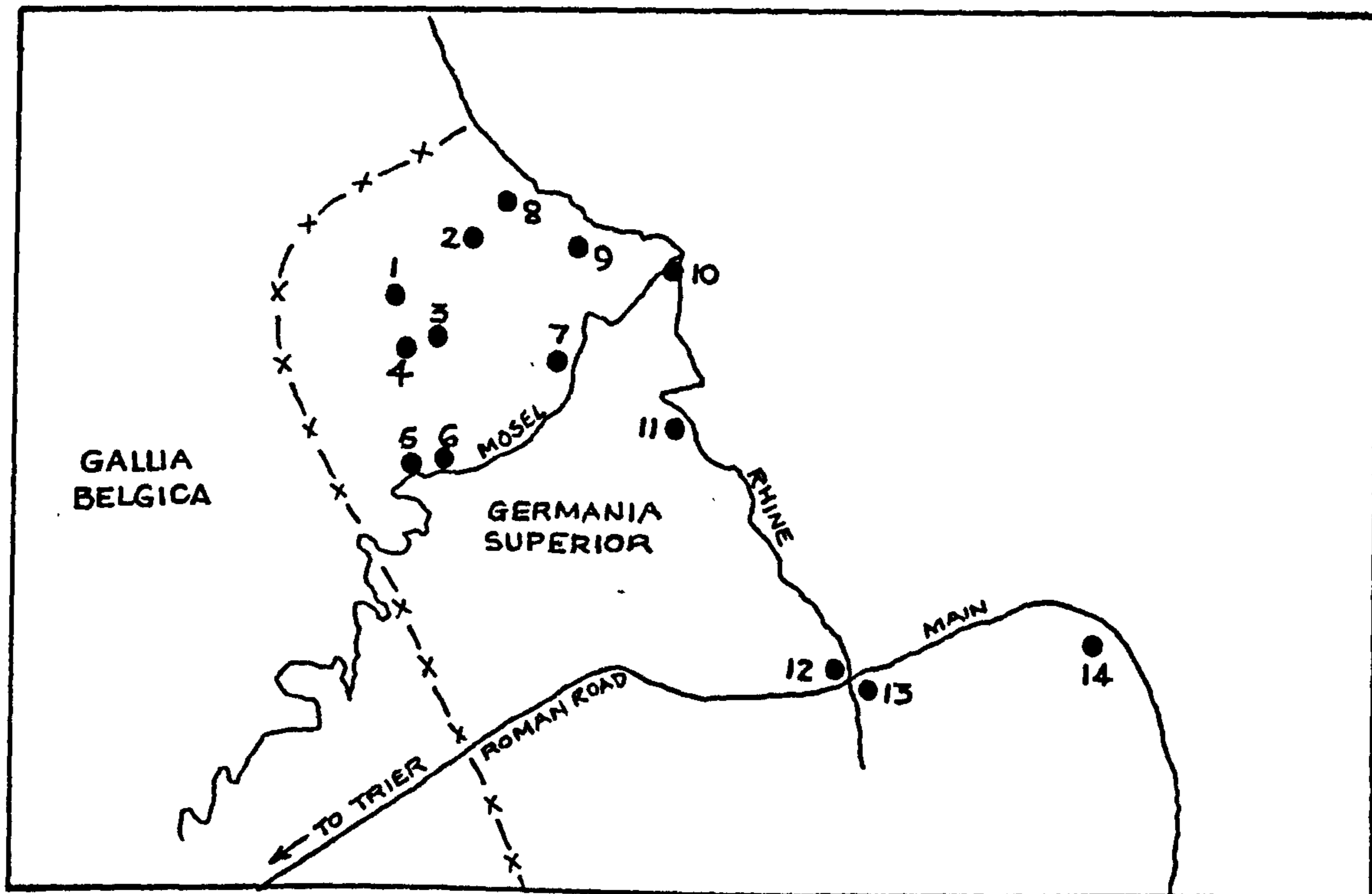
MAP N° 11

Region 2 (Zone 2a)



MAP Nº 12

Region 2 (zone 2b)

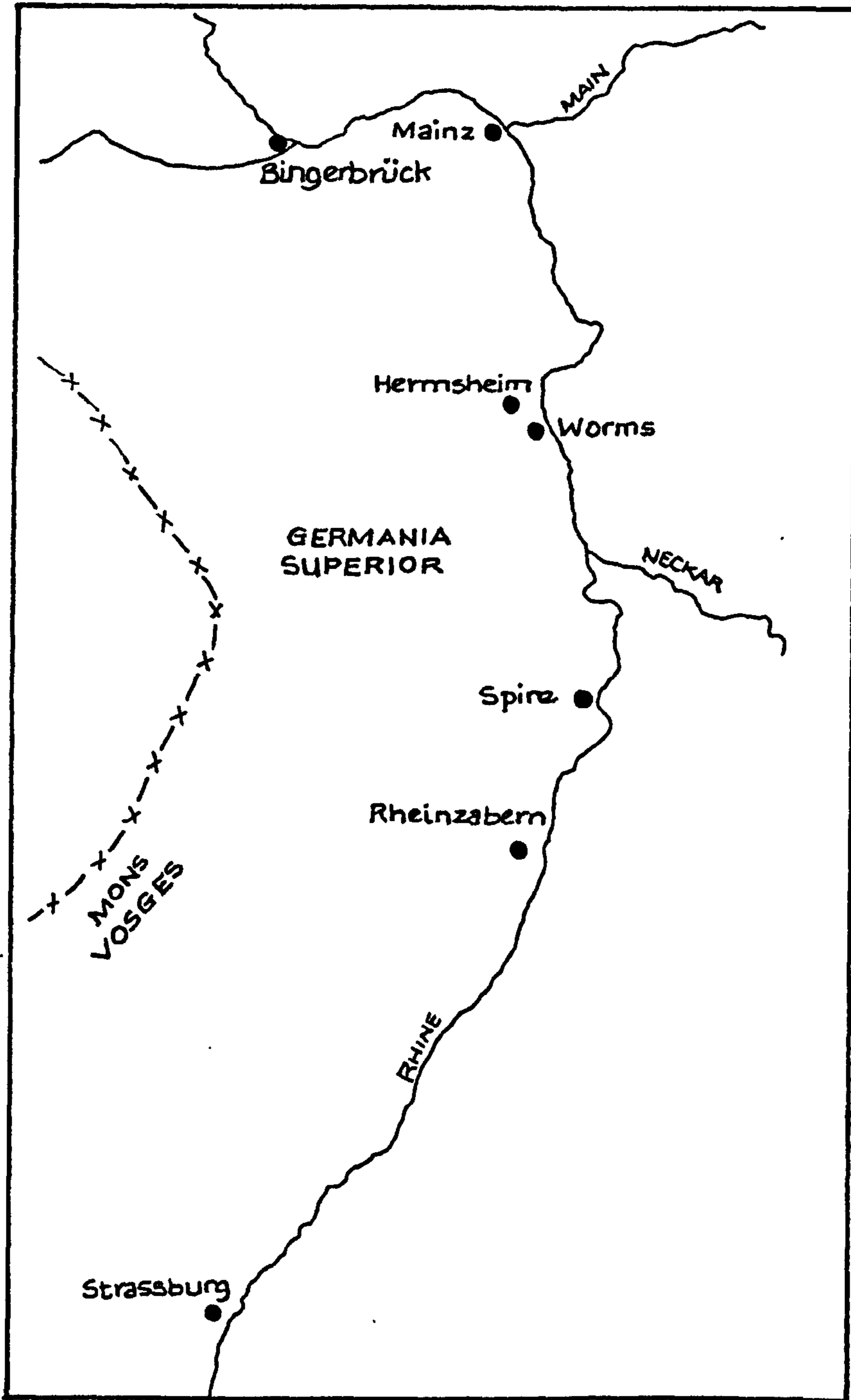


Provincial Boundary: -x-x-x-x-

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Ettringen | 8. Andernach |
| 2. Kretz | 9. Kärlich |
| 3. Gehring - Kehrig | 10. Coblenz |
| 4. Brachtendorf | 11. Boppard |
| 5. Pommern | 12. Bingerbrück |
| 6. Karden | 13. Bingen |
| 7. Gondorf | 14. Mainz |

MAP No 13

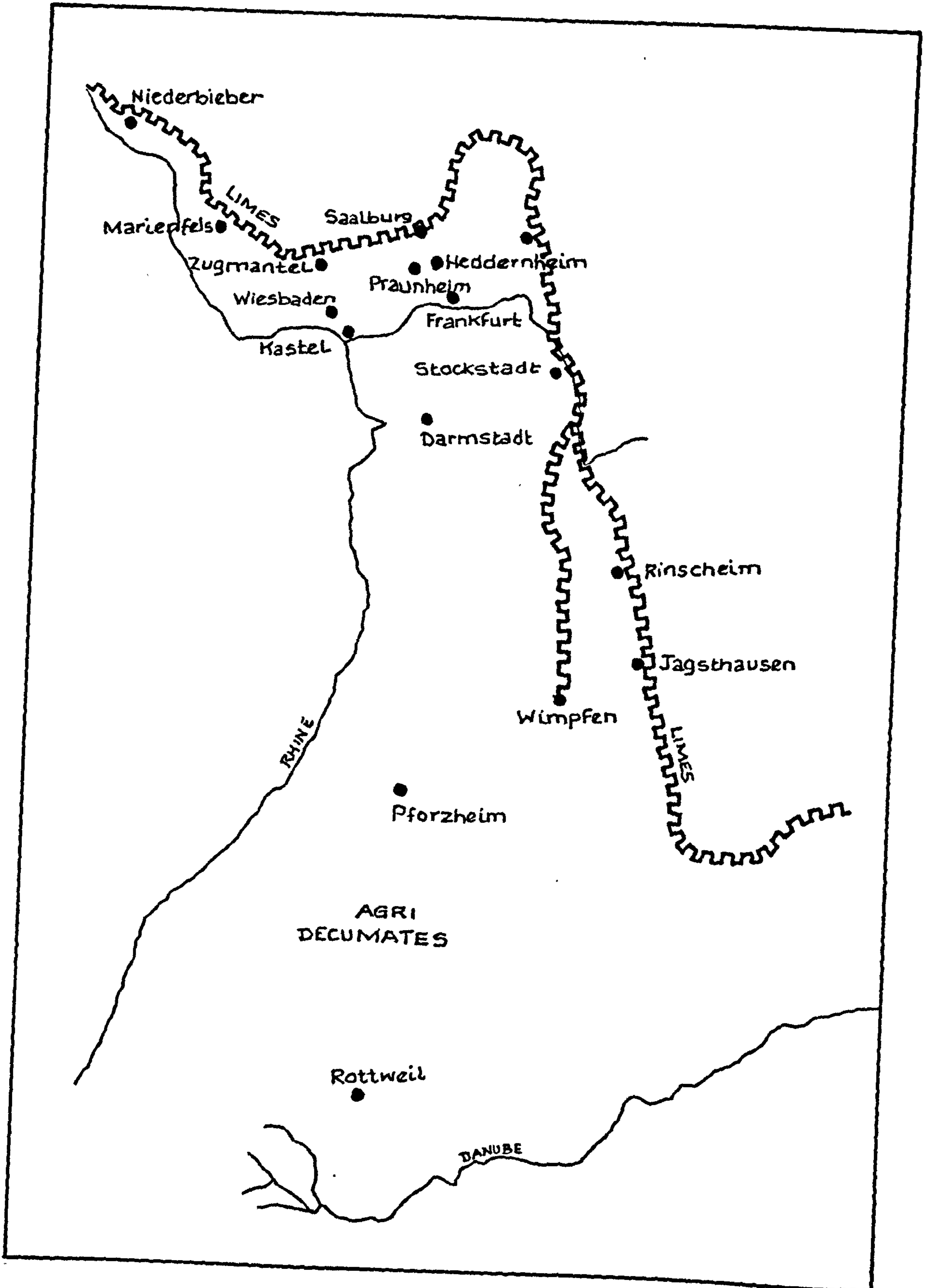
Region 2 (Zone 2c)



Frontier of Germania Superior -x-x-x

MAP N° 14

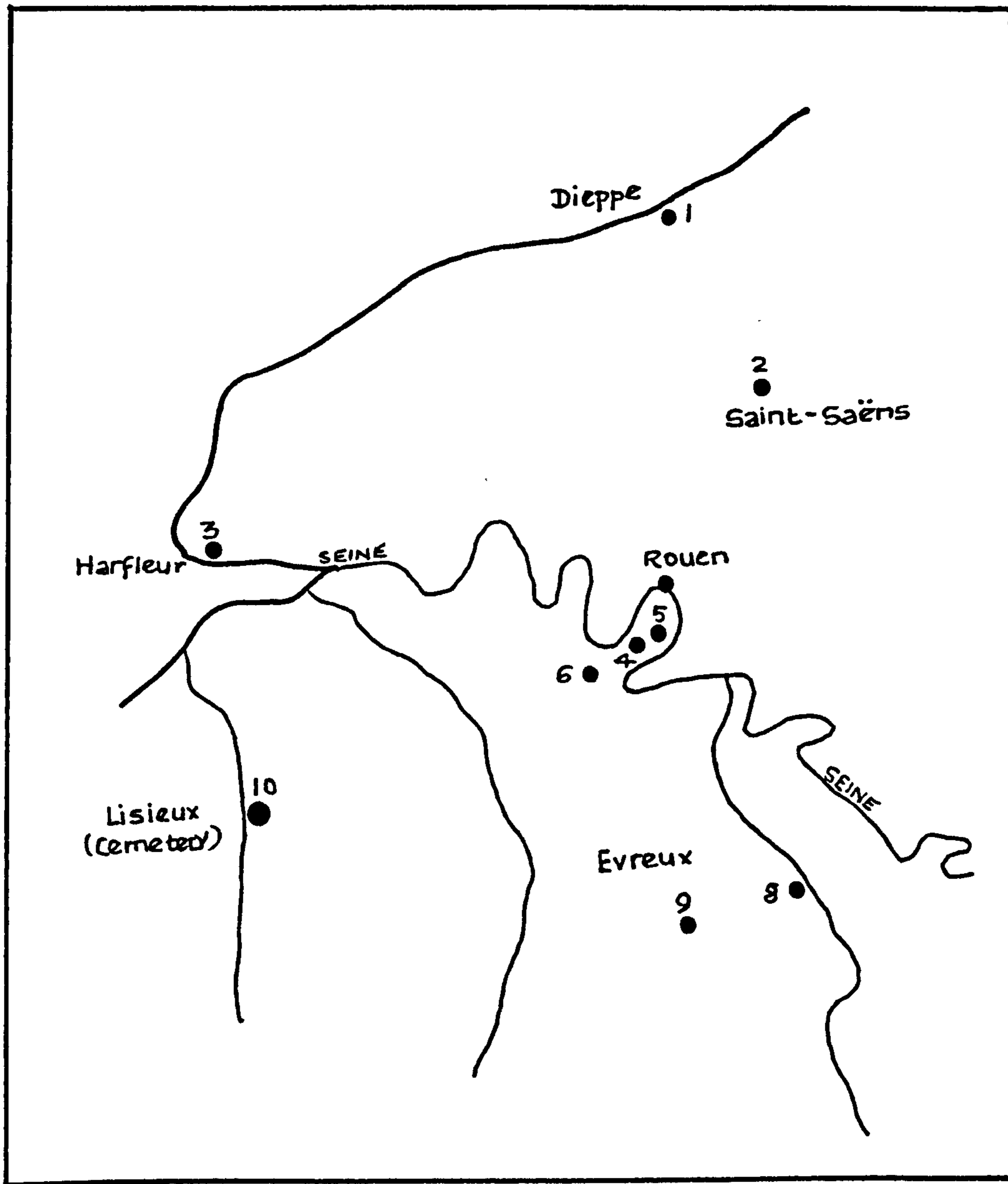
Region 3



Limes = [wavy line symbol]

MAP N°15

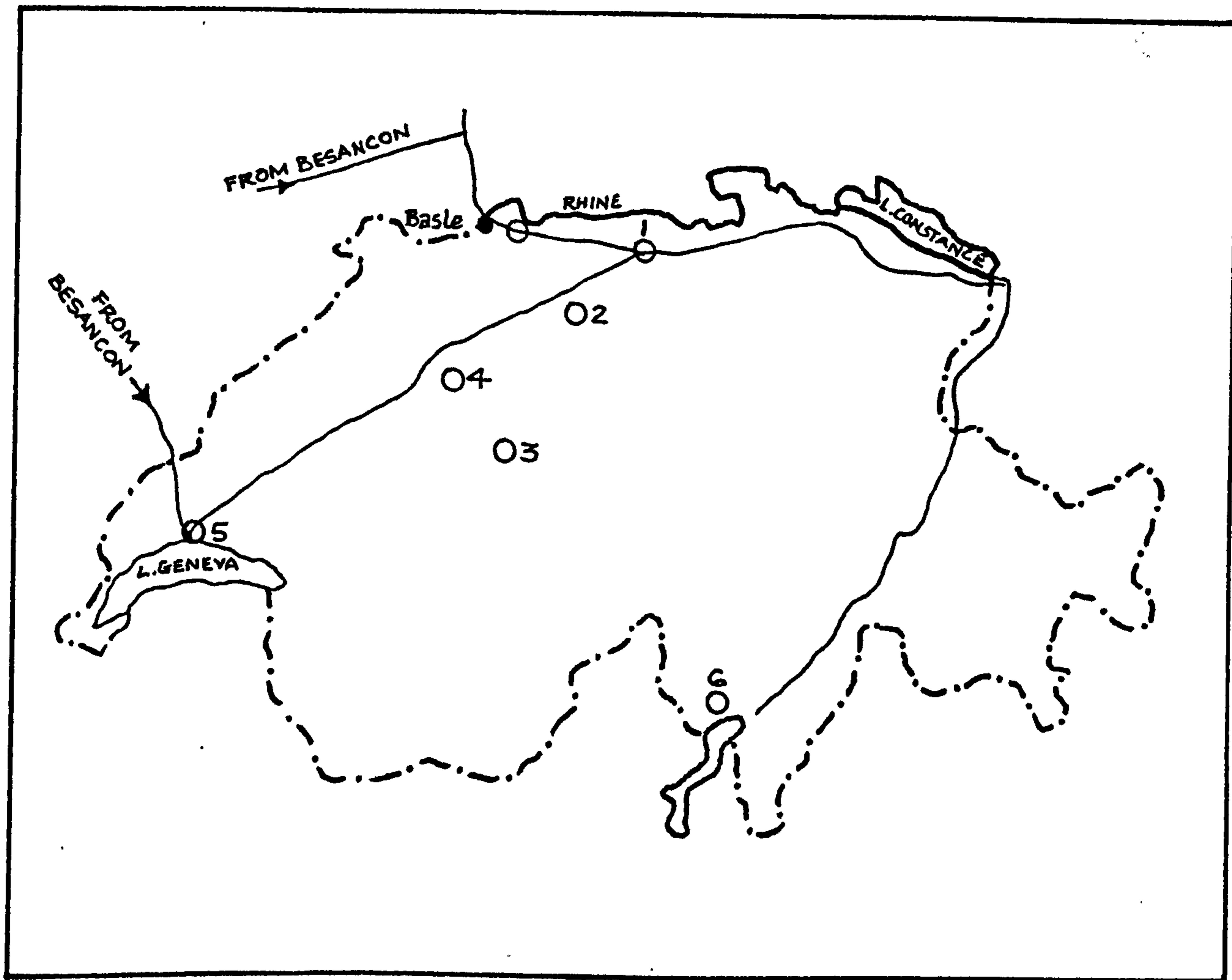
Romano-Celtic Temples in Normandy With Clay Statuettes as ex votoes



1. Cité de Limes (Dieppe)
2. Teurtre, Forêt de Saint-Saëns (Seine Inf)
3. Harfleur (Seine Inf)
4. Les Essarts (Seine Inf)
5. La Mare-du-Puits Forêt de Rouvray (Seine Inf)
6. Saint-Ouen-de-Thouberville (Eure)
7. Catelier de Criquebeuf (Eure)
8. Orgeville (Eure)
9. Baux-Sainte-Croix (Evreux)
10. Lisieux (Calvados) cemetery

MAP Nº 16

Switzerland Region 4 (Zone 4b)

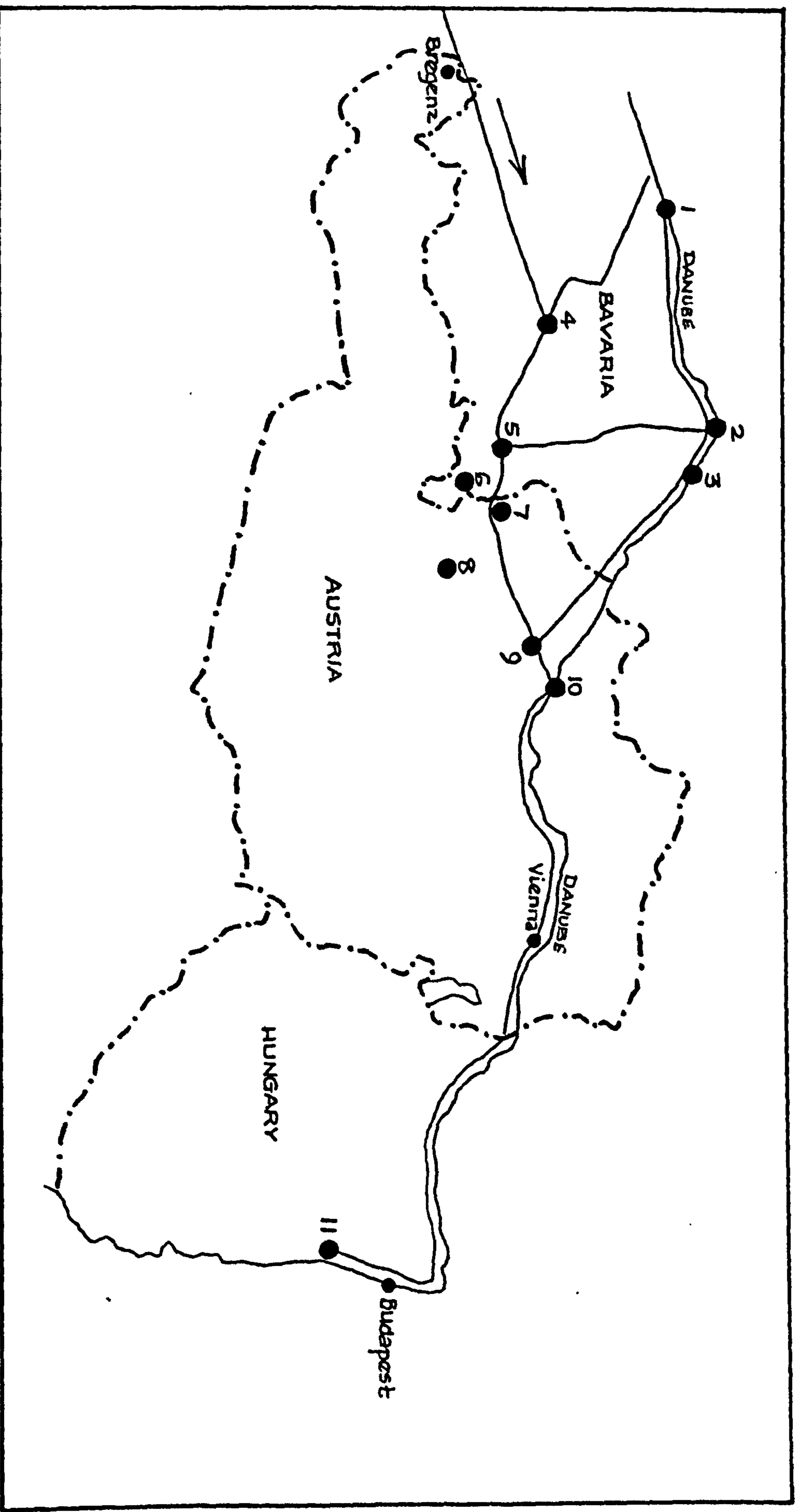


Roman Roads = _____

1. Windisch (Vindonissa).
2. Lostorf (Canton Solothurn)
3. Allmendigen
4. Bern
5. Vidy-Lausanne
6. Muralto-Locarno
7. Augst (?)

MAP N°17

Region 5

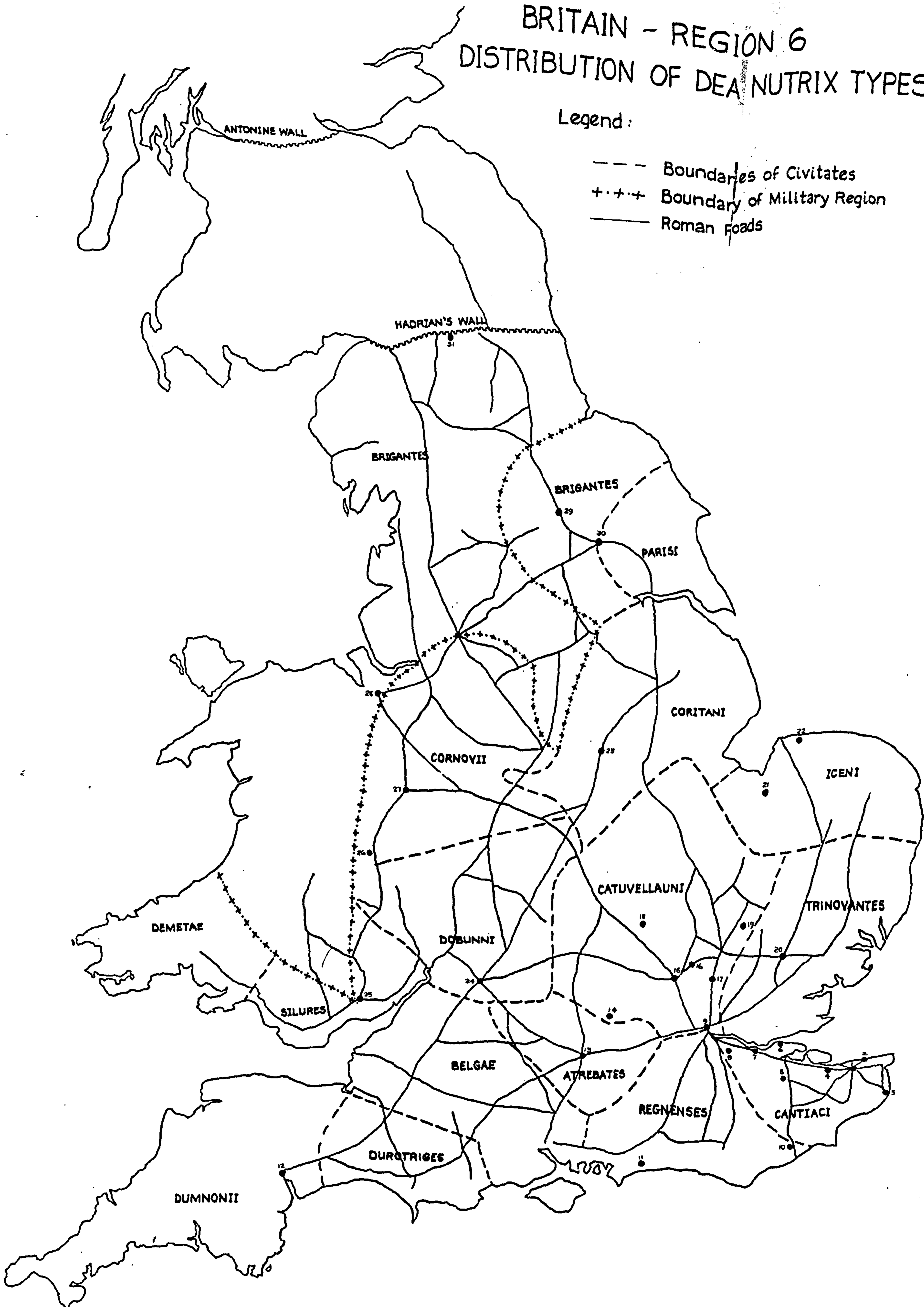


- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Dillingen | 4. Gauting | 7. Salzburg | 10. Linz |
| 2. Regensburg | 5. Pfaffenhofen | 8. Hallstatt | 11. Dunaújváros |
| 3. Straubing | 6. Langacker | 9. Wels | |

BRITAIN - REGION 6 DISTRIBUTION OF DEANUTRIX TYPES

Legend:

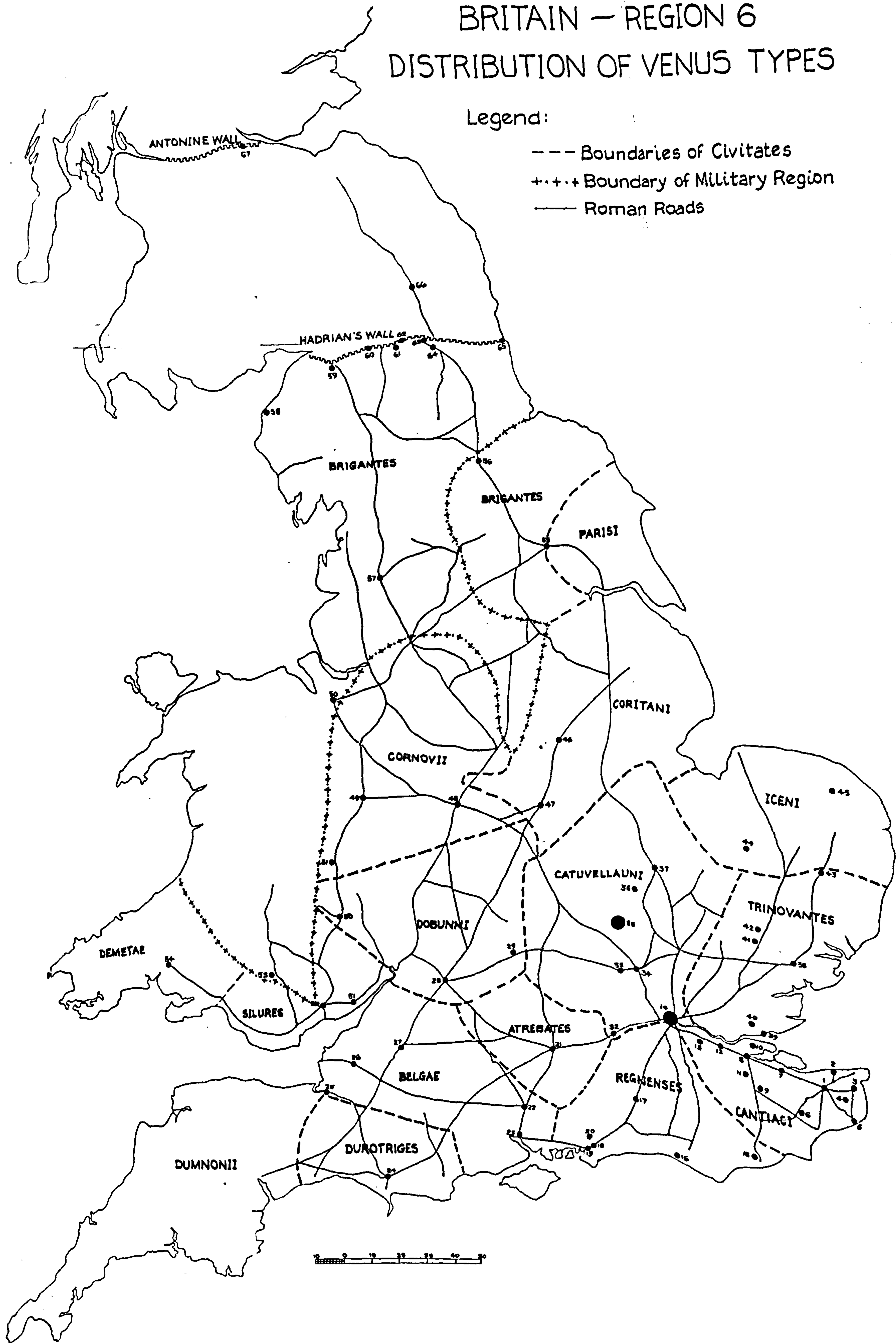
- - - Boundaries of Civitates
- + + + Boundary of Military Region
- Roman roads



BRITAIN - REGION 6 DISTRIBUTION OF VENUS TYPES

Legend:

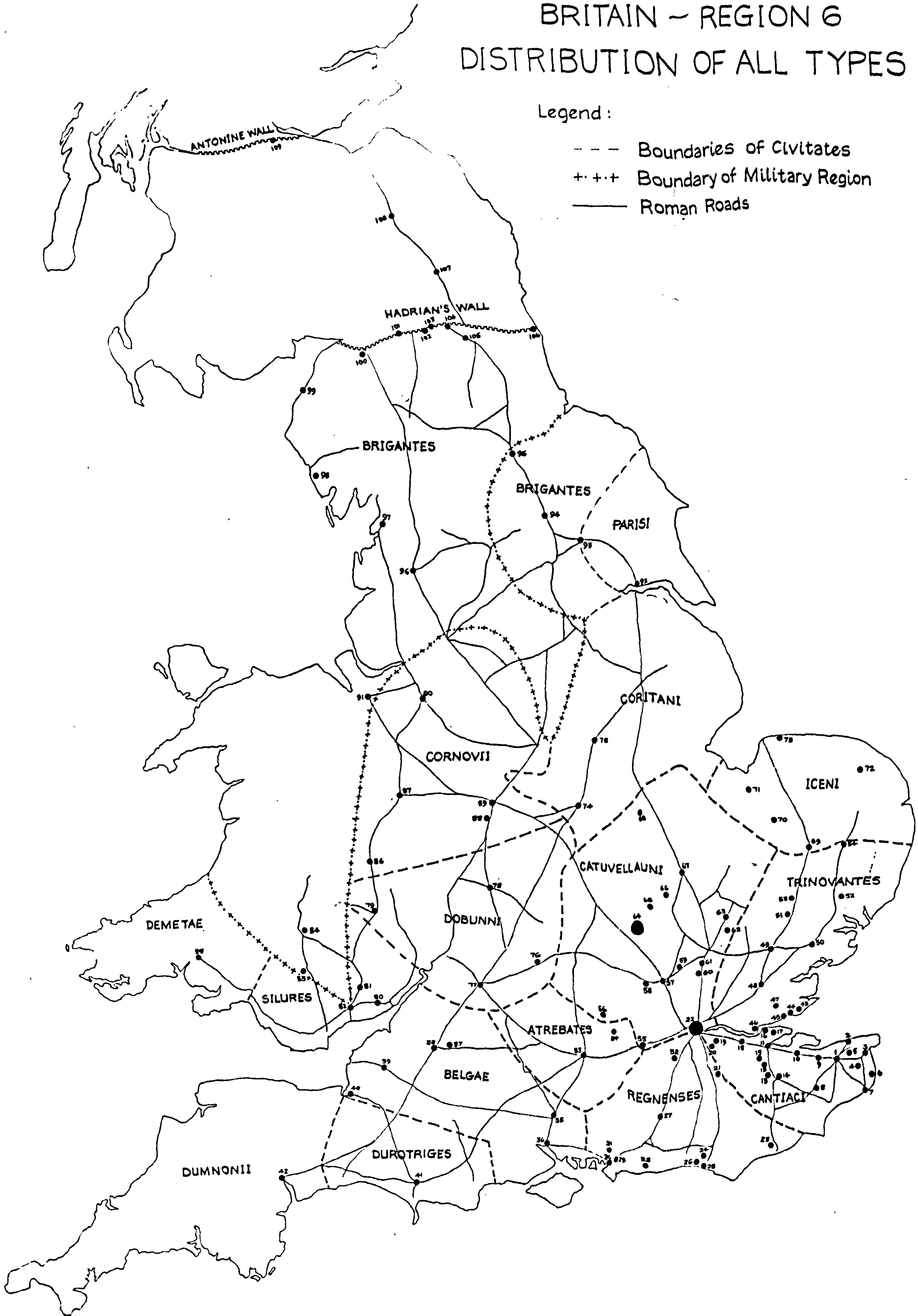
- Boundaries of Civitates
- + + + Boundary of Military Region
- Roman Roads



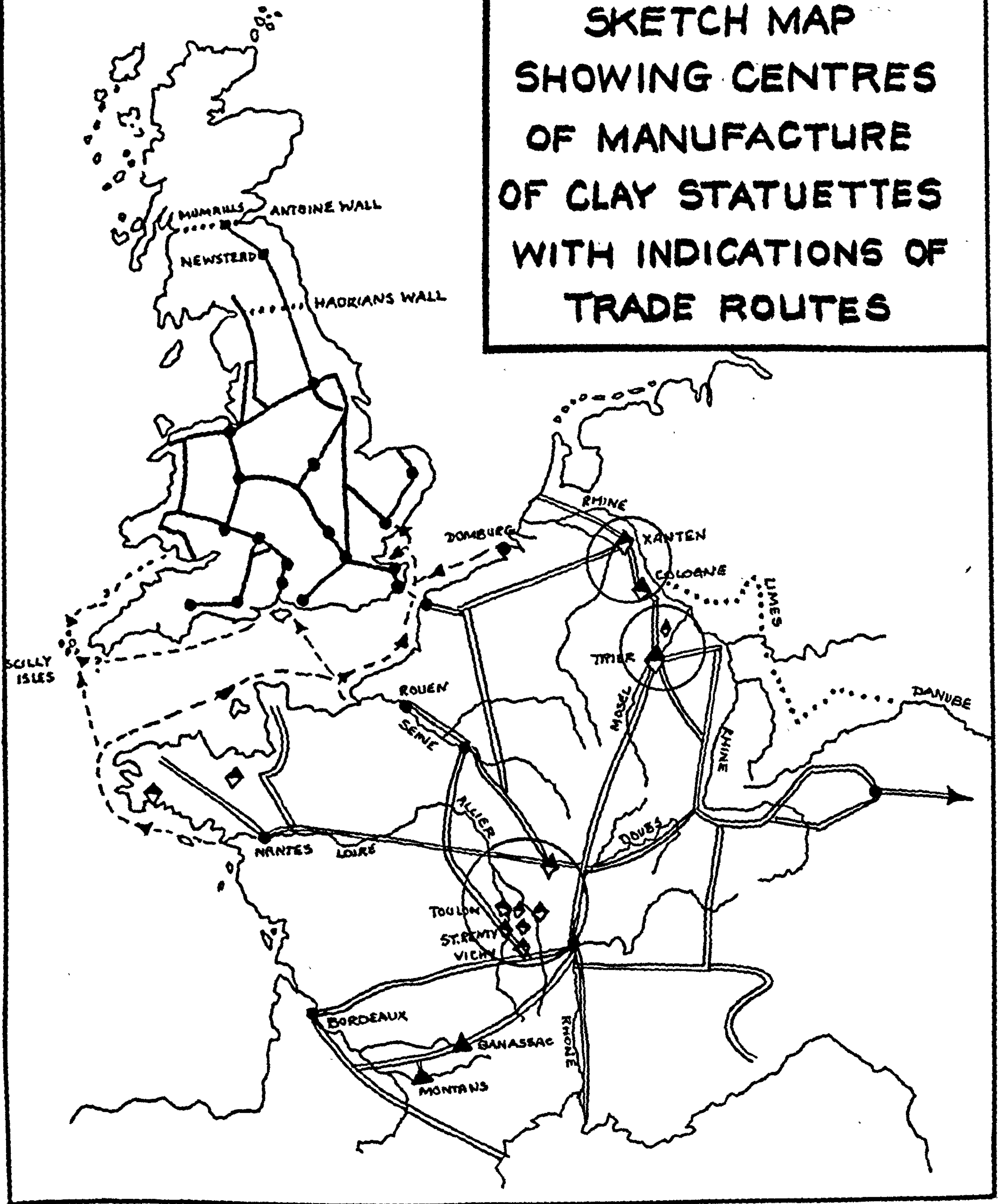
BRITAIN - REGION 6 DISTRIBUTION OF ALL TYPES

Legend:

- Boundaries of Civitates
- + + + Boundary of Military Region
- Roman Roads



SKETCH MAP
 SHOWING CENTRES
 OF MANUFACTURE
 OF CLAY STATUETTES
 WITH INDICATIONS OF
 TRADE ROUTES



- ◆ = Kilns
- = Principle Sites
- = Forts
- △ = Inferred Centres
- ==== Roman Roads