THE *Art of* ROMAN BRITAIN

MARTIN HENIG

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Frontispiece: *Bronze figurine of a muse or temple musician from Silchester, Hampshire. H.11.5cm.* (Photo: Professor Michael Fulford, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading.)

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For Ben Pomerance and in memory of
Professor Jocelyn Toynbee

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Introduction

O, patience!
The statue is but newly fix'd, the colour's
Not dry.

In his essay, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, read to the British Academy in 1905 (and revised twice in the next ten years), Francis Haverfield wrote:

> When the Romans spread their dominion over the island [Celtic art] almost wholly vanished. For that we are not to blame any evil influence of this particular Empire. All native arts, however beautiful tend to disappear before the more even technique and the neater finish of town manufactures (p.48).

Later, when discussing the Celtic artist in Roman society, Haverfield concluded that 'his Celtic art lost its power and approximated to the conventionalism of Samian ware' (p.51). When he writes of 'the heavy inevitable atmosphere of the Roman material civilisation', it is hard not to conclude that his bias is formed by Late Victorian society and those values which Morris and Burne-Jones assailed so passionately. Clearly complex societies, whatever their undoubted virtues, were no good for art.

In the next generation, R.G.Collingwood's assessment of Romano-British art was still more damning. Haverfield's essay belongs to the confident Edwardian age. Collingwood's has the experience of the First World War, of the rise of fascist tyranny exemplified by the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, and the menace of Nazi Germany behind it. Native cultures were being trodden underfoot by 'Imperial' powers which were anything but benificent. Of course Collingwood was too good a philosopher, Classicist and historian to make a direct comparison between the Empire of Rome and the Empire of Mussolini, but the chapter on art in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* first published in 1936 and revised in the following year contains telling remarks:

> At its lowest terms, the history of Romano-British art can be told in a couple of sentences. Before the Roman conquest the Britons were a race of gifted and brilliant artists: the conquest, forcing them into the mould of Roman life *with its vulgar efficiency and lack of taste*, destroyed that gift and reduced their arts to the level of mere manufactures (p.247; author's italics).

Remember that in Italy this was the fascist era, where Mussolini dreamed of a refounded Roman Empire and where the trains ran on time into tasteless and grandiose railway stations.

> Rome taught the Britons to carve stone, to paint wall-plaster, to decorate floors in mosaic. But, of all the results, there is hardly anything that rises above the level of dull, mechanical imitation to that of even third-rate artistic achievement. The Roman models themselves were poor enough; the empire was not an age of good taste; but there is perhaps no province where local attempts to reproduce them failed so dismally as they failed in Britain… On any Romano-British site the impression that constantly haunts the archaeologist, like a bad smell or a stickiness on the fingers, is that of an ugliness which pervades the place like a London fog: not merely the common vulgar ugliness of the Roman empire, but a blundering, stupid ugliness that cannot even rise to the level of that vulgarity (pp.249–50).

Collingwood said in his autobiography (*An Autobiography,* Oxford 1939, 144) how proud he was of this chapter 'which', he wrote, 'I would gladly leave as the sole memorial of my Romano-British studies, and the best example I can give to posterity of how to solve a much-debated problem in history, not by discovering fresh evidence, but by reconsidering questions of principle'. Unfortunately Collingwood's logic is hopelessly flawed by passion and false premises, which are surprising faults to find in a philosopher. His dismissal of 'the naturalistic and merely amusing character of the "Woolworth art" of the Roman empire', means that for him the Bath Gorgon *has* to be Celtic. He claims to have proved this, but in fact he does no more than state his prejudice. Few would deny the beauties of Celtic art, and it is very likely that it often had a symbolic character, but Celtic society and culture were far too limited to merit the term 'civilization' (ibid. p. 137). The power and seductiveness of Collingwood lies in the beauty of his prose, for except for the Gorgon (which he admires) examples do not come into his argument. One wonders where he would have placed the Woodchester pavement.

Collingwood's book is hardly read now, because several decades of archaeological research have inevitably rendered it out of date. Indeed, with a single exception, the factual aspects of the volume have been replaced by Peter Salway's splendid volume in the same *Oxford History of England* (1981). However, Salway decided not to include a chapter on art. Despite Jocelyn Toynbee's superb *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964) which attempts to analyse and catalogue the art existing in the island in Roman times and so provides a solid corpus of evidence on which all future study has to be based, and even despite Sheppard Frere's short corrective section in his *Britannia,* the 'official' or at least the generally-held view of British art and of Rome's effect on it remains for many people very much as Collingwood wrote it fifty years ago.

Although Anglo-Saxon art finds a place in most courses on art in the British Isles, Roman Britain has until now been beneath the notice of professional art historians. Even though Toynbee revised Collingwood's extremely negative approach and demonstrated that there are many items worth looking at—as a Roman art historian she does not start with the premise that Roman art was a bad thing in itself—the achievements of British artists under Rome are seen as modest. The best works of art were imports. More recently John Phillips and Claire Lindgren have made a virtue of necessity. The awkward figure modelling and stylization of certain sculptures, the very 'ugliness' despised by Collingwood are selected as distinctive features of a legitimate provincial style. The influence of modern art, such as the sculpture of Henry Moore and Elizabeth Frink may be important here.

Other specialist studies have not attempted to preach on such large issues, although David Neal's book on mosaics in Britain (1981) tries to show, as only a practising artist can, how mosaics were composed. In doing so, he proves (as Collingwood did not) the living power of artistic imagination. Another rather 'quiet' book which is of similar importance is the volume on wall-painting by Norman Davey and Roger Ling, published in the same year. It needs to be supplemented by a short book (1985) and various papers by the second author. The evidence is more fragmentary than it is for mosaic, but what is revealed is, once again, living art which could on occasion rise to distinction.

If I had thought that Collingwood or Haverfield were right or even half right it is doubtful whether I would have bothered to embark on this book. Instead, I believe that Roman art has for too long been underrated and that the art of Roman Britain, a very interesting provincial version of it, reaches surprising heights of excellence. Of Roman art in its wider context we now know and appreciate much more. The *Ara Pacis* must here stand for a cornucopia of works

ranging in size from exquisitely cut gems and masterpieces of silver plate to paintings such as those in the Villa of the Mysteries, outside Pompeii, instinct with religious fervour, and the shady grove of Livia's garden room at Prima Porta. Roman mosaic displays the same discipline in design found in Celtic art; softness in modelling appears on stucco vaults and in sculpture, whose themes include portraiture and historical relief. Roman art encompasses daily life and nature, splendour, colour and intimacy. Recent studies have brought out the magnitude of an achievement to which the epithet 'vulgar ugliness' scarcely seems appropriate.

The genesis of the present work lies in the period when I was editing a handbook on the art of the Empire (cf. M.Henig (ed.), *A Handbook of Roman Art* (Oxford 1983)), and realized that almost every theme could be addressed from the standpoint of this one province. However, as I was working on *Religion in Roman Britain* (1984) at the time I was very aware that art is created to meet specific needs; the patron is as important as the sculptor or mosaicist. I intend this book to be a companion to *Religion* and a modest contribution towards understanding society in a Roman province.

It is a number of years since I first raised the standard for the better understanding of Romano-British art (M.Henig, 'Graeco-Roman Art and Romano-British Imagination', *JBAA* cxxxviii, 1985, 1–22) and I apologize for the delay in turning the many thoughts circulating in my mind into a manuscript. Unlike Collingwood, I am no philosopher and I offer no theory of historical processes. I would hope that this book will occasion debate and encourage visitors to museums to use their eyes and aesthetic senses in the same way in the archaeology gallery as they do when confronted by paintings.

I have attempted to present, in seven chapters, how art was practised and what it meant in Roman Britain. The technicalities of craftsmanship are not, however, discussed. Other specialist writers have done this better, and the reader will find an excellent introduction to many of the arts in the book edited by the late Donald Strong and by David Brown, *Roman Crafts* (1976). The final chapter here is intended to suggest that we can only approach the aesthetic world of the past through our own experience. Sometimes such experience is personal; but other shirts in attitude, towards the Romans for example, tell us a great deal about the period in which a scholar worked: I am still thankful that I studied Modern History both at school and at Cambridge. Why, for instance, with its long history of publication in the field of English art (see H.Bolitho (ed.), *A Batsford Century, 1843–1943* (1943)), is this the first book on the art of Roman Britain to be published by Batsford? Surely it is because the Arts and Crafts movement rather distrusted a civilization deemed to be mechanical, and preferred church architecture and rural customs? We are back to Haverfield and his world once again.

The illustrations in this book can only reveal a small part of the large and rich corpus of Romano-British art. In making a selection I have aimed to exclude the examples figured in my *Religion in Roman Britain*, which I regard as a companion to the present volume—the more so as a large percentage of artworks came into being in the service of the gods, and it is never possible to keep the two themes distinct. The photographs and drawings in the two books will at least show that, despite Collingwood's diatribe, the inhabitants of *Britannia* were far from blind to beautiful things. The reader should have no difficulty in finding additional illustrations by following up references in the notes. I have included a number of engravings and drawings made in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for where they are accurate they often bring out the quality of the pieces better than the 'objective' modern photograph. Moreover, they provide a vital visual commentary to chapter 8. In recent years, there has been a marked revival in archaeological draughtsmanship, as examples of the work of Margaret Darling, Nick Griffiths and David Neal all testify.

A large number of people have helped me in my studies, in discussions on art (most of it non-Roman) and by taking me to sites or providing that atmosphere of *otium* which has aided relaxation. My debt to my mother and to my brother, Stephen, is immense. I also wish to thank Elisabeth de Bièvre, Tom Blagg, Richard and Katherine Bradley, Marian Campbell, Derek Content, Audrey Cruse, Barry Cunliffe, Kenneth Dark, Graham Davies, Sheppard Frere, Brian and Lauren Gilmour, Catherine Johns, Laurence Keen, Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink, Julian Munby, David Neal, Ann, Ian and Margaret Nimmo-Smith, John Onians, June Osborne, Ben Pomerance, Nigel Ramsay, Philip Redpath, David Richards, Gertrud Seidmann, Grahame Soffe, Jack and Jenny

Stringer, Alison and Robin Taylor, Percival Turnbull, Julian Ward, Graham Webster and Robert Wilkins. Like Thomas Morgan (1886), I acknowledge a very warm debt to the *British Archaeological Association* for keeping me amused and stimulated over the years I have spent as Hon. Editor and for its wonderful conferences; it is very inspiring to be in an atmosphere where art is of such passionate concern to so many people. The Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, has provided a very agreeable base in a University not always noted for its friendliness and the free run of its photo-archive from which the unacknowledged illustrations have been taken. In particular I must thank Robert Wilkins and Jenny Lowe, without whom I could not have illustrated the book. Tim Potter and John Cherry and Catherine Johns obtained many photos from the British Museum for me, and the Trustees kindly gave me permission to publish. John Coulston, John Davies (Norfolk Museums Service), Margaret Darling, Sheppard Frere, Mike Fulford, George Gray, Tony Giles, Francis Grew, Nick Griffiths, Jenny Hall (Museum of London), Mark Hassall, the late R.A.Hattatt, Christine Insley-Green, Christine Jones (Colchester Museums); Keith Knowles, Arthur Macgregor (Ashmolean Museum), Julian Munby, Lynn Pitts, Jude Plouviez, Grahame Soffe, Bryn Walters, Graham Webster, David Wicks (Norfolk Landscape Archaeology) were also helpful in supplying photos or drawings. Above all, I am most grateful to Robert Kiln FSA, the British Academy, the Marc Fitch Fund and Sheppard Frere FSA for grants towards the cost of colour plates, which I judged to be essential to this project.

Without all the recent monographs on art, for instance the British fascicules of the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (sculpture), works by Roger Ling (wallpainting and mosaics), David Smith, David Neal and Peter Johnson (mosaics), Catherine Johns and Kenneth Painter (jewellery and minor arts), I don't think I would have had the confidence to start. I am sure that some—perhaps all—will disagree with aspects, at least, of the present work. As when I was writing *Religion in Roman Britain* (1984), I am still conscious of the debt I owe to Professor Peter Brown, whose seminars, now two decades ago, helped to shape my approach to the past. It has been a privilege to share my enthusiasm for Roman archaeology with students of the University of East Anglia, Queen's University, Belfast and Oxford University (both within and outside its walls). Finally I must thank Peter Kemmis Betty of Batsford for commissioning the book and for his subsequent patience, and also two successive archaeological editors, Graham Webster and Mike Fulford as well as Sarah Vernon-Hunt who helped to discipline an unruly manuscript and Charlotte Kilenyi who saw it through the press.

Oxford, 1994
Translation of King Edward the Martyr

CHAPTER ONE

The Art of the Celts

Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish;
A vapour sometime like a bear or lion,…
That which is now a horse, even with a thought
The rock dislimns, and makes it indistinct
As water is in water.

For anyone accustomed to the traditions of Classical and Hellenistic art, the dissolution of natural forms must imply a retreat from reality. The Celtic artist thrived on those very ambiguities evoked by Mark Antony in his final despair. We have only to look at the bird heads incorporated in the fleshy leaf forms derived from Greek acanthus ornament upon the circular shield-boss from Wandsworth, or the reinterpretation of the head of Apollo and the biga respectively on the obverse and the reverse of Gaulish and British copies of the gold staters of Philip II of Macedon to see what was involved.[1]

Nevertheless, the art of Mediterranean lands was a constant stimulus to the Celtic craftsman in the lowland zone of mainland Britain until the Roman Conquest. Thereafter, the disciplines of classicism appear generally to have been paramount, although Celtic inspiration can be seen behind a continued liking for line and pattern as well as in certain specific forms and motifs. Indeed, a considerable quantity of metalwork, mainly brooches, pins, studs and other such trinkets, were still ornamented in the traditional style and embellished with enamel. Celtic-derived ornament is even to be found on thoroughly Roman items such as the *trullae* used in Roman houses and at religious shrines for the service of food and libations, and sealboxes which protected wax impressions made with signet rings. Ireland, never incorporated in the Roman Empire, and most of Scotland, only part of which was occupied for about a century, remained thoroughly Celtic in culture, and any art practised there was in the La Tène style throughout the Roman Iron Age; so much so that the main problem, in Ireland at any rate, is to date it.[2] The continuity of native art through large parts of Britain led to a reflorescence of high-quality metalwork during the Dark Ages. The apogee of late Celtic achievement, manuscripts and associated ecclesiastical metalwork, was compared by Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century to 'the work of angels', but this art was itself a fusion between native and Roman ideas as its literate Latin and Christian context testifies, and it could not have come into being but for Rome.[3]

Earlier attempts at such fusion between two very different artistic cultures can be seen in the Roman province of Britain. Although purely Celtic art was confined to comparatively unimportant items of dress and the style was otherwise only manifested directly in a few motifs, notably S-scrolls and the almond-shaped eyes on some human figures even in major

sculpture, other far deeper influences illustrate the debt. With regard to the Roman mainstream of artistic development, which is the chief theme of this book, it was the qualities of the Celtic imagination in terms of pattern, design and colour which gave distinction to the art of the north-western provinces in general, and especially that of Britain. One of the aims of this book will be to suggest that the strength of Insular and Gaulish art lay in a constant tension between the Graeco-Roman prototype and a native interpretation of it.

To many enthusiasts for Celtic culture the advent of Rome was a disaster, a classic case of a colonial power destroying a refined and delicate local civilization. The best-formulated expression of this idea, as noted in the introduction, is that of Collingwood when he writes that the Britons had been brilliant artists until the brutality and 'vulgar efficiency' of the conquest had 'destroyed that gift and reduced their arts to the level of mere manufactures'.[4] The concept of the Celt as a victim doubtless appealed to Collingwood in the era of rampant fascism, but it ignores the fact that the Romans were normally very careful not to attack native identity, but rather to encourage it and thereby help it to conform to their own ideals. The process is most familiar in the case of religion, where it is called syncretism, but the equation of Sulis with Minerva, for example, not only created a new language for religion but, at the same time, new means of artistic expression. It has not only been the specialist in Celtic culture who has judged the results harshly. The dedicated classical archaeologist has seen the standards of Graeco-Roman civilization swamped by barbarism, although on the whole such an attitude has been expressed either as a result of ignoring Romano-British (or Gallo-Roman) art or at best by relegating it to a footnote in wide surveys of the Roman achievement; after all there is a great deal to survey and is it not a perverse desire to survey Roman art through the medium of a remote provincial culture?

In order to understand the art of Roman Britain it is vital to come to an appreciation of both Celtic design and Graeco-Roman art. Those who have written seriously and sympathetically on Celtic art, such as Paul Jacobsthal in his great work *Early Celtic Art*, have indeed explored the debt of the Celts to the Greek world in the early period.[5] The most characteristic fleshy lobes and sweeping free-flowing curves derive from palmettes and vegetal friezes. Satyr-heads become fantastic masks; naturalistic lions, curious half-abstract beasts. Masterpieces such as the Lorraine flagons in the British Museum could not have existed without Greek and Etruscan metalwork and the wine trade, but they required smiths of enormous skill and artistic flair for their realization. However, most students have seen the coming of the Romans to Gaul and Britain in the first centuries BC and AD as having had a very different effect, as though classicism was like medicine, a little being beneficial and a lot being poison. Admittedly, apart from the present writer, this has been questioned explicitly by Professor E.M.Jope and implicitly by others writing on provincial culture.[6] We can be certain that, if a change occurred, it did so because patrons and artists willed it and that there was a good reason for a change of direction, lying in the nature and limitations of Celtic art.

Surviving examples of Celtic art, established in the British Isles from about the fourth century BC, are largely confined to metalwork, although wood-carving may well have had considerable importance and patterned textiles, too, probably had cultural significance. There are a few carved stones in Ireland, notably the Turoe Stone, which perhaps had a religious or commemorative significance, but there was no major tradition even here, and it may be assumed that large-scale sculpture as well as painting were unknown. Art was thus used in a fairly narrow range of circumstances and, as far as our knowledge of it is concerned, it was largely synonymous with the craft of the iron-, bronze- and gold-smiths who produced weapons, armour, horsegear, fire-dogs, buckets and cauldrons, drinking vessels, torques and other jewellery and mirrors. It was a means of display at the feast and in battle, and was thus central to the rather limited requirements of a tribal society. The major pieces belonged to chieftains and their wives, who could only establish their rank in society either by the intrinsic worth of their possessions or by the virtuosity of workmanship displayed by the craftsman in their employ.

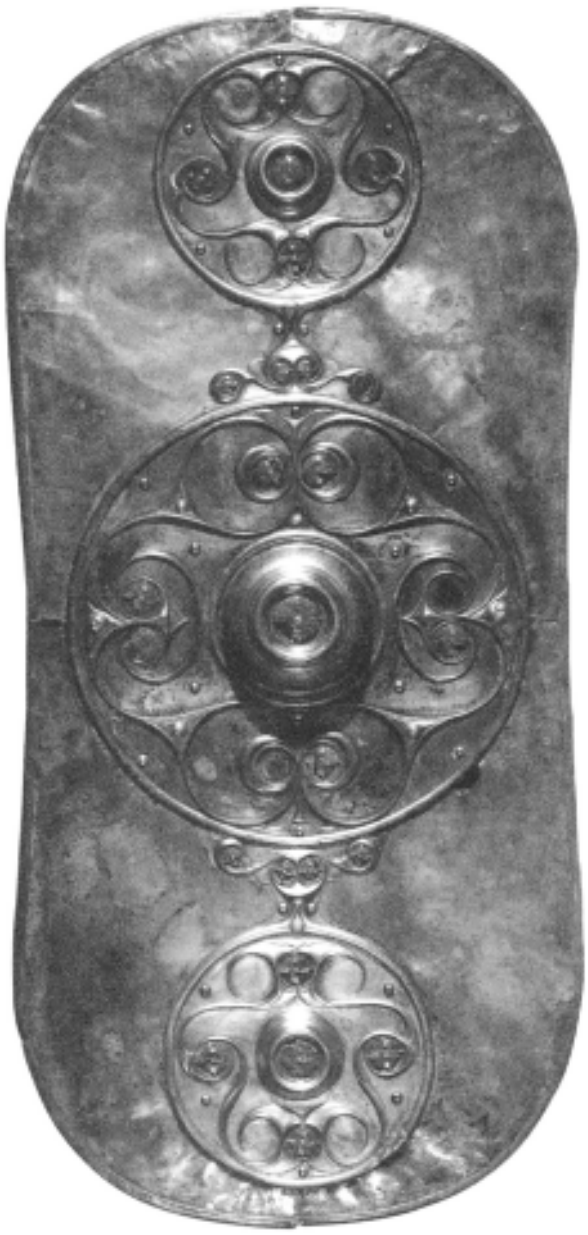
As far as I know, no major item of Celtic art in Britain actually comes from the battlefield or from the feasting hall where it was displayed. The preservation of so much art is the result of secondary use. In some instances, these objects accompanied their owners to the grave. One important area for such finds lies in eastern Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire

(Humberside) where they are associated with the so-called Arras culture of the second century BC.[7] Grave goods include swords with decorated scabbards for men and brooches and mirrors for women. A small canister with engraved curvilinear ornament from a grave at Wetwang Slack is an example of a more unusual item; perhaps containing either some precious commodity or an amulet.[8] A century and more later, the graves of the chieftain class of the Aylesford-Swarling culture of Kent and the Welwyn culture of Hertfordshire, Essex and contiguous counties contain a more luxurious range of treasures, many of them influenced by Rome if not actual Roman imports, associated with the drinking of wine—such as the Aylesford bucket itself.[9] The iron fire-dogs from several of the Welwyn culture graves demonstrate the skills of a local blacksmithing tradition, which could also be used in constructing a stand for Italian amphorae.[10] Almost half of the fine series of some 36 recognized British mirrors with decorated backs are known to have come from burials of women, and range from Essex in the east to Cornwall and Gloucestershire in the west.[11] However, weapons were not generally thought appropriate in male burials by this period and perhaps this indicates a change in custom towards the consumerism prevalent in Roman times. Certainly, art-objects continued to be placed in graves long after the Conquest, and although the practice was universal in the ancient world, it is tempting to see many of the insular examples, such as the Bartlow barrows on the Cambridgeshire—Essex border, as marking the final Romanization of a native rite, even though by the second century none of the art was truly Celtic.[12] Whatever the exact form of the objects, they established the status of the deceased in the other world, and incidentally provide us with a showpiece of their cultural and artistic aspirations.

The other way in which objects have been preserved was their deliberate deposition in rivers or lakes, or in pits on dry land. Posidonius quoted by Strabo tells us of the gold ornaments deposited in sacred lakes near Toulouse (Strabo iv, i, 13). The caches of gold torques from Snettisham, Norfolk, seem to mark a similar series of votive deposits within a sacred area on land, and the Ipswich torques may be part of another such deposit.[13] The cache of bronze objects, armour and horse- and chariot-fittings from Llyn Cerrig Bach in Anglesey, many of which are decorated, indeed came from a lake, and the vast majority of single finds of metalwork in Britain were dredged from rivers, and are likewise votive offerings.[14] To some degree this is equivalent to the gift of a precious object to a Roman temple, but a prestige item such as the Battersea shield **(1),** once it was thrown into the Thames, was no longer available to advertise its original owner's greatness, unlike a piece of plate deposited in a temple during Roman times, which continued to be used in temple ritual or at least shown to worshippers on feast days. In human terms the only moment at which the former could serve such a purpose was at the very moment of the sacrifice when it was removed from circulation for ever.[15] Of course the intricate artistry could hardly be admired in such circumstances, again unlike the treasures in Greek and Roman temples which frequently served as museums. For us it seems odd that art should be destroyed in this way; part of the answer must be that the lost objects continued to have a real life in the hands of the unseen powers (like the sword Excalibur in Arthurian myth). The practice may also have helped to preserve the owners of great wealth from envy, both human and divine, and, after all, goldsmiths and bronzesmiths were at hand to replace what was lost. Most surviving Celtic art has thus been found in special contexts where it had been discarded.

Some art does come from settlement sites of high status, such as hillforts, albeit mainly as fragments or else as small items such as brooches. Coins, too, deserve a mention here as decorated objects of wide circulation. Such material enables us to relate Celtic art to daily life. The workshop debris found at Gussage All Saints, Dorset, dating from the first century BC is of particular importance.[16] The site lay close to the perimeter, at the main entrance of the fort, which makes sense considering the danger of fire. Over 7000 fragments of moulds for the manufacture of horse trappings were found, as well as some discarded scrapmetal, a small billet of tin bronze, modelling tools of bone and fragmentary crucibles.

As far as we can tell from the designs on the moulds, which include leaf-like ornament for a terret identical to one from Mill Plain, Suffolk, and a triskele for a lynchpin like an example found at Owlesbury, Hampshire, the style drew on a repertoire common throughout southern Britain. It can be argued that the workshop only flourished for a brief period and that the smith was itinerant. Clearly, the existence of a *koiné* without pronounced regional



1 *The Battersea shield. L.77.5cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

variation suggests smiths travelling from patron to patron. On the other hand it has been pointed out that a bronze-casting workshop demanded organization, with supplies of oak-charcoal, beeswax, levigated clay, sand and metals being available. Smiths moved from court to court and doubtless they could be sought out by other patrons and might expect to find facilities in which to practise their craft elsewhere. The appearance of smiths on coins of Cunobelin **(2)** and Dubnovellaunus, of course, demonstrate their assured status in Iron Age society. Even more significant than the existence of a couple of coin-types depicting smiths is the fact of coinage itself, struck by the ruling powers of the Celtic world. This demonstrated the importance of the courts of tribal chieftains in patronage, either simply as providers of largesse in the form of gold coins and torques and similar items, or, later, when a sophisticated monetary system came into existence, as the authorities which guaranteed the exchange system.[17] Clearly the smith had a major function in society throughout the Iron Age.

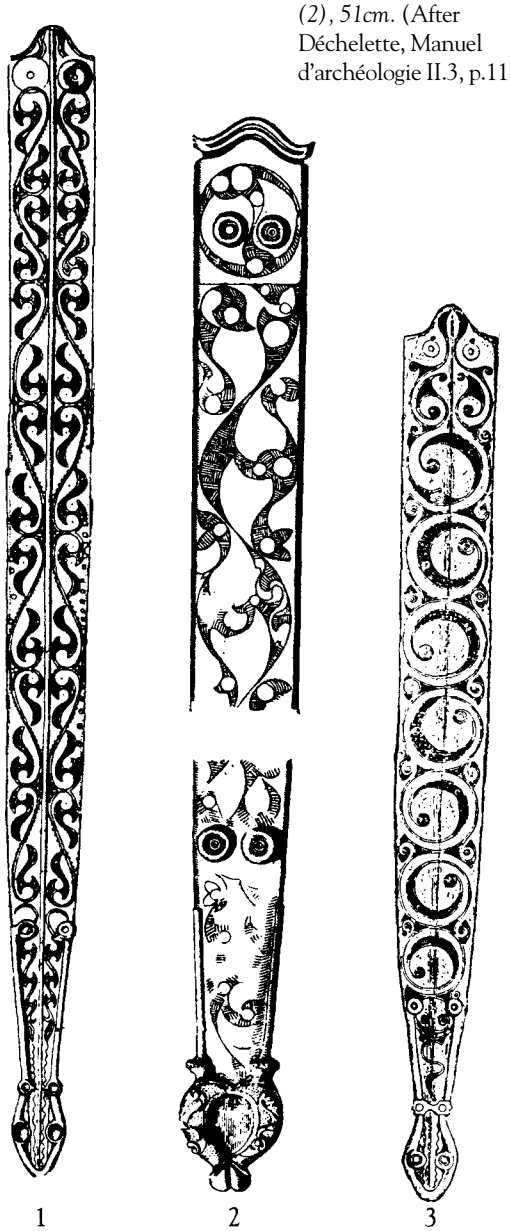
If casting requires a good knowledge of technique which can only have been acquired through rigorous apprenticeship, designing patterns whether with bone tools for casting, with graver, or with hammer and punches, required a strong sense of design. As has been demonstrated in studying the layout of the patterns on the backs of the Holcombe and Mayer mirrors, there was nothing fay or wayward here. It required skill with compasses, in laying out arcs, conceptualizing finished results, and an instinctive feeling for harmony.[18] There is no doubt that the technical problems of casting metals or producing attractive designs were taxing ones, but they touch only one aspect of artistic creativity. What did the decoration of metalwork mean to those who commissioned it? Before attempting to address this question, it is a good idea to take some representative masterworks; even though none is well dated they allow us to appreciate this art at its best and to assess the taste prevalent in Britain before the Conquest.

Sword scabbards are perhaps the quintessential items of Celtic metalwork, clearly being designed as protectors of the iron swords which rendered Celtic warriors so formidable to their enemies. Even so they are less typical of the last phase of Celtic art in the south-east than they were earlier and as they perhaps continued to be in more distant regions. As we know,

2 *Iron Age coins: smith (bronze, Cunobelin); boar (silver, Epaticcus); Pegasus wearing chamfrein (silver, Tasciovanus). (All x3.)*

the similar early Germanic peoples named their swords, and they assumed personalities of their own. Celtic warriors certainly took enormous trouble to beautify their swords with *repoussé,* engraving, openwork and enamel. It is difficult to select a single representative scabbard, though several from Northern Ireland, mainly from the river Bann, and others from the area of the Arras culture in east Yorkshire/ Humberside (e.g. Bugthorpe, Kirkburn and Wetwang Slack), with virtually repeating patterns of curves and tendrils down their length, are especially harmonious **(3).**[19] Other scabbards have their main decoration confined to the tops and bottoms, including an early example (c.300 BC) from Standlake, Oxfordshire, and a much later one from Little Wittenham in the same county, with a motif of three roundels in a design similar to those on the British series of mirrors (see below).[20] These employ *repoussé* ornament, as does the curious non-symmetrical, engraved mount at the top of the sword scabbard from the river Witham, Lincolnshire, which seems to combine both vegetal and zoomorphic elements.[21] Occasionally the hilts of the swords themselves survive and bear elaborate ornament such as the enamelled studs upon the Kirkburn sword.

3 *Sword scabbards from Lisnacroghera, Co. Antrim (1 and 3): lengths 54 and 42 cm; Bugthorpe, Yorkshire (2), 51cm.* (After Déchelette, Manuel d'archéologie II.3, p.1122.)

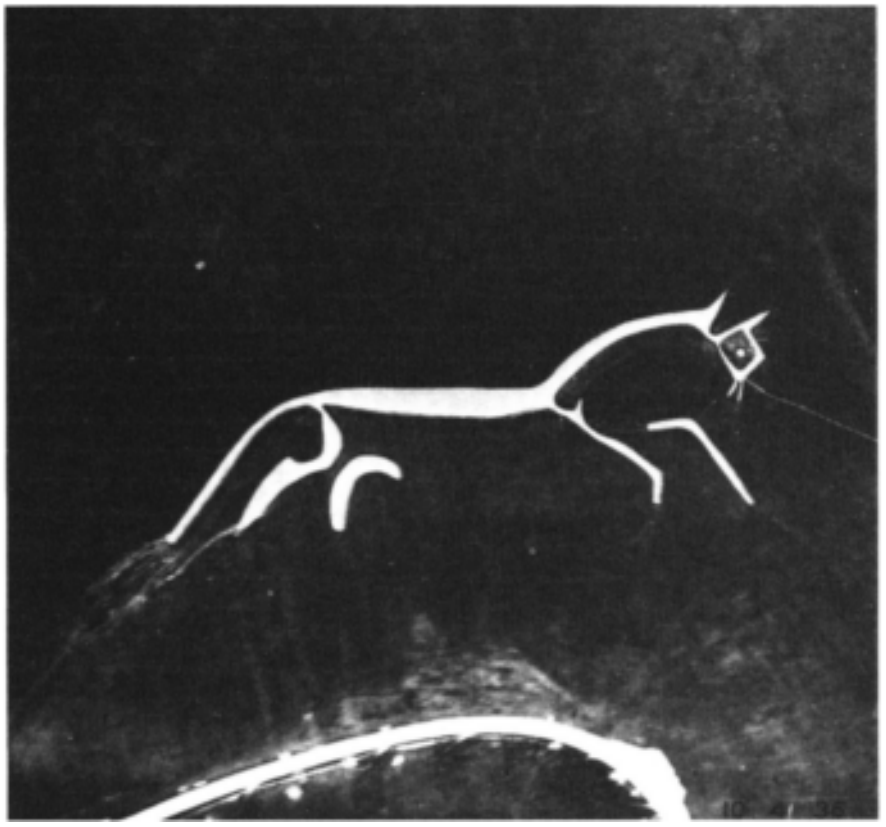


Shields are another typical category of Celtic metalwork, though the extent to which the highly ornamented examples were actually used in battle may be disputed. Unlike scabbards they could not hang relatively safely by the side at such a time but would have been required to parry blows from swords and spears and, in use, could hardly have escaped considerable damage. However, if they were simply flourished before battle, or flaunted in contexts of ritual display and the ceremonial disposal of wealth, they would have been highly satisfactory as large and brilliantly crafted objects. The Battersea shield in the British Museum, perhaps the most famous item in its Celtic collections (see **1**), is the subject of an excellent monograph by Dr Ian Stead.[22] Opinions as to its

date have ranged from the fourth century BC to the first century AD. The apparently symmetrical arrangement of the curvilinear scrollwork on the roundels reminds some of Augustan art, while the inset enamelled bosses recall enamelwork from the Lexden tumulus which certainly dates to the decade or so before the Roman Conquest. Against this, however, is the similarity of the *repoussé* work on the roundels to that of the circular boss from Wandsworth while enamelling occurs on the Basse-Yutz flagons. Undoubtedly there are Classical elements here as there are in all Celtic art but these could have been disseminated from the Greek world or from northern Italy long before Augustus. It seems best to date the Battersea shield to the third century BC, a little later than the Witham and Wandsworth shields. Not the least interesting aspect of such shields is that they reflect an ancient European warrior-tradition. The Battersea shield, with its concave sides, is very like the *ancilla* carried by the Salian priests of Mars at Rome, shown on the well-known intaglio in Florence.[23]

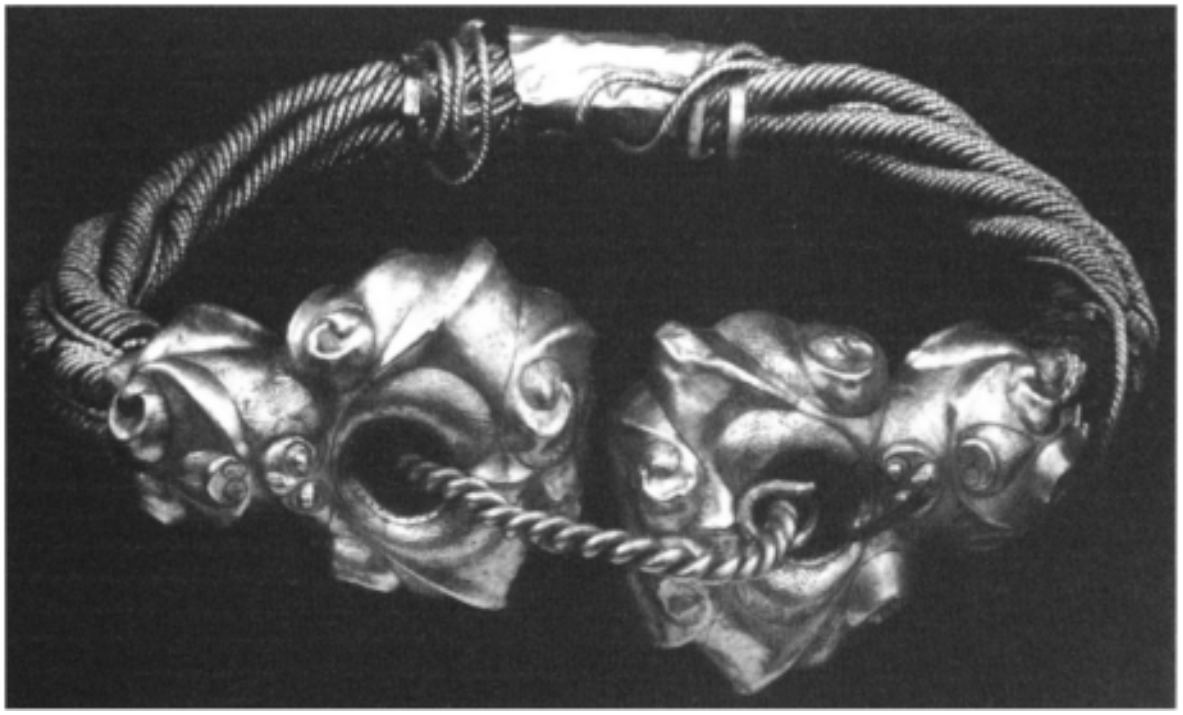
Related to these shields by its *repoussé* technique is another famous and controversial work, the Torrs chamfrein, now in Edinburgh but once in the collection of Sir Walter Scott. It consists of two elements: a cap of sheet metal and two horns terminating in bird heads; these horns bear some engraved ornament. Until Professors Atkinson and Piggott reinterpreted the find as a pony-cap and two drinking-horn terminals,[24] the object was seen as a unitary piece, doubtless both protecting the horse's head and making it look fiercer. The most telling argument against this explanation is that the horse would have had to be a very small one, but the Atkinson/Piggott assumption that there were no ancient holes for attaching the horns to the cap seems to be wrong. The original reconstruction may in fact be the true one and is supported by the representation of a horned chamfrein on a coin of Tasciovanus (see **2**); opinion has swung back in this direction.[25] As a small object, which would not stand up to hard use, it is allowable to see the object as having been worn by a model horse (perhaps of wood) in some native shrine or else, as has also been proposed, as the headdress of a hobby-horse employed in some ritual; indeed such mummery is suggested by the confronted men wearing animal-skins upon the Aylesford bucket. The Torrs chamfrein, which came from a votive deposit in water, would in that case testify to religious imagery rather than to secular ornament. Another horned headdress, though this time a helmet for a human from the Thames at Waterloo, is possibly not so very different in its function as a religious or ceremonial object.[26] The horns are symbols of power and vitality—in the Celtic world bulls were of paramount importance, their horns were often knobbed as on the terminals of iron fire-dogs and on bronze bucket-escutcheons. The Waterloo helmet's horns are likewise knobbed but the Torrs headdress terminates in bird-heads. Avian imagery is also widespread in the Celtic world, including heads on the round shield-boss from Wandsworth, probably because for the Celts as for the Romans birds occupied the sky and could act as intermediaries between the gods and man.[27] The image of a horse at a shrine would not be inappropriate, given the great importance of horsemanship to the Celts, attested in art by splendid horse-furniture such as linchpins and harness-mounts, often enamelled, and by the ubiquity of equine images on coins. Moreover, the Uffington White Horse **(4),** which has recently been examined by the Oxford Archaeological Unit, is now known to have been excavated and built-up of chalk in the Iron Age, in approximately the same form as that in which it is now preserved. It is thus the largest work of art to be mentioned in these pages, a religious image on a vast scale, intended to be seen from afar.[28]

Neck-torques were typical Celtic accoutrements, as much in the days of the Celtic ascendancy, as portrayed on the Attalid memorials,[29] as at the time of Boudica's last stand (Dio lxii, 2, 4). There are stylistic differences between examples judged to belong to the early Celtic period such as the fine examples from the grave of a princess excavated at Waldalgesheim in Germany and its analogues, such as the torque from Clonmacnois, Co. Offaly, Ireland, dated to the third century BC, and those made in Britain in the decades prior to the Roman Conquest, notably the gold torques from Snettisham, Norfolk **(5)** and Ipswich, Suffolk. Fleshy leaf-like shapes have given way to much tighter curls, loops and spirals. The archaeological associations of the Waldalgesheim grave and of the Snettisham cache do suggest that the three centuries' gap is valid.[30] However, save by invoking a Darwinian or Montelian concept of evolution, it is not possible to give a valid reason why such a development should have occurred. Torques appear in anthropomorphic



4 *The White Horse, Uffington, Oxfordshire (formerly Berkshire). L.110m.* (Air Photo by Major Allen, Ashmolean Museum.)

5 *Gold torque from cache found in 1990, Hoard L. Snettisham, Suffolk. D. 20cm* (Photo: British Museum.)



6 *Bronze mirror from Desborough, Northamptonshire. L.36cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

art and seem to be associated with deities as well as with rulers; once again we see that an object of apparently abstract form is an image of rank and power with religious overtones.

The finest examples of late Insular design are surely the mirrors (see above) whose general shapes were based on Classical prototypes but whose backs were engraved with balanced if not symmetrical curvilinear compositions as meticulously planned as any medieval manuscript or, to take near contemporary metalwork, first-century silver plate from Hildesheim and Hockwold.[31] The best example is probably the mirror from Desborough, Northamptonshire **(6).** The fact that so many have been found in graves implies that they were associated with the status and the daily life of women, who would require them in the other world. Fragments of Roman mirror from Iron Age levels at the Hayling Island temple suggest that the introduction of mirrors came from the Roman Empire. Indeed, the actual forms of the British decorated mirrors, as distinct from their decoration, is very similar to that of the more elaborate Greek, Etruscan and Roman mirrors, though their manufacture was handled expertly and with ease by British craftsmen.[32] It is of interest that in Pictish Scotland, after the Roman period, one of the elusive symbols on the memorial stones is a mirror with a handle.[33]

In matters of technique the Greek or Roman smith had little to teach the Iron Age master craftsmen who made the objects mentioned above. *Repoussé,* casting and engraving were practised with consummate skill. The Celts also mastered the technique of using glass fluxes (enamelling). Gold, bronze and wrought-iron were handled with expert authority, though silverwork of high quality is rare and its presence, together with certain techniques such as mercury gilding, is indicative of Classical influence. Whether or not the beautiful parcel-gilt silver trumpet brooch from Carmarthen really dates to the 30s AD, it belongs technically at least to a Romano-Celtic milieu.[34] The Celts never had to face the problems of making large castings for they had no tradition of statuary in metal. Almost every item of Celtic art challenges the beholder to admire the virtuosity of the creator in organizing a pattern, but like a kaleidoscope such pattern-forming has no potential to lead on to other developments.

By definition the Celts were practitioners of *ars,* which has more to do with the mastery of a skill than with what we would describe as 'art'; the famous maxim '*Ars longa vita brevis*' is attributed in its original Greek to Hippocrates and describes a craft, that of medicine. The Celtic smith ornamented a narrow range of objects connected with warfare and the feast. He did not, and was not expected to, comment on that life. The zoomorphic masks and leafy tendrils which ornament the shield bosses from Wandsworth and Witham, for example, may have endowed the shield with protective power, and they might even allude to myths, for the later Christian Celts had stories of shape-changing creatures, but it is, nevertheless, unsafe for us to interpret them. In this period Celtic mythology was possibly even more local and inchoate than it was later, in Ireland and Wales. At any rate, naturalistic representations were confined to a few animal figurines and stylized portrayals of humans, in very few of which is it possible to see the forebears of Romano-Celtic deities, though an antlered head on a coin found in Hampshire is a convincing representative of the Cernunnos type.[35]

Is the abstraction of Celtic art overstressed and were myths inherent in it—do the masks, animal-images, even tendrils correspond to elements in mythology? Vincent Megaw, one of the best commentators on Celtic art in our time, writes of the 'elusive image', and this seems to me a very fair evaluation of what is involved.[36] If pattern and animal and plant elements meant anything in terms of myth, religion or even status, there is no way of our recovering their significance. If they still inspire some people, such a reaction is subjective, depending on ideas of Celts as 'noble savages' or as precursors of modern Celtic nations (Ireland, Wales and Scotland). It is, however, likely that a particularly fine object would have suggested the owner as a man able to employ the best craftsmen, though it would be anachronistic to call him 'a man of taste'. We can guess that the beauty of armour directly equals nobility, an equation which is by no means foreign to Homeric Greece (though the society recorded by Homer is already being seen through the more sophisticated eyes of the early Archaic period) or to other heroic societies, such as that of the early Anglo-Saxons, though the world of *Beowulf* is in the process of becoming civilized and Christian. In truth Celtic art was far too limited in scope and so the naturalism offered by Classical, humanist art would not have been something to avoid but something to master. Realistic elements in Celtic art—animal

7 *Bronze bucket from grave at Aylesford, Kent. D.26.7cm; H.28cm (escutcheon c.4cm).* (Photo: British Museum.)

figurines and even attempts to render the human figure—were parts of a natural process of advance, not of decline. There is, however, nothing to compare in sophistication and use of emotion with the group including the 'dying Gaul' and the defeated Gaul who has just killed his wife, derived from the Victory Monument of Attalos I; nor, like Eumenes II, did any Celt think of figuring a military victory symbolically by the use of myth as on the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum.

The possession of such a fine and distinctive tradition of ornament, albeit associated with a narrow group in their society (the warriors and their women), was a notable achievement. Furthermore, there is nothing to prevent us from enjoying Celtic curvilinear scrollwork today, above all in the British Isles where its supreme manifestations are to be found. However, when all is said in its praise, it remains simply pattern. As art it lacks the essential human dimension of sympathy, commentary and sometimes struggle, which inform the great artistic traditions of Europe (including—significantly—the best post-Roman Celtic art of Ireland). The relatively impoverished nature of the early Celtic tradition when viewed from this standpoint is not unexpected for it would be surprising if such a tribal and pre-urban society had given birth to a major art. Pre-Roman Britain can show us many striking objects with a figural element but they are almost all subordinated to decoration; even the masks and animals on the Marlborough and Aylesford buckets **(7)** have still not broken away from the common Celtic use of animal forms in pattern-making. There was no stone statuary though there is some evidence for simple wooden images, represented by a few undated figures from Britain and many more from the continent of Europe at sites such as the Source of the Seine; and a number of small bronze figures are known, influenced by Etruscan and north Italian figurines.[37] The more sophisticated the piece of figural art, the stronger is the Roman influence and, in lamenting the loss of most of the products of what must have been a widespread craft, we must suspect that its real development lay in the future with the Celtic artists of Roman times. Coins sometimes take us further in the field of naturalistic representation, but these are late issues in Gaul and Britain, where for propaganda purposes Roman or Roman trained die-cutters, or more probably gem-engravers were being used (see Chapter 2).[38] The 'advanced' coins of Cunobelin and Verica cannot be called Celtic in an artistic sense, though they suggest directions in which art was to develop. We cannot tell why coin-devices such as Jupiter Ammon or Apollo were chosen; it is equally hard to see what the sphinx, centaur or lion **(8)** meant to the Britons. Horses and boars, warriors, priests and smiths which also appear as coin-devices were of course, another matter. But even here, except in the purely chronological sense, we are no longer dealing with the Celtic tradition of decorative art.

As stated above, we cannot lightly dismiss the possibility that the patterns of Celtic art had detailed meaning for both practitioners and patrons. To take an anthropological analogy, modern Australian aborigine art, much of it apparently non-figurative, has meanings in terms of myth and geography. Such meanings can be attributed to bark paintings, for example, through questioning the artists who create them. Nearer home, untrained but often artistically talented children will explain their paintings to

parents. 'Primitive' cultures, ancient and modern, are valuable because they tell us about ourselves, the more primitive side of our natures and about untutored talent and imagination. To cling to the primitive, as for instance so many 'modern' artists have done, or to abstraction over representation, has an element of clinging to the nursery. Celtic art, for all its admirable qualities, had weaknesses. It was narrowly based both socially and in its repertoire of forms and would surely have become ever more repetitive if it had continued without new influences, until it became moribund. For the uncritical admirer of all things Celtic, the Romans are denigrated as cruel destroyers, but they can also be seen very differently—as most useful nurses helping to lead a culture in an adolescent state of development (epitomized by Tacitus in the comment that the Britons were hitherto 'scattered, uncouth and therefore likely to fight') towards the adult world of urban amenities, literacy and the arts of civilization.

8 *Iron Age coins:* Top *Sow, lion (bronze, Cunobelin); horse (bronze, Tasciovanus).* Middle *Sphinx and sleeping hound (silver minim of Verica).* Bottom *Two griffins (bronze and silver, Cunobelin); centaur (bronze, Tasciovanus). (All x2.)*

CHAPTER TWO

Art in the Era of the Conquest

…the Roman eagle,
From south to west on wing soaring aloft,
Lessen'd herself and in the beams o' th' sun
So vanish'd; which foreshadow'd our princely eagle,
Th' imperial Caesar, should again unite
His favour with the radiant Cymbeline,
Which shines here in the west.

THE NATURE OF ROMAN ART

The *Ara Pacis* in the Campus Martius at Rome dates from between 13 and 9 BC.[1] It is not an advertisement for the brash strength of the Empire but proclaims the piety of the Roman people and of its *Princeps*, Augustus. Above all it is concerned with that love of peace which was central to Roman propaganda. Rome's enemies would undoubtedly have rejected such claims, and in the words that Tacitus put into the mouth of Calgacus as the Britons prepared to take their stand against the forces of Agricola at Mons Graupius in AD 83 or 84 made the following accusation:

> Brigands of the world, they have exhausted the land by their indiscriminate plunder, and now they ransack the sea. The wealth of an enemy excites their cupidity, his poverty their lust for power. East and West have failed to satisfy them. They stand alone in being as violently disposed to attack the poor as the rich. Robbery, murder and rape, the liars call Empire; they create a desolation and call it peace (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30).

Colonial powers by their very nature encourage this sort of response and, as will be made clear later in this chapter, some of the works of art and of architecture set up in Roman Britain were those of an occupying power. Tacitus again finds the right words: the Temple of Divus Claudius at Colchester was *Arx Aeternae Dominationis*, 'the Citadel of Eternal Servitude' (Annals, xiv, 31). But even here there is another point of view. Tacitus belonged to the ruling class; his father-in-law was Agricola, whose achievements in Britain certainly shed lustre on his family. Under such circumstances it says much for his sensitivity, a sensitivity not rare among educated Romans, that he could look with sympathy at the defeated Britons. Had not the Emperor Claudius been similarly compassionate when he had spared the life of Caratacus (*Annals*, xii, 36 and 37)?

Vergil, the greatest poet and probably the most subtle artist Rome ever produced, makes the shade of Anchises speak the following words to his son Aeneas when he goes down to the Underworld:

> *Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,*
> *(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore voltus;*
> *orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus*
> *describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:*
> *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*
> *(hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,*
> *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

> Others will be better sculptors in bronze and marble, better orators, better astronomers. The specifically Roman mission is 'to rule the nations under your sway, to impose peace with law, to spare the vanquished and to put down the proud' (*Aeneid* vi, 847–53).

The context of the poem, certainly does *not* allow us to use the passage as a disparagement of Roman art. The culture of Augustan Rome was probably the richest and most assured before the Renaissance, not excluding Classical Athens. However it does reveal how the Roman achievement is to be measured. Both the *Aeneid* and the *Ara Pacis* are more than beautiful human creations; they are vessels for the Roman Mission. Returning to the sculptured monument we note that *Ara Pacis* is not simply a magnificent accomplishment of designers and sculptors but a sermon in stone; like Vergil and Tacitus it proclaims the manner in which humane Romans should think of themselves, though it is much closer to the energy and confidence of the poet than the bleak pessimism of the historian. It shows us both how art was used and also the relationship between private thought and public act.

The first observation which should be made is that a high degree of organization was needed to create the structure, starting with the quarrying of the marble at Carrara, continuing with the transport and preparation of the blocks and concluding with their assembly and carving. Secondly the sculpture evokes a long tradition of relief going back through the Hellenistic world to Classical Athens. The processional friezes on the screen wall first bring to mind the frieze on the Parthenon, although the Roman work, with its crowd of men, women and children in contemporary dress, all trying but not quite all succeeding in living up to the solemnity of a great religious occasion, is undoubtedly more human and intimate. The panels on either side of the west entrance hark back to early Rome. On the right is Aeneas, about to sacrifice the white sow he found on the site of Lavinium, and on the left the suckling of Romulus and Remus by the *Lupa Romana,* both foundation-myths which recall those of Greek cities—it will be remembered that the Telephos myth, including Herakles finding the infant Telephos suckled by a wild beast, is shown on the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum.[2]

It will be noted that the use of personifications came to Rome from the Hellenistic world and *Ara Pacis* figures *Dea Roma,* on the right side of the east entrance through the screen wall, the goddess that the whole world would learn to love and to venerate. On the left is another female figure, not martial but a suckling mother, watching over a cow and a sheep, the pastoral world of Vergil's *Georgics.* Is she mother Italy or *Tellus,* the earth? She sits between a maiden seated on the back of a flying swan, representing the air (though we are also to remember that the swan is Apollo's bird and thus represents Augustus' tutelary deity who brought him victory at Actium), and another maiden on a *ketos* or sea-monster, figuring the sea (and again we are not to forget Actium). There is great subtlety of association here. Thirdly it should be noted that these relief panels were very like genre and mythological sculptures (the so-called Neo-Attic reliefs) and paintings with which wealthy people adorned their houses, while the lower part of the screen, ornamented with a rich and wonderful acanthus scroll **(9)** in which nesting birds, insects and lizards had their homes was the sort of decorative art with which the rich embellished urns and other ornaments in their gardens. All the decoration of the monument proclaims the fecundity of the Empire and the blessings of peace brought about by Augustus.[3]

What did the word *'pax',* peace, mean to the Romans? It was not simply the absence of conflict. The purpose of peace, secured by the army, was to allow the inhabitants of the Empire to do other things. A fifth-century Athenian was never able to forget war, and the possibility of violent death or slavery for himself and his family was ever on his mind. Romans, on the other hand, were able to devote themselves to other concerns, to selling goods, writing poems to their mistresses, studying philosophy or making works of art (the subject of this book). War was sometimes necessary, sometimes a lust for acts of valour impelled even the most rational of men, but it always brought affliction to both sides. Not all war was waged against enemies without: Civil War such as that which had broken out between Caesar and Pompey, and again after Caesar's murder in 44 BC, between the Tyrannicides and the Dictator's heirs was long, bitter and horrifying. Ovid's response to the Altar of Peace was heartfelt:

9 Ara Pacis, *Rome*. *Detail of acanthus ornament of screen wall*. (Photo: author.)

Frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.
dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi:
tu ducibus bello gloria maior eris.
sola gerat miles, quibus arma coerceat, arma,
canteturque fera nil nisi pompa tuba.
Horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis:
si qua parum Romam terra timebat, amet.
Tura, sacerdotes, pacalibus addite flammis,
albaque percussa victima fronte cadat,
utque domus, quae praestat eam, cum pace perennet
ad pia propensos vota rogate deos.

Come, Peace, thy dainty tresses wreathed with Actian laurels, and let thy gentle presence abide in the whole world. So but there be nor foes nor food for triumphs, thou shalt be unto our chiefs a glory greater than war. May the soldier bear arms only to check the armed aggressor, and may the fierce trumpet blare for naught but solemn pomp! May the world near and far dread the sons of Aeneas, and if there by any land that feared not Rome, may it love Rome instead! Add incense, ye priests, to the flames that burn on the Altar of Peace, let a white victim fall with cloven brow, and ask of the gods, who lend a favouring ear to pious prayers, that the house, which is the warranty of peace, with peace may last for ever) (Ovid, *Fasti,* i, 711–22 trans. Sir George Frazer).

Men never live up to their ideals but it is a sign of moral greatness to have them. Roman art in its widest sense, with its tradition, subtlety and use of symbol, reflected a complex, intelligent and fundamentally magnanimous society. This book is concerned with that art in one province, one which many scholars have wrongly dismissed as lacking interest in cultural matters, but at no time should we forget that we are studying aspects of that same culture which produced Latin literature and the famous monuments of Imperial Rome.

The myth that the simpler peoples of the world are superior to the civilized is a very ancient one. It influenced writers in antiquity such as Tacitus as much as the eighteenth-century *Philosophes,* though Tacitus (in writing of the rebellion of Boudica for example) could see the gory savagery inherent in barbarian behaviour. Unfortunately he does not give us any real impression of Boudica's personal appearance but Dio Cassius, evidently drawing on a genuine tradition, does provide a glimpse:

> Around her neck was a large golden torque; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This was her invariable attire (Dio, *Ept.,* lxii, 2).

It is clear, as we saw in Chapter 1, that Celtic art was

virtually always portable. It was employed in enhancing the prestige of the fighting man and helped to establish the authority of the rulers of tribes in their dealings one with another and with their tribesmen, notably at social occasions of feasting and sacrifice. However, the forms were, for the most part, aniconic, and it is hard to see how they could have had the same depth of symbolic meaning as Roman art, whose characteristics have been briefly set out above, even if some of the patterns and their hidden anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements did have a significance now lost to us. That is no reason to disparage the lovely objects produced by Celtic smiths (and there were no Celtic painters, mosaicists or architects and the evidence for sculpture is minimal) but equally it is very hard to see why the coming of Rome should have been regarded as a cultural disaster. The Celts had no cities, no community organization and thus no public art. There was never any such thing as a Celtic *Civilization* in its literal sense, denoting the sort of culture and community life to be found in cities.

Our first task is to describe the art imported from the Mediterranean world to Britain or copied in the island in more or less Roman style both before and after AD 43. This will help to establish the nature of the Roman contribution. Our second need is to demonstrate how Britons responded to this Imperial art in the generation or so after the Conquest.

ROMAN ART IN BRITAIN BEFORE THE CONQUEST

Roman art was very far from being rejected as an unpopular 'foreign' intrusion by the chieftain class in late Iron Age Britain. Modern apologists for Celtic culture have good reason to feel distressed by the lack of loyalty and tribal pride displayed by Cunobelin and his like to native art as such. As we would expect from Iron Age society, imports were largely of items connected with display and feasting, prestige items which served *precisely* the same purpose as the Greek imports to Mt Lassois and Vix on the upper Seine half a millennium earlier. Thus they include the silver cups of kylix form from two burials at Welwyn. One of the graves, excavated in 1906, contained alongside two cups (see **16**), wine amphorae and a bronze jug and pan; the other, found in 1965, also contained Roman vessels comprising a silver cup, a bronze dish and a bowl, which had been adapted as a strainer and which had an applied zoomorphic spout in native style, but of assured classical prototype.[4] These burials are tentatively dated to the end of the first century BC, though perhaps the 1965 grave at any rate is a little later, as the spout of the strainer appears rather debased compared with the example from a probable burial at Felmersham, Bedfordshire, which is normally ascribed to the early first century AD.[5] However, as we shall see below, there is reason to suppose that such strainers continued to be used until well after the Conquest. Even more remarkable was the tumulus at Lexden, *Camulodunum*, which likewise seems to date from the end of the first century BC or the very beginning of the first century AD. Leaving aside the 'architectural' form of the tumulus which may ultimately come from Italy via the tumulus-cemeteries of Belgium, it contains a remarkable assortment of Roman objects, and presumably contained many more before it was robbed (in antiquity). There were remnants of a folding-chair made of iron with anthropomorphic feet, a bronze stand, perhaps for a candelabrum, escutcheons from a bronze bowl and the handle of a jug, a small bronze cupid with a goose (a stock rendering of a genre subject), a griffin protome, a realistically modelled boar which would have appealed to any Celt but is not here related to any Celtic portrayal of the animal, fragments from textiles including gold tissue, and two mounts in the form of barley stems. Most remarkable of all is a silver medallion containing a portrait of Augustus, not cut down from a coin as was once thought but moulded from it. The only native element among these finds is a bull, naturalistically modelled but with knobbed horns, a local feature.[6]

It is clear that these graves represent romanized taste, with the native tradition relegated to a subsidiary place. Negotiatores were evidently busy at the courts of leading chieftains, supplying their needs for wine from the south and for other luxuries.[7] Insofar as native craftsmen were employed, they were trying to adapt to a new aesthetic. This is certainly the case with the famous bucket from a rich grave at Aylesford in Kent (see **7**), a burial which also contained imported bronzes (a jug and a pan). The bucket's escutcheons are often seen as quintessentially Celtic but the plumed helmets, albeit stylistically treated, derive from the Italic bronzeworking tradition and it is not

unlikely that the bucket's owner associated them with what to us are more convincing Roman imports; at any rate the bucket was doubtless used to hold imported wine from the south.[8]

The classicizing preferences of the highest levels of society, in south-eastern Britain at any rate, is reflected in the coinage. The most widespread and best-known coin-type, with its hackneyed and degenerate renderings of Philip II of Macedon's gold stater, no longer pleased the most culturally advanced rulers of late Iron Age Britain, among the Atrebates, Trinovantes and Catuvellauni. They had been taught the propaganda possibilities of coins and they used them, sometimes getting their die-engravers to strike what are virtually copies of Roman coins, sometimes more interestingly to use devices drawn from glyptic art (see **2** and **8**). Were these connected with sealings on letters arriving at the courts or with the prized possessions of British nobles? It is hard to believe that a ruler such as Cunobelin would have lacked a signet, or indeed a secretary to conduct diplomacy with the powerful, and literate, Empire on the other side of the Channel.[9]

The iconography of coins reflects the same mixture found in the chieftain graves; some are entirely Roman, others effect to create a symbiosis between the Roman and Celtic worlds. Exotic elements include lions, sphinxes, griffins and centaurs, the gods Apollo and Neptune, symbols of prosperity such as cornucopia and cantharus and portraits copied from coin issues of Augustus and Tiberius. Famously Verica shows a vine leaf on his gold staters, and Cunobelin a cornear. Archaeological finds do not suggest that Britons *preferred* beer to wine; drink of any sort had an evident appeal within the culture, as did horses, boars and the hunting dog shown sleeping on a few of Verica's minims. Smiths, priests with severed human heads and Pegasus wearing a horned chamfrein reminiscent of the famous Torrs chamfrein (see above, Chapter 1) represent fusion between Roman and native iconography. The rich variety of these fascinating coins has not been fully assessed as art, though Jocelyn Toynbee has rightly brought them to our attention from this point of view in her great corpus of Roman-period art from Britain.[10] Since then other types have become known, including more that appear to have been derived from seal devices, and we are in a better position to appraise the society which produced them.[11]

It was certainly not a society in decline, but rather one which was responding to the Roman world across the sea, although the full implications of these contacts in terms of society, religion and art could only come after the events of AD 43. The Claudian Conquest can be seen not as break but as the beginning of an intensification of what had gone before. Indeed, as will be discussed in the examination of the native response to Roman art, there is sometimes considerable difficulty in establishing dates within the first century, and both the Icenian and Brigantian client kingdoms offer real problems in trying to marry cultural and political developments.

BRITAIN AFTER THE CONQUEST

The art of the Roman invaders

The fact of the Roman Conquest should be viewed apart from moral consideration or prejudice, if only because we know all too little of the detailed political situation in Britain at the time. There were losers—the sons of Cunobelin, the Trinovantes who lost land at Camulodunum to a legionary fortress and then to its successor, a *colonia* with its *territorium*, and we may be sure that many individual Britons from hostile tribes were captured and sold into slavery. But there were also many gainers, first the Atrebates-Regni, on whose behalf the invasion had ostensibly been mounted, recovered their freedom from their oppressors and were able to embark on impressive developments in their territories—developments which were Roman rather than Celtic. Then Verulamium, the old capital of the Catuvellauni, was made a *municipium:* there is a strong suggestion that all or part of the Catuvellauni, in contradistinction to the Trinovantes, took the Roman side in the conflict, whose politics were inevitably highly confused. For the sons of friendly chiefs there was education as there had been, no doubt, for a few favoured clients who went to Rome before 43—including probably Cogidubnus of the Regni (see below). Now the Britons who welcomed the Romans found their living standards greatly enhanced. For those who aspired to supply the material needs of these people as well as those of the soldiers and administrators stationed in Britain, this was a time of opportunity.

We must return to the theme of mainstream Roman art which began this chapter and relate it

directly to the Romans in Britain—the soldiers, administrators and traders from the Continent mentioned above—from the Conquest to about the end of the first century. The most direct approach is through the tombstones of soldiers, both legionary and civilian, which comprise the pre-eminent artworks of the Conquest era together with contemporary and near-contemporary examples of arms and armour. They will be more fully discussed in Chapter 3; here it is sufficient to record their initial impact and probable effect on well-disposed Britons. The scabbard of the sword, of Tiberian date, found in the river Thames at Fulham **(10)** is ornamented *en repoussé* with that same acanthus ornament seen on the screen wall of *Ara Pacis* (see **9**) together with the *Lupa Romana,* the She-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, which is likewise found on that monument. The tombstones, too, are fully in Roman style (though they differ in quality) but made use of British limestone. Although they were executed by sculptors travelling with the army and probably originating in Gaul, the two Colchester *stelae* of the centurion M. Favonius Facilis **(11),** depicted wearing his splendid mail cuirass and holding his *vitis* as a badge of office, and of the Thracian cavalryman Longinus, son of Sdapezematygus, who is dressed in scale armour and seated upon a horse, demonstrate a new method of commemoration by word and image that would become normal among the upper classes in Roman Britain as elsewhere in the Empire.[12]

Their inscriptions should also not be forgotten, for the Romans had a passion for epigraphy, something for which their (and our) alphabet unlike that of the Greeks is pre-eminently suitable. Unfortunately it has far too seldom been considered as art in its own right, but art it certainly is.[13] The finest inscriptions, of course, were those on great public monuments. It is very likely that there would have been some equivalent in Britain to the Victory arch set up in Rome to celebrate Claudius' Triumph in AD 44, part of whose inscription can be admired in the courtyard of the Conservatori palace. The letters, finely graded and meticulously cut, the entire panel set in a rich vegetal frame, provided a very handsome centrepiece to the arch. Fragmentary inscriptions which aim at this standard are, indeed, known from southern Britain. For instance, from the end of our period, some of the marble casing and inscription of the late Flavian *quadrifrons* at Richborough is extant. Even more

10 *Scabbard of a sword from the Thames at Fulham. L.50cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

11 *Tombstone of M. Favonius Facilis from Cokhester. Limestone. H.1.83m. Cokhester and Essex Museum.* (After J.E. Price, A bastion of London Wall, 1880, pl.vi.)

evocative is part of a monumental letter A from the area of the temple of Divus Claudius, Colchester, cut on a slab of Caen limestone, which must have graced the façade of the temple or the architrave of its surrounding court.[14] It very probably belongs to the post-Boudican reconstruction, but the style of the letter and the use of an imported material point to an early date. We can guess at the language of the inscription, possibly, like the arch, commemorating the prowess of the Emperor in adding Britain to the Empire. Colchester must have been full of enormous monumental inscriptions from which the Britons would learn to read—and at the same time to read of the triumph of the Roman legions. But that is not the whole story, for some of the earliest inscriptions from Britain, complete enough to be interpreted, speak of compromise and even consensus.

The monumental tomb of the procurator Caius Julius Classicianus, which dates to the period after the Boudican revolt (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv, 38), was a dignified, if severe, structure which owes its beauty (and that is not too strong a word) to the boldness and balance of its lettering.[15] As a major official who died in office and was buried at London, in the province where he served, Classicianus' tomb was clearly exceptional and the inscription is much closer in quality to a public monument than it is to those on the soldiers' tombstones mentioned above. It informs us that his wife Iulia Pacata, named no doubt after the Roman Peace (the same *pax* as that celebrated in *Ara Pacis*), set it up. She was herself the daughter of the great Treviran nobleman Iulius Indus who had helped the Romans to suppress a revolt in the reign of Tiberius and had founded a cavalry regiment called the *Ala Indiana* (Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, 40). Experts on Roman names are not slow to point out that Classicianus was himself of Gaulish origin. This highly romanized Gaul is best known as the leading advocate of clemency after Suetonius Paullinus' suppression of the Boudican revolt, which ended with overmuch severity, according perhaps with the governor's feelings but hardly providing a basis for a resumption of settled life in the province.

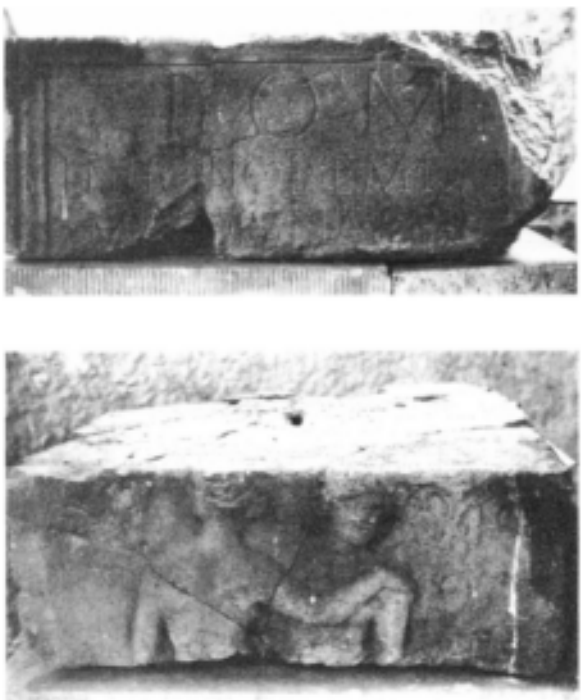
Agricola did not make Paullinus' mistake of neglecting the legitimate needs of the Britons, and thanks to the *topoi* introduced in the twenty-first book of Tacitus' *Agricola,* the famous governor has good cause to appear in a book concerned with art in Britain. The '*templa, fora, domos*' whose construction he

encouraged were in every way incentives for artists; the dedicatory inscription of the forum at Verulamium, again with highly accomplished lettering, shows the town council of that *municipium* at work beautifying the city.[16] The Latin culture imparted to the leading men of the Britons and their adoption of Roman habits of dress and behaviour were far from being signs of servitude as Tacitus disingenuously states. They were, in fact, the paths of cultural freedom. Which of us would really like to spend a year in an Iron Age hut? But most visitors to a Roman villa can imagine what it was like to dwell in such a place, and imagination can here be fleshed out with contemporary descriptions of country house life, like those of the Younger Pliny.

Some of the best evidence for early romanization comes from the client kingdom of the Regni based on Chichester, the domain of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus. He is mentioned by Tacitus (*Agricola* 14) as having been loyal to Rome down to living memory and is recorded, with the grandiose title of *Rex Magnus Britannorum*, 'Great King of Britain', on a monumental inscription from his presumed capital, Chichester, as the patron of the temple of Neptune and Minerva. Cogidubnus was probably a Briton and a relative of the last recorded Atrebatan ruler, Verica, who had fled to Claudius and provided the occasion of Roman intervention in Britain. It is possible that Verica was restored by the Romans and also just possible that he resumed minting; but before long his successor was in position. Cogidubnus had almost certainly been fully educated in Rome and his culture would have been Roman rather than native. He appears on the inscription as a Roman citizen with the *nomen* of Claudius and the *praenomen* Tiberius, having in all probability been so honoured by Claudius. Little is known of the temple of Neptune and Minerva save that it was probably of Classical style, flanking North Street, towards the centre of the town. Presumably it contained two cult images, one of each deity. The quality of the lettering is high but neither as good nor as large as a base from the same city with a dedication 'To Jupiter Greatest and Best *(Optimus Maximus)*, in honour of the Imperial family *(Domus Divina)*' (**12**a). This is part of a monument comparable with the monument of the *Nautae Parisiaci* at Paris, and is surely not so very much later in date.

The *pilier des nautes* is dedicated to Tiberius; the

12 *Monument dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and the Domus Divina.* a *inscription;* b *water nymphs. Limestone. W.1.05m. Chichester District Museum.* (Photo: Grahame Soffe.)



Chichester stone is probably Neronian or early Flavian to judge from the style of inscription and relief-carving. One of the sides shows two nymphs amidst reeds—carved in the pictorial tradition of the mythological scenes on the *Ara Pacis* although executed in British limestone (**12**b). The two other sides are too battered to elucidate their subjects with certainty but a deity holding a sceptre could be Minerva.[17] A mile or so from Chichester lay the *domus* of Fishbourne, a great house of the type that Tacitus tells us the native aristocracy was building, and surely to be connected with Cogidubnus himself.[18] First constructed in the reign of Nero, and even in its earliest stage a fine building embellished with wall-paintings, it was reconstructed on a more lavish scale early in the Flavian period and was provided, not only with frescoes but with wall-veneers *(opus sectile)*, mosaics, marble, sculpture and formal gardens. The life of this

impressive palace, which can be reconstructed from excavations by Barry Cunliffe and others, is a valuable commentary on what romanization could mean at a formative stage. If it is not breath-takingly original (for all that the interior decorators used local stones as well as imported marble, and the gardeners had to contend with the British climate), we are a long way from the tasteless vulgarity of which Collingwood complains.[19]

The early floors, largely monochrome, are, in fact, outliers of a style widespread in southern Gaul and in Italy. For example the mosaic in the sanctuary of the goddess Minerva at Breno, Valcamonica, in northern Italy probably of Neronian date (*c.*50–60) and so a few years anterior to the Fishbourne mosaic, is very similar in design to those of rooms W8 and N12 **(colour plate V)** at Fishbourne. Comparison has also been made between mosaics at Fishbourne and those of Besançon. The mosaic discovered in 1980 below the second-century Cupid and Dolphin mosaic has a border representing a city wall; similar representations are, once again, known in southern Europe, and there is an especially splendid example from Orange, laid in the first half of the century.[20]

It is not surprising that the palace in London likewise appears to have had early (Flavian) mosaics, though all too little is known about them. The governor could, no doubt, bring in from outside whatever artisans were required and were not to be found locally for such a work, but it is not likely that Cerialis, Frontinus or Agricola would need to have gone far. Indeed excavations of private houses at Watling Court, London, have revealed equally early mosaics and we may assume that at least one *officina* of Italian or Gaulish mosaicists existed in London to serve the needs of officials, *negotiatores*, and romanized Britons. It is unfortunate that the Watling Court mosaics are so fragmentary; among them and of especial interest are mosaic roundels set in a floor of *opus signinum*, certainly an Italian technique.[21] Equally emphasizing *romanitas* early mosaics have also been found at the second legion fortress at Exeter and from the very end of the century at Caerleon.[22]

Portable objects came to Britain in much greater quantity than before the Conquest. As already seen some red-gloss pottery and silver had been treasured by Iron Age chieftains but now a great deal more tableware came in. The factories of southern Gaul replaced those of Italy for pottery; later in the Roman period the style and quality of samian ware deteriorated and can hardly be regarded as art, but in the first century it was often very handsome, especially vessels with moulded decoration of scrollwork looping around the circumference. This is in the same taste as that found on first-century silver cups including those from Hockwold, Norfolk (either belonging to the Icenian client kingdom or looted during the Boudican revolt), and the handles of bronze vessels such as an *askos* from Fishbourne.[23]

Naturalism is also to be found on engraved gems. Evidence for the use of sealstones in the Iron Age is confined to the devices on some coins (see above, Chapter 1), and may indicate that the secretariats of the kings in south-eastern Britain used such objects in diplomatic correspondence with the Roman Empire. Or perhaps we should take it no further than to say that gem-engravers from the Continent were employed to cut coin dies, using their own familiar repertory.[24] Numbers of gemstones were imported (and lost) after the Conquest, as befits a society fully dependent on literacy and bureaucracy. Many have been found in military contexts as well as at Colchester and at centres of romanization such as London and Chichester.

Gems generally have a protective or apotropaic significance. Thus Roman soldiers quite often wore intaglios showing one or other of the heroes of myth such as Achilles, Ajax **(13a),** Diomedes or Hercules. Sometimes these seals were clearly old—heirlooms deliberately selected from family possessions. Here we may compare the wearing as amulets of Italo-Greek figurines of the Dioscuri, of which examples have been found at Colchester, Canterbury and Wroxeter.[25] Devices signifying prosperity were widespread in the Invasion period and representations of horns of plenty, parrots, dolphins, wine-cups and other lucky symbols were clearly both used and understood. Some had, indeed, occurred on pre-Conquest coins as we have seen, like the sphinx which is figured on a sard from Chichester. The legionary 'eagle and standards', or in the case of an intaglio from Verulamium (13b) an eagle on a war-galley with a standard and a trophy, had specifically military application. Deities too were popular: we may note a gem from Colchester, probably belonging to a settler in the early *colonia*, who presumably possessed equestrian rank for it is set in a gold ring which was the especial privilege of this order. It depicts Mars descending from the sky as though

13 *Intaglios.* a *Ajax with body of Achilles, Waddon Hill, Dorset. Cornelian,* b *Galley with trophy, eagle and standard, Verulamium. Sardonyx. (Both x4.)* (Photos: Graham Webster; Robert Wilkins.)

to impregnate the sleeping Rhea Silvia.[26] A figure of Mercury on an amethyst from Fishbourne was found in a later layer associated with the palace, and its high quality may suggest it belonged to a member of the owner's family or to one of his clients.[27] Mercury was to become a very popular deity in Britain, portrayed in many media, notably stone and bronze.

The existence of a market and possibly even of manufacture is demonstrated by a small cache of four unset intaglios from a Neronian pit in Eastcheap, London, which are in perfect condition and must be part of the stock of a *gemmarius*.[28] It should be noted that an attempt to cut the name ALBA on one of them has not been fully executed. The subject of this stone was a pair of clasped hands (**14**a) and so the gem was intended as a betrothal gift; the others show Pegasus (**14**b), a discobolus and a head of Dea Roma. Study of the gems from the main drain at Bath, whether thrown into the spring or washed out from the great bath, shows enough stylistic similarities to suggest that

14 *Intaglios from Eastcheap, City of London.* a *Clasped hands in wreath of olive. Onyx,* b *Pegasus. Banded agate.* (Photos: J.Bailey, Museum of London.)

a gem-cutter was working here too.[29] However, it should be emphasized that the style and taste informing glyptic art never deviated from the Classical.

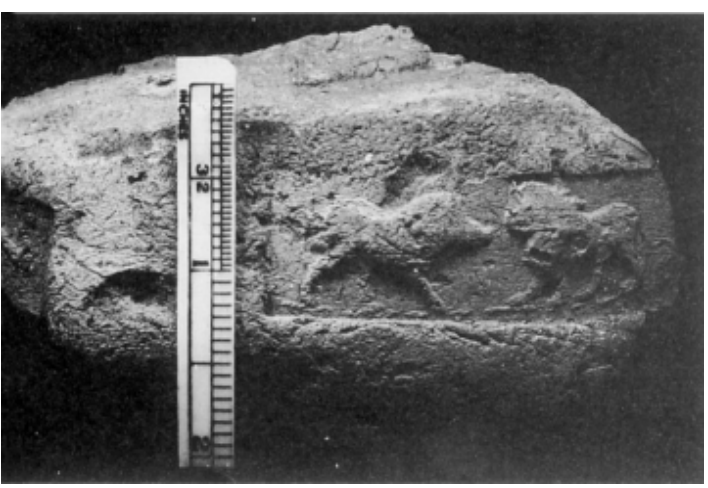
Gold jewellery could be equally uncompromisingly Roman. This is shown by gold finger rings from London and Colchester, which would have been equally at home in Pompeii.[30] However, the intriguing possibility of manufacture in Britain to fully Classical standards is raised by the workshop of another jeweller living behind the riverside quays of London (on the site of the Flavian palace, Bush Lane). Remains of two crucibles used for refining gold, together with three lids, have been found. Pieces of clay luting used to seal the crucibles employ stamps which the goldsmith evidently used in his work and which depict in all but one instance a lion and a boar confronted **(15)**; the exception shows a sea creature, possibly a hippocamp.[31] However, goldworking, unlike gem-cutting, had flourished in the Iron Age and the story here is not one simply of copying imported forms as we shall see in discussing the Rhayader bracelet.

Native art and response

The response of native artists to the challenge of Roman art will be discussed in Chapters 5 to 7 and this section is limited to the immediate impact of Mediterranean culture in Britain. Dating is often difficult and some of the items mentioned may conceivably be later than I believe, but all have been selected because they appear to reveal the direct influence of Roman art on native craftsmanship. This was largely limited to metalwork, for the obvious reason that only here was there a strong tradition already in existence. Metalworkers did not change their styles overnight and some examples of curvilinear metalwork, even in southern Britain, are probably post-Conquest in date. On the other hand, as noted above, some earlier British metalwork was influenced by Roman example. Examples would include such items as the escutcheons of the Aylesford bucket (see **7**), the *repoussé* masks on the Marlborough bucket, the figure of a bull with knobbed horns from the Lexden Tumulus, and more distantly the forms (though not the ornament) of the splendid series of British mirrors (see **6**).

As we have seen, Roman vessels connected with the service of wine, fashioned from silver (such as the Welwyn cups, **16**) and from bronze, are well known

15 *Clay luting from crucible, jeweller's workshop, Bush Lane, City of London. L. of stamp 5.4cm.* (Photo: R.Merrifield, Museum of London.)



from pre-Conquest burials. This process did not stop and indeed such items are likely to have become commoner. The client kingdom of the Iceni provides some interesting examples. A cache of vessels discovered at Crownthorpe, Norfolk, in 1982 and now in the Castle Museum, Norwich, contains a *patera* with a ram-handle and a small *trulla*, both characteristic Roman imports.[32] However, there is also a wine-strainer with a zoomorphic spout comparable with others from the area, including caches from Brandon, Suffolk, and 'Santon' (Santon Downham, Suffolk, or Santon, Norfolk).[33] Such strainers certainly go back to before the Conquest and an example of the same type was present in the Welwyn burial discovered in 1965. Evidently made in south-eastern Britain, the spouts of the best of them, such as the masterpieces from Felmersham, Bedfordshire, and from far away at Leg Piekarski in Poland, are superb examples of insular art. There is no reason why their manufacture should have been brought to an end by the events of 43, least of all in the client kingdom. Indeed an Italian prototype lies behind all such strainers.[34]

The most remarkable items at Crownthorpe, however, are two bronze cups (**17**a) clearly modelled on Roman silver cups such as those from Welwyn (see **16**) and Hockwold. Their shapes are almost, but not quite, of classical form and the mouldings around the rims and the tops of the pedestals of the feet display a Roman restraint without being Roman. In addition, the handles are rivetted on, unlike Roman examples where the handles are soldered. While no comparanda come to mind from Britain, silver cups from the Sîncraieni treasure in Romania dated to the first century BC are reminiscent for the same reason—they were made by craftsmen on the edge of the Empire intent on copying prestige Roman luxury goods.[35] The use of base metal for the Crownthorpe cups distances them further from their prototypes than the Romanian copies. Even more eccentric are the birds sitting upon the handles, their eyes inlaid with red enamel (**17**b). These are native features, and perhaps we can see their remote descendant in the woodpeckers flanking a vase on one of the fourth-century gold rings from Thetford or even the birds on the Sarre brooch (see **100**).[36]

It is tempting to ascribe these cups to the period of the Icenian client kingdom which flourished from the Conquest down to AD 60. During this period northern East Anglia would have provided a ready market for Roman merchants, but clearly native craftsmen were also active in the area. The strainer in the contemporary 'Santon' cache carries two birds on its lid. The 'Santon' find like that at Crownthorpe contains a mixture of Roman imports and items of native fabrication. The Roman items include a jug and *patera;* the Roman-influenced native pieces include, besides the strainer, a disk worked with a *repoussé* griffin, evidently from a disk-brooch. South of the Thames, in Cogidubnus' client kingdom of the southern Atrebates, the Regni ('the people of the kingdom')—a similar use of Classical iconography is to be seen on a disk-brooch from Lancing, Sussex, showing a hippocamp.[37] However, traditional ornament also survives on such brooches and a disk-brooch of late first-century date from Silchester is decorated with a curvilinear design arranged as a *triskele* device. The *repoussé* plaque from Dowgate in London displays analogous ornament.[38] It is of some interest that the 'Santon' cache contains two enamelled harness mounts in a native style, and we must bear in mind Boudica's golden torque in Dio's narrative as exemplifying Celtic continuity in its most distinctive form outside the direct ambit of Rome. What is the date of the last of the Snettisham torques or, in Ireland, of the 'Petrie crown'?[39]

There is in fact quite a large quantity of Celtic metalwork which could have been made after the formal date of the Roman Conquest, but it is only when it embellishes objects of a form associated with the incoming Romans that we can be certain of this. Several of the best examples are from the north or west of Britain and are Flavian rather than Claudian. Among brooches the Aesica brooch of gilt-bronze is pre-eminent and Sir Arthur Evans in a bout of hyperbole wrote that it is 'of its kind probably the most fantastically beautiful creation that has come to us from antiquity'.[40] The form is a derivative of the thistle-brooch, introduced from the Rhineland with the Roman army and the brooch is generally regarded as having been cast in a north British workshop in early Flavian times, that is probably during the existence of the Brigantian client kingdom which flourished under Roman protection. A more modest example of the type from Hook Norton, Oxfordshire, also bears Celtic ornament on its tail and, although it is very much inferior to the masterpiece from Great Chesters, it demonstrates that Romano-Celtic art was not confined to the periphery of the province.[41]

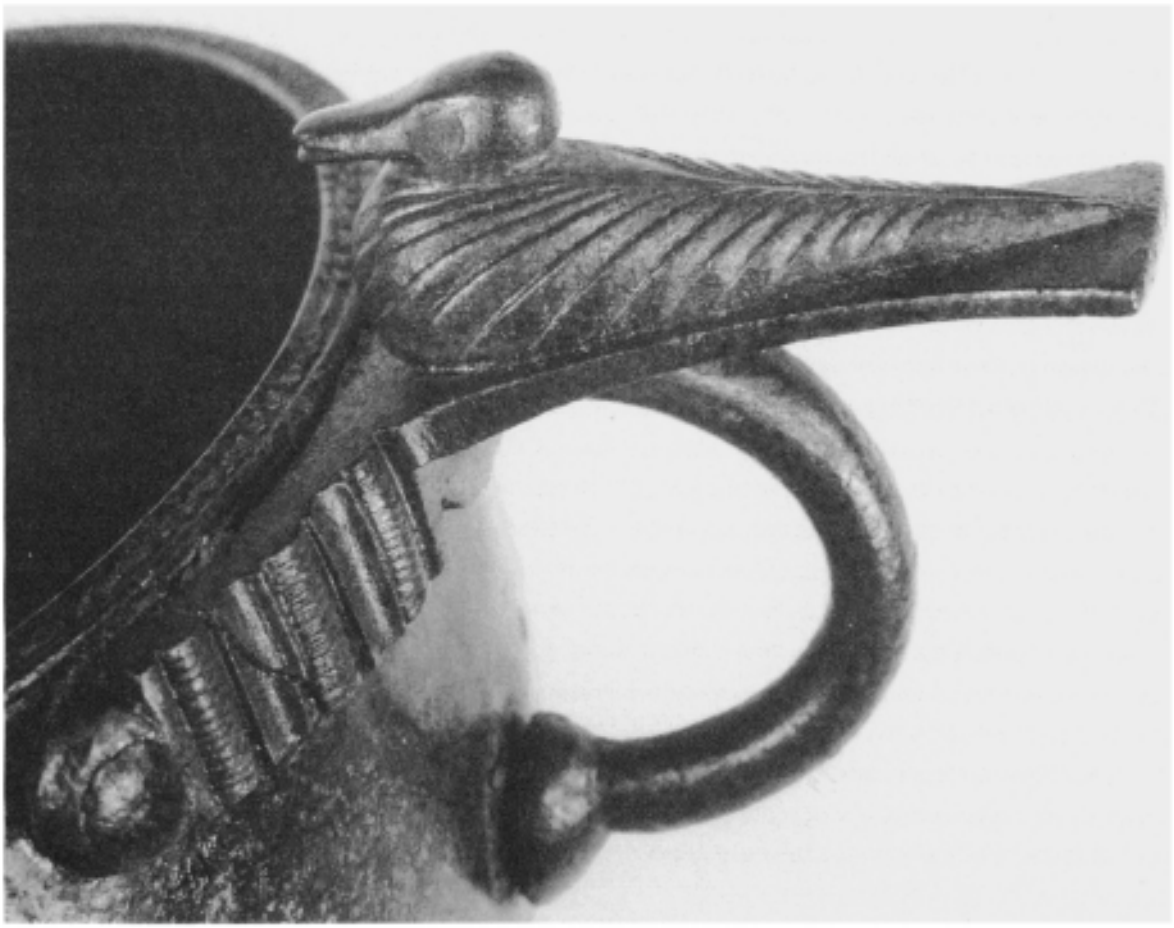
The trumpet-brooches, with their central 'acanthus' mouldings and expanded heads, include some splendid examples of craftsmanship. The best is a silver-gilt example from Carmarthen, which has been dated to about the time of the Conquest or even before. The mercury-gilding, like that on the Aesica brooch, shows familiarity with (and skill in using) a Roman technique, while the rosette on the headloop which linked the brooch to its pair has a naturalistic, Roman appearance. The scroll-work, however, is executed with confidence and a Claudio-Neronian date is reasonable.[42]

A bracelet from Rhayader (see **58**) has a close analogy with a late Hellenistic or Augustan example from Egypt, though its decoration of two registers of knotted wires is simpler than the vine-scrolls of its Alexandrian analogue. However, at each end there are plates of Celtic ornament inset with enamel. It has been associated with other items of gold jewellery, including plates set with gems, from the same site and ornaments from Southfleet, Kent, as the products of a single workshop of the second century. It is true that they can be seen as belonging to the same tradition, although in every way the bracelet with Celtic ornament looks earlier than its fellows, still preserving distinct and unmixed traditions of classicism and celticity.[43] The same could be said of a bronze mount from Elmswell, Yorkshire. The larger part of this is worked *en repoussé* with a symmetrical design of scrolls, reminiscent on the layout of some mirror backs, although the detail is closer to the Dowgate plaque. The inclusion of rosettes, like that on the headloop of the Carmarthen brooch, suggests that the smith was equating the design with the sort of acanthus ornament to be seen on Roman metalwork, like the scabbard of the Fulham sword which includes similar flowers (see **10**).[44] A plate of enamel along the top of the Elmswell mount demonstrates skill with a native technique but the scroll shown is thoroughly Roman, being in the form of a leafy tendril Such romanization of enamelwork is likewise to be seen in similar scrolls, together with two pairs of griffins each confronted across a cantharus, ornamenting a plaque from the Thames at London.[45]

Naturalistic portrayal of animals and of human beings began, in a tentative manner, before the Conquest. Metalworkers made further headway afterwards. A statuette in the form of a stag, found to the north of Brighton, Sussex, is particularly impressive (**18**). It is relatively large, standing 16.4cm (6 1/2 in) in height and, despite damage to three of its legs, is still in excellent condition. The modelling is

16 *Two silver cups from a grave. Welwyn, Hertfordshire. H. of both cups, c.11cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

17 a *Two bronze cups from Crownthorpe, Norfolk. H. of both cups, c.8cm;* b *Detail of bird on handle of one cup. Castle Museum, Norwich.* (Photos: David Wicks, Norfolk Landscape Archaeology.)



18 *Bronze statuette of stag, found near Brighton, Sussex. H.16.4cm. Brighton Museum.* (Photo: Christie's.)

surprisingly assured, but the smith was not constrained by the demands of naturalism. Large recessed eye-sockets were probably intended to take glass settings, as in the cases of other early bronzes including the Duncliffe Hill (Dorset) boar and the Aust-by-Severn and Henley Wood 'Venus' figurines **(19),** all assuredly of Iron Age date. The stag has a shaggy mane, allowing full scope for the smith to explore pattern and texture. This mannerism has more to do with artistic caprice than with study of an actual animal; it is a feature the stag shares with a very different beast: a terrifying ithyphallic, wolf-like monster engaged in eating a man, found near Oxford (perhaps at the temple site of Woodeaton) where a prominent mane runs the length of the creature's spine. There is no dating evidence for either bronze although both show familiarity with Roman naturalism. The '*carnassier androphage*' could be fully Romano-British, but there is something about the stag, its fresh, clean lines and its stylized eyes which suggest that it was cast as early as about AD 50.[46]

Boar figurines have been well studied by Jennifer Foster and span the Conquest period, with some animals, like those from Hounslow, certainly early and fully Iron Age. The boar from Muntham Court, Findon, Sussex, rendered in high relief and probably employed as a furniture mount, is strongly influenced by Roman naturalism, and is probably later (although the imported Roman boar from the Lexden tumulus demonstrates that such influence could well be prior to 43).[47] Its stylized outline recalls two near identical lions from Capel St Mary, Suffolk, which are clearly mounts of the same type. They are naturalistically modelled in Graeco-Roman fashion, with delicately hatched fur and rugged manes but their lentoid eyes, like the outline of their bodies, betray a native hand. Although they have been dated as late as the second century, a date in the first century AD is far more likely. Indeed, it is possible that the boar is a product of the kingdom of the Regni while the lions come from the ill-fated Icenian client kingdom.[48]

Rendition of the human form was much less well developed than animal art in the Iron Age, but the skill of the smiths could be turned towards this subject. Inevitably the main strength in native production lay in the dramatic, often scowling, mask which was present in the Iron Age repertoire. That the line of development followed by the smiths of Britain was not broken by the Conquest is also demonstrated by a number of small cast-bronze human heads which can be compared with the escutcheons on the Aylesford bucket. Most 'Celtic' are the head from Holme Hale, Norfolk, in the Icenian client kingdom, and the sceptre-head from Chalton, Hampshire, whose simplified physiognomies display hair brushed well forward and almond-shaped eyes in thoroughly native style. It would be possible to argue about the date of these, but a sceptre-head from Kirmington, Lincolnshire, with a helmeted 'Mars' head is probably Roman **(20),** and can be associated with the type of sceptre recovered from the Roman priest's grave at Brough-on-Humber.[49]

The same continuity is visible in *repoussé* work. For instance, the mask from the South Cadbury excavations, which, although recognizably Julio-Claudian, is a descendant of pre-Roman masks suchas

those on the Marlborough bucket, as is, again, especially manifest in the treatment of hair. Such pieces as the clean-shaven head with spirally curled hair, now in Copenhagen, the Jupiter mask from Felmingham Hall, Norfolk, the female head with almond-shaped eyes probably from Silkstead near Otterbourne in Hampshire and the masks found in the Icklingham cache (**21**a and b), confirm the continuity of skill in this kind of work through the Roman period.[50]

Figures in the round were rarer but the Aust-by-Severn and Henley Wood (see **19)** figurines gave rise to the likes of the deities in the Southbroom (Devizes) cache, at least those figurines of deities which survive and are preserved in the British Museum. As explained in *Religion in Roman Britain*, these are important for the story of the romanization of cult.[51] The simple depressions for glass insets in some instances provide a formal link with the two bronzes mentioned above, but the very schematized garments and misunderstood attributes also suggest an early date. The association with coins down to the third century does not date the individual items in the deposit which were varied in character and may well have been derived from a temple repository or *favissa*. A boldly rendered figure of Vulcan from North Bradley, likewise in Wiltshire, shows affinities with the Southbroom pieces but is possibly not so early; stylistically, at least, it is more advanced.[52] The male figure from Earith, shown making an offering (see **61**), is a splendid work of art. His hair and physiognomy are close to the native tradition of the masks mentioned above, especially those from South Cadbury and in Copenhagen, while the flexible modelling of the folds of his garments displays Celtic linearity very well. However, the dress does bring to mind that of natives of north-western Europe shown on stone sculpture of the Middle Empire.[53] This small selection of pieces, if I am right, leads us from native craft to classic Romano-British artistry.

Mention of masks is a reminder that the Roman Conquest provided enormous opportunities for artists to learn new skills. The famous Bath Gorgon with its richly curling tresses sculpted on the central shield, in the pediment of the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, can be seen as a much enlarged version of a Celtic or Romano-Celtic mask in metal **(22).** Certainly the treatment of the eyes, which are lentoid in form with circular pupils, confirms a British (or Gaulish) hand

19 *Bronze Venus figurine from the temple at Henley Wood, Yatton, Somerset. H.7.5cm.* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

20 *Bronze sceptre with helmeted ('Mars') head from Kirmington, Lincolnshire. Front and side views. H.6.6cm.* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

21 *Hollow bronze votive heads or masks from Icklingham, Suffolk. Scale not known.*

at work. Collingwood was wrong, however, to see this as symbolizing the last flicker of Celtic originality before it was suppressed by Rome. The pediment is fundamentally Roman in design. Not only is its central motif, the male Gorgon itself, comparable with others, for instance that on a pediment from a second-century tomb at Chester, but the particular hairiness of the Bath example can be proved on examination to spring from conflation with an Oceanus or Neptune mask, a highly sophisticated concept. The shield on which it is set is a Roman motif and is surrounded by a vegetal wreath in disciplined Roman style. Victories support it and tritons flank it.[54] The Gorgon cannot be separated from the cornice and Corinthian capitals of the temple, both emphatically Roman, yet clearly part of the same programme of work dating from Neronian or early Flavian times.

The sanctuary was full of other sculpture, some, like the altar with its figures of deities, probably quite early; much of it was very good. Britons seem to have taken to sculpture with alacrity as the not infrequent inclusion of Celtic traits, especially in the coiffure, confirms. In this respect we may note a mask from a tomb at Towcester, Northamptonshire (see **65**), and the head of Mercury from Uley, Gloucestershire.[55]

Despite the setback of the Boudican Revolt, the process of romanization was not long drawn out. For the artist, as for the potential barrister (Tacitus, *Agricola* 21), it provided opportunities for the display of skills never possible before. This chapter has shown some examples of continuity from Iron Age craft, notably in metalwork. Nobody doubts Tacitus that Celtic eloquence survived the Conquest; albeit, as far as the leading classes of society were concerned, this ability was to be expressed in Latin. Art too changed, but did not, as generations of students of Roman Britain have been taught, decline. However, as later chapters of this book will demonstrate, the skills of British artists were most fully exercised not in keeping alive the almost exhausted tradition of native metalwork but mainly in interpreting the varied styles and media of Graeco-Roman art. In short there is a parallel with religious developments whereby the Roman Conquest brought radical changes of outlook and at the same time a symbiosis between native and Roman beliefs; the term *interpretatio romana* is an appropriate description of what happened in art too.[56]

22 *Sculptured pediment of the Temple of Sulis Minerva, Bath. Limestone. L.8.03m; H.2.46m. Roman Bath Museum.* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

CHAPTER THREE

Art and the Roman Army

An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury
New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill—
A combination and a form indeed
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.

Roman soldiers and the Roman army appear fairly frequently in these pages. The legions stationed in Britain, comprised a fully romanized nucleus of people whose manner of life was to a large degree Mediterranean. The objects used by members of the army in the course of duty or at their leisure, in the baths or when dining, were often decorated in a Roman manner. As comparison of the small finds from a fortress, such as Caerleon, with those from an Italian city (for example Pompeii) reveals, cultural rubbish is similar, though the world of women, the *mundus muliebris*, is less in evidence in the military camp and decorated arms and armour more so.[1] Alongside imports from elsewhere, such as bronze drinking vessels and signet rings, there are works commissioned by the legion or members of it, notably sculpture, which was employed for both official and unofficial purposes and executed either by members of the regiment or by civilians living in close proximity.

At least half the army of Britain—and probably more than half—consisted of auxiliary troops. Although not a citizen, the premise of the career of an auxiliary in the first and second centuries AD was that he would obtain that coveted honour. Every such regiment had a prefect as commanding officer, a man of equestrian rank who was allowed to live with his family in a house of standard Italian style at the centre of the fort. Inscriptions on stone, letters written on wooden tablets (found at Vindolanda) and objects from forts assignable to the commander and his wife reveal the nature of that life. For instance, a gold ring set with a garnet intaglio cut with the representation of a dramatic mask from the commandant's latrine at Housesteads is comparable with many similar rings from Italy; the material of the ring is an indication of the wearer's status as the *annulus aureus* was the badge of members of the equestrian order.[2] A Vindolanda letter shows that a prefect's wife was important enough to be escorted many miles to a party at a friend's house, just as wealthy and well-connected women were able to do in Italy. The prefect's children would be educated by a tutor and studied the classics, notably Vergil.[3] Some of this culture and way of life percolated through to the men and to the inhabitants of the *vicus*, as has been well shown by the Vindolanda excavations. Again, both imported works of art and locally-made items attest a Roman culture in both language and art, instanced by a bronze figurine of a man wearing a *pallium*, a vehicle fitting surmounted by the figure of a horse, many gems from finger rings and other items of jewellery.[4]

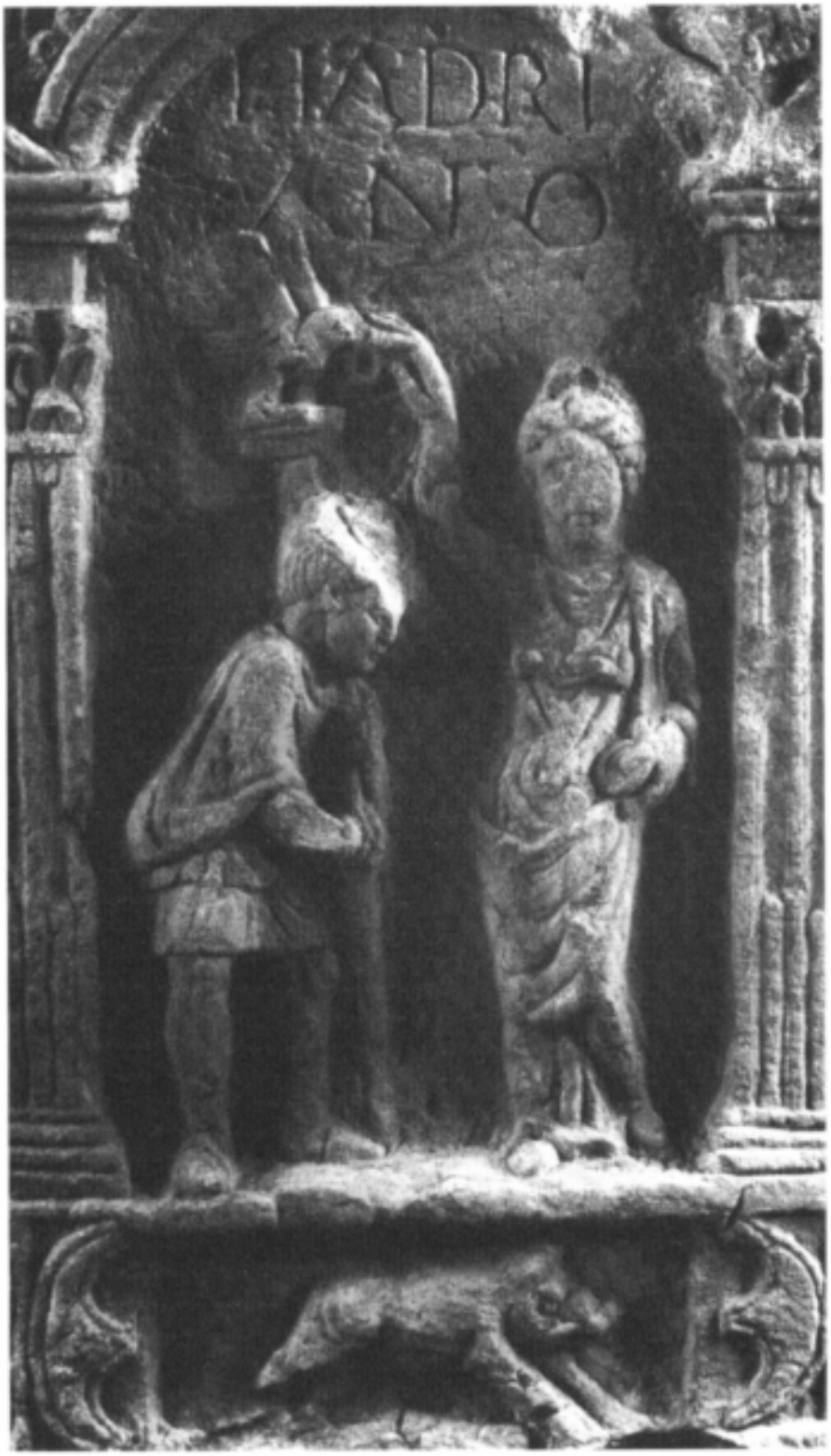
The influence of the army on art as on other aspects of daily life, for instance religion, is hard to overstress. The legions and the colonies of veterans provided encouragement and example for the economically active societies of the province, to the south and east of them. The auxiliaries were the primary agents of romanization on the northern frontier and in Wales, and Roman art, such as it is in these regions, largely owes its existence to these regiments. I have tried to pay due attention to the influence of the army elsewhere in this book, but in this chapter the aim is to concentrate on the soldiers themselves (together with their immediate dependants), for they were after all an important element in the population of Britain and, initially at any rate, the largest pool of foreigners.

We are not accustomed to think of armies today in connection with art: the images conjured up by the dress, arms and living-quarters of the modern soldier—khaki, barbed wire, ugly barracks and uglier weapons—repel anyone with aesthetic sense. Only the work of 'war artists' who record and comment upon battles and the silver plate and pictures in an Officers' Mess belong to the cultural sphere. Mention, however, the armies of the Middle Ages, with gorgeously apparelled knights, swords with personal names, brightly-coloured tents, and the myths of chivalry, and military life assumes a certain romance. Even much later, indeed until the nineteenth century, brightly-coloured clothes and beautiful weapons maintained a tradition of display. The Roman army was disciplined like the early modern armies but in other respects the soldier was closer to the knightly ideals of the Middle Ages. Of course, like all armies, it aimed to subdue its enemies—though, in theory at least, it was supposed to spare the suppliant *(parcere subiectis)*. Soldiers were trained to kill but they were driven by a thirst for glory in the steps of Greek and Roman heroes of the legendary past (Tacitus, Agricola 5).

The legionary fortress, and indeed the auxiliary fort, was not normally a grim and soulless place but the most rational expression of Classical (Hippodamian) town planning to be found anywhere in the Empire. A legionary fortress in particular would have had its headquarters building, baths, officers' houses and barracks given appropriate architectural expression, enlivened with colour, sculptured fountains (see **54**) and impressively cut inscriptions. Much of this reflected contemporary taste and *romanitas*, though reminders of the soldier's calling in the form of figures of military virtues, such as Virtus and Victoria, of protective deities, notably Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Father Mars, Minerva and Hercules, occurred with greater frequency than they did in civil settlements.[5]

We lack any example of the battle paintings carried in Roman triumphs, although we should not overlook their existence and influence. It is very likely that paintings of this sort were treasured by army units, just as they have been in the officers' messes of more recent times.[6] Military historians can only regret that no large easel paintings entitled 'The final defeat of Boudica' and 'The Battle of Mons Graupius' have come down to us. Records of battles are now best known from the famous state reliefs in Rome, notably the columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius and the arches of Titus and Severus. The episodes are standardized and, if they are related to campaign paintings, they suggest that they too would have been largely conventional, made up of stock themes. Indeed that is the implication of sculpture from the Antonine Wall, the battle and sacrifice of boar, ram and bull *(suovetaurilia)* on the Bridgeness distance slab, Britannia (or Roma) presenting a wreath to a legionary *aquila* on the relief from Hutcheson Hill **(23),** and the representations of soldiers, notably auxiliary cavalrymen riding down their foes (see **70**, **71**), on tomb *stelae* throughout the province.[7]

The arms and armour of the soldiers have been the subject of detailed studies and it is not my aim here to vie with these. It is simply that in the equipment of the Roman soldier, above all in the early Imperial period, we can find an expression of Roman culture and art as impressive in its way as the sculptural monuments of Rome. Because the Roman army was stationed on the frontiers it is to the outlying provinces that we must look for the material, and because one of these provinces was Britannia, there is ample material for study here. In considering many of these items, we should realize that we are dealing essentially with the mainstream of Roman art, and it is regrettable that Classical archaeologists have so seldom given it due attention. Alongside purely Roman decoration, there was also some use of Celtic motifs and techniques, notably enamel work and repoussé, to embellish the armour of men and horses; these too add a dimension to the understanding of Roman military art and of taste in ornament.



23 *Antonine Wall distance slab from Hutcheson Hill, Dunbartonshire. Centre panel showing Britannia(?) and signifer. Sandstone. H.74.5cm.* (Photo by courtesy of Hunterian Museum and University Court, University of Glasgow.)

Apart from the physical remains of camps themselves, scholars have paid most attention to lapidary work. From this source comes much of our knowledge of how the army in Britain operated, its personnel and recruitment. Frequently there is a sculptural element embellishing official inscriptions, altars and tombstones and these too have been studied, though more often with an eye to content than to style and quality. It is clear that legionary commanders and their men aimed to have the most 'Roman' work available to them. This is clearly seen in the case of an imported commemorative slab of Tuscan marble set up on a building in Caerleon with Trajan's titles and the name of the Second Legion on it.[8] It must have looked exceedingly fine with its well-spaced letters tastefully graded so that the first two lines with the name of Trajan and the last with that of the legion show up especially well. Traces of red colouring remain in the letters, which would have stood out boldly against the white of the marble, and the panel has been further embellished with an ansate frame and rosettes.

The panel was evidently drafted as early as AD 99, but it must have taken a number of months before the finished plaque reached Caerleon. By then Trajan had entered his third consulate (AD 100), which necessitated the addition of one character to the inscription. It is surely not likely that the craftsman assigned to do this was totally unskilled, though he may have been new to marble carving. On an ordinary inscribed building stone, of which a number have been found at Caerleon, his effort would have passed without comment, but it is clear that the final I of COS ? III on this formal masterpiece is not straight. Despite this qualification, good lapidary work was carried out in a legionary ambience in Britain, and the south-east gate of the fortress of the Ninth Legion at York carries a long commemoration cut in local magnesian limestone. Neither the spacing nor the letter forms display quite the skill of the Italian expert, but there is no doubting its *romanitas*. Examples of inscriptions cut on slate from north Wales from the fortress of the Twentieth Legion at Chester are also well done and visually must have been a good substitute for the coloured marbles used for inscriptions in Mediterranean lands.[9] These lapidary skills would have been passed on to civilian centres. Indeed it is probable that the Hadrianic carver of that masterpiece of epigraphy from Britain, the sandstone dedication of the Forum at Wroxeter,[10] was more regularly employed by the Twentieth Legion, though whether he was a soldier himself or a civilian resident in the *canabae* is uncertain (see below).

At this official level we must remember that Imperial statues were to be seen in fortresses and forts. Most were cast in bronze, like those of which we have fragments from Caerleon, consisting of small parts of a cuirassed figure including a *pteryx* from an armoured skirt, found close to the statue pedestals which stood near the north-west side of the *basilica principiorum* at Caerleon. A finger from this or another statue was found nearby and another finger came from the site of the barracks of the first cohort. Presumably, similar bronze statues stood in the other fortresses. A *pteryx* from Caernarfon shows that similar statues stood in auxiliary forts. Bronze statuary in the *coloniae* and other towns will be discussed elsewhere. The headquarters building at York has yielded the head of an emperor carved from the local limestone. Despite its classicizing features, its general physiognomy is Tetrarchic rather than Trajanic, and it has been generally accepted as a very early image of Constantine who was proclaimed at York on the death of his father in 306 (see Chapter 7). Like the York inscription mentioned above, it may well have been cut by a craftsman in the employ of the legion (now the Sixth), although in both cases the exemplar will have been an official model (in the case of portraits, plaster casts could have been employed).[11]

In considering the three long-term legionary bases of Britain, there is no reason to think that there was any differential where such major, official commissions are concerned. The situation appears rather different when ordinary dedications and tombstones commissioned by soldiers are considered, and fortunately here evidence is plentiful.[12] This is especially so in the case of Chester, where the north wall had been repaired in Late Roman times and, when investigated in the nineteenth century, was found to incorporate a great many reused tombstones. These, along with the other sculpture and inscriptions from Chester, have been fully published by R.P.Wright and I.A.Richmond who have rightly declared that they 'form one of the most individual and important collections in Britain'. Sculpture from Caerleon and York has been fully published in relevant fascicules of the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*. The sculpture from

Chester amounts to over 70 items, excluding architectural ornament. Figured sculpture from the Caerleon fortress and from Bulmore nearby comprises some 27 items, while York yields 62 pieces, although many of them must belong to the *colonia*. The sample from each fortress is thus a reasonably good one.

The introductory section of the Chester catalogue does not say a great deal about the quality of the sculpture but includes the following revealing comment in connection with the tombstones:

> The artistic standard of these panels is often crude if they are judged as formal sculpture. When, however, it is realized that most of them will have been coated with gesso and painted, their character, as the mere groundwork for a painted picture, becomes more in keeping with their purpose. To estimate their original poster-like effect is now almost beyond our power.[13]

24 *Tombstone of a beneficiarius consularis from Camomile Street bastion, City of London. Limestone. H.1.32m. Museum of London.* (After J.E.Price, A bastion of London Wall, 1880, pl.iv.)

The remarks about gesso and paint would apply equally to the best legionary sculpture in Britain, such as the first-century tombstone of Facilis at Colchester or the Trajanic monument of a *beneficiarius consularis* from London **(24),** as they do to the Chester sculpture.[14] It would not have been possible to make much improvement to poor work with the liberal addition of paint. Fortunately we are not left with surmise, but can parallel many of the tombstones of Chester with those from other fortresses. The commonest type is a figure or a pair of figures standing within a recess. For the former the stele of the *optio* Caecilius Avitus and that of the *imaginifer* Aurelius Diogenes may be taken as typical. These were important members of the legion, but their images are distinctly lumpy, with thick legs and arms protruding from thick garments. Nor do the frames bear any ornament.[15]

Turning to York, the *signifer* of the Ninth Legion, Lucius Duccius Rufinus, stands within a deeper recess. Although the representation has been called 'dry and simplified', it is markedly more competent than most of the Chester tombstones; the subject's legs and arms are more in scale with his body and the sculptor has been successful in suggesting the folds of the *paenula* which he wears over his tunic. Its style is similar to that of the tombstone of a man, likewise from York and of Trajanic date, as indeed his hair style suggests. He wears a torque and holds a spray of flowers in his right hand and a scroll in his left; he is housed in a

handsome surround with Corinthian pilasters ornamented with leaves and above them rosettes, while at the apex of the arch is a *bucranium*.

Another York tombstone, probably a century later, shows a man and a boy; again the adult is well rendered—indeed Sergio Tufi describes the execution of the body and of the clothing as 'perhaps more careful than in other tombstones from York'.[16] It is not certain whether he is a legionary or a veteran but the former is likely. Certainly the gravestone from near Caerleon (Little Bulmore) with the same subject must show a legionary to judge from his military cloak *(sagum)*. His left arm is slightly raised so that the folds create a rippling effect where the fabric hangs slackly above that point. The turn of the head, the shaping of the arms, bare on the right and enveloped in drapery on the left, and the tender gesture towards his child as he places his right hand upon the infant's head, almost give the viewer the illusion of life, despite the very grievous damage the stone has received—and the lack of gesso and paint! Here the niche is a deep one and embellished with a shell canopy and the flanking Corinthian pilasters are enriched with fine acanthus scrollwork. The monument, carved in oolitic limestone, was surely created by a Cotswold sculptor of the first rank.[17]

A number of tombstones from Chester show a husband and wife or a family group. Some exhibit the same visual coarseness as the single figures, for instance the stele of the centurion, Marcus Aurelius Nepos, set up by his wife **(25).** He is crudely carved, although the vigorous grooving of the front of his cloak and of the kilt of his tunic below the belt breaks the monotony of the form. His wife, who is shown with little pin-legs below a flounced skirt, also well grooved, has to be given a pedestal to bring her up to his level. The stone has the charm and child-like quality of some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century village tombstones but is hardly the 'high Roman manner'. There is better work from Chester such as the well-known relief of a woman holding a mirror with her maid, and several related stones which must have been carved by the same sculptor. Although the clothing forms are comparatively simple and the relief is not very high, this is sculpture of acceptable quality. It is, however, outclassed by the memorial of Flavia Augustina, the wife of a veteran of the Sixth Legion at York, which shows a whole family standing within a double-headed niche with an elaborate frame.[18]

25 *Tombstone of M. Aurelius Nepos and his wife from Chester. Sandstone. H.1.85m. Grosvenor Museum.* (After Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society. N.S. ii, 1888, pl.1.)

York has yielded three examples of the banquet tombstone, all dedicated to women, probably the dependants of veterans. The concept is a very widespread one in Graeco-Roman art; those under discussion here follow the local Eboracan style of deep niches, bold framing and an attractive use of pattern. The tombstone of Julia Velva is perhaps the best, crisply carved in three planes of relief. The woman reclines on a well-padded couch. In front stands her husband, Lucius Aurelius Mercurialis, and a son, and on the other side of a table is their daughter, seated in a basket chair. Once again the Chester comparisons are far inferior in standard, although no less than eight such stele survive at the fortress; the best-known is perhaps that of Curatia Dinysia whose tombstone is more elaborate than usual for Chester, with trumpet-blowing tritons in the spandrels and birds standing on garlands within a rather shallow niche. The deceased, who rests on her couch with a singularly ill-executed table beside her, is very badly modelled. The stock nature of the figure is apparent when it is compared with an almost identical carvings on other stones including those of Aurelius Lucianus and Caecilius Donatus, serving soldiers. Presumably they are all products of the same workshop. Although as yet no banquettombstone is known from Caerleon, the theme of the feast of the dead is brought out by a sepulchral *mensa* with a central hole, allowing wine to be poured down to the ashes of the dead. This is now lost but it is clear from the eighteenth-century illustration that the form of the *mensa* (a Doric capital), its accomplished rendering of Venus and the surrounding myrtle sprays mark a very high level of classicism, which would have been at home in the Mediterranean world.[19]

With regard to other sculpture of high quality or iconographic interest the following finds connected with the three fortresses are illuminating. A fine Purbeck marble *labrum* with a Medusa-mask in the centre comes from the Castle Baths at Caerleon. The use of this material (also employed for wall veneers at Caerleon) is perhaps evidence that the Second Legion retained some control of the quarries on the Isle of Purbeck. The 'marble' had been used in the earlier fortress at Exeter, notably for a noble rendering of an eagle but also for another *labrum*, mouldings and plaques for inlay. It is also found at Fishbourne where the Legion may have helped supply materials to Cogidubnus or whoever built the palace. The Caerleon *labrum* is a splendid translation into British stone of an essential item of equipment for Roman-style bathing. Also at the Castle Baths was found an excellent relief of Fortuna and Bonus Eventus, given by Cornelius Castus and his wife in the third century, by which time soldiers were allowed to marry. This can be regarded as a public benefaction, for these deities would have protected the baths. A statue of a Genius in oolitic limestone and a spirited piece of work by a Cotswold carver probably came from a *schola* within the headquarters building.[20]

An almost complete statue of Mars from York, carved with considerable dexterity in the local sandstone, may have come from the fortress, and certainly looks like an expression of formal state religion. There are also some good private votive sculptures, such as a figure of Mercury and an altar to the *matres*, who are depicted on its main face set in a deep niche, like those found on the tombstones. A statue of the Mithraic deity, Arimanes, is also very well carved, but Mithraists in the army seem to have had access to sculptors of above average quality.[21]

Chester's contribution lies in some stones probably from a tomb or tombs, showing mythological themes, including the deaths of Adonis and Actaeon, and Hercules rescuing Hesione, atrociously carved though of great interest on account of their subject matter, expressing as they do some knowledge of Greek mythology. However, there is also a powerful-looking male gorgon on a tomb-pediment, the work of a carver of superior skill. Even if, in absolute terms, it falls below the level of the Bath Gorgon, the presence of something so good here demands explanation.[22]

The reason for the marked differences in quality lies in the relation of each legion to its hinterland and to the province in general. Caerleon is only just beyond the limestone belt and sculptors from this region were at hand to execute commissions. The Purbeck marble *labrum* and two wall-veneers from baths, as we have seen, suggest that the legion may have maintained links with the south of the province. Outside the fortress was a flourishing civilian settlement and the cantonal capital of the Silures was only a few miles away at Caerwent. York was also favoured and, although at first it must have been in a military zone, the vale of York was fertile and soon became civilized. The civilian settlement which grew up on the other side of the Ouse quickly became urban in the true sense and was honoured with the title of *colonia* in

about 200. The situation at Chester was different. Here there was no comparable civil city in the hinterland (though there was the usual *canabae*, of course, now known to be quite extensive in area) and the sculpture has a much more provincial appearance. First-rate sculptors were far less likely to be attracted here than to the more civilized ambience of the other fortresses, which had close contacts with civilian culture. The quality of work associated with the legions along the Rhine and Danube is also higher than that prevailing at Chester, because here again fortresses were not far distant from the towns.[23]

However, the Roman military ethos, which saw the legionary camp as a microcosm of Rome itself, provided a standard to which art should aspire, even though in practice it often fell short of this ideal, as at Chester. The legate of a legion could do a very great deal as a patron, collecting sculptors and setting them to work. Roman art under these conditions could

26 *Altar of Flavius Longus, dedicated to the Genius Loci at Chester. Sandstone. H.81cm. Grosvenor Museum.* (After W.Thompson Watkin, Roman Cheshire, 1886, pl.op.p.170.)

flourish, as a measure of *romanitas*, as two lovely altars from Chester demonstrate. The first is the altar dedicated to Fortuna Redux, Aesculapius and Salus by the freedmen of the legionary legate early in the second century. Both sides are carved with appropriate sacrificial symbols and emblems of the deities honoured. Equally ambitious is the other altar **(26),** dedicated in the early third century to the Genius Loci by a military tribune of the Twentieth Legion, called Flavius Longus, and his son, natives of Samosata, which had also nurtured Lucian and his sculptor uncle before him. One side depicts a statue of the Genius, the other an acanthus in a vase, and the back a draped cloth, as it were hanging from an offering table, surmounted by fruit. The crisp carving of the leaves of the acanthus and the rippling folds of the cloth are excellent.

Flavius Longus must have known what sculptors were capable of producing and would not have found the average quality of Chester work to his liking. Clearly, as an important officer of the legion, he was able to call upon the legate's best sculptor. The sculptor of the Chester Gorgon (see above) may well have been introduced to do important work for the legion or the legate; indeed it has to be said that the pediment comes from a very large tomb. Another example of patronage at this level from the fortresses comes from Caerleon. A contemporary altar dedicated by a prefect of the Second Legion to Salus has a well-lettered inscription and a small bust in a shellniche stood between the bolsters. It is not, however, exceptional for Caerleon, where good sculptors were probably easier to find as explained above. Likewise of Severan date is the dedicatory tablet of a temple to Serapis at York, built by the legate Claudius Hieronymianus. The inscription is set within a cabled frame with *peltae*, all fine and dignified despite the religious standards which seem to have been added by a different and inferior hand, somewhat spoiling the effect.[24]

It is likely that some sculpture at this level was the work of serving soldiers with privileges, *immunes* (meaning that they were exempt from certain routine duties), and whose tasks would have been to work with carvers of official inscriptions to celebrate the prowess of the emperor, as well as those of the particular military unit to which they belonged. Often, indeed, inscription and sculpture may have been the work of the same artist. An important source of work for official legionary sculptors in the second century lay in commemorative slabs, above all the distance slabs from the Antonine Wall. All three legions there are represented in works of varying quality, though it can be argued that the two best are Twentieth Legion stones, regardless of the general level of Chester's sculpture. In particular the Hutcheson Hill slab (see **23**) has none of the gaucheness of the Chester sculpture. The frame is a triumphal arch with fluted pilasters; before the two side openings kneel captives; in the centre an *à la mode* Britannia, attractively clad and coiffured, offers a wreath to the *aquila* held by a standard bearer. From Old Kilpatrick comes another panel, again with fluted pilasters but this time just a single pediment, below which Victory, holding a palm and a massive wreath, reclines on a globe. Her drapery is richly vibrant and the modelling of her body a world away from the depressing banquet tombstones.

The Second Legion does not do badly with the Bridgeness distance slab but the frames of the figure panels lack the grace of those just mentioned. The *suovetaurilia*, with its out-of-scale animals and the figures, with nicely patterned (but not well modelled), garments looks like local sculpture. The Braidfield slab set up by the Sixth Legion shows diminutive figures of Mars and Virtus and two victories reaching up to hold a panel that appears to be too heavy for them; it is devoid of framing. It is clear that these slabs are individual works and there was no overall quality control. The Twentieth Legion used a better sculptor than the other two legions on this occasion, perhaps the man who produced major dedications for the legion and privately for the legate. The Second Legion's dedications on the Antonine Wall look much more like the work of masons familiar with tomb-stone-cutting. On the other hand, peltate dedication slabs from Corbridge, Shirva in Dunbartonshire and Castell Collen in Wales have a richness and monumental grandeur which the Antonine Wall memorials lack, so perhaps the best *lapidarius* was being employed elsewhere.[25]

On the whole the position with regard to auxiliary units was comparable to the situation of the legionaries at Chester, if anything to a greater degree. They were in distant stations which did not help to draw in the talent to establish viable artistic schools in their hinterland; moreover, the troops and their dependants were less well off and on the whole less educated than

27 *Relief of Ceres and Persephone (?) from Housesteads, Northumberland. H.66.5cm. Sandstone. Destroyed.* (Photo: Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne.)

legionaries. These generalizations did not apply to auxiliaries everywhere and the distinguished class of cavalry tombstones showing horsemen riding down their foes—a device going back to Classical Greek times—provides a notable exception, which is partially explained by the better pay and greater prestige of these mounted regiments.[26] Another important factor lay in the fact that the commanding officers of the auxiliary units were of equestrian rank and had the money to patronize sculptors when they could be found.

The sculpture from the region of Hadrian's Wall, now fully published in two fascicules of CSIR, is very revealing; at its best, the carving can stand comparison with Romano-British work anywhere (see Chapter 6). There were evidently some very accomplished artists at Housesteads for instance. Especially distinctive are two gravestones showing men dressed in long-sleeved tunics, a relief of two goddesses—perhaps Ceres and Persephone **(27)**—and four statues of mother goddesses, which stand out by virtue of their excellent modelling and the liveliness of their draperies—when painted, they would have created a very rich effect. From Housesteads, too, comes the amazing representation of the birth of Mithras from an egg, carved in the round within a frame bearing the signs of the zodiac in relief. These are clearly private commissions, as in all probability are two reliefs depicting Neptune, very much in the Classical tradition. Elsewhere, the superb handling of drapery of a river-god from the bath-house at Chesters and a figure of Fortuna from the commandant's own bath-house at Birdoswald **(28)** betray the hands of skilled Romano-British carvers. The latter may be attributed to the notable school of sculptors based at Carlisle, though the most distinctive surviving products of this studio appear to be tombstones of women. Carlisle was effectively a town, although its economy was linked to the military markets of the western Wall region. It thus offered a limited base for the arts to flourish in—although there were limitations: nobody, so far as I know, attempted to establish a mosaic studio here.[27]

Most of the sculpture from the Wall is, however, of very poor quality, with lumpy and ill-proportioned figures which cannot simply be defended as representing a popular tradition. It results from the lack of skill and expertise among the dwellers in the *vici* outside the forts. For example, there are a number of reliefs of Mars from Housesteads, ranging from good official work down to some very clumsily modelled representations indeed. The gravestone of a soldier from Castlesteads, although it clearly shows a man of some rank (his case of writing-tablets reveals him to have been a clerk with *immunis* status), is child-like in its bungling execution—the neck is tubular, the body virtually rectangular beneath a shapeless coat and the legs stumpy. There is also the tombstone of a woman from Vindolanda, depicted in low relief with no attempt at modelling. Her body is encased in a shift in the form of a truncated cone, she has a triangular neck

28 *Statue of Fortuna from Birdoswald, Cumberland. Sandstone. H.1.05m.* (Photo: City Museum, Carlisle.)

and a schematized face. This low quality extends to art which must have been intended to be official. A stone from the fort wall of Vindolanda shows a figure of Victory standing stiffly in profile, her skirt split on the right side to reveal a fat thigh and both arms rigidly bent at the elbows.[28]

Official sculpture certainly or possibly attributed to auxiliary units includes the dedication to the Imperial Numina by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls from Risingham, Northumberland. This is a richly-patterned panel, whose ornamentation figures cranes (possibly the emblem of the unit) as well as apotropaic heads, one of them a *tricephale*, which hints at 'native' beliefs. Nonetheless the Victory in a niche on the left, and Mars in an even deeper *aedicula* on the right, express the language of *romanitas*. There are also two large renderings of Victory in high relief from Housesteads, one of which may have come from the Severan reconstruction of the east gateway of the fort **(29);** even more beautiful by virtue of her billowing *chiton* is the relief of Victory from Stanwix **(30),** which once flanked an inscription. These, however, may well have been the work of legionary sculptors. There are, of course, many altars dedicated by auxiliary units in which a certain skill with letter forms and some use of framing ornament create a powerful impression. Exceptional here are the Antonine altars of the Second Cohort of Tungrians from Birrens in south Scotland, dedicated in excellent epigraphy to Disciplina, to Mars and Victory and to Minerva. The first of these altars has been described as 'one of the most highly decorated and accomplished known in Britain', but the embellishment consists of no more than simple cult implements on the sides and a shrine with doors above the inscription, just below the *focus*; the ends and sides of the bolsters are decorated with rosettes. The other two altars are distinguished by almost identical ivyleaf tendrils and must be from the same hand; indeed all three altars were surely produced by the unit's official *lapidarius*.[29]

A small but special category of work linked to Roman soldiers in the legions and to the officer-class of the auxiliaries is that composed of the sculptures and dedications attributed to the cult of Mithras. In London there are imported marbles, one of them, a votive tauroctony, dedicated by a veteran of the Second Legion. In all probability most of the votaries were associated with the legionary guard of the governor. There are remains of high-quality limestone sculpture too, presumably from one of the London workshops staffed by craftsmen from the limestone belt. The York Mithraeum was probably used largely by soldiers of the Sixth Legion, but of course there again sculptors were easy to find. The Housesteads relief of Mithras Saecularis (mentioned above) and other carvings from the Wall region are more impressive in that they were probably carved more or less *in situ* without a local workshop tradition to back them. They are testimony to the devoted piety and patronage of the

29 *Relief of Victory from Housesteads, Northumberland. Sandstone. H.1.035m.* Chesters Museum. (Photo: J.C. Coulston.)

30 *Relief of Victory from Stanwix, Cumberland. Sandstone. H.67cm.* (Photo: Museum of Antiquities Newcastle upon Tyne.)

officer class, prepared to bring in sculptors from afar if necessary.[30]

With regard to other large-scale art, evidence is very limited and evidently confined to the legions. The Second Legion certainly seems to have been in the vanguard with very early (Neronian) mosaics in the Exeter baths and high-quality floors in the Fortress Baths at Caerleon as soon as they were built. Elsewhere the military camps of the province have provided little. Leaving sculpture aside, northern Britain certainly had no mosaic studios north of York and the mosaics from the *colonia* at York found so far are not very interesting. There are a few mosaics from the Fortress Baths at Chester which are rather arresting in appearance but unrelated to other mosaic schools.

Evidence for wall-painting is also apparently somewhat lacking, though there were ambitious schemes of decoration in the Fortress Baths at Caerleon during the late first and second centuries, including a painted ceiling in the *frigidarium* imitating a coffered vault and vegetal ornament on the walls both here and in the basilica-vestibule. A fresco from the headquarters building at York, dated to the fourth century, depicts a rather garish architectural screen with columns rising from ill-drawn double-torus bases; additional elements include birds and a hideous theatrical mask but it is not possible to make full sense of the ensemble. Frescoed walls are known in auxiliary forts on the Continent, perhaps most notably the Hadrianic mythological paintings from the fort at Echzell in Germany, and small fragments are recorded from forts in Britain, including Chesters on the Wall. Perhaps something like the Echzell paintings will be found in the Wall region, although even here we must keep in mind the remoteness of soldiers on the British frontiers from the urban amenities which produced such luxuries as firms of interior decorators.[31]

Pottery importers and *negotiators* in wine knew that there was a ready market on the Wall for portable objects and comestibles. On the whole, lapidary artists did not. The taste for gaudy enamels was widespread, ranging from souvenirs of the Wall, which even reached Amiens in Gaul and Rudge in Wiltshire (see **41**), to studs and belt-fittings. Soldiers in the Roman army had always been good patrons of the metalworker. Although basic armour was provided from military *fabrica*, there was nothing to prevent a man having his equipment embellished with silver, niello, tin or enamel, even though Pliny clearly disapproved of soldiers 'whose scabbards jingle with little silver chains and their belts with silver tabs' (*NH* xxxiii, 152). Horsemen had even more opportunity for display, as numerous trappings, pendants and junction-fittings attest. Tombstones, especially in the first century, show all this equipage being used, although, alas, the colour has gone from these reliefs. The love of colour attested later by enamels was surely no new taste. The reason for this lies in human nature. In this, the 'disciplined' legionary was no different from the 'bragging' Celt. Bright shining armour and intricate workmanship were a source of pride to all ancient warriors,

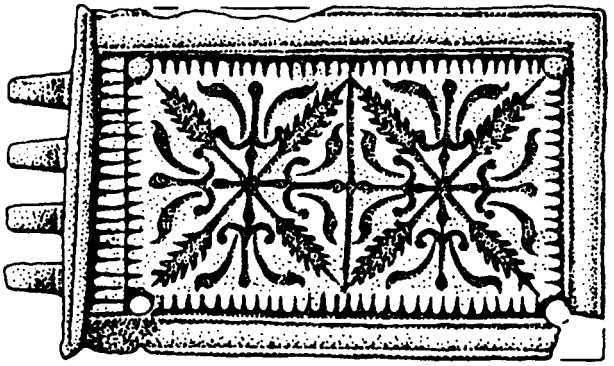
as authors as diverse as Homer, Josephus and Tacitus suggest. Ironically, a very fine set of silvered horse-fittings in the British Museum, but found at Xanten, was owned by a member of the regiment Pliny commanded in Germany. None of this magnificence made the Roman soldier less tough.[32]

A recent study of pre-Flavian belts from Britain provides a good starting point.[33] The belt was an essential part of military dress for it carried the sword and dagger. In fact two belts were thought necessary in order to distribute the weight of these items. From a purely functional standpoint leather strips strengthened with metal plates would have been sufficient, but both sculpture and actual remains show that rich decoration was normally applied, decoration which complemented that of the sword- and dagger-scabbards attached to the belt. *Repoussé* decoration, punched into a mould, includes a plate from Chichester showing the *Lupa Romana* suckling Romulus and Remus, a device also to be seen on the sword-sheath from Fulham, likewise of the Conquest period. Other mounts from Colchester, Hod Hill and Waddon Hill are decorated with acanthus as, indeed, is the body of the Fulham scabbard. Beyond military art, as Grew indeed points out, such motifs bring to mind the decor of the screen wall of *Ara Pacis*.[34]

Another technique is inlay, normally with *niello* (silver sulphide) in the form of vegetal devices. On the better plates the designs were cut into the metal. The finest example, from Sheepen, Colchester, displays two identical motifs consisting of four corn-ears arranged diagonally **(31),** well paralleled in stucco from the Farnesina House. There are many examples of a simplified form of the motif. Niello was used on silver plate, for instance in two vessels from the Hildesheim Treasure and also on high-quality bronzework such as the statuette of Nero from Baylham Mill, Coddenham, Suffolk (see **108**), where it ornaments the emperor's cuirass. Incidentally, as Graham Webster has suggested to me, it is quite probable that this object stood in the *sacellum* of a fort until the rebellion of Boudica, and thus is itself of military significance.[35]

Repoussé technique was used to ornament sword scabbards and especially armour of both men and horses and these items are, in consequence, an important source of figural art. Such work was doubtless valued for itself, because it impressed others and because the deities and other motifs (for instance the Roman she-wolf and twins on the Fulham sword 10) which were portrayed in the medium gave protection to the wearer. For some reason the richest decoration is associated with auxiliary cavalrymen who wore special helmets with face-mask visors on parade and in skilfully orchestrated manoeuvres. However, other helmets, scarcely less ornamental, were used by cavalrymen on service and even in battle.

The parade helmets divide into two categories, one with idealized classical features and the other with those of barbarians, thus allowing the military exercise to take the form of a legendary battle, such as the Greeks fighting Trojans or Amazons. Only the idealized type has so far been found in Britain, at Ribchester, Lancashire (**32** and see **107**) and at Newstead, Roxburghshire. Sir James Curle wrote of the finest of the Newstead helmets, made from beaten iron and originally silvered, that 'even in its present mutilated condition', it 'must rank as one of the most beautiful things that the receding tide of Roman conquest has left behind it'.[36] It was found in a Flavian-period pit in the south annexe of the fort and depicts a head with rich S-curved hair bound with a wreath of laurel. The hair hints at Celtic influence and presumably the piece was made in the north-west provinces. In the same pit was another sports helmet, though of bronze, of which the mask is now lost. The back of this helmet shows Cupid in a *biga* pulled by leopards. Such a combination of figural scene and mask survives almost complete on the Ribchester helmet, which Jocelyn Toynbee assessed as 'the most impressive face-mask visor-helmet so far found in Britain'.[37] Surmounting the brows runs a mural crown and above that a fanciful scene including sea-monsters. There are battle-scenes on the crown of the head, a direct relation to the life of the wearer. Cheek pieces from helmets used in the field include one from Kingsholm, Gloucester, depicting a seated Jupiter. This was made of very thin sheet worked into a mould and would have been backed with iron. An example from Leicester shows a cupid with a parrot, alluding to the god Bacchus. Although published as part of a parade helmet, Graham Webster (in an appended note) points out that such separate cheek-pieces should come from fighting helmets. Another such cheek-piece from Brough, Nottinghamshire, showed a Dioscurus, an appropriate deity for a cavalryman.[38] As a possible example of horsearmour, its suggested use being as the frontal of a chamfrein, the exquisite plate showing a



31 Bronze, *nielloed belt-mount from Sheepen, Colchester. L.7cm.* (Drawing by N.Griffiths, Grew and Griffiths 1991, fig.5 no.A.1.

32 *Bronze parade helmet from Ribchester, Lancashire. H.28cm. British Museum.* (Engraving by J.Basire in Vet. Mon. iv, 1815 (Townley 1799), pl.1.) (See also fig. 107.)

trophy-bearing Victory from Caerleon is surely among the masterpieces of military art from Britain. It was found in a mid-second-century context but both technique and style suggest it was made in the first or early second century.[39]

It is not known where such attractive examples of figured armour were actually made, though a stamp from Sheepen perhaps used for belt plates shows that the work could have been done in some instances by military *fabricae* in Britain.[40] There are very few concessions to provincial style, however, apart from the highly individual working of the hair on the Newstead helmet mentioned above. Early Roman military art may be individual in its lack of uniformity but each piece, whether a harness-fitting or an important item of armour, stresses *romanitas*. Legionaries were Romans and auxiliaries strived to end their careers with the all important *diplomata* giving them citizenship.

From the second century onwards a change is perceptible, though of course Classical elements are still easy to find. Thus, for instance, a Dioscurus is the subject of the cheek-piece from South Shields; however, the subject was simply drawn on to the metal and presumably picked out as it is now by filling the fine lines so made. This dates to the end of the second century at earliest. The same use of incision is to be seen on the helmet from Guisborough. Yorkshire, where figures of Victory, Minerva and Mars are portrayed.[41] A much stronger impression is achieved by the use of openwork and above all by enamel to give texture and colour to belts and other items of dress. The use of enamel was quintessentially Celtic and to find it used not only on the brooches worn by native women but on armour and equipment worn by soldiers **(33)** suggests a change in attitude. Many of the fittings found at forts such as Newstead in its Antonine phase, at Vindolanda and the forts along the Wall are likely to have been made locally. Indeed, the Hadrian's Wall souvenirs such as the Rudge cup must have been manufactured in its vicinity, by craftsmen working for a largely military clientele. The quantity and often the very real quality of these enamels do not (*pace* Collingwood) give the impression of native art *in extremis*, but rather show that the Empire-wide shift in taste towards abstraction and texture had been able to make use of a living native art even within the confines of the fort, the microcosm of Rome.[42] Outside the fort, as the Vindolanda excavations reveal, was a mixed population including many women whose jewellery was enamelled just like their husbands' belt-studs and slides. As even the traditional and old-fashioned tombstones of soldiers suggest, the auxiliary, and even the legionary, was becoming part of local society and adopting local tastes rather than continuing to maintain the attitudes of a superior class, whose reality had, in all probability, ceased within little more than a generation of the Conquest. Art is a most valuable indicator of this shift in values.

***33** Bronze enamelled belt-plate from South Shields, Co.Durham. L.8.3cm.* (After Arch Ael² x, 1885, p.262 (fig).)

CHAPTER FOUR

The Uses of Art in Roman Britain

Thou art a lady;
If only to go warm were gorgeous,
Why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st,
Which scarcely keeps thee warm.

Nowadays the practice of art is often regarded as a precious activity, largely divorced from daily life. An artist is defined as someone who works on expensive commissions for members of an educated and wealthy élite, or at least that is the impression given by the expensive, glossy art journals, bulging with sale-room advertising. The daily visual experience of the majority of people is limited to prints and photographs and to low-quality ornaments in the home, all of them mass-produced. Public art today consists on the one hand of 'commercial art' and on the other of the occasional self-conscious statue set up by an industrialist outside a factory or by a benefactor, or even a municipality, in an open space within a town. The current split between 'high art' and popular experience owes much to the results of the Industrial Revolution. The creation of new towns broke up traditional societies with their folk crafts. In place of the latter came cheap, mass-produced substitutes. This appalled sensitive artists and critics, first and foremost in nineteenth-century England, the pre-Raphaelites and John Ruskin. However, the very nature of nineteenth-century life meant, ironically, that it was the educated élite and not the masses who responded to their call. High art could not be other than *Salon* art, offering an escape into fantasy for those who could afford to ignore the appalling results of capitalism. What was lost in the Victorian Age was not artistic commissions, but the continuity of more humble crafts, for example the traditions of the woodcarver and the blacksmith, the skills of the village stone mason carving tombstones and those of the vernacular builder and decorator. It was now much cheaper to buy in quantity from a factory, but a glance at Victorian and post-Victorian mass-produced ornament at once reveals how much was lost.

It should be noted that the situation in Roman Britain was very different, for the simple reason that the Conquest had not ushered in an Industrial Revolution. When Francis Haverfield wrote of 'monotonous Roman culture' and announced that 'to pass from Glastonbury to Woodcutts is like passing from some old timbered village of Kent or Sussex to the uniform streets of a modern city suburb',[1] we read the words of a near-contemporary of William Morris. Haverfield makes much of the vast import of mass-produced samian ware, but this is not really typical. Pottery has always been produced in quantity, though that has not necessarily meant low quality, as wares as various as Attic figured pottery of the sixth and fifth

century BC or Chinese and later European porcelains attest. Indeed, first-century samian vessels, especially many of the south Gaulish products, provide admirable specimens of contemporary taste, especially cups and bowls embellished with running scrolls of vines and other plants. There are also splendid examples of later (second-century) samian, such as the vase from Southwark, imported from central Gaul, which is decorated with moulded appliqué ornament of cupids and animals (boars, deer, hares).[2] This represents a resilience in taste, and even the aesthetic failure of the Gaulish kilns in the case of other products only encouraged the development of new industries, such as those in the Rhineland and Britain responsible for a distinctive style of beaker. These too are ornamented in high relief, but freehand, *en barbotine*, often with hunting scenes (Hunt cups) which clearly attest to the interests of the potters' patrons.[3]

Haverfield does not describe the real culture of Roman Britain, which nurtured in large part the very skills whose loss the Victorians lamented. In almost every respect the categories of art, types of patronage and the uses to which craftsmanship were put, can be compared with the position in the Middle Ages, which no Victorian would have criticized, though as in medieval times some production was organized in highly complex ways.[4] The idea that there was once a time when the simple craftsman operated for himself in a beautiful rustic environment belongs to the world of utopian myth.

This chapter is not concerned with the subjective concept of quality as such, beyond noting that, for the most part, art in its widest sense (that is including decorated, functional items) could not be bought off-the-peg in Roman Britain as it can today. There are a few exceptions such as the pottery mentioned above, clay figurines from the Allier valley and Cologne and low-quality jewellery, but generally art had to be commissioned by the purchaser (or patron) and, when acquired, it presumably meant something to him or her. This concern was, of course, more marked in the case of expensive luxuries such as mosaic pavements, or items intimately connected with the owner's life and persona, such as a seal-ring. Of course, aesthetic taste played a part in all such commissions, but almost always other factors, such as prestige or religion, were involved in some way with the choice of theme and style of presentation. Even élite art in the Roman world was very seldom, if ever, a matter of simple hedonism or 'art for art's sake'. Indeed, it is doubtful whether art can ever exist in a social vacuum, and Nero, who acted as though art was all in all (and is so often regarded merely as an irresponsible aesthete), used it ruthlessly in an attempt to bolster his power and prestige.

Luxuria was certainly to be condemned, but the reason why Nero commissioned Famulus to paint the Golden House and the reason why the owners of houses in second-century Britain had their much more modest dwellings decorated with similar fanciful designs do not differ in essentials. 'Living like a human being', Nero's own description of his day-to-day existence in the Golden House, evidently meant living in a wonderland, owing more to the theatre than to reality. However, there is a competitive element in human nature which means that, even when living in a fantasy world, people are not content unless their environment is superior to that of their neighbours. As Tacitus tells us (*Agricola* 21), the various public amenities and private mansions had everything to do with prestige and emulation: romanization implies competition, the striving literally to get out of the Iron Age. As we have seen, the urge to do so goes back even before 43 with the well-designed 'Classical' coinages of Cunobelin and Verica and the cherishing of Roman imports (see Chapter 2). Emulation and competitiveness have been seen in Verica's vine-leaf answering Cunobelin's head of barley. Probably art served the same purpose in the curious Romano-Celtic hybrid metalwork of the Iceni, and the luxury imports both here and among the Brigantes. We should not, however, overemphasize native acceptance of Roman ways, and the Boudican revolt demonstrates how terrible the clash of cultures could be.

ART FOR THE STATE

The official use of art to bolster Imperial prestige is best known from famous monuments in Rome, such as the Arch of Titus and Trajan's Column. There would have been provincial examples of 'State Art' in all provinces, including Britain, but unfortunately little remains of the sculptural decoration of such structures as the altar of the Imperial Cult at Colchester, the *quadrifons* at Richborough and the arch which apparently provided a monumental entrance to the governor's palace at London and may have

been remembered in ruin as the 'London Stone'.[5] Analogy helps a little: the Colchester altar was presumably a monument similar to that at Lyon for the Three Gauls, which is figured on coins and had a decorative screen wall embellished with acanthus ornament, like that of *Ara Pacis* in Rome. It also had standing victories at the corners. The massive Temple of Divus Claudius at Colchester was certainly embellished with rich marbles and perhaps had a sculpted pediment like some of the grander temples in Rome. Undoubtedly it would have contained a splendid statue of the deceased emperor, and very probably other sculpture.[6] The Richborough arch was a Victory monument, probably erected by Domitian to mark the pacification of the entire province, and this has preserved some of its marble facing in the form of fragments of inscription and architectural ornament as well as two small pieces of sculpture. In addition, a number of fragments of a gilded cast bronze statue, mainly consisting of hair and drapery, could well have come from an Imperial statue, presumably of Domitian, possibly part of an equestrian group surmounting the arch. Such arches with their statuary are well attested in Roman art, notably on coins, including for example the Claudian arch in Rome marking the Conquest of Britain.[7]

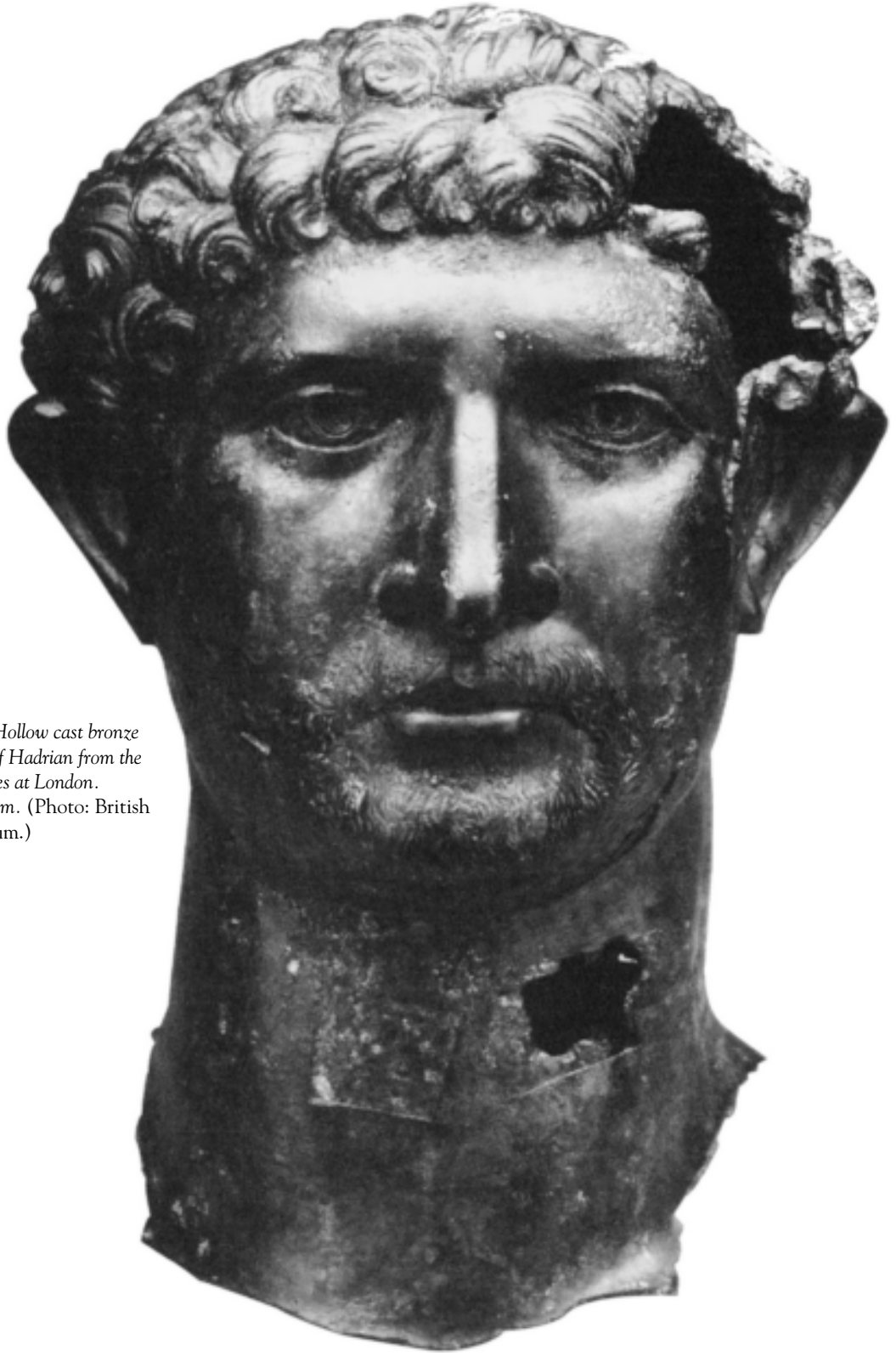
Thus, although no officially-inspired artistic programme survives from first-century Britain to compare with the reliefs recovered from the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias (which include a tableau of Claudius vanquishing Britannia), it is highly probable that some such works would have existed.[8] Certainly, examples of what can be described as minor examples of state art can be seen in forts and fortresses, and especially on the mid-second-century distance slabs from the Antonine Wall mentioned above.[9] Although modest in comparison with the Aphrodisias slabs or the famous State reliefs of Rome, these do demonstrate that sculptors working for the legions were able to rise to the stock themes of battle, sacrifice and triumph. The best of these stones may have been the work of craftsmen kept busy with commemorative plaques and official altars for the unit, together with private commissions for the officer class, but many of them were the production of sculptors more used to turning out modest tombstones for soldiers and their dependants (Chapter 3). Whether they were soldiers or, more probably, civilians settled in the *canabae* outside the fortress walls and following their units on campaign by way of trade, is unknown. Among examples of the genre are the slab from Bridgeness, West Lothian, portraying on the left side a mounted soldier riding down barbarians and on the right a group of men under a *vexillum* of the Second Legion offering the sacrifice of a *suovetaurilia* to the gods, the source of Roman power. Another slab already mentioned, that from Hutcheson Hill, Dunbartonshire, displays a triumphal arch beneath which Britannia (or Roma) places a laurel wreath in the beak of an eagle on top of a standard (see **23**). On either side is a bound captive. Here the legend identifies the dedicators as a vexillation of the Twentieth Legion. A Sixth-Legion slab found at Braidfield, Dunbartonshire (see above), portrays Mars and Virtus and two victories. 'Roman' art of this sort was by no means the monopoly of the legions, for instance the Fourth Cohort of Gauls set up a dedication to the Imperial *numina* at Risingham, in which the *aediculae* flanking the dedication panel were occupied respectively by Victory and Mars. The headquarters buildings of both legionary fortresses and auxiliary forts would have been embellished with such reliefs as well as with statuary in stone (of which the limestone head of Constantine from York is a surviving example) and especially in bronze. Fragments of Imperial statuary in bronze have come from the fortress of Caerleon and the forts of Caernarfon and Carmarthen. In addition, the leg of an equestrian statue from Milsington, Roxburghshire is likely to be an Imperial image, probably from a fort. Such works may be donations by private individuals, such as the silver statue of the Victory of *Legio* VI whose arm was found at Tunshill, Lancashire, together with a label saying that Valerius Rufus presented it in fulfilment of a vow. It is presumed that it was placed in the *sacellum* of the York fortress.[10]

Analogous to such commissions were those of established communities, notably *coloniae, municipia* and the civitates, and by guilds. The Forum dedications at Verulamium (either by the *Civitas Catuvellaunum* or the *Municipium* of Verulamium) and Wroxeter (by the *Civitas Cornoviorum;* **34**) are not directly associated with surviving sculpture, save that it seems that the Verulamium inscription may have been held in place by clamps in the form of four giant fingers of which one remains, telling the viewer to mark the message expressed.[11] The beauty of the lettering of these monuments, especially of the Wroxeter inscription, commands attention. As they record the

34 *Commemorative dedication of the forum at Wroxeter, Shropshire. Sandstone. L.3.70m. H.1.24m. Rowley's House Museum, Shrewsbury.* (After RIB i.288. Administrators of the Haverfield Bequest.)

Imperial names and titulature they can be regarded as State monuments as well as demonstrations of local pride.

The same community of purpose was surely manifest in many of the statues in bronze which stood in major cities. Some may have been set up by agencies of central administration, but most will have been presented by town councils, guilds or even private individuals. The head of Claudius from the river Alde (perhaps Boudican loot from Colchester), and the head of Hadrian from London **(35)** are the only fully preserved Imperial bronze heads from Britain. It is just possible that the former can be associated with a fragment of an equestrian statue (a hock from a horse's leg) from Ashill, Norfolk, surely also Boudican loot. If so, it must represent an equestrian statue of Claudius like the one figured on coins showing his triumphal arch. Other fragments of Imperial statues cast in bronze include a number of fragments of a Julio-Claudian head from Billingford, Norfolk—again probably Claudius—and pieces of an equestrian statue from Gloucester (could it have shown the founder, the emperor Nerva?), a horse's foreleg from Lincoln and small fragments of a cuirassed statue with inlay of different alloys from Cirencester. There must have been many more. Indeed, Suetonius (*Divus Titus* iv, 1) writes that Titus served as a military tribune in Germany and Britain and that as a result of his popularity many statues and busts were set up in these provinces with laudatory inscriptions. A statue base from Wroxeter with the legend, often used on inscriptions honouring the Emperor, BONO REIPUBLICAE NATUS was probably the base of an Imperial statue but if connected with the *civitas* must be Hadrianic at earliest.[12]



35 *Hollow cast bronze head of Hadrian from the Thames at London. H.42cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

ART FOR THE COMMUNITY

Most of the great public buildings of the Roman world in the early and middle Empire were the result of benefactions by individuals and corporations in a seemingly never-ending struggle for prestige and influence. The evidence for Britain, which is comparable with that from other Western provinces, has been collected by Dr Blagg (and will be further discussed in a companion volume to this one). There are many simple building inscriptions, though it is worth emphasizing that the majority of architectural projects would have required sculptural embellishments. For example, the dedication slab of the *proscaenium* of M. Ulpius Januarius, aedile of Petuaria, which apparently only had the status of *vicus* within the *civitas* of the Parisii, was flanked by pelta-ornament, and the stage very likely carried vegetal or even figural sculpture as well.[13] This was certainly the case with the excellently carved 'Façade of the Four Seasons' at Bath. The inscription on it proclaims that it was repaired and painted by a guild. This screen was presumably a religious monument and it is in this context that we should also think of the arches dedicated by L. Viducius Placidus, a *sevir* of York to the Genius of the Place and the Imperial Numina, by Q.Neratius Proxsimus, a citizen of Lincoln, to Mars Rigonemetos at Nettleham and by Trenico to a god called Viridius at Ancaster, Lincolnshire. No sculpture survives in any of these instances, but such arches recorded elsewhere in the Empire could be highly decorated, like the Arch of Dativius Victor at Mainz.

Many of the sculptured blocks which were found at Blackfriars, London, reused in the fourth-century Riverside Wall can be reconstructed as just such an arch, although unfortunately there is no accompanying inscription in this case. Other blocks from here, depicting figures of deities, have been reconstructed as a screen like the one from Bath mentioned above. Monumental city gateways, too, may often have carried sculpture, and the large block found near the Bath Gate at Cirencester, deeply cut with a very fine representation of Mercury wearing a floppy *petasos*, is likely to have been paid for by an important citizen. Other occasions for patronage would have included public fountains, such as the beautiful example said to have been seen by St Cuthbert at Carlisle, and wayside altars like the one dedicated to the Genius Loci at Cirencester, which carries a figure of the deity in relief.[14]

Imperial statues have been discussed above, but individual citizens and benefactors were also honoured by communities, though only one example is to my knowledge attested in Britain. This is at Caerwent where a statue base was set up by the *Civitas Silurum* to its patron Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, one-time legate of *Legio* II *Augusta*, and at the time the image was commissioned governor of Gallia Lugdunensis **(36).** It may be regarded both as a simple act of gratitude to a benefactor and as an example of civic munificence.[15]

PRIVATE COMPETITIVENESS

Competitive giving in public life (for which the Greeks had the word *philotimia*) is merely the counterpart to private competitiveness. The world of Trimalchio, as satirized by Petronius, cannot have been totally foreign to the experience of towns in Britain. Here the descendants of British notables, successful businessmen and merchants who were often freedmen, and retired soldiers attempted to cut a figure in society by living in a more opulent state than their neighbours. Art was a visible sign of Roman life and this is one reason why the *Satyricon* tells us so much about the decoration of Trimalchio's house. The modern visitor to Pompeii comes away marvelling at the richness of the painting and perhaps thinking, in the House of the Vettii at least, that it is all rather overdone. Archaeological evidence suggests that the best rooms of houses in Britain, with their rich, patterned mosaic floors and both ceilings and walls painted with bold architectural or decorative designs, were, likewise, hardly restful on the eye. The present imaginative display of wall-painting and mosaic at the Verulamium Museum offers a bold assault on the viewer's senses. These frescoes were not designed to accord with modern notions of good taste.[16]

Other more sophisticated, and intellectually respectable, reasons for the lavish use of art in the home will be discussed below. Personal aesthetic choice and, in the case of figural schemes, religious and cultural interests were surely involved, but at the crudest level fashion and keeping up with neighbours

must have provided the impetus to call in the house-decorators. The one-mosaic house, such as the Sparsholt farmhouse, Hampshire, was better than the house with none, but the truly wealthy would demand numerous mosaics. Sometimes the spirit of emulation actually shows in the choice of scheme, such as imitation marbling as a substitute for real marble. It is also significant that the most lavish mosaic decoration is to be found in dining rooms (*triclinia)* and in baths, where other people were entertained; such a use of private art is no different in essence from the way an Iron Age chieftain displayed his dominance at the feast with his swords and drinking cups or his wife's mirror (Chapter 1). Indeed Roman women were often notorious for wearing quantities of jewellery and at times (in the Flavian age for example) outlandish coiffures.

36 *Base of statue of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus at Caerwent, Gwent. Limestone. H.1.19m.* (After RIB i. 311. Administrators of the Haverfield Bequest.)

COMMEMORATION

The erection of tombs was intended to emphasize the status of the deceased and hence of his or her surviving family. It also had a more personal meaning, aiding the memory of those who grieved and hence, in a sense, ensuring that something tangible survived death. The sepulchral *mensa* from Caerleon, carved with an image of Venus and pierced by a tube down which wine could be poured, is a graphic example of this.[17] Normally the tombstone was a sort of religious image, to be decked with flowers on appropriate festivals such as the *rosalia* and on the birthday of the dead person. In the house, portrait busts might serve the same purpose. All the certain examples known to me are of marble and thus imports.[18] Commemoration on tombs was often achieved by means of images combined with an inscription.

Trimalchio's fictional tomb provides a starting point (Sat 71). Petronius brings in Trimalchio's architect to discuss his tomb. The directions given include scenes of his commercial life, benefactions to the people and statues of himself and his wife, Fortunata. The inscription confirms the sculptured image, that this was a very rich, self-made freedman. The type of character he desires to be shown as is made clear by the sentence that 'he never heard a philosopher'. Elaborate tombs like this are well known in Italy and were

widespread in the provinces. Assertive mausolea were evidently a feature of the landowning class in the Moselle Valley and indeed elsewhere in Belgica. Sculptures from Arlon and Neumagen survive in some numbers and the Igel monument of the Secundinii remains intact.

There is not much evidence of monumental competitiveness on this scale in Britain though it doubtless did exist. Fragmentary relief sculpture from Stanwick, Northamptonshire, carved with images of deities and the deeds of heroes may have come from a similar tomb or tombs. The Bartlow Barrows on the Cambridgeshire—Essex border are impressive but there are no features, at least none remaining, on their exteriors to engage the art historian. The rich finds within presumably attest more private artistic and religious tastes. A twice-life size portrait of a woman wearing an elaborate Flavian-style hair-do, found at Walcot, Bath, is likely to come from a tomb as the features do not match any contemporary Imperial portrait; if so the structure must have been in scale with the head, large and perhaps rather vulgar.[19]

That is not a description to use of the tomb of Classicianus from London, of which much of the inscription and one of the decorative bolsters remains. It has a severity and good taste that reminds us of Tacitus' comment about the tomb of the Emperor Otho: 'modest and therefore likely to endure' (*Hist.* ii, 49). The monumental character of the lettering is very impressive, but the tomb is in no way boastful. Another early tombstone, this time from Wroxeter, depicted a legionary. The well-cut legend gives his name, Titus Flaminius, his legion (XIV *Gemina*), his *origo*, Faventia in Italy, age and length of service, respectively 45 and 22 years. Three lines of verse in an Epicurean vein remind the beholder that there is no drinking after death and that he should live honourably while he has time. To judge from this brief epitaph, Titus Flaminius was a far worthier individual than Trimalchio and it is a pity that of his image only the feet are now preserved.[20]

If competitiveness in death does not seem to have been especially pronounced in Britain from the surviving evidence, at least those who could afford it did their best to set up decent-looking *stelae* which would show them and their families as they were in life. The best tombstones commemorating men found in Britain are of serving and retired members of the army. Thus when viewing the image carved on the magnificent mid-first-century gravestone of the centurion, M.Favonius Facilis from Colchester, we can feel that we are especially meant to admire his armour, with its elaborate *cingulum*, and his *vitis*, the emblem of his rank (see **11**). A later *stele*, probably Trajanic or early Hadrianic, from Gloucester depicts L.Valerius Aurelius, a veteran of the same Twentieth Legion still wearing his military-style cloak with pride. This style of commemoration established a norm which kept sculptors in business well into the third century. Civilians too, men, women and children, were shown looking as they were in life. We do not know what Philus the Sequanian who died at Cirencester did for a living, though his full-length, *birrus*-enveloped image suggests that he must have been fairly prosperous. The inscription, apart from giving his *origo*, informs us that like Titus Flaminius he achieved the age of 45 years.[21]

On Trimalchio's tomb, his wife Fortunata was to have been shown holding a dove, as is the anonymous woman seated comfortably in her basket-chair on the fine early second-century tombstone from Murrell Hill **(37),** Carlisle—a product of the Carlisle school which has been well-studied by John Phillips. Most of the reliefs attributed to this workshop are of women, a circumstance which is probably simply chance, but makes comparison easy. The subject is either shown at home, as a mother and *domina* of the household, or, as with Aurelia Aureliana, dressed in good-quality outdoor clothes as though going on a journey. Traditional female display in the form of a mirror and jewellery is figured on a fragmentary relief from Chester depicting a woman holding a mirror, while her maid is shown holding her jewel-box. Regina, the Catuvellaunian wife of the Palmyrene Barates, died and was buried at South Shields with a highly decorative stele showing her clad in fine garments, wearing a necklace and bracelets, and with her jewel-box beside her **(38).** A common subject is the feast, of which the stones of Curatia Dinysia at Chester and of Julia Velva at York are good examples. The types are formal: women sitting or reclining in the *cubiculum* or *triclinium* with their possessions, clad in Roman clothes or at least the provincial equivalent. They remind us in a direct manner of the sort of life which went on in the Roman-style houses of Britain and attempt to make good their subjects' claims to be members of polite Roman society.[22]

COMFORT: 'MAKING VICE AGREEABLE'

The title of this section is of course Tacitean, even though British examples of comfort are often later than the first century; from the second century town houses were often embellished with wall-paintings and mosaics. Although, as discussed above, there was an element of keeping up with the neighbours—and this was inevitably a major factor when art was intended to be seen by the public—most works of art were acquired because the purchaser liked them. The Roman way of life presupposed all the assumptions that civilized people take for granted—warmth and comfort, good food, eaten in style, and entertainment. In all these activities the craftsmen has (or had until recently) a part to play.

37 *Tombstone of a woman, from Murrell Hill, Carlisle. Sandstone. H.1.285m.* (Photo: City Museum, Carlisle.)

Only the wealthy could furnish their houses with marble statuary, such as the collection from Woodchester, with bronze statuettes, like the Cupid from a house in Cirencester (see **105**), evidently a lamp-holder, and have fine vessels of copper alloy or even silver-plate displayed on their sideboards. Most such items (though not all) were imported.[23] Mosaic floors are not portable in the same way and were laid either by entrepreneurs, immigrant mosaicists (especially in the first century) or later by the employees of workshops established in the towns of Roman Britain. However, the taste for such floors as well as the settings in which they are so often found—bathhouses and dining rooms—expresses a Roman manner of life. Wall-paintings of reasonably high quality would likewise have graced only the better houses, though the evidence of archaeology suggests that plastered and painted walls with simple red and/or white ground colour were fairly widespread. Evidence for artistic taste is also to be found in furnishings, ornamental fittings used in the home and in jewellery. Some is of high quality, but many of the decorative objects found on excavations in Britain belonged to fairly humble people and show how Roman fashions infiltrated the whole of society.

Then as now there were doubtless many people whose attitudes were formed by others, and who simply wanted to own what their social superiors have declared to be in good taste. In so far as there is truth in the widely held assumption that the art of Roman Britain was a pale imitation of Roman art elsewhere, it lies in the pull that the fashionable art of Rome had

38 *Tombstone of Regina, wife of the Palmyrene, Barates. South Shields, Co.Durham. Sandstone. H.1.255m.* (After Arch. Ael[2] x, 1885, p.238 (fig).)

in the provinces. Trimalchio is presented by Petronius as a boor who had mythological paintings in the house which he did not understand and to which he awarded no more significance than representations of gladiatorial fights, and who valued silver by its weight. In sculpture he was ignorant and tasteless enough to be fobbed off with fakes and copies, but it is likely that most objects he owned were of excellent quality and simply in the wrong hands. Of course, his main motive was to impress his guests and it has already been suggested that this was a motive in Britain too. It is, however, possible to overstate the case; as at other periods the majority of owners appreciated the works of art surrounding them and found them meaningful. Not only were they influenced by aesthetic considerations and religious interests but even by intellectual and literary culture.

Provincial preference cannot be defined as an absolute quality, but a surprising number of works of art in various media have shared features. Influenced as I was long ago by the late Sir Niklaus Pevsner's 1955 Reith Lectures, *The Englishness of English Art,* I have already attempted to look at Romano-British Art in the same manner.[24] Large works of art were performing functions which Celtic art had never done, but there does seem to have been an inheritance from the pre-Roman world of a *liking* for marked linear design and bold patterning. A visitor from Italy to second-century Verulamium would not have been surprised by the geometric and figured content of the mosaics laid by the local mosaicists, but might have commented on the strong linear detail and the bold use of shading. Turning from the lion mosaic in Verulamium **(colour plate VIII),** Insula XXI, Building 2, Room 4, to the peopled scroll, painted as a frieze in the north-west of the courtyard, it can be seen that the taste for pattern was not confined to mosaics. In wall-painting, indeed, there are numerous examples of schemes incorporating vegetal ornament, sometimes in the form of simplified candelabra and hanging swags **(colour plates II and III),** serving as formal elements in 'wallpaper' patterns. Such decor derives from the late Second Style and especially from Third Style decoration in the first century BC and early first century AD; the effect of so much rich painting around the walls of a comparatively small and fairly dark room, typical of town-houses in Britain, especially when it was accompanied by an equally restless ceiling design and a polychrome mosaic floor must have been quite startling. This would even have been so when large areas of colour were used without further embellishment, as in the case of the room with the lion pavement mentioned above, where the walls of the room consisted of a dark red dado with emerald green panels above. As soon as such thoroughly Roman decoration began to appear there would have been competition between neighbours to emulate and surpass.[25]

However, in some ways decor of this sort is far from being out of sympathy with the tastes of the Britons as we can reconstruct them in earlier times. It is true that mosaics and wall-paintings do not seem to owe anything, as such, to pre-Roman Celtic art but it is easy to see that the 'sons of tribal chiefs' or at least their descendants responded to the rich geometry of, say, the Leicester Blackfriars pavement or of the Bucklersbury pavement, now in the Museum of London. Indeed the mosaicists themselves were very much at their ease in this kind of work as the excellence of their designs makes clear, and in almost all instances they must have come of 'Celtic' stock from the north-western provinces; some, if not the majority, were probably British. In place of the large round hut of pre-Conquest times, where burnished and enamelled shields glinted in the firelight as the chief held court over a feast, his descendant presided in a still more splendid room where civilized dining took place against a background of permanent pattern. The artistic revolution followed the same pattern as that of rhetoric. Taste and natural ability were able to make the transition from one culture to another because there were positive links between them.

The patron's deliberate selection of those facets of Roman art which were in accord with Celtic aesthetics is not, however, the whole story. Many aspects of decor were not only new, but must have jolted traditional assumptions about the function of art very considerably. The use of architectural illusion in wall-painting seems especially revolutionary, in that the owners of Building XXVIII, 3 at Verulamium (already mentioned), where Room 3 carried an arcade of reticulated columns, and of a house in Leicester, Insula XVI, where architecture unites with caprice, were indulging in the popular Roman fantasy of living in a Hellenistic palace **(colour plate I).** There are even finer examples of fanciful architecture from a bath-house on the site of Winchester Palace, Southwark, and at the third-century 'Painted House' at Dover but

these may well have ornamented official buildings, and thus represent patronage at a higher level.

Brian Philp, the excavator, mentions the possibility that Olus Cordius Candidus, a government transport officer, may have lived in the Painted House, in which case the relatively high quality of the artistic decor establishes him as a man of refined, metropolitan tastes. The Southwark painting, to judge from an inscription found in the same building, though of later (third century) date, may have belonged to a military guild. Presumably all towns contained trabeated buildings by the end of the first century, at least in *fora,* temples and major public monuments. Outside Chichester, the client king Cogidubnus (if he was the owner of the Fishbourne complex) indeed lived in such a palace, where marble and coloured stones were used for real. His wealth and good fortune were exceptional, but that his taste was shared in the area is shown by *opus sectile* from Angmering, Sussex, and Buriton, Hampshire, as well as by much later ornamental wall-panelling from the villa at Bignor; it is also demonstrated by imitation marbling in wall-painting at Verulamium and elsewhere.[26]

The use of representational figure scenes was clearly one result of romanization: the lion carrying the head of a stag in its mouth, portrayed on a mosaic at Verulamium **(colour plate VIII)** and other naturalistic depictions on mosaics and wall-paintings demonstrate profound changes in taste and attitude. Some, of course, were connected with Italian and southern Gaulish settlers, and in *coloniae* such as Camulodunum the presence of this élite minoritygroup is very much in evidence. A minor but nevertheless interesting example is the gladiator *emblema,* painted in the centre of a panel of a wall in a house dating to the late first century, which is perhaps no more than a provincial equivalent of 'the gladiatorial show given by Laenas' (*Sat.* 29). The Middleborough pavement of the second century, with its wrestling cupids **(colour plate VII),** refers ultimately to the Greek *gymnasium,* a theme also attested by a signet-ring from Colchester showing a cupid with a herm.

By the second century there would also have been a widespread taste for and enjoyment of figural art among the landowners and the prosperous citizens of the other towns. For example, the bust of Neptune or Oceanus in the centre of a mosaic floor from Verulamium is a simplified, linear rendering of the god but nevertheless one of the most attractive and striking floors from the city. Almost geometric in its composition is an apsidal pavement in the form of a seashell, no doubt alluding to the birth of Venus from the sea. Marine themes are also found at Dorchester, Dorset, with another head of Neptune, and at Fishbourne in the north wing of the former palace, now truncated in size but still luxurious. It shows Cupid riding a dolphin, surrounded by sea-beasts **(colour plate VI).** The most ambitious of the second-century floors from Britain are those from Dyer Street, Cirencester. One, now lost, portrayed a marine *thiasos,* again including a cupid on a dolphin, together with another cupid, perhaps holding the wheel of Neptune's chariot, a nereid and a wide range of marine life. Jocelyn Toynbee rightly comments that 'the original would appear to have been one of the best-drawn and most classical in style of all the British figured mosaics'. The other mosaic, fortunately still extant in Corinium Museum, depicts personified Seasons in their proper Mediterranean guise, as well as scenes of myth (Bacchus, a centaur, Silenus and the death of Actaeon). It is likely to have belonged to a member of the curial class of the Dobunni.

Even more remarkable, as revealing a taste for Latin literature, is the wall-painting from a villa at Otford, Kent, painted with a scene or scenes from the *Aeneid,* accompanied by an inscription; this too is second century. It is a pity that we cannot be certain that the owner was a Briton. There are, in fact, hints (in the form of portrait busts of Greek marble) that the owner of another Kentish villa, Lullingstone, was a settler from the Mediterranean world though the surviving paintings dating to this time, two water-nymphs in a niche in the cellar-shrine, show that he venerated the local deities. Much later, in the fourth century, a large number of myths appear in mosaic, and this is also the time to which most of the recognizable figural mural scenes belong. At this period, in particular, subjects seem to have been chosen with care, but for reasons as much religious and philosophical as aesthetic (see Chapter 7).[27]

THE ART OF THE FEAST

Evidence for furniture, so closely connected with the 'elegant banquets' of Tacitus, was collected together by Joan Liversidge in a monograph published in 1955 and can be augmented through more recent finds.

Actual feasting is a *topos* of a category of tombstones and is also represented at Colchester by little pipeclay figures, imported from Gaul, of diners and of a man reciting a literary work found in a child's tomb. The furniture which remains demonstrates romanizing taste. This is especially apparent in the circular side tables, traditionally of marble and resting on feet with panther-protomes in reference to the god Bacchus. An example of just such a leg, carved from Parian marble and evidently an import, was found in Colchester recently. Other table legs were carved in Britain from shale, including examples from Dorchester, Frampton and Preston in Dorset, Rothley in Leicestershire and Verulamium. The features of these beasts are very simplified (in part because shale lami-nates easily and will not take complex detail); they are shown with forward-pointing ears like griffins, though the Rothley lion has a mane.

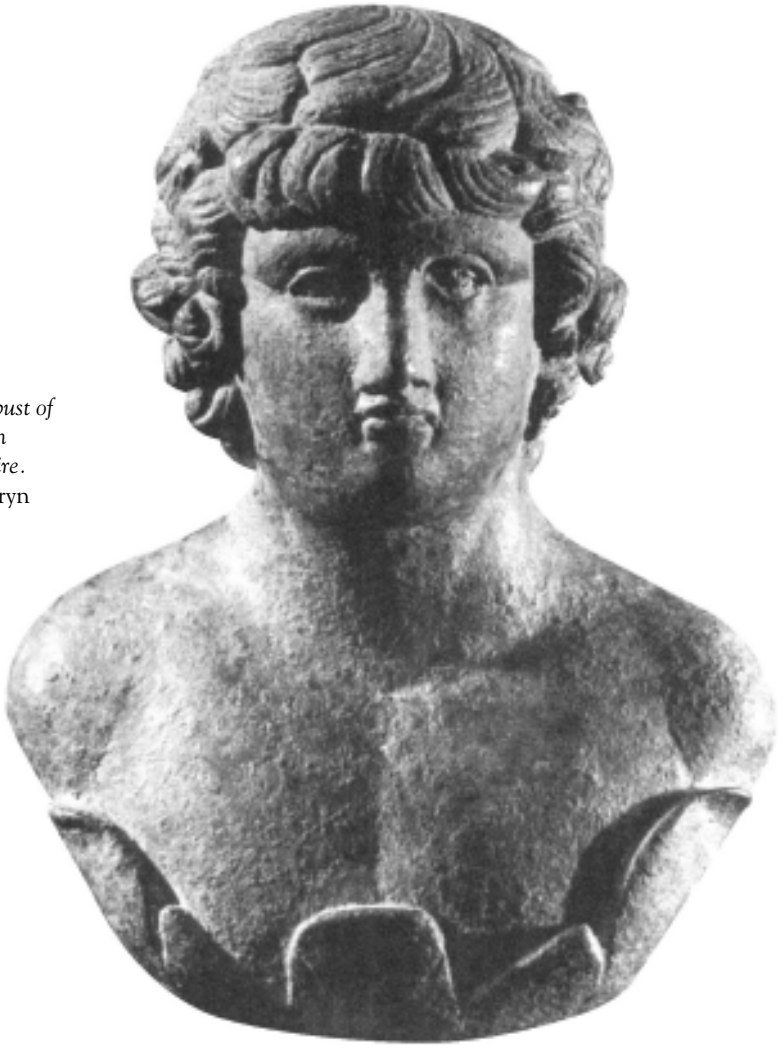
A large class of rectangular table or sideboard carved from stone and ornamented with chip-carved decoration on front and sides is found particularly in the south and west of Britain, and frequently in villas, such as Rockbourne, Hampshire, Keynsham, Avon and Chedworth, Gloucestershire. Like other tables these could have been used for the service of food or drink, but their elaborate sides, perhaps enriched with paint, would have rendered them suitable for the display of plate, in silver or pewter, and of other objects valued by the owner.[29]

Wine was sometimes served from a bowl mounted on a tripod. Examples of Bacchic heads from such tripods are known from Britain, for instance at London, Lincoln and Old Harlow, as well as the feline feet upon which they stood. Attachments from chests and perhaps couches, in the form of human busts, are also known, ranging from the very fine imported casting of Bacchus Zagraeus/Antinoos from Littlecote, Wiltshire **(39),** to local work—a female bust, perhaps Venus from Cirencester and a satyr from the villa of Tarrant Hinton, Dorset **(40).** Both of these display markedly Insular idiosyncracies in their stylized physiognomies and the patterned textures of their hair, and in the case of the satyr his *nebris* as well.[30]

Cups and jugs for the consumption of wine, as well as the plates and spoons employed for eating, are the objects which bring us closest to the Roman banquet. Such feasts were normally leisurely affairs (even Petronius's account of Trimalchio's ghastly party testifies as much); this meant that the guests had plenty of time to study the decorations on the varied items of the *ministerium* from which they were dining as well as those of the surrounding room. Among the wealthy, such services were always of silver. Pliny the Elder, whose moral purpose in writing his *Natural History* has recently been well explored by Jacob Isager: mentions Pompeius Paulinus, propraetor in Lower Germany in 55–7, as 'the son of a knight from Arles, descended on his father's side from a tribe that went around wearing skins' (in other words he was of Gaulish origin) who took twelve thousand pounds weight of silver with him on campaign (*NH* xxxiii, 143). There are no early Roman finds from Britain which compare with this luxury, though the massive treasure from Hildersheim in Germany shows that Pliny was not exaggerating. In fact, very little early silverware has been found in the province, and none in a domestic context, though presumably the Hockwold cups represent the sort of drinking equipment which people wanted to own.[31]

Decorated samian pottery provides further evidence for contemporary taste in tableware. The vegetal ornament imitates the *repoussé* designs on silver. Thus, although not rare and costly as is popularly supposed, it is nevertheless worth far more attention from art historians than it has ever received because of what it can tell us about the tastes and aspirations of its owners.

Among the many examples of bronze jugs known from British sites, the very highest quality is represented by a silvered *askos* handle from the palace at Fishbourne, Sussex, embellished with vegetal ornament and the head of a young satyr as an escutcheon. *Askoi* were employed for the serving of water to mix with wine. Many jugs come from burials; of these, an example (now destroyed) from one of the Bartlow Barrows on the Cambridgeshire/Essex border was especially fine (see **109**). The neck had a moulding, part silvered, and the handle carried a sphinx on top and a *bucranium* escutcheon below. Objects from the tomb, including a folding stool, a *patera* and a lamp as well as other vessels, were clearly designed to make the dead person thoroughly at home. Another fine and complete bronze jug, with a theatrical mask in the same position, was found with a glass jug, plain samian cups and plates and a rectangular shale trencher in a Flavian grave at Winchester. As a dining-service this is rather a motley collection, but presumably the heir did not want to inter his best plate in his father's



39 *Bronze appliqué bust of Bacchus-Antinous from Littlecote Park, Wiltshire. H.11.6cm.* (Photo: Bryn Walters.)

40 *Bronze appliqué bust of a satyr from Tarrant Hinton, Dorset. H. 5.5cm.* (Photo: Wimbourne Archaeological Group.)

grave! Religious (frequently Bacchic) imagery, scenes of myth and theatre, protective lions and sphinxes and naturalistic vegetation are all to be seen on these elegant objects as on grave monuments. Their exact counterparts are also found in domestic wall-paintings and mosaics—there are motifs such as as panther heads and birds in an inhabited scroll from Verulamium and a theatre-mask and swags at Leicester. Linked as they were to the complementary designs on the plate or its samian ware substitutes, these provided a permanent festive decor, and perhaps a perpetual reminder of death.[32]

There is more evidence for polite dining on a lavish scale much later, in the fourth century, such as the important silver *ministerium* from Mildenhall, Suffolk, and also the British-made pewter services like the Appleford hoard, Oxfordshire, and these will be discussed below, in Chapter 7.

DRESS AND JEWELLERY

The transformation of life would have extended to portable art, including dress and jewellery. The purpose of personal adornment is very often the same, whatever the culture: it is designed to impress the man or woman in the street. If we were to take the words of Tacitus literally we would imagine the major difference in daily life was that, in place of Celtic plaids, men began to wear togas. Insofar as this was true in the forum or at the dinner-party, it was a manifestation of *romanitas* which separated the *togatus* from his unregenerate countrymen. However, John Peter Wild has suggested, on the basis of sculpture and other evidence, that clothing fashion even among the upper classes was largely resistant to change and on all but the most formal occasions, the Gallic coat with accompanying fringed scarf seems to have been worn by men, while women wore a longer coat. It is tempting to see clothing as patterned or highly coloured, as it certainly was in the Late Empire. The fragmentary mosaic of two huntsmen carrying a deer from East Coker, Somerset, and the Orantes painting at Lullingstone, Kent, exemplify this, as does the tantalizing reference to the *curiales* of Verulamium in Constantius' life of St Germanus (*Vita S.Germani* iii, 14). Even though this style was to be found throughout the Empire, and was not simply a British or northwest European fashion, it is possible that its emergence is to be explained by the widespread influence of provincial taste for the bold use of colour and texture.[33]

As far as female adornment was concerned, the continuing employment of Celtic motifs was largely confined to brooches, which were often enamelled. The liking for pattern and texture also manifested itself in other ways, especially in the third century, in jet pendants cut at York and gold openwork jewellery. It is interesting to observe that the metalwork fittings worn by auxiliary soldiers in the Middle Empire likewise included enamelled studs and belt-slides and openwork, sometimes with Celtic motifs. This sort of display is reminiscent of Iron Age times, but in the Roman period various subtleties and ambiguities are to be found. For example, enamelling came to be used for the lids of seal-boxes which accompanied letters and packages and were thus intended to be given away. These 'Celtic'-style objects protected figurative sealings made with Roman intaglios which, through their several iconographies, made some religious or intellectual statement about the ring-wearer's Roman credentials. Bronze vessels, too, were sometimes also enamelled, and in the case of the cup from Rudge, Wiltshire **(41),** whose mural design is essentially Classical, we have a souvenir commemorating a visit to Hadrian's Wall![34]

Jewellery and jet pendants were not always intended for public display and were often highly personal in nature, as presents from lovers to their girls. An iron ring of second-century date found in London is inlaid with crossed strips of copper-alloy inscribed in nielloed letters DA MI VITA with the evident meaning of 'Give me life!' or 'You give me life!' **(42).** Such intimate messages are also to be found on cameos and in openwork *(opus interrasile)* rings. A gold ring from Bedford has the legend EVSEBIA VITA carefully cut out and a similar ring from Corbridge is inscribed AEMILIA ZESES, the second word transliterated Greek for 'Life'. Greek, like French in the eighteenth century, was the language of love and another similar Corbridge ring has the Greek legend ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΤΡΟΝ, which can be interpreted as the love token of Polemion, presumably his present to his girl **(43).** Greek is still the language on a precious third-century ring from Stonham Aspal, Suffolk, its shoulders inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙ ZHCAIC. 'Life to Olympis!', and set with a sapphire in its bezel **(44).** Jewellery could, however, be presented in a more public way in order to reward a client or to secure the

41 *Enamelled bronze cup from a villa at Rudge, Wiltshire. H.4.45cm.* (After: J.Horsley, Britannia Romana (1732), p.192 N.74.)

42 *Iron ring with copperalloy inlaid inscription. New Fresh Wharf, City of London. D.2cm.* (Photo: J. Bailey, Museum of London.)

43 *Inscribed openwork gold ring from Corbridge, Northumberland. D.2.7cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

44 *Inscribed gold ring containing an uncut sapphire, from Stonham Aspal, Suffolk. D.2.5cm. Ashmolean Museum.* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

loyalty of a subject. Evidence is sparse from Britain but Claudius Paulinus, governor of Lower Britain in the third century, sent 'a gold brooch set with gems' to Sennius Sollemnis, a friend and dependant in Gaul, while an openwork cross-bow brooch from Erickstanebrae, Dumfriesshire, with its legends IOVIAVG and VOTXX celebrates the *vicennalia* of Diocletian's accession (AD 303) and seems from a graffito to have been bestowed on a soldier or official called Fortunatus.[35]

Engraved gemstones, cut both in intaglio and cameo, provide a remarkable conspectus of how art was seen and used. Clearly a coloured stone set in a gold ring is an object which has the potential of impressing the neighbours, for, although much less showy than the Iron Age torque, the gold ring was supposed to be the jealously-guarded privilege of the Roman aristocracy, especially the *equites*. However, the owner of a signet especially if it was old or very well engraved, would have influenced his more discriminating friends by the artistry of the gem's device, which was laid before them every time they received a sealed letter from him.[36]

In detail intaglios belonged to the new literate world, and in assessing them we can forget the Iron Age past of the province. Most of the gems from Britain can be paralleled in Gaul and Dalmatia, Pompeii and Aquileia in Italy, Gadara in Jordan and Caesarea in Israel, to take the subjects of recent site-catalogues.[37] Neither in Gaul nor in Britain do Celtic themes occur, though the old civilizations of Egypt and the Levant provide a few oriental deities such as Isis and Zeus Heliopolitanus, which demonstrate the presence of easterners. Deities were always popular for their protective powers. A particularly fine seal-stone of blue onyx (nicolo) set in a second-century silver ring from Colchester shows Jupiter feeding the Cretan goat, Amaltheia, who nurtured him in his youth (**45**a); here is sophisticated knowledge of mythology as well as piety. Another Colchester gem, a garnet, is set in a gold ring of early Roman form, when the sumptuary laws were operative. The owner, of equestrian rank, chose an erotic theme: Cupid with a goose, standing by a herm (**45**b). A red jasper depicting Victory driving a quadriga, found in a small villa at Sandy Lodge in south Hertfordshire, presumably evoked success in life (**45**d); the younger Pliny also had a quadriga device, though whether with a Victory driving it we are not told (*Ep* x, 74). An intaglio on a green chrome-rich chalcedony ('plasma'), with the device of a lion devouring its prey (**45**c), demonstrates the same morbidity as revealed by the Verulamium lion mosaic. Other animals such as cattle, horses (see **48**) and the winged Pegasus (see **14**b) referred to prosperity and fecundity, also demonstrated by a host of symbols such as horns of plenty, drinking-cups and masks.

Although they register personal taste and religious belief, we can see how various groups in society were led to adopt particular subjects. For instance, legionaries certainly found such deities as Mars, Minerva, the Dioscuri, Victory and Fortune appropriate, as well as the legionary eagle and standards (see **13**b) and such heroes as Hercules, Achilles (see **13**a) and his historical avatar Alexander the Great. The fine collection of sealstones recovered from the fortress baths of the Second Legion at Caerleon provides a good selection of soldiers' seal-rings.[38] As the stock in trade of the Snettisham jeweller demonstrates, the second-century farmers of East Anglia were especially inclined to purchase representations of Ceres, Bonus Eventus and Fortune, all of whom would have been especially relevant to farming.[39] We know other factors also played a part, such as the use of ancestral family devices or ones which had a particular significance to the wearer, such as clasped hands for a lover (see **14**a), a theme which appears at its most poignant in an uncut cornelian from the grave of a girl at Skeleton Green, Puckeridge, Hertfordshire.[40]

Love tokens are better represented in cameos, not so common in Britain, including the clasped hands, and as with gold jewellery sometimes cut with messages wishing good fortune to the wearer in both Greek and Latin.[41] Portrait cameos depicting women are another common category of love-token, although only one example in onyx has been found in Britain, the bust of a young lady from Silchester **(46).**[42] However, it was a favourite theme of the York jet industry, which exported its wares as far as southern Britain and the Rhine land and perhaps even to Rome. One medallion from Vindolanda is double, with portraits of the two lovers on one side and clasped hands on the other. A unique jet medallion from Colchester (see **83**) depicts two cupids, an amorous or perhaps protective theme if they are regarded as genii.[43] By far the commonest subject on cameos are Medusa heads—protective charms against the Evil Eye—a theme likewise ubiquitous on jet pendants.[44]

45 *Intaglios.* a *Jupiter with Cretan goat. Nicolo in silver ring, from Colchester.* b *Cupid with goose. Garnet in gold ring, from Colchester. c Lion with prey. High chrome chalcedony (plasma), from Wroxeter. d Victory in quadriga. Red Jasper, from Sandy Lodge near Moor Park, Hertfordshire,* (a *and* b×3; c *and* d×4 a: *Colchester and Essex Museum;* b *and* d: *British Museum;* c: *Rowley's House Museum, Shrewsbury.*) (Photos: a, b, d author; c Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

RELIGION IN THE HOME

The one area where not even the least art-conscious patron would have been indifferent was in the sphere of religion, defined in its widest sense to include superstition. A very high proportion of the devices on gemstones are religious, and the wearing of a deity ensured that the god was with the wearer always. The art found in the Roman house, ranging from masks of Silenus and Attis on bronze tableware to the figures and symbols on painted walls and mosaic floors, had religious overtones. The world of the gods was all-pervasive.[45] Thus, while it would be absurd to invest every symbol, even every deity, portrayed in a Roman house with overmuch significance, the Other World inhabited by powerful protectors as well as malignant spirits would not have been ignored. The obvious centre for religious activity, certainly in romanized

46 *Cameo depicting a female portrait-bust, from Silchester, Hampshire. Onyx. H.2.4cm.* (Photo: Mike Fulford, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Reading.)

houses, would have been the *lararium* containing figures of the lares and other deities such as Venus (see Petronius, *Sat.* 29). Evidence for such little shrines in Britain is elusive, because the remains of houses seldom survive far above floor level. Sometimes, however, cellars were used as shrines and here interesting evidence of cult has been found, for instance niches and apses which could have held figures, and votive deposits. The best evidence for the employment of art comes from the cellar at Lullingstone, where the niche contained a late second-century painting of three water-nymphs. This is, or was when the colour was fresh, a most attractive and colourful painting which, as Ling points out, deserves a footnote in art history for the central nymph has water-spouting breasts, an attribute only otherwise attested in art by Philostratus the Elder (*Imagines* ii, 4, 3).

No figurines have been recovered *in situ*, but the bronze Venus from the cellar of a house (XIV, 5) in Verulamium, discovered with various other bronzes, is more likely to be part of a votive deposit than scrap-metal belonging to a dealer as proposed by Sheppard Frere in the excavation report. However, there is no proof that this was its original location (any more than the two marble busts at Lullingstone which were venerated at a later phase in the villa's cellar). It is more likely that it originally stood in a house-shrine. Although most of the figurines from well-excavated contexts come from temple sites, others were used to guard the home. Several sculptures of Fortuna from private houses express a widespread belief in her power. At Llantwit Major villa, South Glamorgan, figures of Fortuna and of a Genius (or Bonus Eventus) seem to have stood in shrines on either side of the doorway into the best room. Two such deities appear on the same stone on a relief from the Stonesfield villa, Oxfordshire, doubtless likewise from a house-shrine. However, other statues of Fortuna, including a very fine and large one from Cirencester, come from baths. Here not only were the perils of fire greatest but the bathers were unclothed and thus vulnerable.[46]

The dividing line between real religious sculpture, regarded by the pious at least as a vital source of protection and divine succour, and genre decoration such as the cupid lamp-stand from Cirencester or even the Cupid and Psyche marble-group from Woodchester (which on analogy with the complete Ostian example of the group in its courtyard setting could simply have been intended to give a romantic ambience to a room or small garden) is impossible to establish. It is likely that the Spoonley Wood marble of Bacchus was originally acquired to preside over an elegant *triclinium* in the villa, but when it was buried with the villa-owner it assumed a secondary role as a protector of the deceased; it thus became a symbol of the real faith which was never far away from that powerful and unpredictable saviour-god. In any case, as stated above, the personal selection of decorative schemes would generally have taken belief into account. Even at a fairly popular level, the otherworldly symbolism of several Verulamium mosaics—Neptune, dolphins, cantharus, lion devouring its prey **(colour plate VIII)** and sea-shell, so easy to parallel on tomb-stones—is part of that superstitious and morbid culture so brilliantly lampooned by Petronius. More significant are the two rooms frescoed with Bacchic decoration from the Painted House at Dover, possibly indicating the residence of a real votary of the god, as well as a number of schemas in late Roman mosaic, such as those of Brading and Frampton where the purposes of (private) cult seem uppermost (see Chapter 7).[47]

COMMISSIONING ART FOR TEMPLES

The main outlet for religious patronage lay, of course, in the shrines and sanctuaries, such as that at Bath. Here it is possible to demonstrate the major difference between pre-Roman patronage and that which appertained under the Empire. In the Iron Age offerings consisted of war gear and rich ornaments. The majority of items of Iron Age art from Britain were deposited in rivers. While the giving of objects of daily use continued in the Roman period, and silverware and other rich gifts were bestowed on temples, there were now other alternatives, such as the actual presentation of buildings (for instance arches) or of sculpture which was especially appropriate to the god. The patron would not order the same type of work which he might need in his house. Instead he

was guided by the priests towards what the deity was supposed to want. The archaeologist finding a number of images of, and altars carrying dedications to, Mercury, for example, will know that the findspot is likely to be religious rather than domestic. Art from Roman temples was in the first place a means of prayer, supplication or, more usually, thank offering for favours received. It was doubtless a means of achieving definite material results, such as wealth and health, although in the final analysis it depended on the existence of a system of belief which was widely accepted.

Patronage brought prestige, just as it had done in pre-Roman times, although now there was far more choice involved. Presumably temples themselves, including their ornamentation such as the pediment of the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath—and their cult images upon which veneration was centred—the gilt bronze head of Sulis fom the same sanctuary and the head of Mercury from Uley—were originally presented as votive gifts. The striking bronze statuette of Mercury from a temple at Gosbecks, Colchester (see **60**) and many lesser figurines were likewise intended to attest piety. The reason for major donations would have been made clear by means of an inscription. Thus Quintus Neratius Proxsimus, presumably a citizen of the *colonia* of Lincoln, dedicated an arch to Mars Rigonemetos from his own resources at Nettleham, Lincolnshire. Even more informative is the sandstone statue of 'Mars Lenus or Ocelus Vellaunus' set up by Marcus Nonius Romanus at Caerwent in return for freedom from liability to the *collegium* of the god. In this respect there was a very close similarity to private patronage directed at the secular community as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Art was commissioned for urban settings such as the Forum as well as for temples, with the same range of motives in play, from genuine philanthropy and piety on the one hand to cynical self-promotion on the other. At the basest level the provision of public art and architecture was a good way to bribe the gods as well as one's fellow men! It was, in any case, hardly possible to keep secular and sacred art apart, for there was generally a religious aspect to public works, ranging from the figures of such deities as Venus or the water-nymphs shown on fountains, to the *numina* of Emperors mentioned on inscriptions and inherent wherever their images were displayed. We can compare the nature of patronage in Roman times with that found in the Middle Ages where royal and aristocratic building and the embellishment of major churches were both a means of obtaining God's favour and also a way of advertising the donor's secular importance. At a more humble level the dedication of silver leaves with the images of deities on them, the Matres at London, Mars and Vulcan at Barkway, Hertfordshire as well as the Christian chi-rho at Water Newton, are part of a continuing tradition of popular devotional patronage which runs from antiquity until our own day.[48]

An interesting category is temple paraphernalia, including plate dedicated to the service of the gods, though only the elegant *trulla* with acanthus ornament on its handle, dedicated in letters of gold to the Matres by Fabius Dubitatus, and plain silver vessels from the Christian church at Water Newton, have primary dedications. A number of cast-bronze sceptres are recorded from Britain and it is virtually certain that these were made specifically for particular shrines. Three are in the form of heads of Mars, two from a priestly grave at Brough-on-Humber and a third, very much of native Celtic appearance, from Kirmington, also Lincolnshire (see **20**). There is an attractive bust of Minerva from Stonea, Cambridgeshire, whose bold massing of hair and stylized drapery emphasize its local character **(47),** while a Venus from Ludford Magna, Lincolnshire, although now headless, is given distinction by two little doves, one on each shoulder. Perhaps the most interesting of all these sceptre-heads carrying divine images is one recently found in the parish of Aldworth, Berkshire, in the form of a spear-head with three 'fins', with a young, female bust between each. The spear-head rests upon three consols of acanthus and all in all is a casting of very high quality, virtually certainly used in the north-west European cult of the three Matres.

Other heads or busts from Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, in the form of Imperial busts, likewise display a regional character and are presumably to be connected with the Imperial *numina,* venerated alongside the gods. The most valuable group of religious objects consists of the silver spoons and gold jewellery of late fourth-century date from Thetford, Norfolk, dedicated to Faunus, though it is not certain that by this time they were connected with a thriving public cult.[49]

47 *Bronze sceptre in form of a bust of Minerva from Stonea, Cambridgeshire. H.8cm. Wisbech Museum.* (Photo: British Museum.)

CHAPTER FIVE

Natives and Strangers in Roman Britain

…a piece many years in doing and now newly perform'd by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape.

Most previous attempts at understanding Insular art have concentrated on sculpture, and have taken either a condemnatory or, at best, an apologetic tone. In her great compilation of all the material known to her at the time, Professor Jocelyn Toynbee rationalizes her value judgements by defining three basic categories of finds from Britain.[1] First there is art imported from the Mediterranean area, obeying classical canons of proportion. The marble busts from the villa at Lullingstone, Kent, for example, are of great interest in the social context and these, or similar sculptures, could conceivably have acted as models for local lapidaries but are irrelevant to actual artistic production in Britain. The second category is high-quality provincial work, normally attributed to Gaulish artists, such as the bronze statuette of Mercury from Gosbecks, Colchester (see **60**). Finally there is a residue of low-quality art, much of it produced by British craftsmen (though including some imports such as samian ware); some of it may be interesting, but it cannot be regarded as good, let alone great, art.

This model necessitates complex explanations of the total non-receptiveness of the Britons to Classical culture, an interpretation contradicted not only by the findings of archaeology but also by our one relevant literary source, Tacitus' *Agricola*.[2] It does not account either for the sudden transformation of the artistic expression of the late Iron Age which had depended on the art of the bronzesmith. What happened to such people? In fact it is quite unhistorical to think of Gaul and Britain as nation states, though regrettably scholars on both sides of the Channel have tended to do so. The almost universal dismissal of a possible British contribution to the more accomplished work made in the province is patently a result of the long-established but irrational modern English feelings of cultural dependency on France as the European nation of 'culture'. There is, of course, truth in the premise that in antiquity the neighbouring provinces of Gaul played an important part in the story of art in Roman Britain. For a period of less than a century, between Caesar and Claudius, political control of northern Gaul was with Rome, and it was only after AD 43 that the same held true of Britain. However, during that century artistic ability in Britain was far from stagnant and soon after the Conquest the same romanization of art that had occurred in Gaul happened in Britain. In cultural terms Romano-Celtic is a more accurate description than Romano-British for much of what is found in Britain, and the same sorts of production are to be found on both sides of the Channel. It is only as a temporary phase—with the

introduction of Roman art to the Britons—that the Gallic style need be regarded as a distinct phenomenon.

There is one great qualification to be made: most production in the ancient world was regional. The English Channel did provide a barrier, and Insular Roman art does sometimes seem to display greater distinctiveness from the Classical norm than that of Gaul. That, however, is not a value judgement of the traditional sort, for such characteristics are more obvious in the better items and less clear in the mediocre. We do not know whether the early fourth-century Corinian mosaicists were natives of the Cotswolds, the sons of Gaulish immigrants or immigrants from Gaul themselves, but they worked in a style which is not directly matched elsewhere in the Empire and we may call it British or, more properly, Dobunnic. Without a doubt they were also Roman in their sophisticated choice of pattern and image, and if the Woodchester villa was indeed the palace of the governor of *Britannia Prima* (and its size and luxury certainly support this interpretation) they worked for some of the most important people in Roman Britain.

In place of Professor Toynbee's categories a slightly different scheme is proposed here. First there are imports, which were certainly influential in a number of ways, for example in the consideration of artistic influences and of how art was used (Chapter 4), but are not of great concern in this chapter. These are items such as marble statuary and the silver plates in the Mildenhall treasure. Secondly, there is art which it is fair to assume was made by foreigners from outside Britain, especially by artists from the Mediterranean area and which is strongly Classical in its character. Thirdly, there is art which was probably created by Britons or Gauls which approximates in quality to the previous group, but where various (mainly stylistic) indications suggest that the work was done by natives. Fourthly, there are objects where Celtic influences are so strong, that the anti-naturalistic trends of treating the natural world in terms of pattern are very much to the fore. Finally, there is a very small and discrete group of sculptures carved by artists from the Orient. With the exception of the first and last groups these categories shade off one into the other and there will frequently be differences of opinion. When looking at art, we will not go far wrong if we see the major distinction as being between 'Roman' work and the results of 'Romano-Celtic' production. In academic terms, the distinction to be drawn is whether any particular work of art should be the province of 'Classical Archaeology' or 'European Archaeology'.

The second and third categories are especially interesting because they help us to examine the dynamics of change; without so strong and continuous a Classical influence there would not have been a provincial Roman art at all but simply a slightly adapted Celtic art. Unfortunately there has been more interest in anti-Classical trends, largely because of another modern bias, misplaced Celtic nationalism. The following brief survey begins with a selection of items which may have been made by foreigners (Italians, Greeks, southern Gauls and Easterners), then continues with Classical works probably made by Celts and which may also be regarded as Roman without too much serious qualification. It ends with a brief discussion of traditional Celtic style in the Roman period. In each section I begin with the so-called minor arts where evidence is often richest and progress on to sculpture, wall-painting and mosaic.

FOREIGN ARTISTS IN ROMAN BRITAIN

Positive romanization began in the pre-Roman Iron Age with a few exotic imports and more significantly with native coins which have the same idiosyncracies, such as detailing with small round pellets, that we see on coins and gems dating to the late Republic (see **2** and **8**); I suspect that a gem-engraver was responsible for the Insular dies.[3] Such a craftsman could well have come from north Italy, where Aquileia appears to have been a leading centre of gem production. His bow drill would have been very easily portable, and the cutting of metal dies can have caused little difficulty to an artist already skilled in glyptics. Not long after the Conquest a gem-engraver seems to have been operating at Eastcheap in London **(14).** The evidence here consists of four gems, unset and in very fresh condition, found together in a pit. One of them portrays a pair of clasped hands (see **14**a) and was unfinished: two attempts had been made to cut the name 'Alba' on it, but even the better one had not got beyond the primary tracing of the word. The other intaglios included a head of Roma which was used widely on intaglios in the Empire and it can, indeed,

be closely matched by an example from Jordan.[4] Gems recovered at Bath (**48**b and c) from the main drain taking water away from the sacred spring as well as from the great bath were again in large part the work of one gem-cutter, who also seems to have cut intaglios found at Tiverton, Devon (**48**a), Sea Mills, near Bristol, Caerwent and Wroxeter. Records of finding are not good enough to tell whether the gems were a votive offering thrown into the spring or whether they were the casual losses of bathers which had been sucked into the drain lower down. They are all in the current Flavio-Trajanic style.[5]

The same area of London where the Eastcheap gems were found has revealed a goldsmith's workshop in operation before the construction of the Flavian palace which later occupied the site. Although we cannot know the range of his production, this goldsmith used stamps showing a lion, a boar and a sea-creature, perhaps a hippocamp, to seal the luting of his crucibles during the cupelation process (see **15**). These stamps would normally have been used to make plaques for his jewellery, probably by means of the *repoussé* technique, with thin sheets of gold being hammered into a mould.[6]

With regard to bronze figurines and statuettes, there are some imported examples of excellent Classical workmanship. These include the splendid statuette of Nero in the character of Alexander from Baylham Mill, Suffolk, with his inlaid cuirass (see **108**); a vigorous Hercules shooting his bow (perhaps at the Stymphalian birds) found in London (**49**); a figurine of Vulcan seated at his anvil from Richborough (**50**); an image of Jupiter from Colchester; the Cupid lamp-stand from Cirencester (see **105**); and a recently revealed masterpiece: a lithe and dangerous leopard with spotted coat, evidently inlaid with silver, from the Icklingham cache. The workmanship of all of these may be described as 'metropolitan' and consequently none is likely to have been cast in the province.[7] However, the mould for a statuette from Gestingthorpe, Essex, which would have yielded a chubby, nude figure, almost certainly Bacchus, shows that at least lower-quality figures of Classical type were made in Britain; the Gestingthorpe mould could have been the work of an immigrant. The figurine of Apollo from the Thames at London Bridge (**51**) exemplifies this class; Toynbee says it is '*undoubtedly* [my italics] the product of a Mediterranean workshop', but the existence of the

48 *Intaglios showing Horses,* a *Bloodstone from Tiverton, Devon;* b *pale cornelian from Bath;* c *bloodstone from Bath,* (×4.) (Photos: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

49 *Bronze statuette of Hercules shooting the Stymphalian birds(?), from Cheapside, City of London. H.27.7cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

50 *Bronze figurine of Vulcan from Richborough, Kent. H.14.5cm. Ashmolean Museum.* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

***51** Bronze figurine of Apollo from the Thames at London Bridge. H.10.75cm. British Museum.* (Photos: Lynn F. Pitts.)

Gestingthorpe mould provides grounds for the student to question her certainty.[8]

Another more surprising example is an image of Mars from Martlesham, Suffolk, in which he is shown as a native rider god with the epithet Corotiacus, riding down his foe, borrowed from the repertoire of Hellenistic triumphal art, gigantomachies and celtomachies. The bronzesmith who made it for a British woman called Simplicia signed its base, using the Greek name Glaucus. Was he really a Greek, a humbler counterpart of the great Zenodoros who came from Greece to produce a statue of the local conception of Mercury for the Arverni in the time of Nero (Pliny, *NH* xxxiv, 45)? Zenodoros cannot have been the only Greek plying his trade in the West.[9] The problem of assigning bronzes to particular national groups unless there is clear evidence will be taken up below.

For large bronzes, relative lack of portability means that it may have been easier to 'import' a living bronzesmith (as was the case of Zenodoros among the Arverni in Gaul) than the statue itself.

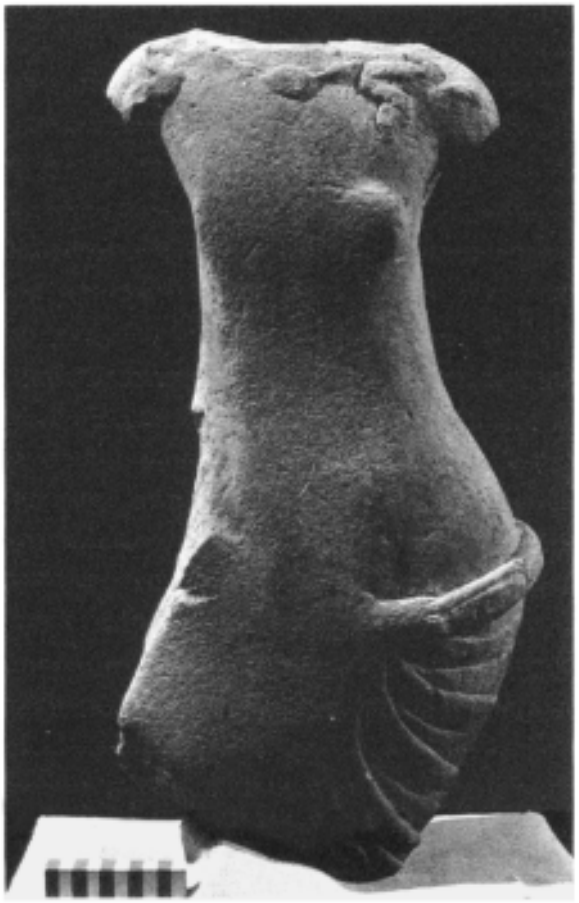
52 *Funerary statue of a sphinx from Colchester. Limestone. H.84cm.* (Colchester Museums.)

Unfortunately, full-size bronze statues do not survive well as they had such value as scrap, but as we have seen there are a number of fragments, including the head of Claudius from the river Alde in Suffolk. Some at least of the triumphal statues of the Emperor set up after 43 were presumably equestrian and the hock of a horse from Ashill, Norfolk, is surely another example of Boudican loot. Hardly enough remains to make any comment about the later equestrian statue from the Forum at Gloucester and perhaps representing Nerva, the founder of the *colonia*, or his successor Trajan. This was, however, a statue of importance, not so unlike the Marcus Aurelius from the Roman Capitol in scale.[10] Despite the close reliance on a Roman model, the head of Hadrian found in the Thames at London (see **35**) seems to me to exhibit local features and thus was almost certainly made in Britain. So too was the head of Sulis Minerva from Bath and, in all likelihood, the eagle from the Basilica at Silchester (see **64**) which was an attribute of a statue of Jupiter, or possibly of an emperor (see below).

Imports of sculpture in stone are confined to marbles (such as the first-century portraits from Fishbourne and Exeter, the second-century Lullingstone busts and the second-fourth-century sculptures from the London Mithraeum and the Woodchester villa and a third-century sarcophagus from Welwyn, Hertfordshire). However, it is clear that Britain lay beyond the general area of the marble trade. Although a few small, high-quality figures in limestone could also have been brought across the Channel, such as a statuette of Fortuna from Chilgrove, West Sussex, which was carved in Caen stone, this might equally well have been cut in Britain from an imported block.[11] Sculpture was carved in local stone throughout Britain from Dover to the forts of Scotland and provides important evidence of local workshops (see Chapter 6); discernible regional idiosyncracies belonging to the mixed Romano-Celtic tradition will be discussed in the second part of this chapter. But there are certainly examples of Roman art in British stone, denoting the presence of foreign sculptors. Some of the early military tombstones, notably the fine *stele* of the legionary centurion, Marcus Facilis at Colchester, come into this class (see **11**): as does the memorial to a *beneficiarius consularis* from London (see **24**). I would also guess that some early auxiliary tombstones, notably that of the Thracian Longinus, son of Sdapezematygus, likewise from Colchester and Genialis' memorial from Cirencester (see **170**) were the work of Gaulish sculptors. Not surprisingly, it has been suggested that the two Colchester *stelae* have their closest affinities with military tombstones in the Rhineland.[12]

In all probability the slightly later Colchester Sphinx **(52)** was carved by a resident of the *colonia*, thus perhaps an Italian by descent. The statue is of thoroughly Roman standard, though worked in British limestone and was, indeed, surmised by Toynbee to have been carved by a very good continental sculptor. The boldly-cut wing-feathers may be compared with those of Minerva Victrix from the Porta Marina at Ostia **(53)** and the character of the head between the creature's paws suggests a Flavian or a Trajanic date.[13] A Purbeck marble eagle from Exeter and a fountain figure representing a nymph, or perhaps Venus, carved in the local sandstone from the fortress at Wroxeter demonstrate the wide-ranging artistic patronage of the army **(54).** The latter evidently follows a Hellenistic prototype.[14] Bath provides us with a version of another interesting Greek statue, a figure of a seated boar, cornered in a hunt, which is carved in the

53 *Statue of a winged Minerva from Porta Marina, Ostia. Marble. H.2.40m.* (Photo: author.)



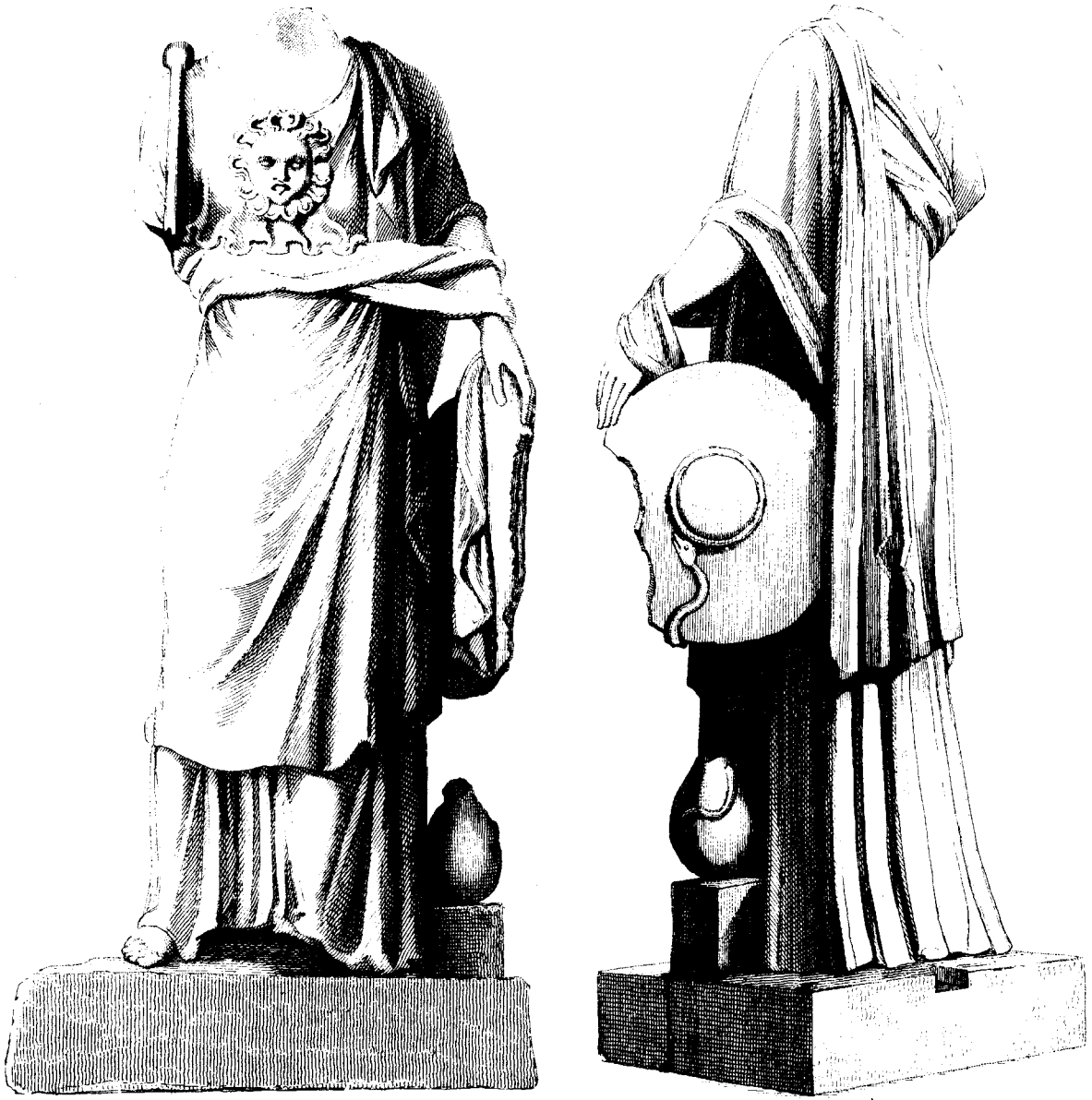
54 a *Statue of Venus or nymph from a fountain, Wroxeter, Shropshire. Sandstone. H.62on.* b *The water jug held in the right hand of the nymph.* (Graham Webster, Fortress into City, p.142, pls 6.18 and 6.19.)

excellent local Bath limestone **(55).** There is a version in marble in the Uffizi Museum, Florence, which has been well-known since the sixteenth century.[15] From Walcot, near Bath, comes a female portrait of Flavian type, twice life size and very much in contemporary Roman tradition, save for the material which is again local limestone.[16] There was evidently at least one sculptor from the Mediterranean area at Silchester. A head of a city goddess *(Tyche)* and a head of Serapis, both carved in Portland stone, are highly competent examples of the work of a late second-century sculptor. Jocelyn Toynbee and George Boon agree that the sculptor came from the Continent and Boon reminds us that Silchester had a *collegium peregrinorum*, a guild of resident foreigners, which was involved in the dedication of a statue of Victory to the Numen of the Emperor.[17]

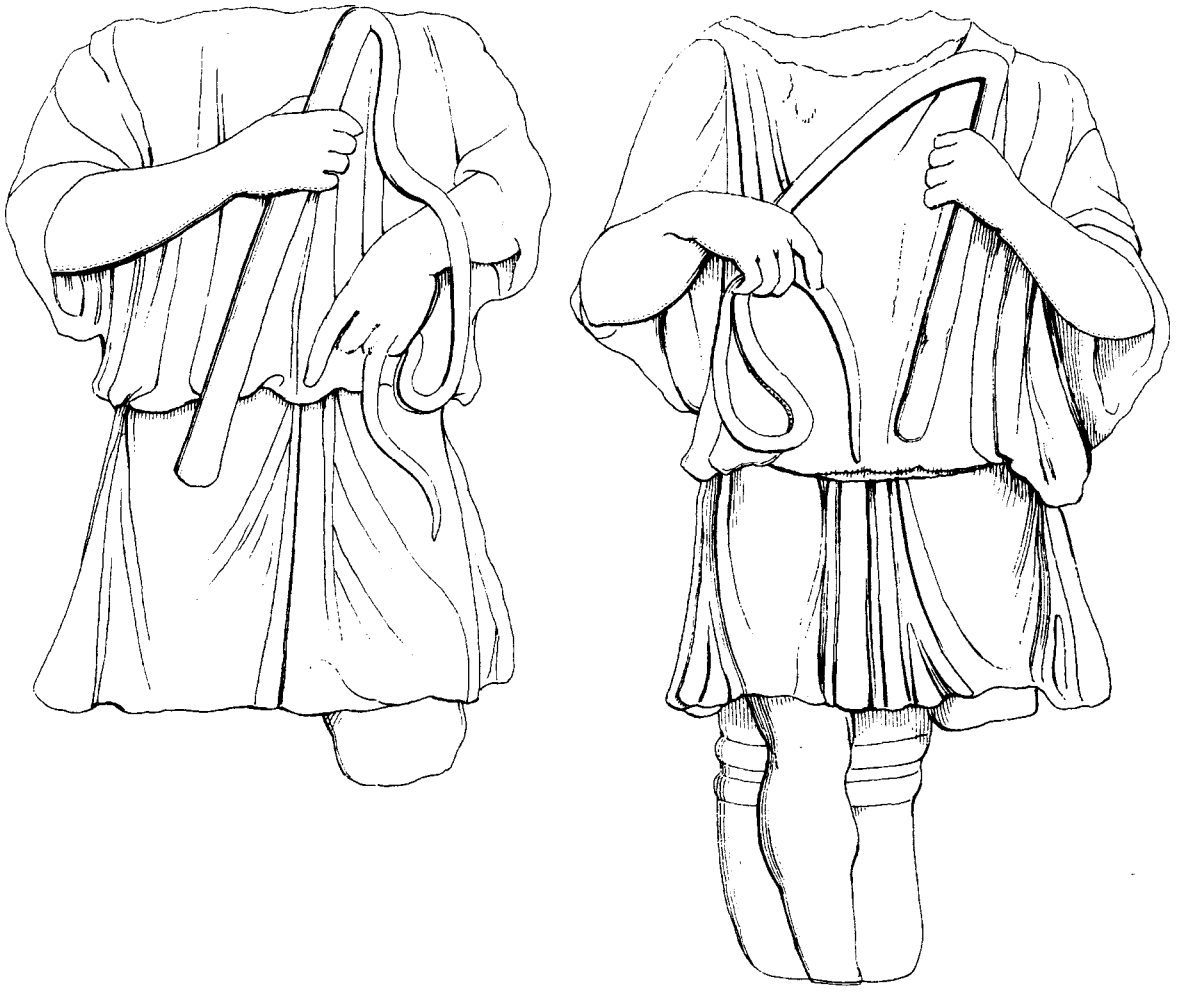
Two statues of Minerva may be by Mediterranean sculptors and, if not, are certainly close to Roman

55 *Statue of a seated boar, from Bath. Limestone. H.44cm.*

work. One, from near Water Newton, at Sibson, Huntingdonshire **(56)** is described by Toynbee as having been carved by 'an immigrant provincial…well schooled in the classical tradition'. It is certainly very fine considering that here the material is Barnack ragstone. The Sibson Minerva is headless, but a limestone head of the goddess has recently been found in a temple at Harlow, Essex, where it may have come from the cult image. Although rather sadly battered, this would have looked splendid when new and decked out with a separately-made metal helmet, just like the gilt bronze head of Minerva from Bath (see above) or the marble head of the goddess from the Walbrook Mithraeum. Indeed, this practice of decking statuary with detachable fittings, sometimes in precious metal, was normal in the ancient world the best known example being Pheidias' *Athena Parthenos*. The type to which the Sibson statue



56 *Statue of Minerva from Sibson, Huntingdonshire. H.1.27m. Woburn Abbey.*
(After, Archaeologia xxxii, 1847, pl.iv.)



57 *Statues of two charioteers from Bedford Purlieus, Northamptonshire. H.61cm and 76cm. Woburn Abbey.*J.Basire (iii), (Engraving by J. Basire (iii) in Archaeologia xxxii, 1847, pl.1.)

belongs approximates to that great statue and this was surely also the prototype of the Harlow head.[18] A pair of very neatly carved charioteers, likewise in the local Barnack limestone, were found not far away at Bedford Purlieus **(57).** Not only are they among the most accomplished studies in Roman Britain but the subject is connected with the Circus, in general an obsession of the Romans, but not well attested in Britain.[19]

In Britain, as elsewhere in the European provinces, wall-painting in the Mediterranean tradition was practised with very few concessions being made to native artistic mannerisms.[20] Leaving aside some very early fragments, notably at Fishbourne, Sussex, what remains lies outside the classic 'Four Styles', although reminiscences of these are frequent. There are also many compositions in which relatively small areas of wall carry figural or decorative devices displayed against a plain ground, a schema which is so

characteristic of second-century Ostia. While it is often impossible to tell whether the painters were Italians (or came from southern Gaul), the accomplished architectural composition from the Roman building on the site of Winchester Palace, Southwark, with its exotic materials (cinnabar and gold leaf) and deft approximation to the Second (theatrical) Style of two centuries earlier, looks like thoroughly Metropolitan work. Although there may be a few local idiosyncracies, suggestive of developments in the province and probably, therefore, of local recruitment (see below), there is not much reason to think about this art in other than Roman terms.

Remains of wall-painting are especially important because they provide evidence of the background against which the art-owning classes in both town and country lived their lives. Paintings of columnar architecture, sometimes employing perspective and imitation panels of marble, breccia and alabaster, suggests much more palatial housing than was normally to be found in Britain. Conceits incorporating hanging swags, which appear to be suspended in mid-air **(colour plate II),** canopies supported on volutes and peopled scrolls express desires to escape from reality into fantasy, which is why Vitruvius had so strongly disapproved of them in late Second Style and Third Style paintings.

Figural painting throughout reflects Roman life, myth and religion. Examples include the gladiators panel at Colchester, a theatrical mask on a small panel in the frieze of a room at Leicester **(colour plate I),** a Vergilian scene from a villa at Otford, Kent, complete with literary inscription, a series of Bacchic figures at Dover in the same house as the room with the perspective architecture, Venus and Mars from Kingscote and a dreamy-looking youth, probably Narcissus, from the Tarrant Hinton villa, Dorset **(colour plate IV).** A very interesting painting still *in situ* at Lullingstone, Kent, depicts nymphs, one of them, as already mentioned, with water-pouring breasts as described by Philostratus the Elder (*Imagines* ii, 4, 3). The villa's house church is painted in the style of late antiquity with *orantes*, and chi-rhos, but nothing gives it away specifically as the product of a British workshop. Even though it seems likely that local workshops were set up, probably manned by British painters, there are no easily identifiable schools with their own traditions and idiosyncracies as there are with mosaics.[21]

The supreme manifestation of Roman art is the mosaic pavement which, although originally a Greek and essentially a Hellenistic invention, was only brought to perfection under the Empire. Here, as with painting, it is likely that the first-century mosaics were laid by craftsmen from the Continent. Workshops were set up in British cities in the second century and different traditions are represented at Verulamium and Colchester on the one side and those in western Britain on the other.[22] These differences, however, must derive in the first instance from different repertoires (and 'pattern books') employed, although the individuality of the different circles of craftsmen which constitute a 'school' must also be taken into account. It seems that both Roman artists and their native pupils are represented. The best examples, such as the Middleborough Mosaic at Colchester (Eastern group) **(colour plate VII)** and the Dyer Street mosaic, Cirencester (Western group), are very Classical in composition and execution. Doubtless the attractive designs of the geometric mosaics would have appealed to members of the British gentry who had not lost their taste for abstract Celtic art, now mainly represented by small dress items such as coloured enamel brooches. However, Romano-British mosaics never include Celtic features and are comparable with mosaics from other parts of the Roman world in quality and technique.

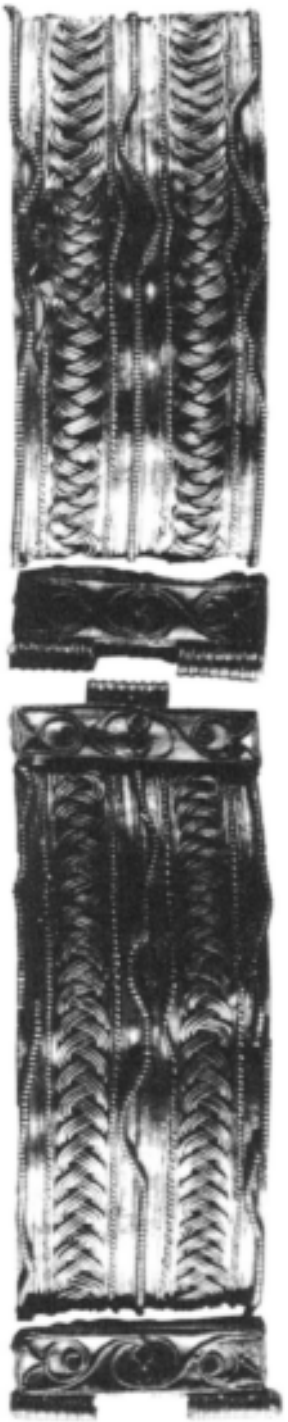
The fourth-century revival almost certainly began with mosaicists arriving in Britain in the wake of Constantius Chlorus' conquest, encouraged by the wealth of the island and the lack of established mosaicists. Certainly, the magnificent and detailed mosaic floors at Bignor, a villa which achieved its apogee in the reign of Constantine, are very much in the classicizing style of figured mosaics executed in Gaul during the third century.[23] The famous bust of Venus, her hair cascading over her shoulders, is entirely Hellenistic in conception **(colour plate XII);** the frieze of cupid-gladiators below her is Graeco-Roman and finds a parallel in such conceits as the little putti at work and play painted on the walls of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii. The Romano-British schools which eventually emerged in the fourth century, all of which probably comprised several distinct, possibly independent workshops, produced startlingly different work one from the other. Local elements in design and choice of colour come to the fore, and these will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

PROVINCIAL ART IN ROMAN BRITAIN: ROMANO-GAULISH AND ROMANO-BRITISH

This section lies at the heart of any study of art in Roman Britain, but the distinction between art produced in Britain and what was made outside, in Gaul, is not an easy one to define, as a glance at any catalogue of such material from the north-western provinces will show. In the first century continental artists taught their British pupils and the resultant work was virtually indistinguishable from that of their mentors. In a few cases a work of art is placed in this section rather than in the previous one simply because of some evidence that its creator was of Celtic origin (and it is not at all unlikely that some of the material in the first section should also be relocated here), but generally there is some telltale sign, such as the influence of local Gaulish or British style which differentiates provincial Roman art from the products of continental craftsmen working in a Mediterranean tradition. Although this book is basically concerned with Britain, it is important not to consider Insular art in isolation and, in the examples that follow, a few will be included from Gaul. The review begins with the minor arts for the good reason that many of the technologies existed in the Iron Age, and goes on to review provincial elements in other arts.

Jewellery

A number of pieces of gold jewellery, published by Hilary Cool and ascribed to a British workshop, take an important place among works of art from the province. They include Hercules' club pendants from Ashstead, Kent, and from Birdoswald, as well as a possible hair-ornament from Southfleet, Kent. The best and most distinctive item is a bracelet from Rhayader, Powys **(58).** The use of Celtic curvilinear ornament in two panels of the Rhayader bracelet, as well as the use of enamel in much of the other ornament produced by the workshop, demonstrates its local origin, but Dr Cool is quite right in seeing the jewellery as belonging essentially to the Hellenistic Roman tradition. The smith was a Briton who certainly did not eschew his past, though he clearly understood the spirit of the best ornament of the time in the Roman world, and this goldwork is properly considered as



58 *Gold bracelet from Rhayader, Powys. The two pieces are respectively 9.8 and 9cm in length.* (Photo: British Museum.)

Roman. The same may be said of the two necklaces and the bracelet with attached wheel-ornaments from the Backworth treasure. It has been claimed that this might relate to a widespread Celtic cult, but although the type was certainly made in Britain, as examples in the Snettisham cache attest, it is also very familiar from Italy and indeed beyond; this demonstrates that the taste (and I suggest the symbolism) here was more Roman than native.

The second-century cache of rings, bracelets, gems and coins found at Snettisham, Norfolk, is of exceptional importance. It certainly belonged to a Romano-British jeweller and, apart from his stock-in-trade, contained one of his tools, a burnisher made from a piece of chalcedony. The serpent-bracelets are of Insular type, paralleled by the well-known pair from Castlethorpe, Buckinghamshire. So too are the rings with bezels, each consisting of three flower-like bosses around which a pair of serpents is symmetrically disposed, one head on each side. The type is paralleled by examples, for instance from the Backworth hoard (made of gold) and a house in Caerwent (silver). Both bracelets and rings are once again of Hellenistic inspiration.[24] Such a mixed pedigree is also to be found in certain brooches made of bronze, such as the one from Bignor which has a plate portraying an ecstatic maenad in a style familiar from Augustan and Julio-Claudian art, on its foot, though the general form of the brooch is provincial, albeit continental rather than British. It is possible that the craftsman who made the brooch applied a stamp with a classical device made by another jeweller and the same might be true of the London goldsmith mentioned above—but we cannot take that for granted: normally artisans in the ancient world made their own tools and fashioned all their own materials.[25]

The Snettisham jeweller both set and, in all probability, made signet-rings. This is certain because many of the rings are unfinished, including 17 signet-rings, of standard early Imperial form, set with cornelian intaglios, and 110 intaglios, likewise cornelians, as yet unset. The stones are of somewhat mediocre work compared with the earlier Bath gems mentioned above, though they too are engraved in the manner standard throughout the Empire; their subjects are very much related to rural prosperity being for the most part portrayals of Bonus Eventus, Ceres and Fortuna.[26] A long-recognized example of a Romano-British craft is the jet industry, probably centred on the York *colonia*, which flourished in the third and fourth centuries, producing pins and bracelets as well as small figurines and cameo medallions (see **83**). There was an export industry to the Rhineland and, indeed, there is a jet Medusa amulet in the Vatican collection at Rome. Many of the Medusa heads and portraits are virtually identical to cameos cut in onyx, and certainly belong to the Roman tradition, but others are decidedly strange, for example on a pendant from Strood, Kent, Medusa is shown in profile while the serpents still appear as though the image was frontal. The medallions display a rich use of texture which we will see again and again in the work of British artists.[27]

The Late Roman Thetford treasure will be considered in Chapter 7; here it is sufficient to note the flair and imagination of the jeweller who designed such a little masterpiece as the Woodpecker ring; there are 21 others in the hoard and his output includes at least one ring found on another site. All are characterized by considerable inventiveness in design, as is the belt-buckle and other items of jewellery, all made for the god Faunus.

Silversmithing

Silver vessels were likewise made in Britain. While the province may never have been a major centre of silver manufacture, the recent discovery that mercury-gilding was applied to a silver trumpet-brooch from Carmarthen, dating to the Conquest period, shows that technical competence was present from the beginning. The Crownthorpe cups (see **17**), although made of bronze, and above all the discovery of a bronze mould in Kent used in the casting of foot-rings, means that nothing technical stood in the way of silver plate being produced from the middle of the first century onwards. The second-century Backworth cache, a mixed collection of jewellery and plate, appears to have been dedicated to the local mother goddesses. One of the gold rings carries an inscription on its bezel to this effect, as does the handle of a silver *trulla*. As we have seen, some of the jewellery at least was Romano-British and it is logical to think that the dedicator, Fabius Dubitatus, had this item of plate made at the same time for presentation to this particular shrine. It is, nevertheless, a thoroughly Roman-looking piece of second-century plate, confidently ornamented with an acanthus

design in high relief. Comparison has been made with the handle of a *trulla* from the Chatuzange treasure, probably made in Gaul.

There is some reason to ascribe the *trullae* in another northern British hoard, the Capheaton treasure, of the late second or early third century, to a workshop in the province. The reasoning here depends on subject matter rather than technique or style. One of the handles portrays an offering at a temple and spring presided over by Minerva. Could this be Sulis Minerva, patron goddess of Bath, as I have suggested? Another handle shows a female personification holding a maniple standard, so presumably the object was meant to be identified with the Imperial army, and of course that army was very prominent in Britain, especially in northern Britain. Again there are good analogues in treasures from Gaul, including Chatuzange and the temple treasure of Berthouville.

It is possible, too, that the splendid late third-century mirror from Wroxeter, its back ornamented with a Hercules-knot handle, was made in Britain. This type is widespread in the north-western provinces at the time, although it is more likely that it was imported from the Rhineland. One, which must have been of similar size and weight, is shown on a well-known sculpture from Neumagen, being held by a maid for her mistress' contemplation, while smaller examples are commonly found in excavations. If the form is regional, the general character of the decoration, notably the handle with its rosettes, and the surrounding vegetal frieze, is completely Graeco-Roman in spirit.

In late Roman Britain, as Esmonde Cleary rightly comments, there must have been some very wealthy people. Much of their silverware, such as the picture plates in the Mildenhall treasure (see **86**), the Corbridge lanx (see **93**) and the Ulysses flagon (see **96**) from the large cache of *Hacksilber* discovered north of the fourth-century frontier at Traprain Law, Scotland, came from the Mediterranean world, but some is more local. The evidence will be fully considered in Chapter 7 but it is convenient to mention here some items which may well have been manufactured in Britain. They certainly include the simpler Water Newton vessels, with their Christian inscriptions engraved for the votaries who presented them to the local church. The square dish from Mileham, Norfolk **(59)** with its stylized leafy ornament, could also be Romano-British, as Jocelyn Toynbee hinted. It is paralleled in the Traprain Law and Balline treasures, from Scotland and southern Ireland (Co. Limerick) respectively, which were probably assembled in an orderly fashion within the province of Britain as bullion payment to mercenaries rather than as 'loot' grabbed by pirate raiders; the distinctive form is also found in British pewter. The original casting of the Risley Park lanx (see **94**) appears to show some knowledge of pewter manufacture, and is likely to have been made in Britain—certainly the secondary dedicatory inscription on the base was added on behalf of a bishop who donated it to a (nearby?) church. A very strong candidate for local manufacture is a bowl from another Hacksilber hoard from Ballinrees, near Coleraine in Northern Ireland, whose engraved ornament is analogous to that of Romano-British buckles (see Chapter 7). Finally the swan-necked spoons with elegantly coiled handles from the Thetford treasure, Canterbury and Hoxne, are likely to be a Romano-British speciality.[28] To sum up, if this evidence is accepted, we can see strong grounds for proposing a considerable quantity of manufacture, at least in Late Roman Britain, to match the undoubted spending power evinced both by hoards of late Roman silver coins and the large number of high-quality mosaics (see below) in the province.

Bronze statuary and figurines

The range of bronze statuettes found in Britain extends from completely Mediterranean work, mainly imported but probably including a few pieces made here by foreign artists—even executing commissions for British clients—to purely native work. The high degree of competence exhibited by the Romano-British smith Celatus in creating the figure of Mars found in the Foss Dyke, Lincolnshire, for the Colasuni brothers shows that the distinction is not one of ability. The Foss Dyke Mars has sufficient local characteristics in terms of patterning to be considered as in part representative of Romano-Celtic work, but the understanding of physiognomy in the basic structure of the body and the selection of a type of nude based, in all probability, on a statue of Alexander the Great by Lyssipos demands explanation. All the more so as the type is not common in Italy but is well represented in Britain and is especially widely disseminated in Gallia Belgica. While the

59 *Square silver dish from Mileham, Norfolk. sides each 37.5cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

native features here are obvious, an appliqué bust of the same general type, found in Cirencester, is almost Hellenistic in its ideal beauty and sensuousness, accentuated by its copper nipples. Despite its very Roman appearance, a British origin is not totally impossible even here. It is likely that this specific Mars-type, with its dreamy beauty had been selected by some powerful individual in Rome for the benefit of the Celts, an image as distant as possible from their harsh and warlike traditions.[29]

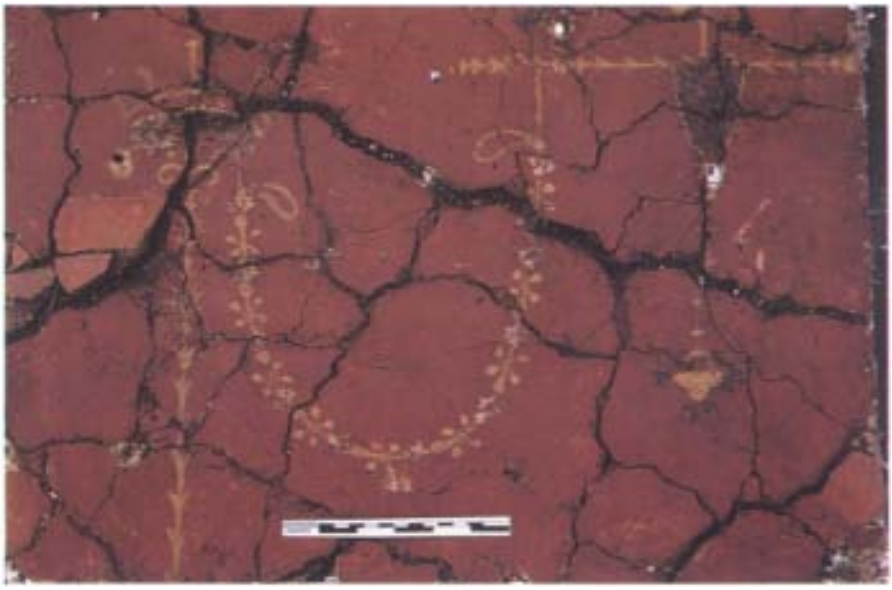
Mercury was pre-eminent among the deities venerated in Britain. The largest and best bronze is the statuette of Mercury, shown at the moment of alighting, from Gosbecks near Colchester (60). The image is a very lively one and Toynbee calls it 'wholly Classical', though the bold texture of the hair and over-emphasized eyelids do suggest provincial subtleties as she recognized. Nevertheless there is no reason whatsoever why it should have been cast in Gaul rather than Britain especially in the territory of a *Colonia*.[30] The castings of most Roman-period figurines of Mercury from Britain are in fact iconographically Classical. One type in which the god holds his purse on the palm of his hand has a largely Gaulish distribution and Boucher has proposed that it is derived from the statue which Zenodoros produced for the Arverni. An excellent example comes from Manea Fen, Cambridgeshire. Lynn Pitts suggests that it is local work because its eyes are rather large, but it is undoubtedly Classical in spirit. Another example came from a probable temple-site at Great Walsingham, Norfolk, together with two much more obviously local images, one of which had a thoroughly Celtic patterned treatment of the hair.[31]

The 'Verulamium Venus' found in a cellar (which may have served as a storage place for scrap of a metalworker or, more plausibly, as a shrine) represents yet another Hellenistic statuary type, though Toynbee accepts that the best parallels are from southern Gaul. The smith has not quite understood the physical anatomy, and the body is somewhat pear-shaped, as are several other Gaulish figurines, such as a silvered statuette of Fortuna from Sainpuits, Yonne.[32] Provincial Roman figurines of high quality and showing yet more native features, such as accentuation of texture in the clothing and patterned hair, include a priestess, temple-musician or, more probably, the muse Euterpe, from Silchester **(frontispiece),** and a male votary or possibly a Genius from Earith, Cambridgeshire (61) and a figure of Vulcan from Catterick, Yorkshire (see 78), both of which combine accurate modelling with a harmonious use of line. They were probably all commissioned for dedication at local shrines, as the Foss Dyke Mars certainly was. Two identical heads of Jupiter found near Amersham, Buckinghamshire, perhaps tripod mounts rather than sceptre-heads (as was thought when only one had been found), display a similar frame of hair and beard to the Catterick Vulcan. They may also be compared with a silver bust

60 *Bronze statuette of Mercury from Gosbecks Farm, near Colchester. H.53cm.* (Photo: Colchester Museums.)

61 *Bronze figurine of a votary from Earith, Cambridgeshire. H.14.7cm. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.*

I Second-century fresco with an architectural schema and theatrical mask, from Leicester.



II Detail of a second-century fresco from Verulamium showing a hanging swag.

III Detail of a second-century fresco from Verulamium showing a candelabrum.

IV Fourth-century fresco from Tarrant Hinton, Dorset showing Narcissus and a satyr(?).

V First-century geometric mosaic at Fishbourne, Sussex (Room N12).

VI Second-century mosaic at Fishbourne. Cupid on a dolphin (Room N7).

VII Second-century mosaic at Colchester depicting two wrestling cupids (the Middleborough Pavement).

VIII Second-century mosaic at Verulamium showing a lion.

IX Fourth-century mosaic from Low Ham, Somerset (detail). Aeneas and Ascanius with Dido—and Venus.

X Fourth-century mosaic from Low Ham, Somerset (detail). Dido and Aeneas make love after the hunt.

XI Fourth-century mosaic from Frampton, Dorset (detail). Aeneas plucks the Golden Bough. (S.Lysons, Reliquiae Britannico Romanae i, pl. iv.)

XII (Right) Fourth-century mosaic at Bignor, Sussex. Venus and cupid-gladiators. (S.Lysons, Reliquiae Britannico Romanae iii, pl. xix.)

XIII Fourth-century mosaic with vault-design from Horkstow, Lincolnshire. (S.Lysons, Reliquiae Britannico Romanae i, pl. iv.)

XIV Fourth-century mosaic from Thruxton, Hampshire depicting Bacchus (detail). (Coloured drawing by John Lickman, now in Saffron Walden Museum. Photo: Grahame Soffe.)

XV *Fourth-century geometric mosaic from Mill Hill, Castor.* (From E.T.Artis, The Durobrivae of Antoninus, 1828, pl. xix.)

XVI *Fourth-century geometric mosaic from Roxby, Lincolnshire, engraved by William Fowler.*

of Jupiter from a shrine on the Little St Bernard pass in south-eastern Gaul.[33]

Figures of animals include the hounds dedicated to Nodens at his temple at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, of which the finest is shown seated. It has a long muzzle and delicately patterned hair. Although the type is to be found elsewhere, as for instance at Voorburg in the Netherlands, this example, with its attractively textured hair, is the best. A protome of a stag from Brampton near Norwich **(62),** Norfolk with its stylized facial musculature, rather glaring, elongated eyes and textured hair on its breast, is a masterpiece hardly less interesting than the very early stag-statuette found near Brighton (see **18**). Incidentally, it is thought that the post-Roman stag on the Sutton Hoo sceptre (see **104**) is 'strongly influenced by the Romano-British tradition' (see Chapter 8). Other mammals include boars, like the spirited late first-century figure from Camerton, Somerset, with its stiff crest and short-hatched pelt. Here, close examination has revealed casting flashes on the insides of the legs and even traces of tooling of the wax original inside the ears. Lions, like boars, range from fully Roman renditions to the patently native version, but especially formidable is the monster, more wolf than lion, from Oxfordshire (Woodeaton?), shown devouring a human victim. This is certainly more frighteningly effective than the unintentionally comic key-handle (presumably an import), once again from Brampton, which shows an unfortunate man being mauled by a lion in some amphitheatre. Finally it is appropriate to mention figures of birds such as eagles, found at various sites, for instance Woodeaton, Oxfordshire, and cockerels **(63),** associated with Mercury, which allowed their creators great scope in the rendition of plumage.[34]

There are only a few large-scale bronze sculptures remaining, a tiny percentage of what must at one time have existed. The head of Hadrian from London (see **35**) is of excellent technical quality, and but for the decorative hair-treatment could have been ascribed to a Metropolitan workshop. The local bronzesmith added a patterned treatment of the hair to his otherwise carefully observed model, and the head retains its classical gravity, a quality that Hadrian so carefully fostered. The Bath Minerva is another very fine work of local classicism, the modelling skilful and the expression suitably benign. Its proportions (the head seems a little too wide) and the heavy modelling of the eyelids suggest the work of a Gaul or a Briton, and Toynbee opts for the former. There is no cause to doubt that a shrine of international repute like that of Bath could have attracted bronzesmiths just as it did sculptors, but equally there is no good reason to rule out a local hand, even though the head is indeed more lifelike than the (clearly imported) marble head from the Walbrook Mithraeum.

There must have been many figures of Jupiter in Britain. It has been suggested that the very wellknown eagle from the basilica of Silchester **(64)** accompanied the god, who presided over justice here; the slight curvature of the bird's talons made it suitable for standing on a globe, which the god might have held in his hand. Alternatively it could have accompanied a statue of the emperor, Jupiter's representative on earth. It is unfortunately not an *aquila* from a legionary standard, though generations of readers of Rosemary Sutcliff's inspiring *The Eagle of the Ninth* (1954) will find it hard to reject that idea, so basic to the novel. Now wingless, the eagle's textured plumage creates a bold effect, although there is admittedly a certain gaucheness in the actual modelling of the bird. Jocelyn Toynbee believed it to be 'undoubtedly an import from some central Mediterranean area, perhaps from Italy', but this seems to me unlikely. On the one hand the dominance of a rich, patterned, textured effect over the mechanical restrictions of form is a hallmark of local Romano-British work; on the other, although the eagle is fairly small in itself, the statue which accompanies it would have been reasonably grand and thus not very likely to have been transported over a long distance.

A lappet with lion and *pelta* on it was also found in the Basilica. It could have come from the same statue, or more probably another of an emperor, but it is too small a piece on which to base deductions as to provenance. A head of Jupiter from Felmingham Hall, Norfolk, is certainly British though it is not part of a fully-modelled image but was probably a votive of a type also represented in the Icklingham treasure (see **21**), an assemblage of masks and statuettes found in Suffolk and subsequently smuggled out of England to the United States. The Felmingham Hall mask has the dignity of the usual Capitoline type, but the hair-textures are linear designs, the curls above the brow marking a further stage in abstraction from that observed in the image of Hadrian.[35]

62 *Bronze appliqué protome of stag from Brampton, Norfolk. H.14cm. Castle Museum, Norwich.* (Photo: Hallam Ashley, by courtesy of Dr A.K.Knowles.)

63 *Bronze figurine of cockerel from Aston, Hertfordshire. H.6.2cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

64 *Bronze statuette of eagle (probably part of Jupiter statue) from Silchester, Hampshire. H.15cm.* (Photo: Michael Fulford, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading.)

Sculpture in stone

Most stone sculpture from Britain was carved by native sculptors, although initially 'foreigners' associated with the army must have opened up the quarries, as noted earlier in connection with early military tombstones. The materials are local, much of the best work being in limestone. The carvers of the Cotswold region and the further extension of the jurassic ridge north into Lincolnshire and south to Dorset, could count many notable achievements to their credit. Sculptors from this region seem to have set up studios in London, and others may have worked at the legionary fortress of Caerleon. Two examples of sculpture in the round have been selected here to emphasize that quality and classicism are not necessarily the preserve of continental craftsmen. A female mask with high coif of hair *(onkos)* and fierce expression, ornamented a monumental tomb at Towcester, Northamptonshire **(65).** The conception is Mediterranean, but not the bold outlining of the bulging eyes or the long curling lock of hair in front of each ear. The statue of Mercury from Uley, carved in the local oolitic limestone, is clearly based on a prototype by Praxiteles and seems to be especially close to the Hermes of Andros. The modelling of the face and the legs are entirely in the Roman tradition, but the treatment of the hair in terms of a pattern of S-scrolls clearly betrays the hand of a Celtic, and almost certainly a British, artist.[36]

Relief sculpture sometimes comes into the same high class as the Uley Mercury. A figure of the same deity was set in a niche of the Bath gate at Cirencester or else it came from a nearby building. Body modelling is well understood here and the sculptor has managed to convey the texture of the floppy *petasos*. The best of the Gloucester reliefs of Mercury and Rosmerta shows how well local artists could adapt the Classical repertoire, and this can also be seen with the conflation of local hunter-god and Attis from Bevis Marks, London. Although only fragments remain, it is clear that at least one Cotswold artist was prepared to cope with the Mithraic repertoire. The most harmonious and ambitious composition in the region is the scheme of the Bath pediment (see **22**). The design of the vegetal wreath and the supporting victories and the tritons in the spandrels convey the visual order of Classical art. The male Medusa or rather the Neptune-Medusa conflation is an original creation, with strong Celtic idiosyncracies in the treatment of the eyes and the luxuriance of the hair, but it is fully integrated into the design and, I would argue, was always intended to be read in the Roman way as alluding to Neptune as Minerva's companion. There is some similarity between the style of the Bath pediment and sculpture from south-eastern Gaul, for instance Avenches and Nyon in Switzerland as well as Arles, where an especially fine mask of a sea-god in a clipeate roundel is recorded. Perhaps the Bath sculptor originated in that region.

There were accomplished workshops elsewhere in Britain, for instance at Lincoln, York and Carlisle. Again and again we see how British sculptors were able to breathe new life into Classical models, especially by a lively response to form, vigorous patterning of hair and draperies, sometimes even by changing proportions and concentrating on linear effects.[37]

Wall-painting

Painting was widespread but because of the fragmentary nature of survivals and the closeness between provincial work and its prototype, it is more than usually difficult to isolate the home-produced work. Candelabra, as in the Third Style, were common in provincial art but those in paintings from Britain **(colour plate III)** are rather simpler than those found in paintings in Gaul and Germany. On a more positive note a wall in a house in Insula xxi at Verulamium has a frieze containing a 'peopled scroll'; the calyx ornament in the forks of the scroll with its richly toned crests, is reminiscent of the taste for bold colour contrasts exhibited in the scrolls of the Corinian mosaicists at Woodchester, Chedworth and Stonesfield, but that was well over a century later, in another place and another medium.[38]

Mosaics

There are hints in second-century pavements, at Verulamium in particular, of a local attitude towards representing figural subject-matter by breaking the forms down into areas of pattern: the Neptune pavement and the lion **(colour plate VIII)** show this best.[39] The latter, indeed, prefigures the treatment of animals on the Corinian Orpheus pavements. It is

65 *Female mask from a funerary monument, Towcester, Northamptonshire. Limestone. H.56cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

almost certain that the majority of mosaicists came from a Gaulish or British milieu and their workshops were, of course, locally based, and yet it is still best to see the work as essentially Roman. This is true throughout the second century and indeed later.

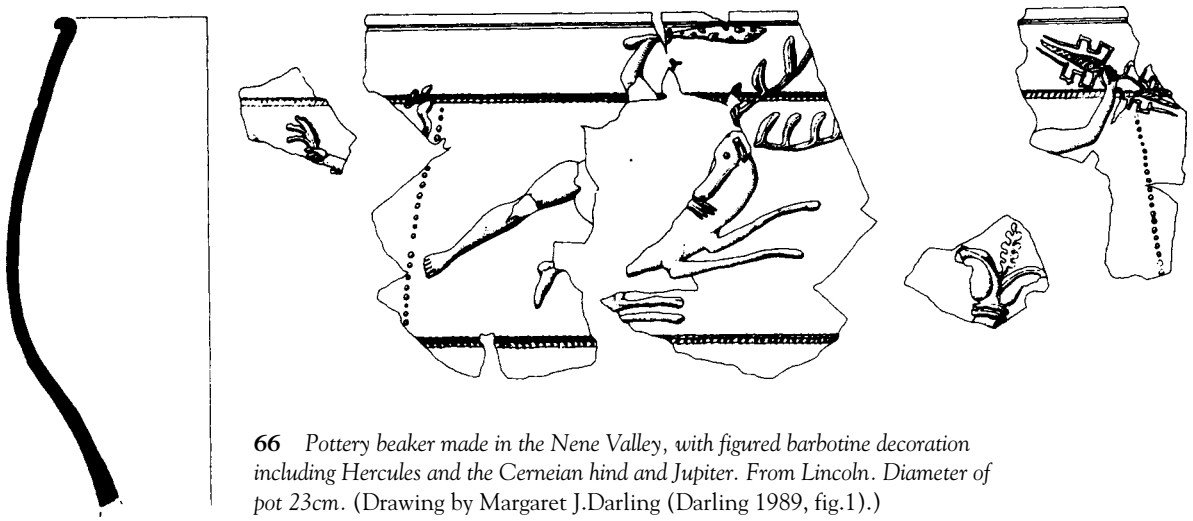
There are few third-century mosaics, at least after the Severan period, and D.J.Smith has recently suggested that the 'Venus pavement' at Rudston, which was formerly ascribed to the mid-late fourth century, should be placed among them, reflecting 'an acute dearth of trained mosaicists in Britain in the second half of the third century and, in the north, possibly also the early fourth'. This mosaic is a world away from the style and quality of the Venus mosaic **(colour plate XII)** and the other major floors at Bignor, for example, and is sometimes wrongly regarded as showing strong native features, though in fact its iconography is clearly derived from the North African tradition. It was laid by a mosaicist who was simply a bungling and incompetent draughtsman. The curiously mis-shapen figures and animals fit in well with misconceived notions of Romano-British art, but it could have been laid by an entrepreneur whose art was too poor to secure him a living in his homeland. It should be noted that at Bignor, too, there is a crude mosaic of a Medusa in the middle of a circular design, including ill-rendered peacocks, a dolphin and a fish, and with busts of seasons in the spandrels, likewise of amateurish quality. Such childlike work is found throughout the Empire, and at every period; it is a reminder that quality is not always constant.[40]

Only in the fourth century does British mosaic art again come into its own (Chapter 7), but then it does so in a decidedly ambitious manner, at least in Cirencester, Dorchester and Aldborough/Broughon-Humber and the schools associated with them. The subject matter is Roman and sometimes even esoteric. The circles of animals and plants on the Corinian Orpheus floors hint at a knowledge of Neo-Platonism, but the bold linear details, use of pattern and shading, and strongly contrasting tones are almost reminiscent of a carpet. Indeed, the use of pattern on such pavements as that of Stonesfield which is only partly figurative bring to mind the much later Carpet pages of Hiberno-Northumbrian art. I do not see how there can be any real link, unless it was through surviving Roman manuscripts and the British (or West Gaulish) *Vergilius Romanus* **(76, 92)** suggests how such a style might be passed on, but there is certainly a community of taste. The common denominator is that both have strongly linear elements, regularized and put to the service of civilization by the culture of the Roman Empire in the one case and of Christianity in the other (see Chapter 8).

Strong patterns, distinctive fleshy vegetation and figures marked out by bold outlining help to define the *oeuvre* of the Durnovarian school, with its extraordinary eclecticism in myth types evidently based on the mosaicists' abilities in copying manuscripts in the libraries of their patrons. A chi-rho at Frampton is not so surprising given that the device was widely used as the Emperor's *labarum* and even occupied the entire reverse of bronze coins of Magnentius which were more or less contemporary. The Hinton St Mary pavement with a chi-rho behind the fleshy bust in the centre of the main floor (see **85**) is reminiscent of vault-design but, despite the advocacy of Painter, no evidence of a fourth-century church or baptistery, sparkling with mosaics such as we find in Rome and Naples is known, and I am not convinced that any such existed. The design is eclectic and the Christian device is ill-matched with the 'Pagan' theme of Bellerophon slaying the chimaera in the other section. The odd juxtaposition of subjects suggests that the patron had his own meaning for what was shown. Was he a Christian using Pagan imagery or a Pagan employing contemporary Christian language? The iconography is as odd as the style. However it is visually stunning, and I have never understood why the great fourth-century mosaics of Britain have not been the general starting point for an exposition of Romano-British art.

Pottery

In following a sequence from small objects (minor art) to large ones (major art), I have omitted what must have been the most frequent contact most people had with art, so unselfconscious that it can scarcely have been regarded as art at all. Pottery was essentially utilitarian but there was a considerable quantity of so-called 'fine wares', the most ubiquitous being samian ware, mostly imported from Gaul, though a small quantity was also made in kilns in Britain—at Colchester and London. The figured vessels were surely helpful in spreading a taste for representational art, but they do not play a very important part in the



66 *Pottery beaker made in the Nene Valley, with figured barbotine decoration including Hercules and the Cerneian hind and Jupiter. From Lincoln. Diameter of pot 23cm.* (Drawing by Margaret J.Darling (Darling 1989, fig.1).)

history of the arts and crafts of Britain. It was different with the products of some of the native potters of Colchester, the Nene Valley and elsewhere, who decorated drinking cups with figural scenes *en barbotine*, depicting hunting and amphitheatre scenes, myths—especially the labours of Hercules, eroticfertility scenes and festivals. The subject has now been explored by Graham Webster who has revealed the potters' astonishing fecundity of imagination and deftness of hand. Their products do not seem to have been intended for everyday use but were perhaps given at seasonal festivals, like the New Year, or sold at fairs held at religious sanctuaries.[41]

The circumstances of creation were very different from those of the mosaics discussed above, which are also earlier, so there is no direct link between them. They have in common the melding of native sense of line and Roman content. Sherds from a vessel from Lincoln figure Hercules capturing the Cerneian Hind **(66)** and I agree with Dr Webster that the vigour and panache of this representation is unsurpassed in more carefully finished, Classical portrayals of the scene; it cannot have taken the potter many minutes to make. The elongated creature which matches the hares, deer and hounds on the hunt cups is reminiscent of the hunt-scenes on the Hinton St Mary mosaic. The hunting of *cucullati* in a *venatio* scene from Colchester and of the woman driving a phallic chariot on a beaker from Great Chesterton have an earthy vigour which makes us laugh, at the same time as realizing that here art has been placed at the service of man's most important instincts. The humour hides the anxieties all must have in dealing with the great powers of fertility and procreation. Similar barbotine ware is known from Central Gaul and elsewhere, but the British products are often distinctive.[42]

OTHER PROVINCIAL STYLES IN ROMAN BRITAIN

In theory the Roman Empire could have seen the sort of blending of cultures current today. However, most art was very local and, as I have already explained in my book on religion, there was no widespread dissemination even of the attractive saviour cults among the native population. There do, however, appear to have been a few Eastern sculptors at work in north Britain, relying in large part on patronage from their countrymen.

In Palmyra, tomb-sculpture is largely situated within built structures; it does not ornament *stelae*. Barates, a native of Palmyra, employed one of his countrymen to produce a gravestone for his British wife when she died at South Shields (see **38**). The design on the stone is one found widely in Britain, with the woman sitting with her jewel-box beside

her, but the style is not British. The same hand is at work in the case of another *stele* from South Shields, but this time of a North African called Victor, apparently with no link with Syria; his heirs must have liked the Palmyrene's style. Victor reclines in just the fashion shown on so much Palmyrene sculpture. A Syrian hand is also to be seen in the case of a free-standing statue from Chesters, depicting Juno Regina wearing a garment ornamented with rich draperies with borders ornamented with wave designs **(67).** Finally the facing radiate bust of Sol (or should we rather call him Helios here) from Corbridge may well be associated with an oriental cult, perhaps Jupiter Dolichenus. Indeed the other sculptures from the putative temple, such as the fragments of pediment, one of which has a distinctive *bucranium*, look provincial and yet decidedly non-British. The *bucranium* mentioned is comparable to one on the side of an altar, the front of which is dedicated in Greek to Herakles of Tyre.[43]

NATIVE BRITISH ART OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

The final category of art to be found in Britain is in some ways the most intriguing, for it provides a link between the high-quality Celtic art which resulted in the weapons, armour, torques and mirrors of the pre-Conquest period and the Celtic revival. There used to be an idea that Celtic art somehow went underground and re-emerged in the fifth and sixth centuries, or that it died and was re-imported from Ireland. Neither simple explanation entirely fits the facts.

As we have seen, pre-Roman Iron Age ornament had a limited range of uses. After the Conquest, Celtic weaponry was redundant and with it went much characteristic Celtic art. The wearing of large gold neck torques would hardly have been acceptable in good Roman society for which blatant *luxuria* was anathema, and in any case the upper classes had the many attractions of wall-painting, sculpture, glass and silver plate to provide fresh fields for emulation. That left minor trinkets such as studs, horse-trappings and, above all, brooches. These all had practical functions and were cheap. Did those who owned them regard them as art at all? It is doubtful that they did. Nevertheless I know of few objects so aesthetically pleasing

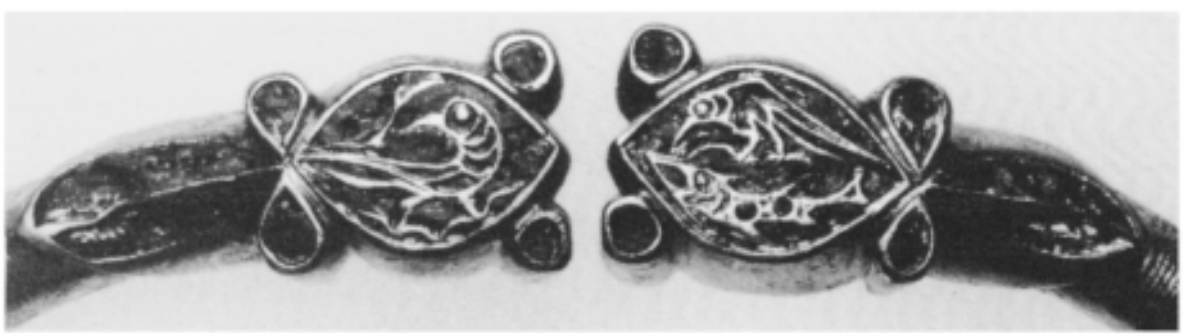
67 *Statue of Juno Regina, standing on heifer, from Chesters, Northumberland. Sandstone. H.1.6m.* (Photo: J.C.Coulston.)

as the so-called dragonesque brooch with its two zoomorphic terminals.[44] Its rigid symmetry may owe something to Roman example but enamelling was a native craft and the brooch is basically an embellished S-scroll. Other enamelled brooches are circular in shape, ornamented with circles and segments or, sometimes, simple linear features such as *triskele* forms. While these items presumably did not appeal to the highest levels of society, they tended to be used by women who could afford to buy them and they are frequently found on Roman sites.[45] They were in no way alternatives to Roman art but adjuncts to it.

The army provided considerable patronage, and enamelled metalwork was used to embellish military equipment such as scabbards and belt slides (see **33**). The craft also overlaps into areas of provincial Roman interest in the decoration of Roman-style bronze vessels. Thus a cup from Rudge, Wiltshire (see **41**), and a *patera* from Amiens in France record the names of the forts on Hadrian's Wall, of which they were surely tourist souvenirs. Representations of human figures and notably of horsemen (rider-gods?), mammals, birds and fish, even of capricorns, on figured brooches likewise show significant Roman influence, though it was never dominant in objects of this sort.[46] The splendid fourth-century penannular brooch from Bath **(68)** which I previously published as being of Irish type, more probably belongs on this side of the water, in south-western Britain. The earliest example, of third- or fourth-century date, of a form of pin known as a 'hand pin', which continues to develop throughout the so-called Dark Ages, comes from Oldcroft, Lydney, Gloucestershire.[47]

During the Roman centuries it was only in Ireland and Scotland that there were still societies with warrior leaders who continued to exercise patronage in a fully Celtic manner and context. Although the Celtic tradition here provides artistic continuity at a high level between the pre- and post-Roman periods, it does so as an outsider to the Roman provincial system. The headdress known as the 'Petrie Crown' and similar horns from Cork probably date to the Roman Iron Age, as does the enigmatic Monasterevan disc and others like it, which look like Celtic versions of *paterae* (hence the designation 'offering bowls' though nobody knows how they were used). In Scotland the virility of the Celtic tradition of art in the first and second centuries is demonstrated by the Stichill collar, from Roxburghshire, and by a number of massive enamelled armlets from various sites in north-east Scotland, such as those from Pitkelloney, Perthshire.

68 *Enamelled bronze penannular brooch from Bath.* a *brooch;* b *detail of terminals. D.6.5cm; each terminal L.1cm.* (Photos: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)



69 *Large bronze hanging bowl with enamelled fittings and central fish escutcheon from the ship burial at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk. D.29.8cm; depth 13.5cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

The problem in the lands beyond Roman control is to document the tradition between this early Celtic art and Pictish metalwork of the sixth and seventh centuries, such as the enamelled silver plaques from the Norrie's Law hoard, Fife.[48]

While Classical art was dominant, enamelled objects were generally regarded as of relatively low status, as noted above, but after the disruption of Roman power in late antiquity, they appear to have assumed their old prestige in Celtic society, a prestige that may never have been lost in Ireland and Scotland. This is demonstrated above all by the splendid series of bronze hanging bowls with their enamelled escutcheons, the quintessential valuable of the British Dark Ages, not of Anglo-Saxon manufacture. The greatest of them all, not surprisingly, comes from the Sutton Hoo ship burial **(69).** Despite possible, but tenuous, links with Roman hanging bowls made of silver, like that from Water Newton, and the employment of Classical motifs such as the *pelta* or, in one case, crosses flanked by dolphins, renewed contacts between Anglo-Saxons and Celts and the Mediterranean world in the sixth and seventh centuries must not be ignored either. There is assuredly Classicism here, but is it Romano-British, Roman or even early Byzantine? In any case such special objects do not belong to a surviving Roman culture of polite dinner-parties but to a tribal world re-established, whether Celtic or Anglo-Saxon, of warrior-feasts and epic tales sung around the hearth.[49]

CHAPTER SIX

Artists and their Patrons

Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath stell'd
Thy beauty's form in table of my heart;
My body is the frame wherein 'tis held,
And perspective it is best painter's art.
For through the painter must you see his skill
To find where your true image pictur'd lies,
Which in my bosom's shop is hanging still,
That hath his windows glazed with thine eyes.

Most of the artists working in Britain are anonymous; at least they remain anonymous to us. It is important to remember that behind the creation of every work of art lay a transaction between the creator and the customer. That was as true of the enamelled fairing bought at a country market as it was of the architectural complex or a suite of mosaic floors for which the rich patron must have signed an elaborate and legally-binding contract. In the former case it was simply a matter of purchase; in the latter, however, precise instructions would have been given by the patron as to subject matter, size and materials, limited only by the availability of skill and stone, while the artist for his part needed to secure his fee. Where the contract was expensive or complicated, the artist was anything but an unknown background figure. This chapter will emphasize the fact that whatever else art history encompasses, it is above all concerned with human relationships. This is what archaeologists and historians mean, or should mean, when they describe their professions as bringing empathy with the people of antiquity.

Naturally, the written word adds a further dimension. A pitifully few signed works from Britain tell us a little about patronage in the province, but they are not widely informative about workshop practice. Thus the relationship between the artist and his patron has to be explored, to a considerable extent, by examining the works of art themselves. Their architectural settings, whether in sanctuaries, public buildings in towns or even private dwellings, provide vital clues; so does comparative material from other provinces and ancient literary sources relating to art in general.[1]

As is often the case, in attempting to reconstruct the cultural climate of Roman Britain, we find a natural point of departure in Tacitus' all too brief description of the mechanics of romanization (*Agricola*, 21). This certainly leaves a great many questions unanswered, for the great historian is presenting an idealized sketch of a conscientious governor as a *topos*, not writing a government report, even if he had access to factual information denied to us. Of what did the 'private encouragement and public assistance' which Agricola provided as governor consist? Were any of the early public buildings (excluding military forts) commissioned by the State, or were they undertaken by private enterprise coupled with liberal support from the authorities, such as the use of surplus raw materials, from State holdings? Above all, were there any official inducements to encourage sculptors, mosaicists and painters to come to Britain from the Continent?

Frankly we do not know how most of the major works of art were financed, although we have the evidence that the Temple of Divus Claudius at Colchester was voted by Decree of the Senate in AD 54, and certainly the priests, leading men chosen by the tribes to serve there, were obliged to be more generous than their finances permitted (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv, 31).[2] The governor's palace in London is of Flavian date and it is probable that the similar, but rather better known, complex at Fishbourne was the official residence either of a client-king, Cogidubnus, or else of a major official in the province. In a sense these would have been State works, though discontent over the construction of the Temple of Claudius perhaps suggests that the funding even of such large projects was more local. Pliny the Younger, when he was governing Bithynia, asked Trajan for a surveyor, and although the appeal was refused we may presume that similar requests were sometimes successful (*Ep.* X, 17b, 18).

The three buildings mentioned would have been richly embellished with marble, and the two palaces had many mosaic floors. Doubtless there were Imperial statues in all three. Here was patronage on a large scale, undoubtedly patronage highly approved by the State, but nevertheless essentially private. Pliny (*Ep.* III, 4; IV, 1 and X, 8) gave a temple with many Imperial statues to Tifurnum, of which he was patron, and this must indicate the normal situation. Large-scale patronage relied on very wealthy private individuals, sometimes acting in concert as a corporation or guild and sometimes individually.[3] Britain never had the same wealth of patronage as some other provinces, for instance those of North Africa and the Gauls. It is significant, for example, how little marble statuary, sarcophagi or architectural elements were imported into Britain. Also, while many high-quality buildings south of York had mosaics, no mosaics are known in the Wall region, even though it might have been expected that there were sufficient people of consequence and culture, in the forts and at Corbridge and Carlisle, to have demanded the Roman equivalent of a 'regulation carpet' if such things had been in the gift of the government. Large-scale State involvement, as we understand it, would probably have ironed out differences and anomalies in supply but such involvement simply did not exist.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PATRONAGE IN ROMAN BRITAIN

From the first, artists had to be opportunists in finding employment, either from communities or individuals, as can be seen very clearly in the carving of first-century military tombstones. The soldier's need for art was largely confined to the provision of a memorial for himself, and perhaps also for religious dedications (see Chapter 3). Major concentrations of troops could support workshops although even they could not ensure quality and there is no direct indication as to whether the sculptors responsible for these were themselves serving soldiers *(immunes)*, though probably, in most instances, not. The early exploitation of good-quality stone, however, implies military involvement in the extraction of raw materials and the production of monumental inscriptions recording legionary projects seems to confirm the existence of at least a few such specialists in the army. The wording of the tombstones says nothing of this directly, but is more informative about how gravestele were financed—largely by money left in the deceased person's will, or a direct benefaction by his heirs. Does this explain their variable quality, well demonstrated by the contrast between two cavalry *stelae* from Cirencester—the accomplished tombstone of Genialis **(70)** and the much less skilled memorial of Dannicus **(71)**? To these can be added the tombstone of Rufus Sita at Gloucester which, in point of artistic quality, falls somewhere between them. Nothing in the rank of these three riders explains the discrepancy. Two explanations spring to mind, one or both of which may have been relevant. First, it is tempting simply to invoke market forces and put the differences down to the fact that the heir of Genialis was richer, or spent more on a better sculptor, than did the heirs of Rufus Sita or than did Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus in commemorating Dannicus. Secondly, it is well to remember that, unlike cheese, art cannot be had on demand. There were better sculptors available at one particular moment or place than at another, and the patron commissioning a tombstone could not simply wait for service, or travel to secure a more skilled artist.

It seems likely that, with regard to military tombstones, the craftsmen were often civilians, belonging outside the fort and the disciplines of military life, and thus in no way constrained to provide their services;

70 *Tombstone of Sextus Valerius Genialis from Cirencester. Limestone. H.2.1m. Corinium Museum.* (Photo: The late M.B.Cookson, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford archive.)

while the money for the tombstones is unlikely to have been provided simply as part of the compulsory burial club contributions. Admittedly Dannicus, with 16 years' service, would have paid in least, but Rufus Sita had paid for 22 years and got a monument that was only somewhat better, while Genialis, with his outstanding memorial, served only for 20 years. In Chapter 3 it was suggested that the Middle Empire tombstones from Chester were often inferior to those from other fortresses and the discrepancy was put down to Chester's relative remoteness from any town.[4]

If civilian artisans were involved in production from the beginning, commissions for army personnel would have led on to a wider range of contracts for people resident in the vicinity of forts, especially the *vicus* which often continued to thrive, eventually to become a town after the troops themselves had moved on to other postings. There is no direct proof that the sculptors of the early military tombstones were producing other kinds of work, though this is highly likely. The most that can be said is that it is probable that the stele of Philus, a Gaulish (Sequanian) civilian, discovered in the same cemetery as the memorial stones of Dannicus and Genialis, is nearly contemporary with them.[5] It is not possible to date the religious sculpture from Cirencester and Gloucester at all closely, although most surviving pieces probably date to the later civilian use of the sites; but judging from what we know of the religiosity of Roman soldiers the tradition surely goes back to the military phase when the Graeco-Roman deities and even the Celtic (but Rhenish) cult of the Matres were doubtless imported.

Sculpture workshops

One place in Britain, the spa of Aquae Sulis (Bath) certainly does provide evidence of early romanization and commissions, from soldiers and civilians, for both tombstones and religious sculpture. Here we can clearly appreciate how the wealth and patronage brought to the sanctuary by soldiers helped to promote civilian patronage too. Among military sculptures there is a tombstone of a cavalryman called Lucius Vitellius Tancinus who had served 26 years and, as far as can be seen from the damaged relief, had a stele rather similar in quality to that of Rufus Sita. A second cavalry *stele* is of slightly better

71 *Tombstone of Dannicus from Cirencester. Limestone. H.1.08m. Corinium Museum.* (Photo: The late M.B.Cookson, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford archive.)

72 *Relief of the three Matres from Ashcroft, Cirencester. Limestone. H.78cm. Corinium Museum.* (Photo: The late M.B.Cookson, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford archive.)

craftsmanship, though only the upper part of the stone remains and the inscription is lost. Other military tombstones here are legionary and attest to the continuing interest of soldiers in the spa, as do a number of votive altars. Among civilian dedications to Sulis we may note those of two craftsmen. Priscus son of Toutius was a *lapidarius* (a stonemason or perhaps a sculptor, carving dedications and tombstones) from near Chartres. He exemplifies the Gallic influence seen, for instance, in the Neptune/Medusa pediment of the temple which, as mentioned in Chapter 5, has affinities with work in Gaul, specifically south-eastern Gaul rather than Priscus' own region.[6] Sulinus, son of Brucetus, who calls himself a *scultor,* is more interesting. He was presumably born at Bath as implied by his theophoric name, and we know that he sought his clientele over a fairly wide region as we have a dedication from the same man at Cirencester. In both inscriptions Sulinus venerates the Suleviae, who seem to have been mother goddesses (though perhaps the sculptor himself associated them with his patron goddess Sulis, who presided over his presumed birthplace and home). The altar from Ashcroft, Cirencester was found with two representations of the three mother goddesses as well as with a single Mater and a statue of Diana. They are clearly all by different hands and so it is not possible to say whether any one of them is by Sulinus himself. The cache, in fact, is suggestive of a shrine rather than a workshop. Nevertheless all the sculpture must have been carved at Corinium and, even if all the pieces fall short of Classical canons of modelling, several have qualities which show their creators to have been artists of no mean distinction. Perhaps the best is the relief shown here **(72).** The hair and especially the clothing of the three women have a graphic quality, effective in terms of two-dimensional design. There is no doubt that the image is a very powerful one, even if these goddesses lack the soft motherly appearance of some other Matres.

All the sculpture of any accomplishment in the Cotswold region will have depended on artists fully committed to their craft, not to part-time peasants, and their studios are likely to have been in the towns—Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath—in this respect the great sanctuary of Bath being regarded as urban. The very best work was correspondingly expensive and marks important patronage. The pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath were surely ordered by someone of the highest standing in the province, such as King Cogidubnus, and the screen of the Four Seasons in the same sanctuary was possibly erected at the behest of a guild and certainly at some later period repaired and repainted at the expense of a guild member Claudius Ligur(ius?). A large *antefix* found north-east of Gloucester Cathedral, depicting a tragic mask backed by a honeysuckle palmette, is also of superb quality and must have adorned a major public building in the *colonia,* perhaps provided by members of the city council *(ordo)*.[8] The Bath gate at Cirencester, with its niche containing the upper part of a well-modelled figure of Mercury, and the Bacchic figures of the well-known Jupiter Column are likewise candidates for having been provided by the public generosity of *curiales,* though we know that in the fourth century a Jupiter Column in Cirencester was restored by a governor of *Britannia Prima*.[9]

The fine-quality sculpture—the cult image and the altars—from the temple at Uley was almost certainly ordered from Cirencester workshops by patrons who had surplus cash to spend on benefactions. The cult image of Mercury is a measure of the high standard of skill available, and must have been given by an important patron of the sanctuary, possibly a landowner or the official in charge of what seems to have been an Imperial Estate at Kingscote, lying just below the ridge upon which the Uley temple stands. In one respect, however, the votive altars are even more informative in establishing a link with Cirencester, as they each have a relief of Mercury standing within niche like that on a relief depicting the god, from Corinium. One of the Uley altars bears an inscription, not very well preserved, which gives the name of the sculptor as Searigillus son of Searix, and that of the dedicator as Lovernius. These were Britons; Lovernius was perhaps a local peasant farmer making a good living out of his flocks—with the aid of Mercury. It is worth mentioning that there are other votive reliefs from the *colonia* at Gloucester depicting Mercury with a female consort, a different conception of the deity, implying the presence of a workshop here as well.[10]

Another Cotswold speciality consisted of altars depicting Mars, similarly esconced within a niche. These were mainly found around Stroud, notably at King's Stanley and at Bisley **(73),** but it is tempting to ascribe these to sculptors trained in Corinium because

73 *Altar with a relief of Mars from Bisley Common, Chalford, Gloucestershire. Limestone. H.59cm. Stroud District Museum.* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

the general approach to composition, the *aediculae* and even the naturalistic manner of showing the deity recall the Mercury figures of Cirencester and Uley; they too are likely to have been dedicated by peasant farmers rather than by villa-owning gentry.[11] Some sculpture in the Cotswolds was far less skilled than this, for example some of the miniature altars and reliefs from Chedworth, Wycomb and Lower Slaughter, but these are surely the work of rustic craftsmen, perhaps even revealing the hands of the dedicators themselves, rather than of full-time professional sculptors. There is a stage at which art ceases to be a specialized activity and simply reflects the abilities of the ordinary countryman. Oolitic limestone is fairly soft and is quite easy for the lay hand to make some sort of impression on.[12]

Another distinctive school is to be found in the *colonia* of Lincoln and in the vicinity of the small town of Ancaster to its south. The votive reliefs of Vulcan from Keisby **(74)** and of another deity from nearby Wilsford show figures far more stiffly posed than the gods on the Cotswold altars and set in shallower niches. However, the Lincolnshire sculptors seem to have an excellent sense of composition and of line. This is also to be seen on the Stragglethorpe relief of a rider-god, perhaps Mars, spearing a monster. From Ancaster comes a group of Matres seated in a compact group, effectively in relief, with only their heads free of the surrounding stone matrix. The anatomy of the figures is fairly crude, but the patterning of the garments and hair is excellent. Two fragmentary reliefs, likewise from Ancaster, may also show mother-goddess groups.[13] A clue as to the sort of people who commissioned this sculpture is provided by an inscription, not well cut but evidently in a carved frame. It reads: DEO VIRIDIO TRENICO ARCUM FECIT DE SUO DONAVIT.

In other words Trenico commissioned an arch in honour of a local deity—the word *fecit* does not mean he erected it himself; though *de suo donavit* certainly implies that he paid for it.[14] Sheppard Frere has written of the Ancaster sculpture that 'though not of the highest art, the achievement certainly ranks far above the flat and often grotesque efforts of Romano-British sculptors in other parts of the limestone belt, and is one further indication of the strength of Roman influence emanating from the *colonia* of Lincoln'.[15] In fact that influence is to be seen even more strongly in the battered torso, likewise from Ancaster, of a male figure wearing a mantle. It is not necessary to go along with Jocelyn Toynbee's suggestion that it was possibly the work of 'a Gaulish sculptor, working in the local medium'.[16]

Lincoln has recently yielded a group probably of Venus and Adonis **(75).** It is fascinating from the point of view of iconography, with its allusion to Classical mythology, but despite attractive patterning on Venus' gown and a brave attempt at rendering a male nude, this seems to be from the same school as the majority of the Ancaster sculptures.[17] It was clearly possible for those with money to commission better work, equalling the quality of the best that the Cotswold school could offer. Direct demonstration of this can be seen from a tombstone carved with two half-length figures. The woman (to the left) identified by her necklace is Volusia Faustina, wife of the decurion Aurelius Senecio. The man was presumably intended for Senecio, but the right-hand side of the panel has been taken over by a stranger, Claudius Catiotus, with a less well-cut inscription. This demonstrates that the normal patron-client relationship between creator and owner could be totally disrupted when a third party purloins the goods. This second-or third-century *stele* with its richly dressed subjects is a highly accomplished work.[18] It is surpassed, however, by the relief of boy holding a hare which recalls the naturalism of the art displayed on the rich funerary monuments in the Trier region.

It is possible, of course, that sculptors were attracted to important cities such as Lincoln from the Moselle valley. This is clearly a portrait of a young member of the curial class, as is a fragmentary relief showing a boy-charioteer, possibly part of an ambitious monument such as is, again, familiar from Belgica.[19] The top class of the colony also set up representations of deities. In Lincoln itself most notable is a high-relief figure of a city Tyche, her clothing a symphony of curves. On the sides is some rich, boldly vegetal ornament. The Ancaster torso to which reference has been made can be related to the Lincoln Tyche in terms of style, and demonstrates the fact that high-quality work was commissioned in an important city to be set some distance away from it, just as as the cult image of Mercury from Uley represents Corinian art outside Corinium.[20]

Another example of high art in a rural setting, but within the *territorium* of Lincoln, is implied by Q.Neratius Proxsimus' dedication of an arch at

74 *Relief of Vulcan from Keisby, Lincolnshire. Limestone. H.49cm, In Lenton church, near Grantham.* (Photo: The late M.B.Cookson, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford archive.)

Nettleham. The letters are cut in the best Roman style and the panel is flanked by *peltae*. It is probable that sculpture was associated with this arch. No greater contrast could be imagined than with Trenico's Ancaster arch found at the same time.[21] Of course there were various gradations between the rough but vigorous work of the countryside and the best urban work. Two mother-goddess groups from Lincoln demonstrate careful modelling and correct physiognomy on a comparatively modest scale. The more ornamental of the two shows the goddesses in fairly low relief in an *aedicula*, with a pediment embellished with leaf moulding and pilasters with Corinthian capitals at the side. We can follow Blagg in describing the sculptor as 'a competent worker in an established local tradition', though it is possible to

75 *Relief of Venus and Adonis(?), Lincoln. Limestone. H.35cm.*
(Photo: Trust for Lincolnshire Archaeology.)

go beyond it to note that the 'tradition' included workshops of degrees of skill, probably catering for people of different classes or at least of different degrees of wealth.[22]

Both the Cotswolds and the oolitic belt further north in Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire produced skilled stonemasons and sculptors whose work is to be seen in London too. The London Arch and the screen of gods, parts of which were found reused in the riverside wall of London, exemplify major commissions, but we also find individual sculptures such as the hunter-gods carved in the round (from Southwark and Bevis Marks) as well as in relief (Goldsmiths' Hall altar), Mercury (Moorgate) and the mother-goddesses (Riverside Wall) which are comparable in style as well as subject matter with statuary and reliefs from the limestone belt.[23] It may be possible in one or two cases to localize the connection; thus the hunter-god, leaving aside the London examples, is a specifically Cotswold-region phenomenon.[24] However, the London studios may well have recruited workers from different places. The sculptors responsible for major commissions will often have moved to their work because large monuments had of necessity, to be carved *in situ;* smaller, and theoretically more portable, pieces, will also have been carved away from the limestone hills because the patron, a citizen of London, could not travel many miles to a distant town every time he wanted to order an altar or a tombstone. In the case of the provincial capital, we are surely dealing with limestone-sculptors operating from *officinae* in the city and permanently resident, importing large blocks of stone from the upper Thames, making use of the river, or having them brought by wagon from the East Midlands.

Only the marble trade demanded the import of ready-made work (from the Mediterranean world), though the quantity of marble from London as from elsewhere in Britain is so low that it is clear this trade cannot have been very extensive. It is true that there are a number of carvings in marble from the Walbrook Mithraeum, though as far as the major pieces are concerned only the heads were of marble, the bodies being provided in some other material, presumably limestone. There are actually several Mithraic sculptures from this temple in oolitic limestone, clearly special commissions executed for the soldiers and merchants who patronized the shrine, and by no means the stock-in-trade of an itinerant Cotswold or Lincolnshire sculptor.[25] The only other surviving images of an oriental deity depicted by such sculptors are two renderings of Attis, one in the round and the other in relief, from the *colonia* of Gloucester, another city where, as noted above, at least one group of Cotswold sculptors must have had an *officina*.[26]

All towns in Britain will have had monumental sculptors based within them. To take a final example from the north of the country, the Carlisle workshop has been the subject of special study by John Phillips. It seems to have been in operation during the second and third centuries and to have concentrated on the production of tombstones, the finest being the mother and child from Murrell Hill, Carlisle (see **37**) which has been dated to the second century. The most distinctive feature is a rich pattern of folds composing the dress of the two figures and the equally bold rendition of the fan held by the woman. Unfortunately there is no surviving inscription, but a tombstone of third-century date ascribed to the same school from Gallows Hill, Carlisle, which shows a woman wearing a Gallic gown, gives the name of the deceased as Aurelia Aureliana who died aged 41, and tells us that the stone was set up (and thus commissioned) by her husband Ulpius Apolinaris. Did he select the attribute held by his wife, here a bunch of poppies symbolizing death as a sleep, from the various possibilities on offer? A small girl, Vacia, shown on a stone from Lowther Street, Carlisle, holds a bunch of grapes, as does a woman on a *stele* from Bowness-on-Solway. This figure and the woman from Murrell Hill, Carlisle, both hold doves. A relief showing the god Mercury standing within an *aedicula* with striking barley-sugar columns is funerary, since not only was it found in a cemetery but it was ornamented with pine-cones in the surviving spandrel, as on Aurelia Aureliana's stone. However, the type and the style of the cutting matches that of Mercury on a Carlisle altar, which is more probably votive though here there is no *aedicula* nor any pine-cones. A more recent find of votive sculpture from Carlisle and attributable to the school is a fragmentary relief of Minerva with her owl shown perched on a column.[27]

In view of the rich drapery, similar in style to that of the Murrell Hill woman, I would attribute the fine statue of Fortuna from Birdoswald (see **28**) to the same Carlisle workshop. This figure was found in the commandant's bath-house and presumably he commissioned the piece in order to provide protection for

himself and his family in a place where men and women, being naked, are vulnerable. The Carlisle workshop is not the only one that can be recognized in the region. As we saw in Chapter 3, there is some outstanding work from Housesteads (see **27**), though this is unusual for ordinary forts with their little *vici* outside them and may merely represent the temporary presence of a trained sculptor or two. The sculpture from most of the Wall forts, however, is admittedly of rather amateur standard. Only in Carlisle can we see sculptors regularly meeting the demands of Roman provincial society, in a way essentially no different from that prevailing in the south of the province.[28]

I know of only one instance of a foreign sculptor partly, at least, catering for an immigrant community and unfortunately only two tombstones from South Shields can be attributed to him with certainty. As stated in Chapter 5, he was certainly a Palmyrene because both *stelae* show many of the stylistic traits typical of the Palmyrene school, though the subjects have been adapted to the conventional form of the western gravestone. One of them was actually commissioned by a fellow Palmyrene called Barates, and shows his wife, a Catuvellaunian freedwoman called Regina, seated frontally within a very ornate architectural setting, so popular in the Eastern provinces (see **38**). The stone carries a short inscription in Palmyrene Aramaic as well as one in Latin, and is certainly an example of members of national communities staying together and patronizing each other. But there cannot have been many Palmyrenes at South Shields and the sculptor clearly had commissions from others. We have the *stele* of a Moorish freedman of a trooper of the first *ala* of Asturians, reclining on a couch and partaking of a banquet. In detail, the type comes from the Palmyrene repertory although the funerary banquet was a popular subject throughout the Empire. In addition a statue of Juno Regina from Chesters (see **67**) looks, from the form and patterning of the drapery, to be the work of a Syrian, though not necessarily the same man as the author of the South Shields gravestones. Here the high quality of the image and the subject matter may suggest a sculptor in the entourage of Julia Domna, at the end of the first decade of the third century.[29]

Lucian of Samosata wrote a lecture or story *(Somnium sive Vita Luciani)* contrasting *techne* (craft) with *paideia* (culture). As Lucian came from a family of sculptors on his mother's side, sculpture represents craft in this lecture and offers Lucian the respect of the local community and even fame if he is lucky. The representative of culture, however, points out that he will only be an ordinary workman if he follows this trade and at the mercy of his superiors. Fame will pass him by and he will be quite unknown. We do know of famous sculptors in the Roman period, such as Zenodoros who lived in the reign of Nero and was commissioned by the Arverni to cast a colossal bronze statue of Mercury for them, at the fantastic cost of forty million sesterces (Pliny, *NH* xxxiv, 45), but essentially Lucian is right.

The best examples of cast-bronze heads from Britain, both double life-size—the gilded head of Minerva at Bath and the head of Hadrian from London (see **35**)—are anonymous though the latter in particular, with its distinctive, celticized hair and powerfully expressive face, might be considered as the product of a sculptor, possibly a Briton, whose name deserves to have come down to us.[30] However, Imperial portraits were adapted to order from copies sent out from Rome to every province in the Empire. This one, gracing the bridge or some public building (the *forum* or basilica?) and perhaps marking Hadrian's presence in Britain, is likely to have had an accompanying inscription naming the donor and giving the Emperor's official titulature. The Bath statue probably stood on a plinth in the *cella* of the temple, again with an inscription naming the donor (who may have been a very important person in the province especially if this masterpiece is, indeed, the cult image as we believe). The identity of the actual creator was not of much account in either case and it is most unlikely that the names of the sculptors were recorded (but see below for a few small bronzes bearing the names of smiths).

Another complete but smaller head, of the Emperor Claudius, was found in the river Alde in Suffolk, and probably represents Boudican loot from Colchester. While it is tempting to associate it with the Temple of Divus Claudius this should probably be resisted. If it came from a standing figure the statue would have been comparatively modest but it could have come from an equestrian figure, in which case it would have been a fairly prominent and important image. Incidentally, another piece of Boudican spoil, a horse's hock from Ashill, Norfolk, has a similar analysis.

Other fragments of what are probably Imperial

images, including equestrian statues, are known from elsewhere in Britain, including the *coloniae* of Gloucester and Lincoln, as well as the great cities of Cirencester and London, further emphasizing the probability of large-scale casting in the province. In addition there would have been bronzes of deities, not only in temples like the Bath Minerva, but standing in public places like the statue of Jupiter from the basilica at Silchester of which only his eagle remains, now wingless but still attractive thanks to the artist's ability in rendering plumage.[31] There is no major surviving bronze sculpture commissioned by a tribe or community, though doubtless the Silchester Jupiter—with his eagle—came into that class. There are other fragments from Silchester and Cirencester, both from major figures of emperors and a stone base from an Imperial statue at Wroxeter. In addition there is the pedestal of the statue set up by the *ordo* of the canton of the Silures at Caerwent to their patron, Tiberius Claudius Paulinus (see **36**). Both served the same purpose, to elevate an honorific statue above the level of the onlooker.[32]

Two splendid specimens of inscriptions recording the completion of *fora* commissioned by *civitates* survive; one is the Domitianic dedication from Verulamium, set up in Agricola's governorship, for the Catuvellauni, and the other the Hadrianic dedication from Wroxeter for the Cornovii (see **34**).[33] Robert Ireland has rightly written: 'The inscription is a fact of Roman civilization; and at its best, its masters raised it to the level of the highest and most exacting art.'[34] Epigraphy 'at its best' certainly includes the *forum* inscription of Wroxeter which was carved in the local sandstone and is thus not an import, even though the *lapidarius* may have came from the Mediterranean world (and could have been chiefly in the employ of *Legio XX* at Chester, not far to the north). His identity, as opposed to those who commissioned his work, was naturally regarded as being of no account to posterity.

INTERIOR DECORATION

Wall-painting

Among the other arts of Roman Britain, wallpainting should take pride of place, for it was ubiquitous and must have been thoroughly familiar to the romanized inhabitants of Britain. Almost everyone who could afford a votive relief or a tombstone will have employed a house-painter at some time in his life. Indeed, if we follow Trimalchio, his contemporaries thought far more about lavishly embellishing their houses than their tombs, in which they would reside for far longer. Even where designs were simple the skills involved were considerably above those which we would expect from an interior decorator today. Roger Ling points out that painting was far more widespread than mosaic, and there must have been workshops in every town throughout Roman times. The main factor inhibiting study of schools is the fragmentary nature of the bulk of the remains.[35]

What the patron required was something that would turn the bare wall into a setting that would express status, often a status higher than the owner actually had, but to which he aspired. Thus we find reminiscences of the 'Pompeian First (masonry) Style' in second-century Verulamium. The use of slabs of exotic marble as well as veneers of shaped and cut stone *(opus sectile)* is associated with Hellenistic luxury but it continued in the houses of the very wealthy under the Empire and examples have even been found in Britain, at Fishbourne.[36] The opening out of the wall, often accompanied by a rich architectural framework, associated with the Second Style, is likewise an evocation of palace architecture. Examples are still to be seen in the *in situ* paintings of the Dover Painted House and most magnificently in a second-century building at Southwark.[37] A painting in a house at Leicester presents the illusion of a projecting podium but this is combined with delicate, linear ornament in the manner of the Pompeian Fourth Style, more artificial and playful but equally luxurious **(colour plate I).**[38] The eclecticism of wallpainting in the second and third centuries is not confined to Britain but is a feature of Middle-Empire fresco elsewhere in the Empire, for instance at Ostia.[39] Wall-painting seems to have been more conservative in its style than mosaic (see below) and sculpture, and it is possible that the same conditions applied in Roman Britain as in eighteenth-century England when Swiss Italians were predominant in plasterwork. It would be interesting to know to what extent, if at all, Continental painters were employed in, or even monopolized, the workshops set up in British cities.

Figural subjects will have been chosen by the clients. A small panel containing a gladiatorial fight is set in the midst of a post-Boudican Third Style

schema on the wall of a room in a house at Colchester. Roger Ling rightly comments that 'it is unlikely that a house-owner would have commissioned a wall-decoration involving gladiatorial scenes unless he had some personal familiarity with, or enthusiasm for, the entertainments of the amphitheatre'. A gladiatorial scene formed the central *emblema* of a late first-century mosaic from the *frigidarium* of the villa at Eccles, Kent, which significantly was destroyed in Roman times and has been reconstructed from loose debris. The subject represents a mass entertainment whose popularity is also attested on glassware and pottery, most notably from the *colonia* of Colchester. The absence to date of major gladiatorial compositions in wall-painting and mosaic (see below) suggests that the theme did not appeal greatly to the British gentry.[40] Much more well-attested, and an obvious choice in the context, are the aquatic decorations of swimming cupids, fish etc. in villa bath-houses, including the Fishbourne protopalace, Sparsholt, Hampshire, Lullingstone, Kent, Winterton, Lincolnshire, and Southwell, Nottinghamshire.[41]

Other choices show the owner displaying culture or, at least cultural pretensions. Such was the Vergilian scene which graced a wall of the villa at Otford, Kent, probably painted as early as the late first or early second century. An inscription in bold rustic capitals, BINA MANV L*[ato crispans hastilia ferro]*, alongside the figure-scene, could suggest that the villa owner produced the copy from his own library to illustrate either Aeneas at Carthage (*Aeneid* i, 313) or Turnus' final fight with Aeneas (xii, 165). Was the book, presumably a scroll, itself an illuminated one? There is clear evidence for such manuscripts in late antiquity (see Chapter 7).[42] Another instance of a programme, here applied to paintings in several rooms and including both figures and still-life, is to be found in the 'Painted House' at Dover dated to *c.* AD 200. The paintings refer to Bacchus who, as Brian Philp points out in his report, had a universal appeal: 'The very strong Bacchic theme would have been recognized and appreciated by both occupants and visitors and this must have been a deliberate conception agreed and planned in advance.'[43]

Two other mythological scenes, both dating to the fourth century, are of excellent quality but to some degree less personalized and both might well have originated in the repertory of their respective workshops. It is a fair assumption that there was a constant demand for amorous and erotic scenes among villa-owners, and both scenes are fairly well-known episodes. The painting from Tarrant Hinton, Dorset, evidently shows Narcissus looking down at his own reflection **(colour plate IV).** The very high quality of the work, reminiscent in the facial modelling and the deeply shadowed eyes of the ceiling paintings from the Imperial palace at Trier, could suggest a decorator from Gaul with a good supply of sketches taken from well-known masterpieces which he could use or embellish to the taste of his client.[44] The same is true of the painting from a building at Kingscote, Gloucestershire. Here the mythological episode, first identified as Achilles on Skyros, is more likely to be a simple love scene as the cupid between the two protagonists implies. The affair depicted is probably that of Mars and Venus; the figure seated on the ground in that case is Venus with Mars' shield. It is of the greatest interest that the mosaic floor of the room figures a bust of Venus. The patron had not just commissioned random decoration for his chief room but had attempted to get both wall and floor to express amorous themes. As the building here is no ordinary villa but probably the centre of an Imperial estate, it seems to give us a very human view of the civil servant off duty.[45]

Finally religious patronage is likely to have required special commissions. The villa at Lullingstone has yielded a little painted niche depicting nymphs, dated to the second century. The motivation here was clearly similar to that of the villa owner who commissioned a votive altar or a relief to be set up at or near his house. Such paintings were surely quite common in houses. It would be interesting to know whether the well-known painting of Priapus, at the entrance to the House of the Vettii, had counterparts in Britain. Temples too would have been painted. A geometric scheme was noted at Nettleton, Wiltshire, though, despite the excavator's attempts to ascribe a Christian significance to it, it was probably simply geometric. It is a pity that there are no painted *mithraea* in Britain, and we can only speculate that the Walbrook *Mithraeum* could have been as splendidly painted as that at Capua. The fourth-century house church at Lullingstone, Kent, with its rows of *orantes*, probable biblical scenes and chi-rhos was surely decorated as an aid to worship. It bears comparison with painting in the Roman catacombs. It is possible that the artist was a member of the congregation who worshipped there,

but whether this was so or not, as always the scheme was one over which the patron had ultimate control. It should be emphasized that the literary or religious interests were always those of the patron rather than of the artist.[46]

Mosaics

Despite many losses over the centuries, mosaics have survived better than wall-paintings, often in a complete or near-complete state. Those from Britain have been the subject of considerable study by David Smith and others, with especial attention being given to identifying individual schools of mosaicists.[47] As a result they now provide some of the best evidence for the existence of craft workshops in the province. Moreover, they are remarkably revealing as to the power of patronage. This is despite the relative paucity of epigraphic evidence within them. In fact only a single mosaicist is known to us by name, from an inscription on a floor at Bignor, TER(*entius*)—or perhaps Tertius or Tertullus—and the signature looks too modest to be that of the master-mosaicist.[48] Unfortunately there is no floor in Britain like that from Lillebonne, which was signed by a master mosaicist, Titus Sennius Felix from Puteoli, together with his assistant *(discipulus)*, by name of Amor whose position in the workshop was possibly analogous with that of Terentius at Bignor.[49] The Lillebonne inscription is a reminder that master mosaicists could have travelled from the Mediterranean area. Although the Lillebonne mosaic is not related in style to floors from Britain, the subject matter combining mythology (the myth of Apollo and Daphne) and hunting scenes was designed, like so many of the mosaics of late Roman Britain (for example floors from East Coker, Somerset, and Frampton, Dorset), to appeal to the culture of the romanized gentry.

As for villa owners named on mosaics as commissioning floors, there is only the prominent inscription surviving in a panel on the upper border of a mosaic from Thruxton, Hampshire, reading QUINTUS NATALIUS NATALINUS ET BODENI. Below it is a representation of Bacchus with his panther, and there was once another line of inscription under this **(colour plate XIV).** The legend introduces us to a country landowner with typically Romano-Celtic *nomen* and manufactured *cognomen* and two other, related people who could well have been his clients and were perhaps tenants on the estate; a reasonable conjecture is that all were members of a private pagan group, certainly so if the inscription continues as I have surmised '*promiserunt ex voto*' (see Chapter 7). The very large lettering renders it virtually impossible that they made the pavement except in the sense that the patron was regarded, ultimately, as the creator, the 'onlie begetter' of a work of art. The mosaic from the *cella* of the temple of Nodens at Lydney is interesting as an example of what appears to be a late Roman mosaic in a public pagan building. The only real difference between the commission here and that of Thruxton is the source of the commissioning patron's funds. The mosaic was laid '*ex stipibus*' (from offerings) under the general control of Titus Flavius Senilis who was in charge of religious rites at the site, with Victorinus the dream-interpreter taking detailed care of the work. It may be assumed that when most mosaics were laid the patron would have kept away from the dust and noise, leaving his steward to pay the workman and make sure that the job was done to his satisfaction.[50]

The reasons for choosing specific themes for floor-mosaics would have been as various as those conditioning the choice of wall-paintings. The display element was always important; a mosaic was much more expensive to lay than was the frescoing of a wall and consequently it made a bolder statement of the owner's wealth and influence. Most mosaics are simply geometric but many, especially in the fourth century, carry figure scenes. Two mosaics, at Lullingstone and the anomalous villa-cum-cult-house at Frampton, actually include samples of home-produced Latin verse which confirm the learning (or at least the pretension to possess it) of the owners of these 'villas'.[51] To them may be added a fragmentary floor of a late third-century town house at Aldborough, Yorkshire, depicting the Muses, with the Greek name E?HKON (Helicon), remaining beside one of them, another display of higher culture.[52]

A rather refined and literary aspect can be seen on other British mosaics, especially in the fourth century (Chapter 7), expressed in purely visual terms. Most notably this occurs in an example from Low Ham, Somerset, with scenes of Dido and Aeneas (**colour plates IX** and **X**), reflecting a manuscript tradition close to—but different from—the *Vergilius Romanus* in the Vatican (**76** and see **92**), and probably derived from the villa owner's own copy of Vergil.[53] I argue

that religious and philosophical ideas also have a place in a number of mosaics, for instance in the Orpheus pavements, especially the example rediscovered at Littlecote, and in the richly iconographic complexes of Frampton and Brading, though this has not been appreciated by every critic.[54] The Hinton St Mary pavement with its clean-shaven male bust set against a chi-rho (see **85**) is a good candidate for a Christian mosaic, though scholars continue to be troubled as to why the patron chose to juxtapose this with a scene from pagan myth, Bellerophon slaying the chimaera. It just might represent local Christian heterodoxy for a chi-rho also occurs in mosaic at Frampton associated with a veritable gallery of pagan myths.[55]

What is not found in British mosaics, strangely enough, is much reflection of popular culture. In North Africa and Germany a great many fine examples of gladiatorial scenes and beast-fights on mosaics can be seen but the upper classes of Britain seem to have eschewed the theme. The first-century gladiatorial mosaic from the villa at Eccles, Kent, had been deliberately smashed, just as a modern house-owner might take a sledgehammer to a garish 1950s' tiled fireplace. A mosaic from Rudston, now regarded as dating from the later third century, is another exception which proves the rule. It was made by very unskilled (local?) mosaicists but appears to follow North African tradition. The central subject is Venus and she is surrounded by *bestiarii* and circus-animals including two labelled as LEO FRAMMEFER and TAURUS OMICIDA. Here neither theme nor latinity have anything in common with the tastes in mosaic of most British villa owners, to judge from their pavements. Where gladiatorial themes occur, at Bignor and Brading, for example, they seem to symbolize the pains and pitfalls of life. Chariot-racing may have had a higher social cachet, but even here, at both Horkstow and Rudston, the context seems to show that they were meant more symbolically than as simply expressions of an interest in sport.[56]

The history of mosaics in Roman Britain with regard to character and organization can be reconstructed much better than it can for fresco painting, falling into four phases of differing importance: pre-Hadrianic; Hadrianic-Severan; third century; and fourth century. Each period has a different character with regard to the organization of the craft and patronage.

In the first century mosaics are very rare, as noted in Chapter 2. The most important remains are the geometric floors at the Roman palace of Fishbourne **(colour plate V)** which were probably laid by a team of craftsmen especially recruited in Gaul or Italy. Such special commissions would have been beyond the resources of the private citizen to initiate but Fishbourne, as we have seen, is likely to have been the home of the client-king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus who could call upon the 'private encouragement and official assistance' of the governor. There were certainly traces of similar mosaics in the governor's own palace in London but the lack of survival precludes comparison. In addition, private houses at Watling Court, London, had early mosaics, again suggesting the presence of 'Italian mosaicists, if not also Italian clients'. We also find mosaics in the bath-houses of legionary fortresses, notably at Exeter and Caerleon, both belonging to *Legio II Augusta*. Somewhat later, possibly even second century, are the few mosaics (of curiously low quality) from the Chester fortress, probably associated with *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*. Mention has already been made of sculptors following the army, if not serving in it, and it is not surprising to find a few mosaicists in the entourage of the legions, though this does not seem to have had any effect on the civil population (which was backward and poor) nor to have created schools. The craft remained entirely imported.[57]

It was only in the middle of the second century that the laying of mosaics became widespread with the establishment of urban workshops. David Smith has proposed the existence of schools both at this time and later. These are very convenient and basically his groupings work, but it is necessary to consider what exactly is meant. Evidence for craft organization is entirely derived from the works themselves, which probably represent a very small percentage of total output. Many mosaics have been destroyed without (or with very little) record and others are constantly being discovered. There can be no reliable means of establishing total numbers either of mosaics or of mosaic-workers. Fortunately, mosaics are large and fairly complex and where they survive well allow detailed comparison to be made.

Clearly where two mosaics show exactly the same nuances of style, pattern, subject and choice of colour, we may suspect the same mosaicists to be

involved and we can write of a workshop. Theoretically, a large urban workshop could have employed several working groups, but it is just as likely that these were independent, in other words that the mosaicists were small men, though perhaps linked to each other through membership of the same guild. We are thus concerned with a local style, similar to the persistence over time of a Cotswold or a Carlisle style of sculpture. The term 'school' may, indeed be appropriate but we must not be surprised to find mosaicists from different schools combining together, for example the Durnovarian school adopting features from Corinium, or influencing mosaic art in Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire.[58]

In the second century, distinctive mosaic schemes are found in eastern England, often based on a lozenge pattern or on a series of nine rectangular panels. The best mosaic at Colchester, the Middleborough pavement **(colour plate VII),** evidently dates from about AD 150–75. The subject of its central panel is two wrestling cup ids (or the contest of Eros and Anteros) with a lunette containing a sea-beast set at a tangent to each side; around this composition is a rich scroll. The mosaicists seem to have used a multiple of 2 1/2 Roman feet to lay the floor. The same general design is to be seen on a mosaic at Verulamium, with a central design of a lion with a stag's head in its jaws **(colour plate VIII);** here the lunettes do not contain figural motifs nor is there a surrounding scroll. David Smith has suggested a Camulodunum-Verulamium workshop, with the higher quality of the Middleborough mosaic pointing to its origin in Colchester. However, it may be easier, as suggested above, to see at least two distinct workshops, with certain shared designs. Perhaps the original workshop was at Colchester and a pupil set up on his own account at Verulamium. As an alternative scenario, we could posit a rich businessman (a Romano-British Trimalchio) setting up branches in at least two cities, through slaves or freedmen.[59] The farming out of labour was a very general practice in Roman times and an example will be given below in the case of a goldsmith's shop at Malton.

To the west, for instance at Cirencester and Leicester, contiguous octagons are the predominant theme used in composition. Many of the mosaics from Silchester seem to belong to that tradition too, though not all.[60] Presumably there were contacts between artists at one centre and those at another—personal as well as business links which are now lost to us. Among other places, London had at least one workshop, as the Bucklersbury pavement and those from Leadenhall Street proclaim, and there was also an early workshop at Aldborough (Isurium Brigantium) in Yorkshire.[61] Mosaics of this date are also recorded from Chichester and Fishbourne, where the dolpin mosaic shows a more accomplished craftsman producing the sea-beasts in the side lunettes than the 'master-mosaicist' who surely laid the central cupid-on-a-dolphin **(colour plate VI);** it hardly seems likely that the most important part of a floor would be left to an apprentice.[62]

At least a few other country-house owners had mosaics laid, though the mosaicists responsible will have come from nearby towns. Verulamium mosaicists seem to have worked at Boxmoor, High Wycombe and, surprisingly, far to the west at North Leigh, Oxfordshire. Indeed a mosaic of high quality, with a design of lozenges and L-shapes has been excavated at Boughspring villa near Tidenham, not far from the Wye. It 'has affinities with pavements from Colchester, Boxmoor and Silchester' and 'might suggest craftsmen moving west'. The nearest second-century villa with a mosaic is Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire, whose floor seems to be the work of the western (Cirencester?) workshop.[63]

Individual mosaicists and workshops probably devised their own patterns, an ability easily mastered with some knowledge of simple geometry and a capacity to use a traditional grammar of ornament. David Neal has convincingly demonstrated how a craftsman set about creating such all-over carpet designs.[64] There were relatively few figured subjects at this time and these are mainly fairly traditional and uncomplicated. The most ambitious is a mosaic at Cirencester depicting the seasons and mythological scenes including the death of Actaeon, torn to pieces by his own hounds because he had seen the goddess Diana naked. We may see here, in the use of Classical mythology, a pretension to culture (as is so much commoner in the fourth century). Perhaps also visible is a morbid concern with death, so much the vogue in the private art of the early Empire that it was mercilessly ridiculed by Petronius; it may have been copied from a stock rendering of the well-known episode, preserved in portable form by either the workshop or the patron.[65] As mentioned above, one of the best Verulamium floors shows a lion with the head of a stag in its jaws. This

certainly does represent the devouring jaws of death, and it hardly seems appropriate for a dining-room floor until we remember the cloying morbidity of Trimalchio's dinner party at which silver skeletons were passed around and the host discusses details of his tomb with his architect. Mosaic workshops, like monumental masons, must have been prepared to indulge the whims of their clients.

Mosaics were expensive to make and it is not surprising that the inflationary and recessionary difficulties of the third century closed down the workshops providing what was, after all, a luxury service. A very few, mainly low-quality, floors of the third century can probably be explained as the work of 'jobbing masons employed to repair existing mosaics and perhaps occasionally to try their hand at new ones'. Most are not very ambitious though a geometric and isometric floor at Rapsley, Surrey, is fairly effective. Occasionally, speculative artists may have attempted something more ambitious, such as the Rudston 'Venus' pavement or the early 'Gorgon and seasons' floor at Bignor. The results are hardly inspiring but can hardly be the work of amateurs because the skill needed to cut and lay *tesserae* to make patterns and pictures even of this standard was considerable. The idiosyncracies of the Rudston Venus pavement are peculiar and markedly non-Classical, but nevertheless the pavement seems to be based on a North African design. Its theme is largely concerned with the *venationes,* even though it appears to depend on a simple reminiscence of its prototype rather than on an accurate drawing. Although it cannot be attributed to a school, we should be on the look out for other mosaics laid by the same men. It is just possible that the childlike draughtsmanship of the wolf and twins mosaic from Aldborough, which is similarly more ambitious in iconography than technique and execution, was laid by the same studio.[66] The main problem in reviving the craft lay in lack of patrons rather than lack of skill, but the Constantinian renaissance brought in both.

According to David Smith, schools of mosaicists were once again established in Britain in the fourth century. His thesis has, in general, stood the test of time, though modifications are constantly being suggested. Clearly the relationships between teams of mosaicists, their influence upon each other and the probable movement of individual practitioners of the craft introduces complications which we are unlikely to unravel. An account of the subject matter of the pavements is included in Chapter 7 and the following paragraphs serve only to illuminate the operation of mosaicists during this period. There seems to have been a marked shift away from the south-east to western Britain as well as north to Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; a majority of mosaics were laid where the wealth now was, that is in the villas of these regions (though there are a number of pavements in the often luxurious town-houses). Dr Smith accepts six schools in operation during the century based on Cirencester (Corinium) where there were two schools, Dorchester, Dorset (Durnovaria), Water Newton (Durobrivae) and Brough on Humber (Petuaria); Finally, as proposed by David Johnston, there is a Central-Southern school which could have originated in Winchester, Chichester or even Silchester. Martin Millett has argued that the Durobrivan school was more probably centred on Leicester, while Aldborough (Isurium Brigantium) seems a better guess than Brough for the school in the north-east. An offshoot of the Durnovarian school has been postulated at Ilchester (Lindinis) in Somerset by Peter Johnson, and this may also have operated in the area of the Corinian schools after they had ceased to exist, Perhaps there was some sort of merger here. Conversely, Stephen Cosh has suggested that a little earlier in the century mosaics attributed to the Corinian Saltire *officina* in Somerset and Dorset, for example at Hurcot, Halstock, Lufton and Ilchester itself, were in fact laid by a 'branch' of the Corinian workshop; if so we have no way of telling whether the enterprises were linked as a business venture or remained financially independent.[67]

It is important to try to understand what these schools and workshops, postulated mainly on aesthetic grounds, may have involved for individual mosaicists. Not all were necessarily the same sort of enterprise. At the minimalist extreme a school could have been the firm of a single entrepreneur, employing one or more working teams. On the other hand a school might have represented a number of independent masters linked by common membership of a craft-guild. It is very possible that a mosaicist apprenticed in a major studio at Dorchester (Durnovaria) would have set up his own independent business; yet because of his early training his work might continue to be classified as Durnovarian. Some such event

might have created the Ilchester (Lindinis) 'school'. It is only when significant differences occur that we can proclaim the existence of a new school with any confidence. The mosaics of the two Corinian schools can probably be attributed to one or two entrepreneurs while others, the Central Southern school, the Durnovarian school and the Petuarian school, may be surmised in each case as representing several workshops linked by a common tradition. The patron presumably ordered his mosaic at the nearest workshop, though it is not unlikely that there were offices at other centres (such as Gloucester for the Corinian schools). However, the patron wishing to have a new floor laid at some future time might have found that his previous supplier had ceased trading and in such an instance had to go elsewhere. This presumably explains the 'Durnovarian' additions to a Corinian Orpheus panel at the villa of Withington, Gloucestershire.[68]

The major mosaics of Bignor, attributed to the Central Southern school, are close to the mainstream mosaic tradition of Gaul which continued through the third century. It is of approximately the same date as the Lillebonne floor mentioned above, that is the very beginning of the fourth century. The magnificent bust of Venus with its frieze of cupids as gladiators below **(colour plate XII)** and the apotheosis of Ganymede mark the beginning of a new mosaic tradition imported from Gaul at this time. The school has other figured floors ascribed to it, for instance the Hercules and Antaeus floor at Bramdean, Hampshire, but many of the floors are geometric, often employing intersecting squares. A key motif is a tulip-like flower, sometimes used for a *cantharus*.[69]

The output of all six fourth-century schools does indeed suggest the limits of patronage. The villa-owner in Gloucestershire, perhaps the wealthiest area in Britain, was lucky in that mosaics were available for much of the fourth century. Nevertheless the patron's choice was limited by the skills of the mosaicists available at the time. The two Corinian schools, the 'Orpheus school' dated by Smith *c*.300–*c*.320 and the 'Saltire school', *c*.320–*c*.340/50, seem to represent two distinct enterprises in the same city without shared repertoire and, apparently, operating in successive periods; however, notionally they might represent no more than a change of designer/master mosaicist in the same business. The Corinium Orpheus school had a figural repertoire of Dionysiac themes which are conventional in iconography, if not in execution. In addition there was the theme which gives its name to the school: the setting of Orpheus in a frame of concentric circles was a brilliant answer to the question of how that myth should best be presented in philosophical terms (see **91** and **106**). It was surely not devised by the mosaicists themselves, but perhaps by a patron of advanced neo-platonic tastes, possibly even the owner of the great Woodchester villa, where the scheme is executed with rare brilliancy despite a few minor flaws in execution. If so, we see how an important patron might influence art.

The subject clearly became popular in the area, probably less because every villa-owner was a philosopher than because 'Orpheus' was seen as the type of a local, highly revered, hunter-god widely attested in Cotswold sculpture. The Corinian schools both produced some striking geometric designs which can be recognized quite far afield—indeed the work of a mosaicist of the Orpheus school has been recognized at Trier, the Imperial capital. Mosaics of the Saltire school, distinguished as its name suggests by its frequent use of saltire crosses although interlocking squares were also highly favoured, were laid as far east as Silchester and London, typical Saltire mosaics were also laid at Halstock in Dorset to the south. It seldom used figural subjects and then rather timidly and at a small scale as central *emblemata*—Bacchus on a panther at Gloucester and probably at London,—but the masterpiece here is surely the hare mosaic from Beeches Road, Cirencester.[70]

With the advent of Durnovarian mosaicists in the area a wider figural repertoire became available once more. It is true that the Central Southern mosaicists were both competent and adaptable, but their work was only available in the Sussex and Hampshire region and did not continue after about 325. In the south-west there was no workshop until the Durnovarian mosaicists began at about this time or a little later, though they came to comprise by far the most interesting school with regard to iconography in the whole of Britain. They appear to have made a speciality of highly idiosyncratic scenes taken from the patron's prized manuscripts (Vergil or Ovid at Low Ham and Frampton) or interpreting esoteric religious beliefs (Christian or Orphic at Hinton St Mary and Littlecote), as well as having a wide repertoire of animals, hunt scenes and sea-creatures, brilliantly

illuminating the culture of the age of Constantius II, Julian and Valentinian (see Chapter 7).

The Durnovarian school can at the very least be divided into two traditions. One was represented by such works as the Hinton St Mary (see **85**) and Frampton mosaics **(colour plate XI),** which were certainly the work of the same mosaic team and characterized by rather fleshy figures, animals and plants (including plant scrolls). In the other I would include floors from Low Ham, Somerset (sometimes ascribed to Ilchester) (**colour plates IX** and **X**), Littlecote, Wiltshire, Croughton, Northamptonshire and Lullingstone, Kent (see **77**) all with lither, elongated animals, sparer human figures and less luxuriant vegetation. In this regard it is instructive to compare the four Bellerophon pavements, those from Hinton St Mary and Frampton on the one hand and Croughton and Lullingstone on the other. If I am right, the later phases of the Durnovarian tradition spreads far beyond the core area of the school as far as Kent and the south Midlands. Also of interest is the way in which the Littlecote mosaic adapts the Corinian Orpheus mosaic, and there are several mosaics in Gloucestershire, for instance those at Kingscote and Lydney belonging to a late Durnovarian tradition.[71]

In the north-east, as discussed, the Petuarian school likewise pursued a catholic repertoire through the middle years of the fourth century. The range included a wide range of mythological themes, including at Horkstow an amazing recreation of a painted vault on a floor with figures from the land and sea *thiasoi* **(colour plate XIII)** and above all concentric, segmental Orpheus pavements, influenced by but certainly not copied from from the earlier Corinian and contemporary Durnovarian schools. The Durobrivan workshop in the East Midlands, however, only produced mosaics after the middle of the fourth century, and though its mosaicists had a splendid appreciation of design (**colour plates XV** and **XVI**) and represent a distinct tradition, with its own discrete pattern-books, they never attempted figural compositions.

The problem of supply and demand, not unfamiliar in the twentieth century, and so graphically shown by the history of mosaics, affected the whole Roman period not just the fourth century. From the first century when mosaicists were only lured across the Channel by large building projects in London, Fishbourne and presumably elsewhere, the would-be patron had to live in the right place at the right time to get the floor he wanted. There were no mosaics much north of York, though the commanders of forts and officials and administrators at Carlisle, for instance, or Corbridge were certainly in the right social class and a few of them must have longed for mosaic floors; most could have afforded them had there been a convenient workshop. There was simply too small a clientele to allow an enterprise to be set up and subsequently to flourish.

The *officinae* established in Britain subsequent to the time of Hadrian's visit in 122 (though whether the Emperor personally had much to do with the economic stimulation of the province at the time is disputable) must have owed their impulse to masters from the Continent seeking their fortunes in a new area where rising wealth meant buoyant patronage. Soon, local talent would have been recruited, and much of the art produced has distinct regional motifs. Moreover figure-scenes with boldly linear portrayals against plain grounds is suggestive of British taste, as is the treatment of surface in terms of boldly-contrasting pattern (for instance on the Verulamium lion and Neptune pavements). If demand had continued, there would have been the same continuity that is apparent in sculpture (for instance the Carlisle workshop) but after fifty years or so all the workshops failed. Despite spasmodic attempts to revive the art in the third century, it was only with the rising prosperity of the Tetrarchy that permanent workshops again became possible, though taken individually even these had a short life. Again, as we have seen, it is likely that entrepreneurs from outside started it.

After a period of initial influence from Gaul, well represented by the Bignor pavements, I feel certain that local taste and thus local mosaicists became involved once more. The animals on the Corinian Orpheus mosaics at Woodchester and Barton Farm, with their linear forms and strongly stylized patterned pelts, and the idiosyncratic treatment of foliage, notably the striking bi-coloured scrollwork on the Woodchester mosaic, on a floor at Chedworth and another at Stonesfield, would be distinctive anywhere and were clearly products of the same mosaicists.[72] The patterning is foreshadowed on some second-century floors, but I do not think there is a direct link. Line and texture are leitmotifs of Insular art, notable on metalwork and sculpture as well as in mosaic. The Durnovarian school does not derive its basic repertoire from Corinium and its style is very different and

even more eccentric, but here too is Romano-British art at its most flagrant and brilliant.

MOSAICS AND MANUSCRIPT PAINTING

In the case of literary themes the pattern was surely likely to be the patron's very own *de luxe* manuscript. The owner of a palatial complex such as that of Woodchester could certainly have had his own private library as assuredly as the Renaissance prince. Did the Corinian Orpheus school owe its imaginative treatment of the myth to the intellectual speculations of the lord of that place? Even if the design was worked out in a mosaic studio, the original impetus behind it would have been supplied by a patron, an intellectual who wanted to use the myth in a new and powerful manner and he is likely to have depended on the book to guide the master mosaicist.

A Vergil manuscript in the Vatican (*Codex Vat. Lat.* 3867 or the *Vergilius Romanus*) is strangely reminiscent of Insular mosaic art and of the Durnovarian mosaics in particular. I have suggested that this codex is actually Romano-British in origin rather than Gaulish or north Italian and consequently of earlier date than previously proposed—fourth rather than fifth century. (I am grateful to Dr Kenneth Dark for pointing out to me that the textual tradition of the manuscript descends through a Hibernian *stemma*.)[73] It is worth a brief excursus here not only because it posits the existence of another craft in Roman Britain but also because it brings to the fore the problem of the mosaicists' artistic sources. The upper classes of Roman Britain had benefited from Roman culture and education since the first century. There is no doubt that the poetry of Vergil was studied by children and read for pleasure by adults **(76).** This is reflected in the figural arts, as noted above, by a very fragmentary wall-painting from Otford, Kent, which carries a line of the Aeneid as an explanatory caption, as well as by the Lullingstone pavement with its verse reference to the same poem (see **77**) and the bath-house floor from Low Ham which tells the story of Dido and Aeneas (**colour plates IX** and **X**). The form of the elegiac couplet and the language used at Lullingstone further suggest familiarity with Ovid.[74]

Mythology (including this particular myth) was probably best known in the Latin west, through the medium of Ovid's verse. It is possible that some scenes on British mosaics, such as those in a room at Frampton (including Cadmus killing the serpent of Mars, Perseus slaying the sea-monster, Aeneas plucking the golden bough **(colour plate XI)),** are taken from the *Metamorphoses*.[75] The prototypes of these scenes are not likely to have been provided by the mosaic workshops themselves. Pattern books (so-called) would have been limited to geometric designs, copied, adapted or invented by the individual workshop plus a few stock figural themes such as Seasons, dolphins and canthari. The Low Ham pavement thus provides evidence not only of the operation of the Durnovarian school but also of a lost manuscript bearing illustrations of books two and four of the Aeneid. The bold outlining of the figures, the patterned folds of the protagonists' garments and the sparing use of extraneous material (which is, incidentally, also a feature of the Lullingstone mosaic) may have been adopted by the Durnovarian workshop from an illuminated manuscript similar to the *Romanus*. It is virtually certain that there were workshops of scribes and illuminators in Britain, the Roman equivalent of the publisher, who could have provided the aristocracy with books to read as well as drawing up formal legal documents, whether or not the *Vergilius Romanus* itself actually came from an Insular workshop.

THE MINOR ARTS

The so-called 'minor arts' provide further evidence of craft organization. One of the clearest examples of how an object was commissioned is the well-known statuette of Mars from the Foss Dyke in Lincolnshire. Its base is inscribed on two sides, telling us that it was presented to Mars and the *Numina Augustorum* by the Colasuni brothers, Bruccius and Caratius, at the cost of 100 sesterces (i.e. 25 denarii). The full cost would have been 112 sesterces (28 denarii) as Celatus the smith who made it gave a pound of bronze worth three denarii. As the figure weighs 1.8kg (31b 10oz– say 41b) we can estimate that the price of raw material was 48 sesterces (12 denarii) and of labour, overheads

76 *The Virgilius Romanus (Ms. Vat.Lat. 3867. 3ᵛ). The poet Virgil.* (Vatican Library.)

and profit 64 sesterces (18 denarii). Celatus deftly added his name to the dedication and thus obtained the favour of the god by giving a small discount to his customers.

Another signed bronze is the base of a statuette of Mars as a rider-god with the Celtic epithet Corotiacus, from Martlesham, Suffolk. It was given to his shrine by a woman called Simplicia. The smith, who had a Greek name, Glaucus, signed the base. An *aerarius* called Cintusmus made a gift to Silvanus at a rural shrine outside Colchester, perhaps a sample of his own work: a figurine of a stag was found here.[76] Temple sites were always good places for smiths to sell their wares and it is not unlikely that Gestingthorpe, where moulds for figurines have been found, served

77 *Mosaic in the triclinium, Lullingstone, Kent. Europa and the Bull with verse inscription.*

that purpose. Unfortunately the excavation was too limited both in extent and quality to be certain. Bronzesmithing was also carried out at Woodeaton. At such places images of the deities worshipped could be made in advance for sale to votaries, just as Demetrius made his silver shrines for Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus. The existence of types of figurine particular to specific temples, horsemen from Brigstock, Northamptonshire, and Mercury from Great Walsingham, Norfolk, and Uley, Gloucestershire, as well as the hounds at Lydney strongly supports this surmise, as do sceptre-heads, specific to particular deities such as the Matres, mentioned at the end of Chapter 4.

The image of the British bronzesmith is preserved generically in representations of Vulcan cast in the province, notably in the splendid figurines from Catterick, Yorkshire **(78)** and North Bradley, Wiltshire, as well as in relief on the gold bezel of a silver finger ring from Brant Braughton, Lincolnshire (did it belong to a smith?) and on silver votive leaves from Barkway, Hertfordshire. A relief from York portraying a similar figure has often been thought to be the tombstone of a smith, but it is not inscribed and is probably a votive relief of Vulcan. The costume of hat *(pileus)* and tunic fastened over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm free, was evidently universal amongst smiths in the ancient world.[77]

There was also a ready market in metal vessels, for secular as well as religious purposes. A *trulla* from Prickwillow, Cambridgeshire is stamped *'Bodvogenus f(ecit)'* upon the handle **(79)**; the stamping of makers' names was normal on such vessels from Campanian factories. The name on this example is, however, Celtic and very possibly British. If it is, then the attractive handle which terminates in a pair of dolphins flanking a shell and incorporates a vine tendril inlaid with niello, shows a high degree of skill, and Bodvogenus surely deserved any fame he had.[78] We cannot know where he practised. A few enamelled vessels depicting Hadrian's Wall—with the names of some of the forts indicated in the case of the Rudge Cup (see **41)** and Amiens *patera*—suggest souvenirs from the frontier, but we can be sure that enamelled vessels were also made elsewhere, as were brooches and other trinkets.

78 *Bronze figurine of Vulcan from Catterick, Yorkshire. H.14.5cm.* (Photo: English Heritage.)


AODVOCENVS

79 *Bronze trulla handle with niello inlay, signed by Bodvogenus from. Prickwillow, Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire. L. of handle c.14cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

Simple silver vessels in the Water Newton treasure were very probably specially made for patrons, and thus locally, for only thus could Innocentia and Viventia in one instance and Publianus in another have had the little bowls they presented to their church so elegantly lettered. Other examples of local production such as the Thetford spoons, similarly made with specific dedicatory inscriptions, are more fully considered in Chapter 7.[79]

The Risley Park *lanx* (see **94**), which survives in a modern re-casting, also needs to be included here because of its technique; it was originally cast in Britain by someone who knew how to manufacture pewter vessels, but its prototype was not local. Its subject matter is secular, depicting a boar-hunt, although it came into the possession of a bishop called Exuperius who presented it to a church, as its inscription tells us. Pewter itself was a major industry, as the finds of moulds in the vicinity of Bath as well as in Cornwall demonstrate. Interesting finds from the sacred spring of Sulis were two ingots, each weighing 3kg (6 1/2lb), presumably dedicated by manufacturers themselves. Pewter was designed to imitate silver and provide a comparable show at a fraction of the cost; many vessels exhibit not only the forms but also the geometric decoration common on such late Roman silver vessels as the large nielloed dish from Mildenhall (**80** and **81**).

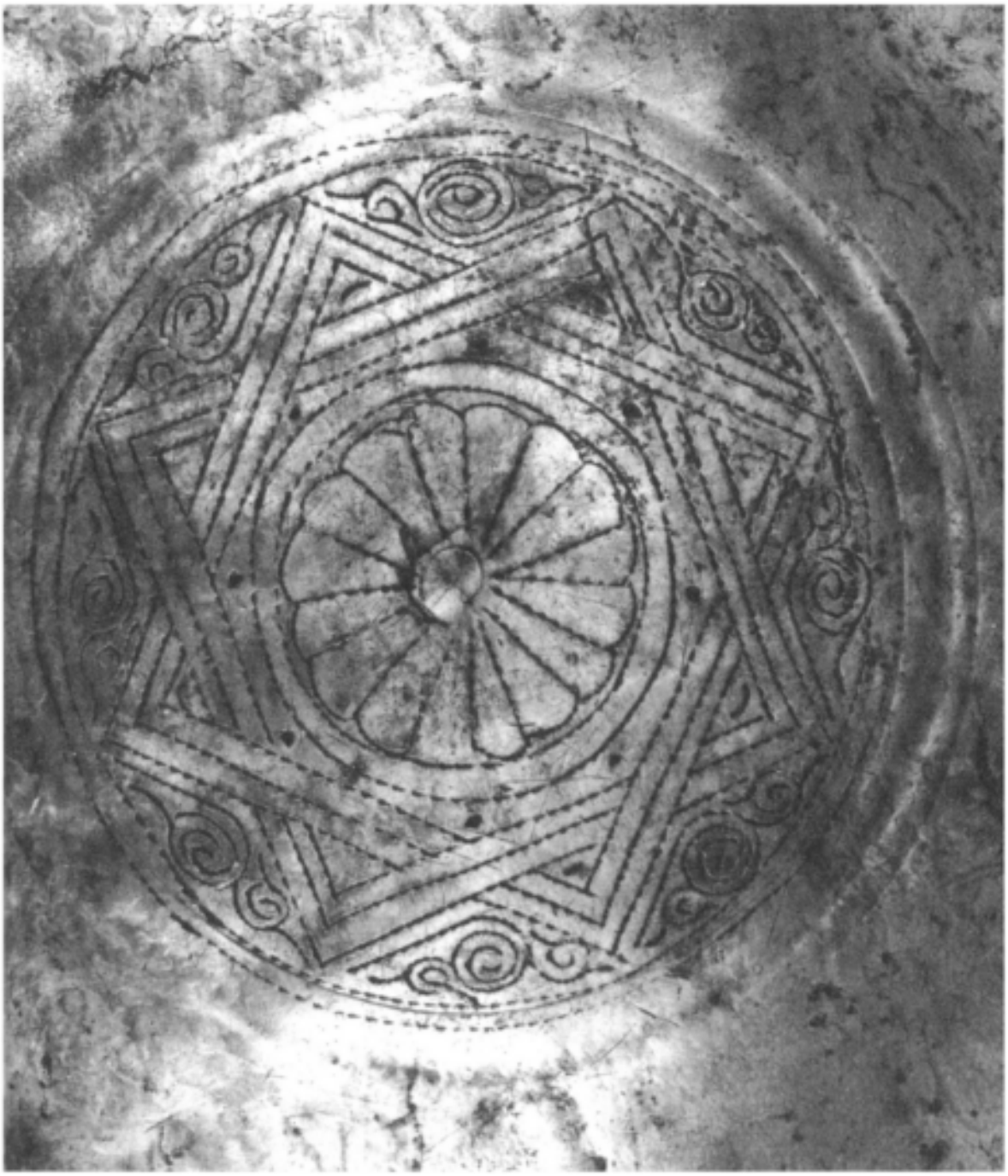
Some *trullae* from the sacred spring at Bath are engraved with dedications to Sulis, and one from Cornwall was a gift to Mars. An inscription on a large pewter plate from Appleford, Oxfordshire, tells us that a man called Lovernianus gave it to a woman, his wife or girlfriend, called Pacata, while in the case of a vessel from North Oxfordshire the recipient was a man, Docilinus, Most graffiti, however, are simply the names of owners. Only one inscription is neat enough to have been executed at the factory, and here on a dish from Welney, Norfolk, the legend UTERE FELIX (badly blundered) was a generalized greeting by an illiterate pewterer. The *floruit* of the industry lies in the fourth century and it too will be more fully considered in the next chapter.[80]

Jewellers were also active in Britain. A well-known inscription from Malton, Yorkshire, reads 'Good luck to the Genius of this place. Young slave, use to your good fortune this goldsmith's shop'. This suggests that the slave was being set up in business by an enlightened master. Presumably if he succeeded he would have been able to keep some of the profit and purchase his freedom. That was a frequent occurrence in the ancient world.[81] It is a pity that the location of the goldsmith's shop at Malton is not known but we do have crucibles from such premises on the site of the later Flavian palace in London (see **15**). The crucibles had to be sealed in the process of refining; this was done with clay on which were impressed stamps normally employed as moulds for jewellery. Theft must always have been a hazard in such work and the Malton goldsmith would have needed his luck.

The Snettisham smith, represented by the treasure found there, is not known by name. He evidently worked in gold although most of his output was of silver. With the cache were coins, representing a proportion of the smith's savings, with which he doubtless hoped to purchase more bullion, which dates his activity to the middle of the second century. In addition the cache contained a burnishing tool made of chalcedony. Examination of the treasure has already indicated that he had an associate or associates, probably apprentices. The accompanying gems are engraved by at least two people, and very possibly three. Did the silversmith and his apprentice(s) also cut seals, as was the case in the Middle Ages, or was there a second master, a gem-cutter, with his own team? I prefer the former hypothesis. Among the jewellery was a distinctive Insular serpent ring with two heads curled around a central ornament, of which other examples have been found at Backworth (made of gold) as well as at Ditton, Cambridgeshire, and Caerwent. There were also serpent bracelets, the heads of which have affinity with those on the rings and are matched by the well-known pair from Castlethorpe, Buckinghamshire, which belonged to a woman called Vernico. Serpent bracelets were also made at Alchester, Oxfordshire, as a bronze mould or form in the Ashmolean Museum attests; it presents two pairs of confronted heads in intaglio and presumably the ends of the bracelet were beaten into these.[82]

A case has been made for the existence of an innovative goldsmith's workshop in Britain in the second century, but though the gold jewellery from

80 *Silver dish with geometric design inlaid with niello, from the Mildenhall treasure, Suffolk. D.55.6cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)



81 *Pewter dish with geometric decoration from Appleford, Oxfordshire. Detail.* (Photo: Ashmolean Museum.)

Rhayader (see **58**), Southfleet and elsewhere looks Romano-British, I suspect that more than one smith was involved. At best we can only posit the existence of a 'school'.[83] A large proportion of the trade must always have consisted of special commissions. The most convincing example of such an order is to be found in the unusual late fourth-century gold rings from the Thetford treasure (see **98**), one of which has two woodpeckers on the shoulders and another a head of the god Faunus as a bezel. The silver spoons in the treasure, though of current fourth-century types, were especially engraved with dedications to the god and were probably ordered either from the same workshop or another one in the vicinity.[84]

The enormous output of brooches of varied form and including enamelled brooches was probably carried on in many places. It is a pity that we do not know the names of the craftsmen or their organization, for while most brooches are of modest importance in themselves, they are among the most universal of art objects and are of particular interest in charting personal taste in curvilinear (Celtic) ornament and, in the case of enamels, colour sense. Only in special cases—for instance the large and anomalous brooches from Great Chesters or the 'gold brooch set with gems' mentioned on the Marble of Thorigny—were they special commissions. This last is not extant of course, but contemporary third-century gilt bronze brooches of oval form set with imitation glass jewels or even intaglios, like one from Abbots Ann, Hampshire **(82),** thought to be of British manufacture, suggest what it may have looked like.[85]

Although the best Roman gem-cutters, such as Augustus' seal-maker Dioscourides, signed their work, none has been found in Britain, where most of the evidence for the craft is inferential. The gems found in the main drain at Bath and attributed to a local workshop of the first century, and another putative workshop cutting red-jasper intaglios somewhere in north Britain a hundred years later come into this category. More specific, however, are the cornelian gems from the Snettisham cache (see above). They are cut with common subjects, notably Fortuna, Ceres and Bonus Adventus, and were certainly not made with any special order in mind. The best-attested gemcarving craft practised in Britian was the jet industry; it is actually mentioned by Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 22, 11) as a speciality of the province though he does not localize it. Jet only outcrops on the Yorkshire coast, near Whitby, and finds of unworked jet, as well as unfinished pins in York, point to the centre being there. Products were exported widely in the western provinces, notably to the Rhineland. Portrait medallions might suggest special orders but, in parallel with onyx cameos carved in many parts of the Empire (see **46**), this seems unlikely. The commonest subject, as on onyx cameos, is the apotropaic Medusa head, but there are other themes, such as the two cupids on a medallion from Colchester **(83).** A substitute material was available for simpler items of jewellery, notably bracelets, from the other end of the province. Shale from the Dorset coast was worked on a lathe at a number of sites and found its central market at Dorchester. However, shale found its most important use in the manufacture of furniture.[86]

It is reasonable to suppose that all these luxury crafts were normally town-based even if their practitioners sometimes made forays into the countryside to sell their wares; we know this to have been the case in Italy, for instance jewellers and silversmiths were to be found along the Via Sacra in Rome, and there were similar quarters in Pompeii (Via della Abbondanza) and elsewhere. The existence of a guild of silversmiths at Ephesus, so well know from Acts, raises the question of trade guilds. There is evidence for guilds in Roman Britain, for instance at Lincoln, Chichester, Silchester and Bath, but none is certainly connected with the arts.[87] Workers in the minor arts could carry their tools with them, and to some extent they might remain itinerant craftsmen as they had been in the Iron Age. Temple (and church) sites not only provided patrons, as is demonstrated at Water Newton, Thetford and Risley Park, but it might be convenient to practise one's craft at certain times in the vicinity of such places when there were frequent fairs and festivals, as was noted in the case of bronzesmiths.[88]

FURNITURE DESIGN

Much Romano-British furniture was comparatively simple and, indeed, would hardly be considered as art by most people. Basket chairs are shown in reliefs and a few simple turned wooden chair- and table-legs are known from waterlogged deposits. They were

presumably made everywhere. Much more localized was the shale industry. Shale outcrops on the coast of Dorset, as noted above, and recent excavation at Norden suggests that even the better items such as trenchers with their elegant engraved designs, tables and jewel-boxes would have been worked on site though they were probably marketed at Dorchester before being distributed across southern England. The black colour would have recalled ebony and made such items suitable substitutes for expensive imported furniture carved from marble and other coloured stones. The simplified chip-carved detail of the zoomorphic table-legs may have been forced on the craftsmen by the nature of the material, but it is very much in accord with provincial taste. The Cotswold stonemasons were adept at handling freestones but nevertheless used chip-carving to embellish the edges of sideboards.[89]

82 *Oval gilt-bronze brooch with glass intaglio, found at Abbots Ann, Hampshire. L.2.5cm.* (Photo: courtesy of the late R.A.Hattatt.)

FIGURED POTTERY, FIGURINES AND APPLIQUÉS

Most patronage and thus most art was connected with the upper, wealthy stratum of society. Below that level, art had a more limited role; we find it applied to trinkets, as mentioned above, and also ceramics. The majority of pottery vessels were utilitarian, and although we may appreciate technique or shape, aesthetic considerations were not normally paramount. Nevertheless potters did employ a variety of simple techniques including rilling, burnishing and even painting to improve the appearance of their products, and sometimes figured decoration is used. This is, of course, the hallmark of a good proportion of the red fine-ware imported from Gaul known as samian, a term describing the technique of providing the attractive gloss of these vessels. Although some vessels are pleasant to look at and their iconography repays more study than it has received, the story of samian is essentially one of mass-production in Gaul and efficient distribution in Britain.

More interesting are the colour-coated vessels with relief decoration showing hunting and circus and gladiatorial scenes, phalli and explicitly erotic episodes and deities. Colchester and the Nene Valley were considerable centres for their production. Colchester potters specialized in hunting and circus scenes, but those of the Nene valley also made pots

83 *Jet pendant with two cupids shown in relief, from Colchester. L.5.5cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

84 *Mask from a pottery face-flagon (front and side, views) made in an Oxfordshire kiln. From Toot Baldon, Oxfordshire. H.11cm. Ashmolean Museum.* (Photos: Julian Munby.)

depicting deities, religious scenes and the Labours of Hercules, from the late second to the fourth century. There are problems of patronage with these, for if the prototypes of the best of these vessels lay in more expensive works of art such as silver plate, as has been suggested, who owned such expensive originals? Surely not the potter. The best pots could have been special commissions like a large beaker depicting Hercules capturing the Cerneian Hind, Jupiter and other figures, found in the excavation of the East Gate at Lincoln and published by Margaret Darling (see **66**). Did the patron have to go to Durobrivae and place a special order—or were pots such as this speculative ventures by the potters? There is no difficulty in seeing the majority of these beakers as having been made for sale at festivals and fairs and as gifts for the Saturnalia and the New Year. For many people the amusing, and often erotic, themes, scenes of field sport, the circus or the arena, must have marked their main departure from purely utilitarian purchases. Some display considerable artistic dexterity. Face flagons, sometimes painted, were widespread and it is possible to distinguish the styles of different industries. Those of Oxfordshire display heads, mainly female **(84)** but occasionally male of strongly Classical appearance. Similar Face-flagons from other industries in East Anglia and the north are more stylized. An interesting discovery from one of the Oxfordshire kilns at Horspath brings us close to one of these humble artists. It is a mould yielding the impression of a male head, thoroughly Classical in type; however, the outside of the mould is in the form of a caricature.

The first surely came from a carved model; the latter is a freehand example of modelling by a workman. Another type of pot, the head pot, provides examples ranging from fully Roman craft to stylized facial features applied to the walls of the vessel. For the most part they were used for funerary purposes and must have had a religious meaning.[90]

Certainly protective are the *antefixa* from both military and civil sites including Exeter, Caerleon, Chester, York and Dorchester, Dorset. Heads and masks (often Medusa masks) were designed to keep away the Evil Eye. They were clearly made in considerable numbers, and are paralleled in function if not in style by the many *antefixa* to be seen in Pompeii. The tile-makers who produced them are again unlikely to have seen themselves as artists. It is only occasionally that real patronage can be seen among such people, but two of the most distinctive votives from Coventina's spring at Carrawburgh are the incense burners made with his own hand by Gabinius Saturninus. Although he does not tell us his profession these two objects with their architecturally-conceived forms are so accomplished that their maker must have been a professional potter.[91]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Art in Late Roman Britain

This is a most majestic vision,
and Harmonious charmingly.

Late Antique culture and society have received considerable attention in recent years. The fourth century is no longer seen as a time of decadence but rather of vitality and innovation. These are the decades in which the Roman state underwent a subtle evolution and, in the Eastern provinces, became the Byzantine Empire.[1] In the West the unity of the Roman world proved to be more fragile and during the fifth century the Empire fell apart into successor states, often dominated by Germanic ruling classes, and so the Middle Ages were born. It is too easy to view Late Antiquity retrospectively. Both in East and West men thought they were preserving the traditions of the Roman past—save perhaps the Christians who, nevertheless, based their legitimacy on history. In the West nobody imagined himself on a road to the fall of the Roman Empire; these provinces too enjoyed their Late Antique (early 'Byzantine') period. The different character of this period—even in Roman Britain—demands separate treatment as much as that of the Conquest in the first century, and it has recently received it.[2] There will naturally be some overlap in coverage with what has come before; for example we have already considered in the previous chapter the question of mosaic workshops. Here the stress will be on the content and use of art as an expression of Late Antiquity.

In its broad outlines the nature of this new age is readily apparent from literature and art. Its most visible break with the past lay in the adoption of Christianity by Constantine and most of his successors, a move which ultimately led to the displacement of the long established cults of Greece and Rome. Social distinctions were perceived more sharply than they had been, with the emperor, a monarch in name as well as in substance, at the apex of a rigid hierarchy. The economy of the cities had been failing for a century and the patronage of local magistrates could no longer be relied upon to construct and embellish public buildings. Like all such generalizations, there are major exceptions and contradictions. The ideal of public munificence was still very much alive, even if it was often applied to more private ends such as the embellishment of a church rather than to repairing the civic basilica. In the Rome of the great Imperial Christian basilicas (St John Lateran, St Peter's and the rest), a powerful and eloquent pagan aristocracy was still active and involved itself not only with contemporary politics but with scholarship and the preservation of the literary traditions of Rome.[3]

Despite divisions between classes, *romanitas* was perceived as something binding all inhabitants of the Empire together: Rutilius Namatianus' famous lines, written in the early fifth-century, state this succinctly.

> *Dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat*. (*De Reditu Suo* i. 65–6)
>
> Because you offered the conquered equality under your laws, you have made a City from what was once a world.

The sentiment is echoed by an episode in the history of Britain recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus. He writes of the brutality of the notorious informer and secret policeman, Paulus 'Catena' (Paul the chain), sent in 354 by the emperor Constantius II to hunt down those suspected of having supported the usurper Magnentius. Magnentius seems to have been very strongly supported in the province and many members of gentry were arrested. Eventually Martinus, the *vicarius* (governor) of Britain, attempted to remonstrate with Paulus and as a result he lost his own life, an event which, according to Ammianus cast an eternal stain on the reign of Constantius (Ammianus xiv, 5, 6–8). The episode is an eloquent reminder that Britons of the land-owning class were now clearly regarded as fellow Romans by the historian's readers in Rome. Martinus' action was surely directed at protecting friends and colleagues who were Roman citizens of rank *(honestiores)* rather than subject peoples.

Artistic style is characterized by greater abstraction, use of colour and texture and formal pattern.[4] Figural work tends to emphasize qualities such as power (religious or secular) and class. The Neo-Platonic theory that the eyes were the windows of the soul established a powerful link between the artistic image, whether deity or human, and the viewer.[5] The icons so produced are very different from the classicism of the Early Empire, being regarded as more significant and powerful. The flaunting of brightly coloured clothes and gold jewellery enhanced the wearer's prestige, while feasting off lavish silver plates dignified the owner's rank; often such objects were given as gifts by the Emperor to his supporters. The ideals of secular life, as seen on mosaics, silver-plate and manuscripts, consisted on the one side of feasting, hunting and fishing upon one's estate and on the other of literary pursuits. The world of the court, whether the court of the Emperor or of the local notable or *dominus*, seems to have required considerable ceremony by all concerned. This often demanded that the principal actor strike a statuesque pose before the serried ranks of those paying him homage, without moving either to the right or to the left. Religion imagined the Court of Heaven as obeying the same rules, with equally static rows of adoring saints standing before the Heavenly Throne.

A very few examples of art, drawn from the wider Roman world, will suffice to define the classic characteristics of the Late Roman style, before turning in greater detail to the local evidence. The rich jewelbox effect of wall and ceiling mosaic, especially when gold tesserae were employed, as at the church of Hagios Georgios at Thessalonika, was orchestrated so as to create emotion as in a theatre.[6] Similar results could be achieved by the use of *opus sectile*. Sidonius Apollinaris in mid-fifth-century Gaul affects a self-denying simplicity when describing the baths of his own villa at Avitacum, near Clermont, to his friend Domitius:

> If you want to know what marbles are employed, neither Paros nor Carystos, nor Proconesos, nor Phrygia nor Numidia, nor Sparta have contributed their diverse inlays. I had no use for stone that simulates a broken surface, with Ethiopia crags and purple precipices stained with genuine murex *(Letters* II, ii, 7, trans. O.M.Dalton).

However, he is far more enthusiastic describing the abstract splendours of the marbles of Bishop Patiens' church at Lyon as though it were a perfect country scene, Paradise in fact:

> Within is shining light, and the gilding of the coffered ceiling allures the sunbeams golden as itself. The whole basilica is bright with diverse marbles, floor vaulting and windows all adorned with figures of most various colour, and mosaic green as a blooming mead shows its design of sapphire cubes winding through the ground of verdant glass…(*Letters* II, x, 4, trans. O.M.Dalton).

Presumably what he thought inappropriate for his own use was right for a public place. Not many aristocrats, even in Roman Britain, were so self-denying when it came to grandeur. Other writers of Late Roman and Byzantine times, for example Paul the

Silentiary in the sixth century, saw the natural world in such abstract forms. The tradition that began at least as early as the third century but was by no means dead in the thirteenth when the great *opus sectile* pavement in Westminster Abbey, laid by Italian craftsmen before the high altar, was explained as nothing less than a portrayal of the whole of Creation.[7]

Many items of silver plate display similar qualities of colour and pattern through the use of chasing and sometimes openwork *(opus interrasile)*, gilding and niello. A good example is to be found with the Ariadne *lanx* from the Kaiseraugst Treasure, where the interplay of colour, bold textures and openwork, gives a startling effect. Even more dramatic are the intricately cut *vasa dietrata*, perhaps the most expensive cut from semi-precious stone, like the Rubens vase, or from dichroic glass containing small quantities of gold and silver, like the Rothschild-Lycurgus cup in the British Museum. This is green by reflected light and cherry-red by transmitted light and may, perhaps, have been used in feasts and ceremonies honouring the god Bacchus.[8]

The best-known treatment of the mesmerizing portrait in Late Antique art is to be seen in the colossal head of Constantine in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, although there are many other such portraits both on a large scale and on a smaller one, coins for example. Great emphasis is placed on the eyes as windows to the soul, whether the portraits are of divine figures, such as the painted Christ upon the vault of a tomb in the catacomb of Commodilla, or of private individuals, like the *dominus* on the Great Hunt mosaic at Piazza Armerina, now believed by most scholars to be the wealthy senator who owned the property. The gorgeously coloured robes of the Piazza Armerina senator likewise emphasize his importance. The *Dominus Iulius* mosaic in Tunis depicts a similar world of noble wealth but here the lord rides towards his château amidst scenes of agricultural prosperity and hunting.[9] The great 'Sevso dish', from the treasure that bears his name, probably from northern Croatia (though this is uncertain), tells the same story. A verse inscription on the dish shows that it was given to someone called Sevso (or Seuso), though it does not reveal the name of the donor; it does, however, emphasize how this society was linked by gift-giving and consequently reveals the crucial part played by the artist in cementing bonds of friendship and loyalty.[10] At the apex of society was the Emperor, and those scenes on the Arch of Constantine in Rome and on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople, which show the Imperial family flanked by their leading subjects, demonstrated a view of society which would have been familiar even in Britain.[11]

EARLY BYZANTINE BRITAIN: RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL FACTORS

The title of this section is intended to be arresting. It is meant to emphasise that for a hundred years Britain took a full part in the nexus of provinces which saw the beginning of the culture which would come to fruition as the Byzantine Empire with its capital at Constantinople, founded by Constantine in AD 324 and formally inaugurated in 330. During the fourth century, of course, the character of the nascent Byzantine Empire was not fully formed, and Peter Brown and others have coined the term 'Late Antiquity' for this early stage.

Britain sometimes seems to be a remote and unimportant island to modern historians of the Late Empire. However, as the Martinus episode demonstrates, it was much less remote and backward than it had been in earlier centuries. Following the decade in which first Carausius (287–93) and then Allectus (293–6) had ruled as emperors from London (and indeed struck coins there), the Caesar, Constantius Chlorus, restored Britain to the 'eternal light' of the Empire in 296, as the legend on a gold medallion struck at Trier expressed it.[12] Under the Tetrarchy the two Severan provinces of *Britannia Inferior* in the north with its capital at York and *Britannia Superior* with its centre at London were further sub-divided into four. These were *Maxima Caesariensis* with its capital at London, *Britannia Prima* which epigraphic evidence from Cirencester shows was in the west, and very possibly based on that city, *Flavia Caesariensis* which bears the family name of Constantius and *Britannia Secunda*. One of these must have had its centre at York and I opt for *Flavia Caesariensis:* here Constantius had his capital when he returned as Augustus (senior emperor) to campaign in the north and here he died and his son Constantine was proclaimed in 306.

The British provinces continued to be of concern to the central government. Issues of coins from the London mint celebrating an Imperial *Adventus*

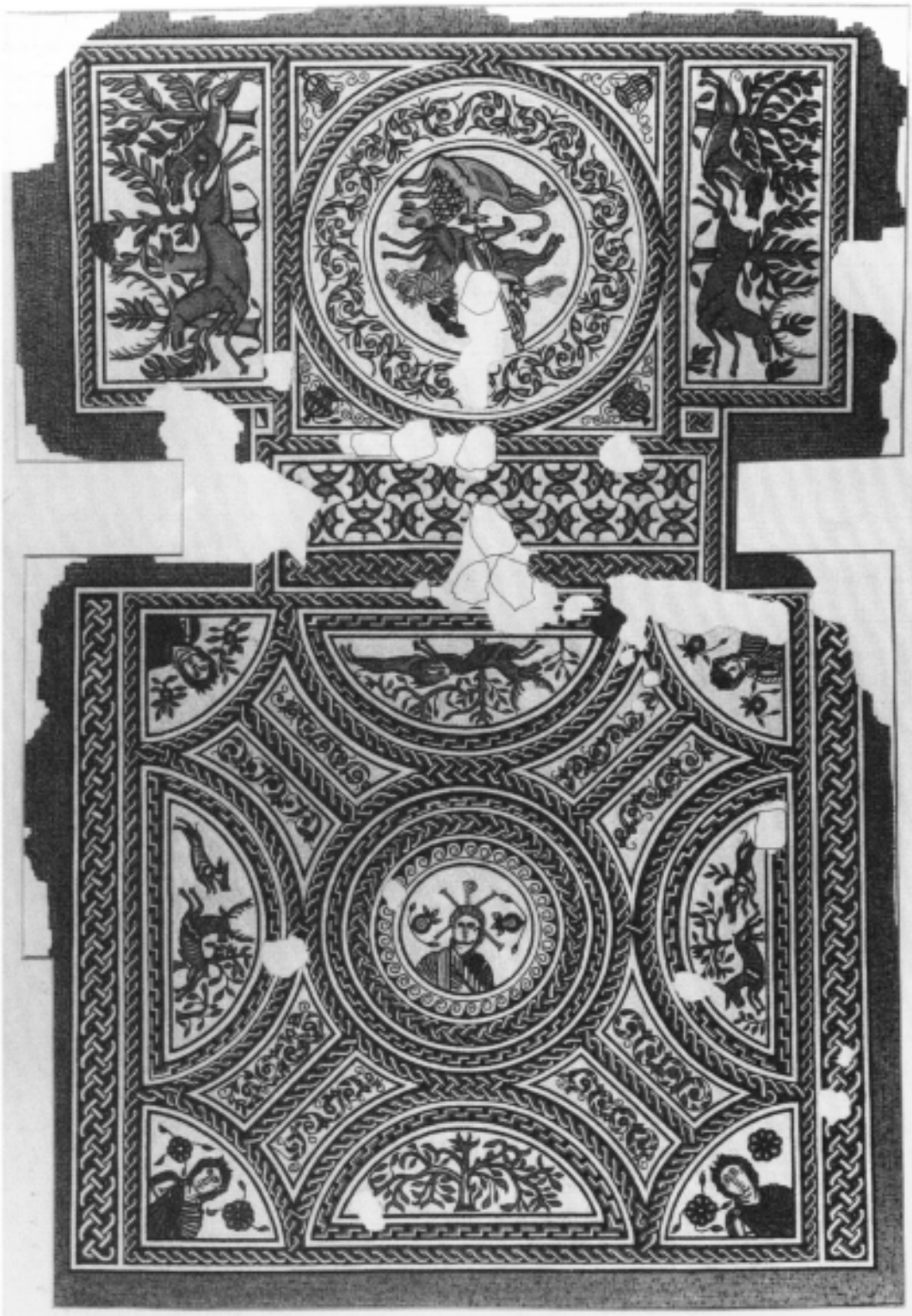
struck in 312 and 314 suggest that Constantine returned to Britain later in his reign. Ammianus Marcellinus, in an allusion to a lost part of his history, tells us that Constantine's son, Constans, was there in the winter of 343. Further, as stated above, prominent Britons were strongly involved in the usurpation of Magnentius (350–3), and the island seems to have backed Julian in his rise to power (360–1). Magnus Maximus used Britain as a springboard in his bid for power (383), as did Constantine III at the beginning of the fifth century (407). Britain thus played a significant part in the political history of the fourth century even if it was, admittedly, less important in terms of the destiny of the Roman world than were the Gallic provinces. Neither London nor York was ever an Imperial capital as was Trier in neighbouring Belgica; but nor was either entirely lacking in prominence. At some point London was even dignified by a new and glamorous name, *Augusta*.

Conformity of local art with the aesthetics of the Empire as a whole can be seen again and again in mosaics, wall-painting and silver-plate. The tendency to present events in the form of striking tableaux, often in order to glorify a superior—God, the Emperor, a great magnate *(dominus)* on his estate—is seen, for example, in the frescoes of the *orantes* at Lullingstone and the baptism scene on the lead font from Walesby, Lincolnshire.[13] 'Waiting on the Lord' mirrors endless waits before the throne of the Emperor or the chair of some high official. Even the gods, as shown in pagan art, acquire a new hieratic solemnity. It can be seen on a Bignor mosaic where the nimbed bust of Venus stares out at the viewer like an icon in a Greek church, or at Low Ham where the same goddess is portrayed in all her glory in the central octagon, all-powerful and omnipresent, disposer of life and death. Bacchus is frequently glorified, for example at Thruxton where he is depicted encircled by eight heads representing the spirits of nature. The Brantingham mosaic presents a nimbed bust, probably Tyche but possibly a muse, with two rows of eight facing busts on each side.

A very impressive example of explicit power exhibited on a mosaic is the centre of the Hinton St Mary mosaic which shows a youthful facing bust flanked by pomegranates and backed by a chi-rho. Whether the image shows Christ or his representative, the Emperor, this is a supreme example of an icon whose power, so the pomegranates suggest, extends even over death. It is not surprising, given the structure and design of the floor, that Kenneth Painter has suggested it was intended for a vault-mosaic, and certainly the great Cosmocrator images in Byzantine churches represent continuity from this type of depiction **(85).** Incidentally, this would not seem to have been the only use of a vault design on a floor mosaic in Roman Britain. At Horkstow in north Lincolnshire a series of Bacchic scenes, or perhaps, *pace* A.J.Beeson, episodes in the life of Achilles, were combined with others appertaining to the marine *thiasos*. It is tempting to relate these to the hero's mother, the nereid Thetis. The scenes are depicted against red and blue backgrounds in a great roundel which may allude to the shield brough to Achilles by Thetis, and the roundel is supported by four *gigantes* **(colour plate XIII).**

Sarah Scott has rightly pointed out how mosaics, and presumably frescoes, were used to mirror the power of an élite, generally epitomized by a magnate *(dominus)*. This is very apparent in the concentric Orpheus pavements of south-western Britain, like Woodchester, set for the most part in great reception rooms where the control exercised by that divine hero over nature is equated to the power of the earthly dominus over his society.[14]

The use of dazzling colour to produce an impression mirroring the splendours of the Court of the Emperor or even the Court of Heaven is to be seen in both wall-painting and mosaics, figural and geometric. On the east wall of the late-fourth-century Lullingstone house-church, the *orantes* are dressed in rich Late Antique robes, which have analogies with surviving Coptic textiles, while the chi-rho on the south wall with its jewelled wreath surround and accompanying doves is a gorgeous symbol of otherworldly magnificence.[15] The brilliance and complexity of the geometric panels around the great Woodchester Orpheus-roundel (see **106**) also allude to an untouchable, and dangerous, glory. Here we should recall that the effect would have been completed by a splashing fountain in which beams of sunlight were reflected off water-droplets and the tinkling sound of the ever-flowing stream added an audible refinement.[16] Remembering Sidonius Apollinaris' praise of colour and light in Bishop Patiens' basilica at Lyon, we can see that even the products of the purely geometric floors of the Durobrivan/Rataean school probably had a real



85 *The mosaic from Hinton St Mary, Dorset. Painting by Dr David Neal.* (Photo: British Museum.)

resonance to the highly-charged emotions of Late Antiquity.

It is within such settings that silver plate (whether we are dealing with the Mildenhall Treasure or the *Hacksilber* from Traprain) as well as high-quality glassware *(vasa diatreta)* must be placed. These are the movable components. Such vessels were used in a very public way, in dining (as shown in the miniatures of the *Vergilius Romanus*) and in religious ceremonial (made clear by dedicatory inscriptions), frequently both. On figured silver the subject-matter was surely looked at carefully and commented upon. Thus the great dish from Mildenhall **(86)** exemplifies the power of Bacchus and can be seen as equivalent to references to the power of the god on mosaic, while the Corbridge *lanx* (see **93**), which may have been made to commemorate a possible visit by the Emperor Julian to Delos in 363 prior to his ill-fated Persian expedition, is very likely to have belonged originally to a devotee of Apollo, though admittedly other vessels bearing Christian symbols may have been associated in a hoard from which it was derived. Thus it might have lost its particular nuance when its final owner buried it to keep it from some unknown harm.[17] Apart from subject matter the colour and texture of silver, whether by itself or embellished with gilding and niello, was highly valued and in Britain copied in pewter. Water or wine would have added to the effect, as Sidonius reminds us:

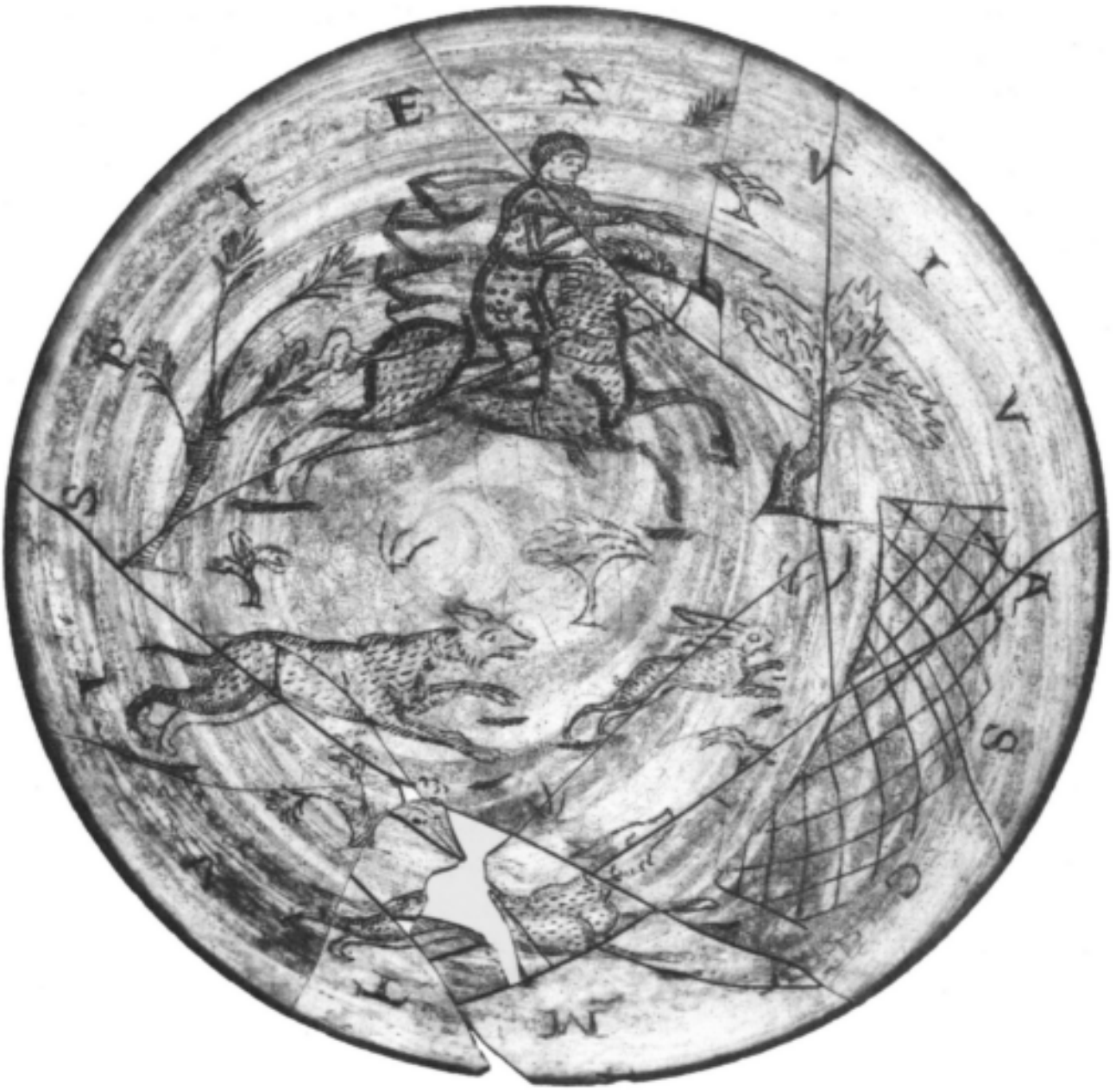
> If water of our famous springs is served and quickly poured into the cups, one sees snowy spots and clouded patches form outside them; the sudden chill dulls the fugitive reflections of the surface almost as if it had been greased (Sidonius, *Letters* II, ii, 12, trans. O.M.Dalton).

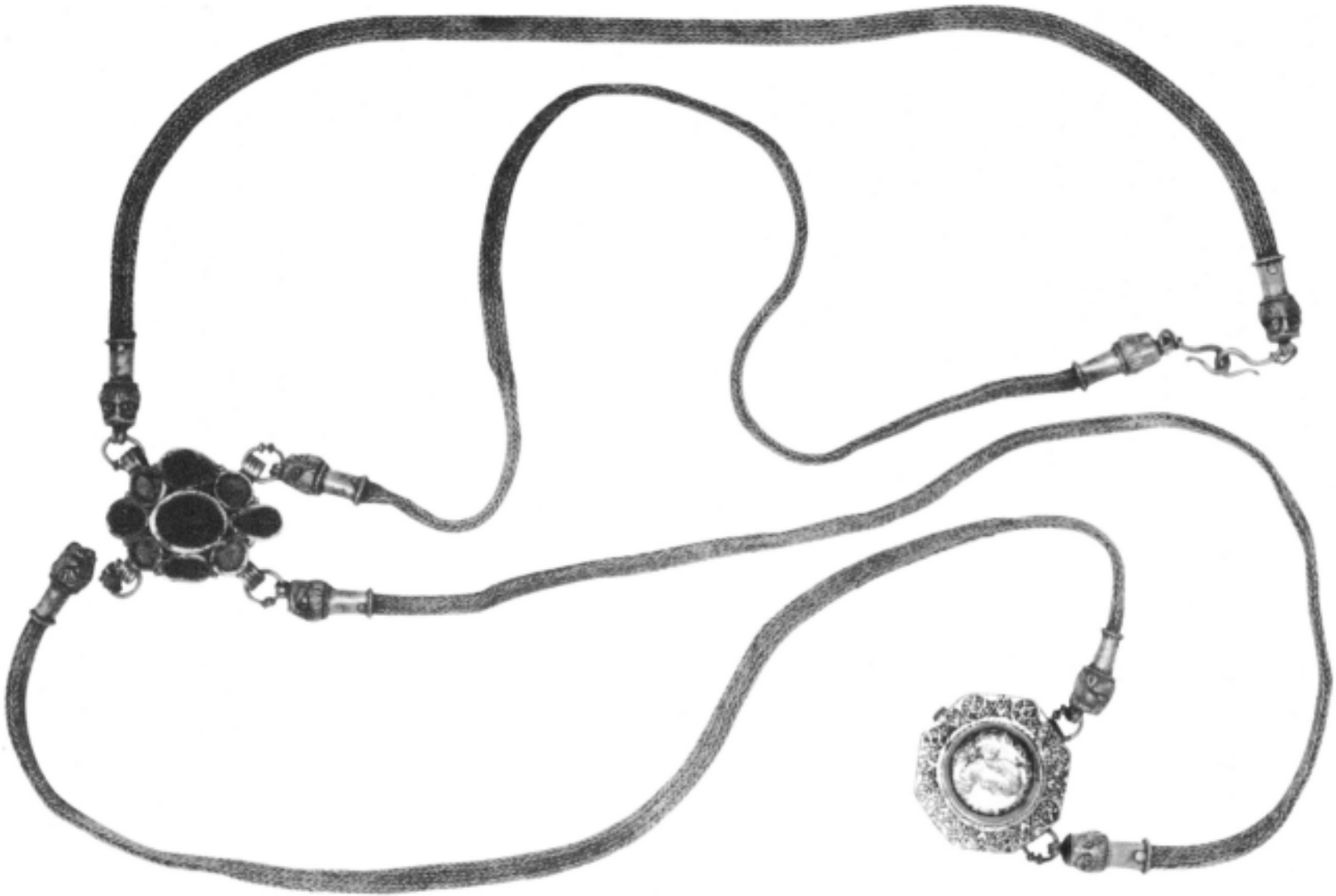
Glass, too, would have added sparkle to the feast, especially when it was engraved, like the bowl from Wint Hill, Somerset **(87),** and similar cut-glass vessels. The Wint Hill bowl shows a hunting-scene and bears an inscription wishing the drinker long life. No complete *diatreton* has been found in Britain, but a small fragment is recorded from Silchester which may have come from a figural vessel, and there is another piece from Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire. Intricacy of work and texture, exemplified by the cut-out *interrasile* effect, also to be seen on gold jewellery, was to be found here as well as translucency and colour (sometimes provided by wine). Did anyone in Britain own a vessel of dichroic glass like the Rothschild-Lycurgus cup?[18]

Colour, light, texture and ceremony were also manifested by dress and jewellery. The well-published Thetford treasure, though made in Britain and perhaps intended from the first as a votive gift, is thoroughly Byzantine in the taste it exhibits, its use of gems for colouristic effects and, even on such small objects as rings, a desire to show as much gold as

86 *The great silver dish with scenes from the Bacchic and marine thiasoi, from the Mildenhall treasure, Suffolk. D.60.5cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

87 *Cut-glass bowl with hunting scene from Wint Hill, Somerset. D.19cm.* (Photo: Ashmolean Museum.)





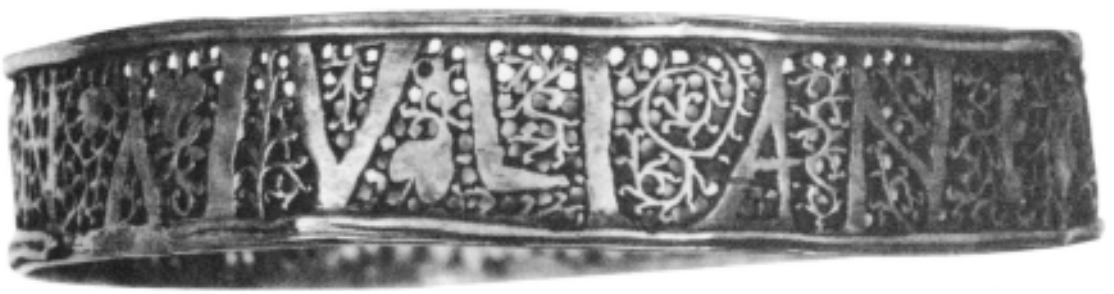
88 *Gold body-chain from Hoxne, Suffolk. L. of individual chains 36cm; junction pendants c.3cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

possible. The much more metropolitan goldwork of the Hoxne treasure contains a jewelled body-chain of a rare type, though worn by Venus in one of the scenes upon the Low Ham mosaic **(colour plate IX)** and known from later Byzantine jewellery **(88)** and *opus interrasile* bracelets, one of which was meant to read VTERE FELIX DOMINA JVLIANE (use happily, Lady Juliana) **(89).** Personal glorification is thus combined with an emphasis on the wealth of the magnate's wife—and, by implication, the power of the magnate himself.[19]

As we have seen, the world of Late Antiquity was very much influenced by Christianity, despite the fact that by no means the entire population was Christian and in some places there may have been considerable resistance to the new rites. In Britain, for the most part, the evidence points to Christians being in a minority almost everywhere, at least before the fifth century. There is, in fact, no evidence for Christianity in Britain before the third century, during which Alban was martyred at Verulamium and Julius and Aaron at Caerleon. Certainly it was established in a regular fashion by 314, when the list of bishops present at the Council of Arles included bishops from York, London and Lincoln. The early fourth-century cache of silver from Water Newton with its votive dedications probably belonged to a small Christian community in that town. In addition the recently rediscovered *lanx* from Risley Park (see **94**) was given by a bishop called Exuperius to the church at '*Bogium*' (perhaps a villa estate in the immediate vicinity). These are exceedingly modest presents to churches alongside Constantine's benefactions to churches in Rome (cf. *Liber Pontificalis* **34**), but they belong to the same world of ecclesiastical patronage.

89 *Openwork bracelet from Hoxne, Suffolk. L.6cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

At the later end of the century the paintings of the house-church at Lullingstone, Kent, are as advanced as anything elsewhere in the Empire and indeed look



forward to Byzantine art, while the chirhos can be compared with the best in Catacomb art. Although only a few fragments have been recognized there were also figured (biblical?) scenes here. A powerful image, though not quite so certainly from a house-church, is the youthful bust backed by a chirho on the main section of a mosaic floor from Hinton St Mary (see above and **85**). Whatever its precise significance (see below) this incorporates a highly effective use of the *labarum* of Constantine, not a provincial solecism. Most Christian artefacts from Britain are fairly small items of metalwork such as spoons and finger rings, which at least point to men possessed of some wealth. There is no question that British Christians could hold their own in the wider world. In the late fourth century Pelagius and his associates were formidable and sophisticated controversialists, not country bumpkins, and Patrick, who seems to have come from the curial class in the Carlisle region, was an orthodox but effective missionary beyond the Roman frontiers, in Ireland.[20]

BRITAIN IN ITS GOLDEN AGE

If the quantity of Christian art in Britain seems comparatively meagre, this is probably because many of the leading members of provincial society remained pagan; far from being concealed, their beliefs were flaunted upon the mosaic floors and painted walls of their villas. The art they patronized exhibits traditional values, shot through with a new seriousness and religiosity, no less fervent than the Christianity manifested by the frescoes of the Lullingstone Church and just as characteristic of Late Antiquity. Here is the culture of the great Roman aristocrats Symmachus and Praetextatus rather than that of the Imperial court or the Church. Late Antique pagan images include the nimbed deities at Bignor, Sussex, and Brantingham, Yorkshire; Saviour figures, such as Bacchus and Orpheus, for example at Littlecote, Wiltshire; and serious exegesis of Ovid and Vergil notably at Frampton, Dorset, and Low Ham, Somerset. But these deviations in subject-matter from what is often regarded as the Christian norm will all have been to display the owner's prestige as well as his piety. Even nominal Christians were not immune. The fourth-century poet Ausonius wrote to his son Gregorius telling him that his poem on the crucifixion of Cupid was inspired by a painting in the *triclinium* of Zoïlus in Trier (introduction to book viii). The context is always one of Late Roman ceremony and manners whether we are looking at mythological scenes in the *triclinia* at Keynsham, Somerset, or Lullingstone, the reception room at Woodchester, the putative cultroom at Littlecote, the baths at Low Ham or various other chambers and corridors.

The nature of the surviving art from Britain at this time reflects society. It is overwhelmingly private. The great villas and villa-like buildings with their ambitious array of mosaic floors and frescoes stand out as the centres of art and patronage. In many ways they took on a quasi-urban role, even if they were not as thick on the ground as along the Moselle:

> If a stranger were to arrive here from the shores of Cumae, he would believe that Euboean Baiae had bestowed on this region a miniature copy of its own delights: so great is the charm of its refinement and distinction, while its pleasures breed no excess (Ausonius, *Mosella* 11.345–8, trans. H.G.Evelyn-White).

Their owners would have used or displayed a great many portable objects. It is likely that many of the villas had imported marble statuary, the Woodchester Cupid and Psyche finding an attractive parallel in a Late Roman house at Ostia.[21] Doubtless much of the silver plate was imported but the Thetford treasure (a special order and probably made in East Anglia) included among the spoons, two with chased and gilded ornamental bowls, one showing a triton and the other a running panther. The Risley Park *lanx* (see **94**) is thought to have been cast in the province albeit from an imported model, by someone adept at producing pewter. Its central scene is a boar hunt, while the surrounding frieze shows other hunting scenes as well as pastoral life. These subjects, the realm of Bacchus (see **86**) and the hunt are well represented in the magnificent imported service of plate found at Mildenhall, Suffolk. Quite apart from figural subject matter there is a liking for abstract pattern, seen in the Mildenhall silver (see **80**) as well as on British pewter. Indeed, large *ministeria* of pewter such as those from Appleshaw, Hampshire, and Appleford, Oxfordshire (see **81**), exhibit the same taste for domestic magnificence as does silver, at a tiny fraction of the cost. In addition there were

illustrated books, and a possible survival from this category of luxury art has been mentioned in Chapter 6. Finally there was the splendid dress and jewellery with which the Roman upper classes established their *personae*. Dress is mainly glimpsed through contemporary painting and mosaic. Jewellery doubtless included a wide range of gold and jewelled art though villa excavation has yielded little. However, the jewellery from the Hoxne treasure as well as the votive Thetford treasure reveal the extravagance of contemporary taste.

When it is compared with private display, patronage in the way of public monuments is notably lacking. The mosaics laid in the temple of Nodens at Lydney and its guest-house are a partial exception, although the dedication on the important mosaic laid in the temple's *cella* stated that the source of funding was the individual offerings of worshippers. If the Chedworth 'villa' is the guest-house of another sanctuary, as Graham Webster has cogently argued, its mosaics, too, will have been the gifts of worshippers. An alternative explanation is that the property belonged to an entrepreneur who found it very profit-able 'farming' a sacred *locus* on his land instead of (or as well as) sheep or cereals. Like the Lydney *cella* mosaic, the Thruxton floor **(colour plate XIV)** also carries an inscription which, I believe, was rightly identified as a religious dedication in the middle of the last century. However the context here is that of a small private cult of the villa owner, Quintus Natalius Natalinus, and two clients, the Bodeni (named on the pavement) and perhaps a few others, who met to venerate Bacchus in the villa's *triclinium*.[22]

The wall-painting from the *praetorium* of the York fortress and the limestone head of Constantine which may have come from the same place reveal, however, that public commissions for major centres of power still existed. Indeed, at York the river front of the fortress was embellished with poygonal towers at this time. There is not much to report of other cities except that a Jupiter-column was restored at Cirencester. There is no indication that this involved fresh carving but, as Professor Peter Brown reminds us, 'throughout the Late Antique period to "renew" a city was the most praiseworthy achievement of the powerful'. Lucius Septimius, *praeses* of *Britannia Prima*, used hexameters to record his achievement, emphasizing that power and culture go together.[23] Cirencester, however, is chiefly notable in the fourth century for its mosaics and mosaic-workshops catering for the rich landowners of its own 'Little Baiae'. At London the evidence for public art is more negative: the smashing of Mithraic sculpture early in the fourth century may not have been officially organized, but the use of other sculptures as building-blocks in the riverside wall presumably was. Nevertheless there was a mint at London striking bronze during the reigns of Constantius Chlorus and Constantine and again, very briefly, under Magnus Maximus when it coined in precious metal.

SCULPTURE

Although sculptors were evidently still operating in the fourth century, as is shown by the York head of Constantine—which is to some extent comparable with the Conservatori portrait mentioned above—it is hard to find any other work of monumental sculpture which is truly characteristic of the age. A bronze steelyard counterweight from the Imperial Estate (?) at Kingscote, Gloucestershire, is in the form of a female bust, possibly of Fausta wearing a *stola* with a fringed neck-line **(90).** The rigid frontality of the head seems to partake of the formality of the York portrait, though the striated patterning of her garment is a Romano-British feature: it is possible that after all this is a stylized portrait of the second-century empress Faustina II by a provincial bronzesmith. There is no such uncertainty with regard to the silver gilt image of a late fourth-century empress (clearly identified as such both by her distinctive coiffure and almost hieratic appearance) recently discovered in the Hoxne treasure. This is a wonderful example of a Late Antique Imperial image, here incongruously serving as a pepper-pot. Was it part of an Imperial gift to a supporter of the dynasty?[24]

The same paucity of evidence with regard to the fourth century has long been observed with regard to monumental inscriptions. While it is true that much sculpture, such as the cult image of Mercury from Uley carved in limestone and probably the bronze of Sulis Minerva at Bath, continued to be venerated until near the end of the century, the main story is one of destruction and recycling. We are not told that the re-erection of the Cirencester Jupiter-column required any extra carving. However, it should be noted that

90 *Steelyard weight of heavy leaded bronze in the form of a bust of Constantine's first wife, Fausta(?), from Kingscote, Gloucestershire. H.9cm. Corinium Museum.* (Photo: Nick Pollard, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.)

many of the imported marbles in Britain come from late contexts, especially in villas, and may have been used if not carved then. Clearly at Woodchester representations of deities and particularly the Cupid and Psyche group helped to provide a decor of ostentatious Classicism. The Spoonley Wood Bacchus belonged to a similar milieu, but although intended originally for the *triclinium* of the villa, it ended up in its owner's grave and so illustrates the inscription on the base of another, probably third- or fourth-century, statuette group from the Walbrook *Mithraeum* (now probably a shrine of Bacchus) reading *HOMINIBUS BAGIS BITAM (sic)* 'Thou givest life to wandering men'. Such statuettes could be given as votives, and one was presented to a temple at Maiden Castle, Dorset, at this time. Busts, albeit of earlier date, at Lullingstone and Woodchester, helped to add a cachet of antiquity. So far we have nothing like the limestone balustrade from around the pond at Welschbilling near Trier ornamented with contemporary busts alongside versions of portraits of the early Empire and Greek philosophers.[25]

LATE ANTIQUE MOSAICS

The most important surviving art of the period, that of the mosaicist, has been well-studied from the point of view of workshop practice (see Chapter 6). The content of the floors as an expression of society demands further consideration here. Many of the mosaics, including most attributed to the Corinian Saltire school and its possible Lindinis branch, as well as all of those of the Durobrivan or Rataean school, are in fact abstract in character. Geometric pavements and elements of pattern in pavements are of course universal, but the highly-accomplished use of simple geometry to produce dazzling pattern on British floors certainly accords with local taste going back to the Iron Age. However, as noted above, all-over designs and also strong colours are features of all manner of Late Antique art—textiles, silver-plate and *opus sectile*—as well as mosaic, and could well have been 'meaningful' to their owners. British geometric pavements (**colour plates XV** and **XVI**) have been thought (wrongly) to have influenced the 'carpet

91 *Mosaic pavement showing Orpheus from Barton Farm, Cirencester. Detail. Corinium Museum.* (Photo: The late M.B.Cookson, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford archive.)

pages' of Hiberno-Northumbrian art.[26] This is hardly likely because there are no mosaics in the Wall region, let alone in Ireland and Scotland. There is an element of truth in this connection, however, because both mosaics and the much later manuscripts share a common Late Antique aesthetic.

As we have seen, contemporary descriptions interpret abstract art in naturalistic terms making it not impossible that the fourth-century villa-owner stepping along the varied 'carpets' of the corridor mosaic at Scampton, for example, saw these patterns as reflecting spiritual as well as aesthetic values. In the case of a geometric panel of *zigzags* at the threshold of the triconch of the Orpheus Hall at Littlecote, there seems to be good reason to interpret the motif as relating to Orphic beliefs, indicative of a pool of water ('The Well of Memory').[27] It seems reasonable to assume also that flower motifs, such as the example in the centre of the Sparsholt floor, represented life and stars, or *swastika-peltae*, the heavens. This would allow the purely geometric frame of the great Woodchester pavement to impart a new dimension to the floor, the whole of life and the very heavens themselves being figured here.

Indeed, literary and religious interests seem to have characterized the world of many members of the local aristocracy of Roman Britain, at least to judge from the figured mosaic pavements which survive.[28] This is hardly surprising, for the more closely the art of Late Antiquity is studied, the less likely it appears that anything was done without an intellectual reason. Without a key, it is inevitable that we should, more often than not, fail to perceive what the meaning is, but it is surely better to try to understand than to admit defeat, bearing in mind that we know a great deal about fourth-century society and possess a large number of highly relevant literary sources, such as the works of Julian and Macrobius.

Brading, on the Isle of Wight, is a good starting point. The most controversial room is very small. In the centre is a bust of Bacchus and on one side is a cock-headed figure, clearly guarding a ladder leading up to a house beset by griffins. I have previously taken the guardian to be the Gnostic deity Iao, comparing him with the cock-headed figure often found on magical amulets who, however, has snaky rather than avian legs; alternatively he could be another deity connected with the cockerel, Hermes (Mercury) in his persona as guide of souls. A fox is shown beside another building balancing this scene. Another floor at the entrance to the Brading villa shows Orpheus with the beasts, with a fox as his familiar as usual. It is reasonable to take as Orphic the fox in the little chamber as well. It is, after all, appropriate that Orpheus, who was very closely connected with Bacchus, should be shown with him on this mosaic. Finally there is a gladiatorial fight, surprisingly almost the only one in Late Roman mosaic in Britain. The theme, which together with beast fights was so popular in North Africa and elsewhere, is transmuted here and at Bignor (where the contestants are cupids) into a symbol of the hazards of life. The floors of the two main reception rooms at Brading show myths whose significance can only be fully realized by one who, like the astronomer depicted on the threshold between them, was a practitioner of theurgy, able like any Late Antique 'holy man' to raise himself to the sphere of the gods. The myths shown in the larger room include those of Lycurgus and Ambrosia and Attis and the nymph Sangaritis, possibly referring to specific mystery cults—those of Bacchus and Cybele in these cases. There were obviously splendid opportunities for exegesis here. The linked room depicts Perseus and Andromeda and other scenes now too fragmentary for certainty, but possibly including Cadmus approaching the spring. If so, it may be a coincidence that the two myths both occur on a mosaic at Frampton, albeit in iconographically quite different versions, representing on the one hand the killing of monsters, and thus victory over evil, and on the other a familiarity with (and love of) the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (see below).[29]

In cases such as this, we are not concerned with simple, popular paganism but with recondite knowledge. This is the sort of esoteric religion which the Emperor Julian, Symmachus, Praetextatus, Macrobius and Proclus relished. The religious thought behind these floors is probably deeper and more complex than contemporary Christianity and many of the keys to understanding it have been lost. The Dorchester school appears to have had the richest repertoire, but it is at Cirencester where the single most inventive motif first evolved, though it was later to be employed by both Durobrivan and Petuarian mosaicists. Indeed, the centralized Orpheus mosaic in which the birds and mammals ever revolve in separate registers around the central and completely still image of Orpheus is one of the high points in all mosaic art, especially as presented in its classic form at Woodchester and also in abbreviated form at Barton Farm, Cirencester (**91** and see **106**).[30] There are two reasons why the type should have come into existence. First, Orpheus could be seen as the *avatar* of both Bacchus and Apollo, thus representing the divine centre around which creation revolves. The mosaics therefore have Platonic significance. The invention of the type at Cirencester is not fortuitous, for the Cotswolds together with London had long venerated a youthful hunter-deity, perhaps syncretized with Attis and shown on a number of sculptures. He probably went under a number of epithets: Ralph Merrifield suggests that he was called Apollo among other names. At the octagonal temple on Pagans Hill in north Somerset two pieces of sculpture are recorded, a hound and the head of an Attis-like figure. A similar temple at Nettleton Shrub in Wiltshire has yielded an altar to Apollo Cunomaglus. Was the Cotswold Orpheus in part a translation of the Cotswold hunter into mosaic, and was the association of the octagonal shape with the god important? For what it is worth the centre of the great Orpheus pavement at Woodchester was of this form. The British Orpheus pavement is thus to be seen as a local contribution to Late Antique art, drawing on a local cult

but syncretizing the deity and giving him a universal significance.[31]

The Corinian Orpheus pavements were not just an opportunity to display virtuosity. They meant something to their owners. The Woodchester pavement with its dazzling display of ornament was at the hub of a veritable villa-palace. It is probable that there was a fountain at its centre (the water-nymphs shown in the spandrels around the central roundel suggest as much), and plashing water and the play of light and shadow must have been part of the display. Just as Orpheus orders the birds and beasts into registers which circle around him, so does the *dominus*, the aristocrat living here, order his world. The loveliness of the design and the subtle choice of colours would not have been lost on those who saw the floor, and there must have been a demand for more compact versions, such as that at Barton Farm and at Withington, likewise in Gloucestershire, as well as at Newton St Loe near Bath. A variant on the design was even taken up to Humberside, as mosaics from Horkstow and Winterton attest. Apart from the design and display aspects of the type, it may well have had subtle religious and social significance. The design has implicit within it the idea of a still centre and a turning, changing world. It uses myth to explore the nature of the divine, in accordance with Neo-Platonic tenets, but also the place of the villa-owner himself in his society.[32]

Religious ideas were developed to a remarkable degree by Durnovarian and Ilchester mosaicists. The rediscovered and restored Littlecote pavement which floors the cult room, beside a villa which had seen better days, is some thirty years later than the great Woodchester mosaic. The mosaic marks a development from the Corinian type of Orpheus floor and has been explained by the excavator, Bryn Walters, as a monument of syncretism between the cults of Orpheus, Apollo and Bacchus. He has cited Macrobius' *Saturnalia* in support of his arguement and could have found further support for his thesis in other contemporary pagan works, notably in the writings of the Emperor Julian himself. His views were severely criticized by Roger Ling and others, but there seems little doubt to me that Walters is essentially right.

We should be cautious of calling the Littlecote room a 'temple', with the implication of public worship inherent in the name; it was clearly not a public shrine but rather marks the 'privatization' of religion. This tendency was partly a result of that general shift from public to private patronage mentioned above, and partly because under Constantius II (337–61), pagan practices were looked on with suspicion and disfavour by the very autocratic Imperial government, though it is possible that this particular building was erected under the pagan Emperor, Julian (361–3). The effect of anti-pagan legislation, while such civilized men as Martinus held sway in Britain, may be doubted, but as Graham Webster points out the effects of the Magnentian revolt were ultimately more severe than has sometimes been realized, and certainly affected the public shrines.[33] The British aristocracy were not, however, cut off from the paganism of Rome and the central Empire. Just before Julian as Caesar in Gaul raised his standard in revolt he wrote to his friend Alypius, then vicar in Britain, to invite his participation. It is easy to believe that the pagan upper classes of Britain supported Julian as they did Magnentius, and were delighted by his religious policy.

The important complex at Frampton not far from Dorchester probably dates to about this time. It is on a low-lying site beside a river and, what is most extraordinary, ancillary domestic buildings seem to be lacking. Because a chi-rho and a *cantharus* are incorporated in the design of the mosaic there, though only in an apse off the main hall, it has sometimes been considered as a Christian pavement; if so the impressive number and variety of the mythological scenes suggest rather the paganization of its owner! I have proposed, alternatively, that the presence of the chi-rho among all those scenes of myth and cult may simply be intended to paganize Christ. A simpler suggestion is that the chi-rho was chosen because it was in the Emperor's standard or *labarum* and thus provided a very powerful amulet against the demons in which everyone believed.

The arrangement of scenes on the Frampton mosaics is revealing of the ceremonial approach to art at this time. We can well imagine the feasting and rituals (the putting down and taking up of special objects) depicted upon the Trier Mysteries Mosaic taking place here; the layout of the various floors encourages us to see stately processions from room to room. The description that follows shows the richness of these mosaics, and attempts to explain their cultural significance.

The largest hall has a central roundel which shows Bellerophon seated upon Pegasus, slaying the Chimaera. There were four panels in the corners of the hall of which the figured scenes in three survived in part or in whole. One depicts Paris and Oenone or Attis and Sangaritis. Another shows a female figure with torch pointing downwards and a dead or sleeping youth; Selene with the eternally-sleeping Endymion has been proposed, as has Venus and Adonis but there are other possibilities. The third panel appears to show the children of Jason and Medea bringing poisoned gifts to Creusa. There is an evident contrast between the central hero, who overcame all difficulties to win the daughter of king Proteus, and the unhappy scenes surrounding it. There is a veiled allusion to death, at least at one level, in a hexameter verse set along one side referring to a head of Neptune and his flanking dolphins: it is beyond this head set upon the chord of an apse containing a *cantharus* that the chi-rho is situated.

Bellerophon is in the same plane as a figure of Cupid (who represents the young Bacchus) in the border where he is mentioned in a hexameter, with the possible implication that he is greater (than Neptune), 'and you do not perform any service, if you deem it fit'. Beyond lies a room with a figure of Bacchus in triumph, seated on a leopard flanked by two hunting scenes, one of them a lion-hunt and the other a deer-hunt. These hunts, so popular in art in Late Antiquity, symbolize the life-force. There is even room for more interpretation here: perhaps the mortal who confronts a lion symbolizes humans facing up to all difficulties, while the deer stands for the suffering which is the part of all human existence. Certainly, another hunting-scene with hounds chasing deer is found along the edge of a panel in a chamber linked to this room by a corridor, and similar scenes by the same mosaicists but in a more probably Christian context at Hinton St Mary have been explained in that way. In the centre of the larger part of that chamber, set within a roundel, Bacchus again presides; around him are four panels. One pair contains scenes of prowess—Cadmus slaying the serpent of Mars and Perseus overcoming the sea-monster—the other of prophecy—Aeneas plucking the Golden Bough **(colour plate XI)** and perhaps the head of Tages. The source may have been Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The contiguous panel shows a female bust, possibly Venus, within a roundel. In the border around her are sea-creatures. Here we are to think of life coming from the sea. There was one more room at the end of another corridor leading from the room with Bacchus and the leopard, depicting a head of Neptune in the centre surrounded by the winds; presumably at one level, as with the other Neptune-head, making allusion to the world of the dead.[35]

We will never understand the full implications of what is shown here. The complexities of exegesis revealed in late pagan writings such as those of Julian or Macrobius make it certain that the owner and his or her guests would have found an endless field for speculation. Life begins and ends in the sea. Venus, born from the sea-spume, symbolizes the beginning; the voyage of the soul to the Blessed Isles the end. Nevertheless, that journey leads to new life, so that reversing the progress from Bacchus to Neptune is also a path to salvation, or to rebirth. In fact both the land *thiasos* and the marine *thiasos* are a commonplace in late pagan art, not only on mosaics but note also the great silver dish from Mildenhall and various items in the Thetford treasure. Treating both visual art and literature as a quarry for religious ideas is also characteristic of Late Roman paganism. Hunting lions was outside the experience of the British gentry, but deer-hunting was an activity which many must have enjoyed. Despite the chi-rho, it is unlikely that the owner of Frampton and his friends were Christians in any positive sense. The processions which the long corridors at Frampton seem to demand, recall the public liturgies of earlier days; now aristocrats who would have held public priestly office process with circumspection at home; they do so with great magnificence but in relative privacy, passing from room to room and from god to god.

A mosaic from Thruxton, Hampshire, now preserved in a sadly damaged state (without its central *emblema*) has already been mentioned in the previous chapter as evidence for patronage. It was laid, as its inscription tells us, by order of Quintus Natalius Natalinus and the Bodeni, the latter explained as two of his clients. The end of a lower line of inscription, of which only two letters remained to be recorded, was restored as *'[ex] v[ot]o'*, preceded by another word. *'Posuerunt'* or, better, *'promiserunt'*, would fit. The central roundel depicted Bacchus seated on a feline **(colour plate XIV)**, and presumably the dedication was to him. In the Early Empire such dedications would have been made at public temples, though not

to Bacchus. In the fourth century Bacchus was popular in private cult, as seen on the mosaics of Brading, Littlecote and Frampton. His popularity increased because he united the patronage of convivial dinner-parties with salvation. We should not forget the marble statuette of the god from the Spoonley Wood villa, which eventually came to be buried with its owner.

The significance of the Thruxton mosaic is thus to show us three members of a religious guild meeting in a private house (as at Trier in the room in which the Mysteries mosaic was laid). Their practices are unknown to us, but probably only extended to the drinking of toasts and the recital of verses. It is perhaps the place to point out that there seems to have been another guild of Bacchus meeting in the former *mithraeum* by the Walbrook in London. Associated with this phase is not only the well-known marble HOMINIBUS BAGIS BITAM statuette but a handsome silver-gilt casket cast and chased with scenes of beast fights. It seems to be of third-century date but it was old and had been repaired before its final concealment, probably well on in the fourth century. It contains a silver infusor with the base in the form of a perforated pattern. This may well have been used to lace drinks with some hallucinogenic drug.[36] The Thetford treasure which was dedicated to Faunus, a deity who was clearly regarded as analogous to Bacchus, contained both strainers for wine and spoons inscribed with the names of cult-members. This treasure will be discussed further below.

The Hinton St Mary mosaic (see **85**), unlike that at Frampton, is still extant. It may be the *only* Christian mosaic we have to set against the wealth of pagan evidence, but it is even more problematic than that at Frampton and its contradictions cannot be fully resolved. It is certainly a work of the same school, sharing very similar scenes of hounds hunting deer, to that at Frampton. Unfortunately the villa (if that was indeed the nature of the building it came from) has not been properly investigated and until it is we cannot know whether to 'read' it by itself or as part of a larger scheme. The smaller section of the mosaic, acting as a vestibule to the larger part, shows Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera, the same subject as the central *emblema* of the largest room at Frampton. Here it is flanked by two oblong panels of hounds chasing deer. Presumably these panels were intended to convey the pains of life and the heroic efforts needed to overcome them. For anyone used to pagan mythology there would have been no difficulty.

The major part of the mosaic, which might be expected to portray Bacchus or another heroic scene, instead has a clean-shaven bust backed by a chi-rho and flanked by pomegranates. This could be one of the sons of Constantine or even Magnentius with the *labarum*, but bearing in mind vault mosaics from outside Britain, it is easier to see this as Jesus Christ, who overcomes death, as symbolized by the pomegranates. Three of the lunettes on the chords of the long sides show hounds chasing deer and one, a tree of life. In the spandrels of the square are half-length figures without attributes but flanked by rosettes. They seem to be de-mythologized attributes, but in the next room Bellerophon is far from being de-mythologized. The lack of intellectual coherence here probably owes much to the state of mind of the man commissioning the mosaic from his local workshop, perhaps for his chapel. If he was a conventional Christian it is surprising that he made the gaffes of taking a pagan theme 'off the peg', having the sacred image of Christ shown on a floor, and having to make do with neutral human images to represent the evangelists. Surely, if he had wanted to, he could have provided 'orthodox' copy for the mosaicist? A likely conclusion is that he did not want something else, was perfectly satisfied with it as it was and may well have had what, to Catholic eyes, were heterodox views. Individual Christians may have suffered from the confusion of being caught between cultures, as was the poet Ausonius in contemporary Gaul.[37] Indeed, we should remember that Pelagius, who left Britain for Rome at the end of the century, promulgated the view that man was responsible for his own actions without the need of divine grace. Essentially his emphasis on moral struggle was very much at home in traditional Graeco-Roman religion. Much as he might have winced at the analogy (and certainly at the pagan image), Bellerophon's fight with the Chimaera fitted the Pelagian view of life. It is here suggested that some 'pre-Pelagian' landowners were willing to adapt their religion and compromise with the Neo-Platonic paganism of their contemporaries.

At Frampton the visual evidence suggests a pagan gingerly approaching Christianity; the alternative is that the owner was a nominal Christian whose beliefs and emotions were fired by the old gods. Excavation of the cemetery at Poundbury near Dorchester

suggests that there was an established Christian community in the town, but I do not see the evidence even here for the cultural *predominance* of Christianity in local mosaic art, or indeed anywhere else. As far as the art of Late Roman Britain is concerned, and with a few major exceptions (Lullingstone; Hinton St Mary), its history could be written without mentioning the State religion of the Empire, though one suspects that much of the exuberance of pagan imagery was a reaction to its shadow.[38]

PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

Classical literature seems to have been a mark of aristocratic worth almost as much as it was in Mandarin China. This is clear not only from the writings of pagan authors, self-evidently obsessed by religious themes, but is manifest in the work of commentators such as Servius on Vergil as well as editors, including those of the very highest social rank from the families of the Nichomachi and Symmachi.[39] We owe the preservation of the major Classics in codex form to such dedicated scholars. Some of the Frampton panels may have been abstracted not from hypothetical 'pattern books' but from the owner's *de luxe*, edition of Ovid. This could possibly have been the derivation of the mythological scenes on the *triclinium* floor from Keynsham as well, for the two which can be identified (Europa and the bull, Minerva inventing the *tibia*) are in Ovid's works.[40]

The Low Ham pavement with its powerful presentation of the story of Dido and Aeneas is excerpted from books Two and Four of the *Aeneid* and is a particularly convincing example; the pictorial form is typically Late Antique in keeping detail to the minimum and using significant gesture, eye-contact between protagonists (see **colour plate IX**) or symbolism to carry the dramatic impact of the story. Thus in the hunting scene Aeneas, who is seated upon his horse, turns round to look at Dido riding behind him. This inevitably leads on to the scene in a cave within a wood, simply represented by two trees **(colour plate X).** Dido, nude apart from a scanty veil, represents the vulnerability of love, but Aeneas has acquired armour and here the artist tells us that he has chosen duty above love. The centre of the mosaic presents the moral: Venus, whose body is made especially alluring by the towel she holds behind her, is the disposer of love and death (symbolized by a cupid holding a torch downwards) and life and power (a cupid with raised torch).[41] Two fine illustrated Vergil codices, preserved in the Vatican, point to the real source of the mosaic. Some years ago I suggested that one of them, the *Vergilius Romanus*, which is characterized by strong simple shapes and a distinctive use of pattern and line (**92** and see **76**), might be very considerably earlier than the date of *c*.500 proposed for it and, in fact, could belong to mid to late fourth-century Britain, though admittedly Gaul has to remain a possibility. Since then Dr Kenneth Dark tells me that he, too, thinks the manuscript is insular on stylistic and paleographical grounds, though he would prefer to assign it to the later fifth century. As we have seen, the mosaic evidence discussed above renders it virtually certain that members of the British aristocracy owned and treasured literary manuscripts like this.[42]

Further support for this surmise is to be found in the Lullingstone mosaics. The subject of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, the fleshy dolphins and the elongated Pegasus and the equally linear nature of the bull on the other panel (comparable with animals on the Littlecote and Low Ham pavements) suggest a Durnovarian origin; perhaps the pavement was laid by a branch workshop. The Bellerophon theme in one room makes a pendant with that of Europa and the Bull in the dining-room next door (see **77**). Here the milieu is largely literary rather than religious; it certainly should not be assumed that these pavements are of the same date or executed for the same owner as the Christian frescoes of the house-church upstairs. They are probably at least a decade earlier. What sort of conversation went on between the villa-owner and his guests as they reclined on a semicircular couch set on the floor of red *tesserae* around the apse of the *triclinium*, just as the *Vergilius Romanus* depicts Dido and Aeneas as they feast at Carthage? We may think of the dining scenes shown on many Late Antique works of art like the great dish from the Sevso treasure, where the strong suggestion is that hunting and fishing were predominant subjects. Here, at Lullingstone, conversation was encouraged at a more refined and literary level—even if it was not altogether prim and proper! The villa-owner himself may well have been the proud author of the verse above Europa and the Bull which alludes to the jealousy of Juno and the storm she stirred up to wreck Aeneas and how much more cause she had for her action in

92 *The Virgilius Romanus (Ms. Vat.Lat. 3867. 74v). Turnus and Iris.* (Vatican Library.)

this case, when her own husband had metamorphosed himself in order to have a good time with a scantily-clad young lady. The allusion is to the *Aeneid;* but the elegiac couplet is one often employed by Ovid, and analysis of the actual language used points to personal knowledge of that poet.[43] The Aldborough mosaic showing the muses on Mt Helicon (with the name E?HKON in Greek) proves that literary themes were not confined to southern Britain.[44]

DAILY LIFE, CEREMONY AND RELIGION

Apart from religion and literature, there are some indications of the daily life of the aristocratic patrons. The theme of hunting with hounds is quite well represented and we have seen it employed as a motif in Frampton and at Hinton St Mary. In addition, a fragmentary mosaic from Cherhill, Wiltshire, laid by the same Durnovarian mosaicists, depicts a running hound. A fragment from East Coker, Somerset, portrays two huntsmen carrying a deer on a pole. One of them has distinctive coloured *orbiculi* (patches) on his tunic, as worn by huntsmen on the near-contemporary mosaics at Piazza Armerina. One of the best-known vignettes from Roman Britain is the presentation of the season of winter on the *triclinium* mosaic at Chedworth. Here the hunter is in native dress, specifically the *birrus Britannicus*, and holds a hare. Finally, a mosaic from Cirencester itself has a hare as a centrepiece, presumably as a symbol of fecundity though of course the hare was the commonest beast of the chase. The feast is not figured as such on Romano-British mosaics but the presence of Bacchus with his panther on mosaics from Gloucester, Stonesfield, Thruxton and Frampton indicates a convivial aspect. Most of these rooms were, at least on occasion, used for dining. Although women were of considerable importance in the high society of Late Antiquity, as is emphasized by the wonderful gold jewellery from Hoxne, the *mundus muliebris* as such is not much in evidence on mosaics from Britain, save perhaps in images of Venus like that from Bignor **(colour plate XII).** Also, a simple but effective device in the centre of a floor in the villa of Grateley, Hampshire, depicted a fan, identical to the one carried by a woman on the second-century relief from Murrell Hill, Carlisle (see **37**).[45]

Bacchus was far too great a deity to limit himself to the superficial delights of the *triclinium*—there were other nuances here, for instance protection from evil and above all salvation from death. It should be noted that the marble statuette of the god which was found in a burial at Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire, was presumably intended originally as a dining-room ornament but that it came to be used with serious religious intent, protecting its former owner after death. The idea of protection is associated with certain other figures, notably Hercules whose only appearance on a mosaic in Britain seems to be a very fine example from Bramdean, Hampshire, in which the hero is shown defeating Antaeus, watched by his own protector Minerva. Belief in the Evil Eye was universal, but it could be defeated by the head of Medusa, appearing as a centrepiece on another Bramdean floor, as well as at Bignor and Brading.

As has already been suggested above, the mosaics of Frampton and Littlecote and Thruxton were commissioned to reflect the religious enthusiasms of their respective owners and the rooms in which they were set probably had cult associations, Littlecote is essentially a small hall with a triconch apse in the centre of which Orpheus, with his canine companion, is depicted surrounded by representations of the animals into which Bacchus transformed himself when fleeing from the Titans. Four female personifications probably reflect the seasons, properly the domain of Apollo, while the rayed-designs in the apses are likewise solar, though the panther heads on the chords remind us again that this is a monument to syncretism. The many mosaics of Frampton are still more complicated, involving, as we have seen, two representations of Bacchus and two of Neptune who is the subject of a verse inscription here. A chi-rho and *cantharus* may demonstrate Christian influence. The myths shown in the main hall, Selene and Endymion, Paris and Oenone, and Jason's and Medea's children before Creusa, represent unhappy love-affairs, though the centrepiece is the ever-striving Bellerophon on Pegasus. Beyond a room in which Bacchus is seated on a feline is another room, depicting a standing Bacchus surrounded by scenes of heroic striving—Cadmus slaying the serpent of Mars, Perseus slaying the sea-monster in order to rescue Andromeda and Aeneas plucking the Golden Bough. Literature and religious exegesis are inextricably bound together here.

At Brading on the Isle of Wight the same is true. Here is a holy man as astrologer, an image which may be derived from Thales or Plato, but now represents the practitioner of theurgy, who has understood the mysteries and seen God. On one side of him is a room which contains a representation of Perseus; on the other mythological scenes (grouped as pendants around a central Medusa head). These include Lycurgus and Ambrosia, Ceres and Triptolemus, Attis and the nymph Sangaritis, and another scene which I believe could be Apollo and Daphne, reflecting the

mysteries of Bacchus, the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Magna Mater, according to Roger Ling (and of Apollo, if my interpretation of the final scene is right). Alternatively, as I have suggested elsewhere, the owner could have read the episodes in terms of the acceptance or rejection of the divine: Ambrosia and Triptolemus remained faithful to Bacchus and Ceres respectively; Attis rejected Cybele and Daphne fled from Apollo. Other Brading floors include one with an image of Orpheus and another containing Iao or perhaps Mercury with the head of a cockerel guarding a ladder leading up to a house against two prowling griffins. These provide very heady and exciting examples of fourth-century pagan art, which—together with those of Frampton—are scarcely matched in the Late Empire, save in Cyprus, far away in the eastern Mediterranean.

Nor are these all; other mosaics should at least be considered in the light of religious exegesis in mind. Thus the representation of the Bacchic *thiasus* portrayed on the floor of the dining-room at Chedworth, long regarded as the embellishment of a rich villa, may likewise have had a far deeper purpose than mere festivity if Dr Webster is right in seeing the excavated complex as serving as the guest-house of a sanctuary. Here, paying guests would presumably have stayed, their minds inflamed by the imminence of the divine. Indeed, the scene of feasting combined with pagan religious ceremony depicted on the Trier 'Mystery mosaic' in which a man called Andesasus offers an egg(?) to Qodvoldeus (meaning literally 'What the god wills'), while another votary, Felox (Felix) takes up some other ritual commestible, may not be irrelevant in our attempts to understand any of these mosaic floors.[46]

Marine scenes, sometimes including deities such as Neptune, are not uncommon in the fourth century. As Neptune and the dolphins at Frampton show, they could have an eschatological significance, representing the realm over which the souls of the dead had to pass to the other world, and thus indicative of Salvation. The theme and the meaning go back to much earlier mosaics in Britain, and can be see for instance on second-century mosaics at Verulamium (a sea-shell and a head of Neptune), Cirencester (a marine *thiasos* including a cupid on a dolphin, fish and sea-beasts), Fishbourne (the Cupid on a dolphin) and perhaps an early third-century apse of a floor at Dorchester, Dorset (a head of Neptune with dolphins and fish). Such traditional subject-matter continued to appeal in the fourth century. A panel containing two dolphins and a sea-beast occupies the threshold of the one room with a mosaic at Kingscote, Gloucestershire, here alluding to Venus shown holding her mirror in the centre of the floor of the main room.

Venus born from the spume of the sea and coming ashore on a large bivalve sea-shell is the theme of a mosaic from the villa at Hemsworth, Dorset. Here she is set in an apse and surrounded by a frieze of very fleshy dolphins, together with fish and molluscs. There is, of course, the famous treatment of this subject by Botticelli, but there are many ancient versions and the Renaissance artist was clearly copying and adapting one of them. The villa is not well known, but parts of other floors have been recovered from it, including a splendid *emblema* in a circular frame depicting a bust of Neptune (or Oceanus). A very popular place for such a theme was the bath-house. This is certainly true of another fine head of the god from a late town house in Cirencester and of a rather amateurish or child-like mosaic from the *apodyterium* at Rudston, depicting a head of Neptune amidst a free composition of fish. Bathing was a quintessential part of Roman life and bath-houses were often of great splendour in Late Antiquity, as is well attested in literature. In the most interesting bath-house mosaic from Britain, discovered in the *frigidarium* at Low Ham, culture takes the place of mere convention with the treatment of the love of Dido and Aeneas. Nevertheless, the centre of the pavement depicts Venus outlined against a dark red, fringed wrap or towel, as though she has just emerged from the bath, or perhaps, like the Hemsworth Venus, representing the epiphany of the goddess. In any case it is a deft touch rendering this fine composition especially appropriate to its setting.[47]

There are some interesting and significant omissions among the mosaics of Late Roman Britain. Neither gladiatorial contests nor wild-beast fights appear to have accorded with the rather refined interests of the British aristocracy. The cupid-gladiators of Bignor **(colour plate XII)** and the two gladiators in the chamber with the cock-headed god at Brading are merely references to the uncertainties of life, and unlike the floor at Nennig in Germany do not show any enthusiasm for such degrading pastimes. The Rudston pavement, depicting beasts in the arena, appears to be a poor copy of a North African design,

probably of the third century. A mosaic from Dewlish, Dorset, shows a leopard leaping onto the back of a Dorcas gazelle and another from Verulamium depicts a lion bringing down a similar animal; there were also minor scenes of lion hunts on mosaics at Withington the Frampton. All of these are less reflections of the arena than symbols of life and death, which have to be seen in the context of the main subjects of the floors.

Horse-racing is likewise far from well represented, though it was at least more respectable to those with a cultivated turn of mind. The Rudston charioteer and the Horkstow race presumably evoke the turning seasons of the year rather than suggesting close acquaintance with the circus, which has, left little trace in Britain. The Horkstow mosaic is in fact linked to panels showing a concentric Bacchic and marine *thiasos* combined—if it is not a 'shield of Achilles'—**(colour plate XIII),** to some degree recalling the Mildenhall great dish (see **86**), and also a concentric Orpheus pavement, both wheel-like motifs suggesting an eschatological significance, the turning of time and ultimate salvation. The Rudston mosaic includes personifications of the seasons and has two linked panels, one Bacchic—two leopards and a *cantharus*—and the other an octagon whose subject matter is now lost, but which could have represented the days of the week. Here, too, symbolism must have been more important to the owner than mere sport.[48]

The hieratic character typical of so much Late Antique art, and familiar from the early Christian art of Italy (for instance the wall and vault mosaics of Rome and Ravenna), is not absent from the British mosaics, being especially evident in the facing and nimbed bust from Hinton St Mary. As stated above, this probably shows Christ, but a member of the family of Constantine, perhaps even Constantine himself who adopted the chi-rho as his emblem, remains an alternative possibility. If so it would give the floor as much a political as a religious connotation; at least there would then be no need to agonize over the significance of Bellerophon, as the emperor was always in action, travelling and fighting barbarians. The Court of the Divine Emperor was, after all, modelled on the Court of Heaven, and to him was imparted the same ethereal qualities which belonged to deities and personifications. Among these, the beautiful Venus of the Bignor mosaic comes to mind, with her nimbus, diadem (restored) and attendant long-tailed birds. In another villa mosaic, from Brantingham, Yorkshire, a large mosaic reveals a central nimbed bust and, along each of the short sides of the mosaic, a line of four nimbed female busts. Roger Ling has recently suggested that the subject is the Nine Muses, with one given greater prominence than the rest. This is possible though, allowing for blundering, the central bust still seems to be distinguished by a mural crown (rather than feathers) and thus a Tyche, very possibly the City-goddess of York. In each of the eight lunettes radiating from the centre is a water nymph and the eight busts on either side could have represented subsidiary *tychai*. If the busts are the muses, and, as we have seen, the muses on Helicon was the theme of a mosaic at Aldborough, we have further confirmation of the importance of culture to the Late Roman aristocrat; the other explanation gives them a more overtly political significance, most fitting if someone involved in the administration of the province lived here. Remains of fresco show that the ceiling or walls also carried nimbed heads. This icon-filled hall reflects the intensity and theatricality of Late Antique art, in which every gesture had a meaning. If only we knew what ceremonies, such as levées or banquets or religious celebrations, took place here.[49]

LATE ANTIQUE FRESCOES

It is not long since a consideration of the subject matter of Late Roman wall-painting in Britain would have been regarded as an almost impossible task but, thanks to the scholarship of Joan Liversidge and Roger Ling and the reconstruction work of Norman Davey and others, just about enough is now known about provincial paintings to give us some idea of the range of figured subjects they display and to show that they accord with the much better known contemporary mosaics. This means that we can literally reconstruct something of the rich physical backdrop of daily life.

The room of the Venus pavement at the villalike building at Kingscote, perhaps the house of a procurator of an Imperial estate, is especially interesting because there is clear evidence of correspondence

between floor and walls. The theme is love, perhaps an unexpected theme in the official house of a civil servant (if that is what it is) but fully in accord with the private nature of fourth-century art. The wall-paintings were first identified as depicting the young Achilles among the daughters of King Lycomedes, but the cupid between the two protagonists makes a more obviously amorous subject such as Venus and Mars more likely. We here remember the painting of Cupid in the House of Zoïlus at Trier. Although the painting was of an impressive standard, an even more accomplished mythological painting probably portraying the Narcissus myth has been excavated from the villa at Tarrant Hinton, Dorset **(colour plate IV).** These figure-paintings are conceived on a large scale and use exaggerated shadowing and rich colours. They cannot have stood alone, and undoubtedly there was far more wall-painting of high quality in Late Antiquity than mosaic, though the degree to which a strong provincial character was manifested is questionable. These two examples of mythological painting are traditional in content and illustrate the conservatism of so much fourth-century pagan art.[50]

The nimbed bust set within a roundel from Room 1 of the villa at Brantingham, Yorkshire, is of great interest not only intrinsically but because it too shows that the decor of the whole chamber followed a carefully-planned programme; its ceiling (or walls) was designed to reflect the subject matter of the floor, though its significance remains uncertain, as does the much better preserved floor mosaic. What has been reconstructed invites comparison with the very much finer and more complete 'portraits' from the Palace of Constantine at Trier, possibly members of the *Domus Divina*, though they might be personifications.[51]

The most 'advanced' wall-paintings are, not surprisingly, those from the house-church at Lullingstone, Kent, dating from late in the fourth century and representing the single most important work of Christian art from Roman Britain. Clearly, the tradition of Christian art had to develop during the century in which it came into its own. The west wall portrays a row of six *orantes* wearing very brightly coloured and distinctive robes. They are portrayed frontally and two-dimensionally. The north and south walls were apparently painted in two zones with figure scenes. On the south wall there was certainly a chi-rho within a wreath. Although the art of the catacombs comes to mind, Christian paintings from non-funerary contexts are not common in the fourth century, and the Lullingstone church has an interest beyond the merely local. Possibly also Christian (or at least showing Christians) is the painting of a number of figures from a mausoleum at Poundbury, Dorchester, some of them holding staves or wands. However, the most covincing explanation is that they represent local members of the curial class to which the deceased surely belonged, 'perhaps specifically those who had held office as *duoviri*, and assumed a form of dress and insignia appropriate to those in higher authority'. To an even greater degree than in the case of the brightly-clad Lullingstone *orantes*, we cannot help being reminded of the fifth-century magistrates of Verulamium in their gorgeous robes, as described by Constantius in his life of St Germanus (*Vita Germani* xiv).[52]

PLATE AND ITS SUBSTITUTES IN LATE ROMAN BRITAIN

The basic aim of these mosaics, and of the brightly-coloured wall-paintings which accompanied them, was to provide a sumptuous background for aristocratic living (to which we may add the palatial guest-house of the Lydney sanctuary, as well as that of Chedworth if it is a building of the same sort). We lack the splendid textiles to which allusion has already been made; they must often have been magnificent works of art, richly dyed and embroidered. However, there is enough in the way of plate and jewellery remaining to add to what has been discussed above. Portable objects were used as personal gifts both to gods and men, as mosaics could never be, and there is indication that silver plate, and its cheaper local substitute pewter, was so employed; the same was of course true of jewellery.

A surprising quantity of silverware has been found in Britain. Although many of the better-quality vessels appear to have been imported from workshops elsewhere in the Empire, all have something to tell us of taste in Late Roman Britain. Figures and decoration are now generally chased (worked from above) and sometimes further embellishment was provided by means of niello (silver sulphide) or gilding. Not surprisingly, the style of the ornament parallels that

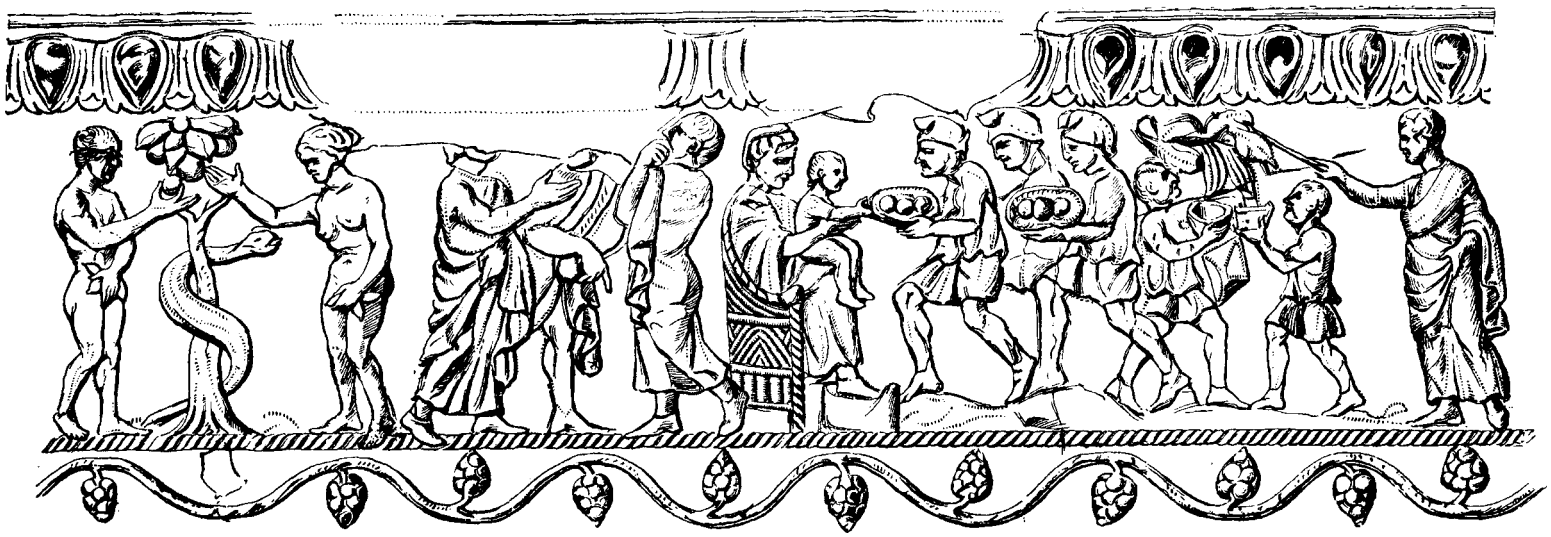
manifested on mosaic floors. We can easily imagine great feasts and impressive ceremonies taking place at Woodchester, employing *ministeria* of silver plate as grand as the Mildenhall treasure. Incidentally, the formal design of the great dish from Mildenhall with its two concentric registers and central device (see **88**) is close to that of the Woodchester Orpheus pavement (see **106),** though in subject matter the Dionysiac imagery of the dish and two smaller plates at Mildenhall is nearer to scenes of revelry shown, for example, in the dining-room at Chedworth and above all, as noted above, in the *thiasos* mosaic from Horkstow **(colour plate XIII),** if that is what it is.[53]

It is well to emphasize that any particular piece of plate may have been treasured in a number of different places in its lifetime; thus it is generally harder to attribute individual items to any precise social context than it is in the case of a mosaic. The figural subject matter includes many scenes from mythology in which it is tempting to see reflections of the conservative pagan tastes which seem to have prevailed in Britain. The Mildenhall vessels already referred to could well have belonged to such a context, though—originally at least—*not* in Britain, as the two small plates each bear a graffito in Greek: EYTHPIOY, just possibly designating that Eutherios who was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* with Julian in Gaul. Most of the subjects portrayed in the treasure appear to be religiously neutral, though possibly the paired *emblemata* in two bowls showing Alexander the Great and his mother Olympias would have had a greater appeal to pagans—as indeed might the wild animals and the Bacchic-style heads on the flanges of these and two other vessels. Three spoons with the treasure bear chi-rho monograms, and so possibly the treasure did belong to a Christian—or, as with the chi-rho on the Frampton pavement (see above), were there other explanations?[54]

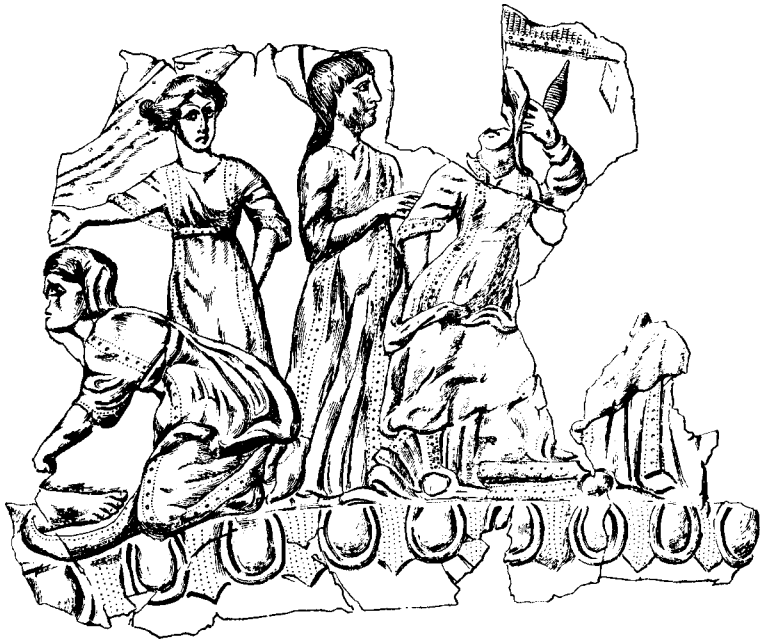
The same query can be made of the Corbridge *lanx* **(93)** depicting Apollo, Leto, Asteria-Ortygia. Artemis and Athena, and thus alluding to Apollo's birthplace, Delos. If, however, it was manufactured in the Eastern Empire it cannot have been in Britain until later, and in any case it was almost certainly associated with other vessels found in the North Tyne, one of them a flanged bowl ornamented with chirhos.[55] Mythological scenes on vessels from the Hacksilber hoard of Traprain Law, perhaps recycled scrap silver collected by the authorities in tax and given to mercenaries, tell us little directly about context. They do, however, show that people elsewhere in Britain possessed such items as a flagon showing the adoration of the Magi, Adam and Eve and Moses striking the rock **(94).** Presumably the original owner here was a Christian. Another flagon depicted the Recognition of Ulysses **(95).** A plate depicted the crowning of Bacchus and there was a bowl with the head of Hercules as an *emblema* and wild beasts on the exterior frieze, as well as a very fine and virtually complete scalloped bowl portraying a nereid on a sea-panther. In addition, there are fragments from a range of plate with geometric ornament, including two square vessels which by analogy with other silver and pewter vessels could well be of British manufacture (see Chapter 5). To all this evidence we should add the fragment of a plate from the Balline treasure, Co. Limerick in the Irish Republic, showing three horsemen (one of whom seems to have an African hairstyle), presumably part of a hunt scene.[56]

Only the spoons in the Thetford treasure, made for a *collegium* of worshippers of the god Faunus and mainly inscribed with dedications to him, allow us any certainty as to the commissioning and subsequent use of plate in Britain, where it is logical to see the cache as having been made. Three of the spoons have engraved bowls, one with only a simple fish but the two others are much more interesting. A silver-gilt swan-necked spoon has a bowl engraved with a triton and a dolphin and the inscription DEI NARI, here an epithet of Faunus. The device, like the Traprain sea-panther evokes the marine *thiasos*. The other spoon with a rat-tailed handle inscribed DEI FAVNI NARI and likewise with a gilded bowl shows a panther running in front of a tree, evoking the land *thiasos* and bringing to mind the animal friezes on British Orpheus pavements. The high quality of the silver, the elegance of the swan-necked spoons, which in some cases display a pleasing native conceit in the berry which the bird carries in its bill, and the attractive linearity of the engraved bowls of the spoons, both figural and epigraphic designs, do not suggest that High Roman art, if at the end of its range, was at the end of its confidence. Still less does the associated jewellery (see below). The linear engraving is well matched on a spoon bowl from the Canterbury treasure on which a sea-stag swims towards a stylized plant. Two superimposed friezes of stylized plants are to be seen on the silver bowl from the Ballinrees treasure,

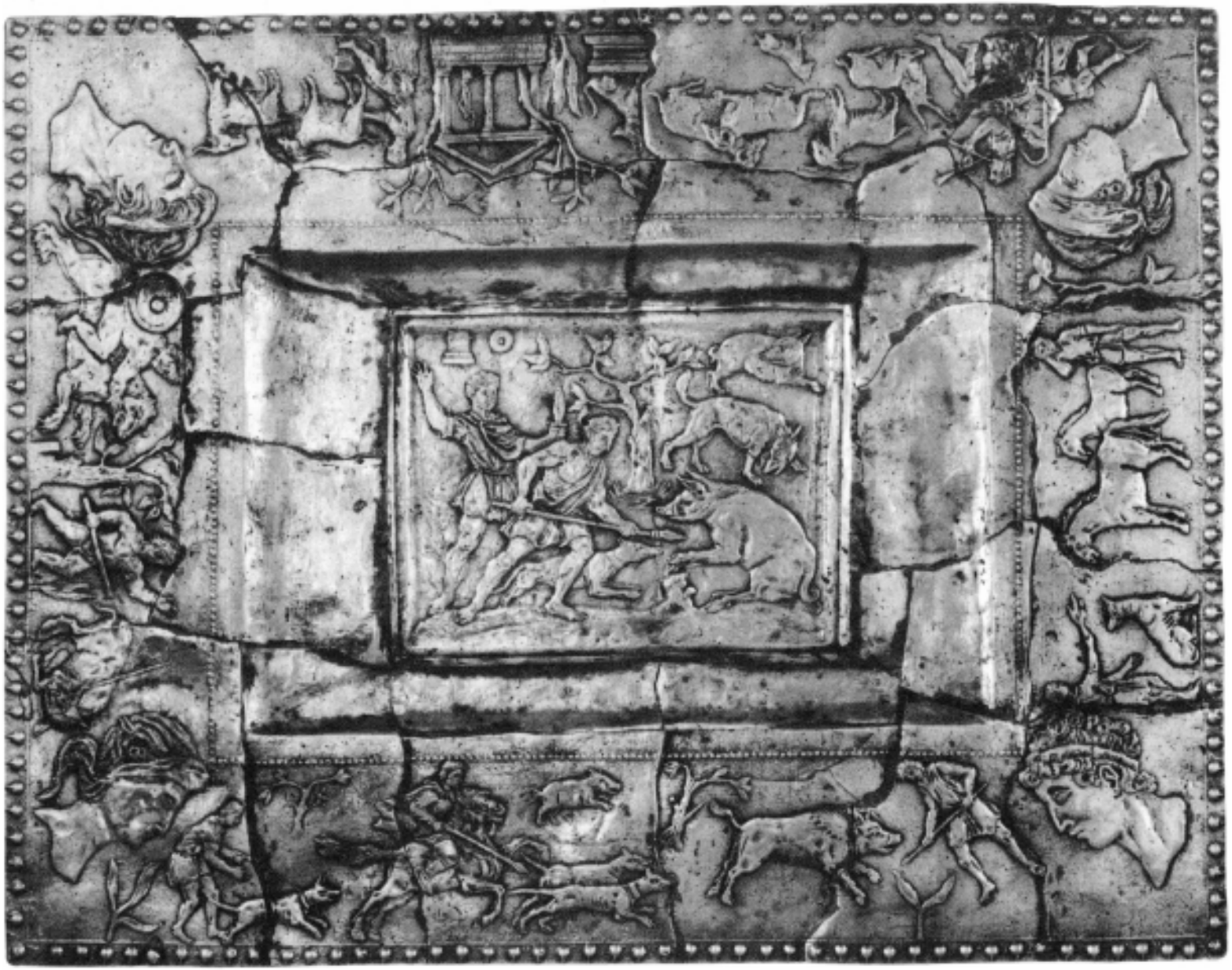
93 *Silver lanx from Corbridge, Northumberland showing Apollo and other deities. L.48cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)



94 *Bibilical scenes on silver gilt flagon found at Traprain Law, East Lothian. L. of frieze 25.5cm; H. of frieze 8.5cm. Royal Museum of Scotland.* (After A Curle, Treasure of Traprain, 1923, fig.2.



95 *The Recognition of Ulysses on a silver flagon found at Traprain Law, East Lothian. H.15cm. Royal Museum of Scotland.* (After A Curle, Treasure of Traprian, 1923, fig.9.



96 *Recast silver lanx from Risley Park, Derbyshire, with boar-hunting scene. L.49.7cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

which Sonia Hawkes rightly compares with plants shown on a distinctive type of Late Romano-British buckle. We can now see a certain similarity between the style of engraving of the creatures on the spoon bowls and that of the peacocks on the Trimontium buckle, though this last is of bronze and not quite of the same quality.[57]

The subject matter of the recently 'rediscovered' *lanx* from Risley Park, Derbyshire **(96),** with its boarhunt and surrounding pastoral and hunting scenes, while not overtly pagan is very similar to several of the Mildenhall bowls, the bear-hunt making an especially felicitous parallel. However, an inscription on the underside of the dish shows that it eventually came into the possession of an important Christian, Bishop Exuperius, who gave it to the church of 'Bogium' (possibly a Roman estate at Risley, Derbyshire). The *lanx* as we now have it is an eighteenth-or nineteenth-century casting from the fragments of the original, using the original silver, but it is clear that the Risley Park *lanx* was itself cast in Roman Britain from a mould, presumably by a pewterer.[58]

Pewter is only occasionally figured, and an item such as the flanged polygonal pedestal-bowl from the Isle of Ely with engraved ornament including a chirho and a peacock is of greater iconographic interest than artistic value. However, mould-made pewter plates could provide a useful *ministerium* for a family with high social pretentions but lacking the cash and perhaps the rank to buy a *ministerium* of silver. Such a service would look very grand on the sideboard, and in the dim light of most Roman houses the difference would have been hard to tell. As noted in the last chapter, pewter plates were given as gifts, either with personal messages scratched on by the donor as at Appleford or, in one case, provided as part of the design. Certainly, the large plate from Welney, Norfolk, with its elaborate geometric ornament in the centre comparable with that in the centre of the niello dish in the Mildenhall treasure, is one of the best pewter plates from Roman Britain; though surely any moderately well-educated recipient would have winced over the blundered rendering of the words UTERE FELIX 'Use happily'.

Such geometric work is quite common, as it is on silverware. Examples include several items from the Appleshaw hoard in the British Museum and the intersecting squares and central rosette on an Appleford dish (see **81**) in the Ashmolean, as well as the braided cross-design at the centre of a bowl from Bath. The effect is certainly attractive even where execution is not entirely accomplished. One of the most attractive pewter vessels is a fish dish from Appleshaw, with the engraved figure of a fish within a *vesica*-shaped field. It is paralleled by a rather plainer pewter dish from Alise-Sainte-Reine in the south of France, likewise with a fish on it. The material of which this collection of vessels is made very strongly suggests that it was brought from Britain, though whether as an export order or simply by the owner is not known. Another fascinating find is a pewter bowl from Bath, containing in its centre the cast of a coin of Constantine. It thus appears to imitate the silver bowls from the so-called 'Munich treasure' containing central medallions representing portraits of Licinius I and Licinius II, which were made as Imperial gifts. The Bath copy was surely made for someone who wanted to pretend to his friends that he was the recipient of similar largess.[59]

LATE ANTIQUE JEWELLERY IN BRITAIN

Jewellery was a quintessential part of Late Antique art, and at its most luxurious and impressive denoted the rank and social standing of its owner. We think of the great cross-bow brooches and heavy belt-fittings of the Ténès treasure and the parures shown on mosaics, ivory diptychs and silver plate from elsewhere in the Empire. Actual examples of such high-quality metalwork did reach Britain, as is shown by some of the astonishing objects in the Hoxne treasure, like the jewelled body-chain (see **88**) and the four *opus interrasile* bracelets (see **89**). These belonged to a very important lady indeed. Cross-bow brooches made of gold were worn on the right shoulder by men of high rank, as is shown on the dress of an official portrayed on the *Missorium* of Theodosius found at Almendralejo in the province of Badejoz, Spain; Stilicho himself sports a brooch of this type on the ivory diptych now in Monza Cathedral treasury. There are a few examples of gold brooches of this type from Britain; the most informative for the student of Late Roman history is the example found at Erickstanebrae, Dumfries and Galloway. Although its head is lost, its inscribed *opus interrasile* bow remains, with its inscription proclaiming that it was part of a

97 *Gold crossbow brooch from the Moray Firth, Scotland. L.7.9cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

donative from the Emperor Diocletian (see chapter 4). Likewise from Scotland, the Moray Firth crossbow brooch is embellished with engraved triangles on both bow and foot, while a cusped-motif in openwork projects on each side of the latter **(97).** There is a smaller and rather plainer brooch from Odiham, Hampshire. Other cross-bow brooches of silver and niello or gilded bronze were presumably worn by those of lower rank.[60]

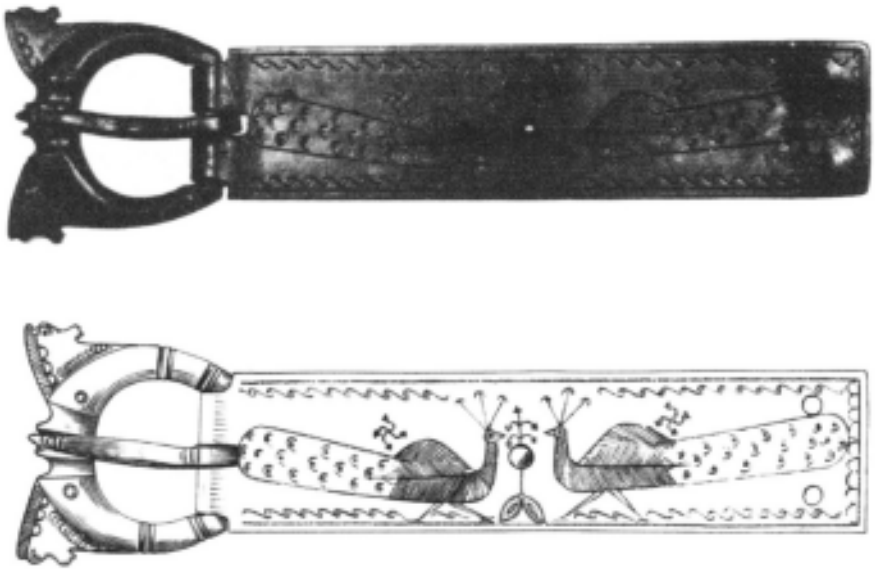
Perhaps even more interesting than the standard Late Roman jewellery are the pieces from the Thetford treasure, because, although they are thoroughly Roman in technique, they all appear to have been made locally (in East Anglia) and many bear ornament in a distinctive provincial Roman style. There were no brooches here, but 22 rings, a belt-buckle, four bracelets, two pendants and a number of chains display rare virtuosity in techniques, including filigree, chasing, casting, gem-setting and inlay of gold in glass. Texture, colour and the play of light on angled surfaces are all features of Late Roman taste generally, but most of the designs here are totally unique. We also find a religious conceit in a ring whose bezel is a vase containing a blue-green glass jewel representing water, and whose shoulders are woodpeckers, thus alluding to the father of Faunus (Picus). The head of Faunus, with two inlaid garnet ears, on another ring and the belt-buckle set with an appliqué of a satyr (or is it Faunus himself?) also point to the cult. Whether

98 *Gold, multi-jewelled ring with dolphin-hoop from the Thetford treasure, Norfolk. D.3.2cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

the jewellery comes from the same workshop as the silver is not known, but it too was surely a special order. The Thetford treasure belongs very much to its age, both generally in its deliberately antiquarian reference to an Early Roman cult, here revived, and in its cross-references to other contemporary jewellery. Filigree wires are used to produce curvilinear or plaited ornament on several rings, a technique found widely in Britain, for example on two rings from a small hoard found recently at Silchester and also on two rings from New Grange in Ireland. The type is not confined to Britain, though, as Thetford shows, such rings were certainly made here. The crested dolphins which support bezels on two of the Thetford rings **(98)** can be paralleled on a bronze ring from Canterbury. A similar dolphin comprises the bow of an unusual silver zoomorphic cross-bow brooch from Sussex (which is, incidentally, ornamented with a chi-rho on a disc at the head). Dolphins are also incorporated in the decoration of late Roman buckles, though others are embellished with confronted horse-heads—a feature also to be seen on the Thetford buckle.[61]

The belt, like the cross-bow brooch, was an important feature in Late Roman dress. As Esmonde Cleary rightly points out, it too could be worn as a symbol of rank and hence of authority, and, as with brooches, was frequently bestowed as an official gift. A well-known painting from a tomb at Silistra in Bulgaria depicts a servant about to take such a belt to his master. No high-ranking Roman would have wished to be seen in public without his belt, any more that an English gentleman would enter his club without a tie; indeed it was even more important. The gold example from Thetford is, of course, a special case, and evidently a purpose-made gift to the god Faunus who is probably depicted (as a satyr) on the plate.

More characteristic of the high-status belt are various items from the Traprain Law treasure. These include a square-ended buckle ornamented with a wave pattern and inlaid with niello. The plate exhibits an Alpha and Omega, showing that in all probability the owner was a Christian. The belt consists of segmented plates of silver, themselves with niello designs. Another belt, of leather, is partially preserved and is ornamented with lozenge-shaped studs. There is no other *cingulum* from Britain of precious metal though we can point to others of base metal which may have been official issue. Part of a buckle embellished with niello from Snodland, Kent, incorporates two portraits in its design, very possibly intended to be Imperial portraits. Similar portraits are in fact found on silver and there is an example on a vessel from Traprain Law. The plate of a buckle from Caves Inn (Tripontium), Warwickshire, has a design of peacocks flanking a tree of life **(99),** perhaps less a sign of Christianity as such than a symbol of (eternal) life, acceptable to any wearer.



99 *Bronze horse-head buckle with plate engraved with peacocks flanking a tree of life, from Cave's Inn (Trimontium), Warwickshire. Total L.1.7cm. Warwickshire Museum* (Photo: Robert Wilkins, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford; Drawing: P.A.Broxton.)

Other buckles carry geometric ornament of various types. Many buckles bear 'chip-carved' decoration. Although originally thought to be 'Germanic' we can now see this taste as exploiting the increasing pre-occupation with texture in Late Antiquity; indeed such motifs as lozenges. S-scrolls and tendrils can observed on many items of silver plate. Indeed, there are two silver strap-ends of this characteristic style from Traprain Law, described as 'Teutonic' but very similar to silverware actually preserved in the treasure. Most examples of the style from Britain are of bronze, but they are just as Roman. Some of the wearers may have been soldiers, whatever their ethnic origin; others may have been civilians, and very possibly all served the State in some way—or fancied that they did so.[62]

A local style of art, the origins of which are disputed, is associated with flat, circular brooches (quoit brooches) and with buckles; its decorative repertoire includes stylized animals, plants and rosettes. Although it is often quite removed from Classical ornament, the relationship to Late Roman work is quite close. Thus the splendid circular silver brooch from Sarre, Thanet in Kent **(100)** has a beaded border within which are two concentric friezes of animals with circular eyes. On the plate are two confronted doves in relief, with another on the pin. The formality and discipline of the design, with its double frieze, is reminiscent of Roman silverware and specific comparisons can be made between the animals depicted here and the deer on a silver ring from the Amesbury hoard **(101),** which has always been regarded as Roman, while the rendering of the confronted birds recalls the Thetford woodpeckers.

The formal rosettes and tendrils on the plate of a buckle from Orpington, Kent, and similar rosettes on a buckle-plate from Bishopstone, Sussex, are very like plates which are undoubtedly Roman. The most splendid examples of belt-fittings in this style come from a fifth-century grave at Mucking, Essex **(102);** this; was originally inlaid with silver, now largely missing. The buckle itself has a zoomorphic surround of two double-headed beasts; its attached plate has a scrolled border and contains a rectangular panel of chip-carved ornament. An associated plate has a circular panel of chip-carving and a zoomorphic surround. While some of the Roman analogues are Continental, for instance in the Vermand cemetery, Aisne, the style does not mark a break with the past. Belts and brooches were, after all, the prestige objects of the Late Roman world and, as Vera Evison wrote of the Mucking mounts, they 'were made for a privileged and possibly military section of the community …equipped partly after the Roman fashion'. Whether their taste was 'Germanic' lies in the beholder's eye.

The 'quoit-brooch style' has been associated with Germanic invaders and with Roman Britons or

100 *Silver annular quoit brooch from Sarre, Kent. D.7.7cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

sub-Roman Britons. It has, however, mainly been studied by students of the Anglo-Saxons rather than by those interested in Late Roman and Early Byzantine art. Clearly most of the finds are from Anglo-Saxon contexts, but that does not tell us much about the nationality of the creators of the style, or for that matter what the wearers of these splendid ornaments thought about them. Three silver rings with square bezels found with a hoard of Late Roman coins at Amesbury, Wiltshire (see **101**), may cast some light on this; they have engraved designs on the bezels and were probably intended to be used as signet-rings. One depicts a stag(?) very like the beasts on the Sarre brooch in its style, another has a griffin and the third, four helmeted heads. Other 'quoit-brooch rings' include one of silver found near Wantage **(103),** portraying two sea-beasts, and a gold ring from Richborough with a single helmeted bust. These all suggest the beginning of the transformation of Roman art into something else, probably in the early fifth century rather than before. Like the belt and the brooch, the signet-ring was a sign of *romanitas*. All these objects dating to the age of the English settlements seem still to belong to the culture of the Late Roman world and they form a fitting climax to the story of art in Roman Britain.[63]

101 *Three silver rings from a hoard found at Amesbury, Wiltshire, one with helmeted heads; two with animals. All have D. of c.2.5cm. British Museum.* (Photo: author.)

Jewellery allows us to see the beginning of the reemergence of Celtic enamelling as a major art form, in Late Roman Britain decorating the terminals of grand penannular brooches like the example from Bath with an eagle on one terminal and an osprey catching a salmon on the other (see **68**), or the silver handpin from Oldcroft, Lydney, Gloucestershire. Both objects are ancestral to an artistic development continuing well beyond the fourth century. Although it is tempting to bring the British art of the Dark Ages into the discussion, this is seldom Roman in spirit even where there are typological links with Roman art. Late Roman art was the art of a villa-owning aristocracy (and of Roman officials) which passed away even where it left successor kingdoms (as on the Welsh Marches, in Gwent, and in the vicinity of Wroxeter). Even the art of the Christian church, which at its late stage achieves dominance, owes only a small material debt to the artistic culture of Roman Britain. Quite often 'Roman' elements such as the designs of some hanging-bowl escutcheons really derive from the early Byzantine culture of the sixth-century Mediterranean world, where of course the physical presence of Late Antiquity still survived as a living culture. The Sutton Hoo find—the grave goods of an Anglian king—with its Byzantine silverware is perhaps the supreme example of this 'revival' of interest in Rome, past and present. From now on Roman art is a matter of antiquarian interest in the widest sense although, as we shall find in the final chapter of this book, the art of Roman Britain as such is only very occasionally held up as worthy of praise and emulation.[64]

102 *Cast bronze and silvered buckle and belt mounts from Grave 117, Mucking, Essex. Buckle: L. 10.1cm; counter plate: 5.8cm. Rectangular mount: 6.4cm; triangular mounts: both 4.8cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

103 *Silver ring depicting sea-creatures, from Wantage, Oxfordshire.* (After Proc.Soc.Ant^{2}. iv, 1867, p.38.)

CHAPTER EIGHT

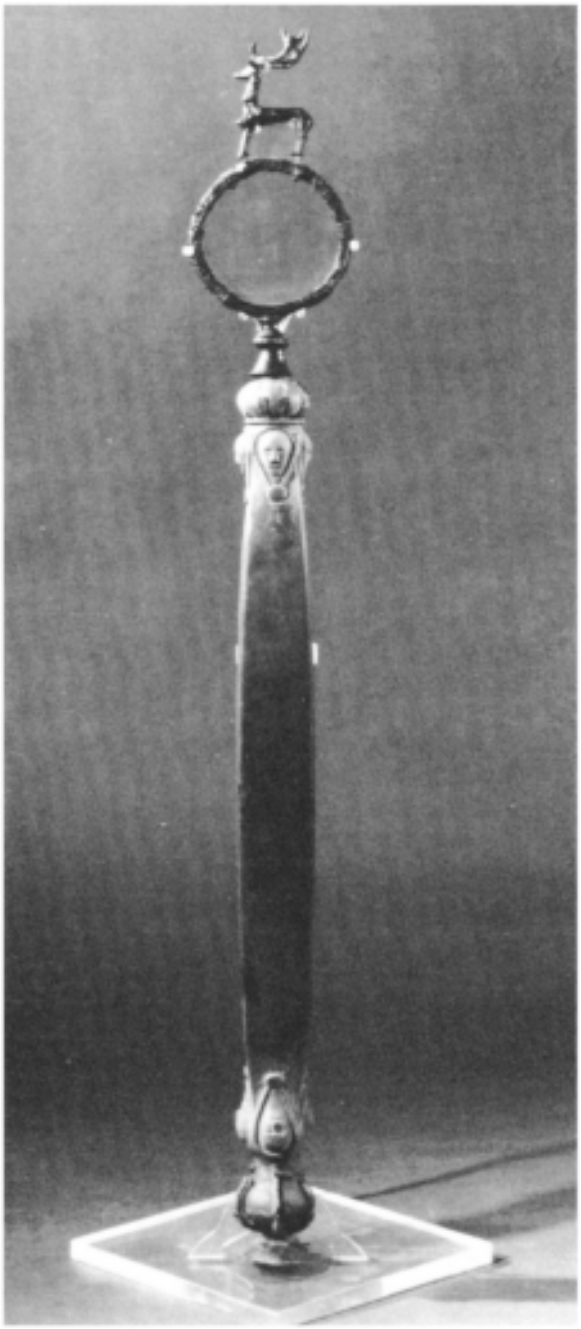
Attitudes to the Art of Roman Britain

How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn and accents yet unknown!

The rather negative view of Romano-British art expressed so eloquently by Haverfield and Collingwood, to which this book is inevitably an extended reply, has influenced the views of all writers on Roman Britain this century; not least those of Jocelyn Toynbee whose monumental study, discussing listing and often all items which could be described as *Art in Britain under the Romans* known to her in 1964, will not easily be superseded. While praise is sometimes generously given, the best native craftsmanship is always ascribed to Gauls. It is only very occasionally that the objects described are treated as having tremendous aesthetic merit in themselves, and it is this apologetic and muted response that coloured the linked exhibition on *Art in Roman Britain* held in 1962. This situation is very different from the enthusiasm for Celtic art, both pre- and post-Roman or for Anglo-Saxon art.

Essentially the reason for this lies in the traditions of research into Roman antiquity, especially from the sixteenth century onwards, though its roots go back to the early Middle Ages. I began my book on *Religion in Roman Britain* with a quotation from Gildas who mentions 'the devilish monstrosities of my land… some of which we can see today, stark as ever, inside or outside deserted city walls: outlines still ugly, faces still grim' (*De Excid. Brit.* 4, 2). Here, of course, aesthetic judgement is coloured by ideology. The ugliest thing about them was that they were pagan. The debt to Roman art of much early 'Anglo-Saxon' art and of the Celtic ornament ascribed to the Dark Ages is debatable. The most convincing link with the Romano-British past is perhaps the late sixth- or early seventh-century Sutton Hoo whetstone-sceptre with its carved faces and head consisting of a bronze stag figurine **(104).** This is not only because sceptres were widely employed in the Roman world and, indeed, in Roman Britain, but also because the naturalistic stag itself has good Romano-British analogues. Bruce-Mitford mused in the report: '[Raedwald] sought to fuse in his *bretwalda*-ship the Roman legacy and the sacral power of Germanic kingship with the role of suzerain over Celts and Celtic lands, in a new, imaginatively conceived, expertly designed and executed symbol.' Other examples of animal art which appear Classical in their realism are the early Pictish symbolic beasts, perhaps beginning in the sixth century. Again these bulls, eagles, snakes, geese, etc., are best considered as being survival rather than revival.[1]

Certainly, the Augustinian mission in the late sixth century which reintroduced Italian Christianity also brought back Roman art—a contemporary Late



104 *Sceptre from the ship burial, Sutton Hoo, Suffolk consisting of ceremonial whetstone surmounted by iron ring and cast bronze stag. H.82cm.* (Photo: British Museum.)

Antique Roman art which is well represented by the *Gospels of St Augustine* now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but also by the *Codex Amiatinus,* now in Florence but actually produced at Jarrow. The Ezra miniature in the latter shows a scribe in Classical dress, his implements beside him and a book-cupboard embellished with typical early Christian ornament, such as confronted peacocks, confronted sheep, chalices and a chi-rho as well as crosses. However, the art here is that of the central Empire just as the churches of what the late Stuart Rigold called the *'Litus Romanum'* are Italian and not Romano-British. David Wilson writes of the Codex that it 'was perhaps too advanced in its stylistic approach to appeal to the taste of the English Church; its style never caught on'. The silver vessels from Sutton Hoo are no more products of Roman Britain than these manuscripts; the exceptionally large Anastasius dish, indeed, has control stamps of that East Roman emperor (AD 491–518) and no doubt came to Britain as a result of renewed contact with the Mediterranean at the end of the sixth century.[2]

However, the reinvigorated taste for antiquity meant that, potentially at least, Roman art could be admired and copied wherever it was to be found. The well-known and beautiful poem *The Ruin* can probably be localized at Bath because of its mention of hot springs, but its poignant lament for fallen grandeur is too general to form any basis for a critical assessment of Anglo-Saxon taste in such matters.[3] The best-known instance of specific interest in the artistic past is St Cuthbert's visit to Carlisle (Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti,* 27) when he admired a beautiful fountain of Roman date, although there is no information that it was ornamented. Possible direct influence of Romano-British art may be seen in the inhabited vine-scrolls in eighth-century sculpture fragments from Jarrow and upon the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses dating to *c.*800, which it is tempting to compare with a Romano-British relief from Hexham depicting scrollwork. However, it is at least as likely that the inspiration here, like that on the late eighth-century Ormside bowl, comes from contemporary southern Europe, no earlier than the Augustinian mission.

The linear drapery of the figures on the Ruthwell Cross, as well as those in the Lindisfarne gospels, is certainly reminiscent of the style of the Murrell Hill tombstone (see **37**) and other examples of the

Carlisle school on the one hand, and of the *Vergilius Romanus* (see **76** and **92**) or the Low Ham mosaic **(colour plates IX, X)** on the other. However, it is quite possible to derive the influence from elsewhere—from icons or even *opus sectile*, with dates much closer to the seventh and eighth centuries.[4] I am more convinced about prototypes from Roman Britain in the case of the stacked half-length figures on the Otley Cross, Yorkshire, and on certain other Anglo-Saxon tombstones, such as the bust of Christ from Whitchurch, Hampshire, which seems to echo a type represented by *stelae* from Vindolanda, Risingham, High Rochester, York and London, although even here it has been suggested that the Roman sources used by the sculptors came from abroad.[5] A Classical source may lie behind the representation of a warrior on a mid-eighth-century cross-shaft at Repton, Derbyshire—perhaps a cavalry tombstone (which is one of the Roman prototypes canvassed in the publication) or a religious monument such as the warrior relief in Nottingham University Museum, or the much finer relief from Stragglethorpe, Lincolnshire; but once again it is impossible to be confident about the true nature of the source.[6]

Roman forms were absorbed into Romanesque art and perhaps for this reason specific local prototypes are even harder to suggest. While Roman art could be very much admired (even though misunderstood, as for instance in the case of the Great Cameo of St Albans illustrated by Matthew Paris), it is seldom that we can point to specifically Romano-British exemplars, though it is not unlikely that objects found on Roman sites provided inspiration to artists. On the whole, as much later, in the Renaissance, the twelfth century took its culture from southern Europe, and Henry of Blois evidently collected his statues in Rome. Respond capitals from Normandy and England may, nevertheless, owe something to Roman inhabited capitals which were fairly widespread in Europe. The very rich example from York is paralleled by Zarnecki with examples from the Loire Valley, but a Roman capital on an imbricated column from Catterick allows the possibility of a nearer source in Roman Britain. Also in Yorkshire, a font at Reighton of square shape and ornamented with chip-carving could well be derived from a Roman altar, while another font at Toller Porcorum, Dorset, embellished with a volute and ram's head seems to be indebted to a lost Romano-British original.[7]

During the Middle Ages actual examples of Roman sculpture, *spolia*, were visibly incorporated in buildings, such as the Great Hall of Chepstow Castle and churches at Compton Dando, Somerset, and Marlborough and Tockenham in Wiltshire; but a positive attitude to such objects had to await the new learning, at first historical and then epigraphic, in the sixteenth century. Sir Robert Cotton, who spanned the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, visited the 'Picts Wall' in 1599 and collected some inscriptions including one set up by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls at Risingham, one of the most attractively decorated dedication slabs from northern Britain. Its central frame containing an octagonal wreath is flanked by *aediculae* in which are images of Victory and Mars respectively. Camden refers to it and the stone is still extant in Cambridge, although presumably it was preserved in the first instance for its short dedication rather than for its rich frame.[8] Nevertheless, the cenotaph erected in 1613–15 by Cotton in All Saints, Conington, Huntingdonshire, to Prince David of Scotland incorporates features of Roman art which Cotton had learned about from his northern trip. By this time Roman art was being experienced by wealthy Englishmen in Italy itself, and in any case Classical art, whether Roman or Renaissance, could be enjoyed or emulated through books, notably by Serlio and Palladio. There was no need to seek precedents in Roman Britain.[9]

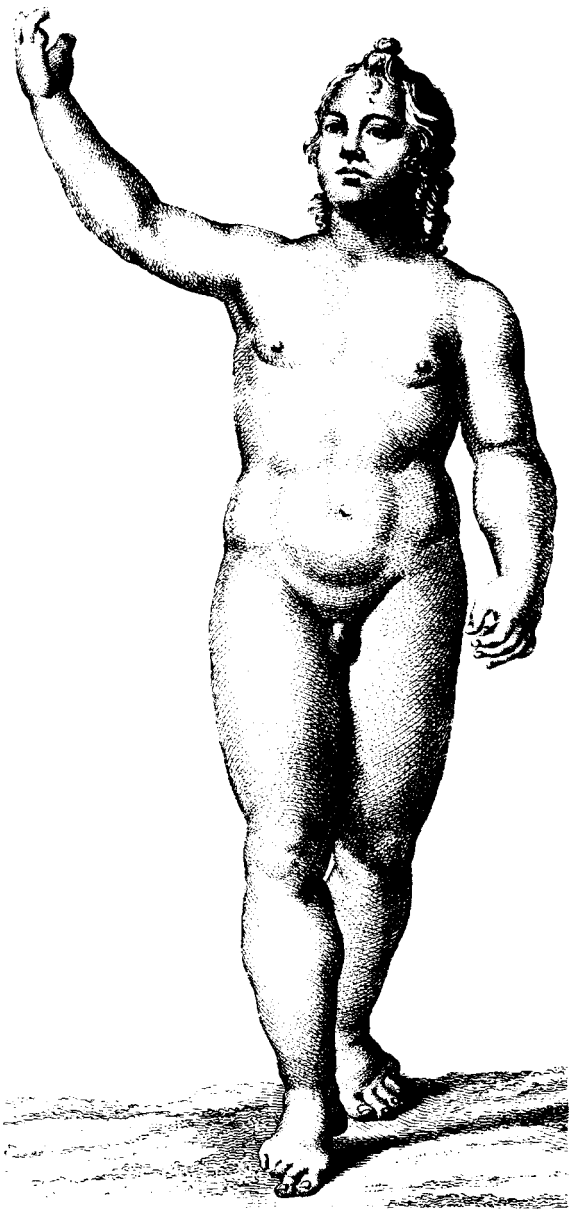
The main interest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was aristocratic and concerned with the marbles and gems which could be obtained in Rome and further afield. The Grand Tour travels of the *dilettanti* made this possible and left to the more humble antiquaries, whose interests were largely topographical and historical, the charting of Roman Britain. Here inscriptions, albeit often associated with sculpture, remained of primary interest. This is evident in the ambitious coverage of sculpture and inscriptions in the second book of John Horsley's *Britannia Romana* published in 1733. The author recommends them as being 'very curious' and throughout is concerned with historical rather than aesthetic considerations. When he finally comes on to the gilt-bronze head of Minerva from Bath, found in 1727, he does describe it as 'yet a very beautiful and elegant figure' but goes on to add: 'whether we should call it the head of Pallas or Apollo (though both the place where it was found, and the air of the face, seem to favour

the latter) 'tis not for me to say; since that learned body, who first published it, have not thought fit to determine this.'[9]

Occasionally, the ability of a particular scholar achieved higher standards. A statuette, possibly part of a table-lamp stand, was ploughed up in the Lewses, Cirencester, in 1732 and shown to Thomas Hearne. Although suspicious of the finders, he correctly identified the subject matter as Cupid rather than Apollo. It was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries some thirty years later and was ultimately published in *Archaeologia* in 1785 with a fine plate by the eldest James Basire **(105).** Later it came to form part of the Bodleian Collection, before being transfered to the Ashmolean in the late nineteenth century.[10] William Stukeley, too, for all his delving into the Druids, was versed in Classical scholarship and had friends in those aristocratic circles which admired it, and could afford to travel to see it. His publication of the Risley Park *lanx* in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries on 8 April 1736 is the result of one of his forays into Roman art and its quality and scholarship makes one wish he had not been side-tracked into the insidious snares of 'British Antiquity'. Nevertheless his identification of the *Ecclesia Bogiensis* of the inscription with Bouges in Tourain, encouraged him to believe that it was brought to England from France during the French wars of the fifteenth century. Stukeley also produced a pioneering study of the interesting coin issues of Carausius; he has been criticized for wrongly identifying an unusual coin showing a female bust with Carausius' wife 'Oriuna', when in fact it shows Fortuna, but given the ubiquity of coins showing empresses, the lapse is in fact quite understandable, and the large-scale plates in the book certainly allow for the appreciation of these British-minted coins as art.[11]

Mosaics provided the best opportunity for the pursuit of Classical archaeology within Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At first there was little opportunity for scholarly comparison and the learned were driven back on their knowledge of ancient writers. Without any tradition of iconographical scholarship it is not surprising that a mosaic from Leicester showing Cyparissus and the stag, discovered about 1675 and published 1710–12 in the Philosophical Transactions, was thought to portray Actaeon. However, the fact that the fragment has been preserved shows that its merits, especially its

105 *Bronze statuette of Cupid from Cirencester. H.41cm. Ashmolean Museum.* (After J.Basire (i), Archaeologia vii, 1785, pl.xxix.)



iconographical interest, were appreciated at the time.[12] Unfortunately most other mosaics were allowed to deteriorate not long after discovery, although not before they had been the subject of considerable interest. The Stonesfield Pavement is perhaps the best known of these early finds. Discovered in January 1712 it was soon the talk of Oxford and was visited on five occasions by the young Hearne, who at first thought it was medieval and depicted St Michael and the dragon, though he later came to the conclusion that it was laid about 369 and depicted 'Apollo Sagitarius', the view he put forward in his *Discourse concerning the Stonesfield Tesselated Pavement*. Despite his Classical abilities and access to books in the Bodleian, he was not as clear sighted here as he was in the case of the Cirencester cupid and it was other men, including the astronomer, Edmund Halley and John Pointer, chaplain of Merton, who pointed out that the subject was Bacchus holding a *thyrsus*, seated upon a large feline.

Hearne's fervent advocacy of the Apollo hypothesis convinced Dr Woodward, though that gentleman's credulity is forever associated with his famous or infamous iron shield, which he believed to be Roman. We do at least owe it to Hearne that the mosaic was engraved after study of the original by Michael Burghers, the University of Oxford engraver. It entered European scholarship, however, through a somewhat inferior engraving which found its way to Samuel Pitiscus, who used it as a frontispiece for his Lexicon *Antiquitatum Romanorum*, published in Leeuwarden in 1713. Later, in 1725, after the pavement had been lost to sight it was re-engraved by George Vertue and the design was apparently used by a lady as a pattern for embroidering a carpet. The pavement was rediscovered in tolerable condition in 1779, by which time it could be compared with work at Herculaneum.[13] The Littlecote pavement, found in 1730 by William George of Littlecote Park, had a similar fate; it too was engraved by Vertue (this time from the life) and later embroidered in needlework by George's widow, whose enchanting and unusual recreation of one of the most interesting (and controversial) mosaics of Roman Britain was, until recently, in Littlecote House. This mosaic floor was seen as of a temple dedicated to Bacchus, which accords with the views of the excavators and the present writer more than with the more prosaic views of other recent scholars. The pavement was literally 'lost', only to be recovered in recent times by Bryn Walters and happily repaired and restored.[14]

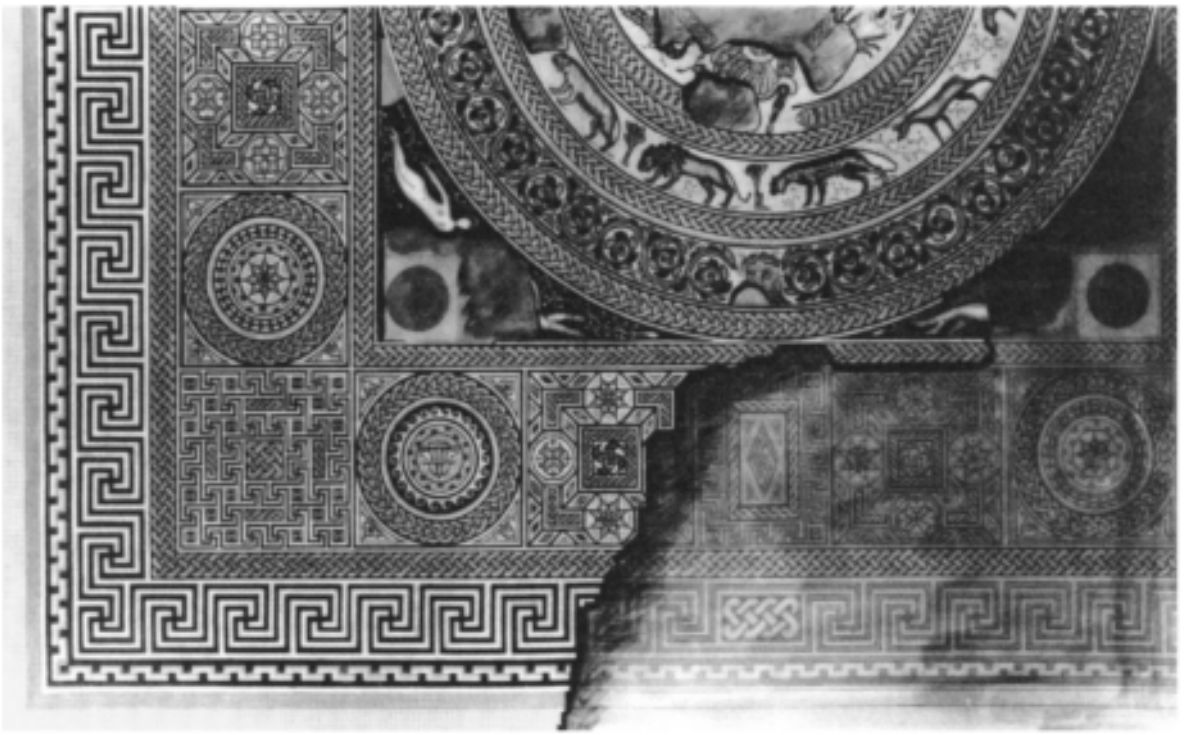
The culmination of the interest in and investigation of mosaics came at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, with the gentleman-scholar Samuel Lysons. His account of Woodchester was dedicated very fulsomely to George III:

> *Georgio III Britanniae Regi has Romanorum apud Britannos magnificentiae reliquias humillime d.d.d. Samuel Lysons.*

It was issued in 1797 in a giant folio volume with a French text as well as one in English, and it was clearly intended that it should find a place in noble libraries throughout Europe **(106).**[15] Lysons' style of excavation around this time becomes apparent in the text to the first part of his *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*, in connection with Frampton, where he worked in 1796 and 1797. 'After inspecting these remains', he writes:

> I proceeded to Weymouth, about twelve miles distant, where the King then was, and his Majesty understanding that I was desirous of making further discoveries, was graciously pleased to order that a party of the Royal Lancashire regiment of fencibles, then encamped in the neighbourhood, should be at my disposal for that purpose and they were shortly afterwards marched to the spot, with tents for their accommodation.

In September Lysons 'had the high gratification of shewing the whole to their Majesties, who with their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth and Mary, proceeded from Weymouth to Frampton with the purpose of inspecting them.' During the following year Lysons had the use of the South Gloucestershire regiment and again entertained the Royal party.[16] Lysons was always careful to depict only what was there; sometimes he conjectures missing pieces in simple line, but in one major case, even here, he used solid evidence. The first mosaic to be found at Frampton had been uncovered in 1794 by James Engleheart. However, it was already partially destroyed (by frost?) by the time Lysons first saw it two years later, and so he used the Engleheart drawing (now in the Dorset County



106 *South side of great Orpheus pavement, Woodchester, Gloucestershire*. (After Lysons 1797, pl.vii.)

Museum) when he came to publish his own engraving **(colour plate XI).**[17]

The Frampton excavation seems to have had the same cachet as the contemporary Neapolitan researches in Pompeii and Herculaneum. So did the excavation of the villa at Bignor, Sussex, which Lysons supervised and published **(colour plate XII)** for John Hawkins of Bignor Park. Hawkins had travelled extensively in Europe and had just rebuilt his house in Neo-Classical style. It is clear that Bignor provided the opportunity for finding high-quality works of art, such as a man of Hawkins' taste might have expected to find in Italy. Just at this time, during the Napoleonic wars, access to the famous sites of Rome and Italy was often difficult and so the discovery of mosaics in Britain was timely. Bignor was a pioneering site in another way, for, like Pompeii and Herculaneum, albeit on a smaller scale, it has continued to be a site to visit down to the present day, thanks to the excellent *cottages ornées* provided as cover buildings.[18]

Lysons' excavations and the *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*, however imperfectly realized, do seem to have broken new ground in the study of the mosaic art of Roman Britain—from Horkstow, Lincolnshire **(colour plate XIII)** in volume 1, discovered in 1796

and engraved in 1801, to Bignor, Sussex **(colour plate XII)** in volume 3, discovered in 1811, with the publication of the plates in 1814. The title page of the first volume, dedicated to the Prince Regent and issued in 1813, makes an eloquent point by including two roundels derived from coins, one showing *Roma* and the other *Britannia:* two goddesses of equal standing. The advertisement is worth quoting in *extenso*, as the sentiments, while of the Augustan age, seem to me closer to the truth of the matter than are those of most writers even of the present century:

> Although scarcely any traces exist above ground, of the buildings erected by the Romans, during the four hundred years they continued in possession of this Island, yet sufficient remains have been discovered beneath the surface of the earth to shew that they were very abundant: and perhaps it is not too much to say, that no province of the Roman Empire contained a greater number of extensive and richly-decorated villas. So much at least may be inferred from the splendid vestiges of Mosaic pavements, found in our midland and southern counties. These remains exhibit many interesting and curious examples of ancient art and magnificence; having been produced at different periods, several varieties of style, as well as gradations of excellence, may be perceived in them; but though not all equally admirable, either in design or execution, they all evince the pure sources of taste and genius from which they originated.

The noble reader is thus told that the mosaics of Roman Britain are fully as worthy of his notice as Roman art from Italy. Despite some stylistic lapses:

> There are, nevertheless, few of the figures…so maimed by a stubborn process, as not to preserve evident traces of the graceful originals whence they were derived; and many forms and attitudes, long known and admired in gems, in paintings, and basso-relievos, may be easily recognized in the pavements of these British-Roman edifices.

At the end of this introduction Lysons concludes by hoping that the work 'may be thought an acceptable addition to the Libraries of this and other countries'. He also apologizes for the expense of production which was necessary if quality was to be maintained.[19]

The *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae* was not confined to mosaics though it is for these that it is best remembered. Among the rest, the drawings of the architectural sculpture discovered at Bath in 1790 are of great importance. Lysons tells us that 'several very imperfect representations' had already been published but he had been fortunate:

> to obtain most accurate drawings, in the year 1800 by the assistance of Mr Robert Smirke, jun, who from those remains restored the fronts of the two Temples, with a degree of taste and judgement, which at that early period of his life, gave an earnest of the architectural skill he has since shewn.

The elevation of the main temple has been widely accepted and the most recent study concludes that 'there is nothing among the recent discoveries to require any significant modification to be made'; the second temple is now reconstructed somewhat differently as the 'Façade of the Four Seasons', but that does not take anything away from the meticulous craftsmanship revealed here. For only the second time, the arts of Roman Britain were being recognized by a Neo-Classical architect, though it does not seem that these two structures influenced any building. How fitting if the Temple of Sulis Minerva had been allowed to influence the design of the British Museum.[20]

Lysons does not stand completely alone in work of high quality; for example his contemporary. William Fowler, engraved the mosaics of the East Midlands and especially Winterton and other sites in Lincolnshire, including Horkstow, where, however, Samuel Lysons also recorded the mosaics and produced far superior results **(colour plate XIII).** In less ambitious schemes such as at Roxby a few miles away **(colour plate XVI)** he managed to achieve almost the same standard as his great rival. E.T.Artis was another fine archaeologist of the Neo-Classical period who published excellent plates not only of mosaics **(colour plate XV)** but also of wall-paintings and barbotine pottery, all found in the vicinity of Water Newton.[21] However, the tradition of high-quality mosaic-recording and publication did not long survive and its decline is signalled by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his treatment of the 'Roman Aera', appended in 1821 to *Auncient Wiltescire*.[22]

Colt Hoare was a great and pioneering scholar as prehistorians everywhere will testify; he also had good

Classical credentials. However, in surveying Roman remains in his own county, 110 pages are devoted to topography and a mere 15 to mosaics. Nor is it only in quantity that the treatment of art is lacking. On page 72, a bronze figurine from Folly Farm near Marlborough is mentioned and is illustrated in a plate. The comment is: 'The female figure is given of its original size, and is not devoid of elegance in proportion and design. She appears to have held a *speculum* in her hand.' Colt Hoare should surely have been able to identify the figure as Venus, even with the poor drawing by P.Crocker. In discussing mosaics Colt Hoare writes: 'The magnificent work entitled *Britannia Romana,* which Mr Lysons lived to complete, will ever reflect the greatest honour on himself, and credit to the nation.' Not only are the monochrome plates used by Colt Hoare very disappointing, but the scholarship is cursory too.[23]

Elsewhere, it is true, the polite treatment of works of art from Roman Britain continued through the first half of the nineteenth century. Colt Hoare himself was concerned with the first publication of the mosaic found at Thruxton, Hampshire, in 1823, together with his contemporary, the Revd Dr James Ingram. Ingram's own definitive and most scholarly account was not published until 1851, the year after his death, together with a hand-coloured engraving by J.H.Le Keux. Although this rather mediocre illustration has been the basis for discussion of the floor, a series of much better engravings, real works of art not unworthy of Lysons himself, had been produced by a local Hampshire schoolmaster, John Lickman **(colour plate XIV).** Colt Hoare had examples at Stourhead, but the best is arguably a reconstruction of the mosaic which came into the hands of Joseph Clarke of Saffron Walden, a close friend of Roach Smith and a member of that brilliant circle of antiquaries which remained true to the British Archaeological Association after a faction of the Association split away to form the Archaeological Institute in 1845/6. Lickman produced other engravings, notably of the Bramdean mosaics, but these too remained unpublished at Stourhead, and Lickman remains largely unknown. The reason is surely expense; the time of Stukeley's royal patronage and of *de luxe* productions had almost passed, though Henry Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae,* with its archaic title and high-quality illustrations of mosaics, appeared as late as 1852.[24]

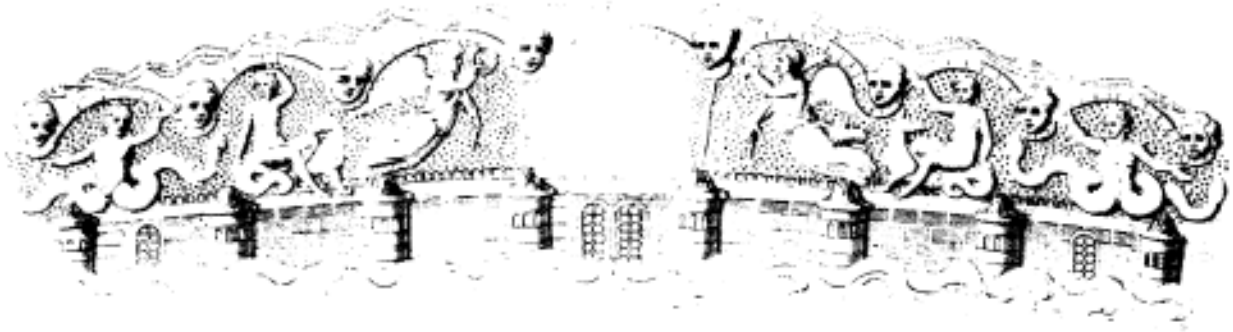
During the same period, individual objects of Roman date found in Britain sometimes caught the eye of the connoisseur, and were illustrated by three generations of engravers working for the Society of Antiquaries, all called James Basire. The Ribchester helmet **(107** and see **32)** was published in 1799 by Charles Townley, and a very detailed treatment of a statuette of inlaid bronze, portraying a cuirassed emperor, probably Nero **(108),** then in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham whose seat was Barking Hall, Suffolk, appeared on five plates in 1807. They were bound together in the fourth volume of *Vetusta Monumenta* in 1815.[25] The same meticulous care in illustration is still to be observed by the last James Basire in John Gage's meticulous and remarkable excavation report on the Bartlow Barrows, which deserves to be far better known than it is. In *Archaeologia* for 1836, he describes a jug **(109)** in the following terms:

> The elegance in the form of the *praefericulum* may be observed, which certainly is not unworthy of Greece…. The inlaying of metals, as the silver cones introduced into the bronze was common to the ancients, and the Museo Borbonico possesses many examples of candelabri, and other things, in that species of work which the Italians call alla Damaschina….[26]

He continues by praising an enamelled vessel as 'a most rare specimen of the encaustum of the ancients': citing both Philostratus and Pliny. In this case he is aware that the work is provincial—Gaulish or British. For the most part, however, the Roman works which were praised are those of strongly Classical character, such as a group of bronzes found in the course of railway works at Colchester, which Charles Newton, in *Archaeologia* for 1846, singled out as 'distinguished by the beauty of the art from almost all the works of Roman times hitherto discovered in this country'. They were 'tokens of a degree of social refinement beyond the general standard of civilisation in the remote and half-reclaimed province of Roman Britain'. The finds included a miniature bust of Caligula, and a figure of Jupiter, on which the sculptor Sir Richard Westmacott was called in to give an appreciation.[27]

A more remarkable report by C.H.Hartshorne on sculptures, carved from local oolitic limestone, found

107 *Bronze parade helmet from Ribchester, Lancashire. Front view. H.28cm. British Museum.* (Engraving by J. Basire in Vet.Mon. iv, pl.ii 1815 (Townley 1799.) *(See also fig.32.)*



upon the estates of the Duke of Bedford, was published in the following year's Archoeologia (see **56** and **57**). He writes that the sculptor:

> …used the material that was at hand; and considering its hard, uncertain, and occasionally schistous or laminated character, he has produced as fair specimens of his art as these natural circumstances would allow. Their actual merit…has however been thus determined by the judgement of Sir Richard Westmacott, one of your Society, who has examined them, and some of whose works, adorning the same noble collection where these are placed, whilst they will bring their own author before admiring posterity, will also be the safest test of our forming a correct judgement upon the merits of the present ones.

In other words these sculptures, for all their fragmentary condition, will compare with Westmacott's own productions.[28]

Bearing present interests in mind, the most striking book title of the middle of the nineteenth century is surely *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the site of Ancient Corinium* by Professor Buckman and C.H.Newmarch which appeared in 1850, the year before the Great Exhibition. The dedication still reads as though it were written in the eighteenth century, although there was admittedly more justification for the fulsome praise here than usually: 'To the Right Honourable Henry George Earl Bathurst to whose liberality the Public is indebted for the preservation of the tessellated pavements, which form so important a part of the remains of Roman art in Britain, this volume is respectfully inscribed by his Lordship's obedient, servants, the authors'. It is unfortunate that the contents do not live up to the promise of the title or the preface that the work 'by means of accurate drawings and descriptions', will 'afford to the antiquary, and the man of taste, an opportunity of forming conclusions as to the state of the people who occupied this interesting station at a period long prior to the one marked by modern civilization' and even to make these observations secondary to the 'elucidation of matters of a like character, which are continually being found in the many Roman sites in our Island'.

As in Colt Hoare's work, there is a distinct retreat from the learned and international scholarship of

108 *Bronze statuette with silver and niello inlay from Baylham Mill, Coddenham, Suffolk showing the emperor Nero (detail). British Museum.* (Engraving by J. Basire (1807), Vet. Mon. iv, 1815, pl.xiii.)

109 *Bronze jug from one of the Bartlow Barrows on the Essex/Cambridgeshire border. H.24.5cm.* (After J.Basire (iii), Archaeologia xxvi, 1836, pl.xxxiv.)

Lysons and other like-minded Classicists, in favour of the topographical tradition of the English antiquaries. This is shown in sections covering the site, fortifications and roads associated with the City at the front of the volume, and in those on the finds of pottery, small finds and coins which conclude it. The chapter on architecture is very thin and limited to a few conjectures, except that it gives the most accurate interpretation of the inhabited capital that was to appear until John Phillips published his paper in 1976, for all the figures were rightly recognized as Bacchic. In the description of the first figure over whose 'right shoulder rises a double faced axe (the *Bipennis*), while the elevated left hand holds a branch of the vine with a bunch of grapes upon it', one cannot help but feel that if the writers had been nurtured in eighteenth-century Classicism, the figure would have been identified as Lycurgus rather than the 'Indian Bacchus'.

The tessellated pavements are described, notably the newly-discovered floors of Dyer Street. The descriptions are accompanied by illustrations which were executed with great care and reproduced by means of a newly invented process, Talbotype, clearly very much cheaper than Lysons' great lithographs. The artistic assessment by the authors is amateur in the extreme, and for the expert view Mr Westmacott is again called in: 'Here is grandeur of form, dignity of character, and great breadth of treatment, which strongly reminds me of the finest Greek schools. I do not mean to say that of Phidias, but of subsequent masters, even of Lysippus.' He goes on to compare the treatment of the figures with that of statues and reliefs in the British Museum, and to praise the excellence of the colouring and 'the fine feeling of the picturesque confined within the limits of grand simplicity'. He concludes that 'these interesting specimens satisfy me as an artist, beyond the shadow of doubt, that such works were produced after examples of the very highest reach of Art.' Buckman and Newmarch themselves were clearly more interested in materials and methods of construction than in aesthetic questions and devote chapters to them as well as to wall decoration, of which only fragments remained.[29]

The middle of the century saw a great growth of public interest in archaeology among the new middle classes and a consequent proliferation of societies. Although the list of subscribers to Buckman and Newmarch is headed by the Prince Consort, the Archbishop of York and two dozen peers of the realm, there was also a large number of commoners, including many of the scholars of the age, notably Charles Roach Smith and his circle. The project was associated with the Archaeological Institute, which carried reports on the discovery of Roman antiquities, as did the rival *British Archaeological Association* which was especially associated with Charles Roach Smith, who published a paper on the beautiful bronze head of Hadrian from London in the first issue:

> It is our duty rather to rejoice over what has been saved from the general wreck, than to lament over what cannot be recovered; and especially when we consider how few of the many similar relics which are accidently dug up from their resting places are secured from the hand of ignorance, which unintentionally, and simply from want of knowledge of their value, consigns them to a fate from which there is no recall.

Although for the most part the new populism was inimical to Roman archaeology, it had a fervent advocate here. However, Roach Smith and his friends, such as Joseph Clarke, Thomas Wright and Joseph Mayer (all stalwarts of the British Archaeological Association), were exceptional in the catholicity of their interests; Mayer at Liverpool and Clarke at Saffron Walden were avid collectors of Classical antiquities. Clarke amassed a useful archive of drawings and engravings of Roman mosaics. Wright wrote a useful paper on engraved gems from Wroxeter.[30]

Roach Smith towers above them all. The unusual quality of his scholarship can best be seen in his *Illustrations of Roman London,* printed in 1859 but which looked back to the exacting standards of a past age. As he tells us in the Preface, his own great collection was acquired in London from excavations made for sewers as well as dredging to deepen the bed of the Thames. He also roundly condemns the Corporation of the City of London for not founding a museum of antiquities which, in the context, would have been largely Roman. Thus, indirectly, he reveals a decline, or at least a shift, in taste, to which Roach Smith himself was immune. In writing of Christian iconoclasm as a result of 'the exuberance of religious zeal, which aimed at the annihilation of every object of pagan worship, or which was likely to perpetuate or recall

tendencies to paganism', we find in him a spiritual heir to Edward Gibbon and the Enlightenment:

> When we consider…the total absence, in the middle ages, of that feeling for the remains of antiquity which prevails among the better educated of the present day, the general indifference with which they are still regarded, and the natural consequence of this apathy, we have reviewed the main causes which have combined to efface in so many towns all vestiges of the grander works of antiquity; vestiges which serve to create, when they do exist, an impression of their entirety, and permit the mind to renovate monuments from their ruins and picture them in their days of youth and glory.[31]

In this book sculptures and mosaics are discussed with wide-ranging scholarship and are meticulously illustrated by F.W.Fairholt and others. Thus a group of *matres* discovered at Crutched Friars is compared with similar groups from the Rhineland, while the great head of Hadrian from the Thames provides the excuse for an encomium on the arts of that Emperor's day.[32] He continues with a sensitive account of the figurines also found in the Thames, with pertinent quotations from Tibullus and Ovid. How many modern excavators would do the same? He is most interested by the Atys which, although inferior as art, afforded 'a representation of a mythological person-age whose effigies are somewhat uncommon'. He rightly compares the figure with a relief on the side of a [Jupiter] column found at Wroxeter.[33] The section on tessellated pavements begins with a short but masterly account of mosaic-work in Classical sources and remains, at home and abroad. He then turns to those of Bishopsgate Street, Theadneedle Street, Leadenhall Street and Fenchurch Street in London, noting that those he is about to describe 'cannot be considered as constituting, upon the most moderate calculation, the tenth part of the number destroyed during the present century, or, perhaps, during the last twenty or thirty years'.

His account is marked by an intelligent appreciation of workmanship and an instinctive feel for iconography. Although his identification of the *emblema* on the Bishopsgate Street mosaic as Europa and the Bull may be wrong, he rightly compares the Bacchic pavement of Leadenhall Street with that from Thruxton.[34] When he turns to wall-painting, he illustrates a grave-relief from Sens and discusses technique. If this section is brief and the full designs could not be recovered, the reason is 'the fractured condition in which these paintings were excavated, and the total want of any provision for extricating them with care'. Nevertheless, in his two-coloured plates he shows that imitation marbling as well as figural subjects were employed.[35] Meticulous care was also taken with samian and other pottery, glass and small finds, so much so that this is still a book which can be used by the scholar when many much more recent books are forgotten.

As has already been hinted, the taste of the second half of the nineteenth century was predominantly for the work of the Middle Ages rather than that of Ancient Rome. Medieval art was relatively abundant, spoke for the new religiosity of the High Victorian Age and was above all English. There was a medieval church in almost every village. Thus although, even in 1886, Thomas Morgan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* still pays lip service to the aristocratic traditions represented by Lysons, he finds it necessary to apologise for the pagan nature of the subject matter! Another sign of the times is an attempt to show that the designs of mosaics influenced those employed by medieval sculptors, presumably thus giving the material enhanced value. Morgan is explicit that he is writing for the newly educated middle class, specifically 'the whole body of Associates of the British Archaeological Association' to whom, alongside the noble president of the Association, the Right Hon. the Earl Granville K.G. and other members of the council, the work is dedicated. The book is curiously discursive, with chapters on the Roman topography of Britain, Greek astronomy and philosophy interrupting the flow of the narrative. The plates 'plain and coloured' are a sad disappointment and do not suggest the artistic qualities of their originals.

Archaeological discoveries were made at an increasing rate but those from Britain were for the most part discussed by local antiquaries and seldom illustrated by draughtsmen of merit. Collingwood Bruce's work on Hadrian's Wall (published in 1867) and W.T.Watkin's on Cheshire (1886) admittedly contain pleasing woodcuts (see **26**) but the authors were not art historians nor, admittedly, can a great percentage of their material be claimed as work of great artistic value. There were exceptions to this general neglect, most notably the excavation of the

Bucklersbury pavement in the heart of the City of London in 1869. It was visited by more than 50,000 people, and so engaged the enthusiasm of the Lord Mayor and the Corporation that it was lifted for the new Guildhall Museum. The 1870 publication by J.E.Price, entitled *A Description of the Roman Tessellated Pavement found in Bucklersbury with observations on analogous discoveries*, aims to put mosaics into context for the Victorian Londoner. Ten years later Price, together with F.G.Hilton Price, published a guide to the newly discovered remains at Brading on the Isle of Wight.[36]

By now photography could have provided a new tool for the study of ancient art but its potential was not realized in relation to the present subject until this century. James Curle's meticulous report on Newstead (1911) included many items of artistic value, such as the parade helmets, and photographs of these duly appear in this splendid volume. Then, in 1914, Haverfield published the Corbridge *lanx* properly for the first time, with a photograph. However, the first monograph to publish a large assemblage of art objects from a site in Britain using this valuable medium was Alexander Curle's book on the Traprain Law treasure (1923). Its coverage is exceptional and its splendid photographs and careful drawings (see **95** and **96**) show how such works should be viewed; it was not until the Thetford treasure was published in 1983 that we had any other project on the same scale. It might be assumed that special treatment was accorded the silver because it was essentially 'High art', Classical rather than British, but the fact that both Curles were Scots, living in a country where Classical taste flourished strongly through the nineteenth century, is illuminating.[37]

However, Classicism increasingly meant Ancient Greece, whose discovery and archaeological and touristic exploitation led to a general undervaluing of Roman art in general, which lasted through the first three quarters of the twentieth century. Provincial art was especially scorned, for surely here were copies of copies that had lost all contact with original ideas. The standard statements on art in Roman Britain used by the author of this work when studying for his Ancient History A-Level in the late 1950s were those of Haverfield and especially Collingwood, though by then they were beginning to appear inadequate. Indeed, a first hint of a new understanding was published at about the same time that Collingwood wrote his famous chapter. It is an altogether more detailed account by Thomas Kendrick, but as it was buried in a book about the succeeding period not a great deal of notice was taken of it.[38] Kendrick's Roman Britain, like Haverfield's and Collingwood's, comprised on the one side the Romans whose art 'is not very much more than an unequivocal statement…of the majestic fact of the Roman world-empire. It is revealed to us at once as something foreign and imposed'. On the other hand there is barbarian art. Unlike Haverfield and Collingwood this is not epitomized by the Bath Gorgon save in its expression—'an un-Roman quality of menacing divinity'—though on the whole Kendrick does not see sufficient here to ascribe the work to a Briton. The sculpture which Kendrick really admires are coarsely cut heads such as:

> …the magnificent horned head of red sandstone in the Carlisle Museum, which I am inclined to honour as the finest piece of native carving in the whole length of Roman Britain. It is a relentless and implacable Celtic wonder, terrifying in its grimly supernatural power. There is nothing here that is just decadent or unskilled classicism; on the contrary, the work is conspicuously brilliant in its unimpaired native vigour, and, in fact, gains strength from a courageous and downright renunciation of the classical method.[39]

With this build up we expect something truly remarkable. Instead Kendrick illustrates a very incompetently carved, block-like head, certainly not from a regular sculptural workshop, and to my eyes totally without merit. He goes on to praise one of the more inept and child-like gravestones from Chester, figuring the centurion Marcus Aurelius Nepos and his wife (see **25**) '…it is genuine, and is barbarously strong and truthful, instead of being a poor classical fake'.[40]

If his treatment of sculpture appears perverse, there was still no objective criterion on which he could base his assessment of provincial art. Although he got closer to identifying the subjects of the great Cirencester Jupiter-column capital, 'busts of Zeus with the bipennis, of Silvanus, and of Bacchus and of an Amazon', it is seen as official Roman art, 'probably the work of an Asiatic of the Constantian Age'.[41]

Kendrick saw the characteristics of Romano-British art as low relief and linearity, anticipating later Celtic and Anglo-Saxon work. He explores Insular

vine-scrolls in sculpture and metalwork (though he does not think it likely that it was 'in any way connected with the Saxon version of the same theme…of the second half of the seventh century'), but he compares the figured friezes of mosaics in south-west Britain to the carpet-like pages of early Irish manuscripts, seeing them as a possible prototype. I believe that is most unlikely, but it says much that Kendrick was willing to address the problems of artistic influence.[42]

Kendrick certainly tried to get at the spirit of things. In a discussion of colour, notably in enamel, he includes a paragraph on colour which cannot be bettered even today:

> The daily life of the richer sections of the Romano-British community was passed amid surroundings in which colour played a considerable part, and to appreciate this we have only to think of the brilliant polychrome appearance of many mosaics, of the elaborately painted walls, the wide range of colours in the finer ceramic wares, the sumptuous mottled glasses, and the fine enamels. Even sculpture was often painted and there must have been an air of chromatic cheerfulness about Roman Britain that the drab and corroded surviving antiquities do not adequately reflect.[43]

After the Second World War, knowledge of Roman Britain grew very fast. The Mildenhall treasure came to light, though nothing like an adequate publication was to appear until 1977. Archaeology, some of it consequent on war damage, also increased knowledge, for example when a Temple of Mithras was discovered in London in 1954. Most, though not all, of the sculptures were marble imports, but for the crowds which visited the excavation what mattered was the revelation of an exotic religion and its art. The development in art-historical understanding since the war also making progress, and in the field of Roman art this was associated with a major authority on the art of the Roman world. Professor Jocelyn Toynbee wrote the catalogue for an exhibition mounted in 1960–61 at Goldsmiths Hall by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies in celebration of its Jubilee year (though due to industrial action the book did not appear until after the exhibition had closed). Although Toynbee's claims for local originality were over-cautious, Art in *Roman Britain* was, after all, an 'art-book' in an age of 'art-books', illustrated with wonderful photographs by Otto Fein. All it lacked was the colour plates which could have shown mosaics to better effect. It was a revelation to me when I visited the exhibition and it can certainly be said to have changed thinking about the subject; it helped to develop my own attitudes and I am very pleased to use a similar title for this book. It was followed a couple of years later by a very large and exhaustive catalogue, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, which has remained the starting point for all further study.

An increasing number of scholars worked on Roman Britain and its art. Three years after Toynbee's great corpus, Sheppard Frere published his *Britannia*, in its way no less epoch-making than its sixteenth-century namesake. Only seven pages are devoted to art, though there are a number of plates. However, Frere had already written perceptive papers on sculpture, and could dismiss Collingwood's brilliantly written nonsense from a position of personal knowledge. For Frere Roman art was a vital new force, admittedly introduced from the Continent, though in time finding skilled practitioners among native craftsmen. Much of what was produced, the sculpture of the Cotswolds for example and fourth-century mosaics, is singled out for its merit. Re-reading Frere's brief account, I realize how important it has been for my own perception of the subject. The art of Roman Britain by now had its own specialists. There were, for instance, the pioneering efforts of David Smith in distinguishing mosaic workshops and of Joan Liversidge in studying the fragmentary remains of wallpainting. From 1970, Roman Britain had its own journal *Britannia*, which included articles and notes on artistic production from its very first issue. Two notable monographs published by the Roman Society, David Neal's book on mosaics and Norman Davey and Roger Ling's work on fresco, both published in 1981, advanced studies considerably. In David Neal we once again have an artist of the stature of Lysons himself, in illustrating mosaic art. Commencing in 1977 the British fascicules of the great international project the *Corpus Signorum Imperil Romani* began to appear. Not only was it now possible to begin working on schools of sculpture systematically, but the very nature of the project transcended national frontiers. In the field of minor arts I conducted doctoral research on engraved gems, publishing my dissertation in 1974, and Catherine Johns and Timothy Potter's

monograph on the Thetford treasure (1983) set a new standard in the publication of jewellery and silver.

There was, indeed, so much new work that when, in 1989, the time came to publish a retrospective volume, *Research on Roman Britain* 1960–89, it was natural to include a chapter on art and architecture, written with authority by T.F.C.Blagg. The position now is that the way we study Roman Britain has been transformed. Only the occasional reminiscence of the old attitudes remain; in a forthcoming and long-delayed fascicule of *Aufstieg und Niedergang,* we are to be offered an article by Richard Reece with the perverse title 'The Badness of British Art under the Romans'. The latest textbook on Roman Britain by Potter and Johns (issued in 1992), however, devotes at least a third of its length to architecture and art, personal possessions and pagan gods and goddesses, and many of its plates are of works of art. The 'captains and the kings' have not departed but they have faded into the background.[44]

That so many projects concerned with art should have been undertaken in Britain, shows that Roman art in general is now being taken much more seriously. This is demonstrated in the wider Roman context, by work progressively stressing the originality of the Romans in matters artistic. We can instance books by art historians as various as Donald Strong, Paul Zanker, Niels Hannestad, John Onians and Roger Ling, and exhibitions both temporary and permanent—for instance the current presentation of the Roman world by Susan Walker at the British Museum. Roman art is no longer the poor relation of Greek art, nor is there any longer a gulf between this province and others. Perhaps, in British terms, it has taken such discoveries as the painted house-church at Lullingstone, Kent, the Hinton St Mary mosaic, the London *Mithraeum,* and the Mildenhall, Thetford and Hoxne treasures to demonstrate this obvious fact.

It is still difficult to view these changed attitudes objectively, but I suspect that this new enthusiasm, especially in more recent years, is conditioned in part by the importance that the European Community is assuming in the lives of Europe's inhabitants. The Roman Empire was an institution which covered many (though by no means all) of the countries in the new association of states. It is thus reassuring to look back to a common culture, albeit almost two millennia ago. Whether such a curiosity has any real bearing on modern problems is, of course, another matter, but at least we Europeans will add to our aesthetic enjoyment by once more being fully alive to the beauties of Roman art, within the borders of Europe's respective countries.

Abbreviations

ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*
Ant. J. *The Antiquaries Journal*
Arch. Ael. *Archaeologia Aeliana*
Arch. Journ. *The Archaeological Journal*
BABesch *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*
BAR *British Archaeological Reports*
BBCS *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
BJ *Bonner Jahrbücher*
BNJ *British Numismatic Journal*
CSIR *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*
JBAA *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
OJA *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
PSAS *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RIB *R.G.Collingwood and R.P.Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
SAC *Sussex Archaeological Collections*
TBGAS *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*

Notes and References

Chapter 1 The Art of the Celts (pp. 13–23)
Megaw and Megaw 1986 and especially idem 1989 provide a more detailed approach to Celtic Art than is attempted in this chapter. Fox 1958 is still useful.

1 For Greek acanthus see Andronicos 1984, figs 135, 136 (gold larnyx) and 156, 157 (textile); Wandsworth shield see Brailsford 1975, 14–18, 20; Stead 1985, 41 pl.xv. Celtic coins are studied by Allen 1988. Cf. pl.13 no.163 (Philip stater), copies passim, for instance pl.31, nos 459–63 for coins of Coritani and Dobunni.
2 On Celtic art in Ireland in the pre-Christian period see Raftery 1984.
3 Thomas 1981 demonstrates a significant Romano-British element in the development of Christianity in the British Isles. For insular art in the Dark Ages, see Youngs 1989.
4 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 247.
5 Jacobsthal 1944.
6 Jope 1987.
7 Stead 1979; *idem* 1991a.
8 Dent 1985.
9 Stead 1967 (Welwyn); *idem* 1971; Brailsford 1975, frontispiece and 83–9 (Aylesford Bucket); Birchall 1965 (Aylesford-Swarling culture).
10 Piggott 1971; Brailsford 1975, 90–7.
11 Ibid., 62–8; Lowery, Savage and Wilkins 1975; Farley 1983.
12 For the Bartlow Barrows see Gage 1834, 1837, 1842.
13 Brailsford 1975, 44–53 (Ipswich); 54–61; Stead 1991b (Snettisham).
14 Fox 1946.
15 Bradley 1990, especially chapter 4.
16 Spratling in Wainwright 1979, 125–49.
17 Henig 1972, 212, pl.xi, c.
18 See n.11.
19 Megaw and Megaw 1989, figs 329, 360; Stead 1991a, frontispiece and see pp.64–70.
20 Megaw and Megaw 1989, figs 321, 322, 359.
21 Ibid., fig.332.
22 Stead 1985.
23 Richter 1971, no.16bis.
24 Atkinson and Piggott 1955.
25 I am grateful to Julian Munby for demonstrating to me, as long ago as 1972, that the cap and horns probably did function together. See now Henig 1974b, Megaw 1983, Jope 1983.
26 Brailsford 1975, 32–9; Megaw and Megaw 1989, fig.364.
27 See n.1.
28 Simon Palmer, 'The White Horse Project', *Oxford Archaeological Unit Annual Report* 1990–91, 14 for an interim statement.
29 Pollitt 1986, 86, ills.85 and 87c.
30 Raftery 1984, 175–8, pls 59, 60; Megaw and Megaw 1989, figs 205, 361, 362, col. pls xii–xiv. See n.13 above.
31 Compare n.11 with Gehrig 1980 and Johns 1986.
32 Lloyd-Morgan in Gregory 1991, 132 suggests links with northern and central Italy.
33 Lloyd-Morgan 1980.
34 Boon and Savory 1975.
35 Boon 1982.
36 Megaw 1970.
37 Henig and Wood 1990 and references cited; see Megaw 1970, no.280 and references for wooden figures; Deyts 1983 for the wooden sculptures from the Seine.
38 Henig 1972.

Chapter 2 Art in the Era of the Conquest (pp.24–41)
1 A large bibliography on the monument includes Toynbee 1953 and Zanker 1988.
2 Schmidt 1965, pl.63.
3 Zanker 1988, especially chapters 5 and 7.
4 Stead 1967.
5 Kennett 1976.
6 Foster 1986.
7 Cunliffe 1988, 150–3.
8 See Chapter 1; for a prototype of the helmets see, for example, Haynes 1985, 298 no.145 (a late fifth-century BC figurine from central Etruria).
9 Henig 1972; Henig and Nash 1982, 243–4.
10 Toynbee 1964a, 25–38.
11 Henig 1988b (sleeping hound). Bone and Burnett 1986, no.11 (a minim showing a boar's head) likewise seems gem based.
12 Toynbee 1964, 299–300, pl.lxixb; Hull 1958, pl.i A and B; RIB 200 and 201, pl.v; Phillips 1975 (Facilis); Mattern 1989, 770–1 nos 70 and 71.
13 Ireland 1983. See Keppie 1991 for an excellent introduction to epigraphy.

14 Richborough: D.E.Strong in Cunliffe 1968, 40–73; Colchester: *Britannia* xi, 1980, 403 no.1; Drury 1984, 37–9, fig. 14 suggesting placement on the screen marking out the *temenos*.
15 RIB 12.
16 Frere 1983, 8–9, 69–72.
17 Temple: RIB 91, and see Bogaers 1979 for revised reading. Monument: RIB 89, and see Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, 29 no. 107 though the second-century dating suggested by them on the basis of the nymphs' coiffure lacks foundation. For the *Pilier des Nautes:* Caillet 1985; exhibition catalogue, *Lutèce, Paris de César à Clovis,* Musée Carnavalet 1984–5, 299–314. See Henig and Nash 1982 for the early Romanization of Chichester.
18 Cunliffe 1971.
19 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 250.
20 Anganuzzi and Mariani 1987, figs 5, 6 (col.), 22 and 23 (Breno); for other parallels see Cunliffe 1971, vol.1, 146–50, for the new Fishbourne pavement see Britannia XII, 1981, 364–5, fig.17 and D.J.Rudkin in the 1983 revision of B. Cunliffe's site guide, 36–7. Lavagne 1979, 68–73 no.58, pls xx, xxi, xxii, 5 (Orange).
21 London: see Marsden 1975, 57, 67, 99; D.Smith in Perring and Roskams 1991, 88–94; Exeter: see D.J. Smith in Bidwell 1979, 132–4.
22 Down and Henig 1988.
23 Henig 1970.
24 *Idem* 1991a; Henig, Webster and Wilkins 1987.
25 Henig 1972, 215–6, pl.xii a and b.
26 Chichester gem, Henig 1974a, no.654; the Verulamium eagle and galley ibid, no.533; the Colchester Mars, Henig 1982 and *idem* 1990b, 155, fig. 11.4.
27 *Idem* in Cunliffe 1971, vol.2, 83–8 and 1974a no.53.
28 Henig 1984b; also Murdoch 1991, 81 nos 57, 58 and 176 no.499, pl.14.
29 Henig 1988a; *idem* 1992.
30 E.g. Colchester: Marshall 1907 no.453; Henig 1990b, 155, fig.11.4; London: Chapman 1974, 274–5 no.2. For comparanda from Pompeii see Stefanelli 1992, 136 and 240–1 nos 73–82, figs 121–6 (Casa del Menandro).
31 Marsden 1975, 100–2, pl.7.
32 Inv. 464.982.
33 Brandon: Britannia xi, 1980, 376 (cache cited); Santon: Smith 1909.
34 Kennett 1976; Megaw and Megaw 1989, 220.
35 Exhibition catalogue, *Römer in Rumänien,* Cologne 1969, cat. nos A99, A100.
36 Johns and Potter 1983, 84–5 no.7.
37 Toynbee 1964a, 23.
38 Boon 1974, 134, fig.19, 2; Megaw and Megaw 1989, 228, ills 387 (brooch), 385 (Dowgate plaque).
39 Ibid., 236–7, ill.406.
40 Evans 1896, 186–7.
41 Charlesworth 1973, 226–8.
42 Boon and Savory 1975.
43 Cool 1986, fig.3. See also Pfeiler 1970, 51 taf.10 and Stefanelli 1992, 154 and 245, no.109, fig.157.
44 Elmswell: Toynbee 1962, 176 no.123, pl.142; Megaw and Megaw 1989, 230, ill.390; Macgregor 1976, no.336. Fulham sword: Toynbee 1964a, 299–300, pl.lxixb.
45 BM Guide Ant. RB, 1958, 56 no.3, pl.21, see Toynbee 1964a, 331.
46 Stag: Christie's *sale catalogue* 16 July 1985, 12–13, lot 38 and *Review of the National* Art-Collections *Fund,* 1987, 145–6. The animal eating a man: Henig 1984a, 65 ill.22. Boar: Henig and Keen 1984, fig.12, pl.11. Human figures: Ellis 1900 (not Iberian as stated) and Britannia i, 1970, 296 and pl.xxxvd.
47 Foster 1977.
48 Ibid., 17–19, 31 and pl.vii (Muntham Court boar), compare pl.viii (Capel St Mary lion); Toynbee 1964a, 122 and 126, pl.xxxiii.
49 Norfolk *Archaeology* xli, pt.ii, 1991, 232 (Holme Hale); Henig 1984a, 138 and 249, n.33 (Chalton); Henig and Leahy 1986 (Kirmington); for Brough see Corder and Richmond 1938.
50 Megaw and Megaw 1989, 241, ill.412 (Cadbury); Toynbee 1962, 146 no.43, pl.47 (Felmingham Hall); *eadem* 1964a, 57 pl.viiib and Denford 1992, 37, 39 and 40, fig.9 (Silkstead); Toynbee 1964a, 110, pl.xxviiib ('Copenhagen'); the Icklingham find has not yet been properly published, but was reported (with photos) in *The Independent,* 28 Sept. 1989.
51 See Henig 1984a, 65–6 ill.23.
52 *Idem* 1991b.
53 Green and Henig 1988.
54 Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 115–6, pls xxxv– xxxix.
55 Towcester: Toynbee 1962, 148–9 no.48, pl.52; Uley: Henig 1984a, 58, ill.18; *idem* 1993b, no.62.
56 *Idem,* 1984a chapter 3.

Chapter 3 Art and the Roman Army
(pp.42–57)

1 Zienkiewicz 1986, vol.ii (Caerleon); Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1976 (Pompeii).
2 Charlesworth 1969.
3 Bowman and Thomas 1983 and especially idem 1987, 130–2 (Virgil exercise) and 137–40 (Claudia Severa's letter).
4 Birley 1977, *passim*.
5 Birley 1978.
6 Ling 1991a, 10–11.
7 Lepper and Frere 1988 (Trajan's Column); Keppie and Arnold 1984, no.68 (Bridgeness slab).
8 Brewer 1986, no.31 (RIB 330).
9 RIB 665 (York; magnesian limestone); Zienkiewicz

1986, vol.ii, 22–3 (Caerleon; micaceous sandstone); RIB 463 (Chester; Purbeck marble); RIB 464 and *Britannia* ii, 1971, 290–1 no.7 and pl.xxxviiia (Chester; slate).

10 RIB 288.

11 Brewer 1986, nos 44–7 (Caerleon), 48 (Caernarfon); Tufi 1983, no.38 (Constantine at York).

12 Mattern 1989 provides an excellent survey.

13 Wright and Richmond 1955, 4–9 especially p.7.

14 For Facilis see Chapter 2; the London *beneficiarius consularis* is discussed by Bishop 1983. See Mattern 1989, 783 no.98.

15 Wright and Richmond 1955, nos 38 and 90.

16 Tufi 1983, nos 44, 57 and 55.

17 Brewer 1986, no.19; Mattern 1989, no.9.

18 Wright and Richmond 1955, no.37 for the tombstone of Nepos. For the series of draped women see for example nos 117–22 and Mattern 1989, 728–31; Tufi 1983, no.39 for the York tombstone of Flavia Augustina.

19 Tufi 1983, no.42, also nos 40 and 43; Wright and Richmond 1955, no.108 and nos 111–16 (for female banquet stele) and nos 65 and 66 for soldiers as banqueters. See also Mattern 1989, 722–5; Brewer 1986, no. 18 (Caerleon funerary *mensa*).

20 Bidwell 1979, 136 and Brewer 1986, no.4 for *labra* from Exeter and Caerleon.

21 Tufi 1983, nos 10, 11, 22 and 26.

22 Wright and Richmond 1955, nos 138–40 and 163.

23 Baucchenss 1978 (from Bonn and region; mainly first century but note fine Antonine banquet scene, no.38); for the Danube region see Mócsy 1974, 130.

24 Wright and Richmond 1955, nos Ex 1 and 5; also no.163; Brewer 1986, no.6; Tufi 1983 no.21.

25 For official sculpture see Keppie and Arnold 1984, xvii–xviii and see nos 149 (Hutcheson Hill), 156 (Old Kilpatrick); 68 (Bridgeness); 150 (Braidfield); Phillips 1977a, nos 84 and 85 (Corbridge); Keppie and Arnold 1984, no.114 (Shirva); Brewer 1986, no.36 (Castell Collen).

26 Mackintosh 1986; Mattern 1989, 711–4.

27 Housesteads: Coulston and Phillips 1988, nos 202, 203 (tombstones), 349 (Ceres and Persephone), 166–9 (mother goddesses), 126 (Mithras Saecularis), 87, 88 (Neptune reliefs). Also no.94 (Chesters river-god); no. 15 (Birdoswald Fortuna); nos 492–8, and see Phillips 1976a (Carlisle school).

28 Coulston and Phillips 1988, nos 70 and 72 (poor quality renditions of Mars from Housesteads); 227 (Castlesteads tombstone), 211 and 256 (Vindolanda reliefs).

29 Phillips 1977a no.215 (Risingham); Coulston and Phillips 1988, nos 99 and 100 (Housesteads victories); 272 (Stanwix victory); Keppie and Arnold 1984, no.2, also nos 7 and 9 (Birrens).

30 Toynbee 1986 (London); Tufi 1983, nos 22 and 23 (York); Coulston and Phillips 1988, no.122 (Carrawburgh altar); nos 125–7 (Housesteads).

31 Mosaics from Exeter D.J.Smith in Bidwell 1979, 132–4; Caerleon, see Rainey 1973, 31–2; Chester, see Rainey 1973, 41–2; paintings from the Fortress Baths, Caerleon, Zienkiewicz 1986, vol.i, 281–302; York principia, Davey and Ling 1982, 201–8. The Echzell paintings are discussed by Baatz 1968. See Davey and Ling 1982, 45 for fragments of wall-painting from forts.

32 Jenkins 1985.

33 Grew and Griffiths 1991.

34 For the Fulham scabbard see Toynbee 1964a, 299–300, pl.lxixb.

35 Grew and Griffiths 1991, fig.5 no.A.1. (belt plate). Toynbee 1964a, 49 and pl.v and Henig 1984a, 74–5, ill.26 (Nero).

36 Curle 1911, 168. On helmets in general see Toynbee 1964a, 290–8.

37 *Eadem* 1962, 167 no.101, pl.108.

38 Russell Robinson and Toynbee 1975; Clay 1984; Toynbee 1964a, 297, pl.lxvib.

39 Zienkiewicz in Evans 1991, 130–2, fig.8 and pl.xii.

40 Niblett 1985, fig.66, no.61 and pl. 14 and see G.Webster in ibid., p.114.

41 Toynbee 1962, 168–9 no. 104, pl.110; eadem 1964a, 293–4, pls lxvii and lxviii.

42 For military enamels see for example Curle 1911, 329–33 pl.lxxxix (Newstead); Pitts and St Joseph 1985, 286–8 (horse harness attachment from Inchtuthil); Birley 1977, 77 and col.pl.vii (Vindolanda); J.Webster in Evans and Metcalf 1992, 123 (Caerleon). For the Rudge Cup cf. RIB vol.ii, fasc.2, 2415.53, and the Amiens Patera, Heurgon 1951. On openwork see Webster in Evans and Metcalf 1992, 123–5; inscribed baldric and belt fittings in RIB vol.ii, fasc.3 nos 2429.1–2429.17. On the changing appearance of Roman military equipment see now Bishop and Coulston 1993.

Chapter 4 The Uses of Art in Roman Britain (pp.58–78)

1 Haverfield 1915, 55–6.

2 Note three examples of Form 29 from Fishbourne, Cunliffe 1971, ii, fig. 126 nos 1–3 exemplifying the quality of early southern Gaulish samian; for the Southwark vase see Merrifield 1969, 164, fig.46.

3 Toynbee 1964a, 408–15, see pl.xciii; Merrifield 1969, 164–6, fig.47.

4 Blair and Ramsay 1991.

5 Merrifield 1983, 75 and 77.

6 Turcan 1982 for the Lyon altar and Hull 1958, 175–7 for its equivalent at Colchester.

7 D.E.Strong in Cunliffe 1968, 40–73.

8 Erim 1982.

9 Keppie and Arnold 1984, 25–58, passim.

10 For Imperial sculpture see Tufi 1983, no.38 (Constantine, York); bronze fragments are recorded in Brewer 1986, nos 44–7 (Caerleon), no.48 (Caernarfon); Keppie and Arnold 1984, no.45 (Milsington); a silver arm from Tunshill is discussed by Potter and Johns 1986 and see *eisdem* 1992, 124 and 125, ills 43 and 44 (reconstruction).

11 Frere 1983, 69–72 and pl.ix (Verulamium); one of the large bronze clamps in the form of thumb has recently been discovered in the reserves of Verulamium Museum and is now displayed with the inscription; RIB 288 (Wroxeter Forum Inscription).

12 Bronze Imperial heads of Claudius and Hadrian, Toynbee 1964a, 46–8 and 50–1, pls iv and vi; for the Billingford fragments see *Britannia* xvi, 1985, 293–4, pl.xxivb; Ashill hock see Lawson 1986; for 23 the equestrian statue from Gloucester, see Henig 1993b, no.177; for the Lincoln leg, Wacher 1974, pl.22; the cuirassed statue from Cirencester is 24 published in Henig 1993b, no. 178; see RIB 289 for 25 the Wroxeter inscription.

13 RIB 707.

14 RIB 141 (Bath, guild); Britannia viii, 1977, 430–1 no.18 (York, L.Viducius Placidus); JRS lii, 1962, 192 no.8 (Nettleham, Q.Neratius Proxsimus) ibid, no. 7 (Ancaster, Trenico). For the Arch of Dativius 26 Victor see Esperandieu vii, 5726; for the London Arch and Screen see Blagg in Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 125–93; the relief of Mercury from the Cirencester gate, Henig, 1993b, no.69. For St Cuthbert's fountain at Carlisle see Bede, Vita Sancti C*uthberti,* 27. The Cirencester altar: Henig 1984a, 82–3, ill.30; idem, 1993b, no.32 and RIB 102.

15 The Caerwent statue base, RIB 311 and Blagg 1990, 19 (following E.Frézouls).

16 Verulamium: Davey and Ling 1982, 169–91; 27 J.Liversidge in Frere 1984, 114–40, pls vi–xxii, xxv–xxvi. For earlier Italian comparanda see Ling 1991, 31–100; his colour plates iv–viii, xivc suggest the effect of such walls.

17 Brewer 1986, no.18.

18 Toynbee 1964a, 59–63, pls x and xi (Lullingstone); Henig 1993b, no.10 (Woodchester); idem, part ii, no.1 and R.Ling in Holbrook and Bidwell 1991, 230–1, figs 97 and 98, no.1 (Exeter).

19 Monumental tombs in Belgica, see Wightman 1970, 244–6, pls 11, 14–20; myths depicted in funerary sculpture from the European provinces are discussed by Toynbee 1977; the Stanwick sculpture will be 28 fully published by Dr T.F.C.Blagg and the present author; for the Bartlow Barrows see Gage 1834, 1836, 1842, also VCH Essex III, 1963, 39–43, frontispiece (enamelled bowl), pls vi–viii (other bronzes); for the bust from Walcot, Bath see Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, no.1.

20 Classicianus, RIB 12; Titus Flaminius, RIB 292 and 29 Mattern 1989, 792 no.124. 30

21 M.Favonius Facilis, RIB 200, Toynbee 1964a, 185 and pl.xlvia, Phillips 1975 and Mattern 1989, 770 no.70; L.Valerius Aurelius ibid., 774 no.79 and Henig 1993b, no. 142; Philus, RIB 110, Mattern 1989, 768 no.66 and Henig 1993b no.141.

22 Murrell Hill: Coulston and Phillips 1988, no.497 and Mattern 1989, 743 no.10, see Phillips 1976a, 101–8 for the Carlisle school; Chester: Wright and Richmond 1955, 49–50 no.120, pl.xxxi and 31 Mattern 1989, 752 no.31 (woman with mirror) and Wright and Richmond, 44 no. 108, pl.xxviii, Mattern, 758 no.45 (Curatia Dinysia) and see Mattern 1989, 722–6 and 728–31 for discussion of workshop groups; South Shields: Phillips 1977a, no.247 and Mattern 1989, 790–1 no.1 17 (Regina); York: Tufi 1983, no.42 and Mattern 1989, 799 no.137 (Julia Velva).

23 For the Cirencester cupid see Toynbee 1962, 130–1, no.13, pl.32; Henig 1993b no.180 and references cited.

24 Pevsner 1956; Henig 1985.

25 See Ling in no. 16 above. For the decor of Verulamium buildings XXVIII, 3, room 9 see Frere 1983, 237–8 and pls xxxvi and xxxviii and of building XXI, 2, room 4 (with the lion mosaic) idem, 163, pl.xviii. For mosaics in general see Rainey 1973; Neal 1981; Johnson 1982.

26 Leicester: house in insula xvi see Davey and Ling 1981, 123–31; Dover (Painted House): Philp 1989, esp. p.281; Southwark (Winchester Palace): Mackenna and Ling 1991 and Hassall and Tomlin, Britannia xvi, 1985, 317–22 no.1 for third-century monumental inscription from the same building. Decorative stone inlay at Fishbourne: Cunliffe 1971, passim especially ii, 16–35; Angmering: Scott 1938, 15–17; Buriton: Des Brisay 1992, 97–8, fig.5, p and q; Bignor: Lysons 1817, pl.xxxi, figs 3, 4, 6, 8.

27 Colchester wall-painting: Ling in Crummy 1984, 147–53, figs 141 and 142 (gladiator); gem showing Cupid with herm: Henig 1974a and 1978, no.112. Verulamium Neptune mosaic: Toynbee 1962, 196–7 no.178, pl.207; Verulamium Sea-shell: ibid. 196 no.177, pl.206. Cirencester, Dyer Street Seasons mosaic: ibid., 197 no.181, pls 210–12; Dyer Street marine scene: ibid., 197 no. 182, pl.213; Fishbourne: Cunliffe 1971, 163–4, pls xlvii–1; Dorchester Neptune mosaic: Smith 1977, 122–3 no.55, pl.6. xiib. Otford villa Vergilian painting. Davey and Ling 1982, 146–8; Lullingstone nymphs: Meates 1987, 10–11, col.pls iv–vi.

28 Furniture in Britain: Liversidge 1955; see pls 44–54, 57–8 and 61 for jet, and see R.Goodburn and F.Grew in Frere 1984, 78 and pl.vd for example from Verulamium. The marble leg from Colchester is published by Walker and Matthews 1986. For the pipe-clay diners see Toynbee 1964a, 419 and pl.xcvi.

29 Side tables, Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, nos 159–89.

30 Tripods: see Thompson 1971, 101–2, pl.xxv (Lincoln), Henig 1976 (London), Bartlett 1985 (Old Harlow). For the fine Littlecote appliqués see Walters and Henig 1988. For Romano-British versions of such attachments see Toynbee 1964a, 103–4, pl.xxvi (Cirencester); Dix 1985 (near Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire). Report on the Tarrant Hinton mask by M.Henig, forthcoming in excavation report by A.G.Giles.

31 For Pliny as a moral writer see Isager 1991. For the Hockwold Treasure see Johns 1986.

32 Fishbourne askos: Down and Henig 1988; Bartlow Barrow: Gage 1836, 303 no.ii, pls xxxiii, xxxiv Winchester grave: Biddle 1967. Note the Bacchic imagery in the Verulamium fresco with its vigorous scroll, Frere 1983, 165 and pl.xxi.

33 Dress: Wild 1985.

34 Enamelling: Bateson 1981; a good selection is shown by Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, nos 3.10 and 3.11 (belt plates), 3.128–134, 141, 142, 152, 153 (brooches), 3.374–3.387 (seal-boxes). For the Rudge Cup see RIB ii fasc.2, 2415.53 (also 2415.54 from Beadlam, Yorkshire with a legend reading 'Good Luck!') and the Amiens *Patera,* Heurgon 1951.

35 London ring: Henig 1984e; openwork rings as gifts: Johns 1981b (citing other examples), see Stefanelli 1992, 211 and 268, no.231, fig.265 for a good colour picture of one of the Corbridge rings. For the Stonham Aspal ring see Mawer 1989. A brooch set with gems is mentioned in the Marble of Thorigny. CIL XIII 3162 (Charlesworth 1973, 229–30, pl.xxviii has a gem on the loop, or is one to think of a jewel such as Stefanelli 1992, 156, fig. 162 from South Russia, imitated in gilt-bronze disc-brooches, Charlesworth 1961, 36 nos 7–11, see pl.viii, 7–9); for the tetrarchic-period inscribed, openwork brooch from Erickstanebrae, Dumfriesshire see RIB ii, fasc. 3,2421.43.

36 Henig 1974a and 1978.

37 Guiraud 1988 (Gaul); Middleton 1991 (Dalmatia); Pannuti 1983 (Pompeii); Sena Chiesa 1966 (Aquileia); Henig and Whiting 1987 (Gadara); Hamburger 1968 (Caesarea).

38 Henig 1974a, passim. The gems illustrated are nos 12, 112, 292 and in the revised 1978 edition, App.220. No. 12 is shown in Lexicon *Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 582–4 (Henig, 'Amaltheia', no. 10). For military preferences see Zienkiewicz 1986, ii, 117–41 and pls v–xvii (Caerleon), and Henig 1970 for the veneration of heroes.

39 Potter 1986 (interim on the Snettisham jeweller's hoard).

40 Henig 1974a and 1978, no.App.36.

41 Ibid, no.742–6, App.30 and see RIB ii fasc.3, nos 2423.10, 2423. 11, 2423. 19 with Greek inscriptions; 2423.4, 2423.18. See Henig 1993a, 27–30.

42 Ibid., 31, fig.2.4.

43 For portraits on jet pendants from Britain see Henig 1974a, nos 757–60.

44 Medusa heads: onyx cameos, Henig 1974a and 1978 nos 725–31; jet 750–5, App.53; Murdoch 1991, 31, fig.4.6 nos 1 and 500, the former= Potter and Johns 1992, 148 ill.58. For the example from Rome see Fremersdorf 1975, no. 1150.

45 Henig 1984a.

46 Perring 1989; see Davey and Ling 1981, 136–8 no.26 (Lullingstone water-nymphs). For the Stonesfield and Cirencester sculptures see Henig 1993b, nos 42 and 24.

47 Ibid, nos 180 (Cupid), 2 (Cupid and Psyche), 1 (Bacchus). See Philp 1989 for the Bacchic frescoes in the Painted House, Dover.

48 See Henig, 1974a, passim; JRS lii, 1962, 192 no.8 (Nettleham); RIB i, 309 (Caerwent); Toynbee 1978 for votive leaves.

49 Henig 1974a, 50, ill. 11 and 124, ill.51 (plate); on sceptres see ibid., 138 and Henig and Leahy 1984 and 1986. The Aldworth sceptre was brought to my attention by Paul Cannon of Newbury Museum, where the object now is.

Chapter 5 Natives and Strangers in Roman Britain (pp.79–105)

1 Toynbee 1964a, 5–9.

2 Trow 1990.

3 Henig 1972.

4 Henig 1984b. Compare intaglio no.1 with Henig and Whiting 1987, no.161. See also Murdoch 1991, 81 nos 57, 58 and 176 no.499, pl.14.

5 Henig 1988a, no.3 (Minerva) citing Wroxeter analogue; no. 13 (Methe), noting very similar intaglios from Sea Mills and Caerwent; nos 24 and 25 (horses) can be compared with a stone from Tiverton, Henig in Maxfield 1991, 77–8 no.2 and Henig 1992.

6 Marsden 1975, 100–101, pl.7.

7 Toynbee 1964a, 49 and pl.v; also Henig 1984a, 74–5 (Nero); ibid. 118, pl.xxxb (Hercules); Henig and Wilkins 1982 (Vulcan); Pitts 1979, 49 no.3, pl.v (Jupiter); Toynbee 1962, 130–1 no.13, pl.32 (Cupid); Moore, Plouviez and West 1988, back cover (leopard).

8 Frere 1970 (Gestingthorpe mould). Toynbee 1964a, 68 and BM *Guide* 1958, 54, no.17, pl.17 (London Bridge Apollo).

9 RIB 213.

10 See Chapter 4, note 12.

11 Marble sarcophagus, Rook, Walker and Denston 1984, 149–60, for the Chilgrove sculpture see Toynbee in Down 1979, 181–3, pl.11.

12 Facilis, see Toynbee 1962, 157 no.81, pl.93 and Phillips 1975; the London *beneficiarius*, Bishop 1983; Longinus, Toynbee 1962, 158 no.83, pl.92; Genialis, *idem* 1964a, 191, pl.xlvii a and Webster in Henig, 1993b no.137; also Mattern 1989, nos 70, 98 and 69.

13 Toynbee 1964a, 112–3, pl.xxixa; compare Calza and Nash 1959, 12, fig.8 and Meiggs 1973, 66–7.

14 Exeter eagle, Toynbee in Bidwell 1979, 130–2, fig.44 and pl.xx and Henig, 1993b (part 2), no.3; Wroxeter Venus/water-nymph, Britannia xv, 1984, 291 and 293, fig.12.

15 Beeson 1986; see Haskell and Penny 1981, 161–3, no.13 for type.

16 Walcot head, Toynbee 1964a, 58 and pl.ix.

17 Boon 1973; *idem* 1974, 116–19 and 166–7, pls 10 and 18.

18 Minerva from Sibson: Hartshorne 1847 and Toynbee 1962, 136 no.27, pl.26; for this as well as the Harlow head see Huskinson 1994, nos 10 and 11.

19 Hartshorne 1847 and Huskinson 1994, no. 35.

20 Davey and Ling 1982, 30; Ling 1991a, 168–97.

21 Colchester gladiator. Ling in Crummy 1984, 147–53; Leicester. Davey and Ling 1982, 123–31; Otford: ibid. 146–8; Dover, Philp 1989, 166–179, 219–20; Kingscote: Ling 1985, 42–4, appears to favour this rather than Achilles among the daughters of King Lycomedes, his earlier hypothesis (Davey and Ling, 119–23); Tarrant Hinton: Davey and Ling, 165–8; Ling 1985, 42; Lullingstone, see Liversidge and Weatherhead in Meates 1987, 11–40.

22 Smith 1975.

23 Johnson 1984.

24 For the second-century gold-jewellery workshop see Cool 1986, colour illustrations of two bracelets from Rhayader, Stefanelli 1992, 154 and 245, nos 109, 110, figs 157 and 158. The gold serpent-ring from Backworth is published by Charlesworth 1961, 10 and 25 no. 10. Also note examples from London, Murdoch 1991, 80–1 no.53 and from house xx at Caerwent (Newport Museum) which are of silver as are those from Snettisham; for the Backworth chains and comparanda see Charlesworth, 20–21, 34–5 nos 1–3 and pl.vii and those fom Dolaucothi, Potter and Johns 1992, 167, ill.70; Stefanelli 1992, 108–10 and 234–5 nos 34 and 37, figs 72–5 for chains with wheel pendants from Pompeii. See Potter 1986 and Potter and Johns 1992, 146–7 for interim statements on the Snettisham Treasure of which a full account, edited by Catherine Johns, is in preparation; Cool 1979 for the Castlethorpe bracelets.

25 For the Bignor brooch see Grew in Frere 1982, 177–9, pl.xiiia.

26 The gems from the cache are ascribed to three hands by Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992).

27 Jet in Britain: see Toynbee 1964a, 363–8, Murdoch 1991, 31, fig.4.6, 70 no.1 and 176 no.500, M. Henig and N.P.Wickenden in Drury 1988, 107–10; in the Rhineland, Hagen 1937; from Italy (Vatican collection), Fremersdorf 1975, 124–5, nos 1140–52 especially no. 1150 for the amulet.

28 See Boon and Savory 1975 for early knowledge of mercury gilding of silver. The mould from Newington-next-Hythe, Kent, is published by Jackson 1989. For the Backworth silver: Walters 1921, 46–8 no.183; Capheaton 48–51 nos 188–94; Wroxeter mirror: Toynbee 1964a, 334–5, pl.lxxviii and see Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 146–51. Gaulish comparanda for items of plate can be found in Baratte and Painter 1989 passim. See Esmonde Cleary 1989, 99 for the wealth of Late Roman Britain. Water Newton: Painter 1977a; Mileham: Walters 1921, 23 no.87, pl.14 compare pewter. Potter and Johns 1992, 136, ill.51 (Icklingham, Suffolk) and Ashmolean Museum 1979.83 (University Farm, Wytham, Oxfordshire); Risley Park: Johns and Painter 1991 and see Johns 1981a and Toynbee and Painter 1986, 41–2 and pl.xxc, no.50 for background; Traprain Law: Curle 1923, for the square dishes, 59–61 nos 86 and 87, figs 38, 39 and pl.xxxviii (note also 27–8 no.8, fig.9 for the Ulysses flagon cited as Mediterranean). Ballinrees (Coleraine): Kent and Painter 1977, 125–7 esp. p.127 no.230=Hawkes 1972, 157, fig.3, 4; Balline (Co. Limerick): Ó Riordáin 1947, 43–53 esp. 49 and pl.I-4 for fragment of square dish; Thetford: Johns and Potter 1983, 34–48, 106–31.

29 For the Foss Dyke Mars see Toynbee 1962, 131 no.16, pl.19 and Henig 1984a, 54, ill. 15; the Cirencester appliqué is published by Barber, Walker, Paddock and Henig 1992. Lindgren 1980, gives an appraisal of Roman-British art, most notably bronzes and demonstrates how many works reflect its synthetic nature.

30 Hull 1958, 264, pl.xl and Toynbee 1962, 133–4, no.21, pl.33.

31 Mercury (Zenodorus type), Boucher 1976, 106–7; Manea Fen, Pitts 1979, 58 no.42, pl.10; Great Walsingham, *Britannia* xix, 1988, 456, pl.xxvi, no.3 (note also nos 1 and 2).

32 Toynbee 1964a, 83–4 pl.xviii c and d.

33 For the Amersham heads, see Henig in Farley, Henig and Taylor 1988, 364–6; one is shown (as a sceptre-head) in Henig 1984a, 139, ill.60. They are paralleled in a silver bust from the Little St Bernard pass, Baratte and Painter 1989, 230–1 no.188; for the Silchester musician see Toynbee 1962, 149 no.152, pl.55 and now A.Beeson 'The Tibia Player of Calleva Atrebatum. A New Interpretation', Roman *Research News*, no.7, Autumn 1993, p.3; for the Earith figure, Green and Henig 1988; the Catterick Vulcan, Henig and Wilson 1982.

34 Hounds: Toynbee 1964a, 126–7, pl.xxxiv, b and c; compare Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, Peters and van Es 1969, 166–7, no.72; stag: *JRS* lix, 1969, 223, pl.xiv, 6 and 7 and see Hicks 1978, 381—see fig.272c for the Brampton head; boars: Foster 1977 and Jackson 1990, 26, frontispiece and pl.1; lions: Ferris 1988–9; Henig 1984d (key-handle); and see Henig and Munby 1973 (monster); eagles: ibid., also Kirk 1949, 31 and pl.5. and Henig and Chambers 1984; cockerel: see Rook and Henig 1981.

35 Toynbee 1964a, 50–1, pl.vi (Hadrian, London); *eadem* 1962, 135–6 no.25, pl.20 (Minerva, Bath); compare with 134–5 no.24, pl.28 (Minerva, London Mithraeum); 150 no. 60, pl.61, *eadem* 1964a, 129 and pl.xxxvb and Boon 1974, 119–20, pl.34c also *Annual Report of National Art-Collections Fund,* 1980, 98 no.2881 (Eagle, Silchester); Boon 1974, 119, pl.34g and Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, no.153 for the lappet; Toynbee 1962, 147 no.44, pl.46, *eadem* 1964a, 146 no.43, pl.47 and Henig 1984a, 143, ill.64 (Jupiter, Felmingham Hall). The Icklingham treasure awaits scholarly study and publication, but see *The Independent,* 28 September 1989. One of the heads is bearded and somewhat reminiscent of the Felmingham Hall Jupiter.

36 Toynbee 1962, 148–9 no.48, pl.52 (Towcester mask); Henig 1984a, 58 ill.18; *idem* 1993b no.62 (Uley).

37 Ibid., nos 69 and 78 (Mercury from Cirencester and Gloucester); Merrifield 1986 (hunter god) and Toynbee 1986, no.11 (Mithras). Compare the sculptural ornament of the Bath temple (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 114–17, pls xxxv–xlvii) with sculpture from Avenches (Verzàr 1977, 36–44), Nyon (Espérandieu xiv, 1955, no.8499 and other sculpture in site museum); Arles (Verzàr, pl.24), and also Narbonne (Espérandieu i, 1907, nos 693, 738, 743). For other schools in Britain, see for example Huskinson 1994 (Lincoln); Tufi 1983 (York) and Phillips 1976 (Carlisle). Also note a local tradition at Chester (see Mattern 1989, 728–31 and Henig in *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association, Chester meeting* 1992, forthcoming). Phillips 1977b is an excellent resumé of the British sculptor's approach to Classical art.

38 Candelabra, see Davey and Ling 1982, 48 and 188–90 (Verulamium) and compare Ling 1991, 172 fig.186 for a much more elaborate example from Cologne. Davey and Ling 1982, 171 no.41 for the Verulamium scroll.

39 Toynbee 1962, 196–7 nos 178 and 179, pls 207 and 208.

40 Smith 1987, 9–13, also the Aquatic mosaic, 14–16 and for suggestion of a (late) third-century date, 26 and 28; *idem* 1981 for third-century mosaics in Britain, p.163 and pl.10. iii for Bignor.

41 Webster 1989 and 1991b.

42 Symonds 1992, 32–8.

43 Phillips 1977a, nos 247 and 248 (South Shields); Coulston and Phillips 1988, no.117 (Chesters); Phillips 1977a, nos 52–56 (Corbridge Dolichenum), 49 (Hercules of Tyre), compare with no.54.

44 Bulmer 1938; Feachem 1951; for convenient illustrations see also Toynbee 1962, 179 no.131, pl.155 and Potter and Johns 1992, 150, ill.60.

45 Bateson 1981; Hattatt 1989, 116–27.

46 RIB 2415.53 and 2415.54, Heurgon 1951 and D. Brown in Cunliffe 1988, 14–16 no.23.

47 Henig in Cunliffe 1988, 23 and pl.xvii, no.48 and see Graham-Campbell 1991a, 228; Youngs 1989, 23 no.1 and see nos 2–6, 7a, 8a.

48 Raftery 1984, 268–75 (Petrie crown and Cork horns); 276–82 (Monasterevin disc); Macgregor 1976, no.210 (Stichill collar), nos 231–50 (massive armlets of Pitkelloney type; Youngs 1989, nos 8b, c; Graham-Campbell 1991b, 253–6 and *idem* 1993 (plaques from Norrie's Law).

49 For the Water Newton bowl, Painter 1977a, 11–12 no.4; for hanging bowls see Youngs 1989, 47–52 nos 31–8 (no.37 for a double pelta escutcheon); Bruce-Mitford 1983, 202–315 (Sutton Hoo); Longley 1975, for a suggestion of Roman origins.

Chapter 6 Artists and their Patrons
(pp. 106–137)

1 Burford 1972 for a general work on the subject.

2 Fishwick 1972.

3 Blagg 1990.

4 For the Cirencester tombstones see RIB 108 and 109 and Mattern 1989, nos 67 and 69 (also 68 for a fragment); Webster in Henig 1993b, nos 137–9; Gloucester RIB 121, Rhodes 1964, no.1 and Mattern 1989, no.80; Webster in Henig 1993b, no.140.

5 RIB 110, Rhodes 1964, no.2 and Mattern 1989, no.66; Henig 1993b, no.141.

6 RIB 159, Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, no.44 and Mattern 1989, no.3 (Tancinus); also Cunliffe and Fulford no.45 and Mattern no.4 (another cavalry tombstone from Bath); RIB 149 for Priscus.

7 RIB 151 (Bath) and 105 (Cirencester); see Haverfield 1917–18, 180–5; Henig 1993b, no.116, also 117 and 120 (Matres) and 23 (Diana).

8 Bath: for Cogidubnus as a possible patron of the temple see Henig 1989, 221 and 223; the inscription on the Façade of the Four Seasons, RIB 141. Gloucester antefix: Toynbee 1962, 165 no.96 pl.103; Rhodes 1964, no.6 and Henig 1993b, no.173.

9 Cirencester: Britannia vi, 1975, pp.272–3 n.162, pl.xxi b and Henig 1993b, no.69 (Bath Gate relief); Phillips 1976 b and Henig 1993b, no.18 (Figured capital).

10 For the cult image at Uley: Ellison and Henig 1981; Potter and Johns 1992, 172–3, ill.74; Henig 1993b no.62; see in general Woodward and Leach 1993.
11 Clifford 1938; Henig, 1993b nos 48–60; see RIB 132 and Rhodes 1964, no.12 for inscribed Bisley relief.
12 Rhodes 1964, no.13 iii and vi; Henig 1993b, passim (among the celtic deities).
13 Frere 1963 (Keisby); *idem* 1961 (Wilsford and Ancaster); Ambrose and Henig 1980 (Stragglethorpe).
14 Whitwell 1970, 125 pl.viia.
15 Frere 1961, 231.
16 Lincs Architectural *and Archaeological* Society x, pt.ii, 1964, 5–8, pls 2, 3; see Whitwell 1970, 126.
17 Blagg and Henig 1986.
18 RIB 250.
19 Toynbee 1964a, 201, pl.xlviii; *eadem* 1962, 159–60 no.86, pl.88. Compare Wightman 1970, pls 14–20 for funerary sculpture in the Trier region.
20 Whitwell 1970, 42 and pl.ivb.
21 *Idem* 124–5.
22 *Idem* 124, pl. ii b; Blagg 1982.
23 Merrifield 1986 (hunter gods); *Britannia* xix, 1988, 463, pl.xxvib (Mercury); Blagg in Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 169–71.
24 Merrifield 1986 and see Henig 1993b, nos 110–14.
25 Toynbee 1986, nos 11–13.
26 Rhodes 1964, nos 4 and 8 and Henig 1993b, nos 91, 92.
27 Phillips 1976a; also see Coulston and Phillips 1988, nos 492–8 and Mattern 1989, nos 10–14 (Carlisle tombstones). Coulston and Phillips no.481 (Mercury on tombstone) no.482 (Mercury on altar) *Britannia* xxi, 1990, 322 fig.11 and pl.xxviiib for the Minerva relief.
28 Coulston and Phillips, no. 15 (Fortuna from Birdoswald); see p.xviii for Housesteads workshop. Phillips 1977b on Romano-British sculpture in general, though he rather loses sight of the fact there was very bad work alongside many examples of inventive regional style.
29 Toynbee 1962, 159 no.85, pl.89; 160, no.87, pl.85 also Phillips 1977a, nos 247 and 248 and Mattern 1989, nos 117 and 116 (South Shields); Toynbee 140, no.35, pl.41 and Coulston and Phillips 1988, no.117 (Chesters).
30 Toynbee 1962, 135–6 no.25, pl.20 (Minerva); *eadem* 1964a, 50–1, pl.vi (Hadrian).
31 Ibid. 46–8, pl.iv; see Lawson 1986 for the Ashill hock; Toynbee 1964a, 129, and pl.xxxvb (Silchester eagle).
32 Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, 42 no.153 (Silchester lappet); Henig 1993b, nos 178, 179 (Cirencester). For the statue-bases see Chapter 4.
33 Frere 1983, 69–72, pl.ix (Verulamium); RIB 288 (Wroxeter).
34 Ireland 1983, 220–33. See Keppie 1991 for a longer introduction to the subject.
35 Ling 1985, 5–6.
36 Cunliffe 1971, vol.i, 142–5 and vol.ii, 16–33 (Fishbourne marbles); Davey and Ling 1982, 183–6 nos 43 and 44 (Verulamium wall-paintings).
37 MacKenna and Ling 1991 (Southwark), rightly draw attention to late Hadrianic and early Antonine parallels in Britain; Philp 1989 (Dover).
38 Davey and Ling 1982, 123–31 no.22 (Leicester).
39 Ling 1991a, 175–8.
40 Ling in Crummy 1984, 146–53.
41 Davey and Ling 1982, 116 no.17 see pl.cxiii (Fishbourne—fish rather than shrimp); 162–3 no.37(c) (Sparsholt); J.Liversidge in Meates 1987, 1, 9–10 and col.pl.1 (Lullingstone); Davey and Ling 1982, 196–9 no.49 (Winterton); 155–8 no.34 (Southwell).
42 Ibid. 146–8 no.30; RIB 2447.9.
43 Philp 1989, 139.
44 Davey and Ling 1982. 165–8 no.38.
45 Swain and Ling 1981, but see also Ling 1985, 44.
46 Lullingstone nymphs see Meates 1987, 6–11; see Wedlake 1982, 63–4 and 104–5 for the painting in the octagonal temple at Nettleton; for the Christian paintings at Lullingstone, Liversidge and Weatherhead in Meates, 11–41.
47 Smith 1965, 1969, 1975, 1977 and 1984 are the most important; also Neal 1981 surveying and illustrating, with his own detailed paintings, a large number of mosaics.
48 RIB ii, fasc.4, 2448.11, see Johnson 1984, 409.
49 Darmon 1976, especially p.8.
50 For Thruxton see Henig and Soffe 1993 and RIB ii, fasc.4, 2448.9; for Lydney see Henig 1984a, 135–6 and RIB ii, fasc.4, 2448.3.
51 Lullingstone, RIB i, fasc.4, 2448.6 (elegiac couplet); Frampton 2448.8 (originally eight lines, metre described by Tomlin as catalectic anapaestic dimeters).
52 RIB ii, fasc.4, 2448.5.
53 Toynbee 1962, 203–5 no.200, pl.235.
54 Henig 1986; contra, specifically with regard to Brading, Ling 1991b, especially 148–53, but see also p. 156 dismissing a cult aspect at Littlecote.
55 See Toynbee 1964a; Eriksen 1980; Black 1986, 147–50.
56 Gladiators: Neal 1981, 76 no.43 (Eccles); 92–3 no.66 and Smith 1987, 9–13 and p.28 (Rudston Venus mosaic); Toynbee 1962, 200 no.191, pls.225, 226 (Bignor cupids as gladiators); Henig 1986, 167, fig.1 (Brading gladiators). Circus racing see Humphrey 1986, 431–7 and specifically on mosaics, Smith 1987, 37(Horkstow); ibid., 20–25 (Rudston). For North African mosaics see Dunbabin 1978.
57 Cunliffe 1971, vol.i, 145–50 (Fishbourne palace); Marsden 1975, 57 and 99, fig.44 and pl.iv (London palace); D.J.Smith in Perring, Roskams and Allen 1991, 88–94 (Watling Court, London); D.J.Smith in Bidwell

1979, 132–4 (Exeter bath-house); Zienkiewicz 1986, 165–8 and G.C.Boon in ibid., 273–6 (Caerleon); Thompson 1965, 40 and 44 with frontispiece (Chester).

58 Cookson 1984 first suggested the possible complications, albeit in a somewhat convoluted manner.

59 D.J.Smith in Crummy 1984, 168–74 (Middleborough pavement); Toynbee 1962, 197 no.179, pl.208 and Neal 1981, 102–3 no.75 (Lion mosaic). See Smith 1984, 363–4 and tav.1 (Eastern tradition).

60 Smith 1984, 362–3 and tav.1 (Western tradition).

61 Merrifield 1965, pls 63–9 (London mosaics); Neal 1981, 37–8 nos 1 and 2 (Aldborough).

62 Ibid., 54–5 no.20 (Chichester, below south choir aisle of cathedral); Cunliffe 1971, vol.1, 163–4, pls xlvii-liii (Fishbourne dolphin mosaic).

63 See Smith 1984, 363–4; Neal and Walker 1988.

64 Neal 1981, 20–35.

65 Smith 1977, 107 no.3, pl.6.xiia.

66 *Idem* 1981, quoted on p.163; *idem* 1987, 28 (third-century dating of Rudston Venus); for the wolf and twins see Toynbee 1962, 198 no.184, pl.220.

67 Smith, see n.47 above is the main source; see Johnston 1977 (Central Southern); Millett 1990, 176 for Leicester; Johnson 1982, 45–9 for the Lindinis *officina;* Cosh 1989 for the Corinian Saltire branch.

68 For Withington see Smith 1969, 112–13 and 116.

69 Johnston 1977.

70 Smith 1984, pls 2–9 illustrates the work of the Corinian Saltire School. Neal 1981, 60–1 no.25c. The hare mosaic from Beeches Road Cirencester) has not been attributed to any school by either Smith or Neal, but the design is sufficiently close to the Gloucester (Bell Lane) pavement with central figure of Bacchus (Smith 1984, 362, pl.4) to assign it to the Saltire School. The *emblema* of the London (Broad Street) mosaic (364, pl.6) looks more like a reclining Bacchus on a feline than Europa as proposed by Smith 1977, 114 no.26.

71 For this late tradition see Smith 1984, 370–2. I attribute Lullingstone to it in Henig 1985, 18. The Bellerophon scene on the new Croughton mosaic, of which I have only seen a snapshot, looks more like that at Lullingstone than those of Hinton St Mary or Frampton and consequently it may be assigned to this secondary phase.

72 For the Orpheus pavements see Smith 1983; for their style, Henig 1985, 15–16, pl.iv.

73 Rosenthal 1972; see Henig 1979, 22–3, pl.ii. and now Dark 1994, 184–91

74 Barrett 1978.

75 Henig 1984c.

76 Alcock 1989; RIB 274.

77 Glaucus: RIB 213; Cintusmus: RIB 194. For metalworking at the temple site at Woodeaton, Oxfordshire, see Kirk 1949, 28–30, sprue, fig.7 no.7 and ingots, fig.8, nos 10, 11. For images of Vulcan representing smiths see Henig and Wilson 1982; Henig 1991 (figurines); Johns 1991, 61–2 no.18 (ring); Walters 1921, nos 235, 236 and Potter and Johns 1992, 176 ill.77 (votive plaques); Tufi 1983, no.56 (sculpture from York).

78 Toynbee 1964a, 320 and pl.lxxvb; RIB ii, fasc.2, 2415.11; Potter and Johns 1992, 133–4 ill.49.

79 RIB ii, fasc.2, 2415.53 (Rudge Cup); Heurgon 1951 (Amiens *patera*); Painter 1977a nos 8 and 9 (Water Newton).

80 Risley Park *lanx* see Johns 1981a, Toynbee and Painter 1986, 41–2 and pl.xxc, no.50, Johns and Painter 1991, also Potter and Johns 1992, 210–11, ill.87. Pewter industry: Brown 1973, see also Wedlake 1982, 67–74 for moulds and other debris from Nettleton, mentioning moulds from Camerton and Lansdown; moulds have also been found near the source of the tin, for example at Leswyn St Just, Cornwall (Ashmolean Museum 1836, 147–8); the Bath ingots, one of lead and the other of pewter are published by Henig in Cunliffe 1988b, 22–4, fig. 12 nos 55 and 56; for inscriptions scratched on pewter see RIB ii, fasc.2, 2417.5–8 (dedications to Sulis Minerva, Bath) and 2417.1 (dedication to Mars from Bosence, Cornwall); 2417.28 and 34 (personal gifts from Appleford and North Oxfordshire). There are a number of names of owners, e.g. 2417.23 and 24 (Martinus, from Southwark) 31 (Venusta, Silchester); 2417.32 for the Welney dish which actually reads 'VERE FELEI'.

81 RIB 712 and see Ogden 1982, 177 and 181 ill.11:8.

82 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992 for the Snettisham gems. The mould from Alchester, Ashmolean Museum inv.1929.747, is unpublished.

83 Potter 1986 (Snettisham); Cool 1979 (Castlethorpe); *eadem* 1986 (Rhayader, Southfleet etc.).

84 Johns and Potter 1983.

85 Brooches: enamels, see Chapter 5, notes 44 and 45; distinctive brooches in the Aesica hoard, Charlesworth 1973, 225–30; the giant silver trumpet brooch once contained a gem in its head loop. See CIL XIII 3162 for the Marble of Thorigny; Hattatt 1989, 181 fig 84 no. 1648 for the Abbots Ann Brooch.

86 For the jet and shale industries: Lawson 1976, especially pp. 242–3; RCHM *Eburacum Roman* York, 1962, 141–4, pls 68–70 (jet); Sunter 1987, 30–35; P.Cox in Woodward 1987a, 106–10; P.Cox and P.Woodward in Woodward 1987b, 165–72 (shale).

87 The well-known reference to the silversmiths' guild at Ephesus is in Acts 19. Several collegia in Britain are recorded: RIB 91 (Chichester) mentions a guild of *fabri* while 69–71 (Silchester) were set up by the guild of *peregrini*. Neither is specifically a guild of artists. Other

guilds attested appear to be religious, under the patronage of deities, e.g. 141 (Bath); 247; 270; 271 (Lincoln); RIB ii, fasc.3, 2422.52 (Wendens Ambo), though this in no way rules out the possibility that they were craft associations.

88 Painter 1977a; Johns and Potter 1983; Johns and Painter 1991.

89 For furniture in general see Liversidge 1955; for shale see n.86 above; shale trenchers, Biddle 1967, 233–4 and 248–50 and a jewellery casket in Johns and Potter 1983, 33 and 131 no.83. Stone sideboards, Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, nos 159–89 and T.F.C.Blagg in Henig 1993b, nos 240–51.

90 For Central Gaulish samian see Stanfield and Simpson 1990; colour-coated wares in Gaul see especially Symonds 1990, 32–8. For the British vessels with scenes in relief rendered in barbotine see Toynbee 1964a, 408–15, pls xciii and xciva; their fascinating iconography is discussed by Webster 1989 and 1991b; also see Darling 1989, raising problems of patronage on pp.31 and 32. For face flagons made in the Oxfordshire kilns see Munby 1975 and the Horspath mould, Hassall 1952–3. Toynbee 1964a, 406, pl.xcii, b and c for masks from East Anglia. Face and head pots, see Braithwaite 1984.

91 Terracotta *antefixa,* see Toynbee 1964a, 428–31, pls xcviii–xcix; Carrawburgh incense burners, see RIB ii, fasc.4, 2457.2 and 2457.3.

Chapter 7 Art in Late Roman Britain
(pp. 138–173)

1 Brown 1971.

2 Esmonde Cleary 1989; Dark 1994.

3 Bloch 1963.

4 Onians 1980.

5 Brown 1971, 74.

6 Volbach 1961, 335–6, pls 122–7.

7 Foster 1991.

8 Ariadne lanx: Weitzmann 1979, 147–8 no.126; Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984, pls 103–61 no.61; Toynbee and Painter 1986, 33 and pl.xiva, no.26; Rubens Vase: ibid., 333–4 no.313; Dietreta: Harden and Toynbee 1959 and Whitehouse 1992, especially p.115.

9 Constantine: Volbach 1961, 315–16, pls 16, 17; Christ (Catacomb of Commodilla): Dorigo 1971, pl. 178; the Piazza Armerina *Dominus:* ibid., pl. 101, see Wilson 1983, 85, ill.54; Dominus Iulius: Dorigo 1971, pl.146 and Weitzmann 1979, 270–1.

10 Painter 1990, 5–6. The subject of gift-exchange in Late Antiquity is currently being researched by Ida Johansen.

11 See for example Weitzmann 1979, 67–9 no.58; 107–8 no.99.

12 For Carausius and Allectus see Casey 1994. There is, of course, the fascinating possibility of Romano-British craftsment (jewellers and gem-cutters)—as well as Gauls—being employed by the British mints during this unusual decade. Certainly the style of the coins is far from Metropolitan. The subject demands detailed investigation. For the Arras Medallion see also Merrifield 1965, pl.13.

13 Lullingstone Orantes: J.Liversidge and F. Weatherhead in Meates 1987, 14–17, 33–5, pls 1–3, col.pl.xii; Walesby font: Thomas 1981, 221–5, pl.6.

14 For deities see Smith 1977, pl.6. iii and xxiiia (Venus); Henig and Soffe 1993 (Bacchus); Ling 1991b, pl.xxi (Tyche or Muse). Hinton St Mary: Toynbee 1964b, Thomas 1981, 105–6, 182 and pl.5, and see Painter 1976 for the conception of Hinton St Mary as a vault design: also Smith 1987, 38–9 for Horkstow; Orpheus mosaics: Smith 1983 and Scott 1991.

15 See n.13 with the chi-rhos, 12–14, 36–7, col.pls xi and xiii; for the dress of the figures see J.P.Wild in Meates 1987, 40–1.

16 Smith 1983, 320–1. The presence of water-nymphs in the outer spandrels and possibly of 'fish and a star about the center' suggests a fountain or at least basins of water in the room. Also see Lysons III 1817, pl.v for a well-preserved fountain in the piscina of room 7 at Bignor, surrounded by a mosaic *schema* (see also Frere 1982, plan fig.3 and 142–3 for water-supply).

17 Painter 1977b (Mildenhall); Haverfield 1914 and Toynbee 1962, 172 no. 108; Toynbee and Painter 1986, 32 and pl.xic, no.23 (Corbridge).

18 Ibid, 185–6 no.142, pl.161 (Wint Hill); *Dietreta:* Harden and Toynbee 1959, 207 no.13 (Silchester; probably figured) and 212 (Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire).

19 Johns and Potter 1983; for information on the Hoxne Treasure I am most grateful to Catherine Johns who will publish a full study. See C.Johns and R.Bland, 'The great Hoxne treasure: a preliminary report,' JRA 6, 1993, pp.493–6; R.Bland and C.Johns, *The Hoxne Treasure. An Illustrated Introduction* (London, 1993) and C.Johns *Jewellery of Roman Britain* (forthcoming).

20 Thomas 1981; also Watts 1991.

21 Henig 1993b, no.2; Calza and Nash 1959, pl.44.

22 *RIB* ii, 4, 2448.3 (Lydney) and 2448.9 (Thruxton), on which see further Henig and Soffe 1993; Webster 1983a, but see Goodburn 1972 for the conventional view of the site (Chedworth).

23 *RIB* i, 103; see P.Brown 1980, 19.

24 Tufi 1983, 23 no.38; Thomas 1981, pl.2 (Constantine), Henig 1978 (?Fausta). Johns and Bland 1993.

25 See Gazda 1981 on late Roman marble statuettes as objects of pagan devotion; for statuettes in Britain see Henig 1983b, Toynbee 1986 and Henig 1993b, nos 1–4, 7, 8, 14, 15.

26 Kendrick 1938, 34–6 and 98–100; see Reece 1977, 407.

27 Walters 1984, 435; for the appropriate text see Henig 1984a, 200.

28 For a sceptical approach see Ling 1991b, 147–53.

29 Henig 1986, 164–5 and 167; also Black 1986, 150–1; Henig 1984c; Beeson 1990. For the 'holy man' see Fowden 1982.

30 Henig 1985, 15–16, pl.iv; Scott 1991.

31 Henig, 'Syncretism in Roman Britain: the huntsman with the phrygian cap', Rencontres *Scientifiques de Luxembourg* 4, ed. C.M.Ternes and P.F.Burke (Luxembourg 1994), 78–92.

32 Smith 1983.

33 Walters 1984; on Julian see Athanassiadi 1992, 151–2.

34 Webster 1983b.

35 Henig 1984c.

36 For Bacchus in Roman Britain see Hutchinson 1986a and 1986b; also Henig and Soffe 1991 (Thruxton); see Toynbee 1986, 23–5 nos 6 and 7, 39–42 no.15 (marbles from site of Walbrook Mithraeum), 42–52 no.16 (silver casket and infusor).

37 For Hinton St Mary see n.14 above. Watts 1991, 179–214 deals with syncretism between paganism and Christianity but interprets the Bellerophon theme as straightforward Christian allegory (p.208). However, see Huskinson 1974, who does not accept that this was regularly the case. Hanfmann 1980, 85–7 restates the problems.

38 For Pelagius see Thomas 1981, 53–60 and Esmonde Cleary 1989, 121, 128 and 162. Both are sceptical about his effect on the British church, but Pelagianism was clearly a problem in fifth-century Britain (AD 429), and it seems reasonable to ask whether his natal environment had affected Pelagius' own attitude to the problems of Grace and Free Will; that background was one in which robust Paganism could not be avoided, see Henig 1984a, 217–24; *idem* 1986, 163–4.

39 Bloch 1963, especially 208–16 for literary *subscriptiones* to editions of the classics.

40 For the Keynsham villa see Russell 1985. On the subjects of the *triclinium* mosaics see Stupperich 1980, 293–6; for illustrations see Toynbee 1964a, pl.lvii. Minerva and the *tibia* is found in Ovid, Fasti vi, 699–702; Europa in Fasti v, 603–20 and *Metamorphoses* ii, 832ff. The third scene is less certain and if Achilles discovered amongst the daughters of Lycomedes (Stupperich, *op. cit.*, also Ling 1981), it reduces the likelihood of an Ovidian source for the other two scenes.

41 Toynbee 1962, 203–5 no.200, pl.235; Barrett 1978, 308–9; *RIB* ii, 2448. 6, pl.vi.

42 Rosenthal 1972 for the illustrations; Henig 1979, 21–4 and now, Dark 1994, 184–91.

43 Barrett 1978, 309–13.

44 *RIB* ii, 2448.5.

45 Huntsmen: Toynbee 1964a, 239–40 and see VCH Somerset I (1906), fig.87 (East Coker); Toynbee 1962, 199 no.187, pl.216 (Chedworth). Hounds: Toynbee 1964b; Smith 1969, pl.3.29; Neal 1981, 87–9 no.61 (Hinton St Mary); Smith 1969, pl.3.27 (Frampton); Johnson 1985 (Cherhill). Hare: Neal 1981, 60–1 no.25c. Bacchus mosaics: Smith 1977, 108–10, nos 5–11. For the Grateley fan, see Rainey 1973, 85 and pl.Ib.

46 Hercules: Smith 1977, 144 no.129, but the third figure is certainly Minerva. I am grateful to Pat Witts and Grahame Soffe for information on Lickman's fine coloured engravings at Stourhead. Medusa: Smith 1977, 118–19 nos 39–42. Cult rooms: see Henig and Soffe 1993 (Thruxton); Walters 1984 (Littlecote); Henig 1984c and 1986, 162–4; Black 1986, 149–50 (Frampton); Henig 1986, 164–5; Black 1986, 150–1 (Brading). Ling 1991b, 148–53 makes some instructive iconographical observations about Brading but does not lead me to doubt my previous position; also see Schefold 1972 and Brilliant 1984 for discussions of mythological scenes as pendants with relation to earlier Italian fresco, but almost certainly relevant to fourth-century images. Webster 1983a for Chedworth; Hanfmann 1980, 89–90 and fig.26 gives a convincing explanation of the Trier mosaic. For the Cyprus mosaics see Daszewski 1985.

47 For earlier mosaics see Chapter 4, n.27. See Neal 1981, 90 no.63b (Kingscote); 94 no.67 and Smith 1987, 14–16 (Rudston); *idem* 1977, 122 no.53, pl.6.xa (Cirencester, Neptune); ibid., 123 no.59, pl.6.xviia (Hemsworth Neptune) and ibid., 134–5 no.104 (Hemsworth Venus) which is illustrated in Johnson (1982, 45 pl.34 Smith 1977, 135, pl.6.xxiiia (Low Ham Venus).

48 Gladiators: Toynbee 1962, 200 no.191, pls 225, 226 (Bignor); Henig 1984a, 221 ill.106 and Ling 1991, 152 and pl.xivb (Brading). Ling describes the scene but misses the point that the function here is very different from the Nennig floor, see Dorigo 1971, pl.40, Beast Fights: Smith 1987, 9–13 (Rudston); Putnam and Rainey 1972, 84 fig.8 (Dewlish); Neal 1981, 103–4 no.76 (Verulamium). The Circus: Smith 1987, 37 (Horkstow); ibid., 21–5 and Ling 1983, 18–19, pl.1 (Rudston); Humphrey 1986, 431–7 assembles the slender evidence for circusracing in Britain.

49 Bignor: Johnson 1984, 406, pl.3. The long hair makes the identification as Venus certain. Brantingham: see Liversidge, Smith and Stead 1973, 92–9 (mosaic) and 99, 102–3 (paintings); Henig in Lexicon

Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae iii, 156 sees the central figure as the Tyche of Eboracum, plausibly equated with Brigantia; Ling 1991b, 154–6 sees her as a muse (?Terpsichore).

50 Davey and Ling 1981, 119–23 and Ling 1985, 42–4 (Kingscote); Davey and Ling 1981, 165–8 (Tarrant Hinton).

51 See n.49 for Brantingham; for the Trier paintings see Ling 1991a, 195–6 pl.xvib.

52 Lullingstone: J.Liversidge in Meates 1987, 11–40; J.P.Wild in ibid., 40–1. Poundbury: Davey and Ling 1981, 106–11; Sparey Green 1993, esp. p.139.

53 Painter 1977b, 26 nos 1–3, pls 1–8; Toynbee and Painter 1986, 22–4 and pl.vii, no.1; 29 and pl.xb and c, nos 18 and 19.

54 Ibid., 27–8 nos 7 and 8, pls 20–2 (Alexander and Olympias); 31–2 nos 29–31, pl.36 (spoons with chirhos).

55 Haverfield 1914; see Toynbee and Painter 1986, 32 and pl.xic no.23.

56 Traprain Law: Curle 1923, 13–19, no.1, pl.v (Christian flagon); 27–8, no.8. pl.xii (recognition of Ulysses); 54 no.65 (crowning of Dionysus [Bacchus]); 41–3, no.36, pl.xxi (head of Hercules); 36–9, no.30, pl.xvii (nereid on sea-panther). Balline: Ó Ríordáin 1947, 50–5, pl.iii and Toynbee 1964a, 315 and pl.lxxiiia.

57 Johns and Potter 1983, 107–8 no.50 and 119–20 no.66, col.pl.2, also 119–21 no.67; and see in general pp.34–45 (Thetford); Johns and Potter 1985; 318–19 no.7 (Canterbury); Hawkes 1972, 157 and fig.3, 4 (Ballinrees/Coleraine).

58 Johns and Potter 1991.

59 Pewter, see Chapter 6, n.80; also Isle of Ely bowl: Toynbee 1962, 176 no.121, pls 137, 138; Appleford: Brown 1973, see 193 no.24 and *RIB* ii, 2417.28 for the inscription and Brown, 193–4, fig.4 no.21; Appleshaw: Read 1898, 10 no.9 is the same as the Appleford design; 9 nos 2 and 4, figs 1 and 2 are more complicated. Comparanda in silver: Painter 1977b, 27 no.4, pls 11–14 (Mildenhall) and Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984, pls 79–81, no.55 (Kaiseraugst). Note also the fish-dish with central fish design on it, Read, 12 no.32, fig.9; Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984, pl.77, 2 and see ibid., pl.78, 2 and Baratte and Painter 1989, 272–4 no.237 for the pewter fish dish from Alise-Ste-Reine. Silver comparanda: Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984, pls 70–74, nos 53 and 54; Toynbee and Painter 1986, 43 and pl.xxiiia, no.54 (Kaiseraugst) and bronze, Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, pl.76 and 77, 1 (from Cologne, Rhonetal and Morrens-Le Buy), also a heart-shaped vessel with a fish from Traprain, Curle 1923, 72–3 no.108, pl.xxvii and Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, pl.78, 1. For the Bath pewter see N.Sunter and P.Brown in Cunliffe 1988b, 9–21 especially 11 no. 14 (with coin of Constantine), comparing it with the 'Munich Treasure' bowls, Kent and Painter 1977, 20–1 nos 1–3 and Toynbee and Painter 1986, 24–5 and pls viib and c, and viiia, nos 2–4 (with images of Licinius); also ibid., 25 and pl.viiic (similar from Cervenbreg, Bulgaria).

60 Volbach 1961, 322 no.53 and Toynbee and Painter 1986, 27–8 and pl.xa, no.16 (Missorium of Theodosius) and 324 no.63 (Stilicho diptych). Erickstanebrae brooch: RIB ii, 2421.43; Moray Firth brooch: Kent and Painter 1977, 28 no.21; Odiham: ibid., no.20, see *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (British Museum 1951), 21 fig.10 no.28. Other examples of bronze nos 29 and 30; see Potter and Johns 1992, 215 no.90 for brooch of silver with niello.

61 Thetford: Johns and Potter 1983, 20–9, 78–105. Multigem rings nos 5 and 8; rings using filigree wires, nos 10–15, 17—compare Kent and Painter 1977, 128–9 nos 231, 232 from New Grange and Fulford, Burnett, Henig and Johns 1989, nos 3 and 5 from Silchester; figured rings nos 23 (Faunus), 7 (woodpeckers), 5 and 6 (dolphins)—bronze ring from Canterbury shown to me by Pan Garrard of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust; for the Sussex brooch see Toynbee 1964a, 344 and pl.lxxixc and Kent and Painter 1977, 28 no.23; dolphin buckles (types IA and IIA), see Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–5 and 50–7, figs 13, 17, 18. For the Thetford buckle, Johns and Potter 1983, 78–9, 81 and col.pl.1.

62 For silver belts and buckles from Traprain Law see Curle 1923, 86–9 nos 146–9 and pls xxxii and xxxiii; on Late Roman belts from Britain see in general Hawkes and Dunning 1961; 62 and pl.iib for the Snodland buckle and compare portraits with those on a silver vessel from Traprain Law—Curle 1923, 53 no.63; 62 and pl.iii for a buckle in Liverpool. Note Hawkes 1972 for the splendid example of a type IB buckle from Caves Inn, with two peacocks on the plate. On belts as badge of status see Esmonde Cleary 1989, 34, 54–6 and note Dorigo 1971, 226, iii.183 for servant holding a belt from a tomb at Silistra, Bulgaria.

63 Hawkes 1961 for quoit brooches, especially 30–1, pl.xiv for the Sarre brooch, also figured in Kent and Painter 1977, 137–8 no.293; Evison 1968 for buckles in that style, note especially pl.liii for the Mucking mounts. The relevant rings are *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* London 2nd ser. iv(i), 38–9 (Wantage); Henig 1978, nos 801–3, pl.lix and Kent and Painter, 62 nos 141–3 (Amesbury); *idem* 1985, 19; Henig and Ogden 1988, 315–17 and 326, n.59 (Richborough). A gold bracelet in the Hoxne treasure also depicts animals in the 'quoit-brooch style', see Bland and Johns 1993, 20 (illustration, bottom row).

64 For the Bath brooch and the Oldcroft pin see Chapter 5, n.47. For hanging-bowl escutcheons in 'antique revival style' see Youngs 1989, 51 no.36. On Sutton Hoo see Bruce-Mitford 1983 (silver on pp.1–191).

Chapter 8 Attitudes to Art in Roman Britain
(pp.174–189)

1 Bruce-Mitford 1978, 311–77; Hicks 1978; *eadem* 1993.
2 Webster and Backhouse 1991, 17–19 no.1 (Gospels of St Augustine); ibid., 123–4, 126, also Bruce-Mitford 1969 (Codex Amiatinus). See Wilson 1984, 49; Bruce-Mitford 1983 and Kent and Painter 1977, 130–5, nos 236–48 for the silver.
3 Cunliffe 1983.
4 Kitzinger 1993, esp. 8–13; Henderson 1993.
5 Wilson 1984, 79 pl.82 (Otley); 108 pl.132 (Whitchurch), cf. Phillips and Coulston 1988, no.209, Mattern 1989, 784–5 no. 102. Note Lang 1993.
6 Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1985, esp. pp.254–73. For Roman parallels cf. Britannia ii, 1971, 238, pl.xxxiii and Henig 1984a, 53, ill.13.
7 Hayward Gallery exhibition catalogue, English *Romanesque Art* (1984), nos 99–101; cf.Tufi 1983, no.128 (capitals); Higgitt 1973, 13–14, pls i.5 and i.4 (fonts).
8 For *spolia* in the Middle Ages see Greenhalgh 1989. For late sixteenth-century antiquarianism, see Munby 1977, 416, 418–19, fig.10.1a and see Phillips 1977, no.215 and Henig 1984a, 70, ill.24; Howarth 1992.
9 Horsley 1733, 327.
10 Henig 1993b, no.180 for full references.
11 Johns 1981. See Munby 1977, 423 on Stukeley.
12 Toynbee 1962, 197–8 no. 183, pl.219.
13 Taylor 1941; Levine 1978.
14 Colour illustration on back cover of Littlecote guidebook by P.A.Spreadbury, 1979. The mosaic is discussed by Colt Hoare 1822, who gives details of the discovery almost a century before on pp.118–20.
15 Lysons 1797.
16 *Idem* 1813 (*Reliquiae* i, part 3)='Figures of mosaic pavements discovered near Frampton in Dorsetshire' (1808), 2 and 5.
17 Ibid., 1; Henig 1984c.
18 Lysons 1817 (*Reliquiae* iii)='Remains of a Roman villa discovered at Bignor in Sussex' (1815).
19 *Idem* 1813 (*Reliquiae* i), Introduction iii–iv.
20 Ibid. (*Reliquiae* i, part 2)='Remains of two temples and other Roman antiquities discovered at Bath' (1802).
21 Fowler 1804; Artis 1828.
22 Colt Hoare 1821.
23 Ibid., 124 footnote (on Lysons) in section *De Musivis*.
24 Ecroyd Smith 1852; see Henig and Soffe 1993 on the work of John Lickman at Thruxton.
25 Ribchester helmet: Townley 1799=*Vetusta Monumenta* iv (1815), 1–12, pls i–iii. See also Toynbee 1962, 167 no.101, pl.108. For the Barking Hall statuette, *Vet. Mon.* iv, pls xi–xv; see also Toynbee 1964a, 49 and pl.v; Henig 1984a, 75, ill.26.
26 Gage 1836, 310–11.
27 Newton 1846, 477.
28 Hartshorne 1847, 3.
29 Buckman and Newmarch 1850, 19–21 (capital) 25–47 (mosaics), also 48–69 (sections on materials and techniques employed in making mosaics).
30 Roach-Smith 1846, 287. The contents of the early issues of JBAA are noteworthy, for example Wright 1863 is the first attempt at examining the glyptic material from a single site. On Mayer see White 1988.
31 Roach Smith 1859, 6.
32 Ibid., 33–45 (Matres); 65–7 (Hadrian).
33 Ibid., 69–70.
34 Ibid., 49–59. Pat Witts points out to me that the animal seems to be spotted, and if so the subject has to be Bacchus on his leopard.
35 Ibid., 60–4.
36 Price 1870; see Merrifield 1965, 4–5, pls 63, 65.
37 Jenkyns 1991, 312–17 for Scottish nineteenth-century neo-classicism.
38 Kendrick 1938, ch.2 (pp.17–46).
39 Ibid., 21.
40 Ibid., 23.
41 Ibid., 40–1.
42 Ibid., esp. pp.32 and 36.
43 Ibid., 39.
44 Frere 1967, 315–22. Blagg 1989, for convenient account of recent developments. Reece's paper, announced in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 11.12.3 (1985) will eventually appear in volume 11.12.4.

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Glossary

aedicula(e) a small niche, generally containing the image of a deity either free-standing or in relief and serving as a shrine.

aerarius a bronzesmith.

antefix a vertical ornament on the edge of a roof or apex of the gable.

apodyterium the undressing-room of a bath-house.

aquila an eagle. The term is generally used of the legionary Eagle (standard).

askos *(askoi)* lit. 'a wine-skin'; a container in the form of a wine-skin though the Roman custom was for a pair of these to be carried round at a feast containing water with which to dilute the wine.

avatar term used of different manifestations or incarnations of a deity.

barbotine a method of decorating pottery by trailing slip over its surface.

basilica a hall with aisles and clerestory lighting; esp. used for the Roman town-hall.

basilica principiorum the hall of the headquarters' building in a fort.

beneficiarius consularis a soldier detached from routine duties to serve on the staff of a provincial governor, esp. for policing.

birrus a hooded cape; one version the *birrus britannicus* was especially associated with the province.

breccia a composite rock, consisting of angular fragments of stone cemented together by some matrix such as lime.

bucranium a ox-scull, often included in decorative reliefs from temples and altars and also found in funerary contexts.

cameo a gemstone so cut that the device is in relief.

canabae lit. 'the booths', refering to the civil settlement outside a legionary fortress.

cantharus a cup or vase with two vertical handles.

cella the central chamber or sanctuary of a temple.

chamfrein a frontlet, protecting the head of a horse.

chiton a long garment worn by women (Greek).

chi-rho a monogram formed of the first two letters, *?* and *P* of Christ's name in Greek (?PISTOS); see *labarum*,

cingulum a belt.

civitas lit. a community or state; in the north-western provinces it refers to a tribal territory with its capital.

clipeate something circular or ovoid like a shield.

collegium a society (or college), generally with religious and 'friendly' functions like a medieval guild.

colonia a chartered town of Roman citizens, frequently first settled by legionary veterans (e.g. Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln) but sometimes a status awarded as an honour (York).

cupellation a refining process, whereby precious metal is extracted from lead and other base metals.

diatretum a glass cage-cup made by undercutting the surface layer of a vessel so that it appears to be enclosed in an openwork cage.

dichroic (glass) glass which shows two colours according to whether it is viewed by transmitted or reflected light.

domus a house; the term is employed in connection with fairly grand town residences, much as the way in which 'town house' was used in the eighteenth/ nineteenth centuries.

emblema(ta) the device(s) in the centre of a mosaic floor or an item of silver plate.

forum the central market-square of a town, with the *basilica* (q.v.) on one side.

frigidarium the cold-room of a bath-house.

hacksilber a German term for the broken pieces of silverplate found in the bullion hoards of Late Antiquity.

honestiores the term used for the upper orders of Late Roman society in contradistinction to the inferior *humiliores*.

imaginifer in the army, the bearer of the standard with the emperor's image.

imbricated resembling overlapping roof-tiles (from *imbrex* a tile).

insula lit. 'an island', used of a city block.

intaglio a gemstone with the device cut in negative image into the stone, enabling it to be used as a seal or signet.

labarum the chi-rho standard used by Constantine after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and by his successors. It seems to be derived from the *vexillum laureum*, the standard wreathed to indicate victory.

labrum a wash-basin.

lanx a large plate or dish, sometimes rectangular (Corbridge, Risley Park) though great circular plates such as that from Mildenhall may have been called *lanxes*.

lapidarius a sculptor or carver of monumental inscriptions.

lappet A flap like those on the sides of some hats and boots or the *pteryges* (q.v.) worn by soldiers.

lararium the domestic shrine, housing images of the household gods *(lares)* and other deities.

lunette a moon-shaped ornament.

Mater (Matres) a mother-goddess, in Britain and the north-western provinces, generally venerated as a triad of Matres.

ministerium a service of silver plate.

mithraeum the temple of the god Mithras in the form of a cave, though in Britain all examples are small basilica-like structures.

mundus muliebris lit. 'the woman's world'; the sphere in Roman daily life and society belonging to the female sphere of interest, such as toilet, jewellery, dress.

municipium a free chartered town with citizen rights (e.g. Verulamium), not a *colonia* (q.v.).

nebris the animal-skin worn as a garment by a satyr.

negotiators merchants.

nimbed a figure with a nimbus (a halo).

officina(e) a workshop or studio.

optio an officer in a century within a legion, second to the centurion.

opus interrasile openwork; especially used of jewellery.

opus sectile shaped slabs of marble and other coloured stones fitted together to form decorative floor- or wall-veneers.

opus signinum lime mortar with aggregate of crushed brick used as floor covering.

orans (orantes) Christian figures with arms raised in prayer, as in paintings from Lullingstone, Kent.

parure a set of jewellery, intended to be worn together.

patera an offering-dish either with or without a handle.

paenula a travelling-cloak.

pelta(e) a moon-shaped ornament, derived from a type of light shield, frequently employed as a decorative device in art.

petasos a traveller's brimmed hat, used notably of the winged hat worn by the god Mercury.

pileus the skull-cap worn by artisans, in art especially by Vulcan and Ulysses.

podium the high platform, carrying a Roman temple.

proscaenium the stage of a theatre.

pteryx (pteryges) lappet (q.v.) hanging from the armoured skirt worn by a Roman soldier below his cuirass.

protome the forepart of an animal.

putti (It.) infants, winged or unwinged, used decoratively in art=cupids.

quadrifons a four-way arch.

repoussé metal which has been hammered into relief from the reverse side.

***rosalia* (or *rosaria*)** a festival held in Rome and throughout the Empire, at different times from May to July when roses were in flower. Graves were decorated with the flowers and in the army the standards were hung with rose-garlands on the *rosaliae signorum*.

sacellum the shrine at the back of the civil basilica or the *basilica principiorum* (where it was also known as the *aedes*).

sagum the military cloak.

sarcophagus a coffin, generally carved out of marble and embellished with sculpture.

schola the cult-room where a collegium (q.v.) met.

sevir (seviri augustales) the priesthoods of the Imperial Cult found throughout the Empire and reserved for freedmen.

signifer the standard-bearer in the Roman army.

spolia classical antiquities such as sculpture or gems re-used or re-set in the Middle Ages.

stemma the pedigree (line of descent) of a manuscript.

stele a standing slab, generally a gravestone.

tessera(e) the small stone cubes of which a mosaic pavement was constructed.

thiasos the company of followeres of the god Bacchus; the marine thiasos is used of the rout of sea-creatures, tritons etc. accompanying Neptune.

thyrsus a staff tied with ribbons and tipped with a pine-cone, carried by Bacchus or a member of his *thiasos* (q.v.).

togatus a male figure wearing the formal Roman garment, the toga.

topos a standard theme or topic used in a rhetorical discourse.

triclinium the dining-room in a Roman house.

***torus* (moulding)** a rounded convex moulding, often double (double-torus).

trabeated (building) a buiding constructed with beams as lintels and entablatures, as opposed to an arched construction.

triconch a room of trefoil or three-lobed plan.

triskele a figure consisting of three legs radiating from a common centre.

Tyche/Tychai (Greek) Fortuna; especially employed for city or territorial goddesses (tychai).

trulla(e) a saucepan-like vessel employed in the service of food, deeper in shap but not always distinguishable from the *patera* (q.v.) in function as such vessels were also used in religious rites such as pouring libations.

vas diatreton (vasa diatreta) see *diatreton*.

venatio (venationes) the hunting of wild beasts, either in the countryside or in the arena; a popular subject in art.

vesica a pointed oval shape, the sides of which are properly parts of two equal circles, passing through each other at their centres.

vicennalia the twenty-year anniversary of a imperial accession (also *decennalia*, the ten-year anniversary).

vicus (vici) a civilian settlement, often outside a fort, but the term was also used for unchartered communities elsewhere, even for Brough-on-Humber where the vicus had local officers, such as the aedile who presented a *proscaenium* (q.v.).

volute a spiral scroll in sculpture.

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