

## Spanish Samian ware: fundamentals and references

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*La Sigillata ispanica è la ceramica a vernice rossa fabbricata nella Penisola Iberica a partire dal 40-50 d.C come risultato della apertura di officine in numerosi centri di produzione, in seguito al favore incontrato da questo tipo di ceramica a partire dall'età di Augusto.* (Mezquíriz de Catalán 1985: 109).

### Introduction - definition of Terra Sigillata Hispánica, or Spanish Samian ware

According to Mezquíriz de Catalán (1961: 9; 1985: 109), (hereafter Mezquíriz) *Terra Sigillata Hispánica*, or Spanish Samian ware, is the red slip fine tableware manufactured in Spain from c. AD 40/50 to c. 400, in workshops created to meet the popularity of this type of tableware from the period of Augustus. '*Terra Sigillata*' refers to the word *sigillum*, i.e., the punch used to inscribe decorated motifs on the moulds used for manufacturing Samian. The term *sensu stricto* should cover only the decorated forms, but it is widely accepted as including both plain and decorated wares. The imitation of the Arretine and Gaulish wares, which in Spain created *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* during the Flavian period, was an Empire-wide occurrence.

### Historiographical review of the studies on Terra Sigillata Hispánica

#### *The identification of production*

According to Mezquíriz (1983b: 133), Spanish Samian ware was acknowledged as a distinctive product only after a relatively long period, usually being confused with Gaulish or Arretine productions. This remained the case until Oxé (after Mezquíriz 1983b: 133) travelled around Spain, suggesting the existence of local Samian production in the area of Tritium Magallum. The subsequent finds of kilns and moulds at Abella-Solsona (Lérida) by Serra Vilaro (1924) provided further support for this view, although it was not completely accepted (see Frothingham 1937; Fuidio 1934) until 1940, when Comfort (1940) established criteria to differentiate Spanish Samian from Arretine and Gaulish wares.

Once Spanish Samian production had been fully recognised, research into the subject began during the 1950s. The first step was the publication of many catalogues (cf. Mezquíriz 1983b: 133) containing Spanish Samian pottery from different sites and museums. Major catalogues are the works by Balil (1955-56, 1957); by Mouninho Alarcão (1958) for the north of Portugal; Ortego and Frias (1961) for the site of Uxama; Nieto Gallo (1958) for the site of Iruña; and the first lists of potter stamps by Oleiro (1951) and Nunes Ribeiro (1959).

Major advances in establishing the initial chronology were the excavations by Mezquíriz; that of the Decumanus of Ampurias by Almagro Basch and Lamboglia (1959); and the publication of the excavations at the workshop of Bronchales (Teruel) by Atrián (1958, 1967). These resulted in Mezquíriz's work *La Terra Sigillata Hispánica* (1961), where typology and chronology were established for the first time. This forms the basis for all later studies on the subject. Balil (1965b, 1975) however, established criteria for research, giving lists of potter stamps (1965a) (although reference should also be made to the works of Domergué (1967) for those retrieved at Cástulo; Mayet (1973) for

Coimbra; Boubé (1965, 1966, 1968-1972a; 1968-72b) for North Africa; and Fernández Miranda (1968-69, 1970a, 1970b) for Mérida), whilst Palol worked out the distinction between the Early and Late Empire productions (on the basis of the excavation at La Olmeda, at the necropolis of the Duero region, and at Clunia) (Palol 1959; Palol and Cortés 1974). New data from discoveries in North Africa suggested the existence of a Spanish Samian workshop there, though later it was proved the wares were exported from Andújar (Mezquifriz 1983b: 133). In the 1970s, a new batch of scholars was responsible for the discoveries of most of the workshops. Thus, Garabito excavated some of the factories associated with the centre of Tritium Magallum (province of La Rioja) in the north of Spain, publishing many of the results in collaboration with Solovera, dealing also with the workshops of the so-called Najerilla basin (Garabito and Solovera 1975a, 1975b, 1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1978). In southern Spain, Roca Roumens (1976, 1980, 1983a, 1983b) and Sotomayor (1972, 1973, 1977, 1981; Sotomayor and Roca Roumens 1979; Sotomayor *et al.* 1976, 1979) dealt with the main atelier of Andújar (province of Jaén); while Serrano Ramos is associated with factories at Granada (1976, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1983; Serrano Ramos and Atienza Páez 1981). This work produced a clearer picture of a manufacturing network apparently divided between two main workshops, Tritium and Andújar, with regionally or locally important ateliers at, e.g., Bronchales, Abella-Solsona, and Granada.

Subsequent work includes that of Mayet (1984), who reinterpreted much of the research; and of López Rodríguez (1985), who elaborated the typology of Late Spanish Samian decorated production. Later additions were the work of Paz Peralta (1991), dividing these into fabric groups '*Conjunto A*' and '*Conjunto B*'. Subsequent research in the valley of the Duero (Meseta) brought to light some indications that Late workshops existed in Lerma, Covarrubias, Baños de Valdearados, and Clunia, and many collections and finds have been published, including those at the site of Herrera de Pisuerga (Pérez González 1989). Papers concerning the problem of the earliest production were published by Romero Carnicero (1984a, 1984b).

During the 1980s and 1990s, more workshops came to light and were excavated in the area of La Rioja (Tritium Magallum). Cinca Martínez published a new atelier at Calahorra (1986); and Garabito published a new Late atelier at Tritium Magallum (Garabito *et al.* 1986). Other new ateliers were published (González Blanco and Amante Sánchez 1992, 1993; Luezas Pascual *et al.* 1992); as were pottery finds from sites such as Varea (Luezas Pascual and Suéñz Preciado 1989).

Finally, exports of *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* have been found outside Spain. Finds in France were published by Martínez Munilla (1950), Mayet (1969, 1971a, 1971b), Mezquifriz (1960), Gavelle (1960) and Arambourou (1962); in Italy by Pallarés (1963); and in Northern Africa by Boubé (1965, 1966, 1968-1972a, 1968-1972b).

#### *Scholars and main works*

The list of works about Spanish *Terra Sigillata* is enormous, but very little has been published in English. The following constitutes some starting points: Mezquifriz de Catalán (1961, 1983a, 1983b, 1985), Mayet (1984), and López Rodríguez (1985).

An invaluable manual is that by Beltrán Lloris (1990) which is a thorough up-date of studies concerning all types of Roman pottery throughout the Empire. The author analyses important subjects including production, chronology and distribution; provides concise summaries of all issues within each particular production; a catalogue of the

principal forms; and references to all the related bibliography. Of particular value is the list of Spanish Samian ware shapes, and their related stratigraphies (pp. 341-2).

Mezquíriz (1961) remains a necessary reference point for *Terra Sigillata Hispanica* to this day. In this book the author produced a definitive typology of Samian ware, and established the chronology of forms and decorations on the basis of the stratigraphies provided by her excavations at Pompaelo (Pamplona, Navarre). However, the Late products were not then differentiated, and reference for these must be made to Mezquíriz 1983b, published as a result of a major meeting of all Spanish Samian ware scholars; and Mezquíriz 1985. The latter is one of the most thorough compilations on the subject, and reviews all aspects, including fabrics (p.109), slips (p.109), influences (p.110), chronology (p.110), spread (p.111), technology of production (pp.116-20), stamps (pp.120-42), forms (pp.142-74), and the different workshops (pp.111-6); and in addition provides a large catalogue of plates with all known forms.

The meeting of Spanish Samian scholars mentioned above, which took place in Madrid in April of 1983, was published by Sotomayor (1983). This meeting attempted to establish definitive criteria regarding classification, terminology (for the description of pot parts, types of decorations, colour codes, attribution criteria, etc.), typology and related issues. Also included were a number of research papers.

Mayet (1984) for the first time removed Boubé's differentiation between a Spanish *Sigillata* A or B. Instead, she divides it into provenance categories: *Sigillata* from the Tricio workshop and from the Andújar workshop. The first volume is divided into three parts. In the first part the author studies the factories (pp.15-101), and in the second, the structures of production and distribution. In the first part, the analysis of the characteristics of the ateliers reviews aspects such as location, information about the site, fabric, forms, decorative motifs, potter stamps, and chronology. The main workshops, Tricio and Andújar, are dealt with in chapters two and three; and minor ateliers such as Abella, Solsona, Bronchales and Granada, are analysed in chapter 1.

The second part, devoted to the structures of manufacturing, begins with a chapter on potter stamps and punches, ordered alphabetically, and used as tools for the identification of each workshop. Chapters two to four deal with the social structures of production, its organisation, and the commercial network.

The third part includes a preliminary study of Late Spanish Samian. This part was later complemented by the publication of the first typology of Late decorated *Sigillata Hispanica*, by López Rodríguez (1985), in which he discusses the necessity for also systematising the plain late Samian ware.

One of the innovations of Mayet's definitive work was the division of this ware into two periods of production - Early and Late Empire - by splitting the forms between both periods, and classifying early production within factories. The second innovation was the analysis of Spanish Samian ware fabrics from different workshops (see the appendices of Picon and Tavares).

The final reference work useful for this subject is Cameron's (1986) dictionary of pottery terms, with translations between English and Spanish, French, Italian, German, and Dutch.

### **Problems of terminology**

Terminology has been a problem since research began. According to López Rodríguez (1985: 16) the late start for the beginning of studies on Spanish Samian, made it necessary

to classify and identify pottery from sites before establishing a general typology. Therefore scholars referred to the usual classifications of Oswald and Pryce (1920), naming Spanish forms as derivatives of Gaulish or Arretine wares, such as Dragendorff, Hermet, and Ritterling.

When the first systematisation of the typology of Spanish Samian Ware was finally accomplished by Mezquíriz, the author found that, apart from the forms imitating south Gaulish counterparts, in Spain itself new shapes were manufactured. She therefore named these forms '*Hispánica*' and gave them numbers; subsequently referred to as either '*Hispánica*', or 'Mezquíriz' numbers.

The discovery of new forms by different researchers added numbers and names to the classification, especially for the Late forms. Palol, for instance, on the basis of his excavation of the Roman villa of Pedrosa de la Vega, established a new typology for the Late forms, numbering them from one to 14 (Palol and Cortés 1974).

In her early work Mezquíriz (1961) did not split forms into Early and Late productions, but she later modified her typology, adding numbers within the Spanish forms, mainly regarding the Late shapes (1983a, 1985). There is still therefore some confusion concerning how forms should be referred to. López Rodríguez (1985), in his systematisation of the Late decorated ware, made an attempt to solve this, explaining where the problems lay and adopting several solutions to classify and describe forms and decorations. Finally, Beltrán Lloris (1990) classified the main shapes, including Mezquíriz's and Palol's forms, this time without splitting them into Early and Late shapes.

To avoid confusion, it is necessary to refer forms to all of the existing systems, (e.g., Mezquíriz 80 (Palol 1); or Mezquíriz 42 (López Rodríguez 42A or B); or to refer to Mezquíriz's catalogue (1985), which refers back to others' systems.

### **Fabric and slips**

According to Mezquíriz (1985: 109), the *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* has differences in fabric, clays and slip colour which make it visibly different from Arretine and Gaulish wares. In the Early Empire, generally speaking, (although characteristics vary according to each workshop), the fabric was reddish, with vacuoles and inclusions (quartz, feldspar and mica: Mayet 1984: 300). The clays were quite calcareous (at least 10 per cent), matching the pattern of Samian wares of Mediterranean tradition. However, some examples (such as those from Tritium Magallum) used clays drawn from an area of several kilometres radius, which caused variations in the composition of wares from some workshops. Slips were bright red, compact, and with a high percentage of iron. They were semi-vitrified, by means of oxidising firing (type C) at high temperatures. In the Late Empire, the slips became orange, thinner, and deteriorated easily. The fabric was rose to orange, but with a larger grain size. The clay was still calcareous but had less feldspar. The composition of the slip was similar, but made friable by the firing temperature. The latter is not higher than 950 degrees, lower than in the Early Empire (López Rodríguez 1985: 12-13).

### **Chronology**

The starting dates of the *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* workshops are not entirely certain. One reason for this is the existence of more data concerning the southern production site of Andújar than for the northern centre of Tritium Magallum. These two major factories

centralised the production of Samian ware in Spain, distributing all over the Peninsula; whereas minor workshops had smaller regional markets.

Spanish Samian factories started manufacturing wares c. AD 40-50 (Mezquíriz 1985: 110), according to the stratigraphies provided by the Decumanus A of Ampurias (Almagro Basch and Lamboglia 1959). Other dates are those provided by Roca Roumens (1980: 270) who dated the beginning of Andújar's production to c. AD 30, i.e., the Tiberio/Claudian period. In general, scholars agree on a rough starting date of the middle of the first century AD.

Stratigraphies providing chronological standpoints are Pompaelo (Mezquíriz: 1957, 1958, 1978), Ampurias, Conímbriga (Mayet 1975a, 1975b), Andújar, and the sites excavated by, for example, Palol (1959; Palol and Cortes 1974) and Delgado (1975). The first gave, according to Mezquíriz (1985: 110), a whole sequence of evolution for the *Terra Sigillata Hispanica*, which was confirmed by the stratigraphies at Conímbriga. It seems that the peak of production occurred under the Flavians and Trajan (Balil *et al.* 1986: 255), from the end of the second century AD onwards. The third century saw a declining production and lack of material evidence from the cities (Mayet 1984: 96; Balil *et al.* 1986: 256). Mezquíriz (1983b: 136) considers the end of the second century as the end of the great workshops, displaced by small local industries (Navarre, and within the area of Tritium Magallum), prior to the establishment of somewhat bigger regional factories in the Meseta (central Spain) during the fourth century AD. Any statement of a continuity of the workshop production must be seen in this light, linking both Samian workshops of the Early and Late period (Balil *et al.* 1986: 256; Mezquíriz 1983b: 136, 1985: 110).

By the beginning of the fourth century Late production was firmly established. The panorama of the workshops was different; Andújar has disappeared. In Tritium Magallum the small workshops started with Late production from the third to the fifth/sixth century; and a new factor was the appearance of regional factories in the Duero basin, within the Meseta.

In the south and on the Mediterranean coast, the production of Andújar was substituted by the emergent northern African production of African Red Slip ware, which apparently did not easily reach the centre and the north of the Peninsula.

### **The first products (the pre-*Sigillata*), and the evolution of production**

The origins of Spanish Samian production are surrounded by many unknowns. One of these is the role played by Arretine-Gaulish influences. In the Tiberio-Claudian period there were some potters manufacturing Arretine or Gaulish wares on Spanish lands. The issue is whether or not these were isolated individuals who had broken away from their own countries, or whether they imply the existence of affiliated workshops from Italy or France (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 111).

Among these potters, one of the best known is Lucius Terentius, an Italian potter of the IIII Legion Macedonica, camped in Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia, northern Spain). He was working for that legion under Tiberius, but his products did not have a wider distribution. In the same place and period, there is another potter of *more italico* (Arretine-style wares), the civilian Vrme/Ukne (the *graphia* is uncertain). Other known potters, this time imitating Gaulish wares, include M.C.R.; Quartio; Cudas; M.S.M.; Titus Oppius; Vilo; Asiaticus; and Maternus (Romero Carnicero 1978, 1984a, 1984b; Balil 1982).

### Forms, influences and evolution

Mayet's definition of *Terra Sigillata Hispanica* -

*par sigillée hispanique nous entendons les céramiques à vernis rouge ou orangé, certaines présentant une marque d'officine, d'autres un décor moulé, guilloché ou à la barbotine, imitant les productions similaires d'Italie et de Gaule sous le Haut Empire, influencées par les sigillées africaines et paléochrétiennes sous le Bas Empire* [we consider Spanish Samian ware to be the red or orange slip ware, some of which bears potters' stamps, some of which has moulded, stamped or *barbotine* decoration, imitating similar products of Italy and Gaul during the Early Empire, and influenced by African red slip and Palaeochristian wares during the Late Empire] (Mayet 1984: 16)

- brings out again the relationships of Spanish production to, and dependencies on, Arretine and Gaulish productions. Others however believe that this definition ignores elements characteristic of Spanish Samian production (Balil *et al.* 1986: 250). However, external influences have generally been acknowledged, even to the extent of establishing periods of production relating to the prevailing influences. The first period, (after Mezquíriz 1985: 110), runs from the first to the second centuries AD, and is defined by the existence of strong Arretine and Gaulish influences. The second runs from the end of the second century until the fifth century, and has influences from the African Red Slip Ware and the late Gaulish (*paléochrétienne*) productions.

According to Mezquíriz (1985: 110), although both influences existed in both periods the Gaulish ones prevailed. Reasons given are the existence of a good road network linking the north to France, the closeness of both countries, and maritime trade facilities, all potentially contributing to the easy and cheap arrival of imports (mainly during the period from Claudius to Vespasian, and decreasingly during the second century). In principle, it is generally accepted that south Gaulish influences affected mainly the northern factories, whereas Arretine influences were greater over the southern production centres.

Romero Carnicero (1983: 132) reviewed the characteristics of the Spanish forms, concluding that the main forms within the Spanish production which had Gaulish prototypes (and particularly the wares from La Rioja) are: plain forms: Drag. 15/17, 18, 24/25, 27, 33, Ritt. 8, and during the Flavian period: Drag. 35/36, Ludowici Tb; decorated forms: Drag. 29, 30, Hermet 13, and during the Flavian period, Drag. 37. This influence is shown clearly in the origin of many of the forms and decorations. However, over time, the Spanish potters adapted all those patterns to their own tastes and needs, combining them with a set of various influences from other crafts (metal or glass production, e.g., Mezq. 48); or other wares such as coarsewares (Mezq. 7, 19), native Celtiberian traditions (Mezq. 31, 34, 39, 62), or thin-walled wares (Mezq. 2). These influences could have arrived directly or indirectly (Romero Carnicero 1983: 133). Spanish taste seemed to be for closed and plain forms (versions of originally decorated shapes), such as Hermet 13 and Mezq. 1 or 20, influencing and influenced by the native painted-decorated wares (Balil *et al.* 1986: 250).

In this sense, Romero Carnicero (1983: 134) considers *Terra Sigillata Hispanica* potters as skilled craftsmen, capable of combining all sort of stimuli to produce functional goods according to what was needed. Beltrán Lloris (1990: 33) however, sees

the ware as reflecting a different taste, and therefore society, from other wares. Whereas the Arretine wares provide evidence of a taste for erotic scenes, myths or narrative cycles, Spanish wares are composed of isolated figures, hunting scenes, and the absence of erotic themes, and were, he believes, intended for urban markets.

Arretine influences affected mainly, and more directly, the southern workshops of Andújar and Granada. Forms ascribed to Arretine prototypes (Roca Roumens 1978: 287-93) are: Drag. 24/25 (prototype: Loeschke 2), Drag. 27 (Loeschke 11), and Drag 29 (with a mixture of Arretine and South Gaulish influences). Similar influences are seen in the use of certain decorative motifs (Roca Roumens 1978: 293-94), and in the predominance of *tria nomina in planta pedis* potter stamps (some of which can be traced back to north Italian production). These influences have been matched with the presence of Italian potters and affiliated workshops in the province of Baetica in southern Spain (stimulated by a massive presence of Italian settlers and Italian legions) (Roca Roumens 1978: 295). However, Mayet (1984: 56-7) considers as reason enough for such an influence the imitation of the imports of Arretine ware, a position accepted by Sotomayor (1984: 149).

Both influences seem to fade out from the beginning of the second century AD. By this time imports decreased, and Spanish production established its own personality. The Spanish wares were quickly substituted for the Gaulish productions within the Spanish market, from the period of the Flavian emperors. However, from the second century, in the south and on the Mediterranean coast, *Sigillata Hispánica* was accompanied by exports of African Red Slip Ware, which ultimately would somewhat influence Late *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* production (Mezquíriz 1985: 111).

Typologies for the main forms of *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* which can be recommended include those of Mezquíriz (1983a: 124-31) or Beltrán Lloris (1990: 125-32), and, for their chronology, Mezquíriz (1985: 142-74). In general, among the 72 forms manufactured during the first to second centuries AD, plain forms were preferred (there were just 13 decorated shapes), with *Hispánica* (Spanish-designed) forms predominating.

Decoration, in principle, owed much to Gaulish traditions, but soon evolved into a distinctive Spanish pattern (Abásolo Alvarez 1985: 240, 244-50). Decorations were: 'Gaulish imitation' style (*guirlandes, arcatures, sautoirs, festons*); 'metopas' style (*panneau* style, which combined Gaulish influences with Spanish features such as separation of panels by wavy, angle or vegetation lines, or circles); 'circles' style (second century AD, combined with vegetation); 'frieze' style (one motif repeated in horizontal bands all over the pot); 'cut-glass technique' style; 'roulette' decoration (Andújar workshop) and 'barbotine' decoration, i.e., leaves on Drag.35 rims (Mezquíriz 1983b: 136).

## The workshops

### *Tritium Magallum (La Rioja)*

The area of La Rioja had a high density of Roman settlement in antiquity due to natural conditions including high soil fertility, navigability of its main river (the Ebro), and its location on some of the major roads leading to Italy and France. In this area, the urban centre of *Tritium Magallum* gathered around itself an unknown number of workshops, separated by distances of several kilometres.

Among those already known are: Bezares, Tricio (e.g., los Pozos, Rivas Caídas,

El Quemao), Manjarrés, Baños del Río Tobía, Bobadilla, Estollo, Sotés, Camprovín, Arenzana de Arriba (Puenteillas), Arenzana de Abajo and Pradejón. The large number of factories makes it simplest to refer to them as the workshops of the Najerilla basin, for they were widely spread along the banks of the river.

The chronology of these workshops covers a period of time running from c. AD 60 until the beginning of the third century AD, reaching its peak of splendour under the Flavians. The earliest dates are debatable due to the lack of good stratigraphic evidence; the only reliable stratigraphies at Pamplona and Celsa indicate a date at the beginning of the reign of Nero (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 112). However although much of this production ended, some of it must have survived during the third century for we find Late Empire workshops in Najera and in the Tricio as well, which competed with those workshops in the Meseta. This Late production from the third to the sixth centuries AD nevertheless had different techniques, forms, and decorations, which seem to reflect changes in alimentary habits.

In general the products of all the workshops have clay and slip of good quality. The fabric is dark orange, and the slip red-orange (with a grainy texture), and a vitreous fracture; all factors which resemble Gaulish production (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 111-12). The main forms were: plain wares: including Drag. 15/17, 18, 24/25, 27, 35, 36, 44, 46, Ritt. 8, 12, Mezq. 2, 4, 10 (as Spanish forms); decorated wares: Drag. 29, 30, 37. The forms tended to become more open with time and the bases deeper. The decorations follow the schemes mentioned above.

Approximately fifty potter's stamps used mainly *duo* or *tria nomina*, containing the name of the potter in the genitive and sometimes the words *of*, *ofi* or *officina*. Most of the stamps allude mainly to the workshop not to the potter.

### *Andújar*

Data on this area are taken from Sotomayor (1973, 1977), Roca Roumens (1976, 1980, 1983a), and Mayet (1984: 35-57).

The fabric from this workshop differs from the northern atelier in colour and slip, both reddish-brown; as well as the presence a non-vitreous fracture. Frequent forms included: plain wares: Drag. 15-17 (abundant), 24/25, 27 (predominant), 35, 36, Hermet. 13, Mezq. 1, 2; decorated wares: Drag. 29, 29/37, 37, Mezq. 20, 40.

The potter's stamps were attested mainly in *tria nomina*, and decorations included vegetation motifs of central Gaulish inspiration, the panel style including separations by means of wavy lines or arrow heads, and *roulette* decoration (the latter characteristic of this workshop).

The distribution of this production reached the south of the peninsula (Baetica) and Mauritania Tingitana through the port of Belo. Associated factories were in Granada (La Cartuja, Albaicín) and Málaga (Singilias Barba, Alameda), set up in the second half of the first century AD, and having a regional distribution. The chronology, as mentioned above, is a matter of some debate. Roca Roumens (1980: 270), field director of excavation in the workshop, suggested the commencement of first productions under Tiberius (c. AD 30), although others prefer to postpone it until the period of Claudius (e.g., Mayet 1984: 53-54). The end of production occurred around the middle of the second century due to competition with African Red Slip ware.

*Other workshops*

Finally, apart from the main factories, there seem to be a spread of small workshops, whose wares supplied mainly the regional markets: Lérida (Abella-Solsona), the Mediterranean coast (Sabadell, Ruidoms, Montroig, Cornella del Terri), Teruel (Bronchales), Navarre (Pamplona; Liédena and Corella), the Duero Valley (Uxama and Tiermes), and the Tajo Valley (Talavera de la Reina, Pantoja and Ercavica).

**Late Imperial productions**

Data on this topic are taken from López Rodríguez (1985), Beltrán Lloris (1990: 118-119), and Paz Peralta (1991).

Production during this period, although seemingly a degenerate last stage of the *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* production of the Early Empire, is a distinctive production on its own, which developed in the northern peninsula in association with an economic resurgence of the area during the fourth century. The ware is characterised by less-calcareous clays, less-reddish fabrics and friable slips. Production can be split into two areas: the Najerilla and the Duero basins, both in the north of Spain.

In the first area production started in the third century and continued until the sixth century, and then decreased. The products were mainly spread along the Ebro basin, but they reached the Duero area as well.

In the second area production also started in the third century and presumably continued until the sixth century (cf. Mayet 1984: 263-266 for stratigraphies and chronology). Knowledge of the the location of workshops here is still rather imprecise. The retrieval of moulds points to areas around Clunia, Santo Domingo de Silos, Baños de Valdearados, Lerma, Quintanilla de las Viñas, Solarana, Mecerreyes (all in the Burgos province), or Villanueva de Azoague (Zamora), and Tiermes (Soria) as likely workshops. Covarrubias (Burgos province) and Abella are the only excavated factories. A similar product (called '*Sigillata regional*') can be deduced for Lusitania in Portugal, from the finds from Conímbriga and southern sites.

The production seems to have been influenced by the Early *Terra Sigillata* production and by African Red Slip ware, from which it took some shapes and decorations (large plates and stamped decoration) (cf. Mayet 1984: 270-72). Mezquíríz sees this as a second period within the Late production (from Constantine I until the fifth century), when the production of these large plates is attested. According to Mezquíríz, this would reflect a stronger Mediterranean influence (chiefly from African Red Slip ware) which would have eventually produced an adoption of imported forms into the regional taste of the Meseta (Mezquíríz 1985: 111).

Innovations included the creation of the popular form 37t A and B (Late 37 - López Rodríguez 1985: 16-32) by mixing of preceding forms; and decorated Spanish forms such as Mezquíríz 42, 47, and 48, and plain plates classified by Palol (with strong African influences). Other popular plain forms were Drag. 15/17, 27, 35 and 44, or Mezquíríz 2, 5, 7 or 12.

A difference from Early decorative schemes is the absence of figuration. The most popular decorations were circles, rosettes, and sun motifs. By the end of the fourth century the principal change was that motifs, instead of being punched onto the mould, were traced with compasses, and the remaining punched motifs were small. Other decorations included *roulette*, reliefs (mainly in the Duero basin), and stamped motifs on both sides of the rim and on the interior base, which some have seen as the main

resemblance to African Red Slip ware. However, Balil *et al.* (1986: 261) disagree, because these motifs in the Late Spanish Samian differ from the African Red Slip ware in having a non-radial arrangement. Other decorative schemes include horizontal friezes, composed of small rosette motifs, inspired by the Early productions, and big circles or semi-circles, filled with smaller rosettes (second half of the fourth century to the fifth century AD) (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 119, 121).

The distribution from these Late production sites was mainly in the north and centre, whereas the south and the Mediterranean were supplied by African Red Slip ware C and D, Phocian Ware and Late Gaulish wares (Mayet 1984: 273-84).

### **Organisation of production**

According to Mayet (1984: 214-15) Spanish Samian ware production is differentiated from Gaulish manufacture by the fact that the potters were free men. This is indicated by the *duo* and *tria nomina* within the potter stamps. Very characteristic of the Spanish system is the role played by the *negotiatores*, who controlled Tricio's production. Apparently they controlled the workshops, and perhaps the raw materials, promoting massive production which would then be traded along the great commercial routes (by sea, rivers, and secondarily by roads, usually accompanying other products), and redistributed within the peninsula by big urban centres such as Mérida and Caesaraugusta (successively redistributed thence into minor networks). Other main centres of storage and distribution were Tarraco, Cartago Nova, Gades and Hispalis (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 28-29).

### **Trade and spread of *Terra Sigillata Hispánica***

The products of Tritium Magallum were traded all over the Peninsula, reaching greatest intensity in the north, but expansion occurred over all areas. In the central south, as mentioned above, Mérida acted as a redistribution centre.

*Terra Sigillata Hispánica* exports (probably from this northern factory, or that of Navarre) arrived quite often in the south of France (Mezquíriz 1985: 111). The finds from sites in Marseilles, Saint Placard, Saint-Jean-le-Vieux, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Lescar, Dax, Camblanes, Bordeaux or Saintes show how this production came to compete with south Gaulish production (although the latter prevailed). The exports embrace a period from the second half of the first century AD to the end of the third century, but major activity is registered from c. AD 70 until c. AD 150. This good evidence for economic relations between the Peninsula and France suggests that trade was not just conducted by sea but also by road.

There are also indications of commercial relations in other regions. Exports to Italy are attested in Ostia, reproducing schemes which occurred within Iberian native pottery. The furthest limit of export in the north of Europe is attested by an isolated example, a potter's stamp found in Germany at Stockstad (Mezquíriz 1985: 111). Products from Tricio, competing with Andújar in the north African market, arrived from the second half of the first century to the first half of the second century. However, the abundance of potter's stamps found at Lixus, Cotta, Volubilis, Banassa, Sala or Talmuda point to the possible presence of an affiliated Spanish workshop in northern Africa (Mezquíriz 1985: 111).

### Conclusions

In the development of Roman pottery, *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* emerged during the period of decline in the production of Arretine wares and their substitution by Gaulish products. By c. AD 50, the Spanish market was shared between Gaulish and Spanish wares. The decay of the former industry during the second century led to increases in other influences, particularly from the arrival of African Red Slip ware in the Mediterranean markets. Therefore during the third and fourth centuries, both shared the market: the Late *Terra Sigillata Hispánica* workshops prevailing in the interior and the north, and the African Red Slip ware products in the Litoral and the south.

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