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ARS AND LOCAL WARES FROM A LATE ANTIQUE SITE IN THE BAY OF NAPLES**Import, imitation, and market segments**

This paper studies the African Red Slip ware and its imitations from the Roman villa with baths in Pollena Trocchia. The site lies on the slopes of Mt. Vesuvius, in the ancient territory of Naples, and provides one of the largest datasets for late antique Campania. The ARS is 12 % of the entire assemblage and one third of the tableware. Hayes forms 61 and 91 are the most common types in both ARS and its imitations. Overall the assemblage shows strict similarities with the evidence in Naples, although less variety is noted among the types. In the final part, this contribution suggests that ARS and its imitations covered a specific market segment, rather than complementing the local products and provides a working hypothesis of a multi-layered distribution system.

1. Introduction

This contribution analyses the African Red Slip ware (ARS) and its imitations at the Roman villa with baths in Pollena Trocchia, località Masseria De Carolis. It describes the most representative vessels, quantifies the types, and compares this datum with the other late antique pottery assemblages in Campania.¹

The site lies on the northeastern ridge of the Somma-Vesuvius volcanic complex, just 10 km from Naples. The villa was built immediately above the AD 79 ashes, probably at the end of the 1st – beginning of the 2nd century AD.² When in AD 472 the volcano erupted again, the baths were already long out of use, the masonry was being dismantled, and the area was used as cemetery and dump. Traces of resettlement are noticeable on the second floor of the building, but soon after (AD 505/512) another eruption forced the abandonment of the site.

With 53,781 pottery sherds and 9,854 NMI unearthed so far, this site represents the largest studied assemblage from the bay of Naples and one of the largest in southern Italy for the 5th century AD.

2. The ceramic evidence

The following pages provide an overview of the ARS, whose total number of fragments is 4817 (1165 NMI) corresponding to 12% of the minimum number of individuals in all pottery classes from the site. Almost all contexts uncovered so far in Pollena Trocchia are dated to one of the latest phases of the site, from the middle of the 5th century to AD 472, and overall they provide a coherent and consistent picture. For this

reason, the ARS is presented in a chrono-typological order, so as to provide a more organic picture of which types were imported. Since the rooms of the baths were used as dumps, there has also been found an appreciable number of residual artefacts, which provide hints of the previous phases of occupation. Therefore, rather than discard the information on the residual pottery altogether, we first describe the evidence pertaining to the 5th century, then proceed with the analysis of the potsherds by century, although aware that many types often cover larger timespans.

2.1. 5th century ARS

Within the 5th-century pottery from the site, the ARS is an important part of the tableware, with 124 NMI, mostly related to D fabrics.³ The variations of the flanged bowl Hayes 91, which is present in 17 specimens, are noteworthy. There are present both the early variant Hayes 91A⁴ (**fig. 1,1**) and Hayes 91B (**fig. 1,2**),⁵ dated to the first half of the 5th century. There is also a single specimen of the variant Lamboglia 24/25 (**fig. 1,3**).⁶ The shallow bowl Hayes 80A, present in one specimen (**fig. 1,4**)⁷ can be assigned a similar date. By far the most common type is the flat-based dish Hayes 61, of which 96 specimens were identified. Most are type 61A, with incurved rim and sharp junction between rim and wall, dated from the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century (**fig. 1,5**),⁸ but some are the deeper 61B type, with vertical rim, dated to the first half of the 5th century. Actually one can record also the

¹ Section 2 is authored by CSM, section 3 by VC, section 4 by GFDS.

² MARTUCCI ET AL. 2012; MARTUCCI ET AL. 2014.

³ Considering the high fragmentation and the low state of preservation, we prefer to provide a very cautious figure for the individuals in D production, although they represent the vast majority of the unidentified items.

⁴ Inv. 0108.0002; HAYES 1972, 140–144 fig. 26,2.

⁵ Inv. 0321.0047; Atlante I, 105 tav. 48,16.

⁶ Inv. 0365.0001; Atlante I, 105 tav. 49,1; LAMBOGLIA 1963, 189.

⁷ Inv. 0095.0002; Atlante I, 104 tav. 48,2.

⁸ Inv. 0665.0025; Atlante I, 83 tav. 34,1.

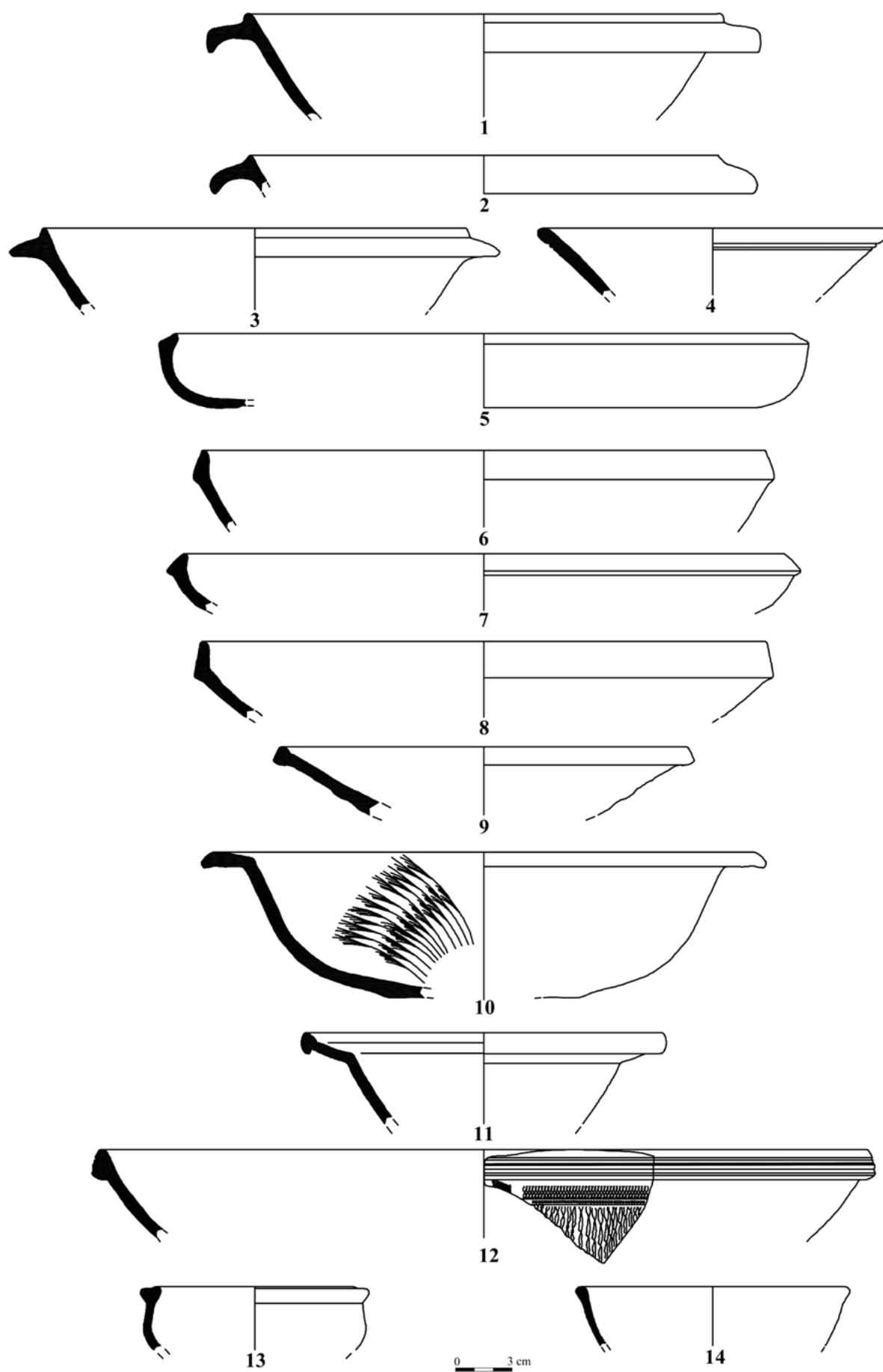


Fig. 1. 5th century ARS.

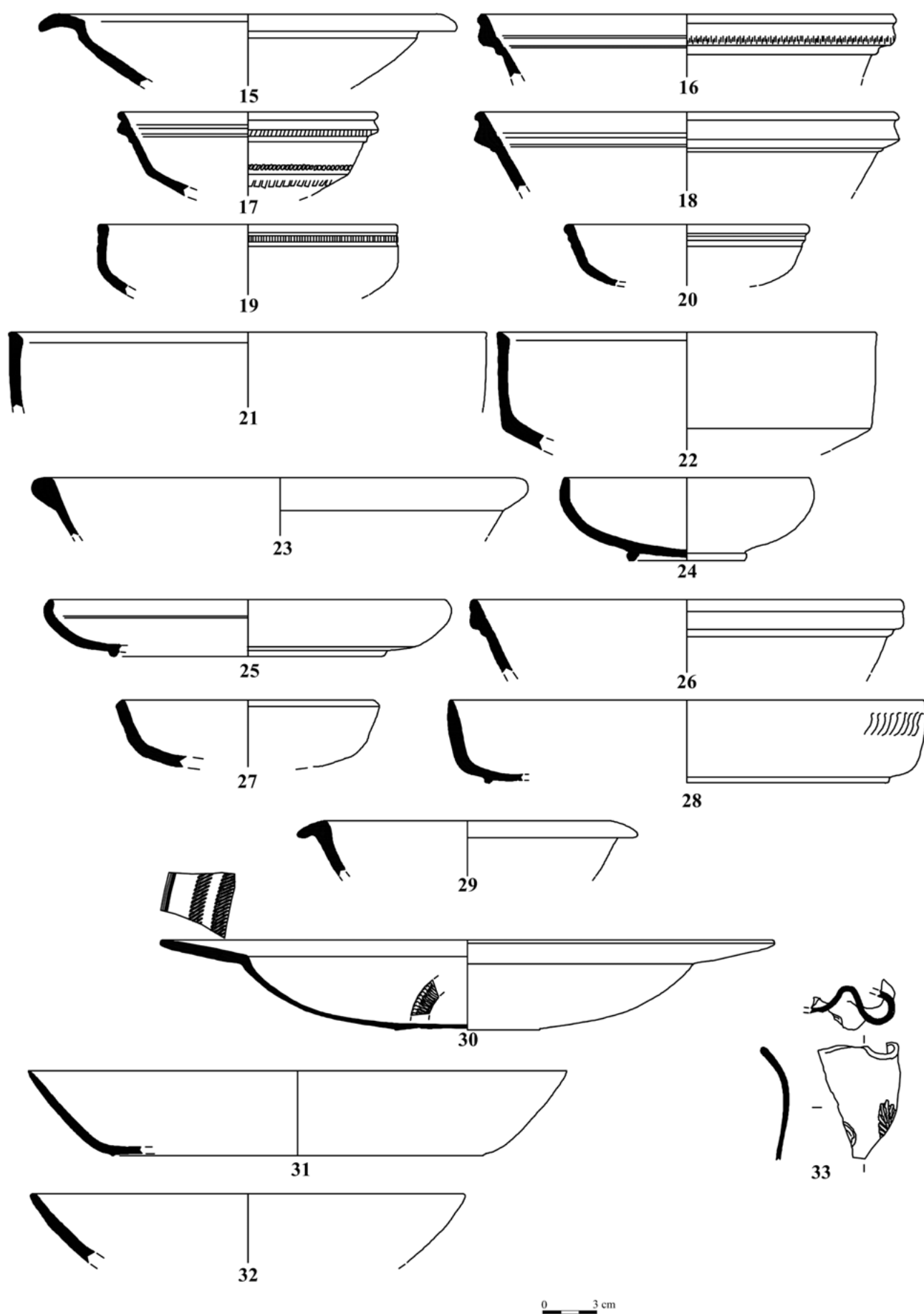


Fig. 2. 1st–3rd century ARS.

transitional types Hayes 61A/B3 (**fig. 1,6**)⁹ and Hayes 61A/B4 (**fig. 1,7**),¹⁰ dated to the 5th century, as well as the later types Hayes 61B2 (**fig. 1,8**), dated to the first half of the 5th century,¹¹ and Hayes 61B3 (**fig. 1,9**), dated from the middle to the end of that century.¹² Also to be assigned to the 5th century is a nearly complete specimen of a bowl similar to Hayes 78, but of larger and characterised by feather-rouletting inside (**fig. 1,10**).¹³ The last C production encompasses two examples of the small bowl Hayes 73B, without notches on the upper edge of the lip (**fig. 1,11**), dated from the second to the third quarter of the 5th century.¹⁴ Four specimens belong to the deep dish Hayes 84 (**fig. 1,12**), dated to the second half of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century.¹⁵ The latest individuals discovered so far are datable to the second half of the 5th century and are a small bowl with thickened rim Hayes 12/Lamboglia 22b (**fig. 1,13**)¹⁶ and of the deeper bowl Hayes 81B (**fig. 1,14**).¹⁷

2.2. The residual ARS

During the last phase before the AD 472 eruption pavements and walls were robbed out, some of the rooms went out of use and hosted individual burials and a general activity of dumping, thus bringing a considerable amount of pottery of the 1st and 2nd century AD (NMI 297) in the later dumping contexts. This group includes the most widespread ARS types in the western Mediterranean. The dish Hayes 3C (**fig. 2,15**), with broad convex rim, is present in 20 specimens (first half of 2nd century AD).¹⁸ Another common type is the carinated bowl Hayes 8, present in Pollena with 35 specimens, both with the earlier variant 8A with rouletted decoration, dated to the end of the 1st–mid-2nd century AD (Lamboglia 1a with rounded rim (**fig. 2,16**)¹⁹, Lamboglia 1b with angular rim (**fig. 2,17**), dated to the second half of the 2nd century.²⁰), and the later 8B type, with plain lip, characteristic of the second half of the 2nd century but still circulating during the 3rd c. (**fig. 2,18**).²¹ The bowl with curved body Hayes 9 is attested with 24 individuals, both in the type with hemispherical body and rouletted lip Hayes 9A (**fig. 2,19**), dated within the first half of the 2nd century;²² and the plain type 9B with flaring wall (**fig. 2,20**), dated from the middle of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century.²³ The most common shape of the A production is by far the carinated bowl Hayes 14, present in our

assemblage with 175 specimens, both of the earlier Hayes 14A type, with outwards sloping walls, dated from the end of the 2nd to the early 3rd century (**fig. 2,21**),²⁴ and the later Hayes 14B type, with vertical walls (**fig. 2,22**), dated to the first half of the 3rd century.²⁵ The assemblage encompasses two specimens similar to the large carinated bowl Hayes 10B, dated from the mid-2nd to the end of the 3rd century, but our fragment bears a lip less articulated and without the flat fillet under the moulding (**fig. 2,23**).²⁶ To the same period belongs the small bowl Hayes 17, here present in five examples (**fig. 2,24**).²⁷ The plate Hayes 27, in A/D production, represented by 35 individuals, is dated from the end of the 2nd to the 3rd century (**fig. 2,25**).²⁸ The late A production is represented also by some specimens of the carinated bowl Hayes 8B/Lamboglia 1c (**fig. 2,26**).²⁹ The assemblages encompasses also one fragment of the small dish Hayes 16/Lamboglia 3c³⁰, with very slight carination (**fig. 2,27**), dated from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century.

The 3rd century is represented in ARS assemblages by 147 NMI, mostly in C production, even if A and A/D products are still in use, as remarked above. Noticeable is the presence of nine specimens of the low carinated large dish Hayes 31 with particularly straight wall and a rouletted decoration slightly visible on the outer wall (**fig. 2,28**), dated to the first half of the century.³¹ The same chronology is established also for the dish Hayes 32/Ostia I, 31, in A/D production, represented by three specimens (**fig. 2,29**).³² The assemblage of the C production encompasses also one plate Hayes 45A (**fig. 2,30**), dated from the beginning of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th century.³³ However the type by far the most common is the Hayes 50, attested by 133 specimens of 50A type, both in the earlier variant Lamboglia 40bis, with tapering rim and straighter walls (**fig. 2,31**), dated to the first half of the 3rd century,³⁴ and the later Lamboglia 40, with rounder rim and more flaring walls (**fig. 2,32**), dated to the first half of the 4th century.³⁵ Closed shapes are not generally common outside Africa, here is noted only one fragment of trefoil jug, in production C, similar to the type Salomonson XIX (**fig. 2,33**).³⁶

The group belonging to the 4th century encompasses 90 NMI of African Red Slip ware, mostly of the D production, but C products are still in use. Among them one can reckon 7 specimens of the dish Hayes 49 (**fig. 3,34**), dated from the middle of the 3rd to the middle of the 4th century,³⁷ and two examples of the large dish Hayes 50B (**fig. 3,35**), dated to the second half of the 4th century.³⁸ Seventeen individuals can

⁹ Inv. 0156.0002; Atlante I, 84 tav. 34,6; BONIFAY 2004, 167; 170–171 type 37.

¹⁰ Inv., 0284.0020; BONIFAY 2004, 167; 170–171 type 37 fig. 90,10 (from Antioch).

¹¹ Inv. 0113.0005; BONIFAY 2004, 167–170 type 38 fig. 90,23.

¹² Inv. 0117.0001; BONIFAY 2004, 161–171 type 38 fig. 91,36.

¹³ Inv. 0098.0014; Atlante I, 108 tav. 50,5.

¹⁴ Inv. 0755.0009; Atlante I, 72 tav. 31,5.

¹⁵ Inv. 0268.0001; Atlante I, 69 tav. 29,13; Bonifay 2004, 201.

¹⁶ Inv. 0815.0002; Atlante I, 114 tav. 52,11–12; LAMBOGLIA 1958, 289.

¹⁷ Inv. 0098.0014; HAYES 1972, 128 fig. 22,8.

¹⁸ Inv. 0435.0001; Atlante I, 24 tav. 13,13.

¹⁹ Inv. 0467.0030; BONIFAY 2004, 156 type 3 fig. 84,1.

²⁰ Inv. 0435.0002; Atlante I, 26 tav. 14,4.

²¹ Inv. 0321.0084; HAYES 1972, 32 fig. 4. See for the chronology also BONIFAY 2004, 156.

²² Inv. 0435.0009; Atlante I, 26, tav. 14,9.

²³ Inv. 0294.0002; Atlante I, 27, tav. 14,11

²⁴ Inv. 0321.0068; Atlante I, 32 tav. 16,9.

²⁵ Inv. 0665.0030; BONIFAY 2004, 157–159 type 7 fig. 85,6.

²⁶ Inv. 0609.0012; Atlante I, 31 tav. 15,14.

²⁷ Inv. 0807.0001; BONIFAY 2004, 157 fig. 85,17.

²⁸ Inv. 0807.0024; BONIFAY 2004, 159 type 13 fig. 85,2.

²⁹ Inv. 0467.0029; Atlante I, 26 tav. 14,6.

³⁰ Inv. 0462.0030; Atlante I, 32 tav. XVI,10–11; BONIFAY 2004, 157–159 type 6.

³¹ Inv. 0447.0002; BONIFAY 2004, 157 type 11 fig. 85,19.

³² Inv. 0430.0006; Atlante I, 56 tav. 25,6.

³³ Inv. 0807.0025; Atlante I, 63 tav. 28,1.

³⁴ Inv. 0683.0005; Atlante I, 65 tav. 28,10.

³⁵ Inv. 0284.0064; Atlante I, 65 tav. 28,12.

³⁶ Inv. 0665.0003; Atlante I, 153–154, tav. 74,8.

³⁷ Inv. 0321.0052; Atlante I, 61 tav. 26,14.

³⁸ Inv. 0049.0005; Atlante I, 65 tav. 28,14.

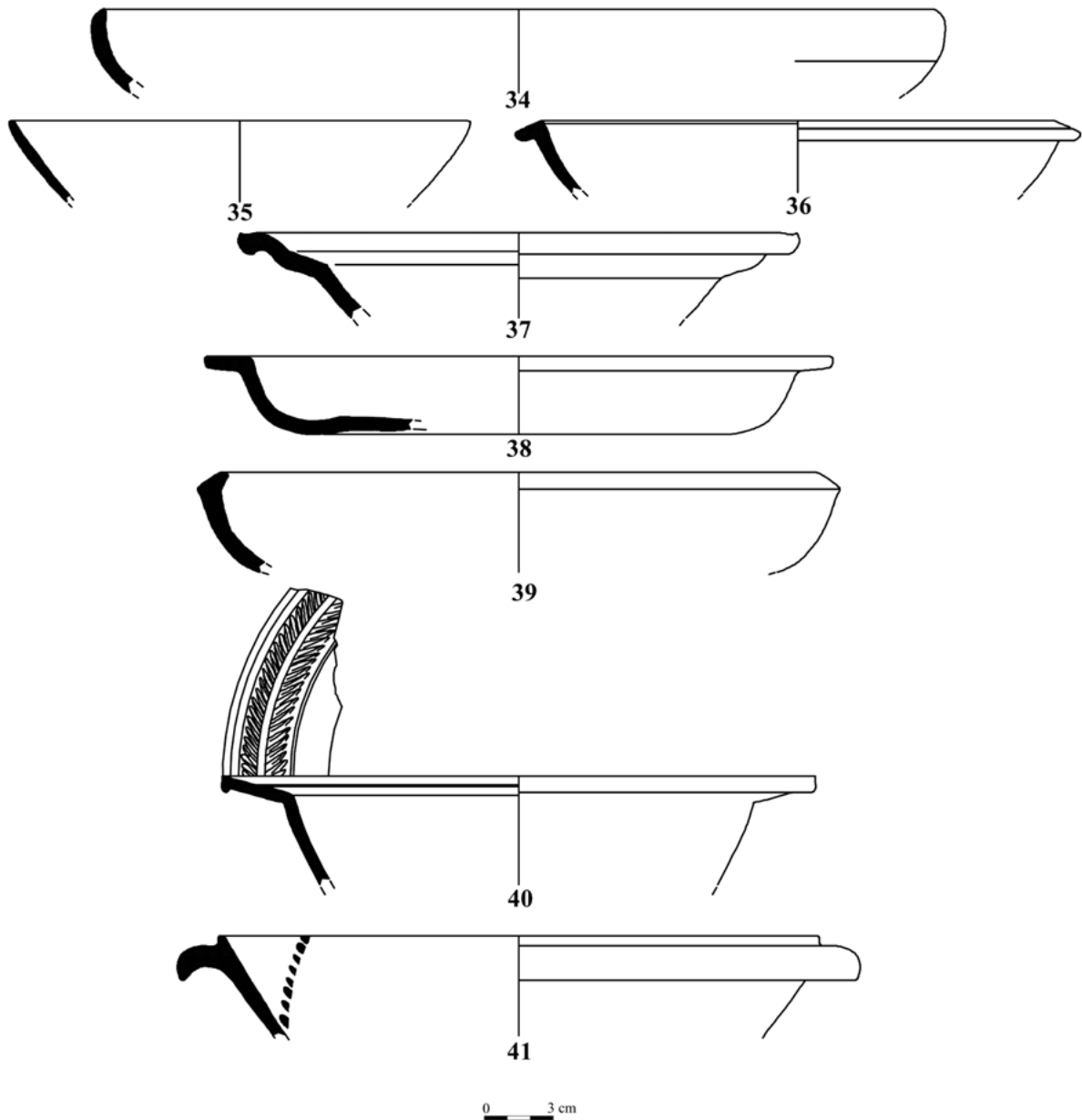


Fig. 3. 3rd–4th century ARS.

be ascribed to the flat base dish Hayes 58B (**fig. 3,36**), dated from the end of the 3rd to the end of the 4th century.³⁹ The large bowl Hayes 67 is represented by 23 specimens, all variant 67A (**fig. 3,37**), dated to the second half of the 4th century.⁴⁰ The flat-based dish Hayes 59/Lamboglia 51 is represented by 14 specimens, mostly with flat rim (**fig. 3,38**), dated from the beginning of the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century.⁴¹ By far the most common type in D production is the flat-based dish Hayes 61A (**fig. 3,39**), with 20 individuals, dated from the second quarter of the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century.⁴² Three specimens could be assigned to a variant of the small bowl Hayes 70 (**fig. 3,40**), dated from the end of the

4th to the beginning of the 5th century.⁴³ Four individuals of the flanged bowl Hayes 91A (**fig. 3,41**) were produced from the second half of the 4th until the end of the 5th century AD.⁴⁴

3. Local imitations of ARS types

In late antiquity the widespread circulation of African pottery in the Mediterranean basin led to the emergence of multiple workshops which reproduced the imported forms (African cook- and tableware) in local fabrics.⁴⁵ Although the production of pottery imitating African types reached its height in late 4th century, the kilns from the Ager Falernus in northern

³⁹ Inv. 0321.0063; Atlante I, 81 tav. 32,2.

⁴⁰ Inv. 0284.0016; Atlante I, 88 tav. 37,11.

⁴¹ Inv. 0280.0021; Atlante I, 82 tav. 32,10.

⁴² Inv. 0049.0006; Hayes 1972, 100–107 fig. 17,7.

⁴³ Inv. 0470.0038; Hayes 1972, 119 fig. 21,9.

⁴⁴ Inv. 0149.0005; Atlante I, 105–107 tav. 48,15.

⁴⁵ BONIFAY 2004, 458–462; ARTHUR 1994, 217–220.

Campania demonstrate that this practice had begun already in the 2nd century AD.⁴⁶

As in northern Campania, imitations of ARS are also attested in the Bay of Naples. In fact the archaeological data show that from the end of the 4th century and in the 5th century AD the local imitations are attested next to the original African products, even though in much lower quantities.⁴⁷ The forms in ARS made in local fabrics are mainly attested in common and slipped ware and were supposedly produced in the urban area of Naples.⁴⁸

These products are present also in the inland areas as demonstrated by numerous finds from the *villae* of Pollena Trocchia⁴⁹ and Somma Vesuviana.⁵⁰ Along a noteworthy number of fragments in ARS, the evidence from these archaeological contexts offers also an interesting dataset of the local imitations. The assemblage from the Roman villa at Masseria de Carolis in Pollena Trocchia, from which a significant quantity of the ARS (NMI 1165) has been presented above, also shows a good amount of African forms made with local fabrics.

Forty-nine fragments, which more or less clearly imitate the shapes in ARS, are attested within the villa; to these more fragments could be added but their poor preservation does not allow precise identification. The samples under examination are characterised by a quite uniform fabric with limestone inclusions, iron oxides, and quartz, in some cases also volcanic inclusions occur (e.g. clinopyroxene and biotite). The colour of the clay varies from light beige/brown to pale red.

In Pollena the most imitated forms correspond to the late African production in ARS D and are found in 42 specimens. Only one imitation of ARS A was identified. It is a rim of a plate in cooking ware that imitates the ARS A Hayes 27 (**fig. 4,1**).⁵¹ The dish shows a rounded rim and flaring walls, on the inside a thin groove is present under the rim.

Six other fragments copy the forms of ARS C, Hayes 83 (five specimens) and Hayes 84 (one specimen). The best preserved fragment is a plate in slipped ware, with curved wall terminating in a thickened rim, grooved on top (**fig. 4,2**). Although smaller, it is otherwise similar to Hayes 83. Imitations like this are present in Naples in contexts from the second half of the 5th century (Carminiello 9); the plate found in Pollena should be dated to the same period.⁵² Only one fragment is attributed to the ARS C Hayes 84. The dish in common ware presents a slightly incurved rim with triangular profile and flaring walls (**fig. 4,3**); on the outside the rim is flattened with three grooves. This type is also attested in Naples at Carminiello ai Mannesi from the second half of the 5th century (Carminiello 46).⁵³

The largest group of local imitations of those derived from ARS D (NMI 42). One of the most common is a dish Hayes 61

(12 fragments). The first sample presented here is a shallow dish with an incurved triangular rim and curved walls. The dish represents a fine imitation of the form Hayes 61B, with an opaque red slip which covers the whole surface of the dish (**fig. 4,4**).⁵⁴ Another plate in burnished ware can be attributed to the same type (**fig. 4,5**). It presents a rim with triangular profile, flattened outward and rounded on the top. Another exemplar similar to this form is found in the Roman villa of Somma Vesuviana.⁵⁵ This dish in slipped ware is dated to the end of the 5th century AD, while in Pollena the fragment belongs to the context of the second half of the 5th century AD (volcanic deposits of the AD 472 eruption of Mt. Vesuvius seal the anthropogenic layer).⁵⁶

The most substantial group of imitations found in the villa is the imitations of ARS D Hayes 91 (NMI 30). Six samples which will be further described show a great typological variety of this form imitated in local fabric. The first three fragments (**fig. 4,6–8**) are flanged bowls in common ware with flaring walls.⁵⁷ This type is well attested within Naples at Carminiello ai Mannesi (Carminiello 15.1) and in the Roman theatre from the end of the 5th century AD, while in Pollena it can be dated already to the second half of the 5th century.⁵⁸ Three other bowls, again in common ware, can also be attributed to the form Hayes 91 (**fig. 4,9–11**), although they present a thicker and more rounded flange and less flaring walls.⁵⁹ The last fragment presented here is the rim of a flanged bowl in slipped ware (**fig. 4,12**). Compared to the common-ware forms, this piece is smaller. It has a short flange of nearly triangular profile. This bowl seems to imitate the form Hayes 91 in the variant Lamboglia 24/25.⁶⁰ A similar example of this type (Carminiello 30) is also attested in Naples at the end of the 5th century AD.⁶¹

When compared with the Neapolitan contexts (Carminiello ai Mannesi and the theatre), the imitations of the bowl Hayes 91 found in the villa show a certain number of the local variants which could be dated to an earlier period (AD 450–472). The evidence from the Roman villa of Pollena Trocchia further shows that the African products had the same massive influence on local production in the Campanian hinterland as on they did on the cities on the coast, as kilns are attested both in northern and southern Campania, namely in the Ager Falernus (Cascano and Masseria Dragone), Capua, and Naples.⁶²

The data presented in this study demonstrate a significant presence of local imitations in the environs of Vesuvius. Their occurrence in the Campanian hinterland could be explained either as a consequence of the widespread distribution of the Tunisian products or as an effect of their low penetration in the inland areas, which triggered a compensation with regional and local imitations.⁶³

⁴⁶ For the pottery kilns found in northern Campania see ARTHUR 1987, 59–63; ARTHUR/SORICELLI 2015, 141–157; The imitations of ARS are also found in several sites in Apulia: VOLPE ET AL. 2007, 362–364.

⁴⁷ BALDASSARRE ET AL. 2010, 118; ARTHUR 1994, 181–183; 217–220.

⁴⁸ ARTHUR 1987, 62–63.

⁴⁹ MARTUCCI ET AL. 2012, 87–117; DE SIMONE ET AL. 2009, 207–238.

⁵⁰ MUKAI/SUGIYAMA/AOYAGI 2010a, 472–478.

⁵¹ Inv. 0755.0026.

⁵² Inv. 0114.0002. See ARTHUR 1994, 182–183 fig. 80.9.

⁵³ Inv. 0256.0002. See ARTHUR 1994, 187; 189 fig. 84.46.

⁵⁴ Inv. 0470.0029.

⁵⁵ Inv. 0049.0016. See MUKAI/SUGIYAMA/AOYAGI 2010a, 478 fig. 6.27.

⁵⁶ DE SIMONE/PERROTTA/SCARPATI 2011, 61–71.

⁵⁷ Inv. 0108.0001; Inv. 0815.0001; Inv. 0113.0004.

⁵⁸ ARTHUR 1994, 183–184 fig. 81.15.1; BALDASSARRE ET AL. 2010, 117–118 fig. 59.21.

⁵⁹ Inv. 0321.0026; Inv. 0166.0008; Inv. 0108.0009.

⁶⁰ Atlante I, 105–106 tav. 49.1.

⁶¹ Inv. 0080.0004. See ARTHUR 1994, 187–188 fig. 83.30.

⁶² ARTHUR 1987, 62–63; ARTHUR/SORICELLI 2015, 142–157.

⁶³ ARTHUR 1994, 218.

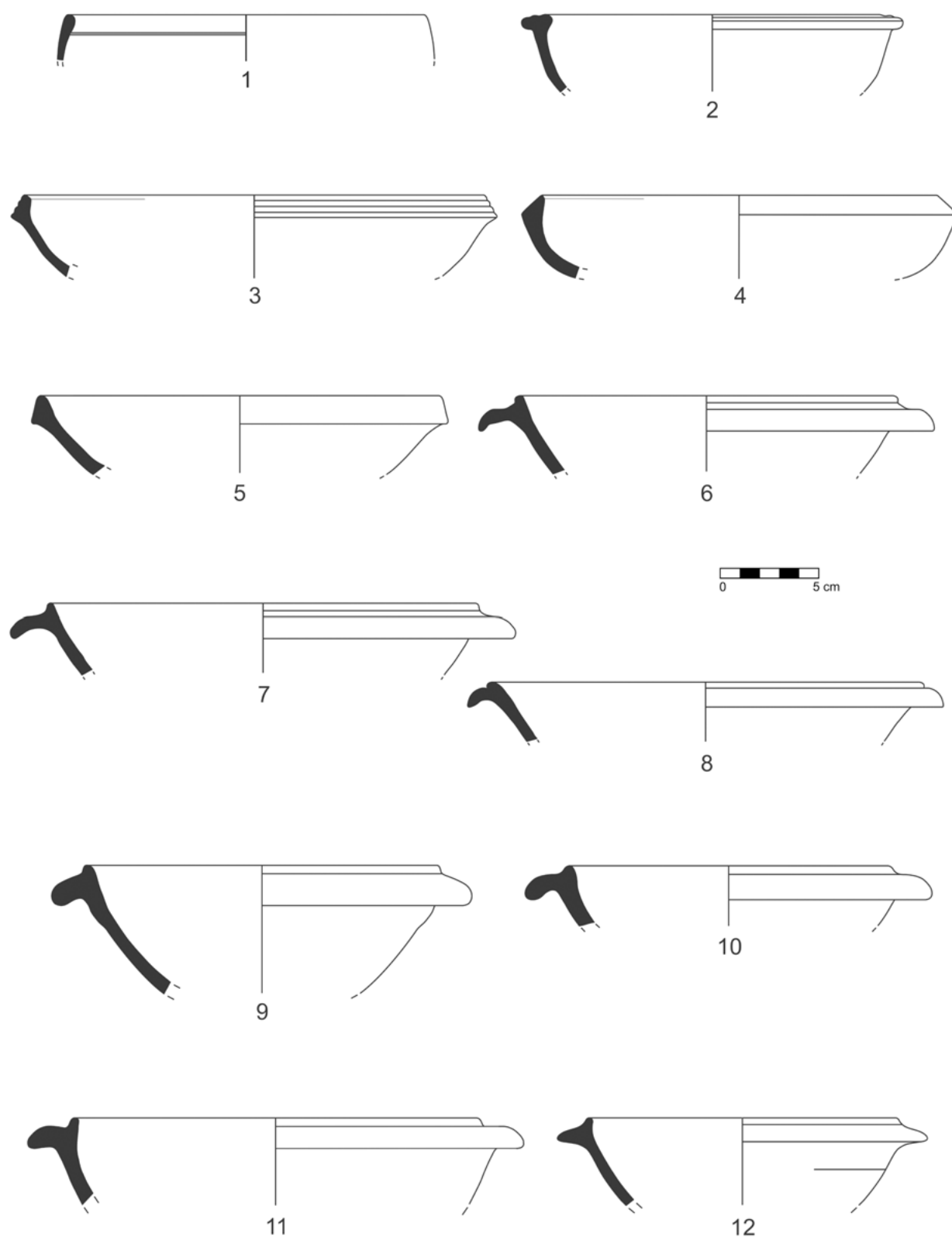


Fig. 4. Local imitations of African Red Slip Ware.

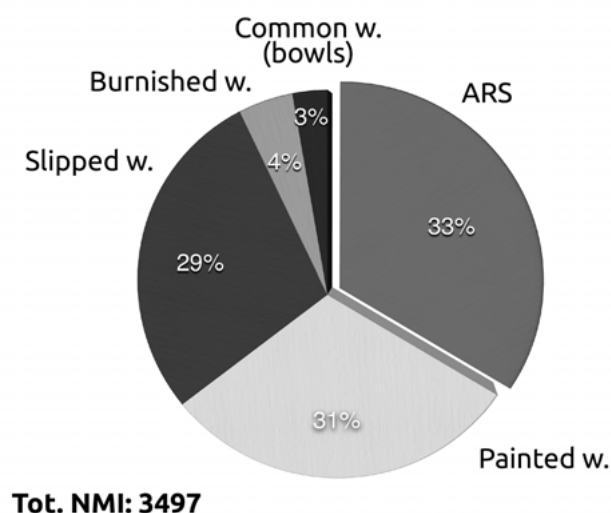


Fig. 5. Pie chart of tableware classes from Pollena Trocchia.

4. Discussion

In considering the ratio between the ARS (NMI 1165) and its local imitations (NMI 49), one might have the impression that the African imports played a predominant role in the market. Taking into account all tableware from Pollena Trocchia, however, it appears clear that the ARS accounts for just one third of the dataset (**fig. 5**). Furthermore, although Tunisia was the major exporter to the Bay of Naples, both in Naples and in Pollena Trocchia, it supplied only a moderate percentage of all pottery circulating in the bay. In fact, in order to weigh the overall relevance of Tunisia on the slopes of Vesuvius, one should add to the ARS the African cooking ware (NMI 517, 12 % of all cooking ware) and the African amphorae (NMI 209, 87 % of all amphorae). Altogether, these classes represent 20 % of the total NMI from Pollena Trocchia.

Moving to more general remarks on the typology, the 5th-century ARS assemblage from Pollena Trocchia shows a stark polarisation of the pottery types purchased, mostly the dish Hayes 61 (NMI 96) and the bowl Hayes 91 (NMI 17), while almost all other types are present with less than 5 individuals each. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the same two vessels are also the most imitated ones, though with inverted proportions (Hayes 91: NMI 30; Hayes 61: 12). This difference seems to sustain the *communis opinio* that during the 5th century the ARS became the cultural marker of a somehow more refined dining and that, within the Mediterranean-wide transition to a more frugal diet based on pulses,⁶⁴ the use of bowls spread while the dishes, used for roasted meat and fish, became rarer. The likely association of ARS dishes with a rich meal might therefore explain why they were less subject to imitation in local fabrics as well as the scarcity of dishes in independent, local types.

In previous scholarship the coexistence of ARS and its local imitations has been interpreted using the concept of substitution and, more recently, of market integration.⁶⁵

The implicit question embedded in these umbrella-terms is whether the ARS forms started being imitated because of the prolonged exposure to them or because of a progressive lack of them. Considering the scarcity of large datasets from other sites, it seems difficult to establish a cause-effect relationship of any kind. Thus it is probably more profitable to first substantiate the general concepts of substitution and market integration, then test them against the evidence available. The idea of substitution implies that, over time, the local imitations of ARS became more numerous than the original types, but the mid-5th century assemblage from Pollena Trocchia shows that the imitations were only one third of the originals and in Naples they seem to be even rarer and decreasing at the end of the century.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the idea of integration somehow might imply that the local market supplied forms which were becoming more difficult to acquire, but in our case the shapes imitated are also the most commonly traded ones. Neither of these models can be applied to the evidence from Pollena Trocchia, where in AD 472 two thirds of the tableware was produced locally and mostly in local shapes (i.e. types which neither imitated nor were derived from ARS ones). The local bowl Carminiello 62 (NMI: 149) was almost 9 times more popular than the Hayes 91. Therefore, at least in our case, in the mid-5th century the ARS seems to have been aimed at a **specific market segment**, which might have had some connotations of luxury, as the lack of real competitors for the dish Hayes 61 seems to suggest.

In many aspects, the evidence from Pollena Trocchia seems fairly much in line with other pottery assemblages of the 5th century in Campania (**fig. 6**).⁶⁷ The most common shapes in ARS at the Via Lepanto site in Pompeii are the dishes Hayes 59 and 61, both types among the most common in Pollena Trocchia too, while among the bowls, the Hayes 91, 60, and 67 are noted.⁶⁸ Also the ARS types presented for the phase 3 of the so-called “Villa of Augustus” in the Somma Vesuviana località Starza della Regina are mirrored in Pollena Trocchia.⁶⁹ Comparison with the quantified contexts of Carminiello ai Mannesi offers an even better match with what is recorded in Pollena Trocchia. The most common shapes of the 5th century are the same, Hayes 61 and 91; the only exception is the Hayes 80/81, dated to the middle or second half of the 5th century,⁷⁰ which is as common as the Hayes 91 at Carminiello and the theatre, but is almost absent in our assemblage.⁷¹ The comparison with Carminiello further reinforces our chronology, which has the AD 472 eruption of Mt. Vesuvius as *terminus ante quem*. For instance, at Carminiello Hayes 84 is as scarce as it is in Pollena Trocchia (NMI 4) until the third quarter of the 5th century, but by the end of that century its presence rises to 10% of the total

⁶⁴ FONTANA 1998; ARTHUR 2007; DE SIMONE ET AL. 2015.

⁶⁵ FONTANA 1998.

⁶⁶ ARTHUR 1994, 147–149.

⁶⁷ Unfortunately for some sites quantitative data are absent, thus in those cases the comparison is limited to the analysis of the variety and the presence/absence of certain types.

⁶⁸ DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI 2005, 516. Please note that, overall, the assemblage from Via Lepanto is dated to the end of the 4th / beginning of the 5th c. AD, this might explain the only partial overlapping between the two sites.

⁶⁹ MUKAI/SUGIYAMA/AOYAGI 2010, 225–228. The site is the closest to Pollena and both were buried by the AD 472 eruption.

⁷⁰ BONIFAY 2004, 173.

⁷¹ ARTHUR 1994, 147–149.

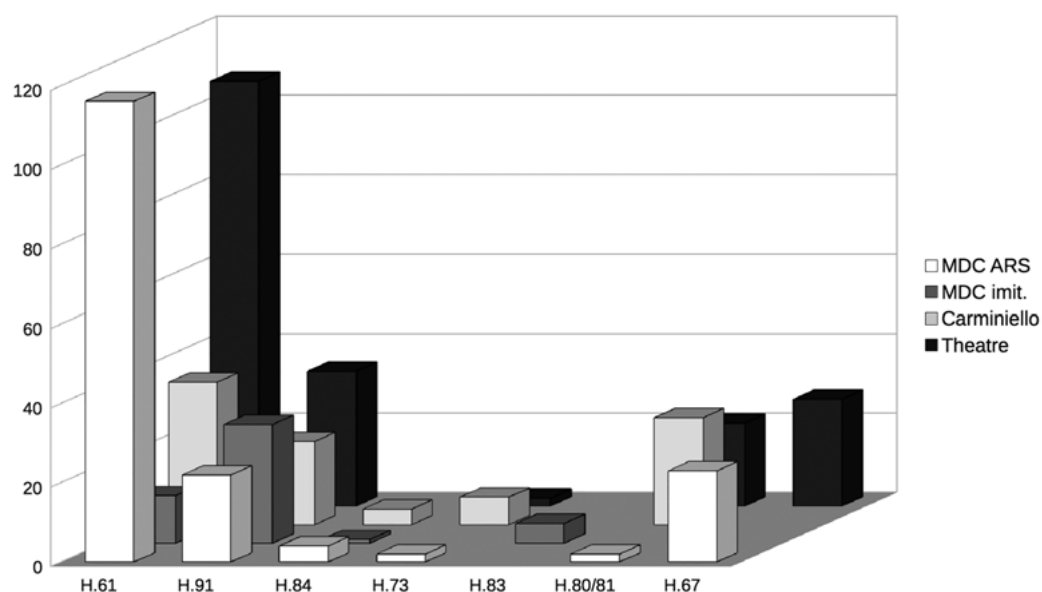


Fig. 6. Histogram of the most common types (NMI) in Pollena Trocchia (MDC) and in Naples (Carminiello and theatre).

ARS.⁷² Furthermore, Hayes 61 is the most common type at Carminiello during the middle and third quarter of the 5th century, as it is in Pollena Trocchia, but it disappears at both sites during the last quarter of the century. More generally though, the comparison with the 5th-century assemblages of Carminiello (phase VI, NMI 210) and the theatre (phase 2a–b, NMI 232) shows a much broader range of types in the city, while only the most common types are found in Pollena Trocchia.⁷³ Such differences could be explained either as resulting from different trading practices (i.e., what was on sale in the city was slightly different from what was available in its countryside) or different purchasing habits (i.e., citizens looked for more variety than peasants). Currently there aren't sufficient quantitative studies from the Campanian inland sites to come with an answer with scientific standing.

Nevertheless, by looking at what is present or absent in the city and from the few published sites in the countryside, some working hypotheses can be brought forward. Moving from *Pollena Trocchia* towards the Apennines, at the villa in Via Saccaccio at Nola the ARS constitutes just 5% of the (rather small) assemblage, with the dish Hayes 59 and the bowl Hayes 91A being the only individuals for the late antique phase.⁷⁴ At a Roman villa in Lauro (10 km east of Nola) only one fragment of a dish (probably belonging to the Hayes 61) was found under the clastic debris of the AD 472 volcanic eruption.⁷⁵ Less than one kilometre uphill, at the Roman villa with baths at Monte Donico in Taurano the ARS is extremely scarce, with only two fragments of the bowl Hayes 67, under the volcanic deposits of the AD 472 eruption.⁷⁶ Further inland, in the Valle del Sabato just south of *Abellinum*, at the late antique villa (3rd–6th century) in Santa

Lucia di Serino have been found the types Hayes 70, 59B, 58B, 61.⁷⁷ At *Abellinum* itself (modern day Atripalda), both in the city and in the necropolis, under the deposits of the AD 472 eruption a good amount and variety of ARS have been found: Hayes 50B, 61A, 61B, 62A, 64, 65, 81, 95, of which Hayes 61B is the most common.⁷⁸ But, just 10 km north of *Abellinum*, at the Roman villa of Pratola Serra, località San Giovanni, ARS forms just 2% of the 5000 fragments of tableware, with only a handful of individuals (Hayes 67, 91).⁷⁹ The evidence for *Beneventum* is still patchy, with few sherds from the field survey in the Cellarulo area (Hayes 50, 58B, 59, 61A, 91) and under the church of St. Sophia.⁸⁰ The trade continued at least to *Aequum Tuticum*, on the via Traiana, where some Hayes 61 and 87 are attested.⁸¹ Beyond that point in *Samnium* and *Apulia*, two other patterns emerge.⁸²

The impression arising from these assemblages is that the distribution of the ARS follows a hierarchical pattern, with larger quantity and variety at larger centres. This is compatible with the distribution from the *nundinae*,⁸³ which basically implies recurring fairs in the cities. But it does not explain the limited variety and scarcity of ARS in the countryside. The narrow selection of types could be the result of another trading practice, by itinerant merchants, which we hypothesise would have taken place alongside the *nundinae*. Meanwhile

⁷² ARTHUR 1994, 147.

⁷³ ARTHUR 1994, 154–158; BALDASSARRE ET AL. 2010, 108.

⁷⁴ LUBRANO/BOEMIO/SANNINO 2012.

⁷⁵ JOHANNOWSKY/LA FORGIA 1983, 28.

⁷⁶ FESTINI/PORCARO 1998, 73.

⁷⁷ CINQUEPALMI/GIANNINI 1998, 55–56. The site is noteworthy also for the presence of a late antique pottery kiln.

⁷⁸ COLUCCI PESCATORI 1986.

⁷⁹ PEDUTO 1992, 170–173.

⁸⁰ EBANISTA ET AL. 2006, 141–143; LUPA 1998, 121–122, though at St. Sophia the 5th century ARS is residual.

⁸¹ BUSINO 2015, 214–217.

⁸² On the one hand, in *Samnium* in the area north of *Beneventum* up to the Sangro Valley, from the mid-5th century the ARS abruptly disappears (IASIELLO 2007, 196–200), while on the other in *Apulia* Hayes 50B and 61 are ubiquitous, often in association with LRC (VOLPE ET AL. 2007, 354–359), while the Apulian Late Roman Painted wares were distributed with different trajectories (TOTTEN 2014).

⁸³ ARTHUR/SORICELLI 2015.

the low volume of ARS appearing in the countryside might be the result of the competition with the small workshops interspersed in the region, whose distribution was more pervasive

but covered smaller areas (from sub- to intra-regional), thus implying a different trading practice (i.e. the goods were not necessarily produced and sold through the city).

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