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COMMON WARE WITH ICONOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS FROM *VINDOBONA (PANNONIA)*

*The paper presents some pottery with mythological decoration, made with different techniques. A few of them are local tools or wasters, consequently giving new information about common ware production in Vindobona. The items have been found mostly on the limes road, crossing the canabae legionis and the civilian settlement. The relief and engraved representations belong to the mythological sphere, but the find sites – if known – suggest in primis a profane context. The profane meaning could also have other inbuilt value, now difficult to identify in all the items, but hopefully recognizable after the full interpretation of some new excavations. For this purpose, an attempt was made to connect the finds with the finds sites, despite the difficulties in the majority of cases: in one there is a production framework, in others the excavations are too old to be well documented. However, the aim of the paper is to focus on selected issues, summing up and updating already published finds and commenting on some important aspects of the new ones. This will be a necessary starting point for future in-depth analysis, not least for the integration with the data coming from the project on the stone finds of Vindobona.*

Common ware – decoration – myth, apotropaic – prototype – production

1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In the most recent excavations in *Vindobona* (Rennweg Nr. 52, 64, 88-90; **fig. 1a-b**), some pottery vessels and moulds with decorations have been found relating to the sphere of worship, and dating mostly to the middle Roman period. The finds sites are on the *limes* road where most of the handcraft facilities were located, among them some pottery workshops.

In one of these workshops in particular (Rennweg 64, **fig. 1a-b**), a large amount of ‘Pannonische Glanztonware’, pottery tools, and clay moulds with mythological representations have been found (Igl 2011, 456; **fig. 3a-c**).<sup>2</sup> The findings presented here are a selection made for a display in a private collection,<sup>3</sup> therefore not all the data presented now are definitive.

Similar items have also been found in less recent excavations (e.g. Michaelerplatz, *canabae legionis*, **fig. 1a, 2**) on the same road or in nearby areas (Rudolfstiftung, **fig. 1b**, civilian settlement).

## 2. Iconographical motifs on common ware

## 2.1. 1990/91, Michaelerplatz, canabae legionis

Three fragments of one or more wheel-turned vessels with applied figures (**fig. 2** [Dim: diam rec.: 25.6 cm; h: 10 cm]) have been found here in not well-documented layers, one of them in a drainage ditch beside the road. The form is very unusual (Chinelli 2001: 35 Abb. 6, perhaps Abb. 6c): also, it looks like a slightly smaller item in fine ware found in Rome in a kiln of La Celsa (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) (Carbonara and Messineo 1991-1992: 187 fig. 250; Olcese 2011-2012: 196 Tav. 2.XXXV.63, tipo 26), probably local.<sup>4</sup> A new hypothesis about the shape sees it as a reconstructed jug, from *Aquincum* (Bugán 2005: fig. 8).

The fabric of these three fragments is similar to local reference groups (**fig. 2**). The decoration represents a Dionysian *thiasos*. For every figure it is now possible to find good parallels in addition to those found at *Brigetio* (Chinelli 2001: 40, Abb. 11): in *Aquincum* (Vámos 2014: 57, Tab. 1.10, 58 Abb. 57; Tab. 1.11 58, Abb. 58) and *Apulum* (Diaconescu 1999-2000). For **fig. 2**, a dating to the Antonine Period was proposed, which could also correspond to one of the other new parallels.

## 2.1.1 Maenad

On the Michaelerplatz vase the maenad, unlike the other figures, is first depicted on a *médaille* (Chinelli 2001: 51), which was later applied on the vessel wall (e. g. as in Sultov

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<sup>2</sup> Ca. 1 cubic meter.

<sup>3</sup> The finds have been given to S. Sakl-Oberthaler and C. Ranseder for a small catalogue, I am grateful for the information.

<sup>4</sup> I thank M. Carrara for this information.

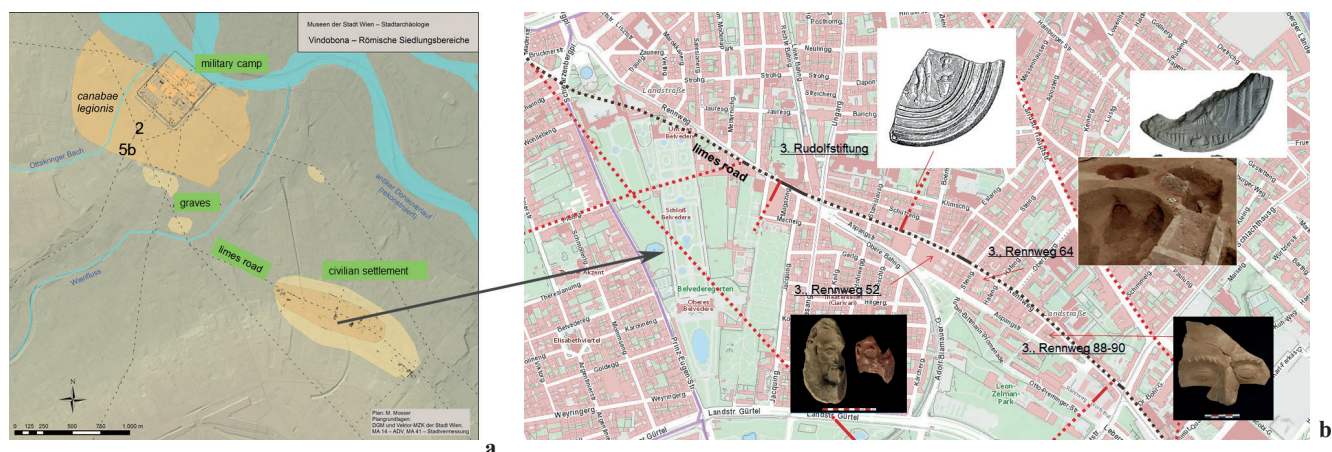


Fig. 1. a. Pottery distribution in Vindobona; b. Pottery distribution in Vindobona-civilian settlement.

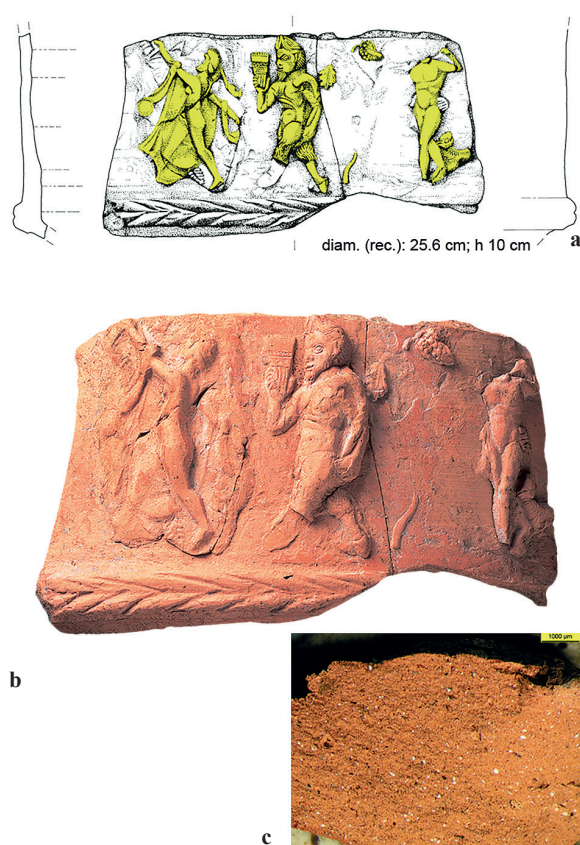


Fig. 2. Michaelerplatz, fragment with applied figures. a-b. Dionysian thiasos; c. Fabric.

1985: Tab. XXIV.5). The background presents details that at a certain point are cut from the edge of the *médaille*. It seems that the potter wanted to continue the scene of *thiasos* using another technique: the other figures are directly applied (e. g. as in Sultov 1985: 53). The combination of several techniques is also attested in middle imperial glazed pottery (Cvjetičanin 2001: 104). A related *médaille* with maenad and Satyr was found in *Apulum* (Diaconescu 1999-2000). Its back is flat, so it was interpreted as a model (Diaconescu 1999-2000: 268). Though it is larger (16x13,8x thickness 1 cm) and with only



Fig. 3. Rennweg 64: moulds and mould stamp.

two figures, it seems similar. Dionysian scenes like this are also depicted on metal objects such as mirrors (Diaconescu 1999-2000: 250) for which clay moulds were used. For metal vessels, plaster casts have also been attested (Diaconescu 1999-2000: 268; Züchner 1942: 139, 141, Abb. 67). Repeatedly, although rarely, clay relief forms interpreted as models for metal work have been found, but also perhaps occasionally for clay vessels (Thompson Burr 1949: 371-372).

The item from *Apulum* was found in a meeting place of a Dionysian cult association, where many inscriptions, statues



and médaillons appear, related primarily to *Liber Pater* but to other gods too (context: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD: Schäfer 2007: 64–66; Schäfer 2011: 306 Abb. 1.4).<sup>5</sup> Its secondary use was thought to be as an *ex voto* or a gift, but it was originally a model. On it, the maenad holds a *tympanon* with left arm upwards and dances with a Satyr. The original maenad type was made on Calenian wares dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC or at the latest to the end of 2<sup>nd</sup>-beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Diaconescu 1999–2000: 253). It has been reworked with the addition of attributes. The maenad type of *Vindobona* is comparable to a Bacchant on Calenian wares from Delphi dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Chinelli 2001: 40 Abb. 12). Many iconographical types of *thiasos* date back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC; some of them were reworked in late Hellenism and transferred to the Roman workshops. Attributes are missing before the Hellenistic period (Cain 1985: 123). A similar maenad, but perhaps holding also a *thyrsos* (Chinelli 2001: 40 Abb. 11) is engraved on a mould of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, found in a kiln depot in *Brigetio*/Kurucdomb.

It is interesting that the scene of *Apulum* is found on Pergamenian pottery (Diaconescu 1999–2000: 6, fig. 5) too.

### 2.1.2. *Pan*

The figure following the maenad, Pan, is very similar to the appliqué from the kiln area in Kiscelli utca 75 in *Aquincum* (Vámos 2014: Tab. 1.10), where a concentration of wasters has been found.

### 2.1.3. *Bacchus*

The upper part of the third remaining figure, Bacchus, is missing. It is possible to speculate about his appearance by analysing a negative item from *Aquincum* at Bécsi út. 124–126 (Parragi 1976: fig. 157; Vámos 2014: Tab. 1.11; Vámos 2016: Abb. 10.4). Brick and pottery kilns have been excavated in this zone of *Aquincum*. This area, along with the one of Kiscelli utca 75, both full of pottery tools finds, belongs, after P. Vámos' old data revision, to a large workshop that supplied the legions (Vámos 2014: 57; Vámos 2016: 49–50). Even in this case, the figure of Bacchus and Satyr's group is a derivation from Eastern models (Chinelli 2001: 42; Thomas 2010: 777).

### 2.1.4. 1990/91, *Michaelerplatz* finds overview

The new parallels further strengthened the conclusions drawn previously in the year 2001: a) original models have been dated to pre- or Hellenistic periods; b) isolated mould stamps have also circulated in the Pannonian area (*Aquincum* and *Brigetio*), but in Dacia as well; c) all parallels have been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; d) potters moved amongst the major legionary centres of the time; and e) until now the item

from Michaelerplatz is the only one with a depicted *thiasos* for the Pannonian area.

### 2.2. 1909, *Rudolfstiftung*, civilian settlement

According to the documentation related to this old excavation it is not possible to provide useful data for a mould fragment (fig. 4, Dim: diam. rec.: 17.18 cm; h: 2 cm), now lost. A naked Mercury is represented on it, recognizable by winged shoes (Harl 1979: 217 Abb. 41; Kenner 1911: 153a fig. 47). He is depicted frontally, offering on an altar surrounded by a garland. The left hand holds a purse. According to F. v. Kenner, in the right hand there is an overturned torch, but this is probably a fragment of *chlamys* (Alföldi 1938: 339, Kat. 51; Déchelette 1904: 258 Kat. 39; Kubitschek 1911: 169; Mazakarini 1970: 499; Muscillo 2018: 160, fig. 4). On the back of the item, two letters have been engraved. The scene is surrounded by a richly grooved circular frame.

Mercury, particularly with a purse, is normally connected with commerce and prosperity, as it would be presupposed in a civilian settlement, in a finds site not far from the main commercial artery such as the *limes* road. According to Ch. Faraone, in the purse some abstract benefits from the divinity are expected as a result of a prayer (Faraone 2018: 141): e.g. charm, victory or wealth. Indeed, on this mould (fig. 4) the purse is located above the flames of an altar, such as on a smaller *médaille* from Gaul (Déchelette 1904: 258 Kat. 39; Alföldi 1938, Pl. LXV.5; Wuilleumier and Audin 1952: 164) and perhaps from *Moesia* (Alföldi 1938: Pl. LXXIII.1). The concentration of finds in a site, with iconographical attributes related to a deity may also have something to do with the site at which it was found. Along this principal commercial artery, many finds regarding Mercury were found (Harl 1979: 216; Müller et al. 2011: 105–106). It is not a coincidence that in *Pannonia* and in *Raetia* Mercury is widely worshipped, e.g. by *negotiatores* (Del Henar Gallego Franco 1996: 228, 229; Harl 1979: 216; in Germania: Spickermann 2018: 600, 610). The offering scene with Mercury does not contradict the protection of the commerce, represented by him (Faraone 2018: 144): the god's image with a *marsupium* was also used as amulet to assure prosperity (Faraone 2018: 143). Winged shoes are attributes of Mercury as protector of wayfarers, so he could also perform a protective function for the roads or for the houses and shops (Anniboletti 2018: 74; Muscillo 2018: 166; Spickermann 2018: 601). The offering dedicant in front of an altar could be a tradesman (Muscillo 2018: 161; Spickermann 2018: 607 Abb. 7) – at the same time a traveller – often identified with the god itself (Huet 2017: 23). The evidence for Mercury with a purse above an altar applied on a ceramic *médaille* can be found on a probably three-handled jug (Rivet and Saulnier 2016: 47, fig. 3) from Arles (context: end of 3<sup>rd</sup>-beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD).

Some details of the representation are comparable with an item found in *Aquincum* in a refuse pit. Because of comparisons made there with other similar finds, it was dated to the Antonine Period (Hable 2009: 119 Abb. 8). Instead of Mercury, a man wearing a toga with his left foot in profile and a relaxed right foot offers on an altar in front of him.

Richly grooved circular frames similar to the one drawn are attested, for example, on a mould from *Brigetio* (Humer

<sup>5</sup> The veneration of Bacchus is sometimes disguised by the presence of *simulacra* of other deities within the sanctuaries: Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2006: 58.



diam.: 17.18 cm

**Fig. 4.** Rudolfstiftung: mould reproduction after a plaster cast (after Kenner 1911: 153a fig. 47)

and Kremer 2011: 294, Kat. 413) or *Sirmium* (Fitz 1998: 111, Kat. 221), and are typical for these forms in the Danube region, but also in the Trier area (Weidner 2009: 140, 143).

Analogous representations are present on metal (Wiesler 1864: 103, Taf. 3).

### 2.3. 2011, Rennweg 64 civilian settlement (fig. 1a-b)

As mentioned above some clay moulds have been found in this workshop. A probably misfired mould (Wedenig 2016: 94-95, Abb. 4-25) was in a filling (84) of a kiln-system pit together with other fragments (e.g. fig. 3a, 3b).

The importance of the divine presence, even if under different aspects, lies not only in the iconography ordered by the customer, but also – possibly to ensure a good burning process – in the *graffito* left on the back of this probably misfired mould from a potter: an invocation to Minerva (the goddess protecting arts and crafts), *Nemesis* (/Diana the goddess of fate) and *Bonus Eventus* (the personification of the good result), perhaps also to Demeter (called mother goddess) and Lares.

#### 2.3.1 2011, Rennweg 64

Another mould-stamp fragment (fig. 3a) was found in the same layer as the failed product above, (Dim: Diam. rec. 12 cm; thickness 1,4 cm). Two scenes are reported, one above the other, separated by a line. Above the line, in the middle of the mould stamp, the scene is not complete: a circle with a radial motif, in front of it a depiction of what seem to be a leg spread wide apart and to its right, there falls a piece of a long-folded garment. On the left of the 'leg' flutters another piece of garment, and, close to it, a branch. At the far left, two twisted columns are placed side by side and perhaps a pedestal for a statue (Déchelette 1904: 252 fig. 18) or an altar with fire as well.

At the moment it is only possible to make assumptions about what was represented in the centre: the composition of the elements (long garment, wheel, columns, a leg wide apart) reminds some *médaille* with the representation of

*Fortuna*, preserved at the Vienne-Museum (Déchelette 1904: 275 fig. 71-72, 70). *Isis - Fortuna* offers on an altar on a mould from *Sirmium* (Alföldi 1938: Taf. LXVIII.3a; Fitz 1998: 111 Kat. 221) and on a *médaille* from Arles (Rivet and Saulnier 2016: 38); the columns could belong to a temple (Rivet and Saulnier 2016: 81, Kat. 39) or an archway (Alföldi 1938: Taf. LXXI.1; Desbat 2011: 19 fig. 20). The wheel, *rota fortunae*, is a typical attribute of this goddess, but a wheel could also belong to a chariot, e. g. for a triumphal or a religious procession, e.g. *Isis* (Audin and Vertet 1972: 247-250; Déchelette 1904: 286, fig. 94, 217 fig. 81a; Met Fifth Avenue 2018, where a leg wide apart is detected close to it). However, a long, thickly pleated garment, a wheel and a branch are better attributable to *Nemesis* (Dembski 2005: Taf. 41. 414; Giovannini 1996: 78 Cat. 106;) or *Isis-Victoria* (Dembski 2005: Taf. 35.357), with which *Isis* has been identified. On similar pottery objects *Nemesis* was already found in *Aquincum* (Szirmai 2003, 288) and in *Viminatium* (Gavrilović 2011), *Victoria* e.g. in *Savaria* (Tóth, Vida and Takács 2016, 193 fig. 20; Fitz 1998, 93 fig. 154).

Under the line, in the middle, there is an altar and, behind it, two figures have been recognized; on the right of it, six persons in long tunics, and on the left five, among these perhaps two musicians playing a *tuba* (*tubicines* or *tibicenes*). In Pannonia, there is evidence of the existence of the *tuba* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, one has even been found in Zsámbék (Hungary) (Fontana 2000: 42-43), but perhaps also in *Vindobona*, not far from the finding place of this *médaille* stamp at Rennweg 44 (Sakl-Oberthaler and Pomberger 2017: 127). In nearby *Carnuntum*, *tubicines* are attested among the legionaries, and in *Brigetio* they even formed a guild. Sacred Singing itself, mostly performed by priests or by a choir, could have an apotropaic meaning (Humer and Kremer 2011: 66).

A similar ritual scene is also illustrated on little ceramic *médailles* applied on a three-handled jug found in 1727 at Lyon (with a radiated crown Déchelette 1904: 236, fig. m; Desbat 2011: 10, fig. 1, 19 fig. 22; Thomas 1960: 73, Fig. 2), and also on items in Westheim (Alföldi 1938: Taf. LIX.3), where in the above scene, *Isis* and *Serapis* are placed in profile facing each other. The representation of these two deities was not always accompanied in the underlying part by a ritual scene (e.g. without a radiated crown Butti Ronchetti 2004: 260, fig. 7; Alföldi 1938: Taf. LXV, 3; Desbat 2011: 19, fig. 21; Vilvorder 2015, 330 fig. 1), and for the upper scene there could be depicted variants as on a fragment in *Emona* (Alföldi 1938: Taf. LXII.2). It is not possible to be sure about the representation placed in the centre of the item of *Vindobona*, which is probably also a variant.

The scene in the space below could be similar to the one depicted on a wall fresco at *Herculaneum*: some priests perform a ceremony in honour of *Isis* (Coarelli 2005: 84, 94) in front of an altar; on the right of it, it is possible to see the worshipers in long tunics as well as on the left, where one of them is a musician holding an instrument.

If the goddess represented were *Isis*, the mould stamp could be conjectured to have been used for the creation of moulds for cakes or breads (*crustula*) in honour of her feast at the beginning of the new year (in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD: 3<sup>rd</sup>

January, before 5<sup>th</sup> March). Actually, a *médaille* at Westheim (Augsburg) shows a fragmentary relief with a wish (Alföldi 1938: Taf. LIX.1), which could be integrated in this way. Meanwhile, all the hypothetical functions have been questioned by scholars (Egri 2018: 121). Pottery *médailles*, with different depicted themes, could have been used also as gifts during public games and private celebrations, as their discovery in an area dedicated to different divinities could show. The scarcity of (positive) *médailles* in *Vindobona*, as well as in Trier, and the frequent finding of their moulds, in kilns, drive one to suspect that these moulds were used to produce decorations on perishable material such as cakes (Weidner 2009: 137, 139).

The analysis of all the finds of Rennweg 64 could bring to light other fragments to be integrated. The goddess depicted could be *Isis-Nemesis*, who symbolises control over the fate. This goddess is mentioned in the graffito on the back of the probably misfired mould mentioned above (Wedenig 2016: 95).

### 2.3.2. 2011 Rennweg 64

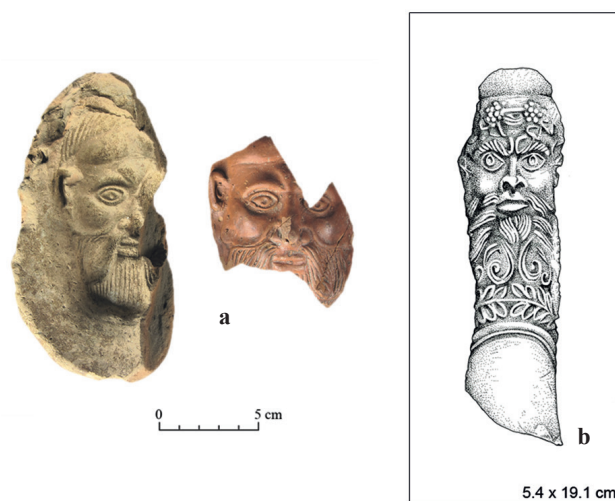
This clay fragment (**fig. 3b**) probably belongs to another mould (Dim: 6,3 x 5,4 cm, burnt, filling 84), found in the same layer as **fig. 3a**. On it is possible to see a part of the fall of the folds of a fully clothed figure (e.g. as *Isis*: Vilvorder 2015: 330 fig. 1, as *Nemesis*: Pastor 2010: 216 fig. 13.3) and a frond, perhaps a garland-fixed with *taeniae* (Alföldi 1938: 327 LXXIV.1; Humer and Kremer 2011: 295 Kat. 414; Mazakarini 1970: 200 Nr. 5).

### 2.3.3. 2011 Rennweg 64

On another fragment (**fig. 3c**), a basket is depicted, held by a draped figure (9,1x7,1 cm, fabric GK ST 13, local, thickness 1,1 cm; filling 31, Munsell Code: surface 7.5YR 7-8/6 reddish yellow). It is a failed product, because the potter did not complete the incised figure: the traces of two fingers are visible where the body was supposed to be. The fabric is local. It was found in the same layer as some pottery tools and failed products. The fragmentary state of this find does not allow it to be attributed with certainty to a form.

### 2.4. 2016, Rennweg 52, civilian settlement

This mould (**fig. 5a left**; 14,6 x 7,8cm; h 5,2 cm; Munsell Code: surface 7.5YR 7/3 pink, fabric 7.5YR 6/4 light brown), together with the appliqué (**fig. 5a right**; 7,4 x 8,5 cm) has been found in a pit filling, the interpretation of which is still in progress (Mosser 2017: 164 Abb. 2, finding 397, pit n. 13; 166 Abb. 7). The mould fits well in the hand. The face represents a bearded Satyr, and in the mould, it is also possible to recognize some hair. It has a red fabric with a red coating with a metallic sheen (Munsell Code: surface 2.5YR 5/6, bright reddish brown with 2.5YR 3/4 dark reddish brown dots; fabric 5YR 7/4 dull orange). In this case, the mould



**Fig. 5.** a. Rennweg 52: mould and appliqué; b. Hofburg: drawing of a plaster cast reproduction.

(Dim.: 14,4 x 7,4 cm x 4,8 cm) allows to say that the mask has been made separately from the vase, where, presumably, it would have been later applied (for other techniques in Pannonia: Braithwaite 2001: 287). The mould could be a local product: at the moment, the fabric cannot be exactly attributed to any analysed type. The appliqué is made from an imported (*Raetia* or an area along the Danube) or local clay: more analyses are necessary. In its finding pit, Terra Sigillata is dated from AD 150 to 240, and also the common ware could be dated so long: e.g. flanged bowls with red slip are typical from AD 180 to 260.<sup>6</sup> Some pottery is secondarily burnt, and in the filling of the pit there is also an incense burner waster. In the eastern cemetery of *Aquincum*, another similar item has been discovered, interpreted as imported, and found together with *terra sigillata* from Central Gaul in a waster-pit dated to the Antonine Period.<sup>7</sup> Actually, in Lezoux it is possible to find this iconography on clay medallions for cups, dated from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. (Type Déchelette 74) (Tourgon 2012: LEZ-A-001, 844 fig. 16.M008; 830). It also finds comparisons in applied masks of similar dimensions found in the Rhine valley (Desbat and Leblanc 2001: fig. 6.1) with a frowning expression, not present on the above mentioned Pannonian examples. A *taenia* with corymb was tied on the their foreheads as in the next item, where it is also possible to see an eye in the middle.

The extraordinary resemblance of **fig. 5a** with another mould (**fig. 5b**), perhaps of Microasiatic production, (Mandel 1988: 25, Taf. 21.P189, Munsell code: surface 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, fabric 5YR 5/6 bright reddish brown), found out of context in the area of the *canabae legionis*/grave area,

<sup>6</sup> And other common ware perhaps dates a little longer. A fibula is dated between AD 150 and 220: thanks to S. Jäger Wersonig.

<sup>7</sup> Balázs Rikker, 'Talkative faces' – Two applied masks from eastern cemetery of the Aquincum Civil Town, Poster submitted to 30<sup>th</sup> Rei Cretariae Fautorum Acta Congress in Lisbon, 25. Sep. – 2. Oct. 2016; exhibition in Römermuseum Wien 2012: 'Neues aus dem römischen Budapest', 25. April 2012 bis 7. April 2013, Inv. Nr. 2007.3.37.



is striking (Kronberger 2005: 55, Abb. 13, 2). It has a phallic vase shape with a depicted face of a Satyr or Priapus. The style of the execution is certainly different, as well as some details of the expression (e. g. eyebrows on **fig. 5b** are bushy), but perhaps some resemblance of **fig. 5a** with **fig. 5b** could be attributed to a distant inspiration from the East, which in the second century was typical also for a pottery workshop in *Carnuntum* (Gassner et al. 1997: 213, 232). It was presumably found in 1842 during the construction of the monument to emperor Franz I. in the inner court of the Hofburg, the imperial residence of the Habsburgs. Not far away (ca. 40 m) and two centuries earlier, a violated sarcophagus was found with an amulet inside. In it, a golden sheet was kept, on which was inscribed a magic spell (Kronberger 2005: 140-141). The amulet and some of the Roman finds, such as a coin in the sarcophagus, have been dated to the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century/beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Kronberger 2005: 141). It is not possible to ascertain the origin of the mould from the sarcophagus, but - given the exceptional nature of the two singular findings - it must be stressed that the area has been subject to geological changes due to the presence of a stream. In 1897 F. v. Kenner wrote about the discovery of both finds in the same depth and direction (Kenner 1897: 140). M. Kronberger recognized that this was probably due to the alluvial area of the stream, (Kronberger 2005: 55), but the finding of the mould together with a metal lump (Eichler 1941: 33 footnote 13) could belong to a metal workshop. In this way, - according to some scholars - the pottery mould should be used for a metal patera, but, in this case, it would be perhaps too big (the original is 5,1 cm wide and 19,1 cm long, respectively 5,4, 20,4 cm in the drawing of the clay reproduction **fig. 5b**). The grooves under the leaves decoration suggest a use of the mould for metal artefacts, but they have also been attested on other similar phallic vases, believed to be Cnidian production, perhaps of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Slane and Dickie 1993: Pl. 86a, also 85.a, 484). F. Eichler corrected Kenner's attribution of the mould to the manufacture of a bowl, preferring that to a phallic vase (Eichler 1941: 37). In comparison with the other phallic vases, the end of the fragment in *Vindobona* is more flared, so, if in the whole form the wall was even more enlarged, it would be impossible to imagine a gland, but the sketch here was made according to a copy in the Wien Museum. Up to now, this probably microasiatic pottery has not been found in *Vindobona*, and the attestation alone of a mould (**fig. 5b**) is not evidence for a production of imitations *in situ*. Traveling potters and traders could be responsible for it, but also particular objects could travel as souvenirs. Furthermore, its finds circumstances are not adequately known and not without doubt (Eichler 1941: 31-32). However, it is possible to find microasiatic pottery in Pannonia (Bónis 1952).

Anyway, these Satyr-like representations (**fig. 5a**) are typical of Central Gaul and Britain on two handled vases (Déchelette 74) dated to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period (Braithwaite 2001: 287). The head above the mentioned phallic mould (**fig. 5b**) has been interpreted as a Priapus representation or inspired to him (Faraone 2018: 77 Fig. 2.15; Slane and Dickie 1993: 498, Pl. 86b). The protection is represented by the phallus in its own image in the form of a vase,



**Fig. 6.** Rennweg 88-90: face pot with a Pan-mask wall fragment.

on an item kept in Cracovia even attested by an accompanying graffito (Faraone 2018: 77, Fig. 2.15). It also concerns other Bacchic representations such as Satyr or Silen (Slane and Dickie 1993: 499), as **fig. 5a** (Mosser et al. 2016: 129-130). These phallic ceramic forms are considered first of all as a protection against the Evil Eye, rather than for their use as a vase (Mandel 1988: 26; Slane and Dickie 1993: 502): an eye is also depicted between the corymbs on the forehead of **fig. 5b**. The theme has been attested several times in *Vindobona* by amulets, and in particular, by the one found at Am Hof (legionary fortress, Chinelli 2010). In addition to this, the representation of the phallus played a role in the celebration of the mystery rites, because initiates were introduced into sexuality (Wortman 1967: 282).

The inspiration from Gaul could play its role too: one thinks of the large amount of imported Gaulish *terra sigillata* in *Vindobona* in the second century even in the same pit of the Satyr-mould (**fig. 5a**).

Lamps with legionary stamps have also been decorated with similar bearded Satyr masks, such as the one of Stuttgart-Kastell Cannstatt (excavations 1894-96, Kappf and Walter 1907: Taf. VII.20).

## 2.5. 2015, Rennweg 88-89, civilian settlement

This wall fragment (**fig. 6**) could be decorated by a Pan-mask (Mosser et al. 2016: 129, Abb. 21, Dim.: 11x13,2 cm; surface and fabric 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, Munsell Code, fill-ing 35), belonging to a face pot, found in an archaeological layer, dated mainly from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. This layer was the filling of the levelling layer over the pits, which could come from houses, but also from abandoned graves from the neighbourhood (Mosser et al. 2016: 116). Its fabric is probably local. The somatic features are rendered with clay-applications and engravings on the vase made on the wheel. The unequal eye pair (wink?) and a V-shaped notch (like Pan-horns?), which attaches directly

over the space between the eyebrows, could be components of a representation, like the one appearing on vessels with grotesque masks too (Mosser et al. 2016: 128; Toynbee 1962: fig. 181). Cheerful facial expressions and a jovial invitation belong to *Bacchanalia*. The relation to the Bacchic circle of this item – like other face pots with applied *phallus* or a beard coming from this excavation or from Rennweg 44 (fig. 1b; Mosser et al. 2016: 127) – supports their probable apotropaic meaning. In Rhineland, face pots with *phallus* appliqué also have a protruding tongue (Braithwaite 1984: fig. 1.5, 7). After D. Levi ‘laughter is the opposite pole of the anguish produced by the dark forces of evil eye’, and ‘Satyr mask and Medusa are the most usual apotropaia’, but what was *ridiculum* was also used to look away from the malicious and pernicious glances as the best protection from the evil eye (Benedetti 2007: 96; Chinelli 2010: 78 with bibl.; Levi 1941: 225).

## 2.6. Finds overview

If the three fragments with the decoration of Dionysian *thiasos* remain a unique and extraordinary find for *Vindobona*, clay Satyr appliqués have already been found in the *canabae legionis*: (Chinelli 2001: 52)<sup>8</sup> as well as mould/mould stamps like the above in the civilian settlement (fig. 4). In addition to this a little fragment with a slightly raised rim and a graffito AV(S)V S has been found in an area of graves outside the legionary fortress without context (Neumann 1967: 74 Taf. XLVII.1) (Dim: diam. rec., 11 cm) and a frame of a *médaille* in a pit in the recent excavation at Rennweg 52 (fig. 1b, Dim: diam rec. 7 cm, 4x2,6 cm, surface 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, fracture 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow). The new items of Rennweg 64 (fig. 3), on the contrary, allow the expansion of the formal and mythological repertoire, perhaps also the identification of a local production. The large amount of Glanztonware and the presence of mould stamps induce one to suspect a specialized production of decorated ware in this workshop, as in other Pannonian areas (Chinelli 2001: 49). This does not exclude the production of some moulds for metal objects as well.

Many of the examined items could find a parallel in metal objects, some of them used to produce their own correspondent in the other material (e.g. by Ruscu 1992: 129; Diaconescu 1999-2000: 267). In *Pannonia* it is often possible to see the same forms in metal and pottery (Gassner et al. 1997: 209; Müller et al. forthcoming). Pottery and metal workshops have been recognized along the *limes* road, sometimes one close to the other, even using the same tools (Chinelli 2018: 525, 526; Müller et al. 2018: 358, 411-412).

The representations are particularly related to *Dionysus/Bacchus/Liber* and his retinue (Michaelerplatz, Rennweg 52, 88-89, figs. 2, 5 and 6). It is not unexpected to find so much about this god, who was also very popular for his apotropaic value, above all in private (Bassani 2008: 86; Jaccottet 2008: 180), but in public locations too (Bassani 2008: 86-87; Darmon 2008: 495). In the middle imperial period, *Bacchus*

was very widespread on pottery (Monti 2015: 95) and highly considered (Jaccottet 2008: 177) also by associations (Jaccottet 2008: 180), whose meeting places were particularly concentrated in squares and residential areas, but difficult to identify (Diaconescu, Haynes and Schäfer 2006: 61). Actually, the finds site of fig. 2 near the road was taken into consideration: it was conjectured by its nature with an altar and a mask without secure archaeological connection (not found *in situ* and not together: both from two different pits) as perhaps belonging to an *aedicula* or *lararium* (Zabehlicky 2008: 194 with bibl.). This was only one of possible interpretations for the position near a road. Mixing vases with Dionysian representations and a similar diameter are spread in Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece (Nankov and Tsoneva 2018: 446, 450, Map 1). On the mould and mould stamps Mercury and other goddesses (perhaps *Isis/Serapis/Nemesis*) are depicted, with whom the emperors were sometimes identified (Butti Ronchetti 2004: 256; Kuzmová 2005: 99-100). According to some scholars, the products were gifts at the beginning of the year, as well as when the renewal of imperial power was celebrated (*vota publica*) as a wish for a favourable new year (Alföldi 1938: 314-318; Butti Ronchetti 2004: 256 with bibl.; Ruscu 1992: 130); or as devotional objects (Wedenig 2016: 92). This wish could sometimes be declared with an inscription on *médailles* with the figures of *Isis* and *Serapis* (Alföldi 1938: Taf. LIX.1). This god, together with *Bacchus* and Mercury, has also been found in the Walbrook valley (Mithraeum site in *Londinium*) and *Apulum* (Haynes 2008: 128, 131). *Isis-Serapis* is well-known above all in *Savaria*, *Scarbantia* (Mráv 2016: 105) and in *Aquincum* too (Bugán 2005: 4; Kuzmová 2005: 100), as well as in *Carnuntum*, introduced through the military initiative (Kremer 2016: 85), and in other minor centers (Kuzmová 2005: 100). In fact, she would appear preferably on *médailles* on jars. In *Vindobona*, a *tribunus militum* of *Legio X Gemina* dedicated an inscription to *Serapis* on behalf of Septimius Severus and Caracalla's health (CIL III 4560). *Nemesis* is also well-attested in *Carnuntum*, *Scarbantia*, *Aquincum* and *Andautonia* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Humer and Kremer 2011: 304-306; Fitz 1998: 125; Pastor 2010: 234 Kat. 24).

## 3. Concluding remarks

The new finds, probably almost all local outputs, widen not only the iconographical and typological pottery framework of *Vindobona* but also its technological and production sides, and illustrate some religious and socio-cultural aspects (e.g. with the finding of a mould stamp – fig. 3a – at Rennweg 64, showing a ritual scene), above all the deep need of Roman man to remove fear through apotropaic symbols.

The apotropaic meaning could not be the only one (Darmon 2008), but at the moment a further connection for some of these finds would only be a speculation. However, in order to depict a god, is necessary the myth-knowledge linked to good taste, which local potters and customers must have had in *Vindobona* (fig. 2), especially the soldiers (Chinelli 2001: 50-51; Wedenig 2016: 94-95). However, it is difficult to explain at what level the iconographical motif was perceived

<sup>8</sup> MV 43041/1, being studied by M. Kronberger.

on every small object; sometimes it could be only a bare repetition of decoration. Bacchus, the Satyr's group, Silen and Pan decorate, for example, metal vases not exclusively used for wine (Tassinari 2009: 30). The presented clay items are at the moment too few to make clear how much the clay support is important for the choice of the gods on the depicted representation in *Vindobona* (Monti 2015).

They reflect the formal repertory, also sometimes from the iconographical point of view, typical for Pannonia (e.g. *Aquincum*, *Carnuntum*, *Savaria* and *Brigetio*) in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, but widespread in Dacia too.

They, however, find correspondence, albeit in a varied way, even in the western provinces.

After T. Cvjetićanin (Cvjetićanin 2001: 104) in Central Gaul similar products were developed under the influence of the 'Eastern Mediterranean circle', as well as according to D.

Ruscu (1992: 129) the Gallic *médailles* imitate metal vessels of Hellenistic tradition. The practice of adorning metal vessels with Dionysian scenes, but also with Mercury, is attested in Pompei, where the iconographical repertoire coming from oriental religions has been integrated (Tassinari 2009: 16-17, 61-65, 81, 84-85). A. Bugán underlines the importance of Italian potters for the technological transfer (Bugán 2005: 1, 7). Pottery with applied mould-made decoration could have a so-called 'legionary style', influenced by the Eastern part of the Roman Empire too, given the continuous movements of the soldiers (Gassner et al. 1997: 232).

The Eastern influence (direct or indirect) can also be seen in *Vindobona* in the prototype (**fig. 2**) or in presumably circulating moulds (**fig. 5**) and in the subject (perhaps **fig. 3**).

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