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THOUGHTS ON POMPEII'S FINE WARE SUPPLY

1 Introduction

In recent years I have worked on the pottery from excavations below the levels of AD 79 on three sites in Pompeii and its surroundings, for which the pottery reports are completed or close to termination. This work led me to consider the sources of supply of fine wares to Pompeii.

The most recent group of wares considered here consists of Italian Sigillata¹ and Campanian Orange Ware², as well as a few pieces of Eastern Sigillata A³, Eastern Sigillata B⁴ and lead-glazed ware⁵. It is worthwhile to articulate Italian Sigillata by fabric. A distinction has been proposed between Fabric 1 (associated petrographically with the Roman or Campanian Volcanic Provinces and bearing stamps attributable to the Tiber Valley or generically to Central Italy) and Fabric 2 (not associated petrographically with the Roman or Campanian Volcanic Provinces and bearing stamps attributable to the Arno Valley).⁶ There is also a fabric that can be considered Vesuvian because of the presence of characteristic black-sand inclusions.⁷

Before that come black-gloss and other wares that circulated during the last two centuries BC – Campana A⁸, Calene Black-Gloss Ware⁹, Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware¹⁰, Campana C, Northern Etrurian Black-Gloss Ware¹¹, Hellenistic Relief Bowls¹², Hellenistic Pergamene Wares¹³.

Finally, there is an array of residual wares, including black-gloss ware of the Petits Estampilles Group¹⁴, Attic Black-Gloss Ware¹⁵, Italiot or Etruscan Red-Figure Ware¹⁶,

Late Corinthian Black-Figure Ware¹⁷, Ionian Cups¹⁸, bucchero¹⁹.

2 Contexts

2.1 Villa A at Oplontis

In Villa A at Oplontis, which is supposed to have belonged to Nero's wife Poppaea, 17 trenches were excavated between 2006 and 2009 below the level of AD 79 as a part of a study of the building.²⁰ The potsherds were all kept for quantification and provide the most numerous material.

Leaving aside a few small contexts that contain pieces datable to the second half of the 2nd century BC or the first half of the 1st (a total of 43 sherds), it was possible to articulate the material in three chronological horizons: one dating to the Neronian-early Flavian period, another with a *terminus post quem* of c. AD 25, a third datable no earlier than c. 40 BC or the Augustan period. The incidence of residual pieces is slight. The number of sherds declines, however, from the Neronian-early Flavian horizon to the 40 BC-Augustan horizon.

The contexts that make up the Neronian-early Flavian horizon contained 6330 sherds, weighing 1,270,796 gr., from a maximum of 5775 vessels. The mean date for the horizon is approximately AD 23, i.e. close to its *terminus post quem*, indicating a low incidence of residuality.²¹ Fine wares account for 232 of the maximum vessels (3.99 %). The percentages for lamps, coarse wares, cooking wares and transport vessels are 2.66 %, 47.02 %, 12.75 %, and 33.59 % respectively.

There are 3012 fragments, weighing 56,491.5 gr., from a maximum of 2644 vessels in the contexts belonging to the horizon with a *terminus post quem* of c. AD 25. In this case, the mean date of c. AD 10 is even closer to the final date. Fine wares account for a maximum of 121 vessels (4.58 %). The percentages for lamps, coarse wares, cooking wares and transport vessels are 2.95 %, 48.87 %, 19.36 %, and 24.24 % respectively.

¹ For overviews see MENCHELLI 2005 and HAYES 2008, 41–47.

² See KENRICK 1996, 43, for the term “Campanian Orange Ware”. Recently it has been considered Fabric 1 of a proposed Vesuvian Sigillata (McKENZIE-CLARK 2012, 2), a proposal to be rejected (MARTIN 2014, 602).

³ For an overview see HAYES 2008, 13–30.

⁴ For an overview see *ibid.* 31–40.

⁵ For lead-glazed ware in the Vesuvian area see DI GIOIA 2006.

⁶ McKENZIE-CLARK 2012, 20–21; 23; 31–32.

⁷ MARTIN 2014, 602.

⁸ For an overview see PRINCIPAL/RIBERA I LACOMBA 2013, 108–118.

⁹ For an overview see *ibid.* 76–104.

¹⁰ COTTICA ET AL. 2010, 166; 170; DI GIUSEPPE 2012, 54.

¹¹ For an overview see PRINCIPAL/RIBERA I LACOMBA 2013, 56–68.

¹² See HUGUET ENGUITA/RIBERA I LACOMBA 2013, 205–207, for an overview.

¹³ For these wares in general see SCHÄFER 1968; for the ware with applied relief also HÜBNER 1993.

¹⁴ For an overview see PRINCIPAL/RIBERA I LACOMBA 2013, 68–74.

¹⁵ See *ibid.* 53–54, especially with regard to Attic ware in the West.

¹⁶ TRENDALL 1989, 7–16, gives an overview of the Italiot wares; for Etruscan painted vessels see PY 1993.

¹⁷ For this ware and its diffusion in the western Mediterranean see PY ET AL. 1993, 379.

¹⁸ See VAN COMPERNOLLE 1994, 343–345, for an overview.

¹⁹ ALBORE-LIVADIE 1979, 93–98; MINOJA 2000, 115–119.

²⁰ See <http://oplontisproject.org/>.

²¹ See MARTIN 1998 for the calculation of the mean date.

The horizon of contexts with *termini post quem* of c. 40 BC or the Augustan period contained 703 fragments, weighing 8,820.5 gr., from a maximum of 657 vessels. Its mean date is approximately 6 BC, within the date-range of this horizon. The maximum of 40 fine-ware vessels constitutes 6.09 % of the maximum vessels. The percentages for lamps, coarse wares, cooking wares and transport vessels are 2.89 %, 55.86 %, 20.40 %, and 14.76 % respectively.

2.2 House of Sallust

At the House of Sallust, one of the grand houses of Pompeii from the Samnite period, excavations were carried out between 1969 and 1972 in connection with a restoration programme.²² The pottery study was intended to establish dates for the contexts by examining the selected pieces retained. This included all the fine wares – so this material is useful for statistical considerations within that functional group.

The House of Sallust presents contexts ranging in date from the 2nd century BC to the mid 1st century AD. The fine wares can best be grouped in two chronological horizons: the first from contexts characterized by 2nd-century material; the other from contexts with dates ranging from c. 40 BC to the mid 1st century AD.

The earlier group consists of 258 sherds from a maximum of 257 vessels (not counting a fragment of Italian Sigillata considered intrusive). Its mean date is approximately 147 BC. It includes some highly residual material, such as bucchero, Late Corinthian Black-Figure Ware, Italiot or Etruscan Red-Figure Ware, Attic Black-Gloss Ware.

In the later group there are 289 sherds from a maximum of 168 vessels. This group is characterized by the presence of Italian Sigillata and Campanian Orange Ware.²³ It also contains some residual material, one piece of very early date (an Ionian cup) but mostly material of the same date as the previous group. Its mean date is approximately 75 BC.

Both groups from the House of Sallust contain some residual material, sometimes many centuries older than the contexts in which it was found. Nevertheless, considering their mean dates, one can conclude that the incidence of residuality is not especially high, although greater than in Villa A at Oplontis.

2.3 The Pompeii Forum Project

The PFP excavated seven trenches in 1997 and 2001 around the area of the forum of Pompeii in order to clarify its development.²⁴ All the ceramic material was collected for quantification. The first horizon, with contexts that present no

evidence for a date later than c. 100 (containing 113 sherds from no more than 110 vessels, of which seven belong to fine wares) is not useful. Two groups remain: the second, consisting of contexts with material indicating *termini post quem* between the second half of the 1st century BC and the Augustan period, and the third made up of contexts that can be dated to the late Augustan or Tiberian periods.

The most recent horizon provided 1734 fragments, weighing 17,980 gr., from a maximum of 1680 vessels. The mean date is approximately 75 BC, which means that the incidence of residuality is greater than in the House of Sallust or Villa A at Oplontis. The residual pieces are, however, mostly not of many centuries earlier as at the House of Sallust but rather of the immediately preceding period. The fine wares overall constitute 9.46 % of the maximum vessels. The percentages for lamps, coarse ware, cooking ware, and transport vessels are respectively 0.60 %, 39.70 %, 29.40 %, and 20.83 %.

The horizon dating no earlier than c. 40 BC or the Augustan period held 2216 fragments, weighing 29,444 gr., from a maximum of 2165 vessels. The mean date is approximately 146 BC. Thus, the incidence of residuality here is also greater than in the House of Sallust or Villa A at Oplontis. Highly residual pieces, such as Attic Black-Gloss Ware and bucchero, play some role here, but most of the residual fragments belong to a century or two before the time of this group. The percentage of fine wares reaches 15.47 % here. The percentages for lamps, coarse ware, cooking ware, and transport vessels are respectively 0.18 %, 48.13 %, 17.14 %, and 19.08 %.

Both horizons can be used with a certain caution for statistical comparisons. They have mean ceramic dates of more than a century earlier than their final dates, indicating that they contain material that is less typical of their chronological ranges than the other groups examined.

The picture of the composition by functional groups for the horizons from Oplontis and the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project corresponds by and large to what one would expect for these dates.²⁵ Coarse wares dominate throughout, followed by cooking wares. The percentages for fine wares at Oplontis are unexceptional in all three horizons, while they are unusually high in both from the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project. The attestations for lamps, on the other hand, are at the normal level of a fraction of a percent in both horizons from the Pompeii Forum Project excavations but are unusually well attested in all three horizons at Oplontis. Transport vessels present a rising trend from the earlier

²² See LAIDLAW/STELLA 2014 for the publication of the House of Sallust, including these excavations. The material in question is presented in LAIDLAW/MARTIN 2014.

²³ Given the chronological interest of the publication, the Italian Sigillata fabrics are not noted in LAIDLAW/MARTIN 2014. The following present Fabric 1: S. 3a, Level I: 2; 4, 6 – six sherds (173); S. 25, Level 0: 1 – one sherd (192); S. 26a, Level I: 4 (193); S. 26b, Level I: 2, 4–5 (195); S. 30: 1 (203); S. 32b, Level I: 1–3 (205); S. 33, Level 0: 1. Fabric 2 appears in the following: S. 3a, Level I: 1, 3, 5, 6 – one sherd (173); S. 25, Level 0: 1 – one sherd (192); S. 26a, Level I: 3 (193); S. 26b, Level I: 3, 6–7 (195); S. 27, Level I: 1–2 (198).

²⁴ BALL/DOBBINS 2013 give the most recent update on the project.

²⁵ See MARTIN 2012 for information on assemblages at Pompeii and Ostia, including preliminary data for the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project with a somewhat different chronological articulation. DE SENA/IKÄHEIMO 2003, 302 (table 1) have rather different results (without taking lamps into consideration) for five assemblages from the House of the Vestals dated respectively 150–100 BC, 100–50 BC, 50–1 BC, AD 1–AD 50, AD 50–AD 79, with the percentages for fine wares and coarse wares derived by disaggregating the table and storage ware of table 1 according to the figures given on table 5 (308): very high percentages for fine wares, well over 10 % (except 50–1 BC at about 6%) and approaching 20 % for 150–100 BC; coarse wares and cooking wares at similar percentages (above 30 % or at least close); amphorae with no clear trend, ranging between some 6 % (150–100 BC) and nearly 33% (50–1 BC). Can these results depend on the small size of the assemblages, the largest consisting of 446 vessels and the smallest of 164?

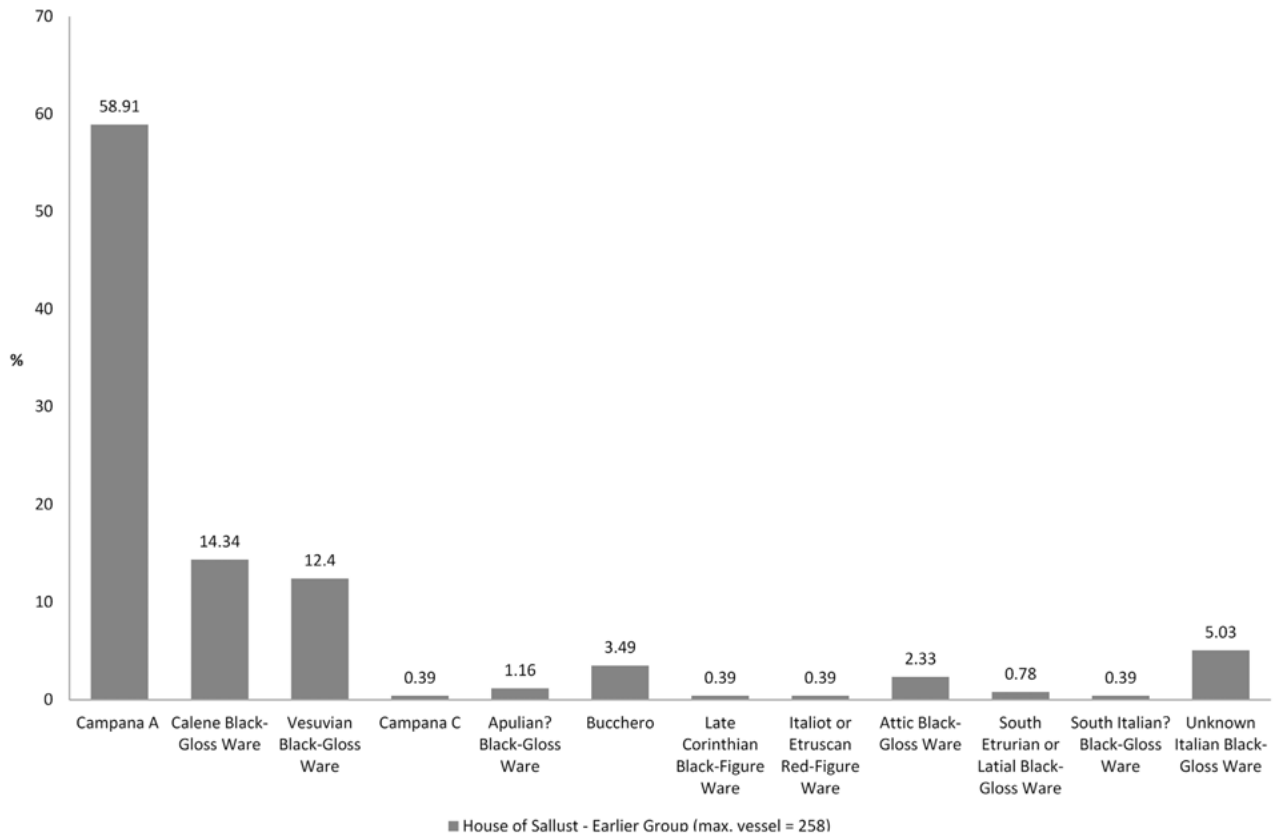


Fig. 1. Second half of the 2nd – early 1st century BC.

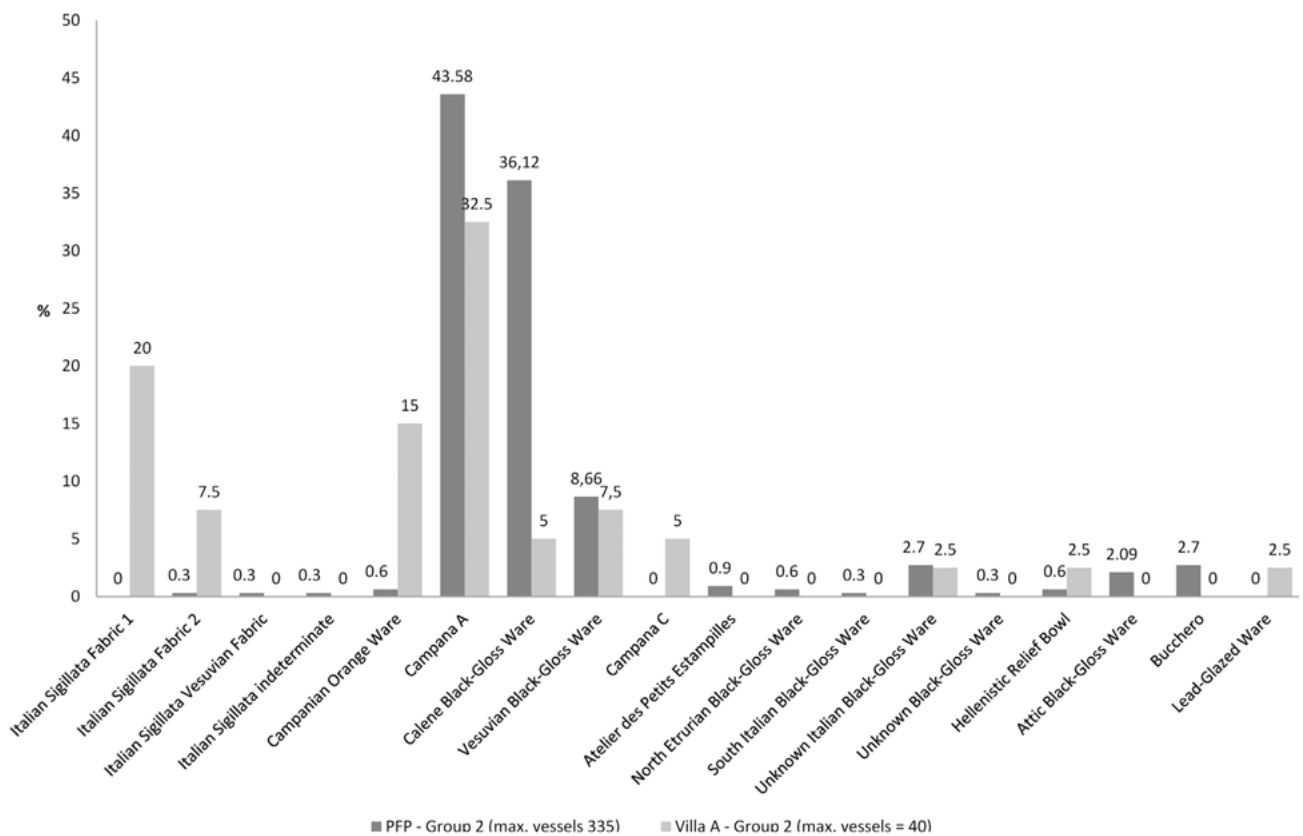


Fig. 2. c. 40 BC – Augustan period.

to the later horizons in both places, although they still reach only just over $\frac{1}{3}$ in the Neronian-Flavian horizon at Villa A.

3 The chronological series

By combining the evidence from the three sites, it is possible to construct a series stretching from the middle of the 2nd century BC to the Neronian-early Flavian period. The first group from the House of Sallust offers evidence for the earliest period, from the second half of the 2nd century to the beginning of the 1st century BC. For the time between c. 40 BC and the Augustan period, we have the second horizon from the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project and the oldest of the three groups considered from Villa A at Oplontis. Villa A provides the best evidence for the 2nd quarter of the 1st century AD and for the Neronian-early Flavian period. The other groups overlap to some extent with these major ones and allow comparisons to be made.

3.1 *Second half of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BC*

The earlier horizon in the House of Sallust presents both black-gloss ware that could date to the period in question and residual wares (**fig. 1**). The most important by far among the wares of the time is Campana A with nearly 60 %. It is followed by Calene Black-Gloss Ware at almost 15 % and Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware with somewhat above 12 %. Campana C, which is the most recent ware attested here, datable perhaps from c. 150 BC but probably later, is represented by a single fragment (0.39 %). The rest consists of various residual wares that can date to as far back as the 6th century (bucchero, Late Corinthian Black-Figure Ware), as well as some black-gloss ware of unknown but presumably Italian origin.

3.2 *c. 40 BC to the Augustan period*

Neither of the groups available for the period between c. 40 BC and the Augustan period is ideal (**fig. 2**). The second group from the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project offers a satisfactory number of maximum vessels but contains many residual pieces. The second earliest horizon at Villa A at Oplontis presents a low incidence of residuality but very few pieces. It is some comfort that they show similar trends. In both cases, we begin to see Italian Sigillata and Campanian Orange Ware. Unsurprisingly they are a minor presence among the material with many residual pieces from the PFP. Here Italian Sigillata is represented by one fragment each of Fabric 2 and the Vesuvian fabric, as well as by an indeterminate fragment lost before pottery processing began. At Villa A, Italian Sigillata equals Campana A in importance. Italian Sigillata Fabric 1 is much more important than Fabric 2, while the Vesuvian fabric is not attested. Campanian Orange Ware is less frequent than Italian Sigillata in both places. Among the black-gloss wares, Campana A is the most important in both places. The second most important in the PFP material is Calene but Vesuvian at Villa A. In the material from the

PFP excavations, there are minimal attestations of various Hellenistic and earlier wares. Among the material from Villa A, the presence is to be noted of a couple of fragments of lead-glazed ware, which began to be produced in the Augustan period.

Because they contain much residual material, it is convenient to consider two more groups here: the third group from the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project and the later group from the House of Sallust (**fig. 3**). Campana A is the most important ware, with more than 50 % of the maximum vessels in both groups. Calene Black-Gloss Ware is the second most represented black-gloss ware among the PFP material and Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware the third, while the positions are reversed among that from the House of Sallust. Campana C is a significant presence in the material from the House of Sallust but absent among the PFP material. No other black-gloss ware is important. Italian Sigillata is the second most important ware overall in both groups. Once again Italian Sigillata Fabric 1 is better represented than Fabric 2; the Vesuvian fabric is present only in the contexts of the Pompeii Forum Project. Campanian Orange Ware is much less frequent than Italian Sigillata. The material from the House of Sallust in particular and also the PFP material include small numbers of various wares of Hellenistic and even earlier date.

3.3 *Second quarter of the 1st century AD*

The third group at Villa A at Oplontis provides data for the second quarter of the 1st century AD (**fig. 4**). Italian Sigillata is by far the most important ware, accounting for well over half the maximum vessels. Most of the Italian Sigillata belongs to Fabric 1, which makes up more than 38 % of the fine ware in this horizon, while Fabric 2 has somewhat less than 12 % and the Vesuvian fabric less than 4 %. Campanian Orange Ware accounts for some 6 %. Campana A reaches 25 % of the group. Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware stands above 11 %, while Calene Black-Gloss Ware and Campana C have minimal presences.

3.4 *Neronian-Early Flavian period*

In the contexts of the Neronian-early Flavian period at Villa A of Oplontis (**fig. 5**), Italian Sigillata remains the most important ware, with somewhat under half the maximum vessels. The attestations of the Italian Sigillata fabrics remain similar: Fabric 1 by far the best represented, Fabric 2 a much less important second, the Vesuvian fabric a minimal presence. Campanian Orange Ware makes a strong attestation, at more than 37 %. The presence of a few examples of Eastern Sigillata A and B2 is new. Among the black-gloss ware, one can notice that the most important is Campana A (above 7 %), followed by Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware (nearly 5 %), while there is little Calene Black-Gloss Ware and Campana C.

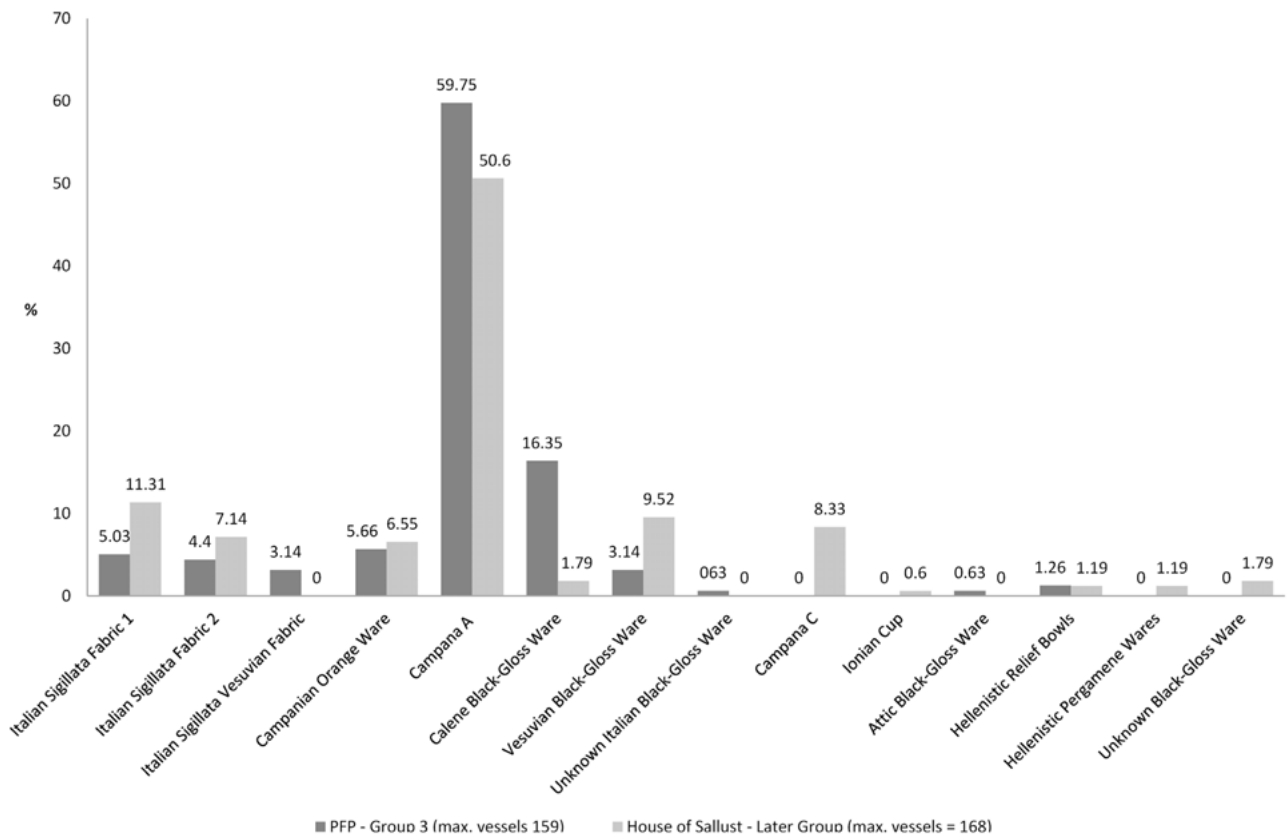


Fig. 3. Late Augustan-Tiberian period – mid 1st century AD.

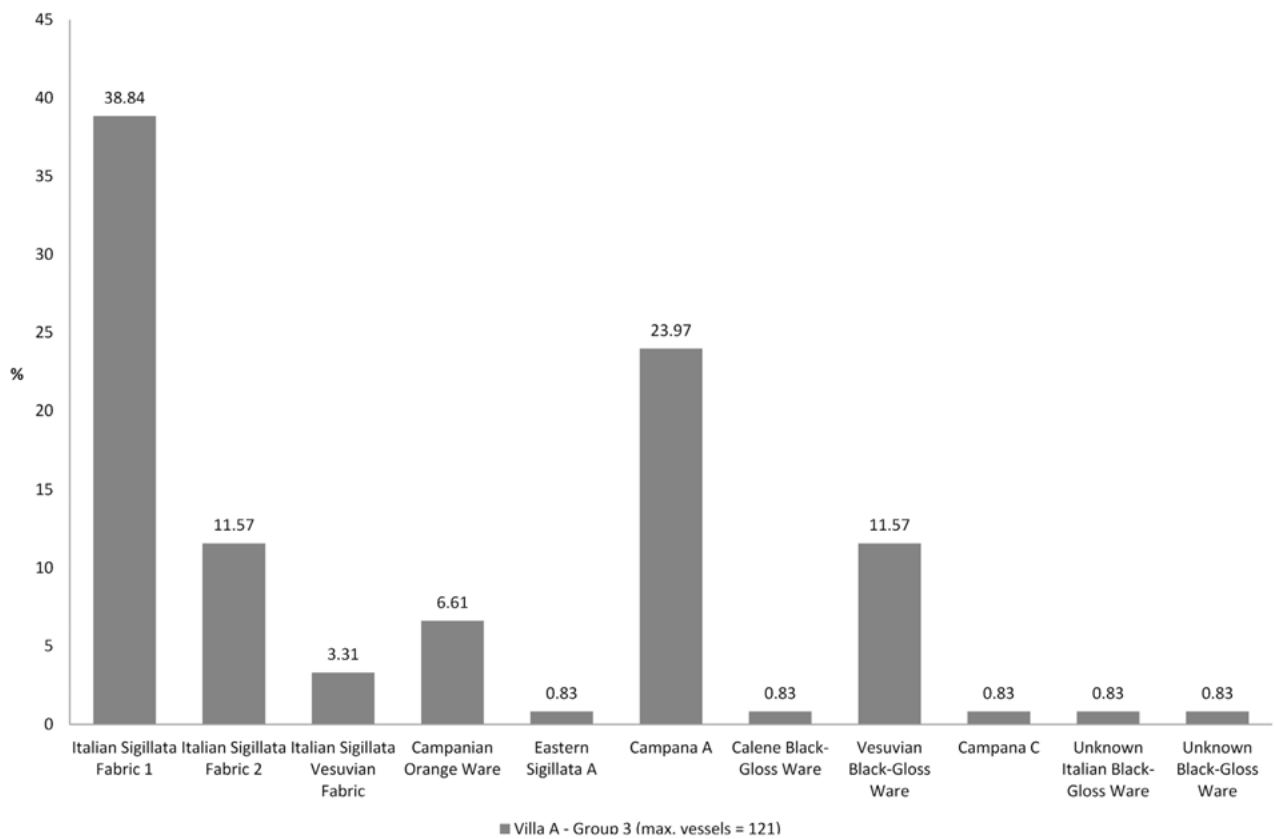


Fig. 4. c. 25 AD.

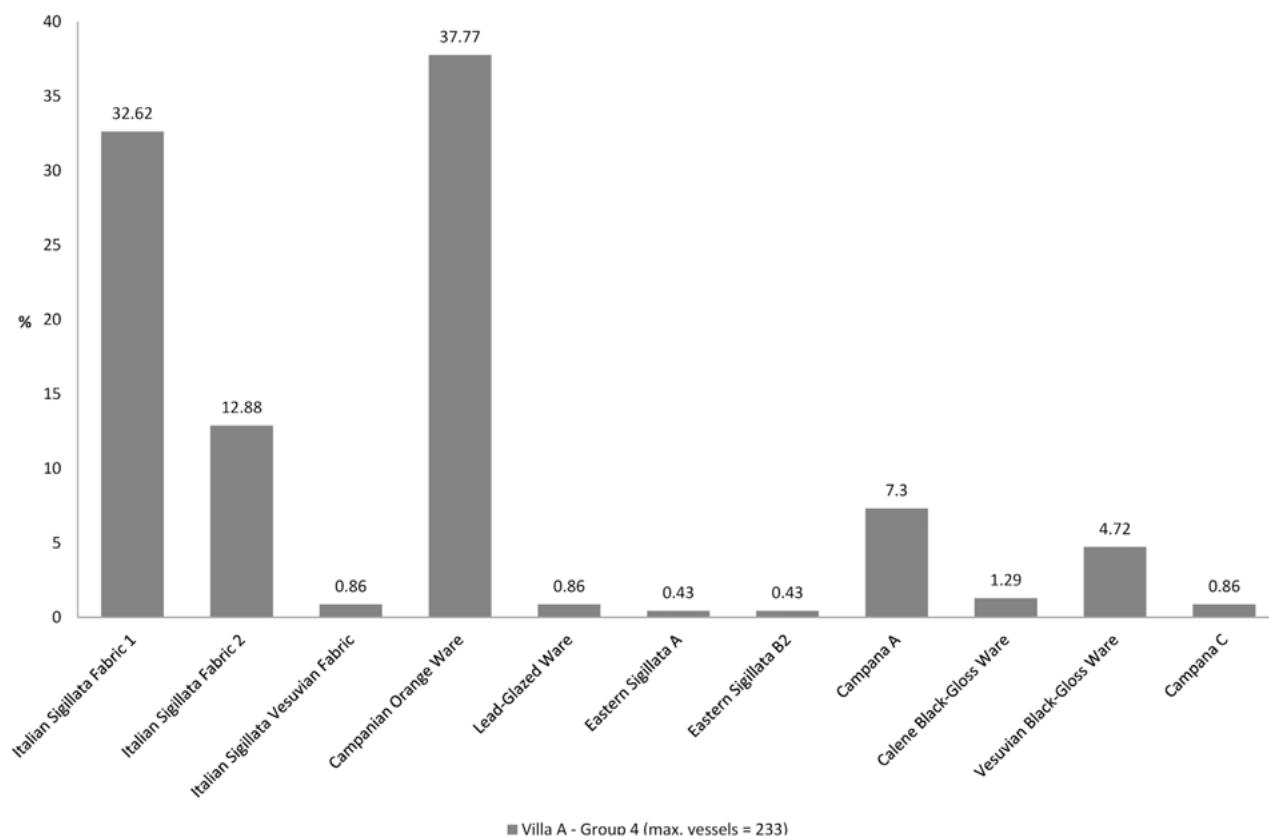


Fig. 5. Neronian-early Flavian period.

4 Discussion

What were the preferred sources for fine wares at Pompeii? It is useful to consider separately the wares of the second half of the 2nd and the earlier part of the 1st century BC and those that date between 40 BC and the Neronian-early Flavian period: that is the black-gloss wares and various Hellenistic wares on the one hand and the sigillatas and some minor wares on the other.

Among the earlier products, the series indicates Campana A without a doubt as the preferred ware. It is the most important black-gloss ware in all the groups considered here, whether in phase or residual. This receives some confirmation at the House of the Vestals, where Campana A is by far the most important fine ware in 150–100 BC, although it passes into second position in 100–50 BC and disappears thereafter.²⁶ It is less clear to which ware the second position should be assigned. The attestation of Calene Black-Gloss Ware is higher than Vesuvian in the earlier horizon from the House of Sallust and in the second and third groups from the Pompeii Forum Project excavations.²⁷ The positions are reversed at Villa A and in the later horizon from the House of Sallust. Can one suppose that Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware is better

represented later because its production lasted somewhat longer? No black-gloss ware other than these three succeeded in establishing a stable position for itself at Pompeii. Even Campana C, known as the third “universal” black-gloss ware, makes only occasional appearances, as appears to be the case elsewhere at Pompeii.²⁸ It is not unusual to find a few fragments of Hellenistic Relief Bowls at Pompeii.²⁹ The two examples of Hellenistic Pergamene fine wares found in the House of Sallust represent *unica*.

Passing to the later part of the series, it is clear that only Italian Sigillata and Campanian Orange Ware were of any importance at Pompeii then. Other sigillatas appear only occasionally. Pucci’s suggestion that there was considerable importation of eastern sigillata, which was based on his examination many years ago of the complete vessels preserved in the storerooms at Pompeii and Naples, cannot be confirmed.³⁰ Nor is South Gaulish Sigillata, absent in this

²⁶ For DE SENA AND IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 (table 5).

²⁷ For DE SENA AND IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 (table 5), Campana B (presumably Calene Black-Gloss Ware, unless this term conflates that and Vesuvian Black-Gloss Ware) becomes the most important black-gloss ware in 100–50 BC, remaining so in 50–1 BC, after which there is no more black-gloss ware.

²⁸ DE SENA AND IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 (table 5), have Campana C at 1 % of the table and storage wares in 100–150 BC and 50–1 BC; Faber 2003, 176 (Tab. 2, where Pompeii is represented by a collection mostly of selected pieces from various excavations), registers Campana C at less than 1 %.

²⁹ DE SENA AND IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 (table 5), have this ware at 1 % of the table and storage wares in 150–100 BC.

³⁰ PUCCI 1977, 19; 21; IORIO 1996, 32, sees the attestation of 25 pieces of eastern sigillata (12 of Eastern Sigillata A and 13 of Eastern Sigillata B) among 225 examples of sigillata found in a context excavated along the walls of Pompeii in the light of Pucci’s suggestion. MCKENZIE-CLARK 2012, 136, contests the importance Pucci gives to Eastern Sigillata A. In the assemblages from the House of the Vestals Eastern Sigillata A and B appear only in AD 50–AD 79, at 1 % combined of the table and

series, by any means as important as the early publication of the contents of a packing case of it and of other pieces suggested it might be.³¹

Another question is the relative importance of Italian Sigillata and Campanian Orange Ware. The later assemblages considered here show them both present throughout, with Italian Sigillata always dominant. There is some evidence concurring with this result.³² It contrasts with Soricelli's suggestion, made on the basis of the material from the excavations for the *Impianto Elettrico*, that Campanian Orange Ware prevailed over Italian Sigillata in the early Augustan period but lost ground thereafter.³³ Campanian Orange Ware appears at the House of the Vestals only in AD 50–AD 79,³⁴ which offers a parallel for the higher percentage of this ware in the Neronian-Flavian group at Villa at Oplontis, although it is impossible to accept the proposal that the ware became common first toward the middle of the century.³⁵ A recently advanced hypothesis sees the difference between the two wares not in chronological but in social terms: Italian Sigillata (as well as imported sigillata) is more frequent in richer houses, while Campanian Orange Ware dominates in poorer contexts.³⁶ This series cannot give a definitive answer to this proposition, although the occurrence of the best score of Campanian Orange Ware at Villa A at Oplontis, which was certainly never a poor residence, casts doubt on it.

Finally, there is the question of the provenience of Italian Sigillata. In this series Fabric 1 is clearly preferred. Only in the second group from the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project, where few pieces of Italian Sigillata appear, are Fabric 2 and the Vesuvian fabric present but not Fabric 1. Otherwise Fabric 1 is always the best represented, usually by a wide margin, with Fabric 2 the second most important. The Vesuvian fabric has a minimal presence at best and is not always attested. This suggests that the area represented by the Roman and Campanian Volcanic Provinces, at least in part the Tiber Valley, was the main supplier of Italian Sigillata to Pompeii, while the Arno Valley was less important and the

Vesuvian area itself insignificant. These results find a partial parallel at the House of the Vestals, where it was noted that only a small portion of the Italian Sigillata there came from Arezzo and most was thought to come from Pozzuoli.³⁷ The results obtained here correspond only in part to a picture proposed for the supply of sigillata and related wares to the area of Campania and Lucania.³⁸ According to this, southern production centers of Italian Sigillata gain notably in importance with respect to those of Arezzo and Pisa, while Italian Sigillata overall diminishes somewhat against eastern sigillatas and to a lesser extent Campana C. The data on which this picture is based still show high values for Arezzo and Pisa, however, which contrasts with the results here. On the other hand, they indicate minimal values for eastern sigillatas on some sites in this area, including Pompeii, and for Campana C on all of them, which agrees with the results obtained in this series.

5 Conclusions

To conclude, between the 2nd century and the early Flavian period, Pompeii was supplied principally by standardized fine wares with widespread distributions. In the Hellenistic period Campana A dominated, while Calene Black-Gloss Ware was much less important. Afterwards, the major ware was Italian Sigillata, represented especially by products in a fabric that is to be associated at least in part with the Tiber Valley. Although these wares are widespread, it is to be noted, however, that they come from some of the closest sources of such wares to Pompeii. More distant production areas, even within Italy, are much less well represented. On the other hand, the versions of black-gloss ware and sigillata produced in the Vesuvian area never came close to prevailing on the market at Pompeii.

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storage wares (DE SENA/IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 table 5). FABER 2003, 176 (tab. 2, where Pompeii is represented by a collection mostly of selected pieces from various excavations), registers eastern sigillata at little more than 1 %.

³¹ For the packing-case find see ATKINSON 1914 and DWIZA 2004. – For an overview of the study of South Gaulish Sigillata at Pompeii and the suggestion that this ware was important there see PUCCI 1977, 18–19; IORIO 1996, 33–34, seems surprised that South Gaulish Sigillata accounts for only two of the 225 examples of sigillata discovered in a context excavated along the walls of Pompeii. FABER 2003, 176 (tab. 2, where Pompeii is represented by a collection mostly of selected pieces from various excavations), registers South Gaulish Sigillata at less than 1 %. At the House of the Vestals this ware appears only in AD 50–AD 79, at 1 % of the table and storage wares (DE SENA AND IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 table 5). McKenzie-Clark indicates seven fragments of South Gaulish Sigillata at the House of the Vestals among 184 sherds, as well as four South Gaulish sherds among a total of 71 at the House of the Flowers and two among 159 at the House of Amarantus (McKENZIE-CLARK 2012, 128 tab. 6.10).

³² FABER 2003, 176 (tab. 2, where Pompeii is represented by a collection mostly of selected pieces from various excavations), registers Campanian Orange Ware at less than 6 % of the fine wares, while sigillata from other Italian sources makes up more than 90 %.

³³ SORICELLI 1987, 74–80.

³⁴ DE SENA/IKÄHEIMO 2003, 308 (table 5), have Campanian Orange Ware at 5 % of the table and storage wares and Italian Sigillata at 25 %.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 312.

³⁶ McKENZIE-CLARK 2012, 136.

³⁷ DE SENA/IKÄHEIMO 2003, 310–311.

³⁸ FABER 2003, 178. For the data on which these considerations are based see *ibid.* 176 (tab. 2, where Pompeii is represented by a collection mostly of selected pieces from various excavations).

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