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LOCAL IMITATIONS OF IMPORTED FINE TABLEWARES FROM SOUTHERN PANNONIA

The production of the Flavian and post-Flavian period

Excavations of Roman sites in the Croatian part of Pannonia (**fig. 2**) have revealed large quantities of fine pottery of local origin, the majority of which are imitations of forms deriving from imported terra sigillata. Collected examples of such imitations typologically can be divided into those that imitate the 'Italian-style' sigillata of the Flavian and Trajanic/Hadrianic periods, and those which imitate relief-decorated sigillata from the Central Gaul and Rhine regions in the Antonine and post-Antonine periods. Recent excavations showed that these finds, as well as by their typological elements, can also be chronologically distinguished according to the stratigraphy. On the basis of the documented contexts it can be confirmed that imitations of 'Italian-style' sigillata precede that which imitates Gaulish and Germanic prototypes. The imitation of sigillata from the Flavian period has shown to be the first example of fine table ware with a distinctive Pannonian fabric, so that it can be regarded as the first stage of development of the Pannonian pottery production. It can be assumed that this is how *Pannonische Glanztonware* (PGW) was created.

PGW is a class of pottery defined by Kristina Adler-Wölfl in 2004, as a Pannonian product forged as a result of the influence of Roman culture on the local La Tène tradition. Accordingly, forms used in PGW production were derived both from the La Tène style and the style that came in with the Roman imports. The products are characterised by a dense, fine fabric and a gloss slip of good quality. Production of PGW broadly dates back to the start of the 1st century AD and continues well in to the 3rd century.¹ Applying Adler-Wölfl's typology to finds from the southern part of Pannonia it became evident that PGW is conceived as a heterogeneous class of pottery which consists of various groups of ceramic fine wares, linked solely by the fact that they were made in Pannonia. This does not mean that *Pannonische Glanztonware* as a term should be abandoned. On the contrary, PGW should be perceived as an eclectic framework within which different (sub) groups may be defined. In this regard current work on PGW is focused on defining local groups of products that could be related to a specific time-span and area of distribution with the final goal of determining the exact place and time of production of individual types of PGW. For this kind of research it is crucial that new excavations are conducted in the region. In the past, such studies would have been impossible due to insufficiently refined excavation techniques, but also due to

the lack of pottery studies in the southern part of Pannonia. Fortunately, the state of research is changing.

The main obstacle to pottery studies in southern Pannonia has been the lack of finds from the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, because this is the material which would reveal the beginnings of pottery production in this region. The majority of archaeological investigations in Croatia are rescue excavations, whose implementations are limited by investors and plans for future constructions. Until recently, the lower strata of Roman settlements were only rarely penetrated, but this changed with the implementation of new legislation in the late 1990s. Several excavations conducted in the former Roman colonies of *Siscia* (Sisak), *Mursa* (Osijek) and *Cibalae* (Vinkovci) (**fig. 2**) revealed numerous finds from the 1st century AD which allow for research on local pottery production to be conducted. The implementation of excavation techniques based on the stratigraphic method additionally made such research possible. On the basis of these excavations it can be speculated that the defining stages of (south) Pannonian production were the Flavian and post-Flavian periods. This conclusion is derived from the fact that Roman finds from the first half of the 1st century are rare. The majority are found on military sites, especially the territory of *Siscia*, which in that time was a legionary camp², and the rare finds in a civilian context were found only in the native context (late La Tène).³ On the other hand, pottery from the Flavian period is found in large amounts throughout southern Pannonia. These investigation results correspond to assumptions regarding historical developments in the 1st century AD. The invasion of southern Pannonia started in 35 BC, but the first colonies and *municipia* were established only by the Flavians. This gives historians reason to believe that for the larger part of the 1st century Pannonia was some sort of military district with low colonial immigration from the Empire.⁴ As a result of this it can be assumed that there was no need for large local production until the Flavian wave of colonisation. Therefore the conclusion that the main workshops and the local south-Pannonian market were established during the late 1st century and early 2nd century AD is convincing.

Excavations revealed two predominant types of locally produced fine wares: imitations of terra sigillata mentioned

¹ ADLER-WÖFL 2004.

² RADMAN-LIVAJA 2007, 161–169; ID. 2010.

³ TONC/FILIPOVIĆ 2010.

⁴ ŠAŠEL KOS 2010, 218.

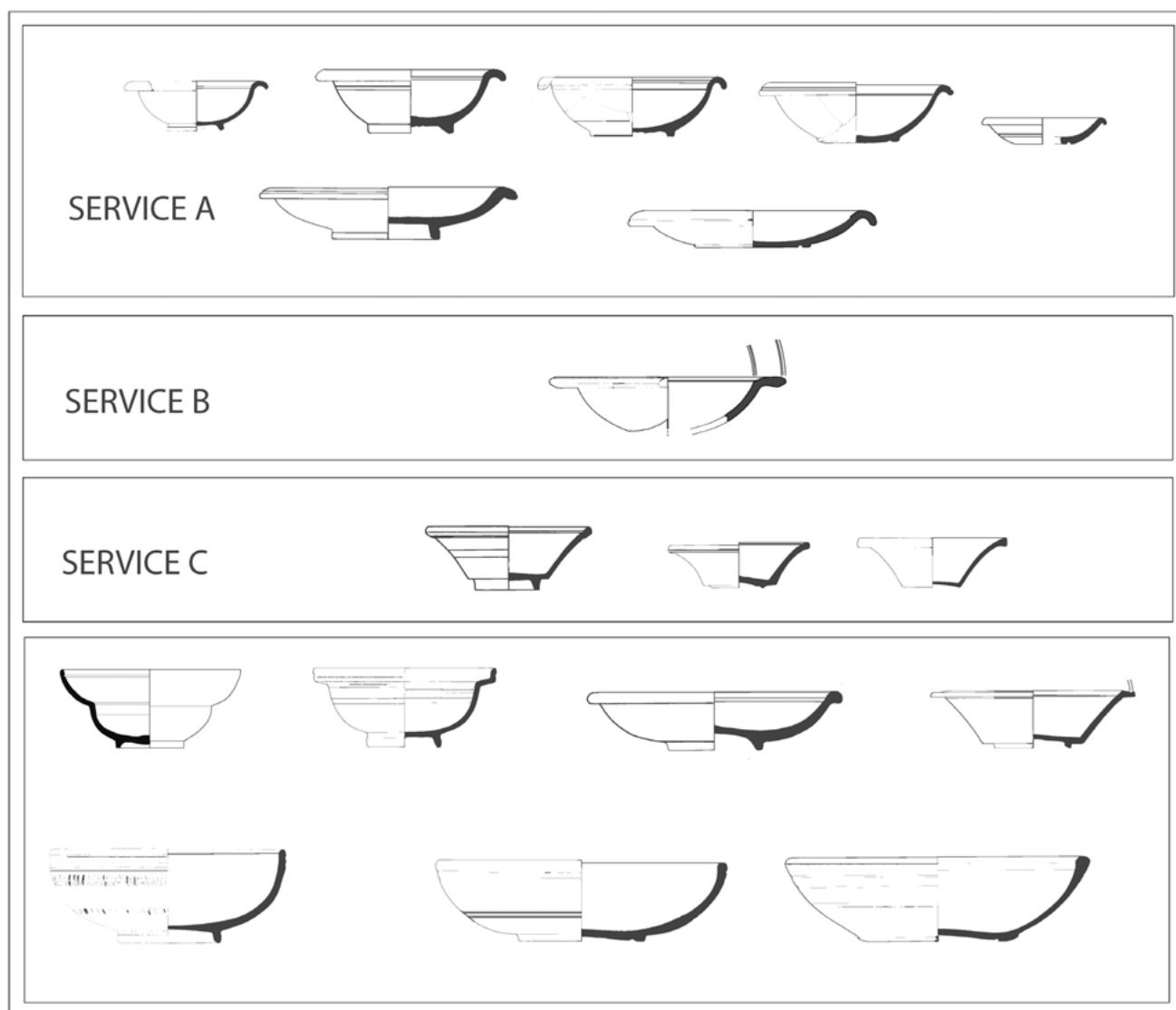


Fig. 1. Typology of PWG sigillata-imitation finds from the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* (Osijek).

above and thin-walled pottery characterised by red and yellowish fabric and lavish barbotine and incised ornaments. This type of thin-walled pottery is known as ‘Sirmium production’, because it was assumed that this type of fine ware was produced in the town of *Sirmium*. New finds from Croatia reveal a large variety of forms and styles of decoration, which now suggests that Sirmium was probably just one of several production sites in the Pannonian south. These developments enabled several studies on Pannonian thin-walled pottery.⁵ Excavations have also revealed numerous PWG finds. A group of graves excavated in the Roman colony of *Mursa* (Osijek, eastern Croatia) have proven to be the most interesting in this regard. Excavation conducted in 2008 in the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* revealed ninety-eight cinerary graves, from the late Flavian period until the establishment of the colony during the time of Hadrian⁶, in which sixteen

pieces of PGW sigillata imitations were found. Although some are damaged due to exposure to a funeral pyre, most are well preserved and can be treated as a representative sample for insight into the repertoire of sigillata-imitations in *Mursa*: they are the ideal base for study of this class of pottery in southern Pannonia.

Work on material from *Mursa* showed that fabric as an element for analysis of PGW can be unreliable. The best paradigm is the cup found in a *bustum* (grave 106) which shows that secondary burning can change the colour of fabric to such an extent that it is hard to determine whether or not the piece was originally fired under oxidising or reducing conditions (**fig. 6**). The same phenomenon can be observed on several other pieces, both from settlement and from burial contexts. Adler-Wölfl states that PGW was fired in both oxidising and reducing atmospheres, although a grey fabric is more common than a red and yellow fabric.⁷ Therefore, the fabric colour could be considered an element of study for this

⁵ OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2007; FILIPOVIĆ/CRNKOVIĆ 2014; MILETIĆ-ČAKŠIRAN 2015.

⁶ LELEKOVIĆ 2008.

⁷ ADLER-WÖLFL 2004, 9, 89–93.

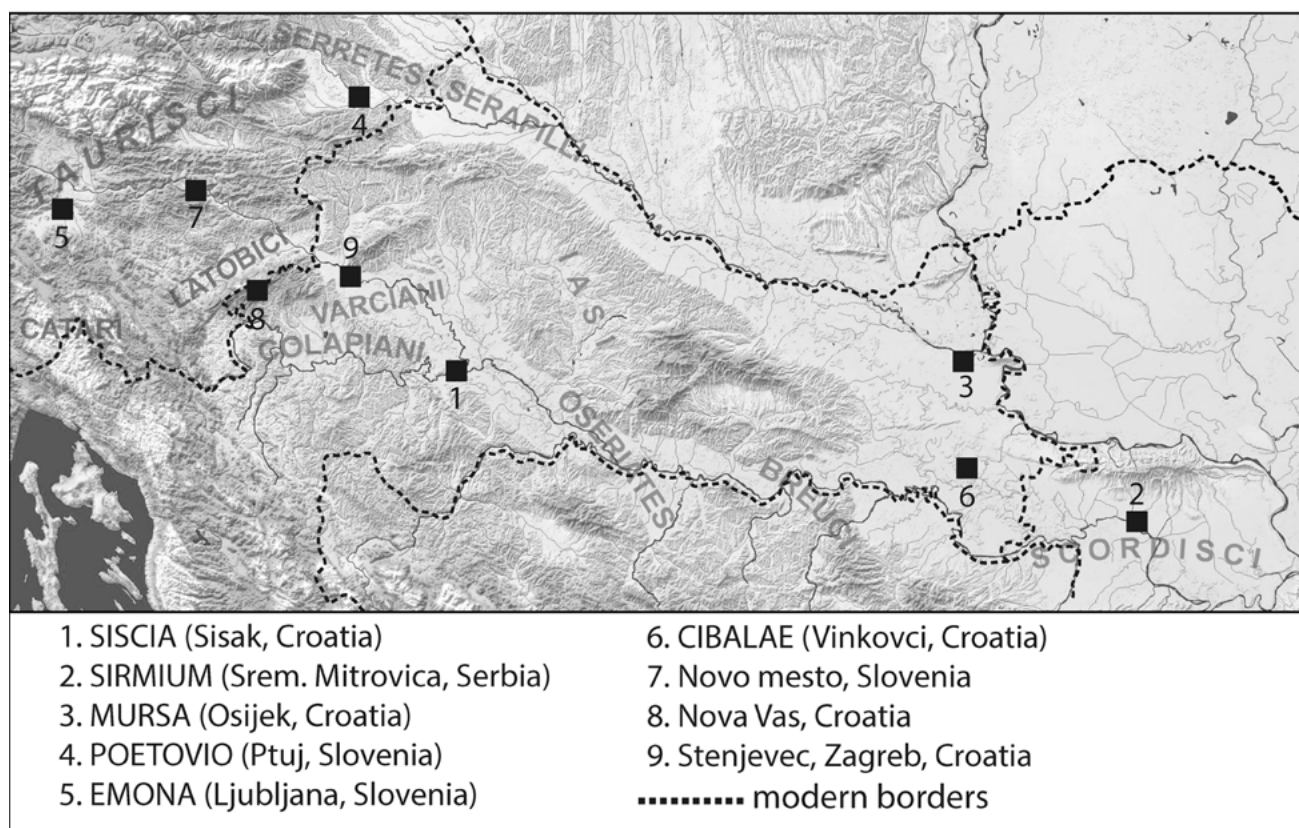


Fig. 2. Distribution of PGW imitations of Italian style sigillata.

material. However, due to fact that it could be misleading, any research of this material should be careful when fabric is concerned. Thanks to this, for now the study of PGW should be based on the typology of forms. Due to the fact that PGW from the Flavian and Trajanic periods was mostly made as imitations of 'Italian-style' terra sigillata, finds can be classified based on the forms of the prototypes (**fig. 1**).

More than half of the finds from *Mursa* can be connected to Service A as defined by Susanne Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker, characterised by a curving wall and drooping rim.⁸ Consp. 43 cups and Consp. 39 dishes have been found (**fig. 1**). The problem with analysing these pieces derives from the inability to determine which prototypes were used to form them: sigillata from Italy or from southern Gaul. Imports from these two sources can be macroscopically differentiated only according to the style of barbotine decoration. The problem is that PGW sigillata imitations are undecorated, so this method can not be used to determine which prototypes were followed. A way to resolve this matter is yet to be found. Nevertheless, Istenić deduced that for the Consp. 43 cups found in *Poetovio* Italian prototypes were used, hence these pieces have been dated to the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century.⁹ For pieces found in the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* it is not possible to make such an assumption. It is difficult to determine when, where and under which influence imitations of Service A were made, both in *Mursa* and elsewhere

in Pannonia. All but one piece of seven Service A products were fired under reducing conditions, while for two cups it is difficult to determine whether or not they were fired in an oxidising atmosphere or their original appearance changed due to secondary burning. Based on finds that are preserved in good condition it can be concluded that coating varies in both quality and colour, which can vary from light grey to black and from a high-gloss slip to matte. The cups were made rather uniformly. Their shape is almost hemispherical with a narrow rim. Defining differences between individual cups are visible on the base of vessels. Three cups have a flat base with a shallow groove on the underside, while four examples have a proper foot ring. Cups were made in three sizes: three have a rim diameter of 15 to 16 cm, two have a diameter of 9 to 10 cm, and two cups have a diameter of 7 cm (**fig. 3**).

Two Service A dishes were preserved intact by fire, so their state of preservation is exemplary (which cannot be said for most of the other finds). Both can be assigned to type Consp. 39/Drag. 36 and both were fired under reduced conditions, but they differ in several elements. The dish from grave 318 has a high foot ring, it is coated with a metallic black slip and the inside is decorated with rouletting and stamped vegetable decoration (**fig. 3,6**). On the other hand, the dish from grave 396 has a flat base with a shallow groove, a rim decorated with faceting and its inside is decorated with three concentric circles which were robustly incised after firing. The slip is a light grey colour with a metallic gloss (**fig. 3,5**). Examples of PGW that imitate Service A are found in the entire southern part of Pannonia, predominantly as furnishings of graves

⁸ Conspectus 49–50.

⁹ ISTENIĆ 1999, 97.

from the end of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century. The largest amount of Service A dishes and cups have been found in the western cemeteries of *Poetovio*. Consp. 43 cups are represented with 23 examples and dishes of Consp. 39 with 13 finds. Inconsistency in forming, already observed in *Mursa*, is also characteristic of the Poetovian finds. Disparities are mostly reflected in the shape of the base, but also in the fabric and the colour of the slip. In this regard it should be noted that in *Poetovio* products fired under oxidizing conditions are more numerous than those fired in a reduced atmosphere, where the colour of slip varies from yellowish-brown to bright red.¹⁰ Similar inconsistencies are also visible on other sites in south-west Pannonia. Consp. 39 and Consp. 43 PGW forms were found in Latobician territory in south-west Pannonia. In the cemetery of Gornja Vas in Croatia (**fig. 2**) eleven cups and four dishes have been found.¹¹ The cups are shaped rather uniformly, with a distinctively more pronounced and broader rim than the previously described pieces, which is specific to finds from Gornja Vas. The published drawing of these finds also suggest that these cups are distinctive due to their thin walls, but after consulting photos and seeing the objects on display in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb it can be concluded that they have the same fabric and same robust shape as the pieces from *Mursa* and *Poetovio*.¹² The graves in Gornja Vas were originally dated rather broadly from the time of Claudius to the time of Marcus Aurelius.¹³ However, on the basis of coins and Loeschcke type X clay lamps, these graves could possibly date between the end of the 1st century and the mid-2nd century, which again is consistent with the other sites considered in this paper. In Novo Mesto, on the Slovenian side (**fig. 2**), another ten pieces have been discovered.¹⁴ Just as in the Gornja Vas cemetery, the cups were made rather uniformly, but similar in shape to *Poetovio*. In the nearby Roman cemetery of Stenjevec (Zagreb, Croatia) (**fig. 2**), probably situated near a road settlement in the territory of *Andautonia*, six Consp. 43 cups and one Consp. 39 dish were found. These have standard shapes and they do not differ from the shapes of finds from *Mursa* or *Poetovio*.¹⁵ Apart from the pieces found as grave goods, fragments of Consp. 43 PGW cups have been found in *Siscia*¹⁶, *Cornacum* (Sotin, eastern Croatia) and *Mursa*.¹⁷

To conclude, cups with a Consp. 43 shape were made to some extent uniformly, although some differences, mostly in the shape of the base, can be observed.¹⁸ The cups have two sizes: the larger cups have a diameter of 14–16.5 cm and those of a medium size have a diameter of 9–12 cm. Small versions of Consp. 43 were also made, but these should be interpreted as exceptions. This presents the possibility that these two pieces were made by a local potter outside

of the established typology. It seems that the two smallest examples were made to mimic smaller examples of Tardo-Padana Consp. 43 cups found in graves in *Mursa*, but also in other cemeteries in Pannonia.¹⁹ According to published and available examples it can be concluded that it is not possible to determine any regularity in the way that these products were produced: neither at the level of the individual site, nor at the regional level. Grey and red versions of these products are equally represented in the region.

Close to the aforementioned group, two Consp. 44 cups were also found in the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* (**fig. 1** ‘Service B’; **fig. 6**). These two examples are characterised by a hemispherical shape and flat rim, and can therefore be clearly interpreted as imitations of Tardo-Padana Service B.²⁰ Both are fragmented and damaged, so it can be assumed that their pale pink fabric and light red coating is not original. This is clear on one of the fragments, whose initial appearance is preserved and is defined by grey fabric and a black slip. According to the preserved fragment with original fabric it can be noted that the colour and quality are identical to those of the Consp. 43 cups, and that they were probably made in the same workshop.

A distinctive type of imitation sigillata, that at first seemed specific for *Mursa*, is represented by three cups with flaring walls and hanging lips, characterised by a sharp angle between the wall and the floor. (**fig. 1** ‘Service C’) All three examples were fired under reduced conditions and coated with a dark grey/black slip. Although these cups are very similar in shape, some typological elements are different. They differ in size, in consistency and colour of the slip, in the finishing of the rim and in the shape of the base. Every piece is unique. Although, at first, similar items could not be found in the region, similar cups have recently been published from the military town of *Aquincum* (Budapest) in north-east Pannonia. The authors of the paper suggest that these cups were made in imitation of imports from the East (Eastern Sigillata B 2, Hayes 75)²¹, although it should be noted that this type of PGW cup is similar to Hayes 58 and 73²². I presume that the main argument for this assumption was the shape of the base, not typical for ‘Italian-style sigillata’. This assumption could be valid, but also very interesting because it would show that there were influences from the Orient at a rather early stage of provincial development. However, finds from *Mursa* make such an interpretation dubious. Two pieces of this form which have been found have a flat base (**fig. 4,2–3**), as do the finds from *Aquincum*, but one cup has a proper foot-ring which clearly links it to ‘Italian-style’ products (**fig. 4,1**). Due to this, these cups, along with Hayes 75, can also be linked to Consp. 49. Typological correlation between this type of imitation and Consp. 49 cups is very convincing due to the fact that cups Consp. 49 are also characterised by a flat base.²³ To summarise, at this level of research both assumptions – the possibility of influence from Italian prototypes or Oriental prototypes – are valid. The main question which remains is:

¹⁰ Ibid. 96–99.

¹¹ GREGL 2002, 122–123; ID. 2007, 249–252.

¹² The grave catalogue is accompanied only by drawings in GREGL 2003 and ID. 2007, while photos of Consp. 43 PGW cups are available in GREGL 1997, 48–49.

¹³ GREGL 2007, 224.

¹⁴ KNEZ 1992, 21; 36; 40; 43; 47; 69; Božić 2008, 179.

¹⁵ GREGL 1989, 26.

¹⁶ BAČANI ET AL. 2011, 119.

¹⁷ These examples are not published but are kept in the Croatian Academy.

¹⁸ ISTENIĆ 1999, 97–99.

¹⁹ MÁRTON 2008, 139–140.

²⁰ Conspectus 49–50; 130–131.

²¹ GABLER ET AL. 2009, 66; 69.

²² HAYES 1985, 63; 68.

²³ Conspectus 74–75; 136–137.

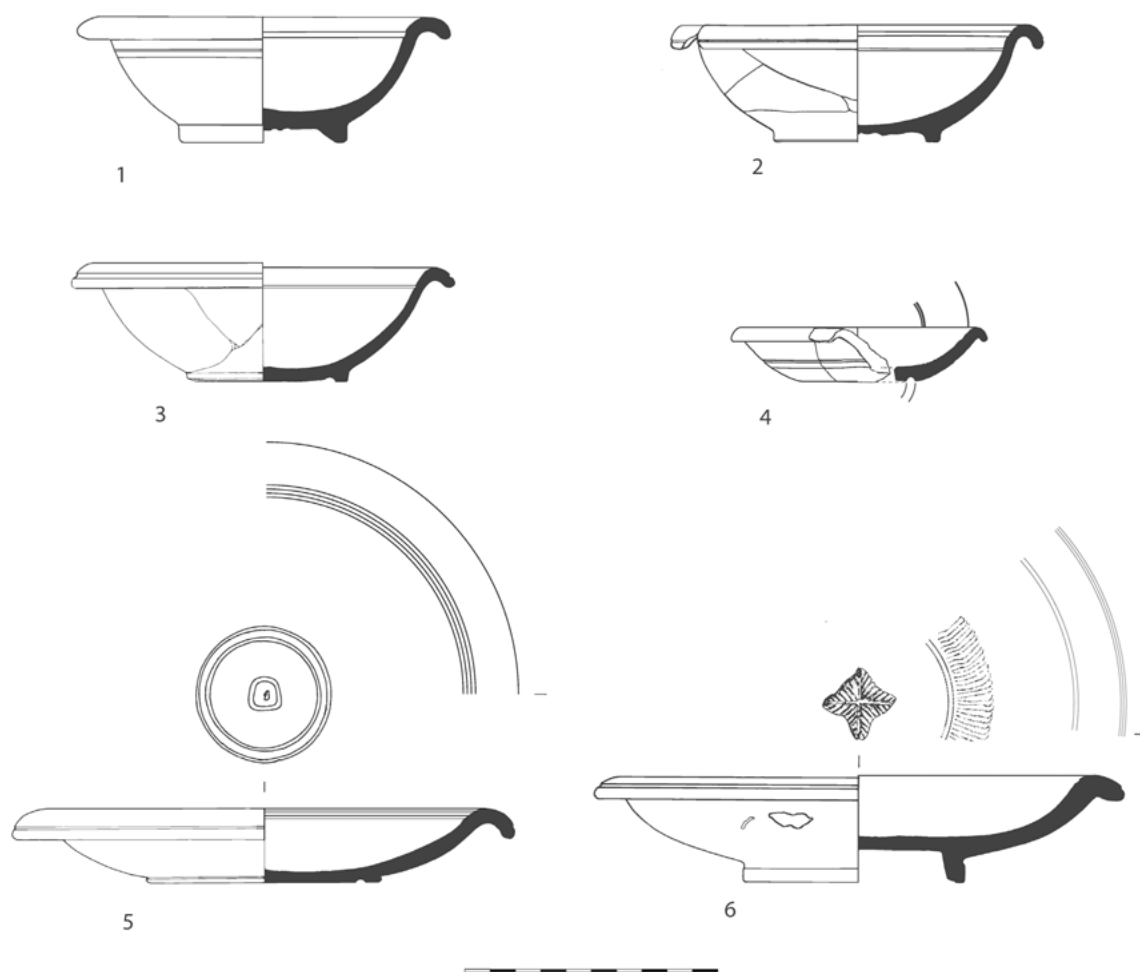


Fig. 3. Imitations of Italian style sigillata of Service A from the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* (Osijek).

how is it possible that imitations of Eastern sigillata B were so popular, while originals are almost non-existent in this part of the Empire?

Examples from *Aquincum* initiated the search for such cups elsewhere in the region. A black-coated cup of this type was found in the cemetery of Stenjevec in south-west Pannonia.²⁴ Cups of the same shape were found in *Singidunum* (Belgrade, Serbia) on the border between Moesia and Pannonia, wherein finds from *Singidunum* (classified as type Singidunum I/39) were fired under oxidising conditions in red and ochre fabric and have been dated from the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century. It should be noted that fine examples defined by a high-quality red gloss slip date back to the first half of the 2nd century, which is consistent with similar finds from Pannonia.²⁵ It is interesting to note that a similar type of cup has been found in a grave in the 'Feldbergstrasse' cemetery, in the Roman town of *Nida* (Frankfurt a. M.-Heddernheim), classified as Wetterauer Ware.²⁶ Several varieties of these cups (Wetterauer Ware type I 2) were distributed throughout the Rhine region, but in their basic

form these Wetterauer Ware cups are typologically closely related to the PGW cups.²⁷ Although they differ in colour and fabric, because the Wetterauer Ware varieties were fired in an oxidising atmosphere and coated with red gloss slip, the tendency in producing cups of this form throughout the northern provinces is evident, although the source of this shape continues to be undetermined.

Several dishes of singular form have also been found in graves in the eastern cemetery of *Mursa*.

Adler-Wölfl states that bowls with a Consp. 36/Drag. 37 shape, classified by Adler-Wölfl as type Sü. 5.2., were made as imitations of imports from Gallia and Germania and that they were produced in Pannonia from the end of the 1st century to the mid-2nd century AD. Type Sü. 5.2 from the 3rd century is also occasionally found.²⁸ In the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* an example of such a bowl from the early 2nd century has been found in context (**fig. 5,1**). A bowl of the same type from the western cemeteries of *Poetovio* is dated to the same time, from the late Flavian period to the beginning of the 2nd century, with the difference being that this bowl was coated

²⁴ GREGL 1989, 26.

²⁵ NIKOLIĆ-ĐORĐEVIĆ 2000, 34–35.

²⁶ FASOLD 2006, 158 Grab X/2 Beilage 1, WW2.

²⁷ RUPP 1988, 181–183.

²⁸ ADLER-WÖLFL 2004, 44.

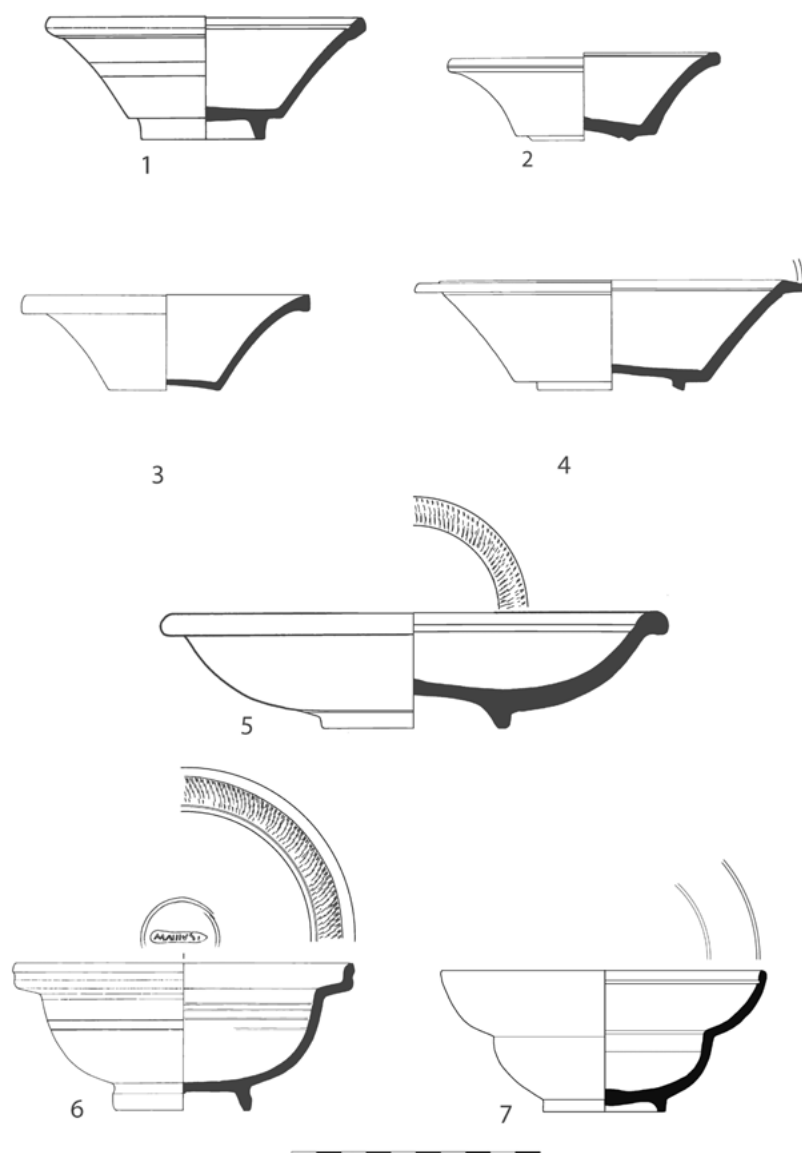


Fig. 4. Imitations of Italian style sigillata from the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* (Osijek).

with a black slip.²⁹ Three bowls of this type originating from the same period were found in the cemetery in Gornja Vas, and again all three were fired under reducing conditions.³⁰ Although the bowl from *Mursa* is partially damaged due to exposure to fire, it can be concluded that it was fired under oxidising conditions and that the orange-red colour of the slip is original. The outer side of the wall is decorated with incised grooves and rouletting, while the inside is decorated with a narrow line and by rouletting.

Besides the above-mentioned examples and the finds similar to them which have been found in other parts of Pannonia, several pieces have been found in the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* which, at least at this level of research, seem to be unique for this site.

A cup defined by a high level of workmanship (and thanks to this it stands out from the other finds considered in this

paper), was made as a derivative of the form Conspr. 42 (**fig 4,4**). Its high-quality black slip and its exquisite forming is unique among known examples of PGW in the region, due to which it could be easily mistaken for terra nigra. A similar example is not known of. Its mildly flaring wall and finely shaped foot ring connects it to the form of the previously described group, but its flat rim could indicate that Tardo-Padana dishes were the main influence for shaping this piece.

Another unique find characterised by good workmanship is the cup which is very similar to the Conspr. 45 form.³¹ It has a hemispherical shape and flat rim with a raised edge decorated with rouletting (**fig. 4,6**). A cup with a similar shape was found in *Aquincum*, but it differs from the *Mursa* example both in its decoration and rim width.³² These two examples share the fact that both have name stamps on their inside, notably this is the only piece of imitation sigillata from *Mursa* with a name

²⁹ ISTENIĆ 2000, 26.

³⁰ GREGL 2007, 232; 247; 257.

³¹ Conspectus 132–133.

³² NAGY 2014, 122.

stamp. Furthermore, the piece from *Mursa* bears a stamp *in planta pedis* with the name MARIVS. The exact stamp was found in *Poetovio* on a Consp. 43 cup.³³ Although these two cups bear the stamp of the same producer, their fabrics differ significantly. The cup from *Poetovio* was fired in reducing conditions and coated with a black slip, with fabric that can be interpreted as Poetovian production, as defined by Istenič³⁴, while the example from *Mursa*, also fired in reducing conditions, is coated with a shiny light grey slip. According to their coating these two cups could not be thought of as products from the same workshop, yet they obviously are. This is interesting to note in future studies of local PGW (and sigillata imitations), because it could mean that material might not be decisive in determining the sources of such pottery. At the same time it can be observed that the Marius cup in question and the Consp. 39 dish from grave 396 contain the same clay and that they could be perceived as products of the same workshop.

An imitation of Consp. 31 or Drag 27 is an uncommon find. This cup is characterised by a curving body, restricted at mid-height, with, compared to originals, an extremely elongated lip. (fig. 4,7) The cup is heavily damaged by the fire, so it's not possible to determine its original colour. According to fragments which seems to have original coloring, it seems that it was burned under the oxidized conditions. According to available literature, this type of PGW is unique in Pannonia.

The PGW dish, another singular find from *Mursa*, made in Drag 18/31 form is also uncommon for several reasons (fig. 4,5). Firstly, it is the only PGW piece that has a yellow/brown fabric with yellowish brown slip, indicating that the piece was damaged by fire. The possibility that the colour has changed due to heat exposure must be considered. Secondly, its shape differs from that of other dishes found in the region. A similar piece has been found in *Aquincum*, but with its dropping rim it is clearly part of Service A imitations.³⁵ Although by its form it can be related to Consp. 39 of Padana production, it is closest to form Drag. 18R and Ve F2, which are typical for south Gaulish productions. However, the La Graufesenque production of the early Flavian period, fabric 2, to which this type is connected, was probably not exported to the Danube region during the corresponding time.³⁶ Along the cup which could be the imitation of Drag 27 (fig. 4,7), this is the only PGW piece found in *Mursa* that can be expressively interpreted as an imitation of south Gaulish sigillata. Its curved wall with a pronounced rim and slightly elevated bottom is mentioned by Adler-Wölfl in her typology of dishes and plates.³⁷ This could mean that the PGW find is not unique to *Mursa*, but occurs in a much broader region. The decoration with rouletting differs from other pieces, because it was made within two incised lines, while on other examples this was not the case. This latter makes this piece even more exceptional which could mean that this piece is an imitation of sigillata made outside of Pannonia.

On the other hand, the two remaining dishes are typical for Pannonian production. These pieces cannot be interpreted as

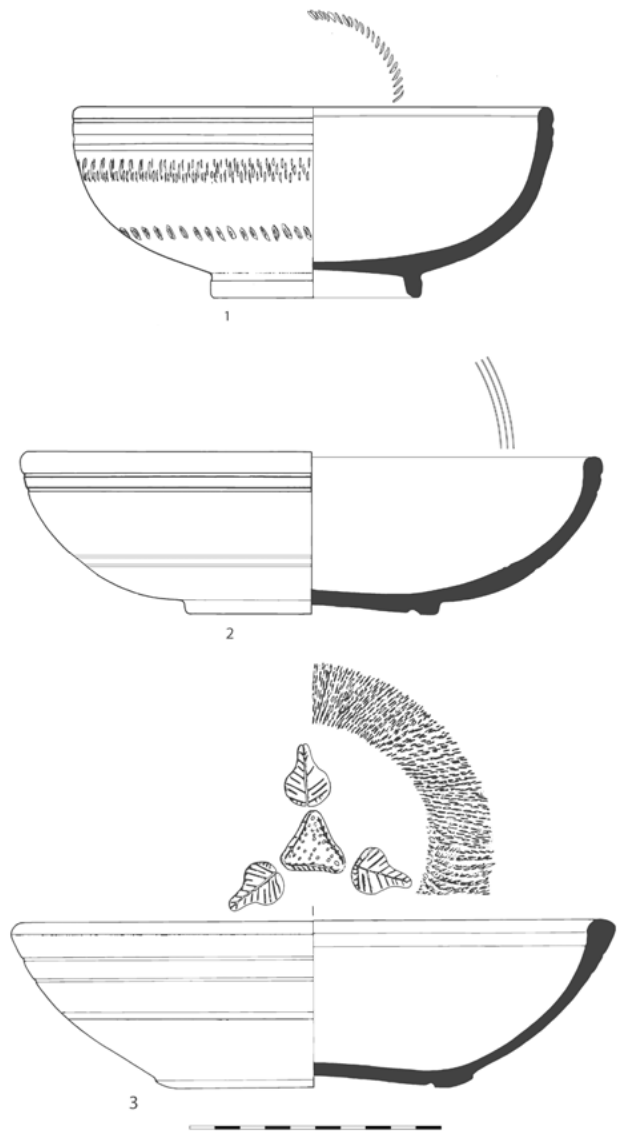


Fig. 5. PWG bowls from the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* (Osijek).

imitations of sigillata, but the fashion that they were formed in and their similarity of decoration clearly connects them with the previously described PGW finds. They can both be assigned to form Sü 3 typical for Pannonian production, but they differ from each other significantly. The piece from grave 34 was fired in a reduced atmosphere (fig. 5,3). It has a distinctive Pannonian form with an elevated bottom and its inside is decorated with rouletting and stamped decoration. Two types of stamp were used for decorating, and neither has been found in Pannonia. Nevertheless, stamps in the shape of a leaf on this piece are similar to some of the stamps published by Eva Maróti.³⁸ The other piece from *Mursa* was burned under oxidising conditions, coated with a red slip. Its shape is more similar to Consp. 36/Drag. 37 (fig. 5,2), because its inside is undecorated, while the outside surface of the wall is decorated with four incised grooves.

³³ ISTENIČ 1999, 97; EAD. 2000, 217.

³⁴ EAD. 1999, 88.

³⁵ NAGY 2014, 122.

³⁶ DELAGE 2010, 64.

³⁷ ADLER-WÖLFL 2004, 33–36.

³⁸ MARÓTI 1987.



Fig. 6. Cup Consp. 44 from the eastern cemetery of *Mursa* (Osijek) as example of changes in fabric of PGW due to secondary firing.

Conclusion

The material that was included in this paper, but primarily material from the town of *Mursa*, shows that during Flavian times and the beginning of the 2nd century PWG was mostly made as imitations of 'Italian-style' sigillata, at least where the southern part of Pannonia is concerned. These types of PGW are not so common in the northern part of Pannonia, where stamped pottery and bowls derived from the local *La Tène* tradition are the predominant types of PGW.³⁹ Later finds are also found in considerable amounts, also in south-east Pannonia, but only in a context dated to the second third of the 2nd century, and always in settlements. Consequently, a specific group of PGW can be defined which relates to finds from cemeteries in southern Pannonia dated to the end of the 1st century and the first decades of the 2nd century.

This could suggest that finds described in this paper are problematic due to the fact that all were found in burial contexts. It has to be noted that this is a consequence of the history of excavations of settlements in southern Pannonia, where layers from the second half of the 1st century and beginning of the 2nd century have mostly not been explored. This could be regarded as a problem because a burial context can give a different meaning to such finds. It is obvious that the number of imitations found in graves significantly exceeds the number of 'original' terra sigillata finds.⁴⁰ Do these cemeteries speak of the symbolic significance of this type of pottery? Or could this mean that cheaper local surrogates

were used to furnish the graves instead of more expensive imported wares? These questions will remain open until more information and evidence from the settlements are obtained. For now, the material from burials must be regarded as representative.

Analysis of the material showed that PWG made in the second half of the 1st century and first decades of the 2nd century AD can be regarded as a separate group within this class of pottery defined by Adler-Wölfl⁴¹ and, perhaps, during that time workshops in the south made products with different characteristics from those in the north of the province. Several conclusions derived from the analysis of that group could be drawn.

- 1) Although within the analysed material different groups can be defined, every individual piece differs from every other piece in several details, so that each can be regarded as a unique handicraft. This means that for this period it is not possible to conclude that large workshops with an organized chain of production existed. Pottery was made by individual potters without a fixed form that the product needed to follow.
- 2) Although these products can be defined as imitations of terra sigillata, it can be concluded that these products do not imitate specific products.
- 3) Several examples from *Mursa* were evidently made with high-level technical skill, and it is clear that local potters were capable of making products which could match imported fine wares. It is important to note that products made in north Italian workshops at the beginning of the

³⁹ NAGY 2014.

⁴⁰ ISTENIĆ 1999; LELEKOVIĆ 2012; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2011.

⁴¹ ADLER-WÖFL 2004, 89–93.

2nd century are of a poorer quality compared to examples made earlier, and export of these products significantly declined. Therefore it can be assumed that this specific product was created, and obviously earned significant attention on the provincial market, not just as the cheap substitute for a current import, but as a product which was supposed to substitute imports that were of a poorer quality than before. This could be a prelude to later developments and the development of local 'Danubian sigillata'. Based on this, perhaps a Danube region pottery research field could be established, which would treat local sigillata as parts of PGW phenomena, because the idea of producing imitations of imported products and implementing imported technology in local traditions is something that closely relates to PGW. The phenomena of local relief sigillata, most likely produced in the mid-2nd century, should not be understood as something isolated from the developments of the local potters' craft, but it should instead be seen as a logical continuation of developments which happened long before the initiation of Pacatus-ware or the *Viminacium-Margum* workshop. Although this phenomenon is perceived as something unusual for these provinces, data from excavations show that local relief sigillata was the final stage in development of local sigillata imitations which had been made in this region since the Augustan period.

Analysis of material from the southern part of Pannonia and its correlation to finds from the northern part showed both similarities and differences between these two regions. It is necessary to emphasise that Pannonia was divided administratively into Eastern and Western Pannonia (Inferior and Superior), but archaeological studies have always been divided into those concerning northern and southern Pannonia. This is primarily a consequence of modern political division, where southern Pannonia belonged to Yugoslavia and the northern part belongs to Austria and Hungary. Although modern borders have changed in recent decades, the approach to studies of Roman Pannonia has remained the same. Yet again, it has to be emphasised that to understand processes in Antiquity current administrative borders must be ignored, and this is often forgotten in the Balkans and in Central Europe. To make further progress in the research of PGW it is necessary to conduct quite wide research in which material from all of Pannonia would be combined. Divisions of this class of pottery based on studies conducted on material from a certain region or certain site have to be reconsidered.⁴²

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⁴² MARÓTI 1987, 81; NAGY 2014, 119.

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