GALLO-ROMAN VENDING SCENES

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF VENDING SCENES ON GALLO-ROMAN FUNERARY RELIEFS

By

ALEXIS MARY YOUNG, M.A.

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AUTHOR: Alexis Mary Young, B.A. (Wilfrid Laurier University), M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISORS: Professor K.M.D. Dunbabin, Professor W. Slater, Professor M. George

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ABSTRACT

The majority of Gallo-Roman reliefs were published in the early 1900s, and since that time there has been no major study undertaken solely on a peculiarly abundant and striking part of the corpus, namely the scenes of vending depicted on funerary monuments. Scholars have tended to concentrate their efforts on scenes of work in general, both in Gaul and in Italy, where another important series of work scenes is found, including vending scenes. Therefore, this thesis focuses on 61 Gallo-Roman reliefs depicting the sale or display of merchandise such as clothing, food, wine and specialty products. These transactions often take place in small, shop-like settings, consisting of a counter, and sometimes shelves or display racks.

The analysis of the iconography of the vending scenes is of central importance to our understanding of the various occupational roles of the merchants, who range from small scale shop-keepers to commercial wholesalers of products. As many of the reliefs are in relatively poor condition, the comparanda from the Italian series of vending scenes, epigraphic parallels, archaeological finds and literary sources are essential in dealing with problems of interpretation. One problem to be resolved is how closely the Gallo-Roman vending scenes follow the Italian models. Another problem concerns the visual and verbal evidence for the legal and social status of Gallo-Roman vendors. Where did these vendors fit into Gallo-Roman society? Additionally, what do the products displayed in these reliefs reveal about the economy of Roman Gaul?

It is the intent of this thesis to demonstrate that the vendors wished to present themselves on their tombs in ways to show that they achieved prosperity and a relatively comfortable status in life through their endeavours in commerce and trade. The best evidence for the actual success of these vendors is given by the large, costly tombs upon which some of the vending scenes are carved.

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I am most indebted to Dr. K.M.D. Dunbabin for her first-rate counsel and guidance throughout the duration of writing this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. W. Slater for his perceptive observations and Dr. M. George for her very helpful advice and insights. My thanks go out to Dr. C. Eilers, Dr. C.J. Simpson and G. Chamberland for their useful input. I am also grateful to the generous staff at the many museums in France and Germany, especially Mlle. Thomas at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Metz, L. Lefèbvre at the Musée Luxembourgeois, Arlon, Frau Faust at the Rheinisches Landesmusem, Trier, Madame Poirel at the Musée de Rouen and C. Vernou at the Musée de Saintes.

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Mark, and to my family. Thank you for your encouragement and support during this undertaking.

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The abbreviations for the ancient literary sources are those cited in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2nd ed. (Oxford 1970). The abbreviations for modern works follow the format cited in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 4-16. The following abbreviations consist of journals and periodicals not listed in *AJA*, as well as frequently cited books and articles.

AIAL	*Annales de l'Institut archéologique de Luxembourg*
ALMArv	*Annales Latini Montium Arvernorum: Bulletin du groupe d'études latines de l'Université de Clermont*
ArchBelg	*Archaeologia Belgica*
Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen*	M. Baltzer, "Die Alltagsdarstellungen der treverischen Grabdenkmäler," *TrZ* 46 (1983) 7-151.
BayVgBl	*Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*
BCAN	*Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de Narbonne*
BIAL	*Bulletin trimestrial de l'Institut archéologique du Luxembourg*
BMusArt	*Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles*
Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux*	F. Braemer, *Les stèles funéraires à personnages de Bordeaux Ier - IIIe siècles* (Paris 1959).
BSocAntFr	*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*
Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel*	H. Cüppers, ed. *Die Römer an Mosel und Saar* (Mainz am Rhein 1983).

CVP	*Commission du Vieux Paris*
Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.*	S. Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines mythologiques et religieuses* (Paris 1976).
DialHistAnc	*Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne*
Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel*	H. Dragendorff and E. Krüger, *Das Grabmal von Igel* (Trier 1924).
Esp.	É. Espérandieu, *Recueil géneral des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* Vols. 1-13 (Paris 1907-1949).
Esp. *Germ. Rom.*	É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* (Paris and Brussels 1931).
Hatt, *TGR*	J.J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine* (1951, rep. Paris 1986).
JGLG	*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*
Kampen, *Image and Status*	N. Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin 1981).
KurtrierJb	*Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch*
Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores*	F. Laubenheimer, *Le temps des amphores en Gaule* (Paris 1990).
Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule*	C. Nerzic, *La sculpture en Gaule romaine* (Paris 1989).
RACentre	*Revue archéologique du Centre*
RAE	*Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est*
Reddé, *Métiers*	M. Reddé, "Les scènes de métiers dans la sculpture funéraire gallo-romaine," *Gallia* 36 (1978) 43-63.

RömMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
Schlippschuh, *Händler*	O. Schlippschuh, *Die Händler im römischen Kaiserreich in Gallien, Germanien und den Donauprovinzen Rätien, Noricum und Pannonien* (Amsterdam 1974).
von Massow, *Gräbmaler von Neumagen*	W. von Massow, *Die Gräbmaler von Neumagen* 2 Vols. (Berlin and Leipzig 1932).
Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*	E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London 1985).
Wightman, *Roman Trier*	E. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (New York 1971).
Zahn, *Igeler Säule*	E. Zahn, *Die Igeler Säule in Igel bei Trier* (5th ed. Cologne 1982, rep. 1993).
Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*	G. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* (Berlin (1982)

INTRODUCTION

Among the commemorative funerary reliefs of Roman Imperial date dealing with daily activities is a series of 61 Gallo-Roman reliefs, most probably datable to the second and early centuries A.D., which portray the deceased in their occupational roles as vendors of commercial products. This thesis analyses the iconography of the vending reliefs, the epitaphs of the vendors and the types of tombs which these vendors erected.[1] The reliefs often represent the commercial sphere of vending, as a particular product is displayed for sale and a potential sale is taking place. These vendors represented themselves in their occupational roles to show the viewer that they had achieved success and prosperity in life through their work. The types of tombs are probably the best indicators of the self-presentation of Gallo-Roman vendors; they range from simple stelae to well-carved structures of monumental size with elaborate architectural decoration. The reliefs can also show prestigious merchandise and thus confer prestige on the vendor. Included in this study are the additional reliefs carved alongside the vending scenes on the better preserved monuments, as they often supplement the achievements and aspirations of the vendors.

[1] The reliefs are assumed to be funerary, although only a few are from the demonstrable context of tomb monuments. See below, 5-6.

The distribution of the reliefs and monuments reveals that most of the vendors who erected such tombs lived in northern and central Gaul (see Map).[2] Almost half of the reliefs and monuments (28) were discovered in the province of Gallia Belgica, the large area encompassing present day north-eastern France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and western Germany. Eighteen reliefs have been found in the province of Gallia Lugdunensis, now north-western and central France. Nine reliefs come from Aquitania, the part of central France bordering the Atlantic on the west, Spain on the south and the Mediterranean region on the south-east. Four reliefs were found in Germania Superior and the neighbouring province of Raetia to the east, both south of the Danube in present-day Germany. Only one relief was discovered in Gallia Narbonensis, bordering the Mediterranean.

The reliefs of Gallo-Roman vendors belong to a larger corpus of work scenes, predominantly from Italy and Roman Gaul, with a lesser number of examples from Roman Germany, the Balkans, Spain, North Africa and Asia Minor.[3] The scenes of work are represented mostly on sculptured reliefs decorating the sides of tombs, although some Italian examples are also depicted on shop signs and wall paintings. The scenes portray the deceased in a variety of occupational roles: goldsmiths, blacksmiths, ship-builders, stonemasons, potters,

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[2] The reliefs are categorized according to province in the Catalogue, 276-315.

[3] For an introductory background on the scenes of work in the Roman empire see Chapter One, 17-61.

fullers, shoemakers and vendors. The earliest scenes of commerce and vending are found in Italy, where there are early Imperial tombs with depictions of bakers, butchers and cloth-sellers. These particular vending motifs continued to be used by Italian sculptors during the second and third centuries A.D, along with other new vending themes such as the sale of wine, water, fruits and vegetables, mirrors and garlands. As the Italian reliefs of vending are often well preserved and quite detailed in composition, many are used in this study as parallels for identifying the objects and themes carved on the Gallo-Roman vending reliefs.

This study includes Gallo-Roman reliefs of vendors who are conducting transactions with customers; vendors who are displaying products to the viewer; and portraits of individual vendors who stand in a frontal position holding or displaying an attribute of work and/or an object of prestige. These vendors are often shown with their wares in shop-like settings consisting of a solid-looking counter and sometimes shelves or display racks. The evidence from some of the better preserved tombs indicates that the proprietors were established whole-sale traders (*negotiatores*) of products on a large scale. The monument of the Secundinii, *in situ* at Igel near Trier (**GB 24**), is most important for providing visual information about the large scale trading of good quality pieces of cloth. This monument, measuring nearly 23 m in height, is carved on four sides with large reliefs depicting various aspects of the family business,

as well as scenes of villa life and mythology.[4] The commissioners of other tombs appear to have been independent merchants (*mercatores*) who were dealers of various goods, and shop-keepers who specialized in the sale of one particular product or a variety of commodities. Some of these shop-keepers have specifically designated occupational titles such as *cucullarius* (a maker of hooded capes) and *copo* (wine vendor/taverner). On the lower end of the scale are the humble reliefs of peddlers (*institores*) and itinerant vendors who plied their trade to passers-by on the streets.

Some Gallo-Roman reliefs have been excluded from this thesis because they depict the figures in a manufacturing setting without displaying a finished product for sale. These scenes indicate that the deceased might have made a particular product but not necessarily that they sold the product commercially. These types of scenes depict skilled artisans, cobblers in particular, although there are reliefs in this study that do depict the display of footwear in a shop-like setting. [5] Other scenes of manufacturing are included when they provide a close parallel for a particular motif in a vending scene.[6] Therefore, there is sometimes an overlapping

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[4] See Chapter Three, 115-120, 122-123; Chapter Seven, 252-260.

[5] See Chapter One, 49-50, 53-56, for other types of work scenes from Roman Gaul and Germany.

[6] For example, **GB 1** from Reims depicts a fragmentary scene of a tailor cutting cloth in his shop; this composition can be seen in the relief of the tailor's shop from Sens (**GL 4**) which does depict a finished garment on display.

of themes and compositions that has necessitated the inclusion of some reliefs and the exclusion of others when merchandise is not shown for sale. However, the main focus of this thesis is on reliefs which show the commercial sphere of vending.

It is assumed that the majority of monuments and reliefs in this study are funerary in context. However, most of their provenances are unknown, since many reliefs got separated from the tombs and their accompanying epitaphs when the tombs were cut up and reused for city fortification walls in the Late Empire or for other later local structures.[7] A fragmentary relief block, discovered in a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Reims (**GB 1**), and the monument of the Secundinii at Igel (**GB 24**), are the only examples with a demonstrable funerary context. Therefore, the assumption that most scenes were carved on tombs is based on the typology of the better preserved monuments, as they resemble known tomb types such as stelae and pillar monuments. Other indicators of a funerary context include the preservation of epitaphs with funerary formulae on some of the monuments and reliefs, and the occasional presence of a *loculus* for the placement of a cinerary urn.[8] Two stelae from Grand (**GB 12.1, 12.2**) are the

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[7] Most of the Gallic towns with city walls built after the mid third century A.D. used material from tombs as well as public structures: see A. Blanchet, *Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule* (1907); T. Blagg, "The reuse of monumental masonry in late Roman defensive walls" in J. Maloney and B. Hobley eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (London 1983) 130-135. See Chapter Two, 63 n.5, for examples of reliefs found in ancient fortification walls and other later structures.

[8] For inscriptions see Catalogue (**GN 1**, **A 4**, **A 7**, **GL 2**, **GL 3**, **GL 4**, **GB 3**, **GB 7**, **GB 9**, **GB 14**, **GB 15**, **GB 16**, **GB 17**, **GB 22**, **GB 24**, **R 1**, **R 2**). For monuments with a *loculus* see **GL 4**, **GB 3**, **GB 16**.

only apparent examples which do not seem to have a funerary context; both stelae might have belonged to a domestic installation, in which the one served a cultic function, while the other served as a commemoration.[9]

Another problem is determining the chronology of the reliefs and monuments with vending scenes.[10] A few of the scenes have been attributed to the first century A.D., while the remainder have been dated, rather tentatively, by epigraphic, archaeological, and mainly stylistic evidence to the second and third centuries A.D. Most reliefs and monuments were excavated during the 1800s and early 1900s when methods were less scientific than today and many old and even more recent publications provide only general dates for some of the reliefs with no explanations as to how they were arrived at.[11]

Some epitaphs on the tombs of vendors have been dated using the epigraphic criterion of the common Latin formula *Dis Manibus*. This formula was used in Gallo-Roman epitaphs during the second century A.D., and less frequently in those of the third century. Other criteria

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[9] For a discussion of these enigmatic reliefs see Chapter Four, 163-169.

[10] The chronology of some of the better preserved reliefs is also discussed in the Catalogue under their appropriate catalogue numbers.

[11] Espérandieu, who published the series of books in which most of the reliefs are found, made little attempt at dating these reliefs: see É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* Vols. 1-13 (Paris 1907-1949); *id.*, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* (Paris and Brussels 1931); É. Espérandieu and R. Lantier, *Supplément du recueil des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* Vols. 14-16 (Paris 1955-1966). (Espérandieu = Esp.)

include the common use of *duo nomina* from the mid-second to the early third centuries A.D., and the third century A.D. practice of recording the precise age of the deceased in days, months and years. These criteria, however, provide only general parameters for dating the monuments of vendors; a more precise date for attribution cannot be provided, as none of the epitaphs record verbal information such as political and military offices.[12]

The archaeological evidence for the dating of these monuments is relatively scarce since, as mentioned above, most of the preserved monuments and reliefs were not found *in situ.*[13] Even the Igel monument cannot be dated with certainty, since most of the grave goods were apparently dug up by the villagers, who long ago sold anything of worth to passers-by.[14] The destruction of many monuments for their reuse in city fortification walls may coincide with barbarian invasions during the middle/late third century A.D.[15] This upheaval might provide a

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[12] On epigraphic dating criteria and onomastics see Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 17, 105-112; Hatt, *TGR* 12-61; A.E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1983); M. LeGlay, "La datation des inscriptions. Les critères onomastiques," *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise. Table ronde du C.N.R.S. Montpellier 23 Oct. 1982* (Aix-en-Provence 1983) 33-39; L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore 1991); B. Salway, " What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700," *JRS* 84 (1994) 130-131.

[13] **GB 1** was discovered in a Gallo-Roman cemetery near Reims, but the monument is so poorly preserved that it cannot be dated.

[14] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 2.

[15] On the barbarian invasions of the Alemanni and Franks in the 250s and 270s A.D. see E. Thévenot, *Les gallo-romains* (Paris 1963) 103-105; M. Bordet, *La Gaule romaine* (Paris 1973) 127-128; Blagg (above n. 4) 130; J. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul* (London 1983) 212-227; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 192-193. A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (University of California Press 1990) 177, notes that there is little direct dating evidence for many of the walls erected in the 270s A.D. The walls at Tours, Poitiers and Orléans

terminus ante quem for some of the tombs of vendors, since these monuments were obviously erected before the construction of the walls. That the population in many Gallo-Roman towns would deliberately destroy the sanctity of a necropolis for the stone blocks reveals the severity of the crises at hand.

The majority of the reliefs have been dated by stylistic criteria based on the assumption of an increasing improvement of skills.[16] This "betterment of style" assumes that refinements in carving details such as dress, facial features and coiffures were chronological developments. Since such an assumption clearly offers an unreliable guide, general stylistic guidelines for dating Gallo-Roman sculpture have been used with caution. The presence of heavy outline around figures characterizes the relief sculpture of first century date in southern Gaul. During the second century A.D., stylistic elements are distinctive: the use of the drill, cross-hatched chisel techniques, and the play of light and shadow on drapery folds. The affected, rigid gestures of the figures and the advanced treatment of facial details are considered to be features of the Severan period in Gaul. Iconographic critieria are also useful for providing general dates for some of the reliefs. For example, bearded males suggest a date either during the reign of

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are late fourth century in date, indicating that the erection of defences was a slow process and depended upon the urgency of the crisis at hand. It does appear that some towns in the north-east were more severely threatened by invaders because of their location. See also Conclusions, 273-274.

[16] On stylistic dating criteria see H. Koethe, "La sculpture romaine au pays des Trévires," *RA* 2 (1937) 199-239; Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 125-142; Hatt, *TGR* 9-12, 127, 202-212.

Hadrian, when beards became fashionable at Rome, or later under the Antonine and Severan emperors, who continued this trend on their Imperial portraits. Hairstyles are also used for purposes of dating, but it is difficult to determine how closely the provincials would have followed new Imperial trends in coiffures.

The fragmentary group of pillar monuments from the Treviran region are frequently used by scholars to help date other reliefs in the region and in other Gallic provinces. These monuments consist of a homogeneous group of relief fragments from pillar monuments of second and third century date at Neumagen and the early third century A.D. monument at Igel (**GB 24**). The chronology of these monuments is based on a thorough stylistic analysis conducted in the 1920s and 1930s.[17] M. Baltzer has since refined the dates of the Neumagen monuments and other tombs, using stylistic criteria such as the treatment of the pupils and eyebrows.[18] Her system of dating the monuments is also based on an assumption of the betterment of styles. However, Baltzer's dating of these monuments seems too narrowly defined, as there is not any firm archaeological evidence, such as coins or pottery, to substantiate her arguments. Thus the dates put forward for many of the monuments cited in the

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[17] For the publications of the Neumagen monuments and the Igel monument (**GB 24**) see von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen*; Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel*.

[18] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 25-37. See Catalogue for Baltzer's refinement of the dates of **GB 13**, **GB 16**, **GB 24**, **GB 25**, **GB 26**.

Catalogue should be used only as an approximation. Nevertheless, the erection of tombs by vendors appears to correspond to the period of relative peace and prosperity in Roman Gaul, in the second to the mid-third centuries A.D.

The various motifs and the iconography of the objects portrayed on the reliefs are analysed through the use of artistic, epigraphic, literary and archaeological parallels. Some motifs have been compared with parallels in reliefs, mainly from Italy, as a few stock motifs were used and adapted by sculptors in Gaul such as the scenes of cloth display. Repeated Italian motifs of figures holding prestigious objects, such as a *volumen* or *mappa*, were also used on Gallo-Roman tombs to confer prestige on the vendors . The scenes of vendors without thematic parallels are interpreted through the aid of preserved artefacts and epitaphs. Literary sources such as the works of Pliny the Elder and Martial, which mention some of the Gallo-Roman merchandise displayed for sale on the reliefs, are less useful than the archaeological and epigraphic evidence. As these authors wrote in the first century A.D., conditions might have changed by the time the funerary monuments had probably been erected. Unfortunately, there is no literary evidence from Gallic writers about vendors and their status in Gallo-Roman society, the markets and shops, and the various types of merchandise that were for sale.

One of the main problems in undertaking the iconographic analysis of the vending reliefs is the tendency to over-interpret a particular scene. Many interpreters have taken this approach by

imagining that the reliefs depict real shops and that the merchandise portrayed on these reliefs would be displayed in the same manner and location in actual shops. The interpreters also tend to speculate too much about details which never can be known: for example, the kinds of objects that might be placed hidden behind a particular counter or placed in barrels and containers.[19] The representations of the reliefs of shops in this study are not mirror images of actual shops. The observer sees only what the sculptor and/or client chose to portray on each particular tomb.

The set of motifs was chosen by the sculptor/and or proprietor for its ability to convey a point using conventional elements, which tell us about the various vending activities, but within certain limits. Most vending scenes are composed of only a few compositional elements indicating a shop setting, such as a solid-looking counter and sometimes shelving units. This merchandise is displayed so that the viewer could easily recognize the profession of the deceased. It is therefore impossible to discern how accurately the reliefs resemble the real shops in which the deceased might have worked. The archaeological evidence is rather limited in

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[19] For some examples of this over-interpretation of scenes, see Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, *2000 Jahre Weinkultur* 121, no. 61: the publishers suggest that the barrel portrayed on **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper) contained fish or pickled vegetable, though the emphasis is on wine in this scene. Schlippschuh, *Händler* 24-25, identifies the scene of the butchers from Dijon (**GL 15**, Fig. 22) as the preparation of meat for a religious sacrifice; however, there are no elements to indicate that this was the case. G. Roche-Bernard, *Costumes et textiles en Gaule romaine* (Paris 1993) 135, who suggests that the cloth bolts portrayed on **GB 24** (Figs. 90, 91) are really only meant to be seen as one bolt of cloth, though the artist is not thinking in terms of specific bolts; rather, he emphasizes the procedures which all bolts of cloth might be assumed to go through. See also Chapter Three, 118; Chapter Four, 148; Chapter Five, 199.

Gaul for the remains of shops. The shops are generally located along the fronts of houses, along the main thoroughfares leading outside of towns and bordering the forum in towns. What the plans of sites do show is usually a row of shops, each consisting of a square or oblong room. At Vaison-La-Romaine, the shops had double doors opening inwards from the street; some had a portico, which would have sheltered the entrance. A few shops also had a drainage channel in the floor. The objects found in the Vaison shops include a *dolium*, a table with lion's feet, and coins ranging in date from Hadrian to Gallienus.[20]

The previous scholarship on the subject of vending scenes is limited in the number of major sources, although extensive literature is available on some of the more specific topics related to this study. There are very few major sources for scenes of vending in Roman Gaul. Most of the reliefs in this study are represented in the volumes of Gallo-Roman sculpture published by Espérandieu between 1907 and 1949, and posthumously to 1966.[21] The more recently discovered monuments with scenes of commerce have not been fully published, but they have

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[20] For the Vaison shops see C. Goudineau, *Les fouilles de la Maison au Dauphin* (*Gallia* supp. 37, Paris 1979) 33-35, 141; G. Coulon, *Les gallo-romains* I *Les villes, les campagnes et les échanges* (Paris 1990) 59-61. For shops in other parts of Gaul see E. Frézouls, *Les villes antiques de la France Belgique I. Amiens-Beauvais-Grand-Metz* (Strasbourg 1982) 338, fig. 8; D. Bayard and J.L. Massy, *Amiens romain: Samarobriva Ambianorum* (Heilly 1983); Musée Carnavalet, *Lutèce, Paris de César à Clovis* (Paris 1984) 156-157; A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (University of California Press 1990) 83. Evidence for the specialty meat markets known as *macella* is found in southern Gaul; these markets often had one or more rows of shops: see C. De Ruyt, *Macellum. Marché alimentaire des romains* (Louvain-La-Neuve 1983) 47, 73, 106, 114, 137; Chapter Five, 196 n. 84.

[21] See n. 11 above for bibliography.

been reviewed in articles and books.[22] M. Reddé (1978), M. Baltzer (1983), and St. Pannoux (1985) discuss some of the Gallo-Roman vending scenes in the context of other motifs such as craftsmen, teachers, and game-players that are not relevant to this study.[23]

Several books and articles focus on specific themes such as the Gallo-Roman cloth and wine trades. [24] The sale of these products is featured on many of the reliefs in this study.[25] Literature on Gallo-Roman clothing and textiles is found in the articles and books by J.P. Wild,

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[22] R. Billoret, "Circonscription de Lorraine," *Gallia* 34 (1976) 364-366 (**GB 6**, **GB 8**); J.-L. Remy, "Une stèle figurée d'époque gallo-romaine découverte à Grand (Vosges)," *Gallia* 43 (1985) 215-220 (**GB 12.2**); G. Collot, *La civilisation gallo-romaine dans la cité des Médiomatriques* (Metz 1992) (**GB 7**); Cüppers, *Römer an Mosel* (**GB 21**, **GB 22**). L. Schwinden, "Gallo-römisches Textilegewerbe nach Denkmälern aus Trier und dem Trevererland," *TrZ* 52 (1989) 279-318, discusses an unpublished scene of cloth vending discovered in 1915 (**GB 20**).

[23] Reddé, *Métiers* 43-63; St. Pannoux, "La répresentation du travail. Récit et image sur les monuments funéraires des Médiomatriques," *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 293-311; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 7-110. See also Schlippschuh, *Händler* (*passim*); P.M. Duval, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine, I - II siècles* (Paris 1977) (*passim*).

[24] For discussions about the Gallo-Roman cloth trade see J.F. Drinkwater, "The wool textile industry in Gallia Belgica and the Secundinii of Igel," *Textile History* 13 (1982) 111-128; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 40-46; Schwinden (above n. 20) 279-318. On the Gallo-Roman wine trade see S. Loeschcke, "Römische Denkmäler vom Weinbau an Mosel, Saar und Ruwer," *TrZ* 7 (1932) 1-60; R. Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France* (Paris 1959); A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine* (Rome 1986); Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* (*passim*); T. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine. A Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London 1991). See also *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin Actes du colloque 28-29 mai 1988* (*Caesarodunum* 24) (Paris 1990) (*passim*); Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier (above n. 19) (*passim*).

[25] See Chapter Three, 101-134, for scenes of cloth vending; Chapter Four, 135-162, for scenes of wine vending.

A. Ferdière and G. Roche-Bernard.[26] The theme of self-presentation on Imperial tombs throughout the empire has recently been discussed by P. Zanker; it is a significant topic for this study which analyses the ways in which Gallo-Roman vendors presented themselves on their monuments.[27] Recent scholarship by H. von Petrikovits, E. Frézouls and S. Joshel examines the epigraphic evidence for workers in ancient Gaul and the empire.[28] Other literature focuses on aspects of ancient technology, which are relevant for interpreting the objects or themes depicted on the reliefs in this study.[29] The articles by H. Gabelmann analyse the typology of

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[26] For Gallo-Roman clothing see J.P. Wild, "The Clothing of Britannia, Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior," *ANRW* II, 12.3 (1985) 362-422; *id.* "Clothing in the Northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire," *BJb* 168 (1968) 166-240; A. Ferdière, "Tissus et vêtements en Gaule," in *Tissu et vêtement. 5000 ans de savoir faire* (Guiry-en-Vexin 1986) 110-113; *id.* "Le travail du textile en région Centre de l'Age du Fer au Haut Moyen-Arge," *RACentre* 23.2 (1984) 209-275. Roche-Bernard (above n. 19) (*passim*)

[27] P. Zanker, "Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung am Grab im römischen Kaiserreich," in H. Schalles, H. von Hesberg, P. Zanker et al., *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Cologne 1992) 339-358.

[28] H. von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in H. Jankuhn et al, *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* I *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Göttingen 1981) 63-182; E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et dc la Gcrmanic romaincs," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 33-72; S. Joshcl, *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of Occupational Inscriptions* (University of Oklahoma Press 1992).

[29] H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gerwerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* 4 vols (Leibzig 1879-1912; rep. Hildesheim 1969); R. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 9 Vols. (Leiden 1955-1963); 1381-1536; K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* (Cambridge 1967); *id.*, *Roman Farming* (London 1970); *id.*, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge University Press 1975); D. Brown and D. Strong eds., *Roman Crafts* (London 1976); J. Ebert, M. Blumentritt et al, *Die Arbeitswelt der Antike* (Leipzig 1984); W. Gaitsch, "Werkzeuge und Geräte in der römischen Kaiserzeit," *ANRW* II, 12.3 (1985) 171-204; *id.* "Antike Seilerei," *AW* 16.2 (1985) 41-50; A. Rieche and H. Schalles, *Arbeit, Handwerk und Berufe in der römischen Stadt* (Cologne1987); N. Blanc and F. Gury, "Techniques de vannerie d'après les reliefs gallo-romaines," *Tissage, corderie, vannerie. Actes des IXe rencontres internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Antibes, Oct. 1988* (Juan-les-Pins 1989) 193-207.

tombs in Gallia Belgica and Germany, while J.J. Hatt's book is still relevant as a source for the study of these tomb types.[30] Other scholars have provided a view of the Gallo-Roman economy, markets and merchandise from a historical and archaeological perspective.[31]

G. Zimmer (1982), N. Kampen (1981) and R. Amedick (1991) are probably the most important sources for Italian parallels of vending scenes.[32] Zimmer covers most, but not all, of

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[30] Gabelmann, H. "Römische Grabbauten der Nordprovinzen im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr.." in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker eds., *Römische Gräberstrassen. Selbstdarstellung-Status-Standard. Kolloquium im München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985* (*Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*) (Munich 1987) 291-308; *id.*, "Römische Grabbauten in Italien und den Nordprovinzen," in U. Höckmann and A. Krug eds., *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 101-117; *id.*, "Zur Tektonik oberitalischen Sarkophage, Altäre und Stelen," *BJb* 177 (1977) 199-224; *id.*, "Die Typen der römischen Grabstelen am Rhein," *BJb* 172 (1972) 65-140; Hatt, *TGR* (*passim*). See also J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London 1971); H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (Darmstadt 1992).

[31] A. Grenier, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. III. La Gaule romaine* (Cambridge 1937); G. Duby ed., *Histoire de la France urbaine. I. La ville antique* (Paris 1980); Drinkwater (above n. 15) 186-202; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 134-157; G. Coulon, *Les gallo-romains* II *Métiers, vie quotidienne et religion* (Paris 1990); *id.*, *Les gallo-romains. Au carrefour de deux civilisations* (Paris 1985); King (above n. 15) 110-131; K. Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990).

[32] O. Jahn and H. Gummerus were the first to discuss the Italian scenes of work. Jahn's approach was art historical, while Gummerus also studied the accompanying inscriptions to provide statistics for trade: see O. Jahn, "Darstellungen antiker Reliefs, welche sich auf Handwerk und Handelsverkehr beziehen," *SächsBer* 13 (1861) 346-374; *id.* "Über Darstellungen des Handwerks und Handelsverkehr auf antiken Wandegemälden," *SächsAbh* 5 (1870) 163-318; H. Gummerus, "Darstellungen aus dem Handwerk auf römischen Grab- und Votivsteinen," *Jdl* 28 (1913) 63-126. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* (*passim*). Zimmer also examines a small group of scenes of vendors and craftsmen in "Römische Handwerker," *ANRW* 12.2 (1985) 205-228. Kampen, *Image and Status* (*passim*). Kampen further develops her theme in an article entitled, "Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman," which has been printed in the following publications: N. Broude and M. Garrad eds., *Feminism and Art History* (New York 1982) 63-77; "Römische Strassenhändlerinnen," *AntW* 16.4 (1985) 23-42; E. D'Ambra ed., *Roman Art in Context. An Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1993) 115-132. R. Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata* (*ASR* I.4) (Berlin 1991) (*passim*).

the visual representations of the known scenes of vending in Italy. Zimmer's analysis also focuses on the social status of workers in Italy, a topic that is important also in this thesis. Kampen's book discusses the portrayal of women in social and occupational roles in Ostia. Her approach differs from Zimmer, as she adds genre and mythologizing scenes such as infants being bathed, women giving birth, and Psyches and Erotes making garlands. More importantly for this study, Kampen includes some reliefs from Roman Gaul in her discussion of the Italian reliefs and the catalogue. Other scenes of vending not discussed by these scholars are found in Amedick's collection of scenes of private life on Italian sarcophagi.

The first chapter provides a historical background for the various scenes of work, focusing on the parallels relevant for this study. The second chapter describes the typology of the monuments, looking at antecedents and parallels in the provinces. The next four chapters analyse the iconography of the vending scenes under the following categories: the sale of cloth and finished cloth garments; the sale of beverages (wine and beer); the sale of food (meat, fruit, vegetables and legumes); and the sale of specialty items (perfumes, sandals and locks). The final chapter examines the evidence of status and self-presentation on the monuments of Gallo-Roman vendors through their epitaphs, portraits, and any additional biographical scenes.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SCENES OF WORK

Scenes of work have decorated the funerary monuments of artisans and skilled workers since the Classical Greek period, although the majority of preserved tombs with this theme are Roman Imperial in date. These tombs were erected by a working class, made up of former slaves and free born individuals of lower status, who desired to show passers-by that they had achieved some degree of prosperity and success during their lifetimes. The occupations portrayed on Roman tombs range from skilled professionals to traders and merchants. The Gallo-Roman vending scenes form but one small part of a large corpus of work scenes found throughout Italy, Gaul, and in relatively smaller numbers in the other Roman provinces. Before focusing on the Gallo-Roman scenes, this chapter provides a brief historical overview of the other types of work scenes portrayed on funerary monuments. This discussion concentrates primarily on the Italian work scenes of the Imperial period, especially on the scenes of vending, that will be used for comparative purposes in this study.

I. Historical Background: Classical and Hellenistic Scenes of Work

The many scenes of work in a Roman funerary context are meant to be seen as symbols of the personal success and achievement of the individuals who commissioned tombs. In contrast, during the Classical and Hellenistic periods there were very few grave reliefs with work-related motifs. The majority of grave stelae portray the deceased in a leisured, idealized existence,

espousing values found in Greek literature.[1] Apparently, pottery was a more acceptable medium for portraying work motifs, as the preserved vessels depict a well-established iconography for different occupations which was easily recognisable to the ancient observer.[2]

Two Classical grave stelae portray figures with a work attribute which symbolises their professions as artisans.[3] The late fifth century B.C. Athenian stele of Xanthippos, now in the British Museum, portrays the deceased seated on a footstool with his two daughters.[4] He holds an object in his right hand, probably a shoe last.[5] The late fifth century B.C. stele of Sosinous,

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[1] The majority of Classical and Hellenistic grave stelae depict profile figures sitting in chairs, either alone or with standing servants, spouses or children; standing males shaking hands; children with pets; nude athletes with strigils; and funerary banquets: see C. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 8 Vols. (Kilchberg 1993) and E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* 2 Vols. (Mainz am Rhein 1977, 1979) for examples. For discussions of Greek attitudes towards work which praised those who worked on their own land, but denigrated those who worked as skilled professionals, see M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London 1973) 47-49; P.A. Brunt, "Aspects of the Social Thought of Dio Chrysostom and of the Stoics," *ProcCamPhilSoc* 19 (1973) 10-12; E. Welskopf, "Free Labour in the City of Athens," in P. Garnsey ed., *Non-Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1980) 23-25; B. Van den Hoven, *Work in Ancient and Medieval Thought* (Amsterdam 1996) 52, n. 89, 92-93.

[2] Scenes of artisans and craftsmen portrayed on Archaic and Classical Greek vases are more detailed than the representations of skilled workers on funerary stelae, for they often show the worker in a shop setting, busy with tools of his trade: for examples see P. Cloché, *Les classes, les métiers, le trafic (La vie publique et privée des anciens Grecs V)* (Paris 1931) (*passim*); A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society* (London 1972) figs. 3-4, 17-18, 29-31, 38-40; J. Ebert, M. Blumentritt et al., *Die Arbeitswelt der Antike* (Leipzig 1984) pls. 1-4, 6-13, 25-35, 40; R. Ginouvès and R. Martin, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine* I (Rome 1985) pls. 2.1, 8.1.

[3] See also a Classical relief of a physician, now in Basel, which portrays vessels for cupping blood and a knife: E. Berger, *Das Basler Artzrelief* (Basel 1970); Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 76; A. Krug, *Heilkunst und Heilkult* (Munich 1985) 27-28, fig. 4.

[4] Burford (above n. 2) fig. 6; Kampen, *Image and Status* 67, fig. 55; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 75; Clairmont (above n. 1) 402-404, no. 630 (with recent bibliography).

[5] The motif of a figure holding a work attribute recalls a late sixth century B.C. votive stele from the acropolis at Athens depicting a seated male figure, who has been identified as a potter because he holds two drinking cups (*kylikes*) at his side: see Burford (above n. 2) fig. 19; M.S. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum* (Athens 1974) 131-132, no. 1332, fig. 251; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 75.

in the Louvre, depicts the deceased seated in a chair below an epitaph that identifies his trade as a copper smelter.[6] He holds a stick in his left hand and a circular hollow object in his right hand, likely a bowl or basin. Three horizontal mouldings below the chair may represent bellows, an appropriate attribute for a copper-smelter. Neither figure is shown in a work-shop setting. Were it not for the attributes of trade, and in the case of Sosinous, an accompanying inscription mentioning his occupational status, these dignified representations would not differ from the standard compositions found on the majority of tombstones.

The relatively few Hellenistic grave stelae with work-related scenes also depict artisans. A new feature is the combination of a work scene carved as a separate relief below a *Totenmahl* (funerary banquet) scene,[7] such as the ones depicted on a tomb from Cyzicus, ca. 100 B.C.[8] The workshop setting portrays a blacksmith labouring on an object with a hammer and tongs above an anvil. A late second or early first century B.C. grave stele from Chalkis, without the

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[6] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 75; Clairmont (above n. 1) 258-260, no. 202 (with recent bibliography). For inscription see *IG* II, 8464; *GV*, 167, *GG*, 57.

[7] A typical *Totenmahl* composition consists of one or more male figures reclining on a *kline* before a table of offering cakes and vessels; a female sits on a chair or stool on the left of the scene. The *Totenmahl* scenes developed from the votive reliefs for heroes, becoming popular during the fourth and third centuries B.C.: see R.N. Thönges-Stringaris, "Das Griechische Totenmahl," *AM* 80 (1965) 65-67; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 77.

[8] Pfuhl- Möbius II (above n. 1) no. 1170, pl. 175 (now in the Istanbul Museum); M. Cremer, *Hellenistisch-römische Grabstelen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien I. Mysien* (Bonn 1991) 128, no. KN 7, pl. 4. A first century B.C. stele in Istanbul combines a *Totenmahl* scene with a scene of plowing: see Pfuhl-Möbius. *op. cit.* no. 1144, pl. 171. A second century B.C. tomb from Samos depicts a *Totenmahl* scene; the pediment has a number of objects carved on it, among them an anchor which might symbolize the shipping profession of the deceased reclining below: see Pfuhl-Möbius II, *op. cit.* no. 1557, pl. 225; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 77.

Totenmahl scene, appears to depict a sculptor of stone vases.[9] He sits in profile on a footstool in his shop, sculpting a large stone vase with a hammer and chisel.[10]

The Hellenistic workshop scenes on funerary monuments seem to be a later development, although these motifs were found on Greek vases of much earlier date.[11] The few preserved examples suggest that the artisans and craftsmen of the Hellenistic period, like those of the Classical period, seemed loath to reveal their occupational status on their tombstones.

II. Literary Evidence: Roman Attitudes Towards Work

Before discussing the different work motifs portrayed on funerary monuments in Italy and the provinces, a brief summary is included of the prevailing attitudes towards work expressed in Latin literature. The fact that these attitudes were often derogatory in nature is a well-discussed topic among scholars.[12] Many of the prevailing attitudes towards various types of work are found in the frequently cited, mid-first century B.C. passage of Cicero's catalogue of Roman trades.[13] In this catalogue, Cicero lists the types of work for a free born male that are either respectable (*liberales*) or vulgar (*sordidi*). Undesirable occupations include those of tax-

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[9] Burford (above n. 2) fig. 84; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 78.

[10] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 78, suggests that a funerary stele from Philippi, likely first century B.C. in date, depicts a similar motif. See also D. Lazarides, "Archaiotetes kai Mnemeia Anatol. Makedonias," *ArchDelt* 17 (1961/62) 240, pl. 287g.

[11] See above, n. 2 for references of vase paintings with scenes of artisans and skilled workers.

[12] For discussions of Roman attitudes towards work in Latin literature see F.M. De Robertis, *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano* (Bari 1963) 21-97; S. Treggiari, "Urban Labour in Rome: *Mercenarii and Tabernarii*," in P.Garnsey ed., *Non-Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1980) 48-64; J. D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. 1981) 20-47, 149-171; S. Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome* (University of Oklahoma Press 1992) 62-69.

[13] Cicero, *Off.* 1.150-51.

collectors who incur people's ill-will; paid workers who sell themselves not for their skills but for wages like slaves;[14] merchants who lie and cheat to make a profit; and especially fishmongers, butchers, cooks, poulterers, fishermen, perfumers, dancers and those involved in entertaining with song and dance, because these trades involve catering to the sensual desires of others.[15]

On the other hand, medicine, architecture and teaching are seen as respectable occupations by Cicero because they require intelligence or benefit society. Additionally, large scale trade is condoned because it does not involve lying; indeed, respect is reserved for those who, having made their fortunes, invested it in agricultural holdings. Thus, these merchants who became landowners appear to have the most appropriate, respectable occupations. These attitudes reflect the sentiments of the land-based senatorial upper classes, who often indulged in large scale trading activities.[16] It is no accident that the freedman Trimalchio, in Petronius' *Satyricon*, honourably but humorously exemplifies a large scale trader with invested interests in large estates.[17]

Cicero's comments and most of our literary evidence reflect the traditional attitudes of the upper classes towards people who worked at various trades, especially those of merchants.

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[14] This same attitude towards wage earners is also found in Classical Greece; see Plato, *Rep.* 2.371e, in which Plato describes hired labourers as worthless to society because they are intellectually inferior and most importantly because they sell the use of their strength for wages.

[15] Martial, *Ep.* 3.59, satirizes wealthy shoemakers and fullers who paid for games, but were nothing more than commoners because of the lowly status of their occupations. See also 3.16.

[16] See D'Arms (above n. 12) 48-71.

[17] Petronius, *Sat.* 37, and especially 48, mentions the huge estates of Trimalchio in Terracina, Tarentum and North Africa.

However, a study of the visual evidence suggests that different attitudes towards work prevailed in the social milieu of freedmen and freedwomen, as well as freeborn men and women who plied their trades in urban centres throughout Italy and the empire. These people were proud of their work and regarded it as prestigious: they were part of the non-élite populism of the later empire, quite different from those described by Cicero. At the very least, the ready cash in hand allowed the merchants to purchase tombs large enough to preserve scenes of their occupational lives for the sake of posterity. Other elements also show that there was a new conception of the dignity of work, such as the growth of social associations (*collegia*) during the later Empire in which artisans and traders grouped themselves according to their particular skills or industries, and the development of new monumental structures for commercial use (*macella*).[18]

III. The Pictorial Evidence: Scenes of Work

The majority of Roman work scenes are depicted on funerary monuments from Italy and Gaul, with sporadic examples from other provinces in Pannonia, Moesia, Spain, Roman Germany, Asia Minor and North Africa. The series of Italian work scenes are the earliest chronologically, beginning in the late first century B.C. The increase in the number of Italian work scenes during the first and second centuries A.D. seems to coincide with the rise of the freedman class and the lower-class free born population in Italy, who became wealthy through

[18] Some colleges made provisions for proper burials of their members. On the colleges (*collegia*), see J.P. Waltzing. *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les romains* 4 Vols. (Louvain 1895-1900). On the *macella*, see C. De Ruyt, *Macellum. Marché alimentaire des romains* (Louvain-La-Neuve) 1983.

commerce and industry.[19] Scenes of work were also sculpted on third century A.D. Italian monuments, but to a lesser extent than during the two previous centuries. Work scenes in the provinces appear to date mostly from the second to the mid-third centuries A.D., with a few earlier first century A.D. examples in Roman Gaul.

Several new motifs pertaining to commerce and trade such as the sale of food, wine and clothing are the focus of this chapter. However, a variety of other work scenes preserve a record of the complexity of job-types in the Roman empire.[20] Some reliefs in Italy, Gaul and Asia Minor reveal motifs related to trade such as ship-building and shipping; however, the ships portray no visible signs of their cargo.[21] Many work scenes in Italy and Gaul, and a few examples in Roman Germany and Asia Minor, portray motifs recalling the scenes portrayed on Classical and Hellenistic reliefs of skilled professionals in a workshop setting. These scenes include shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, stone masons, potters, sculptors, goldsmiths and

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[19] Joshel (above n. 12) 78-85; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 6-12. D'Arms (above n. 12) 121-148, discusses the rise of the freedmen class in Puteoli and Ostia.

[20] This complexity of job classifications during the Roman period is also evident in the large numbers of epitaphs recording the occupational status of the deceased: see Joshel (above n. 12) 69-91 for a discussion of occupational epitaphs at Rome. See also M. Wissemann, "Die Spezialisierung des römishen Handels," *MünchBeitr* 3 (1984) 116-124; H. von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in H. Jankuhn ed., *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* I (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*) (Göttingen 1981) 83-132, for a list of occupational epitaphs from Italy and the provinces. For Roman Gaul and Germany see E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 33-72. For epitaphs of female workers see J. Le Gall, "Métiers des femmes au *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*," *Mélanges Marcel Durry* (Paris 1970) 123-130; M. Eichenauer, *Untersuchungen zur Arbeitswelt der Frau in der römischen Antike* (Frankfurt 1988).

[21] Trimalchio, in Petronius, *Sat.* 71, desired to have some of his ships carved on his funerary monument. For ship-building and reliefs of ships in Italy see L. Casson, "Harbour and River Boats of Ancient Rome," *JRS* 55 (1965) 31-39; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 142-148, 208-211, nos.62-69, 156-162; Ebert (above n. 2) pls. 46, 60; G. Zimmer, "Römische Handwerker," *ANRW* II, 12.3 (1985) pl. 7. For examples in Gaul see Esp. 686, 687, 690. For Asia Minor see Pfuhl-Möbius II (above n. 1) nos. 1181, 1183-1185, 1187.

metalworkers.[22] The attributes of these skilled professionals represent the tools particular to each trade. Work attributes are also sometimes carved on funerary monuments in place of a figural scene to serve as a symbol of the occupation of the deceased.

The scenes discussed in the following sections focus extensively on the Italian funerary reliefs with themes of vending, as they are valuable comparanda when examining many of the fragmentary scenes of vending from Roman Gaul. The few known examples of scenes of vending from the other provinces are also included to ensure a reasonable completeness. Depictions of commerce and trade in other artistic media, such as shop signs, wall paintings and mosaics, are noted for comparative purposes. Motifs depicting other aspects of commerce and trade from Italy and the provinces (including Roman Gaul), such as scenes of accounting and the transportation of merchandise, are also briefly examined, as they are found along with the vending scenes on some of the larger Gallo-Roman monuments with multiple reliefs.

A. The Food Trade

This section is divided into the following categories: scenes portraying the sale of bread, scenes depicting the sale of meat, fish and poultry, a scene showing a vendor of mixed perishable commodities, and scenes displaying the sale of produce and legumes.

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[22] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* contains the most recently known catalogue of skilled artisans and/or work attributes in Italy. See also Zimmer (above n. 21) pls. 2-4, 5.2, 8.1; Ebert (above n. 2) pls. 51, 52, 56, 58; Burford (above n. 2) figs. 36, 41, 46. For motifs of garland makers in Italy see Kampen, *Image and Status* 159-60, nos. 60-61; R. Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata* (*ASR* I.4) (Berlin 1991) 128, no. 45, fig. 105. For Gallo-Roman artisans see Esp. 471, 510, 705, 730, 1111, 1452, 1461, 1509, 1877, 1884, 2052, 2769, 2779, 4221, 4387, 5006, 6992, 7012. For Pannonia see A. Neumann, *Österreich. Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Vindobona* (*CSIR* I.1) (Vienna 1967) no. 37, pl. 37; M.L. Krüger, *Österreich. Die Reliefs des Stadtgebietes von Carnuntum* (*CSIR* I.4) (Vienna 1972) nos. 379, 380, pl. 1. For Raetia and Noricum see F. Wagner, *Raetia und Noricum* (*CSIR* I.1) (Bonn 1973) no. 27, pl. 11. For Asia Minor see Pfuhl-Möbius II (above n.1) nos. 1168-1169, 1171, pl. 175.

1. Scenes of Work Pertaining to the Manufacture and Sale of Bread

Some of the earliest depictions of work in Italy show a new theme: the making and selling of bread. The earliest known representations are found on the late first century B.C. monumental tomb of the freedman baker, Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, preserved *in situ* immediately outside Rome's Porta Maggiore.[23] The epitaph records that he served the public as *pistor* (baker) and *redemptor* (contractor).[24] Although this tomb is dedicated to Eurysaces' wife, its design and decoration depict the bread-making activities that made him successful enough to build this uniquely designed monument in a very visible location. The trapezoidal plan included a series of vertical and horizontal cylinders, carved on three sides of the tomb above the base.[25] These cylinders have been interpreted as grain measures and ovens used in the baking of bread, although their geometric forms make these theories untenable.[26] The

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[23] See P. Ciancio Rossetto, *Il Sepolcro del Fornaio Marco Virgilio Eurisace a Porta Maggiore* (Rome 1973); Kampen, *Image and Status* 78, fig. 69; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 106-109, no. 108; B.J. Mayeske, "A Pompeian Bakery on the Via dell'Abbondanza," in R.I. Curtis ed., *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honour of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski* (New York 1988) 151, fig. 5; D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven 1992) 105-109, figs. 90-95.

[24] Eurysaces is described in his epitaph as a supplier of bread in the service of the state (*Est hoc monimentum Marcei Vergilei Eurysacis / pistoris redemptoris apparet*): see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 108; *CIL* I, 1203, 1205, 1206. On the public servants (*Apparitores*), see N. Purcell, "The Apparitores. A Study in Social Mobility," *PBSR* 51 (1983) 125-173.

[25] The travertine-faced concrete tomb measures 8.75 x 6.85 x 5.80 x 4.05 m: see L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1992) 355.

[26] Ciancio Rossetto (above n. 23) 34, interprets these cylinders as "impastatrici" (containers for kneading dough). Mayeske (above n. 23) 151, describes the trapezoidal shape of the monument as representing "a great enclosed oven", although it looks nothing like the hut-like oven portrayed on the frieze or the known, well-preserved examples from Pompeii. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 107, suggests plausibly that the whole monument might represent a bread-basket from a phrase in the epitaph (*in hoc panario* "in this breadbasket"). Richardson (above n. 24) 355, describes the cylinders as "a pure experiment in geometrical forms".

motif of bread-making, from the grinding of the grain in an hour-glass shaped mill,[27] the shaping and baking of bread,[28] to the weighing of the loaves on scales before magistrates[29] is depicted on a frieze carved on three sides of the upper monument (Fig. 131).[30]

Two reliefs from Rome and Ostia portray a scene of a bakery. A counter is the main element in these shop scenes used to display the finished product and also to separate the vendor from the customer/observer. The fragmented scene from Rome, now lost, portrays a male vendor standing behind a counter filled with a type of round loaves known as *panes quadrati*;[31] another figure appears to be storing loaves of bread in a large wicker basket, similar

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[27] This motif of the hour-glass shaped mill with mule/horse and optional attendant served to identify the occupation of the deceased as a *pistor*. Examples of this motif appear to be found only in Italy and Gaul. For Italy see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 112, no. 22 (Pompeii); 113-114, no. 24 (Ostia); 111-115, 117-118, nos. 21, 23, 25, 29 (Rome); 119-120, no. 31 (Bologna); 115-116, no. 26 (Verona). See also J. Whitehead, *Biography and Formula in Roman Sarcophagi* Diss. Yale University 1984, 133, 136; Amedick (above n. 21) 157, 165, nos. 221, 270, pls. 113.2, 114.3; B. Andreae et al., *Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums. Museo Chiaramonti* I.3 (Berlin-New York 1995) 844, pl. 497; *ibid.* I.2, pl. 408. For Roman Gaul (Narbonne) see Esp. 6903; M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique des origines à la fin du IIIe siècle* (Paris 1981) 546-547; Y. Solier, *Narbonne monuments et musées* (Paris 1986) 107. A variation is depicted on the so-called 'Rustic Calendar', a third century A.D. floor mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal: see H. Stern, "Les calendriers romains illustrés," *ANRW* II, 12.2 (1981) pl. XVII.38.

[28] Two sarcophagi in Rome portray figures baking bread: see Ciancio Rossetto (above n. 23) 47-49, figs. 36-37; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 110-111, no. 20; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich 1982) 121, fig. 71; Whitehead (above n. 27) 56, no. 11; Amedick (above n. 22) 160, no. 240, pl. 113.1, 3-5.

[29] A similar motif is portrayed on a mid/late first century B.C. relief from Capua: see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 227, no. 193.

[30] Five fragments a late third century A.D. relief from Bologna also portray many of the steps taken in breadmaking that are seen on the earlier monument of Eurysaces: see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 109-110, no. 19.

[31] *Panes quadrati* are round loaves of bread scored on top into eight parts; several preserved examples of this type of bread were found in bakeries at Pompeii: see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* 4.1, (1900) 497 s.v. '*Pistor*'; Ministero per i beni Culturali e Ambientali, *L'alimentazione nel mondo antico* (Rome 1987) 74; A. Dosi and F. Schnell, *A tavola con i Romani Antichi* (Rome 1990) 142, 145.

to the ones shown on the Eurysaces frieze.[32] The male vendor depicted on a first century A.D. Ostian relief also stands behind a counter laden with *panes quadrati*.[33] However, in this example, he holds a large tray-like object with both hands; a sieve and a baking pan hang on the wall above the vendor. A late third century A.D. sarcophagus lid, now in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican, shows a male figure being handed a loaf of bread (*panis quadratus*) from a baker's cooling rack. This scene possibly alludes to the *annona*, as another figure is waiting his turn behind the customer.[34] The three above scenes represent the final step in breadmaking: the display of the finished product; none of the scenes depicts the scales for weighing bread as seen on the frieze of Eurysaces.

A relief carved on a first/second century A.D. funerary monument of a freedman at Bolsena depicts a different kind of pastry, identified by Zimmer as *tracta* (Fig. 132).[35] *Tracta* is

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[32] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 116, no. 27.

[33] Kampen, *Image and Status* 141, no. 9; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 116-117, no. 28; Ministero per i beni Culturali e Ambientali (above n. 31) 142, no. 10.

[34] N. Himmelmann, *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Mainz am Rhein 1973) 47-48. Kat. 5, no. 3, pls. 26-29; Whitehead (above n. 27) 55-56, no. 10; Amedick (above n. 22) 167-168, no. 286, pl. 108.2 (with full bibliography). This Sarcophagus lid also depicts a scene of a sale of a boar carcass, discussed below, p. 32. A wall painting from Pompeii VII 3, 30 depicts a controversial scene of a baker or official distributing loaves of bread: see O. Elia, *Pitture murali e mosaici nel Museo Nazionale de Napoli* (Rome 1932) no. 288; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome, the Center of Power: Roman Art to A.D. 100* (London 1970) 400, no. 50. A wall painting from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix at Pompeii (II 4, 3) also portrays a young male vendor distributing or selling bread to a customer in the forum; the bread is stacked on a portable table: Mayeske (above n. 23) 154, 165, fig.13; S.C. Nappo, "Fregio dipinto dal <<praedium>> di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro di Pompei," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 3 (1989) 82, 84-86, fig. 5. On the annona see: Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* I (1877) 273-279, s.v. '*Annona, Annona civica, Annona militaris*'; *RE* 1 (1894) 2316-2321, s.v. '*Annona, Annona civica, Annona militaris*' (Oehler).

[35] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 118-119, no. 30.

a flat, pancake-like pastry used for making *placenta*, an elaborately layered Roman dessert.[36] The large round baking pan also displayed in this relief was likely used for making the *tracta*. A separate adjacent relief portrays additional work attributes of the baker, such as an hour-glass shaped mill, weigh scales and other stylized tools.

2. Scenes of Butchers' Shops and the Sale of Meat, Fish and Poultry in Markets

The iconography of scenes of butchers' shops in Italy includes some or all of the following attributes: a chopping block (*caudex*), meat cleaver, meat rack (*carnarium*) with suspended cuts of meat, scales and a basin for lard or offal. The chopping block in these scenes serves the same function as a shop counter, as it divides the butcher from the customer. The earliest known depiction of a butcher shop is found on a first century A.D. funerary stele of a freedman from Bologna.[37] A male butcher stands in profile before a three-legged chopping block, facing left; his right hand rests on the block. A side of ribs (*costae*) lies upon another table beside the chopping block. A weigh scale is suspended above from a beam; a container with six weights is carved between the scales.

A well preserved, early/mid second century A.D. marble funerary relief of a butcher's shop, likely originally from Rome, now in Dresden, also depicts a three-legged chopping block (Fig. 133).[38] The male butcher stands in profile, facing left, chopping a side of ribs on the

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[36] For a discussion of *tracta* see J. Solomon, "*Tracta:* A Versatile Roman Pastry," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 539-556. For the recipe of *placenta* see Cato, *R.R.* 76; I. Gozzini Giacosa, *A Taste of Ancient Rome*, transl. by A. Herklotz (University of Chicago 1992) 165-167.

[37] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 93-94, no. 1.

[38] This relief was re-used in a building in Trastevere; the Italian marble suggests a provenance from Rome or nearby: see P. Herrmann, *Verzeichnis der antiken Originalbildwerke der staatlichen Skulpturensammlung zu Dresden* (Berlin and Dresden 1925) 91; Kampen, *Image and Status* 79, 157, no. 53, fig. 45; Zimmer, *Römische*

chopping block with a large, wide-bladed cleaver. A similar cleaver hangs from the meat rack above, along with various cuts of meat depicted clearly, from left to right, as a pork head (*sinciput*), a lung (*pulmo*), a sow's udder (*sumen*), pig's knuckles (*tali*), a leg of pork or ham (*perna*), and another side of ribs; a set of scales is attached to the support beam below the hanging cleaver.[39] A large container sits on the floor beside the chopping block, likely for offal or lard. On the right, a female sits in profile facing the butcher on a large, throne-like chair, with her feet on a solid footstool. She holds a multi-leaved tablet on her lap, probably performing bookkeeping duties connected with the trade portrayed in this scene.

A lost Italian relief, from the Dal Pozzo-Albani drawings in the British Museum, London, portrays a scene of a transaction taking place in a butcher's shop.[40] A male customer waits with outstretched hand to purchase the leg of pork sitting on a solid chopping block, instead of the three-legged type. Two more figures stand on the left of the butcher and his customer: the head and arm are preserved of the one, shown offering an object from a container on the

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Berufsdarstellungen 94-95, no. 2; Zimmer (above n. 21) 207-208, pl.. 1.1; K. Knoll et al., *Die Antiken im Albertinum* (Mainz am Rheim 1993) no. 25. A second century A.D. relief from Herakleia-Perinthos in Asia Minor also portrays a butcher chopping a cut of meat on a three-legged chopping block: see Pfuhl- Möbius II (above n.1) 286, no. 1166, fig. 75. However, the typical meat rack with hanging cuts of meat is absent; instead four large objects, likely meat skewers, are suspended above a square rack, from which scales also hang. Another square rack with objects, possibly a cut of pork and ribs, rests upon a bench (?) in front of the upper rack. A female figure sits between the display rack with meat and the butcher.

[39] Documentary and archaeological evidence show that pork was a surprisingly important part of the food-supply of Rome in the late Empire: see D.B. Whitehouse, "The Schola Praeconum and the Food Supply of Rome in the Fifth Century A.D.," in G. Barker and R. Hodges eds., *Archaeology and Italian Society* (Oxford 1981) 191-195; D.B. Whitehouse, "Ruoti, Pottery and Pigs," in M. Gualtieri et al., *Lo scavo di S. Giovanni di Ruoti ed il periodo tardoantico in Basilicata* (Bari 1983) 107-109; S. Barnish, "Pigs, Plebeians and *Potentes*: Rome's Economic Hinterland, c. 350-600 A.D.," *PBSR* 55 (1987) 157-185.

[40] C.C. Vermeule III, *The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum* (*TAPS* 50.5, 1960) no. 34; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 95, no. 3.

ground to the other figure, who stands with a small dagger. Two pork heads hang from a meat rack above the figures on the left, signifying that the deceased was a butcher who specialized in cuts of pork.

Another scene of a transaction in a butcher's shop is carved on a column-shaped monument of unknown provenance and date, although known to be from Italy (Fig. 134).[41] Zimmer interprets this monument as a votive altar to Mercury, for the god is depicted on the front side dressed in *petasos* and *chlamys* with a ram, tortoise and cock at his feet. The remainder of the altar is divided into an upper and lower relief zone. The upper zone depicts a male butcher selling a piece of meat to a male customer, who is followed by two other males; the typical elements of a chopping block, a meat rack with seven cuts of meat, probably pork, and a balance complete the composition. The lower zone depicts two attendants bending over a large barred cage, similar to the one shown filled with poultry and rabbits on a shop sign from Ostia (Fig. 142). Of interest is the large kettle beside the cage that is being heated by another attendant. No other representations of shops selling meat depict this feature; however, as Zimmer notes, its presence is justified if it was used for blanching the poultry in water before plucking.

The preserved upper right field of a second century A.D. Ostian relief portrays a butcher about to chop a cut of meat on a large, solid chopping block (Fig. 135).[42] He faces right in a

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[41] At the time this altar was discussed by Zimmer in the 1980s it was on the open market at Rome: see Zimmer *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 45, n. 319; Zimmer (above n. 21) 208, pl. 12.1.

[42] Kampen, *Image and Status* 141, no. 8, fig. 43; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 95-96, no. 4.

reverse composition to the butchers in the scenes from Bologna, Dresden and the drawing of the lost relief in the British Museum. A meat rack hangs above a large container displaying cuts of meat similar to those portrayed in the Dresden butcher scene. Scales also hang from the wall to the left of the butcher. The left side of the relief portrays two sows going to market, as they walk in single file towards the butcher shop; their inclusion in the scene emphasizes that this butcher specialized in the sale of pork products.

The butcher's shop scene carved on a funerary relief of Antonine date, in the Villa Albani, Rome, is placed beside a large portrait bust of the deceased, Tiberius Iulius Vitalis, with no regard for scale (Fig, 136).[43] Vitalis is portrayed in his occupational role as a butcher chopping a large pork head with a cleaver on a solid butcher's block. A meat rack hangs above the butcher portraying the various cuts of pork similar to those shown in the Dresden and Ostian butcher scenes.

A late third century A.D. sarcophagus from the Isola Sacra at Ostia depicts a scene of a butcher and fishmonger making separate sales to customers, perhaps in the setting of a market (Fig. 137).[44] This market-setting differs from the typical shop-settings, which focus on the vendor and his product in the confines of his shop, as it resembles the wall paintings from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix, which depict vendors selling various wares in an open space inside the enclosed setting of the forum.[45] The elements of the display-table of the fish vendor and the

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[43] W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* 4 (4th ed. Tübingen 1972) no. 3231; Kampen, *Image and Status* fig. 44; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 96-97, no. 5.

[44] Amedick (above n. 22) 136, no. 86, pl. 107.4.

[45] J.-M. Croisille, *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flaviens* II (Brussels 1982) pls. 118-120, 122-125; Nappo (above n. 34) figs. 2, 3, 5-7.

chopping block of the butcher are the same as in shops, although they are small, transportable items which could be set up with ease in any location. The scene on the right depicts a male butcher standing behind a solid chopping block with a large pork head (boar ?) lying on top. On the left, a bearded customer indicates his purchase of this head by placing his right hand on the animal's snout. A pair of geese hang by their feet above a small youth, likely a servant, who stands behind the customer. On the right, a kneeling attendant appears to be depositing or taking entrails from a basin beside the chopping block. Above this figure is a large cut of meat and the carcass of another animal, possibly a rabbit. The scene on the left portrays the sale of fish between a male vendor and a large, bearded male customer; a tilted table of displayed fish is placed in front of the fish merchant. This customer holds up his right hand, perhaps to signify that he is about to pay for the fish. Another male stands between these two figures observing the transaction taking place. The focus appears to be on the customers in this scene, as they are larger and more prominently displayed than the vendors.[46]

The sarcophagus lid in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, now in Vatican, depicting the bread exchange mentioned above has two other separate reliefs of a pork vendor and fish vendor in settings which might also represent scenes of a market. Like the market scene on the Ostian sarcophagus, there are vendors of different products, using a few mobile elements for displaying or weighing their products.[47] Even though the scenes are separate, they give the

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[46] Amedick (above n. 22) 111.

[47] Koch and Sichtermann (above n. 28) 121, fig. 109; Whitehead (above n. 27) 55-56, no. 10; Amedick (above n. 22) 167-168, no. 286, pl. 108.1. For bread vending scene see p. 27.

impression of vendors working alongside one another, rather than in separate shops. The one scene of pork vending depicts a male standing between a huge pair of scales looking at a bearded male on the left; this figure is likely the vendor because of his placement between the scales. The bearded male gestures with his right hand towards the scales, while his left hand holds a cylindrical object. A third figure on the right (head now missing) gestures towards a large boar lying on the ground in front of the middle figure. The other scene portrays the sale of fish, which are displayed on a tilted table like those on the Ostian sarcophagus described above (Fig. 138).[48] More fish are placed in a basket below the table.

Another variation of the butcher's shop scene is depicted on a funerary altar from Verona of Hadrianic/Antonine date (Fig. 139).[49] The male figure stands in profile below a meat rack holding a pick-axe (*dolabra*) in his right hand, in place of the usual meat cleaver. The typical butcher's attribute of the chopping block is also missing in this composition. A pig carcass hangs by its hind legs from the rack, while a butcher's knife lies on the ground below. A similar scene is portrayed on a relief of a soldier turned butcher from *Lauriacum*. However, in this example, the meat rack is missing, the animal carcass hanging by its legs is not pork, but likely a beef calf, and the butcher is shown in the act of gutting the carcass (Fig. 140).[50]

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[48] Amedick (above n. 22) 168, no. 286, pl. 108.3.

[49] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 97-98, no. 6. The epitaph records the deceased's military career in the *cohors XX urbana*: see *CIL* V, 909.

[50] L. Eckhart, *Österreich. Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Lauricum* (*CSIR* 3.2) (Vienna 1976) 61-62, no. 85a, pl. 31. This stock motif was re-used in other contexts: see K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford 1978) pl. 42, fig. 10; R. Amedick, "Zur Motivgeschichte eines Sarkophages mit ländlichen Mahl," *RömMitt* 95 (1988) 295-314, pls. 78, 79.1, 80. See also this motif on a Gallo-Roman monument from Dijon (**GL 15**, Fig. 32); Chapter Five, 198-199.

A heavily restored funerary relief of uncertain provenance and authenticity, now in the Museo Torlonia, Rome, portrays a female poultry-seller instead of the typical male figure (Fig. 141).[51] She sits on a chair before a single-legged table holding the head of a suspended goose.[52] A second female stands behind her with upraised right arm, pointing to an inscription from the *Aeneid*, which is carved on the back wall above the head of the seated female; her left hand holds a cloth, likely a *mappa*.[53] A Corinthian column divides two female figures from the carcasses of two gutted pigs, three geese and a rabbit which hang suspended by their feet. The attributes of the meat rack, chopping block and cuts of meat are missing in this scene.

Non-figural scenes displaying the attributes of butchers are also carved on funerary monuments. For example, the tympanum of a first century A.D. aedicula from Aquileia depicts a knife, a three-legged chopping block similar to the ones on the Bologna and Dresden reliefs, a *dolabra* and a meat cleaver. [54] A side panel on a second century A.D. funerary altar from Aquileia portrays a meat skewer along with two butcher's knives.[55] In addition, an early third

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[51] The classicizing details of the clothing, hairstyle and gestures of the two female figures suggest a Hadrianic date, although it is also possible that this relief is an 18th century imitation: see Kampen, *Image and Status* 154, no. 43, fig. 84; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 98-99, no. 7.

[52] Kampen, *Image and Status* 154, no. 43, suggests that the figure is either plucking or bleeding the goose.

[53] For inscription see Virgil, *Aen.* 1.607-609; *CIL* VI, 9685.

[54] Bianchi-Bandinelli (above n. 34) 62, fig. 87; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 103, no. 12. For other funerary stelae portraying butchers' attributes see Zimmer, *op. cit.* 99-103, 105, nos. 8-9, 11, 15. For this motif in Roman Gaul see Chapter Five, 194-197 (**A 4**, Fig. 5, **GB 22**, Fig. 80).

[55] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 103-104, no. 13; the front base of the monument also depicts a meat skewer and cleaver.

century A.D. stele from Portogruaro portrays four butcher's knives, scales, weights and a large stylised leg of ham (*perna*).[56]

3. Scene Portraying the Sale of Live Game, Poultry and Produce

A marble shop sign of Antonine date, in the Museo Ostiense, Ostia, portrays a richly detailed scene of a transaction taking place in the shop of a poultry, game and produce vendor (Fig. 142).[57] The setting is identified by a high counter which separates the female vendor from the male customer. This counter is composed of three barred cages; the curved, frontal beaks of live poultry fill two of the cages, while the profile heads and front paws of two live rabbits peer out from the bars of the third cage. Two more fowl hang from a rack beside the head of a second figure standing behind the counter.[58] The vendor is depicted selling a piece of fruit from a basket on the counter to a short, bearded male customer. Two other males stand behind the bearded customer, waiting to make their purchases; the middle male appears to be touching

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[56] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 104-105, no. 15. A funerary stele from the Galleria Lapidaria, Vatican, and a drawing of a lost relief from Rome portray a leg of ham to signify the occupation of the deceased as butchers: see Zimmer, *op. cit.* 106, nos. 16-17.

[57] This sign was found in an Antonine apartment block on the Via della Foce (Ostia Scavi, Regio III), near the Serapeum , although there is no mention in the literature of whether it was *in situ*: see R. Calza, *Museo Ostiense* (Rome 1947) 27, no. 134; Bianchi-Bandinelli (above n. 34) 63, fig. 69; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 56-57; Kampen, *Image and Status* 52-58, 139, no. 3, fig. 28; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 220-221, no. 180.

[58] A late second/early century A.D. sarcophagus lid in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican, depicts a rack used for a different context: instead of cuts of meat or fowl, the rack is used to display two mirrors in a scene of a transaction that takes place between a seated, bearded male vendor and a standing male customer. At first glance, the shape of the mirrors even seems to resemble hanging fowl: see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 221, no. 181; Zimmer (above n. 21) pl. 10.1; Amedick (above n. 22) 167, no. 285, pl. 116.1; F. Sinn, *Die Grabdenkmäler 1. Reliefs Altäre Urnen. Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense* I (Mainz am Rhein 1991) 48-49, no. 21, figs. 55-57.

one of the hanging fowl with his left hand, while the male on the far left holds the carcass of a dead animal, perhaps a rabbit.

Although this Ostian scene portrays the sale of meat, none of the typical butcher shop attributes are present, with the exception of a rack to display the hanging poultry. This scene is the only Italian example to combine the sale of meat with produce. The counter displays, from left to right, two baskets of fruit,[59] a large cylindrical, wicker container with two holes, and a detail unique to all vending and work-related scenes: two seated, unchained monkeys. Another unusual element is the large snail carved on the back wall beside the wicker basket, likely serving as a sign for the contents of the container.

4. Scenes Depicting the Sale of Fruit, Vegetables and Legumes (?)

The settings of the scenes portraying the sale of fruits and vegetables do not include elements that suggest the permanence of butchers' shops, as shown in reliefs. The furnishings, such as the counters and shelves, were items that could be easily transported from one place to another, and there is no clear evidence that these sales took place indoors. For example, a late third century A.D. relief fragment in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, appears to portray a scene of the sale of fruit in an outdoor setting (Fig. 143).[60] The male vendor touches one of seven rounded fruit displayed upon a small four-legged counter before a male customer; a wicker basket filled with fruit stands on the ground before the counter. A building with a

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[59] Toynbee (above n. 57) 56, identifies the objects as figs, while Kampen, *Image and Status* 53, n. 66, suggests that they could also represent onions, crab-apples, pears, peaches or plums.

[60] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 23, no. 198; Whitehead (above n. 27) 384; Sinn (above n. 58) 25-27, no. 6, fig. 10 (260-280 A.D.); Amedick (above n. 22) 167, no. 284, pl. 109.3.

peaked roof, veranda and columns on one end is carved in the background. Sinn, in her recent book on altars, interprets convincingly this fruit vending scene within the context of the Circus: the male customer with the triple girded-belt represents a charioteer holding the palm of victory; the part of the relief now missing likely portrayed the magistrate who sponsored the races; the fruit vendor was probably involved in the distribution of the fruit inside the Circus; and the building might represent a sort of VIP box at the Circus.[61] A variation of the fruit vending motif is found on a partially preserved third century A.D. funerary stele from Verona, in which a male figure seated on a cart (?) weighs a number of small round objects, likely fruit, in a scale (Fig. 144).[62]

A second century A.D. relief of unknown provenance, now in the Museo Ostiense, Ostia, depicts a vegetable vendor of ambiguous gender (Fig. 145).[63] The vendor stands behind a trestle counter with shelves on either end; the counter is tilted severely forward, with no concern for perspective, to better display the vegetables placed on top. The right hand of the

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[61] Sinn (above n. 58) 26-27.

[62] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 225, no. 189. The inscription identifies the deceased *as C(aius) Ficarius*, which is an appropriate name if this figure does represent a seller of fruit: see *CIL* V, 3608. See also Amedick (above n. 22) 158, no. 229, pl. 110.1, for another possible fruit vending motif from Rome.

[63] Kampen, following G. Calza, argues that the coiffure, beardless face and dress are female; she uses an epitaph of a female vegetable vendor to support her view (*CIL* VI, 9683): see Kampen, *Image and Status* 62, n. 103; G. Calza, "Le Botteghe in Roma Antica," *Capitolium* 14 (1939) 230. On the other hand, scholars have also described this figure as representing a male: see R. Calza and E. Nash, *Ostia* (Florence 1959) 74 ('il proprietario stesso'); F. Pasini, *Ostia Antica* (Rome 1978) pl. I ('un erbivendola'); Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 222, no.182 ('Oberkörper eines jungen Mannes') D.C. Bellingham, "Review of N. Kampen's, *Image and Status* and G. Zimmer's, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*," *JRS* 74 (1984) 228 ('probably male'); he argues that the male hairstyles of this period and the epigraphic evidence for male vegetable vendors neutralize Kampen's views. As these scholars' interpretations seem equally plausible, the gender of the Ostian vegetable vendor remains ambiguous.

vendor is raised in a gesture of either display or address, while the left hand touches one of the bundles of spring onions or leeks on the counter. Starting from left to right, the produce consists of two bundles of stalks with bulbous heads, perhaps leeks or garlic, two rounded objects with short stalks, likely cabbages or cauliflower, cucurbits and three tied bunches of either green onions or leeks. The inner circular part of the large flower-like object on the right is composed of small circular and oblong forms; on top is another bundle of vegetables with stalks. A wicker basket (*calathus*), likely used for storing the produce, sits on the ground below the counter.[64] A wall painting from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix at Pompeii depicts a female vegetable vendor.[65] In this scene, she sells her vegetables on a trestle counter in the garlanded portico of the forum. She stands beside a male vendor, who is selling food cooked on a brazier to the surrounding customers.

Some scenes related to the sale of produce have more permanent settings with built-in shelves, although the displayed commodities are too ambiguous in form to determine their type. For example, a partially-preserved second/third century A.D. relief from Rome depicts a storeroom setting with two rows of box-like, divided shelves containing squat storage vessels with lids, three large sacks filled with small objects (grains or legumes ?), scales, and platters of similar objects on a trestle table (Fig. 146).[66] Additionally, a fragment of a third century A.D.

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[64] Kampen, *Image and Status* 60-61.

[65] K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin 1957) 53-54; Kampen, *Image and Status*, 153, no. 41, fig. 42; Croisille (above n. 45) pl. 119; Nappo (above n. 34) 83, 86, fig. 7.

[66] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 222, no. 183; Amedick (above n. 22) 153, no. 193, pl. 110.2. For a recent work dealing with agricultural commerce and the archaeological evidence at Rome, see J. Aubert, *Business Managers in Rome. A Social and Economic Study of 'institores' (200 BC - 250 AD)* (Leiden 1994).

sarcophagus of unknown provenance, now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, portrays the same shelves with storage vessels; a tunicate male aids a bearded male attendant, dressed in an *exomis*, in placing a container of small objects on his back (Fig. 147).[67]

B. The Cloth Trade

This section is divided into two categories of visual images pertaining to the cloth trade in Italy and the provinces: scenes of work depicting the manufacturing of cloth and scenes portraying the vending of cloth products. There appears to be very little overlap between these two types of scenes: the one type shows skilled workers working on unfinished pieces of cloth while the other type shows vendors selling the finished product.

1. Scenes of Work Related to the Manufacture of Cloth

Both Italy and Roman Gaul have several scenes depicting many of the processes associated with the manufacture of cloth. The earliest apparent scene related to the cloth industry is found on a first century B.C. funerary relief from Rome: an inscription in the left field reveals the occupation of the deceased as a *lanarius* (a worker in wool); in the right field, a sheep stands in profile, as the professional symbol, below a pair of clasped hands (*dextrarum iunctio*).[68]

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[67] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 226-227, no. 191; Amedick (above n. 22) no. 251, pl. 110.4. A fragmentary marble relief from Ostia also portrays a male figure carrying a basket on his back, although its contents are not displayed: see Zimmer, *op. cit.* 226-227, no. 92.

[68] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 121, no. 34; *CIL* VI, 9489. See Esp. 2739 for a Gallo-Roman relief of a sheep-shearer (St. Ambrioix). A late Roman relief from Bursa, Turkey, also depicts a sheep-shearer: see Pfuhl-Möbius II (above n. 1) no. 1164, pl. 176.

The preserved scenes of woollen cloth-making generally portray a workshop setting with figures labouring at specific steps in the cloth-making process, such as dyeing,[69] combing,[70] spinning[71] and weaving[72] the wool into cloth. The finishing processes of cleaning, bleaching, softening and trimming the cloth generally took place in fuller's shops. Fuller's shops in Italy are depicted on a second century A.D. relief from Forlì and a wall painting in a preserved fullery at Pompeii; the Forlì relief depicts a fuller treading clothes with his feet in a vat, while the Pompeian painting portrays the finishing of cloth and a figure carrying a frame used in bleaching the textiles.[73] Elsewhere, a Gallo-Roman stele from Sens depicts two scenes of a

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[69] For the dyeing process see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 4 (Leiden 1964) 99-143; J.P. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Provinces* (Cambridge 1979) 80; W. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden 1976) 13. Two funerary reliefs from Arlon and Clausen, Belgium, depict scenes which appear to represent this step: see Esp. 4125, 4126. Additionally, a mid-first century A.D. funerary stele of a freedman from Parma records the work status of the deceased as a *purpurarius* (purple-dyer); a scale and various tools of the trade are portrayed on the front of the stele: see: Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 130-131, no. 46; P.J. Holliday, "The Sarcophagus of Titus Aelius Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene," *GettyMusJ* 21 (1993) 90, fig. 4.

[70] Any tangles or knots were removed from the wool before spinning; this process can be seen on a painted shop sign from Pompeii (IX 7, 7): see V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910-23)* I (Rome 1953) 190-194, pl. 2, who identifies the three figures seated at tables in the background as *pectinarii* or woolcombers. See also Moeller (above n. 69) 15; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 128, no. 42.

[71] A second century A.D. marble freedman sarcophagus, likely Ostian, now in the Getty Museum, depicts diverse motifs on the front panel: a *Totenmahl* scene mixed with pastoral imagery and work scenes. This mixture of compositions recalls the Hellenistic stele with scenes of a blacksmith and a *Totenmahl* from Cyzicus: see above n. 8. The two Getty work scenes appear to represent the combing and spinning of wool: see Holliday (above n. 69) 85-95, figs. 1a-d. A *loculusplatte* in the Getty Museum also depicts a figure preparing wool for spinning in a shop-like setting: see Holliday, *op. cit.* 96-97, fig. 7.

[72] A wall painting from the Hypogeum of the Aurelii, Rome depicts a vertical two beam loom for weaving: see J.P. Wild, "Textiles," in D. Strong and D. Brown eds., *Roman Crafts* (London 1976) 166, fig. 274. For a similar motif on a funerary monument from Burgos, Spain, see A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal* 2 Vols. (Madrid 1949) no. 349. The upper relief on a Gallo-Roman monument from Saintes likely portrays a couple weaving on a warp-weighted loom: see **A 5** (Fig. 6). See also Esp. 4031 for a similar scene from Arlon.

fuller's shop: the lower panel portrays a male figure in a motif similar to the Forlì scene, while the upper panel shows a male in the final process of trimming the cloth.[74] The process of making semi-impermeable felt from wool is also documented in Pompeii, such as the scene depicted on a painted shop sign *in situ* from the workshop of Verecundus.[75]

2. Scenes of Cloth Vending

The compositions on Italian funerary reliefs generally show one or two figures holding a large piece of cloth on display either to customers or the viewer.[76] The setting is often minimal so that the observer is not distracted from the main focus of the scene: the finished cloth. This motif is first found on Italian reliefs of Julio-Claudian date, such as a marble funerary relief or a shop sign from Rome, now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 148).[77] This scene depicts the sale of cloth in a setting of a porticoed structure. Two males on the right display a large, thickly-made, pliant cloth to four male figures on the left. The two middle seated figures are probably customers, accompanied by their standing servants.

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[73] For the relief from Forlì see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 128-129, no. 43; Zimmer (above n. 21) 212, pl. 10.2. For the Pompeian wall painting in Fullonica VI 8, 20 see Spinazzola (above n. 70) 773, fig. 758; Forbes (above n. 69) 87, fig. 5; Moeller (above n. 69) 22-24, fig. 2; Kampen, *Image and Status* 103, 152, no. 39, fig. 90.

[74] G. Julliot, *Musée gallo-romain de Sens: Catalogue* (Sens 1891) nos. 128-129; Esp. 2768; Wild (above n. 72) 176, figs. 291-292; Kampen, *Image and Status* 95, fig. 79; Zimmer (above n. 21) 212, pl. 11.2.

[75] Pompeii IX 7, 7: see Wild (above n. 69) 60, fig. 52; W.O. Moeller, "The Felt Shops of Pompeii," *AJA* 75 (1971) 188, pl. 46.1; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 128, no. 42; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 44, 96, no. 15, fig. 51. Zimmer, *op. cit.* 129, no. 44, interprets the heating vessel and pieces of cloth depicted on a first century A.D. funerary stele from Trieste as the attributes of a felt-maker.

[76] For scenes of cloth vending in Roman Gaul see Chapter Three, 101-134.

[77] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 125-126, no. 39; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 95, no. 13.

An even more detailed scene is found on another relief of similar size and material in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.[78] The scene takes place in a porticoed setting very similar to the other Uffizi relief. However, in this scene the classes of objects depicted are different: fringed work and pillows. The two male figures display a fringed cloth folded in a chest, rather than holding the cloth outstretched between them. A rack above their heads depicts, from left to right, a decorated fringed towel, a piece of cloth, three pillows and another fringed towel.[79] A third male on the left possibly represents the owner of the shop, while the seated couple on the right are probably customers accompanied by their two standing servants.[80]

A funerary stele from Milan, of Flavian or Trajanic date, portrays a reduced version of the scenes of two persons displaying a piece of cloth: two males hold a widespread cloth before them, although in this scene the customers are missing and the bottom of the cloth lies in a heap on the ground (Fig. 149).[81] An even more reduced version of this motif is depicted on a freedman funerary stele of late Claudian date from Milan, which shows a single male figure holding an outstretched cloth before him; another figure holds a cloth over his shoulder (Fig. 150).[82] Another freedman funerary stele from Milan of Flavian date portrays a slight variation:

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[78] Kampen, *Image and Status* 158, no. 56, fig. 38; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 124-125, no. 38; Zimmer (above n. 21) pl. 1.2; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 95, no. 13.

[79] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 124, no. 38, identifies this sash-like cloth as a *mantele*, used as a hand towel or napkin. Pliny, *HN* 8.192, noted that pillows stuffed with fleece rather than straw were distinguished by Gallic names, suggesting that this practice originated in Gaul.

[80] The seated male is likely the customer as he is dressed in a toga, while the other male figures are tunicate.

[81] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 124, no. 37; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 95, no. 11.

[82] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 122, no. 35; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 95, no. 9, fig. 48. A wall painting from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix in Pompeii depicts two separate male cloth vendors displaying a piece of cloth to a customer: see Croisille (above n. 45) pl. 120.1; Baltzer, *op. cit.* 96, no. 14, fig. 14; Nappo (above

the figure on the left holds a large cloth spread out before him, while the figure on the right probably represents the customer, as he is wearing a long fringed scarf as a sign of outdoor clothing (Fig. 151). This customer seems to be inspecting another piece of cloth, which he holds before him at shoulder height.[83]

A marble funerary altar from Rome, ca. 100 A.D., portrays the display of cloth in a shop to a potential seated customer (Fig. 152), in a motif similar to the Uffizi cloth display scene (Fig. 148).[84] This customer is observing a large, pliant cloth spread out like a tablecloth by the three standing attendants; another male figure stands on the right holding a *mappa*. The wicker box carved on the back wall above likely represents the container, in which the cloth shown in this scene would have been stored.

Pieces of cloth are also displayed on a second/third century A.D. child's sarcophagus in Turin (Fig. 153).[85] In this scene, three figures each hold a separate piece of cloth on display; two figures in the background complete the composition. A customer or cloth vendor is perhaps represented in the male on the right, who is dressed in a tunic and mantle.

A different composition is depicted on a late third century A.D. sarcophagus from Milan: a male figure sits in profile on a small bench before a solid work-table in an arched, porticoed setting (Fig. 154) similar to the Ancona wine vending scene described in the following section

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n. 34) 82, 84-86, fig. 5. The shop sign of Verecundus, the fuller at Pompeii, also portrays a single figure displaying a piece of finished cloth before him: see Zimmer, *op. cit.* 128, no. 42; Croisille, *op. cit.* pl. 121.1.

[83] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 123-124, no. 36; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 95, no. 10.

[84] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 126-127, no. 40; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 96, no. 17.

[85] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 127, no. 41; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 95, no. 12, fig. 49.

(Fig. 155).[86] The figure appears to be holding a small cylindrical object in his right hand above a small box on the table. Although the figure's actions are unclear, Gabelmann interprets this scene as a leatherworker in his shop because of the highly stylized, sleeved garment hanging from a rack above the figure.[87] It may represent a leather garment, as the cloths displayed in the other Italian scenes are carved with many folds to show the pliancy of the fabric, likely wool.

C. Scenes of Wine Vending

The following section contains two categories of reliefs depicting the sale of wine in Italy, with one example from Spain: scenes of wine vending in a *cella vinaria* and scenes of wine vending in taverns.

1. Scenes of the Sale of Wine in a *Cella Vinaria*

The Italian scenes pertaining to the sale and trade of wine portray large storage containers, such as amphorae and barrels.[88] The setting is minimal: there are no counters or shelves, but merely an enclosed space in which the transaction could take place. One of the earliest apparent depictions of the wine trade is found on the front socle of a late Republican funerary stele erected by former slaves: a female figure stands in frontal position beside a large

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[86] H. Gabelmann, *Die Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage* (Bonn 1973) 218, no. 74, pl. 40.3; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 135, no. 50. For the Ancona relief see below, p. 45.

[87] Gabelmann (above n. 86) 161. P. Veyne, "Patrimony," in P. Veyne ed., *A History of Private Life from Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) 147, suggests that the figure represents a scribe writing on parchment, with a tanned skin hanging on display above. However, the shape of the displayed object resembles a sleeved garment to wear rather than a medium for writing on.

[88] For a discussion of Gallo-Roman wine vending scenes see Chapter Four, 135-162.

container of unusual tube-like form; her left hand holds up a bucket to a spout attached to the container.[89]

A scene portraying the sale of wine in a *cella vinaria* is found on a well preserved mid-third century A.D. marble sarcophagus from Ancona (Fig. 155).[90] Two male figures stand in the centre of a triple-arched facade on either side of recumbent wine barrels, which are stacked one above the other. The figure on the left can be identified as the customer, as he carries a moneybag in his left hand. The figure on the right represents the wine vendor, for he offers the customer a *patera* of wine from the amphora on the floor; a wine-probe is visible in his left hand. This image implies that a wine tasting session took place before the transaction.[91] Statues of Mercury and Bacchus flank the central scene of vending in the separate side arcades.

A fragmentary second/third century A.D. relief from Mérida, Spain, has a composition related to the one shown in the Ancona wine vending scene (Fig. 156).[92] The Mérida scene may have portrayed a transaction involving the sale of wine in a *cella vinaria*; however, only

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[89] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 216, no. 172.

[90] Gabelmann (above n. 86) 219. no. 81, pl. 48; Kampen, *Image and Status* 88, fig. 48; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 218-219, no. 177; Koch and Sichtermann (above n. 27) 283, pl. 307. See also A. Sogliano, "La Casa dei Vettii in Pompei," *MonAnt* 8 (1898) 360, fig. 56, for a scene in a wine shop operated by Erotes on a wall painting from the House of the Vettii, Pompeii (VI 15, 1).

[91] A similar composition and motif is displayed on a very worn sarcophagus fragment of unknown provenance, now in Ravenna: see Gabelmann (above n. 84) 218, no. 73, pl. 39.2; J. Kollwitz and H. Herdejürgen, *Die Sarkophage der westlichen Gebiete des Imperium Romanum. Die ravennatischen Sarkophage* (*ASR* 8.2) (Berlin 1979) 46-47, no. A 57, pl. 22.6; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 219, no. 178. A relief of unknown provenance, from Ince Blundell Hall, England, also portrays the sampling and sale of wine: see B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford 1929) 298, pl. 36.

[92] García y Bellido (above n. 72) 317-318, no. 324, fig. 254. A fragmented relief from Vatican also depicts a male figure filling wine from a barrel, although in this example he uses a small pick to open the barrel: see Amedick (above n. 22) 163, no. 259, pl. 109.4.

one male figure is now preserved. He pours wine into a jug from a large recumbent barrel on supports; a plaque below contains the epitaph.

Some Italian scenes of wine shops display a low counter that separates the vendor from the customer or observer.[93] A fragmentary second century A.D. relief in the Vatican depicts a male figure seated behind a counter under an awning. This relief seems to reveal something of the accounting side of the wine trade, for a tablet, inkwell and *calamus* are placed one above the other on the table.[94] Two rows of 13 large amphorae complete the scene on the right.[95]

In the above example from Ancona and possibly Mérida, the customer purchases wine from a wholesale dealer. The wine was therefore probably imbibed in a location other than the settings portrayed in these two scenes. The following scenes take place in the setting of a tavern, in which the customers are seated and are being served wine in drinking cups by a female server. The main criterion which identifies the settings as taverns is a counter used for the storage of wine vessels and the mixing of wine.

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[93] See also a very worn terracotta Ostian shop sign of Hadrianic date, found *in situ* (Ostia III 14, 4), which portrays a figure standing behind a counter; a large vessel is visible in the foreground: M.F. Squarciapino, "Piccolo Corpus dei mattoni scolpiti ostiensi," *BullComm* 76 (1956-58) 196, pl.8.2; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 216, no. 174 (drawing).

[94] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 219-220, no. 179. The marble relief in Ince Blundell Hall portrays a similar motif with a work-table, writing tools and amphora on the right of the wine vending scene: see Ashmole (above n. 91) pl. 36.

[95] A similar composition of counter and storage vessels is depicted on two terracotta relief fragments from a second century A.D. tomb in the Isola Sacra, Ostia. The inscription identifies the deceased as a water seller (*aquatarius*): see H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie* (Lund 1952) 129, no. 169a; Kampen, *Image and Status* 143-144, nos. 17-18; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 217-218, nos. 175-176.

2. Scenes Portraying the Sale of Wine in Taverns

Reliefs in Ostia and Pompeii portray the sale of wine in the settings of taverns (*tabernae vinariae*).[96] In these examples, a server pours wine from a jug into the drinking cup of the customer. A good example of this motif is found on a late third century A.D. Ostian sarcophagus which depicts a female figure serving a drink to a female customer seated behind a table; a seated male companion is shown drinking from his cup (Fig. 157).[97] A small dog begs at the table, filling in the lower space between the server and customers. A large counter with an arched opening in the base for a water basin and three shelves of storage vessels are shown on the left. Another late third century A.D. fragment of a sarcophagus lid from the Isola Sacra, Ostia (Fig. 158) and a wall painting from Pompeii depict similar tavern motifs.[98]

D. Scenes portraying the Manufacture and Sale of Shoes

One of the oldest work motifs, the depiction of shoemakers in their shops, is found on a few funerary stelae in Italy and the provinces. The most common attribute appears to be the shoe last, a mould upon which shoes were either made or repaired. A first century A.D. stele

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[96] Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 8.55.1 describes a *taberna vinaria* as a place to go for wine: *Quoniam taberna, ubi venit vinum, a vino vinaria.....dicitur.* Other terms were also used in antiquity for establishments where wine was served: a *popina* was a place where prepared food and wine were sold; and a *caupona* was a restaurant and a hotel: see T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité* (Uppsala 1957) 17, 27; G. Hermansen, "The Roman Inns and the Law. The Inns of Ostia," in J.A.S. Evans ed., *Polis and Imperium. Studies in Honour of Edward Togo Salmon* (Toronto 1974) 168.

[97] This scene takes place in the right field on one of the long sides of the sarcophagus; a harbour scene is carved in the left field: see Hermansen (above n. 96) 175, fig. 3; Kampen, *Image and Status* 44-51, 138, no. 2, fig. 18; Koch and Sichtermann (above n. 28) 125, pl. 132; Whitehead (above n. 27) 55, no. 9, 319-320; Amedick (above n. 22) 138, no. 97, pl. 109.1.

[98] Amedick (above n. 22) 136, no. 87, pl. 109.2; Schefold (above n. 65) 135-136; Kampen, *Image and Status* 155, no. 48, fig. 27. This composition of a female server and seated drinking figures is also found in the context of funerary banquet scenes: see Kampen, *op. cit.* 48-50, n. 52, 58-59.

from Milan (Fig. 159) and a late first/early second century A.D. Ostian sarcophagus, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (Fig. 160), portray two varied scenes of shoemakers at work in their shops. The epitaph on the Milan stele identifies the deceased as a *sutor caligarius,* a maker of boots.[99] The shoemaker is shown seated in profile on a chair before his worktable. He appears to be cutting a piece of leather with a knife on the table. Another tool, perhaps an awl, is carved above the knife.

The left picture field of the Ostian sarcophagus portrays a shoemaker sitting on a stool holding a shoe last (*forma calcei*) or shoe on his lap with both hands (Fig. 160).[100] The work table shown in the Milan scene is missing; instead, the shoemaker is seated before a tall, rectangular cabinet (*armarium*) with either finished boots or lasts displayed on top.[101] The figure standing on the right of the cabinet in the Ostian scene likely represents a ropemaker (*restiarius*), as he appears to be twirling a long strand from a bundle of hemp onto a spindle.[102]

Shoe lasts are sometimes depicted on stelae as the sole work attribute of the shoemaker.[103]

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[99] *CIL* V, 5919; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 133, no. 48.

[100] O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch- römischen Literatur und Kunst* (Bonn 1967) 75, fig. 6; Koch and Sichtermann (above n. 28) 121, fig. 117; Zimmer, *op. cit.* 132-133, no. 47; Whitehead (above n. 27) 50, no. 1; Zimmer (above n. 21) 209, pl. 3.1; Amedick (above n. 22) no. 173, pl. 117.2. For the epitaph see *IG* 14, 929. Kampen, *Image and Status* 144, no. 19, fig. 53, describes the shoemaker as cutting leather; however, he does not seem to be holding any type of knife. Since typical Roman outdoor shoes (*calcei*) had laces, perhaps the shoemaker is shown lacing the shoe on his lap.

[101] A similar cupboard with shoe lasts sitting on top and in shelves can be seen on a wall painting of Erotes as shoemakers from Herculaneum: see Lau (above n. 100) fig. 38; Kampen, *Image and Status* 66, fig. 52.

[102] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 132, no. 47; W. Gaitzsch, "Antike Seilerei," *AW* 16 (1985) 44, 48, fig. 7.

[103] See Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 135-138, nos. 51-54 for Italian non-figural scenes of the attributes of shoemakers. For Roman Gaul see Esp. 1872, 1878, 5015, 5226. For Asia Minor see Pfuhl-Möbius (above n. 1) no. 2300, pl. 176.

A fragmented, second century A.D. relief of an Ostian freedwoman, Septimia Stratonice, reveals her occupation as a shoemaker (*sutrix*) and perhaps also as a vendor of shoes.[104] She is shown seated in profile on a chair holding up a shoe last (*forma calcei*) in her right hand, so that the toes fit into a niche carved in the *ansa*. This scene recalls the composition portrayed on the fifth century B.C. stele of Xanthippos the shoemaker.

A Gallo-Roman relief from Reims reveals the most information about the shoemaking process in a scene very different from the Milan and Ostian reliefs of cobblers (Fig. 161).[105] The male shoemaker straddles a bench in his shop before a shoe that rests upon a support attached to the bench. He holds a hammer-like tool in his left hand, while his right hand presses down a long strip, likely leather, over the sole of the shoe; this strip hangs to the ground by the shoemaker's left foot. Espérandieu identified this cobbler as a maker of wooden clogs; however, because the relief is poorly preserved, it is also possible that the object represents a leather shoe stretched over a shoe last attached to the bench.[106] A wicker basket under the bench is filled with barely discernible objects, possibly shoes or blocks of wood. The cobbler's

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[104] Kampen, *Image and Status* 64-69, 139-140, no. 5, fig. 47. The partially preserved inscription may have also included her occupational title (*s(utrici?)*): see *CIL* XIV, suppl. 4698. A side panel of a funerary altar from Skelani (*Dalmatia*) also portrays a male shoemaker holding a shoe or a shoe last in his right hand: see M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* I (1926, rep. Oxford 1971) pl. 42.2.

[105] Esp. 3685; Lau (above n. 100) 104-105, fig. 24a (fig. 24b depicts a reconstruction); Schlippschuh, *Händler* 55; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 248; Whitehead (above n. 26) 363. See also Chapter Six, pp. 220-221.

[106] Esp. 3685; Lau (above n. 100) 104. Preserved examples of wooden clogs (*sculponeae*) have been found in Saalburg, Mainz and Cologne, Germany, as well as from Vindolanda, England: see N. Goldman, "Roman Footwear," in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (University of Wisconsin Press 1994) 111, 113-114, fig. 6.17.

tools of the trade are displayed on a shelf in the upper background. A Gallo-Roman relief from Sens portrays a similar motif of a cobbler, although the composition is reversed. [107]

Thus the scenes of the shoemakers from Ostia and Reims emphasize the shoemakers in a workshop setting rather than sale of the finished product. Scenes of vending and shoe shops are, however, portrayed on Pompeian wall paintings and on funerary reliefs from Roman Gaul that will be discussed later in this study.[108] A forum scene from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix, Pompeii depicts a vendor displaying a pair of shoes to four seated females; more pairs of shoes are shown in the background.[109] Additionally, the lower scene on a painted shop sign from the fuller's workshop of Verecundus at Pompeii portrays a transaction involving the sale of shoes in a setting identified by a narrow-legged table, which separates the female shoe vendor and seated male customer (Fig. 162).[110] The customer sits on a high-backed bench holding a shoe in his right hand; two pairs of shoes are displayed on another lower table in front.

E. Scenes of Accounting

Closely connected with scenes of vending and trade is the motif of accounting, in which the main element consists of a counter (*mensa*) piled with coins; one or more seated or standing males either counting, sorting or tallying the coins complete the scene. These figures

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[107] Esp. 2783. See also C. Picard, "Circonscription de Paris (région sud)," *Gallia* 21 (1963) 380, fig. 7, for a stele from Bourges portraying a shoemaker standing in his shop.

[108] For scenes of Gallo-Roman sandal shops see Chapter Six, pp. 217-221.

[109] For the Pompeian wall painting (II 4, 3), now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, see Lau (above n. 100) fig. 36; Croisille (above n. 45) 120.2; R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge University Press 1991) 163-164, fig.177.

[110] For this shop sign (IX 7, 7) see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 130, no. 45; Kampen, *Image and Status* 153, no. 42, fig. 46.

likely represent bankers, moneychangers or businessmen involved in some kind of financial exchange.[111] The scenes of accounting, commonly referred to as counter scenes, are found on funerary reliefs in Italy, Pannonia, Roman Gaul and Germany.

The motif of the counter scene seems to have appeared later in Italy than the other work motifs, as the reliefs range in date from the mid/late second century A.D. to the early fourth century A.D.[112] Reliefs on sarcophagi from Ravenna, the Palazzo Salviati in Rome, and Arezzo may portray scenes of banking or moneychanging.[113] The mid/late second century A.D. sarcophagus from Ravenna depicts a very basic motif: a single male figure stands (?) behind a counter, tilted forward to show that he is counting a pile of very enlarged coins on top.[114] An early third century A.D. strigillated sarcophagus, in the Palazzo Salviati, portrays a male figure standing behind a counter counting a pile of coins on top; two lattice-work boxes are placed one above the other on the right side of the counter (Fig. 163).[115] A second male figure stands on the left of the counter with his hand raised in a gesture of greeting. The late third century A.D. Arezzo sarcophagus depicts a more complex version of the counter scene.[116] On the left,

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[111] Whitehead (above n. 27) 300; Amedick (above n. 22) 113.

[112] Another possible example is depicted on a second/third century A.D. fragment from Aquileia: see Gabelmann (above n. 86) 71, no. 46, pl. 20.2; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 101, no. 51, fig. 83.

[113] J. Andréau, *La vie financière dans le monde romain. Les métiers d'argent (IVe siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)* (*BEFAR*. 265, Rome 1987) 473-476; Amedick (above n. 22) 113. See also Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* I (1877) 406- 408, s.v. '*Argentarii*'.

[114] Gabelmann (above n. 86) 225, no. 110, pl. 54.2 (last quarter of the second century A.D.); Kollwitz and Herdejürgen (above n. 91) 22, no. A6, pl. 5.2 (ca. 160 A.D.); Andréau (above n. 113) 473-475.

[115] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 102, no. 55; Whitehead (above n. 27) 56, no. 12, 301; Andréau (above n. 113) 275); Amedick (above n. 22) 156, no. 214, pl. 111.3.

[116] Amedick (above n. 22) 114, 122, no. 7, pl. 112.1.

two male figures stand behind a counter counting a pile of coins, while on the right, a third male's left hand rests on a pile of coins on the second counter. He also seems to be shaking hands with a fourth male. A fifth figure carries a sack on his back between the two counters.

Other scenes may also represent motifs of bankers or moneychangers or possibly payments in connection with trade and rent, such as the ones portrayed on the end panel of an early third century A.D. Endymion sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, and a fourth century A.D. sarcophagus fragment from Ostia.[117] The composition is similar in both scenes: two men are seated behind a counter; one figure holds a moneybag, while the other figure holds a scroll. A youth stands on the left with a heavy sack on his back.

A second century A.D. relief in Belgrade (Pannonia) also displays a counter scene: a male figure is shown seated in profile before a thin-legged table, instead of the typical solid counter.[118] His left hand holds a tablet, while his right hand rests on a pile of coins, partially emptied from a bag on the table. Another male figure on the right reads from an open scroll. This scene seems to portray the tallying of accounts of a businessman or banker, if the tablet is

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[117] For the Endymion sarcophagus see Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 102, no. 53, fig. 85; Whitehead (above n. 27) 53, no. 7, 300; Amedick (above n. 22) 149, no. 172, pl. 110.3. For a recent work on the Endymion sarcophagi, see M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1995). For the Ostian sarcophagus fragment: see Baltzer, *op. cit.* 102, no. 57; Whitehead, *op. cit.* 57, no. 14, 300; Amedick, *op. cit.* 136-137, no. 88, pl. 110.5. See also a similar motif on a relief from the Museo Chiaramonti, Rome in Baltzer. *op. cit.* 102, no. 54, fig. 86; Andreae 1.2 (above n. 27) XLII 3, no. 213. A late third century A.D. sarcophagus from the Catacombe di Novaziano, Rome, depicts a comparable counter scene surrounded by bucolic scenes: see Amedick *op. cit.* 114, 144, no. 134, pl. 111.4, who suggests that the accounting scene represents the administration of an estate-owner.

[118] Rostovtzeff (above n. 104) 318, pl. 43.1; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire* (New York 1971) 127, fig. 117; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 101, no. 50, pl. 82; Andréau (above n. 113) 477.

interpreted as a ledger for recording income and expenditures (*codex accepti et expensi*).[119]

Counter scenes are also depicted on several third century A.D. funerary reliefs from Gallia Belgica in north-eastern Gaul.[120] This motif, adapted from the Italian models, served the same purpose of portraying figures who regularly handled coins in their occupational role.[121] Some Gallo-Roman monuments portray a scene of the tallying of accounts related to the business that is depicted elsewhere on the monument. For example, a scene of the tallying of accounts is portrayed below a cloth vending scene on a monument from Arlon, known as the 'Marchand de drap' (**GB 13**, Fig 62).[122] A male is shown seated on a stool before a small counter laden with coins and money bags. He looks down at an oversized tablet on his lap, while two. other males look on at the activities.[123] Two reliefs on the monument of the Secundinii at Igel also portray a similar motif in connection with the wholesale trade of cloth (**GB 24**, Figs. 86,

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[119] See Cicero, *Rosc. Com.* 2.5 for the use of this term: *...non habere se hoc nomen* (this item) *in codicem accepti et expensi relatum confitetur....*

[120] A few examples of this motif are found on funerary reliefs in other parts of Roman Gaul: see Narbonne: Esp. 626 (first century A.D.); Saintes: Esp. 1341 (second/third century A.D.); Paris: Esp. 3175. See also Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 100, nos. 42-43, 45.

[121] J.F. Drinkwater, "Money-Rents and Food-Renders in Gallic Funerary Reliefs," in A. King and M.E. Henig eds., *The Roman West in the Third Century* (*BAR* International Series 109, 1981) 223.

[122] For discussion of the cloth vending scene see Chapter Three, 104-105.

[123] Two reliefs in Trier and a relief from Bourges also portray a figure at a counter with a tablet; no coins or moneybags are shown, although some sort of accounting is likely taking place: see Esp. 1443; Esp. 5142; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 158, no. 184; R. Schindler, *Führer durch die vorgeschichtliche und römische Abteilung. Landesmuseum Trier* (Trier 1977) fig. 323; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 97, nos. 20-21, 23, fig. 54-56.

106).[124] Other reliefs from Jünkerrath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122) and Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 129) depict scenes of the tallying of accounts in the context of wine vending.[125]

Other scenes might show some kind of payment taking place at a counter laden with coins. A well known example is depicted on a funerary monument from Neumagen: seven figures are grouped around a counter top covered with coins and tablets (Fig. 164).[126] Earlier scholars interpreted this scene and other funerary reliefs with similar motifs from the surrounding region as the paying of rent by lower class rural labourers to rich landlords.[127] Drinkwater has re-interpreted the scenes in light of the large scale activities portrayed on the Igel monument (**GB 24**) as scenes depicting cloth traders paying piece-work textile workers.[128] However, it seems more likely that the Igel relief (Fig. 106) depicts the intake of coins from the

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[124] Andréau (above n. 113) 470. For a discussion of the Igel cloth vending scenes see Chapter Three, 115-120.

[125] For a discussion of these wine vending scenes see Chapter Four, 139-140, 142. The monument of the butchers from Dijon also depicts a relief of a figure counting coins (**GL 15**, Fig. 33). For reliefs of other counter scenes from Augsburg and Cologne see Wagner (above n. 22); Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 100-101, nos. 46, 48, fig. 79.

[126] Esp. 5148; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 215, no. 303, pl. 59; Drinkwater (above n. 121) pl. 15.1; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 98, no. 28.

[127] For earlier views see F. Hettner, *Illustrierte Führer durch das Provinzialmuseum in Trier* (Trier 1903) 16; F. Drexel, "Die Bilder der Igeler Säule," *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 96-102. Wightman argued that the scenes of payment provide evidence for an early form of colonate in Gaul: see E. Wightman, "Peasants and potentates: an investigation of social structure and land tenure in Roman Gaul," *AJAH* 3 (1978) 109. For scenes of payments in Gaul see Esp. 4037, 4098, 4148 (lost), 4149, 5142, 5175, 7725; Esp. *RG* 427; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 143, no. 182, pl. 29; M. Renard, "Scènes de comptes á Buzenol," *Le Pays Gaumais* 20 (1949) 1-45; R. Billoret, "Informations archéologiques, circonscription de Lorraine," *Gallia* 34 (1976) 367, fig. 13U; Drinkwater (above n. 121) 220-222, pl. 15.3, 15.5-15.7; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 98-99, nos. 29-30, 35-37, figs. 62, 67; L. Lefèbvre, *Le Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* (Brussels 1990) 78-79, no. 52.

[128] Drinkwater (above n. 121) 216-224. See also K. Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 70 (1980) 104. Payments from workers or tenants to their employers are more commonly interpreted as scenes of payment in kind, such as the example seen on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Fig. 113): see P. Veyne, "Les cadeaux des colons à leur propriétaire: la neuvième bucolique et la mausolée d'Igel," *RA* (1986) 245-252; C.R.

sale of cloth. The other scenes probably do represent some sorts of payments taking place, as they are not shown in connection with the sale of a particular product, like those on the reliefs from Arlon (Fig. 62), Junkerrath (Fig. 122), Igel (Figs. 86, 106) and Augsburg (Fig. 129).[129]

F. Scenes Portraying the Transport of Merchandise

Closely connected with motifs of commerce and trade are the scenes depicting the transport of merchandise by foot, by cart or by boat. A prevalent theme on reliefs in Italy and the provinces is the transport of wine in barrels, amphorae and other containers. A few Italian examples portray the figures on foot carrying small amounts of wine in amphorae.[130] Large amounts of wine were often transported short distances in barrels on carts. This motif can be seen on reliefs from northern Italy, Roman Gaul, and Germany, which portray the transportation of a single barrel in a four-wheeled cart.[131] On the other hand, scenes from the

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Whittaker, "Trade and the Aristocracy in the Roman Empire," *Land, City and Trade in the Roman Empire* (Aldershot, Hamp. 1993) XII, 60. See also Chapter Seven, 257-258.

[129] Andréau (above n. 113) 470-471

[130] This motif is portrayed on a shop sign *in situ* at Pompeii (VIII 4); a first century A.D. (?) relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and an early second century A.D. funerary altar in the Louvre: see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 222-224, nos. 184-185, 187; R. Ling, "Street Plaques at Pompeii," in M. Henig ed., *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 1990) 56, fig. 4.14.

[131] For Italy see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 228-230, nos.195-197; M. Molin, "Quelques considérations sur le chariot des vendanges de Langres," *Gallia* 42 (1984), figs. 5, 7; M. Molin, "Le transport du raisin ou du vin par la route à l'époque romaine," *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin. Actes du colloque 28-29 mai 1988* (*Caesarodunum* 24, Paris 1990) 210, figs. 6-7. For Roman Gaul and Germany see Esp. 3232, 5148; Wagner (above n. 22) pl. 28, fig. 63; P. Kneissel, "Die utriclarii: Ihr Rolle im gallo-römischen Transportwesen und Weinhandel," *BJb* 181 (1981) 185, figs. 5-6; Molin (1984) *op. cit.* 98-103, figs. 3, 8; G. Zahlhaas, "Handel, Waage, Gewicht und Geld," *Die Römer in Schwaben* (Munich 1985) 127, fig. 96; S. Pannoux, "La représentation du travail: récit et image sur les monuments funéraires des Médiomatriques," *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 318, fig. 7; Molin (1990) *op. cit.* 209, 215-216, figs. 5, 14; **GB 21** (Fig. 79, lower). This motif is also depicted on a silver patera from Otanes, Spain: see García y Bellido (above n. 72) 467, no. 493.

Italian peninsula depict the transportation of wine by land in an inflated leather hide (*culleus*) on a cart (*plaustrum*) well into the fourth century A.D., while amphorae or barrels of wine were generally represented as being transported on water by boats.[132] Provincial reliefs also portray the transport of multiple barrels of wine and amphorae by ship, on the extensive river systems in Roman Gaul and Germany.[133]

Another motif showing the transportation of merchandise depicts large bales of cloth being conveyed by cart or by boat. This motif is not found in Italy, although the scenes of cloth vending and manufacturing indicate that a thriving cloth trade existed there, but is depicted on reliefs in Roman Gaul, where the bales serve as attributes of wholesale traders of finished cloth. Reliefs on the Igel monument show bales being tied in preparation for transport (**GB 24**, Figs. 94, 95), and their subsequent transport by cart (**GB 24**, Figs. 109, 110) and by boat (**GB 24**, Figs. 93, 94).[134]

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[132] Three Pompeian wall paintings portray the *culleus* motif: see W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* 2 Vols. (Leipzig 1868), nos. 1486, 1487, 1488; Molin (1990) (above n. 131) 211, fig. 8. See also a relief from Sulmona; a sarcophagus lid fragment in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome; a lid fragment of unknown provenance in the British Museum; and a sarcophagus fragment in the Vatican: Molin, *op. cit,* 212-213, figs. 9-11; S. Walker, *Catalogue of Roman Sarcophagi in the British Museum* (*CSIR* II.2) (London 1990) 19-20, no. 10, pl. 4; Himmelmann (above n. 34) pl. 19. Scenes of barrels on carts became prevalent in Italy in the early fourth century A.D.: see A. Tchernia, *Le vin d'Italie romaine* (Rome 1986) 289, fig. 5.1; Molin, *op. cit.* 214, fig. 12. For an Ostian mosaic of the transport of wine amphorae see G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia* IV: *Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei* (Rome 1961) 74. See also Amedick (above n. 22) 145, no. 143, pl. 47.3, f or a similar motif on a sarcophagus in Rome. For a scene of the transport of wine in barrels by boat at Rome see Tchernia, *op. cit.* 288, fig. 2.

[133] For examples in Roman Gaul see Narbonne: Esp. 685; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 145, fig. 118; Cabrières d'Aigues, Avignon: Esp. 6699; Baltzer, *op. cit.* 142, fig.. 111; Molin (1990) (above n. 131) 216-217, fig. 15; Neumagen: Esp. 5148, 5833; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 131, 287-288, nos. 179b, 209, pls. 26, 54-56. See also a relief from Colijnsplaat, Holland in T. Bechert, *Römisches Germanien zwischen Rhein und Maas* (Munich 1982) 203, fig. 266. For Mainz, Germany see Esp. 5833; Baltzer, *op. cit.* 144, figs. 116-117; W. Selzer, *Römische Steindenkmäler. Mainz in römischer Zeit* (Mainz 1988) fig. 208.

[134] For other Gallo-Roman reliefs of the preparation of bales of cloth for transport see: Arles: Esp. 164; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 143, fig. 114; Le Puy: Esp.1670; Arlon: Esp. 4131; Clausen: Esp. 4156; Trier: Esp. 5186;

Conclusions

The scenes of work discussed in this chapter depict specific work attributes in settings particular to each profession. The work attributes are generally consistent in each motif such as chopping blocks, cleavers and meat-racks in the scenes of butcher shops; the large displayed piece of cloth in the scenes of cloth shops; the counter in scenes of food and wine vending and accounting; and the barrels and amphorae in scenes of transport. These motifs display the kinds of items one would expect in a real shop, market or workshop. However, it should not be assumed that these scenes represent mirror copies of transactions taking place in actual shops, markets and workshops, but rather they appear as ideograms for specific professions. The wishes of the deceased, however, must have determined to some extent the types of work scenes and attributes depicted on a particular tombstone. No two scenes of work are alike, even those with the same motif. Trimalchio, in Petronius' *Satyricon*, provides very specific instructions to his stonemason friend Habinnas about what he would like to have carved on his tombstone, for example, his pet dog and his ships.[135]

Baltzer, *op. cit.* 143, fig. 112. For Augsburg (Raetia) see Wagner (above n. 22) no. 61, pl. 27; Baltzer, *op. cit.* fig. 115. For Salzburg (Pannonia) see N. Heger, *Österreich. Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Iuvanum* (*CSIR* 3.1) (Vienna 1975) no. 52, pl. 22. Other scenes depict generic scenes of merchandise being transported by cart. For Italy see A. Giuliano ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture* 1.2 (Rome 1981) 172, no. 62. For Roman Gaul see Esp. 3521, 3522 (Dijon); Esp. 7556 (Luxembourg). For Germany see Esp. *RG* 455 (Baden-Baden). See also Pfuhl-Möbius II (above n. 1) 289, no. 1176, for a similar motif from Chios. See also G. Lambert, *Le Luxembourg romain* (1990) 66, no. 11 for a fragment of a relief in Saint-Mard depicting a ship carrying large square objects resembling bales of cloth. A mosaic panel from a tomb in Sousse, North Africa depicts a different kind of merchandise, possibly lead bars, being unloaded off a ship: see Dunbabin (above n. 50) 126, pl. XLVIII, fig. 121.

[135] Petronius, *Sat.* 71.

Obviously, the degree of monetary success achieved by the deceased determined the size and decoration of the monument, as well as the degree of expertise of a sculptor. In Italy, the types of preserved funerary monuments which were used to depict scenes of vending range from the unusual, trapezoidal-shaped tomb of Eurysaces (Fig. 131) to stelae, altars, sarcophagi and other monumental tombs lining the streets of necropoleis. On the other hand, other reliefs of Italian vending scenes are not funerary in context, but probably decorated the fronts of actual shops as a form of advertisement (Fig. 142).

Scenes of butchers' shops (Figs. 133-141) and the sale of cloth products (Figs. 148-154) are the most commonly portrayed reliefs of vending in Italy, followed by scenes depicting the sale of other perishable food commodities, shoes and wines. Butchered meats and cloth products may have been considered as items of prestige to display on tombs. The limited number of scenes of wine vending (Figs. 155-158) is rather odd, considering the number of vendors who would have been involved in the sale of this commonly consumed product. However, small tavern owners were probably of very low status and perhaps could not afford the cost of a tomb carved in relief.

The scenes of skilled workers, larger scale trade (transport of goods and wine) and the actual individual vending scenes appear to be closely related to each other. This relationship is shown especially in the scenes of the manufacture and sale of cloth, which depict many of the processes involved in this trade, such as spinning, weaving and finishing the cloth, transporting bales of cloth, and selling the finished goods (Figs. 148-153). These processes are represented chiefly as separate motifs, although the shop of the fuller Verecundus, from Pompeii, depicts a

scene of the sale of shoes (Fig. 162) in addition to the scene of the finishing processes. Wine is shown being transported in barrels and amphorae, sold in taverns by servers and wholesale by dealers (Figs. 155-158). The Italian scenes of accounting are more ambiguous, as they represent the exchange of money, which is a necessary element of commerce, but they do not indicate any particular affiliation with a specific trade. The Italian (Fig. 163) and Pannonian scenes appear to show the taking in of coins, while some of the Gallo-Roman scenes might represent the paying out of coins (Figs. 106, 164).

The reliefs represent a wide range of figures who are depicted in scenes of sales on tombs, from those who showed their personal involvement in the sale of goods to those who oversaw the sale of various products on a larger scale. The scenes of butchers were probably commissioned by the persons depicted in this trade, as the relief from the Villa Albani at Rome (Fig. 136) portrays the portrait bust of the deceased along side a scene of the same figure at work in his profession. However, the role of deceased who commissioned the relief of the meat and fish vendors on the Ostian sarcophagus (Fig. 137) is unclear. In both vignettes, the customers are more prominently displayed and better dressed than the vendors. Perhaps the relief on this sarcophagus was not commissioned by a vendor but by a customer. To be seen buying costly items at the market may have conferred prestige.

The scenes of the food vendors (Figs. 142-145) and shoemakers (Fig. 159-161) were probably also commissioned by the figures portrayed in this trade. One of the food vending scenes portrays a female vendor, who must have achieved some success through her work as her shop sign was made of costly marble (Fig. 142). The food vendors are shown at work in

their shops; however, no emphasis is placed on the display or the sale of finished products in the scenes of the shoemakers. It is likely that the figures depicted on the reliefs of bankers or moneychangers from Ravenna, the Palazzo Salviati (Fig. 163) and Arezzo also represent the deceased who commissioned the reliefs. On the other hand, the figures counting coins on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Figs. 86, 106) represent workers of the Secundinii, the cloth traders who erected the monument.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the persons who commissioned the scenes were involved personally in the actual sale of the product or whether they were overseeing the product's sale on a larger scale. The scene of wine vending in the *cella vinaria* from Ancona (Fig. 155) depicts the wholesale distribution of wine. The well-dressed vendor in this scene probably does represent the deceased, although there is no proof of this. It is also not known if the vendor in the scene was the vintner or a middleman of the product on display. The Ostian tavern scenes were probably not commissioned by the servers. Workers such as these would have had fairly low status and would not have been able to pay for such costly commisssions. Scenes of the sale of pieces of cloth and other items (Figs. 148-153) portray figures who are involved only in the sale of the product and not its manufacture. The deceased who commissioned these monuments probably represented themselves as the vendors in these scenes; however, it is unclear that they represent vendors on a large scale, with only one item of cloth on display and very few elements to indicate the setting. The scenes of the storage of dried goods (Figs. 146, 147) might indicate that the deceased were wholesale dealers of these products, not the farmers who cultivated them.

Some scenes of bread vending depict the baker and the finished product, while others show figures involved in the sale or possible distribution of bread, related to the *annona*. On the other hand, it is not likely that Eurysaces was personally involved in the sale of bread at the time he commissioned his monument (Fig. 131), or even the Secundinii at Igel (**GB 24**). who were wholesale traders of cloth. These figures served rather as overseers of their respective wholesale businesses. Likewise, the numerous examples of the scenes of transport were probably not commissioned by the labourers who were depicted on them, as they could not afford such costly tombs. These scenes were commissioned by their bosses, who were themselves involved in the large scale trading of various goods (*negotiatores*).

The Italian scenes of vending represent a relatively small proportion of the overall genre of work scenes. There are many more epitaphs of vendors than there are carved reliefs, indicating that not all became rich enough to pay for costly tombs. Very few types of vendors are actually depicted in their occupational roles, suggesting that only the professions represented in the scenes had the potential for wealth and success. At the very least, it was these vendors who could afford to build costly tombs. The various Italian work motifs related to vending and trade are therefore very useful as comparanda for the Gallo-Roman scenes of vending discussed in this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: TYPOLOGY

This chapter examines the typology of the Gallo-Roman funerary monuments depicting scenes of vending and individual vendors. Fifty-two examples from the Catalogue have sufficiently preserved tectonic elements that allow for a fairly certain identification of their types. Nine reliefs are excluded from this analysis, either because they are lost and therefore the accuracy of their drawn form is questionable, or because the reliefs provide insufficient evidence to discern their particular types precisely.[1] Various forms were used as a support for scenes of vending: rectangular stele, vaulted stele, triangular-pedimented stele, pyramidal stele, altar, *cippus* and pillar monument.[2] In some examples, such as the rectangular stelae carved on a single face, the vending relief itself is the only scene, whereas other reliefs of vending are part of a larger whole. For example, some pillar monuments and monumental stelae depict registers of reliefs on multiple faces with other themes in addition to those of vending.

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[1] Lost reliefs: **GB 5** (Fig. 47), **GB 18** (Fig. 76); **GB 27** (Fig. 121). Reliefs with insufficient details: **GL 13** (Fig. 30), **GB 1** (Fig. 40), **GB 23** (Fig. 81); **GB 25** (Fig. 118), **GB 28** (Fig. 122), **GS 1** (Figs. 123, 124).

[2] For essential works discussing the typology of Gallo-Roman monuments see: Hatt, *TGR*; Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 99-127; H. Gabelmann, "Die Typen der römischen Grabstelen am Rhein," *BJb* 172 (1972) 65-140; H. Gabelmann, "Römische Grabbauten in Italien und den Nordprovinzen," in U. Höckmann and A. Krug eds., *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 101-117; H. Gabelmann, "Römische Grabbauten der Nordprovinzen im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr.," in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker eds., *Römische Gräberstrassen. Selbstdarstellung-Status-Standard. Kolloquium im München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985* (*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*) (Munich 1987) 291-308.

One problem in this compendium is that the Igel monument, near Trier (**GB 24**), is the only example still *in situ*. This monument is located on a road, running parallel to the Moselle river leading north to Trier.[3] As traditional Roman law required that burials take place outside a city's walls, tombs were generally placed in necropoleis or strung out along roads leading from the entrances of the city.[4] The original contexts for all the rest of these preserved monuments and fragmentary reliefs are unknown, with the exception of **GB 1**, which was discovered in a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Reims. Thirty-five examples have provenances indicating that they were re-used for other installations, such as late Empire fortification walls, and fortresses, churches, retaining walls, and even a canal of varying later dates.[5] A second problem stems from the fact that the funerary reliefs suffered especially in this process. Many relief blocks were deliberately hacked away from their original monuments, because given their already rectangular shape, they could be inserted easily into the walls of any type of structure.

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[3] Funerary monuments were located on arterial roads leading north and south of Trier: see E. Wilhelm, *Pierres sculptées et inscriptions de l'époque romaine* (Luxembourg 1974) 9; Gabelmann [1987] (above n. 2) 300.

[4] The regulation from the Twelve Tables prohibiting burials within the city precincts is cited by Cicero, *De leg.* 2.58: '*hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*'.

[5] Re-use in fortification walls: Bordeaux: **A 1, A 3**; Sens: **GL 4, GL 5**; Lillebonne: **GL 8**; Paris: **GL 10, GL 11, GL 12, GL 13, GL 14**; Metz: **GB 6, GB 7, GB 8**; Arlon: **GB 14**; Buzenol-Montauban: **GB 16**; Jünkerath: **GB 28**. Re-use in churches: Le Puy: **A 9**; Dijon: **GL 16**; Clausen: **GB 17**; Trier: **GB 19**. Re-use in palaces and citadels: Narbonne: **GN 1**; Dijon: **GL 16**; Metz: **GB 4, GB 5** Langres: **GS 2**. Re-use in retaining walls: Saintes: **A 5, A 6**; Clausen: **GB 15**; Echternach: **GB 18**. Reuse in other installations: Autun: **GL 2**; Sens: **GL 5**; Baâlon: **GB 2**; Trier: **GB 20**. Re-use in other funerary monuments: Trier: **GB 21, GB 22**. For literature on the re-use of funerary monuments in fortification walls see J. Mertens, *Le rempart romain d'Arlon* (Brussels 1973); J. Mertens, "Urban wall-circuits in Gallia Belgica in the Roman period," in J. Maloney and B. Hobley eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (London 1983) 42-57; T. Blagg, *ibid.* "The reuse of monumental masonry in late Roman defensive walls," 131-135.

Thus the attribution of these reliefs to a particular monument type is often tenuous and highly speculative in nature. However, the monument types with vending scenes correspond to the types discovered in Gallo-Roman cemeteries, which have been studied in relation to their funerary function.[6]

Although the monuments may be grouped under these various types, there are many significant variations of elements within each particular type, such as the shape of the niche and pediments. The examples from each type are therefore discussed from the simplest to the most elaborate in architectural form and decoration, with the exception of the pillar type. Since the Igel monument (**GB 24**) is the only completely preserved example of the pillar type in this study, it is described first, as a basis for comparison with the other more fragmentary pillar types.

I. Materials and Evidence for Polychromy

The monuments described in the following typology are made of varying qualities and colours of limestone or friable sandstone from local quarries. With the exception of the high quality, fine-grained white limestone from St. Leu used in the monuments from Lillebonne (**GL 8, GL 9**), their surfaces are fairly coarse and not highly polished. Evidence from thirteen monuments indicates that paint was used to achieve a more finished effect. Although it is

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[6] The necropolis at Sablon (Metz) provides many examples of stelae, *cippi*, sarcophagi, altars and a possible pillar monument: see G. Collot, *La civilisation gallo-romaine dans la cité des Médiomatriques* II (Metz 1976). See also R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux 1962) 177-181; A. van Doorselaer, *Les nécropoles d'époque romaine en Gaule septentrionale* (Brugge 1967); C.L. Massart, "Les rites funéraires dans la province de Luxembourg à l'époque gallo-romaine." *Les vivants et leurs morts. Art, croyances et rites funéraires dans l'Ardenne d'autrefois* (Bastogne 1989) 35-56.

generally accepted that polychromy was employed on most sculptural works, there are few examples existing with the paint still intact, as paint fades quickly through weathering.[7] In general, paint was applied after a whitewash that formed a sort of stucco surface on the stone.[8] The painted copy of the Igel monument (**GB 24**), in the courtyard of the Rheinisches Landesmusem, Trier, is a striking example of the use of polychromy on stone.[9] Pale-coloured figures stand out clearly against a turquoise ground, with painted contour lines in reddish brown or ochre used to define the outer form of the figures, the folds of garments, and facial details.[10] Hair is also ochre-coloured, along with representations of furniture and pottery. Tree-trunks are reddish-brown with green leaves. Ground-lines and topographical features are

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[7] For studies of polychromy on sculpture see: A. Grenier, "La polychromie des sculptures de Neumagen," *RA* (1904) 245-262; A. Blanchet, *La polychromie des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* (Sens 1924); P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zu Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm 1960); A. Vaccaro, "Polychromy in Architecture and Ancient Statuary," *Ricerche de Storia dell'Arte* 27 (1984) 18-32.

[8] Grenier (above n. 7) 247.

[9] The polychromy seen on the copy of the Igel monument in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, is based on the traces of paint found on the original Igel monument *in situ*, and on the examples of painted reliefs that survive from Neumagen: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 45; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 274-279. The Igel copy, made of artificial stone casts affixed to a masonry core, was set up in the museum in 1907: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *op. cit.* 37-38. Dr. Faust, the curator of the Gallo-Roman antiquities in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, believes that this copy is a rather accurate rendition of the architectural details of the original monument, although some of the details in the heavily weathered reliefs are open to interpretation. For illustrations of the Igel copy see Figs. 87, 91, 94, 96, 100, 105, 110, 111.

[10] Reddish-brown paint was used for contour lines in the monuments at Neumagen to make details stand out more clearly, in a manner similar to the incised outline technique seen in the sculpture from Narbonne and St. Remy: see Grenier (above n. 7) 255-257; Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 45; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 274-279.

painted grey. The imbricated leaf pattern of the pyramid is painted in white, yellow, and greyish-blue.

The other twelve monuments have signs of similar polychromy. Traces of blue paint are seen on the back walls of the niches of **A 8** and **GB 9**, as well as on garments of **GB 10**. Reddish-brown paint is visible on the niche's frame in **A 6**, and the customer's boots in **GL 17**. Traces of red paint are visible on garments and the back walls of the niches of **GL 6** and **GB 3**, and on the objects in the display cases depicted on **GB 4**. Ochre paint is seen on the hair and faces of the figures and beef carcass of **GL 15**, on the back wall of the niche of **GL 16** and on the figures in the side pilasters of **GB 13**. Brown paint is used on the furniture of **GB 13**, and on the legs of a figure on **GB 14**. Yellowish-brown paint is found on the male's leg and the drapery folds of the female depicted on **A6**, on the back wall of the niche of **GB 13**, as well as a garment, a head of a figure and the back wall of the niche of **GB 14**. Grey paint is also seen on the grounds of **GB 13** and **GB 14**. A bright lime-green paint is visible on garments, the head of a figure and the back wall of a niche on **GB 13**.

It appears that the ancient painters strove after a certain amount of actuality by using polychromy in this fashion on limestone and sandstone monuments. Blue was used to denote exterior settings while architectural elements resemble stone-coloured materials. Details that would have been lost on unpainted stone were clearly visible through the use of contrasting colours of paint and outline techniques.

II. Stelae Types

The stele type is the most popular Gallo-Roman monument used for portraying scenes of vending and portraits of merchants. Thirty-six examples can be identified as belonging to the general stele type, of which twenty-nine can be further subdivided into the following categories: rectangular, vaulted, triangular-pedimented and pyramidal. [11]

A. Rectangular Stele Type

The rectangular stele is the simplest form of funerary monument depicting a vending scene or individual vendor. This type consists of a two-dimensional stone slab with a carved panel or niche on the principal side and a flat top. The rectangular stele type was introduced into Roman Gaul from Italy during the first century A.D. via Gallia Narbonensis in the south and Germany in the north-east.[12] There are sixteen examples of fully or partially preserved rectangular stelae portraying vending scenes or merchant vendors: Narbonne: **GN 1** (Fig. 1); Bordeaux: **A 3** (Fig. 4); Autun: **GL 1** (Fig. 13); Sens: **GL 3** (Fig. 15), **GL 4** (Figs. 16, 17); Lillebonne: **GL 8** (Figs. 21-23), **GL 9** (Figs. 24-26); Paris: **GL 14** (Fig. 31); Baâlon: **GB 2** (Figs. 42, 43); Stenay: **GB 3** (Figs. 44, 45); Metz: **GB 8** (Fig. 54); Soulosse: **GB 11** (Figs. 56, 57); Buzenol-Montauban: **GB 16** (Figs. 71-73); Langres: **GS 2** (Fig. 125); Neuberg: **R 1**

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[11] Rectangular stele type: **GN 1**, **A 3**, **GL 1**, **GL 3**, **GL 4**, **GL 8**, **GL 9**, **GL 14**, **GL 15**, **GB 2**, **GB 3**, **GB 8**, **GB 11**, **GB 15** (lost), **GB 16**, **R 1**, **R 2**. Vaulted stele type: **A 7**, **GL 2**. Triangular-pedimented type: **A 4**, **A 8**, **GB 9**, **GB 10**, **GB 12.1**, **GB 12.2**. Pyramidal type: **GB 7**, **GB 6**, **GB 4** (?). Stelae of unknown type: **GL 5**, **GL 6**, **GL 7**, **GL 10**, **GL 11**, **GL 17**, **GL 18**.

[12] Hatt, *TGR* 108-155, 217. Gabelmann 1972 (above n. 2) 66-140, concludes that the stele type was introduced into Germany via Italian sculptors following the Roman army.

(Figs. 126, 127); Augsburg: **R 2** (Figs. 128-130). These examples can be further subdivided into those with rectangular niches or panels and those with arched niches. **GN 1**, **A 3**, **GL 3**, **GL 4**, **GL 8**, **GL 9**, **GL 14**, **GB 16**, **GS 2**, **R 1** and **R 2** consist of a rectangular, flat-backed niche; whereas **GL 1**, **GB 2**, **GB 8** and **GB 11** have arched niches. The niche of **GL 1** is curved at the back, distinguishing it further from **GB 2**, **GB 8** and **GB 11**, which have a flat-backed niche.

GN 1 (Fig. 1), **GL 1** (Fig. 13), **GL 14** (Fig. 31) and **GB 11** (Fig. 56), ranging from 47 cm to 1.30 m in height, are the simplest examples of the rectangular stele type, as they are carved only on one face without any architectural or stylistic embellishments. The recessed niches are framed by plainly finished borders of varying widths, with the exception of **GN 1**. This latter relief consists of a thin panel, measuring 15 cm in depth, with only traces of a frame on the lower edge and in the upward curve on the left side. Frontality is a characteristic of the figures depicted on the rectangular stelae, although their figural composition varies: **A 3** and **GL 1** depict single figure portrait busts; **GN 1** and **GB 11** portray a single figure composition; and **GL 14**, which has a larger relief ground, displays three standing figures. [13]

[13] **A 3** has close parallels in style, composition and type to other stelae from Bordeaux of Severan date: see Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* figs. 58-59. In addition to **GL 1**, other rectangular stelae with a portrait bust are found at Autun: see Esp. 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1883, 1884; Musée Rolin, *Autun-Avgvstodvnvm, capitale des Éduens* (Autun 1987) 260-61, 263. Three-figure compositions of standing adults do not appear to be very common in Roman Gaul, though this could be due to an accident of survival. The principal face of the pillar monument **GB 13** has a similar composition to **GL 14** with two males flanking a female within a niche. Examples of other three-figure compositions on rectangular stelae are found at Reims: Esp. 3667, Esp. 3687 and Sens: Esp. 2795.

The simple rectangular stele was either a free-standing monument, which served as a grave-marker, or it was inserted into a wall face or a larger funerary monument. It is often difficult to distinguish between the two methods, although stelae with rough, unfinished sides and relatively narrow depth were likely encased in a wall, whereas stelae with finished or decorated lateral and rear sides were meant to be seen by the observer and thus were likely free-standing monuments.[14] **A 3** (Fig. 4) from Bordeaux was definitely not a free-standing monument because there are holes near the base for attaching the stele to a vertical wall, with the aid of wooden or bronze studs.[15] The very narrow depth (15 cm) of **GN 1** (Fig. 1) from Narbonne in proportion to its height and width suggests that this block may have been inserted into a wall or a larger monument, though there is no evidence of how it may have been fastened. Likewise, the relatively narrow depth (18.5 cm) and unfinished sides of **GL 1** (Fig. 13) from Autun indicate that this stele may also have been affixed to a vertical surface. **GB 11** (Fig. 56, 57) from Soulosse is carved only on one face; the finished sides of the stele indicate that it may have been placed against a wall, but not attached to it. **GL 14** (Fig. 31) from Paris was likely a free-standing marker, as an *ascia,* a type of hand-axe, is carved on the upper left lateral side, suggesting that it was meant to be seen by the viewer.[16]

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[14] J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London 1971) 245-246.

[15] Hatt, *TGR* 217, n. 8.

[16] P.M. Duval, *Paris antique, des origines au troisième siècle* (Paris 1961) 256, n. 35. Several scholars have put forth hypotheses to explain the enigmatic symbolism of the *ascia*, which is carved on the sides of numerous funerary monuments throughout Roman Gaul. Their arguments have been summarized by Hatt, *TGR* 85-88, and recently in L. Kahn, *Gallo-Roman Sculpture from Soulosse, France* Diss. Boston University 1990, 175-180. Basically, the *ascia* was seen as a chthonic symbol, associated with Sucellus, a chthonian god; as an apotropaic

GL 3 (Fig. 15) from Sens, **GB 16** (Figs. 71-73) from Buzenol-Montauban, R 1 (Figs. 126, 127) from Neuberg and **R 2** (Figs. 128-130) from Augsburg, ranging from 42 to 96 cm in height, are examples of plainly decorated rectangular stelae carved on three faces.[17] Thus there can be no doubt that these tombs were free-standing grave-markers. Moreover, **GB 16** has a *loculus* carved in the back of the block for storing the cremated ashes of the deceased. In all three examples, two sides portray figural scenes set in niches with unadorned frames, while the third sides contain an incised epitaph.[18]

GL 4 (Figs. 16, 17), **GL 8** (Figs. 21-23), **GB 2** (Figs. 42, 43), **GB 3** (Figs. 44, 45), **GB 8** (Fig. 54) and **GS 2** (Fig. 125), ranging from 57 cm to 2.35 m in height, are similar to the simpler rectangular type because they also have a flat top and contain a niche carved in relief. However, these stelae differ from the simpler rectangular type, as they often incorporate new tectonic details, such as pilasters and pediments. These details create a more elaborate setting for both the portraits of the deceased and the vending scenes. The stelae were all likely free-standing monuments in their original contexts, since most are carved on two or more sides.

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symbol; as part of the dedicatory rites of the tomb; as a symbol of the tool used in building the monument; and as a symbol of the tool used by migrating soldiers from the east to bury their dead.

[17] L. Bakker, "Weinverkauf und Kontorszene auf dem Grabmal des Pompeianius Silvinus aus Augsburg," *Die Römer in Schwaben* (Munich 1985) 29, presumes that the **R 2** once formed part of a pillar monument. However, there are none of the elements of this type, such as a stepped base, socle, principal relief zone, frieze, attic, pediment and pyramidal roof, in addition to lacking superposed registers of reliefs and tectonic details.

[18] Visual images are not available for the lateral sides of **GL 3** and the right lateral face of **R 1**.

GB 3 from Stenay has the simplest form of the six more monumental rectangular stelae. A *loculus* is carved on top of the block to hold the ashes of the deceased; the lower part of the tomb is missing.[19] An inscription is carved on the right lateral side in large well-formed letters on a finished ground (Fig. 45). The part of the block above the inscription is roughly finished. On the principal side, the block is divided into an narrow upper register and wide lower register, each consisting of a shallow rectangular niche (Fig. 44). The upper register is defaced, so its original embellishment is unknown. The partially preserved lower register contains a composition of two figures, facing each other in profile and surrounded by a narrow, plainly finished frame.

GB 8 (Fig. 54) from Metz is a well preserved, solid-looking rectangular stele with a thick base and entablature. The deeply recessed arched niche depicts a frontal, full-length single figure composition. The niche is flanked by incised, unadorned pilasters surmounted by an abacus. The massive entablature, containing a neatly incised epitaph, is slightly recessed on a smoothly finished ground to suggest a frieze-like effect.

GB 2 from Baâlon is carved in the same stone and is from the same region as **GB 3**. It is a more elaborate, larger monument than **GB 3** and **GB 8**, although it is less well preserved.[20] Both the principal and right lateral faces have a partially preserved rounded niche with a figural composition. A winged Eros fills the ground above the heads of the two figures on the

[19] This *loculus* is not mentioned in any bibliographic references pertaining to this monument.

[20] Espérandieu suggested that **GB 25** (Fig. 118) from St. Wendel may have belonged to a larger mausoleum type, such as **GB 2**: see Esp. 5123.

principal side (Fig. 43). The right lateral niche contains a similar figural composition to **GB 3** (Fig. 42). On the right front side-wall of the niche is preserved the upper part of a flat-topped pilaster, depicting the upper body of a nude male figure within a narrow rectangular register. As the area above the right pilaster is defaced, it is difficult to ascertain whether the pilaster was once surmounted by a capital or whether it simply abutted the block of the arched niche.[21] In both cases, the pilaster was meant to simulate the effect of a load-bearing column.

The heavily restored monumental stele **GL** 8 from Lillebonne is similar to **GB 2** and **GB 8**, as it also has pilasters flanking a niche with a figural composition on the principal side (Fig. 22).[22] However, in this example, the pilasters are decorated in a curving band of foliage within a narrow framed register. A composition of two figures is set within a niche that is neither totally rectangular nor arched in shape. The roof of the niche is parallel to the figures' heads, although the preserved left corner is slightly curved. A stylized leaf motif is carved on the lateral sides; the right side has two shields (*peltae*) carved at the base (Fig. 23). Two adjacent figural reliefs are carved on the rear face: the left relief is depicted in a long, narrow rectangular niche, while only the upper right corner remains of the relief on the right (Fig. 21).

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[21] The indentation in the block above the right pilaster suggests that a capital once surmounted it, possibly in a manner similar to a pilaster on a third century A.D. monumental stele from Arlon, which depicts a nude dancing figure carved in two narrow superposed registers surmounted by an acanthus capital: see Esp. 4040; L. Lefèbvre, *Le Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* (Brussels 1990) 39-42, no. 16.

[22] See E. Poirel, *Le lapidaire gallo-romain du Musée des Antiquités de Rouen* (Rouen 1983) 68, for a drawing of the restoration.

The fragmentary relief block **GL 9**, also from Lillebonne, has sufficient architectural elements preserved to indicate that it was probably very similar in type to **GL 8**.[23] A pilaster carved in stylized foliage flanks the left side of a female figure, of which only the chest, hips, right arm and hand are preserved (Fig. 25). Additionally, a stylized leaf motif is carved on the left lateral side (Fig. 26). A vending scene is also carved in a narrow niche on the rear face in the same manner as **GL** 8 (Fig. 24). Another relief fragment from Langres (**GS 2**, Fig. 125) may have also come from a similar monumental rectangular stele type, as the vending scene appears to be carved in a long narrow, rectangular niche similar to the ones depicted in **GL 8** and **GL 9**.

The fragmentary relief block **GL 4** (Figs. 16, 17) from Sens also contains elements of the monumental rectangular stele type. For example, the tomb is flat-roofed with a projecting cornice over the relief on the left lateral face. The fragmentary inscription on the principal face is enclosed in a cartouche and flanked by a *pelta* on the left (Fig. 17). Additionally, the upper part of the block contains a *loculus*, a feature already noted on **GB 3**.

A unique variation of the rectangular stele is depicted on a drawing of a lost monument from Clausen (**GB 15**, Fig. 70). If this drawing is accurate, then this simply carved stele was flanked on either side by a large carved barrel (*cupa*). The first letter of the funerary formula *D(is) M(anibus)* is incised on the front of each barrel. There are no apparent parallels for this

[23] Poirel (above n. 22) 64-65. See Esp. 3103 and Poirel, *op. cit.* 66-67, for another fragmentary monumental stele of the same dimensions and design as **GL 8** and **GL 9**, though this example does not depict a vending scene.

particular tomb type, although funerary monuments in the shape of barrels are found in Spain, Portugal and Sardinia.[24]

B. Vaulted Stele Type

The most notable feature of the vaulted stele type is its rounded top surface, which follows the curved arch of the niche below. This free-standing type is characterized by a narrow depth, frontality and single figure compositions. Vaulted stelae also portray similar architectural details to the monumental rectangular stele type, such as pilasters and cornices. The vaulted stele type is common throughout Roman Gaul, although only two examples with a merchant vendor can be classified under this type: **A 7** (Fig. 10) from Alléan, near Bourges and **GL 2** (Fig. 14) from Autun, both measuring a little over 1 m in height.[25]

The well preserved **A 7** (Fig. 10) is a typical example of the vaulted stele type, as the arched niche has a curving top surface; its depth is very narrow (11 cm); and a single figure is set in the niche in a frontal position. A feature is the shell motif carved above the figure's head on the roof of the deeply arched niche. The rolled outer edge of the shell creates a baldachin

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[24] For examples of barrel monuments in *Tarraconensis* (Spain) see H. von Hesberg, M. Koch et al, *Denkmäler der Römerzeit. Hispania Antiqua* (*DAI Madrid,* Mainz am Rhein 1993) 406-707, pls. 209a-b. For parallels in Lusitania (Portugal) see G. Fabre, "Un affranchi impérial à Conimbriga," *REA* 75 (1973) 111-125. For Sardinia see G. Stefani, "Cippi a botte nella basilica di S. Saturnino a Cagliari," *QuadACagliari* 5 (1988) 167-172. See also Toynbee (above n. 14) 253, pl. 81.

[25] For regional examples of the vaulted stele type see Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* figs. 6, 10, 26, 28, 36, 60, 72, 77. Kahn (above n. 16) 74-80, cites eleven examples at Soulosse. This type is also found at Bourges: see Esp. 1443, 1455, 1460, 1464, 1469, 1479, 1480, 1486, 1491, 1493, 1521, 1522.

effect as it culminates in a point over the forehead of the figure.[26] The niche is flanked by plainly finished, simple square pilasters and capitals. Each pilaster rests on a slightly larger square base, which in turn rests on an incised plinth. A well preserved curving palmette acroterium surmounts each capital in profile, facing the curving top surface. The figural composition completely fills the ground of the niche and overlaps onto the front of the pilasters. The inscription is carved on the outer side of the curving top surface, as is often the case with this type of stele. In contrast to **A 7**, the more heavily weathered vaulted stele from Autun (**GL 2**, Fig. 14) lacks the ornamental acroteria. It does contain a niche flanked by pilasters and a shell motif that is similar to **A 7**; however, the shell in the Autun scene does not have the elaborate rolled edge of the shell shown on the stele from Alléan.

C. Triangular-Pedimented Stele Type

The triangular-shaped pediment is the most characteristic feature of this type. Other elements include a rectangular or arched niche. The more elaborate examples of this type have architectural embellishments, such as pilasters, acroteria and carved pediments, which, in conjunction with the triangular pediment, seem to simulate those found on temples. In effect, the temple-like setting of the tomb on a greatly reduced scale housed the portrait of the deceased in the same way that a temple housed the image of a god. This style was apparently brought to the Rhine by Italian sculptors during the first century A.D. and was soon imitated by

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[26] For a close parallel for this shell motif at Bourges see Esp. 1458. For close regional parallels at Saint-Ambroix-sur Arnon see Esp. 6997, 6998. Earlier variations of the shell motif are depicted on first century A.D. stelae from Gallia Narbonensis: see Esp 196, 478, 482, 490, 503, 672, 673.

local sculptors.[27] The triangular-pedimented type is probably the commonest Gallo-Roman stele type during the second and third centuries A.D.[28] Additionally, the triangular-pedimented type in Roman Gaul is similar to the indigenous house-stele type, although this latter monument is usually greater in depth.[29]

There are six triangular-pedimented stelae with scenes pertaining to vending: **A 4** (Fig. 5) from Bordeaux, **A 8** (Fig. 11) from St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon, near Bourges, **GB 9** (Fig. 55) from Hieraple, **GB 10** (Figs. 56, 57) from Soulosse, and **GB 12.1** and **GB 12.2** from Grand (Figs. 59, 60), ranging from 63 cm to 1.37 m in height.

A 4 (Fig. 5) from Bordeaux and **GB 9** (Fig. 55) from Hieraple are very simple examples of the triangular-pedimented stele type, plainly carved and devoid of architectural embellishments. Both stelae have a small triangular pediment surmounting a smoothly finished rectangular frame. **A 4** has a non-figural scene in a shallow, flat-backed niche on the lower half of the monument; an epitaph is incised on the upper half. The figures portrayed on **GB 9** stand in profile, as is often the case in vending scenes, in a flat-backed niche below the triangular

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[27] See Gabelmann 1972 (above n. 2) fig. 42, for a chart of the different triangular-pedimented types found in northern Italy and on the Rhine; fig. 42.7 (from Mainz) has a triangular pediment of the type which became so popular in Gaul.

[28] For some regional examples see Esp. 2810, 2829 (Sens); Esp. 1445, 1463 (Bourges); Esp. 3488 (Dijon); Kahn (above n. 16) 80-85, nos 8, 18, 19, 22, 44, 46, 47, 68 (Soulosse); R. Billoret, "Informations archéologiques. circonscription de Lorraine," *Gallia* 34 (1976) fig. 13, A,C,O,T (Metz); Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* Pl. I.4, IV. 14-16, VI.20-22, VII.25-26, XIV.47-48, XV. 50, 52 (Bordeaux).

[29] The house-stele type has a hut-like form and an opening in the front that suggests the notion of a door. The type, likely Celtic in origin, became modified during the Imperial period, possibly influenced by the Roman *lararium*. It was used as a cinerary urn: see E. Linckenheld, *Les stèles funéraires en forme de maison chez les Médiomatriques et en Gaule* (Paris 1927) 19, 34-38; Hatt, *TGR* 222-223.

pediment. In this example, the inscription fills the entire pediment. Projections at the bottom of relief block **GB 9** indicate that it probably once had another register below.

GB 10 from Soulosse is more ornately decorated than **A 4** and **GB 9,** as square pilasters with elaborate capitals flank the niche (Fig. 56). A shell motif, carved on the arched cornice, provides a canopy-like effect over the composition of two figures. The simple shell with a central point recalls the shell motif on the vaulted stele from Alléan (**A 7**); however, in this case, the rolled effect of the shell border is missing. The corners of the arched cornice rest on the upper foliage of the capitals. The well-defined outer border of the raking cornice curves inwards slightly from the upper part of the foliage of each capital, and joins together at the apex of the stele. The pediment is incised with a circle just below the apex, and below this, a row of three square stones is flanked by a triangular stone. The lateral sides of the stele are carved in an interlocking vine motif (Fig. 57). A partially preserved base below the niche indicates that that the tomb was free-standing.

Somewhat similar in form is **A 8** (Fig. 11) from St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon, although it is much more richly decorated than the previous examples of this type.[30] Fluted half-pilasters with ornate foliage capitals and thick, partially preserved bases flank a deeply recessed, flat-backed, arched niche. The outer upper edge of the niche is decorated in a guilloche motif. Each capital rests on a flat abacus surmounted by another incised block, which is wider than the

[30] A triangular-pedimented stele, also from St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon, has a number of architectural features similar to **A 8**: the recessed arched niche framed by half-pilasters on bases, the shape of the capitals, the ornamental carving of the cornice and the position of the acroteria: see Esp 6997.

abacus and concave in the front. A flat object with a tassel dangles over the edge of these upper blocks. A spade-shaped leaf is incised on the right, filling the space between the abacus, the niche and the pediment. A curving, projecting cornice provides a canopy-like effect over the single figure standing within the niche. The underside of the cornice is carved in a stylized leaf pattern, while the lower edge of the outer upper arch is carved in another guilloche pattern. The preserved left acroterium consists of a stylized palmette leaf which extends upwards from the upper guilloche band and partially meets the outer edge of the pediment. Although the upper triangular part of the pediment is not preserved, there is sufficient detail to indicate that this stele belongs to the triangular-pedimented type. The roof is covered with overlapping tiles, reinforcing the notion that this type of funerary monument simulates a temple-like setting for the remains of the deceased.

The two examples of triangular-pedimented stelae from Grand (**GB 12.1,** Fig. 59, **12.2**, Fig. 60) are the only apparent monuments with scenes pertaining to vending that are likely derived from a non-funerary context. **GB 12.2** was discovered in the fill of the cellar of a second century A.D. house at Grand (Fig. 60). The holes in the summit and base of the stele indicate that it was suspended and attached to a vertical surface.[31] The triangular pediment is flanked by plainly carved pilasters and capitals resting on long, rectangular bases. The centre of the carved pediment curves around the head of a large seated figure.

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[31] J.-L. Remy, "Une stèle figurée d'époque gallo-romaine découverte à Grand (Vosges)," *Gallia* 43 (1985) 215-216.

The similar subject matter (beer-making ?) and monument type of **GB 12.1** suggest that it may have come from the same domestic installation as **GB 12.2**, although there is no archaeological evidence for this being the case.[32] In contrast to **GB 12.2**, **GB 12.1** has a smoothly finished frame instead of capitals flanking the deeply recessed niche, although the pediment also curves around the head of a large seated figure (Fig. 59). A rosette fills the centre of the tympanum directly above the head of the seated figure. A roof-like effect is created by the moulded horizontal cornice, which curves in a semi-circle above the head of the seated figure. The V-shaped niche is also an interesting feature, since it is neither curve-backed nor flat-backed, as is commonly found on the other funerary monuments with niches. The bottom front part of the niche is smoothly finished and also devoid of decoration. The literature does not mention any references to holes for attaching this stele to a vertical surface, as is the case with **GB 12.2**. The thick base of **GB 12.1** suggests rather that it was free-standing in its original context.

D. Pyramidal Stele Type

The term pyramidal is used somewhat loosely to describe the form of **GB 7** from Metz, measuring 1.65 m in height. The principal side of **GB 7** is similar to the stele types discussed above, as it has pilasters framing an arched niche with a single figure, frontal composition (Fig. 53).[33] The monument looks very rectangular from this perspective. However, the lateral sides

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[32] See Chapter Four, 163-169, for a discussion of the scenes portrayed on these stelae.

[33] In this respect, **GB 7** complements the series of rectangular and triangular-pedimented steles discovered in the 1970s from Metz: see Billoret (above n. 28) 364-365.

taper inward from the massive broad base to the preserved flat-topped surface, creating a pyramidal form (Figs. 51, 52). This type is to be distinguished from the pyramidal-pedimented stele, which consists of a curving, often imbricated, pyramidal pediment, sometimes surmounted by a pine-cone.[34]

The principal and lateral faces of **GB 7** have ribbon pilasters flanking arched niches with a curved back (Figs. 51-53). The pilasters rest on a plainly finished base. The wide, jutting, extremely thick bases on the lateral sides indicate that this was a free-standing monument in its original context. Floral capitals are preserved above the pilasters on the principal side (Fig. 53). These pilasters support a massive entablature containing an inscription carved in a narrow band, and above, a partially preserved relief. The right lateral entablature has a smoothly finished band above the niche at the same height as the inscription on the principal face; the left lateral entablature is defaced. A two-figure frontal composition fills the right lateral niche (Fig. 51), whereas the left lateral niche depicts a single figure in profile, who fills the entire height of the niche (Fig. 52).

GB 6 from Metz, measuring 1 m in height, may be also an example of this unusual pyramidal type, although it is more poorly preserved than **GB 7**. This tomb displays the same ribbon pilasters and the massive flaring bases on its three carved sides as **GB 7** (Figs. 50-52). Additionally, the sides of the niche on the principal face (Fig. 50) appear to taper inwards from

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[34] For examples of the pyramidal-pediment stele type, see Esp. 3502 (Dijon); Esp. 4393, 4395 (Metz). The pyramidal pediment is also found on pillar monuments: see Esp. 4084 (Arlon); **GB 24** (Igel); Esp. 5153, 5224 (Neumagen).

the base in a manner similar to the base on the right lateral side of **GB 7**. In contrast, the principal face of **GB 6** has a neatly-carved step at the base of the niche and the lateral sides are divided into two superposed registers of reliefs (Figs. 51, 52).

Thus the peculiar pyramidal form of **GB 7** and possibly **GB 6** appears to be found only at Metz, in Gallia Belgica.[35] Another relief block from Metz might have also once belonged to a pyramidal stele type, possibly forming the upper register on one of its lateral sides (**GB** 4, Fig. 46). Superposed registers of reliefs are also depicted on pillar monuments of roughly contemporary date from nearby towns in the same province, reflecting regional similarities between the two monument types.[36]

E. Stelae of Unknown Type

S. Deyts and J. Barçon provide two slightly differing reconstructions for the monumental stele **GL 17** (Fig. 38) from Til-Châtel. The preserved block consists of a large, plainly carved rectangular niche, surmounted by a worn and mutilated flat-topped entablature; a large panel is missing on the right side of the block. Basically, both reconstructions depict the relief block with an attached enclosure wall and a cornice surmounted by a free-standing monumental stele of the deceased (Fig. 165). The variations between the two reconstructions relate to whether the monument was open or closed at the front and whether the preserved relief block was

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[35] As far as can be discerned, the pyramidal stele type is not found outside Metz. For another example at Metz see Billoret (above n. 28) 364, fig. 13 H; S. Pannoux, "La représentation du travail. Récit et image sur les monuments funéraires des Médiomatriques," *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 316, fig. 4 (drawing).

[36] See Arlon: **GB 13** (Figs. 61-65), **GB 14** (Figs. 66-69); Trier: **GB 21** (Fig. 79); Igel: **GB 24** (Figs. 82-85).

raised upon a socle or rested on the ground. The authors base their reconstructions upon architectural details found on the left side, which indicate that the relief block had enclosure walls that were topped with a coping stone.[37] If Deyts and Barçon are correct in their findings, then the evidence for an enclosure wall makes this relief block belong to a type rarely found in Roman Gaul, although enclosures are a common feature of tombs in Italy.[38]

Seven fragmentary relief blocks are identified as stelae, although the tectonic details are not sufficiently preserved to indicate their particular types: Sens: **GL 5** (Fig. 18), **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GL 7** (Fig. 20); Paris: **GL 10** (Fig. 27), **GL 11** (Fig. 28); Dijon: **GL 16** (Fig. 37); Nuits-St.-George: **GL 18** (Fig. 39).[39] **GL 5**, **GL 6** and **GL 7** may represent simple rectangular stelae with a niche carved in relief surrounded by a plainly finished frame, similar to **GL 3** (Fig. 15), also from Sens. **GL 18** is typical of the vaulted and triangular-pedimented types with a frontal

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[37] S. Deyts and J. Barçon, "Une type monumental funéraire original: Le marchand de vin du Musée archéologique de Dijon," *Hommages à L. Lerat* (Paris 1984) 241-245, figs. 1-7. They base their reconstructions for the enclosure walls upon architectural details which are not apparent in the photographs. On the left side there is an element in the return of the corner carved into the same block as the lower part of the reliefs. This block is terminated by a slightly projecting coping stone with evidence for anathyrosis and cramping irons, suggesting that a wall was once attached to the block. Deyts found another block terminated by a coping stone at Dijon with the exact same height and markings as the block from Til-Châtel, which he proposes may be part of the same monument, though the find-spots are 25 km apart. Although there is no archaeological evidence for a stele of the deceased upon the relief block, the authors surmise that, since there was no room on the vending reliefs for their portraits, then the top of the relief block was a good place to display the images.

[38] Deyts and Barçon (above n. 37) 245, n. 13, n. 14, n. 15, provide rather dubious other examples for monuments with enclosure walls at Luxembourg, Vosges and Narbonne. For discussions of the more prevalent Italian tombs with enclosure walls in Aquileia, Pompeii, Ostia and Rome see Toynbee (above n. 14) 79-88, 123-125.

[39] Esp. 2056; Esp. 2782, Esp. 2784, Esp. 3153; F. De Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine* (Paris 1912) 101. Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no 74, describes **GL 16** as a fragment from a funerary monument. **GL 10** and **GL 11** are too worn and mutilated to provide anything conclusive about their typology.

single figure composition set in a long narrow niche; however, as the upper part of the stele above the figure's head is missing, its particular stele type can not be determined. Another fragmentary relief, **GL 16** (Fig. 37) from Dijon, may also have been part of a monumental rectangular stele, as a very worn pilaster is carved on the left side and the top of the niche is flat; however, the narrow upper frame in proportion to the thickness of this pilaster suggests that this block was cut from a larger monument, which may or may not have had a flat top.

III. Altar and *Cippus* Type

There is little written information about the typology of Gallo-Roman altars, though the cited examples tend to be oblong in form.[40] This type was most likely introduced via Italy to Gallia Narbonensis, where first century A.D. altars have been found.[41] Generally, Roman altars served as grave-markers; some housed the ashes of the deceased, while others served as bases for performing funerary libations.[42] Two relief blocks from Bordeaux (**A 1**, Fig. 2, **A 2**, Fig. 3)

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[40] Hatt, *TGR* 133, 173, appears to be one of the only sources on Gallo-Roman altars and the examples that he cites are for the most part fragmentary and therefore should be treated with caution.

[41] Hatt, *TGR* 133, cites Esp. 641, 642 (Narbonne) as examples of first century A.D. altars.

[42] For literature on Roman funerary altars in Italy see W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1905); Toynbee (above n. 14), 265-267; B. Candida, *Altari e cippi nel Museo Nazionale romano* (Rome 1979); D. Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms* (Bern 1987); D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits* (Rome 1987). A controversial document from the tenth century, which has been decribed traditionally as a copy of a Gallo-Roman inscription, provides explicit instructions for the building of a funerary complex, which included an altar holding the ashes of the deceased in front of the tomb: see *CIL* XIII, 5708; Hatt, *TGR* 66-69; A. Buisson, "Le tombeau du Lingon, Étude du cadre architectural et archéologique," in Y. Le Bohec ed., *Le testament du Lingon. Actes de la journée d'étude du 16 Mai 1990* (Lyon 1991) 63-72; Y. Le Bohec, "Sépulture et monde rural dans le *Testament du Lingon*," in A. Ferdière ed., *Monde des morts, mode des vivants en Gaule rurale. Actes du Colloque ARCHÉA / AGER (Orléans, Conseil régional, 7-9 février 1992)* (Tours 1993) 31.

and a restored tomb from Dijon (**GL 15**, Figs. 32-36) may have belonged to an altar type. **A 1** and **A 2** from Bordeaux may form parts of the same altar or different altars, as the relief blocks are the prerequisite oblong shape. **A 1** has a double grooved moulding at the base of the relief, a feature that is found on intact altars, as a decorative element between the sides of the altars and the flaring bases. However, there are no other tectonic details to confirm that these relief blocks are representative of the altar type.

A possible example of a monumental altar is **GL 15** from Dijon. Its partially preserved, reconstructed form consists of a large oblong structure with reliefs on all four sides. The principal niche consists of a fragmentary composition of three figures framed by pilasters (Figs. 34-35). The pilaster shafts are divided into registers adorned with a stylized vegetal motif. The right pilaster preserves a capital, decorated in an imitation triglyph motif.[43] Pleated drapery is carved on the upper front part of the monument, forming a sort of baldachin over the figures. On the rear face, the same pilaster type frames the arch of the niche (Fig. 36). The lateral sides are divided into superposed registers of which one relief is preserved from each side. The upper right lateral register depicts a frontal figure within an arched niche surrounded by a plain, smoothly-finished frame (Fig. 33). Above this niche is a ribbon-like moulding, the same triglyph motif as on the principal face, and a garland motif framed by rosettes in each upper corner. The lower left lateral register also consists of a rectangular niche, resting on a thick, projecting base (Fig. 32). The flat roof, side pilasters, and frontal compositions within niches are elements

[43] Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 75.

found in the monumental rectangular stele type, but its large, oblong shape with a projecting base and a flat roof seems to resemble more the form and design of a monumental altar.[44]

There does not appear to be a clear distinction between the *cippus* and the altar, since both monuments served as grave-markers, as bases for funeral libations, and sometimes contain receptacles to hold the ashes of the deceased.[45] Examples of *cippi* in Roman Gaul range in date from the first to the third centuries A.D.[46] Espérandieu described the plainly carved fragmentary relief block **GB 17** (Figs. 74, 75) from Berbourg as a *cippus* type, perhaps because the depth of the block measures more than the height.[47] The block is thus provided with a broad surface for performing libations.[48] There is no apparent opening (*loculus*) to hold the cremated remains.

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[44] The early scholars describe **GB 15** as an altar: see J. D'Arbaumont, *Catalogue du Musée de la Comission des Antiquités du Département de la Cote-d'Or* (Dijon 1894) 11, no. 67; Esp. 3454. Schlippschuh, *Händler*, 23-24, suggests that the scene of two figures flanking a beef carcass (Fig. 32)) depicts a scene of sacrifice rather than a scene of two butchers, on the basis of the interpretation of this monument as an altar; see also Chapter Five, 198. There appears to be no close parallel for the monument type of **GL 16**. A small *cippus*-altar from Soulosse has arched niches and divided registers, which recall the lateral sides of **GL 16**, although the Soulosse monument is much narrower in width: see Kahn (above n. 16) 96-97, 438, pl. 42.

[45] For the *cippus* type see *RE* 3.2 (1899) 2563, s.v. '*Cippus*' (Samter); Hatt, *TGR* 215-216; Toynbee (above n.14) 253-254; Candida (above n. 42) 6.

[46] Hatt, *TGR* 214-215.

[47] Esp. 4221.

[48] Hatt, *TGR* 214-217, notes that some examples of Gallo-Roman *cippi* have pyramidal pediments or were surmounted by conical objects, representing pine-cones.

IV. Pillar Type

The pillar type is best exemplified by the monument at Igel, near Trier (**GB 24**), as it is the only fully preserved example of this type still *in situ*.[49] The monument, measuring over 22 m in height, consists of a stepped base, socle, large principal relief zone, frieze, attic, pediment and a pyramidal roof (Fig. 82). This pillar type can be seen as a hybrid form of architectural elements already found on earlier funerary monument types from Gaul and the Rhine. Hatt suggested that the rectangular or cubic base of the pillar type recalls the first century A.D. funerary altar type from southern Gaul.[50] Additionally, the principal relief on the pillar monument consists of a niche depicting the portraits of the deceased; pilasters framing the niche also support a pediment. These features can be found on both first century A.D. Rhine military stelae as well as on many of the Gallo-Roman stelae discussed above, indicating that these stelae types might have also influenced the development of the pillar type.[51] However, it is the curving imbricated pyramidal roof which is the most distinctive tectonic feature of the pillar monument.

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[49] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* and Zahn, *Igeler Säule,* are the standard works on this monument. See also J. Mersch, *La colonne d'Igel* (n.c. 1985). The Igel monument owes its survival to a legend which reported that the portraits on the principal face belonged to Constantius Chlorus and Helena.; the first written description of this legend is 13th century in date, although the authors believed that the legend was likely much older: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *op. cit.* 6-7; Zahn, *op. cit.* 4.

[50] Hatt, *TGR* 173.

[51] For examples of Rhine military stelae with niches and pediments see Gabelmann [1972] (above n. 2). F. Drexel, "Die belgisch-germanischen Pfeilergrabmäler," *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 40-42, believed that the pillar type was a regional development derived from the monumental *cippus* found in the Rhine region, and that this *cippus* type was brought by the Roman army and its followers from Italy. See also von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 266, who concurred with Drexel.

The origin of the pyramidal pillar type has provided a plentiful source for discussion by scholars since the 1920s.[52] Linckenheld believed that the pillar type with the pyramidal roof was derived from the indigenous house-stele type in Gaul. He thus considered that the pillar monument was an indigenous type to Gaul.[53] Some scholars contend that pillar monuments are derived from other forms of 'tower' mausolea found elsewhere in the Roman empire.[54] Gabelmann's thorough comparison of monuments in Italy and the Rhine led him to conclude that the curving pyramid was very wide-spread on tombs in northern Italy, and that it was this type which was reorganized into the pillar monument type on the Rhine.[55] The earliest example of a pillar type with a pyramidal roof from the Rhine dates to the first century A.D, although this type did not become popular in the Moselle region until the mid-second century A.D.[56]

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[52] For summaries of the various early arguments about the origins of the pillar type in Gaul see Hatt, *TGR* 176-182.

[53] See Linckenheld (above n. 29) 136-142, plan D.

[54] Some Syrian monuments are tower-shaped with a pyramidal roof: see E. Will, "La tour funéraire de Palmyre," *Syria* 26 (1949) 87-116; E. Will, "La tour funéraire de la Syrie et les monuments apparentés," *Syria* 26 (1949) 258-312; Hatt, *TGR* 180; E. Will, "Le problème du pilier funéraire de Belgique et de Germanie," *Actes du colloque sur les influences hélleniques en Gaule* (Dijon 1957) 123-131. Tower monuments without a pyramidal roof are known in North Africa, the Danube and southern Gaul: see A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine* (Paris 1934) 215-221; H. Kähler, "Die rheinischen Pfeilergrabmäler," *BJb* 134 (1934) 145-172; Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 93-95, were among the earliest advocates for the origin of the Treviran pillar monuments in places such as these outside Gaul.

[55] Gabelmann [1977] (above n. 2) 110-111. F. Oelmann, "Aquileia und die Igeler Säule," *Studi aquilesi offerti a Giovanni Brusin* (Aquileia 1953) 169-183, suggests that this type of roof was meant to represent the lid of a funerary chest.

[56] The first century A.D. tomb of Lucius Publicius at Cologne is the earliest example of a pillar monument with an imbricated pyramidal roof. However, this monument differs from the later Moselle types, as it has an open principal zone, with free-standing statues between the intercolumniations: see Gabelmann 1977 (above n. 2) 114, no. 12; Gabelmann [1987] (above n. 2) 291-292, pl. 56a. The Cologne design has affinities to pillar monuments from Aquileia, which contain a *tholos* surrounding a statue in the round and also to the first century A.D. monument of the Julii at Glanum, in Gaul: see H. Gabelmann, "Römische Grabmonumente mit

The curving pyramidal motif is also found on the pediments of monumental stelae in Gaul, roughly contemporary in date with the Moselle pillar types.[57]

The pillar type became especially popular in the Treviran region of Gallia Belgica during the second and third centuries A.D. in connection with the advent of large villas in this area.[58] The thriving economy enabled land-owners and merchants to construct these highly visible monuments, which appear to have been built along streets leading outside of the town centres and/or nearby the villas.[59] The pillar monuments may have been solely commemorative in function, for most appear to have no trace of an opening within their structures to hold the cremated ashes of the deceased.[60]

There are eight examples of the pillar type in the Treviran region which depict vending scenes: Arlon: **GB 13** (Figs. 61-65), **GB 14** (Figs. 66-69); Trier: **GB 19** (Fig. 77), **GB 20** (Fig. 78), **GB 21** (Fig. 79), **GB 22** (Fig. 80); Igel: **GB 24** (Figs. 82-117); Neumagen: **GB 26** (Figs.

Reiterkampfszenen im Rheingebiet," *BJb* 173 (1973) 189-193, fig. 40. For examples of second century A.D. pillar monuments in the Moselle see von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 285.

[57] See n. 34 for examples of monumental stelae with a pyramidal-pediment at Dijon and Metz.

[58] Wightman, *Roman Trier* 148; Gabelmann [1987] (above n. 2), 306.

[59] The Igel monument (**GB 24**) lies on the road, 11 km south-west of Trier. The villa associated with this monument is possibly located on a plateau above the road, where an old church stands today: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 3; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 35.

[60] The Igel monument (**GB 24**) has no evidence of a *loculus* serving as a container for the burial ashes. Apparently, graves were found nearby which may have contained the remains of the *Secundinii* family, who dedicated this monument: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 2-4. von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 270, also found no traces of a *loculus* inside the Neumagen monuments. However, one partially preserved possible pillar type at Buzenol-Montauban is said to have a *loculus:* see M.E. Mariën, "Les monuments funéraires de Buzenol," *BMusArt* (1944) 34, fig. 23; J. Mertens, "Sculptures romaines de Buzenol," *ArchBelg* 42 (1958) 45, n. 95.

119, 120). Since the Igel monument is nearly entirely intact, this structure serves as the basis of comparison for the other examples, which consist mainly of the blocks from the principal relief zones. The following pillar monuments are discussed according to provenance, as the funerary monument types have been studied extensively in each of the above cited towns.

A. The Igel Monument (GB 24)

The rectangular base consists of three steps decorated with reliefs on all four sides (Figs. 93, 108). A Lesbian *cyma reversa* divides the stepped base and socle. The sides of the four socles depict figural scenes set in rectangular niches (Figs. 86, 94, 95, 102, 109, 110). A strongly developed profile, composed of a double Lesbian *cymatium*, separates the socle from the principal relief zone. This principal relief zone consists of a frontal composition of three figures set in a rectangular niche framed by pilasters; the inscription is carved on the front face of the niche below the figures (Figs. 87, 88). The pilasters are composed of a figural base, a shaft divided into four superposed registers decorated with figures, and an ornate foliage capital with a female head.

The lateral and rear faces of the principal relief zones are composed in a similar manner with minor variations. The niches on the lateral sides are divided into an upper and lower register (Figs. 103, 111, 112), while the niche on the rear face depicts one large figural scene (Figs. 96, 97). The pilasters on all four sides support an entablature composed of an architrave with two slightly projecting *fasciae* and a narrow figural frieze (Figs. 87-89, 95, 98, 104). A strongly projecting profile, consisting of a double *cymatium* decorated with acanthus leaves,

divides the frieze from the attic above. The four attics consist of figural reliefs set in rectangular niches (Figs. 87, 88, 91, 99, 100, 106, 114). Another less projecting profile marks the transition between the attic and the pyramidal roof.

The preserved roof consists of an imbricated curving pyramid, terminated by an ornate figural capital decorated on four sides, and crowned by a pine cone (Fig. 82). The four lower fronts of the pyramid have triangular pediments carved in relief, which rest on the projecting profile (Figs. 91, 92, 100, 101, 107, 115). The partially preserved acroteria consist of a small figural relief block set on the sloping sides of the four pediments at the base of the pyramid. The four-sided capital in the shape of a pine-cone rests on a thin abacus on top of the pyramid (Figs. 116, 117). The lower half of the pine cone above is decorated with female busts on each of the four sides; the upper half may have been surmounted by a plastically-rendered sculptural group, of which an eagle is the only element preserved.[61]

B. Neumagen

The pillar monuments at Neumagen, published by von Massow, consist of a base, socle, a multi-registered central relief zone within a niche framed by pilasters, an entablature and an imbricated pyramidal roof.[62] These monuments therefore have elements that are similar to the Igel monument (**GB 24**) except that they apparently lack the attic and the figural frieze of the

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[61] For the interpretation of the sculptural group as the myth of Ganymede see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 90-91.

[62] von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 267-270. This work is still the major source for funerary monuments from Neumagen.

Igel monument. There is one example of a pillar monument with a vending scene from Neumagen: **GB 26** (Figs. 119, 120).

Although relief block **GB 26** is fragmentary, the few remaining architectural features suggest that this block probably once belonged to a pillar monument. First, the relief block, measuring 54 cm x 1.12 m, probably decorated part of the central relief zone of a large monument, as only a very small part of the relief itself is preserved (Fig. 119).[63] Second, the partially preserved right side pilaster is divided into registers recalling the side pilasters on the Igel monument. The decoration of an imbricated leaf motif and rosette pattern on the rear face of the block distinguishes **GB 26** from the Igel monument (Fig. 120). The imbricated leaf motif is similar to the motif decorating the pyramidal roof of the Igel monument; however, in this example, the motif was applied to a different part of the monument. This imbricated leaf motif once decorated the side pilasters, while the rosette pattern in the middle may have consisted of three rosettes across and six down. Thus the pattern filled the inner field of one very large niche.[64] As these stylized floral motifs are found on other pillar monuments from Neumagen, there may have been a local preference for this type of decoration.[65]

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[63] Von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 154, suggested that the original height of the aedicula was approximately 4.75 m, with an overall width of 3.47 m; he also proposed that the relief block belonged to the lower third of the monument on the basis of the preserved remains. Thus **GB 26** belongs to a much smaller monument than the Igel monument, but it is still much larger than monumental stelae.

[64] See von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 155, fig. 104a, for a reconstruction of the rear face.

[65] The monuments from Neumagen, known as the Elternpaarpfeiler, the Avituspfeiler and the Negotiatorpfeiler, have similar motifs on their rear faces: see von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 126, 159, 165, figs. 76, 106, 110.

C. Arlon

Although the pillar monuments from Arlon are also in very fragmentary condition, M.E. Mariën was able to construct an elaborate typology consisting of four pillar types.[66] Type A pillar monuments, ranging between 4 - 10 m in height, consist of a base, socle, central relief zone, entablature with two or three *fasciae*, and an imbricated pyramidal roof. The arch of the niche on the principal face is incised on the entablature above. This niche is framed by pilasters, which are divided into figural registers. The type A pillar monuments recall the Neumagen pillar type, as both lack the attic and figural frieze of the Igel pillar monument (**GB 24**). Type B pillar monuments, varying between 4-8 m in height, differ from type A, as the arch of the niche is not carved on the entablature and the pilasters depict a stylized vegetal rather than figural motif. Type C pillar monuments are a larger, more richly embellished variation of type A, but lack the incised arch on the entablature. The proportions of the reliefs suggest an original monument height measuring between 9-25 m. Those in the later range are therefore similar to the Igel monument in height. The type D pillar monuments provide few details of their overall construction other than that there is a principal niche zone with registers of reliefs on the lateral sides, and possibly an imbricated pyramidal roof. This type distinguishes itself from the other three types because it lacks the architrave with *fasciae*. Other variations of type D include a

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[66] Mariën's typology cites many links with the Igel and Neumagen monuments: see M.E. Mariën, "Les monuments funéraires de l'Arlon romain," *AIAL* 76 (1945) 24-88 figs. 4-35, for examples of the four pillar types. See L. Lefèbvre, *Les sculptures gallo-romaines du Musée d'Arlon* (*BIAL* 1-2, Arlon 1975) 7-19; *id.* (above n. 21) 23-24, for a summary of Mariën's typology.

shell motif over the figures in the principal niche, and corner pilasters which form a narrow frame around the niche.

There are two examples of the pillar monuments with vending scenes at Arlon: **GB 13** (Figs. 61-65), **GB 14** (Figs. 66-69). According to Mariën's typology, **GB 13**, measuring 1.52 m in height, is an example of a type A pillar monument, although the entablature is not preserved. Mariën believed that the incised arch was once likely carved above the composition of three figures set in the niche on the principal face (Fig. 65).[67] Traces of a pilaster, divided into superposed registers with a figural motif, are preserved on the right edge of the principal niche, while part of the projecting base of the other pilaster is preserved on the bottom left.[68] The lower front part of the niche is decorated in a simple ribbon-like motif. The lateral sides are divided into two superposed registers depicting reliefs set in rectangular niches (Figs. 61-64). The pilasters that once framed these niches are not preserved, except perhaps for parts of their contours. Two *peltae* decorate the bottom front right lateral side between the bases of the pilasters (not shown). Tectonic parallels between **GB 13** and the Igel monument (**GB 24**) also suggest that the Arlon monument is a pillar type. For example, both monuments have pilasters which are divided into figural registers. The projecting base of the Arlon pilaster recalls the similarly shaped bases on the Igel monument. Also, the lateral sides of **GB 13** are divided into registers with niches like the lateral sides on the Igel monument.[69]

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[67] See Mariën (above n. 66) fig. 4 for a reconstruction of this monument.

[68] Mariën (above n. 66) 31.

[69] Mariën (above n. 66) 33-35.

GB 14 is somewhat similar in form to **GB 13** and **GB 24,** as it also contains a niche on the principal side with full-length portraits of the deceased (Fig. 69). The lateral sides are also divided into registers of rectangular niches carved in figural scenes (Fig. 66-68). However, **GB 14** is described by Mariën as a type D pillar monument, as it has a heart-shaped shell motif, forming a baldachin above the figures, and lacks an architrave. It also varies from **GB 13** and **GB 24** because its principal niche is flanked by plainly finished pilasters that form a continuous frame around the niche.[70]

D. Trier

There are four examples of relief blocks with scenes of vending from Trier that may have belonged to a pillar type, although there are few tectonic details to aid in determining their overall form: **GB 19** (Fig. 77), **GB 20** (Fig. 78), **GB 21** (Fig. 79), **GB 22** (Fig. 80). Very few of these funerary monuments are preserved from Roman Trier, as the continuous habitation of the site to present times led to the re-use of these tombs for building materials.[71]

The fragmentary relief block **GB 19** (Fig. 77), measuring 63 cm in height, may have belonged to a pillar type resembling those found at Neumagen. This block has a rosette pattern carved in alternate rows on the lateral side (not shown), recalling the rosette motif found on the pillar monuments from Neumagen.[72] In addition, the partially preserved pilaster on the right has

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[70] Since **GB 14** and the other type D fragments (Mariën [above n. 66] 73-83) lack an architrave and have no apparent trace of a frieze, base or socle, perhaps this type would be more suitably described as a monumental rectangular stele.

[71] Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 163-164.

[72] See n. 65 for examples of pillar monuments from Neumagen with rosette motifs.

a register of floral decoration, resembling a motif found on the pilasters of another pillar monument from Neumagen.[73]

Another very small relief fragment, **GB 20**, (Fig. 78), measuring 22 cm in height, may have also formed part of a pillar type, as a *cymatium* with stylized acanthus leaves decorates the upper part of the niche.[74] This particular architectural moulding type can be seen on the Igel monument separating the frieze from the attic above (Fig. 105).[75] Unfortunately, no other tectonic elements are preserved.

GB 21 (Fig. 79) has been described as the front side of a small pillar monument, with a separately worked socle and an upper block crowned by a pyramidal roof.[76] This block, measuring 1.20 m in height in its preserved state, consists of two superposed registers with a figural scene set in a plainly finished rectangular niche. Since registers such as these are featured on the lateral sides of the pillar monuments at Arlon (**GB 13**, Figs. 61-64, **GB 14**, Figs. 66-68), **GB 21** may have also adorned the lateral rather than principal side of a pillar type. Side registers of reliefs are also found on the monumental stele from Metz (**GB 6**, Figs.

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[73] Esp. 5149.

[74] L. Schwinden, "Gallo-römisches Textilgewerbe nach Denkmälern aus Trier und dem Trevererland," *TrZ* 52 (1989) 294, suggests a reconstructed height of 40 cm for the relief, with a considerably wider width than is preserved.

[75] A *cymatium* with acanthus leaves can also be seen on the monuments known as the Iphigenienpfeiler and the Avituspfeiler at Neumagen: see von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* nos. 8, 185, figs. 33, 38, 110, pls. 9, 38. See also Schwinden (above n. 74) 296, n. 46.

[76] Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 226, no. 182; H. Cüpper ed., *Trier Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) 237, no. 124.

48, 49), although there are no preserved examples of stelae with this characteristic at Trier. Likewise, **GB 22** (Fig. 80), measuring 52 cm in height, may have once formed the upper block of a double register of reliefs on a pillar monument in the same manner as **GB 13**, **GB 14** and possibly **GB 21;** an inscription is carved on the frame above the non-figural scene.[77]

GB 21 and **GB 22** are somewhat unusual because parts of these monuments were re-used in different fourth century A.D. sarcophagi, discovered along with others of this type in the vicinity of a Christian church at Trier.[78] **GB 21** adorned one of the short sides of a sarcophagus, while **GB 22** was transformed into a sarcophagus by hollowing it out and adding a second block to the back side.[79] The longer sides of **GB 22** are apparently unworked, and this may also be the case with **GB 21**. Generally, sarcophagi found in Gaul are imports from Italy and few in number. The importing of sarcophagi began in the second century A.D., increased in the third century A.D., and became more common by the late third and early fourth centuries A.D.[80] Using neatly cut stones from former tombs would have considerably lowered the cost of a locally made tomb as opposed to an imported sarcophagus.[81]

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[77] Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 219, no. 166, proposes that **GB 22** probably belonged to a pillar type; see also Cüppers (above n. 76) 237, no. 123.

[78] Cüppers (above n. 76) 233.

[79] H. Cüppers, "Ein Metgzer im römischen Trier," *TrZ* 45 (1982) 289.

[80] G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (München 1982) 296-300.

[81] For examples of other locally-carved fourth century A.D. sarcophagi with Christian themes see Cüppers (above n. 76) 209, no. 96, 235, no. 121.

E. Evidence for the Pillar Type in Gaul outside Gallia Belgica

Funerary pillars have been found in other areas of Gaul, especially in the south-west. The pillars in south-western Gaul differ from the Treviran region pillar types, as they consist of rectangular or square solid towers, measuring 8-15 m in height. They are built with *opus vittatum* in two levels; the upper level is pierced by a niche for a statue with no evidence of carved figural reliefs decorating the monument's sides.[82] A first century A.D. pillar monument, known as the 'pilier des nautes' has also been reconstructed in Paris. This pillar type also varies from those found in the Treviran region, as it is comprised of four separate levels of superposed blocks divided by well-defined mouldings, set on a base, and surmounted by a statue of Jupiter, but it is similarly decorated in figural reliefs. [83] However, these reliefs are set within plainly finished niches that lack the decorative pilasters of the Treviran series.

Hatt describes **A 5** (Figs. 6, 7) and **A 6** (Figs. 8, 9) from Saintes as the decorated pilasters of a pillar monument. In their present condition, they consist of two superposed cubic blocks, each carved on two sides. It is likely that these blocks belonged to the same monument as they

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[82] For the pillars in south-western Gaul see P. Sillières and G. Soukiassian, "Les piles funéraires gallo-romaines du sud-ouest de la France: état des recherches," in A. Ferdière ed., *Monde des morts, mode des vivants en Gaule rurale. Actes du Colloque ARCHÉA / AGER (Orléans, Conseil régional, 7-9 février 1992)* (Tours 1993) 299-306.

[83] For a discussion of the reconstruction of the 'pilier des Nautes' see Musée Carnavalet, *Lutèce. Paris de César à Clovis 3 mai 1984 - printemps 1985* (Paris 1984-1985) 275-307. Hatt believes that the 'pilier des nautes' was the forerunner of the series of Jupiter columns spread throughout Gaul and Germany: see J.J. Hatt, "Les monuments gallo-romains de Paris et les origines de la sculpture votive en Gaule romaine," *RA* 39 (1952) 77. See also Wightman, *Roman Trier* 224-225; G. Bauchhenss and P. Noelke, *Die Jupitersäulen in den germanischen Provinzen* (Cologne 1981) 162-163. Hatt, *TGR* 173, n. 8, n. 9, cites also fragments of monuments in Espérandieu which he labels as the pillar type from various places such as Sens, Langres, Saintes, Bourges, Bordeaux and Le Puy; see also his Appendix 5, *op. cit.* 314.

are very similar in size, shape and composition. As noted above, double registers of reliefs are a feature of the lateral sides of pillar monuments from Arlon (**GB 13**, **GB 14**), so that it is possible that **A5** and **A6** may have belonged to a pillar type, although none of the other tectonic elements of pillar monument are visible. Thus it seems likely that **A 5** and **A 6** formed part of a larger monument, but the relationship of these blocks to each other in their original context remains uncertain.[84]

A9 (Fig. 12) from Le Puy and **GL 12** (Fig. 29) from Paris are also described as pillar types, although these blocks are very worn and fragmentary.[85] Relief block **A 9** (Fig. 12) consists of two partially preserved scenes separated by an acanthus scroll (not shown); traces of the niches' frames are visible on the outer sides of each scene.[86] The theme of cloth vending portrayed on **A 9** is similar to that portrayed on the Igel, Neumagen and Arlon pillar monuments, although the use of similar themes cannot be used as an argument to show that they came from the same type of monument.[87] **GL 12** (Fig. 29) from Paris may have belonged

[84] Both Audiat and Maurin suggest that another four relief blocks (Esp. 1344, 1348) may have belonged to the same monument as **A5** and **A 6**. Audiat proposed that these blocks once decorated the entranceway of a monument. On the other hand, the iconography of the reliefs, depicting scenes of domestic work and vending, in addition to athletes, satyrs and soldiers (Esp. 1344), has led Maurin to speculate that the blocks formed part of a public, rather than a private monument, although these themes are for the most part found on Gallo-Roman funerary monuments. See L. Audiat, *Musée de la ville de Saintes, Catalogue, Antiquités gallo-romaines* (La Rochelle 1888) 63; L. Maurin, *Saintes antique* (Saintes 1978) 207-208. Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 145, suggests that **A5** and **A6** constituted the two pillars of a large niche which may have decorated the facade of a bath or a market.

[85] Hatt, *TGR* 314.

[86] Esp. 1659.

[87] See Chapter Three, 101-134. for a discussion of scenes of cloth vending.

to a pillar type surmounted by one or more relief blocks, in the same manner as the reconstructed first century A.D. 'pilier des nautes' from Paris, described above.

Conclusions

In summary, Gallo-Roman vendors erected a variety of monuments, ranging from the simple rectangular stele type to the monumental pillar types. The two most popular types used for vending reliefs are the rectangular stele and the pillar monument. The rectangular, vaulted and triangular-pedimented stele types are distributed throughout Gaul, while the pyramidal stele type and the series of pillar monuments with figural reliefs are mostly found in the Moselle region. The pillar monuments can be linked to the other Gallo-Roman and Rhine types, such as the pyramidal-pedimented stele, the triangular-pedimented stele, the indigenous house stele, the *cippus*, and funerary altars.

The typology of the Gallo-Roman monuments with vending scenes indicates that there are both similarities and differences between these monuments and the types of monuments used to depict vending scenes in Italy. Like the Gallo-Roman series, Italian vending scenes are portrayed on various stele, altar and *cippus* types. In contrast, scenes of vending in Italy, as seen in Chapter One, are also depicted on sarcophagi and shop signs of merchants. With the exception of **GB 12.1** and **GB 12.2**, the Gallo-Roman monuments with vending scenes are likely funerary in context, although most of their provenances are not known. The one main difference between the typologies of the two series is use of the pillar and monumental stele

types, especially those in Gallia Belgica, for depicting multiple scenes of work in separate registers.

The Gallo-Roman monuments with scenes of vending and portraits of vendors probably served as grave-markers. Some monuments preserve a *loculus*, which once contained the urn for the ashes of the deceased. In contrast, the pillar types appear to display no evidence for such a cavity. Instead, the remains of the deceased were likely buried in nearby graves. Cremation was apparently predominant among the clients who ordered these various types, although the re-use of reliefs from second/third century A.D. pillar monuments in fourth century A.D. sarcophagi at Trier (**GB 21**, **GB 22**) provides evidence for inhumation, but not necessarily those of merchants.

The Gallo-Roman types of monuments with vending scenes range from modest decoration and size to rich embellishment and grandeur depending upon wealth of the clients. The size, decoration and the choice of themes were apparently important concerns for the merchants or their families who erected these monuments, since these tombs were meant to be seen as symbols of their status and wealth.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SCENES OF CLOTH AND GARMENT VENDING

This chapter examines the iconography of 19 scenes related to the sale of finished pieces of cloth and ready-to-wear garments in Roman Gaul.[1] These reliefs, dating largely to the second and early third centuries A.D., comprise the largest known corpus of this theme in the Roman empire. As previously mentioned in the first chapter, a smaller series of reliefs portraying the sale of pieces of cloth and cloth objects is found on monuments from Rome and northern Italy.[2] These Italian reliefs are, for the most part, earlier than the Gallo-Roman examples, ranging in date from the Julio-Claudian period to the second/third centuries A.D. The Italian cloth vending motif consists of one or more figures displaying a cloth to customers or the viewer. Some Italian reliefs have a few architectural elements to define the setting, though additional elements such as seats for customers and baskets are minimal. These Italian reliefs of cloth vending are indispensable parallels for the Gallo-Roman reliefs with this motif, although the Gallo-Roman series provides far richer details about the commercial side of the cloth industry.

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[1] Alléan: **A 7** (Fig. 10); Le Puy: **A 9** (Fig. 12); Sens: **GL 4** (Fig. 16); **GL 6** (Fig. 19); Reims: **GB 1** (Fig. 40); **GB 2**: Baâlon (Fig. 42); Stenay: **GB 3** (Fig. 44); Metz: **GB 7** (Fig. 51); Soulosse: **GB 10** (Fig. 56); Arlon: **GB 13** (Fig. 61); Buzenol-Montauban: **GB 16** (Fig. 72); Trier: **GB 19** (Fig. 77), **GB 20** (Fig. 78); Igel: **GB 24** (Figs.86, 90, 91); St. Wendel: **GB 25** (Fig. 118); Neumagen: **GB 26** (Fig. 119); **GB 27** (Fig. 121); Weinsheim: **GS 1**(Fig. 123). **GL 12** (Fig. 29), identified as a cloth shop by Duval, is excluded from this study because the scene is not sufficiently preserved see P.M. Duval, *Paris antique, des origines au troisième siècle* (Paris 1961) 256.

[2] See Chapter One, 41-44.

The Gallo-Roman scenes portray a variety of motifs, such as the inspection, display and sale of finished pieces of cloth and yarn, the making and displaying of garments in tailors' shops, and the tallying of accounts. These scenes may be represented in various ways according to the wishes of the sculptor and/or client. For example, two scenes of cloth vending place their transaction in a setting identified by the presence of a counter, which separates the vendor from the customer.[3] The cloth is being displayed to the prospective customers for their examination. Two other scenes portray a tailor's shop in a setting identified by a counter, upon which the figure is cutting a piece of cloth with a pair of scissors; one of these shops also displays the finished wares.[4] Another scene depicts a tailor or clothes vendor standing behind a long low counter; a garment is displayed over a rod suspended from the ceiling of the niche.[5]

Seven scenes portray a basic motif of a piece of finished cloth or garment held up by two figures, sometimes in a setting identified by shelves of folded cloth and curtains.[6] The gestures and the actions of these figures suggest that some kind of inspection of the displayed cloth is being represented in the scenes. Two more complex scenes of this basic motif are found on the pillar monument of the Secundinii, *in situ* at Igel, near Trier (**GB 24**, Figs. 86, 90, 91). The basic motif of two figures holding up a piece of cloth is enlarged and amplified with additional

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[3] **A9** (Fig. 12), **GB 13** (Fig. 61).

[4] **GL 4** (Fig. 16), **GB 1** (Fig. 40).

[5] **GL 6** (Fig. 19).

[6] **GB 2** (Fig. 42), **GB 3** (Fig. 44), **GB 7** (Fig. 51), **GB 16** (Fig. 72), **GB 20** (Fig. 78), **GB 25** (Fig. 118), **GB 26** (Fig. 119).

figures in one relief (**GB 24**, Figs. 90-91), while the other relief portrays a variation of the two figure cloth motif combined with a scene of the tallying of accounts in a setting identified by two, large, identical counters (Fig. 86). These two reliefs are part of a series of reliefs preserved on the Igel monument that provide valuable information about one family's involvement in the sale of cloth on a large scale. The other reliefs depict the tying up of large bales of cloth; the transport of cloth by wagons, pack animals and boats; a possible cloth manufacturing workshop; and scenes of the tallying of accounts.[7]

Four reliefs portray scenes that pose intriguing problems in their interpretation. One scene depicts a male figure displaying a cloth which is draped over a long narrow rope.[8] The presence of this rope makes it is unclear whether this figure represents either a vendor or a worker involved in a finishing process of the cloth. Two partially preserved scenes depict cylindrically-shaped objects on shelves that might represent either bolts of cloth or rolls of papyrus.[9] Another relief portrays a couple holding objects which suggest that they may have been spinners or merchants of spun thread.[10]

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[7] Figs. 93-95, 98, 102, 106, 108-110.

[8] **A 7** (Fig. 10).

[9] **GB 19** (Fig. 77), **GB 27** (Fig. 121).

[10] **GB 10** (Fig. 56).

I. Scenes Portraying the Sale of Cloth

A partially mutilated pillar monument from Arlon, known as the 'Marchand de drap', portrays a scene of the sale of cloth. This sale takes place in a setting identified by a high counter, likely wood, which separates the standing vendor from his seated customers (**GB 13**, Fig. 61). Two rows of shelves of folded cloth are depicted on the back wall of the shop above the figures.[11] On the lower left shelf some of the cloth appears to be rolled into small bolts, and placed so that one rolled end of each bolt is on display.[12] The vendor stands behind a table holding up one edge of a thick piece of cloth at shoulder height with his right hand while his left hand grasps a part of the cloth lying upon the counter.[13] He displays the cloth to a long-haired, bearded customer on the left, who is seated prominently in the foreground on a high-backed chair with dolphin-shaped arms. This customer has been identified as a soldier by his short cloak with a rounded *fibula*, girded tunic and sheathed blade.[14] He appears to grasp a portion

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[11] Fig. 61 shows only the lower part of this shelf.

[12] M.E. Mariën, *L'empreinte de Rome. Belgica Antiqua* (Anvers 1980) 326.

[13] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 41-42, notes that the depiction of cloth with one corner pulled up is identical to the scene on the socle relief of the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Fig. 86). However, L. Schwinden, "Gallo-römisches Textilgewerbe nach Denkmälern aus Trier und dem Trevererland," *TrZ* 52 (1989) 298-299, quite rightly disagrees with Baltzer, arguing that the cloth on the Igel relief seems to be spread out in front of the table on display to the viewer, while the inspection of the cloth on the Arlon relief is undertaken on the table itself.

[14] J.P. Wild, "Clothing in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire," *BJb* 168 (1968) 182, 226, writes that it is impossible to distinguish the type of cloak that the soldier is wearing, although the Gallic *sagum* fastened with a brooch was adopted by Roman soldiers as a cloak and a blanket at night. For the soldier's clothing see also Chapter Seven, 241-242. L. Lefèbvre, *Les sculptures gallo-romaines du Musée d'Arlon* (*BIAL* 1-2, Arlon 1975) 72; *id.*, *Le Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* (Brussels 1990) 72, describes both seated figures as officers. Mariën (above n. 12) 326, identifies the bearded customer as a Parthian regular in the troops of Maximinus Thrax (234-238 A.D.); however, this figure does not wear typical Parthian clothing (pants and Phrygian caps), as seen on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome, nor does this author explain his reasoning behind this identification. More likely, the seated soldiers, with their long flowing hair and beards represent

of the cloth to show that he is feeling its texture before deciding whether to purchase it.[15] The head of his long-haired, bearded companion seated beside him also seems to be bent forward looking at the cloth.

This cloth vending scene represents the sale of cloth, while the scene portrayed in the niche below depicts the tallying of accounts, implying that this transaction and others like it brought success and wealth to the vendor. The scene below portrays the vendor holding a tablet and two attendants at a small counter, similar to the one shown in the cloth vending scene, although here it is laden with coins (Fig. 62). Perhaps the vendor depicted in the cloth vending scene sold cloth regularly to the military stationed in the Treviran region, although there appears to be no epigraphical evidence to verify that such transactions did take place.[16]

The right relief block from Le Puy also likely portrays the sale of cloth to customers. (**A 9**, Fig. 12). This transaction takes place in a setting identified by a small counter, which separates the vendor from the customers, a couple. The vendor stands on the right displaying a small

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soldiers from one of the many German tribes across the Rhine. For some depictions of Parthians on the Arch of Severus at Rome see R. Brilliant. *The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum* (*MAAR* 29 1967) Pls. 48c, 53a-c, 54a-b, 55a.

[15] N. Boymel Kampen identifies the figure described here as a seated soldier as the merchant in the shop, who is shown seated in order to distinguish his status from the employee: see N. Boymel Kampen,"Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman," in E. D'Ambra ed., *Roman Art in Context. An Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1993) 122. However, since all other Gallo-Roman vending reliefs display the merchants dressed in the customary tunics and cloaks, it is highly doubtful that the seated figure portrayed as a soldier on the Arlon relief represents the vendor.

[16] Two inscriptions from Gallia Belgica, the provincial provenance of **GB 13**, include the occupational title *vestiarius*, a dealer in cloth, although they do not reveal to whom this cloth was sold: *CIL* XIII, 3263 (Reims); *CIL* XIII, 3705 (Trier). Also see below, 132 n. 99.

piece of cloth to the couple for their inspection. The female figure in the centre holds a large square object against her chest, possibly a purse, while the male figure on the left is placing an object on the counter.[17] If she is holding a purse, then it may signify that a purchase is about to take place, as well as the prosperity of the person who was carrying it. This motif of a single vendor displaying a cloth to a customer is also depicted on the two first century A.D. reliefs from Milan (Figs. 150, 151) and the second/third century A.D. sarcophagus from Turin (Fig. 153).[18]

II. Scenes of Tailors' Shops

Two reliefs probably portray a scene of a tailor's shop: **GL 4** (Fig. 16) from Sens and **GB 1** (Fig. 40) from Reims. The scenes take place in a setting identified by a small counter. The right side of the Sens relief preserves the hands of a figure, who was once seated in profile at the counter (Fig. 16).[19] These hands are shown cutting a piece of cloth lying on the counter with a large pair of scissors. Two very stylized, small capes hang by their hoods from hooks

[17] Esp. 1659.

[18] See Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 121-123, 127, nos. 35-36, 41; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 44, 95, nos. 9-10, fig. 48; Chapter One, 42-43. A first century A.D. wall painting from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix at Pompeii portrays a similar composition of a single male vendor in the forum, who is displaying a piece of cloth to a couple for their inspection: see J.-M. Croisille, *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flaviens* II (Brussels 1982) pl. 120.1; Baltzer, *op. cit.* 44, 96, no. 14, fig. 50; S.C. Nappo, "Fregio dipinto dal <<praedium>> di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro di Pompei," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 3 (1989) 82, fig. 5. A painted shop sign from the fuller's shop (*fullonica*) of Verecundus in Pompeii (IX 7, 7) also depicts a single figure displaying a large piece of cloth; however, this cloth is shown within the context of a workshop setting: see Zimmer, *op. cit.* 128, no. 42. For the wall paintings see also Chapter One, 42 n. 82.

[19] G. Julliot, *Inscriptions et monuments du Musée gallo-romain de Sens* (Sens 1898) 87, suggested that the figure was deliberately mutilated because it jutted out too far when it was reused in the ancient city wall.

attached to the roof of the niche.[20] This type of cape calls to mind the woollen, hooded shoulder cape known as the *cucullus*.[21] A mutilated word in the bottom line of the inscription on the left lateral side of the monument has been interpreted by the editors of *CIL* as *c[ucull]a[r]ius*.[22] If the interpretation of this word is correct, then it is the only known epitaph of a tailor who mad these types of capes.[23]

In comparison, the scene on the late third century A.D. sarcophagus from Milan resembles the composition from Sens, as a seated male figure is shown involved in some task at a counter and a stylized sleeved garment, perhaps a tunic, is hung on display over a bar suspended from an arched roof (Fig. 154).[24] As noted in Chapter One, Gabelmann interprets this scene as a maker of leather garments in his shop, while Veyne suggests that the figure depicts a scribe

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[20] G. Roche-Bernard, *Costumes et textiles en Gaule romaine* (Paris 1993) 139, compares the suspended capes hanging on hooks to hams suspended from racks in butchers' shops.

[21] For a discussion of the likely northern Gallic origin of the *cucullus* see Wild (above n. 14) 225, Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 28-30. The *Santoni* and *Lingones* were well-known in antiquity for making this type of garment in Roman Gaul: for references see below 132 n. 98. See also Chapter Seven, 242. The stylized capes portrayed on the Sens relief also recall the cape on the bronze statuette of a ploughman from Trier: see J.P. Wild, "The Clothing of Britannia, Gallia belgica and Germania inferior," *ANRW* II, 12.3 (1985) 379, pl. 5.15; A. Böhme, "Tract- und Bestattungssitten in den germanischen Provinzen und der Belgica." *ANRW* II, 12.3 (1985) 435-436, pl. 4.10 Rural workers wear *cuculli* with the hoods up on a calendar mosaic from St.-Romain- en-Gal: see H. Stern, "Les calendriers romains illustrés," *ANRW* II, 12.2 (1981) pl. XVII.30, 42.

[22] *CIL* XIII, 2953. Julliot (above n. 19) 87, suggested that the missing letters formed the word *sagarius*, a maker of the rectangular cloak known as the *sagum*. However, the *sagum* does not appear to have a hood like the capes shown on the Sens relief: see Wild (above n. 14) 182-183; Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 22-23.Besides, the letter *C*, preserved after the name Attius, does not make sense if the missing word is *sagarius*.

[23] H. von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks. " in H. Jankuhn ed., *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* I (*Abhandlungen der Akadamie des Wissenschaften Göttingen*) (Göttingen 1981) 94; Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 132.

[24] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 135, no. 50; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 43; Chapter One, 43-44.

writing on parchment with a tanned skin displayed above.[25] However, the T-shaped form of the object on display resembles a tunic, similar to the one portrayed on **GB 7** (Fig. 51) from Metz, more than it does a medium on which to write.

A similar composition is shown on the right lateral face of the fragmented relief block from Reims: the preserved lower half of a figure is shown standing in profile before a table in the act of cutting a thick piece of cloth on the table with a pair of scissors (**GB 1**, Fig. 40). Since the upper part of the relief is missing, it is not known whether this scene also once depicted a finished garment hanging on display.

Another relief from Sens depicts a vendor of hooded cloaks (**GL 6**, Fig. 19). A male figure faces the viewer behind a low, rectangular counter concealing his lower legs and feet. He holds a tablet in his left hand and a stylus in his right, to signify his status as a merchant.[26] On the left is a wide, hooded cloak, which hangs partly over a thick bar attached to the back wall of the shop. This figure might also represent a tailor of this type of cloak although the scene does not focus on making the garment but on the finished product.[27] The function of the vertical lines incised on the upper back wall of the relief is unclear. As a rule, representations of cloth stored on shelves are shown as incised horizontal lines to indicate that they were folded one on top of

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[25] See Chapter One, 43. See also H. Gabelmann, *Die Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage* (Bonn 1973) 161; P. Veyne, "Patrimony,'" in P. Veyne ed., *A History of Private Life from Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) 147.

[26] Kampen, *Image and Status* 95.

[27] Julliot (above n. 19) 87, interpreted the figure as a vendor of ready-made cloaks or *paenularius*. Reddé, *Métier* 44, describes the figure as a tailor.

the other; whereas, in this example, the objects appear to be stored on their edge, side by side, like modern books on a shelf. Perhaps the objects represent bolts of cloth stored in rows, one above the other, like those portrayed on Fig. 62.

III. Scenes of Cloth Inspection and Cloth Display

The most common motif pertaining to the Gallo-Roman cloth trade is depicted on seven reliefs from funerary monuments from Gallia Belgica: two male figures are shown in profile displaying a piece of cloth or finished garment to the observer.[28] The figures are represented as either visually inspecting the fabric for any flaws in the material or feeling the nap of the fabric for its thickness and pliancy. Consequently, these reliefs have been described as scenes of cloth inspection (*Tuchprobe*) or cloth display, although it becomes apparent in the following discussion that the one motif cannot be separated from the other.

A. Scenes of Two Figure Cloth Inspection and Cloth Display

The well preserved relief from St. Wendel depicts most clearly the basic motif of a piece of cloth held by two figures (**GB 25**, Fig. 118). The two figures, likely youths, stand in profile, holding a rectangular piece of cloth with a fringed hem.[29] They each hold an edge of the cloth

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[28] Baâlon: **GB 2** (Fig. 42); Stenay: **GB 3** (Fig. 44); Metz: **GB 7** (Fig. 51); Buzenol-Montauban: **GB 16** (Fig. 72); Trier: **GB 20** (Fig. 78); St. Wendel: **GB 25** (Fig. 118); Neumagen: **GB 26** (Fig. 119). Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42, notes that this type of composition is also found on the relief from Dijon of two butchers standing on either side of a suspended beef carcass (**GL 15**, Fig. 33).

[29] The unlined and beardless chubby faces of the figures suggest that they represent young boys rather than mature males. Clothing may also be a distinguishing characteristic of age, as the youths wear much longer tunics than those of the adult male figures portrayed on the cloth inspection scenes. For the figures described as boys (*Jünglinge*) see F. Hettner, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* (Trier 1893) 112, no. 247; R. Schindler, *Führer durch die vorgeschichtliche und römische Abteilung. Landesmuseum Trier* (Trier 1977) 58, fig. 176; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 200, no. 147. K. Polaschek, "Funde und Ausgrabungen im Bezirk Trier Mitteilungen des Rheinischen Landesmuseum. Zeugnisse zur

in both hands so that one part of the material forms a flat table-like plane between them. The other part of the cloth with the fringe hangs down on full display to the observer. The heads of both youths are bent forward in order to show that they are examining the cloth intently, perhaps for irregularities in the weave. The upper back wall depicts a shelf with two rows of folded cloth, recalling the shelves portrayed on the shop relief from Arlon (Fig. 61). The cloth on the left side of the shelf appears to be tied neatly with rope in three bundles, while the five pieces of cloth on the right are folded so that their fringed hems, indicated by incised lines, are on display to the observer. A short curtain hanging from the upper right edge of the niche delimits the setting in the same manner as the curtain shown on the relief from Le Puy (Fig. 12).[30]

A mid-first century A.D. relief from Milan portrays a similar motif of two figures holding a cloth spread out before them (Fig. 149).[31] However, in this scene, the figures are shown with bodies in frontal view and profile heads and the cloth is not held up high on display, but drags partially upon the ground. It seems that the focus of this scene is on displaying the cloth to the observer rather than its inspection. An altar at Rome, dating ca. 100 A.D. (Fig. 152), also depicts two figures holding a cloth in a manner very similar to the figures on the St. Wendel

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Bekleidungsindustrie im römischen Trier und Umgebung," *KurtrierJb* 13 (1973) 214-215, describes the figures as young men.

[30] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 40.

[31] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 124, no. 37; Chapter One, 42.

relief (Fig. 118).[32] In contrast, the Rome work depicts a transaction taking place between the two vendors displaying the cloth and the seated male customer.

The fragmentary relief from Baâlon depicts two male figures shown standing in profile within an arched niche displaying a rectangular piece of finished cloth (**GB 2**, Fig. 42). The heads of both figures face downwards as if to emphasize that they are examining the cloth. The figure on the left appears to be holding a small pair of scissors in his right hand, possibly to cut off a loose thread or pile, while he holds the upper left edge of the cloth at chin height with his left hand.[33] The figure on the right holds the upper right edge of the cloth with his right hand, while his left hand grasps the cloth at waist level.[34] A shelf with six pieces of folded cloth is portrayed on the upper back wall of the niche, recalling the shelf portrayed on the reliefs from St. Wendel and Arlon. However, in this example, the shelf is shown as being supported by a vertical post incised on the back wall.

The relief from Buzenol-Montauban recalls the reliefs from Baâlon and Milan: two male figures are shown as standing in profile holding between them a large cloth with deeply carved folds and a curving lower edge (**GB 16**, Fig. 72). The figure on the left holds the upper corner

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[32] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 126-127, no. 40; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 45, 96, no. 17, fig. 53; Chapter One, 43.

[33] Esp. 3785: Schlippschuh, *Händler* 45.

[34] Schlippschuh, *Händler* 45, suggests that this figure is indicating with his index finger the spot where the cloth was to be cut. However, this placement of the left hand at waist-height with the index finger extended is found on the other cloth inspection scenes which do not depict scissors. This commonly used gesture likely signifies that the figure is feeling the texture of the material for quality as well as visually inspecting it.

of the cloth very close to his face, apparently examining the cloth for flaws. [35] However, the viewer is drawn to the deep folds of the displayed cloth. Obvious care was taken by the sculptor to emphasize that this represented a high quality piece of cloth. The upper part of the cloth is displayed at a slight angle, so that the figure on the left grasps the one edge at shoulder height, while the figure on the right holds the other edge at the height of his forehead. The lower part of the cloth partially obscures a large object on the ground with parallel incised lines, similar to the one shown on the attic relief from the monument at Igel (**GB 24**, Figs. 90, 91). This large object has been identified as a large basket by Baltzer, but it is probably a pile of folded cloth, as it has no resemblance to the wicker basket portrayed on the altar at Rome above the displayed cloth (Fig. 152).[36] The wicker basket depicted on the altar likely did represent a storage container for the cloth.

The relief from Stenay depicts a variation of the motif: instead of a piece of cloth, the two male figures display an item of clothing resembling a flat, board-like tunic with short sleeves (**GB 3**, Fig. 44).[37] They stand in profile with their heads and the top of the tunic touching the roof of the rectangular niche. This scene likewise seems to portray an inspection taking place, as the better preserved head of the right figure is bent slightly forward, and his left eye is carved

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[35] M. Renard, "Les nouvelles découvertes de reliefs gallo-romains à Buzenol (Belgique)," *CRAI* (1959) 37, fancifully suggests that the barefoot figure on the left is the merchant, craftily extolling his cloth to the countryman on the right!

[36] J. Mertens, "Sculptures romaines de Buzenol," *ArchBelg* 42 (1958) 45; Renard (above n. 35) 37; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 41.

[37] Esp. 3786; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 186; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42.

at a downward angle, examining the cloth.[38] The left figure's left hand and the right figure's right hand hold taut the sleeves of the tunic; their index fingers lie parallel on top of the sleeves. Their other hands grasp a handle-shaped object on either side of the middle part of the tunic. The figures could be holding a short rope, looped at both ends, upon which the lower part of the tunic is more easily displayed.[39]

The composition of the right lateral face of the stele at Metz varies from the scenes of cloth inspection discussed so far, as the two male figures stand facing the viewer rather than in profile (**GB** 7, Fig. 51). They also hold a wide tunic in front of them rather than outstretched between them. The sculptor appears to have condensed the motif to fit the narrow width of the niche. The figures grasp the tunic by the upper edges of the sleeves, so that it is displayed fully to the observer, although it is held at an angle in order to fit it into the narrower field. The figure on the right appears to be feeling the texture of the material with his right hand. His thumb presses against the outside of the tunic, while a small portion of the cloth curves over

[38] Espérandieu interpreted this scene as a 'scène de marché': see Esp. 3786. Wightman, *Roman Trier* 186, called the relief a cloth inspection scene; whereas Reddé, *Métier* 44, described the figures as 'marchands d'étoffes'.

[39] The handle-like objects are probably not pockets, since the sides of preserved tunics from Roman Gaul and Germany are sewn together: see Wild (above n. 14) 169; Wild (above n. 21) 369-371.

the remaining four digits concealed behind the cloth.[40] Once again, the motifs of cloth display and cloth inspection are inseparable in this scene.[41]

The fragmentary relief from Neumagen, known as 'Das Tuchhandelpfeiler', probably depicted two figures displaying a piece of finished cloth spread out between them (**GB 26**, Fig. 119). However, only the upper half of a young male figure, carved in deep relief, is preserved on the right side of the relief. He holds the upper right corner of a large cloth with deep folds at eye level, showing that he is in the act of examining the cloth, likely for flaws. His right thumb and index finger curve around the thickly rolled edge of cloth. The left hand, now missing, likely once held the side of the cloth at waist level in a manner similar to the figures shown on the reliefs from the attic relief on the Igel monument (Figs. 90, 91), Baâlon (Fig. 42) and Buzenol-Montauban (Fig. 72).

The poorly preserved relief from Trier probably also portrayed two figures holding a piece of cloth stretched out between them. Only the upper part of a bearded male figure, holding taut the upper edge of a large cloth with his right hand, is preserved on the right (**GB 20**, Fig. 78). His right index finger lies parallel to the top edge of the cloth, while the right thumb lies in front of the cloth. His left hand holds the cloth at waist level; the left thumb and fingers are displayed

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[40] D. Ponau, "Objets archéologiques," *Revue du Louvre* 5/6 (1976) 329 and G. Collot, *La civilisation gallo-romaine dans la cité des Médiomatriques* I (Metz 1992) 28, both describe the figures as measuring a piece of cloth.

[41] S. Pannoux, "La représentation du travail. Récit et image sur les monuments funéraires des Médiomatriques," *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 296, describes this scene as the presentation of a product to an eventual customer. The customer in this case is the viewer.

against the front of the material.[42] The worn surface of the relief makes the cloth appear stiff, board-like, and without texture, resembling the garment portrayed on the relief from Stenay (**GB 3**, Fig. 44). The preserved figure stands in three-quarter view with his head in profile facing right. He does not look at the cloth that he is holding, but glances back over his shoulder at a part of the relief that is now missing. Schwinden suggests he was looking at other figures in a scene similar to the south attic relief on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Figs. 90, 91).[43] Schwinden identifies this scene as a scene of cloth inspection; however, the figure is not shown examining the cloth and the actions of the missing figure holding the other end of cloth are not known. Therefore, this scene can only be interpreted as the display of large piece of cloth to the viewer (and potential customer).[44]

B. Scenes of Cloth Inspection and Cloth Display with Multiple Figures

The most complex scenes of cloth inspection and cloth display are found on the pillar monument of the Secundinii, *in situ* at Igel. The first scene is depicted on the attic relief of the principal face, in a setting identified by a large open area flanked by two arched portals (**GB 24**,

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[42] Schwinden (above n. 13) 296.

[43] Schwinden (above n. 13) 296, compares the Trier figure to the figure holding the cloth on the right of the attic relief of the principal side of the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Figs. 90-91). He writes that, since the Igel figure's head is turned backwards over his left shoulder looking at the figures beside him on the right, then the Trier figure was also looking back at other figures beside him. However, the head of the Igel figure is so mutilated that it is difficult to discern which way it is turned. Both the reproduction of the scene on the Igel copy in the courtyard of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum (Fig. 91) and the reconstruction in Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 13, fig. 9, show the head of the Igel figure facing left in profile.

[44] Schwinden (above n. 13) 292, 294-297.

Figs. 90, 91). Two male figures are shown standing in profile, in the centre of the scene, holding the upper corners of a large thick cloth at shoulder height; their index fingers lie parallel to the top of the cloth. They also grasp the middle of the cloth at waist level, pulling the edge towards them so that the cloth is fully stretched at this point. Part of the cloth rests over a large striated object, which has been interpreted as a pile of folded cloth by Dragendorff and Krüger and as a large container by Baltzer.[45] The striations, however, do resemble folds of cloth, and likely represent individual pieces that have already gone through an inspection process.

Six male figures are shown in addition to the two males holding the cloth.[46] One figure on the left is shown passing a rolled bolt of cloth to another figure, who is mostly obscured by the figure on the left holding the stretched out cloth. Two other figures stand behind the cloth; one looks at the exchange of the rolled-up cloth, while the other faces the viewer. The figure on the far right stands facing right, looking down at a tablet in his hands. He is represented either registering the arrival of the bolts about to be inspected or ticking them off as they are inspected. Another figure stands between the figure holding the tablet and the figure displaying the cloth on the right. He faces left as he looks towards the figures exchanging the bolt of cloth.

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[45] These striations are seen on the original relief, as well as on the model of the Igel monument mentioned in Chapter Two, set up in 1907, in the courtyard of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier (Fig. 91): see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 78; Chapter Two, 65-66. Polaschek (above n. 29) 214, concurs with their interpretation. Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 40-41, suggests that the two figures are removing the cloth from a container.

[46] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 77, interpreted only five figures in addition to the two figures holding the cloth. However, the model in the courtyard of the museum at Trier portrays a sixth figure (**GB 24**, Fig. 91). This sixth figure, inserted the fourth from the right, fills the gap in the centre of the relief above the cloth: see E. Zahn, "Die neue Rekonstruktionszeichnung der Igeler Säule," *TrZ* 31 (1968) 230; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 12-13, fig. 9.

This scene on the attic relief of the Igel monument was first interpreted by Drexel as the display of cloth to customers in a shop.[47] However, there is no evidence to suggest that a business transaction is taking place between a cloth vendor and customers, as portrayed on the scenes of cloth vending at Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 61), Le Puy (**A9**, Fig. 12) and a first century A.D. relief from Florence (Fig. 148). The Florence relief depicts two vendors displaying a large cloth in a manner similar to the two figures portrayed on the Igel attic relief, but the presence of the two seated customers indicates that a transaction is taking place.[48] The Igel relief seems to represent something different from a vending scene. Dragendorff and Krüger interpreted the attic relief as a scene of cloth inspection (*Tuchprobe*).[49] The bolts of cloth were apparently delivered by the figure on the left, where they were inspected by the two figures in the centre, and then recorded in the account book of the figure on the right. Baltzer, on the other hand, would rather see this relief as simply a scene of cloth display emphasizing the beauty of the cloth to the viewer.[50] Schwinden rightly points out that the one motif can not be separated from the other: the scene represents both a cloth inspection and a scene of cloth display.[51] Drinkwater considers that this scene of cloth inspection advertises a form of quality

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[47] F. Drexel, "Die Bilder der Igeler Säule," *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 92.

[48] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 125-126, no. 39; Chapter One, 41.

[49] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 78. This view is followed by Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 12; J.F. Drinkwater, "The Wool Textile Industry of Gallia Belgica and the Secundinii of Igel: Questions and Hypotheses," *Textile History* 13 (1982) 113; Schwinden (above n. 13) 292.

[50] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42, believes that the term cloth inspection (*Tuchprobe*) applies only to the St. Wendel relief (**GB 25**, Fig. 118), which shows two figures examining a piece of cloth in an explicit manner.

[51] Schwinden (above n. 13) 298.

control carried out by workers for the Secundinii brothers. This final inspection acted as a safeguard against sloppy workmanship before the bolts of cloth were sold on the wholesale market.[52]

Roche-Bernard proposes a rather obscure interpretation for the cloth inspection scene on the attic relief of the Igel monument. She suggests that the scene shows two stages referring to the same process: the first stage displays the rolled up cloth arriving on the shoulder of the left figure; the second stage shows the same cloth being inspected in the centre of the scene.[53] However, the two processes, carrying the bolt in and inspecting it unrolled, are essential stages in the same procedure, which all bolts of cloth may be assumed to go through. The sculptor is not thinking here in terms of specific bolts.

The socle relief on the principal side of the Igel monument portrays a detailed scene in a setting identified by two large tables with a group of figures assembled around each one (**GB 24**, Fig. 86). A shelf with piles of neatly folded cloth is carved the full length of the back wall; curtains hang from a rod on either side to define the setting. The poorly preserved right half of the relief depicts four male figures gathered around a cloth, which lies on top of a counter. The placement of this cloth varies from the basic motif of two figures holding a cloth, although two of the figures use gestures typically found in this motif. The male on the left of the counter holds up a corner of the cloth, while the figure on the right of the counter grasps the opposite

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[52] Drinkwater (above n. 49) 120-122. This interpretation is endorsed by Schwinden (above n. 13) 298.

[53] Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 135.

edge of the cloth with both hands. Moreover, the cloth is still spread out on display to the observer even though it is lying on the counter.[54] The two other figures standing behind the counter are too mutilated for their actions to be identified with precision.[55] Another male on the far right carries a bolt of cloth over his left shoulder, in a manner similar to the figure portrayed on the attic relief (**GB 24**, Figs. 90, 91).[56] The incised profile head and traces of the foot of another male are depicted between the two figures on the right.

The left half of the socle relief portrays a scene of the tallying of accounts (Fig. 86).[57] Eight figures are grouped around a counter similar to the one shown on the right side of the relief. On the left, a male is seated on a chair before the counter, examining a large tablet, which rests on his lap against the table. The index and middle fingers of his left hand are extended, while the last two digits curve into the palm in a gesture of finger counting.[58] Two males stand

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[54] Schwinden (above n. 13) 298-299.

[55] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 53, suggested that the figure standing in the middle on the left was holding up the corner of the cloth along with the figure on the left of the table.

[56] Zahn (above n. 46) 230. Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 53, had interpreted the depiction of the mutilated figure on the far right as having his arms folded over his chest instead of carrying a bolt of cloth, although a watercolor painted by Fr. Quandt in 1917, which is included in their book, shows this figure with a cloth bolt over his left shoulder.

[57] The east attic relief (Fig. 106) also depicts a scene of the tallying of accounts as well as the relief below the cloth vending scene from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 62). For discussions of this motif see M. Renard, "Scènes de compte à Buzenol," *Le Pays Gaumais* 20 (1959) 6-45; H. Heinen, "Grundzüge der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Moselraumes zur Römerzeit," *TrZ* 39 (1976) 103-104; J.F. Drinkwater, "Money-Rents and Food-Renders in Gallic Funerary Reliefs," in A. King and M. Henig eds., *The Roman West in the Third Century* (*BAR* International Series 109, 1981) 215-233. See also Chapter One, 53-54.

[58] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 53. See **R 2** (Fig. 129) for an example of finger counting on a relief of a wine shop from Augsburg; Chapter Four, 160-161 For other examples of finger counting on scenes of accounting in the Treviran region see A. Rieche, "Computatio Romana. Fingerzählen auf provinzialrömischen

behind the seated merchant; one of them grips the upper part of the chair with his right hand. Three other figures are involved in counting a pile of coins on the counter; traces of these coins are preserved nearest to the figure on the right of the table. The head of another male standing behind the table is incised on the back wall. His raised right hand is touching the tip of his chin; the thumb and middle finger are extended in another gesture of finger counting. An eighth male stands between the two tables; his head appears to be turned to the left looking down at the tallying of accounts scene.

Dragendorff and Krüger interpreted the socle relief as representing a sale in a cloth shop: the right half of the scene depicts the selecting of cloth, while the left half portrays the payment for the purchased cloth.[59] Roche-Bernard suggests that the two vendors are presenting the cloth on the table to merchants, who examine the cloth before deciding to purchase it; payment for the cloth was then made at the counter on the left.[60] The scene of the tallying accounts on the left side of the socle relief is probably connected with the sale of cloth; however, the setting provides no clues as to whether this scene takes place in a room on the estate of the Secundinii or in a showroom elsewhere, perhaps in Trier.[61]

Reliefs," *BJb* 186 (1986) figs. 10-14. For a brief discussion on the origins of finger counting see H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* trans. G. Lamb (1956; rep. London 1977) 400-401.

[59] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 53.

[60] Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 136; she also suggests that the scene of the tallying of accounts depicts a scene of payment to the weavers of the cloth displayed on this scene and the scene on the attic relief.

[61] Drinkwater (above n. 49) 122, 124, proposes that the sale of cloth portrayed on the socle relief may have taken place in a leased room in a large hall used for the sale of cloth. However, his interpretations are based on medieval models of cloth manufacturing and trade, and therefore must be treated with caution.

A fragmentary relief from Weinsheim might have also once combined a scene of the tallying of accounts with a scene of cloth display (**GS 1,** Fig. 123). The preserved right half of the relief portrays the scene of the tallying of accounts: a male figure is seated on the left before a counter with an inkwell and large sack of money placed on top.[62] He is looking down at a scroll in his lap, while another figure on the right appears to be involved in the same task. The left side of the relief preserves a figure who stands in profile, facing left. Espérandieu proposed that this figure once held a piece of cloth on display with a fourth figure.[63] His stance is similar to the other figures in the cloth inspection scenes and his left arm is held at waist level in the typical position seen in the motif of two figures holding up a piece of cloth. However, no traces of this cloth or of the fourth figure are preserved to identify clearly what may have been represented on this part of the relief.

C. Analysis of the Scenes of Cloth Inspection and Cloth Display

The evidence from the seven Gallo-Roman scenes discussed in Section A indicates that there is a basic motif of a piece of cloth held up by two figures. The earlier Italian reliefs from Florence (Fig. 148) and Rome (Fig. 152) use a similar motif in contexts which identify it as part of a process of sale, through the presence of two customers. However, in the absence of customers, there are only ambiguous clues to provide the context of the Gallo-Roman scenes such as the presence of folded cloth on the rear wall and the examination of the cloth on

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[62] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 56; M. Grünewald, *Die Römer in Worms* (Stuttgart 1986) 55, fig. 37.

[63] Esp 6066.

display. Schwinden endorses Drinkwater's view that the scenes of two figures holding an outstretched cloth or garment serve as advertisements for quality control - they do not indicate that a business transaction was taking place.[64] With this view in mind, the commemorators of the tombs might have also desired to show in their reliefs that they were trustworthy businessmen. Gabelmann proposes that the theme of cloth inspection covered both the production and the sale of the cloth.[65] Thus it seems likely that the motif could mean either "the cloth examined by the manufacturers" or "the cloth displayed for the inspection of a potential customer". In the absence of further information it seems impossible to separate the two motifs. The viewer is in the position of the customer before whom the wares are displayed. This seems especially the case where a finished garment is displayed, such as those seen on the reliefs from Stenay (**GB** 3, Fig. 44) and Metz (**GB** 7, Fig. 51). In either case, the essential message is "look what a good product I make/sell".

On the Igel monument (**GB 24**), the basic motif of a piece of cloth held up by two figures is expanded and amplified in a context that makes clear the extent of the family's involvement

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[64] Schwinden (above n. 13) 296, 298; Drinkwater (above n. 49) 120-122.

[65] H. Gabelmann, "Römische Grabbauten der Nordprovinzen im 2. und 3. Jh.n. Chr.," in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker eds., *Römische Gräberstrassen Selbstdarstellung-Status-Standard. Kolloquium im München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften)* (Munich 1987) 196. D. Willers, *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 506, wondered whether the frequency of the *Tuchprobe* might not always refer to the occupation of the deceased, but the '*Betuchtsein*' of the individuals (the appearance of being well-to-do). W. Gauer, "Die raetischen Pfeilergrabmäler und ihre moselländischen Vorbilder," *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 43 (1978) 96-97, would like to see the cloth inspection scenes as a symbol of capital in the afterlife. However, the scenes of cloth inspection are entrenched in the imagery of daily life, even if they are not exact copies of the actual task which they represent.

in the wholesale trade of fine woollen cloth.[66] There has been speculation whether this cloth was manufactured on the estate or was purchased from elsewhere.[67] The east socle relief has been interpreted as a scene of cloth preparation, although it is very poorly preserved (Fig. 102).[68] Judging from the reliefs on the monument depicting the preparing and shipping in or out of large bales of cloth, it seems likely that the demand probably exceeded what could be produced on the estate, necessitating the use of other, perhaps local manufacturers of cloth.[69] The destination of the bales of cloth depicted on the Igel reliefs is also uncertain, although they were perhaps shipped to other parts of Gaul, known in antiquity for producing good quality clothes.[70]

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[66] Drexel (above n. 47) 90; Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 52-53, 96; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 34-35. Drinkwater (above n. 49) 115

[67] Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 135. Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 35, suggests that the tenants on the Secundinii estate manufactured the cloth portrayed on the monument as part of their rent. On the other hand, Drinkwater (above n. 49) 117-120, proposes that the cloth was manufactured outside the estate, perhaps in nearby Trier.

[68] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 53-54. On the right side of the relief is a figure seated on a stool before a large post. The authors believed that this post was similar in form to the large four-posted frame on the wall-painting of the Erotes as fullers in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii. For this painting see A. Sogliano, "La Casa dei Vettii in Pompei," *MonAnt* 8 (1898) fig. 52.

[69] For reliefs depicting the preparing and shipping of bales of cloth on the Igel monument see Figs. 93-95, 108-110. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 150-151, noted that the Secundinii may have had multiple estates involved in the production and marketing of their own cloth, but she conceded that the wool may have been purchased from elsewhere.

[70] The Nervii, Santones. Lingones and Bituriges are among the *civitates* known for the manufacturing of clothing: for references see p. 132 n. 98.

IV. Scenes With Ambiguous Iconography

Four reliefs portray figures and/or settings with ambiguous iconography in the context of the cloth trade: **A7** (Fig. 10) from Alléan, **GB 10** (Fig. 56) from Soulosse, **GB 19** (Fig. 77) from Trier and **GB 27** (Pl. Fig. 121) from Neumagen.

A. Scene of a Cloth Vendor or a Dyer of Cloth (?)

The rounded niche of a stele from Alléan portrays a single male figure holding a cloth with numerous folds (**A 7**, Fig. 10). The hem of the cloth is fringed, similar to cloth portrayed on the St. Wendel relief (**GB 25**, Fig. 118). The manner in which the cloth is displayed varies from the other scenes discussed above: the upper part of the cloth is draped over a long narrow rope, which hangs down on either side of the displayed cloth. This figure has been identified as a cloth merchant by Espérandieu and Schlippschuh.[71] More recently, Ferdière proposes that the figure is preparing to soak the cloth, either to wash it or dye it.[72] Ferdière notes that the male figure wears a 'survêtement' in order to protect his tunic during his work. As this item of apparel appears to be a long, narrow piece of cloth, lying draped around his shoulders and over his chest, it does not sound as if it would offer much protection. Ferdière's interpretation is

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[71] Esp. 1519; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 44-45.

[72] A. Ferdière, "Le travail du textile en région centre de L'Age du Fer au Haut Moyen-Age," *RACentre* 23.2 (1984) 229. See also Roche-Bernard (above n. 21) 135. J. P. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge 1970) 80, notes that ancient writers assumed that the fleece was dyed before it was spun. This earlier stage of dying unspun wool appears to negate Ferdière's interpretation that the scene on the Allèan relief represents the tinting of a cloth. However, it is also reasonable to suggest that the figure is shown about to re-dye the cloth. Apparently, fuller's shops at Pompeii were involved in re-colouring cleaned garments: see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 4 (2nd ed., Leiden 1964) 142.

credible, although other representations of the tinting process show the figures stirring the contents of a large vat.[73] However, part of the fulling process consisted of washing the spun cloth after it had been treated with cleansing agents, such as urine.[74] The scene portrayed on the Alléan relief might also represent a fuller about to wash the cloth after the cleansing process. Thus it remains unresolved whether the figure represents a cloth merchant or a dyer of cloth or a fuller in this scene.

B. Scenes of Cloth Bolts or Papyrus Rolls in a Library (?)

The drawing of a lost relief from Neumagen (**GB 27**, Fig. 121) and a relief from Trier (**GB 19**, Fig. 77) portray similar scenes in which the iconography is ambiguous. The Neumagen drawing depicts the upper back and head of a male figure turned towards a shelf with three rows of cylindrically-shaped objects placed lengthways, so that one end of each object is visible to the viewer. The figure is shown removing one of these objects from the upper right row. Another shelf with more of the same cylindrical objects is depicted on the right. A partially unrolled cylindrical object with finely incised parallel lines is seen below the shelf in lower right corner. This scene has been interpreted by Brinkmann, von Massow and Espérandieu as a

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[73] The drawings of two lost reliefs from Arlon possibly depict scenes of dyers: the one displays three male figures stirring the contents of a large wooden barrel, while the other shows a single male engaged in the same activity: see Wild (above n. 72) 81; Esp. 4125, 4136. A fragmentary relief from Epinal shows an identical scene: see Esp. 4893; Roche-Bernard (above n. 21) 115. Espérandieu described these figures as fullers, although the well-known relief from Sens portrays a fuller treading the cloth in a large vat rather than stirring it: see Esp. 2768. For a wall-painting from Pompeii (VI 8, 20) with this motif see also V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910-23)* (Rome 1953) 771, fig. 775.

[74] Wild (above n. 72) 83.

merchant removing a bolt of cloth from a shelf in a cloth shop.[75] Von Massow explained the curious triangular tab on many of the visible ends of the rolled bolts as labels.[76] However, pieces of cloth are generally shown stored in neatly folded piles rather than in bolts, although the relief of the cloth vending scene from Arlon portrays both folded and rolled pieces of cloth on a shelf (**GB 13**, Pl. Fig. 61).

On the other hand, other scholars have interpreted the Neumagen scene as a depiction of a private library with papyrus scrolls stored on shelves, following the earliest explanation of this relief by Masenius in 1670.[77] In this interpretation, the trapezoidal-shaped tabs on the cylindrical rolls may represent *tituli*, providing the authors and titles of the works, and the partially open cylindrical object with incised lines possibly depicts a scroll of text.[78] As only a

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[75] A. Brinkmann, "Ein verschollenes Relief aus Neumagen, " *BJb* 114-115 (1906) 461-469, based his argument on the fact that shelves of stored cloth are generally portrayed on the upper back walls of shops; whereas shelves in preserved libraries were found placed on the ground. He also denied that rolls of papyri would be shown to have such a large mass, when figures on other reliefs hold much smaller scrolls. Von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 244, suggested that the so-called cloth bolts belonged to the monument known as 'Das Tuchhandelpfeiler' (**GB 26**, Fig. 119). See also Esp. 5176; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 42.

[76] von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 243.

[77] For Masenius' interpretation in Brouwer, *Annales Trevirenses* (Leiden 1670) see Brinkmann (above n. 75) 461-462; Masenius based his interpretation of the figure removing a roll of papyrus from a shelf in a private library on the 'Schulrelief' from Neumagen: two boys each hold a partially unrolled papyrus scroll (Esp. 5149). See also W. Binsfeld, "Lesepulte auf Neumagener Reliefs," *BJb* 173 (1973) 203-204; Polaschek (above n. 29) 217; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 263-264, no. 222. H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich 1992) 181, suggests that the shelves represent *nidi*, the cases of texts mentioned in Mart. *Ep.* 7.17.5.

[78] *Tituli* can be seen attached to partially open papyrus rolls on a wall painting from Pompeii, in the Museo Nazionale, Naples: see Blanck (above n. 77) fig. 42 (drawing). For representations of scrolls in scenes of vending see **GS 1** (Fig. 123) from Weinsheim and possibly **A 9** (Fig. 12) from Le Puy (left relief block).

drawing is preserved of this Neumagen relief, both interpretations of this relief as representing a library or a cloth shop are credible, but they should be viewed with caution.

The fragmentary relief from Trier (**GB 19**, Fig. 77) depicts a setting identified by a shelf with three rows of cylindrically-shaped objects, similar to those portrayed on the relief from Neumagen. Both Brinkmann and Polaschek interpret these objects as representing cloth bolts in a cloth shop.[79] Four pieces of cloth hang from hooks below the shelf of cylindrical objects. It has been suggested that the pieces of cloth hanging on the hooks represent fabric samples for the customers to choose from.[80] As Baltzer points out, if the cylindrical objects on the shelf represent rolls of papyrus, then a library is an odd choice of setting to portray suspended pieces of cloth.[81] Thus the objects on the relief from Trier might represent bolts of cloth, although the setting is not preserved sufficiently to identify the context of the scene.

C. Scene of a Merchant Couple - Vendors of Yarn in their Shop (?)

A funerary stele from Soulosse portrays a portrait of a couple, who stand on either side of a short, narrow block (**GB 10**, Fig. 56). This block has been interpreted as an altar or console by Lorraine, a possible altar by Hoffmann, a shop counter by von Keune and Espérandieu, and an altar or counter by Kahn.[82] The male on the right holds a striated spindle-shaped object,

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[79] Brinkmann (above n. 75) 468; Polaschek (above n. 29) 217.

[80] Polaschek (above n. 29) 217.

[81] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 41, n. 191.

[82] Ch. Lorrain, *Catalogue de la Galerie archéologique* (Metz 1874) 41, no. 37; O.- A. Hoffman, *Der Steinsaal des Altertumsmuseums zu Metz* (Metz 1889) 33, no. 37; J.-B. von Keune, "Bericht über die Erwerbungen des Museums der Stadt Metz," *JGLG* 12 (1900) 357; Esp. 4846; L.C. Kahn, *Gallo-Roman Sculpture from Soulosse,*

resembling a skein of wool in his left hand and a balance in his right hand.[83] The female on the left rests her right hand on a full purse, which sits on a small square box or coffer; this box rest upon the so-called counter along with one of the plates of the balance. Kahn suggests that this scene represents two prosperous merchants in their shop.[84] The presence of the balance does indicate that the couple were merchants, and prosperous ones at that if the female's purse and coffer are interpreted as signs of success.[85] Roche-Bernard expands upon Kahn's interpretation by proposing that the couple represent makers and wholesalers of yarn.[86] However, there are no elements in this relief to suggest that the couple was involved in the manufacturing of yarn, only perhaps in the vending of this product.

V. Analysis of the Products Portrayed on the Reliefs

It is apparent from the visual evidence and the literary sources that the textiles represented in the scenes discussed above represent those made of wool, with the possible exception of the

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France Diss. Boston University 1990, 173, 288. A late first century A.D. funerary relief from Possau, Austria portrays a female standing beside an open jewelry box that is placed on top of a narrow rectangular block similar to the one shown on **GB 10**; this block is described as an altar: see G. Piccottini, *Österreich. Die Dienerinnen- und Dienerreliefs des Stadtgebietes von Virunum* (*CSIR* II.3) (Vienna 1977) 30, no. 210, pl. 11.

[83] Kahn (above n. 82) 173, 288; Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 127. For other examples of figures holding a skein of wool see Ferdière (above n. 72) 248, figs. 10-11; Esp. 1524.

[84] Kahn (above n. 82) 173.

[85] Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 127, suggests that the skein of wool was weighed before being sold to ensure that it was the standard weight. She also proposes that the scale may indicate an earlier process of weighing the raw wool before being spun into thread. Nevertheless, there is no indication of raw wool represented on the relief, only the finished product.

[86] *Ibid.* 127.

hooded shoulder capes on the relief from Sens (**GL 4**, Fig. 16).[87] The majority of pieces of cloth and garments are carved to represent thick, yet pliable materials with properties similar to those of a woollen fabric. Some of the displayed pieces of cloth have distinct curving folds to represent the soft finished nap of the material (**GB 2**, Fig. 42; **GB 16**, Fig. 72; **GB 24**, Figs. 90, 91). In contrast, the very stylized capes on the relief of the tailor's shop from Sens (**GL** 4, Fig. 16) might represent those made of leather, similar in texture to the tunic shown on the Milan sarcophagus (Fig. 154). The garments in both scenes are stiff rather than pliant, imitating the properties of thickly tanned leather goods. Apparently goatskin was used for clothing, although more common types of leather products during the Roman period include saddles, tents, shoes, wine-skins and water-skins.[88]

The finished garments portrayed on the reliefs from Sens, Stenay and Metz indicate that ready-to-wear clothes were probably purchased by the local population.[89] These garments include hooded shoulder capes, perhaps *cuculli* (**GL 4**, Fig. 16, **GL 6**, Fig. 19), and tunics (**GB**

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[87] See Strabo, 4.4.3, who compares fine Italian cloth with the coarser cloth produced in Gaul. See *Edict. Dioclet.* 19.32, 45, 46, 48, 54, 60, for the evidence of sheep farming in Gaul and prices of Gallic cloth and garments. See also Wild (above n. 72) 9-10; Wild (above n. 14) 169; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 186; W. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden 1976) 4; Drinkwater (above n. 49) 113; Ferdière (above n. 72) 212-214; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 149; Roche-Bernard (above n. 21) 54-59.

[88] J.W. Waterer, "Leatherwork," in D. Strong and D. Brown eds., *Roman Crafts* (London 1976) 187; R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 5 (Leiden 1957) 52-56. A statue of a fisherman, in Lyon, depicts the figure wearing an *exomis* with small indentations imitating a leather skin: see Roche-Bernard (above n. 21) 32. The fourth century A.D. agriculturalist Palladius describes tunics, capes and leggings made of leather skins, which were worn by foresters and hunters: see Pall. 1.43.

[89] A.H.M. Jones, "The Cloth Industry under the Roman Empire." *The Economic History Review* 13.2 (1960) 184, writes, "Even a poor man normally bought ready-made clothes."

a thick, yet pliant fabric. Additionally, Baltzer identifies the product shown on the relief from Buzenol-Montauban as a *paenula* or hooded cloak. However, other scholars describe the material more plausibly as a piece of cloth, as there is no evidence of a hood.[91]

Other uses for cloth include curtains, tablecloths and serviettes. Curtains are portrayed on the reliefs from Le Puy (**A 9**, Fig. 12), Igel (**GB 24**, Fig. 86) and St. Wendel (**GB 25**, Fig. 118). Although the curtains in these reliefs help define the settings, perhaps they are also on display to show that the cloth could be purchased for this purpose. The fringed cloth portrayed on the St. Wendel relief (**GB 25**, Fig. 118) has been interpreted as a curtain by Jullian and as a tablecloth by Drinkwater.[92] The cloth displayed on the Alléan (**A7**, Fig. 10) relief might represent a tablecloth, as it seems too large for a serviette (*mappa*).[93] Fringed tablecloths can be seen on funerary reliefs of family banquets from Neumagen which are similar to the one portrayed on the Alléan relief.[94] Although Pliny records that it was a Gallic custom to stuff

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[91] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 41. The occupational term *paenularius* is not found on inscriptions in Roman Gaul: see von Petrikovits (above n. 23) 107. See Wild (above n. 14) 177, 223-226, for a discussion about the problems identifying the ancient Gallo-Roman names for capes and cloaks. Mertens (above n. 36) 45; Renard (above. n. 35) 37; Schwinden (above n. 13) 292; G. Lambert, *Le Luxembourg romain* (n.p. 1990) 67, no. 116

[92] C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* 5 (Paris 1920) 243. Drinkwater (above n. 49) 126. For fringes on finished garments see Wild (above n. 14) 174; Wild (above n. 21) 371; Lillebonne: **GL 8** (Fig. 22); Arlon: **GB 13** (Fig. 65); Metz: **GB 6** (Fig. 50). Mlle. Thomas from the Musée de Metz suggested in conversation that the garment on the Metz relief does not depict a fringed hem, but the folds of the wide undertunic bunched tightly together; see also Roche-Bernard (above n. 20) 93; Chapter Seven, 238 n. 39; 242.

[93] J. Favière, *La vie gallo-romaine au Musée de Bourges* (Paris 1961) 4 (tablecloth); Esp. 1519 (*mappa*). See also Chapter Seven, 249-250, for examples of figures holding a *mappa*.

[94] See Esp. 5154, 5155; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 258-259. The one scene depicts five people seated upright around two tables laden with trays of fruit and nuts, while the other portrays two attendants serving a couple seated on chairs at a table. These scenes have been interpreted as funerary banquets; they are a sign of luxury or hospitality with connotations of prestige, like the relief on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Fig. 89). See also Chapter

portrayed on the Alléan relief.[94] Although Pliny records that it was a Gallic custom to stuff cushions with fleece, and that these cushions were known by Gallic names (which he neglects to mention), the only known representation of this product is seen on the mid-first century A.D. relief of a cushion shop, now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.[95] Three large fringed pillows hang suspended from a rod, along with embroidered sashes and pieces of cloth above the vendor and his customers.

Conclusions

The cloth industry played an important role in the Gallo-Roman economy during the second and early third centuries A.D.[96] The reliefs of cloth vending generally depict only the sale of the finished goods and not the manufacturing processes associated with their production, with the exception of the scene of the tailor's shop at Sens (**GL 4**, Fig. 16), which shows the tailor making a garment as well as examples of the finished product on display. The manufacturing of the cloth was undertaken by spinners and weavers probably in domestic settings in small villages and villas, while the fulling or finishing processes were conducted by

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[94] See Esp. 5154, 5155; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 258-259. The one scene depicts five people seated upright around two tables laden with trays of fruit and nuts, while the other portrays two attendants serving a couple seated on chairs at a table. These scenes have been interpreted as funerary banquets; they are a sign of luxury or hospitality with connotations of prestige, like the relief on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Fig. 89). See also Chapter Seven, 257. In contrast, tablecloths are not normally shown on Italian funerary banquet scenes: see F. Ghedini, "Raffigurazioni conviviali nei monumenti funerari Romani," *RdArch* 14 (1990) figs. 1-31.

[95] Pliny, *HN* 8.192. For the relief of the cushion shop see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 124-125, no. 38; Chapter One, 41-42.

[96] For discussions of the cloth industry's role in the Gallo-Roman economy see A. Grenier, "La Gaule romaine," in T. Frank ed., *An Economic Surcey of Ancient Rome* 3 (1937, rep. New York 1959) 586-587; Jones (above n. 89) 183-192; Jullian (above n. 92) 238-247; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 149.

specialized artisans.[97] Literary sources mention woollen products made by the Atrebates, Nervii, Lingones, Bituriges, Leuci, Sequanes, Santones and Treveri, indicating that this industry was widespread in Gaul.[98] Epigraphic evidence records the professions of figures involved in the commercial sale of this cloth and clothing.[99] The army on the Rhine probably acted as an impetus for this thriving industry, especially in the east and north-east.[100] These areas would have produced woollen products for the army such as tunics, hooded cloaks and blankets. The relief of cloth vending from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 61) is evidence for a transaction taking place between a vendor and a soldier on a more personal level, in the context of a shop.

Thus the cloth industry employed many workers with varied occupational skills. The sale of cloth was the final step in the operation and perhaps the most lucrative, judging from the

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[97] There is little archaeological evidence other than loom-weights for weaving and spinning fabrics, as no complete wooden looms survive: see Wild (above n. 72) 69-70; Roche-Bernard (above n. 21) 77-87. For visual images of textile manufacture see **A 5** (Fig. 6, upper) from Saintes and possibly **GB 24** (Fig. 102) from Igel. See n. 73 above for references of fullers.

[98] Mart. *Ep.* I, 53, 4-5 (*Lingonicus bardocucullus*); IV, 19, 1 (*Sequanica textrix*); XIV, 128 (*Santonico bardocucullo*); XIV, 159 (*Leuconicis sagis*); SHA, *Galli. duo* 6, 6 (*Atrabatica saga*); *Edict. Dioclet.* 19.32 (*byrrus Nerbicus*); 19.54 (*fibulatorium* from the Treveri); 19.60 (*sagum Gallicum* from the Ambiani or Bituriges). See also n. 70.

[99] On *vestiarii* see *CIL* XII, 3202 (Nimes); *CIL* XII, 4520, 4521, 4522 (Narbonne); *CIL* XIII, 542 (Eauze); *CIL* XIII, 3037 (Paris); *CIL* XIII, 3168 (Vieux); *CIL* XIII, 3263 (Reims); *CIL* XIII, 3705 (Trier); *CIL* XIII, 5705 (Langres); *CIL* XIII, 8568 (Stockum). On *sagarii* see *CIL* XII, 1898, 1928, 1930 (Vienne); *CIL* XII, 4509 (Narbonne); *CIL* XIII, 2008, 2010 (Lyon); CIL XIII, 11597 (Chanteroy). See also Deniaux, E. "Un marchand de vêtement à Vieux à l'époque romaine," *Travail, métiers et professions en Normandie. Actes du XVIe Congrès des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologiques de Normandie. Cahiers Léopold Delisle* (Nogent-sur-Marne 1982-1983) 75-78; Schwinden (above n. 13) 286; E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 43.

[100] J. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul* (London 1983)128, notes that the Three Gauls (Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdunensis and Gallia Belgica) probably provided the bulk of the commodites for the army such as food and clothing.

demand increasing in the late second and early third centuries A.D.[101] As mentioned above, the scenes of the rooms stored with cloth bolts and the transport of cloth on the Igel monument (**GB 24**) might provide visual evidence for the distribution of this product in Gaul, but they also might allude to long distance wholesale trade, perhaps with Italy.[102]

The scenes of cloth vending share some similarities with the earlier series of reliefs of cloth vending in Italy. It is not clear how the Italian and Gallo-Roman series of reliefs relate, as most of the Italian reliefs are first century A.D. in date. One example of cloth vending on the Turin sarcophagus (Fig. 153) appears to bridge the gap chronologically, as it has been dated to the second/third century A.D.[103] On the other hand, the Gallo-Roman series of reliefs may have originated independently from the Italian series. Since themes of other kinds of work were common motifs on Gallic funerary monuments, the scenes related to the sale of cloth were natural extensions of these kinds of motifs.

The similarity and frequency of the scenes of cloth display suggest that a regional copy book was available to the sculptors. For example, the figures portrayed on the reliefs from Baâlon (**GB 2**, Fig. 42), Buzenol-Montauban (**GB 16**, Pl. Fig. 72), Trier (**GB 20**, Fig. 78), Igel (**GB 24**, Fig. 90, 91)) and Neumagen (**GB 26**, Fig. 119) hold the upper right edge of cloth

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[101] For epigraphic evidence of Gallo-Roman traders importing finished garments to or perhaps from Italy, see Nimes: *CIL* XII, 3202 (*vestiarius Italicus*); Vienne: *CIL* XII, 1928 (*sagarius Romanensis*); Milan: *CIL* V, 5929 (*negotiator sagarius*, who was a *civis Mediomatricus*). See also Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 150.

[102] See above p. 123.

[103] Baltzer. *Alltagsdarstellungen* 45; Schwinden (above n. 13) 305.

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The reliefs discussed in this chapter provide visual evidence for some of the processes pertaining to the commercial side of the cloth trade: the inspecting and display of good quality finished pieces of cloth and ready-to-wear garments; the preparation and display of ready-to-wear garments; the sale of pieces of cloth to customers; and the tallying and accounting of revenue earned from these lucrative transactions.

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[104] Schwinden (above n. 13) 296.

[105] Reddé (above n. 27) 60, suggests that the variations in the scenes of cloth inspection were caused by the sculptors' varying levels of competence in carving the decorated surfaces.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SCENES OF WINE VENDING AND THE BREWING OF BEER (?)

This chapter discusses the iconography of 13 Gallo-Roman funerary reliefs which depict either scenes of wine vending or portraits of individual wine vendors.[1] These reliefs form the largest known corpus of wine vending themes in the Roman empire, besides the relatively few reliefs depicting *cellae vinariae* and taverns from Italy and Spain discussed in Chapter One.[2] The sale of wine may be represented in a number of ways, according to the choices made by the sculptor and/or client. For example, five scenes of wine vending place their transaction in a setting identified by the presence of a high counter, which separates the vendor from the prospective client.[3] This counter appears to be an integral part of the wine dispensing process, as the wine flowed through a hole in the counter into a wine jug held by a potential customer. Most of these scenes portray barrels or amphorae used for the storage of wine to be sold.

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[1] Bourges: **A 8** (Fig. 11); Autun: **GL 1** (Fig. 13), **GL 2** (Fig. 14); Sens: **GL 3** (Fig. 15); Dijon: **GL 16** (Fig. 37); Til-Châtel: **GL 17** (Fig. 38); Metz: **GB 6** (Fig. 48, upper); Clausen: **GB 15** (Fig. 70); Trier: **GB 21** (Fig. 79); **GB 23** (Fig. 81); Jünkerath: **GB 28** (Fig. 122); Neuberg: **R 1** (Fig. 126); Augsburg: **R 2** (Fig. 128). One very mutilated relief from Paris (**GL 10**, Fig. 27), displaying a *dolium*, is excluded from this study, as it is difficult to discern whether the vessel was used for oil or for wine. *Dolia* were used to store very large amounts of wine in Roman Gaul. For example, 200 *dolia* discovered in a cellar at Donzère once contained 1250 litres of wine: see Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 79.

[2] See Chapter One, 44-47.

[3] **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GL 17** (Fig. 38), **R 2** (Fig. 128), and very likely **GB 28** (Fig. 122), **R 1** (Fig. 126).

Two of the scenes depict a simpler setting for the transaction of wine: the customer stands beside the vendor, who in turn stands next to a large barrel or barrels; the wine-dispensing counter is not portrayed.[4] The vendor is usually shown in the act of procuring wine with a ladle or strainer from the barrel for the prospective client.

Other motifs or details were sometimes added to the scenes of wine vending. For example, the setting of five of the wine shop reliefs includes a table at which various activities were undertaken.[5] These activities portray either the tallying of accounts or the serving and drinking of wine. Two of the wine shops depict various cuts of meat or poultry on display, indicating that other commodities were sold in addition to wine.[6]

Three reliefs depict the portrait of an individual figure likely involved in some aspect of wine vending.[7] Two of these reliefs portray the wineseller holding an attribute of his profession, such as a barrel or drinking vessel and pipette. The other relief portrays a series of measuring jugs hanging on either side above the merchant.

Thus there are certain elements represented on these reliefs which aid in their identification as scenes involving the sale of wine. The most important elements are the high wine counter separating the customer from the vendor, and the display of vessels or objects used for storing

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[4] **GL 3** (Fig. 15), **GB 6** (Fig. 48, upper).

[5] **GB 15** (Fig. 70), **GB 21** (Fig. 79), **GB 23** (Fig. 81), **GB 28** (Fig. 122), **R 2** (Fig. 129).

[6] **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GB 21** (Fig. 79).

[7] **A 8** (Fig. 11), **GL 1** (Fig. 13), **GL 2** (Fig. 14).

and dispensing wine. These vessels and objects include jugs for measuring wine, funnels for pouring wine, amphorae and/or barrels for storing the shop's wine, and the customers' jugs for filling with the purchased wine. Other elements, such as drinking cups, ladles and strainers, may also be shown in these scenes.

Additionally, a section on beer is included after the discussion of the wine vending scenes, as two unusual reliefs possibly depict the brewing of this beverage.[8] Both reliefs have similar compositions consisting of a large seated figure, another figure stirring the contents of a vat, as well as additional vats and cauldrons, suggesting that some kind of manufacturing process is taking place.

I. Scenes Portraying the Sale of Wine

Section One is divided into three parts: scenes portraying the purchase of wine before a large counter; scenes depicting the sale of wine in a wine cellar/storeroom (*cella vinaria*); and a scene representing the sale of wine in a tavern.

A. Scenes Portraying the Purchase of Wine before a Large Counter

The relatively well preserved reliefs from Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38) and Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128) portray the sale of wine between the vendor and the customer, who stands before a large counter with insets. The fragmentary reliefs from Dijon (**GL 16**, Fig. 37), Jünkerath (**GB**

[8] **GB 12.1** (Fig. 59), **12.2** (Fig. 60). Another stele composed of five fragments may also have depicted a similar scene: see Esp. 4893 (Fig. 166).

28, Fig. 122) and Neuberg (**R 1**, Fig. 126) have elements which suggest that they once depicted a similar composition.

The relief from Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38) depicts a male vendor standing frontally behind a high, elaborately designed counter with three arched insets.[9] A male customer stands below the vendor in front of the counter with his back to the viewer. He is holding up an ovoid jug to one of the arched insets of the counter. This counter appears to have been an important part of the wine dispensing process, as the merchant is shown pouring wine into a funnel from a jug held in his left hand. His right hand holds another jug, likely in anticipation of pouring more wine down the funnel. The wine appears to have flowed from the funnel into a hole in the counter, then poured out from a spigot set in one of the arched insets of the counter into the wine jug held by the customer. A funnel is shown above the other two arched recesses of the counter and a small container is depicted on two of the bottom ledges of the recesses to catch any overflow. Another funnel sits on the corner of the counter behind the railing on the left.[10] Thus, there were at least three places represented on this counter where wine could be dispensed to a potential customer. The inclusion of six jugs, which hang suspended from a rack above the head of the Til-Châtel wine vendor, indicate that they also played a part in the

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[9] C. Goudineau, "Les villes de la paix romaine," in G. Duby ed., *Histoire de la France urbaine. I. La ville antique* (Paris 1980) 353, describes the wine vendor as female, although males with thick, puffy locks of hair are common on reliefs from the Dijon region: see Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* nos. 21, 25, 60, 90 101, 102, 118 etc.

[10] Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* 207, no. 205.

transaction of the sale of wine. Because the jugs range in size from small to large, each one likely represents a commonly used specific unit of liquid measure.[11] Four other small measuring jugs hang from the inside railing on the counter.

A very similar scene is found on the monument of Pompeianius Silvinus from Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128), which shows the male vendor standing behind a large counter selling wine to a prospective customer. In contrast to **GL 17** (Fig. 38), the Augsburg vendor is pouring wine from one jug into another jug which rests upon a funnel. Once this other jug was filled, he then likely poured the wine into the funnel set into a hole in the counter, as is shown in the Til-Châtel scene. The position and gestures of the Augsburg customer are the same as those of the customer shown on **GL 17**, although in this example the customer appears to represent a young female.[12] She stands with her back to the viewer, while she holds up an ovoid, single-handled jug, perhaps glass, to be filled with wine from the spigot set within one of the two arched recesses of the counter.[13]

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[11] Duval suggested that the largest jug equalled a *congius* (approximately 3.283 litres or 1/8th of an amphora); the next smaller-sized jug equalled a *sextarius* or 1/6th of a *congius*. The volumes of the next four jugs are based on subdivisions of the *sextarius*: the *hemina* equalled 1/2 of a *sextarius* (0.27 l), the *quartarius* (1/4), *acetabulum* (1/8) and *cyathus* (1/12 or 0.045 l): see P.M. Duval, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine* (Paris 1952) 191. See also Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* 1 (1877) 22-23, s.v. '*Acetabulum*'; 1.2 (1877) 1444-1445, s.v. '*Congius*'; 1.2 (1877) 677 s.v. '*Cyathus*'; 3.1 (1900) 72, s.v. '*Hemina*'; 4.2 (1918) 1286-1287, s.v. '*Sextarius*'.

[12] L. Bakker, "Weinverkauf und Kontorszene auf dem Grabmal des Pompeianius Silvinus aus Augsburg," *Die Römer in Schwaben* (Munich 1985) 129, refers to the customer only as 'ein Kind'. However, the long loose hair, the long length of the hooded tunic, and the slight curvature of the buttocks and legs beneath the garment indicate that this figure is likely female. Additionally, this figure's stance and modelling are very similar to the female customer portrayed on the relief from Jünkerath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122): see below p. 142.

[13] Bakker (above n. 12) 129, suggests that the shape of the jug perhaps represents a glass vessel.

The Augsburg relief (Fig. 128) also portrays three jugs hanging from the upper shelf of the back wall above the head of the vendor. Their wide necks, large handles and ovoid bodies are more crudely carved than the suspended jugs portrayed on the Til-Châtel relief (Fig. 38). However, they were likely used for the same purpose: to measure out specific amounts of wine to be sold. Additionally, small jugs are shown placed within the railing on the counter, representing perhaps more measuring vessels or jars of spices used in flavouring the wine. Straw-covered amphorae are carved on the top shelf along the back wall, while a row of barrels reinforced with circular strips are depicted lengthways on the lower shelf. Both the amphorae and barrels on this relief represent storage vessels of the wine available for sale in the shop.

The partially preserved relief from Dijon (**GL 16**, Fig. 37) probably depicts a scene of a transaction between a wine vendor and a customer. The vendor stands behind the counter pouring wine into a funnel set in the counter, in the same manner as the vendors on the Til-Châtel (Fig. 38) and Augsburg (Fig. 128) reliefs. However, as the relief is cut off at the bottom, the only trace of the customer is the wine jug carved below a spigot set in one of the rectangular insets. On the left of the vendor, traces of another figure are seen below another funnel, placed on the counter beside a cross-hatched box. Deyts suggests that this figure is holding up some kind of sack, although the object might also represent another wine jug ready for filling.[14] A second male vendor is shown on the right of the relief, but the mutilated

[14] Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 74.

condition of this relief makes it difficult to interpret his actions. His right hand does not appear to be holding anything, and there is no trace of a funnel on the counter to indicate that he is also shown dispensing wine.

A variety of objects are portrayed on **GL 16** (Fig. 37) that are not present on the reliefs from Til-Châtel (Fig. 38) and Augsburg (Fig. 128). For example, a shelf lined with small vessels, resembling drinking cups, is placed on the back wall of the relief. The presence of these drinking cups suggest that wine might be sold by the glass to a prospective customer. Next, the cuts of meat, displayed hanging from a rack (*carnarium*) on the upper right wall, indicate that this vendor sold other perishable commodities in addition to wine.[15] In addition, a short projecting side wall on the left side of the Dijon relief depicts a row of stacked containers, probably representing surplus merchandise.

A rather incongruous object portrayed on **GL 16** is the poorly preserved portrait head carved within a framed medallion (*imago clipeata*) on the upper left rear wall. This object is not usually shown on Gallo-Roman reliefs portraying a commercial transaction, although this feature is found in combination with Italian scenes of métiers.[16] *Imagines clipeatae* are more

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[15] For a discussion of butcher shops and the types of meats sold in Roman Gaul see Chapter Five, 189-199.

[16] See Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 140, no. 57, 157, no. 80, 160, no. 83. For an analysis of this portrait type see R. Winkes, *Clipeata imago: Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn 1969).

frequently shown carved above the full-length portraits of the deceased on the principal side of the relief, separate from a particular vending scene.[17]

The scene to the left of the pillar on the fragmentary relief from Jünkerath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122) might also represent the sale of wine to a prospective customer.[18] A female figure is holding up a small, open-mouthed wooden cask at shoulder height to the back wall. Because the upper part of the relief is missing at this point, it is difficult to discern whether the back wall represents a wine counter similar to those portrayed on **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GL 17** (Fig. 38), and **R 2** (Fig. 128). Nevertheless, the female figure stands with her back to the viewer in the same stance as the customer on Fig. 128 with the right foot on the ground and the left leg bent resting on the ball of the foot. She holds her vessel up for filling at a spigot in a similar action to those shown on Fig. 38 and Fig. 128. There are also traces of a funnel immediately above the spigot and another funnel to the immediate left of her head.[19] Therefore, these wine-related elements suggest that this figure represents a customer filling her container before a wine counter.[20]

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[17] *Imagines clipeatae* are carved above the portraits of the deceased on the principal side of the Igel Monument (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88) and possibly above the deceased on the principal side of the pillar monument from Arlon, known as the 'Marchand du drap'(**GB 13**, Fig. 65) discussed in Chapter Three, 104-105. See also Chapter Seven, 233.

[18] For the scene of the tallying of accounts on the right of the pillar see below, p. 161.

[19] S. Loeschcke, "Römische Denkmäler vom Weinbau an Mosel, Saar und Ruwer," *TrZ* 7 (1932) 30; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, *2000 Jahre Weinkultur an Mosel-Saar-Ruwer* (Trier 1987) 119, no. 58.

[20] Hettner, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* (Trier 1893) 114, suggested that the liquid being poured into the container might also represent oil.

The scene portrayed on the fragmentary relief from Neuberg (**R 1**, Fig. 126) most likely portrays a male wine vendor in his shop. He stands facing forward behind a counter which has a railing and traces of an arched inset below; four barrels are stacked one above the other on the right side of the counter. However, the actions of the merchant are not preserved sufficiently to discern whether he is pouring wine through a funnel set in the top of the counter. In addition, as the entire lower part of the relief is missing, it is not known whether a transaction of wine is being represented in this scene. However, the traces of the arched inset in the counter suggest that wine could have been dispensed in the same manner as those shown on **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GL 17** (Fig. 38), and **R 2** (Fig. 128).

B. Scenes Depicting the Sale of Wine in a *Cella Vinaria*

The reliefs depicted from Sens (**GL 3**, Fig. 15) and Metz (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper) also emphasize the sale of wine between the wine seller and customer. However, in these examples the transactions take place beside a large barrel instead of at a wine dispensing counter. These two scenes likely represent the setting of a *cella vinaria*, a room which was used for ageing the wine and protecting it from spoilage in both hot and cold weather.[21] Pliny refers to the use of wooden casks (*ligneis vasis*) in the Alpine region for storing wine, although the presence of

[21] Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 6.6.2, notes that the wine room in domestic structures should have windows only on the north side; otherwise the heat from the sun will weaken the wine. Pliny, *HN* 23.40, discusses the benefits of wine maturing naturally in a storeroom rather than using smoke, which causes a bitter taste.

the barrels on the two reliefs indicates that this practice had spread throughout other parts of Gaul in later times.[22]

A female wine vendor, dressed in a floor-length girded robe, is depicted on the Metz relief standing beside a large open-mouthed barrel placed upright on the ground (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper).[23] Another smaller barrel with a spigot is placed directly above the lower barrel, carved in shallower relief. A male customer stands on the right holding a small cask. The vendor's actions indicate that she is about to fill the customer's cask with wine, as she is ladling wine from the large open-mouthed barrel with a *patera*-shaped ladle, possibly bronze.[24] Her left hand holds a funnel, which rests on the small cask held by the customer.[25]

The very worn and mutilated relief from Sens (**GL 3**, Fig. 15) depicts a male figure on the right holding up a small, circular object to another male figure, who stands beside a much larger circular object. Julliot suggested that this scene represented a vendor of bronze objects in which the vendor holds out a small tray to the customer, who in turn faces a large tray.[26] In

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[22] Pliny, *HN* 14.132: *circa Alpes ligneis vasis condunt.* See also K.-W. Weeber, *Die Weinkultur der Römer* (Zurich 1993) 90.

[23] Collot, in *Römer an Mosel* 228, no. 184, interprets the vendor as a male figure. However, the long garment worn by the figure suggests that this vendor is female: see Rheinishes Landesmuseum, (above n. 19) 118, no. 57.

[24] For examples of preserved Gallo-Roman bronze *paterae* see S. Boucher and S.Tassinari, *Bronzes antiques du Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine à Lyon* (Paris 1976) 122-123.

[25] Rheinisches Landesmusem (above n. 19) 118, no. 57.

[26] G. Julliot, *Inscriptions et monuments du Musée gallo-romain de Sens* (Sens 1898) 88, no. 9.

fact, this scene probably depicts a scene of wine vending, as the composition is very similar to the one shown on **GB 6**: the vendor stands beside the large barrel and a customer with a small cask stands beside the vendor on the right.[27] The two rings around the large circular object on the Sens relief indicate that it represents a wine barrel rather than a tray. In contrast to **GB 6**, the vendor is male and the wine barrel lies recumbent on some sort of stand. The vendor also wears a length of cloth over his left shoulder. This cloth is likely placed there to help distinguish the vendor from the customer, in addition to having a practical function of wiping the jug and mopping up spills.[28]

The object held by the Sens vendor differs from the ladle held by the Metz wine seller, as it has five, rather large coarse holes. The preserved remains of clay and bronze strainers with small holes for filtering sediments from wine indicate that this object probably also portrays a wine strainer.[29] The sculptor may have exaggerated the holes of the Sens object in order to indicate its function, as small holes would have been difficult to depict and hard to see on a carved relief. Thus the vendor in the Sens relief appears to be portrayed straining the wine from the barrel into a jug placed on the floor below.

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[27] Reddé, *Métiers* 44; J. Guerrier, "Le serviteur à serviette dans la sculpture gallo-romaine," *RAE* 31 (1980) 231.

[28] After comparing figures wearing a cloth over their left shoulder on Gallo-Roman banquet scenes, Guerrier (above n. 27) 231-40, concludes that this attribute signifies their social status as servants; she also interprets the the figure with the cloth on the Sens relief as a servant rather than a vendor.

[29] For examples of preserved clay and bronze strainers see A. Rieche and H.J. Schalles, *Handwerk und Berufe in der römischen Stadt* (Cologne 1987) 32; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 236, no. 192c.

The compositions from Sens (**GL 3**, Fig. 15) and Metz (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper) are also similar to scenes of wine vending taking place in a *cella vinaria* on the mid-third century A.D. sarcophagus from Ancona, Italy (Fig. 155) and possibly on the fragmentary first century A.D. relief from Mérida, Spain (Fig. 156), discussed in chapter one.[30] The Ancona wine vendor stands on the right of two superposed recumbent barrels separating him from the customer; whereas the Mérida vendor stands before a barrel lying on a stand similar to the one shown on the Sens relief; however, in this scene the stand rests on a plaque containing the epitaph. As on the Sens and Metz reliefs, the Ancona wine vendor has a customer awaiting service, while the Mérida vendor fills a jug from a spigot set in the barrel, perhaps for a customer, who once stood on the now missing left side of the relief.[31]

A few variations are noticeable between the Gallo-Roman reliefs and the reliefs from Italy and Spain. For example, the customers on the Sens and Metz reliefs grasp a small cask; whereas the customer on the Ancona sarcophagus holds a moneybag in his left hand and a cup

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[30] For the Ancona sarcophagus and Mérida relief see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 218-219, no. 177; A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal* 2 Vols. (Madrid 1949) 254, no. 324; Chapter One pp. 45-46. A poorly preserved sarcophagus from Ravenna also depicts a composition similar to the Ancona sarcophagus: see Zimmer, *op. cit.* 219, no. 178; Chapter One, 45 n. 91. A wall painting from the House of the Vettii, Pompeii depicts a *cella vinaria* filled with Erotes serving as the vendor, attendants and a customer sampling wine, although in this scene the wine is stored in amphorae rather than barrels: see A. Sogliano, "La Casa dei Vettii in Pompeii, *MonAnt 8* (1898) fig. 56.

[31] The left side of a late third century A.D. fragmentary sarcophagus in the Galleria Lapidaria, Vatican, portrays a male figure standing before two superposed wine barrels. He is shown filling a jug from the upper wine barrel, like the vendor on the Mérida relief; in contrast, he uses a small pick to open the cask. See R. Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata* (*ASR* I.4) (Berlin 1991) 163, no. 259, pl. 109.4; Chapter One, 45 n. 92.

for tasting in his right. The wine vendors from Sens and Metz are shown either straining or ladling some wine from the large barrel. In contrast, the Ancona wine merchant stands to the right of the barrel holding a wine-tasting vessel in his right hand and a pipette in his left, recalling the attributes of the wine merchant on the relief from Autun (**GL 2**, Fig. 14).[32] One main difference between the Ancona sarcophagus and the reliefs from Sens, Metz and also Mérida is the addition of a divine element: the wine vending scene in the central arched niche is flanked by statues of Mercury and Bacchus, who stand in the outer niches as the appropriate patrons of commerce and wine vending.[33] The rhetorical character is clearly shown on the Ancona sarcophagus: vending as representing the virtues of wine and commerce.

C. Scene Depicting the Sale of Wine in a *Caupona / Taberna*

The left half of the relief from Trier (**GB 21**, Fig. 79, upper) portrays the common elements shown on the other wine shop reliefs, discussed above in Section I.A, such as a wine counter, measuring jugs, and storage vessels. The counter is not carved in the elaborate manner of the types shown on the reliefs from Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38) and Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128). Instead, it consists of a solid lower base with an upper shelf. However, the wine

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[32] The shape of the object held in the right hand of the wine merchant on the Ancona relief is also similar to the ladle or *patera* held by the female vendor on the Metz relief (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper). For **GL 2** see below, p. 153.

[33] This mixture of divinities with scenes of work in commercial enterprizes can also be seen on a strigillated sarcophagus of tetrarchic date from the Palazzo Salviati at Rome A winged horse of the Dioscuri is carved on each of the sarcophagus' short sides; their heads curve onto the long side, flanking the strigil motif, which in turn frames a scene of banking (Fig. 163). In comparison with the divinities on the Ancona relief, whose attributes correspond appropriately with this particular motif of wine vending, the relationship between the divine horses and the scene of banking is obscure in its symbolism: see Kampen, *Image and Status* 88; Amedick (above n. 31) 156, no. 214, pl. 111.1-3; Chapter One, p. 51.

dispensing process is similar to that shown on the other two reliefs, as a large funnel is placed on the upper shelf; its cylindrical tube is incised on the back wall above the lower shelf. Seven measuring jugs of varying size hang from a rack above the counter, in a manner similar to those portrayed on Fig. 38 and Fig. 128.

A large straw-covered amphora and barrel are placed side by side in front of the counter of **GB 21**. The amphora lying partially on its side may have a narrow projecting foot, as the straw surrounding the body seems to taper to a point. Beside this amphora is a large upright barrel with the handle of a ladle projecting from its open mouth. It has been suggested that this barrel may have contained fish or vegetables in vinegar.[34] However, this interpretation is speculative, since the sculptor did not indicate the barrel's contents other than by the presence of the ladle, an object that is depicted on other Gallo-Roman wine vending scenes. The sculptor is stressing wine in this scene. The barrel is intended to be understood as a storage container for wine, since it is placed deliberately beside the wine amphora in front of the wine counter. When he wanted to suggest other commodities, he had to show them more clearly, as with the birds, discussed below, on the top right of the relief.

The right half of the scene depicted on **GB 21** has a different focus of interest: the serving of wine to seated customers. The male figure, who stands before the table, holds out a drinking cup to the seated male figure opposite; the recipient's right hand is shown touching the cup. To

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[34] Rheinisches Landesmuseum (above n. 19) 121, no. 61.

complete the scene, another figure of indeterminate gender is also seated behind the table, facing the viewer. As noted in Chapter One, this motif of a standing figure serving drinks to seated customers is also found on a first century A.D. wall painting from Pompeii and two late third century Ostian sarcophagi depicting scenes of taverns (*tabernae*) (Figs. 157-158).[35] Therefore the standing male figure shown on **GB 21** is likely the patron/wine vendor and the seated figures are likely the customers.[36] Fowl, possibly pheasants, hang from a rack above the customers. Since these birds need not have been present in an actual drinking shop, they are likely shown here as a sign that food was served in addition to wine.[37]

D. Analysis of the Scenes of Wine Vending

It seems evident from the scenes described above that transactions of wine took place in three kinds of settings: shops with wine-dispensing counters, *cellae vinariae* and taverns. The vending scenes with the wine dispensing counters from Dijon (**GL 16**, Fig. 37), Til-Châtel (**GL**

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[35] For tavern scenes from a sarcophagus and sarcophagus lid fragment in the Isola Sacra, Ostia: see Amedick (above n. 31) pls. 109.1-2; Chapter One, 47. For the Pompeian wall painting of a tavern scene see: K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin 1957) 135-136; Chapter One, 47. See also a third century A.D. painting in a tomb from Sousse, which depicts a female figure preparing and serving drinks; a second figure holds up a drinking glass on the right: see S. Reinach, "Peintures murales découvertes dans la necropole romaine d'Hadrumète," *BAC* (1892) 456-460, pl. 29; Kampen, *Image and Status* 156, no. 49.

[36] C.M. Ternes, "Recherches récentes concernant la viti-viniculture en pays trévire et rhénan," in *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin. Actes du Colloque 28- 29 mai 1988* (*Caesarodunum* 24, 1990) 245. In contrast, Cüppers suggests that **GB 21** depicts the vendor checking the invoice of the customer: see *Römer an Mosel* 227, no. 182. See also Rheinisches Landesmuseum (above n. 19) 121, no. 61, which describes the scene as a transaction involving a purchase and payment. However, in these latter two interpretations, the seated figure is the vendor and the figure standing across from him is the customer.

[37] Ternes (above n. 36) 245, suggests that this shop functioned as a sort of store room containing poultry, which the shopkeeper prepared to the tastes of the clients. See also Chapter Five, 201-202.

17, Fig. 38) and Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128) indicate that wine was sold by the jug for use outside the shop, as the customers appear to hold up their own wine jugs to be filled at the counter. However, the wine shop on **GL 16** also depicts objects resembling drinking cups, suggesting that wine may have been sold by the glass, as shown on **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper), even though a seating area is not shown. **GB 21** and **GL 16** are also both similar in the fact that they display meat products for sale in addition to wine. The rack of various cuts of meat portrayed on Fig. 38, similar to meat racks depicted on scenes of butchers' shops, suggest that this product was not intended to be cooked and eaten in the shop. In contrast, the presence of the game-birds on Fig. 79 represent either a future meal to be eaten in the shop, or perhaps less likely, another product sold as a side-line to customers for domestic consumption.

In contrast to the above mentioned reliefs, the transactions portrayed in the *cella vinaria* on the reliefs from Sens (**GL 3**, Fig. 15) and Metz (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper) represent another mode of purchasing wine, without the trappings of the retail shops. Because both customers hold a small cask, the wine was intended for take-out rather than for consumption on the premises. These scenes depict the sale of wine either directly from a grower or from a wholesale wine dealer, rather than from a retailer.[38]

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[38] A scene portraying a *cella vinaria* is also shown on a relief from Ince Blundell Hall, England: see B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford 1929) 298, pl. 36; Chapter One, 45 n. 91. K.D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (London 1975) 115-116, interprets the vendor in this scene as a vintner and a wine dealer, who sold wine to the prospective customer from *dolia* in his *cella vinaria*, rather than in a wine dealer's shop.

The scene portrayed on **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper) from Trier represents the setting of a tavern (*caupona / taberna*). Originally, the term *caupona* meant a place where travellers could eat, drink and sleep. However, the word evolved to mean a wine tavern and became interchangeably used with the word *taberna* as a place to eat and have drinks. A *taberna*, however, could also signify a shop that sold other sorts of provisions in addition to wine.[39] This Trier scene especially fits the category of a *caupona/taberna*, as the seated customers are being served wine and the presence of the game-birds hanging above suggest that food could also be purchased and eaten in the establishment. Bakker describes the Augsburg wine shop (R 2, Fig. 128) as a *taberna*. Another relief on this monument depicts a scene of the tallying of accounts, with two male vendors seated at a table piled with coins (Fig. 129). The depiction of this table implies that customers could be served there, but the focus is on the sale of wine, likely for domestic consumption in the one scene, and the overall success of this commercial venture in the other.[40]

II. Portraits of Individual Vendors with Wine-Related Attributes

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[39] See T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine* (Uppsala 1957) 27-31; G. Hermansen, *Ostia. Aspects of Roman City Life* (Edmonton 1982) 192; V. Gassner, "Zur Terminologie der Kaufläden im Lateinischen," *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 3.1 (1984) 108-115. Literary sources reveal negative connotations about drinking establishments, such as *cauponae* and *tabernae*, implying that they were basically dens of iniquity, inhabited by characters of shady repute and prostitutes: see Ulpian, *Dig.* 23.2, 43; *Cod. Theod.* 9.7.1; Weeber (above n. 22) 30-31. Even if this was generally the case, the visual images of taverns do not display any signs of impropriety.

[40] Bakker (above n. 12) 129.

The well preserved stele from St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon (**A 8**, Fig. 11) portrays the portrait of a male figure standing facing forward within an arched niche. Three jugs hang from the inner arched ceiling of the niche on each side of the head and shoulders of the figure. The index finger on the figure's right hand appears to point to the vessels on the right. However, this gesture may simply depict an affected mannerism. This figure has been described as a merchant of vases or a potter by Espérandieu; a potter or innkeeper by Favière; a vendor of pottery or bronze-vessel by King; and a merchant of wine by Laubenheimer.[41] A wine vendor or taverner seem the most likely occupation for this figure, as the suspended jugs resemble the measuring jugs portrayed on the scenes of wine shops from Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38) and Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128).

A relief from Autun (**GL 1**, Fig. 13) depicts the portrait bust of a male figure supporting a small barrel on his left shoulder. He holds a thick cylindrical object in his right hand, which Espérandieu suggested was a drill of some kind.[42] These scant details do not provide sufficient information to firmly determine whether this figure represents either a cooper (*cuparius*), a vintner or a wine vendor.[43]

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[41] Esp. 7006; J. Favière, *La vie gallo-romaine au Musée de Bourges* (Paris 1961) 10, 14; A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (University of California Press 1990) 123; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 85.

[42] Esp. 1882.

[43] Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 154, interprets the figure as a cooper. Musée Rolin, *Autun Avgvstodvnvm* (Autun 1987) 261, describes his occupation as a vintner, a wine merchant or a cooper.

The niche of a vaulted stele from Autun (**GL 2**, Fig. 14) portrays a portrait of a bearded male figure holding the tools of his trade: a wine cup and a pipette, likely used for transferring small quantities of wine. The preserved epitaph indicates that the deceased, known as Vossius Crescens, was a *copo* (wine vendor/taverner).[44] Epigraphic evidence suggests that the Gallo-Roman term *copo,* a derivation of the Latin term *caupo*, was used to designate a wine vendor, who sold wine in a *caupona*, such as the one portrayed on **GB 21**.[45]

III. Wine-related Objects and Wine

This next section examines more closely the objects, such as measuring jugs, wine-jugs, amphorae and barrels, that figure so prominently in the scenes portraying the sale of wine. In addition, there is a brief discussion of the scant evidence relating to the types of wine that may have been sold in the shops, wine cellars and taverns depicted on the reliefs.

A. Measuring, Drinking and Storage Vessels

The measuring jug, along with the Gallic amphora, came into use during the first century A.D. with the development of Gallo-Roman viticulture and trade.[46] Measuring jugs of various

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[44] For the epitaph of **GL 2** see Catalogue, 283.

[45] Inscriptional evidence for *copones* is found at Nimes: *CIL* XII, 3345; Narbonne: *CIL* XII, 4377, 4469, 5968; Sens: *CIL* XIII, 2956; and Autun: *CIL* XIII, 2791= **GL 2.** See Kleberg (above n. 39) 70-72; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 35.

[46] The ongoing excavations at Sallèles-d'Aude (*Amphorialis*), near Narbonne, provide a wealth of information about a first century A.D. atelier involved in the large scale manufacturing of amphorae. This atelier also made a large variety of common vessels, such as single-handled jugs similar to the measuring jugs portrayed in the reliefs from St-Ambroix-sur-Arnon, Til-Châtel and Augsburg: see F. Laubenheimer, "Un atelier de potiers gallo-romains à Sallèles-d'Aude," *l'Archéologue* 10 (1995) 23, 26.

sizes are depicted on the reliefs from St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon (**A 8**, Fig. 11), Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38), Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128). It appears that the sculptors have made some attempt to carve the jugs so that they did in fact resemble those Gallo-Roman jugs that have been preserved for posterity. For example, the thick handles and rims of the jugs portrayed on **GL 17** (Fig. 38) and **R 2** (Fig. 128) suggest that they were carved to represent clay vessels. On the other hand, the four other small measuring jugs hanging from the inside railing on the counter of (Fig. 38) have angular handles and narrow necks and ovoid bodies. These attributes parallel those found on preserved glass jugs.[47] The small bottles on the railing of Fig. 128 have thin, delicate-looking handles which suggest that they were also carved to look like glass vessels. In contrast, the measuring jugs portrayed on **A8** (Fig. 11) resemble bronze vessels because they have a pronounced carinated ridge around the shoulders. As nearby Bourges (*Avaricum*) was long established as a centre of metal industry, the portrayal of bronze jugs would not be out of place on this relief.[48]

The drinking vessels portrayed on the shelf of **GL 16** (Fig. 37) and the vessel of wine being served to the customer on **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper) are very similar in form to preserved

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[47] Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* 207, no. 205, suggests that the small measuring jugs on **GL 17** represent those made of glass. For examples of small Gallo-Roman glass jugs see Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain* (Paris 1922-1923) 100, form 45, fig. 118 (first/second century A.D.); K. Goethert-Polaschek, *Katalog der römischen Gläser des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* (Mainz 1977) 190-224, form 35b, pl. 4 (mid/late second century A.D.); E. Wilhelm, *Verrerie de l'époque romaine* (Luxembourg 1979) nos. 117 (third century A..D. ?), 119 (second/third century A.D.).

[48] The jugs depicted on **A 8** resemble a trefoil-lip bronze jug from Bourges, which has a carinated ridge around the shoulder: see Favière (above n. 41) 5, 7- 8.

examples of Gallo-Roman drinking glasses, resembling modern-day drinking glasses.[49] In addition, the small bowl-shaped object with a projecting foot and flat base depicted on **GL 2** (Fig. 14) resembles many fully preserved examples of another type of Gallo-Roman drinking cup (*calix*) made of glass.[50] Nevertheless, it should not be ruled out that this object could also represent a bowl made of clay.

The large amphora portrayed on **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper) and the amphorae stored on the upper shelf of **R 2** (Fig. 128) have a protective covering of straw. The use of natural products such as willow and straw for protecting large clay amphorae from breakage during transport is portrayed on other Gallo-Roman reliefs.[51] This covering could also help keep the wine cool and protect it from spoiling. Because of the straw covering the amphorae depicted on R 2, it is difficult to discern their underlying forms. However, glass containers are sometimes depicted in

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[49] See Morin-Jean (above n. 47) 140, form 105 (fourth century A.D.); Goethert-Polaschek (above n. 47) pl. 42, no. 293 (fourth century A.D.).

[50] For examples of glass cups resembling bowls see Goethert-Polaschek (above n. 47) 40-61, pls. 38-39 (fourth century A.D.).

[51] Woven wicker protects the clay amphorae on a ship relief from Cabrière d'Aigues: see Esp. 6699; N. Blanc and F. Gury, "Techniques de vannerie d'après les reliefs gallo-romains," *Tissage, Corderie Vannerie. IXe rencontres internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Antibes, Octobre 1988* (Juan-les-Pins 1989) 196; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 132-133. Close parallels are found on two third century A.D. ship reliefs from Neumagen: see Esp. 5148; Loeschcke (above n. 19) 22, pl. V.1; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* nos. 179b, 209; Rheinisches Landesmuseum (above n. 19) 114-116, nos. 49, 51-52; Blanc and Gury, *op. cit.* 198-199, fig. 4.

wicker, covering the vessel like a Chianti bottle, so that the amphorae shown on this relief are perhaps meant to represent glass vessels.[52]

B. Barrels (*cupae*)

The wooden barrel is the most common feature on the Gallo-Roman wine vending and wine merchant reliefs.[53] It is generally agreed that the barrel is Celtic in origin, predating Caesar's book, *De bello gallico*, written in the 50s B.C., which contains the earliest known reference to barrels (*cupae*).[54] As noted above, Pliny writes that barrels were used in the Alpine regions for storing wine.[55] The archaeological evidence indicates that the barrel was used in the wine trade during the first century A.D., and played an important part in this trade during the third century A.D. Barrels were often used for the transport of wine in Roman Gaul because they were safer and had a much larger capacity than the more fragile clay amphorae.[56] The majority of

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[52] For an example of glass wine jugs enclosed in wicker see the Small Hunt mosaic at the Piazza Armerina in K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Wine and water at the Roman *convivium*," *JRA* 6 (1993) 133, 135, fig. 22; A. Carandini, A. Ricci, M. De Vos, *Filosofiana. The Villa of Pizza Armerina* (Palermo 1982) fig. 94.

[53] **GL 1, GL 3, GB 6, GB 15, GB 21, GB 23, GB 28, R 1, R 2.**

[54] Caesar, *BG* 8.42.1; See also Caesar, *BC* 2.11.2. See White (above n. 38) 141-142 and Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 149, for summaries of the etymological evidence for the term *cupa* as a vat or tub used for storing and transporting wine. Laubenheimer, *op. cit.* 149, suggests that the Celts invented barrels to store and transport beer, their traditional beverage, before they were used for the same purpose with wine. Also see below, pp. 163-169.

[55] See p. 144 n. 22. The fouth century A.D. writer Palladius (1.18), also describes the use of *cupae* for the storage of wine in a *cella vinaria*.

[56] For depictions of the transport of wine barrels in wagons see P. Kneissl, "Die utriclarii. Ihre Rolle im gallo-römischen Transportwesen und Weinhandel," *BJb* 181 (1981) figs. 5-6; M. Molin,"Quelques considérations sur le chariot des vendanges de Langres (Haute-Marne)," *Gallia* 42 (1984) figs. 3, 5-10; *id.*, "Le transport du raisin ou du vin par la route á l'époque romaine," *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin Actes du Colloque 28-29 mai 1988* (*Caesarodunum* 24, Paris 1990) 209-216, figs. 5-14; G. Zahlhaas, "Handel, Waage, Gewicht und

preserved barrels are found along the rivers of the Rhone, Rhine and Danube, with scatterings elsewhere in France, Britain and Scotland.[57]

C. Wine and the Wine Trade

Gallo-Roman viticulture began in Gallia Narbonensis during the Republican period, although Italian wines dominated the wine trade in Gaul until the late first century B.C. when Spanish wine became a more popular import. By the late first century A.D., the Italian and Spanish wines were supplanted in Gaul by the locally grown southern wines. Reputable wines made in Béziers, Vienne and Marseilles were being exported to Italy and vineyards were established in Bordeaux at this time.[58] Epigraphical evidence indicates that Lyon (Lugdunum) was a distribution centre of wine for the north-east.[59] Although there is scant evidence for

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Geld," *Die Römer in Schwaben* (Munich 1985) 127, fig. 96. For the transport of wine barrels by boat see Esp. 5833, 6699, 6701; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* nos. 287-288, pls. 54-56; Wightman, *Roman Trier* pl.16a; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 132-133. See Chapter One, 55, for scenes of the transportation of barrels by cart and by boat in Italy. A. Desbat, "Un bouchon de bois du Ier s. après J.-C. recueilli dans la Saône à Lyon et la question du tonneau à l'époque romaine," *Gallia* 48 (1991) 332, n. 23, estimates that the preserved barrels from Newstead and Oberaden once contained between 600-800 litres of wine.

[57] T. Capelle, "Zur Produktion hölzerner Gëfasse im vor-und frühgeschichtlichen Mittel- und Nordeuropa," in *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* 2 (Göttingen 1983) 402-403; White (above n. 38) 143; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 150-151; Desbat (above n. 56) 324-333; fig. 7; G. Baratta, "*Circa alpes ligneis vasis condunt circulisque cingunt*," *ArchClass* 46 (1994) 234-235, fig. 1.

[58] Pliny *HN* 14.18 (Vienne); 14.68 (Béziers). For archaeological evidence of the wine trade between Italy, Spain and Gaul see A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine: essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores* (*BEFAR* 261, Rome 1986); 77-94, 246-249; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 39-81; M. Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vignerons: Histoire des vignobles français* (Paris 1988) 27-32; T. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine. An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London and New York 1991) 113-117.

[59] Two inscriptions in Lyon record the occupations of two wine traders from Trier: *CIL* XIII, 1911, 11179; *CIL* XIII, 2033. See also J. Krier, *Die Treverer ausserhalb ihrer Civitas* (Trier 1981) 31-35, 54-56; M.

viticulture in the Moselle valley until the end of the third century A.D., the depictions of grapes and vines on sculptured reliefs suggest that viticulture might have been established in this region prior to the mid-third century A.D.[60] Elsewhere, viticulture appears to be a late development with no firm evidence for its presence in Burgundy before the fourth century A.D., in Paris before the fifth century A.D., and in the Loire valley before the sixth century A.D.[61]

There is little evidence to suggest that different types of wine were portrayed on the wine shop reliefs.[62] Sour wines were sold to the army while much finer quality wines were purchased by the elite.[63] The wines sold in these scenes were likely lower scale wines with the possible exception of the large straw-covered amphora depicted on the relief from Trier (**GB 21**, Fig. 79, upper). Some scholars suggest that this straw-covered amphora signifies an

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Christol, "Nîmes et les marchands de vin de Lyon," *Inscriptions latines de la Gaule lyonnaise* (Paris 1992) 125.

[60] See **GB 10** (Fig. 57); Esp. 4203, 4226, 4306, 4991, 5007, 5011, 5033, 5057. See Ternes, *op. cit.* 241-244, for a discussion of the toponyms connected with wine, baskets, barrels, drinking cups and wine installations; however, he states that the dating of these examples is problematic. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 148, endorsed a second century date, if not earlier, for the spread of viticulture in this region.

[61] Lachiver (above n. 58) 38-43; Unwin (above n. 58) 116-118.

[62] There is also no apparent evidence for the cost of wine in Roman Gaul. Pliny, *HN* 14.57, notes that in Italy good quality wine was rarely sold for 1,000 *sesterces* a cask, and only to spendthrifts at this price. The *Edictum Diocletiani*, 2.1-10, provides prices for Italian wines that vary between 8-30 *denarii* for one Italian pint.

[63] See A. Tchernia, "Le vin et l'honneur," in O. Murray and M. Tecusan eds., *In Vino Veritas* (London 1995) 297-303.

imported wine of quality, likely from the south of Gaul.[64] Accordingly, the barrel portrayed beside this amphorae might represent a wine of local vintage. The relief carved in a separate niche below the tavern scene portrays a large wooden barrel being transported by ox and wagon through a portal. However, the original provenance of the barrel is not shown on this relief to indicate whether it came from a local vineyard or from a river boat. On the other hand, the straw covering the amphorae on the wine shop relief from Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 128) may simply represent protective coverings, if indeed the vessels represent those made of glass, rather than serving as indicators of imported wine.

The reliefs provide no evidence to suggest that wine was 'prepared' in the wine shop for consumption according to Roman custom. Ways of preparing and serving wine at the table include mixing the wine with hot or cold water and spicing the wine with honey and ground pepper.[65] Although the mixing and spicing of wine was not shown on these reliefs, the *Colloquia Monacensia*, a collection of bilingual phrases probably dating from the fourth century, provides a chapter on a series of phrases concerning the use of wine before and after a meal.[66] Many of these phrases or 'Sprüche' can be seen on a number of painted drinking cups

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[64] Rheinisches Landesmuseum, (above n. 19) 121, no. 61; Ternes (above n. 36) 245. The ship's reliefs with the straw-covered amphorae tend to lend credence to this interpretation: see Chapter One, 55, n. 133.

[65] Archaeological evidence in the form of literary texts, inscriptions and artistic allusions indicate that the Romans often enjoyed their wine mixed with hot or cold water or spices: see Dunbabin (above n. 52) 117-141. For the ingredients of the spiced wine known as *conditum* see Pliny, *HN* 14.108: ... *et melle addito quae alii condita, alii piperata appellant.*

[66] *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* III (Leipzig 1892) 652-654 = *Colloquia Monacensia* 11. See also A.C. Dionisotti, "From Ausonius' schooldays? A schoolbook and its relatives," *JRS* 72 (1982) 83-125; Dunbabin (above n. 52) 129.

from Trier: *Da Caldam* refers to the mixing of wine and hot water together; *Misce* and *Remisce* indicate that the wine was mixed with water; *Reple me copo conditi* refers to the drinking of spiced wine in a *caupona*; and *Parce aquam adic merum* reveals that at least one individual wished to drink his wine in a pure, undiluted state.[67]

IV. Scenes of the Tallying of Accounts in Connection with the Sale of Wine

Four reliefs from the funerary monuments of wine vendors display another activity closely associated with the vending of wine: the tallying of the accounts.[68] The inclusion of this activity indicates that the merchants desired to portray their success as wine vendors through the representations of objects such as account books and bags of coins.

In addition to the tavern scene on the monument of Pompeianius Silvinus from Augsburg, another relief depicts two male figures sitting across the table from one another on high-backed chairs (**R 2**, Fig. 129). A female figure stands between these seated males. At first glance, one would assume that this scene portrays a vendor serving wine to two seated customers. However, this scene portrays the tallying of accounts as the male on the left holds up an accounts book, while the male on the right is counting coins on the table, which probably came

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[67] For the inscriptions on the painted cups at Trier see Loeschcke (above n. 19) 42-52; Rheinisches Landesmuseum (above n. 19) 22, 132-133 no. 82; Weeber (above n. 22) 77-78.

[68] **R 2** (Fig. 129), **GB 28** (Fig. 122), **GB 15** (Fig. 70) and **GB 23** (Fig. 81). Scenes of the tallying of accounts are commonly found on other reliefs that show business transactions involving the payment of coins: see **GL 15** (Fig. 33), **GB 13** (Fig. 62) and **GB 24** (Figs. 86, 106) for scenes of the tallying of accounts on the monuments of butchers and cloth vendors. See also Chapter One, 53-54.

from a sack held in his left arm.[69] The female figure holds up her hands in the classic gesture used for counting. She uses her right index finger to count the fingers on her left hand; the left palm faces inwards with the thumb, index and little finger extending upwards, while the two middle fingers curve into the palm.[70]

The possible scene of wine vending shown on the left side of the relief from Jünkerath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122) also depicts a scene of the tallying of the accounts by wine vendors or by a single merchant and his employees on the right side of the pillar.[71] The figure standing on the left of the table, and the middle figure behind the table, hold a tablet or account book in their hands. The seated male figure on the right rests his right hand on a cloth money bag, placed on the table, while his left hand holds a small box-like object.[72] The seated male probably represents the vendor because of the care spent on the details of his garments, and the fact that he is the one shown with his hand on the money bag.

The drawing of the lost monument from Clausen (**GB 15**, Fig. 70) also likely portrays a scene of the tallying of accounts in connection with the sale of wine. The identification of the deceased as a dealer in wine is indicated by the large carved barrel placed on either end of the

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[69] Bakker (above n. 12) 130, describes the object lying on the left arm of the figure on the right as a dog. However, this object is likely a moneybag for holding the coins on the table: see A. Rieche, "Computatio Romana. Fingerzählen auf provinzialrömischen Reliefs," *BJb* 186 (1986) 166.

[70] For parallels of finger-counting on Treviran scenes of the tallying of accounts, see Rieche (above n. 69) figs. 10-14. See also the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Fig. 86).

[71] For the scene depicted on the left side of the pillar see above, p. 142.

[72] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 76, describes the vendor as pouring something from the bag onto the table.

relief. Two male figures are shown seated across a table from each other: the male on the left examines his accounts book, which he rests against the table, while the figure on the right drinks from a vessel with an elongated neck, likely glass, to show that he is sampling some of the product.

The interpretation of the scene portrayed on **GB 23** (Fig. 81) from Trier is problematic. The five barrels placed lengthways on a shelf along the upper back wall indicate that this scene represents a wine shop. However, the lower part of the relief is so mutilated that it is difficult to discern what is taking place below these barrels. This scene was first interpreted by Loeschcke as portraying a vendor seated before a table holding a tablet; an inkwell with stylus and a cloth bag are placed upon the table.[73] On the other hand, Cüppers suggests that this scene might depict the sale of wine, with the figure representing a customer holding up a vessel to be filled at a spigot attached to the back counter.[74] Loeschcke's interpretation of this scene still seems to be more credible than Cüpper's suggestion because the composition of this scene is similar to the tallying of accounts scenes from Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 129), Jünkerath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122) and Clausen (**GB 15**, Fig. 70).

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[73] Loeschcke (above. n. 19) 19-20; fig 16 is a drawing which reconstructs the author's interpretation of this scene. See also Rheinisches Landesmuseum, (above n. 19) 118, no. 56.

[74] See H. Cüppers, "Wein und Weinbau zur Römerzeit im Rheinland," in *Germania Romana* III (*Gymnasium* 7, 1970) 143.

V. Scenes Portraying the Brewing of Beer (?)

Although wine was the main beverage of choice in Gaul during the Roman period, beer also had a long tradition among the Celts that continued well into the Gallo-Roman period. Pliny notes that there were several kinds of Gallic beer made from grain and the inscriptional evidence seems to indicate that it was a popular drink in the north-east.[75] Two complete stelae and five fragments of a third from Grand may portray scenes of the brewing of beer, although these scenes are enigmatic in many respects.[76]

One of the complete stelae (**GB 12.1**, Fig. 59) and the fragments (Fig. 166) were found in gardens at Grand during the 1800s, while the other stele (**GB 12.2**, Fig. 60) was discovered in 1983 in the cellar fill of a first/second century A.D. Gallo-Roman house. Based on the context of **GB 12.2**, Remy proposes that all three stelae were non-funerary in function (because they

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[75] Pliny, *HN* 14.149; See M. Chossenot, "L'importance de la boisson et plus particulièrement du vin chez les Celtes champenois, du VIe siècle av. J.-C. au début de notre ère," *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin Actes du colloque 28-29 mai 1988* (*Caesarodunum* 24, 1990) 82, fig. 1, for a depiction of the types of vessels used for beer during the Hallstatt and La Tène periods in Gaul. An inscription from Trier describes the occupation of a brewer and dealer of beer: *neg[o]tiator cervesarius artis offectur(a)e*. The words *artis offectur(a)e* appear to have no relation to the production of beer, as an *offector* was a dyer (*CIL* XIII, 7553). Schlippschuh suggests that if the deceased was involved in two different professions, then there should have been an '*et*' between the titles 'brewer of beer' and 'dyer'. He deals with this problem in a plausible manner by proposing that the deceased was a trader in beers of different colours, which translated into modern terms implies that he sold both light and dark beer: Schlippschuh, *Händler* 36-37; *BRGK* (1927) no. 41; E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 49. See also *CIL* XIII, 10012, 11319, 11360; H. von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in H. Jankuhn ed., *Das Handwerk in vor- und frügeschichtlicher Zeit* I *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Göttingen 1981) 90, 106; E. Frézouls ed., *Les villes antiques de la France Belgique. 1. Amiens - Beauvais - Grand - Metz* (Strasburg 1982) 349, n. 189. A drinking cup, inscribed with '*Cervesa Reple*' (fill with beer) was also found in Paris: see Loeschcke (above n. 19) 53, n.160; *CIL* XIII, 10018.

[76] **GB 12.1** (Fig. 59), **GB 12.2** (Fig. 60); Esp. 4893 (Fig. 166).

had no accompanying inscriptions) and that all three came from the same domestic installation on the same site.[77] However, since **GB 12.1** and the five fragments were found elsewhere in Grand, it is uncertain whether these two stelae came from the same place as **GB 12.2**.

GB 12.1 (Fig. 59) depicts a large, prominently displayed young female seated on a footstool. She holds a circular object in her right hand, likely a *patera*, while her left hand rests on a tablet upon her knee. She is surrounded by a variety of elements that suggest some sort of manufacturing process is taking place. On the upper left are two globe-shaped objects stored on a shelf. Below this shelf, a ladle with a caduceus-shaped handle rests in a two-legged cauldron, which sits upon a brazier on the ground. The brazier is heated, as there appears to be a log carved in its opening and a small shovel for loading the brazier can be seen on the floor in front of it. On the upper right another female figure, likely an assistant, is stirring the contents of a large vat, although part of the ladle is broken off below her hands.[78] Below this large vat on the right is a three-legged cauldron that appears to be attached to a vat below, which in turn rests on two more vats on the ground. This assistant is shown at the same height as the seated female figure, although she is much smaller in size. The sculptor's attempt at depth of field suggests that the assistant was probably meant to be seen as working in the back of the shop;

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[77] J.-L. Remy "Une stèle figurée d'époque gallo-romaine découverte à Grand (Vosges)," *Gallia* 43 (1985) 220; he admits that **GB 12.2** is probably from a different era to **GB 12.1** and the five fragments (Fig. 166).

[78] F. Voulot, *Catalogue des collections du Musée départemental des Vosges à Epinal. Série lapidaire* (Busy 1880) 29, no. 61, and J. Scarborough, *Roman Medicine* (Ithaca 1976), fig. 32, interpret the female assistant as grinding materials in a mortar. Both Espérandieu (no. 4892) and M. Toussaint, *Répertoire archéologique du département des Vosges* (Épinal 1948) 96, suggest that she is holding a test-tube.

otherwise her vat looks out of place, suspended in mid-air above the two superposed vats. Thus, the two superposed vats, resting on the two small containers upon the ground, can be interpreted as being in front of the assistant, rather than below.

Espérandieu had already noted a similarity between **GB 12.1** (Fig. 59) and the five fragments (Fig. 166).[79] The five fragments include a seated female figure wearing a head-dress; two draped female figures who likely once stood on either side of the seated female; a shelf with a large globe-shaped object; and part of another figure stirring the contents of a large vat. **GB 12.2** (Fig. 60) also portrays elements similar to **GB 12.1**, although the composition of this stele differs as it is divided into an upper and lower zone. The upper zone depicts a large figure seated on a tribunal, with the left foot raised like the seated figure on GB **12.1**, although in this example the seated figure is male and wearing a toga. He rests his right hand on the basket held by a smaller male figure standing on a narrow platform on the left. Another small male stands on the left of this one with his right hand against his chest in a gesture of respect. A third small male is visible on the right side, while a fourth figure, barely visible, stands behind the left shoulder of the seated figure.[80]

The lower zone portrays a small figure standing below the tribunal in a vat, although he is likely meant to be understood as standing behind it. He seems to be stirring the contents of a

[79] Esp. 4893.

[80] Remy (above n. 77) 219.

long-legged cauldron with a draining tube or spout in front. A vat is placed below the cauldron to catch the drained contents of the cauldron. On the right of the scene is a small rectangular object divided into shelves with a small vessel on each shelf, perhaps representing a cupboard. Above this possible cupboard is a large rounded object, likely a metal cauldron, as there is a ring attached its thick rim. Three more large vats are stacked one above the other on the left side.

The identity of the large seated female figure depicted on **GB 12.1** (Fig. 59) has been the subject of much speculation by scholars. Her prominent size, hairstyle, idealized features, and the *patera* for libations in her hand suggest that she represents a goddess of some sort. Laurent and Jollois interpreted this figure as *Meditrina*, a Roman goddess of medicine, presiding over the preparation of the medications, on the basis of the caduceus-shaped ladle in the cauldron.[81] Espérandieu suggested that the rose carved on front of the stele above the seated figure's head perhaps signified that she was a protectress divinity of a pharmacy.[82] Jullian saw the seated figure as *Juno Saponaria*, a protectress divinity of the soap industry; the two large globe-shaped objects would represent soaps drying on a rack.[83] Scarborough suggests that both

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[81] Toussaint (above n. 78) 96 and Remy (above n. 77) 219-220 summarize the arguments by Jollois and Laurent. See also Voulot (above n. 78) 29, no. 61. *Meditrina* was a Roman divinity connected with an early Roman festival known as *Meditrinalia*, in which the old wine was drunk along with the new vintage as a cure for old and recent ailments: see Festus, *De Significat. Verborum* 11. 21-25; Varro, *L.L.* 6.21.

[82] Esp. 4892.

[83] C. Jullian, "Métier et religion: *Juno Saponaria*," *REA* 19 (1917) 201-202; Jullian describes *Juno Saponaria* as a Gallo-Roman female *Genius* of the métier of soap-making, although there is no literary or epigraphic evidence for this term. See also J. André, "Gaulois *Sapana*, Latin *Sapo*, Grec *Sapon*," *Études celtiques* 7

soaps and salves were simmered in the cauldron on the brazier on the left and stored in the vats on the right.[84]

Kahn has recently interpreted the workshop activity in the three reliefs as representing the brewing of beer.[85] Pliny notes that beer was made from grain soaked in water, and the foam that formed on the surface was used for leavening a light bread.[86] The visual evidence appears to support Kahn's hypothesis, as the large cauldron on the brazier in Fig. 59 might represent the heating of the grain in water. All three reliefs depict a figure stirring the contents of a vat, perhaps removing the foam, mentioned by Pliny as a leavening agent for bread. The draining tube at the bottom of the vat on **GB 12.2** (Fig. 60) probably indicates that the liquid is shown being separated from the yeast, which rises to the top in the actual process.[87] Additionally, the large globe-like objects portrayed on the upper shelf may represent additional vessels or perhaps yeast cakes. There would have been a ready market to supply beer for the spectators at

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(1955-1956) 349-355. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 3 (2nd ed., Leiden 1965) 188, concurs with Jullian. There is inscriptional evidence for a *negotiator Lugdunensis artis saponariae* at Lyon during the Gallo-Roman period: see *CIL* XIII, 2030; J.-P. Waltzing, *Études historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les romains* 4 (Louvain 1900) 118, no. 153; von Petrikovits (above n. 70) 112; Frézouls (above n. 70) 44.

[84] Scarborough (above n. 78) fig. 32.

[85] "Private Communication from Dr. Lisa Kahn: Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa Oklahoma".

[86] Pliny, *HN* 18.68.

[87] Kahn (above n. 85).

the large amphitheatre at Grand, as well as its perhaps being used for religious purposes in connection with the healing sanctuary of Apollo Grannus also located there.[88]

Kahn proposes that the seated female divinity portrayed on **GB 12.1** (Fig. 59) may represent an indigenous deity such as Sirona, the consort of Apollo Grannus. It would be tempting to identify the seated divinity as Sirona, because of the sanctuary of Apollo Grannus located at Grand. However, a statue of Sirona from Hochscheid, near Trier, has quite different attributes from those of the seated female portrayed on **GB 12.1**: a sacrificial object, possibly part of a candelabra with eggs, and a snake, the chthonic symbol of the underworld and healing. Kahn interprets the fragments of the three female figures (Fig. 166) as personifications of abundance and fortune. Triads of this type are well known throughout Gaul and are also depicted on another relief discovered in 1981 at Grand. In addition, a cult to Rosmerta, the goddess of abundance, is attested to in an inscription from Grand. Kahn concludes that these goddesses should be seen allegorically as the patronesses or protectoresses of beer-making workshops.[89] The combination of divine elements with commercial endeavours is rare, but not

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[88] Frézouls [1982] (above n. 75) 216-218, 220-223.

[89] Kahn (above n. 85). For the statue of Sirona at Hochscheid see Wightman, *Roman Trier* 221, pl. 22; W. Binsfeld, and K. Goethert-Polaschek, *Katalog der römischen Steindenkmäler des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* (*CSIR* 4.3) (Mainz am Rhein 1988) 154-155, no. 317, pl. 76. For the relief of the triad of goddesses found in 1981 at Grand see C. Bertaux, "Une triade de déesse-mères découverte à Grand," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation du Département des Vosges* (1986) 13-16. For examples of other female triads see Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 203-206. For the inscription citing the cult to Rosmerta see *CIL* XIII, 5939.

unknown, as these elements are noted on the relief of the *cella vinaria* from Ancona (Fig. 155), discussed above.

The large seated male figure has been interpreted by Kahn as a magistrate distributing largesse in the form of coins to the small figure on the left. It was common for patrons to distribute presents of food or money in small baskets (*sportulae*) such as the one held by the small male figure (Fig. 60). Kahn describes the four small figures as children, on the basis of a passage from Suetonius, who notes that boys under the age of eleven took part in these handouts. As such acts of distribution are also seen in an imperial context on the Arch of Constantine and on the coins of Caracalla, Kahn proposes that this scene commemorates a distribution of largesse by Caracalla, whose visit to the healing sanctuary of Apollo Grannus is possibly attested in a monumental inscription. However, she concedes that the head of the seated figure is not a specific portrait and thus cannot be clearly attributed to Caracalla. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that such an event did occur and that the brewer may have associated himself with this event to give his product a higher status.[90]

[90] Kahn (above n. 85); Suetonius. *Aug.* 41. On *sportula* see Juv. *Sat.* 1.95; 3.249; Mart. *Ep.* 3.14.3; 10.27.3; 14.125.2; *RE* 3.A 2 (1929) 1883-1886 s.v. '*Sportula*' (A. Hug). For scenes of largesse on the Arch of Constantine see D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London 1992) figs. 412-413. For depictions of coins of Caracalla distributing largesse see H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* III (London 1975) xliii, cxix. For possible evidence of Caracalla's visit to Grand see *CIL* XIII, 5940, which contains the partial name of a Severan emperor. Dio Cassius 78.15.5, also mentions that Caracalla made a tour of sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo Grannus.

Conclusions

The wine vending compositions displayed most clearly on the reliefs from Til-Châtel (**GL 18**), Augsburg (**R 2**), and to a lesser extent on the reliefs from Dijon (**GL 17**), Trier (**GB 28**) and Neuburg (**R 1**) have no known parallels outside Roman Gaul and Raetia. The wine counters, with their elaborate built-in system for pouring wine, attest to a highly developed system for selling wine by the vendors portrayed on these reliefs. The reliefs from Til-Châtel and Augsburg are so similar in composition that either the same sculptor's workshop was responsible or there was a copybook in existence that was distinctly Gallo-Roman. The role of the wine vendors is well-defined on these reliefs, for they occupy a separate space behind the counter, placed well above the counter. The scenes of wine vending portrayed on the reliefs from Sens (**GL 3**) and Metz (**GB 6**) might also have been derived from a copy book, because of their similarity in compostion to the reliefs from Ancona, Italy and Mérida, Spain.

The enigmatic scenes from Grand (**GB 12.1**, **12.2**, Fig. 166) might provide visual evidence for the brewing of beer, enjoyed by Gallo-Romans along with wine. The evidence, which combines human and divine elements on two of the reliefs and commercial and imperial elements on the third, indicates that the brewers of beer, at least in this locale, had aspirations of producing a product which was prestigious to sell to the many visitors who came there.

The scenes of vending discussed in this chapter indicate that the sale of wine to the local population was an important part of the daily commercial transactions of the merchants portrayed on these reliefs. Although Bacchus, the god of wine, is generally associated with the

production of wine and wine drinking, there is nothing Dionysiac about these wine vending reliefs. There are no depictions of the god or his attributes, such as the *thyrsos*, grapes, vines, felines, satyrs and maenads, which might allude to the pleasures of this life as well as to those in the afterlife.[91] Instead, we are provided with representations of some of the day-to-day activities which occurred in Gallo-Roman wine shops: the pouring and filling of wine containers; the serving of samples to customers; the selling of additional commodities; and the tallying and accounting of revenues.

[91] For a recent article on Dionysiac worship see S. Guettel Cole, "Voices from beyond the Grave: Dionysos and the Dead," in T.H. Carpenter and C.F. Faraone eds., *Masks of Dionysos* (Cornell University Press 1993) 276-280.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SCENES DEPICTING THE SALE OF MEAT AND PRODUCE

This chapter examines the iconography of 19 reliefs which depict the display and sale of a variety of food commodities such as pork, beef, fruits, vegetables, grains and legumes.[1] As discussed in the first chapter, the motifs of selling these types of products are well represented on Italian reliefs which are mostly second century A.D. in date.[2] As several of the Italian reliefs are in near pristine condition, they are very useful as comparanda for the more poorly preserved Gallo-Roman reliefs with this theme. The Gallo-Roman scenes of food vending are divided into two sections based upon the types of commodities which are displayed for sale: scenes showing the sale of produce, such as fruit, vegetables and legumes, and scenes portraying the sale and display the sale of butchered meats, such as pork and beef.

The sale of food items can be portrayed in a number of ways, according to the desires of the sculptor and/or client. The compositional elements in the scenes portraying the sale of produce are minimal: a counter or trestle table, wicker baskets or bulging cloth bags, scales and measures. Five scenes of the sale of produce place their transaction in a setting identified by the

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[1] Narbonne: **GN 1** (Fig. 1); Bordeaux: **A 1** (Fig. 2), **A 2** (Fig. 3), **A 4** (Fig. 5); Saintes: **A 5** (Fig. 6, lower), **A 6** (Fig. 8, upper and lower blocks); Paris: **GL 14** (Fig. 31); Dijon: **GL 15** (Fig. 32), **GL 16** (Fig. 37); Til-Châtel: **GL 18** (Fig. 38); Nuits-St-George: **GL 18** (Fig. 39); Metz: **GB 5** (Fig. 47); Hieraple: **GB 9** (Fig. 55); Arlon: **GB 14** (Figs. 66, 68, lower); Echternach: **GB 18** (Fig. 76); Trier: **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper), **GB 22** (Fig. 80).

[2] See Chapter One, 28-39.

presence of a low counter, which separates the vendor from the customer.[3] Two other scenes depicting the sale of produce have no elements to indicate their settings; only the vendors are represented holding wicker baskets filled with their merchandise.[4] Another scene portrays two figures holding the attributes of their profession: a measure and a balance, perhaps displaying a commodity in one of its trays.[5]

The reliefs of the sale of meat display the typical elements associated with the butcher's trade: a meat rack (*carnarium*) for displaying the various cuts, a chopping block (*caudex*) for cutting up the meat into different cuts, and sometimes a set of scales for weighing the meat. Two scenes portraying the sale of butchered meat take place in a setting identified by a counter, which separates the butcher from the customer or viewer.[6] Two scenes depict the sale of various types of meats in the settings of a wine shop and a tavern.[7] Two non-figural reliefs display the characteristic attributes associated with the butcher and his trade: the one portrays a chopping block and a meat cleaver, while the other depicts a chopping block, meat-rack, meat cleavers and various other tools for processing cuts of meat.[8] Three reliefs depict the portraits of figures holding or displaying attributes which identify their trades as butchers and perhaps

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[3] **A 1** (Fig. 2), **A 2** (Fig. 3), **A 5** (Fig. 6, lower), **GB 5** (Fig. 47), **GB 14** (Fig. 66).

[4] **GN 1** (Fig. 1), **GB 14** (Fig. 68, lower).

[5] **A6** (Fig. 8, lower).

[6] **GL 17** (Fig. 38), **GB 9** (Fig. 55).

[7] **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper).

[8] **A4** (Fig. 5), **GB 22** (Fig. 80).

fish merchants.[9] One drawing of a relief, now lost, portrays the sale of prepared food in a setting identified by a large cookpot on a tripod or stool.[10] This cooking station separates the vendor from the customer in the same manner as the counter or chopping block depicted on the other vending scenes.

I. Scenes Portraying the Sale of Produce

This section consists of two parts: four scenes in which the objects can be identified with a degree of certainty and five scenes in which the identification of the objects is not clear. The four reliefs in which the objects can be identified with a degree of certainty appear to display the sale of fruit: **GN 1** (Fig. 1) from Narbonne; **GB 5** (Fig. 47) from Metz; and two reliefs on **GB 14** (Figs. 66, upper, 68, lower) from Arlon. The five reliefs with problematic iconography might portray the sale of legumes, grains, spices, as well as perhaps fruit: **A 1** (Fig. 2), **A 2** (Fig. 3) from Bordeaux; and **A 5** (Fig. 6, lower), **A6** (Fig. 8, upper and lower blocks) from Saintes. The identification of the objects in the latter five reliefs is made difficult by the fact that the containers on some reliefs are carved with no visible clue given as to their contents, while other reliefs are so worn and fragmentary that the objects are barely visible to the viewer.

A. Scenes Portraying the Sale of Fruit

The best known Gallo-Roman scene of the sale of fruit is depicted on the upper right lateral side of the pillar monument known as the 'pilier du cultivateur' from Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig.

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[9] **GL 14** (Fig. 31), **GL 15** (Fig. 32), **GL 18** (Fig. 39).

[10] **GB 18** (Fig. 76).

66). The setting is identified by a long trestle counter which separates a male and a female vendor from a male customer. The counter consists of a flat rectangular board with a narrow post for support on the right; its top is tilted forward with little regard for spatial perspective, so that the commodity for sale is fully displayed to the viewer.[11] The counter is laden with a number of small round objects resembling fruit, most likely apples.[12] The male figure in the portrait on the principal side of the monument supports this interpretation, as he holds a curved knife (*falx arboraria*), the stock tool used in pruning fruit trees, to signify that he was a fruit farmer (Fig. 69).[13]

The female vendor, standing behind the counter on the left, is shown arranging the fruit on the trestle counter. The male vendor, standing behind the counter in the centre of the scene,

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[11] Kampen, *Image and Status* 62.

[12] L. Lefèbvre, *Les sculptures gallo-romaines du Musée d'Arlon*, (*BIAL* 1-2, Arlon 1975) 77. Lefèbvre confirmed his earlier interpretation of these objects as apples in 1996 at the musem in Arlon, Belgium. See also Wightman, *Roman Trier* 184. Pliny, *HN* 15.51, notes that apples were grown in Gallia Belgica: *a conditione castrati seminis quae spadonia appellant Belgae*. J. Ebert, M. Blumentritt et al., *Die Arbeitswelt der Antike* (Vienna 1984) 170, describe the fruit as possibly representing pears; however the fruit appears to be round rather than oblong. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and the Economic History of the Roman Empire* I (Oxford 1957) Pl. 37.3, describes the round objects as possibly representing turnips. This suggestion appears credible at first because the relief below the fruit vending scene depicts two male labourers hoeing and digging the ground (Fig. 67). However, the display of the sale of apples on a tomb likely had a connotation of higher status than the turnip. Although the prices of apples in the Edict of Diocletian do not reflect their cost in Gaul a century earlier, the Edict records that 10 best quality apples cost the same price as 10 large turnips (4 *denarii*): see *Edict. Dioclet.* 6.18, 65.

[13] J.-B. Sibenaler, *Guide illustré du Musée Lapidaire romain d'Arlon* (Arlon 1905) 73; K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* (London 1967) 86-88, figs. 58-63; The same type of curved knife was also used for harvesting grapes (*falx vinatoria*), although it had an extra hatchet part: see S. Loeschcke, "Römische Denkmäler vom Weinbau an Mosel, Saar und Ruwer," *TrZ* 7 (1932) 10-16; White, *op. cit.* 94-96; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, *2000 Jahre Weinkultur an Mosel-Saar-Ruwer* (Trier 1987) 112, no. 48. See also Chapter Seven, 247.

places the fruit into the right hand of the bearded male customer, who stands in three-quarter view on the right of the counter. This customer, dressed in a hooded cloak, holds a length of cloth across his arms, as a sort of make-shift satchel to hold his purchase.[14] Three wicker baskets (*calathi*) are shown beneath the counter, likely representing the containers used for transporting and storing the apples before and after sale.[15] These baskets look as though they are supporting the counter, although they would have been too insubstantial for this use. They are probably meant to be seen as placed in front of the counter.

A similar motif of fruit vending is portrayed on the mid-third century A.D. sarcophagus from the Museo Gregoriano Profano, in a setting identified by a small counter with high legs, which separates the customer from the vendor (Fig. 143). As mentioned in chapter one, this scene might take place in the context of the Circus: the customer represents a charioteer and the structure in the background depicts a special seating area for persons of importance.[16] The

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[14] Sibenaler (above n. 13) 75, proposed that this cloth was a large sack containing money. Lefèbvre suggests that the customer holds the produce in the folds of his mantle: see Lefèbvre (above n. 12) 77; L. Lefèbvre, *Le Musée Luxembourgeois Arlon* 76. However, the sculptor has clearly carved a separate length of cloth bulging with the fruit from the counter.

[15] Wicker baskets adapted well for the storage of fruits and vegetables because the wicker allowed air to circulate around these products, thus prolonging their preservation: see N. Blanc and F. Gury, "Techniques de vannerie d'après les reliefs gallo-romains," in *Tissage, Corderie Vannerie. IXe rencontres internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Antibes, Octobre 1988* (Juan-les-Pins 1989) 196. Wicker baskets were also used to store grapes: see Esp. 637 (Narbonne); Esp. 1669 (Le Puy); Esp. 2852, 2853 (Sens); Esp. 4989 (Trier); R. Schindler, *Führer durch die vorgeschichtliche und römische Abteilung. Landesmuseum Trier* (Trier 1977) 86, fig. 258. For a detailed discussion of wicker basketry see also K.D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (London 1975) 51-104.

[16] F. Sinn, *Die Grabdenkmäler 1. Reliefs Altäre Urnen. Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense* I (Mainz am Rhein 1991) 48-49, no. 21, figs. 55-57; Chapter One, 36-37.

rounded shape and size of the seven objects placed on the counter and in the wicker basket below closely resemble the fruit portrayed on the Arlon vending scene (Fig. 66).

A wide range of fruits were grown in Italy including variuos types of apples.[17] This variety of fruit can be seen on the mid second century A.D. shop sign of a female fruit and poultry vendor from Ostia (Fig. 142).[18] The transaction takes place around a counter, as does the Arlon relief, although the Ostian counter differs as it consists of two barred cages filled with live poultry and rabbits. The vendor hands a piece of fruit to a bearded male customer with a shopping bag, using the same gestures as the male vendor and customer on the Arlon relief. The fruit does not cover the whole counter, as on the Arlon relief, but is placed in two wide, shallow platters. Kampen plausibly suggests that the left platter displays either figs, onions, lemons, pears or crab-apples, while the right platter contains either peaches or plums.[19] It is also possible that the objects in the left platter represent apples, as they do resemble the fruit identified as apples on the Arlon relief.

The Arlon relief also depicts four large bundles hanging from the ceiling of the niche, above the heads of the vendors (Fig. 66). These bundles have been identified as baskets by

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[17] For varieties of fruits see Pliny, *HN* 15.37 (quince); 15.39-40 (Asiatic peach and pomegranate); 15.44 (Persian peach); *Edict. Dioclet.* 6.71-72 (pomegranate); 6.73-74 (quince). For apple types in Italy see Pliny, *HN* 15.47; *Edict. Dioclet* 6.65-68. See also J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome* (1961, rep. Paris 1981) 74-84.

[18] R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome, the Center of Power: Roman Art to A.D. 100* (London 1970) 63, fig. 69; Kampen, *Image and Status* 52-58, 139, fig. 28; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 220-221, no. 180; Chapter One, 35-36.

[19] Kampen, *Image and Status* 53, n. 66.

Espérandieu, bundles of leeks or onions by Rostovtzeff and Lefèbvre, and bundles of tubers by Duval.[20] The interpretation of the objects as leeks or onions (*allia*) tied together in a bundle appears the most plausible, because the one end of these objects is bulbous in shape, while the rest of the plant consists of a long slim stalk.[21] These objects also resemble the objects identified as leeks or onions, which are displayed along with other vegetables on the second century A.D. relief of the vegetable vendor from Ostia (Fig. 145).[22] The Ostian leeks or onions are more carefully carved than those on the Arlon relief, as the bulbous ends of the vegetables portray thin strands of the roots, like those found on actual onions or leeks. The Ostian scene has other similarities with the Arlon fruit vending relief, as the vendor stands behind a trestle counter which is tilted forward so that the merchandise is fully displayed to the observer; a square, wicker basket, likely used for the storing and transporting the vegetables, is also placed under the counter.[23]

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[20] Esp. 4044; Rostovtzeff (above n. 12) Pl. 37.3; Lefèbvre (in conversation , 1995); P.M. Duval, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine* (Paris 1952) 181. See also Schlippschuh, *Händler* 36.

[21] Pliny, *HN* 19.105, describes the existence of a pungent Gallic onion: *genera eius austeritatis ordine: Africana, Gallica.* In the early fourth century A.D., large leeks were sold in bundles of ten, corresponding to the number of leeks in the bundles on the earlier Arlon relief: see *Edict. Dioclet.* 6.14.

[22] Kampen, *Image and Status* 59-64, 139, no. 4, figs. 40-41; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 222, no. 182; Chapter One, 37-38.

[23] Trestle counters are also portrayed in other Italian scenes displaying food: a relief of a bakery from Ostia and a Pompeian wall-painting of a female vegetable seller in the Forum from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix: see Kampen, *Image and Status* 61, n. 98, 141, no. 9, 153, no. 41 fig. 42; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 116-117, no. 28; S.C. Nappo, "Fregio dipinto dal <<praedium>> di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro di Pompei," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 3 (1989) 83, 85, no. 11, fig. 7; Chapter One, 38.

Another relief on the lower left lateral face of the 'pilier du cultivateur' from Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig. 68) might also portray the sale of fruit. The male figure on the right is displaying the contents of a wicker basket to the shorter male figure standing on the left. This basket is tilted on its edge so that the left figure can view its contents of small, round objects, closely resembling the objects portrayed on the vending scene on the opposite side of the monument (Fig. 66). Lefèbvre interprets this scene as either the filling of baskets with apples before market or perhaps the selling of fruit on the estate of the grower.[24] The latter interpretation appears more credible as the position of the left figure's arms, now very worn and mutilated, suggests that he may be holding a length of cloth (for his purchase?) in a manner similar to the customer in the vending scene on the opposite face.

The drawing of a now lost, fragmentary relief from Metz also probably portrays the sale of fruit (**GB 5**, Fig. 47). If this drawing is accurate, then the lower frame of the niche serves as a counter for the bearded, tunicate vendor to display his wares. He gestures to a small wicker basket on the left with the thumb and index finger of his right hand, although his head faces right, likely looking at a customer who once stood on the now missing part of the relief.[25] The

[24] Lefèbvre (above n. 12) 78; Lefèbvre (above n. 14) 77. M.E. Mariën, "Les monuments funéraires de l'Arlon romain," *AIAL* 76 (1945) 77, also identifies the composition as a vending scene. G.-F. Prat, *Histoire d'Arlon* (Brussels 1973) 119, interprets this scene as two figures harvesting the crop with the aid of the wicker basket.

[25] Esp. 4400.

wicker basket is filled with small round objects, likely apples, as they resemble the objects in the basket on the Arlon relief (Fig. 68) and the relief from Rome (Fig. 143).[26]

A stele from Narbonne (**GN 1**, Fig. 1) depicts a simple composition of a male peddler selling his wares in a wicker basket, which is suspended from a strap around his neck.[27] A long, narrow cloth or sash encircles his waist, and secures the bottom of the basket with a big knot in the centre. He holds a paddle-shaped object in his right hand, resembling a small fan (*flabellum*), which has been identified by Espérandieu as a 'fly-swatter'.[28] If this object does represent a fly-swatter, then it indicates that the worn, round objects in the basket were fresh and had a sweet scent that attracted insects. Unfortunately, the fragmentary inscription carved beside the peddler is problematic.[29] Early epigraphers interpreted the first word as either *maia* from the Greek *maza* for barley-bread or *maia* (crabs), or a medicine for female fertility, based on the name of the goddess Maia.[30] Other scholars have preferred to translate the first word as

[26] A wicker basket filled with real fruit such as apples and possibly pears was discovered in a second century A.D. child's grave at Les Martres-de-Veyre, in the region of Auvergne: see P. Marinval, "Étude carpologique d'offrandes alimentaires végétales dans les sépultures gallo-romaines: réflexions préliminaires," in A. Ferdière ed., *Monde des morts, monde des vivants en Gaule rurale. Actes du Colloque ARCHÉA / AGER (Orléans, Conseil régional, 7-9 février 1992)* (Tours 1993) 48.

[27] M. Tournal, *Catalogue du Musée de Narbonne* (2nd ed., Narbonne 1864) 93, no. 451; Esp. 616; J. Liversidge, *Everyday Life in the Roman Empire* (London 1976) 102; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 38.

[28] Esp. 616; endorsed by Schlippschuh, *Händler* 38.

[29] For the inscription of **GN 1** see Catalogue, 277.

[30] The first word of the inscription was carved separately on the upper right corner of the stele and is now missing. A. Lebègue, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* 15 (Toulouse 1892) 194, no. 239; *CIL* XII, 4524; M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique des origines à la fin du IIIe siècle* (Paris 1981) 547.

mala or apples.[31] The next word of the inscription, *myliere*, repeated twice for emphasis, has been interpreted as *mulieres* (females), *miliara* (millet) or *múllos*, a type of Greek pastry.[32] It is possible that the objects in the basket represent a type of small bread, as the frieze of Eurysaces, the master baker at Rome (Fig. 131), and another relief fragment of a Roman bakery indicate that bread was also stored in wicker baskets.[33] On the other hand, if the most commonly accepted translation, 'Apples, ladies, my ladies!' is correct, then this inscription appears to be the street-cry of the vendor and the objects displayed in the basket do represent fruit. Their size and shape are similar to the objects identified as fruit in the baskets on the reliefs from Arlon (Fig. 68), Metz (Fig. 47), Rome (Fig. 143), and possibly Ostia (Fig. 142).[34]

B. Scenes with Uncertain Iconography Depicting the Probable Sale of Produce

The five reliefs probably depict the sale of some sort of food products, although their precise identification is problematic because of the poor condition of the reliefs and the sculptors' omission of details in carving the objects.[35] Some clues to the commercial context of the scenes are seen in the counter used for displaying and selling the products, the large open-

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[31] Esp. 616; Duval (above n. 21) 194; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 38; Liversidge (above n. 27) 102; Y. Solier, *Narbonne (Aude)* (Paris 1986) 106, no. 94.

[32] Tournal (above n. 27) 95, no. 451; Lebègue (above n. 30) 194-195, no. 239; Gayraud (above n. 30) 548.

[33] For discussion and bibliography of these reliefs, see Chapter One, 25-27.

[34] This type of fruit was also known in southern Gaul, where Narbonne is located, as the calendar mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal depicts a vignette of apple-picking: see J. Lancha, *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule. Narbonnaise* III.2 (Paris 1981) pl. CIX; H. Stern, "Les calendriers romains illustrés," *ANRW* II, 12.2 (1981) pl. XIX.49.

[35] Bordeaux: **A 1** (Fig. 2), **A 2** (Fig. 3). Saintes: **A 5** (Fig. 6, lower), **A 6** (Fig. 8, upper and lower blocks).

mouthed sacks and various types of scoop-like measures, which were likely used for storing and measuring quantities of dried foods such as grains and legumes.

A worn and mutilated relief block from Saintes (**A 5**, Fig. 6, lower) depicts a transaction taking place in a setting identified by a low, solid-looking square counter which separates the vendor from the customer.[36] Two cloth sacks filled with merchandise sit on top of the counter. The customer, dressed in short breeches and a short, hooded cape (*cucullus Santonicus*), is seated on a short footstool.[37] He holds out an object with both hands, possibly a purse or a container to carry his purchase. The vendor stands behind the counter on the left of the scene, holding a unique horn-shaped object with a single handle, which appears to have served as a unit of measure.[38] Espérandieu, Schlippschuh and Duval suggest that the vendor is measuring dried legumes (pulse) from one of the two wide, open-mouthed sacks on the counter into the horn-shaped object for the customer.[39] This suggestion is credible, although the contents of the

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[36] Maurin suggests that **A 5** and **A 6**, discussed below, belong to the same monument on the basis of sculptural style: see. L. Maurin, *Saintes antique* (Saintes 1978) 207-208. See also Chapter Two, 97-98, for a discussion of the problematic typology associated with these pairs of superposed relief blocks.

[37] Martial and Juvenal describe the *cucullus Santonicus* as a hooded sleeveless cape imported to Italy from Saintes: see Martial, *Ep.* 14.128-129; Juvenal, *Sat.* 8.142-145. See also Maurin (above n. 36) 225, n. 17; Chapter Seven, 242.

[38] This horn-shaped object with a single handle has no apparent artistic or archaeological parallels for its use as a unit of measure. Horn-shaped drinking vessels were made of glass during the fourth century A.D., although they lack a handle: see Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain* (Paris 1922-1923) 140, fig. 189. E. Wilhelm, *Verrerie de l'époque romaine* (Luxembourg 1979) 28-29, no. 114.

[39] Esp. 1342; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 21; Duval (above n. 20) 190. Pulse crops consist of peas, beans and vetches: see K.D. White, *Roman Farming* (London 1970) 189-193; André (above n. 17) 34-41. See Columella, 2.10, for detailed instructions on growing pulse in Italy. Archaeological evidence for lentils, beans, peas and chick-peas in a funerary context is found throughout Gaul: see Marinval (above n. 26) 49-60.

sacks are not visible to the viewer. Two fragmentary reliefs from Italy provide some clue to the types of products which could be stored in sacks like those depicted on the relief from Saintes. The one scene is depicted on a second/third century A.D. relief from Rome (Fig. 146), while the other is displayed on a fragment of a sarcophagus of unknown provenance, now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Fig. 147).[40] Both reliefs depict sacks bulging at the top with small, oval objects, suggesting the shape and size of legumes or perhaps nuts. Indeed, cloth sacks were likely used for storing any commodity of food that did not perish as quickly as fresh fruits or vegetables.

A relief from Bordeaux (**A 1**, Fig. 2) may also depict the sale of a similar type of food product, as four pot-bellied sacks are placed on top of a long, low, solid-looking counter. Two male vendors stand behind the counter; the vendor on the right holds a long narrow object (rope?), which appears to be attached to the upper wall. Each vendor faces a female figure, who stand with one knee bent forward in almost identical symmetrical poses in front of the counter at both ends. Their gestures suggest that they are customers: the female on the right appears to be touching the sack closest to her, while the female on the left appears to be reaching for the nearest sack.[41] A third male figure stands with his arms crossed between the female and vendor on the left. This third male has been identified as either the husband of one

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[40] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 222, no. 183, 226-227, no.191; Amedick (above n.16) nos. 193, 251, pl. 110.2, 110.4; Chapter One, 38-39.

[41] Esp. 1097.

of the females or the vendor overseeing the sale between his attendants and the female customers.[42]

The contents of the four cloth sacks depicted on **A 1** (Fig. 2) are not visible to the viewer, like those on the Saintes relief. It has been suggested that this scene may possibly represent the tallying of accounts, for coins are often shown being poured from bags such as these onto countertops.[43] However, since no coins are displayed on the counter top of the Bordeaux relief and there is not a figure with a record book, both typical elements in scenes of accounting or payment, it is doubtful that this scene represents that particular motif. On the other hand, Duval suggested that these sacks may have contained grains or legumes; whereas Reddé proposes that this scene portrays the sale of fruit.[44] Duval's suggestion is more plausible, as the Italian reliefs (Figs. 146, 147) seem to indicate that dried foods were probably stored in cloth bags, while it has been noted above that more perishable items such as fresh fruit and vegetables were usually stored, transported or even sold in wicker baskets.

A 1 (Fig. 2) has two additional vignettes, on either side of the counter scene, also likely involving a transaction of some kind. The scene on the right is the better preserved: a figure,

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[42] Esp. 1097; R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux 1962) 198.

[43] Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux 2000 ans d'histoire* (Bordeaux 1971) 80-81. For a discussion of scenes of accounting in Italy and Gaul see Chapter One, 50-55.

[44] Duval (above n. 20) 182; Reddé. *Métier* 44. A mutilated and fragmentary relief from Sens (**GL 5**, Fig. 18) possibly depicts the weighing of grain in a large scale (*statera*), as a large open-mouthed sack is carved on the lower right side; however its contents are not displayed to the viewer and the object weighed in the scale is now missing.

likely a customer, stands in profile before a small counter with a vendor seated behind it. This vendor is protected from the elements by a peaked roof structure, in contrast to the main central scene, where there is no further indication of setting. A large object, possibly a money box or a bag filled with merchandise, rests on top of the counter.

Another relief from Bordeaux (**A 2**, Fig. 3) appears to portray the sale of food products, although its worn and fragmentary condition makes it difficult to identify the merchandise with certainty.[45] The male vendor, with his head now missing, stands in a frontal position behind the counter, facing the observer. On the counter are two large pots with lids; a mortar (*mortarium*) and pestle (*pistilla*) sit beside them on a separate base.[46] Wooden, clay and stone mortars were used for various purposes such as grinding grains and spices, preparing medicines and perfumes, and possibly paints and dyes.[47] It is therefore probable that the mortar and pestle on the Bordeaux relief were used for grinding the contents of the two pots placed beside them. As for the contents of these covered pots, they perhaps represent containers of ground spices used in preparing foods. Aromatic fresh and dried herbs, berries and spices were used in flavouring sauces, appetizers, soups, cooked vegetables and roasted or boiled meats.[48] Spices were also

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[45] This relief may belong to the same monument as **A 1** (Fig. 2), although both scenes were probably depicted separately: see Musée d'Aquitaine (above n. 43) 79; Chapter Two, 83-84.

[46] Musée d'Aquitaine (above n. 43) 79.

[47] R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 3 (Leiden 1965) 155-156; C.J. Simpson, *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti.* Vol. II. *The Small Finds* (Toronto 1997) 39-40, nos. 191-203 (mid-late fourth century stone mortars).

[48] The herbs, berries and spices frequently used in Roman cooking include pepper, mustard, cardomon, cumin, fennel, clove, ginger anise, mint, thyme, parsley, dill, oregano, myrtle, bay and juniper berries: see

used in making the seasoned wines which the Romans were fond of drinking.[49] However, without further evidence, we can only speculate about the contents of these pots.

A very worn male figure to the left of the vendor on **A 2** (Fig. 3) appears to be weighing merchandise on a scale (*libra*). Below the balance are two hemispherical weights with a chain, which passes through a hole in each weight and hangs down on each side. The gestures of this figure indicate that another vendor or an assistant is depicted here, as he is possibly holding a weight in his right hand. Upon close examination, the tray of the scale holds a round container filled with small round objects, which have been identified as possibly representing grain, fruit or olives.[50] These objects might represent fruit; other plausible suggestions for the Bordeaux objects include eggs or nuts, perhaps chestnuts.[51] A somewhat similar motif can be seen on the

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I. Gozzini Giacosa, *A Taste of Ancient Rome* transl. A. Herklotz (London 1992) 27, with several recipes of Apicius using these seasonings; André (above n. 17) 199-209.

[49] Spices such as pepper, absinthe and saffron could be used for seasoning wine: see Pliny, *HN* 14.108; Apicius, *De Re Coq.* 1, 3; G. Hermansen, "The Roman Inns and the Law. The Inns of Ostia,' in J.A.S. Evans ed., *Polis and Imperium. Studies in Honour of Edward Togo Salmon* (Toronto 1974) 178, notes that mortars, which were used for grinding the spices in seasoned wines, were found in several Ostian taverns Ostian taverns; Simpson (above n. 47) 39-40; Gozzini Giacosa (above n. 48) 195-197. See also Chapter Four, 159-160, for a discussion of spiced wine.

[50] Esp. 1098; Reddé, *Métier* 44: Duval (above n. 20) 181.

[51] Excavations of domestic Gallo-Roman garbage dumps reveal the remains of egg-shells, likely from poultry, ducks, pigeons and geese. Fresh or hard-boiled eggs were used in a number of culinary sauces and dishes, while chestnuts were boiled, roasted and pureed : see Pliny, *HN* 15.94; Apicius, *De Re Coq.* 184, 284, 328, 329, 405, 411, 413, 462; Mart. *Ep.* 10.48; 11.52; 13.40; André (above n. 17) 84-85, 149-150; G. Coulon, *Les gallo-romains. Au carrefour de deux civilisations* (Paris 1985) 144, 149; G. Coulon, *Les gallo-romains. Métiers, vie quotidienne et religion* II (Paris 1990) 139, 145; Gozzini Giacosa (above n. 48) 33, 46-47, 49, 199-200. Fragments of chicken eggs have been discovered on the site of Hornaing in northern Gaul: see P. Meniel, *Chasse et élévage chez les gaulois* (Paris 1987) 76.

mutilated relief from Verona (Fig. 144), which depicts a male figure weighing small, round objects on a scale; however, in this latter example the objects are loose on the tray.[52]

The Bordeaux relief also depicts a pair of yoked oxen with driver on the right of the vendor, while the upper bodies and heads of a pair of horses are portrayed on the left beside the figure weighing the merchandise. Although there are no apparent parallels for the horses and oxen in other vending scenes, their role is probably to provide additional information about what is going on in the scene, e.g. an allusion to the transporting of agricultural products from the farm of the vendor or from other farmers to the place of sale.[53]

Two other mutilated relief blocks from Saintes (**A 6**, Fig. 8) display scenes that might represent the sale of fruit or grains. The first scene, on the lower relief block, portrays the portrait of a couple, who stand facing the observer. The male on the left holds a scoop-shaped object in his right hand, which is is turned on its side revealing a horseshoe-shaped spout and hollow interior. This object has been identified by Maurin as representing a type of measure used for grain, although other dried food products could also have been measured in this type of scoop such as legumes and nuts.[54] A similar-shaped object, which Zimmer describes as a

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[52] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 225, no. 189; Chapter One, 37.

[53] The scene of the tallying of accounts depicted on the strigillated sarcophagus in the Palazzo Salviati at Rome (Fig. 163) has a winged horse of the Dioscuri carved on each end, although in this example the horses are seen in a divine context, while the horses on the Bordeaux relief belong to the the world of the living. For the Italian relief see Kampen, *Image and Status* 88; Amedick (above n. 16) 156, no. 214, pl. 111.1-3; Chapter One, 51; Chapter Four, 147.

[54] Maurin (above n. 36) 226.

scoop, is portrayed hanging above three large sacks on the relief of the storeroom at Rome (Fig. 146), mentioned above.[55]

Although the left arm of the male figure depicted on **A 6** is broken off just below the elbow, it appears that he once held part of a scale (*libra*) in his left hand. The female standing at his side holds three chains which are attached to one of the trays of the scale. Two small, round objects are depicted in the tray of the scale, resembling either fruit or small weights. On the one hand, these objects are similar in size and shape to the fruit shown on the vending scene from Arlon (Figs. 66) and Rome (Fig. 143).[56] The scenes from Bordeaux (Fig. 3) and Verona (Fig. 144) also depict the weighing of small, round objects which might represent fruit.[57] On the other hand, the two small objects in the tray possibly represent stone weights used for weighing an unknown product, which would have been displayed in the other, now missing, tray of the scale held by the male.[58]

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[55] See above, p. 183. See also Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 222, no. 183; Chapter One, 38-39.

[56] The site of an end second century A.D. well near Saintes contained nuts, peaches, plums, cherries and pine nuts, suggesting that a vaiety of fruits were available in this area: see Coulon [1985] (above n. 52) 149; Coulon [1990] (above n. 52) 145.

[57] By the time of Diocletian's Edict (301 A.D.), fruits such as apples, peaches and pears were sold according to their size and quality in amounts of ten or twenty for a fixed price of 4 or 6 *denarii*: see *Edict Dioclet.* VI.58-74 Nevertheless, this ruling does not necessarily reflect universal practice and the sale of fruit could have been conducted differently in Roman Gaul.

[58] Official standard weights were kept in temples at Rome, though copies were available in major cities throughout the empire. Basalt weights were used from ca. 300 B.C. to the second century A.D., although other types of stone were also used for weights. see F.G. Skinner, *Weights and Measures* (London 1967) 65, pl. 9; Simpson (above n. 47) 44, nos. 234-235. Round, bronze weights with flattened tops are found in Pompeii: see M. Boriello, M. Lista et al., *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. I Mosaici, le pitture, gli oggetti di uso quotidiano, gli argenti, le terrecotte invetriate, i vetri, i cristalli, gli avori* (Rome 1986) 192-193, no. 135.

Although the upper relief block from Saintes is very worn, the upper bodies and heads of two figures can be seen behind a high counter (**A 6**, Fig. 8). Maurin suggests that both figures are sitting, while Espérandieu interprets the scene with one figure standing and the other sitting.[59] However, if both figures are standing, then their stance and gestures, with their hands upon the counter top, are very similar to those of the fruit vendors at Arlon (Fig. 66). The counter is tilted and approximately the same height as the counter portrayed on the Arlon relief, though unfortunately the top is not sufficiently preserved to indicate whether a food-related commodity was indeed on display.

II. Scenes Portraying the Sale, Preparation and Display of Meat and Fish and Poultry

Eight reliefs portray scenes of the sale, preparation and display of meat, fish and poultry. **GL 16** (Fig. 37) from Dijon, **GL 17** (Fig. 38) from Til-Châtel, **GB 9** (Fig. 55) from Hieraple and **GB 22** (Fig. 80) from Trier appear to depict the sale of pork products. **GL 15** (Fig. 32) from Dijon and **GL 18** (Fig. 39) from Nuits-St.-George portray the attributes of beef butchers. One scene from Paris (**GL 14**, Fig. 31) may represent fish vendors, while another scene from Trier (**GB 21**, Fig. 79, upper) may represent the sale of game in a tavern. One relief from Bordeaux (**A 4**, Fig. 5) is included in this section, as it displays the tools of the butcher's trade.

A. Scenes Depicting the Sale of Pork Products

The only relief emphasizing the sale of meat in a Gallo-Roman butcher's shop is portrayed on a small second/third century A.D. funerary stele from Hieraple (**GB 9**, Fig. 55). The

[59] Maurin (above n. 36) 226; Esp. 1345.

transaction takes place over a waist level, solid, narrow counter separating the vendor from the customer. This solid counter probably also represents a butcher's block (*caudex*) for chopping meat. The male vendor, standing in profile to the right of the counter, appears to be placing an object, perhaps a leg of pork (*perna*), into a shopping bag held by the customer, also in profile.[60] Directly behind the butcher is a solid slab bench, likely another chopping surface for cutting up the meat. A small wicker basket is placed below it on the ground. This basket perhaps represents a container for offal or lard, smaller in size than those portrayed on the relief from Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38), discussed below, and on the second century A.D. relief of the pork butcher, likely from Rome and now in Dresden (Fig. 133).[61] Although the contents of these containers are not shown, the late third century A.D. sarcophagus lid from the Isola Sacra, Ostia (Fig. 137), which portrays meat and fish vendors, clearly depicts the butcher's assistant depositing or removing entrails from a basin on the ground.[62]

The upper frame of the Hieraple niche serves as a meat rack (*carnarium*) to display the three crudely-shaped cuts of meat hanging from hooks.[63] Two of these objects resemble legs of

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[60] M. Toussaint, *Répertoire archéologique du département de la Moselle* (Nancy 1950) 69, no. 9.

[61] For the Dresden relief of the butcher see Kampen, *Image and Status* 157, no. 53, fig. 45; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 94-95, no. 2; Chapter One, 28-29.

[62] Amedick (above n. 16) 136, no. 86, pl. 107.4. The left side of the relief depicts the sale of fish: see below, p. 201.

[63] Both Esp. 4457 and Toussaint (above n. 60) 69, describe the cuts of meat as 'objets frustes'. R. Schlemaire, *Catalogue des inscriptions gallo-romaines funéraires et votives des Musées de Metz* (Université de Nancy 1972) E. 19, identifies the Hieraple scene as a butcher shop, but he only discusses the inscription, which makes no reference to the occupation of the deceased (for the inscription see Catalogue, 297). Reddé, *Métier* 44, erroneously identifies the vendor as a fruit merchant.

pork or hams (*pernae*), similar to those depicted on the reliefs of Italian butchers' shops from Rome and Ostia (Figs. 133-136), while the square shape of the other object might represent a slab of bacon (*succidia*).[64] A scale (*libra*) is incised on the back wall between the cuts of meat and the bench, indicating that the cuts of meat were sold by weight.[65] As seen on the Hieraple relief, the chopping blocks (*caudex*) portrayed on the Italian reliefs act as a device to separate the meat vendor from the customer. However, the Italian scenes depict additional elements such as a cleaver for chopping up the meat and a separate, well-defined meat rack (*carnarium*) for displaying the various cuts of meat.

A butcher's shop, specializing in the sale of pork, is partially preserved beside the scene of the wine shop on the relief from Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38).[66] Only the left half and the upper wall of this shop, and perhaps the upper part of another shop on the right are preserved. The setting is identified by a solid-looking counter with a rear frame, separating the vendor from the viewer. The one preserved figure appears to represent a youth holding an unknown object in his left hand.[67] As he stands on the far left of the scene, it is quite possible that another figure was portrayed behind the counter on the now missing part of the relief, who perhaps

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[64] For the reliefs from Rome and Ostia see Chapter One, 28-31.

[65] The *Edictum Diocletiani* 4.1-16, records the price per Italian pound for a variety of cuts of meat such as pork, lamb, wild game and fish.

[66] For a discussion of the wine vending scene portrayed on **GL 17**, see Chapter Four, 138-139.

[67] Young boys are also represented on the cloth display scene from St. Wendel (**GB 25**, Fig. 118). See also Chapter Three, 109-110.

represented the vendor. A customer might have also been portrayed on this missing section, corresponding to the customer in the adjacent wine vending scene. A meat cleaver sits on a solid chopping block (*caudex*) beside the counter, while a large wooden container sits on the floor in front of the counter, probably for offal or lard, similar to those in the scenes portraying the sale of pork from Hieraple (Fig. 55), Dresden (Fig. 133) and Ostia (Fig. 137).[68] The rear frame of the counter supports a meat rack (*carnarium*) with six objects: three bunches of small cylindrical objects, likely sausages, and three pigs' heads (*sinciput*) hanging by their snouts.[69] Apparently pig's heads were also a delicacy in Italy, as they are displayed on meat racks on the other reliefs of Italian butchers' shops (Figs. 133, 135, 136), as well as on the chopping block on the Ostian sarcophagus lid (Fig. 137).

Part of a thick, vertical moulding is preserved to the right of the pigs' heads, which might have indicate the presence of a second butcher's shop.[70] A separate meat rack is also depicted, which is higher than the one shown in the 'middle shop'. Six objects, possibly slabs of pork fat

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[68] Esp. 3608, Liversidge (above n. 27) 102; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 253. A funerary inscription from Narbonne records the occupation of the deceased as a *lardarius*: see *CIL* XII, 4483; E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 44.

[69] J. D'Arbaumont, *Catalogue du Musée de la Commission des antiquités du Département de la Cote-D'Or* (Dijon 1894) 29, no. 138; Esp. 3608; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 205; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 252-253. Sausages were apparently also popular in Italy, such as *lucanicae* from Lucania; *tomacula*, sold warm in the streets; *funduli* (short fat sausages), *longaones* (long sausages); and others, whose form and preparation are not as certain (*farcimina, farcicula, hillae, apexabones*): see Varro, *L.L.* 5.111; Mart. *Ep* 1.41.9-10; 13.55; Apicius, *De Re Coq.* 61-63; André (above n. 17) 137-138; Gozzini Giacosa (above n. 48) 13, 182-183.

[70] D'Arbaumont (above n. 69) 29, followed by Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 253, assume that the cuts of meat along the upper back wall all belong to the same butcher shop, while Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 205, suggests the possibility of a third butcher shop.

(*succidiae*) like those portrayed on the Hieraple relief (Fig. 55), are suspended from this meat rack.[71] Thus the relief of the wine shop and two butchers' shops likely represent a set of outlets owned by the proprietor of the tomb.[72]

A wine vending scene from nearby Dijon also portrays the sale of pork (**GL 16**, Fig. 37).[73] A rack with four objects is displayed above the head of the wine vendor on the right. The object located closest to the shelf of vases on the left has been identified as a leg of pork or ham (*perna*), although the shape of the thigh is not rounded like the hams shown on the reliefs from Hieraple (Fig. 55) and Italy.[74] The rectangular object suspended above the head of the vendor resembles the slab of pork fat (*succidia*) shown on the reliefs from Til-Châtel (Fig. 38) and Hieraple (Fig. 55). The other two objects are too poorly preserved to be identified with certainty. The cuts of pork displayed here perhaps represent salted meat, since they were being sold with other provisions such as wine and not in the confines of a butcher's shop, where fresh meat with its by-products of blood and offal would have been a more common sight than in a wine shop.[75] Moreover, the elements of the chopping block (*caudex*), meat cleaver and

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[71] D'Arbaumont (above n. 69) 29; Esp. 3608; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 253.

[72] Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 205, suggests that the relief depicts a row of shops along a street. For evidence of actual shops in Roman Gaul see Introduction, 12.

[73] For a discussion of the wine vending function of this shop see Chapter Four, 140-141.

[74] Esp. 3469; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 74.

[75] These objects on the rack have been described as 'pièces de charcuterie': see D'Arbaumont (above n. 69) 128, no. 137; Esp. 3469; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth et relig.* no. 74; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 253.

balance, generally found on the reliefs of butchers' shops, are not included in this scene; thus the meat on display was probably not cut up in this shop.

A well preserved non-figural relief from Trier (**GB 22**, Fig. 80) provides the greatest number of details about the various tools of the butcher's trade and especially about the different cuts of pork that were available for sale. The familiar chopping block (*caudex*) is portrayed on the left of the scene. A meat cleaver, with a thick handle and curved back, is stuck into the top of a cut of meat, resembling a loin roast of pork, which sits upon this chopping block.[76] A scale (*libra*) is incised on the upper back wall, in the same manner as the one on the Hieraple relief (Fig. 55), between the chopping block and a step-like display counter adorned with butcher's tools and cuts of meat. This counter likely functioned as another chopping block, as the ridge around the top could serve as a channel for rinsing away the blood of the butchered meats.[77] Another loin roast of pork and a cut of meat, resembling a leg of pork or ham (*perna*) with a thick outer rind, are portrayed on top of the display counter. A second meat cleaver, with a thick rounded handle and curved back, and a long, narrow pointed tool, possibly used for extracting marrow are carved on the front narrow ledge of the counter.[78] The thick handle of a tool, possibly a cleaver or an axe, is preserved below the ledge of the counter.[79]

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[76] Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 218-219, no. 66; H. Cüppers, *Trier. Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) 237, no. 123.

[77] H. Cüppers, "Ein Metzger im römischen Trier," *TrZ* 45 (1982) 289.

[78] *Ibid.* 290.

[79] Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 219.

A meat rack with two cuts of meat is carved on the upper back wall of the Trier relief (Fig. 80). The one cut represents another leg of pork or ham (*perna*). Another non-figural scene of a butcher shop on a second/third century A.D. relief from Portogruaro, Italy, also portrays a with a very large stylized leg or pork or ham; however, in this example the meat rack is absent.[80] The other cut of meat on the Trier meat rack has nine, small, round raised speckles, likely representing the 'nipples' of a sow's udder.[81] These markings recall the udders portrayed on the reliefs from Dresden (Fig. 133) and the Villa Albani, at Rome (Fig. 135), although the latter two examples have their narrow ends removed.

A fragmentary inscription, preserved in two lines on the frame above the Trier butcher shop, contains the letters *ellarii / ponemest* (Fig. 80). Cüppers restores the missing letters to form the words *[mac]ellarii /[cav]ponem est.*[82] If the first word *[mac]ellarii* is correct, then it corresponds to the scene of the butcher shop shown in the niche below the inscription, as the Latin word *macellarius* means a butcher/ seller of flesh.[83] In the latter sense, a *macellarius* sold not only domestic cuts of meat, but also fish, wild meat, and wild and domesticated poultry,

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[80] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 105, no. 14; Chapter One, 34-35.

[81] Cüppers (above n. 77) 291.

[82] *Ibid.* 291.

[83] H. von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in H. Jankuhn ed., *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* I (*Abhandlungen der Akadamie des Wissenschaften Göttingen*) (Göttingen 1981) 103; M. Wissemann, "Die Spezialisierung der römischen Handels," *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 3.1 (1984) 121.

although it seems that in this example the butcher specialized only in cuts of pork.[84] The term *macellarius* was not as commonly used as *lanius* to signify a butcher.[85] In fact, only two other Gallo-Roman funerary epitaphs record this occupational title.[86] If the reading of the next word as *[cav]ponem* is correct, then a *copo/caupo* refers to a tavernkeeper, who sold wine and/or food for public consumption.[87] Therefore, the butcher who ordered this tomb might not have been a tavernkeeper *per se*, but served as the supplier of meat to the bars and taverns which sold prepared food. However, Cüppers' reading of the inscription is not plausible, because it is so poorly preserved that it cannot be translated into anything that makes sense without the full inscription.[88]

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[84] Schlippschuh, *Händler* 22. A *macellarius* probably sold his wares in a *macellum*, a type of specialty meat, fish and vegetable market found in numerous Roman provinces. For inscriptional and archaeological evidence of *macella* in *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Aquitania* see C. De Ruyt, *Macellum. Marché alimentaire des romains* (Louvain-La-Neuve 1983) 47, 73, 106, 109, 114, 190.

[85] For Italian inscriptions with *lanius* see von Petrikovits (above n. 83) 101; J.P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les romains* 4 (Louvain 1900) 26, no. 65. For inscriptions in Gaul and Roman Germany with *lanio* or *lanius* see *CIL* XII, 941 (Périgeux), *CIL* XII, 4482 (Narbonne), *CIL* XIII, 7521 (Bingen) and *CIL* XIII, 7553 (Kreuznach); Frézouls (above n. 67) 44.

[86] Die: *CIL* XII, 1593 (*macellarius*); Lyon: *CIL* XIII, 2018 (*negotiatoris artis macellariae*); Schlippschuh, *Händler* 22; Frézouls (above n. 67) 44-45. There does not seem to be evidence of this occupational title outside Gaul.

[87] Cüppers (above n. 77) 291. The occupational title *copo* was more frequently used in Roman Gaul than *caupo*; See Chapter Four, 153.

[88] It appears that the letters were only carved on the right side of the relief, because the deeply-carved letters would have left some trace on the left side, even though there is room for more letters. There is a slight possibility that the letters *mac* were carved on the upper line, now missing, for the word *macellarius* was split up in this way on the inscription from Die (*CIL* XII, 1593). However, without the full inscription, it is not clear how the genitive of *macellarius* (*[mac]ellarii*) relates to the accusative of *caupo* (*[cau]ponem*) and the third person singular of *sum* (*est*).

One non-figural relief on a stele from Bordeaux (**A 4**, Fig. 5) does not display any meat products like the non-figural scene from Trier (Fig. 80), but it does depict the two common attributes of the butcher: the meat cleaver and chopping block (*caudex*).[89] As mentioned in Chapter One, two first century A.D. reliefs from Aquileia, Italy also portray only the stock tools of the butcher. The one scene depicts two chopping knives, a three-legged chopping block (*caudex*), and a pick-axe (*dolabra*) like the one portrayed on Fig. 139 from Verona, while the other scene portrays two different types of chopping knives and a meat-hook with a curving double loop.[90]

B. Reliefs Depicting Butchers of Beef

Visual images of beef butchers and their attributes are found on the lower left lateral register of a funerary monument from Dijon (**GL 15**, Fig. 32) and on a stele from nearby Nuits-St.George (**GL 18**, Fig. 39). They do not portay elements such as a chopping block or meat rack to indicate their setting in a butcher's shop. Instead, the motif is reduced to a figure or figures holding a knife in one hand and butchered meat in the other. The simple portrait of the male figure depicted on the stele from Nuits-St.-George (Fig. 39) holds objects that clearly identify his occupation as a butcher: a meat cleaver in his right hand and the small head of a butchered calf in his left hand.[91]

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[89] Esp. 1210; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 23.

[90] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 103-104, nos. 12, 14.

[91] Esp. 2056. Schlippschuh, *Händler* 23, suggests that the animal head might also be a sheep; however, with the exception of southern Gaul, sheep were mainly raised for providing wool for the thriving cloth industry discussed

The relief from Dijon (Fig. 32) depicts two male figures, dressed in short girded tunics, standing on either side of a large beef carcass. The beef carcass hangs by its hind legs with its tail resting on its bulging stomach. Both figures hold a small, but wide pointed cleaver in one hand, resembling the blade held by the butcher on the relief from Nuits-St.-George, while their other hands are hidden from view, probably grasping the back of the carcass. The butchers are shown in the act of carving up the carcass, as indicated by the incised lines on its chest.[92] In a similar scene, a relief of a soldier turned butcher from *Lauriacum* (Austria) displays a figure disembowelling the carcass of an animal, perhaps a beef calf, with a short, wide chopping blade resembling the blades held by the Dijon butchers (Fig. 140).[93] This scene seems to be a stock motif re-used in various contexts throughout the empire, as a second century A.D. altar from Verona (Fig. 139) depicts a scene of a male figure cutting up a pig carcass with a pick-axe (*dolabra*), rather than a cleaver, and the well-known, late fourth/early fifth century A.D. mosaic from Cherchel portrays a male figure butchering a sheep carcass, which hangs from a fig tree in a vintage scene.[94]

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in Chapter Three, 101-134. See also Meniel (above n. 51) 79-81; A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (University of California Press 1990) 103.

[92] D'Arbaumont (above n. 69) 11, no. 67; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 75.The incised lines on the beef carcass correspond to the traces of carving found on beef bones in a pit from Beauvais: see Meniel (above n. 51) 71-73.

[93] L. Eckhart, *Österreich. Die skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Lauriacum* (*CSIR* 3.2) (Vienna 1976) 61-62, no. 85a, pl. 31; Chapter One, 33.

[94] Verona altar: Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 18, 97-98, no. 6; Chapter One, 33. The scene depicted on the Cherchel mosaic likely represents the preparation of the meat for a feast held in celebration of the newly-gathered vintage: see K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography*

Schlippschuh suggests that the Dijon scene of the butchers portrays a ritual scene of two servants (*victimarii*) preparing a sacrificial victim, but there are no elements to indicate that this beef carcass was the product of a religious sacrifice.[95] In fact, this scene could also represent the butchering of a carcass for a special domestic feast or funerary banquet, although beef was generally not eaten, as the meat from cattle were used for agricultural work in the fields was too tough.[96] It is less likely that the beef from this carcass was intended as a funerary offering, as the archaeological evidence indicates that the remains of beef are rarely found in Gallo-Roman tombs.[97] On the other hand, this scene with its fat bulging carcass on display may have served as a form of advertisement for the family of the deceased to show that their business sold only cuts of well-fed beef; however, as the relief was not discovered *in situ*, it is not known whether it was visible to passers-by.[98]

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and Patronage (Oxford 1978) 117, 255, no. 9, Pl. XLII, fig. 107. For other parallels see R. Amedick, "Zur Motivgeschichte eines Sarkophages mit ländlichen Mahl," *RömMitt* 95 (1988) 295-314, pls. 78, 79.1, 80.

[95] Schlippschuh, *Händler* 24-25.

[96] Apicius provides only one recipe for beef or veal: see *De Re Coq.* 354; André (above n. 17)139; Gozzini Giacosa (above n. 48) 12, 91-92. By the fourth century A.D., one Italian pound of beef even cost less than a pound of pork (8 *denarii* for 1 Italian pound of beef versus 12 or 16 *denarii* for 1 Italian pound of fresh and salted pork and 20 *denarii* per Italian pound for Menapian ham from Gaul: see *Edict. Dioclet.* 4.1,2,7,8.

[97] S. Lepetz, "Les restes animaux dans les sépultures gallo-romaines," in A. Ferdière, *Monde des mort, monde des vivants en Gaule rurale Actes du Colloque ARCHÉA / AGER* (Orléand, Conseil régional, 7-9 février 1992) (Tours 1993) 41.

[98] Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42-43.

C. Portrait of Fish Merchants (?)

A stele from Paris depicts the portraits of a female flanked by two males, who stand frontally, facing the observer (**GL 14**, Fig. 31). Two small fish hang between the heads of the female and right male.[99] These fish are suspended from a thick ring attached to the ceiling of the niche. Duval proposed that the figures represent fish vendors, while De Villefosse and Espérandieu suggested that they depict fishermen.[100] It is difficult to interpret the role of the fish in this scene, as they are not shown on a platter like the ones portrayed in scenes of funerary banquets.[101] Nor do the fish appear to represent a Christian symbol such as the fish shown on platters to symbolize the miracle of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes.[102] On the other hand, the Paris relief has no additional elements, such as a customer with a purse

[99] The precise identification of the type of fish is difficult, although they probably represent fresh-water fish since ancient Paris (*Lutetia*) was located beside the Seine. The late fourth century author Ausonius provides examples of several types of fish in the Moselle River that may fit the depiction of fish on the Paris stele such as shad (*alausa*), barbel (*barbus*), chub (*capito*), gudgeon (*gobio*), monkfish (*mustela*), perch (*perca*), trout (*salar*) and salmon (*salmo*): see Aus. *Mos.* 85, 88, 94, 97, 106-114, 127, 132, 134; André (above n. 17) 107-108.

[100] P.-M. Duval, *Paris antique, des origines au troisième siècle* (Paris 1961) 256; H. De Villefosse, "Inscriptions romains trouvées au Marché aux Fleurs en juin 1906," *CRAI* (1906) 255; Esp. 3199. See also Musée Carnavalet, *Lutèce. Paris de César à Clovis* (Paris 1984) 220, no. 126.

[101] For examples see F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris 1942; rep.1966) 296-298, 336; Duval (above n. 100) 256; N. Himmelmann, *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Mainz am Rhein 1973) pls. 25-26, 31, 33, 34b, 36a-b, 37a-b, 41a, 47b, 48a, 49b; Amedick (above n. 16) pls. 9.2, 9.4, 10.4, 11.1-3, 14.2-3, 15.1-2, 16.1, 19.1-3.

[102] A mid third century A.D. wall painting from the Chapel of the Sacraments, Catacomb of Callixtus, Rome depicts two platters of fish and baskets of loaves: see M. Gough, *The Origins of Christian Art* (New York 1973) 45, fig. 44. A version of the Last Supper from Ravenna portrays a platter with two fish: see K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Convivial spaces: dining and entertainment in the Roman villa," *JRA* 9 (1996) fig. 17. See also F. Dölger, *Ichthys. Die Fischdenkmäler in der frühchristlichen Malerei und Kleinkunst* IV (1927) *passim.*

and a display table of fish, to indicate that the figures represent vendors or fishermen.[103] The motif of the vending of fish is shown on the late third century A.D. sarcophagus from the Vatican (Fig. 138) and on the Ostian sarchophagus lid (Fig. 137), discussed above.[104] In the Ostian relief, the vignette of fish vending is depicted on the left, while the vignette of meat vending is shown on the right.[105] The fish vendor holds a fish in his right hand, while he gesticulates with his left hand to the customer standing before him. Because the Paris relief lacks these other elements associated with vending, it remains ambiguous whether the fish were carved to represent the occupation of the deceased, as is the case with the meat depicted in the scenes of butchers' shops.

D. Scene Portraying Wild Fowl in a Tavern

The only Gallo-Roman scene with fowl in a commercial setting is depicted on the relief of the tavern scene from Trier (**GB 21**, Fig. 79, upper).[106] Three pairs of fowl are carved one above the other on the upper right corner of the relief above the heads of the seated customers. The shapes and sizes of these birds appear to resemble guinea fowl, pheasants or francolin, a type of partridge.[107] Guinea fowl and pheasants were considered rich delicacies in antiquity.

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[103] Two reliefs from a funerary monument at Metz portray elements which clearly identify the ocuupation of the deceased as a fisherman: a fishing net and a boat: see Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 116, no. 44.

[104] Himmelmann (above n. 101) 57, no. 3, pl. 26; Amedick (above n. 16) 167-168, no. 286, pl. 108.3; Chapter One, 31-33.

[105] For the meat vending scene see above, p. 192; Chapter One, 31-32.

[106] See Chapter Four, 147-149.

[107] Rheinisches Landesmusem (above n. 13) 121, no. 61. A mosaic from Justinian's church at Sabratha depicts guineafowl and a pheasant in vine-scrolls: see J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*

Varro mentions the high cost of guinea fowl, as it was a relatively new addition to Roman cuisine during the Republican period, while by the time of Diocletian's Edict (301 A.D.), the price of a fattened or wild pheasant far exceeded the cost of other meats, such as pork and beef.[108] If the fowl in the Trier scene do represent these costly types, then they were a prestigious item for the deceased to display on his tomb. As discussed in chapter four, the presence of the fowl in this scene probably indicates that food was served in addition to wine, although these birds were not necessarily displayed in this manner in an actual tavern.[109]

The motif of the wild fowl in the Trier tavern scene differs from the Italian scenes of the sale of poultry in both the setting and the type of fowl on display. For example, the shop sign of the female vendor from Ostia depicts freshly killed and caged fowl, likely geese, along with a variety of other foods such as vegetables, rabbits and snails (Fig. 142).[110] The scene of the meat vendor on the right side of the Ostian sarcophagus lid portrays a pair of birds hanging by their feet, identified as geese, in addition to rabbit and pork products (Fig. 137).[111] Geese,

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(London 1973) figs. 125-126. Pliny, *HN* 10.133, notes that the francolin, a type of partridge, was found in Gaul, Spain and the Alps, and probably in Asia Minor. Mart. *Ep.* 13.61, describes the francolin as the tastiest of all birds: *inter sapores fertur alitum primus Ionicarum gustus attagenarum.*

[108] Varro, *De Re Rust.* 3.9.18: In the late empire a fattened pheasant cost 250 *denarii*, while a wild pheasant cost 125 *denarii*: see *Edict. Dioclet.* 4.17-18; André (above n. 17) 132.

[109] C.-M. Ternes, "Recherches récentes concernant la viti-viniculture en pays trévire et rhénan," *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin. Actes du Colloque 28-29 mai 1988* (*Caesarodunum* 24 1990) 245, proposes that the shop also served as a store room for fowl, which was prepared to the clients' tastes.

[110] See above, p. 177; Chapter One, 35-36. Kampen, *Image and Status* 52, writes that the birds are not detailed enough to be identified as a particular type; Zimmer, *Römische Beufsdarstellungen* 220, no. 180, describes the fowl as unplucked geese.

[111] See above, p. 192; Chapter One, 32.

rabbits and gutted pigs are also displayed on the marble relief in the Museo Torlonia at Rome (Fig. 141).[112] Thus the sale of fowl in the Italian scenes takes place in a setting in which other commodities were also sold.

III. Scene Portraying the Sale of Prepared Food

A drawing of a very fragmentary, now lost, relief from Echternach appears to portray the sale of prepared food (**GB 18**, Fig. 76). The male vendor in the centre of the scene is pointing out the contents of a large cookpot on a three-legged brazier to a headless male (?) figure on the right. This figure likely represents a customer, as he holds out a round object to the vendor, perhaps an over-sized coin or a small bowl.[113] Another figure on the left of the vendor is stirring the contents of a second cookpot with a long-handled ladle. This cookpot is placed on a rectangular box-like object, possibly a socle or cookstove.[114] Although the setting of this scene is not clearly defined, the sale of prepared food probably took place in many locations: on streets; in taverns; in markets; at public baths; and at public spectacles. [115]

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[112] Kampen, *Image and Status* 154, no. 43, fig. 84; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 98-99, no. 7; Chapter One, 34.

[113] Esp. 4260, identified the object as representing a coin.

[114] Esp. 4260.

[115] Esp. 4260; C.-M. Ternes, *Répertoire archéologique du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* I (Brussels 1970) 65. A wall painting from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix displays a similar motif of the sale of cooked food in the forum at Pompeii (Pompeii II. 4.3): see J.-M. Croisille, *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flavians* (Brussels 1982) pl. 1; Nappo (above n. 23) 83, 86, no. 11, fig. 7. R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge University Press 1991) 164.

Conclusions

The scenes of Gallo-Roman food vending portray a variety of commodities, ranging from fruit, vegetables and legumes to cuts of pork, beef, wild fowl and fish. It appears that the circumstances that govern the sale of these different types of food vary according to the product. For example, the evidence from the reliefs from Arlon (**GB** 14, Figs. 66, 68, lower) suggests that fruit and vegetables were brought in from the country or suburb, most likely by the producers or their dependants. If the scenes from Bordeaux (**A 1**, Fig. 2, **A 2**, Fig. 3) and Saintes (**A 5**, Fig. 6, lower, **A 6**, Fig. 8, lower) do portray the sale of legumes and grains, then this type of merchandise could be easily handled in greater bulk by a middleman or dealer.

The scenes portraying the sale or display of meat from Hieraple (**GB 9**, Fig. 55), Dijon (**GL 15**, Fig. 32, **GL 16**, Fig. 37), Til-Châtel (**GL 17**, Fig. 38) and Nuits-St.-George (**GL 18**, Fig. 39), as well as the non-figural scenes from Bordeaux (**A 4**, Fig. 5) and Trier (**GB 22**, Fig. 80), indicate that a specialist was needed with the right implements to do the butchering. These butchers' shops depict the tools to cut up their meats, as well as the meat rack (*carnarium*) to display and cure their products. Although the sculptor and/or client did not deem it necessary to show an available water supply, water was essential in these shops for rinsing the blood and offal from the chopping block (*caudex*), chopping blades and floor. In fact, the chopping block/display counter portrayed on the Trier scene (Fig. 80) has a trough on top, which may have aided in the cleaning up procedures. If the figures on the Paris stele (**GL 14**, Fig. 31) represent fish merchants, then it is generally assumed that they also caught the fish, though the

scenes on the Ostian and Vatican sarcophagi (Figs. 137, 138) suggest that this was not always the case. As the fowl in the tavern scene from Trier (**GB 21**, Fig. 79) likely represent gamebirds, then it suggests that other figures were involved in either procuring or raising these items for the tavernkeeper.

These scenes do not show from where and from whom the butchers received the meat that is displayed in their shops. At one time, the main source of meat would have been parts of sacrificial animals not wanted by those who performed the sacrifice, which were then sold off in the market or perhaps in shops associated with a temple complex [116] Scant evidence for the relationship between meat and sacrifice is found in early Christian writings. The Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians show that early Christians in the first century did not abide by Jewish injunctions about meat, as reflected in the *Acts* of Paul.[117] At the end of the second century A.D., the Christian author Tertullian notes that Christians, like pagans, needed the amenities of the forum, meat-market, inns and baths. Both Christians and pagans therefore purchased and ate the same types of meat.[118] Tertullian also alleges that pagans sacrificed only the most useless of animals, and when more sound animals were sacrificed, the offerings to the gods

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[116] A third century B.C. inscription from the temple of Hera at Samos provides a list of regulations for the shops associated in its complex: these shops could only be leased by authorized shop-keepers, which prohibited the sale of merchandise by unathorized figures such as slaves, temple guards, the unemployed and refugees. Of interest is the regulation concerning farmers who sold their products to the shop-keepers, as it had to be determined whether the person was the farmer and the legal owner of the products, thus cutting out middlemen involved in trade: see L. Koenen, "The Samian Statute on *KAPELOI* in the Precinct of Hera," *ZPE* 27 (1977) 211-216.

[117] Paul, I *Corinthians* 8.4-10; Paul, *Acts* 15.29.

[118] Tert. *Apol.* 42.

consisted of parts that were not particularly edible such as hoofs, feathers, the head and hair. However, he also notes that these parts would have been served to slaves or dogs in a domestic setting.[119] Thus it seems that the parts from the 'sound animals' if not consumed by worshippers could have been sold to butchers, who in turn sold the meat in their shops.

In rural areas, villa owners probably raised the animals used in sacrifices. The archaeological evidence of a mid-second century A.D. butcher installation at the villa of St. Ulrich in north-eastern Gaul indicates that the animals were butchered in connection with a small sanctuary by the villa.[120] These bones consist mostly of lamb and chicken, although pork, beef and dog bones were found. These animals may have been raised at the villa, where butchered bones and the bones of small game were also found. Archaeological evidence suggests that animals were also raised for use in both funerary and non-funerary contexts. Young pigs were the most common offering found in tombs during the Gallo-Roman period, and the cuts (shoulder, leg and head) are identical to those shown in the scenes of butchers. There are no burn marks on the bones to indicate that these cuts of meat were cooked and eaten in funerary banquets.[121]

The finds of bones on domestic sites in central, south-western and north-eastern Gaul indicate that pork was a favoured meat, while pork was also a mainstay at Roman forts on the

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[119] Tert. *Apol.* 14.

[120] M. Lutz, "Le domaine gallo-romaine de Saint-Ulrich (Moselle)," *Gallia* 30 (1972) 61.

[121] Lepetz (above n. 97) 40-41.

Rhine.[122] Strabo, writing in the Augustan period, remarks on the great quantities of both fresh and salted pork consumed by the Gauls; however, it is not known how often people really did eat meat.[123] Meat was probably eaten more frequently in urban areas where the population had to pay for expensive and inexpensive cuts of meat that they could not grow themselves. Expensive cuts of meats would have been considered prestigious foods to serve at dinner banquets, as exemplified by the cuisine eaten at Trimalchio's dinner banquet in Petronius' *Satyricon.*[124]

Thus it seems likely that the sellers of meat were probably of slightly higher status than sellers of produce. They needed special skills and tools to perform their trade, and in some cases the meat had to be caught first, making it even more expensive for customers to purchase. However, the scenes portrayed on the fair-sized, finely carved pillar monument from Arlon (**GB 14**) indicate that the deceased may have been a wholesaler of apples. This trade was apparently lucrative enough to provide the money nedded to build the apple grower's expensive tomb.

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[122] A. King, "Animal Bones and the Dietary Identity of Military and Civilan Groups in Roman Britain, Germany and Gaul," in T. Blagg and A. King eds., *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain* (*BAR* British Series 136, 1984) 197-200; King (above n. 91) 103.

[123] Strabo, 4.4.3. As mentioned in the first chapter, pork also played an important role in the food supply of Rome during the late Empire: see Chapter One, 29, n. 39 for bibliography.

[124] Pet. *Sat.* 40, decribes one of the dishes as an enormous wild boar; this boar would have been expensive to purchase as it had to be hunted and caught.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SPECIALTY PRODUCTS

This chapter examines five vending scenes which appear to portray the following specialty products: jewelry; perfumes and unguents; sandals and slippers; and locks.[1] The iconography of the objects in these scenes is generally more difficult to interpret than the objects discussed in previous chapters. What was probably easily recognizable to the ancient eye is now ambiguous and enigmatic to the modern observer. Artistic parallels are scarce or non-existent; instead, ancient literary sources and examples of preserved artefacts help provide some indication of the kinds of commodities that may be displayed in these scenes.

The relief from Metz (**GB 4**, Fig. 46) depicts a transaction taking place in a setting identified by a solid-looking counter which separates the male vendor from the male customer. The enigmatic objects on display represent either pastries or, more likely, jewelry. The relief from Lillebonne (**GL 8**, Fig. 21) portrays a male figure standing behind a counter; the vessels and containers on display in the shelves might signify that he was a vendor of perfumes. The fragmentary reliefs from Lillebonne (**GL 9**, Fig. 24) and Langres (**GS 2**, Fig. 125) display pairs of slippers and sandals; the latter of these two scenes depicts shelves with objects that may also represent perfume and unguent containers. The question arises, why would these two

[1] Lillebonne: **GL 8** (Fig. 21); **GL 9** (Fig. 24); Metz: **GB 4** (Fig. 46); **GB 8** (Fig. 54); Langres: **GS 2** (Fig. 125).

seemingly different products be sold together in the same shop?

Another relief from Metz (**GB 8**, Fig. 54) portrays a male figure holding objects which indicate his occupation as a merchant of padlocks. None of the usual indications of a shop-like setting are shown such as the typical counter and shelves.

I. Scene of a jewelry shop (?)

A relief block from Metz portrays a scene of a transaction in a setting identified by a solid-looking counter, which separates a seated male vendor from a male customer standing on the right (**GB 4**, Fig. 46).[2] The youthful, bearded customer holds a small round object in his right hand, likely a coin or perhaps one of the items for sale in the display cases upon the counter. The vendor is seated on the left on a small footstool. He holds a scroll (*volumen*) on his lap in his left hand, probably a list of accounts or inventory. His slightly oversized right hand is raised with the palm hidden; the thumb and two fingers are raised in a gesture present on the scene of the Ostian vegetable vendor (Fig. 145), although in the Ostian relief, the figure's palm faces out.[3] Kampen suggests that this gesture signifies that the vendor is about to speak.[4] On the other hand, the gesture of the Metz vendor might also depict an example of finger counting,

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[2] A similar composition is found in the context of a scene of the tallying of accounts on a mid third century A.D. relief from Arlon, known as the '*pilier du contribuable*' : see L. Lefèbvre, *Les sculptures gallo-romaines du Musée d'Arlon* (*BIAL* 1-2, Arlon 1975) no. 50, fig. 49; L. Lefèbvre, *Le Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* (Brussels 1990) 79. For a discussion of scenes from Italy and the provinces of the tallying of accounts and banking see Chapter One, 50-55.

[3] For the scene of the vegetable vendor from Ostia see Chapter One, 37-38; Chapter Five, 178.

[4] M. Toussaint, *Metz à l'époque gallo-romaine* (Metz 1948) 50, no. 49; Kampen, *Image and Status* 62-63, n. 106, supports her interpretation with a passage from Apuleius *Met.* 2.21 that describes this about-to-speak gesture: ....*effultus in cubitum suberectusque in torum porrigit dexteram, et ad instar oratorum conformat articulum duobusque infirmis conclusis digitis ceteros eminus porrigens et infesto pollice subrigens infit Thelyphron*....

indicating the cost of the merchandise on display to the customer. However, other artistic representations of finger counting clearly show the index finger of the one hand counting the fingers on the other hand.[5] This can be seen in the gestures of the female figure portrayed on the wine vending relief from Augsburg (**R 2**, Fig. 129), discussed in Chapter Four.[6] Both interpretations are plausible, but the gesture basically serves to draw the viewer's attention to the vendor.

A number of enigmatic objects are displayed on the Metz relief (Fig. 46). Five round objects with circular indentations are stacked side-by-side upon the counter. A rack, displaying three adjacent groupings of thread-like strands, sits on the table behind the donut-shaped objects. Above and behind these strands are three levels of display cases, composed of three cases per level. The bottom display cases are mostly hidden by the rack on the counter, except for the part closest to the customer's right elbow and left hand. Each case is filled with rows of approximately twenty small, round objects; the one exception is the upper right middle case, which appears to have a few items missing. The upper part of the display cases is partially obscured by a triple garland motif; these garlands are perhaps composed of the same, small, round objects as the ones depicted in the display cases.

Hoffman was the first to suggest that the objects represent items in a pastry shop; Espérandieu and later scholars, such as Duval and Collot concur with this interpretation.[7] The

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[5] A. Rieche, "Computatio Romana. Fingerzählen auf provinzialrömischen Reliefs," *BJb* 186 (1986) 165-192.

[6] See Chapter Four, 160-161.

[7] O. Hoffman, *Der Steinsaal des Altertumsmuseums zu Metz* (Metz 1889) 46, no. 99; Esp. 4295; P.-M. Duval, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine* (Paris 1952) 190; G. Collot, *La civilisation gallo-romaine dans la cité des Médiomatriques* 1 (Metz 1992) 37; See also Toussaint (above n. 4) 50, no. 49; M. Pobé and J. Roubier, *The Art of Roman Gaul* (Toronto 1961) 73, fig. 217; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 251. Devilly, the

most recent suggestion put forth by scholars is that the scene represents a jewelry shop.[8] There are convincing parallels for both interpretations. For example, the five donut-shaped objects might depict a type of bread such as the ones depicted on a *Sigma Mahl* scene, carved on a sarcophagus lid in the Vatican (Fig. 146); however, these breads are usually crescent-shaped in appearance.[9] On the other hand, more plausible parallels for these objects are the preserved examples of Gallo-Roman bracelets from Gallia Belgica. The thick, rounded forms of the Metz objects, with their deep, circular indentations, are very similar to wide bracelets made of bronze, glass or jet.[10] A few Antonine and Severan funerary portraits from Bordeaux depict females wearing bracelets also resembling the objects on the Metz counter. [11] Wide bracelets have a long tradition in Gaul, as the Celts wore thick armbands, while during the late Empire,

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discoverer of this relief, suggested that the scene represents a banker making a calculation on an abacus (see Esp. 4295).

[8] Reddé, *Métier* 44, calls this scene a 'bijouterie?'; Kampen, *Image and Status*, 62, writes that the relief 'probably represents a jewelry merchant and his customer'; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 101, no. 49, suggests that the merchant is 'ein Konditor oder Juwelier in seinem Laden', then proceeds to identify the objects on the table as either large rings or bracelets. See also C. Goudineau, "Les villes de la paix romaine," in G. Duby ed., *Histoire de la France urbaine. I. La ville antique* (Paris 1980) 374, fig. 309.

[9] For the Vatican relief see F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris 1942, rep. 1966) 451, fig. 94; N. Himmelmann, *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Mainz am Rhein 1973) 58, fig. 47d. For crescent-shaped breads see S. Moscati, "Le meraviglie di Costanza," *Archeo Attualità del Passato* 8 (102) (1993) 40; A. Barbet, "Le tombeau du banquet de Constanta en Roumanie," *Édifices et peintures, IVe-XIe siècles. Colloque C.N.R.S., 1992* (Auxerre 1994) 33, pls. a-b.

[10] For examples of preserved, but undated bronze and glass bracelets at the Museum in Metz see Collot (above n. 7) 26-28, nos. 86, 99. A third century A.D. bracelet of jet from Charleroi, Belgium, depicts the same thick rounded form as the Metz objects; however, this example is decorated with a bust of Caracalla flanked by crouching lions: see M.E. Mariën, *L'empreinte de Rome. Belgica Antiqva* (Anvers 1980) 228, no. 246.

[11] Braemer, *Steles de Bordeaux* 69, no. 48, 71, no. 51, 82, no. 62. See also Esp. 2807 from Sens.

wide, weighty-looking bracelets, often encrusted with stones, adorn the portraits of females on fourth century A.D. ceiling frescoes from Trier.[12]

The thread-like strands lying over the rack on the counter of the Metz relief might represent a pancake-like pastry, known as *tracta*, lying one on top of the other. Examples of this pastry are carved below the prediment on a first century A.D. stele of a baker from Bolsena (Fig. 132).[13] *Tracta* were often used in making *placenta*, an elaborately-layered dessert described by Cato.[14] On the other hand, the fluid curving lines of these strands also resemble thick, pendant-less, metal chain necklaces, similar to those worn by both genders today. Silver chains, such as those found in Germany (Raetia) of third century date, indicate that such necklaces did exist during the Gallo-Roman period.[15] There were, of course, more elaborate necklaces of precious stones linked by gold chains, which were sold to upper class Gallo-

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[12] A. Ross, *The Pagan Celts* (London 1986) fig. 18; H. Cüppers, *Trier, Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) 163, no. 61b; W. Weber, *Constantinische Deckengemälde aus dem römischen Palast unter dem Trierer Dom* (Trier 1984) fig. 15. A.M. Stout, "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire," in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (University of Wisconsin Press 1994) 80, fig. 5.4. For a brief summary of the interpretations of these females as Imperial family members and personifications of goddesses see R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge University Press 1991) 195-196.

[13] Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 118, no. 30; Chapter One, 27-28.

[14] Cato, *De Agri Cultura* 76. See also J. Solomon, "*Tracta*: A Versatile Type of Roman Pastry," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 539-556. *Placenta* is similar to modern Italian *torta* recipes made with cheese: see E. Salza Prina Ricotti, *L'Arte del Convito nella Roma Antica* (Rome 1983) 238-239; I. Gozzini Giacosa, *A Taste of Ancient Rome* (Chicago 1992) 165-167.

[15] A. Böhme, "Aus einem Schmuckkästen: Der Schatzfund von Wiggensbach," *Die Römer in Schwaben* (Munich 1985) 243-245. Silver from Germany and Switzerland was exploited by the Romans, although deposits are scarce in France: see J. Ogden, *Jewelry of the Ancient World* (London 1982) 24. However, silver could have easily been transported to Gallia Belgica along one of the many river systems used for trade.

Roman females.[16] However, it seems likely that there was also a market for less expensive jewelry, which could be purchased by less wealthy individuals of lower status.

Cato also provides a recipe for pastries known as *globi* (little globes) that seems to fit the description of the small, round objects depicted in the display cases, as well as those strung together to form the triple garland motif.[17] *Globi* can be compared to sweet fritters or the French beignet of the present day.[18] On the other hand, these objects might also represent rather crudely carved rings. Preserved examples of Gallo-Roman rings indicate that they were made from various materials such as gold, glass, amber, jet, rock crystal and bronze.[19] Roman women customarily wore gold rings with stones as a symbol of marriage, possibly resembling the one held by a matron on an Arlon pillar monument of Antonine date (Fig. 168).[20] The Metz relief might depict the customer purchasing such a betrothal ring, which Pliny describes as a simple iron band.[21] As rings were also worn by males, and those of the late second and early

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[16] Treasure hoards from Lyon and Naix (ca. 200 A.D.) contains several examples of gold necklaces encrusted with precious stones: A. Böhme, "Frauenschmuck der römischen Kaiserzeit," *AntW* 9 (1978) 3-16; M. Henig, "Continuity and Change in the Design of Roman Jewellery," in A. King and M. Henig eds., *The Roman West in the Third Century* (*BAR* International Series 109, 1981) figs. 8.2-3; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *L'Oro dei Romani* (Rome 1990) 192, 259, no. 229.

[17] Cato, *De agri cultura* 79.

[18] Salza Prina Ricotti (above n. 14) 245-246; Gozzini Giacosa (above n. 14) 164.

[19] For examples see H. Guiraud, "Bagues et anneaux à l'époque romaine en Gaule," *Gallia* 46 (1989) 175-211.

[20] For the Arlon monument see Esp. 4045; M.E. Mariën, "Les monuments funéraires de l'Arlon romain," *AIAL* 76 (1945) 41-43; Lefèbvre [1975] (above n. 2) 48-50, no. 23; Guiraud (above n. 19) 178, fig. 7.5; Lefèbvre [1990] (above n. 2) 47-49, no. 22. For another depiction of a female holding a ring from St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon see Esp. 7011. For rings as a marriage symbol see Tert. *Apol.* 6; Stout (above n. 12) 78.

[21] Pliny *HN* 33.12.

third centuries were often massive in size, this relief might also portray the sale of a ring to the customer for his personal adornment.[22]

The small, round objects in the display cases also resemble individual glass beads. The objects forming the triple garland motif on the upper display cases might represent three glass bead necklaces. They are very similar in form and design to a necklace of this type in the Museum at Metz, although unfortunately it is undated.[23] On the other hand, the small round objects may depict a product which served a different function. For example, they are similar in size and shape to preserved glass balls used in a child's game, as well as small, round glass flasks for holding perfume or a powder.[24] However, these objects would appear more credible in the context of a jewelry shop if their were interpreted as necklaces or rings.

It is therefore probable that the Metz relief does depict a jewelry shop, specializing in the sale of bracelets, necklaces and perhaps rings, rather than a pastry shop. As the archaeological evidence indicates, there were a variety of metals and stones available for making jewelry, so that the objects in the Metz scene do not necessarily have to represent only those made of gold. On the other hand, some of the objects might represent glass jewelry,

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[22] Beginning in the reign of Tiberius, rich freeborn males were allowed to wear gold rings; non-aristocrats wore silver or iron. Soldiers were granted this right during the reign of Severus: see Pliny, *HN* 33.10; Herodian, *History* 3.8.4; Henig (above n. 16) 128; Stout (above n. 12) 78. For an example of a massive ring from Roman Britain see Henig, *op. cit.* pl. 8.1.4.

[23] Collot (above n. 7) 27, no. 89; also no. 90 (glass bead necklace with eye motif). Another close parallel is an early fourth century A.D. necklace strung with blown glass rings or beads, now lost, from Trier: see K.Goethert-Polaschek, *Katalog der römischen Gläser des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* (Mainz 1977) 315, no. 236, pl. 27

[24] Examples of glass balls from a child's game were found in second/third century A.D. infant graves at Rouen: see G. Sennequier, *Verrerie d'époque romaine* (Rouen 1985) 50, no. 17. For perfume flasks see Sennequier *op. cit.* 201, nos. 310-311; Goethert-Polaschek (above n. 23) 253-256, type 155; Marién (above n. 10) 93, fig. 32.

though evidence for glass production at Metz is sparse. The best pieces were apparently imported; however, the quantity of glass jugs and bottles found in burials suggests that these vessels were also made in local ateliers.[25] At the very least, the glass jewelry in the Museum at Metz indicates that these items adorned some females, although there is no evidence for any regional artisans working in this particular métier.[26]

II. Scene of a Perfume Vendor (?)

The scene of a merchant in his shop is portrayed on the left side of the rear face of a monumental stele from Lillebonne (**GL 8**, Fig. 21).[27] This scene takes place in a setting identified by a waist level, solid-looking counter, separating the vendor from the viewer. The top of the counter is tilted forward towards the observer, without regard to spatial perspective. This feature has already been discussed with respect to the trestle table portrayed on the scene of the fruit vendors from Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig. 66).[28] The fingers of the vendor's left hand are curved around a stylus resting on top of the counter. His head, covered with heavily drilled curly locks, faces left, looking upwards at his right arm raised towards a shelf. [29]

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[25] J. Demarolle, *La Lorraine à l'époque gallo-romaine. Histoire de Lorraine* (Strasbourg 1976) 72-73; M. Lutz, *La Moselle gallo-romaine* (Metz 1991) 12.

[26] Collot (above n. 7) 27, nos. 85 (first quarter of the first century A.D.); 89-90 (no dates).

[27] The monument was reconstructed from seven fragments in 1862; some fragments were discovered near the theatre at Lillebonne by Deville in 1836, while the provenances of the other fragments are not known: see E. Poirel, *Le lapidaire gallo-romain du Musée des Antiquités de Rouen* (Rouen 1983) 68; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, *De l'Egypte ancienne à la Renaissance rouennaise* (Rouen 1992) no. 38.

[28] See Chapter Five, 175. See also the Ostian relief of the vegetable vendor (Fig. 145); Chapter One, 37.

[29] Duval (above n. 7) 190, describes the Lillebonne vendor as "...le <<Syrien>> dans sa boutique de parfums: ses cheveux frisés, son profil sémitique ne laissent aucun doute sur son origine...". However, his face has been heavily restored; only the upper part of the nose, forehead, eyes and hair are original. In addition, as curly locks are also common in visual images of Gallo-Roman males, this hairstyle should not be considered as solely a Syrian attribute. Because the reconstruction of the head is probably not entirely accurate, Duval's

Three shelves are carved on the upper back wall above the Lillebonne vendor (Fig. 21). The upper shelf displays a variety of vessels, likely glass: two flasks with elongated necks, a two-handled vase in the shape of a bunch of grapes, and a pot-bellied flask. A small cleaver is incised on the back wall between the pot-bellied flask and the elongated flask on the right. The middle shelf portrays four cylindrically-shaped containers; the lower shelf depicts two rectangular boxes. Various tools hang from the lower shelf: three hammers, a mallet, and a circular indentation on the back wall, perhaps representing a small bowl.[30]

Duval and Reddé interpret the Lillebonne scene as representing a perfume shop.[31] Their suggestion seems plausible, as the vessels depicted on the shelves are very similar to various types of preserved glass perfume and oil holders. The flasks with elongated necks on the upper shelf closely resemble examples of coloured glass *unguentaria* (bottles for perfumes or ointments).[32] The two-handled vase in the shape of a bunch of grapes might depict a vessel for

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identification of this figure as a Syrian should be treated with caution. In addition, an 1830s drawing by Deville shows the right arm of the vendor hanging down at his side, with the right hand hidden behind the counter. However, the right hand and wrist reaching up to side of the bottom shelf are carved on one of the original fragments; the upper arm is restored to coincide with these fragments: see Poirel (above n. 27) 69- 70, fig. 17g.

[30] Poirel (above n. 27) 70.

[31] Duval (above n. 7) 190; Reddé, *Métier* 44. Madame Poirel, at the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, confirmed, in conversation, that the scene represents a merchant in his shop, standing below his wares stored on the shelves, but is cautious about identifying his trade as a seller of perfumes. See also Poirel (above n. 27) 70; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen (above n. 27) no. 38.

[32] For glass *unguentaria* see Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain* (Paris 1922-1923) forms 24, 26; Goethert-Polaschek (above n. 23) 113, 116, pl. 51, nos. 602, 631; Sennequier (above n. 24) 103-104, nos. 156-163 (second-fourth centuries A.D.). For discussions of perfumes and ointments in Roman antiquity see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 3 (Leiden 1965) 27-50; F. Kennett, *History of Perfume* (London 1975) 75-83; E.T. Morris, *Fragrance: The Story of Perfume from Cleopatra to Chanel* (New York 1984) 76-81; P. Faure, *Parfums et aromates de l'antiquité* (Fayard 1987) 207-270; G. Pillivuyt, *Histoire de Parfum* (Paris 1988) 73-90; D.J. Mattingly, "Paintings, Presses and Perfume Production at Pompeii," *OJA* 9 (1990) 71-90; W. Biers, K. Gerhardt and R. Braniff, *Lost Scents (Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology* 11 1994) 4-5; J.-P. Brun, "La fabrication des parfums dans l'antiquité," *l'Archéologue* 20 (1996) 35-42.

holding a specially made oil, while the larger pot-bellied flask might represent a vessel for storing the oil used in making perfume.[33] The sealed containers on the middle and lower shelves might portray storage vessels for the ingredients used in perfumery such as dried flower petals and spices. Ingredients such as these would have been stored in sealed containers to retain their potency.[34] The small-headed hammers might have been used to pulverize these ingredients in the small, circular object carved in the back wall, which probably served as a mixing bowl. Thus it is probable that the Lillebonne scene represents a vendor of perfumes (*unguentarius*) in his shop.[35]

III. Scene of a Shop Displaying Footwear and Oils for the Baths (?)

A relief fragment from Langres portrays a scene of footwear displayed above two shelves filled with flasks and containers (**GS 2**, Fig. 125).[36] The footwear consists of a pair of slippers

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[33] E. Paszthory, *Salben, Schminken und Parfüme im Altertum* (Mainz1992) 60, fig. 85, depicts a second century A.D. Syrian flask in the shape of a bunch of grapes, but lacking the handles; he describes this Syrian flask as a "*Salbölbehalter*" (container for holding consecrated oil). A large pot-bellied glass flask similar to the one portrayed on Fig. 21 is stored in an *armarium* in the painting of Erotes and Psyches making and selling perfume from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii: see Kampen, *Image and Status* 159, no. 59; Mattingly (above n. 32) 73.For the types of oil used in making perfume see Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours* 14-20; Forbes (above n. 32) 31; Kennett (above n. 32) 68- 69; Mattingly, *op. cit.* 80-81; Paszthory, *op. cit.* 60; Brun (above n. 32) 35-40.

[34] For the spices and dried flower petals such as roses and iris, used in the making of perfume see Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours* 21-26. The Gauls grew a shrub called nard (*nardus Gallicus*) which was used in perfumery: see Pliny, *HN* 12.42-46. See also Forbes (above n. 32) 31-35; Kennett (above n. 32) 68-69, 77-80: Morris (above n. 32) 78; Faure (above n. 32) 230-243; Brun (above n. 32) 38, 40. W. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* I (New York 1979) 267-278, notes that there is a close connection between flower cultivation and the manufacturing of perfume at Pompeii.

[35] Gallo-Roman inscriptions with the occupational title of *unguentarius* are found at Die (*CIL* XII. 5974); Chalon-sur-Sâone (*CIL* XIII, 2602); and Marseille (*AE* 1963, 108); see also H. von Pertrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in H. Jankuhn ed., *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* I (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*) (Göttingen 1981) 118.

[36] C. Royer, *Catalogue du Musée fondé et administré par la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* (Langres 1902) no. 366; Esp. 3317.

on the right and a pair of thonged sandals on the left; the toes of the slippers face downwards, while the thongs face upwards.[37] The composition of the two shelves resembles the shelves of containers and glass vessels shown on the relief of the Lillebonne vendor (Fig. 21): three square-bodied flasks with a single handle, likely glass, are carved on the upper shelf; the lower shelf depicts three square boxes with lids.

Although most of the Langres relief is missing, it is possible that it once portrayed a shop specializing in the sale of perfumes and sandals for use in public or domestic baths or gymnasiums. Perfumes were used to anoint the bodies after bathing and athletics.[38] Since perfumes and unguents were stored in a large variety of glass vessels, the Langres flasks might represent another type of *unguentarium* used for this purpose.[39] Sandals or slippers, such as the ones shown on the Langres relief, seem to be the appropriate type of footwear to use at the baths. Representations of sandals on mosaics preserved in baths indicate that they were used as a symbol of bathing. In some examples, these representations warned bathers to wear

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[37] Thonged sandals were a very popular type of footwear worn by both sexes in antiquity. For a recent discussion with depictions of thonged sandals on statues and wall paintings, as well as preserved examples from sites in Germany (Mainz and Saalburg) see N. Goldman, "Roman Footwear," in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (University of Wisconsin Press 1994) 105-111, figs. 6.5-6.16. At Imperial Rome there is evidence for a guild of 300 sandal-makers (*crepidarii*); these sandals, composed of a network of upper straps, were generally made in small shops: see *CIL* VI, 9404; R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 5 (Leiden 1957) 53; Goldman, *op. cit.* 114-115, fig. 6.18. Diocletian's Edict lists three types of pairs of Gallic sandals: double-soled sandals for male farm workers (80 *denarii*); men's single-soled sandals (50 *denarii*); and sandals for runners (60 *denarii*): see *Edict. Dioclet.* 9.12a-14. These Gallic types sound too substantial to be the thonged type depicted on the Langres relief.

[38] Cicero, *ad Att.* 13.52; Suetonius, *Aug.* 76; Martial, *Ep.* 3.82; 6.57; 74; 14.146. Pollux, 7.166, writes about the heated rooms used specifically for perfuming the body in the large Roman baths. See also Forbes (above n. 32) 29; Kennett (above n. 32) 82; Pillivuyt (above n. 32) 74, 77.

[39] Morin-Jean (above n. 32) 61-65, forms 14-16 (mostly second century A.D.); Goethert-Polaschek (above n. 23) 193-196, pl. 66, nos. 1199,1200, 1202, 1212 (mostly fourth century); E. Wilhelm, *Verrerie de l'époque romaine* (Luxembourg 1979) 22-24, 72-73 (first-third centuries A.D.); Sennequier (above n. 24) 129-144, nos. 215-229 (mostly second/third centuries A.D.).

sandals when entering the rooms with heated floors (*tepidaria*) or served as directional indicators for bathers, making their way around the many rooms of the bath. Other mosaics depict sandals, together with strigils and oil-flasks, to act as ideograms for the luxury and relaxation associated with bathing.[40] At Rome, it was even fashionable for citizens to put perfume on the soles of their sandals, although there is no way of knowing whether the Gallo-Romans followed this custom.[41]

IV. Scene Portraying a Slipper Shop (?)

A partially preserved monumental stele from Lillebonne portrays a scene on the rear face that seems to represent another slipper shop: two pairs of slippers, three superposed objects with holes and a whisk-shaped object hang on the upper back wall of the niche (**GL 9**, Fig. 24). Below these objects is the worn head of a male figure with thick, curly hair.[42] The slippers, likely leather, have long pointed toes and no backs, resembling the pair of slippers on the upper right of the Langres relief (Fig. 125). The Lillebonne slippers have an additional, small

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[40] For a discussion and examples of mosaics of sandal in baths (predominantly North African) see K.M.D. Dunbabin, "*Baiarum grata voluptas*: pleasures and dangers of the baths," *PBSR* 57 (1989) 7-46; K.M.D. Dunbabin, "*Ipsa deae vestigia...* Footprints divine and human on Graeco-Roman monuments," *JRA* 3 (1990) 99-102, figs. 14-20. At Jonvelle in France, a second/third century A.D. (?) mosaic panel from a *frigidarium* (?) in a villa portrays two feet wearing sandals along with other motifs of flowers, fish and wine vessels. As this mosaic is located in the centre of the room, the function of the sandals does not serve a practical purpose. Dunbabin notes that they "are more likely to contain an allusion to the general lucky symbolism of the foot, and its particular association with the virtues and the dangers of bathing.": see Dunbabin, [1990] *op. cit.* 101, n. 74, fig. 19, 108, no. 17.

[41] Pliny, *HN* 13.22, states that this custom had been shown to Nero by Marcus Otho. Plautus, *Aul.* 3.5.37, refers to *murrobathrarii*, whom Daremberg and Saglio, interpret as perfumers of sandals: see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* 5 (1931) 592, s.v. '*Unguentum*'. However, Lewis and Short more accurately translate *murrobathrarius* as 'a balsam- shoemaker, one who gives the shoes a balsamic smell'. See also Pillivuyt (above n. 32) 77.

[42] Poirel (above n. 23) 64-65, no. 15; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 244; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen (above n. 23) no. 37. Espérandieu provides only a drawing of this relief: see Esp. 3127.

decorative tab cut out of the upper part covering the foot. The three superposed objects with holes resemble sponges, which were possibly used for dyeing the leather footwear.[43] The whisk-shaped object between the sponges and the slippers on the right has two long striations dividing it into three parts. This object has been identified as three thick shoelaces, also likely of leather.[44] These laces are tied together in a bunch and hang from a rope attached to the upper back wall of the niche.

The lower part of the relief is missing below the head of the vendor. As discussed in Chapter One, scenes of cobblers at work are not uncommon on reliefs and wall paintings. The reliefs of cobblers from Milan (Fig. 159), Ostia (Fig. 160), Reims (Fig. 161) and Sens show only the manufacturing process of making shoes with various tools and shoe lasts (*formae*); there is no representation of either a customer or even of the goods to be sold.[45] Although the presence of the sponges suggests that the Lillebonne vendor may have also been a cobbler, it is more plausible that the original scene depicted the figure in a commercial context, since the

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[43] Leather workers of present times use sponges to apply the dye to the cut edges of belts. On the other hand, perhaps the sponges can be associated with the attributes of bathing.

[44] Poirel (above n. 23) 65; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen (above n. 23) no. 37.

[45] The reliefs from Reims, Sens and Milan display similar elements: the shoemaker is seated in profile at work at his table; a series of tools are displayed above the table: see Reims: Esp. 3685; Sens: Esp. 2783; Milan: H. Gabelmann, *Die Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage* (Bonn 1973) 161; Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 133-134, no. 48. A funerary stele from Bourges of Antonine or Severan date also depicts a cobbler with hammer and shoe last, although in this example he is seated in three-quarter view on a footstool: see C. Picard, "Circonscription de Paris (région sud)." *Gallia* 21 (1963) 380, fig. 7. The Ostian scene of a cobbler and a wall painting of Erotes as shoemakers from Herculaneum portray slightly different elements: *armaria* with *formae* (shoe lasts) or boots placed on top or in shelves: see W. Helbig, *Wandegemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig 1868) no. 804; Kampen, *Image and Status* 66, 144, no. 19, fig. 52; Zimmer, *op. cit.* 132-133, no. 47; R. Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata* (*ASR* I. 4) (Berlin 1991) 149-150, no. 173, pl. 117.1-2. See also Chapter One. 47-50.

finished goods are on display in this scene. Both this scene and the relief from Langres differ from Pompeian paintings of shoe vending, which show the finished product displayed on a table (Fig. 162) or on the ground.[46] It is quite possible that the reliefs of the perfume and footwear vendors from Lillebonne (Figs. 21, 24) depict the sale of these products for their use at the baths, as discussed with respect to the relief from Langres (Fig. 145).[47]

V. Stele of Caratullius, a Lock Merchant

A well preserved stele from Metz depicts the portrait of a thickly-cloaked male figure, who stands facing the viewer within a deeply arched niche (**GB 8**, Fig. 54). His occupation as a whole-sale dealer of locks is stated clearly in the epitaph carved above the relief: *neg(otiatori) artis clostrariae*.[48] The merchant holds a cylindrical padlock, shaped like a tin can and incised with grooves, in his left hand against his chest.[49] This padlock is attached to a large link chain

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[46] Shoes are displayed on a table on the painted shop sign from the workshop of Verecundus at Pompeii: see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* 130, no. 45. Shoes are displayed on the ground on the wall painting from the *Praedia* of Julia Felix at Pompeii: see S.C. Nappo, "Fregio dipinto dal <<praedium>> di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro di Pompei," *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 3 (1989) 88-89. no. 15, fig. 11. See also Chapter One, 50.

[47] A bath was excavated in the 1820s on the ancient site of Lillebonne (*Juliobona Caletorum*), in which a white marble statue of a female was found: see L'Abbé Cochet, *Seine-Inférieure. Historique et archéologique* (2nd ed., Brionne 1975) 400-401.

[48] R. Billoret, "Informations archélogiques, circonscription de Lorraine," *Gallia* 34 (1976) 367; E. Frézouls, *Les villes antiques de la France Belgique 1. Amiens - Beauvais - Grand - Metz* (Strasbourg 1982) 267; E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 49. This is the only apparent epitaph referring to the profession of a locksmith (*ars clostraria*), although three other funerary epitaphs are known with the occupational title of *claustrarius*: *CIL* VI, 9260 (Rome), *CIL* VIII, 21103, 21104 (Caesarea): see von Petrikovits (above n. 35) 91. For the only known literary source see SHA, *Elag.* 12: *ad vicensimam heredidatium mulionem curare iussit, iussit et cursorem, iussit et cocum et claustrarium artificem. Claustrarius* is derived from *claustra*, meaning in this context a bar, a bolt or a lock: see Cato, *De agri cult.* 13.3: *claves cum clostris in cellas II*; Cic. *Verr.* 2 4. 23. 52: *...ecfringi multorum fores, revelli claustra*; Mart. *Ep.* 10. 28.8: *...ferrea perpetua claustra tuere sera.*

[49] Daremberg and Saglio identify two kinds of padlocks: a flat, round-shaped type and a cylindrical type that is similar in form to the ones depicted on the Metz relief: see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* 4.2 (1918) 1247, figs. 6360-6361, s.v. '*Sera*'. A well preserved rectangular padlock with a

that loops around his left wrist. The index, middle and fourth fingers of his left hand rest on a fat pouch or a sash serving as a money bag, tied around his waist.[50] The thumb and index fingers of his right hand hold a large key above the top part of the lock.[51] Two other padlocks with a thick link chain, identical to the one held by the vendor, hang from a carved ring attached to the inner ceiling of the niche on either side of the merchant. Each chain, composed of eight links, hangs straight down from the bottom of the padlock, then curves outwards from the vendor's elbows to the outer edges of the niche; the remaining few links at this point hang downwards from another hook. The overall effect of the two chains is somewhat garland-like.

Metal locks and keys were used to fasten doors and wooden chests in antiquity. The numerous examples of locks and especially keys from Roman sites indicate that a variety of types were used, from the simple latch-lifters to more complex tumbler and lever locks.[52] These

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chain was found on the Romano-British site of Fishbourne: see W.H. Manning, "Iron Padlock" in B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969* Vol. II: *The Finds* (London 1971) 140-143, figs. 64-65.

[50] The customer depicted on the Arlon fruit vending scene uses a long sash to hold his purchase (**GB 14**, Fig. 66). See Chapter Five, 176.

[51] S. Pannoux, "La représentation du travail: récit et image sur les monuments funéraires des Médiomatriques," *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 295, erroneously describes this key, with its ring-shape bow and narrow, cylindrical blade, as a hammer, a symbol of the forging process used in making locks. A vignette on a relief in the Loggia Scoperta, Vatican, depicts an artisan working at a small table beneath a frame with pairs of long narrow objects hanging from it. These objects have been identified by Whitehead as possibly representing oversized keys: see J. Whitehead, *Biography and Formula in Roman Sarcophagi* Diss. Yale University 1984, 308-309, pl. 14. Her suggestion is plausible, although the objects are not very legible. In contrast, Amelung proposed that the objects might depict sandals: see W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* II (Berlin 1908) 735, no. 15, pl. 83.

[52] For examples of preserved locks and keys at Roman sites in Britain, Germany and Italy see B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969* Vol. II: *The Finds* (London 1971) 131-132; H. Borger, *Das Römisch-Germanische Museum Köln* (Munich 1977) 97, fig. 47; W.H. Manning, *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Musem* (London 1985) 88-97; M. Boriello, M. Lista et al. *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. I Mosaici, le Pitture, gli Oggetti di Uso Quotidiano, gli Argenti, le Terracotte Invetriate, I Vetri, I Cristalli, gli Avori* (Rome 1986) 192-193, no. 137; C.J. Simpson, *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti.* Vol. II. *The Small Finds* (University of Toronto Press 1997) 51, nos. 315-322, fig. 35.

locks either formed part of the permanent hardware of a door or chest, which could be then opened by a key, or they were a removable lock with a key, like the padlocks portrayed on the Metz relief. Strongly constructed padlocks with chains were probably used to secure substantially-sized doors (perhaps double doors) of public or private institutions or large wooden chests. The inclusion of the word *negotiator* in the epitaph signifies that the deceased was a large scale trader of the padlocks and chains depicted in the scene. He may possibly have supplied padlocks to the military legions along the Rhine for use in their camps, for example to lock the doors of stables and to secure the large chests belonging to officers.[53]

Conclusions

This final chapter on the iconography of the Gallo-Roman vending scenes reveals a variety of specialty products that were manufactured and sold in Roman Gaul: jewelry; perfumes and oils; slippers and sandals; and locks. With the exception of the lock vendor from Metz (Fig. 54), which has an epitaph stating that he both manufactured and sold this particular product, there are few clues in the other four scenes to suggest that the vendors also manufactured the products on display in their shops. The presence of tools on the relief of the Lillebonne perfume vendor (Fig. 21) probably indicates that he was also involved in the craft of perfumery. However, the mixture of perfumed oils and footwear depicted on the Langres relief (Fig. 125)

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[53] A stele from Gannat, France, depicts the Gallo-Roman goddess *Epona* on a horse, holding a key in her right hand. As *Epona* was the patron goddess of the cavalry, grooms, drivers, travellers, horses and mules, this key might signify the key to the stables or the family house or in a funerary context, it might also allude to the key to the underworld: see Esp. 1618, Hatt, *TGR* 336; P.-M. Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule* (Paris 1976) 50-51.

might indicate a vendor who was involved only in the sale of these products, perhaps in a shop located near a public bath.

The objects portrayed on the reliefs from Lillebonne (Figs. 21, 24), Langres (Fig. 125) and Metz (Fig. 46) represent luxury items to adorn the body. Perfume and sandals shops likely thrived in urbanized areas of Gaul as a result of Roman acculturation. These products were used by males and females alike, at public baths and in private, domestic settings. Although perfume can be considered a luxury product, it was affordable to many, depending upon the quality of the ingredients.[54] Likewise, the objects portrayed on the Metz relief might represent jewelry made of less expensive materials such as glass, silver, bronze or jet, rather than precious gems and gold. Therefore, the products for sale on the reliefs from Lillebonne, Langres and Metz may not be the best quality and most expensive, but they indicate that a market for luxury goods existed in Roman Gaul. These products were not basic necessities, such as those on the reliefs portraying the sale of food and clothing. Instead, they are a sign of the high standard of living and the high levels of consumption of luxury goods which were common throughout the Empire at this time.

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[54] Pliny. *HN* 13.20, describes a perfume that cost 400 *denarii* per pound. However, inexpensive perfumes made of storax, cardomon, incense and reeds ranged from 1-17 *denarii* per pound: see Faure (above n. 29) 250-252. By the time of Diocletian's Edict, prices for perfumed oils could range from 30 *denarii* per pound for oils such as storax, iris, henna and nard to 600 *denarii* per pound for oil of myrrh: see *Edict. Dioclet.* 32.66-79.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SOCIAL STATUS AND SELF-PRESENTATION OF VENDORS

The vending scenes shown on the reliefs document the social status and self-presentation of the patrons for whom the monuments were made. It is necessary to look again at the monuments as a whole, especially those containing epitaphs, portraits and additional reliefs. The epitaphs provide verbal information about the vendors' origins, families, and sometimes their occupational status. The portraits depict visual indicators of status through the hairstyles, clothing, and gestures of the figures, and the objects that they hold. The tombs with multiple reliefs portray other types of work scenes, which serve to further enhance the status of the vendors through these extra details. The Igel monument (**GB 24**) is the most important example in this study for providing visual information about the social, occupational and legal status of vendors. The numerous reliefs on this monument depict the prosperous family business of selling woollen cloth, the comforts of domestic life at the family villa, and the family's attempts to ensure an equally successful and prosperous afterlife.

I. Epitaphs

Eighteen epitaphs are preserved from the sixty-one monuments and reliefs listed in the Catalogue, and of these, only nine are complete.[1] Nevertheless, these epitaphs, often

[1] **GN 1** (Narbonne); **A 4** (Bordeaux); **A 7** (Alléan); **GL 2** (Autun); **GL 3**, **GL 4** (Sens); **GB 3** (Stenay); **GB 7**, **GB 8** (Metz); **GB 9** (Hieraple); **GB 14** (Arlon); **GB 15** (Clausen); **GB 16** (Buzenol-Montauban);

carved in large, bold letters, reveal a number of interesting features about the legal, social and occupational status of the deceased. The typical epitaphs of these vendors tend to begin with the standard Latin formula *D(is) M(anibus).*[2] They record the name of the deceased and sometimes close family members, relatives or friends, who were responsible for either erecting the monument or mentioned as dedicatees.[3] Five epitaphs reveal that the funerary monuments were erected while some of the clients were still alive (*vivi, viva*).[4] The erection of one's tomb before death can be perceived as a sign of status, as it shows that the clients had ready cash in hand to make their purchase and did not have to wait until the settlement of the estate.

The names inscribed on the epitaphs are for the most part either Gallic or Romano-Mediterranean in origin. One way of analyzing the *Romanitas* of these vendors is to distinguish the epitaphs with *tria nomina* (*praenomen, nomen* and *cognomen*) from those who use *duo nomina* (*nomen* and *cognomen*), and from those recording only one name.[5]

GB 17 (Berburg); **GB 22** (Trier); **GB 24** (Igel); **R 1** (Neuburg); **R 2** (Augsburg). These inscriptions are found in the Catalogue under the appropriate catalogue numbers.

[2] The use of *D(is) M(anibus)* is found in the epitaphs of **A 4**, **GL 2**, **GB 7**, **GB 9**, **GB 14**, **GB 15**, **GB 16**, **GB 17**, **GB 24**, and **R 1**. *Dis Man(ibus)* is carved on the epitaph of **A 7**. This formula was especially common on tombstones in Roman Gaul during the second and third centuries A.D.: see Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 17.

[3] The epitaph of **GB 8** is inscribed with the formula *H(eres* or *eredes) P(onendum) C(uravit* or *uraverunt),* which indicates that it was the responsibility of the heir(s) to erect the tomb of the lock merchant; other examples name the person(s) responsible: *fecit* (**GB 3**, **R 1**, **R 2**), *fecerunt* (**GB 16**, **GB 24**), *iussit* (**GB 17**). For funerary laws and regulations see J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London 1971) 54.

[4] **GB 16**, **GB 17**, **GB 24**, **R 1**, **R 2**.

[5] Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 169.

This may also be a distiction of date, as the use of *duo nomina* on epitaphs had actually become the more common practice throughout the empire by the mid-second century A.D.[6] Two epitaphs are inscribed with *tria nomina*: Lucius Secundinius Aventinus and Lucius Secundinius Securus, from Igel (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88), and Tiberius Claudius Constantinus, from Neuburg (**R 1,** Fig. 127). The use of the *tria nomina* indicates that these vendors were Roman citizens.[7] It is employed in the epitaphs as an assertion of *Romanitas* and of the superior status of the deceased.

The omission of the *praenomen* is not in itself a sign that the vendors with two names lacked the same legal and social status as those with *tria nomina*. Seven epitaphs of vendors record *duo nomina* with either Gallic or Romano-Mediterranean roots. One vendor from Metz has a Gallic double name: Genialius Iullinus (**GB 7, Fig. 52**).[8] The *nomina* of Giamillius Ta[gius?] or Ta[gus?] from Stenay (**GB 3**, Fig. 45) and possibly

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[6] The *praenomen* was rarely used in Gaul during the second and third centuries A.D. LeGlay and Hatt attribute this omission to the Gauls' repugnance for an onomastic element that did not correspond to an indigenous custom: see M. LeGlay, "La datation des inscriptions. Les critères onomastiques," in *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise. Table ronde du C.N.R.S. Montpelier 23 Oct. 1982* (Aix-en-Provence 1983) 36; Hatt, *TGR* 34. Their reasoning may be partially true, but the use of the *praenomen* was declining in other parts of the empire at this time through fossilization and the popularization of the *cognomen* as an individual signifier: see B. Salway, " What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700," *JRS* 84 (1994) 130-131.

[7] The three names in the epitaphs of the vendors indicate that they received their citizenship prior to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 A.D.). After this edict, new citizens usually took the first two names of their benefactor Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius): see Salway (above n. 6) 133-135. For *tria nomina* as indicators of Roman citizenship see A.E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1983) 19; L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore 1991) 19.

[8] Apparently 39 % of the names on second/third century A.D. inscriptions at Metz are Celtic: see Hatt, *TGR* 30. Genialius is likely a Gallic name, as it is well attested in Gaul, derived from *geni* `to give birth': see D.E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford 1967) 203. For Gallic parallels see H. Solin and O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (New York 1988) 87.

Cletusstus Ver[inus?] from Berburg (**GB 17**, Fig. 75) are Gallic, but their *cognomina* cannot be read with certainty.[9] The Romano-Mediterranean double names of vendors include Vossius Crescens from Autun (**GL 2**, Fig. 14), Lucius Veiius from Buzenol-Montauban (**GB 16**, Fig. 73), and Pompeianius Silvinus and Pompeianius Victor from Augsburg (**R 2,** Fig. 130).[10]

It was apparently customary in the Treviran region and attested in isolated examples elsewhere for a child to form a new pseudo-*nomen* out of the father's *cognomen* by adding an -ius suffix.[11] Thus, Iullinius Sexuperator, the dedicatee, was likely the son of Genialis Iullinus from Metz (**GB 7**).[12] Similarly, the *nomen* Secundinius from Igel (**GB 24**)

[9] Giamillius might be derived from Gimmius, a Gallic name signifying 'winter', while names beginning with Tag are mainly found in Germany and Gaul: see *ILB* 98, no. 59, 129, no. 82. Solin and Salomies, following Riese, read the first name of the Berbourg cooper (**GB 17**) as Cletuss[i]us instead of Cletusstus, although the letter 't' is clearly visible on the inscription (a spelling error ?): see Solin and Salomies (above n. 9) 57; A. Riese, *Das Rheinische Germanien in den Antiken Inschriften* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914, repr. Groningen 1968). As there are no apparent parallels for this name, it is uncertain whether it represents a *nomen* in its present form.

[10] Crescens was a popular *cognomen* in Imperial times among the lower social strata while Veiius is derived from a Roman *gentilicium*: see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 64-65, 158; *ILB* 169, no. 127. The name Silvinus might be Latin in origin, as it is a good classic Latin name in form, but it also might be derived from Silvanus, a Gallo-Roman deity of nature: see Evans (above n. 9) 470. In southern Gaul, the Gallic Silvanus was assimilated with the Roman deity Silvanus, the god of uncultivated land. Throughout the rest of Gaul, this deity was assimilated with Sucullus, another popular Gallic god, and he can also be identified with Sequantis, an indigenous deity from the Treviran region: see P.-M. Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule* (Paris 1976) 63, 78-79; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 61.

[11] Hatt, *TGR* 36; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 50-51; E. Wightman, "Pattern of Rural Settlement in Gaul," *ANRW* II.4 (1975) 633; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 170; Keppie (above n. 6) 19; Salway (above n. 8) 131.

[12] For Gallic parallel of Iullinius see *CIL* XIII, 7293; Solin and Salomies (above n. 9) 98. The *cognomen* Sexuperator is unknown; it is perhaps meant to be read as Exsuperator, which does have parallels in Rome (*CIL* VI, 29056) and Germany (*CIL* XIII, 6028): see *AE* 1983, no. 712; Kajanto (above n. 11) 277-278.

and the *nomen* Pompeianius from Augsburg (**R 2**) may very well have been derived from the *cognomen* of their fathers, but there is no actual evidence for this practice.

The epitaphs of five vendors are inscribed with only one name: Sintaugus from Bordeaux (**A 4**, Fig. 5), Silvester from Alléan (**A 7**, Fig. 10), Attius from Sens (**GL 4**, Fig. 16) Caratullius from Metz (**GB 8**, Fig. 54) and Iulos from Hieraple (**GB 9**, Fig. 55). These names display a mixture of Italic, Gallic and Greco-oriental origins: Sintaugus and Caratullius are Gallic; Silvester is either Gallic or Italic; Attius is possibly Greco-oriental; and Iulos is either Gallic or Italic.[13] Single names were often the custom among those of peregrine status, although after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 A.D.) even those with single names could be Roman citizens.[14]

Apart from any implications of status contained in the names, several epitaphs indicate filiation, showing that the vendors were freeborn rather than slaves or former slaves.[15] There is little reference to freedmen (*liberti*) in these inscriptions. Apparently in

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[13] Sintaugus is most likely Gallic, though information about this name is lacking. E. Frézouls ed., *Les villes antiques de la France. Belgique 1. Amiens, Beauvais, Grand, Metz* (Strasbourg 1982) 348, writes that any name with Cara is Celtic; see also Evans, *op. cit.* 162-166. Silvester, like Silvinus (**R 2**), might be Latin in origin or it might be derived from the name of the Gallo-Roman deity Silvanus. See also Kajanto (above n. 11) 310; Evans (above n. 9) 470. Hatt, *TGR* 44, describes Attius as an example of a *cognomen* with a greco-oriental religious connotation (derived from Attis, consort of Cybele?). However, since very few *cognomina* have the ending -ius, this name is likely an example of a *cognomen* derived from a *gentilicium*. The name Iulos is of undetermined origin, as it is another one of those characteristic Latin names that might be derived from Italian ancestors or it might be a Latin name taken from Gaul. Many Gauls were called Iulius, as attested in inscriptions in Roman Gaul, because several Celtic legionaries were granted citizenship by Julius Caesar and took their general's name in honour of this right: see F. Kleiner, "Artists in the Roman World. An Itinerant Workshop in Augustan Gaul," *MEFRA* 89 (1977) 664-665, n. 17.

[14] Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 172.

[15] **A 4**, **GB 3**, **GB 7**, **GB 8**, **GB 9**, **GB 16**, **GB 24** and **R 1**. In contrast, some of the epitaphs on Italian monuments with vending scenes or work attributes reveal that the deceased were freedmen and freedwomen: see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* nos. 1, 8-11, 18, 24, 26 29, 34-36, 44, 46, 172.

southern Gaul, some freedmen omitted this information about their status on their epitaphs.[16] Perhaps some of the other epitaphs of vendors without filiation also omitted the information that the deceased were former slaves, although there is no way of proving that this was the case. One epitaph provides verbal information about the legal status of some of those commemorated, but only in a secondary sense. The epitaph of Tiberius Claudius Constantinus (**R 1**, Fig. 127) reveals that he erected this tomb to his family and to his freedmen (*libertis*). The proprietor, however, proudly proclaimed that he was a Roman citizen through his *tria nomina*.

Only four epitaphs provide verbal information about the occupational status of the vendors: the tavernkeeper/wine vendor (*copo*) from Autun (**GL 2**, Fig. 14); the cape-maker (*c[ucull]a[r]ius*) from Sens (**GL 4, Fig. 17**); the butcher (*[mac]ellarius?)* from Trier (**GB 22**, Fig. 80); and the lock merchant from Metz (**GB 8**, Fig. 54), who proudly proclaims his occupation as a *negotiator artis clostrariae*. This specialized title is used to convey prestige, as it suggests that the merchant's business was conducted on a far grander scale than simple transactions in a small shop.[17]

It is hardly surprising that none of the epitaphs record the deceased as senators or equestrians, since these ranks would have elevated them to quite a different status from

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[16] In conversation with Guy Chamberland, McMaster University, who has studied the inscriptions of *Augustales* from Gallia Narbonensis.

[17] As suggested in the previous chapter, this lock merchant may have had a military contract for his sturdy padlocks: see Chapter Six, 223. See E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 59-60, for a discussion about large-scale traders (*negotiatores*) in Roman Gaul and Germany.

the comparatively humble vendors. It is more remarkable that any indication of local municipal offices is lacking in these epitaphs, although even those of decurion status rarely mentioned this distinction in their epitaphs.[18]

Although there is scant verbal information about the occupations or status of the vendors, there are instead visual indications of occupation, with whatever other signs of status were considered appropriate.[19] Even the Secundinii, the enterprising cloth merchants at Igel **(GB 24)** did not include occupational titles in their epitaph. These vendors desired to represent their achievements through visual images of their businesses, which in themselves convey prestige. The vending scenes depicted on the funerary monuments in this study would have been easily identifiable to the ancient observer; the recording of one's occupation in words was perhaps deemed an unnecessary technicality.

II. Portraits

This section examines the portraits of the vendors engaged in various vending activities; the portraits of the individual vendors with work attributes; and the portraits of vendors, sometimes with other family members, who are depicted in a separate niche on the principal face of the monuments with multiple reliefs.[20] Some reliefs which depict

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[18]Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 161. There is one known late Flavian/Trajanic inscription of a Treviran decurion at Lyon (*Lugdunum*), who was also a *negotiator vinarius* and a *nauta Araricus*: see *CIL* XIII, 1911; J.F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul* (London 1983) 199.

[19] The use of occupational titles in epitaphs for prestige value was much more common among slaves and freedmen in Italy: see S. Treggiari, "Jobs in the household of Livia," *PBSR* 43 (1975) 57; M.B. Flory, "Family in *familia*: Kinship and community in slavery, " *AJAH* 3 (1978) 80; S. Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome* (University of Oklahoma Press 1992) 86.

[20] The use of portraits on funerary stelae became common in the Roman world: see P. Zanker, "Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener," *Jdl* 90 (1975) 267-315; D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture* (New York 1977); H.G. Frenz, *Römische Grabreliefs in Mittel-und Süditalien* (Rome 1985); V. Kockel,

figures who are probably not vendors, but skilled workers or attendants, are included for thoroughness of discussion.[21] The military customer portrayed on the cloth vending relief from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 61) is also included, as his distinctive appearance sets him apart from all the other figures depicted on these reliefs. As noted in the previous chapters, the vendors are generally displayed in the setting of a solid-looking counter, which separates the vendor from the customer or viewer. The way in which the counters divide the customer from the vendor may represent a barrier conferring social dignity. Transgressing the barrier of the counter was not considered acceptable, because it represented the border between public, public/private, and private. This issue may have been as important to the commissioners of these funerary reliefs and to the urban etiquette in Roman times as it is now.

The vendors are often depicted in profile, although three-quarter and frontal views are also used. The portraits of the individual vendors holding the tools or objects of their

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Porträtreliefs Stadtrömischer Grabbauten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts (Mainz am Rhein 1993). For portraits of vendors in shop-like settings or engaged in commercial activities see **GL 3** (Fig. 16), **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GL 8** (Fig. 21), **GL 9** (Fig. 24), **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GL 17** (Fig. 38), **GB 2** (Fig. 42), **GB 3** (Fig. 44), **GB 5**, (Fig. 47), **GB 6** (Fig. 48, upper), **GB 9** (Fig. 55), **GB 11** (Fig. 58), **GB 13** (Figs. 61, 62), **GB 14** (Fig. 66), **GB 16** (Fig. 72), **GB 20** (Fig. 78), **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper), **GB 26** (Fig. 119) **GB 28** (Fig. 122), **R 2** (Fig2. 128, 129). For portraits on the principal face of monuments with multiple relief see **A 6** (Fig. 8). **GL 8** (Fig. 22), **GL 9** (Fig. 25), **GL 15** (Figs. 34, 35), **GB 6** (Fig. 50), **GB 7** (Fig. 52), **GB 13** (Fig. 65), **GB 14** (Fig. 69), **GB 17** (Fig. 75), **GB 24** (Figs. 87, 88). For portraits of individual vendors with attributes see **GN 1** (Fig. 1). **A 3** (Fig. 4), **A 7** (Fig. 10), **A 8** (Fig. 11), **GL 1** (Fig. 13) **GL 2** (Fig. 14), **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GL 14** (Fig. 31), **GL 18** (Fig. 39), **GB 8** (Fig. 54). **GB 10** (Fig. 56). Only the heads are preserved on **GB 2** (Fig. 43), while the heads are missing in **GB 17** (Fig. 75). For portraits in the form of busts see **A 3** (Fig. 4), **GL 1** (Fig. 13). The seated figure portrayed above the scene of beer-making from Grand (**GB 12.1**, Fig. 60) and the girl holding the dog on the relief from Lillebonne (**GL 8**, Fig. 21) are also also included in this section, as they are obvious portraits.

[21] **GL 15** (Fig. 32). **GB 24** (Figs. 86, 90), **GB 25** (Fig. 118).

trade and those depicted on the principal face of monuments with multiple reliefs tend to stand in a frontal position, posing like statues before the observer, with the exception of two portraits in the form of busts. By looking at their clothing, their gestures, the objects they hold, and to a lesser extent, their hairstyles, conclusions can be drawn about their role in Gallo-Roman society.

The heads of many of the figures are worn or destroyed for the most part. However, a few examples depict distinctive facial features such as the heavily-lidded, balding male shown on **A 7** (Fig. 10); the wrinkles and thinning hair of the males portrayed on **A 8** (Fig. 8) and **GB 14** (Fig. 69); the receding hairline of the male shown in **GB 10** (Fig. 56); and the chubby, unlined countenances of the youths represented on **GB 25** (Fig. 118).

A few of the reliefs of vendors depict *imagines clipeatae*, which are portraits carved in medallions. This motif is derived from the well-established Roman custom of portraying busts on shields, public monuments and funerary monuments. Three *imagines clipeatae* are depicted above the heads of the Secundinii brothers on their family portrait (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88). These medallions appear to depict the busts of a female flanked by two young males.[22] Traces of two *imagines clipeatae* are thought to be located above the heads portrayed on the pillar monument of the cloth vendor from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 65). An *imago clipeata* is also depicted in the context of a wine vending scene on the funerary relief from Dijon (**GL 16**, Fig. 37).[23]

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[22] For a discussion on the identification of the three figures depicted in these medallions, see below, n. 41.

[23] On the *imagines clipeatae* see R. Winkes, *Clipeata imago: Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn 1969). See also M.E. Mariën, "Les monuments funéraires de l'Arlon romain," *AIAL* 76 (1945) 31. This motif is found infrequently in Gaul on other funerary monuments from Arlon (Esp. 4045, 4099) and

A. Hairstyles

It is difficult to determine how closely the portraits of vendors and their spouses followed the Imperial fashions in hairstyles on their funerary monuments. New trends in hairstyles were probably spread by the official portraits of the Imperial family found in towns and also by their portraits on coinage.[24] A particular Imperial hairstyle might last for decades if it was especially popular; it might never reach the smaller, rural provincial districts, or if it did, it was probably long out of fashion at Rome.

The hairstyles of the adult male figures appear to be influenced by the coiffures of the emperors of the second and third centuries, as most consist of either short, curly locks or cap-like, slightly puffy styles.[25] Young male figures are also depicted with similar

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nearby Clausen (Esp. 4180); in the west at Saintes (Esp. 1057); and in the south at Narbonnne (Esp. 672, 673 and 676). For this feature on second and third century A.D. Italian tombs with work scenes see Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*, 139-140, no. 57, 155, no. 78, 157, no. 80, 160, no. 83, 197, no. 142.

[24] Several Imperial statues were discovered at Béziers and Martres-Tolosanes in the 1800s: see Esp 528, 948, 950, 954, 956, 958, 961, 962, 968, 976, 979, 981, 985, 989, 990, 1020; J.C. Balty and D. Cazes, *Portraits impériaux de Béziers. Le groupe statuaire du forum* (Toulouse 1995). For other examples see Esp. 1363 (Saintes); Esp. 1550 (Bourges); Esp. 1748 (Lyon); Esp. 3088 (Lillebonne); Esp. 4112 (Arlon). For early imperial portraits in Trier see H. Cüppers, *Trier. Augustusstadt der Treverer* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) 168-174, nos. 38-40.

[25] Trajan's coiffure was cap-like, resembling earlier Julio-Claudian emperors, while the hairstyles of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus and the Severans (Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta) are short, but very curly. For Imperial male coiffures see K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* I.2 (Mainz 1985), pls. 41-42, no. 39 (Trajan), pls. 49-59, nos. 46-52 (Hadrian), pls. 67-69, nos. 59-60 (Antoninus Pius), pls. 75-81, nos. 66-69 (Marcus Aurelius) pls. 89-92, nos. 75-76, 78 (Commodus), pls. 101-116, nos. 82-94 (Septimius Severus, Caracalla). For short, curly hairstyles on Gallo-Roman vendors see **A 5** (Fig. 6), **GL 8** (Fig. 21), **GL 9** (Fig. 24), **GL 17** (Fig. 38), **GB 4** (Fig. 46), **GB 5** (Fig. 47, drawing), **GB 16** (Fig. 72). For cap-like hairstyles see: **A 3** (Fig. 4), **A 7** (Fig. 10), **A 8** (Fig. 11), **GL 1** (Pl. IX), **GL 6** (Fig. 13), **GL 15** (Fig. 32), **GL 16** (Fig. 37), **GL 18** (Fig. 39), **GB 2** (Fig. 42), **GB 3** (Fig. 44), **GB 8** (Fig. 54), **GB 13** (Fig. 62), **GB 14** (Fig. 69), **GB 24** (Figs. 87, 88), **GB 26** (Fig. 119), **R 2** (Figs. 128, 129). One of the simplest hairstyles is worn by the figure with the cart from Soulosse (**GB 11**, Fig. 58), as it resembles a bowl cut with the bangs lying flat across the forehead. Likewise, the male

hairstyles.[26] The vendors portrayed on **GL 8** (Fig. 21) and **GB 10** (Fig. 56) have quite distinctive coiffures: the former has deeply drilled, comma-shaped curls covering his head in a thick mass, while the latter has thick, puffy locks forming a reverse V on his forehead.[27] Some of the older male figures are balding or have receding hairlines, while other male vendors are depicted with longer, shoulder-length styles.[28] In contrast to these generally short coiffures, the military customers depicted on the cloth vending scene from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 61) have long, flowing, barbarian-style locks of hair.

Most of the male figures are depicted cleanly-shaven, but some have neatly trimmed beards which appear to follow the Imperial fashions popular in Rome.[29] Beards came into fashion in Rome under Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), who was the first emperor to show facial hair in his official portraits. Beards continued to be popular under the later Antonine and Severan emperors, when many of the funerary monuments of this study were likely

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figures portrayed on the upper part of the beer-making relief from Grand have plainly-carved, helmet-like coiffures. (**GB 12.2**, Fig. 60).

[26] **GL 15** (Fig. 35), **GL 17** (Fig. 38), **GB 25** (Fig. 118).

[27] The head of the vendor on **GL 8** was heavily restored in 1862 when the monument was put together from a number of fragments; only the upper part of his head (nose, eyes and forehead) are original: see E. Poirel, *Le lapidaire gallo-romain du Musée des Antiquités de Rouen* (Rouen 1983) 68; see also Chapter Six, 215 n. 29.

[28] For hairstyles on mature male vendors see **A 7** (Fig. 10), **A 8** (Fig. 11), **GB 10** (Fig. 56). For longer hairstyles see **GL 2** (Fig. 14), **GB 20** (Fig. 78).

[29] For male vendors with beards see **A 7** (Fig. 10), **GL 2** (Fig. 14), **GL 15** (Fig. 34), **GL 18** (Fig. 39), **GB 4** (Fig. 46), **GB 5** (Fig. 47, drawing), **GB 10** (Fig. 56), **GB 14** (Fig. 69), **GB 20** (Fig. 78), **R 2** (Figs. 128, 129). The customer on **GL 17** (Fig. 38) is bearded, as are some of the workers portrayed on **GB 24** (Fig. 86).

erected.[30] It is possible that bearded males are represented in Gallo-Roman portraits of first century A.D. date; however, the dates provided by Espérandieu for these examples are probably too early, and they should probably be attributed to the mid-second century A.D. or later, when beards were fashionable.[31]

The relatively few female figures on the tombs of vendors have simple hairstyles for the most part: the hair is parted in the centre and pulled back into a bun at the nape of the neck. Their coiffures resemble the typical hairstyles on sculptures of Antonine females at Rome.[32] The female figure from Soulosse (**GB 10**, Fig. 56) has centre-parted, wavy locks covering the ears, with a braid at the lower side. This style recalls a Gabii type portrait of Julia Domna (193-210 A.D.).[33] Additionally, the helmet-like coiffure of the girl holding the dog from Lillebonne (**GL 8**, Fig. 21) has rows of sausage-like locks that also seem to reflect the stylistic influence of Julia Domna.[34] On the other hand, the coiffure of the female portrayed on the Metz relief (**GB 6,** Fig. 50), with its thick, well-defined braid

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[30] P. Zanker, "Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung am Grab im römischen Kaiserreich," in H.-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg, P. Zanker et al., *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Cologne 1992) 348.

[31] Esp. 1142 (Bordeaux) and Esp. 1768 (Lyon). Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 35 no. 11, provides a late Antonine date for the Bordeaux relief; this date is based on stylistic parallels with monuments from the Treviran region.

[32] **A 3** (Fig. 4), **A 6** (Fig. 8), **A 9** (Fig. 12), **GL 8** (Fig. 22), **GL 13** (Fig. 30), **GB 14** (Fig. 66), **GB 24** (Figs. 87, 88, centre medallion), **GB 28** (Fig. 122). For some Italian parallels of female hairstyles of Antonine date see K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* III (Mainz 1985), pls. 28-29, no. 20 (Faustina the Younger, 161-170 A.D.), pl. 131, no. 104 (mid-Antonine), pl. 138, no. 111 (late Antonine).

[33] L. Kahn, *Gallo-Roman Sculpture from Soulosse, France.* Diss., Boston University 1990. I. 289, cites parallels for the Julia Domna hairstyle in Fittschen and Zanker (above n. 32) pl. 39, no. 29, pls. 166-167, no. 140.

[34] For a parallel see Fittschen and Zanker (above n. 32) no. 30. pl. 40.

covering the ear, looks like an indigenous hairstyle. Likewise, the wife of the fruit grower from Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig. 69) wears a bonnet which appears to be regional in taste.[35]

B. Clothing

Most figures in the vending reliefs wear clothing consisting of a thickly-made cloak worn over a sleeved tunic. Both garments are generally worn ungirded to just below the knees for males and ankle-length for females.[36] The majority of garments represent those made from woollen products, although linen attire can also be seen in some of the portraits.[37] It should probably be assumed that the vendors wished to represent themselves dressed in their best clothes, although it is possible that some might be shown in the clothes which they wished they could wear. Some of the secondary figures in the work scenes wear simpler, shorter tunics, which distinguish them from the more finely-dressed vendors.

As the clothing of male figures from Gallia Belgica appears to be slightly different in style from the garments worn by males in the other Gallo-Roman provinces, the clothing from this region will be treated separately, before the rest of Gaul. Most of the male

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[35] J.P. Wild, "Clothing in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire," *BJb* 168 (1968) 198-199. For regional parallels see Esp. 4040 (Arlon); Esp. 4159 (drawing, Clausen); Esp. 4712 (Toul); for Germany see Esp. 5815 (Mainz).

[36] The general male population in other parts of the empire usually wore sleeveless tunics, which were girded at the waist to about knee-length; those engaged in physical labour often have their right shoulder bared: see N. Fuentes, "The Roman Military Tunic," in M. Dawson ed., *Roman Military Equipment. The Accoutrements of War* (*BAR* International Series 336) (Oxford 1987) 41-42. For a Gallo-Roman relief of a fuller with his right shoulder bared, see Esp. 2768 (Sens).

[37] The cloth vending scenes discussed in Chapter Three provide evidence for the thriving cloth trade in Roman Gaul: see Chapter Three, 101-134.

figures on the reliefs from Gallia Belgica wear a thick, ungirded, wide tunic, which Wild describes as the 'Gallic coat' in his study on the clothing from this region. These 'coats' were made from a single piece of cross-shaped woollen fabric with sewn sides and sleeves.[38] The portraits from Metz (**GB 6**, Fig. 50) and Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 65) show that this garment was sometimes decorated with a fringed hem.[39] Many males also wear an outer, V-necked, hooded cloak, which Wild terms the 'Gallic cape'.[40] The outer cloak of the seated wine vendor from Jünkerath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122) lies rolled up over his right shoulder. A scarf or sash is draped over his right arm. This cloth can be seen as a practical item used in a wine shop for mopping up spills, but in this context it conveys prestige.

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[38] See **GB 2** (Fig. 42), **GB 3** (Fig. 44), **GB 4** (Fig. 46), **GB 6** (Fig. 50), **GB 7** (Figs. 51-53), **GB 8** (Fig. 54), **GB 9** (Fig. 55), **GB 10** (Fig. 56), **GB 11** (Fig. 58), **GB 13** (Figs. 65-67), **GB 14** (Figs. 66-68), **GB 16** (Figs. 72, 73), **GB 20** (Fig. 78), **GB 21** (Fig. 79, upper), **GB 24** (Figs. 86, 89-91, 104-106, 110, 113, 114), **GB 25** (Fig. 118), **GB 26** (Fig. 119), **GB 28** (Fig. 122) . For the 'Gallic coat' see Wild (above n. 35) 168-176; J.P. Wild, "The Clothing of Britannia, Gallia belgica and Germania inferior," *ANRW* II, 12.3 (1985) 269-374.

[39] For other examples of fringed garments on Gallo-Belgic monuments see Esp. 4178 (Clausen); Esp. 4310 4343, 7709 (Metz); Esp. 4819, 4820, 4821, 4822 (Monthureux-sur-Saône); Esp. 4850, 4862 (Soulosse). Mlle. Thomas, in conversation at the Musée de Metz, disagrees with the interpretation that the hems are fringed; rather, she interprets the fringe as the finely pleated fabric of a longer undergarment. Likewise, Roche-Bernard wonders if the fringe might simply represent a lined garment, similar to the garments worn by males at Sens (Esp. 2833, 2804, 2932): see G. Roche-Bernard, *Costumes et textiles en Gaule romaine* (Paris 1993) 13.

[40] For examples of Gallic capes see **GB 4** (Fig. 46), **GB 6** (Fig. 50), **GB 7** (Fig. 52), **GB 8** (Fig. 54), **GB 9** (Fig. 55), **GB 13** (Figs. 62, 63), **GB 14** (Figs. 66, 68, 69), **GB 16** (Fig. 72), **GB 17** (Fig. 75), **GB 21** (Fig. 79, lower), **GB 24** (Figs. 86, 90, 91, 106, 114), **GB 28** (Fig. 122). On the 'Gallic cape' see Wild (above n. 32) 177-179; Wild (above n. 38) 374-376. Wild (above n. 35) 220, writes that "it is extremely difficult to identify a garment known from monuments with a specific article mentioned in the literary texts". He uses the Gallic cape as an example of this difficulty, since it was known as two distinct garments at Rome: the *birrus* and *caracullus*; therefore, it is uncertain which of these two name corresponds to the the 'Gallic cape' depicted the reliefs.

Three Gallo-Belgic male figures are depicted wearing the Roman toga: the seated male figure above the beer-making scene from Grand (**GB 12.2**, Fig. 60), and Securus, one of the Secundinii brothers, and his son in the family portrait on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88).[41] The toga is a cumbersome garment, as it is worn draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm, then partly draped over the left shoulder again, as well as over the lower left arm. The effect creates multiple folds in the front and back depending on the size of the cloth.[42] Although the toga represents a sign of Roman citizenship, it is rarely depicted in Gallo-Roman funerary portraits except in Gallia Narbonensis and in the Treviran region of Gallia Belgica.[43] The togas worn by the father

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[41] The precise identity of the young male shaking hands with Securus cannot be determined other than that he probably represents one of his sons. Although the upper part of the epitaph is badly damaged, it had apparently once recorded the names of two sons of Securus, along with other family members. The youth in the portrait might represent one of these sons, although it seems odd that only one of them is depicted, unless one of them was recently deceased. To further confuse matters, two young males appear to be portrayed in two of the three *imagines clipeatae* carved above the heads of the brothers. The larger, central medallion depicts the bust of a female, likely Publia Pacata, named in the epitaph as the wife of Aventinus, the brother of Securus. These two males might possibly represent the same sons recorded in the epitaph. If this is the case, then the young male standing in the portrait might depict a third son, although there is no epigraphical evidence to substantiate this suggestion. Zahn suggests instead that the one medallion depicts the earlier, deceased son of Securus, while the other portrays the father of the Secundinii. However, as the facial features of both male busts are youthful rather than mature, it does not seem likely that one of the medallions does depict the father: see Zahn, *Igeler Säule*, 10. For the inscription, see Catalogue, 308. See also Zahn, *op. cit.* 9, 11.

[42] For recent discussions on the Roman toga see H.R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz 1990); S. Stone, "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume," in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (University of Wisconsin Press 1994) 13-45.

[43] For the toga as a sign of Roman citizenship see L. Bonfante-Warren, "Roman Costume: A glossary and Some Etruscan Derivations," *ANRW* 1.4 (1973) 613. For representations of togas in Roman Gaul see Nîmes (Esp. 465, 494); Beziers (Esp. 541); Narbonne (Esp. 663); and Neumagen (Esp. 5142, 5148, 5164). See also Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 116. In Augustan Rome, the toga symbolized political and moral virtues. Zanker (above n. 30) 346, argues that when the toga became the symbol of moral values without specific political and juristic values, it was replaced by the mantles of local traditions, as was the case in Roman Gaul. However, this statement implies that all male Gallic citizens wore togas during the early empire and then switched to wearing Gallic-style clothes at some later date, which does not appear to be the case, if the literary sources are credible. These sources indicate that the toga during the Imperial

and son on the Igel monument might signify a special event such as the coming of age ceremony of the son, when he adopted the attire of the *toga virilis*.[44] It is possible that the wearer of the toga on the Grand relief may have held a public office, as he appears to be depicted in the act of distributing largesse to the smaller, surrounding figures.[45] The deceased in the two reliefs may have been shown wearing togas for these other reasons, but they were also worn as a symbol to convey prestige.

Aventinus, the other Secundinius brother in the Igel portrait (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88), has been described as wearing an open cloak knotted at the right shoulder (Greek *chlamys* or Latin *paludamentum*), which is similar to those worn by Roman army officers and later emperors.[46] It is possible that Aventinus may have once performed military duties and wished to portray this distinction by wearing this cloak in his portrait, but there is no record of it in the epitaph.[47] Regardless of whether this cloak represents the attire of an

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period in Italy was largely a ceremonial garment by the end of the first century A.D. Juvenal comments that in most of Italy no one wears a toga until they die, while Martial notes that the toga was rarely worn by those enjoying the pleasures of country life: Juv. *Sat.* 3.171-172; Mart. *Ep.*10.47.5; Stone (above n. 42) 17.

[44] See below, pp. 246-247.

[45] For a discussion of this complex relief, which was not found in a funerary context but in a domestic installation, see Chaper Four, 163-169. L. Kahn notes that the toga worn by the figure "indicates a position of rank, possibly that of an official magistrate": "Private Communication from Dr. Lisa Kahn: Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma".

[46] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 62-63; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 9. Both publications describe the garment as a *chlamys*, the Greek term for the military cloak. On the *paludamentum* see L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938) 100-104; M.C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome* (London 1993) 62, n. 50, 100, fig. 49; Stone (above n. 42) 34 fig. 1.19a (Probianus, ca. A.D. 400).

[47] The father of the Secundinii brothers, Publius Aelius (?) Secundinus, might have been an Imperial veteran *([e]vocat[us Aug(usti]*), who was called up for further duty in the region: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 64. However, their readings of this part of the epitaph should be treated with

army officer or not, it is probably also worn in the portrait as a sign of prestige, like the togas of the family members beside him. Military attire is worn by the customer on the cloth vending scene from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 66). The seated customer in the foreground appears to be dressed in the clothing of a third century A.D. Roman auxiliary soldier.[48] His undergarment consists of a long-sleeved tunic with rolled cuffs; the upper part is closely fitted, like a modern shirt. This tunic is girded by a wide baldric (*balteus*), likely of leather. A sheathed sword (*gladius* or *spatha*), which is suspended from the baldric on the figure's left side, rest between his legs.[49] His outer garment consists of a cloak (*sagum* ?) fastened at the right shoulder by a round *fibula*.[50] It was probably a sign of status for this

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caution, as most of the first few lines of text are missing and the remaining letters are very mutilated and weathered.

[48] For the cloth vending scene see Chapter Three, 104-105. Third century A.D. Roman military attire consisted of a long-sleeved tunic, wide belt and and a cloak (*sagum*) fastened with a *fibula*. For archaeological evidence and parallels on funerary reliefs see Bishop and Coulston (above n. 46) 153-154; J.C. Coulston, "Roman Military Equipment on Third Century Tombstones," in M. Dawson ed., *Roman Military Equipment. The Accoutrements of War* (*BAR* International Series 336) (Oxford 1987) 141-142, pls. 1-4. See also Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York I. Eburacum, Roman York* (1962) pl. 50, no. 85.Wild notes that the long-sleeved style of tunic and the cloak fastened by a *fibula* were also the typical attire of both civilians and military auxiliaries in Pannonia, Noricum and Illyricum, as well as north and south of the Danube: see Wild (above n. 35) 181.

[49] Apparently the longer sword, the *spatha*, replaced the shorter 'Pompeii' type of sword (*gladius*) in the later second and third centuries A.D., and was worn sheathed in a scabbard on the soldier's left side instead of on the right as before; previously only centurions had worn their sword on their left sides. The scabbard tip on the Arlon relief may be peltate-shaped, a form that began in the Antonine period and continued into the third century A.D. See Bishop and Coulston (above n. 46) 74, 112, 126, 130.

[50] Diodorus Siculus (5. 30.1), describes the rectangular Gallic cloak fastened by a *fibula* as the *sagum*. The *sagum* became the typical cloak worn by Roman soldiers during daytime and it doubled as a blanket at night. The customer on the Arlon relief might be wearing a *sagum*, although it is impossible to tell if the shape of the cloak is rectangular like that of the *sagum*: see Wild (above n. 35) 182-183. On the *sagum* see also Bishop and Coulston (above n. 46) 62, 100, 119, 153.

vendor to show that he sold his fine quality cloth not only to the local civilian population, but also to military personnel in the region.

The female figures on the reliefs of vendors from Gallia Belgica are represented in the typical Mediterranean attire of a simple rectangular cloak, worn over a long-sleeved, ankle-length tunic. The cloak can be draped over the shoulders, forming a long narrow point in the front;[51] or draped Roman-style over one shoulder and folded in a roll across the waist hanging down over one arm;[52] or worn like a second coat, but lacking the hood of the males.[53] Some of the hems of the tunics may have been fringed, although these fringes might also represent multiple, finely-pleated folds of the tunic under the cloak.[54] The female wine vendor from Metz (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper) and the female attendant on the relief of the wine vendor from Jünkerath (**GB 28**, Fig. 122) wear a tunic without a cloak in these scenes, perhaps as an indication of their lower work status.

The attire of the figures on the reliefs of vendors from the other Gallo-Roman provinces varies to some degree from the Gallo-Belgic clothing. Some of the males' outer garments resemble a pull-on poncho with a split at the neck.[55] The undergarments are wide like Gallo-Belgic tunics, although the sleeves may be short or long, and the rolled

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[51] **GB 6** (Fig. 50), **GB 13** (Fig. 65).

[52] **GB 14** (Fig. 69).

[53] **GB 10** (Fig. 56).

[54] **GB 6** (Fig. 50), **GB 13**, (Fig. 65). See n. 39 above.

[55] **A 8** (Fig. 11), **GL 2** (Fig. 14), **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GL 14** (Fig. 31), **GL 15** (Fig. 33), **GL 17**, (Fig. 38).

neckline forms V-shaped folds on the upper chest.[56] The garments may also be worn ungirded, with the exception of the fruit peddler from Narbonne (**GN 1**, Fig. 1), who has a sash tied around his waist to secure his basket. In contrast to the tunicate vendor on the lower relief block from Saintes (**A 5**, Fig. 6), the customer is dressed in a countryman's garb of breeches or leggings and a short, sleeveless, hooded cape. This short cape may represent the *cucullus Santonicus*, a type of hooded cape imported to Italy, which was made in particular by the Santones and Lingones (region of Langres).[57]

The female figures on the reliefs of vendors from the rest of Gaul wear long-sleeved, ankle-length tunics and mantles similar to the attire of the Gallo-Belgic females.[58] Two portraits depict figures dressed in lighter, pleated garments that probably represent a linen fabric: **GL 8** (Fig. 22) and **GL 9** (Fig. 25) from Lillebonne. The female figure on **GL 8** is attired in a finely pleated tunic with a fringe; a shawl crosses over the chest covering her shoulders and arms, while traces of another garment of light fabric hang below the fringe.[59] Her spouse wears a V-necked mantle over a similarly fringed tunic; part of his sleeveless mantle is slung over his shoulder, forming a roll over his left hip, as can be seen

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[56] **GN 1** (Fig. 1), **A 1** (Fig. 2), **A 2** (Fig. 3), **A 5** (Fig. 6), **A 6** (Fig. 8), **A 7** (Fig. 10), **GL 1** (Fig. 13), **GL 3** (Fig. 15), **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GL 8** (Fig. 22), **GL 14** (Fig. 31), **GL 18** (Fig. 39).

[57] On the *cucullus* see Roche-Bernard (above n. 39) 28-30. The etymology of the word *cucullus* is neither Gallic nor Indo-European in origin; Wild suggests that the Celts borrowed the name from earlier tribes in the north: see Wild (above n. 35) 225. Juvenal (*Sat.* 8.145) describes the *cucullus Santonicus* in a very unflattering context: *si nocturnus adulter tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo.* See also Chapter Three, 107.

[58] **A 3** (Fig. 4), **A 5** (Fig. 6, upper), **A 6** (Fig. 8, lower), **GL 8** (Fig. 22), **GL 14** (Fig. 31).

[59] Poirel (above n. 27) 69. Roche-Bernard (above n. 39) 13, suggests that the female on **GL 8** wears a finely pleated mantle over a tunic decorated with a fringe, which, in turn, is worn over another tunic.

seen also on the partially preserved male figure depicted on **GL 9**.[60] The wearing of these fine quality linen garments conveys prestige in the same manner as the good quality woollen garments worn by the vendors on the other reliefs.[61]

Some of the figures wear varied styles of clothing which distinguish them from the vendors. These variations can especially be seen on the Secundinii monument at Igel (**GB 24**).[62] The Secundinii brothers are dressed in their finest attire on the portrait on the principal face: the one in a toga, and the other in a good quality mantle and tunic (Figs. 87, 88). The attendants in the scenes of cloth display and the scenes of the tallying of accounts wear the typical Gallo-Belgic dress of the wide tunic and mantle (Figs. 90, 91, 106). The labourers involved in the shipping of the bales of cloth are attired in short girded tunics, as are the kitchen workers in the scenes of domestic life (Figs. 89, 93-95, 104, 105). Other scenes of labourers and skilled workers with short girded tunics are depicted on the reliefs from Dijon (**GL 15**, Fig. 32), Metz (**GB** 6, Fig. 48, lower) and Arlon (**GB 14,** Fig. 67).

C. Gestures

The hand gestures of the vendors depicted in the portraits show a reliance on imagery borrowed from Italic models. Some of the portraits portray the male vendors

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[60] The clothing worn by the couple in Esp. 3103 from Lillebonne is almost identical to **GL 8** and what is preserved of **GL 9**. Although the gestures and attributes differ, it is likely that these typologically similar monuments came from the same workshop. For another close parallel, see Esp. 3667 from Rheims.

[61] Pliny, *HN* 19.8, notes that linen was the finest dress material known to Gallo-Roman women; he lists the centres of linen production among the Cadurci, Caleti, Ruteni, Bituriges and Morini. See also Roche-Bernard (above n. 39) 42 (with map); J.L. Sebesta, "*Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa*: The Colors and Textiles of Roman Costume," in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (University of Wisconsin Press 1994) 72.

[62] See below, pp. 253-255.

either grasping the folds of their cloaks with one hand[63] or else the right hand is placed palm down against the chest with one or more digits extended.[64] These hand gestures are found in earlier Italian portraits, although the Italian examples depict the figures' right hands supported in the slings of their togas.[65] The imagery of the simple hand gestures in the Gallic portraits is meant to dignify the status of the merchants and vendors.

Two scenes depict figures shaking hands (*dextrarum iunctio*): **GB 17** (Fig. 75) and **GB 24** (Figs. 87, 88). The motif of *dextrarum iunctio* was used by Greek, Etruscan, Hellenistic and Roman artists in both funerary and non-funerary contexts so that the meaning has become ambiguous over time. Scholars have interpreted the motif of *dextrarum iunctio* as a gesture of greeting, departing, rescuing, concord and marriage.[66] The gesture representing marriage seems appropriate for the couple shaking hands on **GB 17**. This gesture was promoted during the Antonine period as a symbol of harmonious marriage within the Imperial family, and as a result saw widespread use, especially on sarcophagi during the second and third centuries A.D.[67] The gesture of *dextrarum iunctio*

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[63] **A 8** (Fig. 11), **GL 3** (Fig. 15), **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GB 13** (Fig. 65), **GB 14** (Fig. 69).

[64] **GL 8** (Fig. 22), **GL 9** (Fig. 25), **GL 15** (Fig. 35), **GB 6** (Fig. 50).

[65] See the publications of Kleiner, Frenz and Zanker (above n. 20) for many examples of figures clutching the folds of their clothing.

[66] The various interpretations have been summarized in G. Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," *AJA* 89 (1985) 627-640; see also R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven, Conn. 1963) 19-21.

[67] Davies (above n. 66) 637-638.

as a symbol of departure is also a suitable explanation for the couple's handshake. In this example it is the wife who is saying farewell to her departing husband.[68]

The portrait of the Secundinii at Igel depicts the togate brother, Securus, shaking hands with his son (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88).[69] The symbolism of this handshake motif (*dextrarum iunctio*) is also ambiguous, as there are no apparent parallels on reliefs of a funerary context for this gesture occurring between father and son.[70] On the one hand, it might symbolize a gesture of farewell, perhaps of the father saying good-bye to one of his deceased sons, who is departing to the afterlife. On the other hand, it might represent a significant family event such as the coming of age of a son, when he assumed the responsibilities of a Roman citizen and started to wear the *toga virilis*.[71] Seneca records that ceremonies connected with this event were commonplace among the Romans, although there is no evidence to indicate that similar ceremonies took place in Gaul.[72]

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[68] For inscription, see Catalogue, 304-305.

[69] For the identification of the young male as a son of Securus see n. 41, above.

[70] The handshake motif (*dextrarum iunctio*) in a funerary context usually takes place between a male and a female: see Davies (above n. 66) 633. A contemporary parallel for the motif occurring between father and son is shown in an Imperial context on the south-west attic frieze of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna. The portrait depicts Severus shaking hands with Caracalla, while Geta stands between them. This handshake motif has been interpreted as symbolizing the concord (*concordia*) of the two Augusti: see Brilliant (above n. 66) 201, fig. 4.104; N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus University Press 1986) 273, 275-276, fig. 168. For a detailed description of this scene see V.M. Strocka, "Beobachtungen an den Attikareliefs des Severischen Quadrifons von Lepcis Magna," *AntAfr* 6 (1972) 159. Although coins issued of this symbolic act (Hannestad, 275) may have reached the Treviran region, it is not likely that they influenced the use of the *dextrarum iunctio* motif on the Igel monument. The same gesture is shown in different contexts with different meanings on these two reliefs.

[71] For the *toga virilis*, which was adopted between the ages of fourteen to sixteen, see Stone (above n. 42) 13, n.14.

[72] Seneca, *Epist.* 4.2.

D. Objects

The figures in the portraits hold a variety of objects in one or both hands, especially those items that symbolize an aspect of their professions. Since these attributes of work have been discussed in the chapters on iconography, they are referred to only briefly in this section. The work objects are typical items that one would associate with merchants and vendors. For example, the scales held by figures in three of the portraits (**A 3**, Fig. 4, **A 6**, Fig. 8, lower, **GB 10**, Fig. 56) are appropriate attributes of merchants.[73] Other merchants hold an accounts book as a symbol of their successful trades.[74] Tools of the trade also symbolize the professions of vendors: the measures used by the vendors of grains or legumes (**A 5**, Figure 6, lower, **A 6**, Fig. 8, lower); the butcher's knife (**A 4**, Fig. 3, **GL 18**, Fig. 39, **GB 22**, Fig. 80); the wine vendor's measuring tool (pipette) (**GL 2**, Pl. IX); and the apple grower's pruning knife (*falx arboraria*) (**GB 14**, Fig. 69). Some vendors hold the product that made them successful in life, such as a barrel of wine (**GL 1**, Fig. 13), a calf's head (**GL 18**, Fig. 39), a padlock (**GB 8**, Fig. 54), and a skein of thread (**GB 10**, Fig. 56). These objects of work do not, however, detract from the otherwise dignified imagery projected in the portraits of the vendors through their frontal stance, their gestures, and especially the status-related objects held in their other hands such as scrolls, handkerchiefs, jewelry boxes and moneybags.

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[73] Scales are found on Italian reliefs of butchers (Figs. 133, 135), and in other food contexts (Figs. 144, 146).

[74] **GL 6** (Fig. 19), **GB 13** (Fig. 62), **GB 15** (Fig. 70, drawing), **GB 24** (Fig. 106), **GB 28** (Fig. 122). The figure in **GS 1** (Fig. 123) holds an unrolled scroll, likely representing a listing of inventory.

Many vendors and their family members convey social status and prestige by holding other objects such as scrolls (*volumina*), handkerchiefs (*mappae*), jewelry boxes and moneybags. The Secundinii brothers on the Igel monument (**GB 24**, Figs. 87, 88) carry small, cylindrical objects, likely representing scrolls (*volumina*). The seated vendor on the relief from Metz (GB 4, Fig. 46) also holds a *volumen*. The scrolls in these contexts might represent a listing of inventory, but they are also a Roman symbol used in portraiture to signify a cultured and educated person.[75]

The moneybag is a common attribute of Gallo-Belgic male vendors. Three males carry bulging moneybags (**GB 6**, Fig. 50, **GB 7**, Fig. 52, **GB 13**, Fig. 65). Another male on Fig, 65 holds a small box-like purse with handles, while the male on **GB 8** (Fig. 54) wears a pouch around his waist, similar to those worn by travelers today.[76] The purse (*marsupium*) also serves as a fitting attribute of Mercury, the god of Roman merchants, as seen on a number of Gallo-Roman statues.[77] Mercury was also the god responsible for guiding the souls of the dead to the underworld. Kahn has recently proposed that, with reference to the chthonic aspects of Mercury, the purse symbolizes 'the journey of the dead and his passage from this life to eternal life beyond the tomb'; she goes on to

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[75] On the *volumen* see *RE* 18.3 (1949) cols. 1116-1118, s.v. '*Papyrus*' (W. Schubart).

[76] Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 121, notes that the small box-like purses held by males were rarely portrayed in Aquitania, but are more frequently seen in representations of Gallo-Belgic males and also at Sens (Esp. 2794, 2826, 2833). For parallels at Bordeaux see Braemer, *op. cit.* pl. II, no. 7, pl. VIII, no. 28, pl. XVIII, no. 61, pl. XXIII, no. 81.

[77] On the *marsupium* see *RE* 28 (1930) 1982, s.v. '*Marsupium*' (A. Hug). For statues of Mercury holding a purse see Paris: Esp. 3140, 3143; Dijon: Esp. 3442; Reims: 3669; Arlon: Esp. 4125, 4127; Clausen: Esp. 4144; Dalheim: Esp. 4214; Metz: Esp. 4288; Trier: Esp. 4918; Strasbourg: Esp. 5493 etc.

suggest that the figure holding the purse is about to depart or has just arrived in the afterlife.[78] It cannot be assumed that the figures in the portraits discussed here wished to represent this deeper meaning simply because of the funerary context, when the other attributes and vending scenes clearly reveal their desire to show how they achieved their success in life. Although depictions of figures with purses were apparently not socially acceptable on funerary tombs in Roman Italy, the purse is meant to be viewed in these Gallo-Roman images as a symbol to convey both prestige and wealth.[79]

The Soulosse relief depicts a female resting a bulging purse on top of a small, square incised box, likely meant to be understood as containing her jewelry (**GB 10**, Fig. 56). The females portrayed on the portraits from Metz (**GB 6**, Fig. 50) and Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig. 69) carry their jewelry boxes in the crook of their left arm. The jewelry box, like the purse, is meant to be seen as an appropriate symbol of wealth in life, although it could also symbolize the departure of the deceased carrying her favorite jewels into the afterlife. None of these female figures wear their jewelry, perhaps as a sign of their modesty (*pudicitia*), another desirable Roman virtue for females to convey in their portraits.[80] The

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[78] Kahn (above n. 33) 168-169, 183.

[79] Zanker (above n. 30) 346.

[80] There are numerous artistic representations of Roman females who did wear or display jewelry as a symbol of legal and social status, and above all wealth: see A.M. Stout, "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire," in J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (University of Wisconsin Press 1994) 77-100. For artistic parallels in the Treviran region see L. Lefèbvre, *Le Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* (Brussels 1990) 47-49, no. 22 (female of Antonine date holding ring); H. Cüppers, *Trier. Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) 163, no. 61b (fourth century female wearing rich items of jewelry and holding a box filled with jewels). See also Chapter Six, 211-212.

portrait of one male vendor, however, appears to have been adorned with earrings, as the evidence of the holes in his ears suggests (**A 8**, Fig. 11).

Three female figures hold a rolled cloth (*mappa*) in their right hands: **GL 8** (Fig. 22), **GB 6** (Fig. 50) and **GB 13** (Fig. 65). The *mappa* on **GB 6** is fringed to match the female's lower garment. This well-known Roman symbol is a frequently held attribute of matrons in funerary reliefs.[81] The *mappa* was used as a serviette at dinner, since the Romans usually ate with their hands. In a funerary context, this object might be seen to evoke the rites of the funerary banquets in honor of the dead.[82] The *mappa* is equally appropriate in this context for Gallo-Roman women, who wished to represent themselves as leading a leisured and cultured existence in life.

The female figure on the portrait from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 65) also holds a long, slender-necked vessel, likely of glass, in her left hand.[83] This vessel in a funerary context might represent a lachrymatory, a vase meant to hold the tears shed for the deceased.[84] This object might also symbolize part of a cultured woman's toilette, the perfume bottle. The Romans did have a well-known predilection for bathing in perfume.[85] Another symbol

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[81] Hatt, *TGR* 360. For some of the many depictions of females holding a *mappa* see Sens: Esp. 2798, 2804, 2818, 2830; Langres: Esp. 3273; Dijon: Esp. 3460, 3484 etc.

[82] On the *mappa* see *RE* 28 (1930) 1413-1416, s.v. '*Mappa*' (Schuppe). See Toynbee (above n. 3) 50-1, for the legalities of funerary feasts. The seated women portrayed on a relief from Trier holds a *mappa* on her lap at a banquet scene with her spouse and servants: see Esp. 5155.

[83] These vessels were apparently common in tombs during the time of Commodus: see Mariën (above n. 66) 30.

[84] J-B. Sibenaler, *Guide illustré du Musée Lapidaire romain d'Arlon* (Arlon 1905) 90, no. 52.

[85] G. Pillivuyt, *Histoire de Parfum* (Paris 1988) 74-77; E.T. Morris, Fragrance. *The Story of Perfume from Cleopatra to Chanel* (New York 1984) 78.

of culture is the mirror (*speculum*), which is held in the left hand of the portrait bust of the female figure from Bordeaux (**A 3**, Fig. 4). This object of elegance is displayed along with an attribute of work, as she holds a set of scales (*libra*) in her left hand to signify her status as a merchant.[86]

A young female, in a separate niche beside the scene of the perfume vendor from Lillebonne, is shown fondling a small, short-haired dog in her arms (**GL 8**, Fig. 21). The dog is seen in Gallo-Roman art as a frequent companion of many indigenous deities.[87] This motif of a figure holding a dog is common in funerary contexts as a symbol of fidelity between the deceased and the living.[88] In this example, however, the dog probably represents the actual pet of the deceased girl.[89]

III. Scenes of Work and Domestic Life

Seven of the larger, better preserved pillar monuments and monumental stelae from Gallia Belgica have additional reliefs besides the vending scenes discussed in the earlier

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[86] See Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* pl. VI, nos. 20, 22, Pl. XIV, no. 49, pl. XV, no. 50, pl. XVII, no. 57, for other examples of females holding mirrors on funerary reliefs at Bordeaux. On the *speculum* see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* 4.2 (1918) 1422-1430 s.v. '*Speculum*'; *RE* 11.1 (1921) cols. 29-45 s.v. '*Katoptron*' (Netoliczka).

[87] See R. Joffroy, *Le chien compagnon des dieux gallo-romains* (Paris 1980); F. Jenkins, "The Role of the Dog in Romano-Gaulish Religion," *Latomus* 16 (1957) 60-76.

[88] J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 109.

[89] A small dog is seated on the lap of the male figure portrayed on **R 2** (Fig. 129). The dog with his head on his master's knee on a relief from Trier also likely signifies a favored pet, perhaps a good hunting dog: see Esp. 5155.

chapters.[90] These reliefs often provide more information about the deceased and his activities as a vendor or merchant. Three stock scenes in these monuments appear to be the transportation of merchandise, the tallying of accounts, and figures seated in a horse-drawn cart, although a few rural activities are also portrayed. The monument of the Secundinii at Igel (**GB 24**) plays an important part in this discussion, as it is the only monument *in situ* with all its numerous reliefs still in place.

A. The Monument of the Secundinii at Igel

The monument of the Secundinii (**GB 24**) stands today at almost 23 m in height, *in situ* at Igel (7-8 km north of Trier), on the north side of the road paralleling the Moselle River. Its significance lies in its sheer size and scale, and the fact that it is the only remaining pillar monument of its kind in the Treviran region today, where many of this type had been erected in antiquity.[91] The Igel monument was apparently erected near the family villa, which was likely built on an upper terrace north of the monument, now the site of a church.[92] The function of the Igel monument is honorific, as there is no depository

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[90] Metz: **GB 6, GB 7**; Arlon: **GB 13**, **GB 14**; Buzenol-Montauban: **GB 16**; Trier: **GB 21**; Igel: **GB 24**. The superposed relief blocks from Saintes (**A 5**, Fig. 6) depict figures employed in different types of work: the upper block depicts a métier of textile working, while the lower block possibly displays the vending of grains or legumes. If **A 5** and **A 6** (Fig. 8), did belong to the same monument, then it is possible that this monument represents the multiple activities of a family of vendors and skilled workers. For **A 5** and **A 6**, see Chapter Two, 97-98; Chapter Five, 182-183, 187-189.

[91] For a discussion of the origin and typology of the pillar monuments in Gallia Belgica see Chapter Two, 86-88.

[92] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 3; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 3. Gabelmann, following Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 148, sees the erection of large monuments such as the Secundinii as being closely connected to the construction of large villas in the Treviran region during the second and third centuries A.D: see. H. Gabelmann, "Römische Grabbauten der Nordprovinzen im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr.," in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker eds., *Römische Gräberstrassen. Selbstdarstellung-Status-Standard. Kolloquium*

(*loculus*) for the ashes of the deceased, and traces of other graves were discovered nearby.[93] All four sides of the monument are covered in reliefs depicting a mixture of scenes from business and villa life, as well as mythological reliefs.[94] These reliefs have three distinct, deliberately chosen themes: the family's successful business in the cloth trade; the pleasures of domestic life at the family villa; and the triumph of life over death.

As discussed above, the Secundinii brothers convey prestige in the large portrait on the principal face through their manner of dress, their gestures and the objects that they hold. (Figs. 87, 88). Neither this portrait nor the inscription reveal the occupational status of the Secundinii. Instead, these brothers chose to highlight various aspects of the family cloth business visually, through eight reliefs of varying size and complexity. Two large reliefs depict the examination and display of large pieces of thickly made, yet pliable woollen cloth (Figs. 86, 90).[95] The placement of these two reliefs above and below the family portrait on the principal face was intentional, as they could be seen by passers-by on the road to Trier and by boats along the Moselle River. The Secundinii desired to portray that they sold large quantities of good quality cloth and that their comfortable status in life

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im München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985 (*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*) (Munich 1987) 306.

[93] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 2.

[94] Kleiner notes that the custom of decorating stone surfaces entirely with reliefs is seen on earlier Gallo-Roman architecture such as the Arch of Tiberius at Orange, but is also found on the Severan arches at Rome and Lepcis Magna: see D.E.E.Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London 1992) 345.

[95] For discussions of the scenes of cloth display and cloth inspection see Chapter Three, 115-120.

was achieved through this trade. The large pieces of displayed cloth represent a status product which also conveys prestige to the observer.

The reliefs do not depict land-based activities such as the raising of the sheep, which one would normally associate with the manufacturing of woollen products. Only one, very poorly preserved socle relief might show the preparation of cloth with a male figure seated at a loom (Fig. 102).[96] The other five reliefs pertaining to the cloth trade focus instead on scenes of the preparation of cloth for transport (Figs. 94, 95), and the transportation of cloth by cart (Figs. 109, 110), by mule (Fig. 98), and by boat (Figs. 93, 94, 108). These scenes of transport imply that the Secundinii family had widespread trade connections and possibly multiple estates.[97] The pack-drawn wagon on the west socle is shown laden with bales, leaving the arched portal of perhaps the villa (Figs. 109, 110). It passes by an odd-looking tree, composed of three prongs surmounted by rounded balls of leaves, which likely signifies them embarking on a journey into the countryside.[98] The scene of the male

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[96] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 53-54. It is quite probable that the Secundinii were in charge of the manufacturing of their product in the vicinity of the villa: see Gabelmann (above n. 92) 298.

[97] Questions have been raised by scholars about the Secundinii and their land holdings. Drinkwater sees the Secundinii as primarily cloth traders, whose interests in the land were secondary to their business interests. He views this activity and those of the other traders in the Treviran region as evidence for a category of people who grew rich as a result of the *Pax Romana*: see J.F. Drinkwater, "Money-Rents and Food-Renders in Gallic Funerary Reliefs," in A. King and M.E. Henig eds., *The Roman West in the Third Century* (*BAR* International Series 109, 1981) 230. See also A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (University of California Press 1990) 85. On the other hand, Wightman viewed the Secundinii as landowners, whose business activities combined with estate activities revealed a wealth firmly entrenched in the land. She proposed that the Secundinii were adding to their existing wealth as landowners by simply marketing the surplus of cloth manufactured on their multiple estates. Wightman added that the impetus to use the cloth industry to increase existing wealth suggests that the Secundinii were landowners, who were not of the highest status, or they were descended from younger sons, as the name Secundinii possibly denotes: see Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 150-151.

[98] For a parallel of a similar tree with rounded balls of leaves in a scene of a figure in a horse-drawn carriage see **GB 13** (Fig. 63).

figure walking beside the pack-laden mule on the north frieze implies that a journey of some fair distance is taking place (Fig. 98). He appears to be departing from one building (the Igel villa ?), about to climb a large hill with a small building at the top, and is then shown arriving at the bottom of the hill before another building .[99] The scenes of the tying up of bales of cloth and their subsequent transport by boat along the Moselle River suggest evidence for the movement of goods between centres of trade, perhaps to markets further abroad (Figs. 93-95, 108).[100] The anecdotal scenes of transport stress the importance of the road and river networks in Roman Gaul for those involved in large scale commercial trade (*negotiatores*). The reliefs, which were meant to impress the observer with the family's large scale and possibly widespread involvement in the cloth trade, serve to further enhance the status and prestige of the Secundinii family.

Two reliefs depict the equally important financial side of the cloth business of the Secundinii. The figures surrounding the table on the left of the cloth inspection scene are counting piles of coins, while a seated figure records the amounts in a tablet (Fig. 86). The north attic relief portrays a similar scene of figures counting coins and tallying amounts

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[99] The small building at the summit might represent either a rest station or a customs post: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 77; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 24. Drinkwater suggests that this scene represents the family's involvement in importing either Italian or Spanish wool across the Alps or the Pyrenees: see J.F. Drinkwater, "The Wool Textile Industry of Gallia Belgica and the Secundinii of Igel: Questions and Hypotheses," *Textile History* 13 (1982) 117.

[100] Drinkwater (above n. 99) 116, writes that the local market could not have sustained the demand for such a high quality product and therefore it was shipped to more distant markets, as the scenes of transportation imply. The scenes of shipping provide evidence for the corporations of *nautae* (boatmen) who transported goods from one river to another. On the *nautae* see J.P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les romains* 4 (Louvain 1900) 100-104, no. 110; Drinkwater (above n. 18) 127; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 155-156; Frézouls (above n. 17) 45.

(Fig. 106). The portrayal of these large piles of coins on the tables indicates that business was thriving for the Secundinii. They serve as symbols of the wealth and prosperity of the family. It was these funds which enabled them to live in a comfortable villa and also to build their very large monument as a record of their achievements in life.

One relief portrays two figures seated in a box-like horse-drawn cart (*cisium*) (Fig. 114). The identities of the two figures are ambiguous: they might represent the Secundinii brothers or, more likely, one of the brothers and a cart-driver, as it was probably more prestigious to be shown in this fashion. The figures travel through an arched portal and pass by a milestone incised with the letters *L IIII*, signifying the distance of four Gallic leagues from Igel, where the villa is located, to Trier.[101] This scene might represent the journey of the deceased, who was traveling in style from this life to the afterlife; the milestone, in this funerary context, could mark the boundary the two worlds.[102] However, the epitaph reveals that the Secundinii brothers erected the monument while they were still living (*vivi*) and at the height of their business success.[103] The scene more probably depicts the undertaking of a journey related to their business, perhaps to collect money. This scene

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[101] Milestones in Gallia Belgica apparently began to be marked in Gallic leagues rather than Roman miles during the reign of Severus (193-211 A.D.): see Drinkwater (above n. 18) 83.

[102] J. Whitehead, *Biography and Formula in Roman Sarcophagi*, Diss., Yale University 1984, 331, n. 570. Amedick interprets the milestones, sundials and funerary monuments depicted on the late third century A.D. Italian scenes of figures in horse-drawn carriages as representing the inevitability of death at the end of one's long journey through life; the milestones act as a symbol of the distance already covered: see R. Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata* (*ASR* I.4) (Berlin 1991) 53.

[103] For the epitaph see Catalogue, 308.

is not only anecdotal in meaning, but the undertaking of such a journey also conveys a form of prestige which is almost ceremonial in manner.[104]

The Igel monument also depicts scenes of domestic life at the Secundinii villa. Two scenes on the east and south friezes portray servants working in a kitchen setting (Figs. 104, 105) and preparing and serving food at a family banquet (Fig. 89). The west frieze shows figures offering gifts of payment in kind (Fig. 113). It is this relief on the west frieze that has sparked debate among scholars.[105] The traditional view purports to show that the six figures represent tenants on the Secundinii estate, who are bringing payment in kind such as a lamb, fish, a rabbit and poultry from the estate to their landlord, likely one of the Secundinii brothers.[106] The theme of bearing gifts of food produced from the estate is seen in later Roman art, for example on the Dominus Iulius mosaic from Carthage.[107] Ternes has interpreted this scene in the context of the long-established patron/client system: the proprietor of the Igel estate is on the verge of offering work to the figures bearing gifts.[108]

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[104] Amedick (above n. 102) 53, argues that the private wagon used for travel belongs to an area of life which was organized by unwritten, but detailed rules, in which the undertaking of a trip was unfolded as a ceremony.

[105] For a parallel at nearby Arlon see Esp. 4102.

[106] Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 75-76; Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 28. See also P. Veyne, "Les cadeaux des colons à leur propriétaire: La neuvième bucolique et le mausolée d'Igel," *RA* (1986) 245-252.

[107] The figures on the Dominus Iulius mosaic bring gifts representing each of the four seasons to the owners of the estate: see K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford 1978) 119.

[108] C.-M. Ternes, "La colonne d'Igel: Lecture d'un monument gallo-romain par les modernes," in R. Chevallier ed., *Présence de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme romains. Hommage à Paul Dufournet* (*Caesarodunum* 18) (Paris 1983) 370.

In contrast, Drexel, followed by Drinkwater, suggests that the scene depicts the supplying of food to the kitchen portrayed on the opposite face.[109] In this interpretation, the figures represent estate servants bringing food from the estate to the steward, not tenants bringing payment-in-kind to their landlord. Although the anecdotal meaning of this scene is problematic, the composition nevertheless contributes to the overall impression of wealth and status, which the Secundinii wished to convey on this monument in the most overt fashion.

The Igel monument portrays three, large allegorical scenes from Greek myths on the *aediculae* of the north, west and east faces.[110] These scenes provide evidence for a Gallo-Roman middle class familiar with Greek myths, a phenomenon that was common from the Antonine period onwards.[111] The Igel myths include a rare apotheosis scene of Hercules in a four-horse chariot, set in a medallion with zodiacal decoration and wind gods in the spandrels (Figs. 96, 97);[112] the rescue of Andromeda from the monster by Perseus (Figs.

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[109] F. Drexel, "Die Bilder der Igeler Säule," *RM* (1920) 92; Drinkwater (above n. 97) 225-226.

[110] The monument has other mythological motifs, such as an Eros and two griffins (Figs. 99, 100), Mars and Rhea Silvia (Fig. 115), Hylas and the nymphs (Fig. 92), Sol (Fig. 101) and Luna (Fig. 107). The monument was likely crowned by a sculptural group representing the kidnapping of Ganymede (Fig. 116), though only the eagle survives today; additionally, putti holding masks and garlands on the raking cornice of the pediments evoke the realm of Bacchus (Figs. 91, 100, 101): see Zahn, *Igeler Säule* 32-34. Scholars also suggest that large masks served as acroteria; apparently only one of these masks is preserved and it is not part of the monument today: see Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel* 81-82. See Zahn, *op. cit.* 32, fig. 31, for a drawing showing the reconstruction of the pediment with these masks. The Eros figures portrayed on **GB 2** (Fig. 43) and **GB 26** (Fig. 119), the interlocking vine motif depicted on the side of the Soulosse stele (**GB 10**, Fig. 57), and the satyrs shown on **A 5** (Fig. 7) and **GB 2** (Fig. 42) are also associated with Bacchic imagery. For discussion and examples of allegorical myths in Gallo-Roman sculpture see Hatt, *TGR* 408-419.

[111] Zanker (above n. 30) 357.

[112] The apothoeosis scene of Hercules is likely an influence of Imperial models. The cult of Hercules was especially popular under Commodus, while scenes of apotheosis are another Antonine feature: see Hatt,

111, 112);[113] and the dipping of the infant Achilles in the river Styx by his mother Thetis (Fig. 103). The three allegorical myths symbolize the triumph of immortality over death, a theme that stressed the hope of a better life after death through good deeds.[114] The combination of scenes of work and mythological scenes suggests that the Secundinii family believed that they could ensure a better afterlife through their work and religious attitudes.

The Secundinii represented themselves as successful, prosperous, cultured and above all proud of their achievements in the trade of selling high quality woollen cloth. The sheer scale of their monument at Igel is in itself an aspect of self-presentation. It was located near the villa so that passersby on the road to Trier could be well-informed about the family's social position, wealthy status and filiation.[115] No doubt the erection of this monument while the Secundinii were at the peak of their commercial careers only enhanced their local status, and perhaps at the same time conveniently advertised the

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TGR 411-412; J. Gagé, "La mystique impériale et l'épreuve des «jeux». Commode-Hercule et l'«anthropologie» héracléenne," *ANRW* II, 17.2 (1975) 662-683. For the well-known portrait of Commodus as Hercules see Fittschen and Zanker (above n. 25) pls. 91-94, no. 78. See also M. Jaczynowska, "Le culte de l'Hercule romain au temps du Haut-Empire," *ANRW* II, 17.2 (1975) 631-661. The eagle of Zeus at the summit of the pyramidal pediment of the Igel monument (Pl. LXVa,b) also represents a symbol of apotheosis: see Hatt *TGR* 407.

[113] Ternes (above n. 108) 371, suggests that the relief on the west aedicula represents Hercules rescuing Hesione from the sea-monster, rather than Perseus rescuing Andromeda. This suggestion is equally valid as the cult of Hercules was quite prominent in the Treviran region, and the motif is complementary both to the allegorical theme of life after death and the other Heracles myth on the north face.

[114] For an antiquated interpretation of the apotheosis scenes on the Igel monument see E. Strong, *Apotheosis and the After Life* (London 1915) 224-228.

[115] Gabelmann (above n. 92) 304.

family trade.[116] While it is true that the Secundinii had no claim to the same status as the élite, they were not exactly low class either, with a thriving cloth business, a villa staffed by numerous servants, a horse-drawn carriage, and the funds to erect their lavishly decorated monument.[117]

B. Scenes of Transport and Work on Monuments with Multiple Reliefs

The six other funerary monuments with multiple reliefs from Gallia Belgica are much smaller in scale than the Igel monument.[118] Some reliefs depict motifs similar to the ones portrayed on the Igel monument, such as the scenes of the transportation of merchandise and figures in a horse-drawn carriages. Other reliefs portray land-based activities which suggest that that the vendor also had estate-holdings.

i. Scenes of the Transportation of Merchandise

Cloth, wine and perhaps agricultural products are shown being transported by figures on foot (**GB 6**, Fig. 49, upper, **GB 7**, Fig. 52) and in wagons drawn by horses or mules (**GB 6**, Fig. 49, lower, **GB 13**, Fig. 64, **GB** 21, Fig. 79, lower).[119] In contrast to the relief

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[116] Gabelmann (above n. 92) 298, suggests that the reliefs on the Igel monument do not represent advertising, but rather they provide an explanation for their success in life.

[117] The use of sandstone rather than limestone reduced the cost of the monument, which meant it could be larger than a usual-sized tomb: see Gabelmann (above n. 92) 304.

[118] **GB 6**, **GB 7**, **GB 13**, **GB 14**, **GB 16**, **GB 21**. **GB 21** is included, as it is a relief from a pillar monument, although it was reused at a later date for a sarcophagus; for the typology of **GB 21** see Chapter Two, 95-96.

[119] See also Chapter One, 55-56, for a description of the scenes of the transport of merchandise in Italy. The fragmentary relief of the food commodities vendor at Bordeaux (**A 2**, Fig. 3) also depicts a pair of animals arriving at the stall of the vendor; however, the wagons and merchandise are now missing: see Chapter Five, 187.

on the Igel monument, which clearly shows the heavily- laden wagon embarking on a journey into the countryside, the destinations of the wagons in these reliefs are left ambiguous. They are depicted passing through an arched portal either entering or departing from an urban locale or an estate. These reliefs of the transportation of merchandise contribute to the prestige of the vendors in the same manner as those on the Igel monument. The movement of goods symbolizes potential future sales, increased prosperity and the means to build substantial tombs.

ii. Scene of the Tallying of Accounts

The scene of the tallying of accounts from Arlon (**GB 13**, Fig. 62) depicts a similar composition to the one portrayed on the Igel monument.[120] The scene portrays figures counting piles of coins on a counter and writing down the amounts in a tablet or accounts book. The scenes of the tallying of accounts portrayed here and on the other vending scenes in this corpus show the financial, accounting side of a business.[121] The observer's eye is drawn to the piles of coins on the counter, which are meant to indicate that business was good and, as a result, the merchants were prosperous. In a more practical context, coins were needed by Gallo-Romans to pay their taxes, as it appears that these taxes

[120] For **GB 13** see Chapter Three, 104-105. For Italian scenes of accounting and banking see Chapter One, 50-52.

[121] For other scenes of the tallying of accounts associated with vending see **GB 15** (Fig. 70), **GB 23** ? (Fig. 81), **GB 28** (Fig. 122), **GS 1** (Fig. 123), **R 2** (Fig. 129).

supported the Roman army on the Rhine.[122] The depictions of the tallying of accounts enabled vendors to show that they had achieved success.

iii. Scenes of Figures in Horse-drawn Carriages

Four monuments of vendors depict a scene of one or more figures seated in a horse-drawn carriage (*cisium*), resembling the scene of the figures in the *cisium* on the Igel monument.[123] The carriages consist of basket-like boxes placed upon two wheels and drawn by one or two horses; the two-horse carriages have drivers with whips *(flagellum)* and lone seated passengers. It is assumed that these scenes represent the vendors departing on a journey, perhaps for financial motives. As mentioned above, with reference to the Igel scene, the depictions of the vendors undertaking journeys in horse-drawn carriages are not simply anecdotal im meaning, but also convey prestige to the observer.

iv. Scenes of Land-based Wealth

Apart from the Igel monument, with its reliefs of villa life, only two other monuments of vendors portray scenes of work on a country estate (**GB 6, GB 14**). The reliefs carved on the pillar monument known as the 'pilier du cultivateur' from Arlon (**GB**

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[122] K. Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 70 (1980) 101-125; Drinkwater (above n. 18) 128-129.

[123] Metz: **GB 7** (Fig. 53), Arlon: **GB 13** (Fig. 63), **GB 14** (Fig. 68, upper), Buzenol Montauban: **GB 16** (Fig. 73). For Gallo-Roman parallels of figures in horse-drawn carriages see G. Raepsaet, "Attelages antiques dans le nord de la Gaule les systèmes de traction par équidés," *TrZ* 45 (1982) 215-273 . For Italian parallels see W. Weber, *Die Darstellungen einer Wagenfahrt auf römischen Sarkophagdeckeln und Loculusplatten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Rome 1978); Amedick (above n. 102) 52-54, pls. 38.2, no. 30, 38.6, no. 79, 39.1, no. 191, 38.2, no. 247, 40.2, no. 163, 41.1, no. 254, 42.1, no. 148, 42.3, no. 299, 43.1, no. 244, 43.2, no. 128, 43.4, no. 297. For depictions of reconstructions of carriages see Ch. Röring, *Untersuchungen zu römischen Reisewagen* (Koblenz 1983) plans 1-4; J. Garbsch, *Mann und Roß und Wagen* (Munich 1986) 47-48, no. 34, figs. 28-30.

14) reveal that the deceased was a grower and seller of fruit, likely apples.[124] The scenes emphasize his land-based wealth and the sale of fruit and probably other provisions: two figures hoe and rake the ground (Fig. 67), while other figures sell the cultivated product (Fig. 66). The deceased also represents himself in his portrait holding the stock tool of the fruit-grower's trade, the *falx arboraria* (Fig. 69), rather than one of the other typical items of status. This knife serves as a symbol of the success and prosperity achieved by the vendor during his lifetime.

The lateral sides of the pyramidal stele from Metz (**GB 6**) also depict reliefs of various activities that suggest the deceased had money invested in land. The relief below the scene of wine vending portrays two males sawing a wooden log in an activity that likely took place on an estate (Fig. 48, lower). That this particular scene was so important as to be singled out might be related to the scene of wine vending in the separate niche above. It might represent the preparation of wood for the manufacture of wine barrels like those portrayed in wine vending scene. This wine vending scene might represent the setting of a *cella vinaria*, which was often located on the estate of the wine grower.[125]

Conclusions

The vendors present themselves as successful and prosperous in life through a unique blend of Gallic and Roman elements. The epitaphs contain standard Roman formulas, although several of the names are Gallic, revealing the continued maintenance of Celtic

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[124] For a discussion of this relief see Chapter Five, 174-176.

[125] Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.6.2) advised positioning wine cellars in country villas next to the pressing rooms. For a discussion of the wine vending scene see Chapter Four, 143-144.

traditions. This is also seen in the choice of clothing worn by the vendors. Most of the figures wear their national dress consisting of loose, woollen tunics and mantles, with the exception of a few togate males. The wearing of the toga is meant to convey one's legal status as a Roman citizen and to suggest high standing in the community. The indigenous clothes worn by the vendors are not shabby in comparison, but are represented as thick, well-made garments, which also impart prestige. On the other hand, the gestures of the vendors in their portraits show Roman influence.

The objects held by the vendors serve as attributes of occupational status or impart social prestige. The occupational attributes not only help identify the specific profession of the vendor but also symbolize the vendor's success in life through work. The objects such as purses and jewelry boxes are overt symbols of the prosperity and success of the vendor. These vendors were not concerned with propriety, as in Italy, but with ensuring that the message of their achievement in life was clearly represented to the observer. Signs of their social status as cultured Gallo-Romans are conveyed through objects such as scrolls (*volumina*) and serviettes (*mappae*). The additional scenes of work and the transportation of merchandise provide extra details which also serve to enhance the prestige of the vendors. These visual images indicate that some of the vendors had invested interests in land, and may have actually grown the products depicted for sale in the vending scenes.

CONCLUSIONS

The reliefs of the Gallo-Roman vendors reveal that they represented themselves in ways which were intended to show that their lives were prosperous and successful. The most commonly portrayed composition takes place in a setting identified by a counter, which separates the vendor from the customer into definable roles. These solidly built, often panelled counters are by far the most distinctive element in Gallo-Roman vending scenes, shown in over one third of the monuments. They are depicted as a permanent fixture in shops, with the exception of the trestle counter shown in the fruit vending scene from Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig. 66). These representations of counters are the only source of evidence for this type of furniture, presumably because they were made of wood. The counters have a number of functions: they were used for dispensing wine; cutting cloth; displaying merchandise; making transactions; and counting the proceeds of the sale. A butcher's block (*caudex*) functions in the same manner, separating the vendor from the customer, as seen in the butcher shop relief from Hieraple (**GB 9**, Fig. 55). These counters might represent the fact that the merchants owned or rented a special space for their business. If this is the case, then the reliefs themselves commemorated an identifiable space within the town which was used for either manufacture, storage or sale. This itself might confer prestige on the vendors memorialized in the reliefs.

Representations of counters are found in significantly more of the Gallo-Roman vending scenes than in the vending scenes in Italy, discussed in Chapter One.[1] They are depicted in Gallo-Roman scenes portraying every type of commodity: cloth, wine, food, and specialty items. In comparison, the counters in the Italian reliefs do function in the same manner of separating the customer from the vendor and displaying the merchandise; however, these counters do not appear as permanent fixtures, and they do not appear at all in the Italian cloth vending scenes.

Shelves are also featured to a lesser extent as permanent fixtures in representations of Gallo-Roman shops depicting the sale of wine, cloth and specialty items. These shelves serve to store and display the merchandise, such as flasks, containers (**GL 8**, **GS 2**); amphorae and barrels (**R 2**); and neatly folded cloth, another feature not seen in the Italian series of cloth vending scenes.[2] A less permanent arrangement of shelves made up of three rows of square boxes can be seen in the representation of likely a jewelry shop from Metz (**GB 4**).

Other permanent fixtures depicted on Gallo-Roman vending scenes include racks attached to the walls of the shops, for example the cloth hanging on the rack in the stele of the tailor from Sens (**GL 6**), and the meat racks with hooks (*carnaria*) portrayed on the reliefs from Dijon (**GL 16**), Til-Châtel (**GL 17**) and Hieraple (**GB 9**). A variation of the meat rack is depicted on the tavern scene from Trier; in this scene game-birds hang from hooks within an open cupboard above the customers (**GB 21**, Fig. 79, upper).

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[1] See Chapter One, 24-50.

[2] **GB 2, GB 13** (Fig. 61), **GB 19**, **GB 24** (Fig. 86).

Although the Gallo-Roman series of vending reliefs generally appear to show more features of their settings, such as counters and shelves, than are seen in the Italian series, they do not reveal very much about the interior of actual Gallo-Roman shops.[3] As frequently mentioned, these depictions of shops are not intended to be mirror images of actual shops. The artists used only a few conventional elements to indicate the setting, as certain components are missing from these reliefs that assuredly would have been found in actual shops. For example, water was likely needed for cleaning up blood and offal in butcher shops and for mixing wine in wine shops, yet this element is not depicted. Additionally, as only the interiors of the shops are portrayed in the vending scenes, it must be assumed that real shops had doors that could be locked as a protection from would-be thieves. The two-dimensional scenes also do not allow for showing extra storerooms and depicting the placement of the counters and shelves in real shops.

There appears to be a very considerable range in size and decoration between tombs erected by the vendors. The erection of such monuments could be costly, depending upon the type of material, size, decoration and degree of sculptural expertise. For example, the better preserved stelae vary from 67 cm to 2.34 m in height. Some stelae appear to be nothing more than a simple panel (**GN 1**, **GB 11**), while others have well-carved reliefs and stylistic details (**A 8**, **GL 8**, **GL 9**, **GB 6**, **GB 7**). However, even the largest stele is dwarfed by the pillar monument at Igel (**GB 24**), measuring almost 23 m. in height; not even the nearly complete pillar monuments from Arlon (**GB 13** and **GB 14**) come close in height to this monument. The

[3] For archaeological evidence of Gallo-Roman shops, see the Introduction, 12 n. 20.

tombs of the vendors from Gallia Belgica do tend to stand out in comparison with those from the other provinces, as they are often large, showy monuments, carved with multiple reliefs and elaborate decoration.

The merchandise on display in the scenes of vending serves as symbols of the occupational status of the vendors. The various types of merchandise are also used to convey prestige for the vendor. Cloth was considered a status item in Gallia Belgica, as seen in the numerous representations of large, thickly made, yet pliant pieces of cloth. The reliefs on the pillar monument of the Secundinii, at Igel **(GB 24)** shows that the cloth trade symbolized the great success of these merchants in life.

The sale of wine was also considered to be a prestigious motif to portray on one's tomb. The wine vending reliefs are more widely distributed throughout Gaul and Germany, ranging from Bordeaux to the Treviran region, as well as east to Augsburg, than those of the cloth vending scenes. The two reliefs of possible beer-making from Grand **(GB 12.1-12.2)**, as well as the epigraphic evidence for brewers in the north-east, indicate that it was also a beverage of choice by the Gauls of this region.[4] Perhaps one should not assume that the barrels depicted in wine shops represent containers for storing only wine, for they might have also been employed for storing beer.

The scenes portraying the sale of fruit may not seem as prestigious as those of cloth or wine; however, the evidence from the Arlon pillar monument **(GB 14)** suggests otherwise. The

[4] See Chapter Four, 163-169.

multiple scenes carved on this tomb indicate that the deceased probably owned the orchards that supplied the fruit for sale.

It seems evident from the various depictions of butchered meats that pork was a mainstay of the Gallic meat diet.[5] As the fame of Gallo-Roman pork extended to Italy, the sale of this product likely conveyed a certain amount of prestige for the vendor. Fish was apparently not a commonly purchased product inland; there is only the one ambiguous scene of possible fish merchants from Paris (**GL 14**).[6] One might expect to find more representations of the sale of this expensive commodity. As discussed previously, detailed scenes of the sale of fish to customers are depicted on reliefs from Rome and Ostia.[7] The depiction of pheasants is a surprising addition in the tavern scene from Trier (**GB 21**, Fig. 79, upper). The proprietor of this tomb chose these birds to be represented on this relief to show that he served 'elegant food' in his tavern.

The few examples of scenes of Gallo-Roman specialty shops provide evidence for the cultured tastes of the urban population.[8] Perfume shops and sandals, such as the ones probably portrayed in the scenes from Lillebonne (**GL 8, GL 9**) and Langres (**GS 2**), were prerequisites for bathing in towns with public and private baths. The only known representation of a

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[5] **GL 16**, **GL 17**, **GB 9**, **GB 22**. See Chapter Five, 189-199, for scenes of meat vending.

[6] See *CIL* XIII, 5221 for an inscription from Germania Superior of a merchant of salted fish (*salsarius*); see also E. Frézouls, "Les noms de métiers dans l'épigraphie de la Gaule et de la Germanie romaines," *Ktema* 15 (1990) 49.

[7] See Chapter One, 31-33; Chapter Five, 201.

[8] For a discussion of scenes with specialty products see Chapter Six, 208-224.

probable jewelry shop at Metz **(GB 4)** also provides evidence for a population which had money to spend on merchandise other than the basic necessities. It is surprising, with the number of grave goods containing jewelry, that there are not more scenes of this kind of shop preserved in Gaul and elsewhere in the empire.[9]

Although the merchandise in these Gallo-Roman vending scenes covers a wide range of products, other sorts of products are not shown in these scenes which would have been sold at this time. For example, there are scenes of products for sale in the Italian reliefs discussed in chapter one that are not depicted on the Gallo-Roman monuments, such as reliefs of cushion sellers, mirror sellers, garland vendors, bakeries, and the sale of domesticated poultry.[10] Epigraphic evidence from Gaul and Italy also records vendors of certain goods for which there are no corresponding visual images, such as dealers of soap, incense, books, paper, and reeds for writing implements.[11] These latter three items are depicted as frequently used objects in Gallo-Roman vending scenes, although they are not seen in the Italian series with the exception of the female bookkeeper on the relief of the Dresden butcher (Fig. 133). It is notable there is no visual or epigraphic evidence for salt dealers in Gaul, since in the absence of refrigeration, salt was used for curing and preserving many types of foods, such as the legs of ham seen in

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[9] Epigraphic evidence of *gemmarii* is apparently found only at Rome (*CIL* VI, 245, 9433-9435). See also H. Von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in H. Jankuhn ed., *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* I (*Abhandlungen der Akadamie des Wissenschaften Göttingen*) (Göttingen 1981) 99.

[10] See Chapter One, 26-27, 35 n. 57, 42; Kampen, *Image and Status* 155, nos. 46-47.

[11] *CIL* XIII, 2030: Lyon (*artis saponariae*); *CIL* XII, 4518: Narbonne (*turarius*) *CIL* VI, 9256: Rome (*cartarius*); *CIL* VI, 9456: Rome (*(h)arundinarius*).

the representations of meat vending.[12] There is archaeological evidence in Gallic villas for the consumption of oysters that were presumably transported inland in amphorae or barrels of brine.[13] There is also evidence for installations near Douarnez for the production of the Roman delicacy known as *garum*, although no visual images are known for the sale of this product.[14]

The types of merchandise for sale in the vending scenes and the types of monuments erected by the vendors are two ways in which these Gallo-Roman vendors intended to show that their lives were prosperous and successful. Other means of showing status and success are the objects held or worn by the vendors in the vending scenes and in the separate portraits of vendors with family groups. These objects include the fat purses and scrolls (*volumina*) of the male vendors and the jewelry boxes and *mappae* held by their wives.[15] Even the small stele of the bust of the female vendor from Bordeaux (**A 3**) holds a mirror as a sign of her civilized status. The clothing of the Gallo-Roman vendors, consisting of wide, loose woollen tunics and mantles, had a certain status for those who wished to present themselves as well-dressed and

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[12] On the archaeological evidence for the salt trade in Gaul see P. Brogan, *Roman Gaul* (London 1953) 140; P.L. Gouletquer, *Les Briguetages armoricains: technologie protohistorique du sel en Armorique* (Rennes 1970); H. Thoen, "Iron Age and Roman salt-making sites on the Belgian coast," in K. de Brisay ed., *Salt: the study of an ancient industry* (Colchester 1975) 56-60; A. King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (University of California Press 1990) 105. See also n. 6 above, for reference of epitaph of a salted fish vendor (*salsarius*).

[13] King (above n. 12) 105; G. Coulon, *Les gallo-romains. Au carrefour de deux civilisations* (Paris 1985) 144-145. Saintes, located on the Atlantic side of Gaul, was probably a centre of trade for oysters: see L. Maurin, *Saintes antique* (Saintes 1978) 232. Oyster shells from a rubbish pit in Trier indicate that these items were transported quite a long distance to satisfy the desires of the population who could afford this delicacy: see Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 219, no. 167.

[14] See R. Sanqier and P. Galliou, "Garum, sel, et salaisons en Armorique gallo-romaine,' *Gallia* 30 (1972) 199-223.

[15] See Chapter Seven. 247-251.

warm. This clothing is also worn by the figures in the majority of other Gallo-Roman funerary monuments.[16] Apparently, the Italian toga was rarely used as an indicator of status in representations of Gallo-Romans vendors. The togas worn by the father and son on the Igel monument (**GB** 24, Fig. 86) and by the large seated figure in the scene from Grand (**GB** 12.2) are the only two exceptions in the scenes of vendors; togas were meant to be seen as symbols of the legal and social status of these individuals.

Only four vending scenes portray Gallo-Roman women in a work role. The wine vending scene from Metz is the only clear example which shows a woman in the act of making a potential commercial transaction with a customer (**GB 6**, Fig. 48, upper). On the other hand, the role of the female in the fruit vending scene from Arlon (**GB 14**, Fig. 66) is not clearly stated: she only arranges the fruit from behind the counter, while it is the male figure standing behind the counter on the right who makes the sale to the customer. The set of scales (*libra*) held by the female bust on the stele from Bordeaux (**A 3**) serves as a generic attribute that identifies her role as a merchant; however, we are not shown her place of work or what she sold. The actions of the female portrayed in the monument of the wine vendors in Augsburg indicate that she is not making a transaction, but instead is helping with the accounting side of the business (**R 2**, Fig. 129). Equally scarce are the visual images of women selling merchandise in Italy; however, the examples that are preserved clearly show these women as vendors.[17] Gallo-Roman women, like their Italian counterparts, apparently preferred to be

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[16] See Chapter Seven, 237-244.

[17] Figs. 141, 142, ?145. See Kampen, *Image and Status* 113, n. 31, for epigraphic references of female vendors at Rome, who sold grain, seeds and fish.

shown as persons of status and leisure in a funerary context, even though this may not have been the case in actuality.

The combinations of other scenes of work with vending scenes on the monuments from Gallia Belgica are other ways in which the vendors showed that their lives were prosperous and successful.[18] This combination of work motifs in separate reliefs on one monument is a Gallo-Roman feature not seen in the Italian series of vending scenes. These other work scenes depict mainly the transportation of merchandise, rural labour and the tallying of accounts. The scene of the vendor riding along in a horse-drawn wagon (*cisium*) is another motif on these monuments intended to convey prestige.[19]

The Gallo-Roman scenes of vending likely have Italian antecedents, as the two series of vending scenes in Italy and Gaul share many of the same themes of cloth, wine and food vending. However, the Gallo-Roman vending scenes are much more original in their overall composition and design as a response to specifically Gallic tastes. This can be seen in the elaborate Gallo-Roman wine counters; the inclusion of such details as counter and shelves; the additional anecdotal scenes related to work; and the large separate, full-length portraits of the deceased on the principal face.

According to the accepted chronology of Gallo-Roman monuments with scenes of vendors, it appears that none was erected after the mid-third century A.D. A number of factors

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[18] See Chapter Seven, 251-263.

[19] See Chapter Seven, 256-257, 262.

affected the demise of these monuments. The series of barbarian invasions in the north-east in the 250s and 270s A.D. contributed to a decline in the economy in this region, with the sacking of towns and the abandonment of the villas, where many of the products shown in the vending scenes were grown.[20] It is at this time that the willful destruction of tombs for materials for building city fortification walls occurred in this region.[21] Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that there was some economic recovery in the north-east, for during the early fourth century A.D. Trier, Metz and Tournai had large workshops for weaving woollen cloth, normally assumed to have been *gynaecia*, and large villas were being built in the countryside.[22]

A change in funerary customs also affected the decline of funerary monuments carved in the late third century A.D. The growing preference for much smaller-sized yet often costly sarcophagi in the fourth century A.D. probably also led to the demise of the large showy monuments erected by shop vendors and large scale traders.[23] At this time, the reliefs from

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[20] The seriousness of the raids of the Alemanni and Franks in the 250s and the invasion in the 270s of Vandals, Franks, Burgundians and Alemanni, sacking Trier and other urban centres, can be seen in the increase in the burials of coin hoards: see King (above n. 12) 174-177; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 191-198. King, *op. cit.* 173, notes that the economic decline in Gaul began in 197 A.D. with the sacking of Lyon, the economic capital, by Severus; widespread coin shortages also appeared as a result of increase in army pay, necessitating the minting of coins in many sites to service the needs of the vendors.

[21] See Chapter Two, 63 n. 5, for reuse of reliefs in city fortification walls.

[22] *Not. dign. occ.* 11.35, 58, 77; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 67; 119; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 240; J.P. Wild, "The gynaecia," in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds. *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford 1976) 51-58. There is also archaeological and literary evidence for villa life continuing into the fifth century, especially in Aquitania, which was relatively untouched by the crises of the third century: see Salvian, *De Gub. Dei.*; Sid. App. *Litt. 2.2*; J. Percival, *The Roman Villa* (London 1976) 70-72; A. Ferdière, *Les campagnes en Gaule romaine* II (Paris 1988) 214; King (above n. 12) 185. The evidence from the north-east indicates that some villas were destroyed or abandoned, although other luxurious dwellings were renovated or newly constructed: see Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 243-244, 258-259.

[23] Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 241, notes however that stone sarcophagi are really only frequent at Trier, although there may have also been an overall drop in the trade of funerary stone-masons.

two former pillar monuments of vendors at Trier were reworked into fourth century A.D. sarcophagi (**GB** 21, **GB 22**). This was a cheaper method of buying a tomb, since the stone was already carved.

In conclusion, the commissioned scenes carved on the Gallo-Roman reliefs show vendors as active and productive in their work. The variety of tomb types provides evidence of their achievements, ranging from those who were moderately successful to those who were comfortably wealthy. No doubt, there were much poorer vendors, who could not afford to erect a tomb, and as a result, the record of their portrayed achievements is unknown. However, the vendors examined in this thesis had one thing in common: they purchased a tomb to boast of their achievements and preserve their posterity. Above all, the profits from their shops and businesses did provide them with the funds to pay for their monuments regardless of size and decoration.

CATALOGUE

The entries in this catalogue are arranged numerically by provenance within their respective Gallo-Roman provinces. The provinces are listed geographically from south to north, encompassing present day France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany. The reliefs from Germania Superior and Raetia follow the Gallo-Roman works. The dates of the preserved monuments and reliefs are basically those given by the editors and recent commentators, who use stylistic and iconographic criteria unless specified otherwise. General stylistic and iconographic guidelines for dates consist of the use of heavy outline around figures of first century A.D. date; the use of the drill, cross-hatch chisel techniques, the play of light and shadow on drapery folds, and the addition of beards on males in reliefs of Hadrianic and Antonine date (second century A.D.); the affected and rigid gestures of the figures and the advanced treatment of facial details that are characteristic of the Severan period (late second/early third century A.D.). Epigraphical dating criteria are also used for dating some of the funerary monuments with epitaphs. These criteria include the common formula *Dis Manibus*, which was used principally during the second century A.D. in Gaul, becoming less frequent during the third century A.D; the use of *duo nomina* was common during the mid-second and early third centuries A.D; and the more precise indication of the age of the deceased at death indicates a third century A.D. date.

Legend

GN	Gallia Narbonensis
A	Aquitania
GL	Gallia Lugdunensis
GB	Gallia Belgica
GS	Germania Superior

R Raetia

Gallia Narbonensis

Narbonne (*Narbo Martius*)

GN 1 (Fig. 1) Stele of fruit peddler

Present Location: Narbonne, Musée Archéologique. Inv. 837-1-5
Provenance: Discovered in ramparts of Montmorency bastion, beneath royal heraldic symbol, at Narbonne
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 74 cm; W, 51 cm; D, 15 cm
Present State: Very worn and pitted surface. A fragment is missing from upper right corner (includes part of inscription: *[M]al[a]*); lower right corner restored. A horizontal crack runs across figure's legs at mid-calf and back wall of niche. Details of face and hands are worn and abraded; feet are missing.
Inscription: *CIL* XII, 4524: *[M]al[a]; Myliere(s), myliere(s), meae*
Translation: Apples! Ladies, my ladies.
Bibliography: Tournal, *Catalogue* 93, no. 451; Lebègue, *Histoire de Languedoc* 194-195, no. 239; Esp. 616; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 38; Goudineau, *Histoire de la France urbaine* I fig. 277; Gayraud, *Narbonne antique* 547-548, fig. 66; Hatt, *TGR* 127; Solier, *Narbonne* 106, no. 94.

A male figure, dressed in a short-sleeved tunic, stands the full length of a rectangular panel. His right hand holds a paddle-shaped object, carved in shallow relief; the left hand also held an object, now missing. A large basket is suspended around the figure's neck, filled with small, round objects, likely fruit.
Date: First century A.D. (Hatt)

Aquitania
Bordeaux (*Burdigala Biturigum Viviscorum*)

A 1 (Fig. 2) Relief block with multiple market scenes

Present Location: Bordeaux , Musée d'Aquitaine. Inv. 60.2.42
Provenance: Discovered in 1867 in Gallo-Roman wall between la rue du Loup and la rue de Chèverus, Bordeaux
Monument Type: Altar (?)
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 36 cm; W, 92 cm, D, 56 cm
Present State: Very worn, porous surface. Facial features severely damaged. Fragments missing on left side. Traces of yellowish-gold patina on figures and counter.

Bibliography: Jullian, *Inscriptions de Bordeaux* 325; Esp. 1097; Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* 198, pl. 16; Musée d' Aquitaine, *Bordeaux 2000 ans d'histoire* 80-81, no. 70; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Hatt, *TGR* 157, 202, 312-313. Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux et l'Aquitaine* 59, no. 58.

The form is a long rectangular block with traces of a moulding below a carved rectangular niche. There are two holes on the top of the block, measuring 12.5 X 3 X 12.5 cm and 5 X 3 X 6.5 cm respectively. Three male figures, dressed in long-sleeved tunics, stand behind a long, low counter with four large sacks on top. The male figure on the right holds a long narrow object in his right hand. A female figure, dressed in a long tunic, stands at each end of the counter in opposing symmetrical poses. Another scene, to the right of the central scene, takes place under a pitched roof. A male figure, facing left, is seated on a footstool before a small counter. Another male figure stands in profile, facing the vendor; his left hand holds an unidentifiable object. Both figures wear long tunics with long sleeves. Drapery, rendered in shallow relief, is shown on the back wall. A similar, less preserved scene is carved on the left side of the relief with very faint traces of a male figure, table and roofed structure.
Date: First century A.D. (Hatt); beginning of the third century A.D. (Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux 2000 ans d'histoire*)

A 2 (Fig. 3) Relief block of a market scene

Present Location: Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine. Inv. B.3.1
Provenance: Discovered in 1867 on the Bauvallon property at rue des Trois-Canards, Bordeaux
Monument Type: Altar (?)
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 54 cm; W, 1.25 m; D, 62 cm
Present State: Very worn. Large fragments missing from upper part and sides. The facial features of both figures are destroyed. Only the horses' heads and upper bodies remain on the left. Fragment missing on bottom outer edge of niche. Blackish patina on pots, counter, head of oxen and head of right figure leading oxen.
Bibliography: Jullian, *Inscriptions de Bordeaux* 325; Esp. 1098; Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux 2000 ans d'histoire* 79-80, no. 69; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Hatt, *TGR* 157, 202, 312-313; Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux et l'Aquitaine* 59, no. 49.

The form is a rectangular block carved on one face. A male vendor, dressed in a tunic and hooded mantle, stands behind a counter with two covered pots and a mortar and pestle on top. On the left, the lower half of a male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, leans towards a balance, possibly holding a weight in his right hand. The nature of the merchandise being weighed is uncertain - fruit (?). Below the balance are two hemispherical weights with a chain, which passes through a hole in each weight and hangs down on each side. To the right of the vendor, a yoked pair of oxen are shown in profile, facing left. A male figure, wearing a short tunic, stands behind the oxen holding a whip in his right hand. His hairstyle is short and cap-like; possibly a short beard covers the lower face. Traces of a yoke suggest that the oxen were pulling a wagon. To the left of the vendor are a team of horses in profile, facing right; traces remain of their bridles and reins.
Date: First century A.D. (Hatt); second/third century A.D. (Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux et l'Aquitaine*)

A 3 (Fig. 4) Stele of female merchant holding scales

Present Location: Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine. Inv. 60.2.57
Provenance: Discovered in 1826, behind the old school in the ancient city wall, rue Guillaume-Brochon, Bordeaux
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 81 cm; W, 61 cm; D, 34 cm; niche: H, 60 cm; W, 46 cm
Present State: Intact; surface is porous with pitting on the lower outer wall below niche. Nose and mouth of figure are abraded. Traces of yellowish-gold patina on figure and ground.
Bibliography: Jullian, *Inscriptions de Bordeaux* 318; Esp. 1122; Braemer, *Stèles de Bordeaux* 76, pl. 17; Goudineau, *Histoire de la France urbaine* I fig. 307; Kampen, *Image and Status* 154, no. 45; Hatt, *TGR* 217, n. 8; Musée d'Aquitaine, *Bordeaux et l'Aquitaine* 59, no. 47.

The form is a rectangular niche carved on one face. The stele has holes near the base for attaching the stele to a vertical wall with the aid of wooden or bronze studs. The bust of a female figure, dressed in a short-sleeved tunic, fills the niche. Facial features consist of a ridged brow, protruding chin and well-defined deeply carved eyes. The hair is parted in the centre and is pulled back severely behind the rather pointed ears. The body is very rigid with the arms crossed against the chest. The figure holds a small balance with weights in the right hand and a small mirror in the left.
Date: End second century A.D. (Braemer); third century A.D. (Musée d'Aquitaine)

A 4 (Fig. 5) Relief of a butcher's chopping block and meat cleaver

Present Location: Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine
Provenance: Unknown
Monument Type: Triangular pedimented stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 67 cm; W, 33 cm; D, 14 cm
Present State: Intact. Slight surface wear
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 855: *D(is) M(anibus) / Sintaugus / Leducci (filius) d/efu(n)ctus a/nnorum XX/VII.*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. Sintaugus, son of Leduccus, dead at the age of 27.
Bibliography: Jullian, *Inscriptions de Bordeaux* 379; Esp. 1210; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 23.

The form is rectangular niche, carved in shallow relief, surmounted by a narrow triangular pediment. The upper half of the niche contains the inscription. The lower half portrays a meat cleaver with a wide blade, which is placed on top of a solid, rectangular chopping block (*caudex*).
Date: Second century A.D (based on inscription)

Saintes (*Mediolanum Santonum*)

A 5 (Figs. 6, 7) Cubic blocks depicting a vending scene and textile manufacturing

Present Location: Saintes, Musée Archéologique
Provenance: Lower blocks discovered in 1858; upper blocks discovered in 1887, in excavations at the general hospital, Saintes
Monument Type: Monumental stele or pillar monument (?)
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.15 m (upp. 58 cm; low. 57 cm), W, 95 cm; D, 60 cm
Present State: Surface is pitted and tri-coloured: light buff; yellowish-gold and grey patina. Fragment missing from front edge of lower block; otherwise basically intact. Facial features are very worn and mutilated on upper block; left foot of male figure is mutilated. Facial features are destroyed on lower block. Fragments missing from right leg of satyr on left lateral face.
Bibliography: Proust and Dangibeaud, *Ville de Saintes*, 14, pl. 3a; Audiat, *Musée de Saintes* 57, no. 147; Esp. 1342; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 21; Maurin, *Saintes antique* 225-226; figs. 281, 283-284; Goudineau, *Histoire de la France urbaine* I figs. 317, 319; Hatt, *TGR* 173, n. 5; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 245-246.

The form consists of two superposed cubic blocks carved on two faces. **A 6** is likely part of the same monument. On the lower block, a tunicate male vendor stands in three-quarter view behind a low rectangular counter with two cloth sacks placed on top (Fig. 6). The vendor holds a horn-shaped object in front of his chest with both hands. To the right, another male figure stands in profile facing the vendor. The figure is dressed in pants or breeches and a short, hooded cape. He holds an object, perhaps a purse, with both hands. On the upper block, the relief depicts a process related to the textile industry. A tunicate male and a female, wearing a long tunic, are seated on footstools facing each other. The male's hairstyle consists of a curly, close-fitting cap which covers the ears. A large oblique wooden post with three skeins of wool is depicted between the couple. The male pulls one of the skeins around the post and the woman is smoothing (?) the wool. On the left lateral face, a nude, snub-nosed satyr stands in a *contrapposto* pose with a cloak draped over his left arm (Fig. 7). He supports a two-handled amphora with a strainer in its opening on his right shoulder.
Date: Second century A.D. (Maurin)

A 6 (Figs. 8, 9) Cubic blocks with a vending scene and merchant couple

Present Location: Saintes, Musée Archéologique
Provenance: Lower block discovered in 1816; upper block found in 1887, in excavations of old garden wall of hospital, Saintes
Monument Type: Monumental stele or pillar monument (?)
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.17 m (upper 46 cm; lower 71 cm); W, 59 cm; D, 100 cm (upper), 60 cm (lower)
Present State: Upper block very worn; fragments missing from lower part and surface. Lower block intact but fragments missing from surface. Male's right foot is missing on lower block. Tri-coloured surface of buff, grey and yellowish-gold patina. Possibly reddish- brown paint on upper outside wall of niche. Traces of yellowish-brown paint on lower left leg of male figure. Traces of yellowish-brown paint on the drapery folds over female's upper right leg.

Bibliography: Proust and Dangibeaud, *Ville de Saintes* V, 16, pl. 10; Audiat, *Musée de Saintes* 63, no. 184; Esp. 1345; Maurin, *Saintes antique* 226; figs. 282, 285-286; Hatt, *TGR* 173; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 245- 246.

The form consist of two superposed cubic blocks, which are carved in reliefs on two faces. The scene on the upper block overlaps onto the block directly below it. Two figures are depicted within a narrow framed niche (Fig. 8). On the left are traces of a seated, tunicate male figure; his left hand rests on an object, perhaps a tablet. On the right is a very mutilated figure with a raised right hand. The figure appears to be in three-quarter view and may also be seated. The lower block portrays a couple, who stand turned slightly towards each other. The male on the left, wearing a short-sleeved, knee-length tunic, holds an object with a long curving spout in his right hand and part of a balance in his left. On the right, a female, dressed in a long, girded tunic, supports the other part of the balance in her left hand. Two round objects are depicted on the tray of the balance. On the right lateral side, a muscular, nude male athlete is depicted with strigil (Fig. 9). He stands in a *contrapposto* pose similar to the satyr in **A 5**. Facial features consist of finely modelled closed lips, delicate ridged brow and deeply-set left pupil. Sausage-shaped locks of hair cover the ears.
Date: Second century A.D. (Maurin)

Alléan

A 7 (Fig. 10) Stele of a Draper

Present Location: Bourges, Musée du Berry. Inv. 856.2.17, no. 71
Provenance: Discovered in 1849, in Alléan, near Baugy (Cher)
Monument Type: Vaulted stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.05 m; W. 55 cm; D, 11 cm
Present State: Intact. Fragments missing from bottom front and bottom right side of stele. Fragment missing from figure's nose. Black patina on figure, cloth, architectural ornament and back wall of niche.
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 1343: *Dis Man(ibus) Mem(oriae) Silvestri.*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. To the memory of Silvester.
Bibliography: Esp. 1519; Favière, *Musée de Bourges* 4; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 44-45; Goudineau, *Histoire de la France urbaine* I, fig. 259; Ferdière, *RACentre* 23.2 (1984) 229, 238, 248, fig. 13; Provost, *Le Cher* 22.

The upper body of a long-sleeved, tunicate male figure stands frontally within the arched niche, completely filling the ground. The short, closely cropped hair frames his forehead in sparse lines. The facial features indicate a mature male with a lined brow and closely trimmed beard. The bulging eyes are oversized, almond-shaped and heavily lidded with pouches below. He holds before him the upper edges of a piece of fringed cloth, which is folded over a long string.
Date: End second century/beginning third century A.D. (Favière); second half of second century A.D. (Provost)

St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon (*Ernodurum*)

A 8 (Fig. 11) Stele of wine merchant

Present Location: Bourges, Musée du Berry. Inv. no. 71
Provenance: Discovered in 1910, by the Société des Antiquaires du Centre in St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon
Monument Type: Triangular-pedimented stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.80 m; W, 1.02 m; D, 50 cm
Present State: Basically intact. Fragment restored on front base of left pilaster. Triangular-shaped fragment missing from top of stele. Right upper wall of stele damaged. Figure's left foot is missing and fragments from right foot. Fragment missing from figure's chin. Traces of blue paint on back wall of niche below jugs on the right. A blackish patina coats the pilasters.
Bibliography: Esp. 7006; Favière, *Musée de Bourges* 10, 14; Goudineau, *Histoire de la France urbaine* I fig. 298; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 85; King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* 123.

A male figure, dressed in a tunic and poncho-like outer garment, stands frontally within the niche; a soft, supple ankle boot adorns the right foot. He has short, sparse hair, wrinkled brow and chin, well-defined pursed lips and deep-set eyes; the ears are pierced with small holes for earrings. He holds a small rectangular tablet in his left hand; his right hand is placed upon his chest grasping part of his mantle. Three single-handled jugs hang on hooks attached to the arched ceiling of the niche.
Date: Beginning third century A.D. (Favière)

Le Puy (*Anitium/Anicium*)

A 9 (Fig. 12) Scenes related to cloth vending

Present Location: Le Puy, built into the sub-basement of the belltower of the cathedral; plaster casts in storage at Musée Crozatier. Inv. 892-8-33-2
Provenance: Local. Le Puy
Monument Type: Pillar monument
Material: Limestone from Blavozy
Dimensions: H, 67 cm; W, 1.80 m; Plaster cast: H, 61 cm, W, 64 cm; H, 60 cm; W, 69 cm
Present State: Very worn and abraded. Fragments missing from bottom and sides.
Bibliography: Malègue, *Antiquités de la Haute-Loire* 40, no. 11; Esp. 1659; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 45-46; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42, 95 no. 7, fig. 45; Hatt, *TGR* 173, 314.

The form consists of two reliefs which once joined to form a long rectangular block. On the right block, a bearded male figure displays a piece of cloth to a couple, dressed in long-sleeved garments, who stand in three-quarter view behind a counter. The female's hair is pulled back into a braid and wrapped in a bun on top of her head. She appears to be holding a purse against her chest. Her companion places both hands upon an unknown object on the counter. His hair lies in short strands on his head. On the left block, four tunicate male figures holding objects are grouped before a counter in overlapping poses of

varying heights. The figures are clean shaven with curly cap-like hairstyles. Behind the counter are the traces of the right arm of another figure.
Date: Beginning third century A.D. (Baltzer)

Gallia Lugdunensis
Autun (*Augustodunum Aeduorum*)

GL 1 (Fig. 13) Stele of cooper (*cuparius*) or wine merchant holding barrel

Present Location: Autun, Musée Rolin. Inv. M.L. 849
Provenance: Discovered in 1879, at Bois Saint-Jean, Autun
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Grey limestone
Dimensions: H, 47 cm; W, 49.5 cm; D, 18.5 cm
Present State: Surface is pitted and worn. Upper right corner is restored. Lower part of stele is missing (Esp. 1882 depicts the complete stele).
Bibliography: Esp. 1882; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 241, no. 25326; Musée Rolin, *Autun Avgvstodvnvm* 260-261, fig. a; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 154.

The bust of a male figure, dressed in a wide cloak, fills the interior of the niche. He is beardless with thickly pursed lips, long nose, well-defined eyes, stout neck and short, cap-like hair. His left hand supports a small barrel on his left shoulder; his right hand holds a cylindrical object.
Date: Second century A.D.

GL 2 (Fig. 14) Stele of a wine merchant/taverner

Present Location: Autun, enclosed in the south facade of a house named "Caves Joyaux"
Provenance: Discovered ca. 1807 in the Saint-Pierre-l'Étrier cemetery; formerly found face down below a tomb; then placed against the door of the church of Saint-Symphorien
Monument Type: Vaulted stele
Material: Grey limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.15 m; W, 60 cm
Present State: Mostly intact. Fragment missing from upper left corner of stele. Pitted surface. Both feet are worn with fragments missing from the front parts.
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 2676: *D(is) M(anibus) / Vossius Cresce(n)s copo.*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. Vossius Crescens, taverner.
Bibliography: Esp. 1898; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 35.

A male figure, dressed in a wide knee-length cloak with long sleeves, stands the full length of an arched niche, in frontal view. Facial features consist of a beard, pursed lips, narrow eyes and thick eyebrows; thick curly hair covers the ears. He holds a small drinking cup in his right hand and a pipette in his left.
Date: Mid second/early third century A.D. (based on inscription)

Sens (*Agedincum*)

GL 3 (Fig. 15) Stele of wine merchant

Present Location: Sens, Musée Municipal. Inv. 83
Provenance: Local. Sens
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 59 cm; W, 83 cm; D, 49 cm
Present State: Worn with fragments missing from all sides and surface. Facial features are mutilated.
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 2974: *Li...../Mu...../Arbi[tratu]...../Fru[endi?]*
Bibliography: Julliot, *Catalogue de Sens* 6, no. 83; Julliot, *Musée de Sens* 88, no. 9, pl. 9.3; Esp. 2780; Hatt, *TGR* 203, n. 7.

The form is a rectangular block carved on three faces. The right lateral face (not shown) depicts the traces of four figures. On the opposite side is the mutilated inscription; only the first letters of the four last lines are preserved. The principal face portrays two male figures dressed in short tunics and wide poncho-like mantles. The left figure has a long piece of cloth draped over the left shoulder. His left hand holds an object pierced by five holes in front of a large circular barrel. A vase and tripod are placed on the floor directly below the barrel. The right figure holds out a small cask for a refill of the wine stored in the barrel.
Date: Early second century A.D. (Hatt)

GL 4 (Figs. 16, 17) Relief block of a tailor's shop

Present Location: Sens, Musée Municipal. Inv. 87
Provenance: Discovered in 1850, near "la porte Formau" in the ancient city wall of Sens
Monument Type: Monumental rectangular stele
Material: Soft grey limestone
Dimensions: H, 57 cm, W, 63 cm; D 50 cm (39 cm without cornice)
Present State: Fragments missing from bottom and right side of niche. Left side of relief destroyed.
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 2953: *Adelp[hio.... et] / Iarusci...../ coniug(i) [et.....] demu[co(?)].../ Attius c[ucull]a[r]ius(?) [fecit].*
Translation: To Adelphius....and Iaruscia (?), his wife and .....(?), Attius, a maker of capes (?) [erected this monument].
Bibliography: Julliot, *Catalogue de Sens* 6, no. 87; Julliot, *Musée de Sens* 86-87, no. 7, pl. 9.6; Esp. 2781; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 248, no. 23935; Roche-Bernard, *Costumes et Textiles* 132, 139.

The form consists of a small monument with the partial remains of an inscription in a cartouche on the principal face (Fig. 17). The block contains a cavity (*loculus*), measuring 29 cm in width and 8 cm in depth, which likely held the urn of deceased. A relief is carved on the left lateral face within a narrow

frame (Fig. 16). Traces remain of a male figure seated in profile before a four-legged table in profile. He cuts a piece of cloth with a large pair of scissors held in his right hand. On the right, two short, hooded capes hang from a hook above.
Date: Mid second /early third century A.D.

GL 5 (Fig. 18) Stele of male figure weighing object in rustic enclosure

Present Location: Sens, Musée Municipal. Inv. 149
Provenance: Discovered in 1871, during the demolition of the old mill at Boutours; likely formerly in ancient city wall of Sens
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 33 cm; W, 30 cm; D, 10 cm
Present State: Very worn. Fragments missing from the upper, lower and left side of niche. Head and feet of figure are mutilated.
Bibliography: Julliot, *Catalogue de Sens* 13, no. 149; Julliot, *Musée de Sens* 88-89, no. 10, pl. 29.3; Esp. 2782; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 244, no. 23950; Hure, *Le Sénonais* 363, fig. 282.

The form is a rectangular block, carved on one face. A male figure, dressed in a short tunic, stands in three quarter view, facing left. He stands under a rustic enclosure with a strongly inclined roof; a large weigh scale (*statera*) is attached to the roof. His hands appear to be steadying the vertical part of this scale. The object being weighed is now missing. A small balance, which hangs between the figure and the weigh scale, seems to be connected to the upper balance. Behind the figure to the right is a large open-mouthed basket or barrel or sack.
Date: Unknown

GL 6 (Fig. 19) Stele of a tailor

Present Location: Sens, Musée Municipal. Inv. 132
Provenance: Local. Sens
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Soft grey limestone
Dimensions: H, 50 cm; W, 52 cm; D, 34 cm
Present State: Surface worn and abraded. Fragments missing from all sides. Facial features are worn and abraded; hands are mutilated. Traces of red paint on displayed garment and back wall.
Bibliography: Julliot, *Catalogue de Sens* 10, no. 132; Julliot, *Musée de Sens* 87, pl. 9.5; Esp. 2784; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 244, no. 23954; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42-43, fig. 47; Hatt, *TGR* 203.

The rectangular block forms the upper part of a stele carved on all four faces. The principal face contains a niche with traces of a head (not shown). On the right lateral face are articles of clothing below a small head (not shown). Only faint traces remain of the relief on the left lateral face (not shown). The rear face portrays a male figure dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and mantle, who stands in three-quarter view behind a low counter. His hair is closely cropped. He holds an open tablet which rests against his

left arm; his right arm is placed against his chest. On the left, a hooded mantle hangs over a bar, which is suspended from the ceiling.
Date: Early second century A.D. (Hatt)

GL 7 (Fig. 20) Stele fragment with relief of a market (?)
Present Location: Sens, in storage at Musée Municipal. Inv. 353
Provenance: Local. Sens
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 55 cm; W, 89 cm; D, 81 cm
Present State: Very poor condition. The upper half and the right side of the relief is missing. Figures are very mutilated with heads missing.
Bibliography: Julliot, *Catalogue de Sens* 26, no. 353; Esp. 2790; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 247, no. 23951.

The headless bodies of three male figures, dressed in short tunics, stand before a long, low U-shaped counter. The counter has two arched openings located between the central figure and right figure and to the right of the figure on the right. Only the left pillar of the left arch is exposed to the viewer. The left male figure stands in profile, facing left. The middle figure is the most prominent in size of the three figures. A sack-like object is placed on the ground between the middle and right figures. Above this sack is a hole (3.5 X 1.5 cm), which is surrounded by narrow concentric rings. The third figure on the right stands in profile, facing right. He carries a sack-like object on his back and holds an unidentifiable object in both hands.
Date: Unknown

Lillebonne (*Juliobona Caletorum*)

GL 8 (Figs. 21-23) Stele with relief of a merchant in a perfume shop (?)

Present Location: Rouen, Musée des Antiquités. Inv. 195.2
Provenance: Discovered in 1836 by Deville in defensive ramparts, near theatre at Lillebonne
Monument Type: Monumental rectangular stele
Material: White, fine-grained limestone from St. Leu
Dimensions: H. 2.34 m; W, 1.75 m; D, 49 cm at top, 43 cm at bottom
Present State: Seven fragments restored in 1862 into single monument. Principal side: some damage on faces of deceased. Lower part of figures restored in stone except for feet and most of male's left leg. Small fragment restored to male's upper left leg and right pilaster. Plaster repairs to neck and shoulders of male. Rear face: Merchant's lips, chin, left cheek, lower locks of hair and upper right arm are restored. Upper part restored between shelves and head of girl. Lower part missing below knees of young girl; large fragment restored between knees and bottom antique fragments. Relief block of young girl may belong to this stele or to **GL 9**.
Bibliography: Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs* II 203-204; Esp. 3097; Vernier, *Musée des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure* 58, fig. 67; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 242, no. 7320; Benoit, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* fig. 225; Braemer, *Actes du Colloque d'Archéologie* 200, 203; Reddé, *Métiers* 44;

Poirel, *Lapidaire de Rouen* 68-71, no. 17; Hatt, *TGR* 173, 189, 203-204; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 242; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, *Egypte ancienne* no. 38.

The form is a rectangular block carved on four faces. The lateral faces are decorated in stylized floral motifs. (Fig. 23) The rear face is divided into two adjacent registers, separated by a smooth surface (Fig. 21). On the left, a male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, stands behind a counter. The figure's head is turned upwards in profile, facing left. Facial features consist of a deeply-set hollowed out left eye, ridged eyebrow, short, straight nose and thin, closed lips. The hair covers the ears in deeply drilled comma-shaped locks. His left hand holds a *stylus*, which rests on a tablet placed on top of the counter. His raised right hand reaches upward to the shelves above. The upper shelf depicts four vessels of varying sizes; the middle shelf contains four cylindrical containers; while on the lower shelf are two rectangular boxes. Various tools hang from the lower shelf behind the figure's head. On the right side of the rear register, a young female, wearing a wide-sleeved tunic, stands holding a small dog against her chest. Her wavy hair is parted in the centre and is drawn back over the ears in a loose bun. The block at the base of the rear register has two incised opposing masks,added at a later date. The right mask portrays a prominent chin, closed mouth and thick nostrils; traces remain of the left mask. The principal face depicts the portrait of a couple dressed in finely pleated garments with fringed hems (Fig. 22). The male's hairstyle is short and cap-like. His right hand is uplifted with palm facing down; his left hand possibly holds a purse underneath his mantle. The female's wavy hair is parted in the middle and drawn back over the ears into a loose bun. She holds a *mappa* against her chest in her right hand.
Date: Early second century A.D. (Hatt); end second /beginning third century A.D. (Braemer). Braemer's date is based on comparisons of the form and dimensions of this monument to other monuments of Antonine and Severan date, such as Esp. 2804 (Sens), Esp. 4040 (Arlon), Esp. 5150, 5164 (Neumagen).

GL 9 (Figs. 24-26) Fragmentary relief of a shoe shop

Present Location: Rouen, Musée des Antiquités. Inv. 195.1
Provenance: Discovered in 1836 by Deville near the theatre of Lillebonne
Monument Type: Stele
Material: White, fine grained limestone from St. Leu
Dimensions: H, 61 cm; W, 82 cm; D, 58 cm
Present State: Fragmentary condition. Principal face: Upper body of male figure and part of left pilaster preserved. Rear face: Upper part of relief preserved; traces of a worn and abraded head in bottom centre of block.
Bibliography: Esp. 3127; Braemer, *Actes du Colloque d'Archéologie* 200-201, 203, figs. 11-13; Poirel, *Lapidaire de Rouen* 64-65, no. 15; Hatt, *TGR* 173, 204; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 244; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, *Egypte ancienne* no. 37.

The fragmentary rectangular block is carved on three faces; a carved pilaster with a stylized floral motif decorates the left lateral face (Fig. 26). The rear face preserves the upper part of a narrow niche (Fig. 24). The upper wall of the niche hang two pairs of slip-on shoes, three superposed sponges and a bundle-shaped object. Below these objects is preserved the head of a figure with puffy locks of hair. The

principal face depicts the upper body of a male figure wearing a finely pleated garment and mantle (Fig. 25). He stands frontally with his right hand upon his chest.
Date: End second century/beginning third century A.D. (Braemer)

Paris (*Lutetia Parisiorum*)

GL 10 (Fig. 27) Stele fragment of oil or wine vending (?)

Present Location: Paris, Musée Carnavalet
Provenance: Discovered in June 1906, in Late empire wall, on the site of the Marché aux Fleurs, during the excavations of the Métro, Paris
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 36 cm; W, 75 cm; D. 61 cm
Present State: Very mutilated and worn with fragments missing.
Bibliography: Héron de Villefosse, *CRAI* (1906) 259; *id.*, *BSocAntFr* (1906) 411; Sellier, *CVP* (1906) 252; De Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine* 101; Esp. 3152; Duval, *Paris antique* 257, n. 40.

Traces remain of a seated male figure holding the handle of a large vase (*dolium*?). He appears to be pouring its contents into a smaller vase, which is held by a second person, who stands nearby.
Date: Unknown

GL 11 (Fig. 28) Stele fragment of a vending scene (?)

Present Location: Paris, Musée Carnavalet Inv. AP 98
Provenance: Discovered in June 1906, in the Late empire wall, on the site of the Marché aux Fleurs, during the excavation of the Métro, Paris
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 56 cm; W, 97 cm; D, 28 cm
Present State: Pitted surface. Only small part of relief is preserved on lower right side.
Bibliography: Esp. 3153.

The fragment depicts the lower half of a couple, who stand in front of a rectangular counter. The male figure on the left wears a longish poncho-like garment; soft, supple boots cover the feet. The female figure on the right wears a long tunic and mantle. She holds a stiletto-shaped object (*stylus* ?) in her left hand. On the left, two large circular objects rest on their sides, possibly barrels.
Date: Unknown

GL 12 (Fig. 29) Relief fragment of a clothing shop (?)

Present Location: Paris, Musée Carnavalet. Inv. AP 60

Provenance: Discovered in June 1906, in the Late empire wall, on the site of the Marché aux Fleurs, during the excavations of the Métro, Paris
Monument Type: Pillar monument (?)
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 40 cm; W, 1.03 m; D, 95 cm
Present State: Very worn and pitted surface. The entire lower part of the monument is missing.
Bibliography: Héron de Villefosse, *CRAI* (1906) 254; *id.*, *BSocAntFr* (1906) 410; Sellier, *CVP* (1906) 252; Esp. 3167; Duval, *Paris antique* 256; Hatt, *TGR* 314.

The form consists of the upper course of a corner pilaster with the partial remains of two sides once forming a square. On the right face, the head, shoulders and hands of a bearded male figure are depicted in profile, facing left. The figure, dressed in a mantle, possibly holds a tablet in front of his chest. Traces of a pole are shown in the corner with objects (cloth?) suspended from it. Behind the male figure is a smaller figure (female or youth?), who is also in profile, facing left. On the left face, two draped figures stand in profile, facing left. A third, smaller, headless figure has its left hand on its chest. Traces of a fourth figure are seen on the left.
Date: High Empire (Duval)

GL 13 (Fig. 30) Relief block of a vending scene

Present Location: Paris, Musée Carnavalet. Inv. AP 58
Provenance: discovered in June 1910, in the Late empire wall near the south-east corner of the Tribunal of Commerce, during excavations of the Métro, Paris
Monument Type: Unknown
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 40 cm; W, 1.21 m; D, 33 cm
Present State: Surface worn and pitted with deep holes. Upper and lower parts of relief missing. Head of left male figure and top of head of central figure are missing.
Bibliography: Héron de Villefosse, *CRAI* (1910) 271-272; De Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romain* 101, pl. 9.5; Esp. 3198; Duval, *Paris antique* 256, fig. 135.

The form is a long rectangular block carved on one face. On the right, a female figure is seated on a footstool, in profile facing left, before a long, rectangular counter; she holds a cylindrical object in her right hand. She wears a long-sleeved tunic; her hair is pulled back behind the ears into a loose bun. A male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, is seated behind the counter in three-quarter view, facing the female. He is beardless with cap-like hair and deeply-set eyes. Both hands are placed on a large sack on the counter. A second male figure, dressed in a short tunic, stands on the left, with his back to the scene. His right hand rests on the counter; his left hand and arm are raised. On the far right is a large, arched portal with incised pilasters.
Date: High Empire (Duval)

GL 14 (Fig. 31) Stele of fish merchants or fishermen

Present Location: Paris, Musée Carnavalet. Inv. AP 14

Provenance: Discovered in June 1906, in the Late antique wall, in the Marché aux Fleurs, during excavations of the Métro, Paris
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.30 m; W, 98 cm; D, 37 cm
Present State: Worn and pitted surface. Facial features of three figures are mutilated.
Bibliography: Héron de Villefosse, *CRAI* (1906) 255; *id.*, *BSocAntFr* (1906) 411; Sellier, *CVP* (1906) 252; De Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romain* 101, pl. 9.2; Esp. 3199; Duval, *Paris antique* 256, fig. 134; Musée Carnavalet, *Lutèce* 220, no.126.

The form is a rectangular block carved on one face. A female figure flanked by two males stand frontally within a rectangular niche. The female wears a long tunic, mantle and soft, supple boots; her ears are adorned with hoop earrings. The two male figures wear short tunics, poncho-like mantles of mid-calf length and soft boots. Two fish hang from a ring attached to the wall, between the heads of the female and right male. On the left lateral side, an *ascia* is carved at the height of the figures' heads.
Date: High Empire (Duval)

Dijon (*Dibio*)

GL 15 (Figs. 32-36) Relief block of butchers with beef carcass

Present Location: Dijon, Musée Archéologique. Inv. 140.51
Provenance: One fragment discovered in 1851, in foundations of east wing of Palais des États de Bourgogne; other fragment found in 1863, in the rue de La Monnoye, Dijon
Monument Type: Altar or monumental stele (?)
Material: Soft, fine oolitic limestone
Dimensions: Total height of monument: H, 1.90 m; W, 1.40; W of base: 62cm. Butcher scene: H, 58 cm; W, 45 cm; D, 23 cm
Present State: Upper part missing; otherwise well-preserved. Beef carcass on left lateral face has traces of ochre paint. Butchers are covered with a greyish encrusted patina. Traces of ochre paint on hair and face of male figure and corner pilasters of principal face.
Bibliography: D'Arbaumont, *Catalogue du Musée* 11 no. 67, fig. 140; Esp. 3454, 3487; Esp. *Supp.* 15, 157, pl. 112; Deyts, *RAE* 22 (1971) 367-369, pls. 10-11; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 23-24; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 75; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42, 95, no. 8, fig. 46; Hatt, *TGR* 193; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 125.

The quadrangular monument was originally carved on all four faces; three are partially preserved. The lateral faces were divided into two superposed registers, of which one relief remains from each side. On the lower left lateral register, two muscular male figures are butchering a side of beef, with short pointed blades; the carcass hangs from its back legs between them (Fig. 32). They wear identical short, girded tunics with short sleeves and boots with pointed toes. Their facial features are finely modelled with plump, closed lips, well-defined pupils and eyes, beardless, chubby cheeks and cap-like hairstyles. The upper right lateral register depicts the bust of a beardless, short-haired male, wearing a tunic (Fig. 33). His right hand touches a pile of coins placed on a table in front of him. The principal face depicts

the partial remains of a family of three members. On the right is the head of a male figure under a dais of pleated drapery (Fig. 34). His facial features are very finely modelled with drilled pupils and ears, curly, cap-like hair and beard. On the left, a male infant, dressed in a thick, poncho-like garment, is turned in three-quarter view towards his father (Fig. 35). His visage is curly-haired and chubby-faced. He holds an unknown object in his left hand; his right hand is missing although his arm rests on his chest. To the right of the infant are the traces of the drapery of another figure, likely the infant's mother. On the upper left side and base of the rear face are marine animals and large leaves in a scroll pattern (Fig. 36).
Date: Second century A.D. (Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.*)

GL 16 (Fig. 37) Relief block of a wine and provisions shop

Present Location: Dijon, Musée Archéologique
Provenance: Discovered in 1803, in the excavations of la Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon
Monument Type: Monumental stele
Material: Fine oolitic limestone
Dimensions: H, 58 cm, W, 1.25 m; D, 60 cm
Present State: Very worn and mutilated surface. Fragments missing from the lower part and right side. Light ochre wash on back wall of niche. Grayish patina in several places.
Bibliography: D'Arbaumont, *Catalogue du Musée* 28, no. 137; Esp. 3469; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 74; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 76; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 253.

The form is a long rectangular block with a pilaster carved out of the left side at a right angle to the relief. Two male figures, wearing long-sleeved tunics, stand behind a long, high counter. The male figure on the right is turned in three-quarter view facing right; his right arm is bent at the elbow and rests on his chest. The second male figure stands frontally behind the middle of the counter. He appears to be pouring wine through a funnel into a hole in the counter, which runs through a spigot into an amphora. The amphora is being held by a poorly preserved figure; only traces of the head, upper shoulders and back of remain. A shelf with four small jars is depicted behind the merchants' heads. Four cuts of meat hang from hooks, most notably a leg of ham on the left. On the left side of the counter is a lattice-work box. Above the box is a medallion set within a square frame, which contains a bust of a male figure. Below the box are the traces of another figure holding a small jug beneath another spigot below the counter. Above the spigot is another funnel. On the pilaster return of the left side of the block are two boxes of merchandise on the upper shelf, cylindrical objects on the lower shelf and stored boxes below.
Date: Second century A.D. (Deyts, *Sculpures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.*)

Til-Châtel

GL 17 (Fig. 38) Relief block depicting wine and butcher shops

Present Location: Dijon, Musée Archéologique
Provenance: Discovered at Til-Châtel, purchased by museum in 1884
Monument Type: Monumental stele with enclosure walls (?)
Material: Fine oolitic limestone

Dimensions: H. 86.5 cm; W, 1. 48 m; D, 38 cm
Present State: Block missing from relief on right; slight damage to surface. Traces of greyish patina on upper block. Traces of reddish brown paint on short ankle boots of customer and on lower left bowl beside figure.
Bibliography: D'Arbaumont, *Catalogue du Musée* 29, no. 138; Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs* 221; Esp. 3608; Loeschcke, *TrZ* 7 (1932) 31, fig. 26; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 34; Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.* no. 205; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Goudineau, *Histoire de la France urbaine* 353-354, no. 282; Kampen, *Image and Status* 56-57, fig. 34; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 76, fig. 121; Deyts and Barçon, *Hommages à L. Lerat* 241-245; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 252-253; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 82.

The once monolithic block is broken into two parts portraying two or more shops within a rectangular niche. On the left, a male vendor, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, stands behind a tall counter His rounded face is beardless with a broadly ridged brow and simply defined eyes; curly cap-like hair covers the ears. Each hand holds a small jug. His right hand pours wine from one of the jugs into a funnel on the counter. A male figure, dressed in a long, hooded mantle and ankle boots, stands with his back to the viewer; he holds up a one-handled jug to be filled at the counter. His facial features consist of deeply-set eyes, closed lips, aquiline nose, beard, and thick cap-like hair partially obscuring the right ear. To the left of the vendor, are two other funnels. A bowl lies on the counter between the two funnels on the left; two other bowls are placed on the bottom outer edges of the counter. Ten jugs of varying size hang from a rack above. A butcher shop is partially-preserved to the right of the wine shop. On the left, a young male (?) wearing a tunic, is seated behind a counter. Both hands hold an indistinct object in front. A large basket is placed in front of the counter on the ground. To the left of the basket is a carving block and cleaver. On the upper right wall, various cuts of meat are suspended from hooks on a frame: three bunches of sausages, three pork heads and six quarters of pork fat.
Date: Second century A.D. (Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines myth. et relig.*)

Nuits-St.-George

GL 18 (Fig. 39) Stele of butcher

Present Location: Nuits-St.-George, near Beaune, at the house of M.A. Moingeon
Provenance: Discovered at Nuits-St.-George, near Beaune, at a place called 'En Bolard'
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Oolithic limestone
Dimensions: H, 65 cm; W, 30 cm; D, 13 cm
Present State: Very worn and abraded. Upper part of stele is missing. Fragments missing on upper left, sides and bottom.
Bibliography: Esp. 2056; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 23.

The form is a rectangular block carved on one face. A male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and mantle, stands frontally within a niche. His beardless facial features consist of closely cropped hair, wide straight nose, almond-shaped eyes and closed lips. The figure holds a meat cleaver in his right hand and the small head of a butchered animal in his left.

Date: Unknown

Gallia Belgica
Reims (*Durocortorum*)
GB 1 (Figs. 40, 41) Relief of figure cutting cloth (tailor's shop?)

Present Location: Reims, "Au dépot de l'Hôtel Dieu"
Provenance: Discovered in 1881, in a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Reims near the road to Neufchâtel
Monument Type: Unknown
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 50 cm; W, 75 cm; D, 58 cm
Present State: Upper and lower parts of block missing. Figures' heads missing on lateral sides.
Bibliography: Givelet et al, *Catalogue du Musée lapidaire* 35, no. 9; Esp. 3683.

The form is a rectangular block carved on three faces. The principal face depicts traces of four draped figures, possibly a male, female and their children (not shown). On the right lateral face, a fragmentary tunicate figure stands over a small table in profile, facing left (Fig. 40). The figure is cutting a piece of cloth lying on the table with scissors. On the left lateral face, a partially preserved male figure is seated on a footstool before a small table (Fig. 41). The figure holds a curved object in his right hand before an open bowl on the table.
Date: Unknown

Baâlon

GB 2 (Figs. 42, 43) Relief of cloth display in a shop

Present Location: Verdun, Musée de la Princerie. Inv. A.2.80
Provenance: Discovered in 1877 at Baâlon, in a garden among the ruins of a hypocaust
Monument Type: Monumental rectangular stele
Material: Yellowish-grey limestone
Dimensions: H, 66 cm; W, 1.04 m, D, 86 cm
Present State: Right face: surface is worn and pitted. Large fragments missing from sides and lower part of relief. Facial features of left figure are worn and abraded; facial features of right figure are destroyed. Principal face: large fragments missing from upper left side and lower part of relief. Only mutilated portrait heads and the upper body of the winged figure are preserved.
Bibliography: Esp. 3785, Drexel, *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 93; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 45; Reddé, *Métiers* 43, 60; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42, 94, no. 5, fig. 43.

The mutilated rectangular block is carved on two sides. The right lateral face depicts an arched niche flanked by pilasters (Fig. 42). The right pilaster portrays the twisted torso of a dancing nude Satyr. Two male figures, dressed in long-sleeved tunics, stand facing each other in profile. They hold a piece of cloth stretched loosely between them. The males appear to be beardless with short curly cap-like hair. The facial features of the left figure consist of pursed, closed lips and a simply defined right ear and eye. His right hand appears to be holding a small object (scissors?). The figure on the right gestures to

the cloth with his left index finger. A vertical post between the figures supports a shelf with six rows of folded cloth. The principal face portrays the upper part of an arched niche with a flying eros extending its arms over the partially-preserved heads of a couple (Fig. 43).
Date: Beginning third century A.D. (Baltzer)
Stenay

GB 3 (Figs. 44, 45) Relief block of figures displaying a garment

Present Location: Verdun, Musée de la Princerie. Inv. A. 2.78
Provenance: Discovered in October 1853 or 1881, at Stenay, near the citadel's gate
Monument Type: Monumental rectangular stele
Material: Yellowish-grey limestone
Dimensions: H, 75 cm, W, 88 cm, D, ca 77 cm
Present State: Surface is worn. Upper section above niche is mutilated. Fragments missing from lower part of niche. Facial features of left figure are worn; facial figures of right figure are destroyed. Traces of red paint on background of niche and left sleeve of left figure.
Inscription: Esp. 3786: *D(iis) [M(anibus)] / Giamillio Ta[gio?] et Vacciae Ve[rae?] / coniugi Tagi[a?] / Matrona fili[a] fecit.*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. Tagia, a matron and daughter [erected this monument] to Giamillius Tagius (?) and Vaccia Vera (?), his spouse.
Bibliography: Esp. 3786; Drexel, *RömMitt* (1920) 94; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 186; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 45; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 42, 94, no. 6, fig. 44.

The rectangular block is carved on one face. On top of the block is a *loculus*, measuring 34 x 16 cm and 13 cm in depth. The inscription is carved on the right lateral face (Fig. 45). The principal (?) face depicts two male figures, dressed in wide, short-sleeved tunics, who stand in profile, facing each other (Fig. 44). Their hairstyles consist of bulging sausage-like locks. The figures display a board-like, short-sleeved tunic; their lower hands hold a handle-like apparatus on either side of the tunic.
Date: Mid-second /third century A.D. (based on inscription)

Metz (*Divodurum Mediomatricorum*)

GB 4 (Fig. 46) Relief block of a jewellery shop (?)

Present Location: Metz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
Provenance: Discovered by Devilly in 1822, in the foundations of the Citadel near la porte d'Enfer, Metz
Monument Type: Funerary stele or part of a large monument
Material: Limestone from Jaumont
Dimensions: H, 89 cm; W, 83 cm; D, 69 cm
Present State: Basically intact; some surface wear. Fragment missing from left side of niche. Hand missing from left hand of figure on the right. Traces of red paint on upper garland-like objects, objects in upper right display case and middle container.
Bibliography: Lorrain, *Catalogue de Metz* 65, no. 99; Hoffman, *Der Steinsaal zu Metz* 46, no. 99; von Keune, *JGLG* 12 (1900) 353, fig. 6; Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs* 95, no. 8; Esp. 4295;

Toussaint, *Metz à l'époque gallo-romaine* 50, no. 49; Pobé and Roubier, *Art of Gaul* 73, fig. 217; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Kampen, *Image and Status* 57, 62, fig. 37; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 55, fig. 78; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 51; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 251; Collot, *Cité des Médiomatriques* I, 37, no. 161.

The rectangular niche portrays a bearded male figure on the left, who is seated in profile on a footstool before a counter. He wears a tunic, a voluminous hooded cloak and short supple ankle boots. His left hand holds a scroll on his knees. His facial features consist of trimmed beard, long pointed nose, deeply-set, tear-shaped right eye with pupil, bulging eyebrow and flatly carved ear. His coiffure is composed of short curly locks. His right hand is raised with palm facing out. On the right, a young male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and supple ankle boots, holds out a small round object in his right hand to the vendor. His closely-cropped hair covers the forehead and part of his left ear. He has a short, straight nose, deep-set left eye, closed lips, small chin and wide, bearded cheek. He holds a small round object in his right hand. Garland-like objects cover part of the upper of three registers of three display cases each. Each case holds a number of small round objects. In front of the lowest register are three groups of curving thread-like objects draped over a narrow rack placed upon the counter. Five doughnut-shaped objects are placed on the counter in front of the rack.
Date: Mid-second/third century A.D.

GB 5 (Fig. 47) Fragment with vending scene of produce

Present Location: Now lost; drawn by Tabouillet
Provenance: Discovered in the citadel at Metz
Monument Type: Unknown
Bibliography: Tabouillot and François, *Histoire de Metz* I, 109, pl. 7.1; Esp. 4400.

The drawing depicts a bearded male figure with short curly hair wearing a long-sleeved tunic. He stands within a rectangular niche beside a wicker basket filled with round objects, likely fruit. He gestures to his basket with his right hand probably to a customer (now missing) on his right.
Date: Mid-second/third century A.D.

GB 6 (Figs. 48-50) Stele with wine vending relief in upper register

Present Location: Metz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. Inv. 75-38-55
Provenance: Discovered in 1975, within third century A.D. *castrum* wall at Ilôt St. Jacques, Metz
Monument Type: Pyramidal stele
Material: Limestone from Jaumont
Dimensions: H, 1 m; W, 65 cm; D, 60 cm
Present State: Fragments missing from upper and lower parts of stele. Faces mutilated in upper left lateral register; upper part of female's head is missing. Male's face missing on principal side.
Bibliography: Billoret, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 364, 366, fig. E; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 228, no. 184; Pannoux, *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 295-297, 304, 306, figs.2 a-c; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, *2000 Jahre Weinkultur* 118-119, no. 57; Coulon, *Les gallo-romains. Métiers* II 60; Collot, *Cité des Médiomatriques* I, 33, no. 131.

The rectangular block is carved on three faces. The lateral sides are divided into two superposed registers with rectangular niches framed by a pilaster. The upper left lateral register portrays two figures standing frontally to the right of a large wooden barrel (Fig. 48). The female figure wears a long-sleeved, belted long tunic with simple vertical folds. She holds a ladle in her right hand below a smaller wooden barrel with a spigot, placed directly above the large barrel. The male figure, dressed in a wide, long-sleeved, knee-length tunic, holds out a small cask to be filled. His hairstyle consists of a thick, long and curly cap which curves around the left ear and behind; the figure is possibly bearded. His left hand holds a small object against the chest. The lower left lateral register depicts two male figures cutting wood with a large saw. The bare-chested and bare-legged figure on the left wears a simple loin-cloth. The figure on the right wears a short tunic with long sleeves.The upper right lateral register portrays two male figures, dressed in short tunics (Fig. 49). They walk in profile, carrying a bundle of merchandise attached to a pole supported on their shoulders. The lower right lateral register portrays a harnessed donkey in profile. On the principal face, a couple stand in frontal view within the niche (Fig. 50). A single step is carved on the front of the niche below their feet. The female figure on the left wears a long fringed tunic with long sleeves and mantle. She holds a small box in her left hand and a cylindrically-shaped object in her right. Her coiffure consists of a centre part with a braid on the left side which loops below her ear. The male on the right wears a wide tunic and cloak. His right hand is placed against his chest; his left hand holds an object, possibly a moneybag.
Date: Late second/early third century A.D.

GB 7 (Figs. 51-53) Stele of figures displaying a tunic

Present Location: Metz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. Inv. 75-38-48.
Provenance: Discovered in May 1975, in base of third century A.D. *castrum* wall at Ilôt St. Jacques, Metz
Monument Type: Pyramidal stele
Material: Limestone from Jaumont
Dimensions: H, 1.65 m; W, 64 cm; D, 90 cm (base), 51 cm (top)
Present State: Basically intact. Faces mutilated on the principal face and right lateral face. Fragments missing from figures' feet. Fragments missing from upper part of pyramid on principal face.
Inscription: *AE* 1983, no. 712: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / Genialio Iullino / [I]ullinius Sexuperator.*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. Iullinius Sexuperator (Exsuperator?) [erected this monument] to Genialius Iullinus.
Bibliography: Ponnau, *Revue de Louvre* 5/6 (1976) 329, no. 12; Pannoux, *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 296-298, 300-301 fig. 5a-c; Coulon, *Les gallo-romains. Métiers* II 52; Collot, *Cité des Médiomatriques* I, 28, no. 112; Roche-Bernard, *Costumes et Textiles* 20-21.

The form is a pyramidal stele carved on three faces. On the right lateral face, the pyramid is incised with an *ascia* above a wide, smooth band. Two male figures, dressed in long-sleeved, knee-lenth tunics, stand facing each other (Fig. 51). They display a wide tunic with short sleeves The left figure has curly hair which culminates in a triangular peak on his forehead. The coiffure of the shorter right figure consists of cigar-shaped curls. On the left lateral face, a male figure walks in profile, facing right. He wears a short, long-sleeved tunic (Fig. 52). A piece of cloth is draped over the left shoulder. He appears to be carrying a large sack with both hands. On the principal face, the inscription and a relief of a horse-

drawn cart are carved on the upper part of the pyramid (Fig. 53). A male figure stands frontally within the niche. He is dressed in a tunic, a full poncho-like garment and soft, supple shoes. His left hand holds a full purse. A piece of cloth is draped over his left arm.
Date: Mid-second/early third century A.D. (based on inscription)

GB 8 (Fig. 54) Stele of lock merchant (*clostrarius*)

Present Location: Metz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. Inv. 75-38-68
Provenance: Discovered in 1975, within third century A.D. *castrum* wall at Ilôt St. Jacques, Metz
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Limestone from Jaumont
Dimensions: H, 1.33 m; W, 85 cm; D, 59 cm
Present State: Upper part of stele worn with fragments missing from inscription and upper right corner of stele. Large fragment missing from lower left front of stele. Facial details are mutilated. Yellowish-gold patina on background of niche and far left fold of tunic.
Inscription: Billoret, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 367: *Caratullio Cintussi filio / neg(otiatori) artis clostrariae H(eres) or H(eredes) P(onendum) C(uravit) or C(uraverunt).*
Translation: To Caratullius, son of Cintussus, a trader and lockmaker, his heir (s) attended to the setting up [of this monument].
Bibliography: Billoret, *Gallia* 34 (1976) 365, 367; Frézouls, *Villes antiques de la France* 267; Pannoux, *DialHistAnc* 11 (1985) 295, 320, fig. 9; Lutz, *Moselle gallo-romaine* 168, no. S.

The form is a rectangular block carved on one face. A male figure, dressed in a wide tunic and a thickly made cape and supple boots, stands frontally the full-length of an arched niche. His hair is short and cap-like. The figure possibly has a beard. His left arm cradles a cylindrically-shaped lock against his chest. A U-shaped object hangs below the lock, possibly part of the lock's chain. The left index finger rests on a fat pouch about the waist. The right arm is bent against the chest. The right hand holds a key between the thumb and index finger above the lock. A large lock with a long chain is suspended on a ring from the ceiling of the niche on either side of the figure's upper body.
Date: Early-mid third century A.D. (based on inscription)

Hieraple

GB 9 (Fig. 55) Stele of vending scene in a butcher's shop

Present Location: Metz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
Provenance: Hieraple
Monument Type: Triangular-pedimented stele
Material: Greyish red stone
Dimensions: H, 75 cm; W, 48 cm; D, 44 cm
Present State: Mostly intact; surface is very worn and abraded. Fragments missing from left side and lower front of stele. Traces of turquoise and white paint on figures and ground.
Inscription: Schlemaire E. 19: *D(is) M(anibus) / Iulos Iun(i) (filius).*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. Iulos, son of Iunius.

Bibliography: Esp. 4457; Toussaint, *Répertoire archéologique de la Moselle* 69, no. 9; Schlemaire, *Catalogue des inscriptions de Metz* E. 19; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 291; Collot, *Cité des Médiomatriques* I, 37, no. 162.

The form is a triangular-pedimented stele carved on one face. The inscription is incised on the pediment above the niche in two rows of letters. On the left, a male figure with a sack stands in profile, facing right, before a small chopping block (*caudex*). He wears a tunic and thickly hooded mantle with long sleeves. On the right the male butcher stands behind the chopping block, in profile, facing left. On the merchant's right is a thick two-legged bench. A balance is incised on the back wall above the bench. Three cuts of meat are suspended on hooks from the ceiling of the niche.
Date: Second/early third century A.D. (based on inscription)

Soulosse (*Solicia*)

GB 10 (Figs. 56, 57) Stele of couple holding scales (*libra*), skein of thread and purse

Present Location: Metz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
Provenance: Discovered in the garden of the Boucon property, Soulosse
Monument Type: Triangular-pedimented stele
Material: White limestone
Dimensions: H, 1. 37 m; W, 67 cm; D, 33 cm
Present State: Basically intact except for fragment missing from left side of pediment; fragment missing from the middle right niche wall and on the bottom right. Face of left figure is destroyed. A crack runs through the pediment and the head of the right male figure to his left shoulder. Beige-grey patina on surface. Traces of blue paint on female's tunic and mantle and male's right foot and mantle.
Bibliography: Lorrain, *Catalogue de Metz* 41, no. 37; Hoffman, *Der Steinsaal zu Metz* 33, no. 37; von Keune, *JGLG* 12 (1900) 357, 412; Esp. 4846; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 242-243; Kahn, *Gallo-Roman Sculpture from Soulosse* 173, 287-290, no. 18; Collot, *Cité des Médiomatriques* I, 37, no. 163; Roche-Bernard, *Costumes et Textiles* 126-128.

The form is a triangular-pedimented stele carved on three faces; the lateral sides are decorated in interlocking vine motifs (Fig. 57). On the principal face, a couple stand within the full length of the niche (Fig. 56). On the left, a female figure, dressed in a long tunic and mantle, holds a full purse in her right hand and a jewellery box in her left. Both objects rest on a narrow, rectangular block between the figures. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled back covering the ears with braids at the lower sides. The male figure on the right, dressed in a thick, long-sleeved tunic, is bearded with a receding hairline. His well-modelled face has carved pupils. His right hand holds a balance. One tray rests on the counter and he is placing a cone-shaped object with his left hand onto the other tray. Signs of drilling are seen in the plasticity of locks, cuffs of sleeves, behind the hands and around the objects.
Date: Late second/early third century A.D. (Kahn). Kahn bases this date on comparison of the female's hairstyle with a Julia Domna portrait of the Gabii type (193-210 A.D.), as seen in K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* III (Mainz 1985) no. 29, pl. 39, no. 140, pls. 166-167.

GB 11 (Fig. 58) Stele of itinerant merchant with cart

Present Location: Épinal, Musée départemental des Vosges
Provenance: Soulosse, excavated by Laurent (1866-1875)
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: White limestone
Dimensions: H, 58 cm; W, 54 cm; D, 29 cm
Present State: Surface is very worn and pitted. Fragments missing from upper right side wall of niche. Upper part of the stele is perhaps missing. Relief has been cleaned. Beige patina with grey encrustation in deeply cut areas, such as between the feet and on the back wall of niche.
Bibliography: Laurent, *Catalogue du Musée des Vosges* 61, no. 35; Voulot, *Catalogue des Vosges* 32, no. 74; Esp. 4861; Toussaint, *Répertoire archéologique des Vosges* 68; Kahn, *Gallo-Roman Sculpture from Soulosse* 173, 344-345, no. 52.

The form consists of an almost square block carved on one face. A figure of indeterminate gender fills the entire left side of a slightly rounded niche. The face is broad and flat with bulging eyes; the hair is short and cap-like. The slightly bent knees under the long, sleeveless, girded tunic indicate that the figure may be seated on the two-wheeled cart depicted on the right. The right hand rests above the right knee and holds a tool of some sort (*ascia* ?) or T square. The left hand touches an object composed of five concentrically carved circles. Five objects (tools?) are suspended vertically from a transverse at the top of the niche.
Date: First half of first century A.D. (Kahn)

Grand (*Aquae Granni?/Andesina?*)

GB 12.1 (Fig. 59) Scene of female divinity and beermaking (?)

Present Location: Épinal, Musée départemental des Vosges. Inv. 61
Provenance: Discovered in 1842, by J. Laurent in a garden near the basilica at Grand
Monument Type: Triangular-pedimented stele
Material: Local soft oolitic limestone
Dimensions: H, 70 cm; W, 48 cm; D, 14 cm
Present State: Intact except for missing right hand of large female; patera is possibly an earlier restoration. The right arm of smaller figure is restored.
Bibliography: Laurent, *Catalogue du Musée des Vosges* 56, no. 16; Voulot, *Catalogue des Vosges* 29, no. 61; Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs* 222; Esp. 4892; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 241, no. 27921; Toussaint, *Répertoire archéologique des Vosges* 95-96; Schoppa, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 58, fig. 76; Scarborough, *Roman Medicine* fig. 32; Kampen, *Image and Status* 158, no. 55; Remy, *Gallia* 43 (1985) 219-220; King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* 104.

The form is a triangular-pedimented block carved on one face. A large young female, dressed in a long tunic and mantle, is seated frontally on a round footstool; her left foot rests on a small footstool. Her idealized facial features consist of an aquiline nose and full lips. Her hair is parted in the center, swept back off the face over the ears and pulled into sausage-like rolls on either side of the part. Her left hand

rests on a tablet on her left knee, while the right hand holds a *patera*. Below, a kettle with a long ladle sits on a brazier at floor level; a small shovel rests against the brazier. Above the kettle, two globe-like objects occupy the width of a lattice-work shelf. In the right upper corner, another smaller, tunicate female stands behind a large vat, stirring its contents with a ladle. Her hair is parted in the centre and fashioned in a loose bun at the back. Below the vat is another large vat with two legs exposed to the viewer. This lower vat is placed in a similar vessel, which, in turn, rests on two small containers on the ground.
Date: Mid second century A.D. (Schoppa)

GB 12.2 (Fig. 60) Scene of distribution of largesse and beermaking (?)

Present Location: Épinal, Musée départemental des Vosges
Provenance: Discovered in 1983 in cellar fill of a first/second century A.D. house at Grand
Monument Type: Triangular-pedimented stele
Material: Local oolitic limestone
Dimensions: H, 63 cm; W, 45 cm; D, 6.5-8.5 cm
Present State: Well-preserved. Intact except for fragments missing from pediment. Large crack through figures on upper zone
Bibliography: Remy, *Gallia* 43 (1985) 215-220.

The form consists of a triangular pedimented block carved on one face. The upper zone depicts a large male figure, dressed in a toga and long cloak, seated frontally on a tribunal. He is shown with his right hand placed on a basket filled with round objects, which is held by a small, tunicate male figure on the left. Following is another small, tunicate figure with his hand on his chest. Two other small, tunicate figures stand behind the left shoulder of the principal male and on the right. Below the upper zone, a small figure is shown in a large barrel in the act of stirring the contents of a long-legged vessel with a drain on the right; below is a receptacle. On the right is possibly a shelving unit with smaller vessels. Above this unit is a large cauldron. Three large objects, likely vats, are stacked on the left side of the composition.
Date: Third century A.D.

Arlon (*Orolaunum*)

GB 13 (Figs. 61-65) Pillar monument known as the 'Marchand de Drap'

Present Location: Arlon, Belgium, Musée Luxembourgeois
Provenance: Discovered in 1854, behind the maison Gérard, Grand'rue, Arlon
Monument Type: Type A pillar monument
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: 1.52 m; W, 1.01 m; D, 72 cm
Present State: Surface of three sides is mutilated and worn. Right lateral face: Fragments missing from entire right side. Fragment missing from left side of upper register. Face of right figure on upper register is destroyed. On lower register are traces of lime green paint on head of middle figure, tunic of right figure, ground between figures' heads and right side of counter. Traces of brown paint on

incised right panel of counter of lower register. Traces of yellowish-brown paint on background between seated figure and middle figure. Left lateral face: fragments missing from lower left corner, upper left corner and on lower right side of upper register. Principal face: facial features of three figures are destroyed. Fragments missing from lower front right corner, upper right corner, both sides and top. Traces of dark-grey paint on background to right of female's head; traces of ochre paint on figures of corner pilasters.

Bibliography: Sibenaler, *Guide illustré du Musée d'Arlon* 90, no. 52; Brinkmann, *BJb* 114-115 (1906) 467; Drexel, *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 93; Esp. 4043; Mariën, *AIAL* 76 (1945) 30-35, 154-157; Bertrang, *AIAL* (1954) 67-68, no. 48; Prat, *Histoire d'Arlon* 112-114, no. 18; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 186; Lefèbvre, *BIAL* (1975) 71-74; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Mariën, *L'empreinte de Rome* 322-328; Kampen, *Image and Status* 57, 90-91, fig. 39; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 38; Hatt, *TGR* 173; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 126; Lefèbvre, *Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* 73-75, no. 49; Kampen, *Roman Art in Context* 122-123.

The rectangular block is carved on three faces. The upper right lateral register portrays a tunicate male figure, who stands frontally on the right behind a rectangular counter (Fig. 61). He displays a piece of cloth to two male customers, who are seated on the left, on a cushioned, high-backed bench. The bearded, long-haired male figure in the foreground is dressed in a cloak with a rounded *fibula* over a short tunic girt by a belt; a sheathed sword between his legs. His right hand touches the piece of cloth on the counter. The head and shoulder of the bearded, long-haired middle figure are visible to the viewer. Folded pieces of cloth are depicted on two shelves above. On the lower right lateral register, a tunicate male figure with short, cap-like hair is seated in profile, facing right, on a low footstool behind a counter (Fig. 62). He holds a large tablet on his lap. To the right are two youths, who stand behind the counter counting a pile of coins on top. The upper left lateral register depicts a tunicate male figure, in profile, facing right, who is travelling in a light, two-wheeled carriage drawn by two mules/horses (Fig. 63). Above the figure on the back wall is a tree which consists of two branches terminated by a large flower with eight petals. On the lower left lateral register are two mules pulling a heavily laden cart, in profile facing left (Fig. 64). A male figure, wearing a tunic and hooded mantle, walks in front of the mules with a goad in his right hand. In the background is a curved portal with pilasters. The principal side depicts the portraits of a female figure flanked by two males (Fig. 65).The female wears a long tunic with fringes and sash, which ends in a triangular point midway down her calves. She holds a *mappa* in her right hand and a perfume phial in her left hand. The males also wear fringed tunics and hooded capes. The left male's right hand is placed on his chest and his left hand is holding a purse against his chest. The right male figure carries a round box and tablets in his right hand. Cartouches supported by carved hooks are carved on the back wall.

Date: Severan; 215 A.D. (Baltzer); 240-250 A.D. (Mariën). Mariën (*AIAL*) bases this mid-third century A.D. date on parallels of themes and styles with the Igel monument (**GB 24**); this date is endorsed by Lefèbvre (*BIAL*). However, because this date depends on that ascribed to the Igel monument by Dragendorff and Krüger (*Grabmal von Igel*, 101-102), it must be treated cautiously, as the similarity of themes does not necessarily justify such close dating. Baltzer, who has since refined the chronology of the Treviran monuments on stylistic grounds, now dates the Igel monument ca. 215-217 A.D.; she compares stylistic details between **GB 13** and **GB 24**, such as the rounded shape of the heads, the flattened curly mass of hair (except the customers on **GB 13**), the deeply rounded eyes with drilled pupils and thick brows. Baltzer notes that this eyebrow treatment is found on a state portrait of Caracalla (213-

217 AD). Although Baltzer's arguments are credible, her date seems a little too precise to be based on style alone; thus a Severan date seems to be a safe compromise.

GB 14 (Figs. 66-69) Pillar monument known as the 'pilier du cultivateur'

Present Location: Arlon, Belgium, Musée Luxembourgeois, Inv. no. 49
Provenance: Discovered in 1854, in the Roman wall behind the maison Gérard, Arlon
Monument Type: Type D pillar
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.06 m; W, 86 cm; D, 61 cm
Present State: Basically intact, but some loss of facial details through abrasion. Right lateral registers: fragments missing from right upper side, lower right corner and left side of lower register. Traces of greyish-blue paint on ground between figures in upper register. Traces of ochre paint on left figure's left leg and between the legs in lower register. Traces of yellowish-brown paint on left side of niche in lower register. Left lateral registers: fragments missing from upper left, left and right sides. Faces of figures are worn and abraded. Traces of yellowish-brown paint between the horse's forelegs in upper register. Traces of grey paint on objects in basket; traces of yellowish-brown paint on left figure's head in lower register. Principal side: fragments missing from right side of niche and bottom centre. Female figure's left foot and male figure's right foot are damaged. Traces of blueish-grey paint on ground between figures' heads and between figures and side wall of niche. Traces of yellowish-brown paint on folds of female's garment. Traces of dark brown paint on male's left leg.
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 4027: *[D(is)] M(anibus).*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead.
Bibliography: Sibenaler, *Guide illustré du Musée d'Arlon* 72-75, no. 37; Esp. 4044, Mariën, *AIAL* 76 (1945) 75-77; Mariën, *Sculpture à l'époque romaine* 19; Bertrang, *AIAL* 85 (1954) 41, no. 10; Prat, *Histoire d'Arlon* 118-119, no. 21; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 37-38; Lefèbvre, *BIAL* (1975) 76-78, no. 49; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Kampen, *Image and Status* 154, no. 44; Deman and Raepsaet-Charlier, *ILB* 161, no. 119; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 254; Lambert, *Luxembourg romain* 67, no. 117; Lefèbvre, *Musée luxembourgeois Arlon* 76-77, no. 50; Kampen, *Roman Art in Context* 120-121.

The rectangular monument is carved on three faces. On the upper right lateral face a male and female vendor, dressed in long-sleeved tunics, stand behind a trestle table covered with small, round objects, likely fruit (Fig. 66). Three wicker baskets are shown before or below the table. The female vendor stands in three quarter view, facing right. Her hair appears to be pulled back off her forehead in soft waves into a bun at the back of the head. The body of the male vendor is shown in a three-quarter view with profile head, facing right. He has short, curly cap-like hair and a well-defined right eye. He hands one of the objects to a male customer on the right, wearing a knee-length hooded mantle and supple shoes. His profile head is carved with a short beard, moustache and curly hair. Above figures are three overlapping bundles of objects, perhaps vegetables. On the lower right lateral face two male figures, dressed in girded tunics, face each other in profile, cultivating the ground with garden tools (Fig. 67). On the upper left lateral face a tunicate figure is seated in his two-wheeled cart drawn by a single horse (Fig. 68). The figure may be bearded with short, curly, cap-like hair. He holds a whip in his right, hand which touches the top of the horse's head. On the lower left lateral face the right figure displays a

basket filled with small round objects to another figure on the left; both wear long-sleeved tunics. (Fig. 68). On the principal face is the portrait of a married couple (Fig. 69). The bearded male figure wears a tunic and a wide mantle; supple shoes adorn the feet. His receding hair is arranged in short curls on his forehead and temples. His wide brow protrudes over the eyes, which are drilled for greater emphasis. He holds a wide curved blade in his left hand. The female figure wears a long tunic and a mantle with a wide sash. A round bonnet completely covers her head and soft shoes adorn the feet. Her facial features consist of curving eyebrows, drilled eyes and pupils, high cheekbones and closed lips. She holds a box in the left arm and hand against her body and a *mappa* in the right hand.
Date: End second/beginning third century A.D. (Mariën, *Sculpture à l'époque romaine*)

Clausen

GB 15 (Fig. 70) Stele of wine merchant flanked by barrels

Present location: Lost. Drawing
Provenance: Discovered in upper retaining wall *"in hortis Binfeldicis"*, Clausen (near Arlon); given later to the College of Jesuits
Monument Type: Stele flanked by wine barrels
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 4286: *D(is) M(anibus).*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead.
Bibliography: Waltzing, *Orolaunum vicus* 177-178, no. 70; Esp. 4161; Loeschcke, *TrZ* 7 (1932) 24, fig. 22; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 35-36.

The drawing portrays a rectangular niche with a front step. The niche is flanked by a large carved barrel on each end, containing the inscription. Two tunicate male figures are each seated on a footstool on either side of a rectangular table. The left figure is drinking from a long-necked flask, which he holds in his left hand. The figure on the right looks down at a tablet.
Date: Second century A.D. (based on inscription)

Buzenol-Montauban

GB 16 (Figs. 71-73) Relief of cloth display in a shop

Present Location: Archaeological park of Buzenol-Montauban, under the auspices of the Musée Gaumais, Virton
Provenance: Buzenol-Montauban; re-used in fortification wall of Montauban
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: Fine grained limestone
Dimensions: H, 42 cm; W, 82 cm; D, 46 cm; Depth of relief: 25 mm.
Present State: Right lateral face: Fragments missing from entire left side of cloth scene. Left lateral face: fragments missing from whole left side of niche and upper right. Principal face: right side of inscription is destroyed.
Inscription: *AE* 1986, no. 500: *D(is) [M(anibus) ...] / L(ucio) Veiio et L[...] / Elissus et [... filii?] et Afra filia viv[i fecerunt].*

Translation: To the spirits of the dead. To Lucius Veiius and to L (...?), Elissus and (? their sons) as well as Afra, their daughter, erected [this monument] during their lifetimes.

Bibliography: Mertens, *ArchBelg* 42 (1958) 43-45, no. 45, fig. 33; Renard, *CRAI* (1959) 37-39, fig. 11; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 41-42, 94, no. 4, fig. 41; Deman and Raepsaet-Charlier, *ILB* 169, no. 127; Schwinden, *TrZ* 52 (1989) 291-292, fig. 4b; Lambert, *Luxembourg romain* 62, no. 102; 67, no. 116.

The rectangular block of a small monument is carved on three faces; an inscription is found on the principal face (Fig. 71). A *loculus* is carved into the lower part of the back face, measuring 41 x 27 cm and 18 cm in depth. On the right lateral face, two male figures, dressed in long-sleeved tunics, display a large piece of cloth (Fig. 72). The left male's distinctive coiffure consists of knob-like locks covering the ears. His facial features are composed of a wide brow, upturned nose, well-defined right eye with pupil, closed lips and small receding chin. The right figure wears a wide, long-sleeved tunic, a hooded cape and supple shoes. His hair covers the ears and forehead in flat, tight curls. His facial features consist of a ridged brow, bulbous nose, thick lower lip and upturned left eye. On the lower back wall, there is either the outline of shelves with neatly folded cloth or a large bale of cloth. On the left lateral face (Fig. 74), two, tunicate males are seated in a cart, drawn by two horses.

Date: Severan; 200-205 A.D. (Baltzer). Baltzer proposes this date based on the comparison of stylistic details on **GB 16**, such as the treatment of cloth folds and the flat strands of hair on the right figure to **GB 25** (St. Wendel) and the Pachtzahlung scene from Neumagen (von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen*, 215, no. 303); these details are more advanced than the stiff drapery folds and knob-like hairstyles on the Schulreliefpfeiler from Neumagen, ca. 180 A.D. (von Massow, *op. cit.* 136, no. 180b), but not as advanced as the Zirkusdenkmal from Neumagen, ca. 220 A.D. (von Massow, *op. cit.* 143, no. 182) in the treatment of the eyebrows and pupils. However, this date for **GB 16** appears too precise, since the left figure displays the same knobby locks that are seen on the earlier Schulreliefpfeiler. Thus a Severan date is more appropriate, since these stylistic criteria are the only sources of dating

Berbourg

GB 17 (Figs. 74, 75) Relief of a cooper's shop (*cuparius*)

Present Location: Luxembourg, Museé d'Histoire et d'Art. Inv. 246, lap. 39

Provenance: Discovered in 1901 in Berbourg, in a demolished church

Monument Type: *cippus* (?)

Material: Coarse limestone called 'Grès de Luxembourg'

Dimensions: H, 72-78 cm; W, 83 cm; D, 90 cm; letter height: *D*: 19 cm; other letters 6.5

Present State: Surface is very worn and mutilated. Fragments missing from all sides. Facial features of two figures in foreground of left face are destroyed; legs and feet are missing. Head and upper bodies of figures missing on principal face.

Inscription: Riese, no. 3663: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Cletussio*[1] *Ver[ino?] defu]/ncto, et Eburia M[.....] [co]/niugi viva iu[ssit].*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. To Cletusst(i)us Verinus ? (deceased ?), and Eburia M....?, who ordered [this monument to be erected] for her husband in her lifetime.
Bibliography: *CIL* XIII, 4103; Esp. 4221; Riese, *Rheinische Germanien Inschriften* no. 3664; Ternes, *Inscriptions du Luxembourg* fig. 18; Thill, *Époques gallo-romaine et mérovingienne* 10, no. 37; Wilhelm, *Pierres sculptées et inscriptions* 42, no. 289.

The almost square block is carved on two faces. On the left lateral face are traces of five male figures wearing long-sleeved tunics and hooded capes (Fig. 74). Two figures in the foreground stand in profile, facing left, on either side of a counter. A large barrel is depicted in the lower left corner. Three male figures are incised on the ground of the niche; one figure appears to hold a rod-shaped object in his left hand. On the upper left side, five tools are suspended from a beam: they include an adze or *ascia* and a chisel. The principal face portrays a married couple holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) (Fig. 75). The male figure carries a large purse on his left arm. The inscription once framed the couple on three sides.
Date: Mid-second/third century A.D. (based on inscription)

Echternach

GB 18 (Fig. 76) Relief fragment depicting the sale of prepared food

Present Location: Lost, drawn by Wiltheim
Provenance: Formerly at Echternach, Luxembourg "*in coenubii muro*"
Monument Type: Unknown
Bibliography: Wiltheim, *Luciliburgensia sive Luxemburgum Romanum* 292, pl. 84, no. 367; Esp. 4260; Ternes, *Répertoire archéologique du Luxembourg* II, pl. 29, figs. 62-63.

The drawing portrays a male vendor on the left stirring the contents of a large open pot, placed on a small rectangular table. In the centre, another male vendor displays the contents of his pot to the headless customer on the right, dressed in a tunic and long-sleeved mantle. This customer holds a large round object in his right hand. Both vendors wear short tunics.with short sleeves.
Date: Unknown

Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*)

GB 19 (Fig. 77) Relief fragment depicting bolts of cloth

Present Location: Trier, Bischöfliches Museum
Provenance: Discovered in the mid 1800s, under the floor of the cathedral at Trier
Monument Type: Pillar monument (?)

[1] Riese interprets the first name as *Cletussius*, omitting the letter *t* in favour of an *i*; however, a *t* is easily identifiable on the epitaph between the *s* and the *o*: the name should therefore be interpreted as *Cletusstus*: see also *CIL* 13, 4103 for this interpretation.

Material: White sandstone
Dimensions: H, 67 cm; W, 1.05 m; D, 90 cm
Present State: fragments missing from right and left sides. Lower part of relief is missing. Surface abrasion on upper right.
Bibliography: Brinckmann, *BJb* 114-115 (1906) 468, pl. 27; Esp. 4995; Polaschek, *KurtrierJb* 13 (1973) 217, fig. 4.

The form is a long rectangular block carved on two faces. The right lateral side is carved in rosettes arranged in alternate rows. On the principal face, three rows of cloth bolts are stored lengthwise upon a shelf. Pieces of cloth are suspended from pegs attached to a moulding below the shelf. To the right of the cloth bolts is a pilaster decorated with stylized acanthus leaves.
Date: Third century A.D.

GB 20 (Fig. 78) Rectangular block with cloth display scene

Present Location: Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Provenance: Discovered in 1915, during the excavations of Bernhardstrasse, Trier; re-used in ancient canal
Monument Type: Pillar (?)
Material: Fine-grained white sandstone
Dimensions: H, 22 cm; W, 39 cm; D, 21 cm
Present State: Surface is worn and abraded. Top, bottom left and right sides of relief are missing. Left side and centre of cloth have long fissures. Lower body of male is missing.
Bibliography: Schwinden, *TrZ* 52 (1989) 292, 294-296, fig. 5.

The form is a rectangular block, carved on one face. On the right, a bearded male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, holds taut the upper edge and side of a large piece of cloth. His thick, curly hair curves behind his right ear and touches the shoulder of his garment. Presumably another figure held the opposite side of the cloth, in the other half of the relief, now missing.
Date: Mid second/early third century A.D. (Schwinden)

GB 21 (Fig. 79) Block with reliefs of a wine shop and transport

Present Location: Bischöfliches Museum, Trier; plaster copy at Rheinisches Landesmusem, Trier
Provenance: Discovered in 1982, in St. Maximin Church, Trier
Monument Type: Small pillar monument; reused in late fourth century AD sarcophagus
Material: White, fine-grained limestone
Dimensions: H, 1.20 m; W, 74 cm
Present State: Basically intact. Fragments missing from the upper right and left corners. Small fragments missing from the front side of the base. Facial features of figures in both registers are abraded.
Bibliography: Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 226-227, no. 182; Cüppers, *Trier Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* 237-238, no. 124; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, *2000 Jahre Weinkultur* 121, no.

61; Laubenheimer, *Temps des amphores* 153; Ternes, *Archéologie de la Vigne* 244-245; Greene, *Archaeology of the Roman Economy* frontispiece.

The rectangular block is divided into two superposed registers. The upper register portrays a shop scene. On the right, a male vendor, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, serves a drinking vessel to the male customer seated across a solid counter on a high-backed chair. Both males are beardless and have short, curly cap-like hair. A smaller female figure is seated at the counter, facing the observer; her hair is gathered into a bun at the back of the head. A shelf in the upper right corner contains five gamebirds. The left half of the shop scene portrays a large wooden counter with two shelves. A funnel is placed on the upper shelf. A large, rope-covered amphora and a barrel with a ladle are placed before the counter. Seven jugs hang from hooks above the counter. The lower register depicts a transport scene of an ox-drawn cart with a large, well-secured barrel, passing through a large portal. A tunicate male figure holds a large goad behind the ox.
Date: Second century/ third century A.D. (Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel*)

GB 22 (Fig. 80) Relief of a butcher's shop

Present Location: Trier, Bischöfliches Museum
Provenance: Discovered in 1979 at St. Maximin Church, Trier
Monument Type: Originally pillar type; reused in sarcophagus at a later date
Material: White sandstone
Dimensions: North side: H, 52 cm; W, 68 cm; east and west sides: W, 84 cm; cavity: W, 40-45 cm; D, 31 cm
Present State: Intact except for fragments missing on lower part; fragments also missing from upper border with inscription.
Inscription: Cüppers *TrZ* (1982): *[Mac]ellarii / [cau]ponem est.*
Bibliography: Cüppers, *TrZ* 45 (1982) 289-292; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 218, no. 166; Cüppers, *Trier Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* 237, no. 123.

The relief depicts tools and cuts of meats within a rectangular niche. Above the niche are the traces of two rows of the epitaph. On the left is a chopping block with a rib-roast and cleaver on top. A weigh scale hangs from a meat rack along with two cuts of meat. To the right of the chopping block is a two-tiered counter. On the bottom front of the counter is the upper part of a tool; the lower shelf depicts a long pointed tool with a thick handle resting on a cut of meat; and two meat roasts sit on the top shelf. The east and west faces are devoid of decoration.
Date: Third century A.D. (Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel*)

GB 23 (Fig. 81) Relief of a wine merchant's shop

Present Location: Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Provenance: Local. Trier
Monument Type: Unknown
Material: White sandstone
Dimensions: H, 58 cm; W, 63 cm; D, 57 cm

Present State: Principal face is very worn; male figure and left half of counter are mutilated. Fragments missing from right side, top and bottom of the niche. Fragment missing from second barrel on the left.
Bibliography: Esp. 7591; Loeschcke, *TrZ* (1932) 19-20, fig. 16; Kretzschmer and Heinsius, *TrZ* 20 (1951) 105, fig. 3.2; Cüppers, *Germania Romana* III (1970) 143; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 32; Kneissel, *BJb* 181 (1981) 189, fig. 7; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, *2000 Jahre Weinkultur* 118, no. 56.

The form is a rectangular block carved on three faces. Each lateral face is decorated with draped figures (not shown). On the left of the principal face is is the outline of a tunicate male figure seated on a chair before a counter. He holds an object (tablet ?) on his lap with both hands. On top of the counter are the traces of either a small barrel or a large, full sack. There are also traces of a container with a cylindrically-shaped object. Behind the figure's head, there is a shelf supported by three posts with five large barrels stored lengthwise.
Date: Late second/early third century A.D.

Igel

GB 24 (Figs. 82-117) Piller monument of the Secundinii
Present Location: *In situ* at Igel, 11 kms south-west of Trier; painted reproduction of monument in courtyard of Rheinisches Landesmusem, Trier
Monument Type: Pillar monument
Dimensions: Total height: 22.10 m; stepped base: H, 4.26 m; W, 5.12 m; socle: H, 2 m ; W, 3.98 m; aedicula: H, 33.78 m; W, 2.79 m; Attic relief south side: H, 2.24 m; W, 3.60 m; D, 2.70 m
Material: Reddish-grey friable sandstone.
Present State: Surface is very worn and weathered with several large fragments missing; damage caused by lightning, frost and world wars. Reliefs were once covered with layer of stucco and then paint. In 1907, traces of blue paint were visible on the relief ground beside the heads of the servants of the frieze of the south face; traces of brown and yellow paint were visible on the gable of the south face.
Inscription: Dragendorff and Krüger, 64: *D(is) P(ublio) [Aelio] Secu[ndino patri suo exe] voca M(anibus) /t[o Aug(usti) et Sec]uri(i)[s.....et.....]/nod[o f]ilis Secundini Securi et Publiae Pa/catae coniugi Secundini(i) Aventini et L(ucio) Sac/cio Modesto et Modestio Macedoni filio ei/ius Luci(i) Secundin[i]us Aventinus et Secundi/niu[s S]ecurus parentibus defunctis et / sibi vivi ut (h)aberent fecerunt.*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. To Publius Aelius? Secundinus, their father and former military veteran ?, to Sec ? and ?, sons of Secundinius Securus, to Publia Pacata, wife of Secundinius Aventinus, and to Lucius Saccius Modestus and his son, Modestius Macedo; Lucius Secundinius Aventinus and Lucius Secundinius Securus have erected [this monument] for their deceased parents and for themselves in order that they have it during their own lifetimes.
Bibliography: Dragendorff and Krüger, *Grabmal von Igel*; Drexel, *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 83-142; Esp. 5268; Eichler, *TrZ* 18 (1949) 235-242; Oelmann, *BJb* 154 (1954) 162-181; Cüppers, *TrZ* 31 (1968) 222-226; Zahn, *TrZ* 31 (1968) 230, 234; MacKendrick, *Romans on the Rhine* 239-240; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 150, 246; Ternes, *La vie quotidienne rhénanie* 223-229; Heinen, *TrZ* 39 (1976) 98-101, fig. 5; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Mariën, *L'empreinte de Rome* 328, fig. 236;

Drinkwater, *Roman West in the Third Century* 215-222; Veyne, *RA* (1981) 246-247; *LIMC* I.1, no. 7; no. 59; Drinkwater, *Textile History* 13 (1982) 111-128; Muller, *TrZ* 45 (1982) 377-383; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 35-36, 94, fig. 39; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* 149-151; Mersch, *La colonne d'Igel*; Gabelmann, *Römische Gräberstrassen* 297-98; Schwinden, *TrZ* 52 (1989) 292, 296-305 figs. 4d-e, 6; *LIMC* V.1-2, 138, no. 2938; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* 345-349; Zahn, *Igeler Säule*.

The pillar monument is carved in relief on all four faces. **South face** (principal face; Fig. 82). **Stepped base:** The reliefs are destroyed. **Socle:** The socle relief portrays a cloth inspection scene with 14 males figures (Fig. 86). On the left, a male figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, is reading a tablet in a chair before a rectangular counter; his visage is short-haired and beardless. Seven males are grouped around the seated figure and the back of the counter. The male figures are all beardless with short cap-like hair, with the exception of an elderly balding male who stands between the two figures counting coins on the counter. They wear tunics, mantles and supple shoes. On the right, six short-haired, beardless, tunicate males with mantles, gather around a rectangular counter inspecting a piece of cloth. Another figure to the right has a bolt of cloth over his left shoulder. The head of an elderly male figure stands between two more figures on the right. On the upper back wall is a long, draped, shelf with folded pieces of cloth. **Aedicula:** Two adult males, holding scrolls, stand on either side of a youth (Figs. 87, 88). The right male and youth holding hands are wearing a *toga*. The left figure is dressed in a tunic and wide mantle. Three medallions above contain the busts of poorly preserved figures. The epitaph is carved below the portrait group. **Frieze:** The frieze depicts a family meal; servants prepare the food and drink in separate areas (Fig. 89). **Attic:** The attic relief portrays another cloth inspection scene (Figs. 90, 91). In the centre, five male figures inspect a cloth lying on a counter. On the left, a figure places a piece of folded cloth over the shoulder of another large male figure. On the right, another male writes on a tablet. **Pediment:** The triangular pedimental relief depicts the abduction of Hylas by the nymphs (Figs. 91, 92).

North face (Fig. 83). **Stepped base** (Figs. 93, 94): The step above the lowest plain step portrays a battle between tritons and hippocamps. The step above depicts a scene of two figures hauling a boat with bales of cloth along a river; on the right is a reclining river god. The highest step depicts *putti* riding dolphins. **Socle:** The socle relief portrays three workmen in short tunics tying up a very large bale of cloth with thick ropes (Fig. 95). **Aedicula:** The aedicula depicts the apotheosis of Hercules in a zodiacal medallion (Figs. 96, 97). In each of the four corners are beardless male heads with long curly hair, representing the Winds. **Frieze:** The frieze portrays a transportation scene of horse/mules and riders (Fig. 98). On either side and on top of the hill are buildings constructed with ashlar blocks and peaked roofs. A smaller structure is portrayed on the hill between the two riders. **Attic:** The attic relief portrays an eros flanked by two griffons (Figs. 99, 100). **Pediment:** The triangular pediment depicts Sol and the horses of his chariot (Figs. 100, 101).

East face (Fig. 84). **Stepped base:** The reliefs are destroyed. **Socle:** The socle relief portrays possibly the preparation of cloth (Fig. 102). **Aedicula:** The aedicula is divided into an upper and lower register flanked by a pilaster with four nude superposed erotes (Fig. 103). The lower register portrays the personification of the river Styx. The upper register portrays Thetis and the infant Achilles with the personification of the river Styx. **Frieze:** The frieze depicts a peparation scene in the kitchen (Figs. 104, 105). On the left a servant is entering the kitchen. A second servant cuts up a piece of meat in a thick tray upon a table. In the middle, another servant, dressed in a shortened garment with rolled up arms and

leggings, leans over a large pan placed upon a table. On the right, a bearded figure in a short tunic is pouring a liquid from a small barrel into a circular pan held by another figure. **Attic:** The attic portrays a counter scene with six male figures (Fig. 106). On the right, a beardless, male figure holds a tablet in a high-backed chair behind a rectangular counter. He wears a long-sleeved tunic. On the left, a beardless male, dressed in a tunic and short cape, pours coins from a sack nto the counter. On his right, another beardless male in a long-sleeved tunic counts a second pile of coins. Two more figures in short mantles stand on either side behind the counter. On the right, behind the first seated figure, is another male in a long-sleeved tunic with a short cape. **Pediment:** The triangular pediment relief portrays Luna (Fig. 107).

West face (Fig. 85). **Stepped base:** The steps depict sea monsters and two figures hauling a boat with a male figure who is seated behind two large bales of cloth (Fig. 108). To the left is a building with a peaked roof. **Socle:** The socle depicts a bale of cloth transported in a mule-drawn wagon (Figs. 109, 110). **Aedicula:** The upper register depicts Perseus freeing Andromeda; Athena stands above them. In the lower register, a victorious Perseus brandishes the head of Medusa above a seated Andromeda. (Figs. 111, 112). **Frieze:** The frieze depicts a scene pf payment in kind (Fig. 113). A male figure stands on the right beside a curtain. His right hand is raised in greeting to six male figures who arrived through an arched doorway on the left. The first carries a rabbit, the second, two fish, the third, a lamb, the fourth, perhaps a goat fleece, the fifth, a chicken, and the sixth, a spherical basket of fruit. **Attic:** The attic portrays a horse and carriage (*cisium*) scene (Fig. 114). The *cisium* has just passed through a large portal and crosses in front of milestone LIII. **Pediment:** The triangular pediment relief portrays Mars and Rhea Silvia (Fig. 115). The imbricated pyramid terminates in the form of a capital with snake-like figures and male heads on each of the four sides (Fig. 116, 117). The capital supports a pine-cone, which is enclosed by four heads of young women The top of the monument is surmounted by the eagle of Ganymede.

Date: Severan; 215-217 A.D. (Baltzer); 245 A.D. (Dragendorff and Krüger). The dates provided by Baltzer and Dragendorff and Krüger are based upon stylistic comparisons with other monuments from Neumagen. Dragendorff and Krüger believed that the Igel monument marked the end of a series of Treviran pillar monuments (245 A.D.). Baltzer has since refined the Igel date to 215-217 A.D., believing that the uniformity of the portraits is not as advanced as the portrait on **GB 26,** which she dates to 220 A.D. Additionally, the milestone inscribed *L IIII* (four leagues) on the west attic relief provides a *terminus ante quem* for the monument, as milestones began to be marked in leagues rather than Roman miles during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) (MacKendrick).

St. Wendel

GB 25 (Fig. 118) Relief of two youths inspecting cloth

Present Location, Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum; Inv. St. W. 120
Provenance: Discovered in 1839 at Hirzweiler, near St. Wendel
Monument Type: Unknown
Material: Red sandstone
Dimensions: H, 76 cm; W, 86 cm; D, 27 cm
Present State: Fragments missing on lower left side, bottom wall of niches, and figures' feet. Surface abrasion on faces of both figures.

Bibliography: Hettner, *Römischen Steindenkmäler* 115, no. 247; Esp. 5123; Drexel, *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 93, fig. 6; Koethe, *RA* 10 (1937) 221; Pobé and Roubier, *Art of Roman Gaul* 73, fig. 215; Schindler, *Landesmuseum Trier* 58, fig. 176; Wightman, *Roman Trier* 186, fig. 18b; Polaschek, *KurtrierJb* 13 (1973) 214-215, fig. 3; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 45; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 200, no. 147; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 94, no. 1, fig. 38; Hatt, *TGR* 205; Nerzic, *Sculpture en Gaule* 124; Schwinden, *TrZ* 52 (1989) 291, fig. 4a.

The rectangular block is carved on one face. Two male youths, dressed in long-sleeved tunics, stand in profile, inspecting a fringed piece of cloth. The figures are short, with cap-like hair. Their youthful features are chubby, unlined and beardless. Their pupils are drilled with well-defined lids and eyebrows; the ears visible to the viewer are also drilled. A curtain is preserved behind the right figure. Two small shelves with two piles of folded cloth are depicted on the upper back wall.
Date: Severan; 200-205 A.D. (Baltzer). Baltzer bases this date on stylistic comparisons with the Pachtzahlung relief from Neumagen (von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 215, no. 303), which she dates ca. 200-205 A.D. Baltzer writes that the relaxed treatment of the clothes show is more advanced than those shown on the Schulreliefpfeiler from Neumagen (von Massow, *op. cit.* 136, no. 180b), dated ca. 180 A.D. by Baltzer and von Massow. However, the treatment of the eyebrows and pupils on GB 25 is not as advanced as those on the figures of the Zirkusdenkmal from Neumagen (von Massow, *op. cit.* 143, no. 182), which is dated ca 215-220 A.D. by both scholars. This choronology seems to be too precisely dated simply on stylistic comparisons between local reliefs. Thus a more general date, sometime during the Severan period, is more suitable for this relief.

Neumagen (*Noviomagus*)

GB 26 (Figs. 119, 120) Scene of cloth display on 'Das Tuchhandelpfeiler'

Present Location: Trier, Rheinisches Landesmusem, Inv. 11074
Provenance: Discovered in 1885 in Neumagen 'bei Samson Leib, Burgsüdseite'
Monument Type: Pillar monument
Material: Sandstone
Dimensions: H, 54 cm; W, 1.12 m; D, 80 cm
Present state: Top, bottom and left side of relief are missing. Lower half of male figure is missing. His head is cracked from middle of nose to nape of neck; it was re-attached to body at a later date with fragments missing where it joins the chest. Upper half of figure in upper side register and lower half of winged figure in lower side register of the pilaster are missing. Traces of light blue paint across lower leg and ankle of figure in upper register. Traces of yellow, red and green paint on imbricated motif of right lateral face. Traces of white and red paint on the rosettes at right of imbricated motif.
Bibliography: Esp. 5166, Drexel, *RömMitt* 35 (1920) 94; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 154-157 no. 183, 285, figs. 26, 104; Polaschek, *KurtrierJb* 13 (1973) 214, fig. 1; Schlippschuh, *Händler* 41-42; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 40-41, 94, no. 3, fig. 40; Schwinden, *TrZ* 52 (1989) 292, fig. 4c.

The form is a rectangular block carved on two faces. The rear face, of which two blocks remain, is decorated with an imbricated leaf motif on the pilaster and a triple row of stylized octagonal rosettes in

the field (Fig. 120). On the right lateral face, the upper half of a beardless young man stands in profile holding a large piece of cloth (Fig. 119). The figure, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, is carved in very deep relief. His facial features consist of deeply cut eyebrows, punctated pupils, narrow, closed lips and protruding chin. The cap-like hair is quite full and puffy. The inner part of his S-shaped right ear is drilled for emphasis. Another figure held presumably the other end of the cloth on the now missing part of the relief. To the right, a pilaster with two superposed registers depicts partially-preserved erotes; the lower winged eros plays a long, narrow flute.
Date: Severan; 215 A.D. (von Massow); 220 A.D. (Baltzer). The dates provided by Baltzer and von Massow are based on stylistic criteria. Baltzer argues for a later date, noting that refinements in the treatment of the eyebrow and hairstyle are found on the Zirkusdenkmal at Neumagen (von Massow, *op. cit.* 143, no. 182), dated by von Massow to 220 A.D. She notes that the bulging treatment of the eyebrow shown on both monuments is found on a state portrait of Caracalla, ca. 213-217 A.D. However, since this feature may have continued after the death of Caracalla in 217 A.D., this date seem too narrowly defined. Thus a more general, Severan date is proposed for **GB 26**.

GB 27 (Fig. 121) Relief of figure removing cloth bolt or papryrus roll from shelf

Present Location: Lost; drawn by Masenius in 1670
Provenance: discovered at Neumagen '*in loco castrorum Constantini Maximi hodiedum in lapide repertum*'; became the property of the Count of Wittgenstein in 1725
Bibliography: Brinkmann, *BJb* 114-115 (1909) 461, fig. 1; Esp. 5176; von Massow, *Grabmäler von Neumagen* 243, no. 445, fig. 141; Binsfeld, *BJb* 173 (1973) 203, fig. 3; Cüppers, in *Römer an Mosel* 263-264, no. 222; Blanck, *Das Buch* 181, fig. 90.

The drawing depicts a mutilated rectangular block with the upper half of a tunicate male figure with his back to the viewer. He is shown removing a cylindrical object from the top row of three rows of similar objects on a shelf; these objects have triangular tabs placed on the ends facing out. On the right is a second shelf with more of the same objects. A partially-opened scroll is depicted in the lower right corner.
Date: Second/third century A.D. (Cüppers)

Jünkerath

GB 28 (Fig. 122) Fragmentary scene of a wine shop
Present Location: Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Provenance: Discovered by Hettner, in 1886, in Jünkerath, in foundations of late Roman fortification wall
Monument Type: Unknown
Material: Limestone from Jura
Dimensions: H, 71 cm; W, 98 cm; D, 19 cm
Present State: Surface is abraded and worn. Fragments missing from top, right and left sides of relief. Facial features are mutilated. Upper heads of right male and female are missing as well as heads of two central figures.

Bibliography: Hettner, *Römischen Steindenkmäler* 113, no. 244; Hettner, *Illustrierte* 56, no. 120; Esp. 5243; Reinach, *Musée des Antiquités* 235, no. 50260; Loeschcke, *TrZ* 7 (1932) 30, fig. 25; Kretzschmer and Heinsius, *TrZ* 20 (1951) 107, fig. 3.2; Schindler, *Landesmuseum Trier* 58-59, fig. 178; Reddé, *Métiers* 44; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 76, fig. 120.

The form is a rectangular block carved on one face. On the right, a male figure is seated on a chair behind a counter, facing left. He wears a tunic and mantle; a scarf lies over his left forearm. In his left hand is a tablet, while his right hand is placed on a sack lying on top of the counter. Two male (?) figures, wearing long-sleeved tunics, stand around the counter; the one on the left holds a tablet; the other to the right holds an unidentified object with both hands. The left side of the relief is separated from the male figures by a plainly carved pilaster. A female figure, dressed in a long tunic with long sleeves, stands with her back to the viewer. Her hair is gathered back into a bun at the nape of her neck. She holds up a small barrel to a spigot set in a high counter. Traces of a funnel are preserved above the spigot.
Date: Second/third century A.D.

Germania Superior
Weinsheim

GS 1 (Figs. 123, 124) Relief blocks of a cloth merchant's shop ? and metier

Present Location: Worms; Museum der Stadt Worms im Andreasstift
Provenance: Two blocks discovered in 1878, with other Roman debris, 1 km east of Weinsheim
Monument Type: Unknown
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H 60 cm; W, 1.33 m and 85 cm; D, 80 cm
Present State: Both blocks are very worn with surface abrasions. Fragments missing from right and left sides of larger block; features of three figures are abraded. Fragments missing from sides of smaller block; facial features of figures are mutilated and feet are missing.
Bibliography: Esp. 6066; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 56, 100, no. 47, fig. 80; Grünewald, *Römer in Worms* 55, fig. 37.

On the left of the larger block, a beardless, tunicate male figure is seated in a chair before a solid counter, examining a scroll (Fig. 123). A second, beardless male figure stands behind the counter looking at another scroll. Four sacks and an inkwell with a *calamus* are placed on the counter between the two figures. A third figure stands on the left, facing right. On the smaller block, a bearded male, dressed in a long-sleeved tunic, appears to be handing a long cylindrical object to a young female dressed in a long tunic (Fig. 124). On the left are traces of a draped male, seated on a chair.
Date: Late second/beginning third century A.D.

Langres (*Andemantunnum*)

GS 2 (Fig. 125) Fragmentary relief of a shoe and perfume shop

Present Location: Langres, Musée de Langres
Provenance: Discovered on the site of the citadel at Langres
Monument Type: Stele
Material: Coarse limestone
Dimensions: H, 77 cm; W, 36 cm; D, 15 cm
Present State: Large fragments missing on all four sides.
Bibliography: Royer, *Catalogue du Musée de Langres* 93, no. 366; Esp. 3317

The mutilated rectangular block is carved on one face; only the upper right corner of the niche is preserved. The upper part displays two pairs of footwear suspended against the back wall. Below are two thick shelves with objects displayed on them. The upper shelf contains four flasks with a single handle; the outer flasks are cylindrical while the inner flasks have a square form. The lower shelf holds three covered boxes. A ring with a cord is attached to the bottom front of the lower shelf.
Date: Unknown

Raetia
Neuburg

R 1 (Figs. 125, 127) Relief of a wine shop

Present Location: Reissmuseum, Mannheim
Provenance: Discovered at Neuburg
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: limestone
Dimensions: Principal face: H, 74 cm; W, 1.18 m; D, 49 cm
Present State: Surface is very worn and pitted. Large triangular-shaped fragment missing from lower left. Facial features of figure are destroyed.
Inscription: *CIL* XIII, 5890: *D(is) M(anibus) / Tib(erio) Cassio Constantino iunio/ri miserrimo qui vixit annos III m(enses) / IIII d(ies) XXII fecit Tib(erius) Cl(audius)Constantinus / pater filio dulcissimo a quo sibi faci/endum optaverat et Cassiae Verae / matri eius et Claudi(i)s Ianuario / Victori et Marcellino libertis / fidelissimis vivis fecit item Fideli q/uondam et Gaio et Modesto suis ra/rissimis perpetuae securitat[i].*
Translation: To the spirits of the dead. To Tiberius Cassius Constantinus, the most unfortunate younger [son], who lived three years, four months, 22 days; Tiberius Claudius Constantinus, his father erected [this monument] to his dearest son, from whom he had wished it erected for himself, and to Cassia Vera, his mother, and to Claudius Januarius, Claudius Victor and Claudius Marcellinus, his most loyal freedmen during their lifetimes; he erected it likewise to the late? Fidelis, and to Gaius and Modestus, his rarest [slaves], for his perpetual security.
Bibliography: Esp. *Germ. Rom.* 718; Wagner, *Raetia und Noricum* 63, no. 210, fig. 62; Reddé, *Métiers* 44.

The form is a rectangular block carved on three faces. The principal face contains the inscription (Fig. 127). The right lateral face (not shown) is mutilated. The left lateral face depicts a tunicate male

figure standing behind a counter (Fig. 126). A jug is suspended from the wall in the upper left corner. To the right of the figure are four superposed barrels; the bottom barrel rests on the counter.
Date: Third century A.D. (Based on inscription)

Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*)

R 2 (Figs. 128-130) Reliefs of the wine shop of Pompeianius Silvinus

Present Location: Augsburg, Germany, Römisches Museum
Provenance: Local, Lechebene, Augsburg
Monument Type: Rectangular stele
Material: White limestone
Dimensions: H, 96 cm; W, 1.16 m; D, 74 cm
Present State: Fragments missing from sides of niches. Facial features of figures are abraded.
Inscription: *AE* 1980, no. 660: *Pompeianius / Silvinus vivus / fecit sibi et /Pomp(eianio) Victori / fratri piissimo / qui vixit annis XXX.*
Translation: Pompeianius Silvinus erected [this monument] during his lifetime to himself and to Pompeianius Victor, his most dutiful brother, who lived 30 years.
Bibliography: Weber, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 128, figs. 13-15; Bushart, *Stadtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg* 91-93, pl. 16-18; Baltzer, *Alltagsdarstellungen* 101, no. 49; Bakker, *Römer in Schwaben* 129-130, fig. 98; Gottlieb, *AntW* 16.2 (1985) 13-14, figs. 20a-b; Martin-Kilcher, *Archéologie de la vigne et du vin* 203-204, fig. 19.

The form is a rectangular block carved on three faces. The principal face contains the inscription (Fig. 130). On the left lateral face, a tunicate male figure stands behind a large counter pouring a jug into a funnel on top of the counter (Fig. 128). A young female figure in a long tunic and hooded mantle stands in front of the counter with a jug to receive the liquid. Above are two shelves: the upper shelf contains wine flasks; the lower shelf depicts a row of six, recumbent barrels. Three jugs hang in front of the flasks. Small jugs are set between the railings on top of the counter. The right lateral face depicts two males sitting across a table from each other on chairs (Fig. 129). The possibly bearded male figure on the right rest his right hand on a pile of coins on the table. A small dog sits on his lap. The male figure on the left holds a tablet in his left hand. A tunicate female figure stands between the males; her finger gestures suggest that she is counting the coins. Behind are two shelves with wine flasks and barrels.
Date: End second/beginning third century A.D. (Bakker)

Fig. 1. **GN 1**. Narbonne: Stele of peddler with basket of fruit (?)

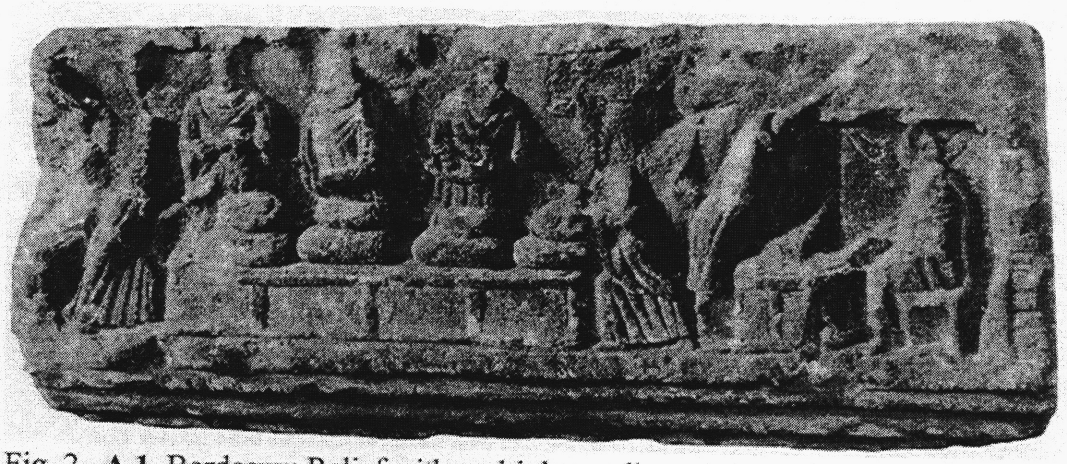


Fig. 2. **A 1**. Bordeaux: Relief with multiple vending scenes

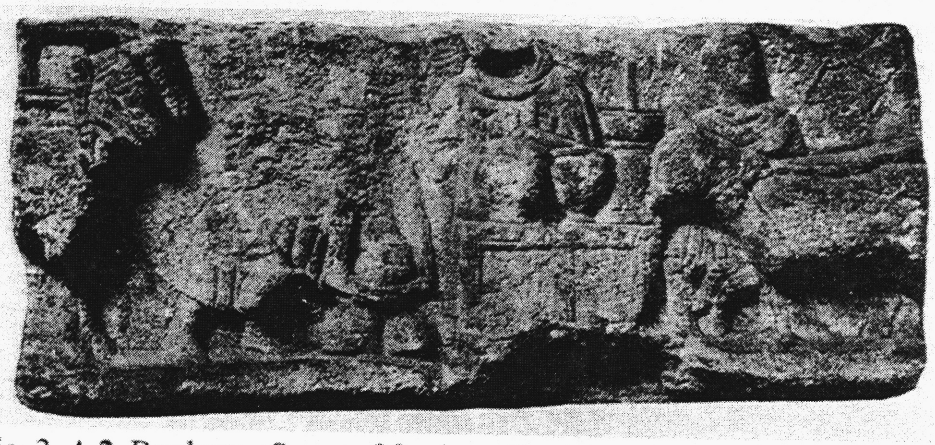


Fig. 3. **A 2**. Bordeaux: Scene of food vending

Fig. 4. **A 3**. Bordeaux: Stele of female merchant holding scales

Fig. 5. **A 4**. Bordeaux: Stele of butcher

Fig. 6. **A 5**. Saintes: Reliefs portraying sale of dried foods (lower) and textile workers (upper)

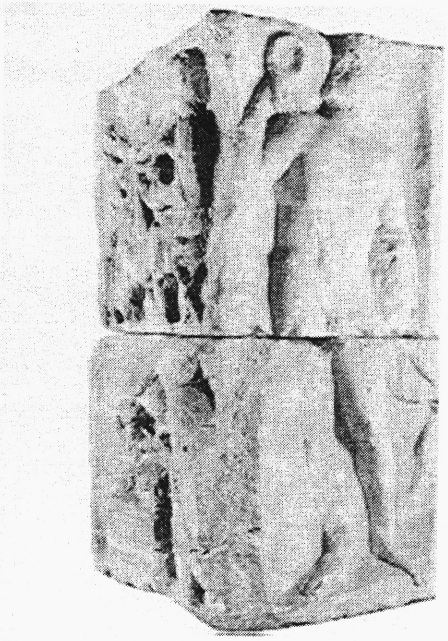


Fig. 7. **A 5**. Saintes: relief of satyr

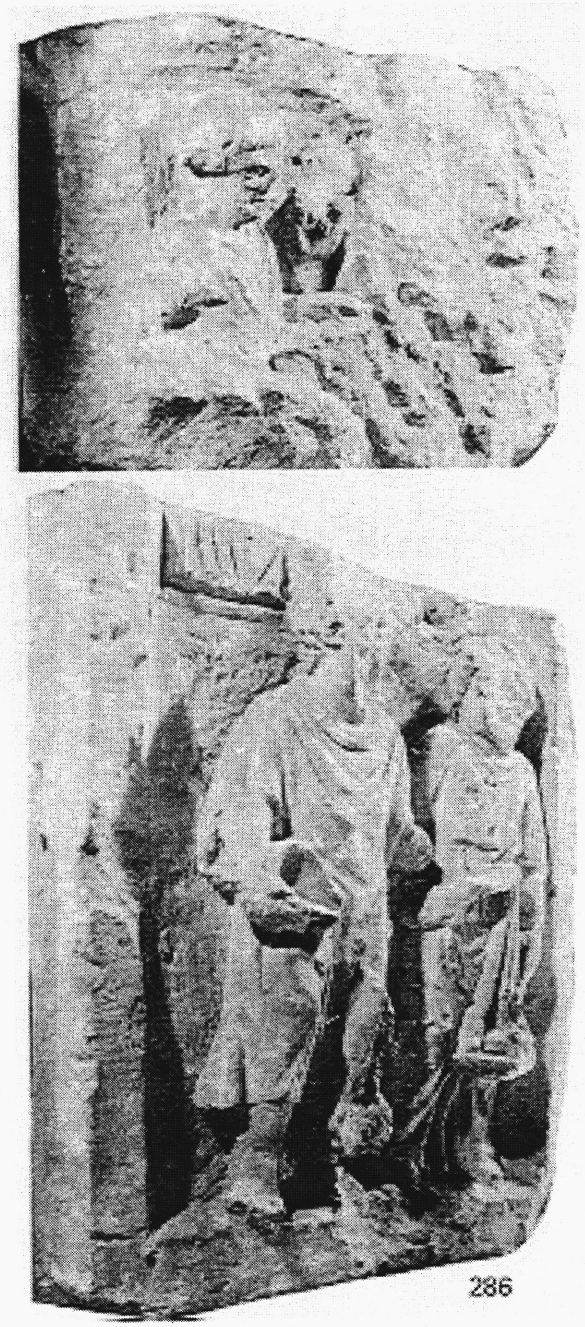


Fig. 8. **A 6**. Saintes: Reliefs of merchant couple (lower); counter scene (upper)

Fig. 9. **A 6**. Saintes: relief of athlete

Fig. 10. **A 7**. Allean: Relief of draper (?)

Fig. 11. **A 8**. St. Ambroix-sur-Arnon: Stele of wine vendor

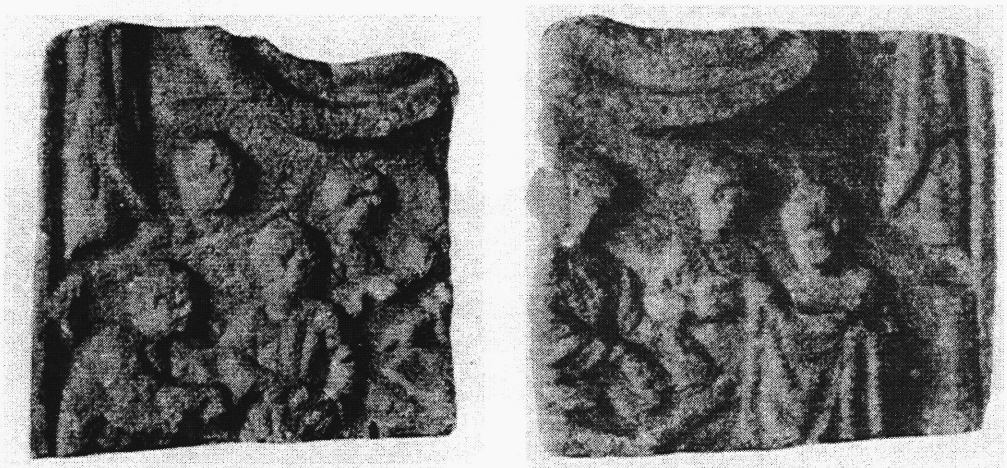


Fig. 12. **A 9**. Le Puy: Cloth vending scene

Fig. 13. **GL 1**. Autun: Stele of figure holding barrel

Fig. 14. **GL 2**. Autun: Stele of wine vendor

Fig. 15. **GL 3**. Sens: Wine vending scene

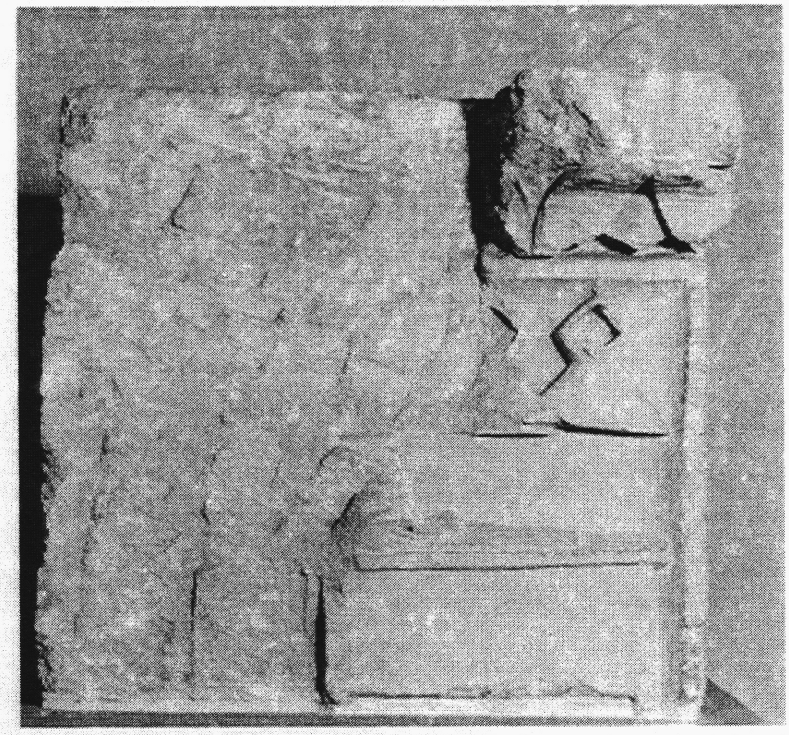


Fig. 16. **GL 4**. Sens: Relief of tailor's shop

Fig. 17. **GL 4**. Sens: Inscription

Fig. 18. **GL 5.** Sens: Stele of figure weighing object

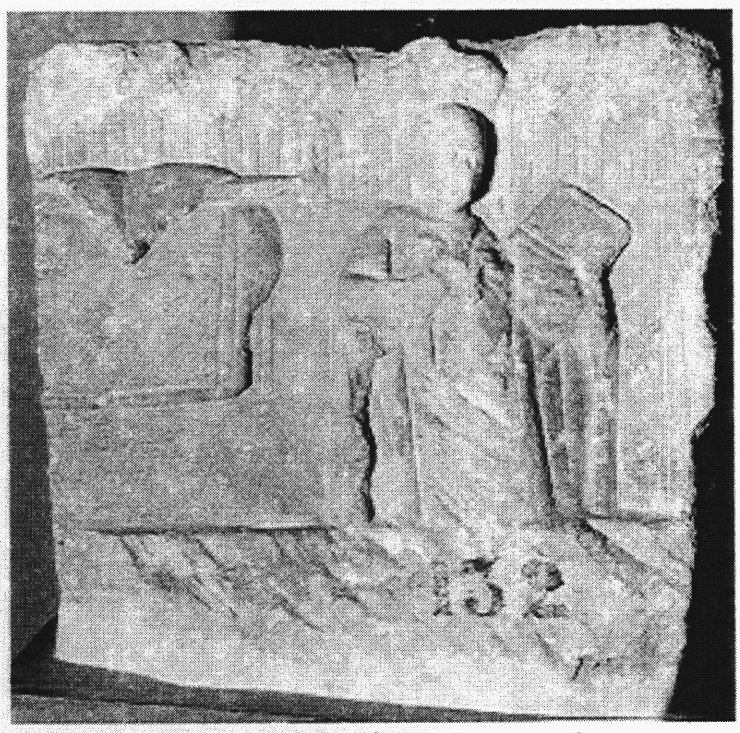


Fig. 19. **GL 6**. Sens: Stele of a garment vendor

Fig. 20. **GL 7**. Sens: Stele fragment with scene of commerce (?)

Fig. 21. **GL 8.** Lillebonne: Reliefs of perfume vendor and girl holding dog

Fig. 22. **GL 8**. Lillebonne: Portrait of couple

Fig. 23. **GL 8**. Lillebonne: Floral motif

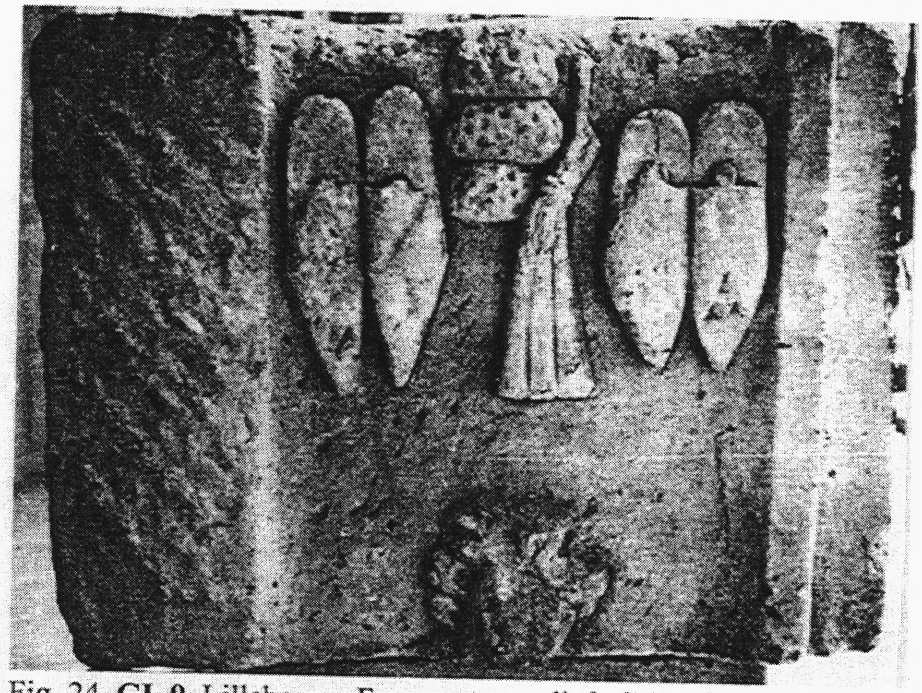


Fig. 24. **GL 9**. Lillebonne: Fragmentary relief of shoe shop

Fig. 25. **GL 9**. Lillebonne: Portrait fragment of deceased

Fig. 26. **GL 9**. Lillebonne: Stylized motif

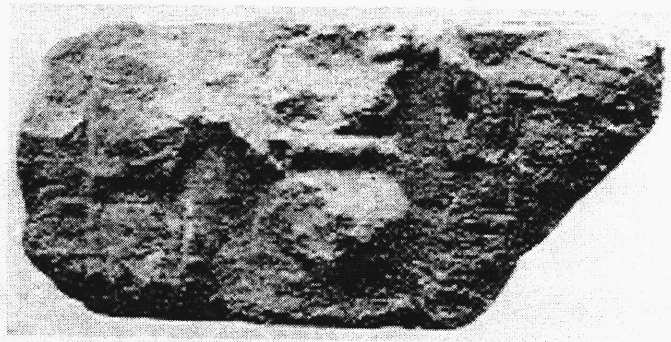


Fig. 27. **GL 10**. Paris: Stele fragment with scene of oil or wine vending

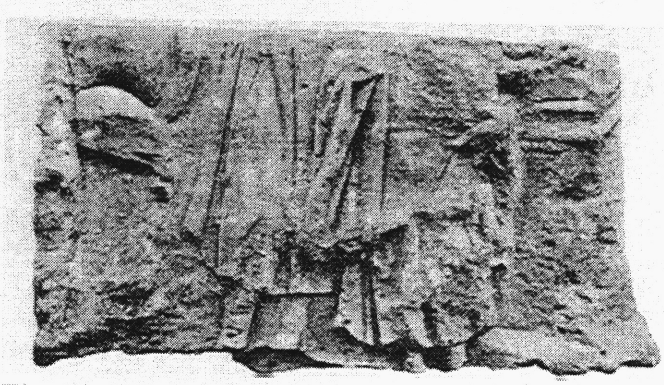


Fig. 28. **GL 11**. Paris: relief fragment of vending scene (?)

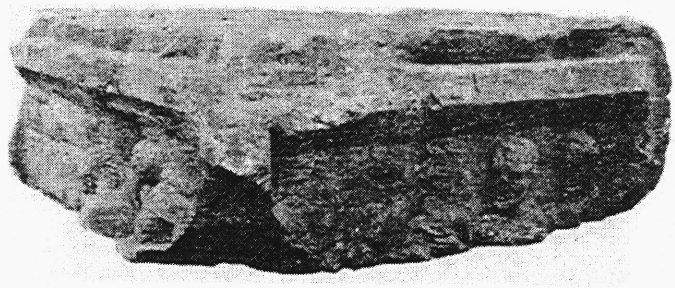


Fig. 29. **GL 12**. Paris: relief fragment of clothing shop (?))

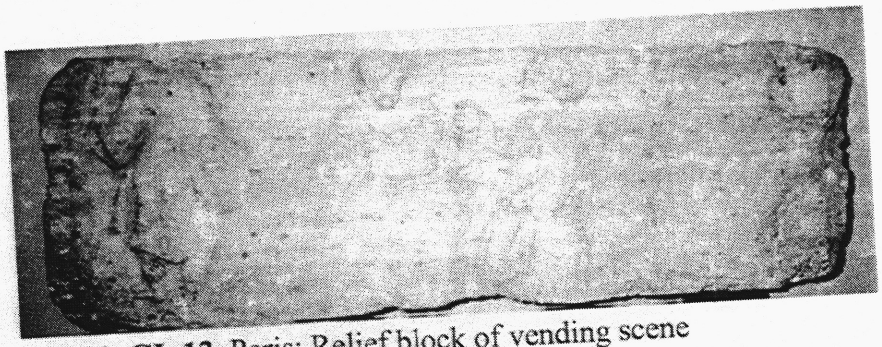


Fig. 30. **GL 13**. Paris: Relief block of vending scene

Fig. 31. **GL 14**. Paris: Stele of fish merchants (?)

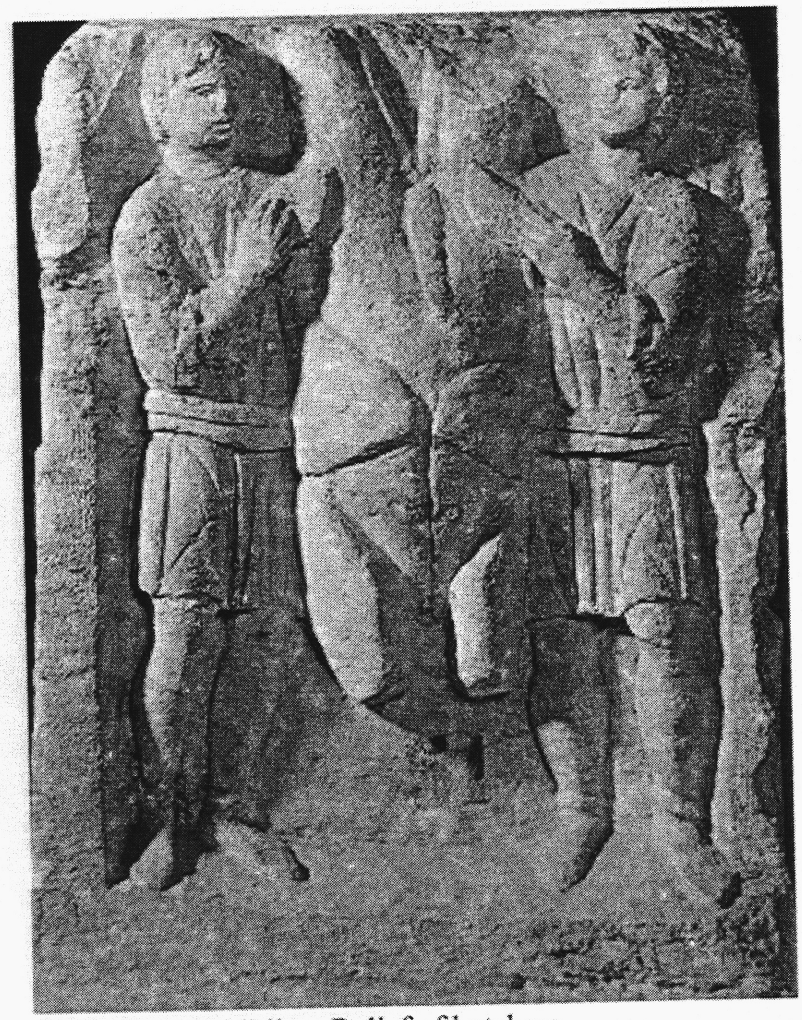


Fig. 32. **GL 15**. Dijon: Relief of butchers

Fig. 33. **GL. 15**. Dijon:
Relief of counting coins

Fig. 34. **GL 15**. Dijon: Fragment of male's portrait

Fig. 35. **GL 15**. Dijon: Fragment of child's portrait

Fig. 36. **GL 15**. Dijon: Fragment of corner pilaster

Fig. 37. **GL 16.** Dijon: Scene of wine vending

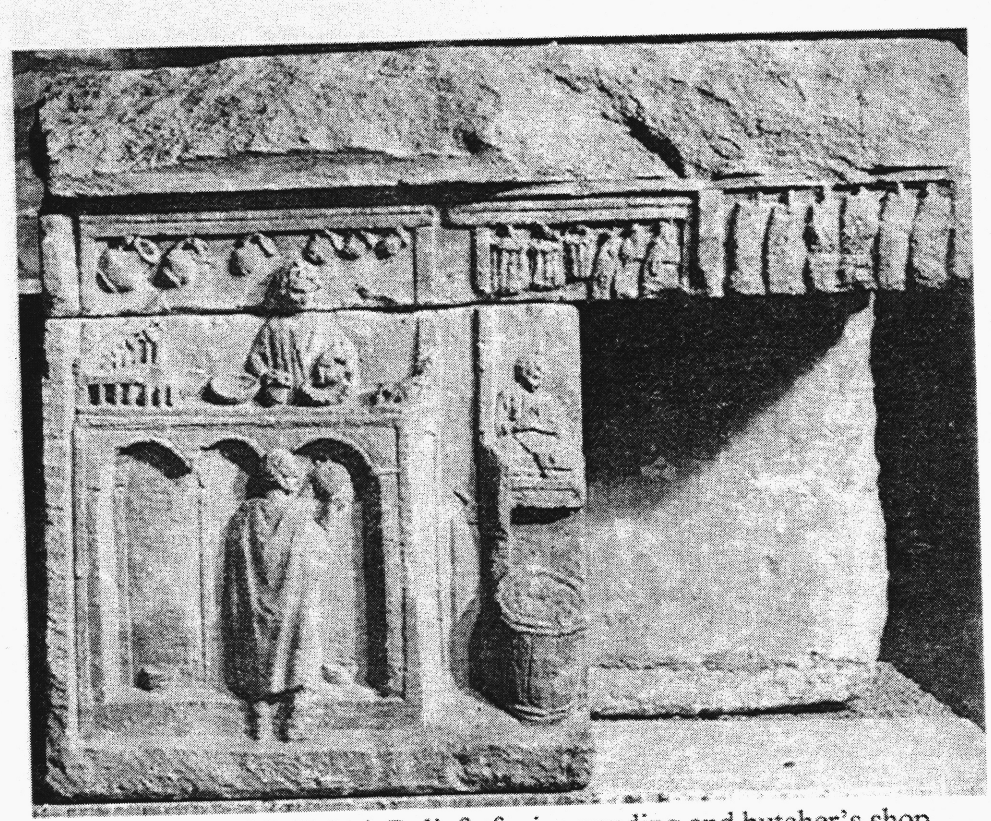


Fig. 38. **GL 17.** Til-Châtel: Relief of wine vending and butcher's shop

Fig. 39. **GL 18**. Nuits-St.George: Stele of butcher

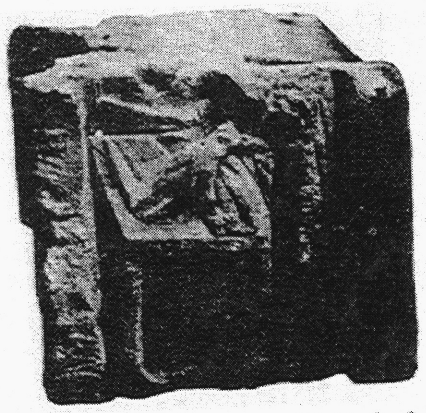


Fig. 40. **GB 1**. Reims: Relief of figure cutting cloth

Fig. 41. **GB 1**. Reims: Relief of figure at counter

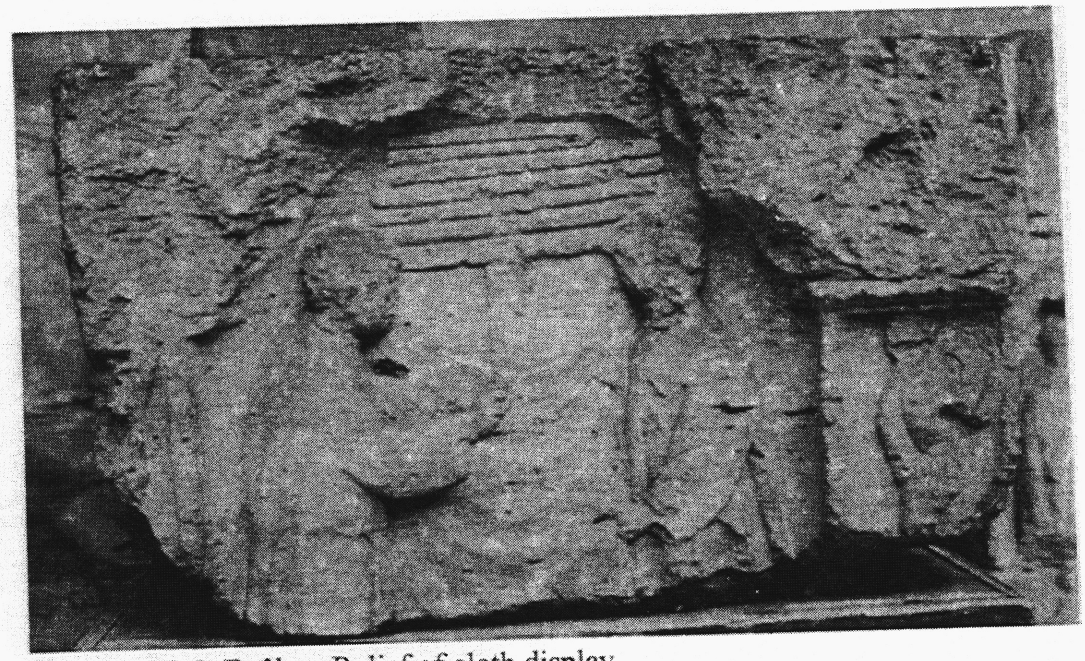


Fig. 42. **GB 2**. Baâlon: Relief of cloth display

Fig. 43. **GB 2**. Baâlon: Relief fragment of principal face

Fig. 44. **GB 3**. Stenay: Relief of tunic display

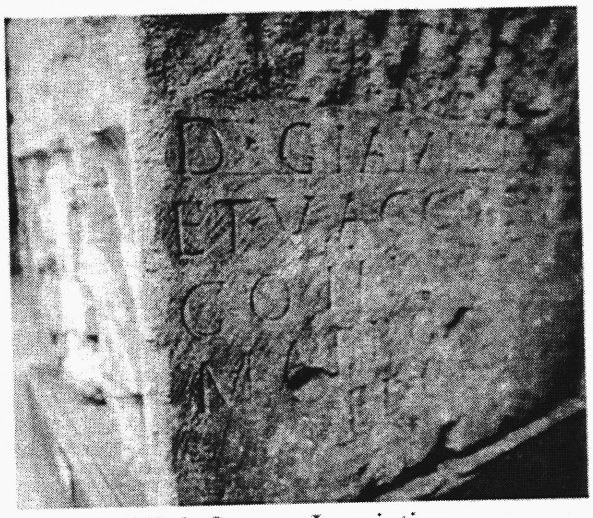


Fig. 45. **GB 3**. Stenay: Inscription

Fig. 46. **GB 4**. Metz: Relief of jewelry shop (?)

Fig. 47. **GB 5**. Metz:
Drawing of fruit vendor

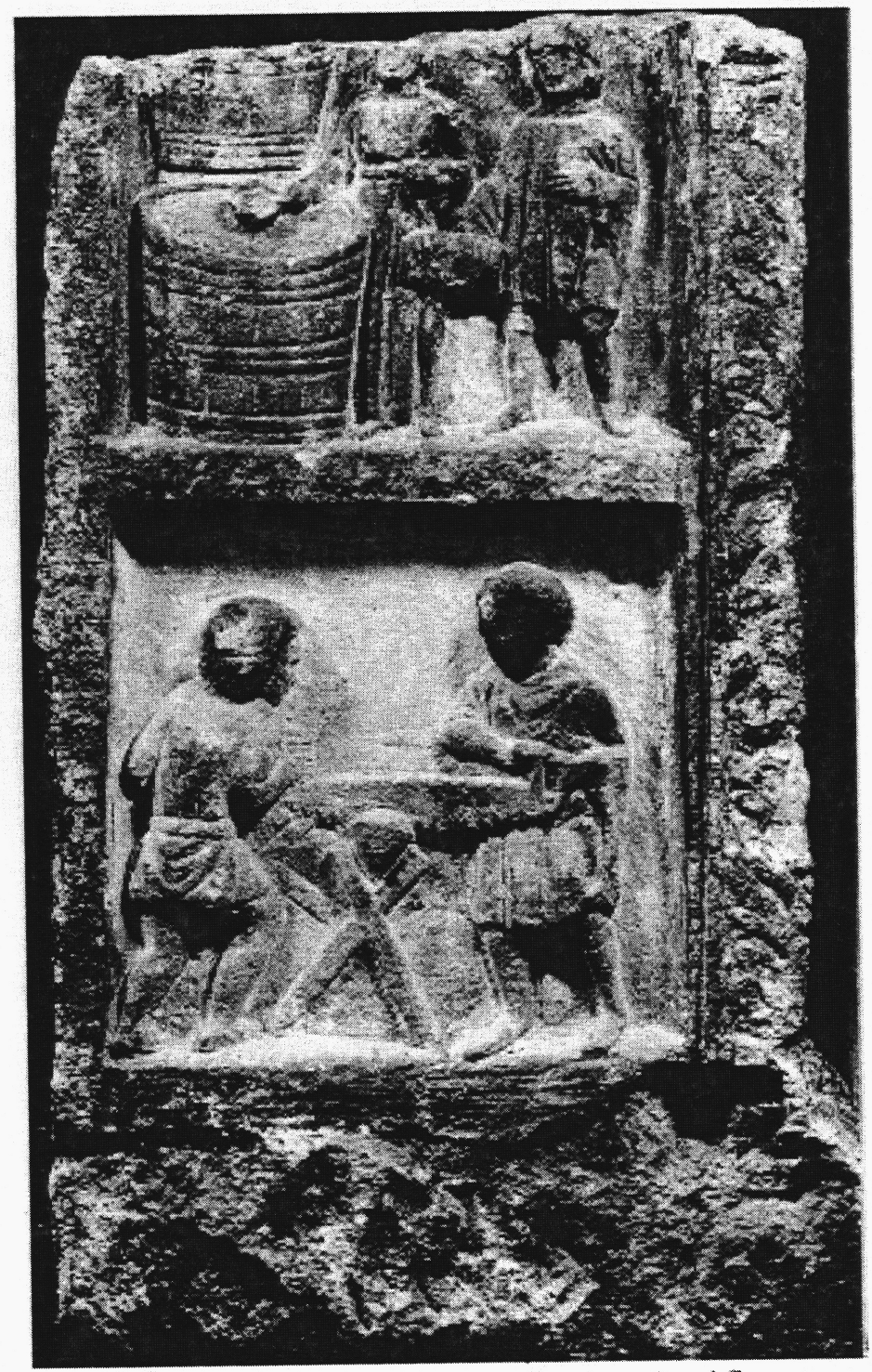


Fig. 48. **GB 6**. Metz: Reliefs of wine vending (upper) and figures sawing log (lower)

Fig. 49. **GB 6**. Metz: Reliefs of figures carrying goods on foot (upper); by pack-drawn wagon (lower)

Fig 50. **GB 6**. Metz: Portrait of couple

Fig. 51. **GB 7**. Metz: Scene of cloth display

Fig. 52. **GB 7**. Metz: Scene of figure carrying sack

Fig. 53. **GB 7**. Metz: Portrait of male

Fig. 54. **GB 8**. Metz: Stele of lock merchant

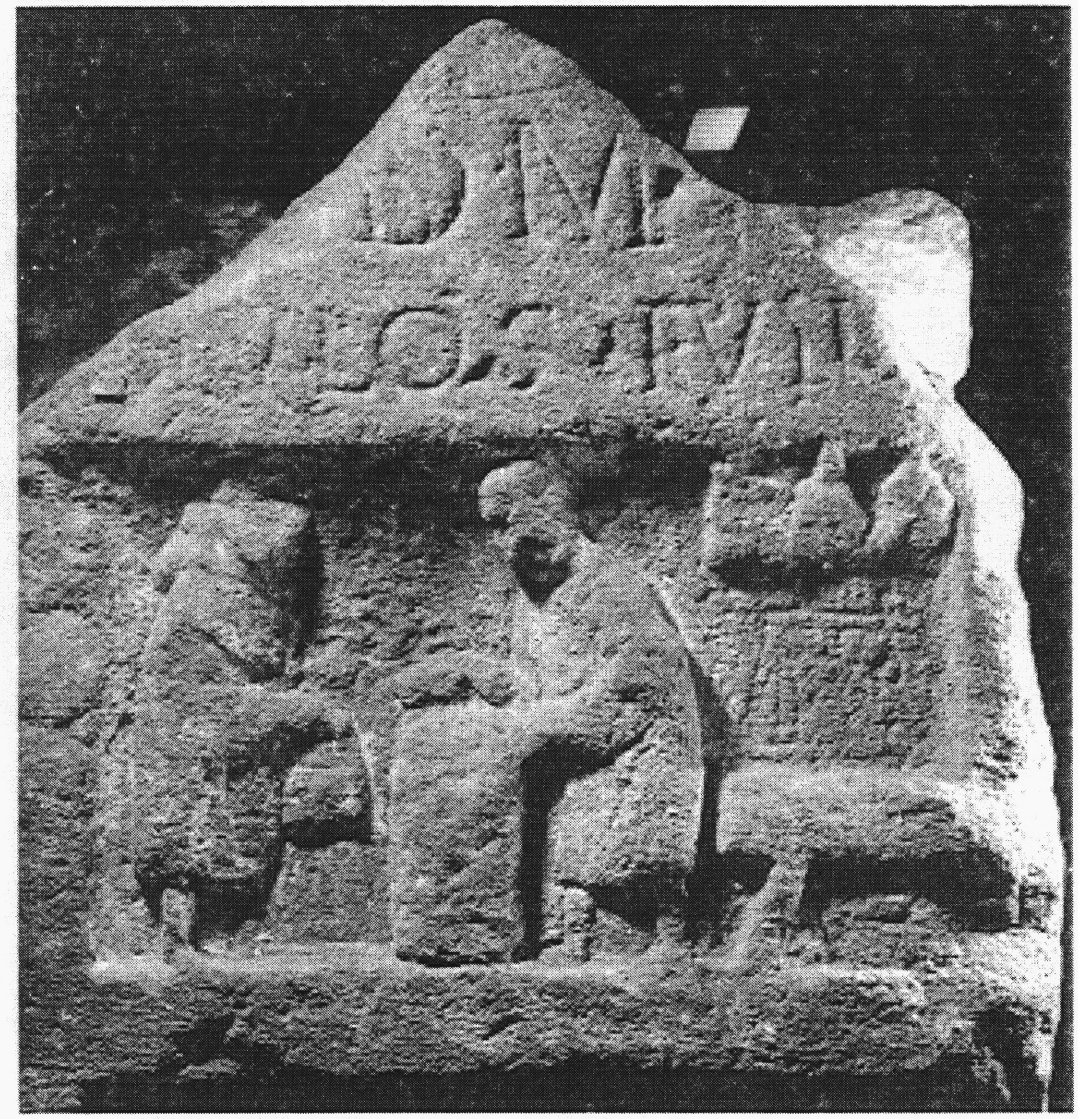


Fig. 55. **GB 9**. Hieraple: Stele of vending scene in butcher's shop

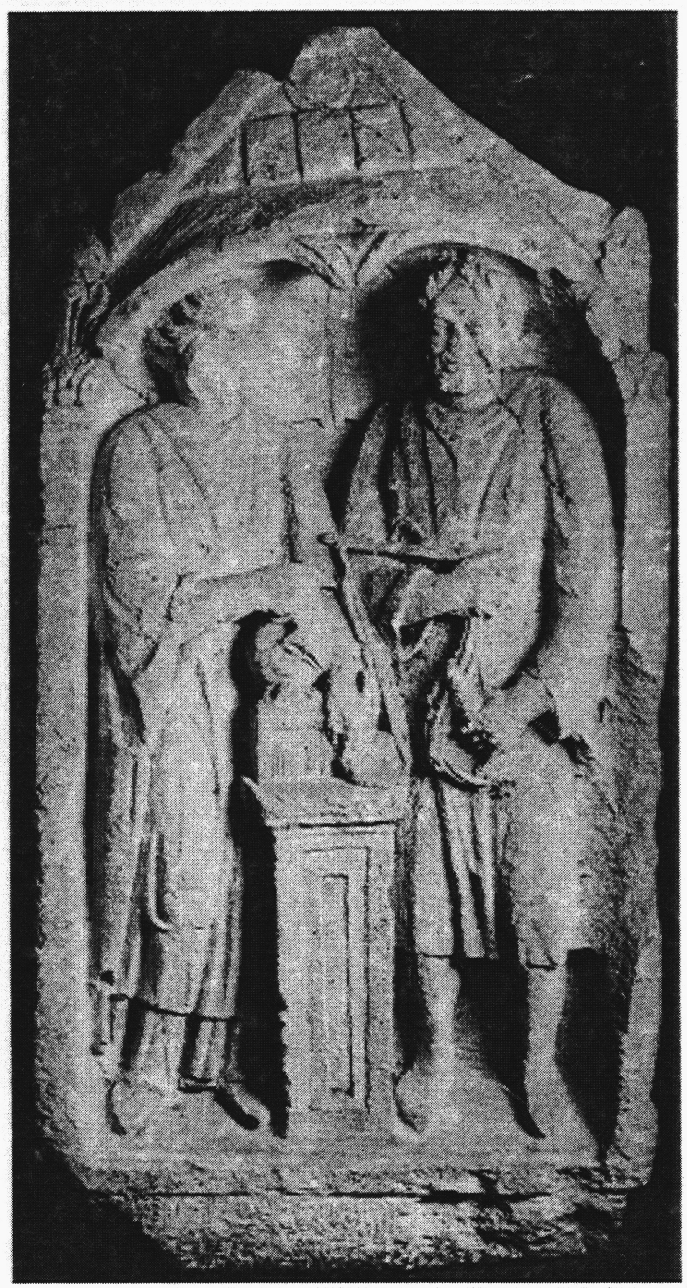


Fig. 56. **GB 10**. Soulosse: Stele of couple holding scales and skein of wool

Fig. 57. **GB 10**. Soulosse: Floral motif

Fig. 58. **GB 11**. Soulosse: Stele of itinerant vendor with cart

Fig. 59. **GB 12.1**. Grand: Stele of divinity and the brewing of beer (?)

Fig. 60. **GB 12.2**. Grand: Scene of largesse and the brewing of beer (?)

Fig. 61. **GB 13**. Arlon: Scene of cloth vending

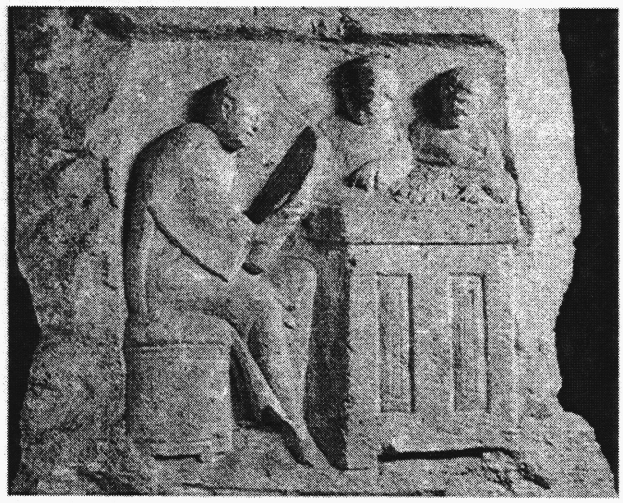


Fig. 62. **GB 13**. Arlon: Scene of the tallying of accounts

Fig. 63. **GB 13**. Arlon: Male figure in horse-drawn cart

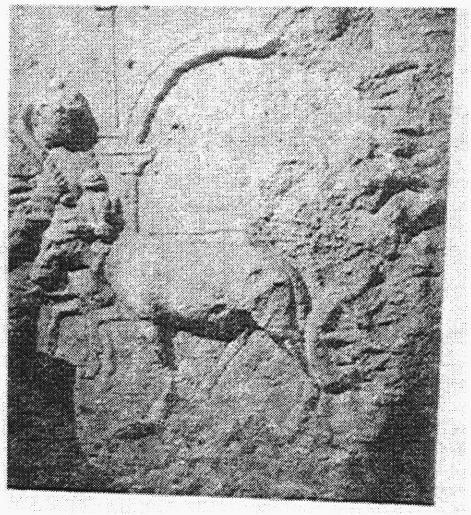


Fig. 64. **GB 13**. Arlon: Scene of transport

Fig. 65. **GB 13**. Arlon: Group portrait

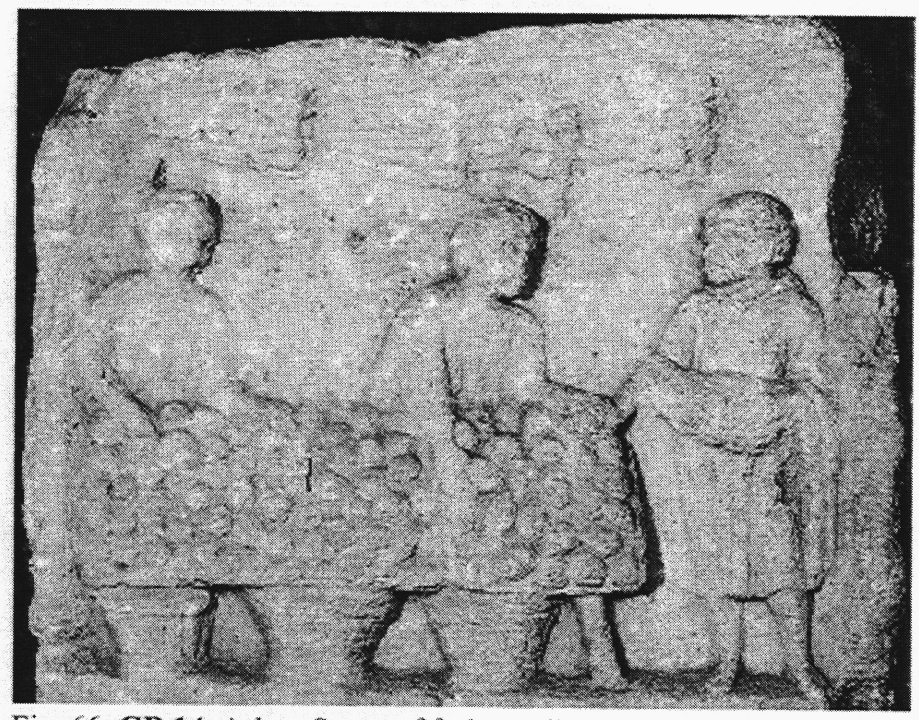


Fig. 66. **GB 14**. Arlon: Scene of fruit vending

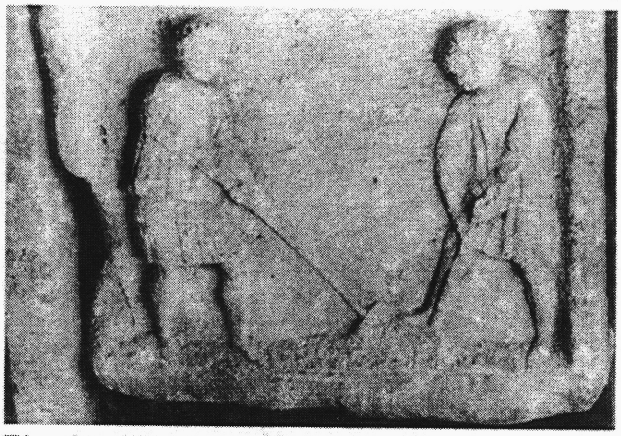


Fig. 67. **GB 14**. Arlon: Scene of hoeing the ground

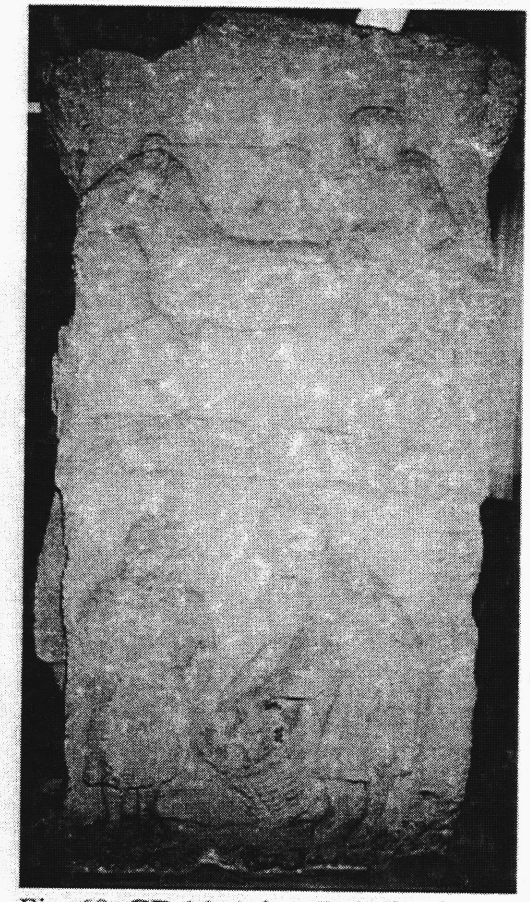


Fig. 68. **GB 14**. Arlon: Reliefs of figure in horse-drawn cart (upper); figures with fruit basket (lower)

Fig. 69. **GB 14**. Arlon: Portrait of couple

Fig. 70. **GB 15**. Clausen: Drawing of lost stele of wine vendor flanked by barrels

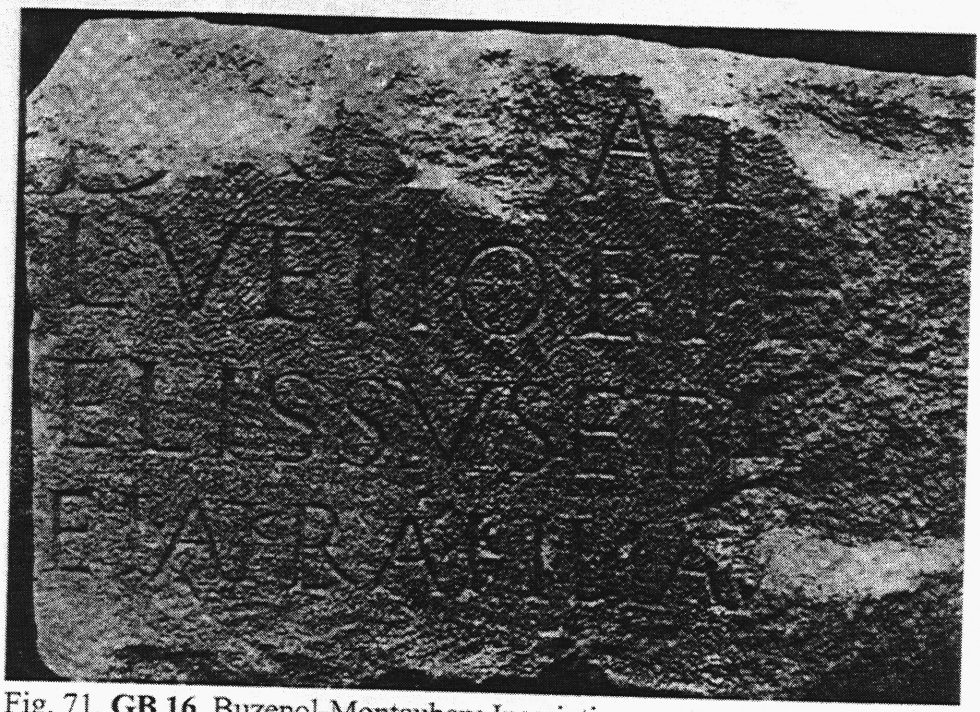


Fig. 71. **GB 16**. Buzenol-Montauban: Inscription

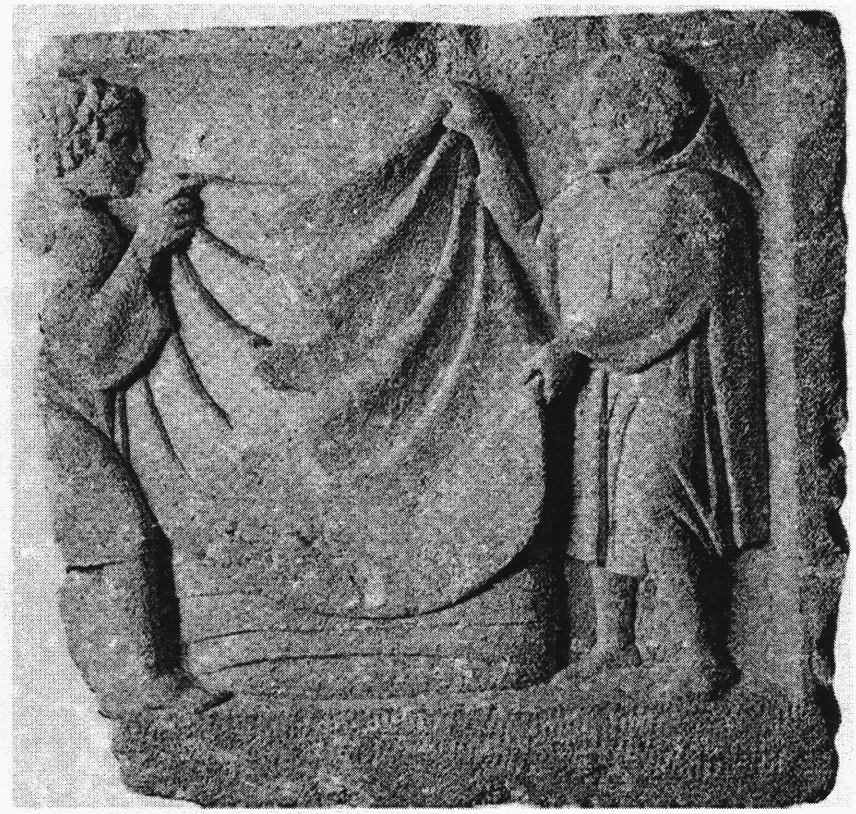


Fig. 72. **GB 16**. Buzenol-Montauban: Scene of cloth display

Fig. 73. **GB 16**. Buzenol-Montauban: Scene of figures in horse-drawn cart

Fig. 74. **GB 17**. Berbourg: Relief of cooper's shop

Fig. 75. **GB 17**. Berbourg: Inscription and portrait

Fig. 76. **GB 18**. Echternach: Drawing of lost relief of figures selling prepared food

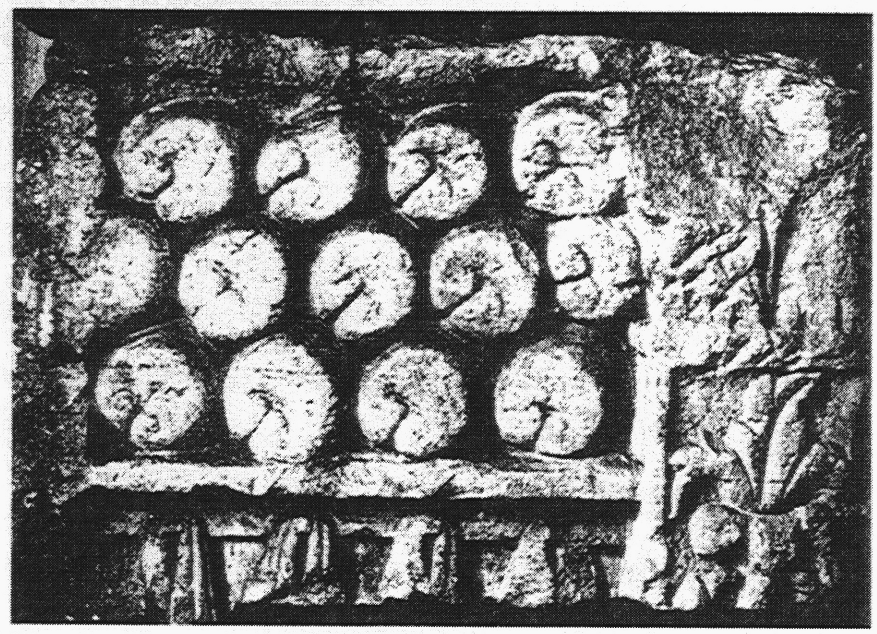


Fig. 77. **GB 19**. Trier: Relief of cloth bolts (?)

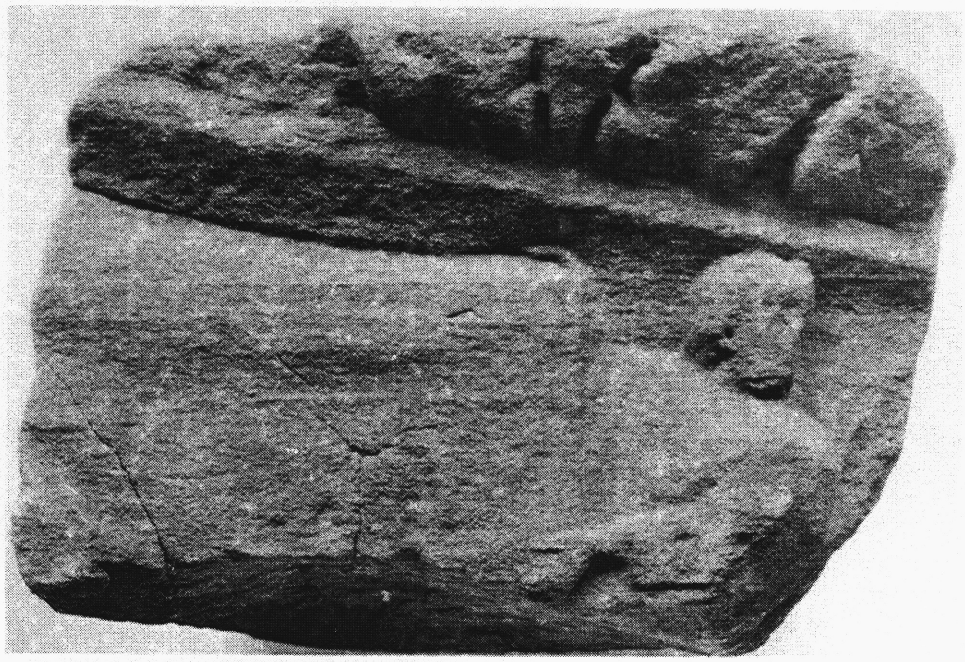


Fig. 78. **GB 20**. Trier: Relief fragment of cloth display

Fig. 79. **GB 21**. Trier: Relief of tavern scene (upper); scene of transport (lower)

Fig. 80. **GB 22**. Trier: Non-figural scene of butcher's shop

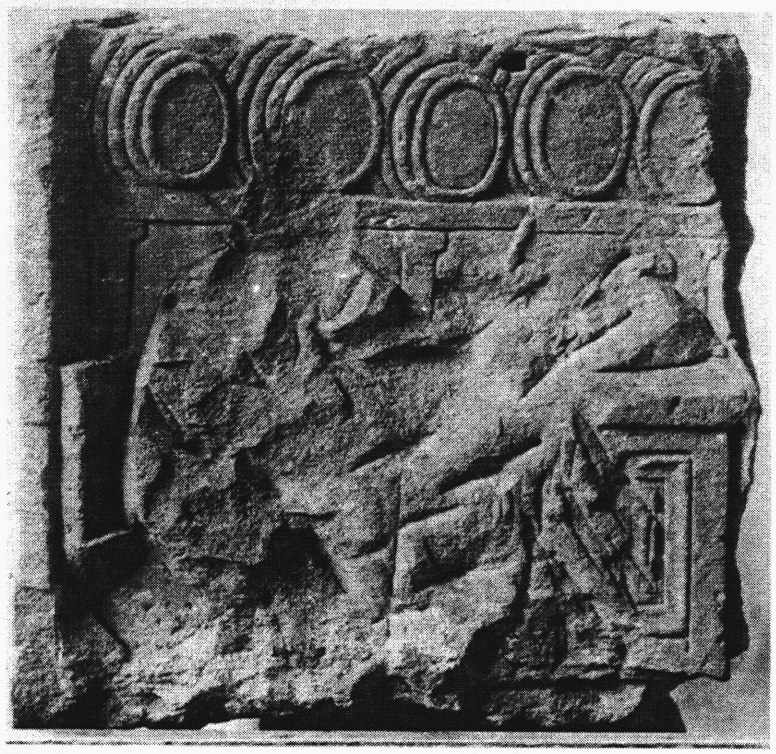


Fig. 81. **GB 23**. Trier: Relief of wine vendor in shop

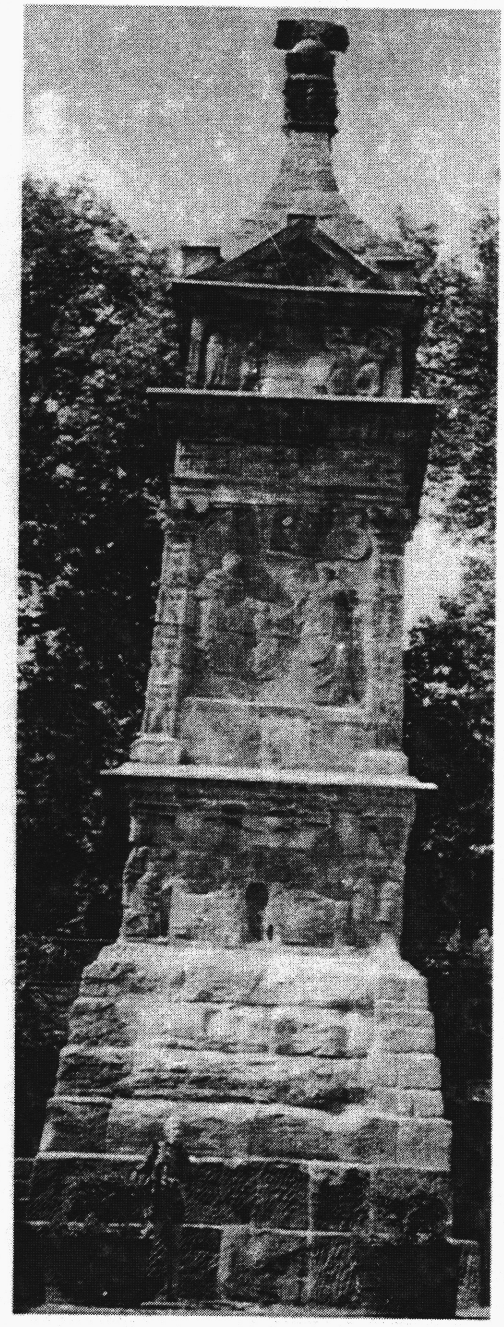


Fig. 82. **GB 24**. Igel: South side

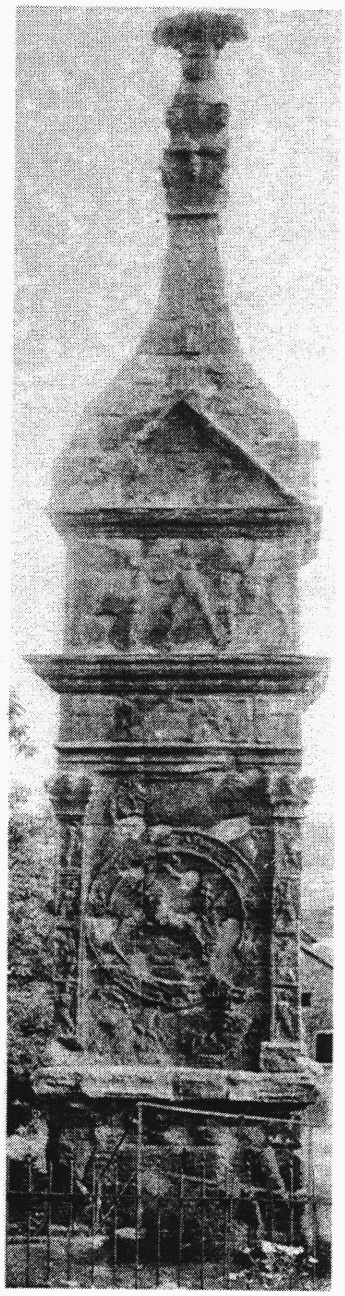


Fig. 83. **GB 24**. Igel: North side

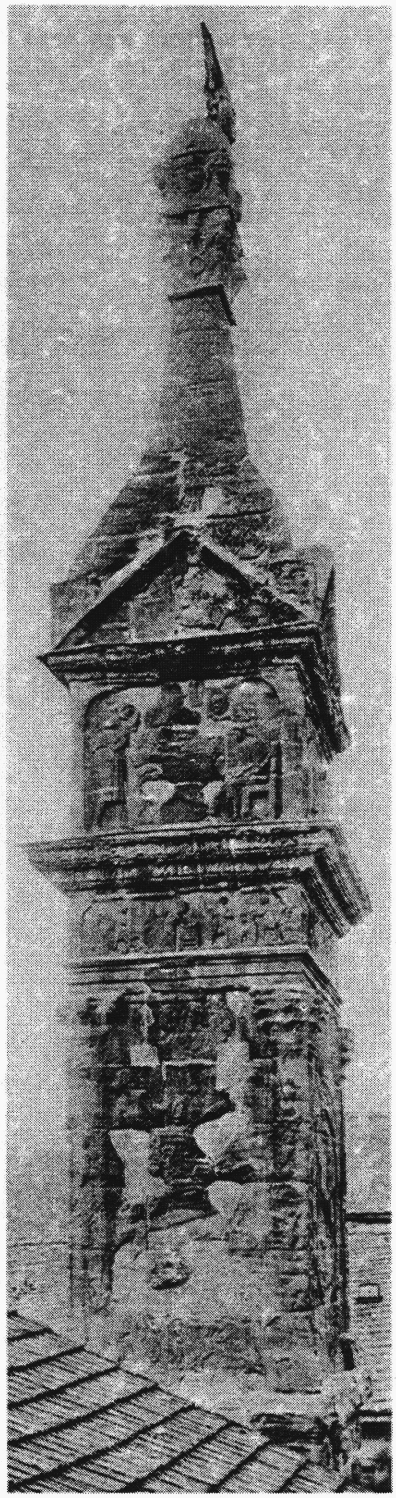


Fig. 84. **GB 24**. Igel: East side

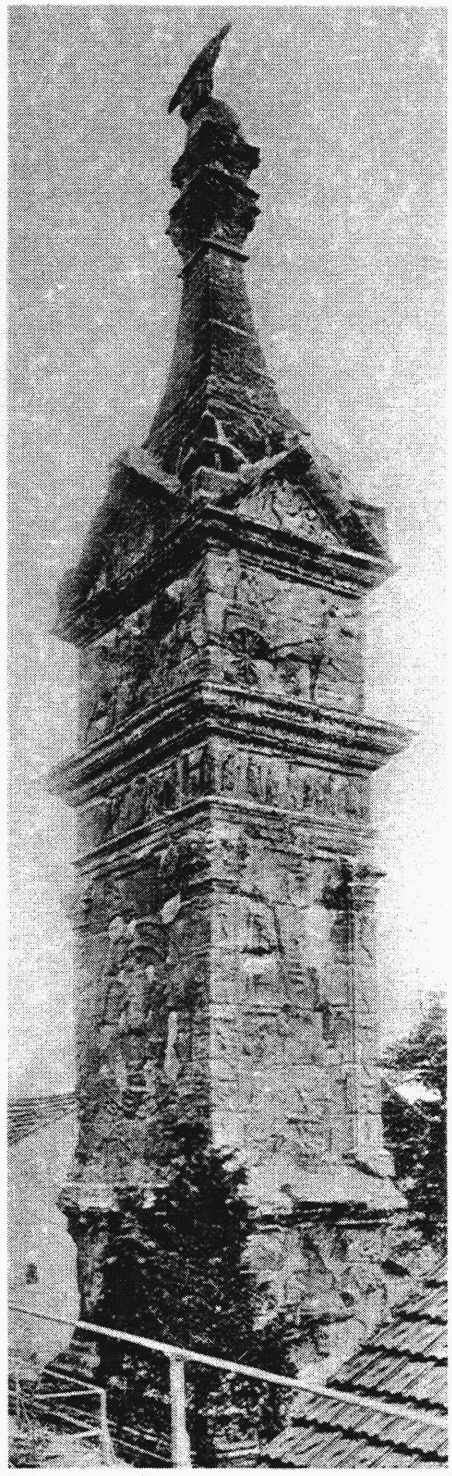


Fig. 85. **GB 24**. Igel: West side

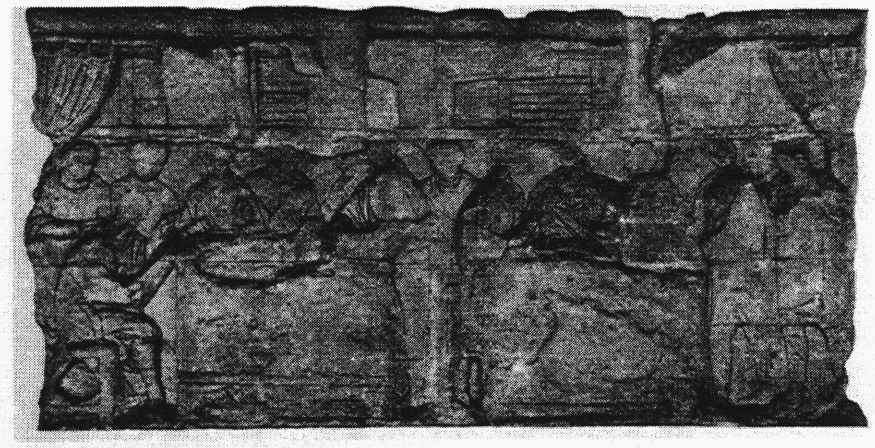


Fig. 86. **GB 24**. Igel:Scene of cloth display (south socle)

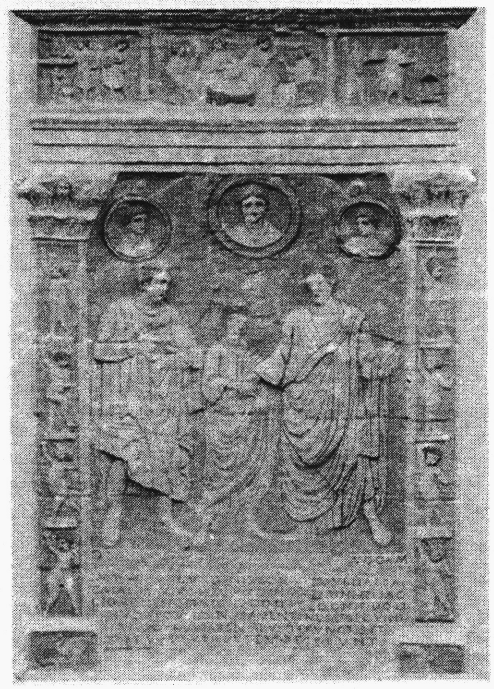


Fig. 87. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of portrait group (south aedicula)

Fig. 88. **GB 24**. Igel: Portrait group (south aedicula)

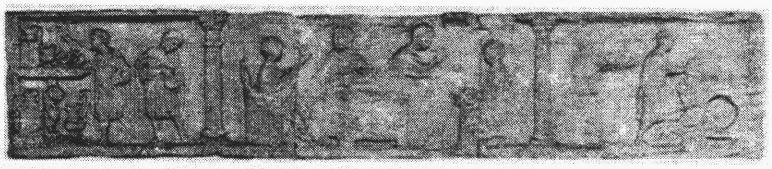


Fig. 89. **GB 24**. Igel: Family banquet (south frieze)

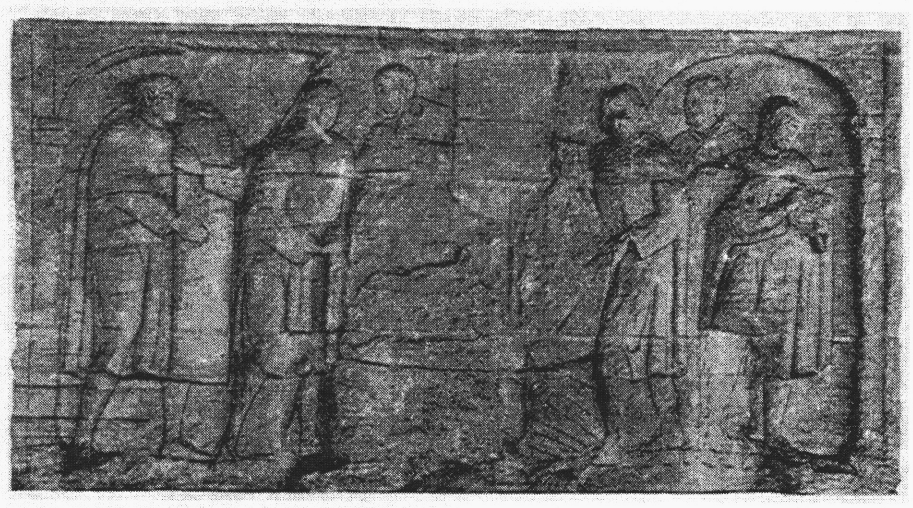


Fig. 90. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of cloth display (south attic)

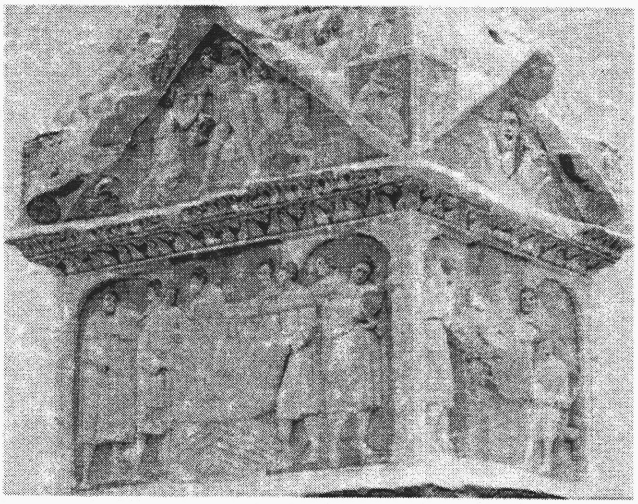


Fig. 91. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of scenes on south and east attics and pediments

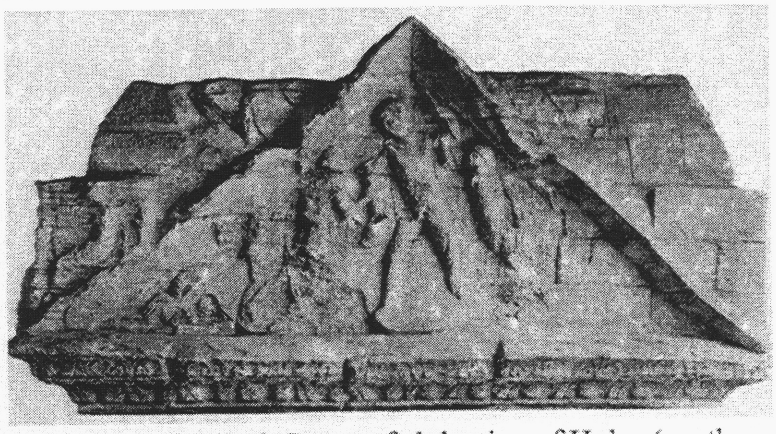


Fig. 92. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of abduction of Hylas (south pediment)

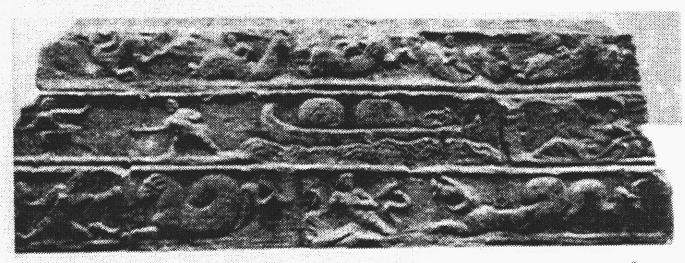


Fig. 93. **GB 24**. Igel: Scenes of sea monsters and transport (north stepped base)

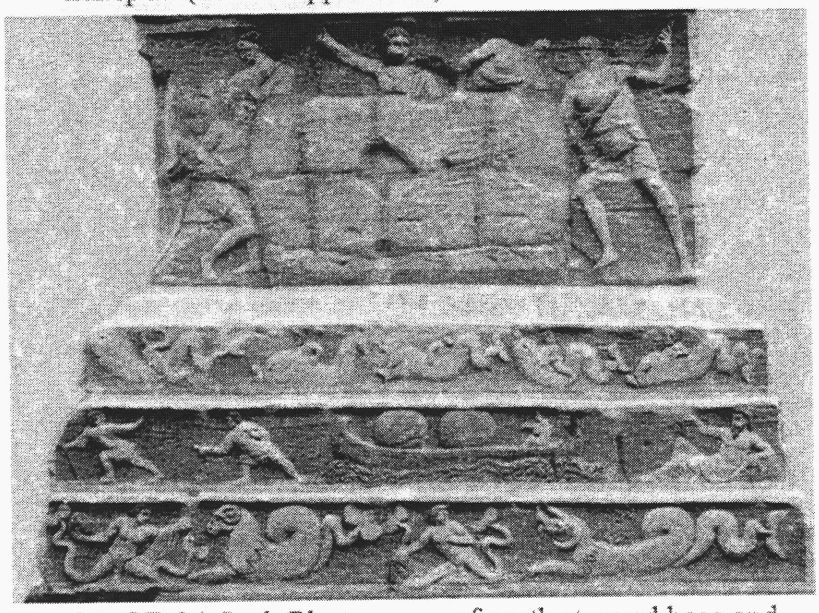


Fig. 94. **GB 24.** Igel: Plaster copy of north stepped base and socle

Fig. 95. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of tying up a bale of cloth (north socle)

Fig. 96. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of apotheosis of Hercules (north aedicula)

Fig. 97. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of the apotheosis of Hercules (north aedicula)

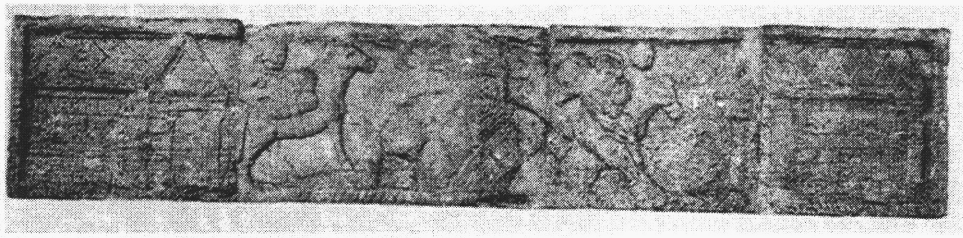


Fig. 98. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of transport (north frieze)

Fig. 99. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of eros with griffins (north attic)

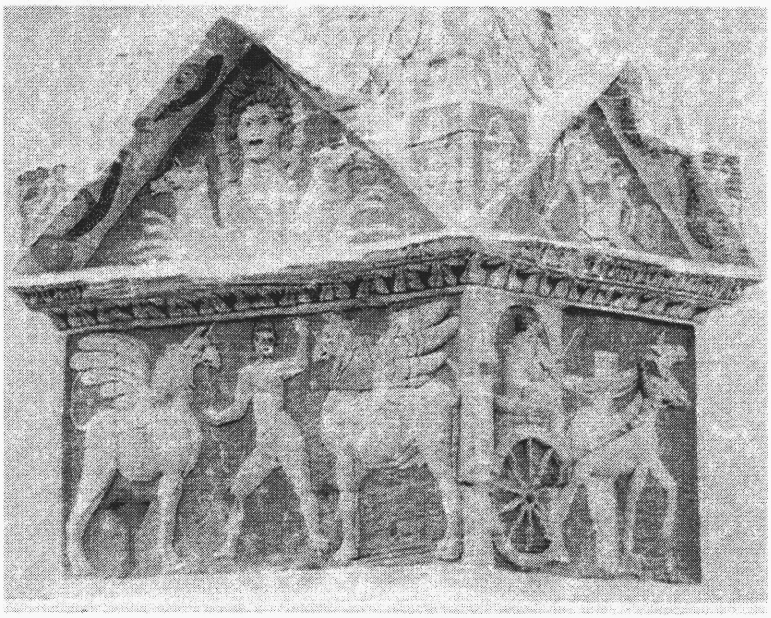


Fig. 100. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of scenes on north and west attics and pediments

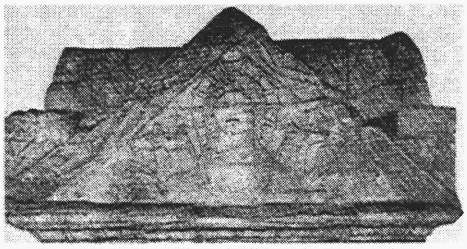


Fig. 101. **GB 24**. Igel: Relief of Sol (north pediment)

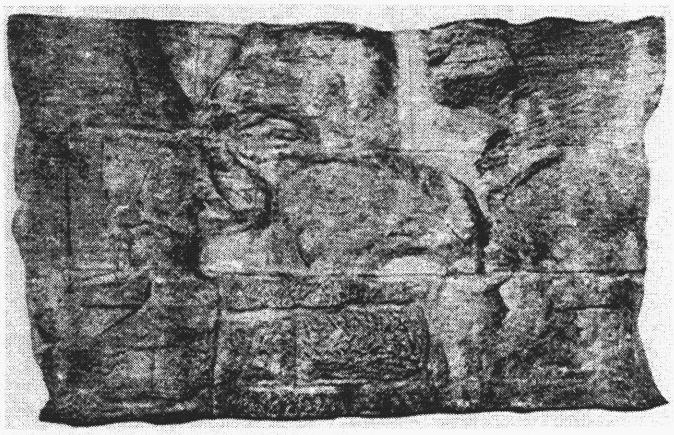


Fig. 102. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of textile work (?) (east socle)

Fig. 103. **GB 24**. Igel: Scenes from life of Achilles (east aedicula)

Fig. 104. **GB 24**. Igel: Kitchen scene (east frieze)

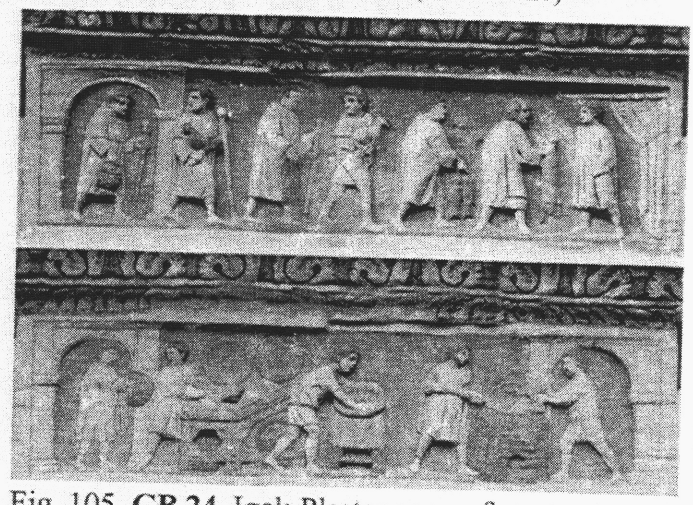


Fig. 105. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of scenes on east (lower) and west (upper) friezes

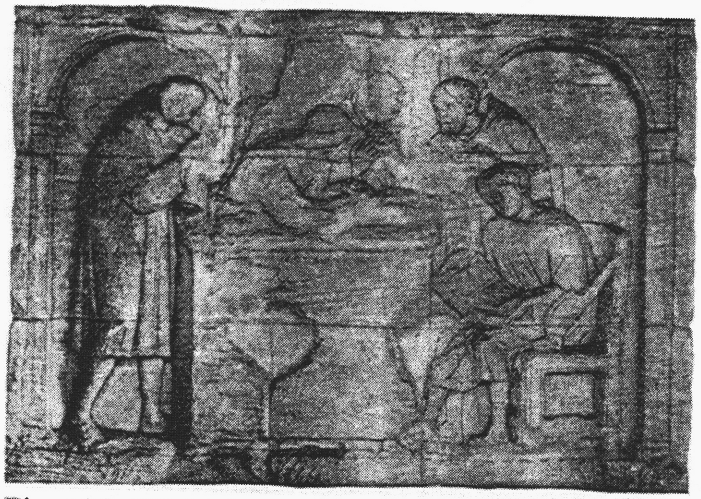


Fig. 106. **GB 24**. Igel: Counter scene (east attic)

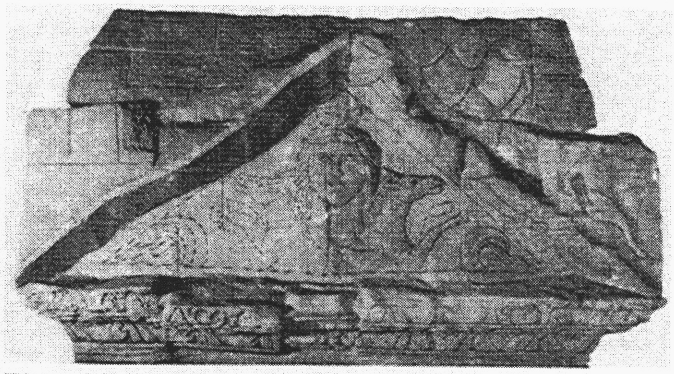


Fig. 107. **GB 24**. Igel: Relief of Luna (east pediment)

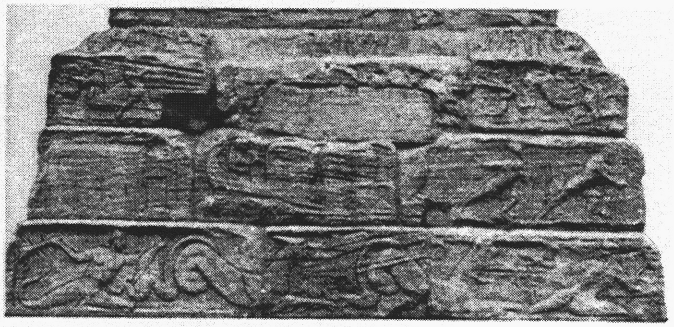


Fig. 108. **GB 24**. Igel: Scenes of sea monsters and transportation (west stepped base)

Fig. 109. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of haulage (west socle)

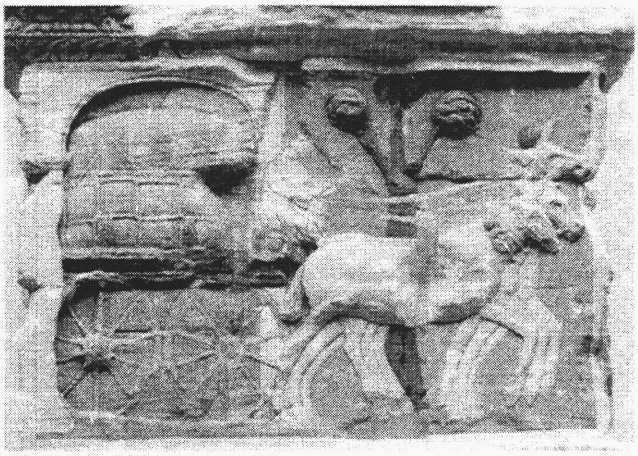


Fig. 110. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of scene of haulage (west socle)

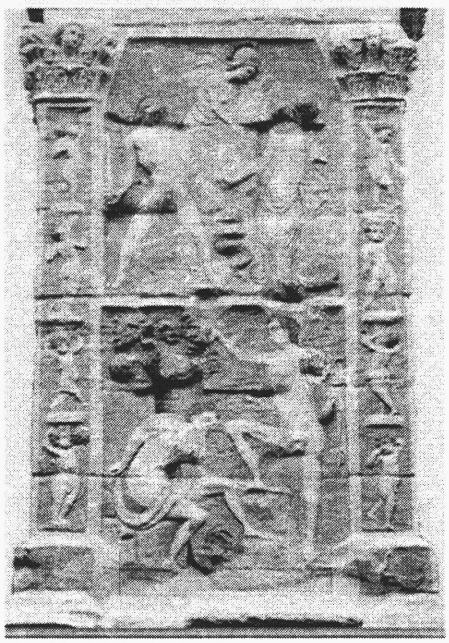


Fig. 111. **GB 24**. Igel: Plaster copy of reliefs of Perseus and Andromeda (west aedicula)

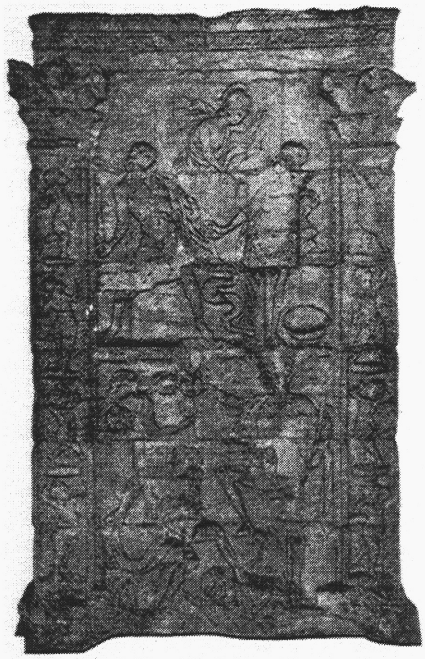


Fig. 112. **GB 24**. Igel: Reliefs of Perseus and Andromeda (west aedicula)

Fig. 113. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of payment in kind (?) (west frieze)

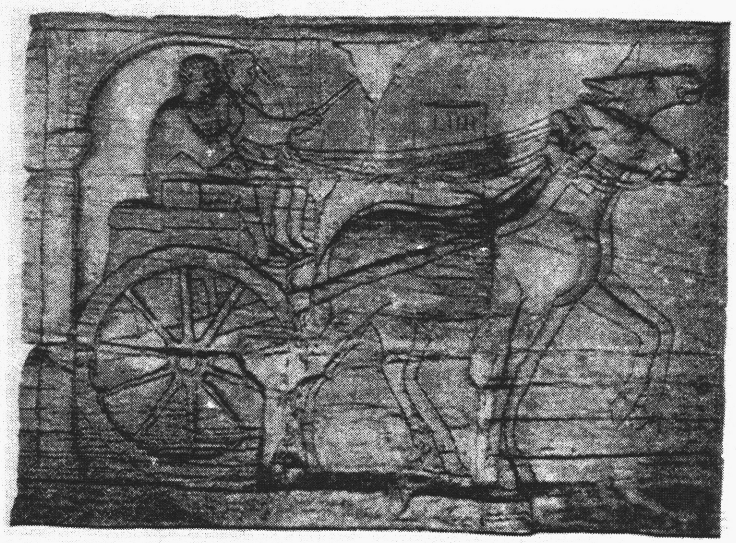


Fig. 114. **GB 24**. Igel: *Cisium* scene (west attic)

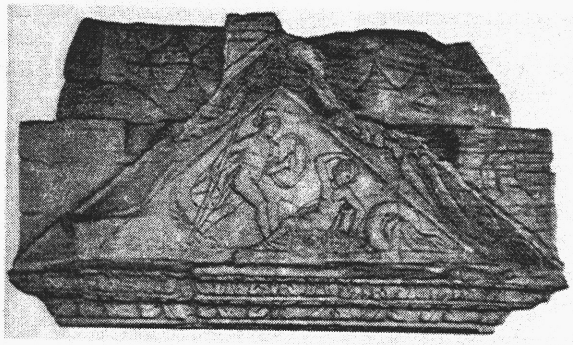


Fig. 115. **GB 24**. Igel: Scene of Mars and Rhea Silvia (west pediment)

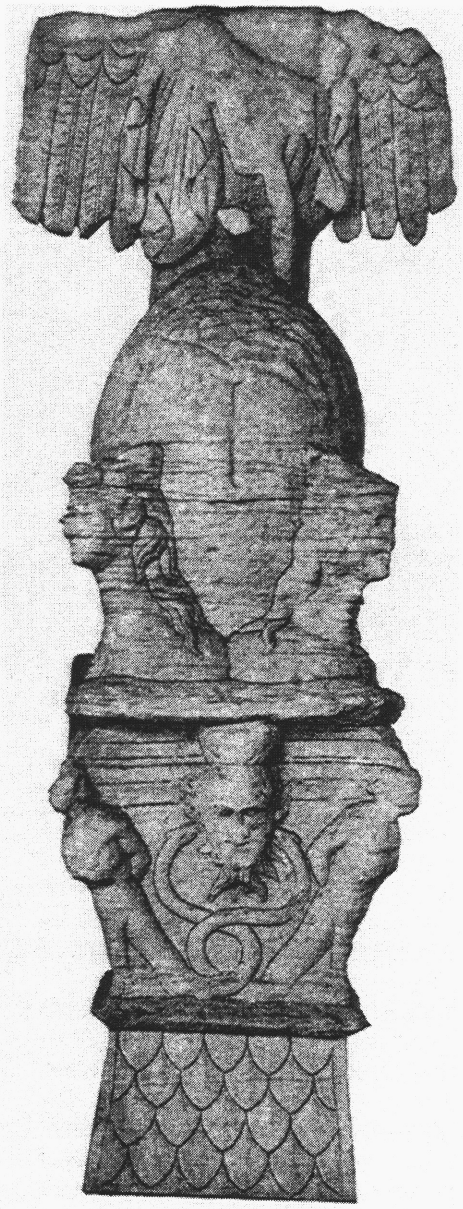


Fig. 116. **GB 24**. Igel: Crown (south side)

Fig. 117. **GB 24**. Igel: Crown (west side)

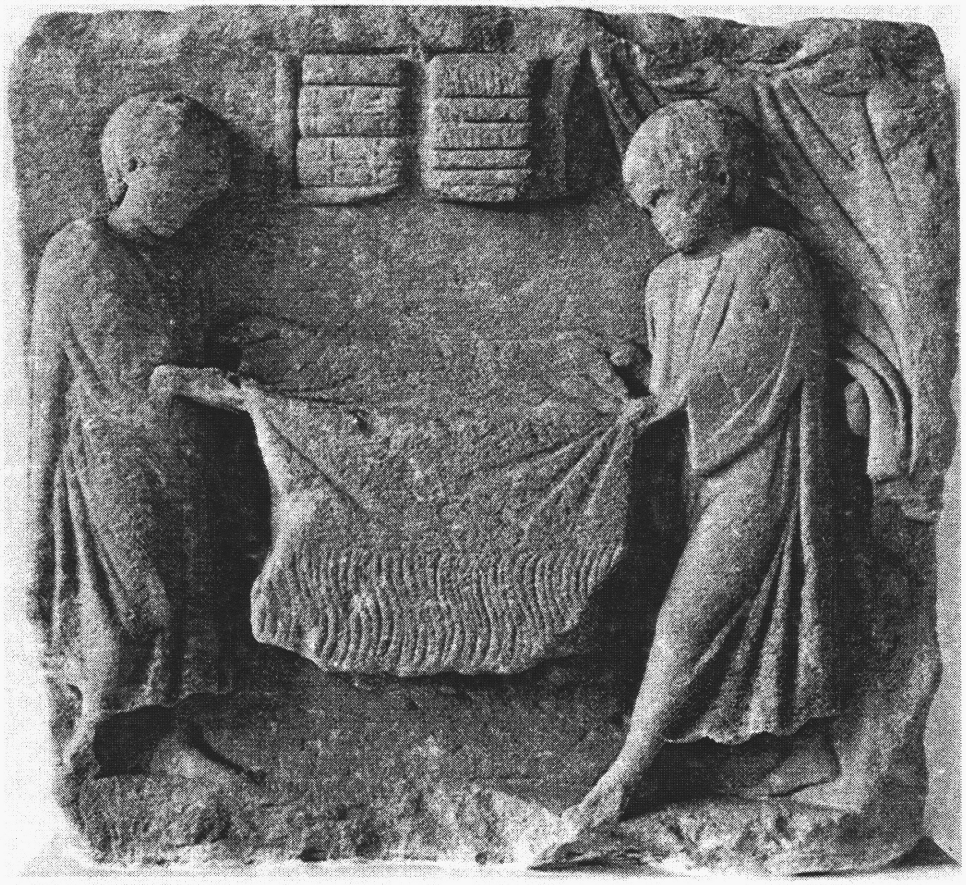


Fig. 118. **GB 25**. St. Wendel: Relief of cloth display

Fig. 119. **GB 26**. Neumagen: Relief fragment with scene of cloth display

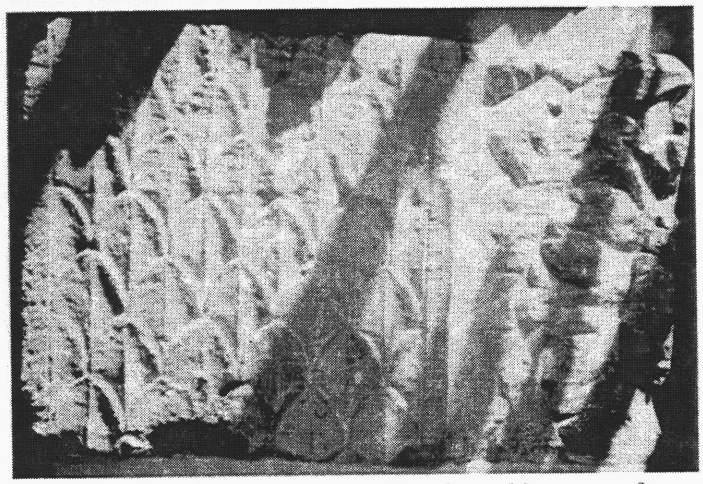


Fig. 120. **GB 26**. Neumagen: Leaf motif on rear face

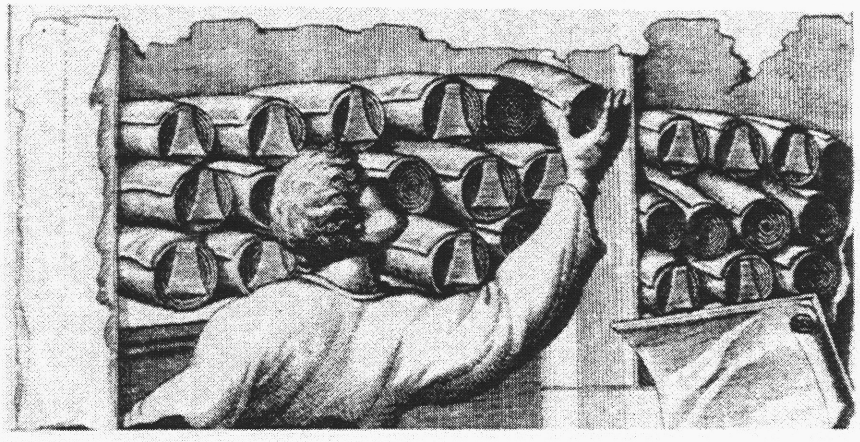


Fig. 121. **GB 27**. Neumagen: Drawing of cloth shop or library (?)

Fig. 122. **GB 28**. Jünkerath: Relief of wine shop

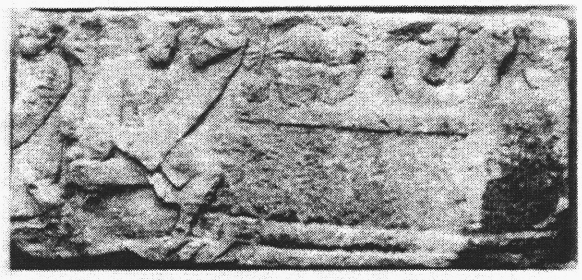


Fig. 123. **GS 1**. Weinsheim: Relief of cloth shop (?)

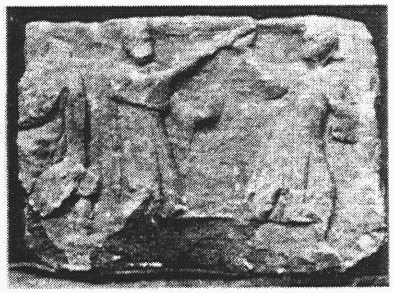


Fig. 124. **GS 1**. Weinsheim: Relief fragment

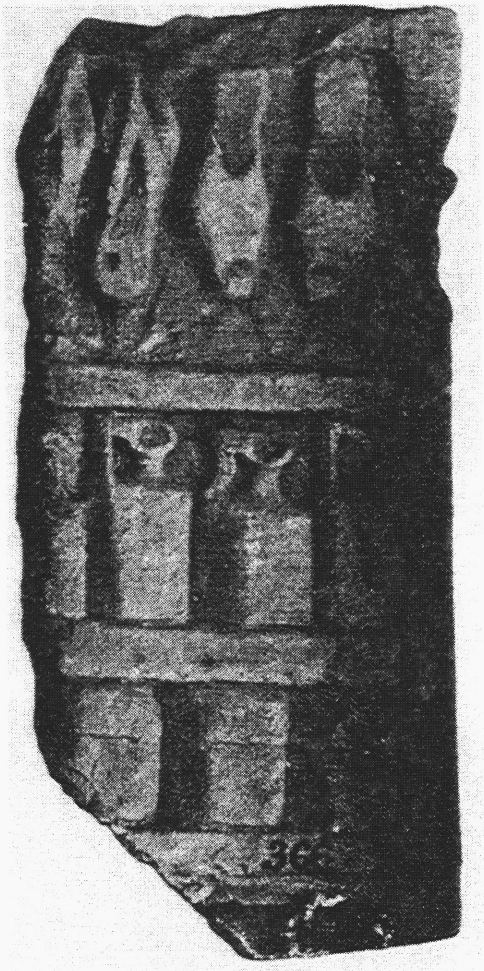


Fig. 125. **GS 2**. Langres: Relief of sandal and perfume shop (?)

Fig. 126. **R 1**. Neuberg: Relief fragment of wine shop

Fig. 127. **R 1**. Neuberg: Inscription

Fig. 128. **R 2**. Augsburg: Relief of wine vending

Fig. 129. **R 2**. Augsburg: Relief of the tallying of accounts

Fig. 130. **R 2**. Augsburg: Inscription

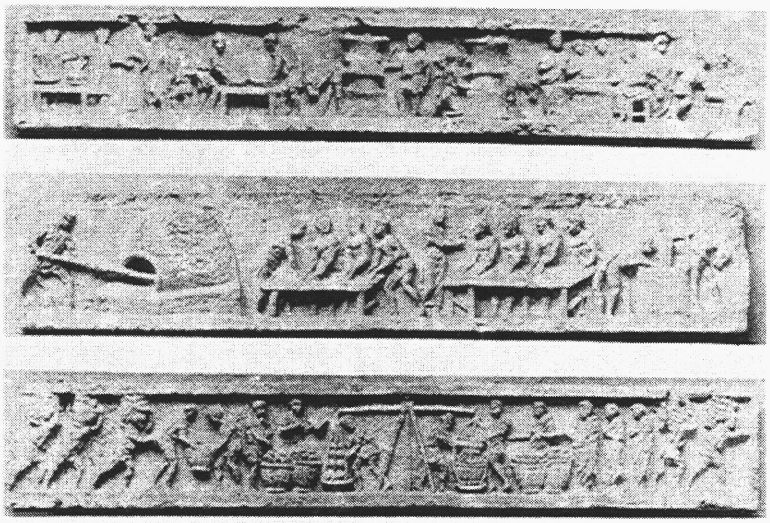


Fig. 131. Rome: Frieze of bread-making on tomb of Eurysaces

Fig. 132. Bolsena: Monument of baker

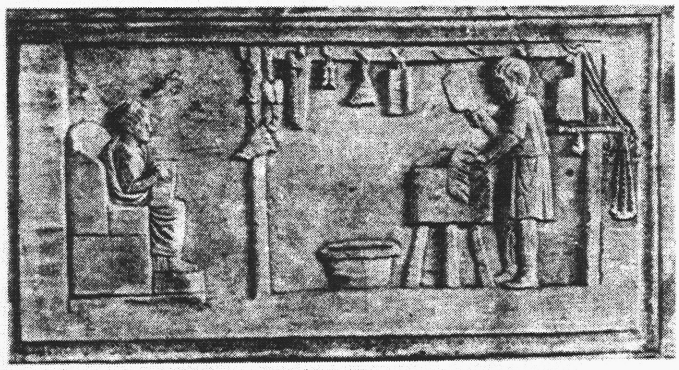


Fig. 133. Dresden: Relief of butcher

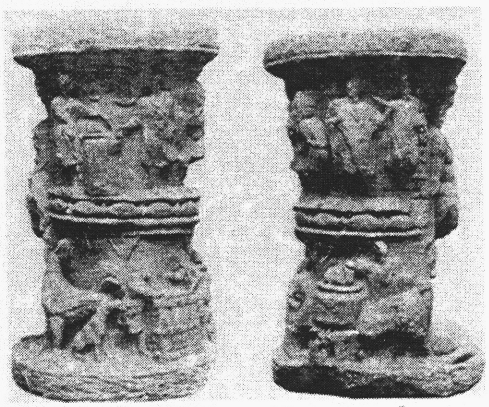


Fig. 134. Rome: Altar with scenes of butcher

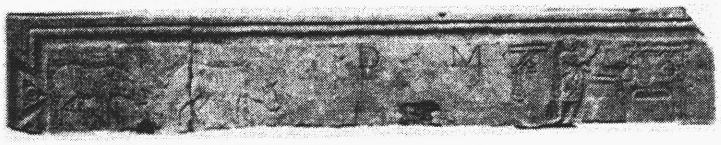


Fig. 135. Ostia: Relief of butcher

Fig. 136. Rome: Relief of butcher

Fig. 137. Ostia: Relief of meat and fish vendors

Fig. 138. Vatican: Relief of fish vendor

Fig. 139. Verona: Relief of butcher

Fig. 140. Lauriacum: Relief of butcher

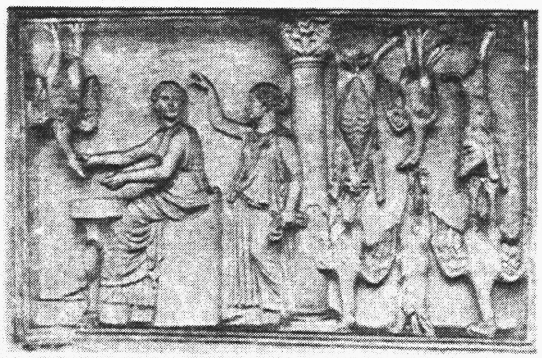


Fig. 141. Rome: Relief of female butchers

Fig. 142. Ostia: Relief of poultry vendor

Fig. 143. Vatican: Relief of fruit vendor

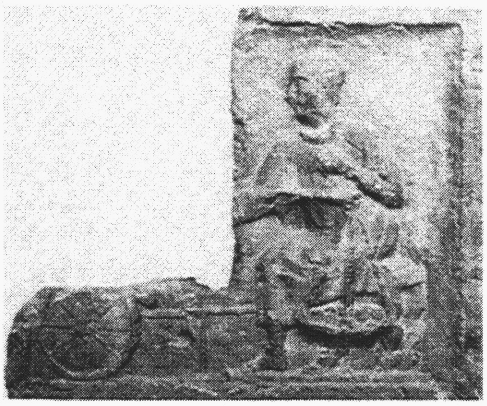


Fig. 144. Verona: Relief of fruit vendor (?)

Fig. 145. Ostia: Relief of vegetable vendor

Fig. 146. Rome: Relief fragment of storeroom

Fig. 147. Toronto: Relief of vendor and helper

Fig. 148. Florence: Relief of cloth vending

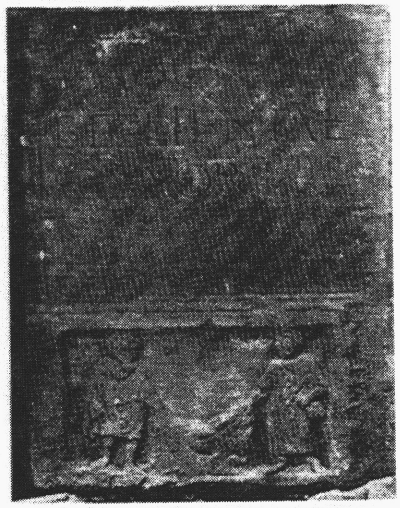


Fig. 149. Milan: Relief of cloth vending

Fig. 150. Milan: Relief of cloth vending

Fig. 151. Milan: Relief of cloth vending

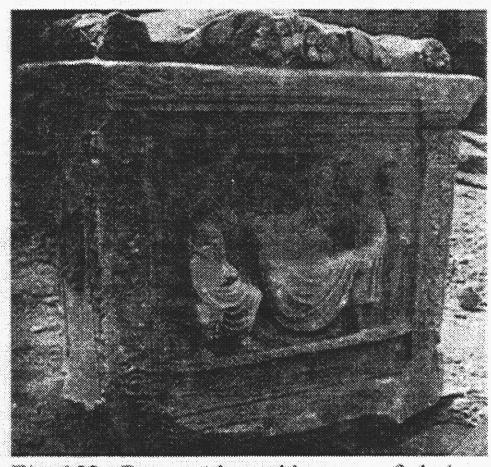


Fig. 152. Rome: Altar with scene of cloth vending

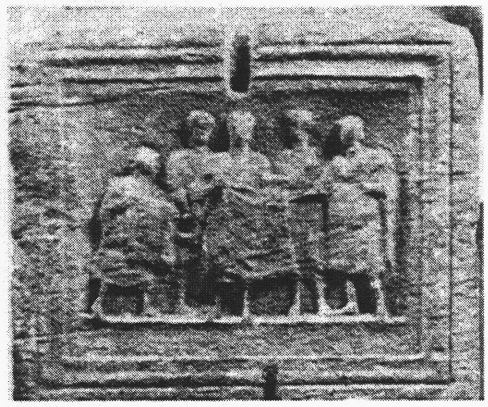


Fig. 153. Turin: Relief of cloth vending

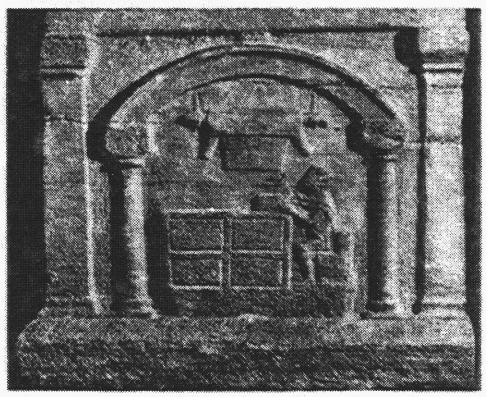


Fig. 154. Milan: Relief of tailor of leather garments (?)

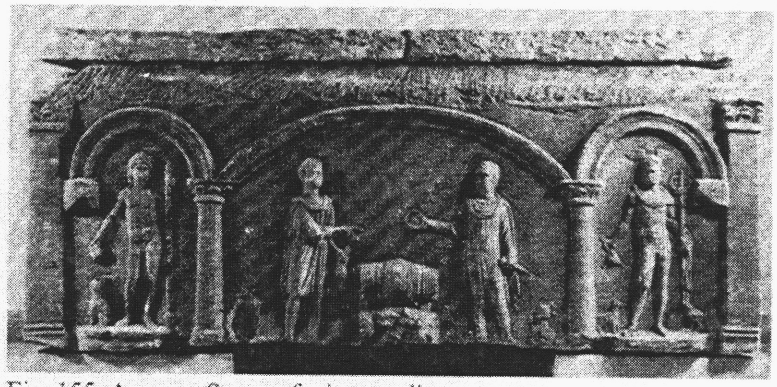


Fig. 155. Ancona: Scene of wine vending

Fig. 156. Merida: Scene of wine vending (?)

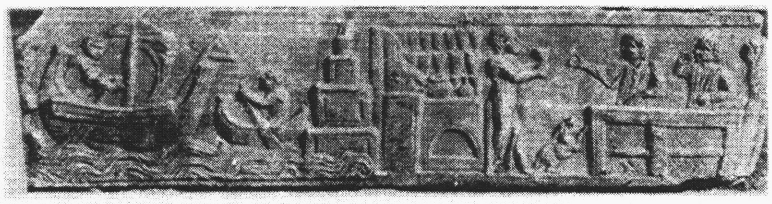


Fig. 157. Ostia: Tavern scene

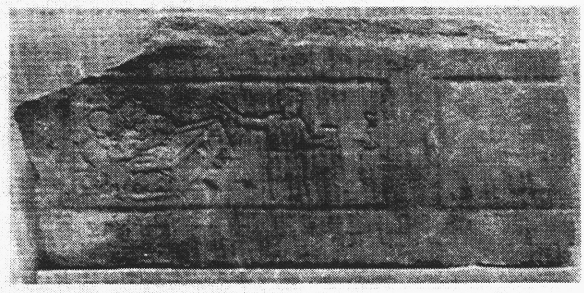


Fig. 158. Ostia: Tavern scene

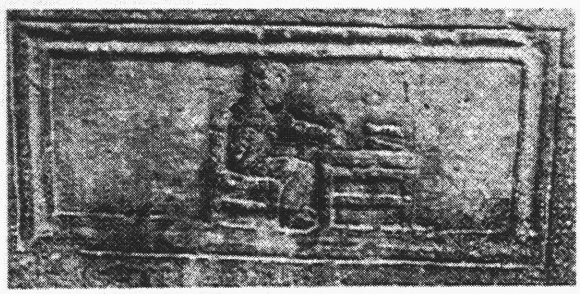


Fig. 159. Milan: Scene of shoemaker

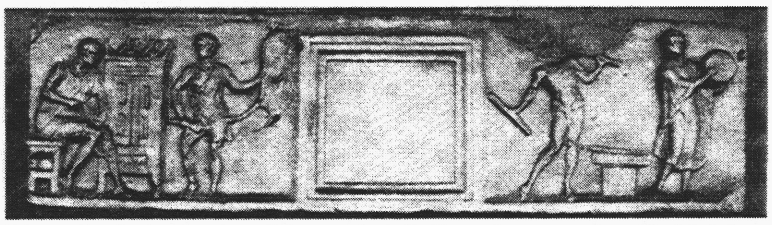


Fig. 160. Ostia: Scene of shoemaker (left) and rope-maker (?) (right)

Fig. 161. Rheims: Scene of shoemaker

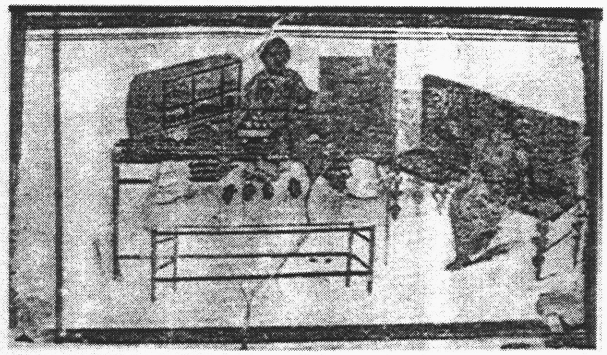


Fig. 162. Pompeii: Scene of shoe vending

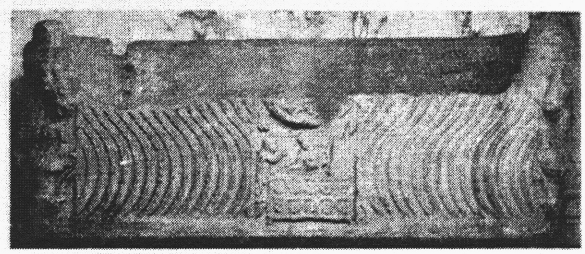


Fig. 163. Rome: Counter scene

Fig. 164. Neumagen: Counter scene

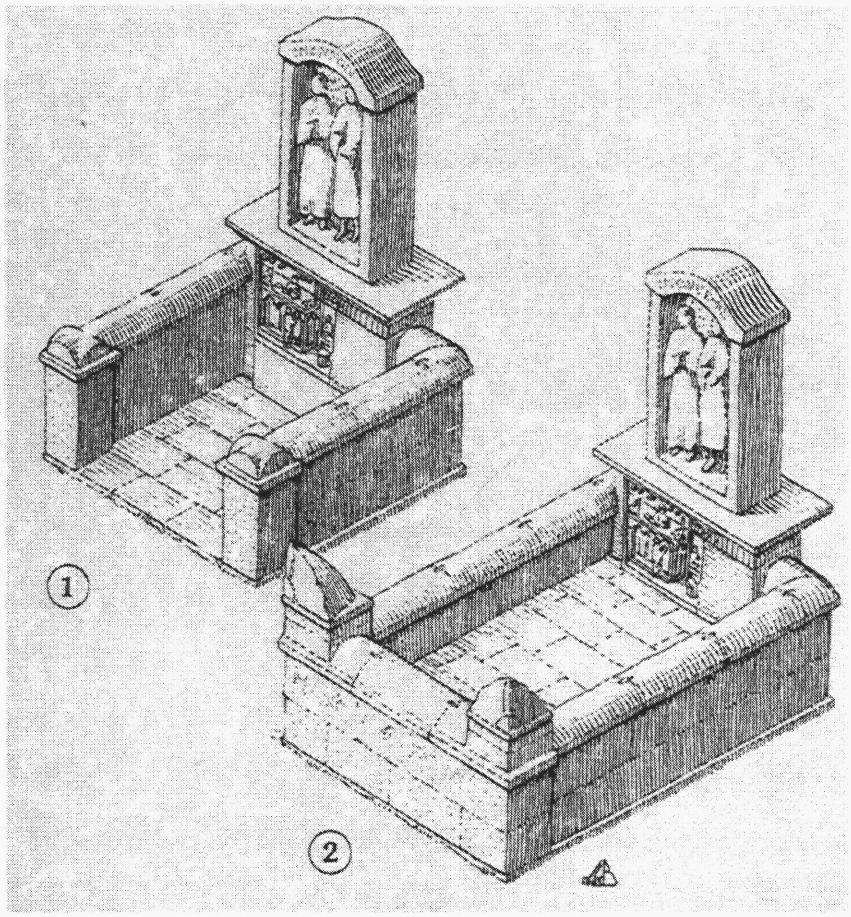


Fig. 165. Dijon: Reconstruction of **GL 17**

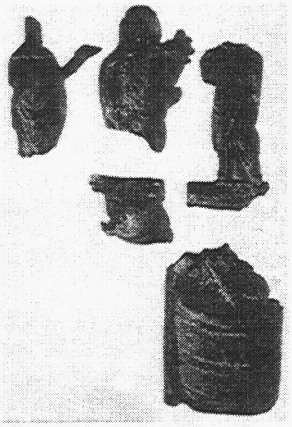
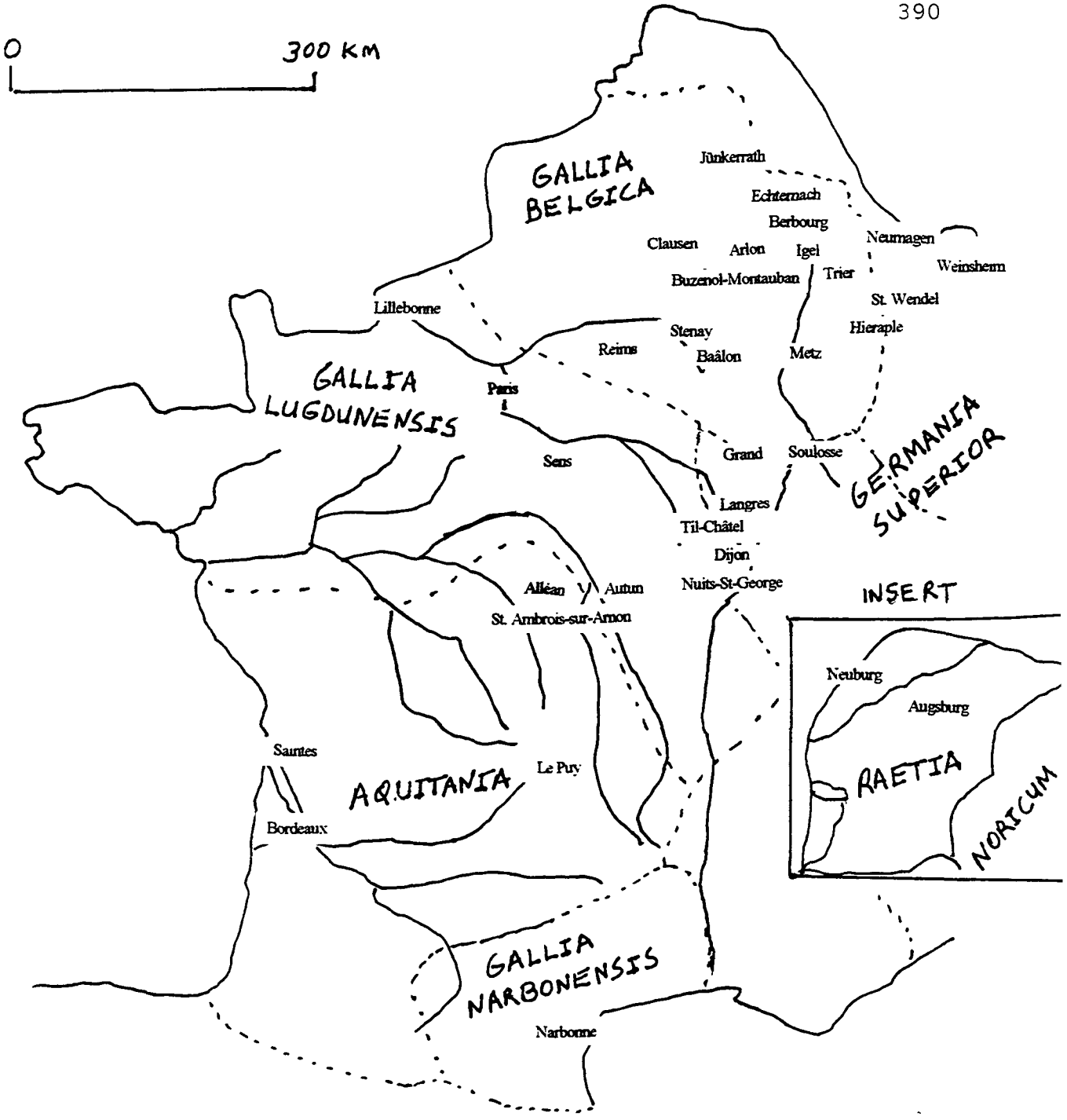


Fig. 166. Grand: Relief fragments (beer-making ?)

Fig. 167. Rome; Banquet scene

Fig. 168. Arlon: Portrait of woman holding ring



Map. Distribution of Reliefs and Monuments of Gallo-Roman Vendors

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