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The lion and the mule: from lamps to samian

by Joanna Bird¹

Among the figure-types that appear both on lamps and on decorated samian ware (*terra sigillata*), one of the most distinctive shows a lion that has brought down a mule. Recent work by Allard Mees (1995) and the information amassed during a long-term project led by Geoffrey Dannell at the La Graufesenque pottery site have made it possible to identify some of the samian potters who used these figures, and to show how details changed in the hands of different workshops. An account of this theme seemed an appropriate offering to Catherine Johns and Don Bailey, who have contributed so much to our knowledge of Roman fine wares, and of samian ware and lamps in particular.

The figure-type shows a lion that has just caught a mule; the mule lies facing to the right with its head raised, while the lion stands over it with its right paw gripping the mule behind the shoulder². One of the mule's back legs is folded under it, the other is stretched out behind, gripped by the lion's back foot. The compact grouping of the figures suggests that they may have been copied from a bronze or marble original. The earliest moulded lamps to show them are Italian, and are dated overall c. AD 30-70 (Fig. 1; Bailey 1980, 161-2, Q866). A workshop complex producing lamps with this figure-type and (mostly undecorated) *terra sigillata* has recently been excavated at Scoppieto in Umbria (Moscara 2003, fig. 3, V.9; Berghamini 2003; Nicoletta 2003). There the production of lamps is dated from the late Augustan period to at least the end of the 1st century AD, with a *floruit* of Claudio-Neronian to early Flavian date.

There were probably several Italian lamp makers using these figures, and small variations certainly occurred. The Scoppieto example is too fragmentary to consider in



Fig. 1 — Italian lamp, inventory n° TC 6315.89. Photograph courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

detail, but the animals on Fig. 1 are noticeably different from those on, for example, the Italian lamp illustrated by Bailey, which is otherwise of the same form and in a similar fabric: the lion's tail on the British Museum lamp

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² The animal attacked by the lion has been variously identified. Bailey usually calls it a mule, or a donkey or mule in the entry for lamp Q866 (1980, 162), but Déchelette and Hermet both describe it as a gazelle (Déchelette 1904, type 779; Hermet 1934, pl. 25, 28), while Chase calls it a horse (1916, 111, n° 40). A picture of the lamp (here Fig. 1) was therefore submitted to Daphne M. Hills, Curator in the Department of Zoology at the Natural History Museum, London, and she has kindly identified it: 'Mule – *Equus asinus* x *Equus caballus* hybrid. The animal depicted with the lion is a quite accurate rendition of a domestic mule. In addition to the general body shape this is confirmed by a combination of specific features. Single rather than bifurcated hooves, no horns, very long ears (too long for a horse), the presence of a distinct neckmane and a thickly-haired tail with the hair growing from the base not just at the tip as on a donkey' (letter to P.M. Ewin, 12 November 2003).

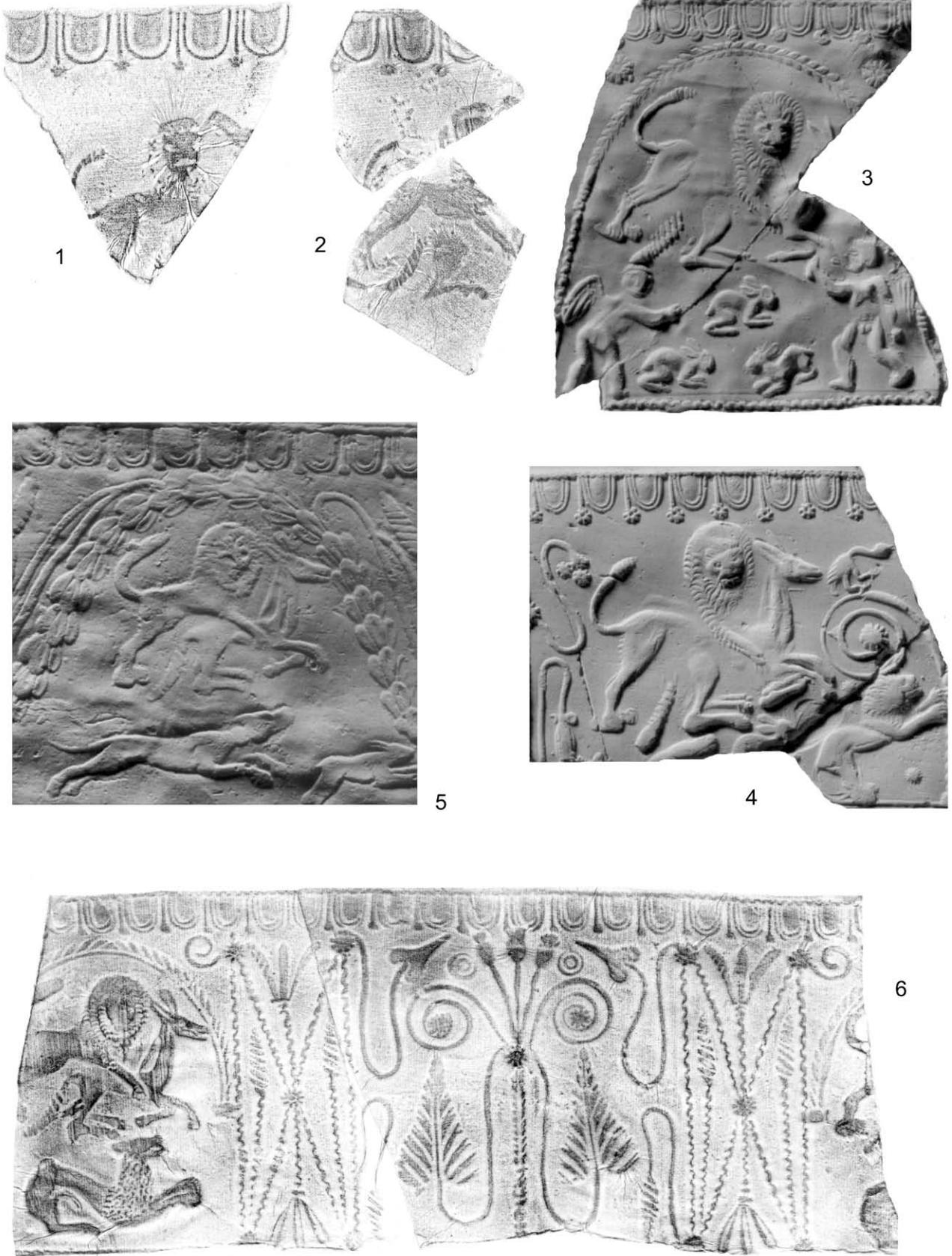


Fig. 2 — 1-2...Drag. 11, La Graufesenque; 3...Drag. 30, Masclus i, Nuits-St-Georges; 4...Drag. 30, Masclus i, Nijmegen; 5...Drag. 30, Martialis i, Entraigues; 6...Drag. 30, style of the Martialis i group, La Graufesenque. All at 1:1. Photographs courtesy of Allard Mees.

is hooked over at the end, the mane is less full, and the mule's head is more thickset (Bailey 1980, fig. 75, Q866, pl. 11). The scene was very popular on lamps, and was widely produced until at least the early 2nd century. Bailey records examples found throughout the Empire, some of them stamped and many of them made in provincial workshops ranging from the Rhineland to Asia Minor (1980, 72-3, Q866; 1988, 68, Q1526). A fragmentary recent find from London, dated c. AD 100-140, is in Cologne colour-coated ware (Watson 2004, fig. 5).

The figure-type was not apparently used on mould-decorated Italian terra sigillata, but does occur as a separately moulded applied motif on a rim sherd from a late Arretine chalice (Dr Paola Porten Palange, pers. comm.; Chase 1916, 111, pl. 30, n° 140). The appliqué now lacks the lion's tail and the mule's head, but what survives is finely modelled, and closely similar to such Italian lamps as that shown on Fig. 1. The sherd is from a vessel of *Conspectus* form R9.2.1, a form that was probably introduced during the Tiberian period; it has a tall vertical rim which is regularly decorated with applied motifs above the moulded frieze (Kenrick 1990, 178). While this is approximately contemporary with the earliest use of the type on lamps, it is probable that the Gaulish samian potters copied the widely available lamp image rather than the very rare appliqué on the chalice.

Among the Gaulish workshops, the figure-type seems only to have been used at La Graufesenque in South Gaul. The earliest examples are on two unpublished chalices of form Drag. 11 of Tiberian or Tiberio-Claudian date from La Graufesenque itself (Fig. 2, 1-2; site refs G75.T70-2 and G90.L100-3)³. Unfortunately neither image is complete, and the pots are too fragmentary to be assigned to a potter; both have wide single-bordered *ovolos*, one slightly larger than the other. What remains of the figures suggests that they were closely similar, and possibly identical: the lion's face is surrounded by a short mane, no ears are discernible and the mouth and eyes are defined by deep hollows, while both animals have corded tails. The bodies are less massive than those on the Italian lamps and the details are markedly cruder; comparison with Fig. 1 would suggest that the figures have been made by copying rather than by making a mould directly from a lamp.

The first identifiable users of the lion and mule are a group of La Graufesenque mould-makers dating c. AD 50-70, including Albinus iii, Martialis i, Masclinus and Masclus i; they shared a number of motifs and designs in common, and a generally similar style⁴. To judge from signed and stamped bowls, the most prolific potter of the group was Masclus i, and seven bowls from his signed moulds have the lion and mule. Six of these are the cylin-

dric form Drag. 30 (Mees 1995, Taf. 108, 1, now in Vienna; Taf. 109, 10, from Vindonissa, and 12, from Nijmegen; Taf. 112, 2, from Nuits-Saint-Georges, and 3, from Richborough; Bourgeois & Mayet 1991, n° 1044, from Belo in Spain); the seventh, from the 'Cluzel 15' deposit at La Graufesenque, is the rare and more elaborate form Hermet 5 (Mees 1995, Taf. 109, 11; for the form, Vernhet 1986, fig. 1). The figures are associated with *ovolos* LL and the rosette-tongued variant of GG/MM (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 77, 81-2), and the signatures are all placed within the decoration, the complete ones reading variously *Masclus.f*, *Masclus* and *Maslus*.

The figure-type used by Masclus i is finely detailed and distinctive. The lion has a full mane, and is furred all down the visible front leg, which ends in sharp claws; the ears, eyes and mouth are clearly defined; and the tip of the tail and the thigh are furred. What was originally the mule's outstretched back leg has been turned into a small piece of ground and the lion's second back foot. The mule has a less well defined mane, with a groove down the neck as on Fig. 1; the tail is corded; and the second back leg is now shown folded above the first, with the hoofs clearly marked. The best impression of the lion is the incomplete image from Nuits-Saint-Georges (Fig. 2, 3); the others show some blurring of the lion's muzzle (Fig. 2, 4). On some bowls the lower part has clearly shifted while the clay was being pressed into the mould, resulting in a double image of the mule's tail (Fig. 2, 3) or back legs (Fig. 2, 4). Four further examples of this figure-type were recovered from the 'Cluzel 15' deposit, which is dated c. AD 55-60 (Mees 1995, 60); all are on form Hermet 5, in Masclus' style but without surviving signatures.

Despite the links between the potters and their styles, the lion and mule type used by at least two of the other mould-makers of this group is clearly distinguishable from that used by Masclus i (Fig. 2, 5); it is also very slightly smaller, measuring some 28 mm from the tip of the lion's tail to the base of its back paw, rather than the 30 mm of the Masclus i type. This lion has a somewhat shorter mane surrounding its face and is less heavily furred down the top of its front leg; its ears, eyes and straight mouth are usually well defined; its thigh is slightly furred; and its tail is thicker but apparently plain. The second back paw is present, but the small piece of ground has gone. The most noticeable change to the mule is its neck: where Masclus' mule has a mane and a groove down the centre of the neck, this mule has a pair of long tear-shaped grooves down the neck and little or no discernible mane. It has a corded tail, and both back legs are shown folded, with neatly defined hoofs.

No signed bowls of Masclinus, who used *ovolos* FDA and FDb (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 76-7) and who might, to

³ Site references are given for La Graufesenque finds where possible, but much of the material studied by Geoffrey Dannell's group came from the collections of Frédéric Hermet & Dieudonné Rey in the Musée Fenaille at Rodez and has no closer provenance.

⁴ The numbering of individual potters follows the Leeds Index of Potters' Stamps.

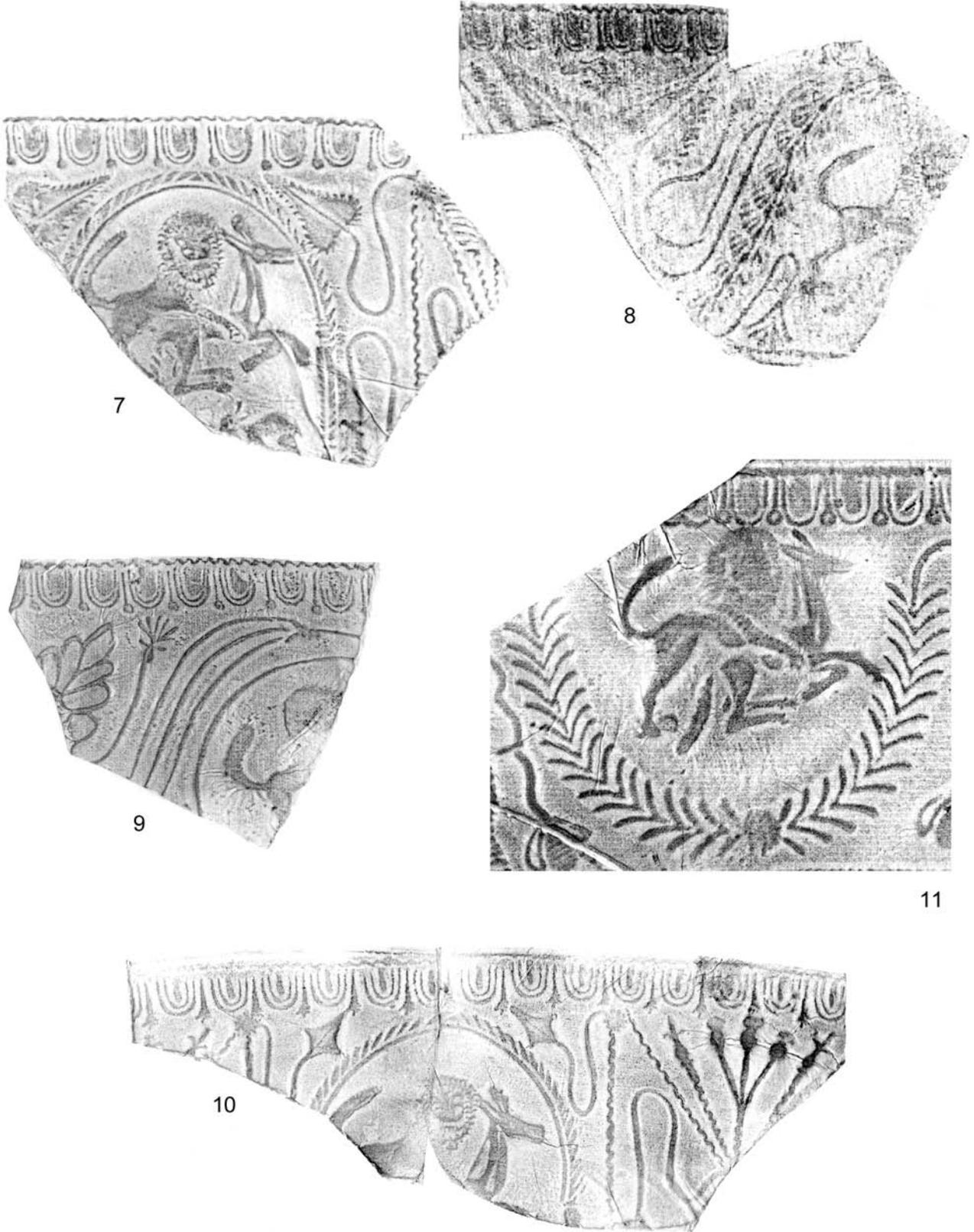


Fig. 3 — 7-10...Drag. 30, style of the Martialis i group, La Graufesenque; 11...Hermet 15, La Graufesenque. All at 1:1.

judge from his name, have been related to Masclus i, have apparently been recorded with the lion and mule. The only signed Albinus iii bowl with the figure is a Drag. 30 signed *Albini* in reverse, from Mainz Weisenau; unfortunately it could not be found when Allard Mees was compiling his catalogue (Knorr 1919, Taf. 5; Mees 1995, Taf. 4, 1). Knorr's illustration shows the figure clearly but with the mule's front legs crossed over wrongly; the ovolo is not certainly identifiable but comparison with other Albinus iii bowls suggests that it should be FDa. A Drag. 30 by Martialis i from Entraigues (Isère), signed *Martialisf*, has the lion and mule with ovolo FDb; here they are placed above a hound and hare in the lower space of a wreath scroll with frilled leaves in the upper (Fig. 2, 5); the group of figures alternates round the bowl with a second group, a ram, a monkey, a goat, and a lion devouring a man (Mees 1995, Taf. 103, 1; a sherd from La Graufesenque, site ref. G75.T11-2.54, is probably from the same mould). The ram is also on a fragment with a signature of Masclus i (Mees 1995, Taf. 105, 11), while the ram and monkey are both on a bowl from Colchester in the style of Lupus ii, whose possible links with the lion and mule figure and with this group of potters will be considered below (Dannell 1999, fig. 2.26, 382).

A number of other unsigned bowls combine this version of the lion and mule with ovolos FDa, recorded for Albinus iii and Masclinus, and FDb, recorded for Martialis i and Masclinus, and can be assigned with some confidence to this group of mould-makers. A Drag. 30 from Heybridge in Essex has ovolo FDb above a panel design where arcades alternate with saltires which include three-bladed leaves and lozenge-shaped terminals; the two extant arcades contain the lion and mule and a large prancing lion respectively, and the bowl is attributed to Martialis i (Brenda Dickinson, pers. comm.)⁵. A Drag. 30 from La Graufesenque has ovolo FDb above fringed arcades with the lion and mule over a rather stylised crouching lion, a saltire with corded tendrils and the three-bladed leaves of the Heybridge bowl, and an arrangement of poppyheads, spirals and large pinnate leaves (Fig. 2, 6; site ref. G81.C92); similar pinnate leaves were used by Masclus i (Mees 1995, Taf. 114, 4). Also from La Graufesenque is part of a Drag. 30 with ovolo FDb above a fragmentary saltire with corded tendrils, and fringed arcades with frilled leaves in the spandrels; the lion and mule are under the arcade with a small hare (Fig. 3, 7). The fringed arcade was used by Masclus i, while the leaf is close to one used by Lupus ii (Mees 1995, Taf. 110, 2; Taf. 102, 2). Another Drag. 30 from La Graufesenque has ovolo FDb with an incomplete lion and mule below a scroll composed of palmettes, with frilled leaves in the upper spaces (Fig. 3, 8); the scroll and leaves were used by Masclinus (Mees 1995, Taf. 104, 7), and the scroll is also on a bowl in the style of Lupus ii (Dannell 1999, fig.

2.26, 382). A fourth Drag. 30 from La Graufesenque has ovolo FDb and a fragmentary lion and mule below a plain scroll with large lobed leaves in the upper spaces (Fig. 3, 9; site ref. G89.C92). The two-pronged tendril binding is similar to ones used by Lupus ii and Masclus i (Mees 1995, Taf. 101, 1; Taf. 107, 1). A Drag. 30 from the Number 1 Poultry site in London has ovolo FDa above a plain scroll with two-pronged tendril bindings; the lion and mule are placed above small hares and rosettes in the lower spaces, and the upper spaces contain small lobed leaves, buds (as Mees 1995, Taf. 105, 1, by Masclus i) and corded tendrils (Bird forthcoming, DS 118).

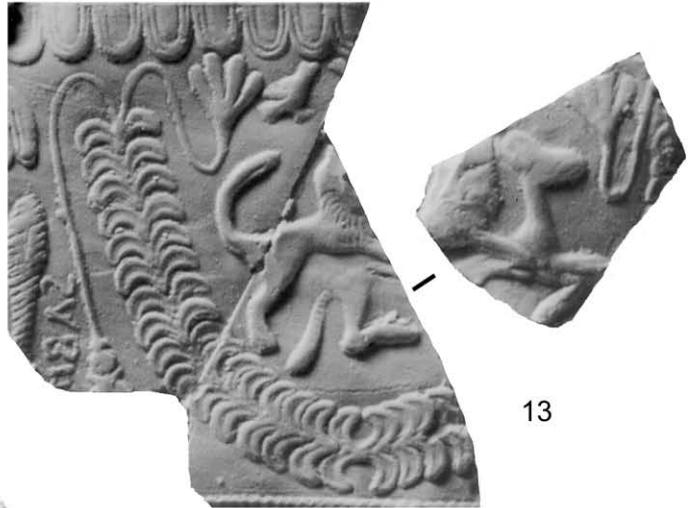
Several other bowls have what is probably the same lion and mule type as Fig. 2, 5, but associated with ovolos or other motifs that make attribution less clearcut. A Drag. 30 from a cemetery at Mainz Weisenau (Neeb 1913-14, Grab 37a, n° 3) has what is drawn as a single-bordered ovolo above a wreath scroll of small double leaves, similar to ones used by Masclus i and Lupus ii (Mees 1995, Taf. 101, 2; Taf. 108, 1). The lion and mule are in the lower spaces, with two hounds and a small bear; the second lower space has a medallion with an arrangement of spirals and a lozenge-shaped motif that was regularly used by the Masclus group. In the upper spaces are long frilled leaves (cf. Mees 1995, Taf. 102, 2, by Lupus ii), the lozenge motif and a finely divided leaf close to that on a second Lupus-style bowl from Colchester (Dannell 1999, fig. 2.26, 381). A Drag. 30 from La Graufesenque, illustrated by Hermet (1934, pl. 71, 4) but not seen by Geoffrey Dannell's group, has what is probably ovolo HA, not so far found on any mould-marked bowls (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 78). The overall design is again a scroll of small double leaves, the upper spaces filled with the large pinnate leaves and corded tendrils of Fig. 2, 6. The lower spaces contain at least two groups of figures: one consists of the lion and mule above a group of hares and a small hound, very much in the style of Masclus i, and the second the ram and monkey of the signed Martialis i bowl from Entraigues, the crouching lion of Fig. 2, 6, and a small griffin. Hermet's drawing is unfortunately not sufficiently detailed to identify the lion and mule certainly, but it appears close to the Martialis i type.

Another Drag. 30 from La Graufesenque has an ovolo with a trident tongue, ovolo CG, for which the only associated potter's mark is a stamp of Calvus i (Fig. 3, 10; Dannell *et al.* 1998, 73; Geoffrey Dannell, pers. comm.). A second, more complete, bowl from what is likely to be the same mould is illustrated by Hermet, and probably comes from Vechten (1934, pl. 120, 9). The design consists of fringed arcades with the lion and mule above a double band of diamond-shaped motifs, and saltires with poppyheads, snake-headed spirals, and lozenge-shaped terminals which also decorate the corner tendrils. Despite the different ovolo, links with the Martialis-Masclus

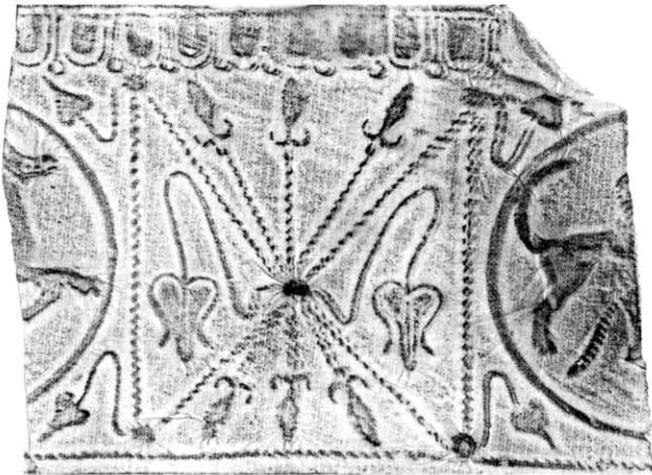
⁵ The excavations at Heybridge were carried out by Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit and the site report is in preparation; the site reference for this bowl is 94.41481.



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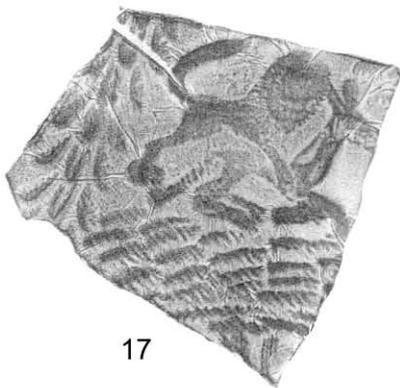
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Fig. 4 — 12...Hermet 15, Sabinus iii, La Graufesenque; 13...Drag. 30, Sabinus iii, Narbonne; 14...Drag. 30, La Graufesenque; 16...detail of Drag. 37, style of Crucuro i, La Graufesenque; 17...Drag. 37, style of the Crucuro i group, Cagnes-sur-Mer; 18...Drag. 37, La Graufesenque. All at 1:1. Photograph of 12 courtesy of Alain Vernhet, of 13 courtesy of Allard Mees.

group are indicated, not just by the lion and mule type but by the lozenge-shaped element which occurs on their bowls (the Martialis-style bowl from Heybridge; Mees 1995, Taf. 104, 1, by Masclinus; Taf. 111, 1, by Masclus), the snake-headed ornament (Mees 1995, Taf. 111, 1, by Masclus) and by the style of the fringed arcade and its support (Fig. 3, 7). Further evidence for a link is provided by an unpublished bowl from Insula XIII at Verulamium (site ref. VCP BIII (23)) which has this ovolo, a narrower version of the saltire with the same main elements, and the fringed arcade over the ram and monkey figures of the Martialis i bowl from Entraigues and a pair of cupids used by Masclus (cf. Fig 2, 3).

The lion and mule figures are less common on the carinated bowl form Drag. 29. A bowl from Nijmegen has an internal stamp of Ponteius, a potter who is not known to have made moulds (Dannell *et al.* 2003, Ponteius G1, n° 2582), and it is possible that the mould was made by one of the Martialis group. The upper zone is a simple scroll with buds and spirals; the lower zone has a scroll with the large pinnate leaves and corded tendrils of Fig. 2, 6, winding over at least two figures. One is a lion and mule, apparently the same as that on Fig. 2, 5, and the second is the large prancing lion on the Heybridge bowl. The lower part of the lion and mule, again possibly the Martialis type, is in a medallion on a stamped bowl of Montanus from Arles (Dannell *et al.* 2003, Montanus i, D1, n° 2268); the rest of the decoration includes a saltire with massed leaf-tips and a wreath festoon of double leaves containing crossed tendrils, similar to signed bowls of Modestus i (Mees 1995, Taf. 138, 3, Taf. 142, 4). A Drag. 29 from La Graufesenque has what may be the Martialis lion and mule set below a scroll of vine-leaves; the mule is incomplete (Hermet 1934, pl. 55, 20).

Closely similar figures to those used by this group of potters have also been noted on two vessels of less common form. One frieze of a large *lagena* of form Hermet 15 has the lion and mule set in a wreath festoon (Fig. 3, 11; Hermet 1934, pl. 94, 1); here the figure is close in both image and size to the Masclus i type (Fig. 2, 3-4). The single-bordered ovolo above it is QQ, recorded on a Drag. 11 chalice stamped by Lupus ii (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 82). Motifs shared with Lupus ii have already been noted on a number of the bowls discussed above, and it is possible that he was more closely associated with the Masclus-Martialis group than has previously been recognised. Other bands of the decoration on the *lagena* include a long narrow pinnate leaf and massed leaf-tips, both used by Lupus ii (Mees 1995, Taf. 99, 1 & 6), the bud used by Masclus i and noted on the bowl from Poultry described above, and three sizes of palmate leaves, similar to leaves used by both potters. There are two other figures, a Diana and hare which is probably not the type used by Masclus i (cf. Mees 1995, Taf. 111, 2) and a man with a staff. The second vessel, unprovenanced but perhaps from London, is a hybrid form, a Drag. 30 carinated at the base, where it is decorated with short gadroons in the manner of Hermet 4 (Stanfield 1936, 104, fig. 1, 2-2A). The ovolo is

replaced by a row of rings, a feature of Hermet 4, and the main design consists of panels, one of them containing the lion and mule, which is apparently close to that on Fig. 2, 5. The other panel has a saltire of leaves, one of them a small pinnate type, the other a heavy double leaf similar to the one in the medallion ornament on the bowl from the Weisenau cemetery (Neeb 1913-14, Grab 37a, n° 3).

These pots are all of Neronian date, with some perhaps dating into the early Flavian period. Another contemporary potter, Sabinus iii, used his own distinctive version of the lion and mule. A complete *lagena* of form Hermet 15 found at La Graufesenque has the lion and mule alternating with groups of vertical wavy lines in the uppermost of its three friezes; it is signed *Sabini/manus* in the central frieze (Fig. 4, 12; Vernhet 1991, photographs on cover and pages 43, 48 and 63) and also has his ovolo DD (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 75). The type is simpler than the ones recorded for the Masclus-Martialis group, and much less detail is shown: the lion has a short mane marked with curved incisions, and prominent ears; the eyes are made with impressed rings; and the nose and mouth are incised. The mule's ears have been formed together and incised to differentiate them; its eye is an impressed ring and its mouth a straight incision; it has no mane, and the side of the head is marked by a diagonal line. The inner back feet of both animals are absent, and only the mule has fur incised along its tail. The figure is not present on any of the Sabinus jugs studied by Stanfield (1937), but part of what is apparently the same type is on an incomplete *lagena* from Tarragona, signed *Js.fel* (Mees 1995, Taf. 172, 4); the associated ovolo is probably BD (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 72). It also occurs with ovolo BD on a Drag. 30 signed *Sabinl* in reverse, found in the 'La Nautique' deposit at Narbonne (Fig. 4, 13; Mees 1995, 61-2, Taf. 168, 6).

An incomplete but closely similar figure to the one used by Sabinus iii is on a Drag. 30 from La Graufesenque (Fig. 4, 14; Hermet 1934, pl. 72, 8, which shows the animals restored). This has ovolo NN, and it has been suggested that the anonymous user may have been a mould-maker specialising in Drag. 30 (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 82). Only two other bowls have been noted which apparently have this version of the figure-type, but neither is complete. Both come from La Graufesenque and both are lower zone sherds of Drag. 29. The first has the lion and mule below a scroll with a small broken vine-leaf similar to one used by Sabinus iii (as Stanfield 1937, pl. 21), the second is a panel design with massed imbrication (site ref. G75.T35-2).

The figure-type declined in popularity after the early Flavian period, but does occur sporadically until the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. A Drag. 29 dating c. AD 70-85, from Botolph Lane, London, has a lower zone scroll which apparently alternates the lion and mule with large palmette leaves; the upper zone has a characteristically Flavian arrangement of a small stag and stalk motifs. Only the heads of the animals are now present; the lion's is



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Fig. 5 — 15, Drag, 37, style of Cruuro i, La Graufesenque. Scale 1:1.

rather blurred, but the mule's head and grooved neck are similar to the *Martialis* type (Walters 1908, 109, M366). A bowl of the hemispherical form Drag. 37, from Margidunum in eastern England, is by a distinctive anonymous mould-maker who combined a single-bordered ovolo with beaded borders (an unusual feature at this date); it has the lion and mule set in a medallion within a panel design, with a shallow frieze of corded buds and small animals round the base. The lion and mule are repeated three times, but at least two of the images are incomplete. This may be a somewhat different figure-type: the lion has a round full mane, a notably short tail, perhaps indicating that the poinçon was broken, and both back legs clearly drawn; the mule has a corded tail and folded back legs with well defined hoofs, but its neck is shown without the deep grooves of the *Masclus*-group types (Oswald 1948, pl. 14, 2).

Oswald lists one further mould-marked bowl for the type, a Drag. 37 with a mould-stamp of *Crucuro i* from Colchester, held in the museum at Cambridge (Oswald 1936-37, type 1489). The lion and mule are not present on the only mould-stamped *Crucuro* bowl from Colchester which Mees recorded at Cambridge (1995, Taf. 53, 2), but two bowls of form Drag. 37 from La Graufesenque, dating c. AD 75-90, have the lion and mule set in a landscape of trees and grass below a trident-tongued ovolo used by *Crucuro i*. One shows them with pairs of fighting animals, a lion and a bull and a bear and a boar, above a scroll with spurred leaves (Fig. 5, 15; site ref. G77.S8); the second shows them with two other lions, a *venator* and a gladiator (detail on Fig. 4, 16; site ref. G81.G75). The figures are close in both style and size to the *Martialis* type, but the details of the lion's face are less distinct; its second back foot, the double groove on the mule's neck, the mule's second back leg and corded tail, are however apparently identical. A bowl from Cagnes-sur-Mer in Provence, recorded by Dr Grace Simpson, has the same lion and mule and grass motif below a scroll of triple leaves, and may also be attributable to *Crucuro i* or an associated potter (Fig. 4, 17).

Very few bowls of mid- to later Flavian date have been noted with the lion and mule figures. A Drag. 37 from La Graufesenque has an ovolo with a long trident tongue bent to the left, above a panel design including the lion and mule and a large hound above a short band of triple leaves. The front of the figures is missing; the lion has the rounded back foot of the *Martialis* type, but its tail is somewhat shorter, and the distance between tail tip and back paw is only 26mm (Fig. 4, 18). A Drag. 37 from the museum collection at Besançon, but otherwise unprovenanced, has the lion and mule in a medallion, part of a panel design which also includes a saltire and smaller panels with figures and massed arrowheads - all characteristic of the mid to later Flavian products of South Gaul. However, the text notes that the details are coarse and the mould worn, suggesting to the author a date c. AD 80-120 (Tondre-Boillot 1985, pl. 46, 559). Probably the latest example is a Drag. 37 from Ovilava in Austria, dated to

the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries; Karnitsch suggests that it may be a product of Banassac rather than La Graufesenque, but the figures have not apparently been recorded there. The main frieze has the lion and mule, a seated woman and a horseman separated by tall tree-like motifs, with a coarse wreath of chevrons round the base. The figures are less detailed than the others examined, and Karnitsch notes that they are smaller than Oswald's type 1489 (1959, 138, Taf. 30, 6).

Although the catalogue of bowls with the lion and mule cannot claim to be exhaustive, it is hoped that most of those from signed or stamped moulds have been considered. While the figure-type was introduced during the Tiberio-Claudian period, the evidence suggests that its greatest popularity was during the Neronian period, when it was usually placed on Drag. 30, a form which provided a deep enough frieze to show the figures well. The most frequent users were the mould-makers of the *Masclus* group, *Masclus i*, *Albinus iii*, *Martialis i* and probably *Masclinus* - but the study of just this one motif on a small group of their bowls has already indicated links with other potters, notably *Lupus ii* but possibly also an early phase or associate of *Calvus i*. *Sabinus iii*, who made the majority of the surviving *lagenae*, included a variant of the type in his repertoire; at an early stage of his career he may also have had links with *Lupus ii*, with whom he shared ovolo JJ (Dannell *et al.* 1998, 79-81). The *lagena* form, Hermet's evocatively named 'lagène mirabilis', was a complex vessel made in a two-part mould, with the neck and handle added subsequently, and *Sabinus* used a range of large and striking motifs to decorate it (Stanfield 1937). The figure-type seems to have gone out of favour during the Flavian period, though it was clearly used by the *Crucuro i* workshop and by at least two anonymous but recognisable potters, the potter of the Margidunum bowl and the potter who used the ovolo with the bent trident tongue. There are few definitely later Flavian or Trajanic examples; the latest is probably the one from Ovilava. It does not seem to have been copied at any of the other Gaulish workshops, unless Karnitsch's suggestion that the Ovilava bowl was made at Banassac is correct, and it is unlikely that the samian type outlasted that on lamps, if indeed it lasted as long.

Catalogues of the Gaulish figure-types have been available for many years, and are an essential tool in the study of samian ware (Déchelette 1904; Oswald 1936-37; Hermet 1934, pls 18-28). However, each type is illustrated by only a single definitive example, while it can be demonstrated even from this short discussion that variations occurred, and that they can be of value in the attribution of bowls to individual mould-makers or workshops. Distinguishing variations is not easy: the finished image can be affected by a number of factors, including the state of the poinçon, the shape of the mould into which it was impressed, the pressure exerted by the mould-maker, the care taken by the potter in casting the bowl and removing it from the mould, and the finishing and firing. For this reason, the recording of decorated samian needs

to be as accurate as possible, and the value of good graphite rubbings, which produce very precise images that can be easily studied, copied and compared, cannot be overstated.

One question which it is currently difficult to answer satisfactorily is the degree to which there was copying or sharing of motifs and moulds within and between the La Graufesenque workshops, and how this was organised. It is a site which has produced a great deal of information in the form of the graffito tallies of kiln-loads (Marichal 1988), but the way in which the workshops were structured remains elusive, and is only starting to become clearer through detailed study of the very large quantity of material now collected. One curious feature of the site is the relative scarcity of actual poinçons, the individual positive images used to create the moulds. Those that are known are of fired clay (e.g. Johns 1971, pl. 16), but it is possible that more perishable materials, such as wood, bone or metal, were also used. The potter Anna Scott has suggested that adequate poinçons could have been made of dried clay, and these would not have survived (Geoffrey Dannell, pers. comm.). Equally, the majority of the lion and mule figures discussed above are closely similar to the one signed by *Martialis i*, but it seems unlikely that a single poinçon would have lasted so long and some degree of copying, and fairly precise copying, must be envisaged. Apart from simply cutting a new poinçon by copying an old one, there are three possible methods: the use of an existing poinçon to model a copy, the use of a mould to cast a new poinçon, or the use of a bowl to make a further matrix. The first two, perhaps with some retouching, would produce an accurate poinçon of roughly similar or slightly smaller size; with the third, the casting and firing of a new poinçon and its use to make a mould from which pots were cast would produce a more significant reduction in size than is discernible in the figure-types discussed above.

Finally, it is perhaps worth considering briefly the source of the image itself. Representations of big cats, especially lions, attacking their prey were popular in the Roman world, and are found in a wide range of media, from intaglio gemstones to mosaics and sculpture. While some statues of lions and prey occur in funerary contexts and clearly had a strong chthonic significance, there was also a widespread appreciation of animals and related motifs, such as hunting scenes, for their own sake. This particular image shows a lion that has seized a domestic animal and is about to bite the back of its neck to kill it. In the wild lions are sociable animals and in a lion pride the hunting is a cooperative activity, usually carried out by the lionesses. A lone lion, such as shown here, may well therefore be a young animal yet to establish himself in a pride or an older one who has been displaced, a position which may also be indicated by his venturing close to human habitation to prey on a domestic animal (cf. Brakeman 1993, 59, 62). An alternative possibility is that the scene may be derived from the arena, where the choreographed hunts, the *venationes*, included an enor-

mous variety of fights and hunts between animals of different species, as shown on Fig. 5. While there do not appear to be any direct references to mules being used in the spectacles, this is perhaps where the originator of the image would have been most likely to see a lion in action. A late 4th - or early 5th -century *opus sectile* floor from Ostia shows a lion bringing down a deer or antelope in a very similar pose, with the lion wearing an ornate jewelled version of the harness used by the *bestiarii* to handle dangerous animals in the amphitheatre (Dunbabin 1999, pl. 40).

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