XVI.—MUSEUM NOTES, 1971*

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1. THE HUNTSMAN INTAGLIO FROM SOUTH SHIELDS. PL. XVII.

The red jasper intaglio depicting a hunter with his dog, found at South Shields on 12th December 1877, and bequeathed by Dr. C. Hunter Blair to the Museum of Antiquities of the University and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, is one of the most important gems from Roman Britain, and also one of the best. In quality of execution, and majesty of design, it excels the great majority of engraved signets found in the province. It has been published, albeit briefly, at least seven times since its discovery.[1] Collingwood Bruce thought the figure was that of Diana: "She has her bow in her right hand, and with her left seems to be attaching to a tree in front of her, an animal which she has taken in the chase, probably a hare." Richmond and McIntyre identified the hunter with the Romanised native god Silvanus-Cocidius, and this attribution has been maintained with the implication that the gem was actually cut in a north-British studio. Despite this, the intaglio has never been studied fully, as it deserves, in relation to other examples of ancient glyptic art.

Engraved signets were employed for sealing letters, and could have no place in a pre-literate society. They came to

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[1] J. Collingwood Bruce, *AA*[2] X (1884-5), 266, No. 12 (fig.); C. H. Hunter Blair, *Antiq. Journ.* IV (1924) 248 (fig.); I. A. Richmond and J. McIntyre, *AA*[4] XIV (1937) 109 (fig.); D. Charlesworth, *ibid.* XXXIX (1961) 32, No. 12; D. J. Smith, *ibid.* XLI (1963) 235 and pl. XII; A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London, 1967), 372 and pl. 88; also cf. Ross in *Norf. Arch.* XXXIV (1968) 263, 269 (264, fig. 1, for detail of head). The Museum accession number is 1962·12.

be used in the Celtic provinces of the Roman Empire, as a result of the process of Romanisation, and fully native types were never used. Studies of intaglios from South Russia and from Romania[2] emphasize the domination of classical art in the field of gem-cutting elsewhere on the fringes of the Mediterranean world.

It is not surprising that the identification of workshops in outlying parts of the Empire is fraught with difficulties. Indeed, the existence of a workshop at Bath in Flavio-Trajanic times[3] was only established by the fact that thirty-five intaglios of similar size and showing the same stylistic traits were found together in one place. A gem from the River Tas at Caistor St. Edmund has an inscription, *CEN*, which may refer to the Iceni (or Cenimagni), but is of non-classical workmanship and portrays a subject (combination of three heads, with an attached elephant's trunk) that could have been *interpreted* as a Celtic tricephale.[4] This is exceptional, and at present stands alone. Dr. Anne Ross, who published it, does, indeed, compare it with the stones that we are about to discuss: "It is interesting to compare the features of the Caistor St. Edmund intaglio with those of the Cocidius intaglio ... and to note marked similarities."[5] Before concurring or disagreeing with her, and either establishing or disproving the existence of a workshop on the banks of the Tyne, it is necessary to describe the gem and to discuss its analogies in Roman glyptics, the style of cutting exhibited, and the probable date.

[2] T. W. Kibaltchitch, *Gemmes de la Russie Méridionale* (Berlin, 1910); D. Tudor, *Pietre Gravate Descoperite La Romula, Apulum VI* (1967), 209-29, French Résumé, 228-9.

[3] M. Henig, "The Gemstones from the Main Drain", in B. W. Cunliffe, *Roman Bath* (London, 1969), 71-88 and pl. XII.

[4] Ross, *Norf. Arch.* XXXIV (1968) 263-71; but cf. D. Allen in *Britannia* I (1970) 24, for an explanation of its main features in terms of the classical *combination*. For the combination of heads and elephant trunks, Charlesworth, *loc. cit.* 33, No. 35 and pl. IX, 14 (Corbridge), and H. Kenner in *Mitt. d. Gesichtsvereines für Kärnen,* Jahrgang 159=*Carinthia* I (1969) 347-50, No. 4, figs. 43-5 (Magdalensberg, Noricum). A very close parallel to the Caistor gem, with the same arrangement of heads (i.e. as a triskele) is in the Ashmolean, Queens' Loan No. 63.

[5] Ross, *loc. cit.* (see note 4), 269.

The Huntsman Intaglio from South Shields
Ht. 2·0 cm. See Note 1
Phot: Newcastle University Library

The stone is a large one, measuring 20 × 15 × 2 mm. The width was slightly greater in antiquity, and there is a slight break along the right-hand edge. Its surface, marked by a black hair-line which runs along the branch of the tree, is of a rich red-brown colour, and preserves a high polish. The subject is a man standing towards the left (for convenience we describe the actual gem, not the cast made from it as is normal practice), his head in profile but his body turned towards the front. The fact that this inconsistency is not disturbing is a tribute to the skill of the artist. The nose is prominent and well formed; and the artist has allowed himself room to model a chin below the mouth. The figure's sex is established by the extended sideburns along the side of the hunter's face, as well as by the garments worn: a tunic hitched over the right shoulder, leaving the breast bare, belted at the waist and with a pronounced hem just above the knees; a beret on the head, if this is not merely an extremely stylized rendering of the hair combined with a prominent diadem; and leggings that protect the calves, tied with strings at knees and ankles. According to John Peter Wild, these items of dress were common in the north-western provinces, and he cites a relief from Neumagen that shows a huntsman wearing leggings, another from Senon, depicting a miller, with leggings and a beret, and a third from York which represents a smith in a sleeveless tunic, fastened at one shoulder. (This was also common in Italy and other Mediterranean lands, but taken in combination with the rest of the man's clothing it falls into place as a sensible garment for the chase.[6]) The limbs are formed as simple cylinders, no attempt being made at modelling; and the feet are too long and only schematically represented.

In his left hand the figure holds a curved *lagobolon*, a throwing-stick used for killing hares, the crook pointing

[6] J. P. Wild, "Clothing in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire", *Bonner Jahrbücher* CLXVIII (1968) 166-240, 184 and fig. 11, 1 (Neumagen huntsman), 187 and fig. 12, 1 (Senon miller), 186 and *R.C.H.M. Eburacum*, pl. LIII (York smith).

upwards; a curved section below may be an animal skin, a misunderstood piece of drapery, or a length of rope. A similar intaglio from Xanten,[7] discussed below, shows something similar, but there looking much more like an animal skin draped over the forearm. In his right hand he grasps a dead hare by its hind legs. A hound stands at the huntsman's feet, also facing left. Its muzzle is raised and it sniffs at the hare's forepaws. Beyond is a tree, from which three fruits, or wrapped parcels of game, are suspended.

Huntsmen shown on gemstones can be divided into three main categories. (I exclude "heroic" huntsmen such as Meleager and Hercules.) Sometimes they are depicted riding down their quarry; elsewhere we see men returning from the chase or examining their kill. Horsemen need not concern us here,[8] but the other two types are both important for our purpose. Indeed, they tend to grade imperceptibly one into another, and it is only possible to make a distinction in extreme cases by observing whether the subject has truly arrived at his destination or is merely resting.

The returning huntsman is frequently shown as a satyr or as Bonus Eventus (Success). A glass intaglio set in an iron ring of first-century date from Dragonby, Lincolnshire,[9] depicts a satyr walking with a throwing-stick held in one hand and a hare in the other. Similar satyrs on intaglios from Castlesteads, Carlisle and Chester,[10] each hold a bunch of grapes instead of game. A nicolo from Dolaucothi[11] resembles them in this, but the satyr is accompanied by a hound. A hound, or possibly a panther, accompanies a satyr who holds a dish of fruit and a throwing-stick on a gem

[7] P. Steiner, *Xanten-Sammlung des Niederrheinischen Altertums-Vereins* (Frankfurt.a.M., 1911) 142-3 and pl. XV, No. 54.

[8] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (London, 1926), No. 2118, for a gem from London depicting a mounted huntsman chasing a hare.

[9] From the excavation conducted by J. May.

[10] *Archaeologia* XI (1808) 71 and pl. VI, fig. 24 (Castlesteads); Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 2252 (Carlisle); *Annals of Archaeology* XXII (1935) 16-17, and fig. 2 (Chester).

[11] *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XIV (1952), 82, No. 12. Not unfinished as stated here.

from York.[12] An intaglio from Newstead[13] depicts a satyr loosing a hound.

Satyrs are always naked, but some stones that depict Bonus Eventus show him clothed in a tunic very similar to that worn by the figure on our gem. These are definitely variants of the normal type, in which the personification is clad only in a Greek chlamys. Red jaspers from Newstead and from Ruxox (Beds.)[14] figure Bonus Eventus, his legs placed in the conventional Polykleitan stance, and with the *lagobolon* or throwing-stick held over his far shoulder: from it hang (?) bunches of grapes. Another tuniced Bonus Eventus, on a red jasper from Castlesteads[15] is similar, but a hare hangs from the stick; while on a gem found at Chesterford (Essex)[16] the figure not only has a hare hanging from the *lagobolon*, but stands with his legs uncrossed in a manner similar to the South Shields huntsman. An intaglio from Housesteads,[17] which Charlesworth thinks may represent Silvanus (presumably some local manifestation of the god), is very like the Chesterford stone, only the figure is apparently wearing trousers, "barbarian" dress par excellence.[18] The implication that this is also a locally made piece will be considered briefly, below.

A huntsman proper seems to be shown on a nicolo-paste from Corbridge. He wears a tunic, and a deer is slung from his hunting-stick. In his free hand he may be holding a game-bird of some sort. A gem from a late first-century context at Wall, Staffs.,[19] is unfortunately very battered, but it too represents a returning huntsman, with a hound running alongside him. Last, we should note an onyx from

[12] *Yorkshire Arch. Journ.* XXXIX (1957) 310, fig. 16, No. 118, and 318, No. 118a.
[13] Information from R. B. K. Stevenson.
[14] Both in private collections.
[15] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assn.* XX (1864) 356, No. 4, and *Lap. Sept.*, 238.
[16] Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 2119.
[17] Charlesworth in *AA*[4] XXXIX (1961) 32, No. 11 and pl. V, 8.
[18] Wild, *loc. cit.*, 183.
[19] *Proc. Birmingham Arch. Soc.* LXXIV (1958) 24-5; not identified.

Ribchester[20] described as showing "a man standing and holding in his right hand a hare by its heels, and in his left some smaller object apparently a brace of birds suspended from a stick". It is now lost, but the Rev. C. W. King, the leading British glyptic expert of the nineteenth century, commented that the stone was "evidently the signet of some Romano-British sportsman".

Just as the "returning huntsman" motif is associated with satyrs and with Bonus Eventus, the huntsman at rest and examining his day's "bag" sometimes appears in the unlikely guise of an elderly shepherd. Many intaglios depict old countrymen, who generally lean on their staffs and look towards trees, which are such a ubiquitous feature of Roman landscape art. They are meanly dressed in skin coats, and goats or sheep in the composition give them the character of shepherds. A gem from Wroxeter[21] depicts two such herdsmen, watching their goats, and we observe that a hare and a brace of birds hang from the lower branches of the tree that separates them from one another. A similar subject appears on an intaglio from Dryburgh Mains, Berwickshire;[22] an ancient herdsman watches his goat browsing from the bark of a tree. His dog is leaping up, evidently excited by the scent of the viscerated hare hanging from the bough above him. On a stone from Chester[23] no sheep or goat appears, merely the old shepherd, the tree with its hare, and the expectant hound. Other examples of the type from Cologne, Vindonissa and Aquileia[24] may be noted.

[20] T. D. Whitaker, *A History of the Original Parish of Whalley* (4th edn., 1872) 38.

[21] D. Atkinson, *Report on Excavations at Wroxeter 1923-7* (Oxford, 1942) 234, fig. 39, No. 1; found in a second-century context.

[22] In National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh; Ac. No. 1935.434 FR. 487.

[23] Grosvenor Museum; in a first-century context (Praetorium site).

[24] C. A. Niessen, *Beschreibung Römischer Altertümer* (Cologne, 1911), No. 5478; V. von Gonzenbach, "Römische Gemmen aus Vindonissa", *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* XIII (1952) 65-82, 73, No. 31, pl. XXVIII-IX; G. Sena Chiesa, *Gemme del Museo Nazionale di Aquileia* (Aquileia, 1966), Nos. 762-3.

One gem, from an American private collection,[25] shows an old shepherd, standing with a curved stick over his shoulder, in front of the tree (again with its hare). This time there is no dog, but a ram stands in front of him. Also in this same collection[26] is a delightful vignette depicting a hound scenting a hanging hare.

Another popular subject represented, for example, by intaglios from Aquileia and Magdalensberg,[27] is the huntsman engaged in disembowelling an animal which he has hung from a tree. The theme was popular in the Augustan period, and to this time as well we may assign a banded agate from the double legionary fortress of Vetera I.[28] This depicts a young man, wearing a tunic and a cap, standing in profile in front of a tree. The scene differs from that shown on the other gems just mentioned, in that the figure is bearded and holds out the hare to his hound, like the South Shields huntsman.

The closest parallel to our gem, so far as I have been able to trace, also comes from the neighbourhood of Xanten.[29] The huntsman's body is almost frontally disposed, and the *lagobolon* is held upwards from the crooked left arm. As before the hound is evidently taking an interest in the hare. The tree is missing from the composition but, as we shall see below, this stone is related to the one from South Shields, not only through its subject matter, but to some degree in style as well. It is a pity that nothing is known about the circumstances of discovery of this piece.

The intaglios cited, especially the last two, prove that the South Shields gem is not of a type actually *created* to show a native god, but that its iconography has its origins in the repertory of the classical glyptic artist. Is it, then, only an example of genre art after all?

[25] B. Y. Berry, *Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry* (Indiana, 1969), No. 81.

[26] *Ibid.*, No. 170.

[27] Sena Chiesa, *op. cit.*, Nos. 780-2; Kenner, *loc. cit.*, 341-4, No. 2. This must be earlier than Claudius's reign, when the settlement was abandoned.

[28] Steiner, *op. cit.*, 133 and pl. XIV, No. 147.

[29] *Ibid.*, 142-3 and pl. XV, No. 54.

I do not think it is. True, the idea of the huntsman being portrayed, standing with his hound beside him, was not new; our figure does not carry a bow like Silvanus-Cocidius on the Risingham altars;[30] nor was the gem found precisely in the area where the veneration of Cocidius is best attested.[31] Nevertheless, we are confronted with a personage of commanding authority, whose dress proclaims him to be an inhabitant of the north-western provinces. It is hard not to think of a male equivalent of Diana-Artemis, "mistress of wild beasts". She is shown on a Roman intaglio, holding a hind by its forelegs.[32] We meet a male insular equivalent in one of the stories of the *Mabinogion*,[33] where the deity is perhaps Cernunnos, and gods who delighted in the chase were commonplace in the Celtic world. Admittedly, the acceptance of the traditional identification of the South Shields huntsman as a Celtic deity rests, to some degree, on subjective criteria. The second Xanten intaglio, cited above, has little of the monumental quality of our gem and the gem-cutter was less a master of his craft; the pose of the figure, the patterning of tunic, *lagobolon* (and ? skin hanging below it), and diadem are similar. Yet, for all this, the divinity of that huntsman seems to me far more problematical.

The style of cutting displayed on the Newcastle Museum gem is of great importance in determining its date and place of origin. If this is Cocidius the gem must have been cut in the Wall area. An origin elsewhere may allow us to speak of a divine huntsman but not, strictly speaking, of Cocidius himself.

Long gouging strokes of relatively ample width, produced no doubt with the wheel, give the tunic its distinctive texture.

[30] Richmond and McIntyre, *loc. cit.*, 103-9.

[31] Ross, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 372, suggests that the "*fanum Cocidii* mentioned in the Ravenna Cosmography must have been situated in the Irthing Valley in Cumberland, from whence the greatest numbers of inscriptions have been recovered." Cf. *ibid.*, 370, Map IX.

[32] Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 1333.

[33] G. and T. Jones, *The Mabinogion* (London, 1949), 158-9 cited by Ross, *op. cit.*, (see note 1), 137-8.

The patterning of beret, *lagobolon* and the curved object, possibly a skin, hanging below the *lagobolon*, consists of shorter lines executed with the same implement. Careful study reveals that the technique was also used for the huntsman's beard and in the modelling of the two animals. (Note the flank and snout of the hound, and the hare's haunch.) The extensive use of striation to create dramatic contrasts of light and shade is a feature which can be seen in a general way on Roman sculpture of the late second- and early third-centuries, for example on the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. Sculptors, it seems, were making far greater use of the drill than had been the case in earlier, more classicizing periods.[34]

This love of patterning is also characteristic of contemporary glyptics. It is a feature of the best gems in Sena Chiesa's Aquileia workshop, the "Officina delle Linee Grosse",[35] ascribed by her to this very period. A hoard of jewellery from Seewalchen in Austria, which contains coins down to A.D. 229, includes an intaglio depicting Jupiter crowned by Victory.[36] The eagle, Jupiter's himation and diadem, and the Victory's wing are patterned in a manner similar to the features detailed on our intaglio. A gem in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin,[37] depicting a Victory and an eagle, is ascribed to the second century, and reveals the same love of texture. It should be noted that the intaglio from Xanten, which provides such a close parallel to our huntsman, also has his tunic, *lagobolon* and the drape (? animal skin) hanging below it, treated with a pattern of linear strokes.

[34] G. Becatti, *Colonna di Marco Aurelio* (Milan, 1957); D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London, 1961) 56-65; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Art of the Romans* (London, 1965) pl. XLV-XLVI.

[35] Sena Chiesa, *op. cit.*, 62-3, and pl. XCIII, 6-11.

[36] R. Noll, "Ein Verwahrfund aus Seewalchen am Attersee, Oberösterreich", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* XXXIX (1951), cols. 58-70, 62, and fig. 19, 2.

[37] E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen, 11, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikenabteilung Berlin* (Munich, 1969), 187 and pl. XC, No. 520. The same sort of patterning seems to have been employed for the contemporary intaglios from Romula; Tudor, *op. cit.*

Turning to Britain, we should note first of all a red jasper found at the villa at Eccles, Kent, in a late second-century context.[38] It shows the head of Pan and, below it, a *lagobolon*. The hair and beard of the god are treated decoratively, not naturalistically; groups of lines, in themselves relatively clumsy, are clustered together to produce an impression of luxurious curls. The hunting-stick, be it noted, is patterned in exactly the same way as the *lagobolon* on the South Shields gem. It is instructive to compare the head of Pan with the bearded satyr-mask on an intaglio from Magdalensberg in Austria,[39] ascribable to the reign of Augustus. This is engraved in a style which we associate with the Pergamene school of Hellenistic art.[40] The hair and moustache are here shown as they would be in life, or rather with a sort of idealized naturalism. The treatment of the hair of the swimming river-god on an intaglio in The Hague,[41] and of the Medusa on another fine gem (by the early Augustan engraver, Solon) in the British Museum[42] is in this tradition, as is the rendering of flowing locks on the tetradrachm portrait of Mithradates VI of Pontus.[43] The Magdalensberg intaglio *is* Hellenistic; the stone from Eccles can, at best, be described as "pseudo-Hellenistic" in style.

An intaglio found at Beckford, near Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire,[44] depicts the head of Serapis above an eagle and standards. As on two of the stones cited above, the bird's plumage is treated in a decorative manner, and

[38] *Antiq. Journ.* XLIX (1969) 395-6, and pl. XCVII, b. The stone is incorrectly described as cornelian.

[39] H. Kenner in *Mitt. d. Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten*, Jahrgang 149 (1959) 112-5, fig. 98, and R. Egger, *ibid.*, Jahrgang 151 (1961) 193-204.

[40] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (Revised edn., New York, 1961) 106-22. Note especially copies of the Gauls from the victory monument of Attalus I, 108 and figs. 424, 426-7. Works such as these may account for the "Celtic" features of the head on the Magdalensberg gem.

[41] G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* (London, 1968) No. 601.

[42] M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und Ihre Künstler in Spätrepublikanischer und Augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966) 48-9 and pl. XLV, 1-2.

[43] C. Kraay, *Greek Coins* (London, 1966) No. 775.

[44] Present location not known; photograph in Ashmolean; cast at Overbury.

the hair of the god is striated. Septimius Severus identified himself with Serapis, and the gem probably belongs to his reign. The bust of Severus as Serapis, between those of his two sons, as the Dioscuri, is the subject of a cornelian intaglio from Castlesteads.[45] It cannot be located now, but drawings reveal it to be a magnificent example of Severan glyptic art. It is closely dated to the years A.D. 209-11.[46] The hair of all three persons, and the beard and modius of Severus-Serapis are rendered with a rich texture of linear strokes, disposed in groups. We should compare it with the figure of (?) Jupiter-Serapis on a gem from Chesterholm-Vindolanda, published last year in the pages of this journal.[47] Himation, hair and beard are all striated. There is very good reason to ascribe this to the time of the British campaign as well. A plasma intaglio from Silchester,[48] depicting the *Genius Populi Romani* must also date from the early third century, for it is very similar to an intaglio in the Ashmolean, where the Genius has the physiognomy of the young Caracalla.[49] Hair, himation and cornucopia all show the familiar decorative treatment. Another intaglio, found recently at Vindolanda[50] in a fourth-century destruction level, also depicts a *genius*, this time with patterned tunic and hair. A Severan date is, again, possible, although this stone might be later.

A red jasper intaglio from Springhead in Kent[51] shows Leda reclining on a couch in the act of making love with the divine swan. It comes from a context containing material down to A.D. 270 but is probably some years earlier than

[45] D. Carlisle, *Archaeologia* XI (1808) 71 and pl. VI, No. 25; R. Blair, *PSAN* II (1885-6) 146, fig.

[46] A. M. McCann, "The Portraits of Septimius Severus", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XXX (1968) 55 and 183, pl. XCII, j.

[47] *AA* XLVIII (1970) 146-7 and pl. XVI, No. 1.

[48] G. C. Boon, *Roman Silchester* (London, 1957) 111 (fig. 16, 5) and 126.

[49] Ashmolean Museum, Ac. No. 1892.1522. It is a pity that the youthful bust of Caracalla shown on a red jasper from South Shields, Collingwood Bruce, *loc. cit.*, 266, No. 9, cannot now be traced. The drawing shows an extremely rich treatment of the hair.

[50] Information from Robin Birley.

[51] Information from E. W. Tilley, Gravesend Historical Society.

that. The couch, and the swan's wing and plumage are patterned with great elegance. Finally, in this brief survey of dated gems of the middle empire, mention must be made of the famous bear cameo found at South Shields in March 1878, and like the huntsman gem now in the Museum of Antiquities at Newcastle.[52] The Rev. C. W. King assigned it to "the early part of the third-century",[53] and M. L. Vollenweider, in a personal comment to me, has supported this dating. The striations which make up the animal's hair do not all run in one direction but form a patchwork effect. This gem was doubtless set in a brooch, perhaps worn by a member of the Emperor's entourage during the British War.

One of the largest collections of intaglios from England, although still very small by continental standards, comes from Corbridge.[54] Unfortunately, few seem to be well dated by ring-type or by stratigraphy, but in the light of what has been said above it should be possible to isolate gems of markedly late-Antonine and Severan style. Five stones at once stand out as worthy of our attention. Two of them are cornelians, of cursory workmanship, which represent Silvanus (in his classical guise, holding pruning-knife and branch, and accompanied by his hound)[55] and Ganymede (or Jupiter: the figure holds a sceptre rather than a *pedum*, and does not seem to be wearing a Phrygian cap).[56] The stylistic similarities are so striking that it is hard to resist the conclusion that they are the work of one engraver. However, nothing in either composition reveals local content, nor can there be any link with the carefully worked South Shields hunter. All that can be said is that they *may* be from a British workshop. The three other Corbridge intaglios will require much closer examination. All are red

[52] J. C. M. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (London, 1962) 185, No. 139 and pl. 158.
[53] C. W. King in *Arch. Journ.* XXXV (1878) 103-7, plate.
[54] Charlesworth, *loc cit.*, *passim*, pl. III, 12-3, IV, 1, V, 3 and 5, IX, 2-19.
[55] *Ibid.*, 32, No. 5 and pl. IX, 3.
[56] *Ibid.*, 31, No. 1 and pl. IX, 2.

jaspers of approximately the same size as the South Shields stone, which is large by provincial standards.

The best of them[57] depicts a short male figure, dressed in a tunic and, possibly, a short coat with a hood. His head is too large for his body and displays a close resemblance to the head of the South Shields hunter. The prominence of the nose and its relationship to the positioning of the mouth should be compared first; then the huntsman's "beret", and what must, perforce, be designated as hair and diadem on the other figure. (The pattern is the same, but the crown of the head is much more rounded, and it is not possible to see a beret here.) The Corbridge figure does not have a hem to his tunic, but his legs are cylindrical, scarcely tapering at the ankles, whilst the feet are too long and only schematically represented. He holds a loaf of bread, patterned with three short parallel lines, in one hand, and places his other hand low over a small altar, as though in the act of sprinkling incense. In front of him is a shrine, standing on rocks, behind which is a tree. The type of shrine, which it is tempting to identify with some local, circular structure, belongs in fact to the sacro-idyllic tradition of Romano-Campanian art.[58] It occurs on a gem from the late second-century "Officina dei Diaspri Rossi" at Aquileia,[59] whose products are characterized by the exclusive use of red jasper and by the representation "di poche figure dal disegno sommario, entro un ampio spazio neutro in cui appaiono talvolta alberelli frondosi".[60] This is not the studio which produced our gem, which is of very much better workmanship, although there are notable similarities in subject matter, design (especially the considerable proportion of the surface which remains empty of engraving), and, of course, in the

[57] *Ibid.*, 33, No. 26 and pl. IX, 12.

[58] e.g. Arthur's O'on: K. A. Steer, "Arthur's O'on: a lost shrine of Roman Britain", *Arch. Journ.* CXV (1958) 99-110. Note the shrine and tree on a relief from Rose Hill, Gilsland, *ibid.*, 108, fig. 4. Neither this, nor the O'on had any order of columns. For Roman landscape art cf. W. J. T. Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen, 1963).

[59] Sena Chiesa, *op. cit.*, No. 1140, pl. XCII, 2.

[60] *Ibid.*, 60.

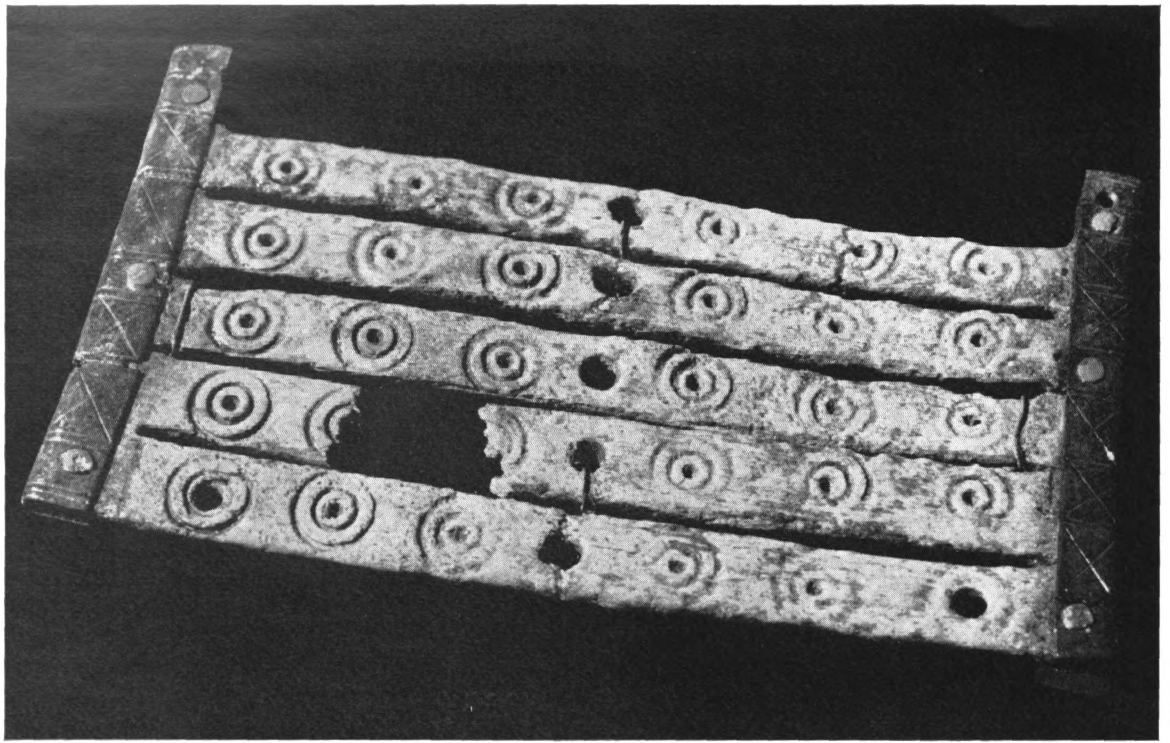
material used. The shrine on the Corbridge gem has Tuscan columns whose bases and capitals are reminiscent of the "garters" which bind the huntsman's leggings. The roof of the shrine is patterned with long vertical lines, but the rocks below exhibit the greater plasticity shown on the body of the hare.

The roof of the shrine has a small boss on its apex. This boss appears again upon the shield carried by Mars on our second Corbridge intaglio.[61] The shield is striated in the same manner, as is the roof of the little building. Mars himself is tall; if we take his helmet into account, even taller than the huntsman. The plume of his helmet is striated like the *lagobolon*, and even more like the putative animal skin below it, which has the same gentle curve. At the base of the helmet is a prominent diadem of about the same width as the rim of the "beret" or diadem on the huntsman. Less attention has been paid to physiognomy, but the nose appears to be large and well formed. The nipples on Mars's breasts are large, and match the one visible on the South Shields figure. The tunic is striated and has a pronounced hem. The execution of this intaglio is less careful than the last but it must, I feel, come from the same studio.

Finally, note a very fine intaglio[62] that depicts a satyr, or possibly Bacchus himself, looking at a dramatic mask. The top of the stone is missing, so the crown of the figure's head has been lost; however, he was of approximately the same height as Mars and the huntsman. Both his nose and that of the mask are large and well shaped. The mask's hair is striated, and the *lagobolon* which the satyr holds in his other hand is also patterned. The tubular arm is paralleled especially well on the South Shields intaglio, although the legs are better modelled here than on the other gems that we have been considering.

It is hard to resist the conclusion that all four gems were made in a single workshop. There are three possible explana-

[61] Charlesworth, *loc. cit.*, 32, No. 4 and pl. IX, 4.
[62] *Ibid.* 33, No. 23 and pl. IX, 8.



The South Shields Heddle. See Note 2 Phot: Dept. of Photography, Newcastle University

tions of their presence in the Wall area: they could have been imported into Britain by a merchant, as part of a consignment[63] of gems; alternatively they might have been brought in by troops, or manufactured by a gem-engraver operating in the vicinity. If the gems were imported, the North-West European features on the South Shields' huntsman's dress, and possibly of the Corbridge worshipper as well, imply a source no further away than the Rhineland. However, the market provided by the military installations of North Britain was surely extensive enough to have attracted at least a few gem-cutters? The probability, it seems to me, is that the stones were cut locally. Hence we are still free, if we wish, to describe the subject of the South Shields intaglio as Silvanus-Cocidius.

Our survey has uncovered other gems which might have been manufactured locally. The Housesteads Bonus Eventus with his breeches cannot be related stylistically to the figures on the other four jaspers, but the gem is likely, nevertheless, to have been cut somewhere within the Celtic provinces of the Empire. The two Corbridge cornelians, so closely related to one another, could also be British pieces. It is to be hoped that other products of the two relevant workshops will be discovered, either in this country or abroad.

The survival rate of intaglios has not been high, for they are easily missed on excavations. It is virtually certain that the red jasper combination from Caistor St. Edmund is of British manufacture; it is, however, unlikely that it can be a product of the same workshop that produced the Cocidius gem, for not only was it found in a completely different part of the province but the stone is much smaller and set in a ring of probably first-century date. Furthermore, despite Ross's comment, there is no real stylistic similarity between the large and relatively ill-executed faces on the Norfolk gem and the good workmanship (by provincial standards) of the head of the hunter. The patterning

[63] Sena Chiesa, *op. cit.*, ch. V, 69-85 for trade in gems. Some pieces of Aquileian workmanship seem to have reached the Rhineland.

of the elephant trunk and palm presents a superficial likeness to the use of linear striation on the huntsman's *lagobolon* and tunic, but this may be coincidental.[64] It is true that red jasper seems to have been employed less often for signets in the early empire than it was later, but its use in connection with "combinations" was almost universal. Here, then, is a Romano-British workshop represented merely by a single intaglio.[65]

The study of Roman glyptics is still hampered by lack of material. Only a very small percentage of the many engraved gems found on continental sites has been published. The majority of studies that have appeared lack the clear, enlarged photographs which are vital if valid stylistic assessments are to be made: drawings are, in all cases, an inadequate substitute for photographs. The schools of gem-cutting so far located indicate the presence of workers in the field as much as actual workshops, and it will be many years before even a rough distribution map of studios within the Empire, or parts of it, can be drawn. It is to be hoped that the gems discovered in future excavation in the vicinity of the Wall will play their part in increasing our knowledge of the gem-cutter's craft in general, and also, if we are fortunate, of local aspects of that art.

MARTIN HENIG

2. THE SOUTH SHIELDS HEDDLE. PL. XVIII

The rigid heddle (or "heddle frame") from South Shields consists of a series of slats of bone, each with a hole in the centre, separated from one another by a narrow slit. Three

[64] Especially if the Celtic artist were trying to show a corn-ear and a lock of hair as Ross wishes us to believe.

[65] There are other intaglios which one would like to assign to local studios, for example the horseman depicted on a red jasper from Verulamium that does not appear to have been finished and lacks the final polishing: R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium* (London, 1936) 215 (fig. 47) and 216, No. 76.

or four slats are cut from a single flat piece of bone, and the whole framework is held together at top and bottom by a bronze sheath, riveted through the bone at intervals. Five slats are preserved, and there is space for a sixth, giving a minimum width (measured along the bronze sheath) of 4·5 cm. The height of the heddle is 7·7 cm.; the slats are 0·5 cm. to 0·7 cm. wide, the slits *c.* 0·1 cm. wide. The holes show little sign of wear. Both sides of the slats are decorated with compass-drawn circles, and the bronze binding carries incised criss-cross ornament. An outer slat, which may be the original edge of the frame, bears two additional holes cut through the centres of the decorative circles nearest to the bronze binding. The heddle is incomplete and may once have been about 9 cm. wide.

Close parallels from Scandinavia, both mediaeval and modern, show that the heddle was used in band-weaving. Alternate threads of warp passed through the holes and slits, and by depressing or raising the heddle the weaver could open two sheds.

The heddle was found on The Lawe at South Shields, but its precise findspot is not recorded. There is, however, no need to doubt its Roman date, since similar implements have been found at Pompeii and in a late Roman grave at Pilismarót in Hungary.

LITERATURE. S. Shields heddle: *AA*[3], XVI (1919), 227 (fig.); *AA*[4], XXVI (1948), 89; Pilismarót heddle: *Folia Archaeologica* XII (1960), 113, Abb. 30, Nr. 10, 129ff., Taf. XXIII, Nr. 5; Scandinavian heddles: M. Hoffmann, *The Warp-Weighted Loom* (1964), 106ff. The Pompeian heddle has not been published.

JOHN PETER WILD