

## ROMAN TERRACOTTA HORSE FIGURINES AS A SOURCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HARNESSING

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### PREFACE

Thousands of terracotta statuettes were produced in numerous workshops throughout the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> The subjects represented cover a wide range. Full-length representations or busts of deities and men, animals, fruit, eggs, masks and even furniture are depicted. These terracottas provide us with information of a varied nature: religion, daily life, commerce, techniques of production and stylistic developments. Moreover, they give us an insight into several aspects of material life in the Roman North-Western provinces, such as for instance clothing.

The purpose of this paper is to present and discuss a selection of horse terracottas that illustrates the use of harnesses of different kinds. It will be apparent from the representational evidence given below that terracottas preserve sufficient detail to make these as useful a source for the reconstruction and arrangement of harness elements as the tombstone reliefs with which they should be seen in conjunction.

### INTRODUCTION

Precisely on the day that I delivered the manuscript for this contribution to the present volume on military equipment, an important paper appeared in print by M.C. Bishop, entitled: 'Cavalry Equipment of the Roman Army in the First Century A.D.'<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, I was enabled to include some of Bishop's conclusions in the revised version of this paper. Bishop discusses Roman funerary monuments and official sculpture showing military harnesses in relation to the archaeological artefacts. It will be obvious that the pictorial evidence is of major interest for comparison with the terracotta statuettes dealt with here. These supplement and geographically extend the evidence presented by Bishop which consists mainly of tombstones portraying mounted soldiers from the Rhineland and Britain (and one from Chalon-sur-Saone). In addition he considers as part of the 'official' sculpture the triumphal arch at Orange, the mausoleum in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi and Trajan's Column in Rome. These monuments date mainly to the first century AD and to the Trajanic period (Trajanus, 98-117). Two terracotta figurines are also included, but as will appear below, Bishop's remark that 'there are a few representations of horses and their harness executed in pipe-clay' is an understatement, as hundreds of terracotta horses have been found, scattered over the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire and many of these are harnessed.

In contrast with the provenance of the stone monuments discussed by Bishop, the terracotta statuettes dealt with here come from workshops in Central Gaul. When datings are available, it appears that the horse figurines were made towards the end of the first century AD

and throughout the second century, although especially in its first half. It is obvious that the statuettes were cheaper than the stone monuments, in view of their production process (with the use of moulds) and the material from which they were made (clay). Therefore, they may have covered the needs of people with a small purse, although we cannot be certain as to the social position of either the modellers of the terracottas or the people who bought their products. However, Central-Gaulish terracottas have indeed also been recovered from military contexts, for example from the fortress and the army sanctuaries at Vindonissa.<sup>3</sup> The monuments studied by Bishop have the advantage that they clearly have a military connotation whereas this is not always apparent for the terracotta horses (see General Conclusions, below). Another difference with the more frequently cited pictorial evidence is that instead of flat relief we here have figures in the round, in other words, we have the entire three-dimensional horse.

Bishop notices certain similarities between the two terracotta statuettes he includes in his catalogue and the tombstones. Many aspects of the terracotta horses indeed resemble those on the funerary monuments remarkably closely, but on the other hand, the figurines also reveal other elements not found in the first century harnesses as reconstructed by Bishop. The presence of a strong Celtic element in the Roman military harness which has been suggested makes the examination of Central-Gaulish terracotta horses even more relevant to military equipment studies because through these workshops we approach the Celtic roots more closely. But the evidence provided by the terracottas must not be overestimated because details are sometimes simplified or schematized. Furthermore, elements presumably originally indicated in paint are now worn off.

#### TERRACOTTA STATUETTES

The four major areas of terracotta production in North-Western Europe were in Central Gaul, especially in the district of the river Allier, in the Central Rhineland, in the Mosel area and in Cologne and environs.<sup>4</sup> Broadly speaking, terracotta production took place from the first century AD to the beginning of the fourth century, with the most extensive output in the second century AD. The Central-Gaulish district contained by far the majority of the production centres and had an enormous terracotta 'industry' with figurines of all kinds of subjects and types being transported to far distant markets in North-Western Europe, including Britain, and on the Continent right up to the limes.<sup>5</sup> The major categories in the Central-Gaulish subjects are deities and men, whether full-length representations or busts, and animals. The three most popular subjects among the animals were the horse, the dog and the cock. It is the Central-Gaulish area which interests us here, as its workshops produced horse statuettes that frequently show harnesses in elaborate detail. Although horses were made in the centres in the Rhine-Mosel district, their harnesses are generally strongly simplified.<sup>6</sup>

#### Central-Gaulish terracottas of horses

Horse statuettes have been recovered from numerous sites in the Roman North-Western provinces, as well as from the Central-Gaulish

workshops themselves. Technical and stylistic aspects are helpful in the distinction of Central-Gaulish horses from the specimens made in the Northern workshops. Even within the Central-Gaulish industry there is a wide variety of types, variants and styles. Horses may be slender or sturdy, with a long mane or with a short brush-like mane; specimens are shown with complete harness, only a bridle, a saddle without bridle or 'nude'.<sup>7</sup> The horses come alone or as pairs of draught-horses. Sometimes riders are portrayed on the backs of the single horses, namely, soldiers and the goddess Epona who is represented in her usual position, sitting side-saddle. The horsemen may sit on harnessed mounts or on unsaddled horses, but the horses are always standing quietly. There are also examples of horses that are accompanied by a standing man or boy. Examples of all categories cited here will be found in the discussion below.

#### The manufacturing process

It should be noted that the voluminous corpus of terracottas in Europe is the result of mass-production. Terracotta modellers used moulds to establish an efficient large-scale production of figurines. Their models or originals were first hand-modelled in clay and then fired in kilns. The ten to twelve originals known to me (not of horses) are made of the same fine-textured clay as was used for the moulds and for most of the statuettes, namely, a paste that gives a white product when baked, often called 'pipeclay'.<sup>8</sup> The statuettes could be pressed (not cast) once the moulds taken from the models had been fired. In the most common Central-Gaulish procedure for the manufacture of horses, two half-moulds were used to press the sides of the head and body, with the tail, legs and plinth being separately hand-modelled and attached with liquid paste prior to firing (figs 3, 9, 18).<sup>9</sup> The resulting bodies were hollow, while the legs, tail, and plinth were solid. All the junctions were usually carefully retouched before firing. Occasionally horses were pressed from moulds that did include the legs and the tail, although the flat rectangular plinths appear always to have been hand-modelled.<sup>10</sup> A small vent was pierced through the bellies of the horses in an unobtrusive place to allow for evaporation and so to prevent the horses from cracking during drying and firing.

Most terracottas, perhaps even all specimens, were once gaily painted in bright colours. Although figurines might have been painted prior to firing, the fact that paint rarely survives rather suggests that the usual procedure was to apply paint after firing. All the details of the painted harnesses which still survive appear on other figurines in relief, so the two techniques were complimentary, not mutually exclusive. The absence of certain features, such as girths (see below, Section IV; Conclusions) can not therefore be attributed solely to the fact that these might have been rendered exclusively in paint, no single trace of which now remains.

#### Find circumstances

Statuettes of horses have been recovered from workshops, temples and deposits that probably contain votive offerings from sanctuaries, such as Asse-Kalkoven, Elewijt and Harelbeke in Belgium.<sup>11</sup> A domestic shrine in Langon (France, Ille-et-Vilaine) yielded one horse terracotta.<sup>12</sup> Several horse figurines have been found in cemeteries.<sup>13</sup>

Two of these statuettes were discovered in a child's grave dated to the second century in Argenton-sur-Creuze (France, Indre; Argentomagus).<sup>14</sup> Another specimen comes from a burial at Enns (Austria) dated to the first half of the second century and containing the remains of a woman aged between 18 and 25 years. Also in Austria, in Linz, a horse figurine was found in a burial of a man of 25-to-50 years old. These horses are all bridled.

#### Workshops, modellers and dating

The time of manufacture of the horses dealt with here can for the most part be established towards the end of the first century AD or in the second century, especially in its first half. Datings can, among others, be deduced from the production centres of horse terracottas whose period of activities is known with greater or lesser certainty. The Central-Gaulish workshops that produced most of the presently discussed horse figurines are in Crouzilles (Indre-et-Loire), second half of the first century AD-third century; Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Allier), c. AD 75/80-150/160; Toulon-sur-Allier (Allier), the workshop at the site called 'Champ Lary' or 'Le Lary', second century AD; and Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet (Allier) where terracottas were made in the Trajanic period.<sup>15</sup> With the possible exception of Crouzilles, pairs of draught-horses were also made in these workshops, as well as in Bourbon-Lancy (Saone-et-Loire; fig. 19A)<sup>16</sup> and most probably in Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet. It is very likely that other centres also manufactured harnessed horses or teams, but more large-scale research is necessary to find that out.

Two Belgian votive deposits and several burials are also important for the dating of the statuettes discussed here. The Asse-Kalkoven depot is dated to between about the end of the first century AD and 175 (external evidence).<sup>17</sup> The Harelbeke depot contained glass, pottery and coins dating to between AD 70 and 150.<sup>18</sup> Graves dated by the artefacts found in them and containing horse figurines occur in Bern-Rosfeld (Switzerland), Flavian-Trajanic period; Chalon-sur-Saone (Saone-et-Loire) in a cemetery used during the first century AD; Chamalières (Puy-de-Dome), burial with an abraded coin of Nerva (96-98 AD) hence dating to the second or even the third century, and Wels (Austria), Grünbachplatz, first half of the second century, and containing four fragmentary horse statuettes (see above for Argenton-sur-Creuze and Enns).<sup>19</sup>

The names of three modellers of horse terracottas of the types under consideration are known, signed on the back of moulds (prior to firing). They are Sacrillos, Marcellus and Priscus (figs 3B, 18, 20).<sup>20</sup> The first made riding horses, the other two produced yokes for pairs of draught-horses. Sacrillos is inscribed in the back of two moulds, one from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, the other from Toulon-sur-Allier, both of the same type (fig. 3B). But his signature is also found on a mould from Vichy (France, Allier). This raises the question whether it is likely that moulds by a single modeller Sacrillos could have been used in several workshops or whether the moulds represent different modellers. Interestingly, this name is found mainly on animal moulds, so Sacrillos may have specialized in terracottas of beasts. The modeller is dated by G. Schauerte to the second third of the second century AD; a statuette of a woman holding two rabbits, from the



Harelbeke depot, is of the same type as a mould from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre signed by Sacrillos.

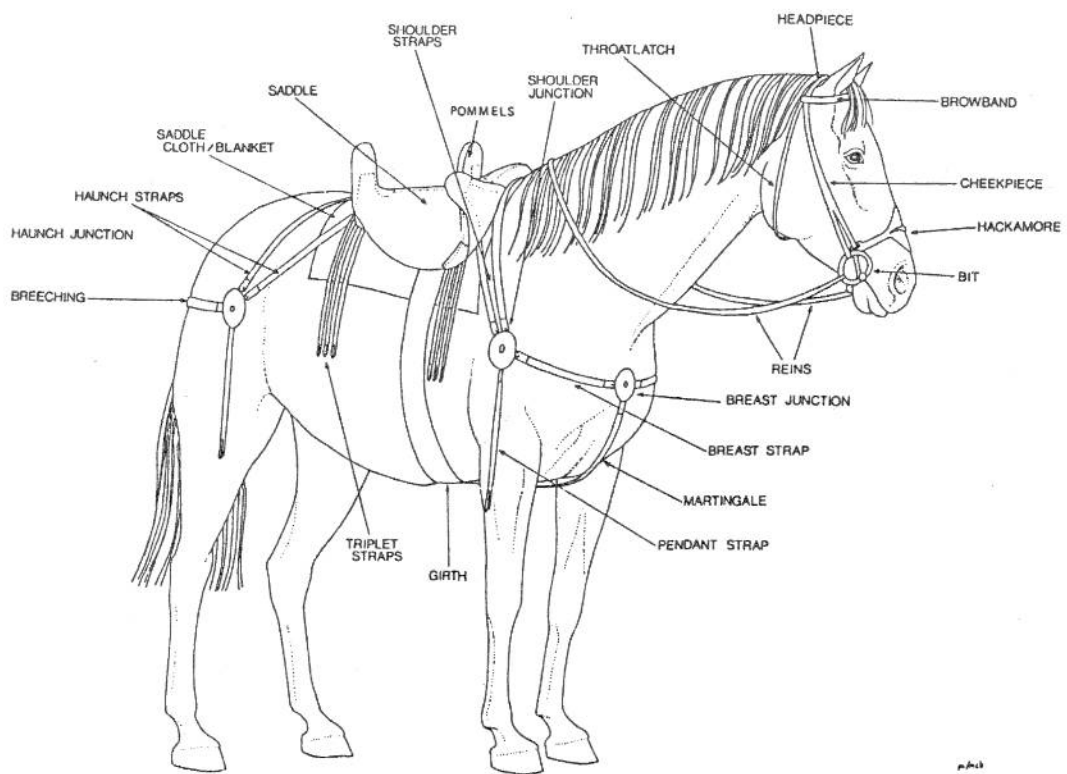
A mould inscribed by Marcellus comes from the same production centre and represents the right half of a horse used to take pairs of draught-horses (fig. 18). The period of activities of this modeller can be placed in the last quarter of the first century AD because two parallels for his horse were discovered in the Chalon-sur-Saone cemetery and because of the known period of activity of the Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre workshop. Finally, there is the mould by Priscus with a depiction that can now be interpreted as a yoke (fig. 20), recovered from the workshop Le Lary at Toulon-sur-Allier.

#### The significance of the horses

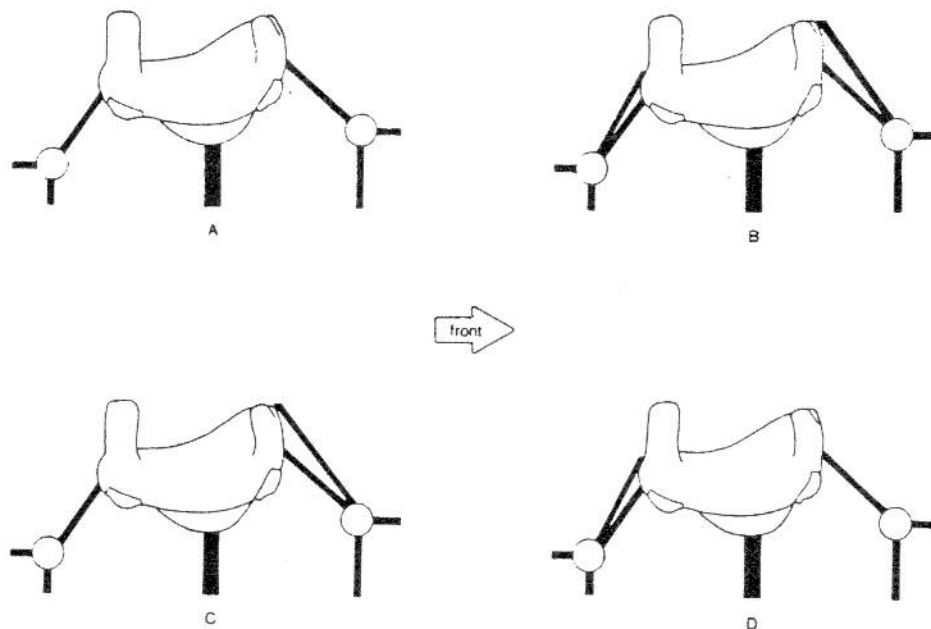
It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into a discussion of the symbolism of the horse in Gallo-Roman society but it is clear from finds and depictions that the horse played an important part in this culture.<sup>21</sup> That the horses had both a votive and a funerary connotation will be obvious from the find circumstances listed above. The statuettes were probably offered to gods or goddesses, for example Epona, to obtain health for the living animals or, for instance, to express thanks to a deity who was thought to have restored a horse to health. Furthermore, it is conceivable that terracottas were cheap and durable substitutes for live offerings to the gods in sanctuaries and burials. Another possibility is that the statuettes were symbolic replacements for the mount that was to carry the deceased on his journey to the hereafter and we may speculate whether a horse mounted or accompanied by a soldier was intended to preserve something of the social status of the deceased. It is surely unlikely that horses in burials were merely decorative ornaments brought from 'the mantelpiece' at home. Finally, the frequently offered interpretation of terracottas as children's toys must also be repeated here. Of course it cannot be excluded that some figurines were playthings for children, for instance, perhaps the horses provided with movable wheels,<sup>22</sup> but this will certainly not have been the main purpose of the terracotta production. Some arguments against the interpretation as toys are the facts that the hollow statuettes are usually fragile, that many figurines come from religious contexts, and that several terracottas, and in particular two horse statuettes, were recovered from adult burials.<sup>23</sup> The find of two horse figurines in the child's grave in Argenton-sur-Creuze, mentioned above, is no compelling proof for the interpretation as toys. Indeed, a religious connotation is strongly suggested by the presence of three Venus terracottas and one of a mother-goddess ('nutrix') in the same grave. All the statuettes were placed in a circle and seem to have partly projected above the soil of the burial in the Roman period.

#### CENTRAL-GAULISH TERRACOTTA RIDING HORSES

Terms for the individual parts of the harness are derived from Bishop 1988, here depicted in figs 1-2.<sup>24</sup> In the descriptions 'left' and 'right' are viewed as from the object itself.



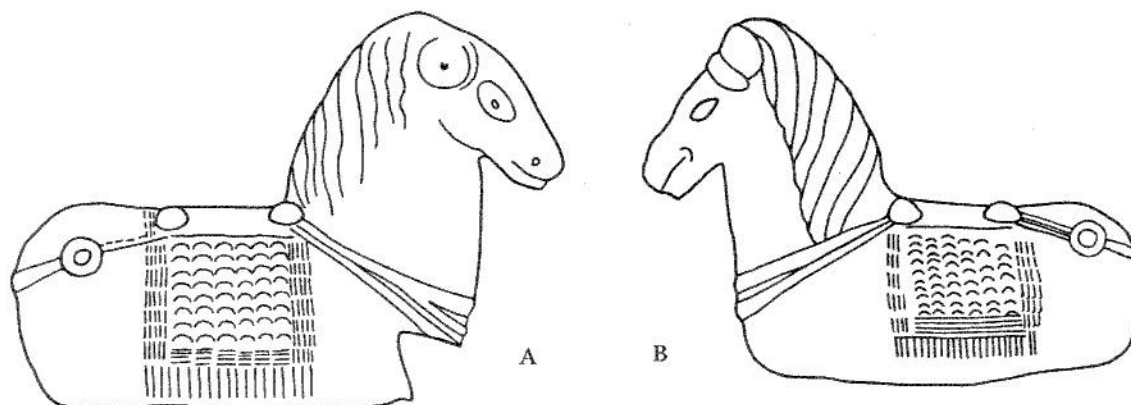
**Fig.1:** Celto-Roman harness as reconstructed by M.C. Bishop. After BISHOP, 1988, fig. 25



**Fig.2:** Types of Celto-Roman harness of riding horses. A: half harness. B: full harness. C and D: three-quarter harness (front and rear). After BISHOP, 1988. fig. 27

IA Horses with saddle and saddle cloth (figs 3, 4D, 5A)

Horses with saddles come in specimens with and without saddle cloth. The fine, although schematized details in saddle cloths from horses found in France, Western Germany and Belgium seem to represent different fabrics or decorations used for saddle cloths. It is remarkable that saddles and saddle cloths are reproduced in elaborate detail while headstalls and reins on the same horses are not indicated. That riding horses are truly intended is proved by a horse from Elewijt (Belgium) and another from Seebruck (Germany) both with saddle and saddle cloth and each with a horseman, most probably a soldier, sitting on its back (see below).<sup>25</sup> The possibility that headstall and reins were originally painted should be taken into account. A fragmentary horse with a rider, perhaps Epona, but more plausibly, a soldier, from Autun (France, Saone-et-Loire; fig. 5A, cf. Section VII) also displays a saddle cloth.<sup>26</sup> The horses first discussed here are of the same type as the Autun, Elewijt and Seebruck horses, but without rider. Two moulds and a figurine of this type come from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre; a third mould was found in Toulon-sur-Allier.<sup>27</sup> The back of one of the moulds from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (fig. 3B) and the back of the mould from Toulon-sur-Allier are signed by the same or two different modellers named Sacrillos (see above). These horses have a small saddle with four pommels, a large rectangular saddle cloth with fringes, a single breeching and a breast strap passing over the saddle cloth to the front pommels and consisting of two straps that widen on the breast (figs 3B, 4D); a third breast band is rendered on both fig. 3A, and the Seebruck parallel. Girths are not featured. The Elewijt horse and the specimen from Autun (fig. 5A) have a different breast strap. This is very broad with two bands, each divided into two on the breast. The ring junction on the haunch in figs 3-4D is associated with a double parallel haunch strap that runs slightly obliquely over the saddle cloth to the back pommels. The saddle cloth that covers the flanks completely is an elaborate textile, the sides bordered by seven stacked blocks each decorated with five vertical ridges (unless abraded). The lower horizontal border has six partitions each consisting of four horizontal ridges. A fringe of 16 to 20 tassels is visible. The texture of the central part of the saddle cloth is indicated by crescentic ridges in six vertical rows. Interestingly, a part of the border of the saddle cloth is discernible on the horse's back directly behind the



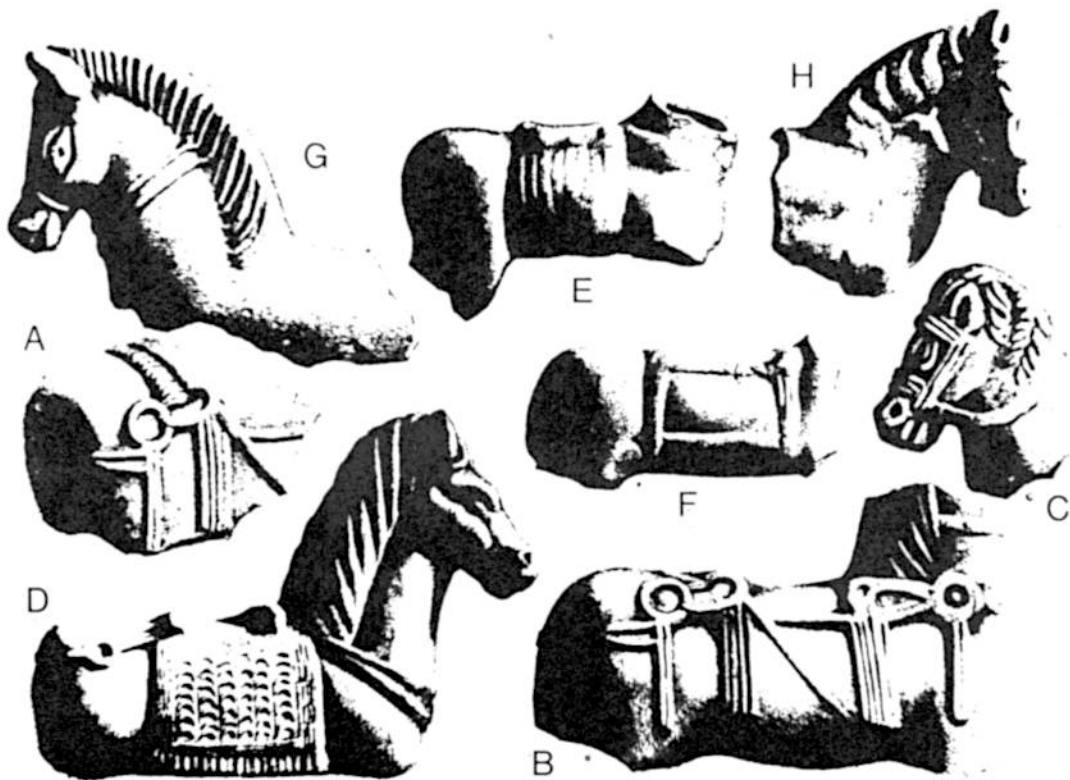
**Fig.3:** Two moulds from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre. A: ht. of the negative 11.5 cm. B: ht. of the mould. 12.2 cm. The back is signed by the modeller Sacrillos. After ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos. 999, 1001

saddle. It is therefore certain that the saddle is placed over a separate saddle cloth.

IB Horses with saddle and saddle cloth (figs 4E, 5B, 5C)

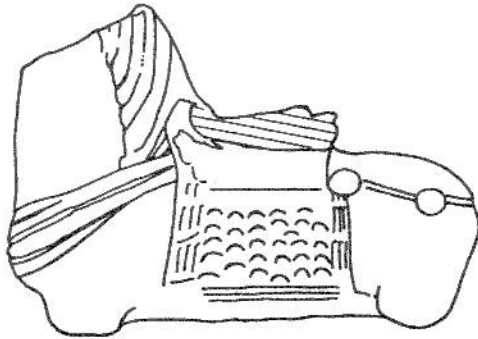
In other examples of horses with the type of saddle cloth discussed above details are simplified or the borders of the saddle cloth are smooth, the result of worn moulds. Such specimens come from Macon (Saone-et-Loire), Foret de Compiègne (France, Oise), Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, Asse-Kalkoven (two horses) and one was drawn by Tudot (fig. 4E; find place not mentioned).<sup>28</sup> Breeching and haunch junction are not always featured.

The horse from Compiègne has a very broad breast strap (fig. 5B). The breeching is abraded. The shoulder junction has a ring with pendant straps (blurred). A shoulder strap of two parallel bands passes from the ring obliquely to the front pommels. The horses dealt with thus far have a breast strap without a shoulder junction. The harness on a horse from Soissons (France, Aisne; fig. 5C) is another variation of this harness but with additional rings near the saddle and the saddle cloth and rings with pendant straps at both shoulder and haunch.<sup>29</sup> There are two double shoulder straps, both attached to the rings near the saddle.

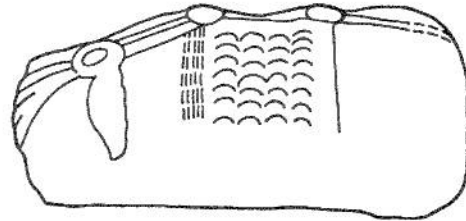


**Fig.4:** Horses reproduced from TUDOT, 1860, pl. 58, find places unknown. A-B: horse in Rouen. C: draught-horse. D: drawing by Tudot of an original or of a modern impression from a mould by the modeller Sacrillos. E-F: riding horses. G and H: horses with headstall. Not to scale. (Courtesy of Musée des Antiquités Nationales, St.-Germain-en-Lay)

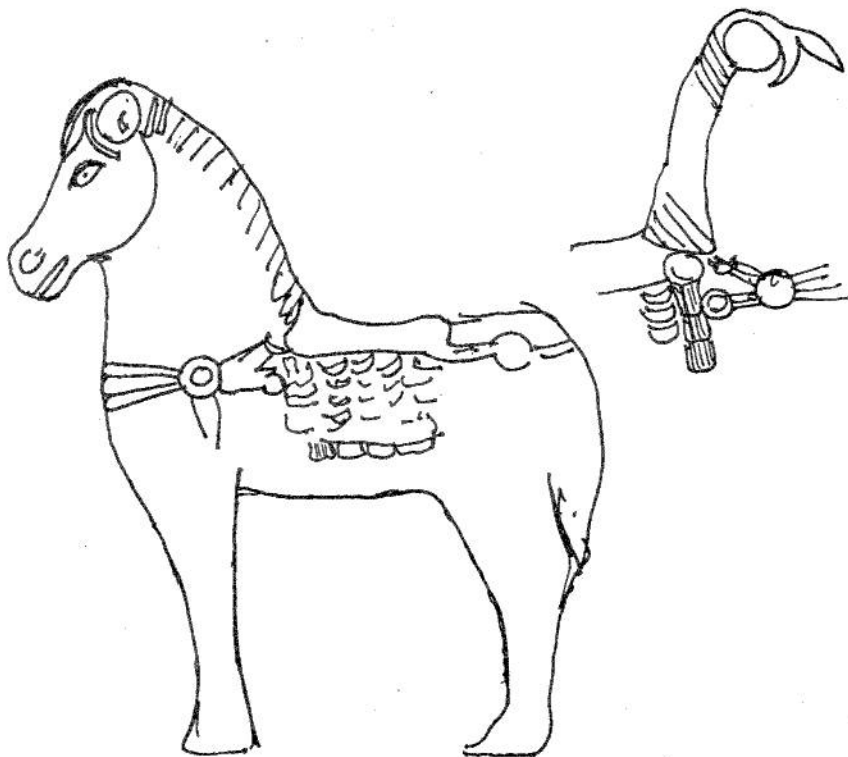




A



B



**Fig.5A:** Horse from Autun with fragment of a rider, possibly a soldier seated on a rectangular support. After VERTET & VUILLEMOT, 1973, 47, no. 475, pl. 11C. H. 7 cm

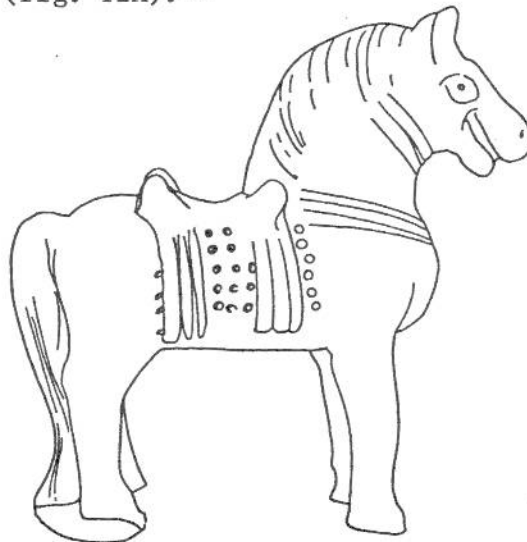
**B:** Horse from Foret de Compiègne, ht. 5.5 cm. After Rouvier-Jeanlin, 1972, no. 1003

**C:** Drawing by Mrs M. Jeanlin of a horse from Soissons, ht. 12.7 cm. Soissons, Musée Municipal, inv. no. 1092

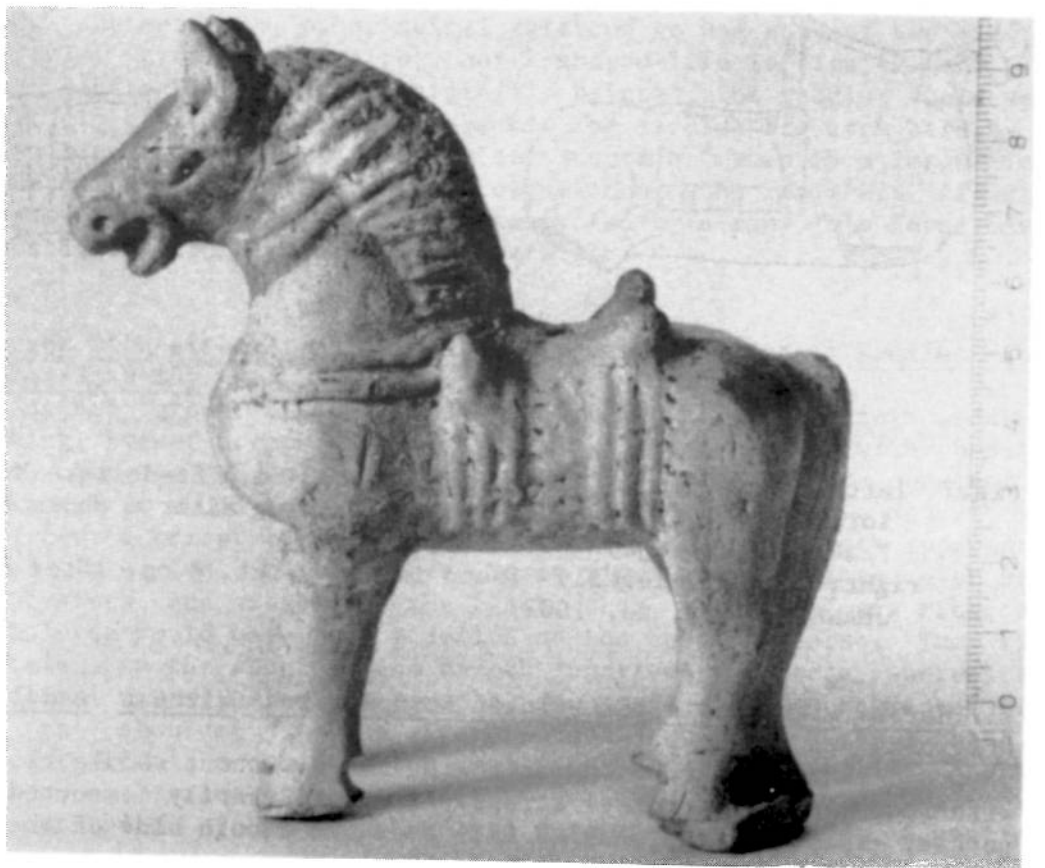
IC Horse with saddle, saddle cloth and triplet straps (fig. 6)

A nearly complete statuette in Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (find place unknown) portrays a saddle cloth that differs from the foregoing types (fig. 6).<sup>30</sup> Three long vertical ridges are visible below each pommel and partly below the smooth part of the saddle. Between these ridges, the saddle cloth has three rows of round cavities varying from five to six per row (obliterated on the left side). It is clear that a row of cavities is featured outside the vertical ridges, indicating that the latter are rendered over the saddle cloth. It is therefore likely that the vertical ridges are not the borders of the saddle cloth but loose pendant straps falling from the saddle. The straps are longer than the saddle cloth. Such straps have been identified by Bishop on certain gravestones of the Tiberio-Claudian period, and on some other first century monuments. They also appear on the Celto-Roman saddle of the first century AD recently reconstructed by P. Connolly.<sup>31</sup> They have been termed 'triplet straps' because they usually occur in sets of three (fig. 1). The gravestones feature front and rear sets, but, occasionally, rear sets only are represented. Triplet straps on terracottas are to my knowledge always indicated in sets at the front and rear on both sides of the saddle (see also below for further examples).

The horse in Mainz has no headstall but a double neck strap passes obliquely high over the neck to disappear under the mane (cf. the draught-horses, Sections VIII-IX). The breast strap consists of two thick bands. The lower band ends against the front pommel and the upper band ends against the mane directly above the front pommel. The pommels are modelled in very high relief. Those at the front are placed far forward at either side of the withers. Girth and breeching are not represented. Most of the plinth of this sturdy horse is now broken off, a small part remains under the hind legs and the very long tail. The horse's head closely resembles that of two horses from a workshop in Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet (fig. 12A).<sup>32</sup>



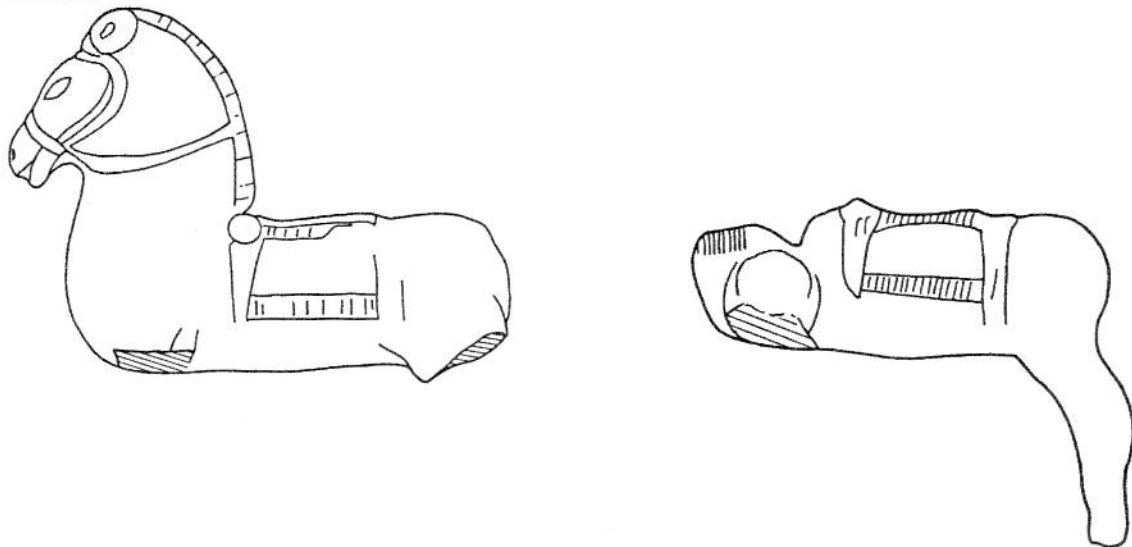
**Fig.6:** Drawing and photographs of a horse from the Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, inv. no. 0.24021, ht. 11.3 cm. Find-place unknown. (Courtesy of the Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz)



II Horses with saddle, saddle cloth, triplet straps and headstall (figs 4F, 7, 8A)

Four sets of triplet straps are also seen on slender horses which differ from the Mainz specimen (figs 4F, 7).<sup>33</sup> These come from abraded moulds, but the rectangular fringed saddle cloth, the pommels and the triplet straps can all be distinguished. The triplet straps are longer than the saddle cloth and have V-shaped ends. The horse allegedly from Vichy, depicted in fig. 7B, seems to have a fringed breast strap. The headstall is best preserved in the Harelbeke horse (fig. 7A), but the cheekpiece does not reflect reality as it should be taut. These three horses and another allegedly from Vichy, are of the same type although on the latter Mrs M. Rouvier-Jeanlin noticed traces of damage that suggest the presence of a foot of a rider, now lost.<sup>34</sup>

Another, special, horse figurine comes from a burial dated to the Flavian-Trajanic period in the Bern-Rosfeld cemetery (Switzerland, fig. 8A).<sup>35</sup> The sturdy horse stands with its head inclined to the right, whereas horses usually gaze forward in other statuettes from the Roman North-Western provinces. The triplet straps end straight or slightly pointed and consist of two bands each. The smooth saddle cloth has a straight hem. The saddle is secured to the horse's back by a breast strap with a quadrifoil ornament on each shoulder, from which is suspended a large lunula. Remnants of a similar ornament are possibly visible in the haunch junction, but these parts are vague. The headstall has a noseband, cheekpiece and a frontlet with a large lunula.



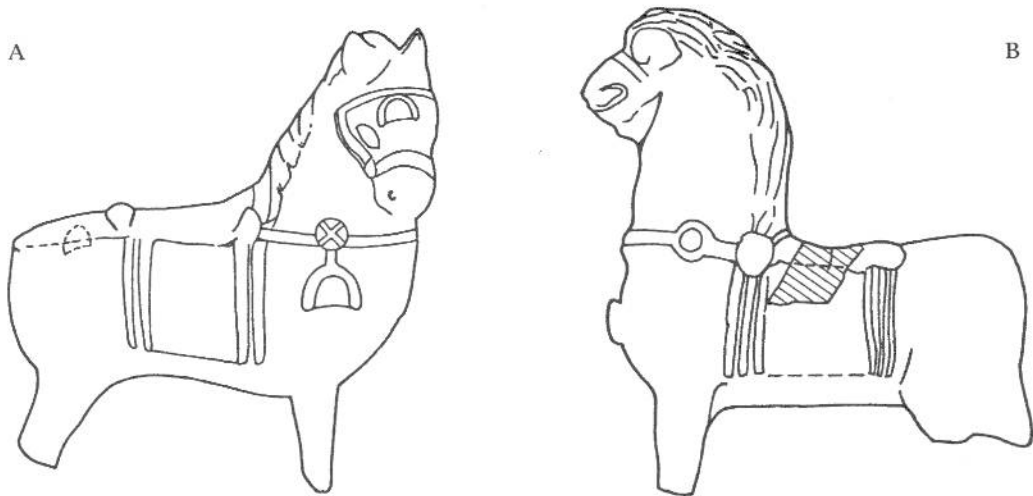
**Fig.7 left:** Horse from Harelbeke, ht. 8.3 cm. (Stedelijke Musea van Kortrijk), inv. no. 5022 F 379. (Drawing after a photo by A.G. Pauwels, Kortrijk)

**right:** Horse allegedly found in Vichy, ht. 8 cm. After ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 1007

III Horses with saddle and triplet straps, but without saddle cloth (fig. 8B)

Saddles with four pommels also occur without saddle blanket but with four sets of triplet straps. Two differently executed horses portray triplet straps which fall over the smooth hide of the animals





**Fig. 8A:** Horse from Bern-Rossfeld cemetery, ht. 11.5 cm. After VON GONZENBACH, 1986, Taf. 107, 3  
**B:** Horse from Salzburg Bürglstein cemetery, ht. 11 cm. After MAZAKARINI, 1970, no. 146 and VON GONZENBACH, 1986, Taf. 107, 4

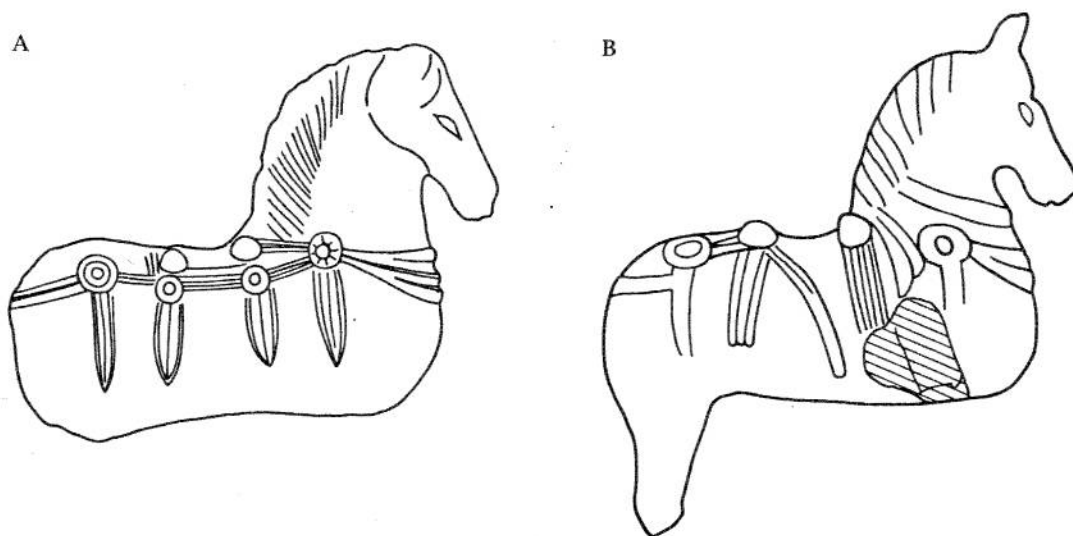
with no indications of a saddle cloth underneath. One specimen was possibly discovered in Vichy and a second comes from Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery (Austria, fig. 8B; the photograph and my copies are not in focus: is a lower border of a saddle cloth visible?).<sup>36</sup> Triplet straps in the true sense of the word are in fact depicted only on the Salzburg horse (fig. 8B) because there each set consists of three straps, whereas the other animal referred to has sets of two straps. The triplet straps end straight, not V-shaped like in figs 4F and 7B. Unless saddle blankets were originally painted, the saddles would seem to rest directly on the horses's backs. The saddles are each held by a single breast strap with a shoulder junction formed by a large ring. The breeching is not rendered. A protrusion on the Salzburg figurine suggests that it was originally accompanied by a man. This horse has a headstall, the frontlet of which is visible.

IV Horses with elaborately indicated harness but without saddle cloth (figs 4A-B, 9-13)

Another group of Central-Gaulish riding horses portrays saddles, breeching, breast straps, and several rings and phalerae with pendant straps, but no saddle cloths or girths. A nearly complete specimen is seen in a left mould from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (fig. 9A).<sup>37</sup> The softly curved breast band consists of two thick straps, both apparently divided into two on the chest. Three rings and a phalera, each with pendant straps, are visible on the flank; thus, a total of six rings and two phalerae would have been modelled on the complete horse. The ring and phalera on the shoulder and haunch junctions are large, whereas the two central rings, below the pommels, are small. A large segmented ring forms the shoulder junction with one double shoulder strap running to the front pommel, another to the small ring below. The phalera consists of three concentric circles. The long V-shaped pendant straps cover about two-thirds of the flank and are surrounded by a ridge. A vertical

groove runs through their centre. It is unclear whether the central pendant straps are triplet straps suspended from the pommels and decorated with rings, or whether these are attached to the rings alone. The two central rings are linked to each other by a double horizontal strap running below the edge of the saddle (cf. below, fig. 13). There is a double haunch strap with a broad double breeching strap passing under the tail (which would have been added separately).

A double strap of uncertain purpose is visible directly behind the saddle. This might be a strap holding up the haunch strap, but it could also mark the rear edge of the saddle, although it is placed rather far back, or even the edge of a saddle cloth. The border of a saddle cloth is depicted behind the saddle of two other horses from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre dealt with above, but there it is clearly a continuation of the saddle cloth (fig. 3A). There is, however, no other sign of a saddle cloth in the present mould. The saddle is apparently held only by the system of staps because a girth is not rendered. The horse has no headstall. The harness can be compared with that in some other horses, although it is not identical. Comparable harnesses are seen on horses from Linz (Austria, figs 10-11), Bibracte (France, Nièvre), Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (fig. 13A), Lezoux (France, Puy-de-Dôme, (fig. 13B), Amiens, Brimeux and in specimens now in Compiègne and Tours (figs 4A-B, 5B).<sup>38</sup>

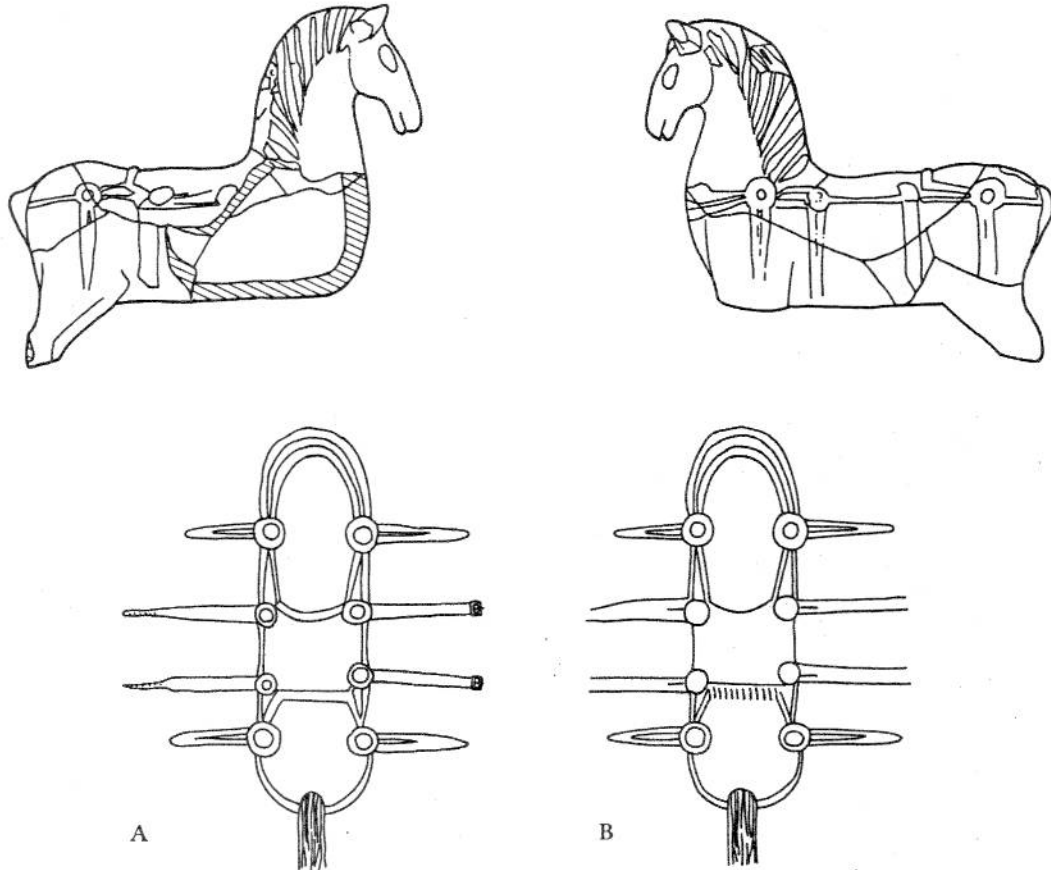


**Fig. 9A:** Mould from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, ht. of the mould 13 cm, ht. of the negative 10 cm. After ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 995  
**B:** Horse from Brimeux. Not to scale. After Gallia 33, 1975, 284, fig. 26

IVA The harnessed horse from Linz (figs 10-12)

The harness of a fragmentary horse from Linz was reconstructed by E.M. Ruprechtsberger (fig. 10B) with, in my view, the saddle pommels mistakenly indicated as rings, and the long triplet straps as a double girth strap. The broad breast strap consists of two thick bands and the narrow, thick breeching bifurcates at the rings in the haunch and shoulder junctions. A V-shaped pendant strap with a vertical groove in the centre hangs from each of these large rings. The oblique upper haunch strap appears to be attached to a faintly visible segmented band

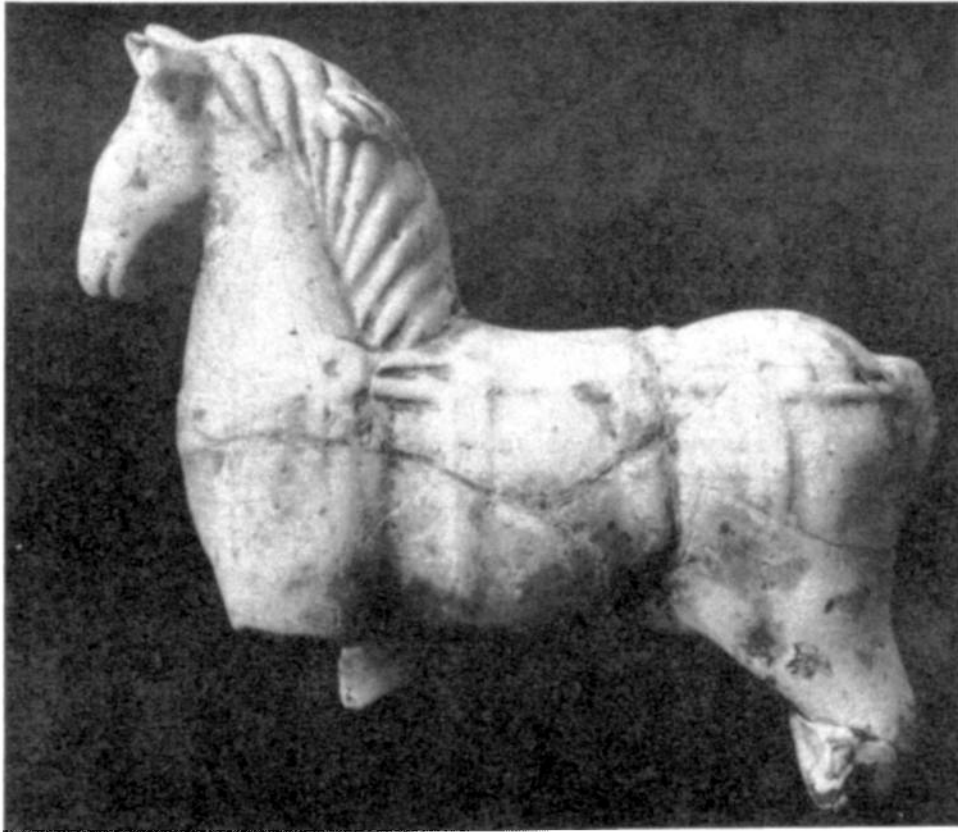
directly behind the saddle. Interestingly, a similar type of segmented band is also visible on a horse drawn by Tudot (fig. 4A-B; find place not mentioned, figurine now in Tours, France). However, the haunch straps were interpreted as a kind of loop by Tudot and the ring of the haunch junction was placed against the segmented ridge (cf. fig. 9B). The segmented band is of uncertain significance; is it a part of the saddle, or was its function to hold up the haunch straps? Was it



**Fig.10:** Horse from Linz, Kreuzschwester cemetery. Reconstructions of the harness: A, after RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, Textabb. 24a. B, by the author. Cf. fig. 11

part of the border of a saddle cloth, all further indications of which are now missing, or is it a kind of blanket roll, slung at the back of the saddle? (Cf. also the double ridge behind the saddle in fig. 9A).

It is appropriate to summarize here three of the differences between the harness discussed and that as seen in the Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre mould (fig. 9A). Firstly, the mould has no oblique haunch strap and secondly, it has pendant straps or triplet straps attached to rings under the pommels. Triplet straps fall directly from the pommels in the Linz horse and its identical parallel from Bibracte. Thirdly, the triplet straps are shorter in the mould than on the figurines. Unfortunately, the triplet straps on both the Linz and the Bibracte specimens are strongly abraded. As Dr Ruprechtsberger kindly informed me, the straps do not pass under the animal's belly, but end low on the flanks. If indeed a double girth was intended, then the back girth would certainly have been placed further forward; it is unlikely

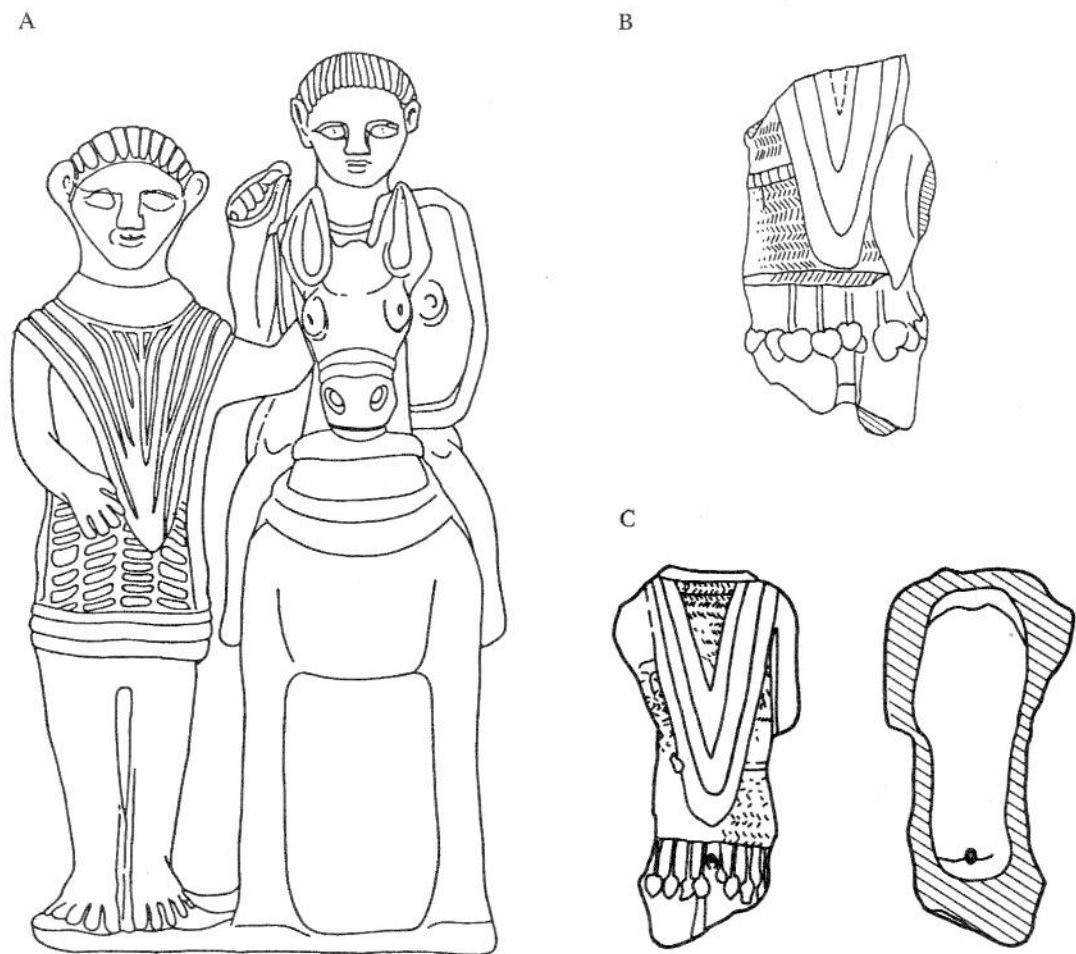


**Fig.11:** Horse from Linz. (Photo Fr. Michalek, Stadtmuseum Linz)

that it would pass over the animal's genitalia (cf. figs 10, 13A, a stallion). It is significant that no other Central-Gaulish horse figurines known to me, whether of comparable or of different types, display a girth at all. Furthermore, a double girth would serve no practical purpose.

The Linz horse must originally have been accompanied by a boy or a man standing on its right side with his left hand placed on its crest.<sup>39</sup> This figure was attached to the horse's flank (see the thick ridge in the right flank near the hole). Certain Central-Gaulish statuettes portray a man or boy standing to the side of a horse.<sup>40</sup> A specimen from Harelbeke depicts a horse of the same type as the animal from Linz.<sup>41</sup> The figure standing on the right side holds the mane with his left hand. Though his head is missing, the figure, when complete, must have been slightly taller than the crest. The same type of man or boy is seen in another group, published by H. Vertet (fig. 12A).<sup>42</sup> This group, found in the Trajanic workshop at Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet, portrays a man and a horse standing on a communal, flat plinth. A soldier sits on the back of the animal holding an elongated lozenge-shaped shield with umbo in his left hand.<sup>43</sup> His right arm is raised, as though intended to represent a man brandishing or throwing a spear.<sup>44</sup> His arms and legs are bare, although it is conceivable that *bracae* were originally painted on. The horse's headstall is indicated by a double noseband only. A breast strap of two thick bands is visible, as well as a thick, tight neck strap higher on the horse's throat. The short hair of both the man and the rider is combed forward in the Trajanic mode.





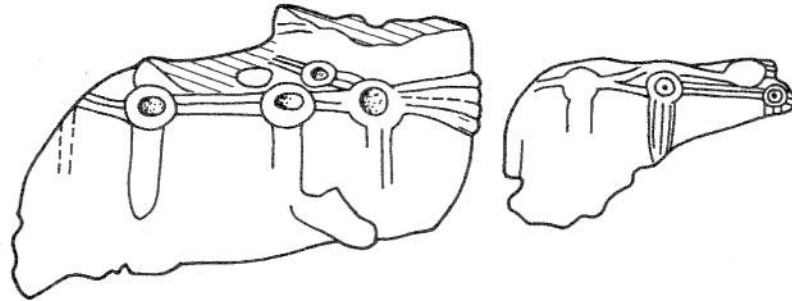
**Fig.12A:** Soldier on horseback accompanied by another soldier or a groom. From the Trajanic workshop at Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet. After VERTET, 1984, fig. 7

**B:** Front of a figure originally accompanying a horse, from Linz Kreuzschwern, burial 73b, ht. 7.8 cm. After MAZAKARINI, 1970, no. 89 and RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, Textabb. 37

**C:** Back of a figure originally standing beside a horse, from Linz, Kreuzschwern cemetery, ht. 10 cm. After RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, Textabb. 23, Abb. 13-14

The right hand of the standing figure rests on the tunic over the stomach in a similar fashion to the figure from Harelbeke. His clothing seems to be characteristic for such accompanying figures, although a similar dress is also seen on the rider from Elewijt.<sup>45</sup> The standing men wear a cape folded up over the shoulders to leave the arms free, perhaps the *sagum*, with thick V-shaped folds. This is worn over a short tunic, often patterned to suggest a coat of mail. The Saint-Bonnet tunic is edged by horizontal bands and has a broad rounded collar (part of the under-tunic or a neck scarf?). The legs and arms are bare in both specimens (or were *bracae* originally painted?). Interestingly, the tunic in the Harelbeke figure is bordered by a fringe, each tassel of which ends in a disc or heart-shaped pendant. Identical clothing occurs on a fragment from Asse-Kalkoven, found amidst c. 50 statuettes of

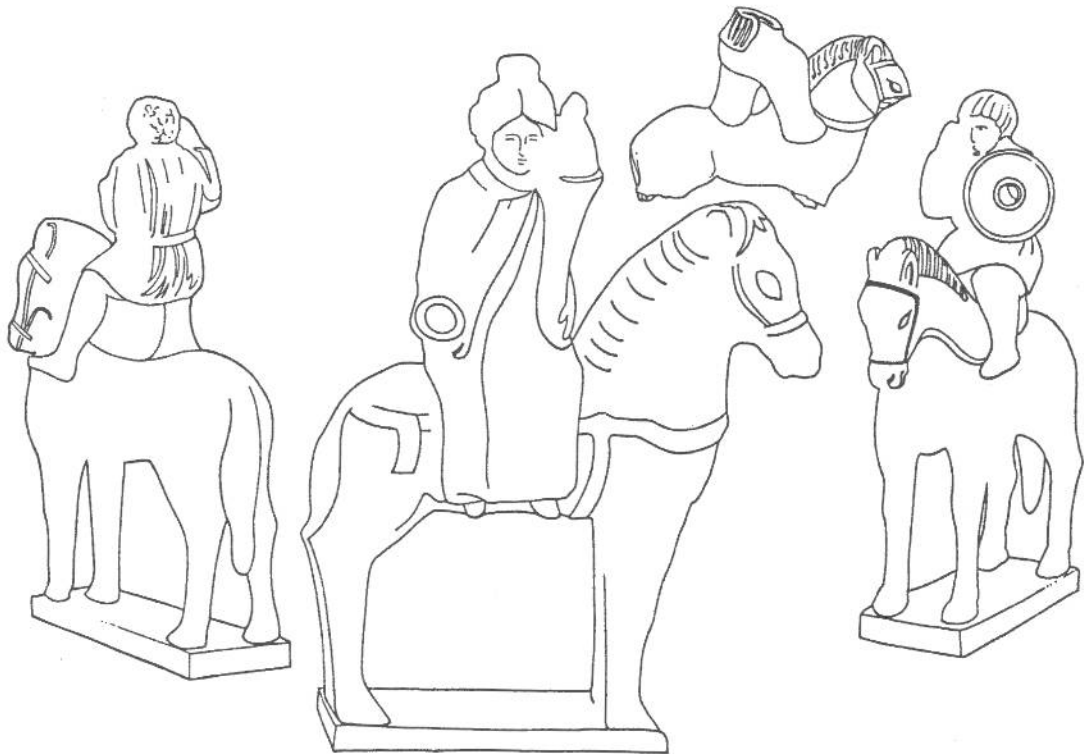
horses.<sup>46</sup> The mail is girt by a belt at the waist. Similar clothing is depicted on two fragments of what is probably the same figurine from the Kreuzschwern cemetery at Linz (fig. 12); one of the fragments comes from a burial dated to the first half of the second century AD.<sup>47</sup> The piece from this burial portrays, in my opinion, the front of such a standing boy or man (fig. 12B). The other fragment (fig. 12C) preserves the back of this or of a second figure.<sup>48</sup> Both show a thickening at the hip for the bridge of clay that should connect the figure to the horse. The arms are fragmentarily preserved. The right upper arm is held against the side while the left upper arm is held horizontally, away from the body, and may, therefore, have originally rested on the crest of the horse (fig. 12A).<sup>49</sup> As the Linz animal described above has a thick ridge on the right flank and some traces on the crest, it is conceivable that this human figure was originally attached to it, standing in the same position as is familiar from the other groups, in particular the closely related or perhaps even identical Harelbeke group.<sup>50</sup>



**Fig.13:** Left: horse with rider (note the foot), from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, ht. 6 cm. Right: horse from Lezoux, ht. 4 cm. After ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos 997 and 998

IVB Other horses with elaborately indicated harness but without saddle cloth (figs 4A-B, 9B, 13, 14 centre)

As has already been mentioned, horses with harness comparable to that of Linz come from Amiens, Brimeux, Lezoux, Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre and in addition, there is one in the collection at Compiègne with another in Tours.<sup>51</sup> Some details differ from the Linz horse, for instance, as seen on the right side of the figurine in Tours drawn by Tudot (fig. 4A-B: the original is not known to me). The horse is closely similar to the Amiens, Brimeux and Compiègne specimens (fig. 9B). Apart from the representation of the haunch straps (see the preceding paragraph) and the omission of the pommel (indeed seen in the Brimeux parallel, fig. 9B), Tudot's drawing seems to be fairly exact. On the whole, the harnesses in the other drawings by Tudot are rather accurate in their details so we need not doubt him here. The breeching band is divided into two straps at the end which pass to the large ring on the haunch and to the pendant strap hanging from that ring. The short sets of triplet straps have four bands at the back and five at the front. The saddle has a thick, broad back rim from which projects the segmented ridge (only faintly visible in the Linz horse). Interestingly, a thin strap curves down obliquely from the back of the saddle over the flank to the elbow (fig. 4A-B, and also present on the specimens from Brimeux, fig. 9B, and Amiens). The function of this strap remains a mystery to me. Furthermore, a tightly fitting strap is indicated on the neck of the horses (except for the Compiègne horse).



**Fig.14:** Horses with riders from Toulon-sur-Allier, Le Lary. Centre: Epona. Left and right: two views of a horse with a soldier seated on a rectangular support. Above: soldier seated on a cylinder. Not to scale. After TUDOT, 1860, pl. 35

As said, the parallels to the horse in Tours are closely similar, differing only in detail, for instance, in the number of bands in the triplet straps at the back (three in fig. 9B). Traces of a rider remain on and near the right elbow on the Brimeux horse, fig. 9B (or possibly of a figure standing at the horse's side, see above, Linz). This horse has a ring in the shoulder junction whereas the phalera on the Tours horse (fig. 4B) consists of a broad outer ring with a tiny disc in the centre. The haunch junction of the Compiègne horse has a phalera with three concentric circles. Bifurcating shoulder straps are modelled on the horse from Tours, but are covered by the long wavy mane in the parallels from Amiens and Compiègne.

The phalerae on the nearly identical but fragmentary horses from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre and Lezoux (fig. 13) consist of a ring with a disc rendered in relief in the centre. All are identically shaped although a phalera in the strap which passes from the shoulder junction to the saddle is smaller and the two central phalerae of the horse fig. 13B seem to consist of two concentric circles with a tiny concave centre.

The Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre horse is male. The right foot of a horseman, sitting astride, remains. The harness is closely similar to the harness of the other animals dealt with here (Section IV; figs 4A-B, 9-11), but more pendants are depicted. When complete, the harness would comprise ten phalerae, five on each side, the largest number of phalerae on the Central-Gaulish terracotta horses known to me. The

phalerae on the flanks have V-shaped straps. Again, it is uncertain whether the two central phalerae have pendant straps or whether we should call them triplet straps. These two phalerae below the pommels are attached to each other by a long horizontal double strap that runs parallel to the saddle (cf. fig. 9A, most of the other bands also have double straps).

The main difference between the two horses dealt with here and the horse from Linz (figs 10-11) is seen in the phalerae. Not only does the harness of this latter horse carry a total of merely four rings, but these are also differently shaped from the ten phalerae of the two other horses. Moreover, the triplet straps of the horse from Linz fall directly from the pommels, and are not suspended from phalerae or rings. Triplet or pendant straps are also attached to rings in the mould fig. 9A. The figurine taken from this mould would have had a total of eight rings. In contrast to the horses of fig. 13 the rings and phalerae on the mould differ from one another in shape and the two central rings are smaller than the others in that mould.

It has already been noted that the horse fig. 13A was originally mounted by a horseman, probably a soldier, carrying a shield in his left hand, as on many other Central-Gaulish figurines.<sup>52</sup> The horseman is sitting astride with his foot placed far forwards, close to the horse's elbow. However, two horses from Toulon-sur-Allier which are of a type comparable with the horses from fig. 13 carry the goddess Epona sitting side-saddle, in her customary fashion.<sup>53</sup> One of the horses of Epona was found at the site Le Lary (fig. 14 centre; second century AD). The goddess and the horse were each made from a separate mould, as is clearly demonstrated by the other Toulon-sur-Allier horse on which the abraded harness is not only visible on the left flank but also on the right flank where it was originally covered by Epona's legs: these are now broken off.

#### Saddled horses: conclusion

To conclude these sections on the saddled horses, it may be said that a wide variety of harnesses occurs on Central-Gaulish horses. The animals virtually always carry saddles with four pommels, some strongly protruding, others heavily abraded but still recognizable. Several saddles rest on rectangular saddle cloths that have elaborate details. There are also specimens in which the saddle blankets are simplified or in which elements are worn down from the process of continuous pressing figurines from a single mould. However, it appears that many saddles do not rest on a cloth. This is remarkable, because saddle cloths are a necessary article with the saddle. Equally striking is the absence of girths. Of course, it is possible that details, such as the girth and saddle cloths were originally indicated in paint, but a girth is not even shown on the one horse with well-preserved paint known to me.<sup>54</sup>

Bishop demonstrates that on certain depictions of harnessed horses on stone reliefs long saddle blankets are draped over the saddles. It is also noticeable that girths often pass under saddle cloths thus raising the question whether saddle cloths were draped over saddles and girths, but under the harness straps. In these cases a small under-blanket would have been present. If indeed saddle cloths passed over saddles on the terracottas, this would partly explain the absence of girths because they would have been covered by the over-blankets.



However, it was pointed out above that saddles rest directly on the saddle cloths, namely, on the horses that show the edge of the saddle cloth behind the saddle and where the shoulder and haunch straps and the triplet straps pass over the saddle blankets (figs 4D, 4F, 5B-8). Furthermore, if girths were covered by the saddle blankets in the terracottas then parts should still have been visible on the bellies of the horses. Neither are girths seen in horses without saddle cloths. On the basis of the evidence presented above it may be concluded that girths were either intentionally omitted by the modellers, perhaps because it was not considered necessary to depict them, or they were originally painted. It is unlikely that they were not depicted simply because their function was 'misunderstood'. It may be questioned whether the omission of girth straps has a special symbolic or mythological significance because their absence is particularly remarkable in view of the many other, often less functional, details of the harness that were indeed meticulously rendered.

The harnesses display a wide variety in the combination and number of the pendant straps, breeching and breast straps, to which rings or phalerae can be attached that in their turn have loose decorative pendant straps hanging over the haunches and shoulders. Moreover, triplet straps are often fixed to saddles below the pommels. All these loose straps clearly had a decorative effect; but apart from that they may have been helpful in keeping away flies and other insects which can be very irritating to a horse.

#### Triplet straps

As Bishop demonstrates on the evidence of stone reliefs, triplet straps occur frequently in Celto-Roman saddles.<sup>55</sup> There they are shown as four sets at the front and rear of the saddles, or as two, at the rear alone. They seem to have been merely decorative detachable straps that were secured to the lower edge of the saddle below the pommels. It has already been shown that triplet straps are also depicted on the terracotta horses. The long vertical ridges visible on several statuettes are not the borders of the saddle cloth because they are clearly depicted over these blankets (figs 6-8). Neither are they a double girth (cf. fig. 10). When triplet straps are present on the terracottas, they are always shown in four sets. These do not always comprise three straps each but some may have two or even four individual straps. The straps cannot always be counted correctly because the sets are sometimes abraded. Some of the sets suspended from the pommels together form a rectangular shape, while others are V-shaped at the bottom (figs 7, 9A, 13). These V-shaped straps with their rounded outer ends possibly confirm Bishop's suggestion that 'straps had rounded ends, which would avoid the problem of the redundant corners of the straps becoming tatty'.<sup>56</sup> In general, most of the other pendant straps illustrated here have rounded ends. In special cases the pendant straps below the saddle are attached to rings or phalerae below the pommels (figs 9, 13). It is uncertain whether we are here concerned with triplet straps fastened to the saddle directly under the pommels and also provided with rings or phalerae, or whether the pendant straps are suspended from the rings or phalerae only. It is remarkable that in these cases the sets are always V-shaped. The horses with elaborately decorated saddle cloths have no triplet straps, instead, borders of the saddle blankets consist of short vertical

ridges in rectangular blocks (figs 3, 4D, 5).

#### Pendants on harnessed horses

The pendants on terracotta horses occur in a fairly limited range of forms. There are large smooth rings in shoulder and haunch junctions. Phalerae<sup>57</sup> with discs in their centres are also seen in these junctions and below the pommels (figs 4B, 13A). Concentric circles are rendered in the phalerae of the haunch junctions on the Amiens horse (Section IV), in fig. 9A and probably in the phalerae fig. 13B. In fig. 9A a segmented ring is shown in the shoulder junction. Lunulae have been recognized on only a single horse, one large specimen hanging from a strap attached to a quadrifoil ornament in the breast band, and another attached to the frontlet (fig. 8A). Rings are shown in one or two sets of two (figs 3, 4D, 5, 9B, 10) and four sets of two in the abraded fig. 5C. But combinations of phalerae and rings are also attested. One set with two rings and one with two phalerae appear in fig. 4B. Two phalerae with concentric circles are combined with four smooth rings and two segmented rings in fig. 9A. Thus a total of eight pendants was rendered. The horses fig. 13 have the most elaborately decorated harness. They have ten phalerae each. A small phalera is seen in the oblique upper shoulder straps on each side. But some harnesses are not provided with pendants (figs 4E-F, 6-7). Bishop indicates that the junctions in the harness of the first century AD are formed by rings and phalerae.<sup>58</sup> From the evidence given above, it appears that terracottas made towards the end of the first century AD and in the first half of the the second also have the two types of pendants.

#### The harness

Bishop points out that Roman harness possessed three elements that were intended to keep the saddle correctly in its place (figs 1-2), namely, the girth, the breast strap, and the breeching (crupper).<sup>59</sup> It was indicated that the harness had four important junctions, sometimes five. There were two shoulder and two haunch junctions. Both are found together or separately in the terracottas. But the girth and the fifth aspect, the breast junction, are not seen on the terracottas, although a breast strap is nearly always rendered. The breast junction on the stone reliefs consists of a 'martingale' attached to the girth and breast strap.

The tombstones studied by Bishop provide evidence for the existence of several variations in the basic form of the harness as described above (fig. 2). There are three types. Firstly, the 'half harness' occurring commonly on the gravestones; the saddle is attached to the harness by four straps (in total; fig. 2A). Secondly, the 'three-quarter harness' displays six straps attached to the harness because two additional straps are represented at the front or rear (fig. 2C-D). Thirdly, the 'full harness' disposes over eight straps that connect the saddle with the harness (fig. 2B). It appears that most straps from a junction end against the lower or upper parts of the nearest pommel. In the tombstone reliefs they pass under the pommel. However, a different fastening is shown in figs 4A-B, 5C, 9A, 10, 13. In figs 4A-B and 10 the upper haunch straps seem to have been secured to a segmented band directly behind the saddle. In fig. 5C the shoulder straps are attached to rings, one at each front pommel, the other

against the second compartment of the border of the saddle cloth. It is unknown how exactly these two rings were secured to the saddle. In fig. 9A there is a double haunch strap, attached to the phalera in the haunch junction and also to a smaller ring below the back pommel. A double ridge directly behind the saddle is possibly a strap holding up the haunch strap (for other explanations see Section IV). In fig. 13 there are two haunch straps. One passes up to the back pommel but is strongly abraded (fig. 13B), the other is attached to the haunch junction and the phalera under the back pommel (cf. fig. 9A).

#### The three types of harness on the terracottas

A survey of the evidence dealt with above indicates that the three types of Celto-Roman harness as established by Bishop (fig. 2) are also found on the terracotta figurines of horses. But the three-quarter harness occurs only with shoulder straps and not with haunch straps (fig. 2C). The statuettes described above will be discussed here in relation to the three types of harness. Not all figurines can be arranged among the types and deviations will be summarized below. As has already been stated, girths are not seen on any of the Central-Gaulish terracotta horses that I am aware of (in fig. 14 one is added erroneously by Tudot).

The half-harness (fig. 2A) is visible in fig. 14 centre and possibly fig. 8A. The breast strap is directly attached to the saddle without shoulder junctions, an aspect not shown in the half-harness fig. 2A. The statuette fig. 8A possibly has breeching and haunch junctions.

The three-quarter harness is seen in fig. 5. The horse in fig. 5C has a shoulder and a haunch junction, as well as two shoulder straps. The rings in the junctions of figs 5B, C have pendant straps (not all indicated in fig. 5C, but given in the description by M. Jeanlin). As said above, the attachments of the shoulder straps to the saddle of fig. 5C differ from those in the harnesses as presented by Bishop because the straps are secured to two rings near the saddle.

The full harness is shown in the following statuettes and their close parallels: figs 4A-B, 9B, the mane covers the shoulder straps in the latter specimen, 9A, 10, 13. In figs 9A and 13A the double haunch strap is regarded as two haunch straps (a second haunch strap in fig. 13A may have been broken off, cf. fig. 13B). The same applies to figs 3 and 4D that, however, possess two breast straps attached directly to the saddle (no shoulder junction) and thus possess either the three-quarter or full harness. In addition, the mould fig. 9A displays an extra strap that runs parallel to the saddle and to which two rings with pendant straps are attached. Furthermore, it is possible that another strap rendered directly behind the saddle holds up the haunch strap (see Section IV). The double strap below the saddle is also seen in figs 13. The upper shoulder straps in fig. 13A (broken off in fig. 13B) each consist of two straps linked by a small phalera, an aspect not encountered in fig. 2. As already pointed out, it appears that the upper haunch straps in figs 4A-B and probably in 10 are secured to a segmented band directly behind the saddle. The drawing by Tudot, figs 4A-B, shows some anomalies with respect to the other horses dealt with here. Firstly, the breeching band consists of bifurcating straps, one

secured to the haunch junction, the other to the pendant strap that is suspended from this junction, but in its parallel from Amiens, two straps of the breeching are attached to the ring in the haunch junction. In fig. 9B the breeching consists of one band ending at the pendant straps of the haunch junction. Secondly, pommels do not seem to be rendered, though they may be abraded. In addition, a neck strap is represented, fitting tightly round the neck and there is also a thin strap curving down obliquely over the flanks (see above, Section IV for the discussion of this and similar horses).

There are also harnesses that display fewer elements than those possessed by the half-harness of fig. 2. A saddle and breast strap only are seen in figs 4E, 6, 7B, 8B and possibly in 8A. These breast straps are either secured directly to the saddle or to a ring in the shoulder junction. The figurine in Mainz, fig. 6, has a double neck strap in addition. A saddle with no fastening device at all is shown in figs 4F and 7A (horse with headstall).

Finally, it should be noted that straps often consist of double bands, whether they are the breeching, the shoulder, haunch or pendant straps or the horizontal straps that run parallel to the saddle. In summary, it may be said that the harnesses on Central-Gaulish terracotta statuettes of horses in part accord with the data provided by stone reliefs, but they also present new aspects.

#### V Horses with riders

Unfortunately, the terracottas do not present us with the finest details, namely, the clasps or threads with which straps were fastened to rings, phalerae, and saddles. But, indeed, so much attention was given to the representation of the accessories of the harness, that it is particularly striking that several elaborately equipped horses have no headstall, even when some of these animals carry riders.

These horsemen and their mounts were pressed from separate moulds and were attached to each other before firing (cf. Section IVB, Epona). Therefore, harnessed horses of one and the same type can occur either alone or with a rider. The riders that sit on the horses, which always stand quietly, portray Epona, sitting side-saddle, or soldiers sitting astride. The latter commonly, but not invariably, hold a shield (six-sided, small and round, or oval) with the right hand raised as if brandishing a weapon, probably a spear or something similar (see also Section VII). Such a soldier on a horse from Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet is accompanied by a standing man or boy wearing a short tunic and a triangular cape (a sagum? fig. 12A, cf. also Section IVA).<sup>60</sup> An almost identical figure stands on the right side of a saddled horse from Harelbeke. The tunic of the standing Harelbeke figure has a herringbone texture and is perhaps a coat of mail. The hem has a long fringe with disc- or heart-shaped ornaments. This characteristic dress is also shown on the two fragments from Linz that may have been part of one statuette, attached to a horse and of the same type as the Harelbeke group (figs 10-11, 12B, C). It is unknown whether these accompanying men or boys are soldiers themselves, grooms, or footmen (cf. the tombstones of cavalrymen where horses are commonly led by a groom). Interestingly, the horsemen i.e., the soldiers, and their companions, usually have bare feet and legs. As yet there is no evidence for bracae



painted on the legs. The fragmentary soldier (?) on the Elewijt horse (see above, Section IA) wears a short tunic and also the sagum (See below, Section VII, for ridden horses with bridles).

#### VI Headstalls on Central-Gaulish horse terracottas (figs 4C-H, 7A, 8, 12A, 14, 15)

Some headstalls have already featured in the foregoing discussion (figs 7A, 8, 12A, 14).<sup>61</sup> It has already been noted that they are seldom depicted on saddled horses. In the example of a horse with saddle and headstall from Harelbeke, described above, frontlet, cheekpiece, noseband and probably chin strap are rendered (Section II, fig. 7A). The cheekpiece follows the curve of the jaw; in reality the cheek strap is taut. The reins curve over the neck and end high on the crest.

Essential parts of a headstall are the crownpiece, the bit and the cheekpiece (cf. fig. 1). The crownpiece (also called headband, headpiece, or headstrap) resting on the head behind the ears is necessary to hold up the headstall on the head. The cheekpiece is attached to the crownpiece and to the bit. The other elements hold the headstall correctly in its place, namely, the frontlet or browband, the throatlatch, noseband and chinband. Cheekpiece, frontlet and noseband are nearly always depicted together in the examples of headstalls in Central-Gaulish horses known to me. However, it is often difficult or impossible to identify crownpiece, throatlatch, and chinband. The crownpiece is usually omitted because of the presence of the mane directly behind the ears. The throatlatch is generally not portrayed, perhaps because the jaws of the horses are mostly held tightly against the neck. Sometimes the heads are attached to the neck as far down as the chin. Therefore, the throatlatches were probably omitted because of the lack of space. Frontlet, cheekpiece, and noseband sometimes consist of double straps, for instance, in statuettes from Alesia (France, Cote-d'Or), Autun, Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, Tronoën (France, Finistère) and Wroxeter (UK, Salop) and in a mould from Crouzilles (fig. 15).<sup>62</sup> Frontlet and noseband in fig. 15A have three straps each. These parts and the cheekpiece each consist of three straps on a horse drawn by Tudot, preserved in Rouen (France, Seine-Maritime) find place not mentioned (fig. 4C).<sup>63</sup> The noseband in some of these specimens consists of a broad part on the nose and narrow outer ends (fig. 15). It is not clear how the noseband is attached to the other part of the headstall on these animals or the other horses. On a horse from Autun the noseband is placed high on the nose and widens in the centre; might this represent a hackamore? (Cf. fig. 1).<sup>64</sup> Frontlet, cheekpiece, and crownpiece (a small part of which is visible) consist of single straps. The throatlatch is perhaps indicated.

A special headstall is seen in a horse from (Lauriacum-) Enns (see above, Find circumstances). Reins and cheekpiece are represented and a frontlet that is connected by a strap to the noseband. The strap passes vertically over the centre of the nose.<sup>65</sup>

#### Ornaments in headstalls

The reins are often attached to a disc that appears to be fixed to the outer ends of the bit, for instance, in examples from Alesia, Autun, Bourg (France, Ain), Chamalières (see above, Workshops etc.), Crouzilles, Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, la Tourelle, near Quimper





**Fig.15:** Left: Mould from Crouzilles, horse with headstall, ht. of the negative 5 cm. After Gallia 32, 1974, 315, fig. 14. Right: Drawing combining details from two identical horses with headstall, but both with abraded parts, ht of both heads c. 3 cm. Autun, unpublished, Alesia, RABEISEN & VERTET, 1986, pl. 32, no. 261

(France, Finistère) and Wroxeter (figs 15).<sup>66</sup> Originally, such discs were possibly rings, but later were flattened to discs as a result of the small dimensions and the production process. Occasionally, like in the animals from Alesia, Autun, la Tourelle and Versigny (France, Aisne),<sup>67</sup> a second disc was rendered on the place where the frontlet and cheekpiece join (fig. 15B). The centre of the disc has a shallow depression in the Autun horse. These discs project far into the neck so it is reasonable to assume that they were also attached to the (invisible) throatlatch. A third disc is portrayed on the forehead of the Autun horse where it hangs from the frontlet. It is faintly discernible in the head from Alesia that is identical with the Autun specimen (in both heads the mouths are open and the teeth are visible). The discs on the forehead and cheekpiece are probably phalerae. It is likely that the fragments of these two horses were once part of a horse with saddle, breast strap and saddle cloth (comparable to Sections IA and B).<sup>68</sup>

#### VII Some horses with headstalls and with riders (figs 5A, 14)

Three horses mounted by riders, from Toulon-sur-Allier, 'Le Lary' will be briefly dealt with here.<sup>69</sup> Drawings of these figurines were made by Tudot in 1860. One horse carries Epona who sits side-saddle (fig. 14, centre), the other two have soldiers on their backs (cf. above, Section V). The horse of Epona has a halter, the cheekpiece and noseband of which are visible; the saddle, breeching band, breast strap and pendant straps are also modelled (cf. Section IV). The headstall of one of the other horses is completely preserved (fig. 14, left and right). Frontlet, cheekpiece, noseband and rein are indicated. The rein curves low over the neck and passes under the soldier's feet. He holds a small round shield with umbo and has raised his right hand to his ear. The soldier sits on a high rectangular support attached to the

back of the horse. The other, fragmentarily preserved, group portrays the horseman sitting on a cylinder attached obliquely to the back of the horse (fig. 14, above). The fragmentary horse from Autun (fig. 5A, Section IA) seems to have a similar rectangular support. With respect to the manufacturing technique, these supports are superfluous, since the riders could have been placed directly on the horse's back.<sup>70</sup> It seems therefore that they have a special significance. The interesting possibility has been raised that they represent statues with their supports that were temporarily placed on live horses during special occasions (processions, ceremonies).<sup>71</sup>

When we study these soldiers and others cited above, it appears that they hold a shield in the left hand, and that the other hand is raised as if holding a weapon. Thus, in combat they would have no hand left to hold the reins, which are indeed shown lying on the horse's neck. In discussing stone monuments Bishop has already commented upon this aspect, indicating that the bridle is one of the most important means of controlling the horse while in combat: 'the relationship between animal and rider would have been of paramount importance'.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, such a relationship must have been essential, but it should not be forgotten that horses can be guided by the pressure of thighs, knees, and calfs of the rider, and by shifting the weight of his body.

#### Horses with headstall: conclusion

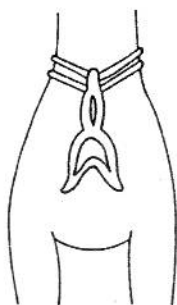
It is clear that on Central-Gaulish figurines headstalls and reins were especially depicted on horses without a saddle. Such unsaddled, quietly standing animals sometimes carry the goddess Epona, sitting side-saddle. Others are mounted by soldiers holding a shield. The headstalls are usually equipped with frontlet, cheekpiece and noseband, but crownpiece, throatlatch, and chinband are much less frequently depicted, probably because of lack of space or because such tiny details are easily worn away during the moulding process. Sections of headstalls sometimes consist of double straps, occasionally even of triple straps. Reins are often fastened to discs attached to the bit. The reins may rest on the withers but frequently lie high on the crest. Ornaments or phalerae are rarely depicted, in contrast to the harnesses on other horses. In some headstalls a disc is visible in the place where frontlet and cheekpiece join. Two identical specimens of this group, one from Alesia, the other from Autun in addition possess a disc that hangs from the frontlet on the forehead. The saddled horse from Bern-Rossfeld discussed above, should also be mentioned here, because a lunula is visible attached to the frontlet on the forehead (fig. 8A).

#### DRAUGHT-HORSES (figs 4G, 16-21)

Several Central-Gaulish terracottas feature pairs of unsaddled draught-horses.<sup>73</sup> The subject does not seem to occur among the Rhine-Mosel figurines. The horses in the teams are sturdy or slender (always two sturdy or two slender animals combined). Some are 'nude', others have a neck strap and still others have both a neck strap and a yoke. It is remarkable that headstalls are not represented, although perhaps they were originally painted.<sup>74</sup>

#### VIII Pairs of horses with neck strap (Figs 4G, 16)

A completely preserved pair of sturdy horses with neck strap comes from a cremation burial at Sougères-sur-Sinotte (France, Yonne).<sup>75</sup> The neck strap of each horse comprises a thin upper band and a broader lower strap with a large lunula hanging from it. Such crescent-shaped amulets or ornaments were especially favoured among the statuettes of draught-horses. They are also seen on several slender horses with obliquely placed, pronounced oval eyes which resemble those of two other, single, horses from the Trajanic workshop at Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet (figs 4G, 16).<sup>76</sup> They have hollowed irises and an upright, brush-like mane. About six such specimens, published by Prof. S.J. De Laet, come from Asse-Kalkoven, found together with about 44 other horse statuettes (many more horse figurines have in the meantime been discovered there during recent excavations, but are not yet published; these include figures of the type dealt with here).<sup>77</sup> Terracottas of the type under discussion also come from Autun and Elewijt,<sup>78</sup> while Tudot published a drawing of a fragment with nose- and chinband (fig. 4G and cf. fig. 12A).<sup>79</sup> A neck strap of two parallel bands passes obliquely up to the crest to disappear under the mane. A large lunula is attached to an oval ornament, or to a double strap and is fastened to the breast collar with a strap or hook (fig. 16). A round ornament is visible on the forehead of the Autun and Elewijt horses and in specimens recently recovered at Asse-Kalkoven (see also below, Chalon-sur-Saone). It consists of a large disc surrounded by a ridge and is attached to the mane between the ears, apparently with a strap. The centre of the disc is sometimes concave. Could this be a poll-knot with upstanding phalera originally containing a bust?<sup>80</sup>



**Fig. 16:** Detail of a draught-horse with neck strap and a lunula on the breast from Asse-Kalkoven. Reproduced from DE LAET, 1942, fig. 6. Not to scale

It is evident that these horses had a companion. De Laet identified at least three pairs among the specimens he published from Asse-Kalkoven, each consisting of two identical horses. One of these animals has traces of a junction on the left shoulder but the only other horse of this type which is sufficiently well-preserved bears no traces of a junction. This could indicate that the pair comprised two horses connected to each other only by the communal flat plinth. That draught-horses are represented, may be concluded from the fact that they occur in pairs, and, in particular, because the breast straps cross the necks obliquely, as in yoked horses (see below, Section IX. The riding horse in fig. 6 also has a double, obliquely placed neck strap, but it also has a saddle). Moreover, a closely similar horse from the first-century cemetery in Chalon-sur-Saone may have traces of

a yoke on the crest.<sup>81</sup> This animal differs from the other specimens in that the nose is narrow and pointed. An almost spherical ornament is modelled on the head between the locks on the forehead and the noseband. The nose is missing on another, strongly abraded, fragment from a burial in Wels-Grünbachplatz (first half of the second century AD).<sup>82</sup> It is therefore unclear whether the horse is identical to the broad nosed horses or the Chalon-sur-Saone specimen.

In summary, it can be said that specimens of Central-Gaulish paired horses with oblique neck straps, nose- and chinbands, with a lunula hanging from the neck strap and usually with a round ornament on the head occur in Austria, Belgium and France and may be dated to the Trajanic period. The group contains animals with both broad and narrow noses. A complete team of this type is not known to me.

#### IX Pairs of horses with neck strap and yoke (figs 17-21)

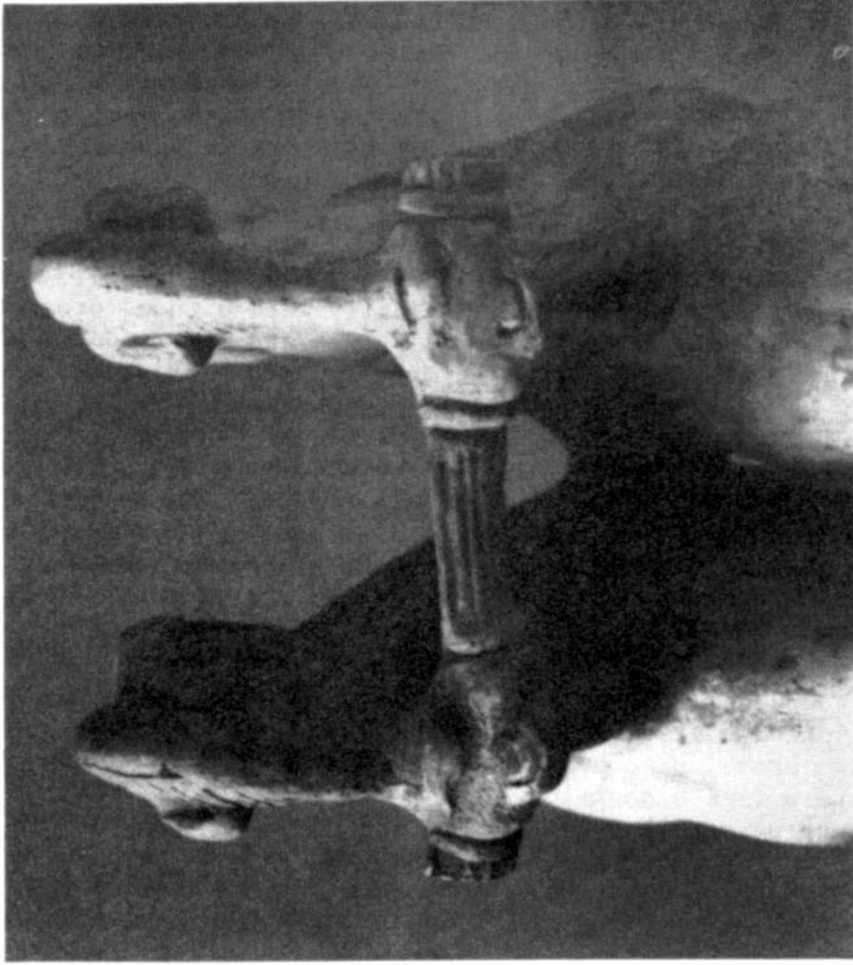
As pointed out above, the horse from Chalon-sur-Saone probably originally had a yoke now broken off. Other paired horses still preserve parts of their yokes. The double yoke that unites a pair from the Bürglstein cemetery at Salzburg is largely restored (Austria, fig. 17). Several parts of the horses are filled in with plaster.<sup>83</sup> The yoke was separately moulded and was placed high on the neck prior to firing. The double yoke is also seen in stone reliefs from northern Gaul and consists of two arched branches resting on the horses' necks and united by a central beam (see also below, The yoke).<sup>84</sup> The left arch remains on the Salzburg pair with the terret on top reduced to a semi-circular protrusion that has a crescent-shaped groove at the front. A fringed neck strap is rendered that ends at the mane and a lunula hangs on the breast. The neck strap has no connection with the yoke, but, of course, in reality it should have. The neck strap in a mould for the same type of horse, signed MARCELLUS, from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, is decorated with closely set globular protrusions (cavities in the negative fig. 18).<sup>85</sup> Another team, from Wels Bernardin cemetery, of which most of the yoke is missing, and fragments from the first-century Chalon-sur-Saone cemetery are of the same type as figs 17 and 18.<sup>86</sup>

#### The yoke (figs 19-20, 26)

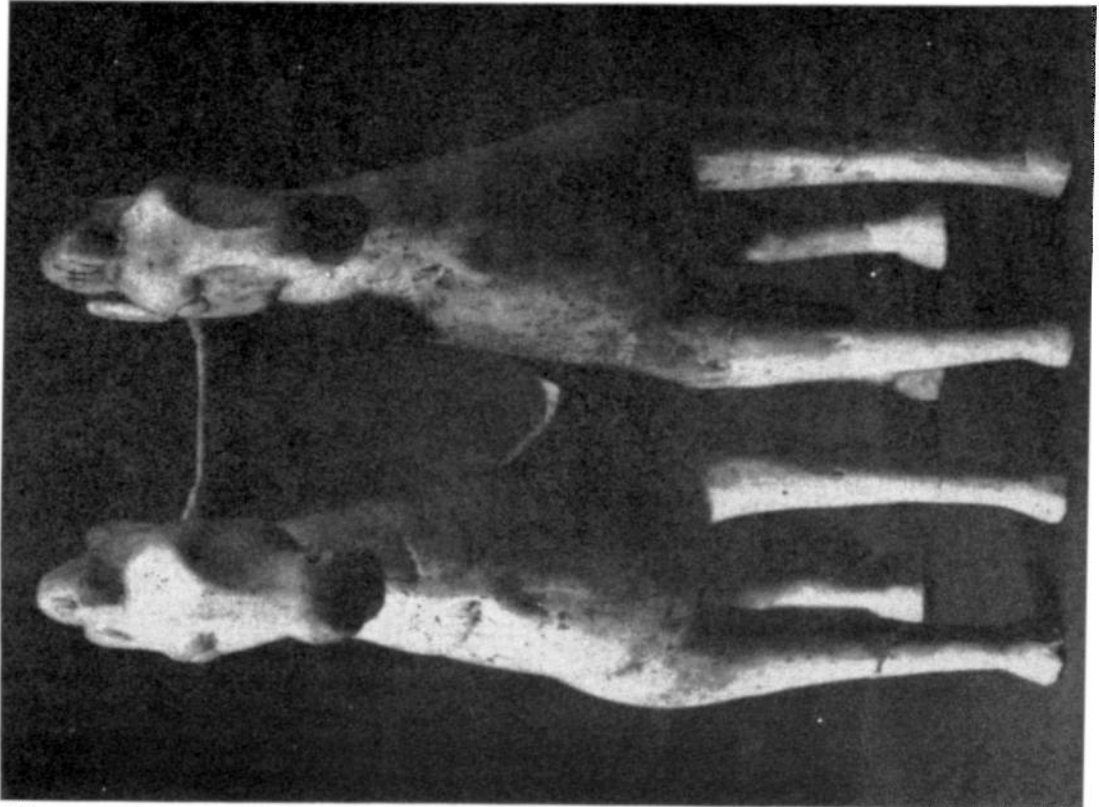
Although they are simplified, the terracotta yokes preserve numerous details. The yokes known to me occur and are incompletely preserved, or as loose fragments of draught-horses from Asse-Kalkoven, but they may also be examined as impressions from surviving moulds. The latter have been discovered in Toulon-sur-Allier, Le Lary, signed by Priscus, Saint-Pourçain-sur Besbre and Bourbon-Lancy (figs 19-20).<sup>87</sup>

Although Tudot did not understand the significance of the mould by Priscus, he nevertheless meticulously drew five views of this object which can now be recognized as apparently the only yoke to survive complete. The mould displays a double yoke equipped with three globular protrusions evenly divided over the upper part, which evidently represent the draught pole attachment and the terrets (rings for guiding the reins) (fig.20).<sup>88</sup> The central rings on the double yokes, which are also visible in Priscus' yoke, appear to have served as a support to fix the yoke to the pole. The pyramidal protrusion in the centre would have been in between the two horses: such an element with





**Fig.17:** Three views of a pair of draught-horses from Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery, ht. 15.8 cm. Museum Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg, inv. no. 9441. Restored (photo Dr N. Heger, Salzburg)

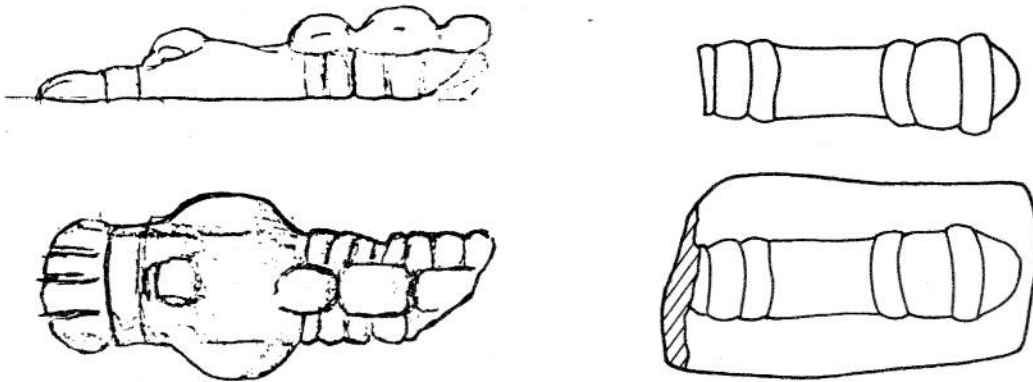






**Fig.18:** Mould for a draught-horse, the back signed by the modeller Marcellus, from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, ht. of the mould 10.7 cm, of the negative, 8.7 cm. Drawing by Mrs M. Jeanlin

**Left: Fig.17 (contd.)**



**Fig.19:** Left: Fragmentary mould for a yoke from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, length of mould 7.5 cm, of the modern impression, 6.8 cm. After JEANLIN, 1985, no. 328. Right: Fragment of a yoke from Bourbon-Lancy, length of mould, 7.6 cm, of the modern impression, 6.5 cm. Drawing by Mrs M. Jeanlin.

a ring is indeed recognizable on the stone reliefs of horses discussed by G. Raepsaet.<sup>89</sup> Horizontal ridges are discernible on the flat, thin outer ends that projected over the horses' necks. Vertical ridges, possibly imitating ropes, run from the central ring to the rim.

The mould from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre comprises a beam, some 6.8 cm of which is preserved (fig. 19A). The yoke must have been a double yoke of about 12 to 14 cm in length. Three ridges with round profiles on the outer end and at least one or even two or three near the break (the centre of the yoke) possibly represent ropes for attaching the yoke to the neck straps.<sup>90</sup> This yoke does not show the terrets. A terret is however visible on the arch of the Salzburg yoke (fig. 17) as a semi-circular protrusion, while on the Bourbon-Lancy mould it is modelled slightly left of the top (fig. 19B). This mould has elements in common with the yoke by Priscus and the Salzburg specimen (figs 17, 20). The flat outer end is similar, the part placed directly above the neck accords with that as seen on the Salzburg horse, apart from the position of the terret. The Bourbon-Lancy mould has three more terrets, modelled on top of the beam, that is, the central part of the yoke. In addition, this also has about seven tightly placed vertical bands or imitation ropes running under the terrets. Four fragments belonging to one or more yokes which occurred amongst the horse statuettes at Asse-Kalkoven,<sup>91</sup> bear similarities to the type as represented by this mould.

Recently, another type of yoke has been found at Asse-Kalkoven, fragmentarily preserved on the head of a horse. The strongly curved yoke is placed high on the crest (there is no neck strap). The outer ends protrude and have three thick ridges that pass from there over the arch to the other outer end (broken off). The central ridge is very thick. It may be that a strongly simplified yoke is represented (in which case it is the central ridge) with a cushion underneath. Because one of the outer ends is broken off it is unclear whether a single or a double yoke is depicted.<sup>92</sup> With single yokes the horses each carry a separate yoke.

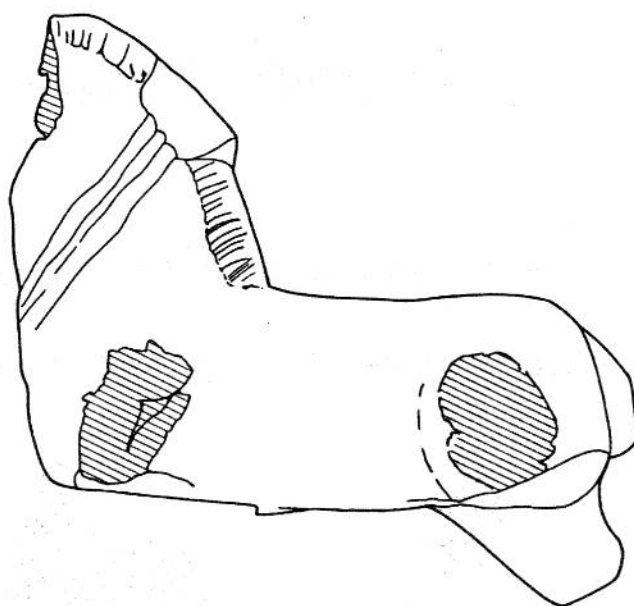


**Fig.20:** Five views of a mould for a yoke, the back signed by the modeller Priscus, from Toulon-sur-Allier, Le Lary. Reproduced from TUDOT, 1860, pl. 6. Not to scale. (Courtesy of Musée des Antiquités Nationales, St.-Germain-en-Laye)

Draught-Horses: conclusions

In concluding this section on the draught-horses some more fragmentary pairs first may be mentioned, for instance, one from Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery (where the right horse, as well as most of the yoke except for a small part on the neck of the left horse of modern plaster).<sup>93</sup> A very broad, smooth neck strap is modelled and the horses differ slightly from the foregoing teams. A large upstanding phalera decorates the mane between the ears. As in the horses of Section VIII, this is possibly an imitation of a phalera with a bust. Another pair of different horses was found at the same place and is also fragmentarily preserved; the remaining parts of the yoke show the same details as in fig. 17.<sup>94</sup> The damaged right horse of a pair from Harelbeke (votive?) depot is remarkable because it has a triple band over the neck to which a fragmentary yoke indeed is attached (in contrast with most other teams! Fig. 21).<sup>95</sup> Traces of junction to the second slender horse are seen on shoulder and haunch.

Teams of sturdy horses with neck strap and yoke occur only occasionally. Two of such pairs are known to me, one from Wolfsheim (Rheinessen, Western Germany), the other from Newstead (Roxburghshire, Great Britain).<sup>96</sup> In both cases it is the left horse which survives.



**Fig.21:** Draught-horse from Harelbeke. Ht. 9.3. Museum voor Oudheidkunde van Kortrijk (Stedelijke Musea van Kortrijk). (Drawing after a photo A.G. Pauwels, Kortrijk)

Each horse has a double neck strap that comprises a thick, lower band and a thin upper band. A yoke - a small thick part of which remains on the Newstead horse only - is attached to the neck strap and rests on the crests. The deeply hollowed nostrils, the large almond-shaped eyes that are placed obliquely, and the concave irises are reminiscent of the horses from the Trajanic Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet workshop (fig. 12A).

The combination of a neck strap with a yoke and the position of the yoke halfway on the neck of all the draught-horses cited here are typical for Gallo-Roman draught-horses. This use is encountered in several stone reliefs from Northern Gaul as was demonstrated by Raepsaet.<sup>97</sup> The harness contrasts with that which was current in Graeco-Roman environs where a shortened breast collar was associated with a withers' yoke or dorsal yoke. The yokes in the reliefs from Northern Gaul come in single and double specimens. The Central-Gaulish terracotta moulds display the (schematized) double yokes only. The yokes on the pairs of horses are incomplete but they resemble these moulds or the fragments of double yokes from Asse-Kalkoven. It is uncertain whether a partly preserved yoke on one of the horses found recently in that place represents a single or a double yoke (see note 92).

Moulds from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, Bourbon-Lancy, and Toulon-sur-Allier prove that even the yokes were mechanically produced, although these must have been comparatively easy to make by hand (figs 19-20). The yokes were moulded in one piece and served to unite two horses on whose crest they rest. Thanks to the inscriptions in moulds we know the names of two modellers who made pairs, namely, Marcellus (Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre) and Priscus (Toulon-sur-Allier).

The moulds represent three types of yokes. The specimens from

Toulon-sur-Allier (the only complete example) and Bourbon-Lancy have globular protrusions that probably must be interpreted as rings for the guidance of reins (terrets) and ropes to fix the yoke to the pole. These are not discernible in the mould from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, nor are they seen in a recently discovered single or double yoke from Asse-Kalkoven that forms a fourth type with its strongly arched shape and its horizontal unbroken ridges.

In general, horses for draught were not as popular a subject as riding horses in Central-Gaulish workshops. However, several incomplete spans are known from Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Western Germany. To this adds the problem that the fragmentary state of horse figurines often impedes the correct identification of the subject represented. Pairs of horses for draught were favoured in Austria where they were recovered from burials in Salzburg and Wels. At least four pairs were identified by De Laet among the horse figurines from Asse-Kalkoven depot, but many more teams can be reconstructed from the recently excavated horse fragments from this site (as yet unpublished). The high number in this (votive?) depot is remarkable and must have had a special religious significance. Other fragments of teams were recovered from the Chalon-sur-Saone cemetery and the (votive?) depot at Harelbeke. The figurines of draught-horses clearly were 'exported' far from their production centres.

Most of the pairs consist of slender horses. Only three spans of sturdy horses are known to me. Pairs of horses for draught come in specimens with neck strap only (figs 4G, 16) or with neck strap and yoke (figs 17, 18, 21). Occasionally, the yoke rests on the crest without neck strap. However, it is very likely that in such specimens the neck strap was obliterated during the repeated pressing of the figurines from the moulds. On the other hand, it may have been indicated in paint. Details of the harnesses were originally carefully indicated as proves the mould by Marcellus for a span of horses, from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (fig. 18), where the neck strap is finely decorated. The horses from Salzburg and Wels demonstrate how these fine details gradually wore off (fig. 17) eventually disappearing almost completely and leaving only a smooth broad neck strap.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As may be apparent from this paper, horses were a subject which the Central-Gaulish terracotta modellers favoured highly and several types of harness were depicted. However, it is possible that even more variations of harness exist among the Central-Gaulish horses kept in museum depots and awaiting publication. Horses for both riding and draught purposes are portrayed, both of which occur with sturdy and slender specimens, although riding horses and slender horses dominate. The harnesses display many similarities with the harnesses depicted on the stone reliefs of funerary monuments dealt with by Bishop. These monuments always have military connotations. However, the harnesses on terracottas also possess aspects that are not seen on the horses of the stone reliefs. The harness on the terracottas is sometimes reduced to a few elements, comprising, for instance, only the saddle and headstall without further fastening devices, or a saddle with a breast strap only. Also, there is no specimen on which a girth is represented,



although this was possibly painted. It is not certain whether horses with such reduced harness were actually ridden, but in reality, a girth would be a necessary part of the equipment.

It can now be asked whether the statuettes are a useful source for the study of Roman military harnesses. As far as the draught-horses presented here are concerned, the question cannot be answered with any certainty. It was pointed out above that the use of neck straps in combination with a yoke and the position of the yoke half way on the neck were typical Gallo-Roman features, whereas in Graeco-Roman contexts a shortened breast collar is found associated with a withers' yoke or dorsal yoke. Of course, it is possible that the Gallo-Roman method was also used by the army in the provinces. There is no evidence to go on that the modellers of the terracottas in Central-Gaul were connected to the army. Neither do we know whether, or to what extent they were influenced by Roman military practice. At any rate, many of their customers were civilians. The find circumstances of the terracottas do not bring us much further. It was indicated above (see Find circumstances) that bridled horses (without harness) came from a child's burial, from the grave of an adult woman, and another from the tomb of an adult man. The harnessed horse fig. 8A comes from a burial with a terracotta of a standing woman, perhaps of a worshipper, a terracotta bust of a woman, along with a bronze ring and a fibula.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, the finds probably represent a civilian burial. However, a fragment of a horse or bull was found in the central military sanctuary at Vindonissa and the span from Newstead is also closely connected with the fortress there.<sup>99</sup> Other, more positive evidence for military connections of the riding horses is seen in some of the harnessed horses that carry soldiers on their back or accompanied by grooms or soldiers standing at their sides, although it could be argued that these figures are not Romans but are rather of Native origin (fig. 12). Furthermore, the harnesses of the terracottas display several similarities to those depicted in relief on the military tombstones (see the Introduction and the Conclusion on the saddled horses). Bishop points out that the Romans adopted the equipment of the Celtic harness.<sup>100</sup> In this respect it is appropriate to remark that the terracotta horses were strongly influenced by Celtic traditions as can be deduced from the geographical position of the workshops and as seen in the dress of the horsemen.

Even though it may be questioned how workmen in Central Gaul could gain so accurate a knowledge of military harnessing methods, the similarities between the figurines and the tombstone depictions justify the conclusion that the figurines provide a wealth of information regarding the use and arrangement of military harnesses in the Roman period. Furthermore, the figurines, which in contrast to the reliefs, occur in large numbers over a wide geographical area, provide evidence of a much greater variety in harnessing methods than has hitherto been recognized. The Central-Gaulish terracotta horses have, until now, been largely disregarded in the study of military equipment, yet these figurines contain a great potential, worthy of more detailed analysis.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

1. For recent studies of terracottas from the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire, VAN BOEKEL, 1987, with other literature; ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972; RÜGER, 1980; SCHAUERTE, 1985; VON GONZENBACH, 1986
2. BISHOP, 1988, 88-89
3. VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 44-45
4. For a survey of terracotta production, SCHAUERTE, 1985, 29-114; VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 199-241, 875-879, 884, 892-905
5. But a Central-Gaulish statuette has even been found in a Frisian terp, far north of the limes in the Netherlands, VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 487, no. 88, figurine of a mother-goddess from Oosterlittens (mun. Baarderadeel, Friesland), terp Schrins
6. Some examples of horses from workshops in the Rhine-Mosel area with harness or bridle. TZ 9, 1934, 166, Taf. XXII, 1, 4, horses from the Trier-Süd ceramic centre; Taf. XXII, 1, from a cellar with a filling dated to the fourth century AD. Cf. W. BINSFELD, Eine Zerstörungsschicht des Jahres 353 in Traben-Trarbach, TZ 36, 1973, 131. F. FREMERSDORF, Inschriften auf römischen Kleingerät aus Köln, BRGK 27, 1938, 43-45, nos 27-28, Taf. 6, 2, the neck strap imitates plaited leather or rope (cf. below, Tongeren, horse of the same type); Taf. 6, 3 with phalerae on the neck strap? P. LA BAUME, Römisches Kunstgewerbe zwischen Christi Geburt und 400, Braunschweig 1964, 314. RÜGER, 1980, nos 188-190, 202 (with painted headstall), 206 horse with saddle cloth and a very broad fringed breast strap: both schematized. VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 759, no. 245 (horse with painted neck strap and incomplete headstall; the crownpiece is omitted); 802, no. 279, i (partly with reference to the horses cited here). Tongeren, Provinciaal Gallo-Romeins Museum, inv. no. 4477 (coll. de Schaetzen); cheekpiece, rein, and

neck strap are schematized imitations of plaited leather or rope.

7. For a typology of Central-Gaulish riding horses in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Saint-Germain-en-Laye), ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, 325-337
8. For a survey of terracotta production techniques, VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 217 (note 138); 216-231, 884
9. See for some horse moulds, ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos. 972, 975, 995, 999, 1001
10. Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie, MOULINS, 5.3.106, mould with tail and legs, Toulon?
11. DE LAET, 1942. MERTENS, 1951. DESPRIET, 1973
12. Gallia 31, 1973, 354, 356, fig. 4d
13. For a survey, see VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 448 (Chamalières), 698, 761-763, nos 247-248,i
14. The publications of this horse and the following specimens are cited in VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 684 and 762 (dated finds and other parallels)
15. Crouzilles: see note 62. Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre: passim; SCHAUERTE, 1985, 111-112. Toulon-sur-Allier: passim; VERTET, 1980, 37-38, no. 30. Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet: VERTET, 1980, 41.
16. See note 87
17. DE LAET, 1942, 49
18. DESPRIET, 1973, 54-55
19. Bern-Rosfeld: see note 35. Chalon-sur-Saone: Gallia 37, 1979, 455-456; JEANLIN, 1987, 132. Chamalières: see note 66. Wels: MAZAKARINI, 1970, 331,399, nos 152-155, with reference to Katalog der archäologischen Ausstellung, Wien 1893, 53, 621: see also here note 82
20. Sacrillos: see note 27; SCHAUERTE, 1985, 111-112, no. 3 (dating), 289-290, no. 751, Taf. 90, 1-3. Marcellus: see note 85. Priscus: TUDOT, 1860, pl. 6
21. Cf. VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 697-699, for a short discussion on the subject and with reference to relevant literature
22. For example: ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 1020, Central-Gaulish horse with schematized four-pommed saddle and stylized saddle cloth. The wheels are missing but holes are pierced in the legs for the attachment of axles and wheels. The mouth is pierced horizontally, perhaps to fasten reins or a bit. From Vichy. VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 786, 802, no. 279, several specimens presumably made in Cologne

23. See note. 14 and VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 239-240, 448; 486, no. 87, i; 684; with reference to several specimens
24. Recently, P. Connolly (pers. comm.) has suggested the standardization of the use of 'horns' for the Roman saddle, to avoid confusion with 'pommel' which is a single protrusion on later saddle forms. However, the term pommel is used throughout in the present article
25. MERTENS, 1951, 173, no. 7, pl. X; said to have a girth, but this is not visible in the published photograph. GARBSCH, 1986, 75-76, no. 53; only the rider's foot remains
26. VERTET & VUILLEMOT, 1973, 47, no. 475, pl. 11c; the rider now broken off is suggested to have been Epona
27. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos. 999-1001, from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre. The mould from Toulon-sur-Allier, is referred to in ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 1001 and is said to have an identical representation as no. 1001. Sacrillos: CIL XIII, 10015, no. 38a-d; ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, 87-88. Other horses with harness of this type come from Wels (Austria): MAZAKARINI, 1970, 271-272, no. 154, from a burial (Grünbachplatz) dated to the first half of the second century AD; Bingen (Western Germany), MZ 48-49, 1953-1 954, 59, Abb. 21
28. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos 1002, 1003; nos. 1004, 1005, fragments from Tronoën (Finistère) are not depicted. DE LAET, 1942, 44-45, pl. I, fig. 2, first row, above, left and centre. TUDOT, 1860, pl. 58, above centre, fragment
29. JEANLIN, 1985, no. 332
30. MZ 28, 1933, 91, A (Sammlung Heerdt), Taf. XVII, 9. LAWSON, 1978, Taf. 52, 2. BISHOP, 1988, 88-89, no. 34
31. BISHOP, 1988, 109-110. CONNOLLY, 1987, pl. I, III, fig. 8a-b
32. VERTET, 1984, fig. 7. FONTES, ATTAS & VERTET, 1978, fig. 7
33. DESPRIET, 1973, 40, no. 149, 42, fig. 15, below left, here fig. 7A. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 1007; here fig. 7B, from Vichy? TUDOT, 1860, pl. 58, centre, here fig. 4F
34. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 1006
35. VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 26-27, no. 14, Taf. 107, 3 (Bern-Rosfeld; with other literature)
36. Salzburg: MAZAKARINI, 1970, 266, no. 146; VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 78, no. 37, Taf. 107, 4; figurine allegedly from Vichy: ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 996
37. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 995. The harness on this horse and fig. 13 of Section IV resembles that as indicated in paint only on an

unpublished horse from Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet. The harness consists of a breast strap attached to a long strap that starts at the shoulder and ends on the haunch and which has three vertical lines, i.e. two sets of triplet straps and one set of pendant straps on the haunch. There is no breeching. The horse is described in a thesis by Chr. FOURNIER-MERCIER, entitled: Etude de la fouille de Saint-Bonnet/Allier 1967 (Bibliothèque de la Direction des Antiquités historiques de Clermont-Ferrand), 1974, pages 41-42. Mrs M. Jeanlin kindly drew my attention to this horse

38. Linz: RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, 74, 77, 78, 84-87, Textabb. 24, 24a, Abb. 4, Abb. 15, 16; Bibracte: VERTET & VUILLEMOT, 1973, 69, pl. 19h; Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre and Lezoux: ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos. 997, 998; Brimeux: Gallia 33, 1975, 283-285, fig. 26 = BISHOP 1988, 89, no. 35. TUDOT, 1860, pl. 58A-B, drawing after an original in Tours. A drawings of the Amiens and Compiègne specimens (the latter in Musée Vivien) were kindly sent to me by Mrs M. Jeanlin
39. RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, 78, suggests the possibility that another horse was attached to the animal
40. Some specimens apart from the groups dealt with here are found in MAZAKARINI, 1970, 218-220, no. 82; 224-227, nos 86-88. All examples from Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery. See also SILBER, 1926, 383, Abb. 1, 17. MAZAKARINI, 1970, no. 82 is a boy with short hair composed of curls. He stands beside a horse that is too small (with saddle and breast strap; see note 49). The head of a boy of the same type as no. 82 comes from Autun, Plan d'eau du Vallon, mal 76, and was found in a depot dated to the Flavian period - beginning of the second century. These two heads are of the same type as the head in a clipeus bust from Avenches, depicted in VON GONZENBACH 1986, 25, no. 15, Taf. 103, 1
41. DESPRIET, 1973, 41-42, no. 150, fig. 14, left
42. VERTET, 1984, fig. 7
43. Horsemen in Central-Gaulish figurines hold six-sided shields, small round shields, or large oval shields, all with umbo. The shields have a thick rim, see ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos 584-593; no. 594 (of a rider?) depicts a very large concave shield, the umbo is flower-shaped (or is this an umbo with wreath?). The rim consists of a double ridge. Some other examples: Fig. 14 and DESPRIET, 1973, 40-41, no. 148, fig. 14, right; JEANLIN, 1985, no. 256
44. VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 412-413, especially note 211. Cf. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, 67, 241-242, nos. 586-589. No. 589 with a hole pierced below the hand to attach a spear; VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 20, no. 42, Taf. 93, 2 for a figurine of a rider with small round shield and (flower-shaped?) umbo, from Augst, with a hole pierced in the same place as in the foregoing specimen cited here; GARBSCH, 1986, fig. on page 77
45. MERTENS, 1951, 173, no. 7, pl. X. Cf. also ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972,



- nos 584-585; JEANLIN, 1985, no. 256
46. DE LAET, 1942, 46-47, pl. III, fig. 5
  47. MAZAKARINI, 1970, 227-228, no. 89; RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, 42, c, 44, b, 49-52, 74, 76, 77, 84, 85, Textabb. 23; 96, no. 3, Textabb. 37, Abb. 8, 13, 14
  48. Both pieces are identified as back fragments by RUPRECHTSBERGER. MAZAKARINI determines the fragment from the burial (73b) as the front of a figurine (cf. note. 47). The fragment fig. 12C has a vent which indicates that it is the back. I know these fragments from publications only
  49. Both arms are raised by a boy of a different type standing on the right side of a horse (attached to the side) in a figurine from Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery, see MAZAKARINI, 1970, 218-220, no. 82; see here note 40; SILBER 1926, 383; and Jahresbericht des vaterländischen Museums Carolino-Augusteum der Landeshauptstadt Salzburg, 1852, 43, Taf. 3, right. In another type of group a man or boy attached to the right side of a horse has his right arm raised and holds his hand on his shoulder, MAZAKARINI, 1970, 224-226, no. 86, Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery = SILBER 1926, 383, Abb. 1, 17. Cf. JEANLIN, 1985, no. 257, most probably of the same type, figure fragment from Chalon-sur-Saone cemetery, of the first century AD. The Autun head cited in note 50 belonged to a group of the type cited in the two foregoing publications. See further a group of a boy standing between two horses from Nijmegen, attached to the horses' flanks, VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 760-762, no. 247
  50. A date of manufacture of the Linz horse in the early second century AD or even at the end of the first century can be deduced from burial 73b and the comparable groups from Harelbeke and Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet, as well as from a head of a standing figure of the type dealt with here, from Autun dated by the find circumstances to the late first century-early second century. A. Rebourg, Autun, excavated the fragment of the head in 1983; Autun, Plan d'eau du Vallon, Mal 76
  51. See note 38
  52. See notes 43-44
  53. TUDOT, 1860, pl. 35, centre (Champ Lary), here fig. 22 = REINACH, 1895, no. 4. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 474 = REINACH, 1895, no. 5
  54. See note 37 for the painted horse from Yzeure-Saint-Bonnet
  55. BISHOP, 1988, 109-110
  56. BISHOP, 1988, 106
  57. See for phalerae, BISHOP, 1988, 94-103, 124-126, 135-141, with reference to other literature
  58. BISHOP, 1988, 106-108

59. BISHOP, 1988, 105-107
60. M.C. Bishop and P. Connolly (pers. com.) suggest that the triangular cape represents the sagum
61. Examples of horses with headstalls can be found in this article and throughout the literature given at the end. A selection of examples is cited here, the publications cited concern fragments and horses without saddle. TUDOT, 1860, 21, fig. XXIV, Epona on the left (!) side of a horse, from N ris. Idem, pl. 35, 58, 59, right, horse from the Brotonne forest in Normandie (France), halter with cheek piece and nose- and chinband placed high. REINACH, 1902, 234, fig. 7, Epona from Meaux (France, Seine-et-Marne). DE LAET, 1942, 46, fig. 3, left row, second head from above and upper row, fourth head from the left; both from Asse-Kalkoven. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos 981-991, several horses. Nos 981-983, 985, frontlet, cheekpiece, and noseband are rendered, all consisting of double straps, although most are strongly abraded. The reins are attached to a disc on the bit, not visible in no. 981 (no. 984 is not depicted). The reins end low on the withers, except in nos. 981-982 where they end high on the crest. No. 983 has a rider, now broken off, probably Epona, cf. no. 477 (Epona, without saddle). Nos 983-985 are stallions. Nos 981-991 have no saddles although two have a rider, namely, nos 983 and 987. The horseman in no. 987 sits astride on a cylinder attached to the horse's back. No. 989, a stallion, has a headstall with frontlet and cheek piece that comprise double straps; throatlatch, the beginnings of a crownpiece, noseband and perhaps chin strap are rendered. The find places of these horses are in France
62. Alesia: RABEISEN & VERTET, 1986, no. 261, pl. 32. Autun: unpublished fragment excavated by A. Rebourg, Autun, Ateliers d'Art. Saint-Pour ain-sur-Besbre and Tronoen: ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos. 983, stallion with rider (Epona?) now broken off, cf. no. 477; 985. Wroxeter: JENKINS, 1962, 143, pl. I, 3 (found near a temple). Crouzilles: Gallia 32, 1974, 315, fig. 14, right (see workshops and dating)
63. TUDOT, 1860, pl. 58c, the head only is depicted; the figurine is said to preserve remnants of a rider
64. VERTET & VUILLEMOT, 1973, 69, pl. 20h
65. DERINGER, 1956-1958. MAZAKARINI, 1970, 266-267, no. 147. VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 65. See also a reconstruction of the headstall on a strongly abraded head of a horse from Linz, RUPRECHTSBERGER, 1983, 86-87, Textabb. 25, Abb. 17. The reconstruction is based on very faint details as Dr Ruprechtsberger kindly informs me
66. See note 62. Bourg, Saint-Pour ain-sur-Besbre, La Tourelle: ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, nos. 982, 983, 984, and Epona no. 477. Chamali eres: Gallia 17, 1959, 372-374, fig. 11 = VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 62, pl. 51, 7
67. Versigny: Gallia 25, 1967, 190-191. Double straps are visible in

- the cheekpiece and frontlet. The horse is probably of the same type as two specimens from a burial at Argenton-sur-Creuze, see above, Find circumstances and Significance
68. A drawing of a comparable horse from Concelles-les-Monts (France) was kindly sent to me by Mrs. M. Jeanlin; part of the body remains
  69. TUDOT, 1860, pl. 35. cf. ROUVIER-JEANLIN, 1972, no. 987 for a fragment of the same type from Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dome). Cf. also notes 43-44
  70. Cf. the other examples without cylinder cited in notes 43-44
  71. Dr. C. van Driel-Murray, personal communication
  72. BISHOP, 1988, 108
  73. VAN BOEKEL, 1987, 697-698, 760-763, for a survey of such horses and see below
  74. The authenticity of a span with headstall in the Musée de Troyes was doubted by A. Blanchet, BLANCHET, 1891, 142, pl. 1, fig. 14. However, the horses standing on a communal plinth is a normal feature of other teams although the shape of the yoke is not found in other examples. Perhaps the headstalls are an addition by the artist who drew the horses (apparently from a photograph), because to my knowledge, they are unparalleled. Blanchet was indeed familiar with a singular team of horses (with headstall) drawing a wagon with two passengers (a man and a woman). This group, allegedly from Autun, was drawn by Tudot in 1860, pl. 36. It is very exceptional, and, in my view, the authenticity should be questioned. The yokes carried by the horses are unparalleled
  75. JEANLIN, 1985, no. 323
  76. Cf. fig. 17 and FONTES, ATTAS & VERTET, 1978, fig. 7
  77. DE LAET, 1942, 44, fig. 1; 49 for the dating. The specimens recently excavated were shown to me by Mrs A.M.E.J. Lens and Mr M. Meganck. Mrs Lens is preparing a thesis on these horses that are in the collection of the Vereniging V.Z.W., Agilas, Asse. I am grateful for their permission to refer to the horses
  78. JEANLIN, 1985, 329. MERTENS, 1951, 172, no. 5, pl. IX, 4
  79. TUDOT, 1860, pl. 58, above, left. A nose- and chinband only are also shown in two horses from Rottweil (Western-Germany), VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 74, nos 6-7, Taf. 107, 1-2. In addition, the horses have a low placed neck strap consisting of three bands and a fringe with closely placed tassels; terminus post quem 73/74 AD
  80. Cf. BISHOP, 1988, 111, figs 8-9
  81. JEANLIN, 1985, no. 327
  82. MAZAKARINI, 1970, 271, 399, no. 153 with reference to a parallel

- cited in P. KARNITSCH, Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 97, 1952, 401 (see also above, Workshops and dating),
83. Restorations in plaster to the left horse: the yoke except the part directly above the neck, parts of the fore-legs and left hind-leg; the right horse: head with yoke, the left fore-leg, the right hind-leg, tail, parts of the left hind-leg and of the right fore-leg, pers. comm. Dr. N. Heger. MAZAKARINI, 1970, 260-262, no. 141. HEGER, 1974, no 117. JEANLIN, 1985, no. 324 bis
  84. For the double yoke, see RAEPSAET, 1982, 240, pl. C, G, E, d
  85. JEANLIN, 1985, no. 324
  86. MAZAKARINI, 1970, 262-263, no. 142; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER, 1979-1980, no. R 541. JEANLIN, 1985, nos 325-326, not illustrated
  87. Toulon-sur-Allier: TUDOT, 1860, pl. 6. Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre: JEANLIN; 1985, no. 328. Bourbon-Lancy: Mrs M. Jeanlin kindly sent me drawings of this as yet unpublished mould
  88. Cf. the yoke in RAEPSAET, 1982, 240, double yoke, 254, pl. C, 21, 28, 34; 256, pl. E, d
  89. RAEPSAET, 1982, 240, pl. A, 3; C, 21, 28, 34; E, d
  90. id, 240
  91. DE LAET, 1942, 46, fig. 4, centre, for the yoke fragments
  92. For the single yoke, see RAEPSAET, 1982, 240, pl. D, G, and E, a-c. Cf. also note 77, Asse-Kalkoven
  93. MAZAKARINI, 1970, 263-264, no. 143. HEGER, 1974, no. 58
  94. GARBSCH, 1986, 68-69, fig. 60
  95. DESPRIET, 1973, 46, no. 172, fig. 15, below, right. For another example of a slender horse probably part of a span see, DE LAET, 1942, 45-46, pl. I, fig. 2, right row, centre. The animal does not seem to have a neck strap. A break in the crest, slightly behind the ears may indicate the original place of the yoke. The horse has a brush-shaped mane. From Asse-Kalkoven (right horse?). Another, abraded, span of slender horses (restored), from Salzburg, Bürglstein cemetery, has a (reconstructed) yoke, but no neck strap; MAZAKARINI, 1970, 264-265, no. 144
  96. Wolfsheim: MZ 30, 1935, 85, Abb. 10. Newstead: Curle, 1911, 305, pl. 73. See also Section VIII for the sturdy horses from Sougères-sur-Sinotte
  97. Cf. RAEPSAET, 1982, 242-243, 250-251
  98. VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 26, nos 10-14, Taf. 47, 6-10
  99. VON GONZENBACH, 1986, 45, no. 28, Taf. 52, 5. See note 96

100. BISHOP, 1988, 116

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