

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* IN SOUTHWEST *HISPANIA*

CIRCULATION AND CONSUMPTION

CATARINA VIEGAS
MACARENA BUSTAMANTE-ÁLVAREZ
(eds.)



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GAULISH TERRA SIGILLATA IN SEVILLE. NEW DATA, NEW PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

This paper deals with the study of three sets of Gaulish *sigillata* from contexts in the Roman port area of Seville. The chronological sequence of the assemblages, dated between the end of the Julio-Claudian and the end of the Flavian period, has allowed the evolution of the consumption patterns of this type of pottery in the city of Seville to be investigated. A statistical analysis of the volume of imported types and the size of the pieces obtained at different chronological moments, when compared to data from various contexts of reference throughout the Empire, have revealed the existence of a series of consumption patterns, and moreover ones specific to different areas within the Roman world.

Resumo

El presente artículo aborda el estudio de tres conjuntos de cerámica sigilata sudgálica descubiertos en contextos portuarios hispalenses. La sucesiva cronología de los lotes, fechados entre finales de la época julio-claudia y finales de la época Flavia, permitió realizar una aproximación a la evolución de las pautas de consumo de este tipo de cerámica en la ciudad de Sevilla. Un análisis estadístico del volumen de tipos importados y del tamaño de las piezas adquiridas en diferentes momentos cronológicos, confrontado a los datos de varios contextos de referencia a través del Imperio, han puesto de relieve la existencia de una serie de pautas de consumo propias a las diferentes zonas del mundo romano.

Keywords

Supply patterns; production modules; metrological study; evolution of consumption; marbled *sigillata*.

Palavras-chave

Pautas de aprovisionamiento; módulos de producción; estudio metrológico; evolución del consumo; sigilata marmorata.

1. Introduction

The study of the ceramic consumption in *Hispalis* (Seville) between the Late Republic and the end of the Late Antiquity has already achieved a certain tradition concerning amphora production, which has been relatively well studied in recent years (Amores Carredano *et al.*, 2007; García Vargas, 2007, 2009, 2012, 2015, 2016). Further, the repertoires of ceramics imitating imported fine wares, as a reflection of the impact on the local 'markets' of Mediterranean imports, have received attention recently too (García Fernández and García Vargas, 2014). However, the importation itself of these fine wares has been the subject of only a few studies (among them Arnold 2015, wich is a previous french version of this chapter), despite the fact that, in recent decades, the stratigraphical information for them has increased in parallel with the excavations brought about by the urban boom of the first decade of the 21st century.

In this work, we present a qualitative and quantitative panorama, as broadly as possible, of the importation of Gaulish *sigillata* to the city as evidenced from three archaeological interventions with their several contexts: namely, i) the excavation of Alemanes St. 25-29, ii) that of the plots 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 of the modified *Plan Especial* 12 of San Bernardo Neighbourhood, and iii) of the Patio de Banderas of the Seville Alcázar. In this way we offer data to increase our, at present, scarce knowledge of this imported ceramic class in the valley of the Guadalquivir (**Fig. 1**).



Fig. 1 – Seville in the Iberian Peninsula.

2. Sevillian contexts studied

2.1. 25-29 Alemanes St.

In 2006, an area of about 100 square metres was excavated at 25-29 Alemanes St. (Vázquez Paz, 2006), in front of the Patio de los Naranjos of the Cathedral, which in antiquity corresponded to an area outside the walls, close to the historical course of the Guadalquivir river.

The stratigraphy of the site begins with two overlapping deposits (SU 184 and 185) that served as a base for a wall composed of vertically set amphorae. The Punic amphorae of Cádiz, of type 7.4.3.3, were broken off below the rim and sunk in the ground to form the core of a mud wall, a kind of structure usual in artisanal and/or port areas. These basal layers contain fragments of amphorae of types 7.4.3.3, 9.1.1.1, Pellicer D, LC 67, Guadalquivir ovoid and Dressel 7-11. The Italic black-gloss tableware of the B circle (Lamboglia 1, 1-8, 4 and 33 b forms), the Italian common and cooking wares (Vegas 14 and Luni 1 forms), as well as the thin-walled ware (Mayet I form) date this ‘foundation’ to the amphora wall at the end of the Republican period, immediately before the arrival of the first Italian *sigillata*, and so around the beginning of the third quarter of the 1st century BC.

The abandonment levels of this ‘amphorae-wall’ (SU 179 and 164) show a similar amphorae repertoire, made up of the T.4.3.3., Pellicer D, Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 7-11 forms familiar in the Cadiz and Algeciras bays. A grooved fragment of an amphora from Ibiza (probably an 18 PE) from SU 164 completes the amphorae set that is accompanied by black-gloss (Lamb. 1, 3, 5 and 33b), thin-walled ware of the form Mayet I and imported common ware (pots with inverted and flat rims), which gives a date similar to the previously mentioned levels, indicating that the construction and abandonment of the ‘amphorae-wall’ occurred in a brief period of time, prior to the arrival of the first Italic *sigillata*. The vase forms in the Turdetan tradition are kitchen wares with bifid rims, painted urns with triangular- and rectangular-sectioned rims and basins with ‘SS’ motifs in red, a set characteristic of the 1st century BC in the city.

Above the abandonment level of the ‘amphorae-wall’, an irregular wall was built, the construction trench of which presents material largely similar to the previous ones, but now Italic *sigillata*, thin-walled ware, Peñaflor type ceramics, grey kitchen ware and Italic common ware of the Pompeian red-slip ware type, (sometimes represented by local imitations) are present. Also recovered are Gaulish *sigillata* of the forms Drag. 18a and 29a, that places the construction of the wall to within the Julio-Claudian period, allowing that the black-gloss ware of this context is probably residual. The Gaulish *sigillata* of SU 149 is clearly Neronian, and is associated with abundant fragments of Peñaflor type ceramics, especially the Martínez 14 form. Most of the Gaulish *sigillata* of these contexts comes from these abandonment levels connected with the wall of amphorae. They are recovered from SU 149 and 161 that still follow the angle of the riverbank, but gradually correct its slope.

Towards the end of the 1st century AD, a wall on a N-S orientation is constructed over these Julio-Claudian units, of which only the foundations of stone have been documented.

2.2. Neighbourhood of San Bernardo (plots 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 of the modified *Plan Especial 12*)

At the southeast end of the city, the current San Bernardo neighbourhood is located in the middle of the historic course of the Tagarete river, one of the watercourses that, along with the Guadalquivir, bordered the small terrace (T13) on which the city stood. The 1st century AD was a period when the hydrological stability of these rivers was at its best and when the economic strength of the city was at its greatest. An archaeological intervention took place in 2012 (Valiente de Santis, 2015), in plots 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 of the modified *Special Plan 12* of the San Bernardo suburb between Juan de Mata Carriazo and Guadaira streets, right at the limit of the current San Bernardo suburb. This revealed an interesting operation to dry out and consolidate the area, prone to flooding, which was carried out in the second half of the 1st century AD. This work consisted in the creation of an artificial platform on the dried and stabilised river silts of the Tagarete flood basin. The platform was effected by means of a massive dump (SU 205) whose base was made up of materials of larger size such as *tegulae*, bricks, common wares and Haltern 70, Dressel 20, Dressel 7-11 or Beltrán IIb amphorae, and whose upper part contained fragments of Gaulish *sigillata*, thin-walled ware of the forms Mayet, XXXVIII and XLII, lamps with evolved volutes and common wares. The fill levels were topped by a compacted soil (SU 22), which constituted the walking surface of the platform. On this compacted ‘floor’ some very deteriorated structures were constructed, which should have been buildings related to the handling and storage of goods. These had walls of *tegulae* of around 0.45 m width. By them, one can identify structural alignments related to one other, likely from warehouses or buildings whose roof was apparently of a perishable material since there were no debris recovered. One of the alignments was interpreted as a jetty platform; others looked like channelling dykes or some such means of regulating the stream channel. Isolated and very incomplete, other structures were documented as fragments of *laterculi* pavements or the rim of a brick well.

Most of the Gaulish *sigillata* that we include in this work from this site were documented in the preparatory landfills, especially in SU 205.

2.3. Patio de Banderas

The excavations carried out in the square called the ‘Patio de Banderas’ of the Alcázar of Seville (Tabales Rodríguez, 2015) are part of a research project for an integrated study of these Islamic and Christian royal palaces from an archaeological point of view (including Archaeology of architecture). The Patio de Banderas is a ceremonial esplanade located inside the third of its historical enclosures (the only one preserved today). The archaeological surveys carried out in three campaigns from 2009 to 2014 covered

a total area of some 2000 square meters in the centre of the square, and have reached a total depth of some 5 m below its surface level.

Traditional historiography attributed to this area a clear religious function prior to its palatial role, as it was supposedly the site since Late Antiquity of the main church of *Hispalis*. The finding of the marble covering of the tomb of Bishop Honorius (the authenticity of this funerary epigraph has recently been questioned) and the interpretation of a *lacus* excavated in the 1970s as part of a baptistery were considered to support this hypothesis. The 2009-2014 excavations, however, seem to definitively refute this interpretation: the supposed baptismal font is now placed within a set of similar structures in various buildings of a commercial and artisanal function dated to the Flavian period. These structures, like all those of the Patio de Banderas, are inserted in a complex stratigraphy that began around the 9th century BC, in the Iron Age I, and run on down to the present day, although not all the possible cultural phases are represented in the sequence, as long periods of stratigraphical hiatus were identified. The phases detected in the excavation of the Patio de Banderas are the following:

. **Phase 1.** The oldest human occupation is represented by a series of small pits filled with the remains of ashes, ceramics and organic remains that have been interpreted as community kitchens, then filled with the remains of the activity carried out inside them. Radiocarbon (C14) samples date these structures to the 9th century BC. There already exist wheel-thrown ceramics, among them amphorae that correspond to the Phoenician colonization in the Far West.

. **Phase 2.** After a prolonged hiatus, an important building activity is documented, dated between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st centuries BC. Partially lost due to the buildings of the later phase that are preserved, the remains of this Republican Phase I have been interpreted as belonging to a building with adobe walls on a stone base, developed around a central patio. The central open space was paved with *opus signinum* and the columns of the peristyle were made with quadrant-shaped bricks.

. **Phase 3.** In the third quarter of the 1st century BC (50-25 BC) there was built in the southern part of the city a complex of public structures whose dimensions are larger than the space excavated in the Patio de Banderas. The whole we must assume to have been outside the city-walls. The construction of the new buildings eliminated all previous features: a port complex is created, divided into three zones, on a north-south alignment. To the north, is a building given elongated naves, more than 11 m in length and of variable widths. The central zone is a large open space that connects to the north and south sectors. In the southern area, large rooms have been documented that open onto a portico, in this case, a cryptoportico. All the structures are made of *opus africanum* and *opus quadratum* with calcarenite ashlar blocks. The function of these buildings is not clear, although the shape of the rooms to the north suggests the possibility that it was a large warehouse, arguably for grain. To the south, rectangular naves are documented, presumably also for storage, although some sumptuary elements allow us to think that reception or religious functions could apply to some of the buildings outside the excavation limits. Towards the change of era (in Augustan-Tiberian times) small modifications were carried out to the building, such as the raising of circulation levels in the northern sector of the complex.

. **Phase 4.** The harbour buildings from the Late Republican period were renovated during the Flavian period. In some areas, the changes are profound: in the northern sector, the ground floors of the warehouses are terraced and some walls are redesigned using brick and, above all, *tegula* as a construction material for wall repairs. The central area presents some vats for 'industrial' activities, related to the abundant use of water and whose construction seems to belong to this period.

On the other hand, all the southern areas remained largely unchanged until the beginning of the 3rd century AD, when most of the buildings collapsed. Most of the Gaulish and Hispanic *sigillata* documented in the excavation in their original contexts of deposition are from this phase.

. **Phase 5.** Between AD 200 and 225, according to the C14 dates along with those obtained from the ceramic imports, the whole complex suffers a traumatic end. No more building was undertaken in this area until the end of the 5th century AD. The remains of debris layers alternate with strata of muddy layers with an aquatic origin, with fluvial-marine components that testify to a high-energy event responsible for the end of the use of this space.

. **Phase 6.** As mentioned, during Late Antiquity, from the end of the 5th century, the space is occupied again. The construction of a large building took place: once again this extends beyond the excavated area in the Patio de Banderas. The floor plan is organized in rooms paved with bricks, around a large porticoed courtyard. The function of this building is not clear, but it was certainly not domestic. A palatial or monastic use is hypothesized.

. **Phase 7.** After the great brick and masonry building at the end of the 5th century, the construction of a new dwelling structure (of which very few remains have survived) is documented. A wall with buttresses and the basis of what could have been a transverse arch indicate that we are in front of a building of some size.

. **Phase 8.** The destruction of this building was followed by the flattening of the site and the beginning of an Islamic suburb of the 10th century, where houses with façades onto a street were excavated.

. **Phase 9.** Structures were documented corresponding to an important suburb of the Caliphal-taifa period. What exists in the excavated area is articulated around a north-south street, following the previous Caliphate period layout. On both sides of it are a series of central courtyard houses, sometimes with small water tank. This neighbourhood seems to have started at the beginning of the 11th century and continues until the end of the century, when the first enclosure of the fortress ('Alcazar') was built. The street has at least four repaving layers. It is noteworthy that the waste-water treatment was effected by blind wells, except in the last repaving phase which included a large sewer that collected domestic waste.

. **Phase 10.** The demolition of the taifa neighbourhood and the flattening of the land for the construction of enclosure I of the Alcázar.

. **Phase 11.** Corresponds to the works of infrastructure, drainage system and pavements of the square in modern times.

. **Phase 12.** Reflects the works that during the Contemporary period have turned this space into what we currently know as the Patio de Banderas.

3. Questions and methodology

The standardised nature of *terra sigillata* production, when a limited number of forms were repeated almost identically in the various workshops of the Roman Empire, has raised the question of the

existence of production rules governing the manufacture of this set of vessels. A degree of evolution in the composition of the repertoires was observed early on: some forms tend to disappear, replaced by others, whilst other forms undergo some changes in their characteristic component features, as well as in their sizes.

In recent years, some research has sought for mathematical expressions at the point when these changes take place: statistical comparisons were carried out on closed sets of successive periods within different sites. This enquiry includes the studies by M. Polak at the Vechten camp (Polak, 2000), or of M. Genin at the La Graufesenque workshop (Genin, 2007). The encouraging results to emerge from these works, whose validity is supported by the great volume of the material under investigation, as well as by the typological and spatial-temporal uniformity of the same, encouraged us to apply the method to the city of Seville.

Do the trends observed in the evolution of the proportions of different forms follow a common pattern wherever one is in the Roman world, or, on the contrary and despite the apparent uniformity of the shape repertoires, do there exist variant rules specific to different regions of the Empire? Does the size of the vessels, produced mostly for reasons of efficiency in two or three standard modules, remain stable over time? Or, as the work of Polak and Genin seemed to indicate, does it evolve? If clear guidelines were to be defined, both the size of the vessels and the precise proportions of certain typologies at given times could therefore act as new chronological markers to assist in future studies carried out on *terra sigillata*.

Having in Seville three sets of assemblages with continuous and/or successive chronologies, it was therefore possible to work out whether in *Hispalis* the same evolution in the piece's measurements and composition of the repertoire applied as in the workshop of origin, and also to check whether these characteristics were indicative of a chronological period, regardless of the typology of the pieces and their potter's stamps. The aim was also to elucidate the evolution of these consumption patterns and, in particular, to ascertain next whether they coincided with the patterns revealed in other sites in ultimate goal: to reveal possible consumption patterns specific to *Baetica* or the Iberian Peninsula.

To this end, three criteria had to be taken into consideration:

- The proportion of each form and functional category (plates/cups, plain/decorated forms) in each of the chronological horizons.
- The average rim diameters of the plain forms¹.
- The proportion of larger and smaller sub-pieces documented for the plain forms, when these are present in sufficient numbers for such a calculation to be representative.

The Hispanic groups studied cover a chronological range that is too small to allow the determination of evolutionary patterns of the repertoires during the entire period of importation of South Gaulish *sigillata*. Other closed reference contexts have thus been taken into account in different points of the Iberian peninsula and the Empire, in order to compare them with the Sevillian data and to carry out a statistical study on a larger scale, covering most of the the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in other parts of the Empire. All this towards the production period of the Gaulish pieces (**Table 1**).

Given the great scarcity of publications where the vessels are quantified both by archaeological strata and by forms for *Baetica* and indeed for a large part of the Iberian Peninsula², the reference contexts that have been explored in this work have been mainly those of Mérida (Mayet, 1978; Pérez Maestro, 2004), Cartagena (Castellano Castillo, 2000) and for the northeast of Hispania Ampurias

1. The dimensions of the plain forms are the only ones to have been studied in a systematic way by Genin in the workshop at La Graufesenque. The author also demonstrated that only the rim diameter of the vessels seems to respond to standardization, the heights and diameters of the feet appearing more disparate (Genin, 2007).

2. In most cases, the number of pieces of each type is not published, or the accumulation of documented pieces results in all chronological strata being combined.

Chronology	Reference Assemblage	Bibliography	Number of pieces
AD 15-20	La Graufesenque, Fronto assemblage	Genin, 2007	2902 plain
AD 15/30	St-Romain-en-Gal, Horizont 3	Leblanc, 1994	63 plain 6 decorated
AD 30-40	La Graufesenque, Cirratus pit	Genin, 2007	28 448 plain
Claudius	<i>Baetulo</i> , assemblage PJ6	Madrid et al., 2005	25 plain 2 decorated
AD 40/50-60	La Nautique, Bouscaras collection	Sánchez y Silvéreano, 2005	1321 plain 224 decorated
AD 40/70	St-Romain-en-Gal, Horizont 4	Leblanc, 1994	637 plain 96 decorated
Beginning of Nero reign	Port de La Nautique (Narbonne)	Fiches, Guy and Poncin, 1978	c. 406 plain 108 decorated
Nero	Emporion, Neronian context	Aquilué et al., 2005	64 plain 28 decorated
AD 50-70	La Graufesenque, Gallicanus pit	Genin, 2007	39 892 plain
AD 50-70	La Graufesenque, Cluzel survey	Genin, 2007	3 656 plain
Mid. 1st cent. AD	Mérida, <i>puticuli</i>	Pérez Maestro, 2004	31 marbled
Nero-beginning of Flavian period?	Mérida, Alcazaba	Mayet, 1978	573 plain 135 decorated
Before AD 60/70	<i>Cathago Nova</i> , Anfithetre	Castellano, 2000	856 plain 63 decorated
AD 60/70	St-Romain-en-Gal, Horizont 5	Leblanc, 1994	175 plain 27 decorated
Beginning of the Flavian period	<i>Baetulo</i> , context LL85a	Madrid et al., 2005	23 plain 24 decorated
AD 70-80	Culip IV cargo	Nieto et al., 1989; Nieto and Puig, 2001	1 947 plain 814 decorated
AD 79	Pompey Box	Atkinson, 1914	90 decorated
AD 80/90-10/110	La Graufesenque, Bassus pit	Genin, 2007	1 989 plain
Domician	Emporion, Domician context	Aquilué et al., 2005	146 plain 71 decorated
Beginning of the 2nd cent. AD	St-Romain-en-Gal, Horizont 6	Leblanc, 1994	540 plain 80 decorated
AD 140-150/170	La Graufesenque, great kiln	Genin, 2007	2 346 plain
First half of the 2nd cent. AD	Emporion, context of the first half of the 2nd cent. AD	Aquilué et al., 2005	107 plain 60 decorated

Table 1 – Reference sets used in the study, classified in chronological order according to the information provided in the publications, and with reference to the number of pieces.

(Aquilué et al., 2005) and Badalona (Madrid Fernández, Comas i Solà and Padrós i Martí, 2005), as well as the cargo of the Culip IV ship, sunk near Cap Creus (Nieto Prieto and Puig, 2001). The sets published from the La Graufesenque workshop (Genin, 2007) and in the port of Narbonne (Fiches, Guy and Poncin, 1978; Sanchez and Silvéreano, 2005), as well as from the contexts of Saint-Romain-en-Gal (Leblanc, 1994) and Pompeii (Huchin, 2014) permit interesting external points of comparison for the definition of the consumption trends specific to the Iberian Peninsula.

With regard to the method of quantification, the approach of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) has been adopted, calculated after prior reconstruction of the vessels and only on the number of rims. This unweighted MNI, being the most commonly used quantification method in the reference publications consulted, gives a better comparison with those of the other repertoires used in the statistical study.

Finally, the observation of each of the fragments with a binocular magnifying glass, as well as the reading and identification of the potter's stamps, certify that the Gaulish imports come solely from La Graufesenque, which thus enjoyed a monopoly of the market, at least in the Sevillian capital, during the second half of the 1st century AD.

4. The South Gaulish *sigillata* in the *Hispalis* repertoires

4.1. 25-29 Alemanes St. (AD 60-70)

The earliest assemblage, this is also the least abundant. Out of a total of 41 items, 12 different forms could be identified. Plain forms represent 85,4% of the total. Among them, plates predominate (60% of the plain forms), represented almost exclusively and in similar proportions by Drag. 15/17 types (**Fig. 2, 9-11**) and Drag. 18 (**Fig. 2, 13-14**), with respectively 9 and 10 individuals. However, there are also documented a rim of plate form Drag. 16 in marbled *sigillata* and another one of Drag. 15A type (**Fig. 2, 12**). These two shapes, produced respectively between AD 15-60 and AD 40/50-70/80 (Passelac and Vernhet, 1993; Genin, 2007), therefore give a dating to the ensemble of the end of the Julio-Claudian period. As does the representation of the Drag. 15/17 plates which are not outnumbered by the Drag. 18 type before the middle of the 1st century AD (Polak, 2000).

The repertoire of the cups is more diversified, being represented in order of importance by the forms: Drag. 24/25 with 4 MNI (**Fig. 2, 1-2**), Ritt. 8 with 3 MNI (**Fig. 2, 5-6**), Goud. 40 and Ritt. 9 with 2 MNI each (**Fig. 2, 3 and 4**, respectively) and finally the types Drag. 27 (**Fig. 2, 8**) and Ritt. 12 (**Fig. 2, 7**) with only one individual piece. It is a surprise that in such a reduced set there are two individuals of the Goud. 40, of South Gaulish provenance. This form, produced between 15 and 40/50 AD, is rarely seen in either La Graufesenque or in consuming centres (Genin, 2007: 325). After an exhaustive examination of the Hispanic contexts of reference, its presence does not however seem so unusual in the Iberian Peninsula, where it is represented in sites such as *Baelo Claudia* (Bourgeois and Mayet, 1991: fig. XV, n°1214) or *Conimbriga* (Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão, 1975: fig. XXXI, n° 104-105). The Italic equivalent of

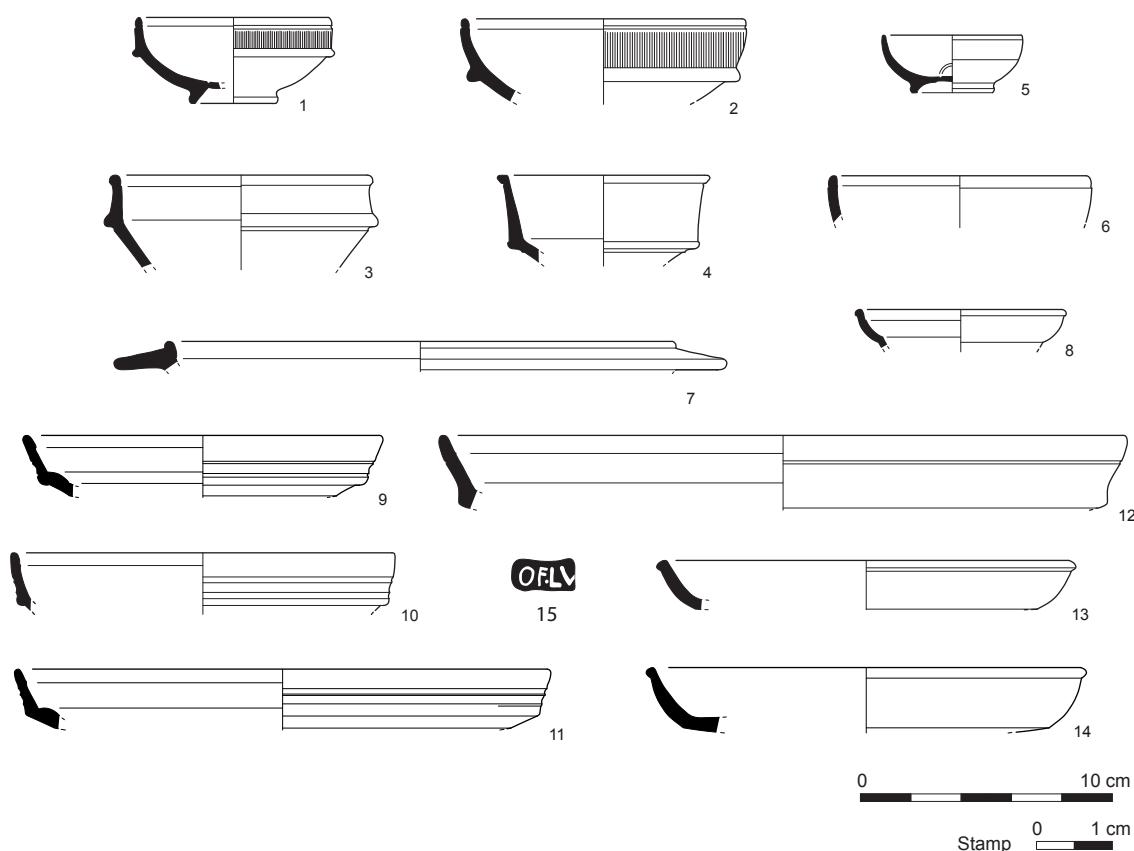


Fig. 2 – Alemanes St.: plain forms.

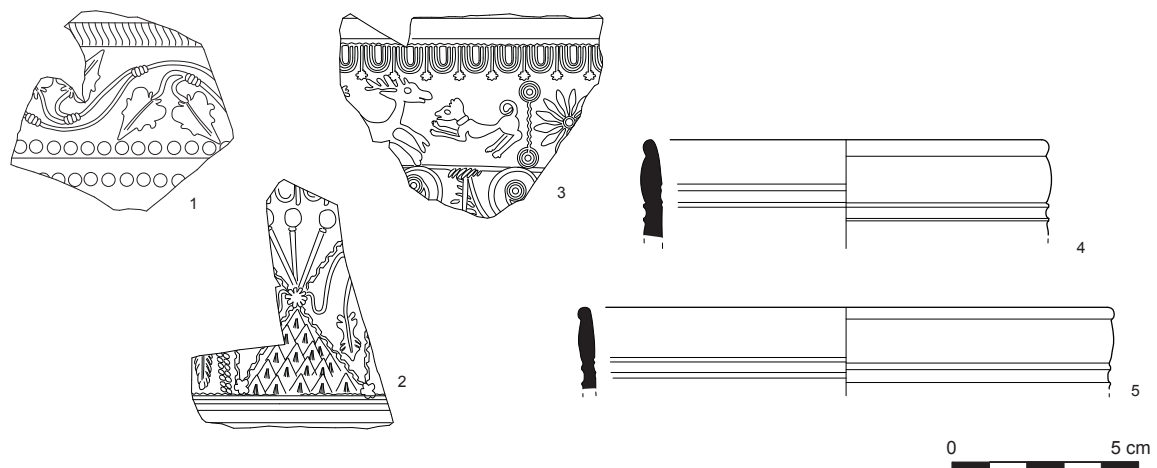


Fig. 3 – Alemanes St.: decorated forms.

the form, produced during the same period of time, does not seem uncommon in the Italian peninsula either, a privileged diffusion around the Mediterranean is noted for the type (Ettlinger et al., 1990: 92). In short, if the scarce representation of the type Drag. 27, usually heavily present in the Flavian period, seems consistent with the pre-Flavian dating of the ensemble, then the presence of a rim of the Drag. 35/36 type – too small to be able to tell if it is a cup or a plate – allows one to propose a dating later than AD 60 for this ensemble.

The decorated forms, which represent 14,6% of the repertoire of Gaulish *sigillata* in Alemanes St., are made up of six individuals of the Drag. 30 form (Fig. 2, 2-5) and a fragment of the Drag. 29 type (Fig. 3, 1). Though the very fragmented state of the pieces does not allow one to clearly appreciate the decorative style, the quality of their execution can nevertheless be observed. The typical lines of beading present on the Drag. 29 vases are shown as thick and well defined in the documented fragment, as in the early specimens of the type. As for the wavy lines traditionally used in the decoration of the forms Drag. 30 and Drag. 37 from 60 AD onwards, they are still carefully done, looking more like delicate rolled ribbons than the thick zigzagging lines that will become characteristic in Flavian decorations. A zoned decoration, heralding the Flavian style is, however, beginning to be evident, but this separation is not yet carried out in a systematic way by means of sometimes placing straight lines, sometimes wavy lines at the ends of a decorative motif's (Fig. 3, 3).

Finally, the only potter's stamp documented on the whole assemblage, on the base of an indeterminate type of cup, corresponds to the *Luceius'* workshop, active between AD 30 and 65 (Fig. 2, 15) (Hartley and Dickinson, 2009: 112). These dates therefore corroborate once again the chronology of the ensemble, which we propose to place at the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

4.2. Neighbourhood of San Bernardo (AD 65-75)

With a total of 235 individuals, this set represents the largest of the three studied. The majority of the pieces show an excellent state of conservation, most of them presenting a complete profile and some being almost completely preserved. The gloss, however, appears somewhat blurred now and uniformly matt due to the prolonged effect of a humid environment. Even so, the appearance of the fabric, observed with the binocular magnifying glass, as well as the origin of the stamps documented, have made it possible to attribute all the pieces to La Graufesenque workshop.



Fig. 4 – San Bernardo: plain forms (* pieces in marbled sigillata).

The plain forms represent about 83% of the South Gaulish repertoire and are divided between 17 different types (**Fig. 4**). Drag. 18 plates with 50 MNI (**Fig. 4, 28-29** and **31**) predominate this time, followed by Drag. 24/25 (**Fig. 4, 1-5**) and Drag. 27 (**Fig. 4, 10-14**) in similar proportions (35 and 33 NMI, respectively). Then come the plates Drag. 15/17 with 23 individuals (**Fig. 4, 26-27**) and then the cups of Ritt. 8 type (**Fig. 4, 6-9**) and Ritt. 9 (**Fig. 4, 16-18**), represented by 19 and 11 individuals respectively. The relatively significant presence of the latter two forms, which represent 12-18% of the cups in this context, is surprising considering their low representation in La Graufesenque or in Vechten, where for example they correspond to only 1,3 and 1,7% in the same shape category (Polak, 2000). The forms Drag. 35 and Drag. 36 (**Fig. 4, 19-22**) also appear in the context of the Barrio de San Bernardo, although still discreetly with but four and three individuals, respectively, to which one must add a rim that it is impossible to distinguish between the Drag. 35 or 36 types. The rest of the pieces are then distributed among the Ritt. 12 cups (3 NMI), Drag. 15A plate (5 NMI: **Fig. 4, 30**), a Drag. 33 bowl and two individuals of the form Drag. 4/22 in different modules (**Fig. 4, 24-25**). Two residual pre-Flavian forms are also documented: a Ritt. 1 plate (**Fig. 4, 23**) and a small module of a Goud. 40 cup, almost intact (**Fig. 4, 15**). The presence of three Herm. 18 inkpots is also noteworthy, of which one in marbled *sigillata* (**Fig. 4, 32**).

Regarding the decorated repertoire, which represents 17% of the whole, it is significant to note the great predominance of the form Drag. 29 (**Fig. 5**), with 28 individuals against only seven of the form Drag. 30 and three of the form Drag. 37. The Knorr 78 form, produced between AD 60 and 100, also makes its appearance (**Fig. 6, 5**), as well as a few fragments of closed decorated forms, usually little documented. Thus, a fragment of indeterminate type appears which, due to the absence of gloss on its internal surface, could correspond to the Hermet 7 type, whose manufacture is restricted to AD 50-70 (Passelac and Vernhet, 1993: 575) (**Fig. 6, 4**).

The slight presence of the Drag. 37 vases that usually dominate the Flavian repertoires, as well as the decorative style observed, coincide with a dating of the ensemble at the moment of transition between the Julio-Claudian and the Flavian periods. In fact, in the compositions a preference for continuous plant-derived motifs is to be observed (**Fig. 6, 7-8; Fig. 7**), although these begin to present a certain zoned effect, which is characteristic of the Flavian period. The Drag. 30 vases show large plant-derived friezes in a loaded but elegant style, characterised by the appearance and profusion of small zoomorphic motifs that adorn the spaces left empty between the figures (**Fig. 6, 2, 3** and **6**). Hunting scenes are quite common, although represented in a style closer to that described by Hermet for the *floruit* of La Graufesenque (Hermet, 1934). This is the case, for example, of a Drag. 37, where the decorative scene is placed in a large vegetal frieze occupying the entire decorative area of the vase (**Fig. 6, 8**). Here, the mould maker even seems to have tried to create an effect of perspective by setting the animals in their natural environment and placing some free-standing vegetation behind the figure of the wild boar. In this piece, as well as in another Drag. 37 of the same set and largely preserved (at 80%) with quite thin walls (**Fig. 7**), some archaizing details indicate that they correspond to the first moments of the production of this form, around AD 60. The fact that on the two pieces the ovolo friezes are finished off either by a line of beads or by a wavy line is particularly noteworthy. This detail shows the great care given even to the making of the rim area and to its connection with the moulded and decorated body, a care that will disappear in the Flavian era, where often one observes friezes of truncated or partially erased ovolos.

In the San Bernardo district, 35 potter's stamps were sufficiently well executed and preserved to be read and to be attributed to a specific workshop. Twenty-two workshops are thus represented (**Fig. 8** and **Table 2**). Together with the composition of the repertoire and the style of the decorations, these stamps allow us to date the ensemble quite accurately to around AD 70. Two main groups of potters are documented: those who end their activity around the beginning of the Flavian era, such as the workshops of *Albinus*, *Aper*, *C. Iulius Celer*, *M. Iulius Severus*, *Labio*, *Matugenus*, *Murranus*, *Passienus* and *Vitalis*; and others that begin production at the end of the Julio-Claudian era, such as *Germanus*, *Mommo*, *Patricius*, *Pontus*, *Secundus* and *Severus ii*. The other potters, according to this date, have a period of activity

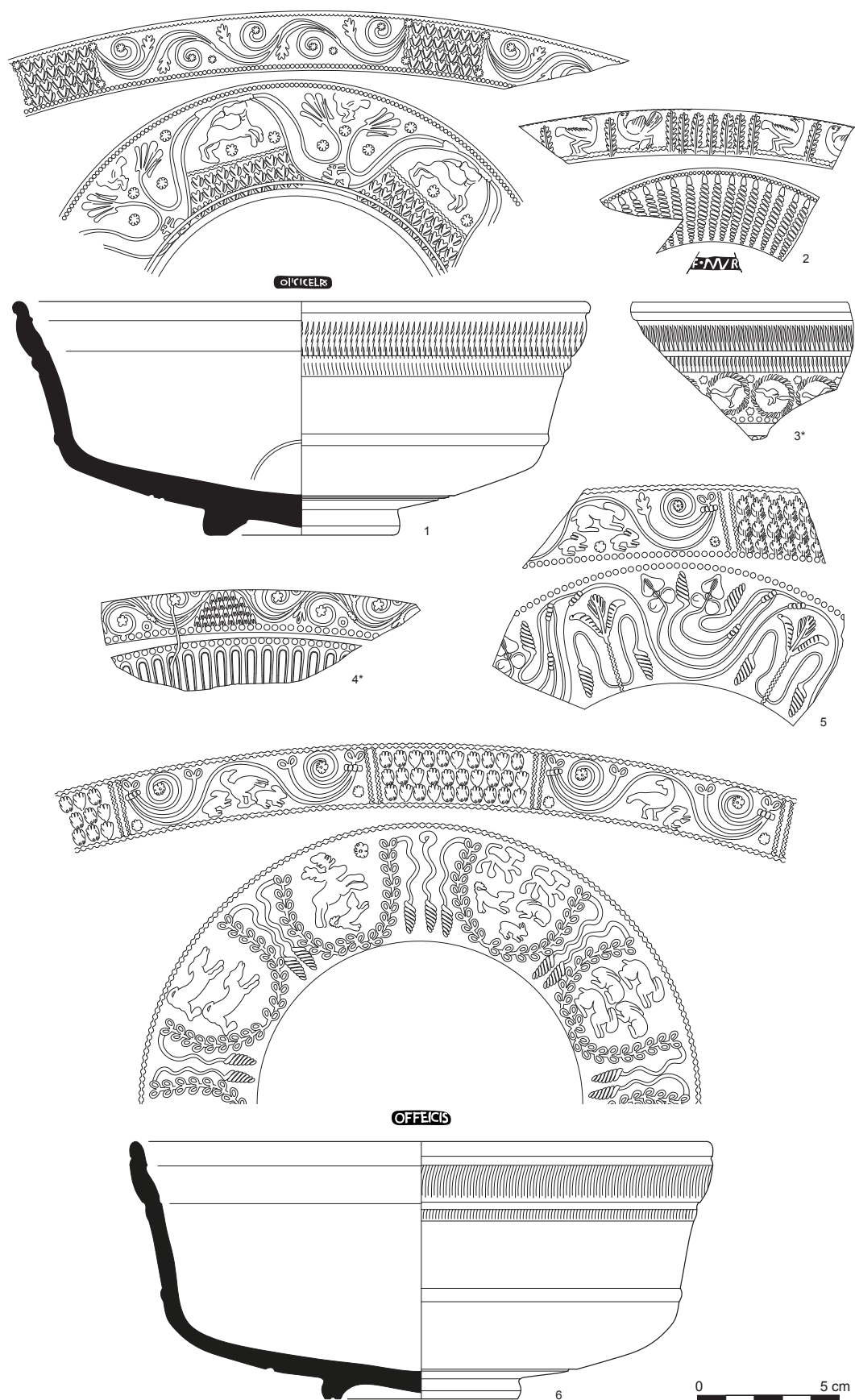


Fig. 5 – San Bernado: Drag. 29 fonts (* pieces in marbled sigillata).

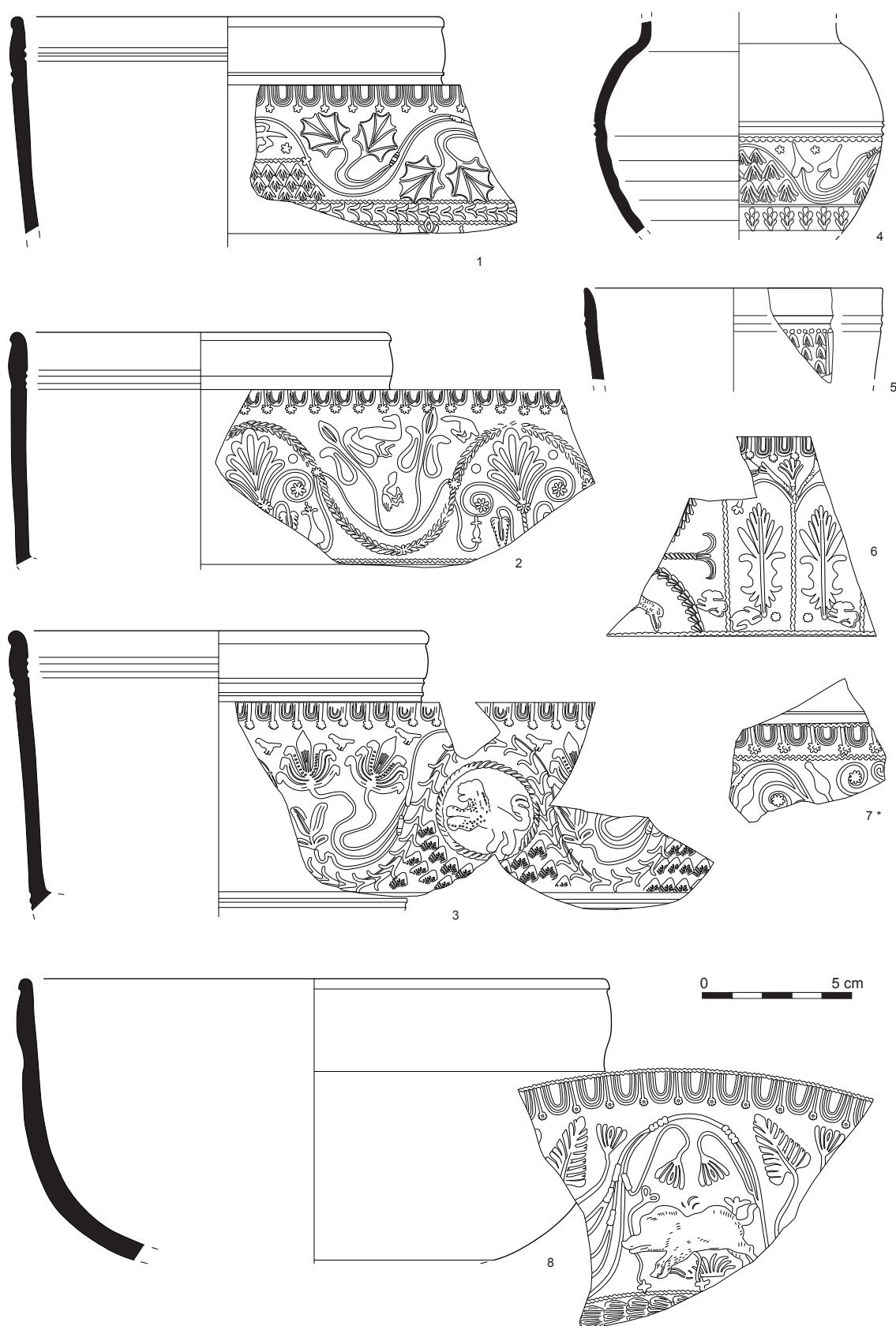


Fig. 6 – San Bernardo: decorated forms. 1-3 and 6: Drag. 30; 4: Hermet 7 ?; 5: Knorr 78; 7-8: Drag. 37 (* piece in marbled *sigillata*).

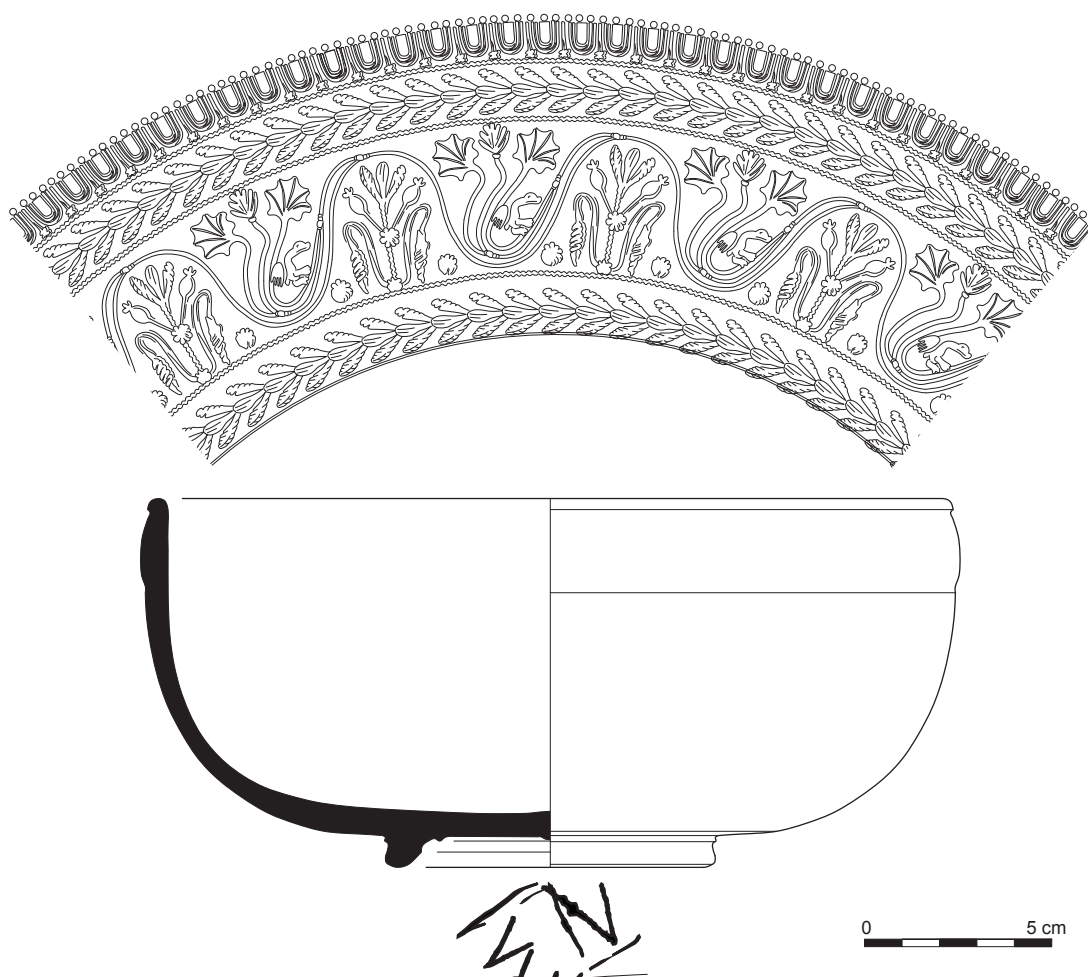


Fig. 7 – San Bernado: bowl Drag. 37.

corresponding to the transition between the two dynasties, such as *Felix ii* and *Marsus*, as well as a stamp attributable to *Calvus ii* and another of difficult attribution (M-II). The last, with its characteristic letters, nevertheless appears well represented in the consuming centres and could therefore have been dated by Hartley and Dickinson (2012) between 55 and 85 AD. Only two stamps, *Salve tu* and *Scottius*, have an earlier chronology and could correspond to residual pieces. Two *tria nomina* (*C. Iulius Celer* and *M. Iulius Severus*), four marks on the internal base of decorated vases of type Drag. 29 (*Felix ii*, *C. Iulius Celer*, *Marsus* and *Murranus*) and four stamps on pieces in marbled *sigillata* (*Albinus*, *Aper* – an apparently unpublished stamp – and two stamps of *Secundus*) are documented. The two *tria nomina* are interesting since they correspond to stamps until now unknown in centres of consumption and very little documented either in La Graufesenque (Genin, 2007). The most illustrated potter is *Secundus*, with five occurrences, followed by *Albinus*, *Germanus* and *Pontus*, each represented on three occasions. The potters *Aper*, *Calvus ii*, *M. Iulius Severus*, *Patricius* and *Vitalis* are documented twice and the rest only once. In the case of *Pontus*, *Calvus ii*, *M. Iulius Severus* and *Vitalis*, it should be noted that the stamps identified have also identical characters and appear to have been produced by the same stamp, on pieces of identical typology or modules (Fig. 4, 4 and 13, 16-17). One can therefore defend an interpretation of the whole assemblage as belonging once to a single and homogeneous cargo – perhaps partly produced at the same time in the workshop of La Graufesenque – which was not divided up for redistribution on arrival at the port of Seville. The pieces could thus correspond to an accidental loss, or to an intentional discard at the time of unloading (by noting their fragmentation pattern).



Fig. 8 – Stamps documented for all San Bernardo (* pieces in marbled sigillata).

No.	Reading	Potter	Form and comments
1	OF ALBIN[!?	<i>Albinus</i>	Drag. 24/25
2	OF ALBI	<i>Albinus</i>	Drag. 15/17
3	ALBIN(I)	<i>Albinus</i>	Drag. 15/17 (marmorata)
4	APRI (retrograde)	<i>Aper</i>	Drag. 24/25 (marmorata)
5	OF A[...]	<i>Aper</i>	Drag. 18
6	AR[...]	<i>Ardacus?</i>	Drag. 15/17 (marmorata)
7	OF CA	<i>Calvus ii</i>	Drag. 27 (2 pieces with identical stamp)
8	OF FEICIS	<i>Felix ii</i>	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
9	[G]ERMA	<i>Germanus</i>	Drag. 18
10	OF.GERM	<i>Germanus</i>	Drag. 18
11	GERMA[N]	<i>Germanus</i>	Undetermined cup (Drag. 24/25?)
12	IA[...]	Undetermined	Undetermined cup (marmorata)
13	OF CICELRS	<i>C. Iulius Celer</i>	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
14	M.IVL.SEVE	<i>M. Iulius Seve(rus)</i>	Undetermined cup
15	OF L.ABIO	<i>Labio</i>	Drag. 18
16	OF MA	<i>M-II</i>	Drag. 24/25
17	[MAR]SS[I]MA	<i>Marsus</i>	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
18	OF MAT.VGE	<i>Matugenus</i>	Drag. 15/17
19	MOM	<i>Mommo</i>	Drag. 24/25
20	[O]F.MVR[ANI]	<i>Murranus</i>	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
21	PASSIE	<i>Passienus</i>	Undetermined cup (Drag. 27?)
22	OF PATRIC	<i>Patricius</i>	Drag. 27
23	OF PATRICI	<i>Patricius</i>	Drag. 27
24	OF PONT	<i>Pontus</i>	Drag. 24/25 (2 pieces), Drag. 27 (1)
25	SALVETV (retrog.)	<i>Salve tu</i>	Drag. 15/17
26	OF SCOTI	<i>Scottius</i>	Undetermined cup (Drag. 24/25?)
27	OF [S]ECVND	<i>Secundus?</i>	Drag. 18
28	(S?)ECVN	<i>Secundus i?</i>	Undetermined cup
29	(S)ECVN	<i>Secundus i?</i>	Ritt. 9 (marmorata)
30	SECVN.F	<i>Secundus i</i>	Drag. 18
31	OF SECV[N]	<i>Secundus ii?</i>	Drag. 18 (marmorata)
32	[OF SE]VERI	<i>Severus ii</i>	Undetermined cup (Drag. 27?)
33	OF VIJA	<i>Vitalis</i>	Ritt. 9 (2 pieces with identical stamp)
34	VI[...]	<i>Virthus?</i>	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
35	VI[...]	<i>Virthus?</i>	Undetermined form (marmorata)
36	[...](APV?)[...]	Undetermined	Undetermined plate (marmorata)
37	MA[...]	Undetermined	Drag. 24/25
38	[...]	Undetermined	Drag. 18

Table 2 – Identification of the stamps documented in the San Bernardo complex.

4.3. Patio de Banderas (AD 75/80-90)

This last horizon is composed of 120 individuals, among which 13 plain forms and six differently decorated forms have been identified. The repertoire of the plain forms is dominated, as is usually the case in the second half of the 1st century AD, by the two types of plates and the two most recurrent types of cups: the Drag. 18 type plates with 32 MNI (Fig. 9, 12-15) are well ahead of the other forms, followed by the Drag. 24/25 cups with 14 MNI (Fig. 9, 1-2), the Drag. 15/17 plates with 12 MNI (Fig. 9, 10-11) and finally the

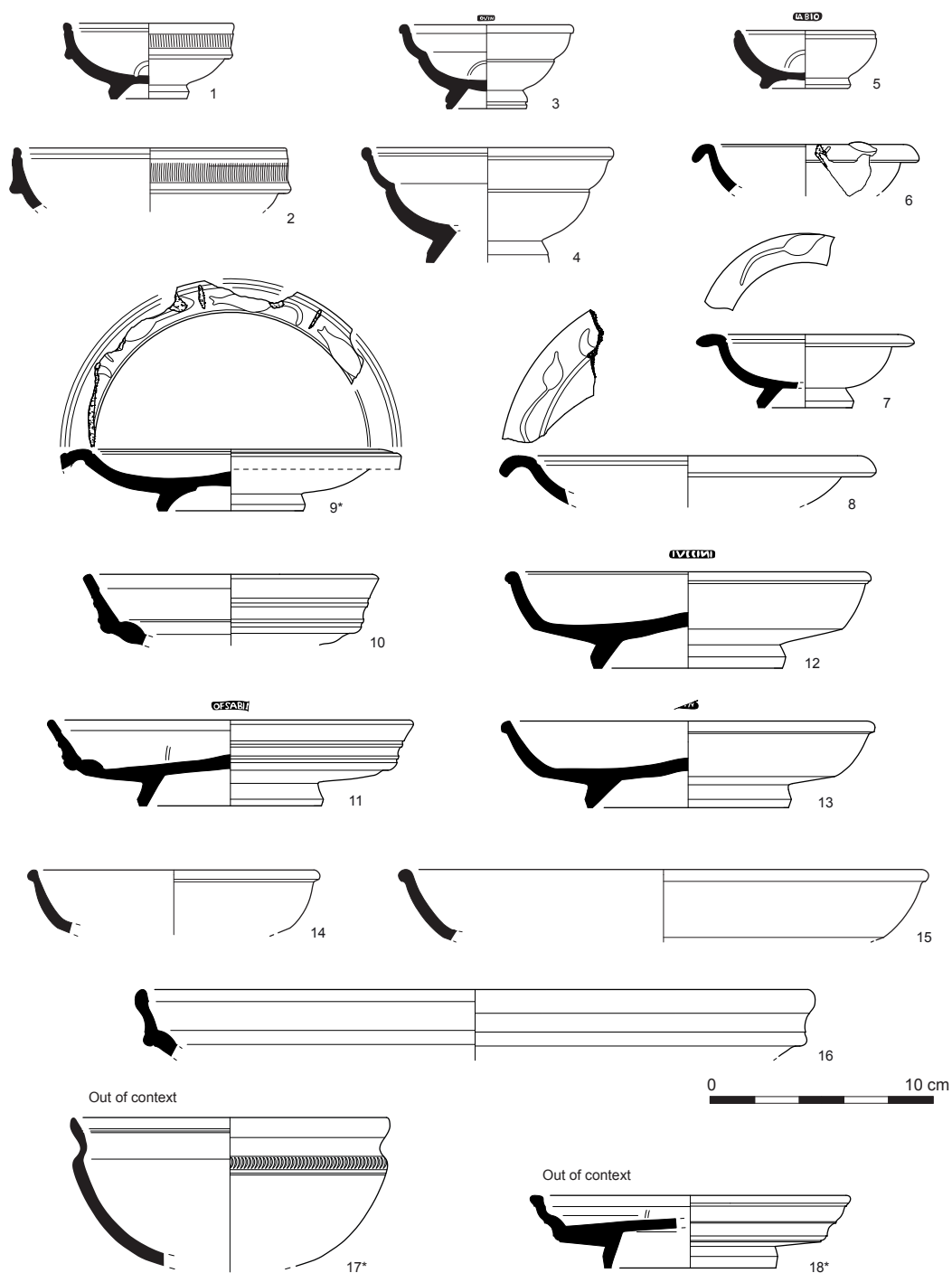


Fig. 9 – Patio de Banderas: plain forms (* : pieces in marbled *sigillata*).

Drag. 27 cups with 9 MNI (**Fig. 9, 3-4**). The Flavian shape Drag. 35/36, according to the chronology of the set, gains in importance, recording three plates of type Drag. 36 (**Fig. 9, 8**), three cups Drag. 35 (**Fig. 9, 6-7**) and three rims whose specific form could not be determined. The Ritt. 8 and 9 cups are still present, although to a lesser extent than in the previous group, with four and one individuals respectively. The features of the Ritt. 8 (**Fig. 9, 5**), namely flattened and thick-walled, also denotes a late production of the type. The rest of the forms, documented in single pieces, are constituted by the Drag. 16 and Drag. 4/22 plates, the Drag. 15A type (**Fig. 9, 16**), the bowl Drag. 33 and the cup Ritt. 14B (**Fig. 9, 9**). The last is of

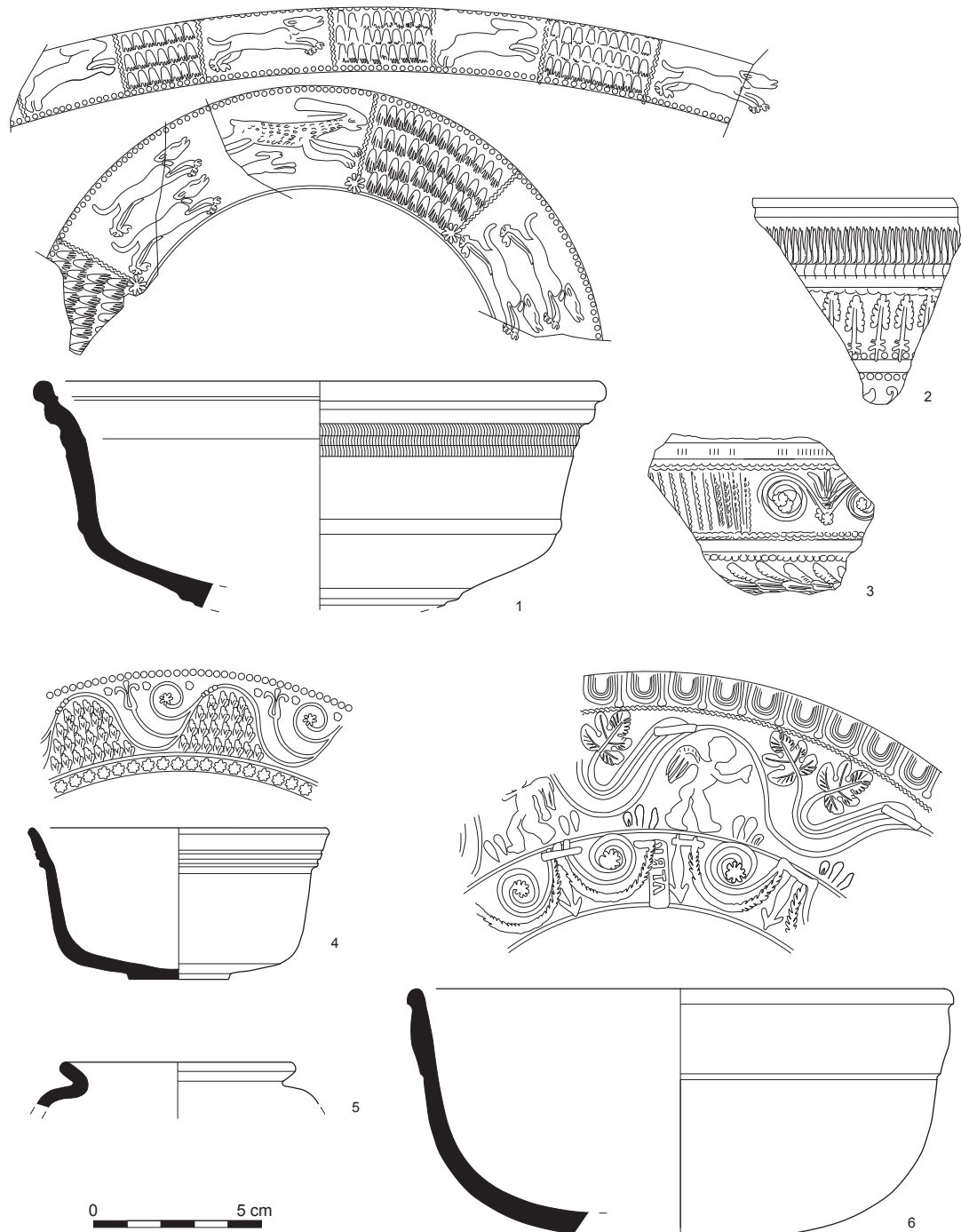


Fig. 10 – Patio de Banderas: decorated forms. 1-3: Drag. 29; 4: Hermet 9; 5: Déch. 67; 6: Drag. 37.

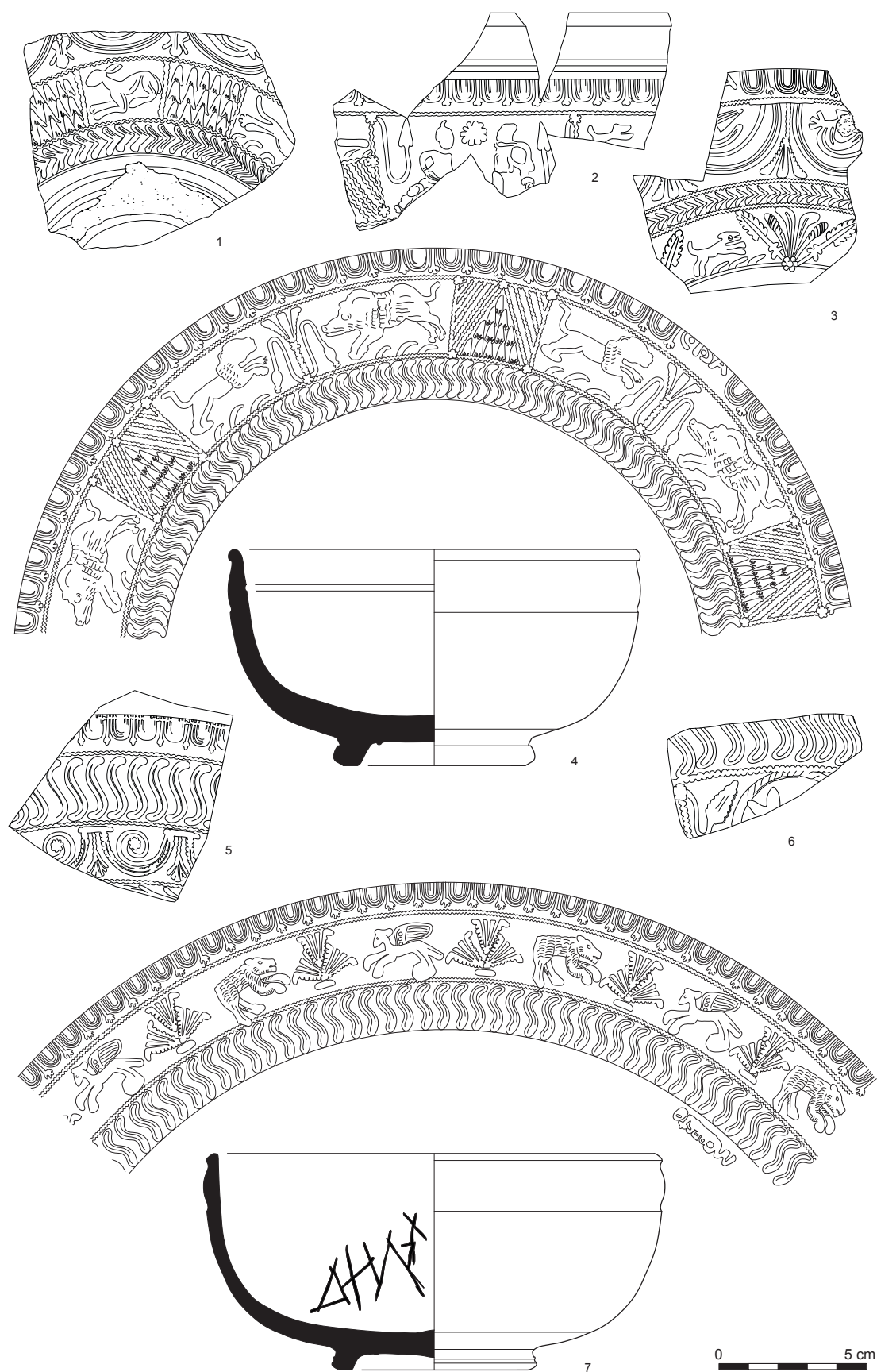


Fig. 11 – Patio de Banderas: Drag. 37 bowls.

particular interest for the dating of the ensemble, since the start of production would be around AD 80/90 (Passelac and Vernhet, 1993; Genin, 2007). The marbled gloss of the documented specimen also seems to demonstrate the prolongation of the use of this type of gloss beyond the reign of Nero on at least until the end of the Flavian era, as proposed by M. Genin (2007).

The decorated pieces, which this time represent 24,4% of the total number of Gaulish *sigillata*, are again marked out by the prevalent types Drag. 29 and Drag. 37, which account for 87,8% of the decorated forms. However, it is surprising to observe – although the form Drag. 37 logically gains in importance, with its 13 MNI – that the vessels Drag. 29 seem to predominate (even if but slightly) until the middle of the Flavian period, with 16 individuals recorded (Fig. 10, 1-3). Other typically Flavian forms make their appearance, although in a discreet way, being represented by individual examples of the Knorr 78, Déch. 67 (Fig. 10, 5) and Hermet 9 types (Fig. 10, 4), while the Drag. 30 form decreases in importance with only two individuals represented.

The style of the decorations is now clearly that of the period of ‘decadence’ as described by Hermet (1934), with manufacturing defects and even overprints being noted in some cases (Fig. 10, 3). Both Drag. 29 and Drag. 37 are dominated by zoned decorations and compositions, alternating with palisades and overlapping panels. Hunting scenes abound (Fig. 10, 1; Fig. 11, 3-4), as well as areas decorated with strigils (Fig. 11, 4-7). Vegetation characteristic of the decadent style is also observed, positioned underneath animals and characters (Fig. 10, 6; Fig. 11, 3-4). Finally, anthropomorphic motifs appear, becoming increasingly important in later times, for example in a gladiatorial scene (Fig. 11, 2).

Thirteen potters’ stamps can be attributed to 11 different workshops in this group (Fig. 12). Potter *Sabinus ii* and mould-maker *C. Iulius Sabinus* appear twice. The chronological scope defined by the potter’s stamps seems to be centred on AD 80. The date is determined for this particular context by the intradecorative marks documented on Drag. 37 by *M. Crestio* (Fig. 11, 7), *C. Iulius Sabinus* (Fig. 11, 3 and 4) and *Patricius* (Fig. 10, 6), which provide a *post quem terminus* of AD 75/80 for this context. It should be noted that the intradecorative mark of *M. Crestio* and the two marks of *C. Iulius Sabinus*, inserted in a characteristic



Fig. 12 – Stamps documented on Patio de Banderas.

No.	Reading	Potter	Tipology and comments
1	OF CAT (retrograde)	<i>Catus/Catlus?</i>	Undeterminate plate
2	COS[O]IVRA	<i>Cosius Urapus</i>	Drag. 27
3	MCRESTO	<i>M. Crestio</i>	Drag. 37 (intradecorative stamp)
4	C.I.SA	<i>C. Iulius Sa(binus)</i>	Drag. 37 (intradecorative stamp, documented twice)
5	IVLLINI	<i>Iullinus</i>	Drag. 18
6	LABIO	<i>Labio</i>	Ritt. 8
7	OF MA	<i>M-II</i>	Undetermined bowl
8	MEDD[IL]LV[S]	<i>Meddillus</i>	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
9	[P]ATRIC (retrograde)	<i>Patricius</i>	Drag. 37 (intradecorative stamp)
10	QVIN	<i>Quintanus</i>	Drag. 27
11	OF.SABIN	<i>Sabinus ii</i>	Drag. 15/17
12	OF.SABI[N]	<i>Sabinus ii</i>	Drag. 15/17
13	Anepigraph	Undetermined	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
14	OF LI[...]	Undetermined	Drag. 27
15	MA[...]	Undetermined	Drag. 29 (internal base stamp)
16	OF SA[...]	Undetermined	Drag. 24/25

Table 3 – Identification of the stamps documented in the Patio de Banderas.

manner for this workshop in the frieze of ovolo in the upper part of the decorated area, have also been documented in the cargo of Culip IV, sunk near the Catalan coast around AD 70-80/85 (Nieto Prieto and Puig, 2001). Although the various scholarly works consulted agree to place the start of production of these last two workshops at a time barely before AD 80 (Mees, 1995: 75, 93; Hartley and Dickinson, 2008: vol. 3, 174; Nieto Prieto and Puig, 2001: 25-26), *Patricius'* retrograde stamp could be attributed up to AD 85/90. The characters of the stamp as well as the style of the vessel indeed seem to correspond to the second decorative series defined by Mees for this mould-maker (Mees, 1995: fig. 164, n° 8-14).

5. The marbled *sigillata*, a typical Mediterranean tableware?

With a total of 35 MNI (67 fragments) documented within the three interventions studied, in all of the chronological contexts seen, the marble productions represent on average in Seville 6,5% of the total of the fragments of Gaulish³ *sigillata*. This percentage therefore places the entrance to the city among the best supplied centres in *sigillata marmorata* within the western Mediterranean, ahead of even the

Site/Assemblage	Bibliography	Period	% of marmorata
Pompey	Pucci, 1977	AD 40/79	16,8%
Pompey	Huchin, 2014	AD 40/79	10,3%
San Bernardo assemblage	-	AD 65-75	10,2%
Ostia	Martin 1994	40/end of the 1st cent. AD	10% (c.)
Seville (average)	-	AD 60-90	6,5%
Mérida (<i>puticuli</i>)	Pérez Maestro, 2004	AD 40/70	6%
Algarve (Castro Marim, Faro, Balsa)	Viegas 2003b, 2011	1st cent. AD	5,2%
Valeria	Sánchez-La Fuente Pérez, 1985	1st cent. AD.	5,2%
Baelo Claudia	Bourgeois and Mayet, 1991	30-end of 1st cent. AD	4,4%
Ampurias	Aquilué et al., 2005	Neronian context	4,3%
Cartagena	Castellano Castillo, 2000	AD 60/70	4,3%
Narbonne (shop)	Sabrié and Sabrié, 2006	AD 70/90	4%
Patio de Banderas assemblage	-	AD 75/80-90	2,5%
Alemanes St. assemblage	-	AD 60-70	2,4%
Tossal de Manises	Ribera i Lacomba, 1988-89	1st cent. AD	2,1%
Valencia	Ribera i Lacomba and Poveda, 1994	1st cent. AD	1,4%
Chãos Salgados (<i>Mirobriga?</i>)	Quaresma, 2003	1st cent. AD	1,4%
La Graufesenque (all periods)	Genin, 2007	AD 15-170	1,3%
Alcaçova de Santarém	Viegas, 2003a	1st cent. AD	0,8%
La Graufesenque (<i>Gallicanus</i> pit)	Genin, 2007	50-70 d.C.	0,6%
Conimbriga	Delgado et al., 1975	1st cent. AD	0,3%
Braga	Morais, 2005	1st cent. AD	0,2%

Table 4 – Percentages of marbled pieces documented in the total number of Gaulish *sigillata*, in different sets and deposits within the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and *Narbonensis*.

3. Even if this figure is absolutely unrepresentative (since it does not take into account the restricted chronological scope covered by marbled productions), it nevertheless serves to establish comparisons with the majority of Iberian sites, with their often earlier publications, for which this figure appears usually calculated on the total number of fragments of Gaulish *sigillata* documented on the site and without any chronological considerations.

capital of *Lusitania*, which to date had the highest figures documented for the Iberian Peninsula (**Table 4**) (Mayet, 1978) ⁴.

This proportion is even more significant in the San Bernardo district as a whole, where the marble pieces reach 10,2% of the total, thus matching the figure calculated in the port of Ostia or in Pompeii (Huchin, 2014). Agreeing with the observations of Genin, we also note that the highest percentages, ranging between 4 and 5,2% of the total of Gaulish *sigillata*, are all to be found in important Mediterranean cities, in most cases at ports ⁵. This weighted distribution of marbled *sigillata* in the Mediterranean basin and particularly in Italy (Pucci, 1977; Martin, 1994; Huchin, 2014) contrasts with its extreme rarity in the northern provinces (Genin, 2007: 159), as well as its scant representation on the Atlantic façade of the Iberian Peninsula. In noting this concentration of marbled pieces in Italy, *Baetica* and *Lusitania*, Genin proposed interpreting them as vessels of a ‘Mediterranean taste’, clearly consumed mostly by Italian customers or those strongly Romanized such as in the southern Hispania (Genin, 2007: 161). In this sense, the strong concentrations of *sigillata marmorata* documented in the port of Narbonne, which contrast with their scarcity in the centres near La Graufesenque, as well as in the workshop itself – where it is estimated that the marbled pieces represented only 1,3% of the production (Genin, 2007: 155, 158), support the theory of a set of tableware destined for exclusive export to Mediterranean markets. This hypothesis seems to be fully confirmed in the sets studied in *Hispalis*, where the important assemblage of marbled pieces uncovered in the district of San Bernardo has few published parallels in the Iberian Peninsula in terms of the number of pieces, as well as their state of conservation.

Forms	San Bernardo	Patio de Banderas	Alemanes St.	Total
Drag. 27	8	3	-	11
Drag. 24/25	7	-	-	7
Drag. 15/17	6	-	-	6
Drag. 4/22	4	1	-	5
Drag. 29	3	2	-	5
Drag. 35/36	5	-	-	5
Drag. 18	3	-	-	3
Drag. 16	-	1	1	2
Ritt. 9	2	-	-	2
Ritt. 8	1	-	-	1
Ritt. 1	1	-	-	1
Ritt. 14B	-	1	-	1
Herm. 18	1	-	-	1
Drag. 37	1	-	-	1
Drag. 30	-	1	-	1
Knorr 78/Herm.9	-	1	-	1
Bowl with rim similar to Halt. II	-	1	-	1
Undetermined	9	3	1	13
TOTAL	51	14	2	67

Table 5 – Numbers of fragments and typological distribution of the marbled pieces documented in each of the three archaeological interventions studied, including pieces in residual contexts.

4. Unfortunately, the figure of the total MNI of Gaulish *terra sigillata* documented in the *puticuli* of Mérida studied by C. Pérez Maestro in 2004 is not published. Thus it is therefore impossible to calculate the weight represented by the 81 fragments of marbled pieces documented with respect to red gloss productions.

5. In the case of Mérida, Genin explains the strong concentration of marbled production by the site’s likely role as redistribution centre for the rest of *Lusitania* (Genin, 2007: 161).

Out of the total of 67 previously mentioned documented fragments, 17 of the 38 known forms in *marmorata* at La Graufesenque have been identified in the Sevillian contexts⁶, although the findings are very unevenly distributed among the three interventions studied (**Table 5**). The diversity of documented types with respect to the number of fragments recovered thus seems surprising, particularly when compared with the repertoire of marbled pieces published for other sites and reference sets. By way of comparison, only eight different forms were identified in a total of 54 fragments of marbled pieces from the amphitheatre of Cartagena (Castellano Castillo, 2000: 157), nine forms for 31 fragments in Mérida (Pérez Maestro, 2004: 364) and only 10 forms for a total of 130 fragments in the entire *Baelo Claudia* site (Bourgeois and Mayet, 1991: 104). On the other hand, 13 forms from a total of 48 fragments are recorded in the single set from San Bernardo.

Among the shapes documented in *Hispalis*, that of a hemispherical bowl, with a concave rim separated from the body by a guilloche decoration, attracts attention (**Fig. 9, 17**). It is a form known in La Graufesenque from only two pieces and until now totally unknown in consuming centres (Genin, 2007: 156). The similarity of the border to those of the Italic service of type Haltern II leads Genin to interpret these bowls as an early version of marbled pieces, which would in turn argue for the appearance of this type of gloss around AD 20/30. Unfortunately, the Sevillian specimen, a residual piece actually in a stratigraphical unit of the Medieval period in the Patio de Banderas, does not allow us to propose a more precise chronology for this form. On balance, though, it seems unwise to attribute a Tiberian date to the piece, given the complete absence of Gaulish forms from this period in the rest of the contexts of the archaeological site. Genin concedes however that these forms bearing Italic characteristics could be more or less archaizing rarities (2007, p. 156). Oddities that seem however to have found in *Baetica* ready buyers sufficient to justify their production and export over long distances. The absolutely identical profile of these particular bowls in the La Graufesenque workshop and the Sevillian deposit suggests that they could have been a standardised production, made in larger quantities than initially estimated⁷.

It is worth reflecting more on the particularities of the shape repertoire of the marbled *sigillata*, something until now little known, since very little has been documented at the different consumption sites. The few available references, it is significant to note, consistently employ the terms ‘fantasist’, ‘derivative’ or ‘out of competition’ for the few specimens recorded. These last certainly do display typological variations from the canonical types of red-gloss *sigillata*, whose production is usually agreed to be highly standardized (Genin, 2007: 157; Bourgeois and Mayet, 1991: 105; Sanchez and Silvéreano, 2005: fig. 6, n°4). From the San Bernardo context, a Drag. 4/22 dish of an unconventional type, presenting a chiselled decoration over all its external surface, thus corresponds to one of these ‘rarities’ (**Fig. 4, 25**). It seems that, for reasons unknown, while the products in marbled *sigillata* largely reproduced the classic forms of the red-gloss repertoire, the workshops that produced them sometimes took certain liberties in shaping them, creating in some cases even new forms. This small margin of freedom, which needs further checking in other material, is almost never observed in the red-gloss productions proper, which are strictly standardized throughout the whole period of the workshop’s activity.

Finally, it is worth noting the presence in *Hispalis* of two fragments of the singular gloss, exclusively yellow in colour. This species, although very restrained in numbers, appears to be referred to in the bibliography on several occasions, but always in an anecdotal manner. Still, these allusions are too frequent to write off these yellow-gloss pieces as simple *errata* in the *marmorata* production. Hermet pointed out the first instances of these, describing them as ‘lemon yellow without red veinage’, in particular associated with forms Hermet 9 with a decorated carination and also on some plain forms whose type is not specified

6. To which could be added a large module of indeterminate plate type, but probably Drag. 18, Drag. 15A or Drag. 15/17, which is represented in the whole of the San Bernardo assemblage by a fragment of foot ring characteristic of large plates, with a square section more than a centimetre wide.

7. The fact that only two individuals of the Ritt. 9 type in marbled *sigillata* are documented in the whole workshop of La Graufesenque, when these are well known in Seville, seems to support this possibility.

(Hermet, 1934: 178). He also alludes to the existence of two vases presenting a mixed coating, marbled on the inside and yellow on the outside, observed in a private collection, that he identifies as a decorated Drag. 30 and a cup Herm. 15 (Ritt. 8) signed by *Murranus* (Hermet, 1934: 172). The yellow-gloss specimens documented in *Hispalis* comprise a plate of type Drag. 16 with a complete profile but unfortunately found in a residual context (Fig. 9, 18), as well as a base that could belong to the Knorr 78 or Hermet 9 form that comes from the Flavian horizon of the Patio de Banderas⁸. This type of yellow gloss is mentioned in the Iberian Peninsula from Tróia de Setúbal on a Ritt. 8 base signed by *Lepidus* (Sousa, 1996: 210), in the *puticuli* of Merida again on a Ritt. 8 (Pérez Maestro, 2004: 306)⁹ and in the Bouscaras collection from the port of Narbonne, yet again on a Ritt. 8, as well as on a Ritt. 14 bowl (Sánchez and Silvéreano, 2005: 170)¹⁰. The authors of the study of the Bouscaras collection refer to this type of ‘smooth ochre-yellowish’ gloss as a characteristic of the first marbled productions. Even if this explanation seems satisfactory for most of the pieces mentioned above, as well as for the specimen of a Drag. 16 plate found in the Patio de Banderas, it does not however explain the yellow gloss of the decorated Hermet 9 pieces produced between 60 and 80 AD, nor that of the possible base of a Knorr 78 documented in the Flavian context of the Patio de Banderas. A more exhaustive documentation and study of the new Iberian contexts rich in marbled pieces should be able to explain this phenomenon more precisely.

These observations made on the repertoire of the marbled *sigillata* in Seville, on the diversity of its types and the number of pieces documented underline the role of the city in the trade and redistribution of this particular commodity. They also yield information about the scale of the apparent demand for these pieces in all the urban centres of *Baetica* and the Iberian Peninsula, which is now to be seen, equal with Italy, as the main consumer for marbled *sigillata* productions.

6. Statistical study and observations on the evolution of the Sevillian repertoires

6.1. Proportions of plain and decorated pieces

The studies developed around *sigillata* have traditionally attributed great importance to the proportion of decorated pieces documented at a site. These are frequently considered as objects of a certain degree of luxury, probably costing more, and whose abundance at a site would therefore relate to the economic power of the same. However, when comparing, for example, the percentages of decorated pieces published for different sites in the Iberian Peninsula¹¹, it is obvious that there is no clear correlation between the number of decorated pieces documented and the demographic or economic weight of a centre of consumption, or its geographical location (Fig. 13).

A comparison of the data from the three contexts studied in Seville revealed a slight increase in the proportion of decorated pieces between the end of the Neronian period and the Flavian period. In order to try to determine whether this trend was confirmed in other sites and could be caused by a chronological factor, the percentages documented in the different reference sets of the Iberian Peninsula have been compared. The graph obtained shows a slight but perceptible tendency for the

8. Both forms have the same type of flat foot, formed by a larger base a few millimetres high. They differ mainly by their curved and decorated shape in the case of the Herm. 9, and in being marked by a carination in the Knorr 78. Without being able to attribute our piece with certainty to one or the other type, we nevertheless tend to think that its thickness makes it rather likely to be a Knorr 78 base.

9. The author also mentions in this article the existence of two other fragments with a yellow gloss in Herrera de Pisuergra and in Numancia.

10. Without being able therefore to speculate on the matter, given the extreme scarcity of data as for these coatings of yellow gloss, we will note however the odd frequency of Ritt. 8 cups found with this surface treatment, when compared to the negligible total number of known fragments of the same shape.

11. Unfortunately, these are figures for the entire site, without contextual details.

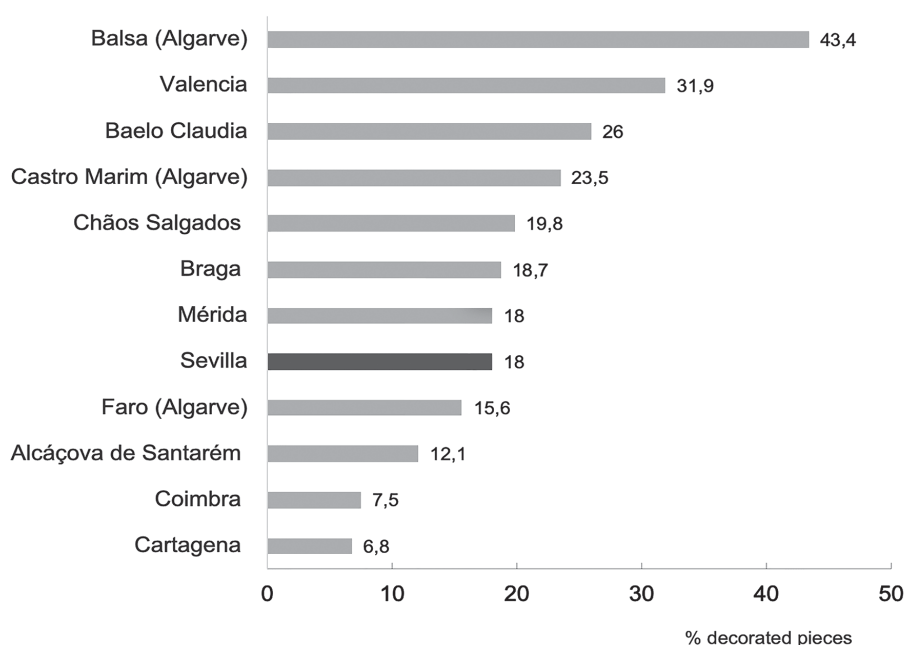


Fig. 13 – Proportion of decorated pieces in the repertoires of Gaulish sigillata from different sites in the Iberian Peninsula (general averages, without stratigraphical details). (See Table 4 for bibliography).

proportion of decorated pieces in the repertoires to increase with time (**Fig. 14**). They thus represent less than 10% of the total South Gallic pieces under Claudius, between 15 and 20% under Nero and at the beginning of the Flavian period – although this observation does not seem valid for Cartagena, rising to 30% or more in the full Flavian period and into the beginning of the 2nd century AD. On the contrary, if one compares the rates observed in the workshop of La Graufesenque, as well as further north in the centre of consumption of Saint-Romain-en-Gal, it can be seen that even though up into the 2nd century AD the rates observed at Saint-Romain-en-Gal are higher than in the workshop of La Graufesenque, the percentage of decorated pieces never exceeds 15% of the repertoire (**Fig. 15**).

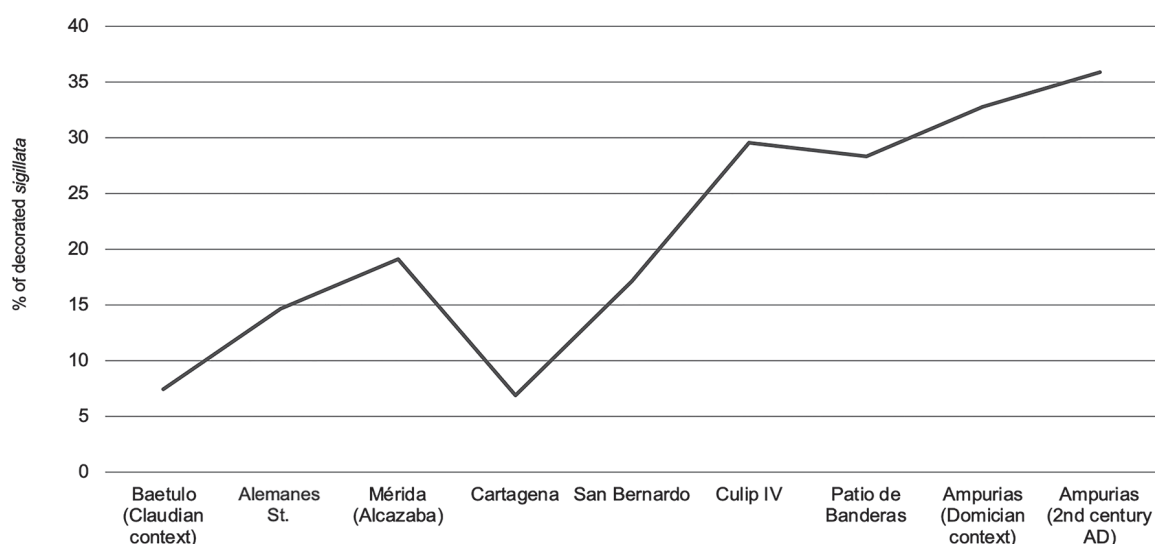


Fig. 14 – Quantitative evolution of the proportion of decorated pieces in sets from Seville and the Iberian Peninsula, classified in chronological order (see Table 1 for dates and bibliography).

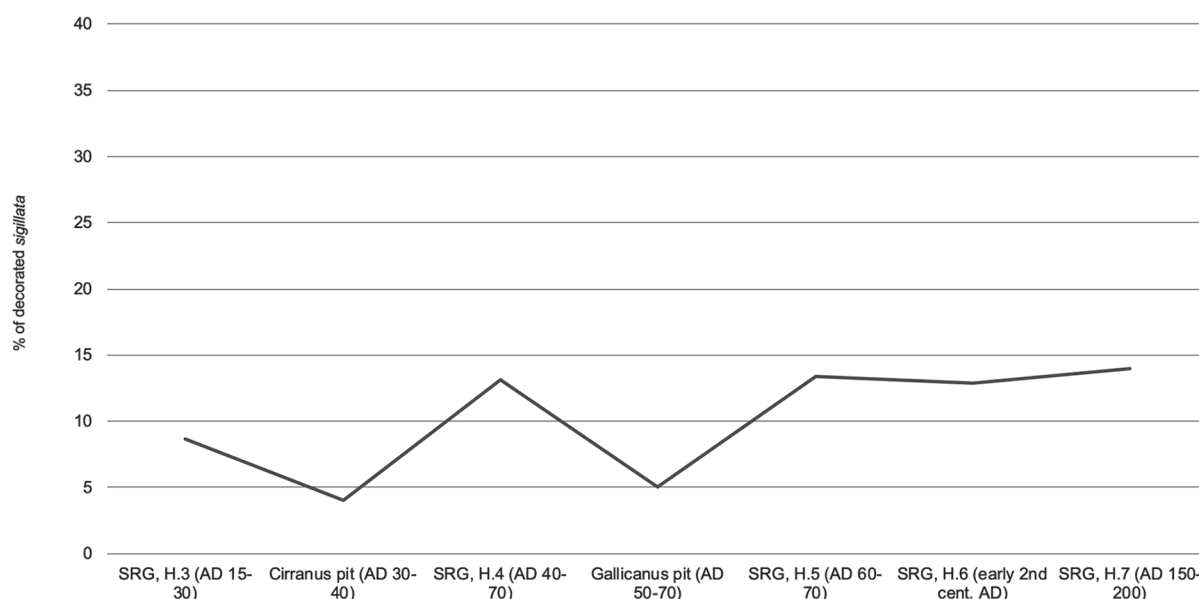


Fig. 15 – Quantitative evolution of the proportion of decorated pieces in Gaul, in La Graufesenque and Saint-Romain-en-Gal (SRG) ensembles, sorted in chronological order.

There does thus seem to be a correlation in the Iberian Peninsula between the proportion of Gaulish decorated pieces and the date of the ensembles. The increase in the number of such pieces during the Flavian period could perhaps be related to the popularity they are enjoying in the Italian peninsula during the same period (Huchin, 2014: 680). However, the research here needs to be supported by more data, and to be contrasted with the proportions of decorated *sigillata* from other origins in the same sets of material. Thus, the lack of decorated Gaulish *sigillata* in Claudian contexts could, for example, be explained by a possible preference in that period for decorated pieces of Italian origin. On the other hand, the high proportion of decorated South Gallic pieces in Pompeii during the Flavian period seems to be explained not so much by a lower consumption of plain forms, but rather by a consumption in that period of essentially local plain *sigillata*, to which Gaulish imports are preferred only for the decorated pieces (Huchin, 2014). In Seville, however, the Gaulish *sigillata* continue to be by far the most frequent in the Flavian period, in both the plain and decorated repertoires. The increase in the proportion of decorated pieces could therefore reflect a progressive local change in consumption choices, whose causes remain unknown.

6.2. Evolution of the composition of the plain forms repertoire

It was surprising to observe in the Sevillian repertoires of plain forms a much higher number of plates and dishes on average than seen in the workshop of La Graufesenque, where studies concluded that for the production of *sigillata*, ‘supply and demand were focused on priority over cups, well ahead of plates and dishes’ (Genin, 2007: 346). When comparing the proportions documented in the different sets of the workshop, an average of two bowls or cups for each plate was counted. The number of bowls produced does not seem to decrease before the 2nd century AD, without ever being surpassed by the number of plates (Fig. 16a). In the contexts of Alemanes st. and Patio de Banderas in Seville, in contrast, we observe that the number of plates exceeds that of the cups, and that although the latter are more numerous in the San Bernardo neighbourhood as a whole, the proportions observed are very different from those documented in La Graufesenque for the same period (Fig. 16b).

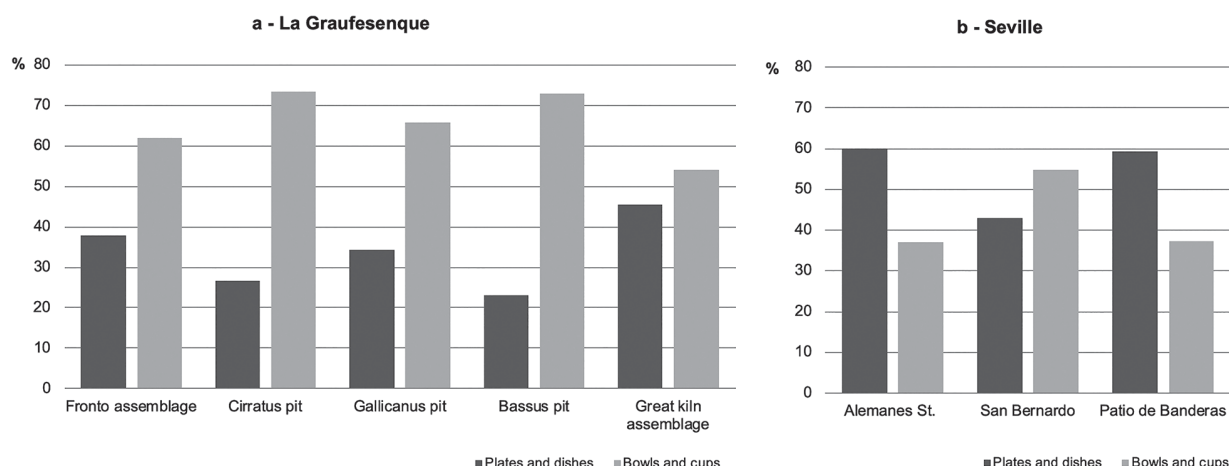


Fig. 16 – Proportion of plates and cups in La Graufesenque and Seville ensembles, classified in chronological order (see Table 1 for dates and bibliography).

Comparing the results obtained in Seville with those of the different reference sets from the Iberian Peninsula, we find that this situation in Seville is not an exception, but rather demonstrates the existence of a similar pattern of consumption in the different sites. There also seems to be an evolutionary trend in the proportion of documented cups and plates: if the former do indeed predominate in the Neronian ensembles, a change has taken place by the end of the Julio-Claudian period or at the beginning of the Flavian period in favour of plates, which from that moment onwards predominate in the plain form repertoires (Fig. 17).

For those sites in the Iberian Peninsula, whose publications did not allow such data to be analysed chronologically, the averages obtained for the total number of South Gaulish pieces documented confirm, however, the existence of the same criterion of consumption and the same preference for plates. If for some of the centres analysed the cups appear slightly more numerous, the proportions observed are in no case comparable to those documented in the northern sites such as La Graufesenque, Vechten or Saint-Romain-en-Gal (Fig 18)¹². Rather, comparing these results to the data available on the composition of the repertoires in *terra sigillata* within the Italian peninsula as exemplified by Pompeii (Huchin, 2014)¹³, a clear predominance of plates in the repertoires dedicated to table service is confirmed there too.

All these observations therefore seem to point to the existence of different patterns of consumption of *sigillata* sets, depending on the regions of the Empire, probably linked to the existence of different culinary practices, which would perhaps imply in *Hispania* as in Italy the use of a greater number of dishes. We therefore propose to see in the predominance of dishes observed in the Iberian Peninsula the adoption of Italian culinary customs, more deeply implanted in the 1st century AD in the strongly Romanized Hispanic provinces than in the more recently conquered northern provinces. In these latter, the increase in the number of plates does not begin to be perceptible in the assemblages before the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

In this specific case, the military camp of Vechten cannot really be considered as representative of the consumption patterns of the populations of the north, although Polak indicates that a greater

12. For the Portuguese Algarve, the figures of Faro, Balsa and Castro Marim, all from the same study by Viegas in 2003b and 2011, have been combined.

13. Plain forms of Gaulish *sigillata*, which were very rare in the city during the Flavian period, the quantification of the proportion of dishes and cups consumed was based on the production of late Italian *sigillata*, commonly used in Pompeii for table service instead of Gaulish productions.

representation of cups is also observed in the surrounding areas (Polak, 2000: 70). It would therefore be interesting to compare data from other urban contexts in the north provinces to see if they support the figures documented in Saint-Romain-en-Gal. However, the fact that the production of La Graufesenque focused mainly on the cups throughout its period of activity seems significant: it surely indicates that there was indeed a large consumer area somewhere – in this aspect apparently different from the Iberian Peninsula – with a strong demand for cups of Gaulish *sigillata*.

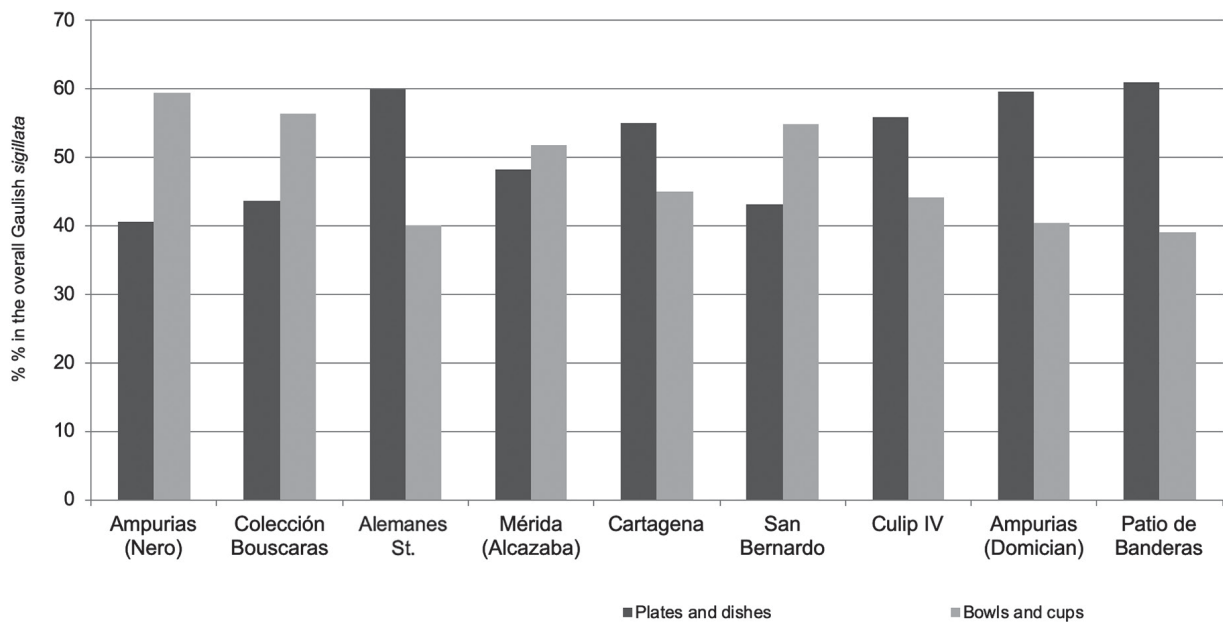


Fig. 17 – Quantitative evolution of the proportion of dishes and bowls in reference sets of the Iberian Peninsula, classified in chronological order (see Table 1 for dates and bibliography).

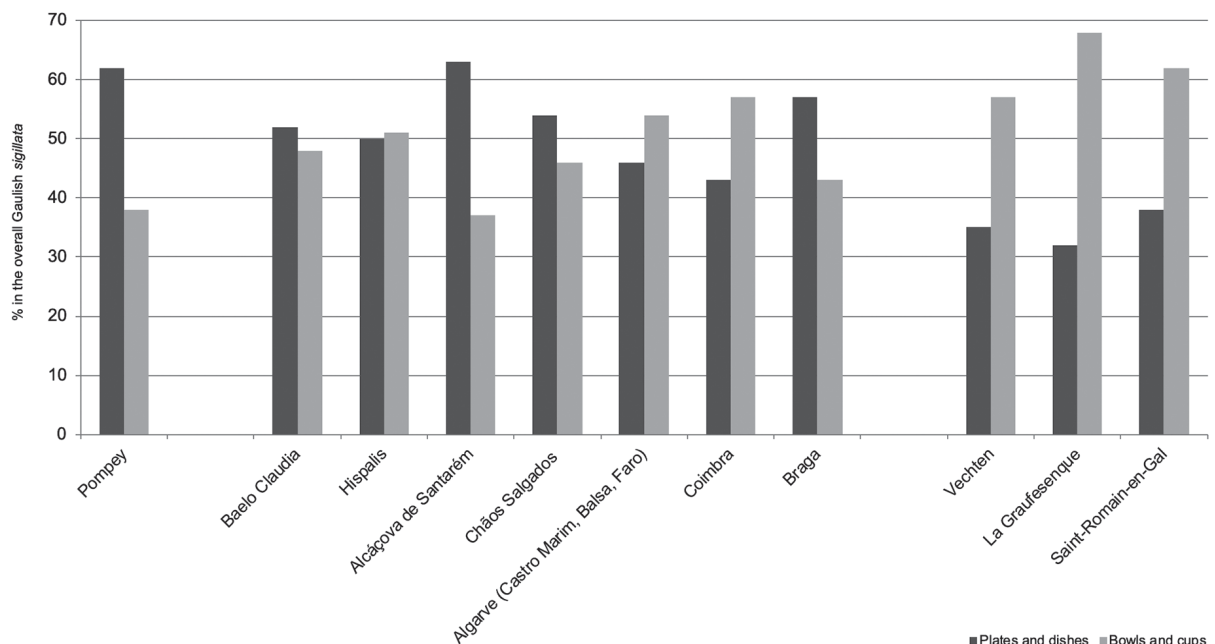


Fig. 18 – Proportion of dishes and bowls at different archaeological sites in different parts of the Empire (general averages without stratigraphical references). (See Tables 1 and 4 for bibliography).

6.3. Evolution of sizes

Since research on *sigillata* began, the existence of several manufacturing modules for the different forms of the repertoire has been recognized. Most of the plates and cups have thus been produced in two or three standard sizes, precisely calibrated, with a view to optimising their stacking both in the kilns and during export transport. Forms of different typologies, but of identical modules could thus be stacked together (Vernhet, 1981). However, this calibration seems to have been more strictly applied for certain forms in the repertoire than for others (Polak, 2000). Alongside the main production modules, a small number of forms with non-standard measurements have been frequently remarked upon, probably manufactured in response to specific demands or uses.

Too few metrological studies on *sigillata* pieces have been published to provide a clear explanation for these phenomena. However, since Bémont's first work on the Gallicanus pit (Bémont, 1987) and the important studies carried out by both Polak on the material of Vechten (2000) and Genin on the sets of La Graufesenque (2007), we now have clear data that shows that the dimensions used by the potters in the manufacturing process evolved over time.

Based on these studies, calculations of the dimensions of the pieces have been carried out, for greater representativeness, using the two most voluminous Sevillian ensembles, namely those of the neighbourhood of San Bernardo and that of the Patio de Banderas. The study focused mainly on the rim diameters of the four main plain forms – the Drag. 24/25 and 27 cups and the Drag. 15/17 and 18 plates – as the best represented in the different sets and therefore more conducive to a statistical study. For each of these shapes, the existence of two main sizes or manufacturing modules is known, as well as some atypical pieces, omitted from the study as unrepresentative. Given the absence of publications mentioning the size of the pieces, the only sets that permit of a comparative chronological study of the sizes are those of La Graufesenque (Genin, 2007), of the Culip IV cargo (Nieto *et al.*, 1989) and in some cases the assemblage from the port of Narbonne (Fiches, Guy and Poncin, 1978)¹⁴.

Thus, a number of observations could be made. The curves in the graphs obtained from the average measurements of the diameters of each module show, as previously noted by Polak and Genin, first a tendency towards a progressive diminishing of the diameters for both cups and plates, and then a slight increase again in the 2nd century AD (Fig. 19 a-b). The sizes of the different types of plates are methodically identical for module 2 in each period – not so the case for module 1, while for the different types of bowls, the diameters have slightly different measurements according to type, the Drag. 27 cups presenting in general diameters some 10 mm wider than those of the Drag. 24/25.

The measurements in module 2 of the Drag. 24/25 type show the most noticeable changes, being reduced by almost 30 mm between the reign of Claudius and the Flavian era, while those of the other bowls seem to decrease by only 5 to 10 mm in the same time frame. The diameters of the plates of both modules show a slightly more marked change, dropping by about 20 mm during the same time interval.

Modules 1 and 2 of the bowls of each type have quite different sizes and are systematically distinct (35 as opposed to 50 mm), while the plate modules show a less dramatic difference, with only 17 to 30 mm (20 mm in most cases) between each.

Finally, in the case of plates, it seems that during the 2nd century AD, even perhaps from the end of the 1st century AD, the small module pieces gradually began to disappear. This change could lie behind the absence of plates of the type Drag. 15/17 of module 1 in the cargo of Culip IV, and is arguably confirmed at La Graufesenque in the great kiln, where only the plates Drag. 18 of module 2 are represented.

14. We have chosen not to use here the measurements calculated by Polak in his study, since they correspond to pieces whose dating was determined by the average chronology provided by their stamps, without mentioning their specific contexts.

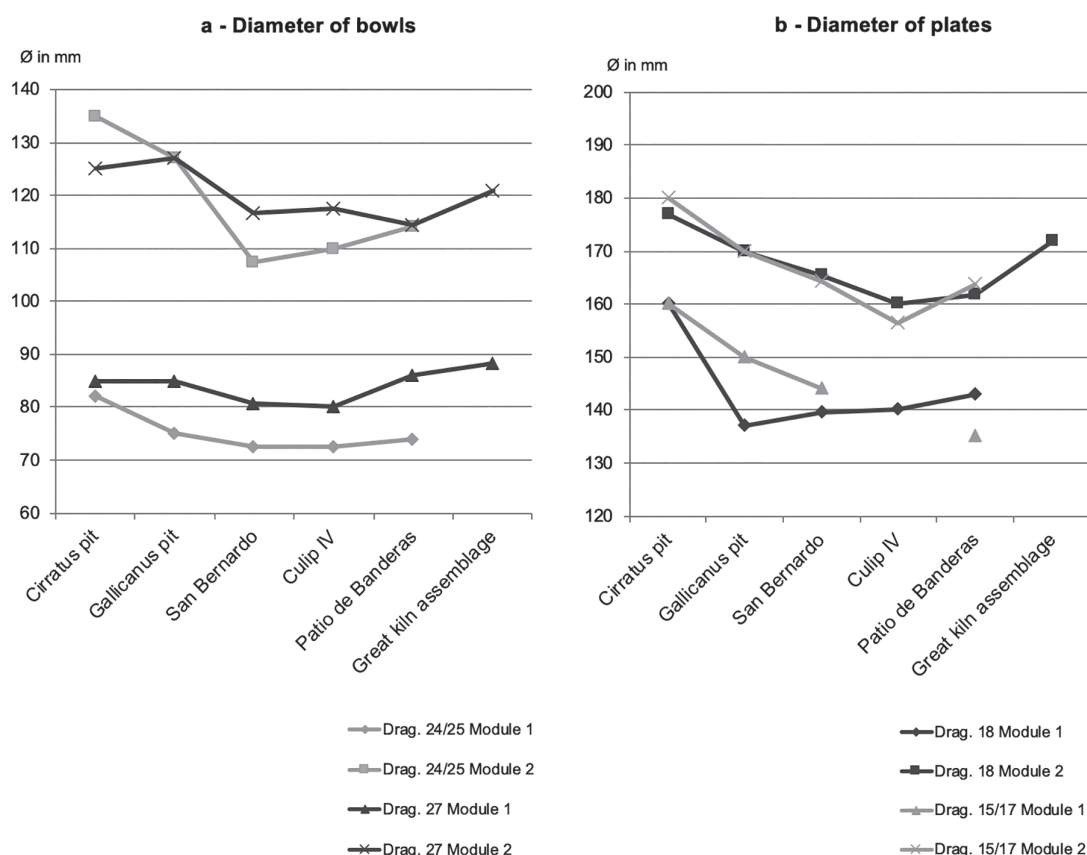


Fig. 19 – Evolution of the average rim diameter of the main plain forms in the La Graufesenque, Culip IV and Seville ensembles, classified in chronological order (see Table 1 for dates and bibliography).

These observations, for now somewhat summary as based on the little material available and the few existing reference publications, would clearly deserve to be investigated further by complementary studies and juxtaposed against comparable data from other standardized forms of the repertoire. All in all, it seems evident that the progressive decrease in the diameters corresponds to an evolutionary trend common to all the main plain forms, which fact should therefore be taken into account as an additional chronological marker in dating of South Gaulish productions. It would then be interesting to see if the same reduction in the size of the pieces can be observed in other Gaulish production centres, as well as for Hispanic *sigillatas* or those of Italic origin. Detailed studies on the subject could perhaps help to define the causes of these changes in the production method that occurred between the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, things once defined by a stricter calibration of the pieces and less diversity of sizes from AD 70 onwards, sizes outside the standards established for the main modules tending then to disappear.

6.4. Preferences for small or larger pieces

The existence of different standard sizes for pieces of identical typology seems to indicate that parts of different modules were intended for different uses. It was therefore worth quantifying in what proportions the main forms of small and large module cups and plates had been consumed over time.

When comparing the graphs obtained, it can be seen first that the volume of cups and plates of the same module evolves in a strictly parallel way (Fig. 20 a-b and 21 a-b). This seems to reflect the existence of a precise selection criterion, which responds to changing needs.

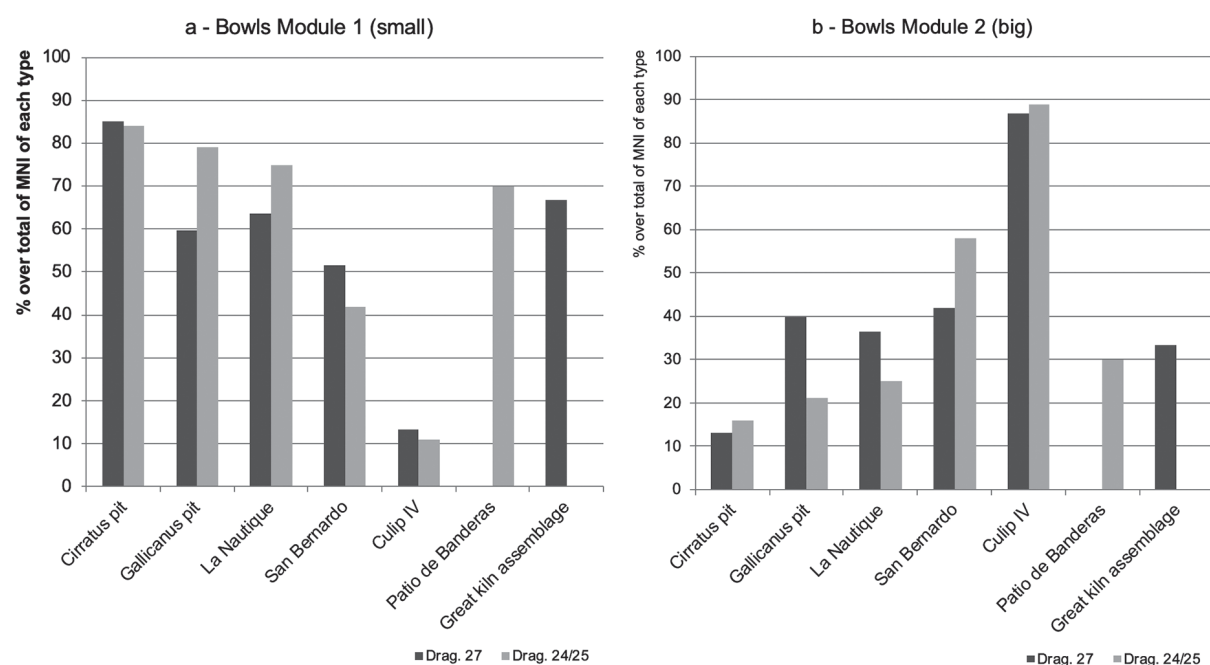


Fig. 20 – Quantitative evolution of the volume of cups in each module in the La Graufesenque, Culip IV and Seville ensembles, classified in chronological order (see Table 1 for dates and bibliography).

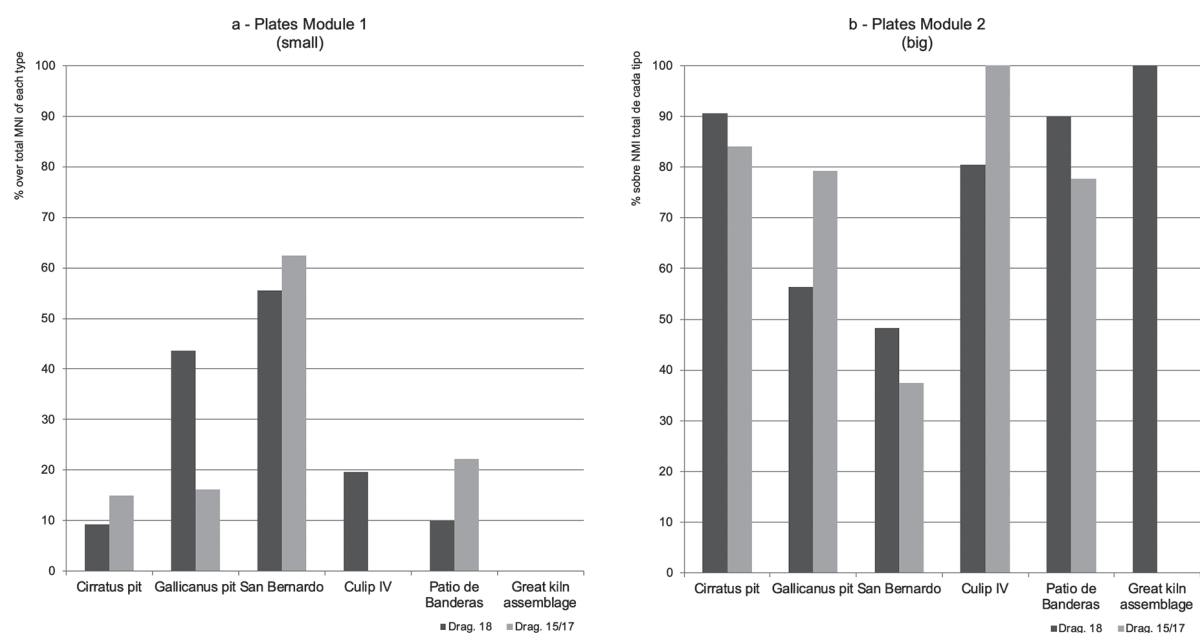


Fig. 21 – Quantitative evolution of the volume of plates in each module in the La Graufesenque, Culip IV and Seville ensembles, classified in chronological order (see Table 1 for dates and bibliography).

In general, small cups (module 1) and large plates (module 2) predominate in the repertoires. However, towards the beginning of the Flavian era there was a progressive preference for cups of a larger module (which did, however, decrease in actual size at the same time), which were then quickly abandoned in favour of smaller cups at the end of the 1st century or during the 2nd century AD. On the

other hand, in the case of plates, a peak in consumption of small module pieces is evident towards the end of the Julio-Claudian or at the beginning of the Flavian period: this type suddenly became scarce shortly afterwards and had practically disappeared by the end of the 1st century AD. However, this observation is based mainly on the figures from the assemblage of San Bernardo, and it is thus difficult to know whether it is an isolated case or whether it reflects a generalised preference in the city of *Hispalis* or in *Baetica* at the beginning of the Flavian era. In the northern provinces, Polak testifies to a general shortage of small-module dishes: 'The rarity of small dishes appears to be characteristic, not only of Vechten, but of the entire northwest of the Roman Empire' (Polak, 2000: 76). In the later ensembles of the Patio de Banderas and the Culip IV cargo, destined for the Hispanic provinces, the dishes of the greater module predominate. A final decision here is therefore still pending, waiting the publication of new data.

7. Conclusions: towards a definition of local consumption patterns and regional markets

The diversity and abundance of *sigillata* of South-Gaulish origin documented in *Hispalis* confirms the central role played by the city in the redistribution of those products into the south of Hispania. A major consumer of these ceramics, the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula largely favours the productions of La Graufesenque for its table services, probably from the reign of Claudius until the beginning of the 2nd century AD; local Hispanic products do not compete with them.

The comparative study carried out on assemblages from successive chronological contexts demonstrates progressive changes in the characteristics of the imported tableware, as well as in the specific composition of the repertoires. In this way, consumption patterns can be defined as to what looks specific to either the Iberian Peninsula or the Mediterranean world. They define the existence of specific demands and preferential markets for some forms of the repertoire of the Gaulish *sigillata* on a regional basis within the Empire.

These preferences had some influence on the trade in *sigillata*, and therefore on the products made. The adaptation of the La Graufesenque workshop to meet customer demand is particularly noticeable in the case of the marbled *sigillata*, almost exclusively intended for Mediterranean markets. This selectivity implies that the manufacture of these particular items was in response to demand from these regions, and that there was a specific sector of the workshop dedicated to the products intended for the southern export routes.

Nieto's observation about the fact that 'the diffusion [of *sigillata* sets] does not depend on the demand of the consumer, but on that of the transporter and, consequently, the consumer limits himself to acquiring those ceramic types that the transporter brings to the market' (Nieto Prieto, 1993: 81), is therefore only partially true. If the populations have probably not been able to choose between buying a Gaulish *sigillata* or one of Italic origin, it seems in exchange that the transporters, first interested in satisfying the consumer to sell their goods, have been concerned to respond to the tastes and needs of the people with whom they intended to trade.

These importation preferences are expressed in the Iberian Peninsula by a predilection towards certain forms, such as the Drag. 24/25 cups, heavily present in the repertoires until the end of the Flavian period, and perhaps also for the Ritt. 8 and 9 cups. It does not seem coincidental that these latter forms represent the Gaulish equivalents of the three Italic *sigillata* types of cups most consumed in Pompeii at the time of its destruction, namely the cups Consp. 34, Consp. 36 and Consp. 26/27 (Ettlinger *et al.*, 1990; Huchin, 2014). This correspondence, together with the strong representation of plates and marbled products in the Hispanic repertoires, as well as the increase in the proportion of decorated pieces during the Flavian period – when these same vessels were in strong demand in central Italy, reveals the existence of a strong Italic influence on Iberian consumption patterns. All this therefore

arguably reflects the adoption and assimilation in Hispania of Italic culinary customs, probably the more strongly rooted in that region due to its early Romanization.

Other variations, such as those observed in the calibration of the produced modules, may, in turn, reveal changes in the internal organisation of the workshop, and are probably linked to the standardisation of production techniques or transport conditions. However, considering the foregoing observations, it is possible that the general decrease in the size of the table service during the Flavian era is in some way related to cultural issues or changes in culinary practices, which have come to influence the production process at its very root.

In short, to the question posed by Genin in her conclusions: ‘existe-il différents types d’approvisionnement dans telle ou telle région ou province, autrement dit, avons-nous affaire à des ‘circuits’ commerciaux traduisant des marchés préférentiels?’ (2007: 348), to which a study on the diffusion of potter’s stamps could not then provide a satisfactory answer¹⁵, we can now proclaim an affirmative answer. Masked behind an apparent uniformity and ‘globalization’ of the trade of the *sigillata* in the Roman period, discrete local tendencies may yet be detected, whose closer study could advance our knowledge of the identities the local populations adopted or maintained in the process of their acculturation into the Roman world.

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DIGITAL SOURCES

Samian Research Database, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (RGZM). <http://www.rgzm.de/samian> (accessed 20.2.2019).

The present volume is the outcome of a two-day International Workshop held at the School of Arts and Humanities in Lisbon on the subject “*A terra sigillata sudgálica no Sudoeste da Península Ibérica: circulação e consumo | South Gaulish terra sigillata in Southwest Hispania: circulation and consumption*”, organized by UNIARQ – Centre for Archaeology of the University of Lisbon (28th and 29th of September 2015).

The first day was dedicated to presenting the data about the varying consumption patterns of south Gaulish sigillata in different sites in Lusitania – such as Coimbra, *Ammaia*, Lisbon, Mérida, Tróia and also in sites in the Algarve and Alentejo regions, as well as at Braga (in *Tarraconensis*) and *Baelo Claudia* and Seville, in the former province of *Baetica*. The papers presented provide an up-to-date overview of the import for this tableware both in urban and rural contexts. The second day was a practical session to enable the participants (archaeologists, researchers and students) to learn about how to consult, use and feed information into the “Samian Research database”.

Este volume é o resultado do workshop internacional que teve lugar na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa intitulado: “*A terra sigillata sudgálica no Sudoeste da Península Ibérica: circulação e consumo | South Gaulish terra sigillata in Southwest Hispania: circulation and consumption*”, organizado pela UNIARQ – Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa (28-29 de Setembro de 2015).

O primeiro dia foi dedicado à apresentação de comunicações sobre os padrões de consumo da *terra sigillata* sudgálica em diferentes sítios da Lusitania - como Coimbra, *Ammaia*, Lisboa, Mérida, Tróia e também de sítios no Algarve e no Alentejo, assim como Braga (na *Tarraconensis*) e *Baelo Claudia* and Sevilha, na antiga província da *Baetica*. O conjunto de estudos apresentados fornece uma panorâmica actualizada da diversidade de importação desta cerâmica de mesa em contextos urbanos e rurais. O segundo dia correspondeu a uma sessão prática permitindo aos participantes (arqueólogos, investigadores e estudantes) aprender como consultar, utilizar e alimentar a base de dados “Samian Research database”.