

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* IN SOUTHWEST *HISPANIA*

CIRCULATION AND CONSUMPTION

CATARINA VIEGAS
MACARENA BUSTAMANTE-ÁLVAREZ
(eds.)



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FIRST APPROACH ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF AMPHORAE FROM GAUL IN LUSITANIA

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Abstract

Although the presence of Gallic amphorae in the former province of Lusitania has been known for a long time, there is still little detailed knowledge about this type of container and the existing information is scattered. With this study, we present an updated account of Gaulish amphorae in Lusitania, after carrying out a systematic and exhaustive analysis of the published specimens and assemblages, and including also a significant number of unpublished sets. We then proceed to a brief characterization of the types recognized in the territory and a synopsis about their investigation, before posing a set of five interrelated questions that structure our approach: what? (which types and which products were identified), where? (where were they documented), how much and when? (the proportions of these imports and their fluctuations over time) and how? (geography of their distribution in Lusitania and the trade dynamics).

Resumo

Embora a presença de ânforas gaulesas no espaço da antiga província da Lusitânia seja de há muito conhecida, assiste-se ainda a um generalizado desconhecimento sobre este tipo de contentores e a uma certa dispersão da informação existente. Com este trabalho, procurou-se efectuar uma sistematização actualizada sobre a presença de ânforas gaulesas na Lusitânia, tendo-se para tal realizado uma análise tão exaustiva quanto possível aos conjuntos publicados e a um significativo número de conjuntos inéditos. Com este intuito, procedeu-se a uma breve caracterização dos tipos reconhecidos no território em apreço e a uma sinopse sobre a sua investigação, partindo-se depois para um conjunto de cinco questões interrelacionadas que estruturam a nossa abordagem: o quê? (que tipos e que produtos foram identificados), onde? (onde foram documentados), quanto e quando? (as proporções destas importações e as oscilações ao longo do tempo) e como? (geografia da sua distribuição na Lusitânia e dinâmicas comerciais).

Keywords

Gaulish amphorae; wine from Gaul; Lusitania; provincial distribution; consumption patterns.

Palavras-chave

Ânforas gaulesas; vinho da Gália; Lusitânia; distribuição provincial; padrões de consumo.

1. Introduction

As we worked on and studied sets of amphorae in the context of our PhD researches – one on the city of *Olisipo* (VF)¹, the other tackling the vast geographical expanse of the Roman province of Lusitania (RRA)² – we tried to systematise and assess different readings of consumption. In this we encountered Gaulish amphorae, among many other types. The discovery and recurring identification of this type of material came as a surprise. Although neither of us had as their primary aim the study of amphorae from Gaul, as we traced this type of material in the corpora we studied, we constructed a small parallel research project in which we asked various questions of the amphorae we identified as coming from Gaul.

1. Rui Roberto de Almeida: 'Ex Baetis ad Occidentem. The maritime food trade from the Guadalquivir to Lusitania (1st century BC - 5th/6th century AD)'.

2. Victor Filipe: 'Olisipo, the great port of the Atlantic seaboard. Economy and trade between the Republic and the Principality'.

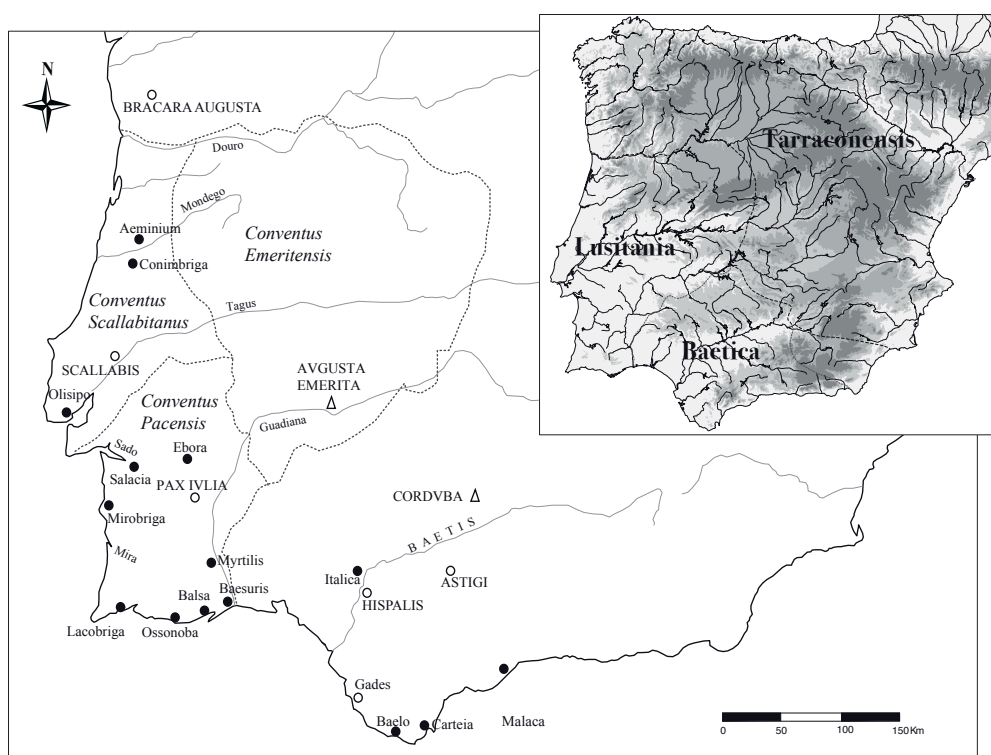


Fig. 1 – The Province of Lusitania in Hispania and its main administrative circumscriptions.

It was thus, after our PhD research and in the context of the meeting of the *South-Gaulish Sigillata* in *Southwest Hispania: Circulation and Consumption*, that the opportunity arose to capitalize on these collected data and to produce the work now presented. In practical and general terms, this consists of an updated attempt to systematize the presence of Gaulish amphorae in the Roman province of Lusitania. To this end, we started with a basic list of five structuring and interrelated questions: What?; Where?; How much/When?; How?

The first question, of course, was 'What?' That is, what types of Gaulish amphorae, and what products contained in them, could be recognized and identified. In the main, the latter were vine products.

Secondly, the question 'Where?' To know where was the only way to begin mapping reception/consumption in the territory: where in the geography of the territory, at which sites, and what type of sites. This information then guided us in the search for other related sites and allowed us to establish the bases for their systematic tracking and identification.

Thirdly, 'How much?' This was the question that most interested us, insofar as it correlated directly with others that we had were of course talking about the quantity of amphorae imported and the products transported in them. But 'How much?' can only be expressed and become an operative tool for comparative work, if we can place this consumption with temporal boundaries, that is, if we are able to measure it in time. Therefore, the 'How much?' was closely related to 'When?', the latter becoming a necessary companion of the former.

Finally, the 'How?', which is also a multiple question. How did distribution contexts and eventual commercial dynamics arise? Did it correspond to a homogeneous and unitary distribution throughout the provincial space? Or alternatively does it reveal a diversified distribution? In this second case, other questions tying into the 'Why?' emerge. These generally are harder to work out.

In short, the aim of this first cross-the-board study on the imports of Gaulish amphorae in Lusitania is to make known the repertoire of shapes and imported products, to define the chronological and

diachronic boundaries, and to elucidate the significance it enjoyed in the province. In this way we hope to trace the genesis and evolution of the reception and consumption of containers and food products coming from Gaul and to assess the significance of its commercialisation in Lusitania.

2. The Gaulish amphorae: characterization of the main types and synopsis of their research

2.1. Gauloise 1

The Gauloise type 1 amphora is considered one intended primarily for regional trade, being absent from most consumption centres in the Mediterranean west (Laubenheimer, 2001: 55; Mauné, 2013: 351).

It is characterized by a broad, globular-like body, with the maximum diameter set roughly halfway down the belly, a rim of triangular section with a flattened top, a short neck, flattened handles with one or two longitudinal depressions and of circular or semicircular profile that start just below the rim and end on the shoulder or the beginning of the lower body, and a flat bottom with a ring foot and slightly raised base (Laubenheimer, 1985: 243; Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 385).

Similar to other types produced in Gaul, there are two modules of this form: the *standard*, which has an average height of 50cm, and a small module, whose height is around 30cm (Laubenheimer, 1985: 254; Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 385). In 1985, F. Laubenheimer also defined two further variants of this typology, A and B, which she considered to be marginal productions associated with the manufacture of Gauloise 1, mainly because they are rare in the centres of production and consumption. This scarcity does not allow their characterisation as types in their own rights (Laubenheimer et al., 1984: 106; Laubenheimer, 1985: 254). Variants A and B differ from the typical Gauloise 1 mainly in terms of the rim profile, which is quite significant given that these are highly standardised (Laubenheimer, 1985: 254). In the case of variant B, which is of direct interest to us here, its rim is not triangular, but rather moulded with two inflections on the outside.

The chronology of the production and marketing of ‘classic’ Gauloise 1 extends from the first quarter of the 1st century AD to the late 3rd /early 4th centuries AD (Laubenheimer, 1985: 389; Laubenheimer, 1989: 132; Mauné, 2013: 353).

Until the late 1990s, the known pottery centres attested to have produced Gauloise 1 were mainly situated on the right bank of the lower Rhône valley, at just over a dozen sites. Today that number has risen to 35, encompassing, in addition to the central region, also a major production focus to the west of Narbonnaise (Laubenheimer, 1985: 245-251; Bonnet and Laubenheimer, 1998: 260, fig. 6; Mauné, 2013: 348 and fig. 9). As for variant B, its production is only attested in the potteries of Moulin du Pont, Velaux (Laubenheimer, 1985: 257 and fig. 113b), and Puyloubier, Bouches-du-Rhône (Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 85), in the region north of Marseille, where they are associated with the production of ‘classic’ Gauloise 1. This association is particularly evident/clear as the use of the same stamp on containers of ‘classic’ Gauloise 1 type and its variants A and B is recorded (Laubenheimer, 1985: 254).

Although there are no known painted inscriptions or other evidence to prove this, the Gauloise 1 was most probably intended for the transport of wine. One may reach this conclusion partly because of its shape and the region of its origin, both forever associated with the transport and production of this much-loved drink, or partly because of the existence of examples where traces of resinous coating on the inside have been found (Bonnet and Laubenheimer, 1998: 260).

It is mainly regionally distributed in Gaul, in areas bordering the province of Narbonne, in the Massif Central and particularly in the Rhône valley, although it was also exported in small quantities to the Germanic provinces, via the Rhône-Saône-Rhine axis, and *Britannia*. It is scarce in Rome and Ostia (Laubenheimer et al., 1992: 144-145; Remesal Rodríguez and Revilla Calvo, 1991: 411; Martin-Kilcher, 1994: 360; Laubenheimer, 2001: 55; Rizzo, 2003: 166-167; Mauné, 2013: 351-352; Rizzo, 2014: 169).

2.2. Gauloise 3

Gauloise 3 is one of the least produced forms in the province of Narbonensis, in no ways attaining the volume of other amphora types from the same region (Laubenheimer, 1985: 257; Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 39; Mauné, 2013: 345-346). This is a container with an ovoid-like body, flat base and ring foot, and with a slightly moulded rim, with double external inflection and usually rounded at the top, resting on a short, narrow neck. The handle usually starts just below the rim, describes an arch and comes to rest on the upper body, exhibiting one or more longitudinal ridges on the top (Laubenheimer, 1985: 257; Martin-Kilcher, 1994: 360; Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 385).

It is one of the earliest amphorae produced in Gaul (Laubenheimer, 1985: 385-386), being manufactured throughout the first half of the 1st century AD, and most likely lasting until the Flavian period or the early 2nd century AD, as the impressive assemblage from the Arles-Rhône 3 shipwreck seems to demonstrate (Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 385; Mauné, 2013: 345).

The pottery centres that manufactured Gauloise 3 are scattered over much of the territory of Narbonnaise, from Ponteilla in the Pyrenees to Fréjus at the eastern end of the province, although their numbers are relatively low when compared to other types made in that province (Laubenheimer, 1985: 257-259; 1989: 112-113; Mauné, 2013: 345). Although manufactured mainly in Narbonnaise, their production is also attested in the Bordeaux region, in Aquitaine, in Chartres, in *Gallia Lugdunensis*, and in *Gallia Belgica* (Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 310, 370; Rizzo, 2014: 171).

In addition to hints from its form, wine as the content for Gauloise 3 is attested by two painted inscriptions from Fos-sur-Mer, referring to *aminneum* wine (Laubenheimer, 2004: 163, fig. 87).

The small scale of production of the type is reflected in its diffusion, as it is a container of limited dissemination, even in Gaul. It is usually considered to be essentially regional (Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 11; Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 39). Still, its presence is documented in Ostia and Rome (Rizzo, 2003: 150; 2014: 171), Germany (Remesal Rodríguez and Revilla Calvo, 1991: 412), Augst (Martin-Kilcher, 1994: 360), Seville (García Vargas, 2007a: 333) and, with considerable doubts, possibly in *Lixus* (Aranegui Gascó, 2010: 199).

2.3. Gauloise 4

Gauloise 4 is the most successful Gaulish container, which was widely produced in standardised form, especially in the province of *Narbonensis*, and exported throughout the Empire, particularly in its western half. It is an amphora intended mainly for export and long-distance trade, symbolizing the important economic development that was experienced in that province from the Julio-Claudian dynasty onwards (Laubenheimer, 1985: 261-293; Mauné, 2013: 355; Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 11). The success of Gauloise 4 as a widely spread wine container is also evidenced in the influence it had on the shapes of amphorae produced in other regions, which imitate or are inspired by the Narbonnese model, notably in several other areas of Gaul (Laubenheimer and Gisbert Santonja, 2001: 34; Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 39; Mauné, 2013: 356), in *Britannia* (Rizzo, 2014: 175), on the Catalan, Valencian coast and in the northwestern *Tarraconensis* province (Revilla Calvo, 1995: 52-55; Morais, 2005: 133-140; López Mullor and Martín Menéndez, 2008: 710-711), in *Baetica* (García Vargas, 1998: 116-118; Bernal Casasola, 2001; García Vargas and Bernal Casasola, 2008; Mateo Corredor and Molina Vidal, 2016), in North Africa (Bonifay, 2004: 148-151) and even in Lusitania with Lusitana 3 type (Diogo, 1987a: 184; Fabião, 1998a: 187; Quaresma and Raposo, 2016).

Morphologically, it is characterised by a piriform body, with thin walls, broad and rounded shoulders, and ending in a bottom with a ring foot, narrow and of variable height. The rim is thickened and rounded externally, forming an abrupt junction with a short and narrow neck, from which spring the handles

that start out roughly at mid-height on the neck and stop on the shoulder, possessing a semicircular profile. The handles tend to be flattened, with a characteristic central depression and elliptical section (Panella, 1973: 541; Laubenheimer, 1985: 361; Peacock and Williams, 1986: 142; Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 378).

Its production covered a time span extending from the mid-1st to the end of the 3rd century AD, attaining its maximum peak in the 2nd century. It is currently assumed that it may have been manufactured until the first decades of the 4th century AD (Laubenheimer, 1985: 390-392; Long and Duperron, 2011; Mauné, 2013: 362-363), a possibility, moreover, already suggested before by C. Panella (1973: 542).

In the province of Narbonnaise more than fifty pottery centres are documented where this type was produced, concentrated mainly in rural areas and in the regions between Sallèles-d'Aude and Lattes, in the lower Rhone valley, in the area between the cities of Nîmes, Avignon, Arles and Orange, in the Middle Durance Valley between Marseille and Istres, in the area of Toulon and Sanary and, finally, in the territory of Fréjus and Mandelieu (Laubenheimer, 1985: 267-290; 1989: 105-114; Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 154-158; Mauné, 2013: 357-360, fig. 13). Despite this considerable number of known potteries, the existence of several dozens of potter's stamps originating from unknown workshops makes one estimate the number of Gauloise 4-producing centres to exceed one hundred (Laubenheimer and Gisbert Santonja, 2001: 33; Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 154-158).

There are more than three dozen known and published painted inscriptions on Gauloise 4 amphorae (Panella, 1973: 547; Liou and Marichal, 1978: 147; Tchernia, 1986: 283; Laubenheimer, 2004: 163-166). These together with extensive documentation relating to viticulture in Gaul during the Empire (Panella 1973: 548; Brun, 2001: 69-89; VV.AA., 2001) leave no doubt as to the content of these containers – once more wine. The inscriptions further refer to different wines, the most usual being *aminneum vetus*, an aged wine made from *aminnea vitis*, a famous grape variety in the Roman world, followed by *picatum vetus*, *mulsum* and *depletum*, often appearing only as *vetus* (Laubenheimer, 2004: 164).

The diffusion of Gaulish wine transported in Gauloise 4-type containers took place mainly along the axis of the rivers Rhône-Saône-Rhine, bound for the Germanic *limes* and *Britannia* (Panella: 1973: 550; Peacock and Williams, 1986: 142-143; Remesal Rodríguez and Revilla Calvo, 1991: 412; Martin-Kilcher, 1994: 360-364; Laubenheimer, 2001: 56-57; Carreras Monfort, 2000; González Cesteros, 2014). A similarly privileged distribution was directed towards Italy, especially in contexts of the 2nd century AD to Ostia (Panella 1972: 76-78; 1973: 538-551; Manacorda, 1977: 145-149; Rizzo, 2014: 175-180) and Rome (Panella, 1992: 199; Rizzo, 2003: 178; Ferrandes, 2008: 262), with smaller quantities appearing in North Africa and off the islands of Sardinia, Elba and Malta (Panella, 1973: 543; Riley, 1979: 195-196; Parker, 1992; Laubenheimer, 2001: 57). In the eastern half of the Mediterranean, although even more sporadic and dispersed, they appear in places as diverse as the Agora of Athens (Panella, 1973: 543; Hayes, 1983: 146), Ephesus (Bezeczký, 2013: 134-135), Crete (Hayes, 1983: 145-146), off the Turkish coast (Laubenheimer, 2001: 57), in Alexandria and other sites in Egypt, the Red Sea, Sudan, and even in the southern Indian subcontinent (Laubenheimer, 2001: 57; Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 141).

The presence of Gauloise 4 was not very much expressed in *Hispania* until a few years ago, but nowadays it is documented in most of its various regions, with a predominance in the coastal areas. It is attested from the northeast to the southeast of *Tarraconensis* (from present-day Catalonia to the Mediterranean coasts of Valencia and Alicante³), and from *Baetica* (both in the Mediterranean area, opposite the African coast at the Straits of Gibraltar, but also in the Atlantic area of Andalusia⁴) to *Lusitania* (covering the entire Atlantic western front of the Iberian Peninsula, which is the focus of the present

3. Places like Ampúrias (Beltrán Lloris, 1970), *Baetulo/Badalona*, Les Sorres and Tarragona (Márquez Villora and Molina Vidal, 2005; Remolà Vallverdú, 2007), *Lucentum* and Duanes (Molina Vidal, 1997), Cartagena (Márquez Villora and Molina Vidal, 2005: 74) or *Portus Illicitanus/Illici* (Márquez Villora, 1999: 96).

4. We mention places like *Baria/Villaricos* and *Abdera/Adra* (Mateo Corredor, 2014: 140, 154), Algeciras (Bernal Casasola et al, 2003: 177), *Baelo Claudia* (Mateo Corredor, 2014: 262), Puente Grande (Mateo Corredor, 2014: 246), *Hispalis/Sevilla* (García Vargas, 2007: 333; 2012: 257) and Munigua (Fabião, 2006: 107).

work) to the Atlantic Northwest of *Tarraconensis* (comprising the northern strip from Galicia to the Basque Country⁵), in this last area at an apparently lower frequency, but reaching even such interior sites in the same province as Toledo⁶, or the capital of Lusitania, Merida⁷. In general, the representativeness of Gauloise 4 amphorae in amphorae assemblages is on the low side, with the exception of the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula where it occasionally reaches somewhat higher percentages.

2.4. Gauloise 5

First identified by C. Panella (1970), who attributed its Gaulish origin and the 'L' form of its classification in the study of the amphorae from the Terme del Nuotatore in Ostia (Panella, 1973: 551-552). It was only subsequently defined in more detail by F. Laubenheimer (1985).

The Gauloise 5 type is characterized by a piriform body, with the maximum diameter situated above the mid-point of the piece, ending in a ring foot whose base can be flat or convex. The rim profile presents some morphological diversity, it can be straight flat or slightly inclined to the exterior, but always well detached from the neck, which is slightly narrowed in the zone of the handles' upper starting point, and relatively high in comparison to the Gauloise 4. The handles start roughly halfway up the neck and end at the shoulder, that is broad and rounded; they have a tendency to a circular profile and are of a flattened section, usually with a well-marked longitudinal groove, more rarely two or three (Panella, 1970: 17-118; 1973: 553; Laubenheimer, 1985: 293; Peacock and Williams, 1986: 148; Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 380-382). In addition to the *standard* model there is also a small module, with a capacity slightly less than half the capacity of that one (Laubenheimer, 1985: 299; Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 382).

This form was produced between the mid-1st and mid-2nd centuries AD in the eastern half of *Narbonensis* (Fontes et al, 1981; Laubenheimer, 1985; Mauné, 2013). Fifteen pottery centres are currently known to have manufactured it, located between the mouth of the Rhône and the eastern limit of *Narbonensis*, mainly in rural areas, although it is also known to have been made in urban potteries, as in the cases of Marseille and Fréjus (Laubenheimer, 1985: 295-297; 1989: 110-132; Mauné, 2013: 353-354). It was also imitated in the Bordeaux region (Berthault, 1992: 93-100), and possibly in *Pannonia* (Bezeczky, 2005b: 47, no. 32).

Regarding the food product they usually carried, the best testimonies originate from several *tituli picti* that mention wine *picatum excellens* and *massicum* (Laubenheimer, 2004: 163; Rizzo, 2014: 173).

Gauloise type 5 represents another case of considerable commercialization developed in the great commercial circuits of the western half of the Empire, although in much more modest quantities and with a much smaller radius of dissemination than Gauloise 4 (Laubenheimer, 2001: 60; Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 41). Spread mostly across the Rhône-Rhine axis, they appear in significant quantities at several sites in the Germanic *limes*, as well as in *Britannia* (Peacock and Williams, 1986: 148; Remesal Rodríguez and Revilla Calvo, 1991: 412-413; Martin-Kilcher, 1994: 364; Laubenheimer, 2001: 55; Ehmig, 2007: 40-42). Although in this last province, as in *lower Germania* and northern Gaul, they seem scarce (Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 41), they may have also arrived by sea, via the Atlantic route. It is very well attested in Ostia (Panella, 1970: 117-119; 1973: 553; Rizzo, 2014: 171-175) and Rome (Panella, 1992: 190-199; Rizzo, 2003: 167; Ferrandes, 2008: 255; Coletti and Lorenzetti, 2010: 158), especially during the Flavian dynasty (Laubenheimer, 2001, p. 55), and occurs in smaller quantities in Pompeii (Panella, 1973: 554).

5. Scarcely identified on Galician coasts (Naveiro López, 1991), in *Asturica Augusta/Astorga* (Carreras Monfort and Berni Millet, 2003: 646), some specimens appear in *Lucus Augusti/Lugo*, (Carreras Monfort and Morais, 2011: 46-47), Chao Samartín (Zarzalejos Prieto, 2005: 178), *Legio I León* (Carreras Monfort, 2010: 241) and *Petavonium/Rosino de Vidriales* (Carretero Vaquero, 2000: 735; Carreras Monfort, 2010: 242).

6. For Cerro Calderico de Consuegra, see Palencia García and Rodríguez López-Cano, 2016.

7. For Merida, see (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo, 2013).

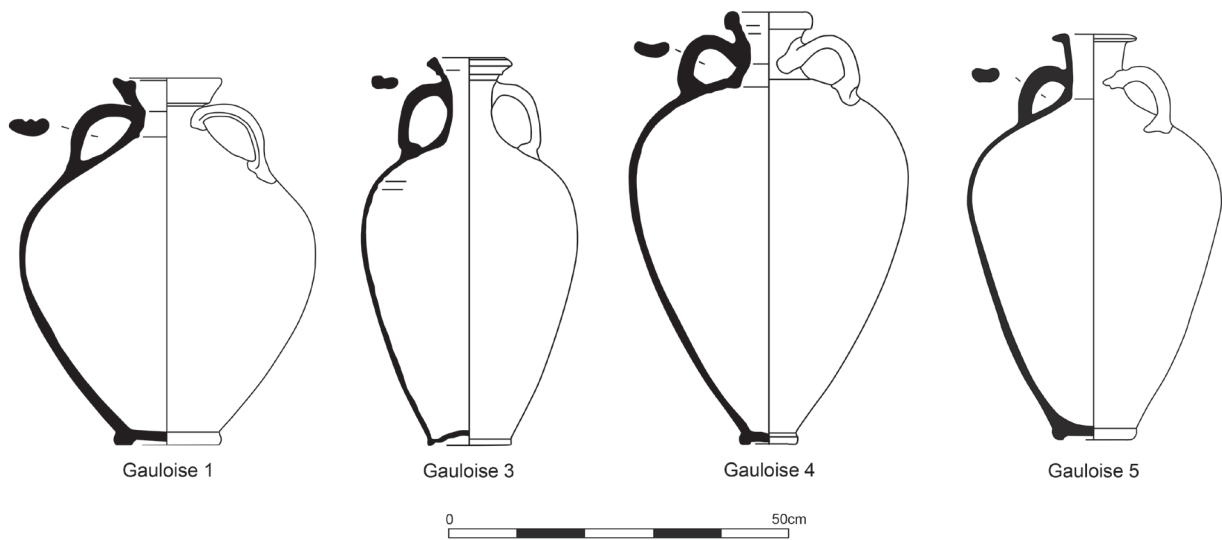


Fig. 2 – Types of Gaulish amphorae identified in Lusitania (according to *Roman Amphorae: a digital resource*).

Its presence in Egypt, in the city of Alexandria (Laubenheimer and Schmitt, 2009: 141), makes one think of a rather wide diffusion, even if one reduced in number.

In the Iberian Peninsula it occurs episodically, having been recognized in *Baria* in Almeria (Mateo Corredor, 2014), possibly in the *Portus Ilicitanus* in Alicante (Márquez Villora, 1999), in *Hispalis/Sevilla* (García Vargas, 2007: 333; 2012: 257) and Merida (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo, 2013). This scarcity well demonstrates the minor character of the Gauloise 5 in general, but particularly so to the west of Narbonnaise. The geography of their diffusion currently known is however certainly but partial.

3. The Gaulish amphorae in Lusitania: corpus and consumption overview

3.1. The provincial approach

Although some progress has been made in the last two decades, there is still a significant lack of knowledge about these containers in Lusitania, which stems directly and largely from pervasive problems in research in Lusitania, in both the current Portuguese and Spanish areas.

The first aspect to be noted concerns the amphora examples themselves, in terms of their quality and reliability. Not many sets of amphorae are numerous, and have been quantified and studied in a systematic way; mostly, they are small collections and so of limited statistical value. Thus, a large part of the settlements are represented by isolated finds or from the reported 'knowledge' that amphorae existed. A mere fraction of those reported (accurately or not) were published, and informative references the universe of sets and/or samples are simply non-existent.

A second aspect, related to the previous one, is that which appears in the literature, where the items are qualified by what we call *adjectival consumption*. What exactly is meant by this? Frequently for amphorae of this and other types, even when there are specific references to amphorae from Gaul, Italy or Baetica, the numbers are indicated only by broad descriptive terms such as 'abundant', 'very significant', 'little significant', 'frequent' or 'scarce'. However, for the kind of analysis which produces the kind of readings one requires to draw suitable conclusions from the material evidence - hoping to extrapolate economic history based on these artefacts, these parameters are totally insufficient. Therefore, it was clear from the outset that, in order to do rectify the position, it was necessary to

quantify, and that everything we were working on, both directly and indirectly within the scope of our PhD research, should be so covered.

Following these principles, an analysis was carried out as systematically and exhaustively as possible, both of unpublished assemblages and of those previously published, wholly or partially. Whenever possible they were revisited and worked on statistically. At the same time a database was created, which would allow inventories by sites, by provenance of materials and by typological forms, including also the amphorae from Gaul as a target of systematic inventory. From this position it was then possible to apply the well-known and successful approach developed for amphora studies, particularly from the 1990s onwards: namely quantification, 'translating' the artefactual evidence into numbers. Not for the value of numbers *per se*, but as a tool and possible way to represent the values of consumption.

As a general approach and as an applied principle, the sites with published and/or inventoried assemblages with less than 50 fragments or 25 Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) (Arcelin y Tuffreau-Libre, 1998; Adroher et al. 2014) were treated as 'not quantifiable' and represented only as a point on the map. This minimum value is, naturally, somewhat subjective, but after studying the available samples, this seemed the minimum number that allowed us to work with the Lusitanian assemblages.

Having presented the main systematising principles, let us return to the first question posed initially, that which underlies the whole study: 'What?' What types of amphorae were possible to be recognised and identified? Although the recognition of Gaulish amphorae is a relatively easy task, given their well-characterised and published morphologies and petrography, as mentioned above, it must still be said that in the great majority of Lusitanian specimens we are dealing with classifications made from the smallest of fragments – especially rims, handles and bottoms – some of which gave us identification problems at times. Moreover, some problems concerning the fabrics were also recognised. The smallest fragments show, for the most part, fabrics that are considered the most typical, only occasionally do other less common fabrics surface that we cannot characterize precisely. The larger fragments, almost exclusively from underwater environments, show large alterations from their immersion that prevent more precise petrographic observation and attribution. Thus, often for these seemingly 'better quality' specimens it is not possible to go beyond the denomination of 'Gaulish amphora'. However, although aware of these limitations and of the risk involved in making an appreciation, the fact remains that most of the fragments seem to show fabrics typical of the region of Narbonne Gaul.

3.2. The geography of consumption

Let us now see which Gaulish types were identified, what are the places where their importation was documented, what was their time span, what values and what importance did the trading of these containers and the products transported have in the context of the food trade in Lusitania.

The synthesis presented here is based on the one carried out by Carlos Fabião in his work on wine consumption in Lusitania at the end of the 1990s (Fabião, 1998). The evidence available at the time gave an initial impression of the consumption that could be gauged from the presence of fragments of Gaulish amphorae, mainly of the Gauloise type 4, in seven sites in present-day Portugal (Conimbriga, *Seilium/Tomar*, *villa* of Povos, Tagus river, *Olisipo/Lisbon*, Pessegueiro Island and Quinta de Marim) that corresponded to the province of Lusitania, and two others still within Portuguese territory but actually corresponding to western *Tarraconensis* (Citânia de Briteiros and *Bracara Augusta/Braga*) (Fabião, 1998). To this number of sites, we were able to add approximately 40 more, for which data of diverse qualities was obtained over the last 20 years (from publications, our doctoral research⁸, and in collaboration

8. Unpublished data corresponding to sites and specimens marked in the systematic inventories, prepared as part of the doctoral research of one of us (RRA), will be marked as such.

with other researchers). All told, this allowed us to reach the current number and *corpus* of 43 sites. Obviously, this is not to say that only these consumer sites existed, or that the subject is exhausted; on the contrary, the current *corpus* is only the result of what it has been possible to compile to date, in a review that though intended to be as exhaustive as possible will certainly have missed data from some publications⁹. As against this apparent success, it should be noted that what is now represented as a consumption map is objectively no more than a 'map of points' corresponding to a sum of occurrences. This data is not of equal quality: the samples differ in size (isolated findings, non-quantified sets, sets with few individuals and low statistical reliability, large quantified sets, among other possibilities...), and so permit very different deductions. Thus a few exceptional sites apart, the cartographic situation must be considered as only a first step.

As regards the types identified, we have found that in the Lusitanian contexts the repertoire of Gaulish amphorae is more diversified than initially expected, being represented by the Gauloise 1, Gauloise 3, Gauloise 4 and Gauloise 5, as well as by others that are indeterminate or difficult to classify. Thus, there are not only present those more frequently encountered and commercially successful types such as Gauloise 4 and 5, but also rarer ones such as Gauloise 1 and 3 which are not widely distributed/consumed outside Gaul.

3.2.1. Between the Mondego and Douro basins

The overview of the importation north of the Tagus, specifically the territory delimited by the basins of the Mondego and Douro rivers, is currently rather poor, with very few places where amphorae from Gaul have been recognised, and indeed of any other types in general. In addition to this smaller number of published sets, this dearth is also due to the fact that we do not have such an easy access to materials as in the Central/Southern area, and again because there is much less information set out in reports of modern interventions (i.e. in the preliminary study component of materials), which would draw attention to the value of investigating the materials from certain sites.

Gaulish amphorae are present only in Conimbriga (Alarcão, 1976; Buraca, 2005), being apparently absent in relatively nearby places such as the city of *Aeminivm*/Coimbra (Carvalho, 1998; 2002), the Roman *villa* of Rabaçal (Buraca, 2011) and the Leiria region (Bernardes, 2002). Only to the north, beyond the River Douro, in the province of *Tarraconensis*, is the presence of Gaulish amphorae recognised in *Bracara Augusta*/Braga (Morais, 2005); and, in the current territory of Spain, in places such as Lugo, with both Narbonnese and Marseille examples (Carreras Monfort and Morais, 2011), in Astorga (Carreras Monfort and Berni Millet, 2003) and *Petavonivm* (Carreras Monfort, 2010).

In this general absence, the finds of Gauloise 4 and 5 – albeit merely one of each – in Conimbriga, acquire particular importance. This is a small sample (204 Minimum Number of Individuals – MNI) (Buraca, 2005), in which amphorae from Gaul represent only 1.6% of the MNI between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD and 3% of the wine-product containers imported in the same period (**Table 1**). It is of relevance that one of the fragments is of Gauloise 1 type, a minority type in the context of the Gallic trade. As for the chronology of the contexts where these materials were collected, the Gauloise 4 piece comes from a stratum related to the construction of the Flavian forum (Alarcão, 1976; Buraca, 2005).

We consider that the picture currently known for the area between the Douro and the Mondego is not yet remotely conclusive to determine whether this poverty marks the real nature of a small-scale trade and an actual shortage of imports from Gaul in that region, or rather relates more to the state of the present research. Even so, the apparent general low presence of other imported types (namely the Baetican, Central-Mediterranean and Oriental wine types, and also of Lusitanian types produced in the

9. This study includes only data compiled up to 2015, and partially updated up to 2019.

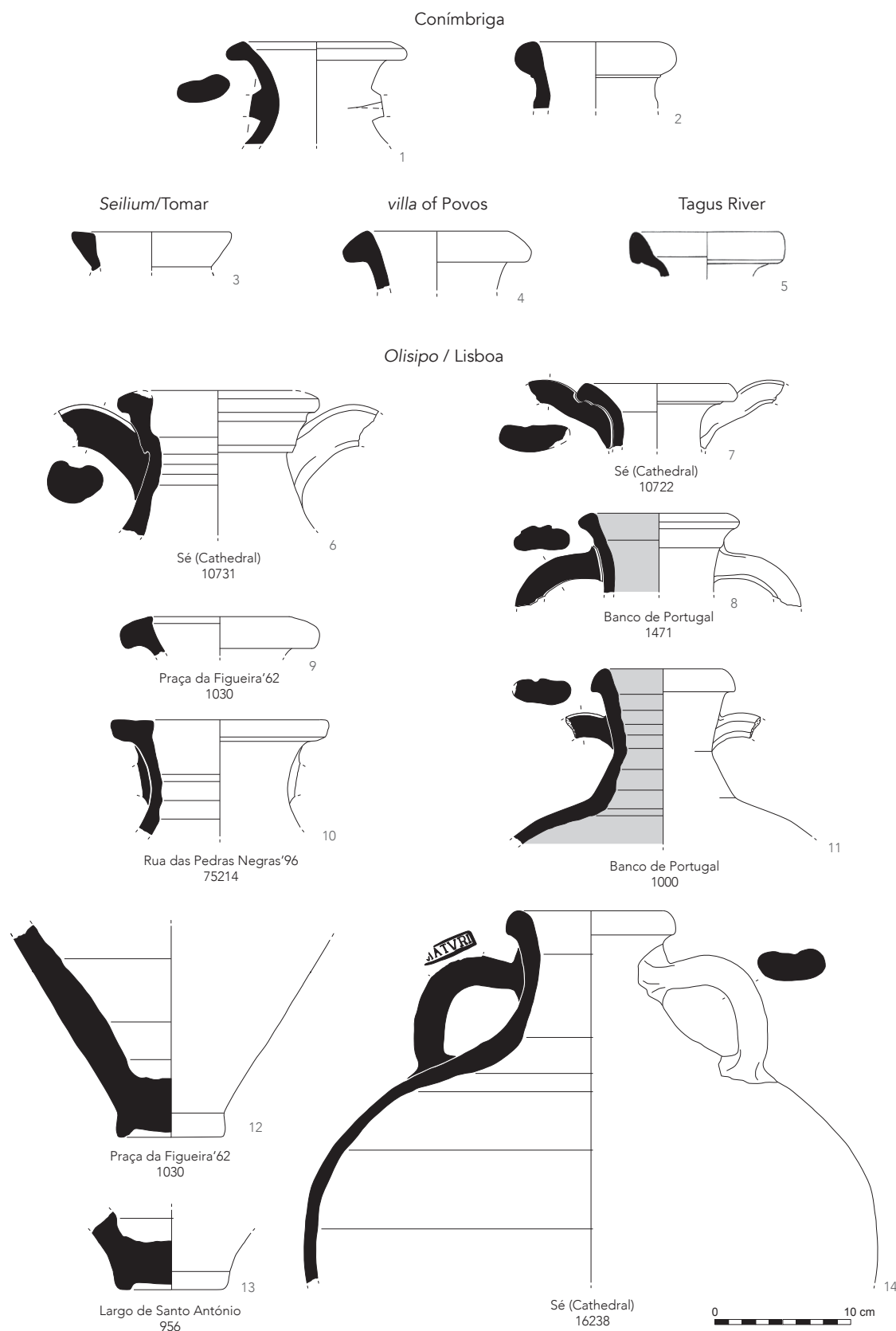


Fig. 3 – Gaulish amphorae from sites between the Mondego and Douro basins, and from the Tagus Valley. Conímbriga: Gauloise 5 (1) and Gauloise 4 (2) (Buraca, 2005); *Seilium*/Tomar: Gauloise 1 (3) (Banha and Arsénio, 1998); *villa* of Povos: Gauloise 4 (4) (Banha, 1991-92); Tagus river: Gauloise 4 (5) (Diogo, 1987); *Olisipo*/Lisbon: Gauloise 1, var.B (6), Gauloise 3 (7-8), Gauloise 5 (9-10), Gauloise 4 (11-14) (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming).

Tejo and Sado valleys), seem to correspond not only to a real decrease in the imported amphorae but also to the probable increasing of other types of containers intended for the dissemination of regional production.

3.2.2. The Tagus Valley and the Estremadura Province

The situation could not be more different for the areas between Tagus valley, its immediate tributaries and the Atlantic coast of the Estremadura Province. Here are seen approximately a quarter of the listed sites: amongst them the port city of *Olisipo*/Lisbon is without doubt of extraordinary importance. The profusion of sites with Gauloise 4 amphorae is therefore not surprising, but it is also in this region that the only examples of Gauloises 1 and 3 in the whole of Lusitania have been documented, clearly showing a preferential and differentiated distribution of these rarely encountered containers outside Gaul.

Gaulish amphorae were identified at *Seillivm*/Tomar (Banha and Arsénio, 1998; Ponte, 1999), *Ebvrobriittvm* (RRA), the *villa* of Vale Tijolos in Almeirim (RRA), Porto Sabugueiro (RRA), and along Tagus river between Vala Nova de Salvaterra de Magos and Vala de Muge (Diogo, 1987), Quinta do Morgado (RRA), at the *villae* of Quinta da Barradinha (RRA), of Povos in Vila Franca de Xira (Banha, 1991-92), of Almoinhas in Loures (RRA), of Frielas (RRA), and of Freiria (Cardoso, 2015; 2018) and finally at *Olisipo*/Lisbon (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming¹⁰). Although drawn from variable sample sizes, the quantified data on consumption in these places paints an interesting picture.

In the case of *Seillivm*/Tomar, where only a small section of the wine amphorae has been studied, it is possible to ascertain that those from Gaul correspond to 9% of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) of the wine containers (Banha and Arsénio, 1998: 179) (**Table 1**). More important here is the rim of 'classic' Gauloise 1 (Banha and Arsénio, 1998: 174 and 186, n° 13), collected from the oldest levels of the *Alameda insula*, associated with a Baetican Haltern 70 (Banha and Arsénio, 1998: 174). This allows the circulation a probable attribution to Julio-Claudian times, and constitutes one of the oldest evidences of the importation of Gaulish wine.

For the town of *Ebvrobriittvm* the stratigraphic data are of little value but, on the other hand, the total quantification of the ensemble (131 MNI) makes it possible to calculate that the amphorae of the Gauloise 4 and 5 types identified there (5 MNI) correspond to 4% of the amphorae attributable to the 1st-3rd centuries AD (102 MNI) and 15% of the wine containers for the same period (RRA) (**Table 1**).

The situation is similar in the *villae* of Quinta da Barradinha and Almoinhas. At Barradinha, from 152 MNI, the amphora Gauloise 4 type (1 MNI) corresponds to 0.8% of the amphorae attributable to the 1st-3rd centuries AD (122 MNI) and to 8% of the wine containers for the same period (RRA). On the other hand, at Almoinhas, with a more extended set of 265 MNI, the Gauloise 4 amphora type again with 1 MNI, corresponding to only 1% of the amphorae and 2% of the wine containers attributable to the 1st-3rd centuries AD (109 MNI) (**Table 1**).

For the *villae* of Vale de Tijolos, Porto Sabugueiro, Povos, Quinta do Morgado, Frielas or Freiria, which are distributed between the *agri* of *Scallabis* and *Olisipo*, and for the materials collected from the Tagus River, little more data on consumption can be added, other than the widespread identification of Gauloise 4 or Gauloise 5 in Freiria (Cardoso, 2015; 2018). The specimen of Gauloise 5 from the Roman *villa* of Povos comes from a 1st century AD context (Banha, 1991-92: 56). For the remaining sites the chronology of the contexts where Gauloise amphorae were collected is unknown. The absence of examples from Santarém is surprising, as it is a site for which a significant amount of data has already

10. For the several dozens of interventions and occurrences in the city of Lisbon, we will consider here the overview and the recent collective accounts made (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming); however, whenever necessary detailing particular contexts and/or fragments, we will refer to its specific published references.

been published (among others, Arruda and Almeida, 1999; 2000; Arruda, Viegas and Bargão, 2005; 2006; Almeida, 2008).

The case of the city of *Olisipo*/Lisbon is totally different. It now boasts the largest sample studied in Portugal and Lusitania, with 9906 fragments/4270 MNI of amphorae, of which 7629 fragments/3216 MNI correspond to the Principate period. Of these, only 2.3% (72 MNI) belong to Gaulish amphorae, which correspond to 7% of the wine containers between the mid 1st and the 3rd centuries AD (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming) (**Table 1**).

From the systematic study on the amphorae containers of this city, between the 1st-3rd centuries AD, the published Gaul specimens have been collected at Praça da Figueira (Almeida and Filipe, 2013), in the anchorage site of Praça D. Luís (Parreira and Macedo, 2013), FRESS-Fundação Ricardo Espírito Santo e Silva (Silva, 2014), Casa dos Bicos (Filipe et al., 2016), Rua das Pedras Negras (Gomes et al., 2017), Rua de São Mamede (Mota et al., 2017), Escadinhas de S. Crispim (Quaresma, forthcoming), and Cais do Sodré (Cardoso, 2013). In addition, several sets that remained unpublished were referred to, namely from Banco de Portugal, Circo Romano, Encosta de Sant'Ana, Largo de Santo António, Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel, with the most recent interventions involving Praça da Figueira, Sé (Cathedral), Termas dos Cássios in Rua das Pedras Negras, the Zara store in Rua Augusta and Rua de São Mamede (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming)¹¹. Regardless of the greater or lesser statistical representativeness of each of the subsets at these sites, it is their diversity and respective chronology and location in the city that gives the overall Lisbon sample a particularly relevant statistical reliability.

In this *Olisipo* global overview, Gauloise 1, 3, 4 and 5 are represented. The Gauloise 4 form is arguably the best known, with 66 MNI, corresponding to 2.1% of the imperial amphorae, 5% of the amphorae imported between the 1st century and the first half of the 3rd century AD, and 6.4% of the total number of wine containers for that same period. This figure rises to 14.5% if we exclude from this set the Lusitanian production containers of the Lusitana 3 type, which were widely used and had spread during the 2nd century AD in Central Lusitania, mainly in the Tagus Valley. It should also be noted that the Gauloise 4 type represents 92% of the imports from Gaul. In two of the specimens from the Banco de Portugal (n° 1000 and 1908), remains of a resinous coating were identified on the inside.

Unfortunately, as far as chronological aspects are concerned, most of the specimens from Gauloise 4 were collected in late or post-Roman levels, which is due to the intense occupation of the urban space for centuries. Among the examples recovered in stratigraphic contexts consistent with the chronology of production and distribution of these amphorae are those from FRESS-Fundação Ricardo Espírito Santo e Silva, with an individual in a stratum that should date from the last years of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Silva, 2014: 183); from the Cathedral, with the upper part of a Gauloise 4 with the stamp MATVRI on one of the handles, in a context of the second half of the 1st century AD (this is the earliest known context for this mark that has a significant diffusion in the western half of the Empire) (Fabião et al., 2016: 32-33); in the most recent intervention of Rua das Pedras Negras, there is a handle in a stratum dated between the middle of the 1st century AD and the 2nd centuries (Gomes et al., 2017); in the Casa dos Bicos, a rim in a level of the first half of the 3rd century AD (Filipe et al., 2016: 433); at Rua de São Mamede, a handle in a context dated between the Flavian dynasty and the first third of the 2nd century AD (Mota et al., 2017); one specimen at the Zara shop in Rua Augusta, in a stratum dated between the last third of the 1st century AD to the middle of the 2nd century AD. Finally, at Praça da Figueira, five fragments were collected in contexts between the middle of the 2nd century AD and the middle of the 3rd century AD;

11. A specimen from the NARQ-Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros (Bugalhão et al., 2013) is excluded from this list of sites: it was concluded that it was not a Gaulish piece. The high diameter of the rim (c. 17cm), the excessive thickness of the neck wall (c. 1.5cm) and its inclination and length do not allow its classification as Gauloise 4. Apart from the typological aspects, the somewhat singular manufacture of this specimen allows its possible classification as a Baetican Dressel 2-4 or even as a Dressel 2-4 from the central Tarraconian coast, whose manufacture is very similar to the limestone paste from Southern Gaul, as is observable on an Almadra IV specimen identified in the Cloisters of the Cathedral and on another from Troia.

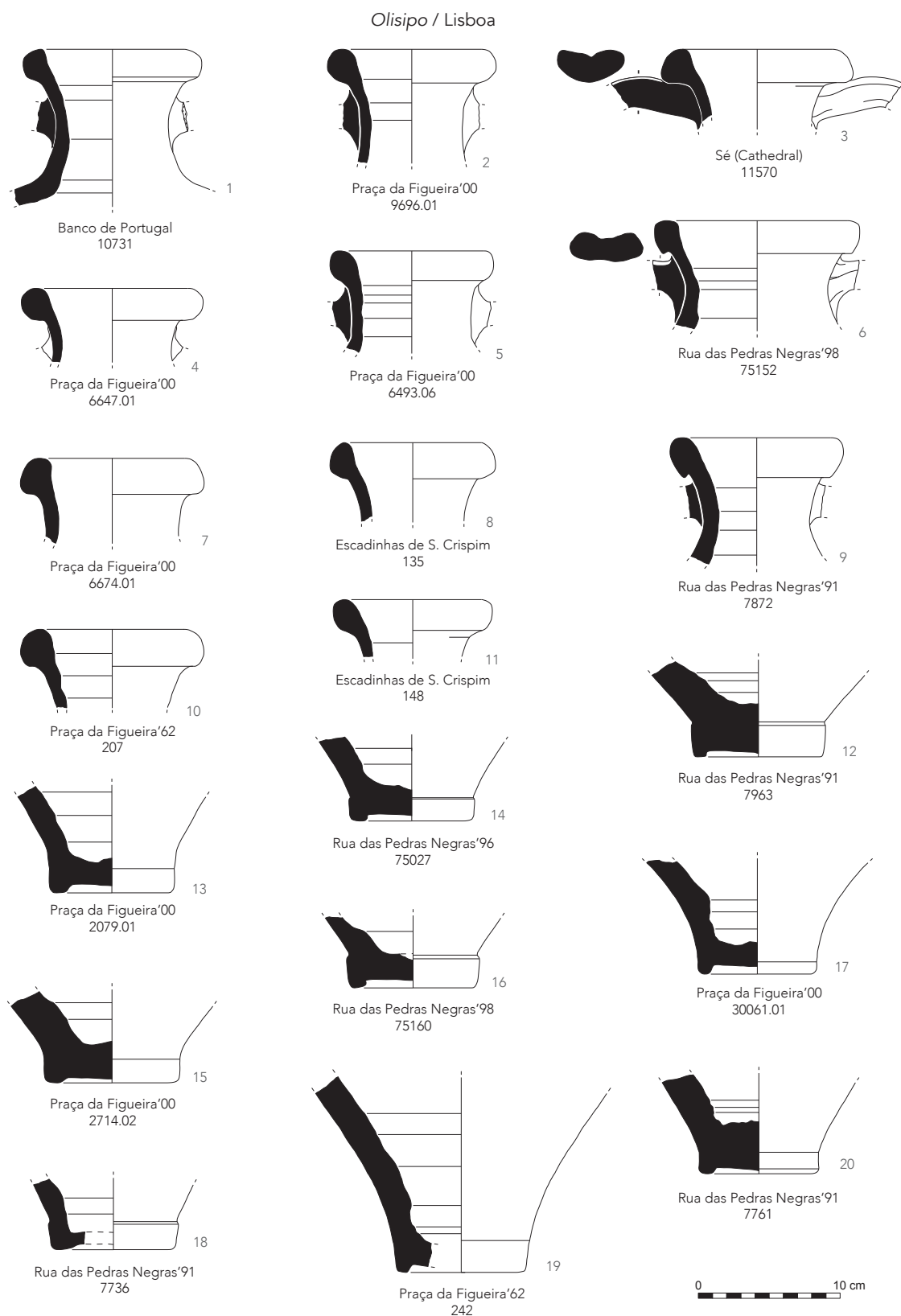


Fig. 4 – Gaulish amphorae from the Tagus Valley. *Olisipo/Lisbon*: Gauloise 4 (1-20) (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming).

as well as three specimens in levels from the last third of the 3rd century and another three in deposits dating from the end of this last century and the beginning of the 4th century AD.

From Lisbon, collected at the Sé (Cathedral), is another of the known fragments of a Gauloise 1, a rim of Narbonnese production attributable to variant B, but unfortunately in a post-Roman context.

The only Gauloise 3 known in all Lusitania are from Lisbon. These are but two fragments of rim with part of the handle, both of Narbonnese production, collected in the excavations of the Cathedral and Banco de Portugal. The specimen from the Banco de Portugal is morphologically similar to the Gauloise 2, but the absence of a ridge on the inner part of the rim and the handle that starts just below it indicate that it is a Gauloise 3 (Bigot and Djaoui, 2013: 385). It should also be noted that this piece has traces of resin coating on its inner surface. As for the Cathedral fragment, its classification is not clear, since it presents some characteristics that are not common in this and other types made in Narbonnaise, namely the exaggerated inclination of the rim. They represent only 0.1% of the Early Empire amphorae and 0.2% of all the wine vessels (Filipe, forthcoming). Concerning their dating, both fragments shed little or no light on the subject. The Banco de Portugal specimen comes from a Roman Period level that should correspond to a level of alluvium from the river bottom, thus not being a completely secure stratigraphic context; the Cathedral specimen was recovered in a Late Antiquity context, and is obviously well out of context.

3.2.3. The Sado and Mira valleys and the South-west coast

What is known for the region of the Atlantic southwest coast and its two main rivers seems to hold out enormous importance, however most of its sites lack the necessary in-depth studies. The exception is the Sado valley. Here the enormous importance of its cities in the Romanization process, and later on the importance that its fish salting and pottery manufacturing complexes acquired in the provincial economy, soon saw archaeological research focus on the cities of *Salacia*/Alcácer do Sal, *Caetobriga*/Setúbal and the industrial complex of the Troia peninsula. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of these places provide most of the information for the study of the Gaulish amphorae.

For *Caetobriga*/Setúbal, although its enormous potential is beyond question and despite the research and publication from the MAEDS team, the assemblages of the city lack systematisation and in-depth study, by which to bring together all the material excavated and recovered there to date. More recent interventions have produced new data and it is from these that the presence of Gauloise 4 has come to light, in contexts from the end of the 1st century and the 2nd century AD, at streets Francisco Augusto Flamengo and Arronches Junqueiro 32-34 (Silva et al., 2014; Silva, Coelho-Soares and Duarte, 2018). A similar situation is found in the cities of *Salacia*/Alcácer do Sal and *Mirobriga* and the modern-day city of Sines, although they are far apart. These are places that have been extensively excavated, especially the first two, but whose materials also lack systematic study. In *Mirobriga* just two fragments of Gauloise 4 were published (Diogo, 1999; Quaresma, 2012), one of them in context from the beginning of the 2nd century AD (context 84); in Sines (Diogo and Reiner, 1987; Diogo, 1999) some Gauloise 4 specimens are identified, and from *Salacia*/Alcácer do Sal some excavation sets and good groups of surface materials are known, which add some more. In fact, from the total fragments published from the 1976-1979 interventions (Silva et al., 1980-81) and the collections on the castle slope (Pimenta et al., 2015; Pimenta, Sepúlveda and Ferreira, 2016), which amount to a total set of 293 MNI (Pimenta, Sepúlveda and Ferreira, 2016; RRA), 273 MNI belong to the 1st-2nd centuries AD, including one Gauloise 4 (Pimenta, Sepúlveda and Ferreira, 2016), corresponding to 10% of the scarce wine containers of that period (**Table 1**).

In Troia and Ilha do Pessegueiro, the two sites with a major artisanal/productive vocation, the data are disparate but important. This is especially so for Troia, the great salting factory complex of the Roman Empire (Étienne, Makaroun and Mayet, 1994; Pinto, Magalhães and Brum 2011; 2014), because this site is also a place of consumption and not merely a producer, as is more usually the case. For Ilha do

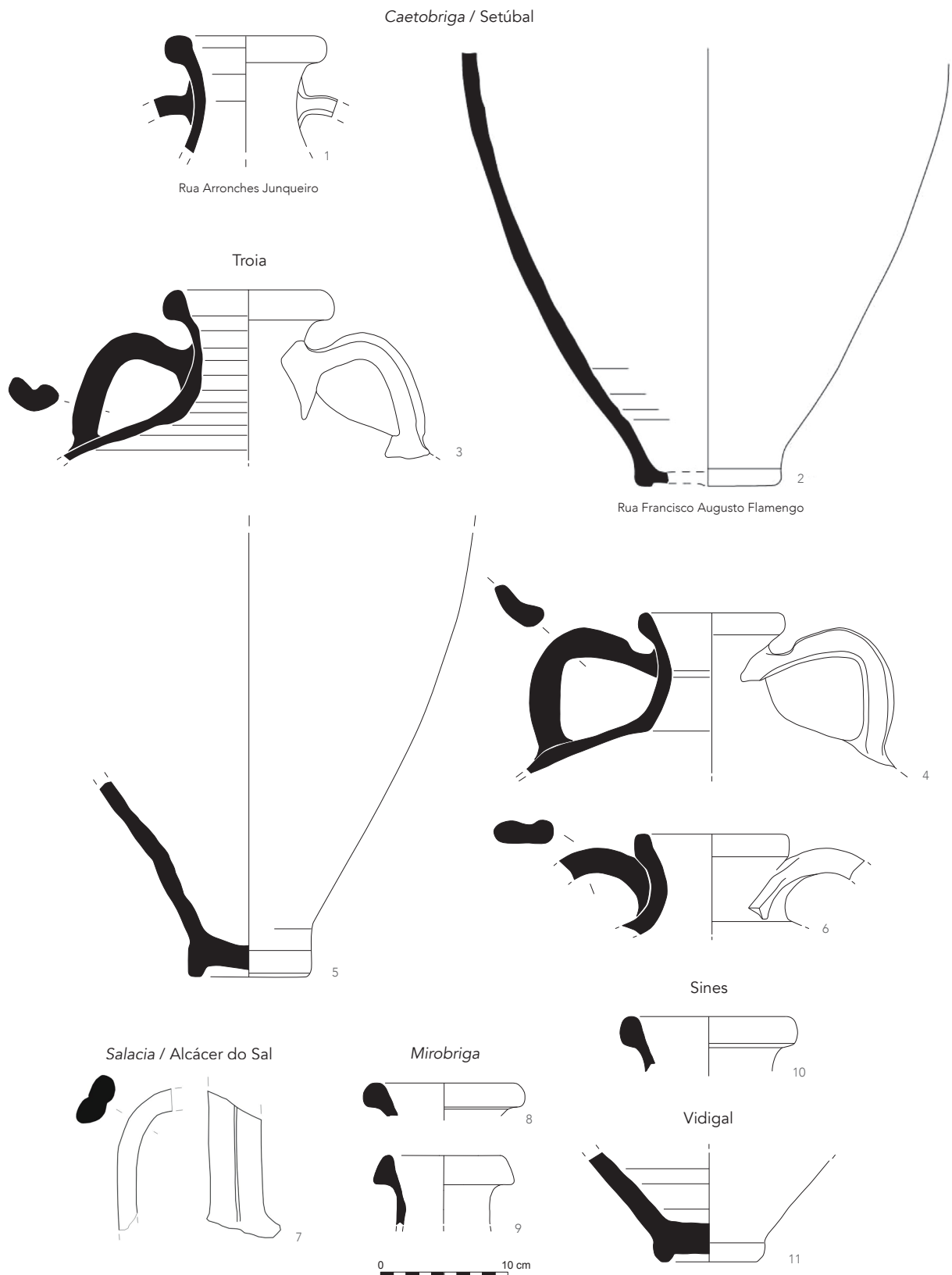


Fig. 5 – Gaulish amphorae from sites of in Sado and Mira valleys, and South-western coast. *Caetobriga/Setúbal*: Gauloise 4 (1, Silva, Coelho-Soares and Duarte, 2018) (2, Silva et al., 2014;); *Troia*: Gauloise 4 (3-4, RRA) (5, Diogo and Trindade, 1998) (6, Diogo and Trindade, 1992); *Salacia/Alcácer do Sal*: Gauloise 4 (7) (Pimenta, Sepúlveda and Ferreira, 2016); *Mirobriga*: Gauloise 4 (8, Diogo, 1999) (9, Quaresma, 2012); *Sines*: Gauloise 4 (10) (Diogo and Reiner, 1987); *Vidigal*: Gauloise 4 (11) (Pereira, 2015).

Pessegueiro we can remark the presence of Gauloise 4 in phase IIA of the site, with a chronology of 65-70 AD, but representing only 1% of the amphorae of the imperial contexts (Silva and Soares, 1993). For Troia something more is deducible. Here the combination of many partial published works (Diogo and Trindade, 1992; 1998; Diogo and Paixão, 2001; Almeida et al., 2014) and several unpublished subsets (RRA) make it possible to currently assemble a total of 6395 fragments/3605 MNI, which forms the second largest set of all processed for Lusitania; of these, the Gauloise type 4 and 5 amphorae identified (17 MNI) correspond again to 1% of the amphorae attributable to the 1st-3rd centuries AD, to 3.4% of the imports and to 14% of the wine containers for the same period (RRA) (**Table 1**).

3.2.4. The hinterland, between the Tagus and Middle Guadiana basins

In general, the inland territory is relatively poorly served in terms of information, though revealing similarities with the region between the Douro and Mondego basins, particularly in the present-day Portuguese Alto Alentejo. *Emerita Avgvsta*/Merida, the provincial capital, and some sites in the lower Alentejo are exceptions to this though. However, this may be due more to research constraints than to an actual scarcity of materials.

In the Upper Alentejo, Gauloise 4 amphorae were identified in the town of *Ammaia*/São Salvador de Aramenha without a specific context of provenance, as too in the *villa* of Torre de Palma (Diogo, 1999-2000; RRA), from excavations carried out by Manuel Heleno in the 1940s and 50s, of which the contexts are unknown; in Central Alentejo there is a single Gauloise 4 in the *villa* of Tourega, near Évora (Pinto and Lopes, 2006), in the sanctuary of Endovélico, in Alandroal, a bottom and a wing also of Gauloise 4 (RRA), and in the *ager* of Merida, again fragments of Gauloise 4 turn up in the important *villa* of Torre Águila (RRA). The reception in these settlements can be justified by its own importance, however, it has to be understood within the distribution circuits to other destinations and markets, namely *Emerita Avgvsta*/Merida.

More recent studies of some assemblages in the city, namely the Cuarteles Hernán Cortés (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo, 2013; Almeida 2016), Calle Atazarana and the collection of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano (Almeida 2016; RRA), have produced a total of 944 fragments/492 MNI available for study. Of these, 266 MNI are attributed between the 1st century and the first half of the 3rd century AD, in which there are 24 MNI of Gauloise 4, 1 MNI of Gauloise 5 and a very doubtful Dressel 16, corresponding to 9.4% of the amphorae of that period and 17% of the wine containers (**Table 1**). From an overarching reading of the sites in Lusitania (**Table 1** and **Fig. 8**), it emerges that the capital of the province is the place with the highest proportional consumption of Gallic wines.

It is also worth mentioning here the presence of a Gauloise 4 handle with the MERCATOR stamp. This is a well-known stamp, with specimens turning up all over the Empire. It shows two major axes of diffusion: the first is defined by the rivers Rhône and Rhine, the second by the Atlantic coast with redistribution to the interior territories of northwestern *Gallia* and *Gallia Belgica*, to which Merida is to be added (Fabião et al., 2016: 33).

In Baixo Alentejo, the cases of the settlement of *Pax Ivlia*/Beja and of Monte da Cegonha, an important *villa* in the *ager pacensis*, are particularly relevant. In the city, the excavations of the forum and its temples (Lopes, Almeida and Pinto, 2021) and those of Rua do Sembrano (RRA) yielded to study two assemblages mostly attributable to the first two centuries of the colony's existence, making up a sample of 380 MNI. The imports from Gaul (9 MNI), with Gauloise 4 and one Gauloise 5, had a value of 2.3% in the total set, corresponding to 6% of the consumption between the middle of the 1st century and the 3rd century AD and 7% of the total wine imports in the same period. Especially useful for dating are the specimens in Context groups 3 and 4 of the temple area, between the last third of the 1st century and the second-third of the 2nd century AD (Lopes, Almeida and Pinto, 2021: 123-126) (**Table 1**).

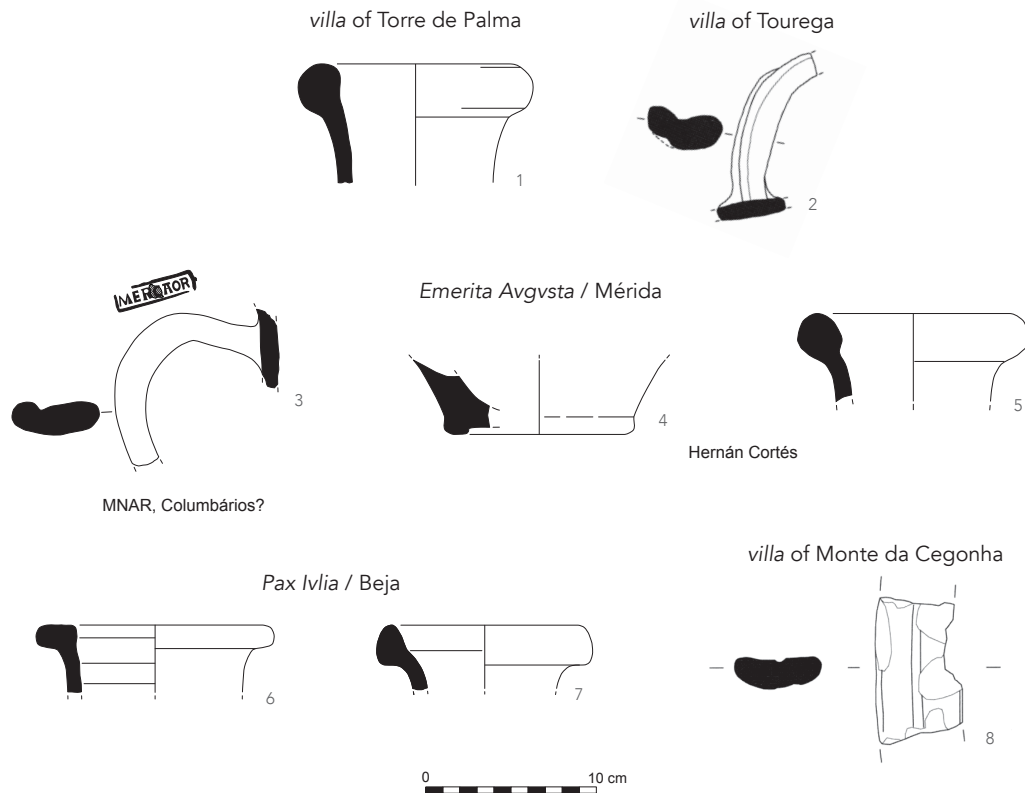


Fig. 6 – Gaulish amphorae from the hinterland, between the Tagus and Middle Guadiana basins. Villa of Torre de Palma: Gauloise 4 (1) ((Diogo, 1999-2000); villa of Tourega: Gauloise 4 (2) (Pinto and Lopes, 2006); Emerita Avgvsta/ Mérida: Gauloise 4 (3, Fabião et al., 2016) (4-5, RRA); Pax Ivlia/Beja: Gauloise 5 (6) and Gauloise 4 (7) (Lopes, Almeida and Pinto, 2021); villa of Monte da Cegonha: Gauloise 4 (8) (Pinto and Lopes, 2006).

In the *villa* of Monte da Cegonha, although the set is equally numerous (180 MNI), only one example of Gauloise 4 was identified, corresponding to only 1% of the consumption and 2% of the wine imports between the middle of the 1st and the 3rd century AD (Pinto and Lopes, 2006) (**Table 1**). Finally, we should add the presence of Gauloise 4 in Santa Bárbara de Padrões (RRA), a place known for its ‘sanctuary’ and the ritual deposit of lamps. Finally, we should mention the surprise of the absence of Gauloise 4 in the studied amphorae assemblage at the important *villa* of São Cucufate (Mayet and Schmitt, 1997; Pinto and Lopes, 2006).

3.2.5. The Algarve

For the Algarve region, it is mainly its coastal strip, where most of the towns and *villae* are located with their important production/processing units, especially those derived from fishing, that presents an important concentration of sites. These make up again about another quarter of the total number of inventoried sites. The particular incidence of finds in this region is due not only to the important maritime commercial dynamic remarked upon, but also, to a great extent, to the increase of research into the existing amphorae assemblages, especially in the last two decades. We believe that this picture may become much richer in the years to come.

From west to east, Gaulish amphorae are represented from the Bay of Lagos to practically the mouth of the Guadiana, with their absence in places like Boca do Rio, towards Sagres, being due to research constraints.

Starting with the case of Lagos, most of the archaeology documented in the current urban nucleus is related to fish preparation factories, with particular emphasis in the late period, which means that Early Empire finds are scarce. However, in the area outside the factory on Rua Silva Lopes n. 4-8, an enormous rubbish ditch was excavated, dating from the 1st - 2nd centuries AD, which provided interesting data on the consumption of Gaulish wine. Although scarce (3.4% of the assemblage) (**Table 1**), they appear in a clear sequence of fill strata between the Flavian-Trajan and early Antonine periods, but not going beyond the first quarter of the 2nd century AD, and then continuing into the Antonine period (Almeida and Moros Díaz, 2014: 52-53).

The Monte Molião site is located on the opposite bank of the Bensafrim estuary. It has been interpreted as the pre-Roman settlement and Romanized nucleus from which the 'colonisation' of the territory was organised and structured, despite not having itself become a *municipium* (Arruda, 2007; Arruda et al., 2008): it also provides very relevant data. Although the specific contexts of their collection at the site are not known, the Gauloise 4 specimens come from 2nd century AD levels. Out of a numerous set of 423 MNI from the 1st-2nd centuries AD, Gauloise imports account for 2.9% of the total and 7% of the wine imports (Arruda and Viegas, 2016) (**Table 1**).

Still within the framework of the Bay of Lagos, and belonging to the group of probably *villa*-type rural settlements that developed along the Ribeira de Bensafrim and near the coast from the 1st century AD, is the site of Monte Augusto. From a emergency excavation two examples of Gauloise 4 were found which represent 2.4% of the total, 3% of the consumption between the middle of the 1st century and the 3rd century AD and 14% of the total wine imports (RRA). Further to the east, there is a Gauloise 4 from Alvor and another from the *villa* of Montemar, near the River Arade, both now deposited in the Portimão Museum (RRA).

Much richer and more diversified is the collection from the mouth of the River Arade, an important area of anchorage, of maritime transit to other parts of the world, as well as a commercial and penetration route into the Algarve *hinterland*. The amphorae assemblage is mostly composed of numerous collections resulting from dredging (Silva, Coelho-Soares and Soares, 1987; Diogo, Cardoso and Reiner, 2000; RRA), which together amount to a total of 844 fragments/483 MNI (RRA). Here, the amphorae from Gaul represent 1.4% (7 MNI), corresponding to 5.1% of the specimens and 32% of the containers of wine products between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD (RRA) (**Table 1**). Of all the sets observed, this is the one with the greatest percentage, oddly so, and therefore deserving a special comment. The reason for its seemingly enormous presence lies not in an actual increase in Gaulish types but in the unusually low frequency of wine imports from Baetica or the central and eastern Mediterranean. Their dearth makes the visibility of the former greater.

A similar scenario can be observed at the site of Loulé Velho, in Quarteira in the central Algarve. This important site, probably of the *villa* type, with an important salting factory, is today practically destroyed (Almeida and Viegas, 2020). From the enormous collection of materials that has been recovered, in the group of amphorae of 195 MNI, those from Gauloise represent 2.6%, with Gauloise specimens 4 and 5 corresponding to 26% of the wine containers (**Table 1**). As in the previous case, this percentage is due to the surviving material and the chronology of the site, in which items from the Julio-Claudian period are vestigial (Almeida and Viegas, forthcoming). Still in the same area, at the mouth of the Ribeira de Quarteira, in the vicinity of the Vilamoura marina, is the *villa* of Cerro da Vila; very little is known of this, though possible examples of Gauloise 4 seem to be included in the published material (Teichner, 2008). Nearer to Ossonoba, one Gauloise 4 was recovered from the fish-salting unit of Quinta do Lago, within a sample of 83 fragments (Arruda, 2019); another one is known, collected in the excavation of the surface layer at Quinta de Marim (Silva, Soares and Coelho-Soares, 1992); and finally, another possible Gauloise 4 comes from the *villa* of Milreu (Teichner, 2008).

Gauloise 4 amphorae are also present in the city of Ossonoba/Faro. The numerous interventions carried out there remain largely unstudied, but an important contribution was made by the work of C. Viegas, who published some of its most important assemblages, specifically those of the Ocean Mosaic

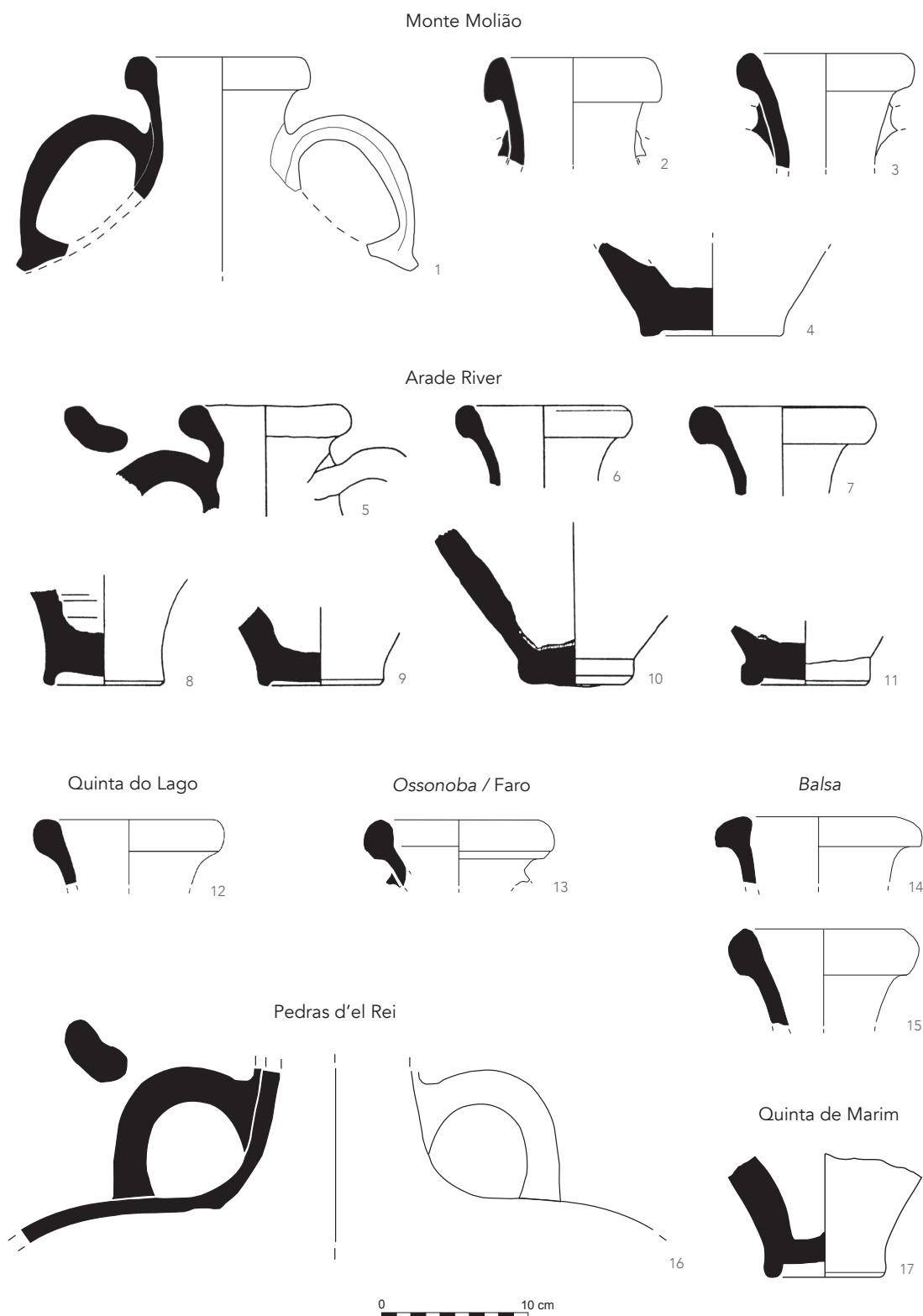


Fig. 7 – Gaulish amphorae from the sites in the Algarve. Monte Molião: Gauloise 4 (1-4) (Arruda and Viegas, 2016); Arade River: Gauloise 4 (5-11) (Diogo, Cardoso and Reiner, 2000); Quinta do Lago: Gauloise 4 (12) (Arruda, 2019); Ossonoba/Faro: Gauloise 4 (13) (Viegas, 2011); Balsa: Gauloise 4 (14-15) (Viegas, 2011); Pedras d'el Rei: Gauloise 4 (16) (Viegas and Dinis, 2010); Quinta de Marim: Gauloise 4 (Silva, Soares and Coelho-Soares, 1992).

and the Municipal Museum (Viegas, 2011). To her studies were later added those of the Cathedral Square from 1933-68 and in the decade 2001-09, Fábrica da Cerveja, Largo Afonso III, Cine-Teatro Farense, Largo do Município, Largo de São Francisco, among others. Together, a reading of the history of the city became feasible (Almeida et al., 2014). Thus, in a total that currently stands at 1045 fragments/887 MNI (RRA), Gaulish amphorae represent only 0.7% of the total, but 2.6% of all types between the 1st and mid-3rd century AD and 8% of the wine amphorae counted for the same time period (**Table 1**).

In the extreme southwest of Lusitania, the town of *Balsa*/Torre de Ares/Tavira also stands out for the quality of its assemblage. From a few interventions and numerous surface collections carried out there, whose materials are today distributed among various institutions and localities, the collections published by C. Fabião (1994) and C. Viegas (Viegas, 2011) which were later completed with the rest of the material deposited in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (RRA), report 966 fragments/367 MNI. Here, amphorae from Gaul represent 0.8% (12 fragments/3 MNI), corresponding to 2.1% of the specimens and 7% of the wine containers consumed between the 1st to 3rd centuries AD (RRA). Finally, from the nearby site of Pedras d'el Rei, probably a suburban *villa* of the city of *Balsa*, comes an exemplar of Gauloise 4 (Viegas and Dinis, 2010) (**Table 1**).

4. Some considerations on the distribution and values of consumption

Before outlining the main aspects related to the acquisition and consumption of amphorae from Gaul in Lusitania, we would like to begin by mentioning, once again, the limitations of the assemblages studied and referred to here. The great majority are samples resulting from old excavations, from recent excavations (mostly rescue or emergency excavations) or from fieldwalking surveys; many lack stratigraphic coordinates or when provided have little informative value.

By way of summary, let us revisit the list of questions posed at the beginning of this work. As regards the first question, 'What?', it was found that the Gaulish amphorae identified in Lusitania belong to the Gauloise 1, Gauloise 3, Gauloise 4 and Gauloise 5 types, produced almost exclusively in Narbonnese Gaul.

For the second question, 'Where?', one could summarize in a simplistic way and state that practically the whole province is involved. However, there are areas of greater concentration of finds: one is in the basin of the Tagus and Estremadura Province and another in the Algarve, with occasional concentrations in the interior territory. This scenario is certainly direct due to the importance of the sites found there – cities such as *Seilium*, *Eburobrittium* and unquestionably *Olisipo*, or *villae* such as Quinta da Barradinha, Almoinhas or Freiria, in the case of the former region, and cities such as Monte Molião/Lagos, *Ossonoba*/Faro or *Balsa*, *villae* such as Loulé Velho, or port areas such as the Rio Arade. The distribution also reflects on the importance of the coastal regions and the main fluvial axes of immediate penetration into the interior. Also the amount of effort invested in the systematic research carried out in those areas plays a major role. The progress of more studies will certainly lead to certain existing gaps being filled, namely in the region between the Mondego and Douro basins, of which Conimbriga is an isolated bastion.

It should also be noted that these amphorae appear both in urban and rural sites, of the *villae* type or others of a less obvious nature and function, and also in artisanal/production sites such as those related to the processing of fish-salting production. However, the greater presence and greater level of consumption in urban centres is noticeable; the exception is Troia which in practical terms corresponds to what we could call an 'industrial city'.

As regards the third question, 'How much?', this is the one to which we can contribute the most. With the exception of a few sites, the vast majority mentioned with a presence of amphorae from Gaul comprise but small assemblages and are of poor statistical reliability. As such, little can be added regarding the importation of Gaulish wine at these sites, beyond their mere presence. In those cases where quantified readings can actually be made, in places like Conimbriga, *Eburobrittium*, Quinta da Barradinha,

Almoinhas, Lisbon, Merida, Troia, *Salacia*/Alcácer do Sal, *Pax Ivlia*/Beja, Monte Molião, the Arade River, *Ossonoba*/Faro or *Balsa*, it can be seen that the Gaulish amphorae are numerically insignificant in terms of MNI. Take for example the cases of Lisbon or Troia, the former with 72 MNI (Filipe, 2019; forthcoming) and the latter with 16 MNI (RRA) of Gauloise 4 amphorae in its total quantification.

In absolute terms and as a percentage of the total assemblages, the Gaulish amphorae vary a little in importance, ranging on average between 0.5 and 3%. Such levels can basically be considered what could have been expected, as their presence becomes ‘diluted’ amongst so many other types and depends too on the length of time that a site was occupied. These values are more relevant in the period corresponding to their production, between the middle of the 1st century and the 3rd century AD, when the importance of the Gaulish amphorae ranges between 1 and 7%. It is only when one counts all the containers by type/content for the same period of time, that comparisons become more meaningful, and that the most pertinent data can be extracted. On average, the Gaulish amphorae represent between 7 and 17% of the imported wine amphorae, with some cases lower and others of greater importance (**Table 1**). Notable in their procurement and consumption is the city of Merida, the capital of the Roman Province, for which a more nuanced consumption profile has been observed: here is observed a clear preference in the acquisition of wines over other products imported in amphorae, compared to other localities in Lusitania (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo, 2013; Filipe, forthcoming). It is not surprising that it is in this context of preferential wine consumption that a greater importation of Gaulish wines is visible.

With regard to the various types of amphorae themselves, the Gauloise 4 is dominant, being present in 43 of the 44 referenced sites. Gauloise 1, 3 and 5 are clearly in the minority, especially so types 1 and 3, being limited to urban or ‘industrial’ sites of greater economic importance, and with a greater concentration on the Atlantic coastal strip of Lusitania. A more detailed presentation as to the significance of the import values of each of these types is still to be penned.

As for Gauloise 1, its scarcity in the commercial circuits of the western Empire generally explains its almost total absence in the Iberian Peninsula and particularly in *Lusitania*. Identified in the cities of *Seillium*/Tomar and *Olisipo*/Lisbon, at a rate scarcely above zero, it is important to underline its presence in the extreme West of the Iberian Peninsula. This is an amphora type destined essentially for a regional distribution in Gaul, either in its ‘classic’ form or in a variant considered rare and marginal in the context of the production and diffusion of Gauloise 1.

Although its presence in Italy has been considered ‘accidental’ (Laubenheimer, 2001: 55), the recording of new specimens in Rome and Ostia and their documentation on the western Atlantic seaboard may serve to reignite the discussion about the effective range of the dissemination and role that this container may have had in the context of the export of Narbonnese wine, albeit in admittedly small quantities. But it manages to get to such distant parts of the Empire as the Italian Peninsula, Lusitania and *Britannia*. Its reception in *Britannia* and lower *Germania*, as well as in northern present-day France (where it has been identified in Amiens, Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010: 21 and 392) and Lusitania, may be evidence that traffic of this type depended on a route in the Atlantic area. Only from this perspective, and assuming that they ‘piggy-backed’ on the Gauloise 4 and 5 circuits, can their presence in this region be understood: it was not, after all, one of the preferred markets for Gaulish products.

As for Gauloise 3, only some fragments from Lisbon are known. It is also clearly a minority, without any statistical weight. Most likely the manner of its distribution matches that of the previous type.

The case for Gauloise 4 is quite different. It is undoubtedly the leading Gaul container in Lusitania, with a generalised presence from north to south, both on the coast and inland, but always at a low proportion, both in absolute terms against the totals consumed at the sites and in percentage terms against all the products imported in amphorae. Their presence, in varying quantities and dates, is attested in all the referenced sites (**Table 1**). In the immediate area outside Lusitania on the Northwest Atlantic front, in the current Portuguese territory that encompasses the ancient province of *Tarraconensis*, it was found in *Bracara Augusta*/Braga (Morais, 2005) and *Citânia de Briteiros* (Fabião, 1998).

| Site | Types | Gaulish amphorae | | | Wine amphorae by regions (I-III d.C.) % MNI | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|--|---------|---------------|------------|-------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | | % MNI total of the sample | % MNI of the sample (I-III d.C.) | % MNI of the wine amph. (I-III d.C.) | Lusitania | Baetica | Tarraconensis | Gallia | Italy | Northern Africa | Eastern Mediterranean |
| 1 Conimbriga | Gauloise 4 and 5 | 1,0% | 1,6% | 4% | 20% | 72% | 2% | 4% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| 2 Seillivm/Tomar | Gauloise 1 and 4 | - | 9,0% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3 Ebvrobittivm | Gauloise 4 and 5 | 3,8% | 4,0% | 15% | 11% | 59% | 4% | 15% | 7% | 0% | 4% |
| 4 Ammaia | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5 Torre de Palma | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 6 Vale Tijolos | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7 Porto Sabugueiro | Gauloise 4 | 0,8% | 1,0% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 8 Tagus River | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 9 Quinta da Barradinha | Gauloise 4 | 0,7% | 0,8% | 2% | 76% | 8% | 2% | 2% | 6% | 0% | 6% |
| 10 Povos | Gauloise 5? | 1,5% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 11 Quinta do Morgado | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 12 Almoinhas | Gauloise 4 | 0,4% | 0,9% | 2% | 92% | 4% | 0% | 2% | 2% | 0% | 0% |
| 13 Frielas | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 14 Freiria | Gauloise 5 | 0,4% | 2,0% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 15 Olisipo/Lisboa | Gauloise 1, 3, 4 and 5 | 2,9% | 3,2% | 10% | 61% | 17% | 3% | 10% | 4% | 1% | 5% |
| 16 Torre Águila | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 17 Emerita Augusta/Merida | Gauloise 4 and 5 | 5,1% | 9,4% | 17% | 8% | 14% | 14% | 17% | 17% | 0% | 30% |
| 18 Endovéllico | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 19 Tourega | Gauloise 4 | 0,8% | 2,7% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 20 Caetobriga/Setúbal | Gauloise 4 | 0,3% | 0,3% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 21 Troia | Gauloise 4 and 5 | 0,5% | 1,2% | 14% | 12% | 39% | 12% | 14% | 14% | 0% | 9% |
| 22 Salacia/Alcácer do Sal | Gauloise 4 | 0,3% | 0,5% | 10% | 20% | 70% | 0% | 10% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| 23 Monte da Cegonha | Gauloise 4 | 0,6% | 1,0% | 2% | 0% | 92% | 2% | 2% | 2% | 2% | 0% |
| 24 Pax Ivlia/Beja | Gauloise 4 and 5 | 2,3% | 6,0% | 7% | 0% | 75% | 3% | 8% | 2% | 1% | 11% |
| 25 Miróbriga | Gauloise 4 | 1,6% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 26 Sines | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 27 Ilha do Pessegueiro | Gauloise 4 | 1,0% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 28 St. Bárbara de Padrões | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 29 Vidigal | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 30 Lagos | Gauloise 4 | 3,4% | 3,4% | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 31 Monte Moliao | Gauloise 4 | 2,9% | 2,9% | 7% | 1% | 91% | 1% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| 32 Monte Augusto | Gauloise 4 | 2,4% | 2,9% | 14% | 0% | 72% | 0% | 14% | 14% | 0% | 0% |
| 33 Alvor | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 34 Montemar | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 35 Arade River | Gauloise 4 | 1,4% | 5,1% | 32% | 18% | 23% | 9% | 32% | 9% | 0% | 9% |
| 36 Cerro da Vila | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 37 Loulé Velho | Gauloise 4 and 5 | 2,6% | 7,0% | 26% | 26% | 16% | 11% | 26% | 21% | 0% | 0% |
| 38 Quinta do Lago | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 39 Ossonoba/Faro | Gauloise 4 | 0,7% | 2,6% | 8% | 1% | 82% | 1% | 8% | 3% | 0% | 5% |
| 40 Milreu | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 41 Quinta de Marim | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 42 Balsa | Gauloise 4 | 0,8% | 2,1% | 7% | 7% | 60% | 5% | 7% | 7% | 0% | 14% |
| 43 Pedras d'el Rei | Gauloise 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Table 1 – Sites with Gaulish amphorae, types represented and its quantification (MNI %) in the assemblages.

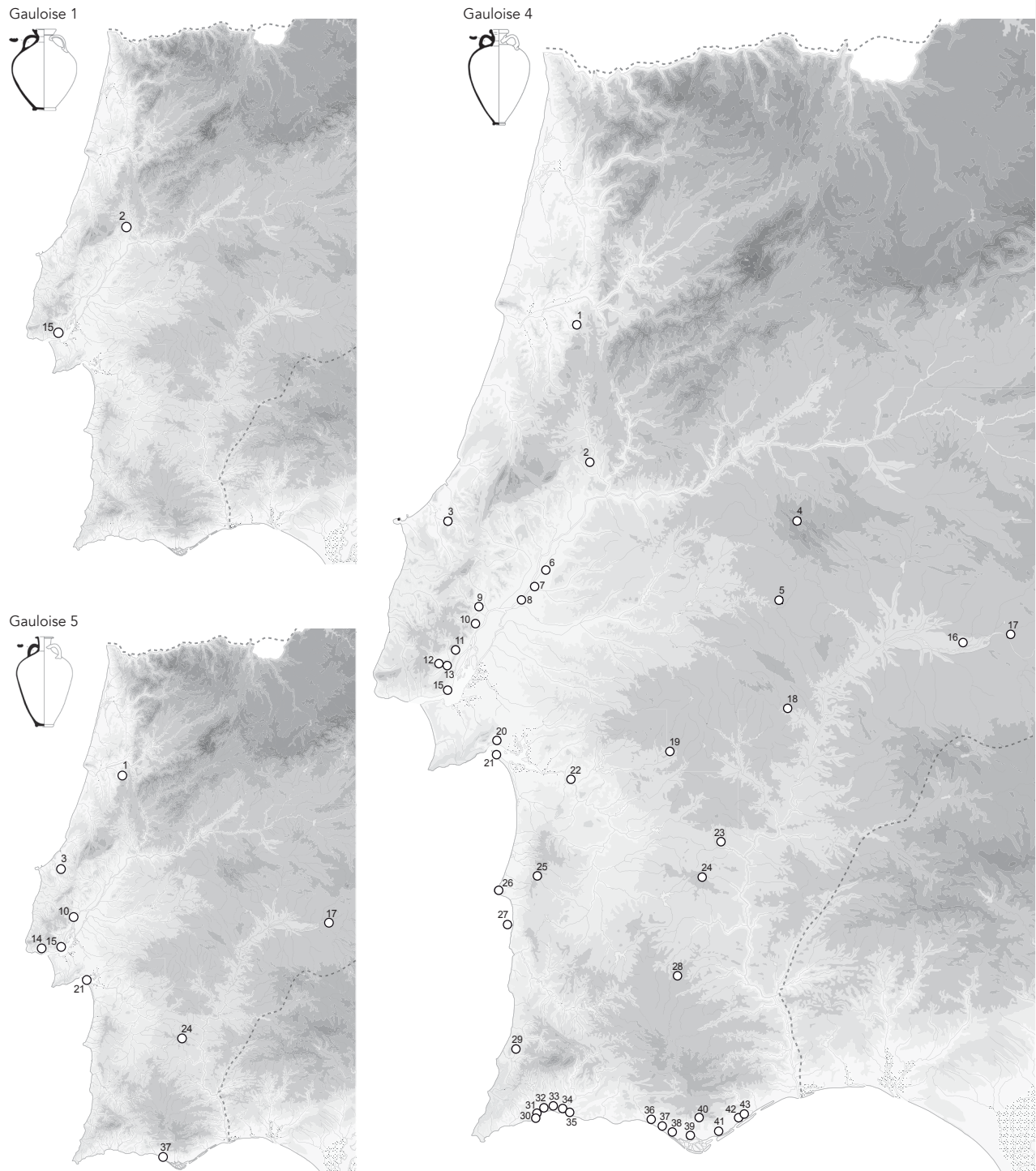


Fig. 8 – Distribution maps of the main Gaulish amphorae types in *Lusitania* (for full references, see text *supra*).

1. *Conimbriga*, 2. *Seilvm/Tomar*, 3. *Ebvrobittvm*, 4. *Ammaia*, 5. Torre de Palma, 6. Vale Tijolos, 7. Porto Sabugueiro, 8. Tagus River, Vala de Salvaterra, 9. Quinta da Barradinha, 10. Povos, 11. Quinta do Morgado, 12. Almoinhas, 13. Frielas, 14. Freiria, 15. *Olisipo/Lisboa*, 16. Torre Águila, 17. *Emerita Avgvsta/Merida*, 18. Endovéllico, São Miguel da Mota, 19. Tourega, 20. *Caetobriga/Setúbal*, 21. Troia, 22. *Salacia/Alcácer do Sal*, 23. Monte da Cegonha, 24. *Pax Ivlia/Beja*, 25. *Miróbriga*, 26. Sines, 27. Ilha do Pessegueiro, 28. Santa Bárbara de Padrões, 29. Vidigal, 30. Lagos, 31. Monte Molião, 32. Monte Augusto, 33. Alvor, 34. Montemar, 35. Arade River, 36. Cerro da Vila, 37. Loulé Velho, 38. Quinta do Lago, 39. *Ossonoba/Faro*, 40. Milreu, 41. Quinta de Marim, 42. *Balsa*, 43. Pedras d'el Rei.

Finally, the Gauloise 5 is a type once more but little represented numerically, even if known from a significant number of occurrences: *Conimbriga*, *Eburobrittum*, *villa de Povos*, Lisbon, Merida, *villa de Freiria*, Troia, *Pax Ivlia/Beja*, Loulé Velho. Though this is the second-best represented type, its scarcity clearly demonstrates its marginal position, particularly to the west of Narbonnaise, although the geography of its diffusion currently remains poorly understood.

Regarding the fourth question, 'When?', unfortunately, as we have already mentioned, for a good number of the sites where Gaulish containers appear, the stratigraphic contexts do not offer well-defined chronologies. This is either because they come from rescue/emergency excavation contexts and the archaeological record is insufficient, or because they are from old archaeological interventions, where either the record has already been lost or what is currently available does not clarify the stratigraphic coordinates. Even so, the data from *Olisipo/Lisbon*, *Seilium/Tomar* or *Pax Ivlia/Beja*, for example, confirm that the introduction of Gaulish wine begins at the end of the Julio-Claudian period, with Gauloise amphorae 1 and 4; this intensifies and spreads in the territory from the Flavian dynasty onwards, especially for Gauloise 4 and 5 type containers. This growth coincides with the break and disappearance of the importation of Baetican wine, and with a disruption in the wine trade across the Empire (Tchernia, 1986; Fabião, 1998). Its commercialisation and special profusion in Lusitania, especially for Gauloise 4, would have been more obvious between the second quarter of the 2nd century AD and, probably, the middle of the 3rd century, and it would have lasted, at least according to data from Lisbon, until the end of the 3rd century/beginning of the 4th century. Naturally, this conclusion rests on the available data. However, it should be borne in mind that the quantitative expression of these specimens in context is so small that future work may easily and radically change this reading. This is especially so, as some of these materials can be residual in contexts, coexisting with the production and diffusion of the Gauloise 4, as they were produced over a long period of time.

Linking the answers to the two previous questions, it can be stated that although Gaulish wine amphorae only had a 'market share' of between 1 and 7% of the amphorae trade and only accounted for between 7 and 17% of the imported wine amphorae, these figures nonetheless place Gaul as the second best exporter of wines into Lusitania, coming behind Hispanic wines (from Baetica), in the last quarter of the 1st century AD, before taking over as the main supplying region from the end of that century and throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, always surpassing wines from Central Mediterranean (especially Italic) and Eastern origins. This pattern is in line with other scenarios currently known and defined for the Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, of which Seville is the best example (García Vargas, 2014; 2015). The exception lies, of course, in Merida, the provincial capital, where the Central and Eastern Mediterranean wines are mostly preferentially imported (Almeida and Sanchez Hidalgo, 2013; Filipe, forthcoming). These urban consumption patterns of imported wines can also testify to the relevance of the local elite, flaunting their wealth and status.

Finally, we should try to frame the possible contexts of the import and distribution of these products. First and foremost, the absolute values in which the Gaulish containers are present in the Lusitanian trade do not authorize, in our view, the possibility that this was an intense trade nor indirect consequence of a specific supply, even if destined to other regions. Nor may it be postulated that these were the main items of merchandise of a 'Gaulish trade' in which *sigillata* played a secondary role: the chronologies and commercial peaks are out of phase.

In the light of the above and in summary, we concur with other authors in considering that most of the wine production and the Gaulish amphorae were channelled through the river routes of the Gaulish Isthmus and directed northwards from the Bay of Biscay, i.e. they were mainly destined for *Britannia* and the northern coast of Gaul and *Germania* (cf. Carreras Monfort and Morais, 2012; González Cesteros, 2014; among others).

We consider the existence of an Atlantic route and trade in Gaulish amphorae along it to be irrefutable. However, in the light of the data presented, which show the presence of Gaulish wine

amphorae on the Peninsular Atlantic coast (to the south, west and north) in very discrete quantities, and even if they were the principal wine import during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, it seems more reasonable to argue that the Gaulish amphorae that circulated along the Atlantic route were essentially intended to supply the centres of the Peninsular Atlantic seaboard. One should not imagine that their presence was owed to the direct result of the establishment of the Atlantic route as the main or relevant route for the supplying of Gaulish products to the northern provinces.

However, an eventual use of the Atlantic route in the transportation of the products from Narbonne to the North of the Empire, one integrating, for instance, the shipments of products from the Eastern Mediterranean and/or those from the Italian Peninsula, should not be completely ruled out. Nor should one underestimate the use that the Atlantic Lusitania and in particular the port of Lisbon would have been able to make of the 'opening' and regular use/intensification of the Atlantic route (Fabião, 1993-1994) – something conceived essentially for the circulation of *anonna* products, such as olive oil, destined to the military contingents of the Germanic limes and *Britannia* (Remesal Rodríguez, 1986; Carreras Monfort and Funari, 1998). Other circuits and markets surely may have profited from this major axial trafficking.

In this broad Atlantic context, naturally the city of *Olisipo*/Lisbon, with its excellent port conditions and an enviable geostrategic location, acquired within the Roman provincial context a primacy as the 'supplying centre' of Atlantic Lusitania. It played the role of 'coastal capital' of the Roman province (Mantas, 1990: 160), supported by other port areas such as *Caetobriga*/Setúbal and *Salacia*/Alcácer do Sal, or even *Eburobrittium*, which would themselves in turn take on the roles as articulators and generators of other lesser distribution networks, destined to supply the inland territories.

We hope here we have been able to outline the first impressions and the basis of the research into Gaulish amphorae in Lusitania. However, we firmly believe it is necessary to evaluate matters more thoroughly and in greater depth, preferably with a much larger volume of data. Only then will it become feasible to specify how, to what extent and in which ways the 'Atlantic dimension' interacted with the trade of Gaulish wines within the framework of the trade of foodstuffs imported in amphorae to Lusitania.

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DIGITAL SOURCES

Roman Amphorae: a digital resource. University of Southampton (<http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>)

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”.