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AMPHORAE AND COARSE WARE IN EARLY ROMAN ASSEMBLAGES OF THE COLONY OF *PAX IULIA* (BEJA, PORTUGAL): IMPORTS AND LOCAL PRODUCTION

Recent excavations in the area of the forum of the Roman colony of Pax Iulia (Beja, Portugal), in the province of Lusitania, have revealed the most important architectural remains of the ancient Roman town discovered so far, albeit seriously damaged by the construction of other buildings in Late Medieval and Modern times. Apparently, they belong to the remains of three buildings that have been interpreted as a cistern and the podiums of two temples. They seem to have been built between the final Republic and the Julio-Claudian periods, their primary use occurring from the Late Republican period to the 2nd century AD. This paper presents the ceramic assemblages, mostly composed of amphorae and coarse ware, from several preserved contexts and discusses the significance of regional and imported pottery that reflect the installation and development of the colony.

Pax Iulia – Roman amphorae – Roman coarse ware – imported amphorae and coarse ware – regional coarse ware

1. Introduction

The modern city of Beja, in the south of Portugal, started off as a large *oppidum* on a plateau, going back to the 5th/4th (Grilo 2008a) or even to the 6th century BC (Lopes 2003: 89-104). The Roman city installed in this *oppidum* was the capital of a *civitas*. Ptolemy (III, 5, 4) called it *Pax Iulia*, Strabo (*Geog.* III, 2, 15) called it *Pax Augusta* and Pliny (N.H. IV, 117) *colonia Pacensis* (fig. 1). *Pax Iulia* is the dominant title as designated in inscriptions and monetary emissions (Lopes 2003: 108). Yet, there is no solid evidence for the founder or foundation date of the city, a matter of much scientific discussion for many decades (Lopes 2003: 107). Octavian, or himself as Augustus seemed to be the most probable founder, but a bust of Julius Caesar, recently identified, suggests he may have founded the city in the mid-1st century BC, while Augustus elevated it to the rank of *colonia civium Romanorum* in the last quarter of that century (Lopes 2018: 14).

Abel Viana (1947: 77) had found the remains of parts of two large Roman buildings in 1942 when the City Water Reservoir was built, but their scientific excavation, directed by one of the authors (MCL), only began in 1997 and has continued with the Project ‘*Archaeology of the Cities of Beja*’ from 2007 to the present. Within the scope of this research project and the associated large archaeological intervention, the preserved plans of Roman public buildings, such as two temples, and of later 16th and 17th century ones, such as the Modern Mint House and Public Granary, were identified and brought to light.

This paper presents the ceramic evidence of some selected contexts related to the Roman public buildings, paying particular attention to economic aspects of the earliest moments of *Pax Iulia*.

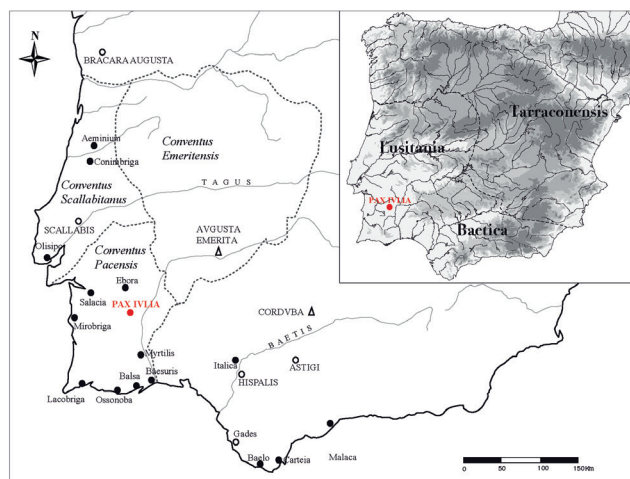


Fig. 1. Location of Beja / *Pax Iulia* in the Iberian Peninsula and aerial view to south of the historic centre of Beja.

2. The excavation of the ‘area of the Roman temples’: selected contexts and assemblages

The area nowadays called the ‘area of the Roman temples’, in the heart of Beja, has been excavated since 1997, and the foundations of four big Roman buildings, partially superimposed, were found. The Modern buildings, namely the 16th century *Casa da Moeda* (Beja Mint House), the 17th century Public Granary, the *Conservatório de Música* (Beja Music Academy) and the *Tipografia do Diário do Alentejo* (Typography of the newspaper Alentejo Daily) of contemporary times, were set over the Roman buildings and heavily intruded into the earlier layers, causing major disturbances (fig. 2). Even so, it was possible to define several Roman construction phases (Lopes 2010; Alarcão 2017) (fig. 3).

The earliest buildings, from the first and second phases, respectively, comprise first a structure of undetermined function with several compartments (fig. 4, E12), made in *opus incertum* and situated in the northern part of the area (it remains only

half excavated), and then a big cistern (E70), measuring 12,6 x 5,4 m, entirely made in *opus caementicium*. A pre-Roman or Roman Late Republican foundation has been proposed and discussed, without a clear conclusion being reached, for the first building (Lopes 2003: 93; 2010: 1961-97) and a Roman Late Republican one for the second. The functional and chronological relation between the two is yet to be clarified, but based on their similar orientation and associated stratigraphical units, it is assumed that, at least at a final stage, they would have functioned together (Lopes 2010: 197-198).

In a third constructive phase, attributed to Augustus, the *opus caementicium* foundations of a temple (20,3 x 13,9 m) (fig. 4, E5) and their surrounding *opus signinum* pavements (E78) were built so as to overlap and cover the cistern E70 and the building E12. In a fourth phase, a new architectural program saw the construction of a still larger temple (32,4 x 16,2 m) (E50), to the east of the Augustan temple, with a water mirror tank (E1) on three sides. The northwest side partially covered the Augustan temple and its front pavements.



Fig. 2. Several views from the ‘area of the temples’. 1. Soil remains of the second phase in 2012; 2. Aspect of the foundations of the second temple (E50); 3. Detail of the foundations in the frontal part of the second temple (E50) and vestiges of the medieval occupation; 4. Aspect of the foundation of the second temple with traces of the coffrage in 2014 (view to north).

Due to the destruction wreaked by the Modern and contemporary constructions, only some small but well-preserved stratigraphical units were identified, as well as some filling layers under the original *opus signinum* pavements of the temples. These contained a significant amount of ceramics, mainly amphorae and coarse ware, and extremely rare fine wares (such as Campanian ware, *terra sigillata* and thin-walled ware).

The poorly preserved strata in different areas have enabled us to establish four core assemblages, made up of several associated stratigraphical units and some others whose comparable locations indicate they belong to the same horizon (i.e., stratigraphical units lying under the same *opus signinum* pavement, but in different parts of it). This work also allowed us to correlate and reconstitute a horizontal stratigraphy linking otherwise interrupted areas and so establish the chronological parameters for the Roman buildings, their construction sequence, use and remodelling episodes from the end of the Republic to the 2nd century AD/early Antonine dynasty (fig. 4).

Assemblage 1 is constituted by a small number of stratigraphical units associated with the final moments of the pre-Roman/Roman Republican building (fig. 4, E12) and the cistern (E70), structures that preceded the construction of the first temple and its pavements (SU 1, 2, 6/2016, 413, 533, 559, 639). Besides being differentiated by their stratigraphical position, all these strata showed a different matrix and composition from the norm, with much more clay and tiny schist debris.

Assemblage 2 comes from stratigraphical units between the first and the second temples, mainly first from strata related to the regularization of the terrain with filling layers above the pavement of the first temple esplanade (E78), and then others from the second temple foundations and mirror tank (E1) (SU 4-6, 415, 480, 488, 490, 511, 641, 642, 646). Particularly interesting here is the sequence of SU 511, 641, 642, 646, as they form ‘islands’ of Roman deposits among medieval disturbances inside the Roman foundations (E50). Their integrity is certain, as they were covering parts of pavement of the first temple esplanade (E78) that had not been destroyed.

Quite different is the case of Assemblages 3 and 4 that do not represent actual major construction events, but correspond either to one general remodelling or to two different such episodes that occurred in a short time lapse. Assemblage 3 has a thick sequence of filling layers set over the western esplanade of the second temple, apparently after a deliberate large-scale demolition (corresponding to SU 355, 363, 370 and TT 510, 511, 518, 530, 536-537, 540). This involved the destruction of part of the western mirror tank, as well as all the previous constructions, to a depth of approximately 3 m and over a length of 15 m to the west. Assemblage 4 is the result of a similar situation on the south side, but not so destructive one, corresponding to the layers covering the southwest corner and the first part of the south esplanade of the second temple (SU 330, 412).

3. The ceramics from *Pax Iulia*

Despite a remarkable lack of knowledge on the ceramics of the city of Beja/*Pax Iulia*, pottery assemblages from three urban interventions document its occupation from the early

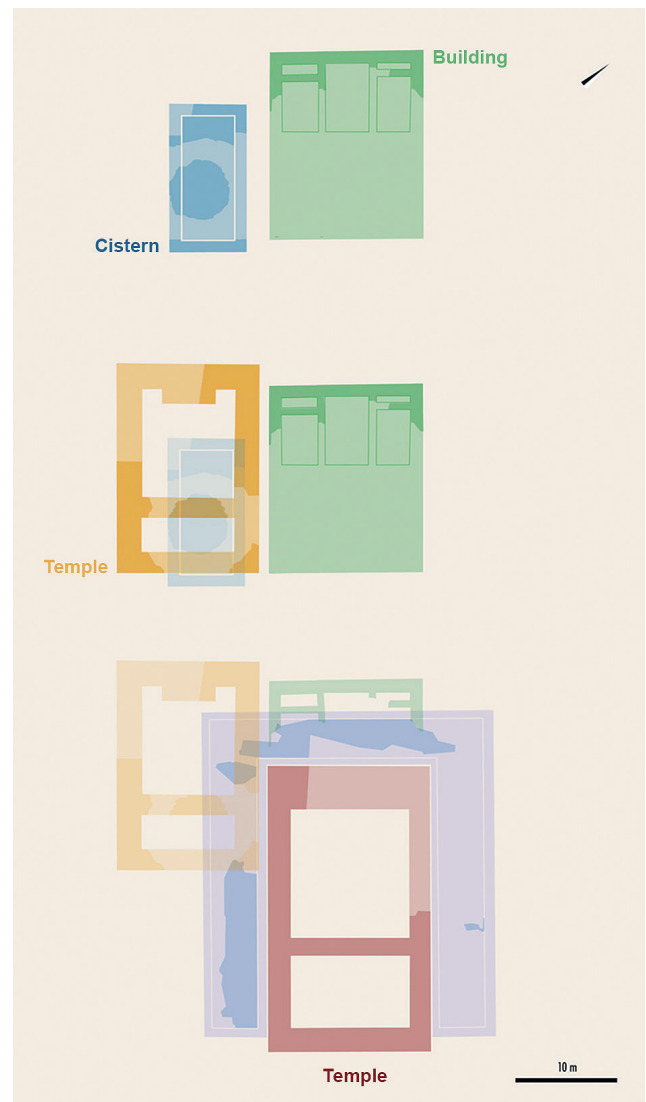


Fig. 3. Schematic plan of the building sequence in the ‘area of the temples’ showing the three phases (after Lopes 2018, adapted).

4th century BC up to the 2nd century AD. Excavations in the Rua do Sembrano offered the first clues as to Iron Age occupation up to the Republican period (Grilo 2008a), whilst those at Rua da Moeda n.29 disclosed pre-Roman and Roman ceramics that may not go past the end of the 1st century AD (Grilo 2008b). On Avenida Miguel Fernandes, outside the Roman city walls, an abundant pottery assemblage from Flavian refuse deposits, with frequent *terra sigillata*, was collected and studied (Grilo and Martins 2013).

Beyond the city, several sites in the territory of the *civitas* have offered large assemblages of ceramics, now thoroughly studied, that are important reference collections. The earliest Roman assemblage is from the Castelo da Lousa (Mourão) *castellum*, a site northeast of Beja, on the Guadiana river, active between c. 50 BC and AD 10: it reflects the end of the Roman conquest and the administrative implementation of the province of *Lusitania* (Alarcão, Carvalho and Gonçalves 2010). The *villa* of Monte da Cegonha (Selmes, Vidigueira),

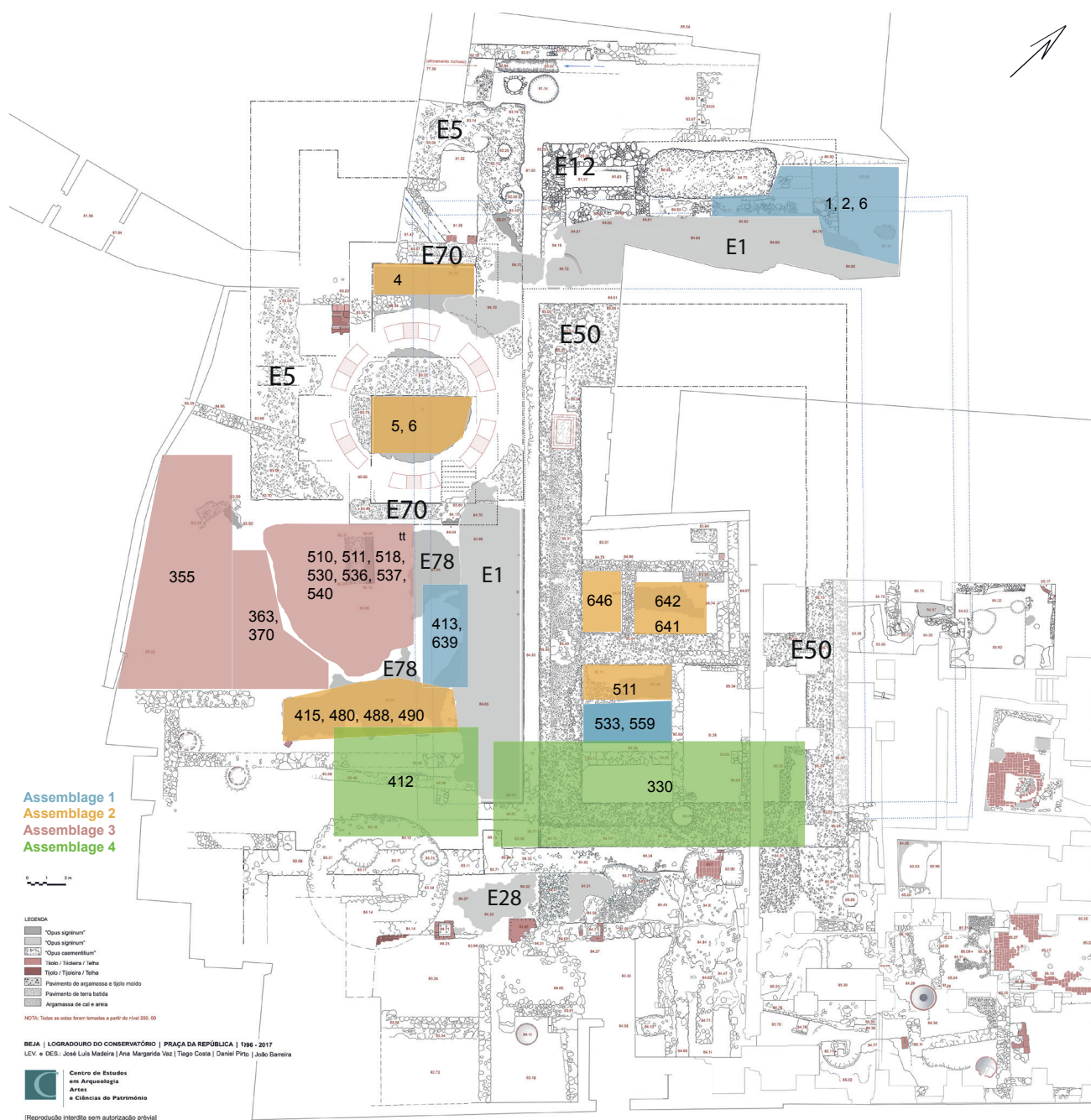


Fig. 4. Plan of the Roman buildings and location of the selected contexts and stratigraphical units (SU) corresponding to the studied Assemblages.

founded in the Augustan period, has had its amphorae published (Pinto and Lopes 2006). The site of Represas offered a large *terra sigillata* assemblage from the 1st-2nd century AD (Lopes 1994) and the Roman *villa* of São Cucufate (Vila de Frades, Vidigueira), with its occupation from mid-1st to mid-5th century AD, has also had its Roman ceramics studied (Alarcão, Étienne and Mayet 1990; Mayet and Schmitt 1997; Pinto 2003; Pinto and Lopes 2006).

Taken altogether, the ceramics of these sites offer a diachronic view of the amphora and coarse ware consumption in the region since 50 BC onward, with a gap in the first half of the 1st century AD for the coarse wares.

4. The ceramics of the selected assemblages from the *Pax Iulia* 'temples area'

Due to the surprising scarcity of fine wares,¹ the ceramics of the four assemblages are mostly coarse ware and amphorae (**tab. 1**), and therefore their study is relevant not only for

¹ Several thousands of ceramic fragments were sorted and only a few dozen of fine wares emerged, including all the Campanian Black gloss wares, thin-walled ware and *terra sigillata* fragments. We thank Ana Patrícia Magalhães and Rui Morais for the classification of the *terra sigillata* and thin-walled ware.

Assemblage 1	A5/SU1	A5/SU2	A5/SU6	413	533	559	639	Total
Amphorae	1	10	3	23	40	2	5	84
Coarse ware	24	218	21	55	194	5	5	522
Fine wares	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total frags.	26	229	24	78	234	7	10	608

Assemblage 2	A18/ SU5-6	A22/4	415	490	511	641	642	646	Total
Amphorae	3	1	20	8	41	20	1	5	99
Coarse ware	3	0	7	31	46	57	0	7	151
Fine wares	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Total frags.	7	1	27	41	87	77	1	12	253

Assemblage 3	355	363	370	510/TT	511/ TT17	511A/ TT17	518/ TT17	530/ TT17	537/ TT17	540/ TT17	Total
Amphorae	34	20	200	49	7	57	55	28	2	14	466
Coarse ware	7	18	164	31	107	50	0	17	0	9	403
Fine wares	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total frags.	41	39	364	80	116	107	55	45	2	23	872

Assemblage 4	330	412	Total
Amphorae	41	77	118
Coarse ware	352	85	437
Fine wares	2	0	2
Total	395	162	557

Table 1. Ceramic quantification: total number of fragments by Assemblage and stratigraphic unit (SU).

economic and social inferences, but also for dating purposes. In the presentation of the amphorae, the general typological classifications will be used and some less known provincial/regional ones,² and for the coarse ware, the classification will be done mostly by comparison with that of Castelo da Lousa (Pinto and Schmitt 2010), designated as ‘CL’ and that of São Cucufate (Pinto 2003), designated as ‘SC’, either by forms or by fabric groups.

4.1. Assemblage 1

The amphorae from Assemblage 1, though not too numerous (tabs. 1 and 2), are quite representative of Late Republican contexts of the Atlantic façade of *Hispania Ulterior*. All are imports (fig. 5), in which the Italian products prevail (46%), namely Tyrrhenian Dressel 1 amphorae (fig. 5, 1) and to a lesser degree Adriatic Lamboglia 2 and an undetermined Brindisian type (not illustrated); these are followed by the Hispanic types (38%), represented by Dressel 9 fish-products amphorae from the Bay of Cadiz (fig. 5, 2), Ovoid 4 from the Guadalquivir valley (fig. 5, 3-4), a wine-derivative container type, and an undetermined Ovoid-type base (fig. 5, 5) from the same origin. Finally, and far less significant, is the African component (8%) that is only documented by body fragments belonging possibly to ‘Early African’ amphorae or to the T-7.4.3.1 type from Carthage-Tunisia.

This assemblage has its best parallels in the Castelo da Lousa *castellum* (dated from c. 50 BC-AD 10) (Morais 2010), and in the Late Republican occupation of the Iron Age *oppidum*

of Mesas do Castelinho, Almodôvar (Parreira 2009), to mention the nearest sites with well-studied reference assemblages.

The coarse ware of this assemblage is a mix of handmade, turntable and wheel-thrown pottery with rare but significant decorated pieces, and the ceramics are both grey (fired in a reducing atmosphere) and red (fired in an oxidizing one); its best parallel is also the pottery of Castelo da Lousa.

One of the earliest pieces in this assemblage is a small rim and wall fragment with a now incomplete, probably triangular, window and incised decoration framing its edges (fig. 5, 6). Apparently handmade, it comes from a burner or fenestrated vase. Usually considered as votive and of continental influence, these vases are typical of Iron Age II (Beirão et al. 1985: 108 and 133) and most probably residual in this context.

Stamp decorated pottery (*‘cerâmica estampilhada’*) is represented by one pot (fig. 5, 7), a good example of the incised decoration common in Iron Age vases present at Castelo da Lousa and absent from those at São Cucufate. The vessel seems to have been made on the turntable and polished. The stamp decoration is made of small triangles forming a section of a circle and is incomplete. It seems to derive from stamps like n.2 from Garvão (Beirão et al. 1985: 75, fig. 25), from the late 3rd century BC; this demonstrates the continuity of this type of decoration, also present among the Iron Age ceramics from Rua do Sembrano, but with no similar stamp decoration illustrated (Grilo 2008a).

Handmade pottery is present in several body fragments. It is well represented by the very irregular *dolium* no. 8 (fig. 5), that fits well into the CL 15.1a form-range, and has an affinity with the storage vessel with circular stamp decoration from a Republican context in Rua do Sembrano (Grilo 2008a: 265, fig. 10). Handmade pottery also occurs in the pre-Roman levels of Rua da Moeda n.29 (Grilo 2008b).

² For less known Hispanic types, check the website Amphorae Ex Hispania available at <<http://amphorae.icac.cat>>

Turntable pottery is very abundant in this assemblage. It includes both fragments with painted decoration, such as the pot no.9 (fig. 5), close to form CL B.15, with a red band on the rim, and body fragments with horizontal red bands, as exemplified by no.10, in a very coarse regional fabric. Painted-band ceramics also occur in the pre-Roman contexts of Rua do Sembrano (Grilo 2008a) and Rua da Moeda n.29 (Grilo 2008b).

Examples of morphological types made on the turntable are the dish no.11 (fig. 5), the bowl no.12 and the base no.13, probably belonging to a basin. Examples of *ollae* and pots comprise such as no.14 close to the form CL B.1, no.15 close to form CL B.15, no.16 close to CL B25 and no.17 with no good parallels. The *dolium* no.18 also seems to have been made on a turntable. Its form is not typical, but its everted rim fits better with the considerable range of the *dolia* known from the Castelo da Lousa 'horizon', though absent in the *villa* of São Cucufate.

Wheel-thrown pottery is very well represented. The *patera* no.19 (fig. 5), in a regional fabric, with black slip and band polishing, is inspired by forms 5/7 of Lamboglia Campanian B ware. A number of examples exist in Castelo da Lousa (Pinto and Schmitt 2010: 252-257). The *patina* no.20, a cooking vessel according to the burning marks, seems also to be a regional product (similar to fabric CL H2), again inspired by an Italic model (cf. Di Giovanni 1996: 69, n.2 from meridional Campania). The dish or bowl no.21 and the bowls nos.22-23 (these two of form CL 5.1 and a very common shape also present in the other sites in Beja), show a fabric similar to group J1 from Castelo da Lousa. The small terrine no.24, with a horizontal handle and irregular relief decoration on the rim, is in its form very similar to CL 8.18 and of a fabric similar to group CL J1. The piece no.25 is very similar to the basins 7.6-8 from Castelo da Lousa, but the regular burning marks on the exterior of the rim and the wall suggest it was a cooking vessel or *caccabus*.

The pots no.26 (fig. 5), with red slip, and no.27 may belong to the form CL B8; no.28 is rather a CL B26 form, absent from São Cucufate; and no.29, with a fabric similar to group CL J2, fits better in its shape with CL D2 rather than the later variant SC VIII-B-1-a. The small pot no.30, in a fine polished grey ware similar to CL T1, is possibly a CL 11.6 form; no.31, in a fine fabric similar to CL J1, is a CL 11.8 form. The vessel no.32, with a red band on the rim, may be an open container, and has no good parallel. The vessel no.33 must also be a *dolium* of unusual form and no.34 is a lid in a fabric similar to CL J2 and in form to CL 16.2a.

The only non-regional or imported ceramics identified in this assemblage is vessel no.35 (fig. 5), of a very fine fabric and with a red band painted on the inner rim: of unknown provenience it is certainly not from this region. Lids nos.36-37 in a light calcareous fabric are good examples of imported pottery from *Baetica*, accompanying the amphorae coming from that province; body fragments of this coarse ware imported fabric appear in almost all stratigraphical units of this assemblage.

The association of handmade, turntable and wheel-thrown pottery, and the minor presence of stamp and red band painted decorations, as well as the predominance of red (oxidized) ceramics and the presence of some imported Baetican vessels, are all representative of the cultural and chronological

horizon of Castelo da Lousa. A fenestrated vessel and the imitation of a Campanian *patera* reinforce this affiliation.

The evidence of both amphorae and coarse ware types and forms all together – complemented by a few orange and light brown Italian-type thin-walled ware and Campanian B ware fragments, places Assemblage 1 in the Late Republic, more precisely in the second third or half of the 1st century BC.

4.2. Assemblage 2

Assemblage 2 presents a slight increase in number of amphorae (MNI 19), but a different distribution and proportion of provenance, types and products (tabs. 1 and 2). The majority of types belongs once again to imports (fig. 6), but there is a huge decrease in the Italian products (15%) – Tyrrhenian Dressel 1 (fig. 6, 1) and Adriatic Lamboglia 2 (no.2) are still present, but probably a good part is residual. The Hispanic products now take the lion's share of the market (at 75%). The *Ulerior/Baetica* coastal area is well represented (32%) in this by some earlier Pellicer D amphorae (nos.3-5), known to continue till the third quarter of the 1st century BC (Sáez Romero and Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas 2016), and by several Dressel 7 or 9 fish-products amphorae from the Bay of Cadiz (nos.6-8), with rim forms typical of the last two decades of the 1st century BC – first quarter of the 1st century AD (García Vargas and Bernal-Casasola 2016; García Vargas, Martín-Arroyo and Lagóstena Barrios 2016). More relevant though are the products coming from the Guadalquivir valley, the hinterland of the province: the olive-oil Oberaden 83 amphorae (nos.9-10), Haltern 70 (nos.11-13) and flat-bottom *Urceus* (no.14) – both interpreted as containers for wine-derivative products – represent almost the half of the sample (48%). All types present typological features typical of the Augustan/Tiberian years.

Finally, it is important to highlight the appearance of Lusitanian amphorae, most likely a so-called 'Early Lusitanian' type (Almeida and Fabião 2019). The presence of an African specimen, also unclassifiable, is equally significant.

The coarse ware from this assemblage is, again, mostly of regional production (fig. 6): a considerable proportion is of handmade and turntable produced sorts.

Examples of handmade pottery were two small wall fragments with incised and stamp decoration (not illustrated), not later than the 2nd century BC, and common in the Iron Age contexts of Rua do Sembrano. The large container no.15 (fig. 6) is also handmade, as are several large bases such as no.16. Turntable pottery is represented by the open container no.17 and the storage vessel no.18, both fitting into form CL 15.1.a.

Wheel-thrown pottery is less represented in this assemblage, but the most significant examples are the bowl forms – CL 5.1 but very similar to form III-A-1 from São Cucufate. Bowl no.19 (fig. 6) has a fabric close to CL J2 and nos.20-22 one very similar to CL J. The basin no.23 shows no good parallel; the cooking pot no.24 with its band polishing has affinities both with Castelo da Lousa and São Cucufate but no exact parallel; the small pot base no.25 is closest to the finest 1B fabric from São Cucufate; the open container no.26 is definitely closer to the open containers of Castelo da Lousa (Pinto and Schmitt 2010: 383); the large storage vessel no.27

relates to the containers common in Castelo da Lousa (Pinto and Schmitt 2010: 424, n.41 and 43) and in other late Republican contexts. The *dolium* no.28 is much commoner in the 1st century AD onwards. Imported coarse ware is represented by the Baetican *mortarium* no.29, a SC IV-A-2 form not earlier

than the mid-1st century AD, and probably Flavian or Trajanic, according to a wide study of Baetican *mortaria* which places such in the sixth group (Pinto 2003: 260-261; Pinto and Morais 2007: 239). The base no.30 in a light calcareous fabric is also from *Baetica*.

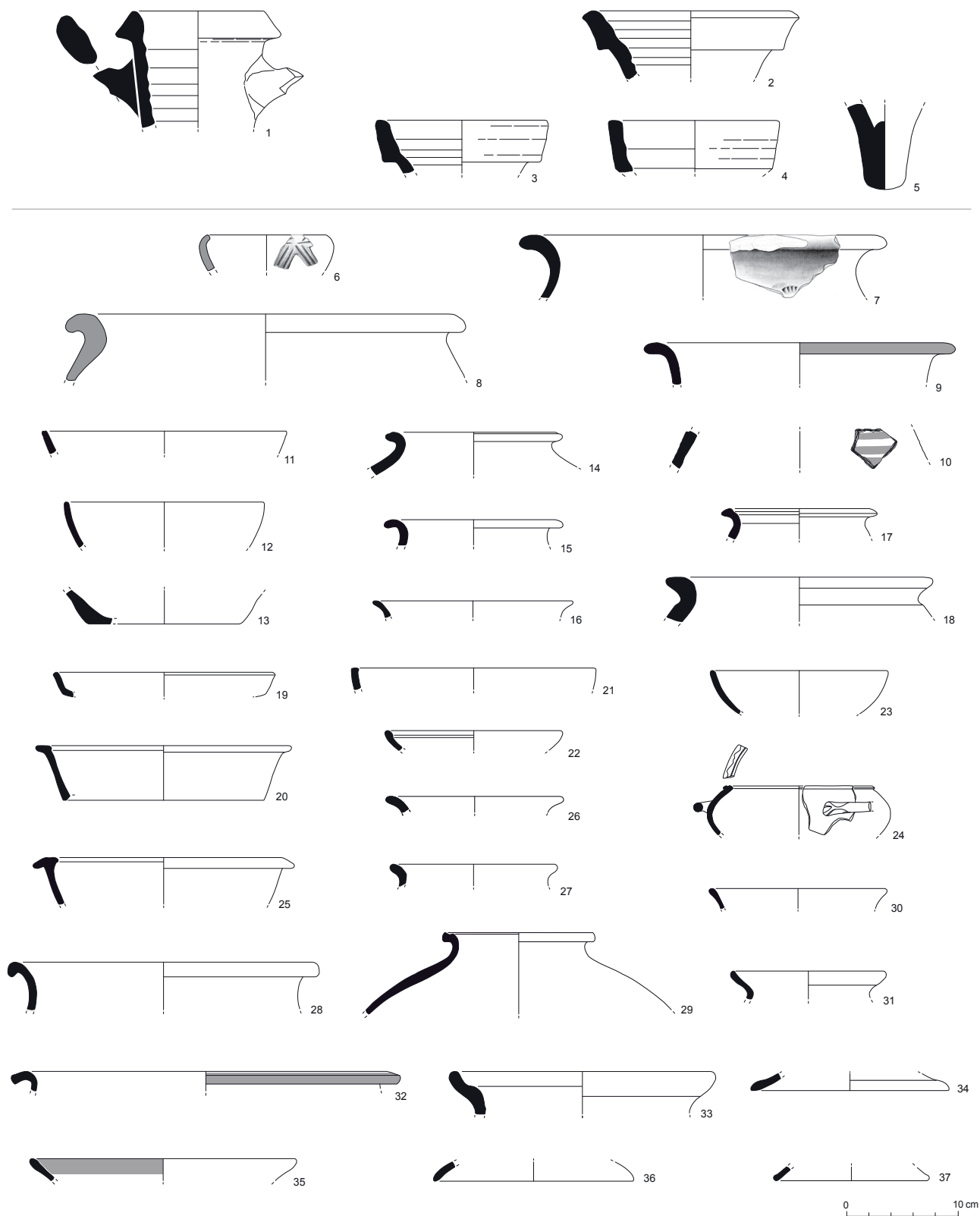


Fig. 5. Ceramics from Assemblage 1.

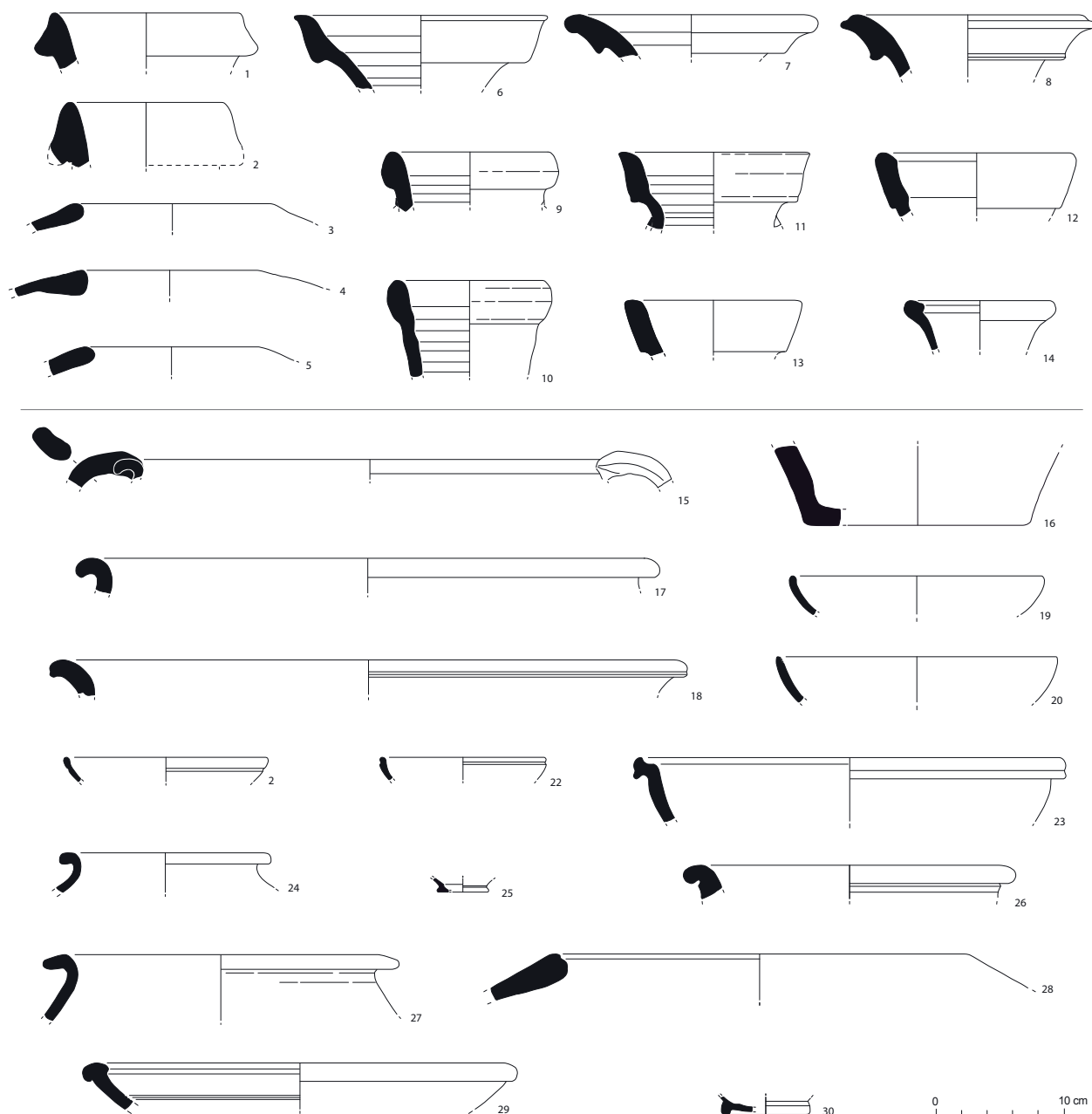


Fig. 6. Ceramics from Assemblage 2.

Fine ware consists of an undetermined Italian-type *sigillata* fragment and Campanian B ware fragments.

The amphorae and coarse ware of Assemblage 2 display greater affinities with the examples and cultural environment of Castelo da Lousa and Monte da Cegonha. There is a predominance of imported goods in amphorae from the outer provinces – mainly wine from Italy and fish-sauces, olive-oil and wine-derivative products coming from *Baetica* – and a strong indigenous contribution in the handmade and turntable ceramic classes, some with incised and stamp decoration. It should date from the last two decades of the 1st century BC to the first half of the 1st century AD. If the Italian Dressel 1, Lamboglia 2 and Hispanic Pellicer D amphorae can still be found a home in the last quarter of the 1st century BC, the Baetican *mortarium* from

SU [415] is definitely not earlier than the mid-1st century AD. Even though the latter is most probably an intrusive specimen courtesy of the huge destructions occurring in Phase 4, and even if the pottery of indigenous tradition may be residual, the chronological framework of Assemblage 2 should yet be considered to run from Augustus (slightly before the change of Era) into the first third of the 1st century AD.

4.3. Assemblage 3

Assemblage 3 is the largest and most diversified in terms of imported products in amphorae (MNI 32) (**tabs. 1-2** and **fig. 7**). First, it is important to emphasize the dominance of

the Baetican amphorae. With the exception of two residual specimens, a possible Dressel 12 (not illustrated) and a Dressel 7 or 10 (**fig. 7, 6**), the Baetican fish-products (28%) arrive now chiefly in amphorae Beltrán IIB (nos. **7-10**) and in some other not so clearly classifiable types, maybe late Dressel 7 or Pompey VIII (no. **11**). Concerning other Hispanic imports, namely olive-oil (11%) and wine-derivative products (6%), the first is represented by one doubtful Oberaden 83 (no. **1**) and by Dressel 20 amphorae of Julio-Claudian (no. **2**) and early Antonine forms (no. **3**); the second category can be recognised in some Haltern 70 from Claudian/Neronian times (nos. **4-5**), as well as in few Dressel 2-4 fragments from *Tarraconensis*.

Regarding other products of Mediterranean origin, it is important to stress the persistence of Italian wines (6%), but now arriving in Dressel 2-4 amphorae (not illustrated), and the appearance of wines coming both from Gaul in similar quantity (6%), shipped in Gauloise 4 and 5 amphorae (**fig. 7, 12**), and to a lesser degree from the Eastern Mediterranean (3%), in the presence of a very eroded fragment, possibly a Late Rhodian or a Dressel 2-5 amphora. Once again, there is a single unclassifiable African specimen, either residual or an Early Imperial type.

Finally, one of the main features of this assemblage is the remarkable increase in goods/amphorae from coastal Lusitanian factories, specifically from the Tagus and Sado estuaries (28%), almost as abundant as the Baetican ones. This increment corresponds to a major consumption of the provincial fish-products during the 1st century AD, something that can be tracked partly in the arrival of 'Early Lusitanian' amphora types, such as Lusitana 12 (**fig. 7, 13-14**), a typical find from the last quarter of the 1st century BC to mid-1st century AD (Almeida and Fabião 2019), but mainly in the Dressel 14 (nos. **15-18**), the main Lusitanian amphora immediately after mid-1st century and through all 2nd century AD. Quite important in the context of Assemblage 3 are the specimens nos. **16-18**. The first two are Dressel 14 with the thick rounded rim (variant C), which according to the typo-chronological scheme for the Sado production is commoner in the 2nd century AD (Mayet and Silva 1998: 63-64; Raposo and Viegas 2016). The third, the almost complete amphora no. **18**, was located under a large fragment of a water tank, which presumably belonged to the temple: this had been overturned and lay at the base of the sequence of layers used to cover over the western esplanade of the second temple after its intentional destruction (cf. above point 2).

The coarse ware from Assemblage 3 (**fig. 7**) continues to be mostly regional, but has more affinity now with that of the *villa* of São Cucufate, reflecting the evolution of the formal repertoire and technical solutions from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD. Bowls are represented by no. **19** (**fig. 7**), of form SC III-A-1 and fabric 1-B, and the bowl base no. **20**, of the same fabric, has remnants of red slip, also very typical of São Cucufate. Two *caccabi*, no. **21**, form SC VII-A-1 and fabric 1-A, and no. **22**, form SC VII-A-1-b and fabric 2-B, are common 1st - 2nd century types also present in São Cucufate and in the Flavian deposits of Av. Miguel Fernandes (Grilo and Martins 2013: 1483, fig. 9, n. 7 and 1486, fig. 13, n. 3).

Only a small number is closer to examples from Castelo da Lousa, such as no. **23** (**fig. 7**) with its triangular rim, of

form CL.10.C1, and the pot no. **24**, which is closer to form CL.10.D4 than to anything at São Cucufate.

Most of the cooking pots too follow the types from São Cucufate, and several forms are well represented. Examples of form VIII-B-1, also present in the Flavian contexts of Av. Miguel Fernandes (Grilo and Martins 2013: 1483, fig. 9, n. 1-2 and 1486, fig. 13, n. 5), are nos. **25-27** (**fig. 7**), in fabric 1-B, and no. **28** in fabric 1-A; variant SC VIII-B-1-a is represented by nos. **29-30**, in fabric 1-B, and nos. **31-32** in fabric 1-A. Form SC VIII-B-5 is represented by no. **33**, in fabric 2-B and form SC IX-A-1 has a good example in no. **34**, in fabric 2-E. The small pot X-B-1 no. **35**, in fabric 1-B, is very typical of São Cucufate, while the small pot no. **36**, in fabric 1-A, does not have a good parallel at either site.

The *dolium* no. **37** (**fig. 7**) is to be classified as form CL 14.1 and should be residual, while the lid no. **38**, form XIV-A-1, is common in São Cucufate.

The piece no. **39** (**fig. 7**), a regional production, seems to be the bottom of a funnel, a rare item and so hard to date. The upper part of one was found in Castelo da Lousa (Pinto and Schmitt 2010: 289 and 395). The loom weight no. **40**, form CL 2 (Pinto and Schmitt 2010: 328) is possibly residual since loom weights are more frequently encountered on early sites like Castelo da Lousa, where 101 were inventoried, while none in São Cucufate.

Imported pottery is represented by fragments in a light calcareous fabric, presumably Baetican; the Baetican *mortarium* no. **41**, form SC IV-A-2, cannot be earlier than the mid-1st century, probably Flavian or Trajanic (Pinto 2003: 260-261; Pinto and Morais 2007: 239), while the base no. **42** is of undetermined form. Also imported are the rare examples of fine ware, consisting of a few *terra sigillata* fragments, one of them south Gaulish.

In summary, despite the presence of some residual examples, the amphorae show a supply profile from a moment between the last third of 1st century and second third of 2nd century AD, with Baetican Beltrán IIB and their fish-products, some Claudian/Neronian Haltern 70 wine-derivative products and Dressel 20 olive-oil amphorae, a typical Antonine specimen, as well as other Mediterranean types like Gaulish, Italian and Eastern Mediterranean amphorae. What is new is the strong increase of the provincial products, with a very significant component of Lusitanian Dressel 14 amphorae, from the last third of 1st century AD onwards. The presence of the Dressel 14 variant C points rather to a moment in the 2nd century.

The coarse ware is mostly regional, but in its dating points in the same direction. The few pieces better paralleled in the early horizon at Castelo da Lousa, such as the *dolium*, the loom weight and a few cooking pots, must be residual since most of the pottery is clearly related to the 1st to 2nd century forms of São Cucufate, including a Flavian or Trajanic *mortarium*.

4.4. Assemblage 4

The amphorae and coarse ware from Assemblage 4 resemble very much those of Assemblage 3, confirming the presumed stratigraphical and chronological relationship between the two. In the amphorae from both assemblages, the similarities

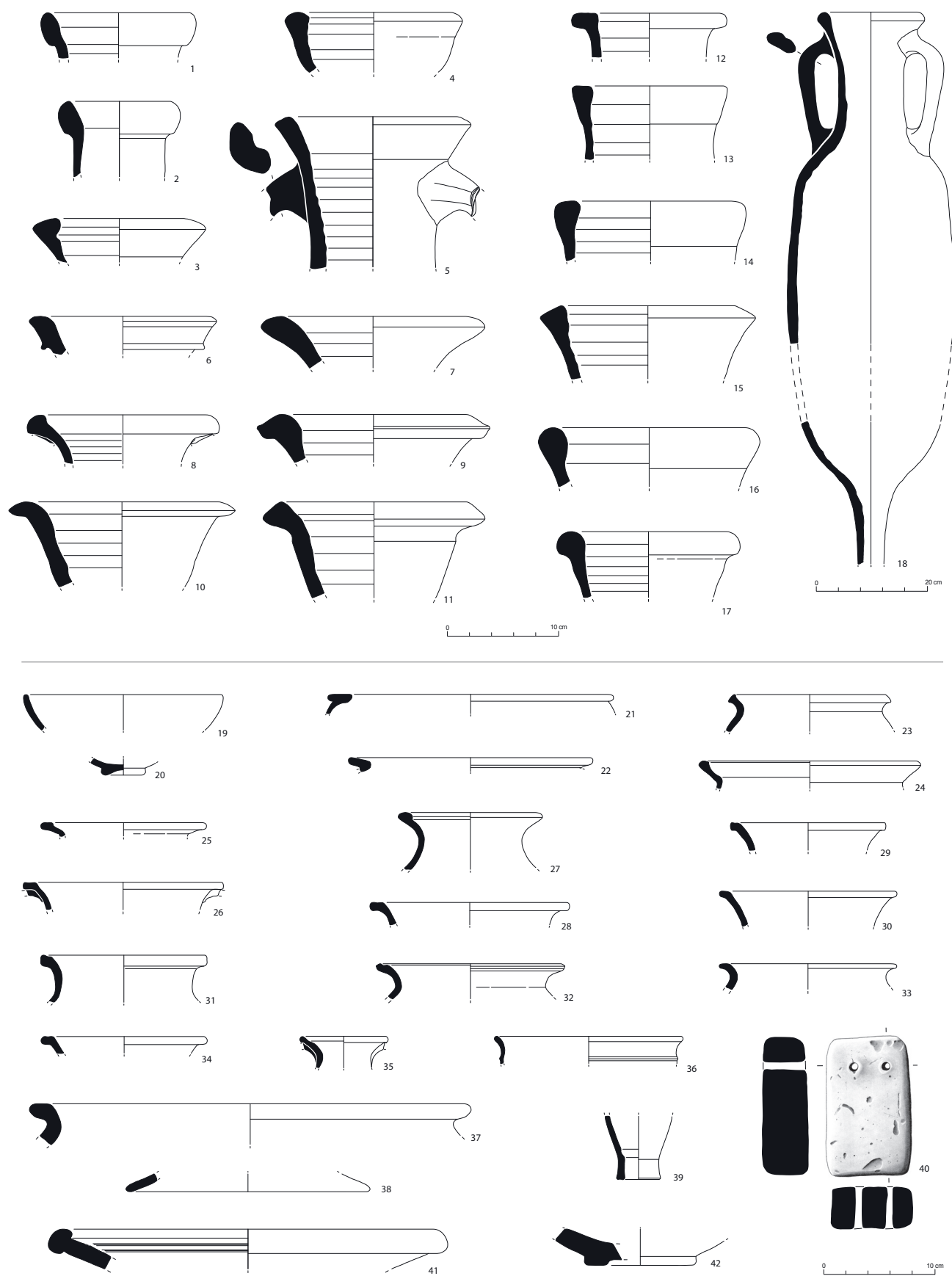


Fig. 7. Ceramics from Assemblage 3.

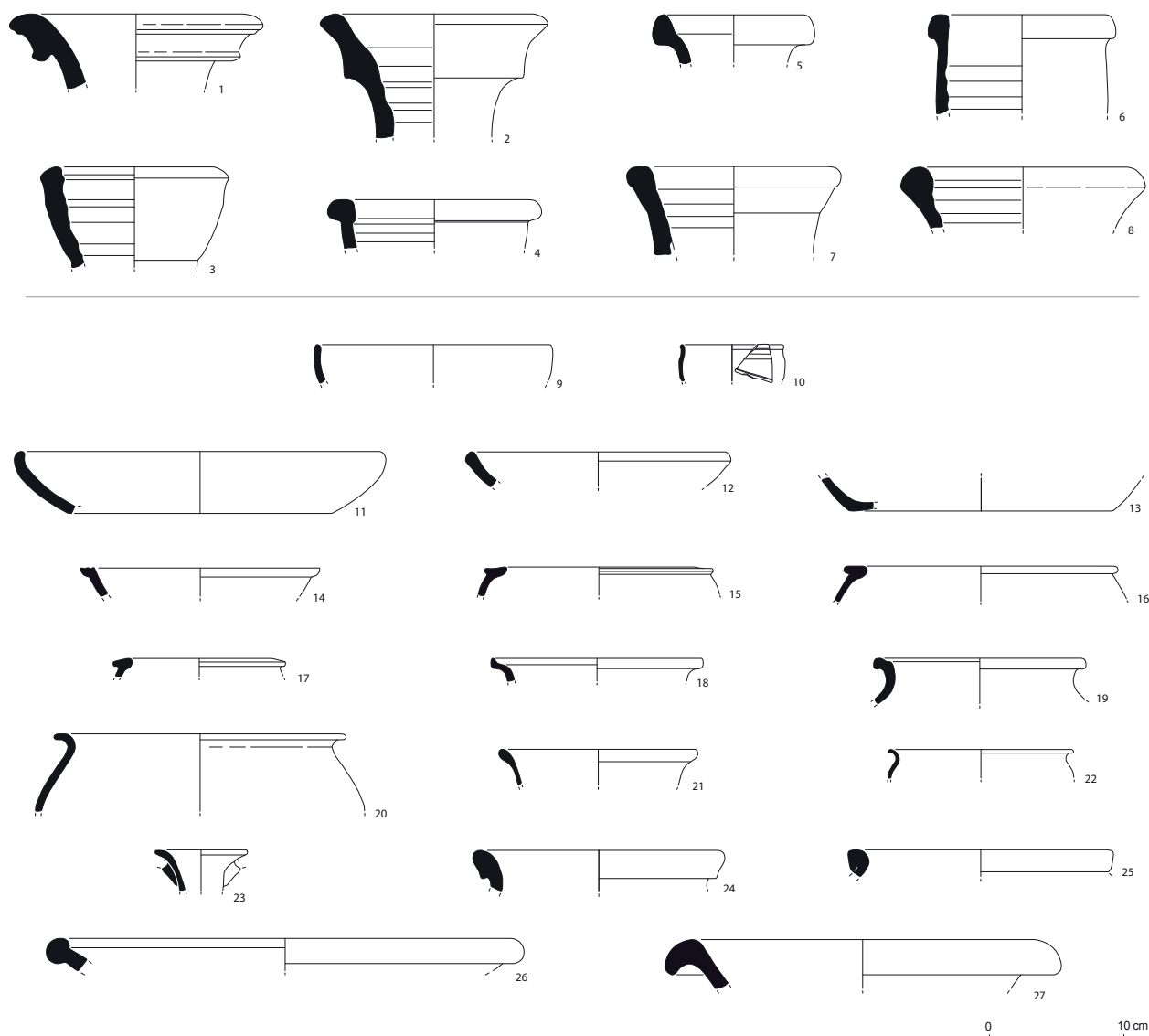


Fig. 8. Ceramics from Assemblage 4.

are quite clear regarding distribution and proportion of origins, diversity of types and products (**tabs. 1 and 2**).

Although not so abundant here (MNI 17), once again the Baetican amphorae are the most numerous (42%). Fish-products are represented mostly by residual Dressel. 7-11 (**fig. 8, 1**), the most recent specimen being one probable Dressel 11 (no.2), from the second half of the 1st century AD. Other imports from *Hispania*, such as the Guadalquivir olive-oil (17%), can be seen in residual Oberaden 83 and in Dressel 20 of Antonine form (not illustrated); wine-derivative products from the Guadalquivir (6%) are testified to by the typical Flavian/Trajanic Haltern 70 (no.3), an identical situation to other contexts like Augst (Martin-Kilcher 1994), Xanten (Berni Millet 2011) or Estagnon (Marty and Zaaraoui 2009); wine from *Tarraconensis* (6%) was also received in Dressel 2-4 amphorae (no.4).

As for other Mediterranean origins and products, the presence of Italian wine is confirmed by some unclassifiable fragments (6%), wines from Gaul (11%) by Gauloise 4 amphorae (**fig. 8, 5**), and also Late Rhodian wine (6%)

by Camulodunum 184 amphorae (no.6). Once again, the existence of African unclassifiable fragments does not allow further informed consideration of this class.

Finally, it is important to highlight that fish-products Dressel 14 amphorae (**fig. 8, 7-8**) coming from the Western Atlantic Lusitanian factories are more frequent than the Baetican ones (17%); wine in Lusitana 3 amphorae is also represented. This type acts as a good chronological indicator and marker for the distribution into the provincial hinterland, as its production and commerce only starts in the first years of the 2nd century AD (Quaresma and Raposo 2016).

Once again, the fine wares are very scarce, but there are two classifiable pieces: a bowl Hayes 14 type B (**fig. 8, 9**), in African Red Slip ware A, from the second half of the 2nd century (c. 160-200+) (Hayes 1972: 39-41) and a thin-walled bowl (**fig. 8, 10**) of a grey fabric with very small white inclusions and an orange surface with a diagonal cord decoration, that seems to be an example of form Mayet XLIII from Mérida (Mayet 1975: 99), dating in the second half of the 1st century AD.

The coarse ware, just as the one from Assemblage 3, relates very well to the forms and fabrics of São Cucufate, with a few earlier pieces that may be residual. Here fine wheel-thrown vases dominate. The regional coarse ware (**fig. 8**) is well illustrated by dish no. **11**, SC I-A-1 form in 1-B fabric; dish no. **12**, form SC I-A-2, and no. **13**, the base of a plate, all in grey or black fabric 2-D; the fragment no. **14**, in fabric SC 2-A, a new form, possibly a terrine; the *caccabi* nos. **15–16**, both form SC VII-A-1, respectively in fabrics 1-B and 1-A, and no. **17**, form SC VII-A-1-a in fabric 1B; the *olla* no. **18**, definitely form CL C10, with a fabric similar to J1, is certainly a residual piece; no. **19** another *olla* CL 10.B.2, also in a fabric similar to J1 but with affinities to variant SC VIII-B-1-a and fabric 1-B; no. **20**, an *olla* SC VIII-B-5 in fabric 2-B; no. **21** may be a small pot X-A-1 in fabric 1-B, and no. **22** seems to be another small pot, variant X-A-3-a, in fabric 1-A; finally, no. **23** is a jug XII-A-2, in fabric 1-B.

The imported or non-regional pottery consists of a few *mortaria* and pots. Two pots, no. **24** and no. **25** (**fig. 8**), form SC IX-A-3, have a fabric similar to the amphorae from the Sado and Tagus River valleys and certainly came from the western coastal *Lusitania*. The rim fragment no. **26** is another Baetican *mortarium*, form SC IV-A-2, not earlier than the mid-1st century, probably Flavian or Trajanic – as no. **29** (**fig. 6**) and no. **41** (**fig. 7**) from the second and third assemblages – and no. **27** is another *mortarium* in a very hard fabric, very light orange on the surface and grey inside, with many white, translucent, brown and black subangular inclusions, of undetermined provenience. Both the Baetican *mortarium* and the pots from Western *Lusitania* should have travelled with the amphorae, and possibly the same is true for the *mortarium* of unknown provenience.

In terms of dating, the amphorae follow those of Assemblage 3, and the presence of Dressel 14 variant C, typical of the 2nd century, and Lusitana 3, that only appears in the early 2nd century, suggests a moment in the first or second third of this century. The coarse ware is typical of the second half of the 1st century and 2nd century in general, and the African Red Slip A bowl, not earlier than the second half of the 2nd century, may be contemporaneous of the filling layers over the western esplanade of the second temple, or intrusive if these were deposited in the first half of the 2nd century AD.

5. Concluding remarks

The assemblages from the area of the ‘Roman temples’ of Beja presented have a great significance, since no ceramics were known hitherto from the monumental area of the city.

Rua do Sembrano demonstrated an early stage of contact with the Roman world, in the second half of the 2nd century BC (Grilo 2008a), otherwise only visible in the possible military facilities of Mata Bodes (Beja) (Lopes 2003: 40, n. 141). Assemblage 1 with its massive distribution of Italian amphorae (Tyrrhenian, Meridional and Adriatic) reflects a moment directly related to the routes and sources supplying the conquering Roman army in a terminal stage of the Republic, i.e. mainly the 1st century BC (Fabião 1989: 121–125). The tripartite division of this supply between Italy, *Hispania Ulterior* and North Africa (**tab. 2** and **fig. 9**), and especially the presence of Hispanic ovoid types from the Guadalquivir valley and from the Bay of Cadiz, point unequivocally to the second third of the 1st century BC (Almeida 2008: 286–287), most probably after 50 BC. It finds good parallels in contexts like Castelo da Lousa (Morais 2010) or Castro Marim (Viegas 2011), to mention just two important and well-studied assemblages from the Guadiana river. It is quite reasonable to think that this moment could correspond to the foundation and setting up of the Roman city.

Later on, with the elevation of the city to the rank of *colonia civium Romanorum* in the last quarter of the 1st century BC (Lopes 2018: 14), *Pax Iulia* generated a bigger demand for locally unavailable products that could only be supplied by goods imported in amphorae. The Italian products almost disappear over the first half of the 1st century AD, being replaced by Hispanic ones, mainly from *Baetica*, with just a minor presence of Lusitanian products, as Assemblage 2 shows.

After the mid-1st century AD, mainly in the last quarter of the century, and on into the beginning of the 2nd century AD, as is represented by Assemblages 3 and 4, the outer provincial products still command the most significant consumption share, being dominated by the Baetican amphorae (42%) but with a diversity of provenances at a much lower level – *Hispania Tarraconensis* (4%), *Gallia Narbonensis* (8%), Italy (6%), North Africa (4%) and even the Eastern Mediterranean (4%) (**tab. 2** and **fig. 9**): this diversity reflects an ‘urban-profied’ market. But if this maintenance and preponderance of the outer

	Assemblage 1			Assemblage 2			Assemblage 3			Assemblage 4			Total
Origin (fabric)	DF	MNI	% MNI	DF	MNI	% MNI	DF	MNI	% MNI	DF	MNI	% MNI	MNI
<i>Lusitania</i> , Tagus & Sado valleys				1	1	5%	14	9	28%	6	4	21%	14
<i>Ulterior</i> / <i>Baetica</i> , Cadiz	2	2	15%	6	6	32%	17	9	28%	6	3	17%	20
<i>Ulterior</i> / <i>Baetica</i> , Guadalquivir valley	6	3	23%	12	8	43%	9	5	17%	7	4	21%	20
<i>Citerior</i> / <i>Tarraconensis</i>							2	1	3%	1	1	6%	1
Gaul, <i>Narbonensis</i>							3	2	6%	2	2	11%	4
Italy, Tyrrhenian coast	5	4	31%	2	1	5%	2	2	6%	1	1	6%	8
Italy, Brindisi + Adriatic coast	2	2	15%	2	2	10%							4
North Africa	2	1	8%	1	1	5%	1	1	3%	1	1	6%	4
Central Mediterranean										1	1	6%	1
Eastern Mediterranean							2	1	3%	1	1	6%	2
Undetermined	1	1	8%				2	2	6%				3
Total	18	13	100%	24	19	100%	52	32	100%	26	18	100%	81

Table 2. Amphorae quantification by Assemblages: percentages of diagnostic fragments (DF) and total MNI by provenience.

provincial trade is a fact, there is, at the same time, a remarkable increase on the consumption of the provincial/regional goods, mainly fish-products from the Tagus and Sado valleys (Dressel 14 amphorae), but also some wine (Lusitana 3 amphorae). The moment in time represented, namely the early/first half of the 2nd century AD, reflects precisely the point when the Lusitanian products are enjoying an increase in demand in the markets, being about to match in quantity and importance the decreasing Baeticans ones, before replacing them in the 2nd century AD.

Although the port-cities of *Caetobriga*/Setúbal and *Salacia*/Alcácer do Sal had played a major role as main suppliers of *Pax Iulia*, these were not the exclusive routes or circuits available for traffic – as was also observed for the *villae* of Monte da Cegonha or São Cucufate (Mayet and Schmitt 1997; Pinto and Lopes 2006), indeed even for the capital *Augusta Emerita* (Almeida 2016). Rather a multiplicity of supply-routes existed in which the Guadiana river and *Myrtilis*/Mértola, and the direct land-route *via* from *Hispalis*/Seville could also have had an important role.

The coarse ware, on the other hand, is mostly regional and reflects a very dynamic production in the territory of the *civitas* and its self-sufficiency in this type of pottery. A few imports, in particular *mortaria*, come from *Baetica*, likely accompanying the goods transported in their amphorae. The four assemblages presented, though not having a large number of individuals, show the evolution of coarse ware from the mid-1st century BC to the 1st and 2nd century AD or, in other words, its acculturation to Roman standards.

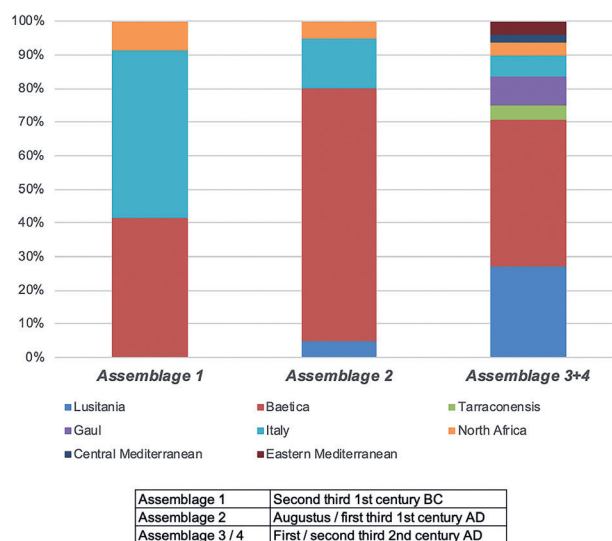


Fig. 9. Overall proportions and distribution of the amphorae by Assemblages: total MNI by provenience.

Together amphorae and coarse ware reflect the lively economy existing at *Pax Iulia*, well integrated into the trade routes of the Empire and importing goods according to the needs and trends of each moment. At the same time there flourished an active and diversified ceramic production, developing in step with the process of Romanization.

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