

An overview on oriental commerce in the Tagus estuary region:
5th and 6th century AD late Phocaean (lrc) and Cypriot (lrd)
Tableware

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Abstract

Maritime commerce connected distant geographies during Late Antiquity, through networks that surpassed different political entities. The Atlantic shores of Iberian Peninsula played a relevant role on the process, and archaeological data provided by ancient harbour capacity regions is crucial for the reading of rhythms over time.

The Tagus Estuary was a long term key-point in navigation, linking this part of Western Hispania to Mediterranean and North Atlantic trade routes, therefore facilitating supply of imported goods, and the export of local and regional commodities. Between the 5th and 6th centuries AD oriental tablewares produced in Phocaea and Cyprus were a relevant cultural habit, strongly widespread in coastal Western Europe and Maghreb, becoming one of the most distinguishing elements of the material culture present in the archaeological record of such chronologies.

The authors present an overview on the presence of this specific oriental commodity in the Tagus Estuary region, and discuss the historical significance of time scale rhythms observed, namely the known floruit registered in Britannic and Lusitanian contexts c. 475-525 AD.

Keywords: Late Antiquity, Oriental commerce; Late Phocaean Tableware; Late Cypriot Tableware, Tagus Estuary.

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Olisipo/Olysipona: texts and archaeology...

Late Antique Lisbon is known through written sources, epigraphy and archaeological data. They are however insufficient to understand key issues such as the urban pattern, the precise localization of public buildings, or the characterization of the social framework of most of the population.

Christianity must have reached the town soon, considering its intense commercial maritime activities that afforded a profile somewhat cosmopolitan. Written sources mention several early bishops: there are some mentions to 1st and 3^d centuries AD prelates, but no contemporary source confirms them, and certainly most are, in fact, Early Modern Age inventions; the earliest well-founded reference dates from the 340's AD only, referring to Olisipo's bishop Potamius, who involved himself in the Arian-Orthodox controversies, having exchanged letters with St. Cyprian of Carthage (Maciel 2000).

Later on, Idathius, bishop of Aquae Flaviae (Chaves), reported us briefly about the events of 468 AD, when a Suebic raid imposed sovereignty on the town by an agreement with its Roman praeses/defensor, Lusidius. According to the same chronicle, a Visigoth army went from Emerita in pursuit of the Suebic forces shortly later on, in the same year, having seized the town: it was that same Lusidius who made a diplomatic attempt of peace on behalf of the Suebic kingdom, without success, having the Goths "destroyed" the town's wall (Tranoy 1974).

Written sources are even scarcer from that time on, mostly limited to references concerning the attendance of Olisipo/Olysipona's Bishops to Concilia. Common from late 5th century AD onwards, their presence confirms the religious and political regional predominance of the town, head of a vast Episcopal territory confining with the one of Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha) to the north, Elbora (Évora) to the south, and Egitania (Idanha-a-Velha) to the east.

Epigraphy, on the other hand, albeit scarce and predominantly 6th century AD in date, provides some significant indicators, recording personal names of Latin origin, such as

Felix, Marturius or Vicentius (the last one still unpublished, from Praça da Figueira), Greek origin ones, such as Tesso, or Germanic, as Otrid(us ?) (Barroca 2000; Dias and Gaspar 2006, 235-248).

Though literacy was for sure limited, there are some finds of hand-written graffiti on pottery, contextually dated from 5th to mid-6th century AD. They compose a more complete bi-linguistic panorama for Lisbon. Latin texts were mainly carved on stone, cursive Greek being apparently often used on ceramic objects, both by potters on production centres, like the roof tiles used on a *garum officina* at Rua dos Correeiros 77 (Diogo 2000), or inscribed on trade and consumption goods, namely tableware and amphorae, as in the case of Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel context (Silva and De Man forthcoming).

The few remains of constructions archaeologically excavated so far in Lisbon have been used to estimate its urban vitality bias during the 5th and 6th centuries. Some data referring to the privatization of former Roman public areas, as the street revealed in the Cathedral cloister (Amaro 1995), parts of the former Roman Theatre (Diogo 1993) or the former Roman big bath building named *Thermae Cassiorum* (Silva 2012), were interpreted by some authors as evidences of urban decadence at that time (Amaro 1995). On the contrary, more recent approaches use that same data to sustain the existence of an urban pressure phenomenon that occurred during the 5th and part of the 6th centuries AD: affecting some areas of the town, this pressure led to domestic occupation of public domains available, and might be interpreted as a clear symptom of urban vigour at that time and supported through other sort of indicators, such as pottery numbers on commerce rhythms (Fabião 2009; Silva and De Man forthcoming). Other data, as stone architectural elements (decorative and epigraphy) scattered around the old town, and unfortunately in all cases out of its original place (Fernandes and Fernandes 2014), suggests also noticeable programmes for religious building in the period, reinforcing this same perspective.

Finally, numismatic data must be also highlighted: Olysipona was chosen by late 6th century AD Visigoth kings Leovigildus and Recareddus as mint for golden trientes (Gomes 2006), the earliest one perhaps in 580 AD (Reis 1959: 140). In spite of being extremely rare coins, town's minting enclose significant political and economic implications (Martín Viso 2008), above of all considering the overall paucity of coinage in south and western former Lusitania, limited to Elb/vora (Évora) and E/Iminio (Coimbra) (Gomes 2006).

In spite of our lack of knowledge on urban administration forms, they must have been mainly autarchic as suggested by the aforementioned mention to Lusidius role in 468 AD. In this matter, archaeological data may play a key role, especially the one concerning basic aspects of day-to-day life, as sewer and garbage managements.

Lisbon's Roman sewer system is poorly known, and data on how it was working in the 5th to 7th centuries AD exists, but is apparently contradictory.

On one hand, we have the case of the 1st century AD cloaca excavated in 1991 in the Cathedral's cloister, where two successive thick Late Roman layers were formed inside,

revealing the inexistence of systematic cleaning actions performed during 4th century AD and/or after, and therefore indicative of inefficient urban policy towards sewer management during the period (Amaro 2002). On the other hand, one has to take into account that the same sewer was kept on working until the Christian conquest of 1147 AD, therefore implying that some kind of cleaning care happened in between (Silva 2011). In addition to this case, the Late Middle Age date for the filling deposits found inside the cloaca of *Thermae Cassiorum* (the big Roman Bath building, yet unpublished), proves that at least this drain was carefully cleaned during Late Antiquity (personal data provided by one of the authors- RBS). In spite of the obvious relevance of these data, it is clearly insufficient to produce a bias on Olysipona sewer system management in Late Antiquity, and therefore to understand if maintenance was often performed and who was doing it, local users or local administration.

Other sort of evidence is related to solid rubbish and waste discards identified.

In the eastern part of the former Roman town, *Pátio da Senhora de Murça 2004* excavation directed by Manuela and Vasco Leitão revealed an important context apparently dating from late 5th century AD. Publicly disclosed, although not yet formally published, its formation process resulted from the deposition of rubbish of several nearby domestic origins alongside the external facade of the defensive town. Very close to the main south-eastern gate of the town, the one leading to one of the main inner roads and main regional itineraries, the choice for this spot as a dumpster area is common in Antiquity, and the same kind of phenomena is well documented in other antique towns with acknowledged strong and efficient administration systems, such as Hispanic provincial towns during Early Principate (Dupré y Raventos and Remollà 2000; Remollà and Acero 2011).

Close to the aforementioned spot, and confining to a semicircular tower of the defensive Late Roman wall, north-to-south street pavement was found completely clean. This implies that deposition did not occur here, or care on its removal did take place during Late Antiquity.

On the opposite side of the town laid the former Roman western suburbia. Close to the harbour, the zone was used to artisanal activities and manufactures at least from 1st to 5th centuries AD. A different panorama concerning garbage was revealed in this area. Ancient *garum officinae* excavated so far have shown a progressive abandonment followed by roof collapses, occurring mostly in the 5th century AD (Fabião 2009), vats been then used as ready-to-use areas for waste dumps: some discards are likely *garum* manufacture abandoned artefacts, as demonstrated by Carolina Grilo for some sets from *Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros* production units (Grilo 2017), but other vats were used for urban domestic garbage, as in *Rua dos Douradores* (Sepúlveda, Gomes and Silva 2003) and *Rua dos Fanqueiros 77* (Diogo 2000). In this last case, a thick, clean and clayish deposit covered 5th century AD layers, almost filling completely the remaining parts of the vat: in this strata unit the only artefacts collected were a brick fragment and a coarse ware pot (Diogo 2000) certainly dated from 6th century AD; therefore, it implies a Late Antique slow depositional process, almost without human intervention.

It is possible that some garum units (or even vats) were kept in use in late 5th century AD and after, although direct evidence is still lacking. However, the scale of Lisbon's garum production must have decreased in such a dramatic way that recognised occupations in the area from that period are not only rare but also of other nature, namely discards pits (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013) or burial grounds (Sepúlveda, Gomes and Silva 2003; Silva and Casimiro 2013). This denotes that a completely new landscape was formed in Lisbon's downtown area during mid-5th to 6th century AD, and after. The entire suburbia become under populated, with the probable exception of still to locate Christian shrines and close to the two main road itineraries of the area, the ones heading north and west, connecting the town with former Scallabis (Santarém) and to the western parts of the hinterland, respectively.

Recently studied Rua de São Crispim contexts (Quaresma forthcoming a), along with data available for very nearby Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel 1992-1993 excavation (Silva and De Man forthcoming), suggests corresponding both to the same realities. Here, very peculiar topographical characteristics favoured the use of a large depression located at the back of the great bath building of the Roman town (Thermae Cassiorum) as a vast dumpster area, used continuously from mid-1st century AD onwards for urban domestic discards (Silva 2012; Quaresma forthcoming). Unlike Pátio da Senhora de Murça context aforementioned, Rua de São Crispim-Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel revealed more continuous use in time and much less faunal evidence, perhaps due to more intense recycling practices observed (metal and glass finds are infrequent, including in 1st-4th centuries AD layers). Here, discard seems therefore to have followed previous patterns at place since Principate, and recycling is suggestive of some sort of management control.

Other evidence crucial to a bias is the one referring to the town's defensive wall. Most probably built somewhere between very late 3^d to 4th centuries AD (Silva [1997], 2011, 2012; De Man 2008; Silva and De Man forthcoming), apparently suffered some kind of care during 5th to 6th centuries AD: the find in Casa Sommer of an African Red Slip Ware D1 form Hayes 67 included in its mortar (Gomes and Gaspar 2007, 694) might be interpreted in this way, hence documenting a reform or reparation of part of the defensive enceinte in 360 –470 AD (Hayes 1972), or slightly after. Vast work produced recently at the same spot by the firm Neoépica certainly will provide new and thorough data on this issue in the coming years.

Finally, archaeological data available corresponds, also, to imported pottery finds. Finds of Oriental and African imports dating from the 5th and 6th centuries AD are frequent in Lisbon, and oriental amphorae and tableware presence is long ago referred (Delgado 1992; Amaro 1995; Diogo and Trindade 1999). Other data of this kind has been also studied more recently, although the vast majority dispersed through diachronic characterization of different excavations (Silva and Casimiro 2013; Silva 2014; Pimenta, Mota and Silva 2014). A specific focus was made only on Casa Sommer 2004 excavations data (Pimenta and Fabião forthcoming), Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013), Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel (Silva and De Man forthcoming) and Escadinhas de São Crispim (Quaresma forthcoming a), where Late Antiquity problematics related to the significance on oriental amphorae and tableware

presence in Lisbon were addressed explicitly (Fabião 2009). The aim of this paper is, therefore, to enlarge empiric samples published from Lisbon, providing a reassessment on the town's pattern of consumption, its chronologies and rhythms.

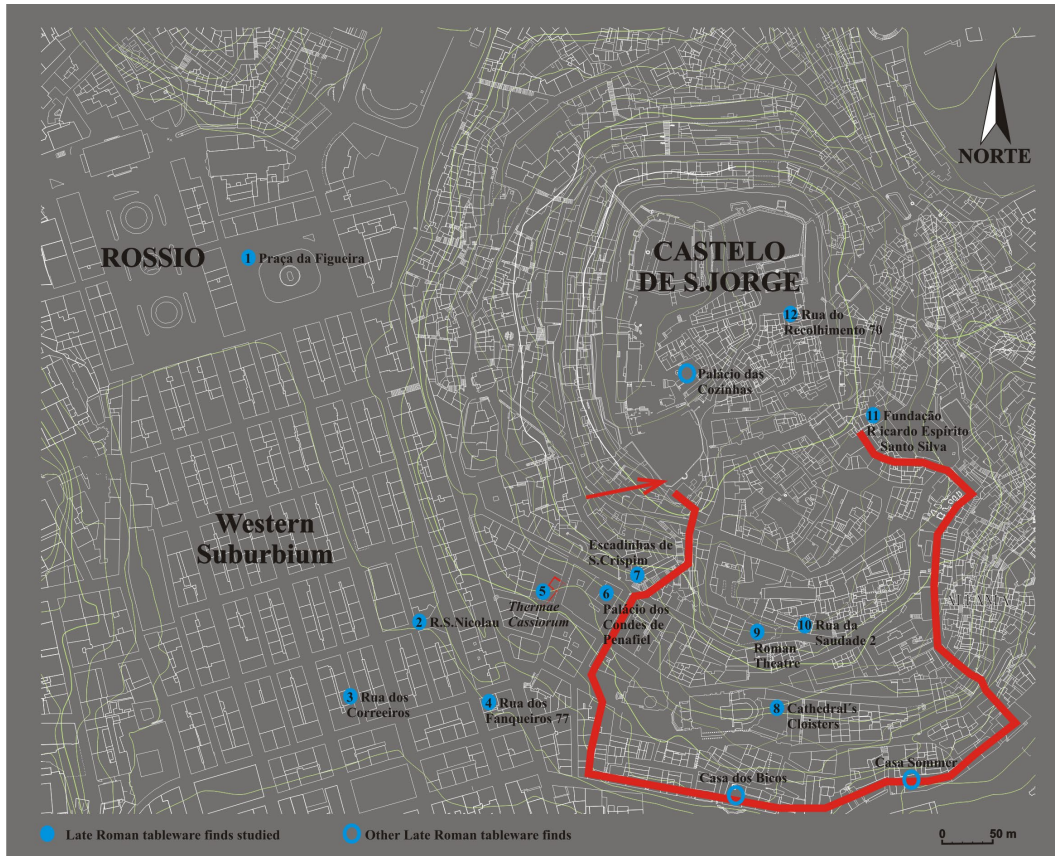


Fig. 1: Lisbon map with finds of Late Oriental tableware.

Oriental Phocaeen and Cypriot tableware in Lisbon: former and new data added

Sets of Late Phocaeen and Cypriot sigillata from Lisbon were addressed from the 1990's on: 3 sherds from the Cathedral Cloisters (Amaro 1995), 1 from 1989-1993 excavations on the Roman Theatre (Diogo 1993, 214), 7 other from 1966-1967 campaign (Diogo and Trindade 1999), 1 from a garum vat at Rua dos Fanqueiros 77 (Diogo 2000), 7 from Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correiros (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013), 2 from a Late Antiquity grave on Rua de São Nicolau (Silva and Casimiro 2013), 2 from Rua do Recolhimento 70 (Mota, Pimenta and Silva 2014), 4 from Largo das Portas do Sol (Silva 2014), 3 from Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel (Silva and De Man forthcoming) and 22 classifiable rim sherds collected at Escadinhas de São Crispim (Quaresma forthcoming a), the numbers on Casa Sommer 2004 excavations being yet unknown (Pimenta and Fabião forthcoming).

In a simple overall appreciation, the number over 55 (MNV) is nevertheless lower than one would expect in an important maritime harbour as the one of Olysiptona, but numbers in former Scallabis (Santarém), upper in the Tagus Valley, are also low, for excavations in the town provided only 7 (MNV) Hayes 3 and 1 (MNV) Hayes 8 (Viegas 2003, 202-204). This number must be compared with the already known importance of the diffusion of Late Antique Oriental tablewares in the rural territories depending from Lisbon's commercial network, for it was most probably the nodal point for regional redistribution.

One should notice that rural settlements, most of them villae, such as Freiria (Cascais; 5 MNV- Cardoso 2015), Alto da Cidreira (Cascais; 3 MNV- Nolen 1988), Povos (Vila Franca de Xira; 1 MNV Late Roman Cypriot- Dias 1997), Santo André de Almoçageme (Sintra; 18 MNV- Sousa 2001), Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora; 5 MNV), Almoínhas (Loures; 14 MNV) or Frielas (Loures; 11 MNV- Quaresma ongoing research), provided an overall number of 57 vessels, in spite of being necessarily much smaller “markets” than the town. The number is presumably much higher, for the presence of Late Phocaean tableware was noticed in 9 other similar sites in the countryside: Odrinhas, Armês, Miroiços, Casal do Clérigo, Cabanas, São Marcos, Casal de Colaride (Sintra), Serra de Carnaxide (Amadora-Sousa 2001; Fabião 2009) and near Monte dos Castelinhos (Vila Franca de Xira - João Pimenta personal information, much obliged).

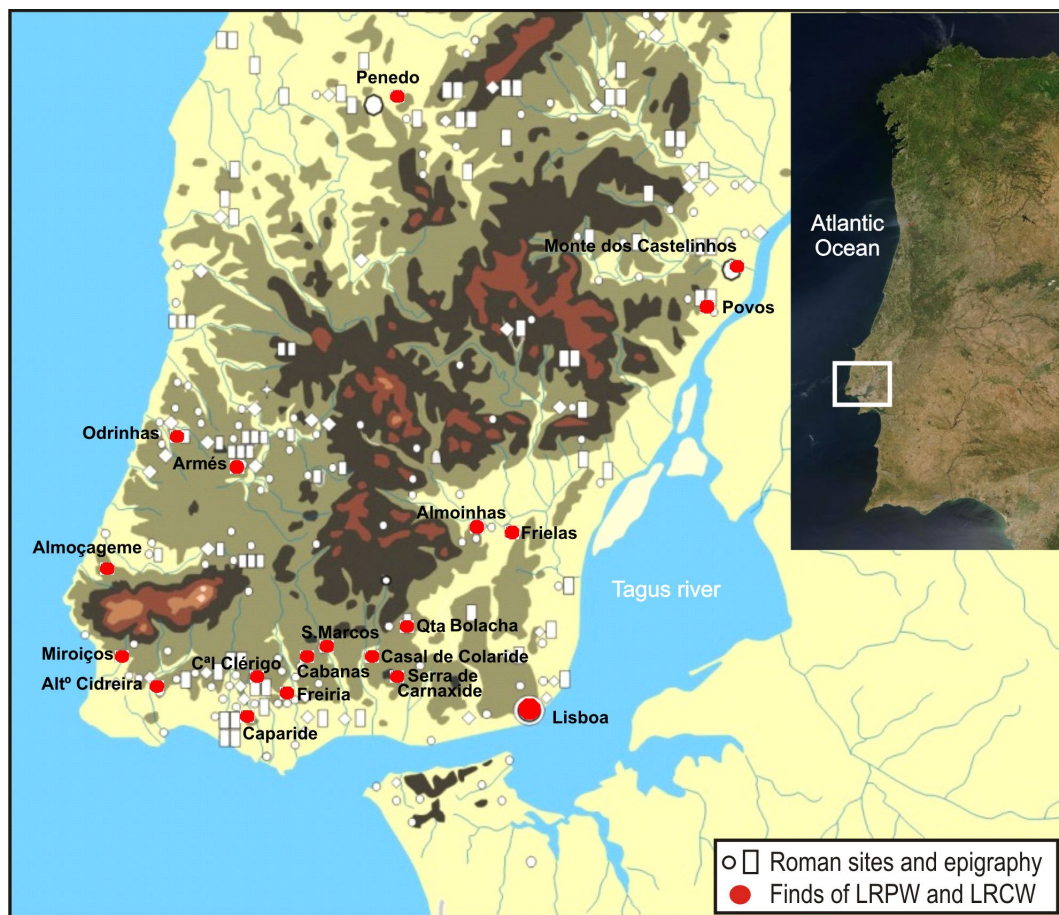


Fig. 2: Regional distribution of 5th and 6th centuries AD Late Oriental tableware.

This consumption relevance of Late Oriental tableware in rural settlements around Olysipona shows the importance of the maritime trade at work in the town’s harbour during 5th to 6th centuries AD, and its role as the regional connecter between the hinterland and the Mediterranean-Atlantic sea routes. Also, the numbers of rural settlements consumption are a strong argument to defend the vitality of regional trade networks (both by water and terrestrial), as well as the need to consider the relevance of those rural areas as markets for Late Antique Oriental tableware.

From the town itself, recent and old archaeological works revealed unpublished new examples of Oriental Late sigillata, being noteworthy the finds in course of study from Casa dos Bicos, Cathedral Cloisters and Casa Sommer more recent excavations.

Considering that one of the aims of this paper (previously stated) is the one of enlarging knowledge on Lisbon’s imports of Oriental Tableware, 80 unpublished elements were now studied from Olysipona, found in Thermae Cassiorum, Praça da Figueira, Rua da Saudade 2, along with the still unpublished ones from Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel. On the other hand, already published ones were addressed, and its classification refined and updated according to more recent trends on the subject (Reynolds 2010; Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011; Fernández Fernández 2014), intending to foresee the import and consumption dynamics of Late Roman Phocaeen and Cypriot tablewares in the 5th and 6th centuries AD on the main port of the Tagus river.

Typology	Origin	Type	Rim	Wall	Bottom	Frag.	MNI	MNI Prod.	% MNI Prod.	Style
Terra sigillata	Late Phocaean terra sigillata	Hayes 3B	1			1	1	80	97,5	
		Hayes 3C	32			32	32			
		Hayes 3C/D	1			1	1			
		Hayes 3D	1			1	1			
		Hayes 3E	8			8	8			
		Hayes 3E?/H?	1			1	1			
		Hayes 3F	28			28	28			
		Hayes 3F/G	5			5	5			
		Hayes 3		3	15	18				II and III
		Hayes 5	1			1	1			
		Hayes 8	2			2	2			
	Unc.		10	25	35		II or III			
	Late Cypriot terra sigillata	Hayes 2	2			2	2	2	2,5	
Total			82	13	40	135	82	82	100	

Fig. 3: Quantification of Late Phocaeen and Cypriot sigillata at Olysipona (Praça da Figueira 1999-2001, Largo das Portas do Sol 1993, Rua das Pedras Negras 1991-1998, Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel 1992-1993, Rua da Saudade 2, Teatro Romano 1966-1967).

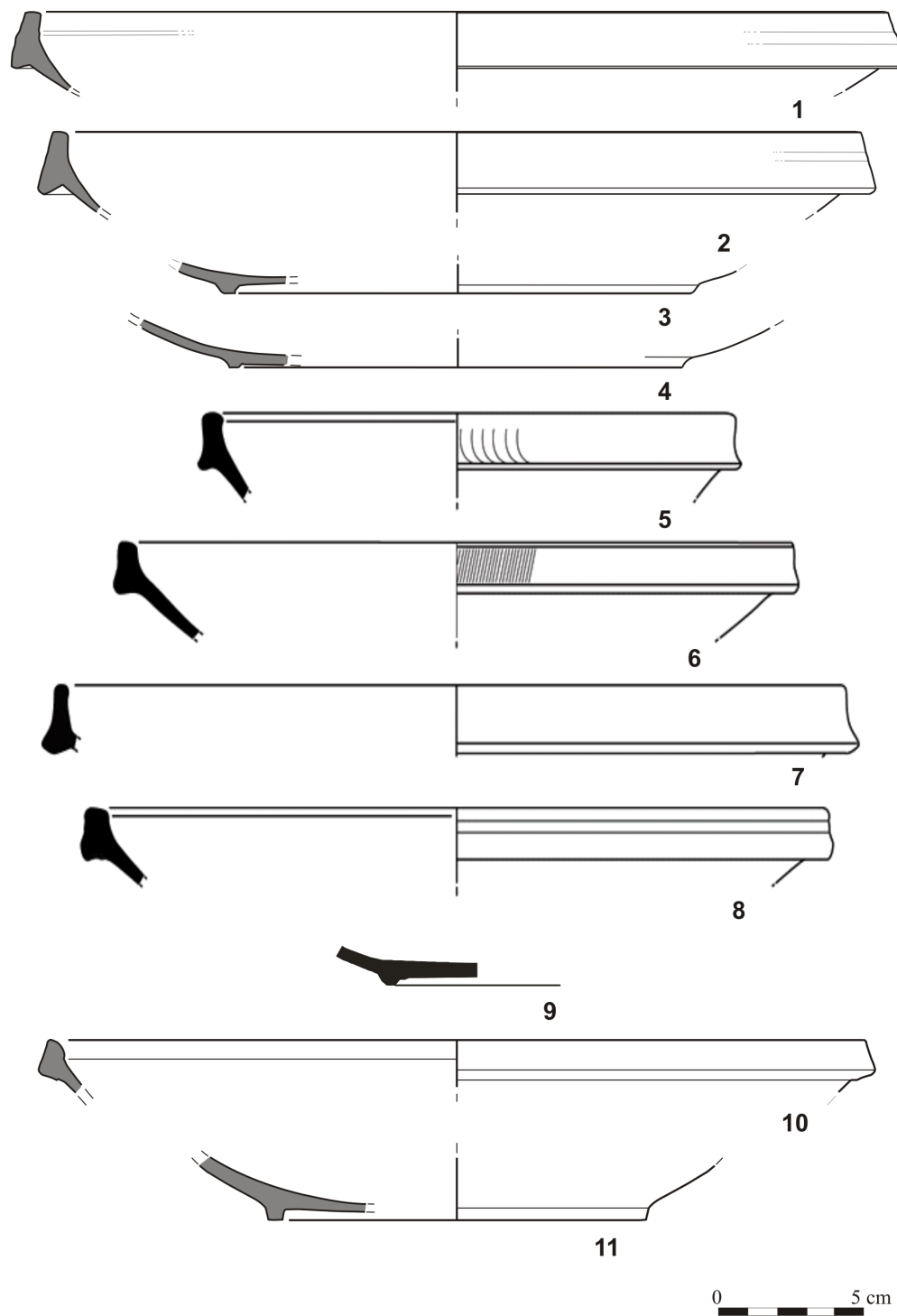


Fig. 4: Late Phocaean tableware from Lisbon.

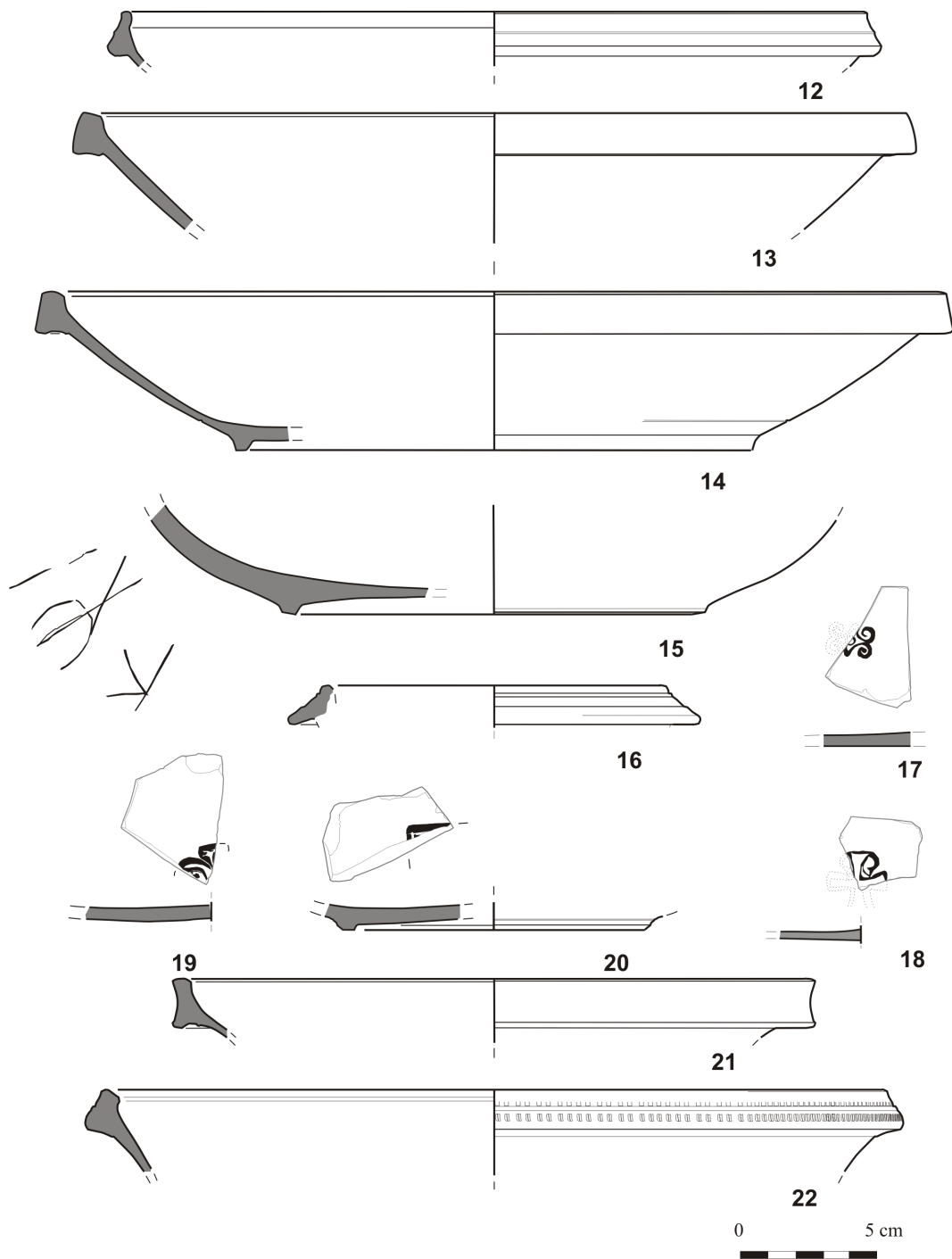


Fig. 5: Late Phocaean tableware from Lisbon.

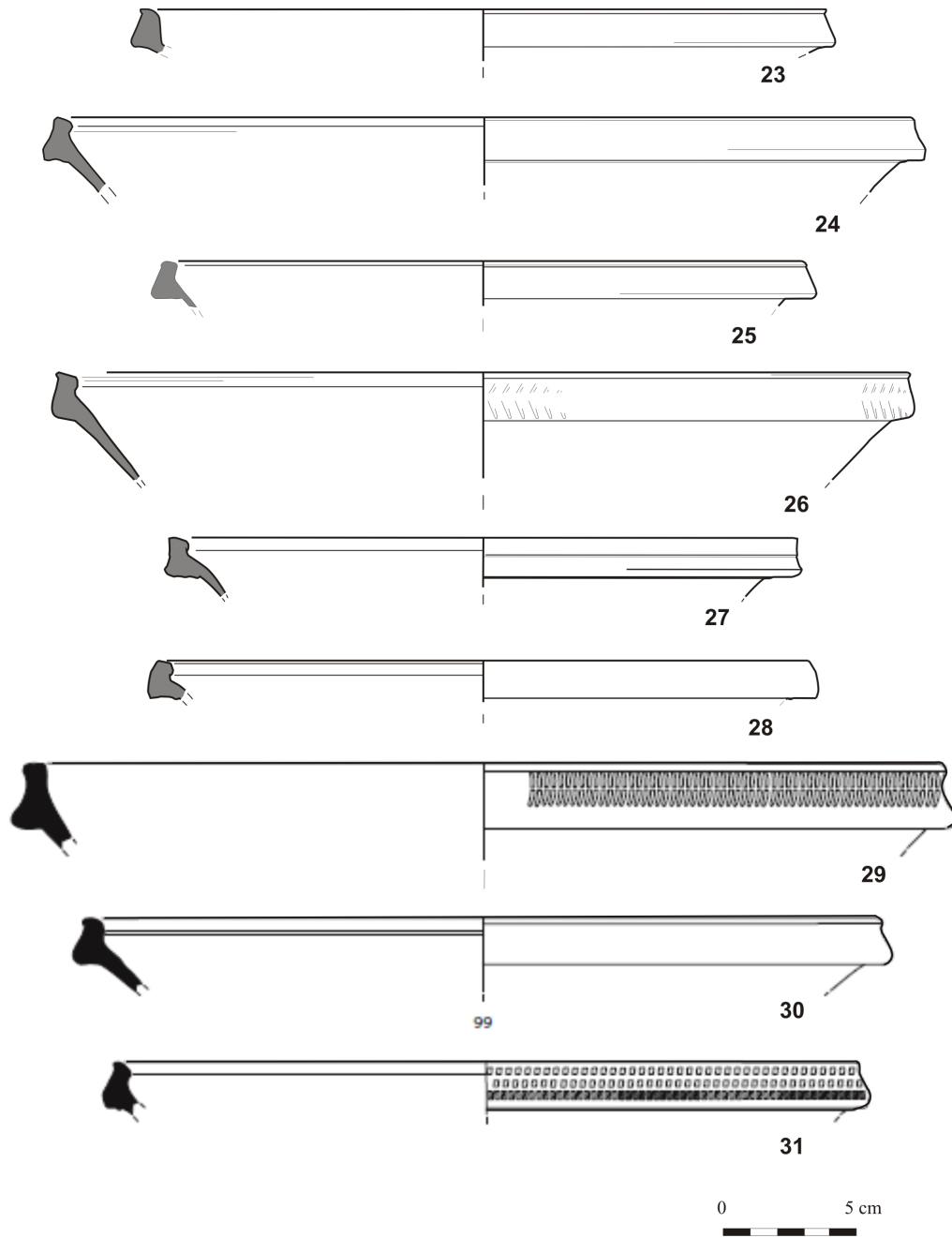


Fig. 6: Late Phocaean tableware from Lisbon.

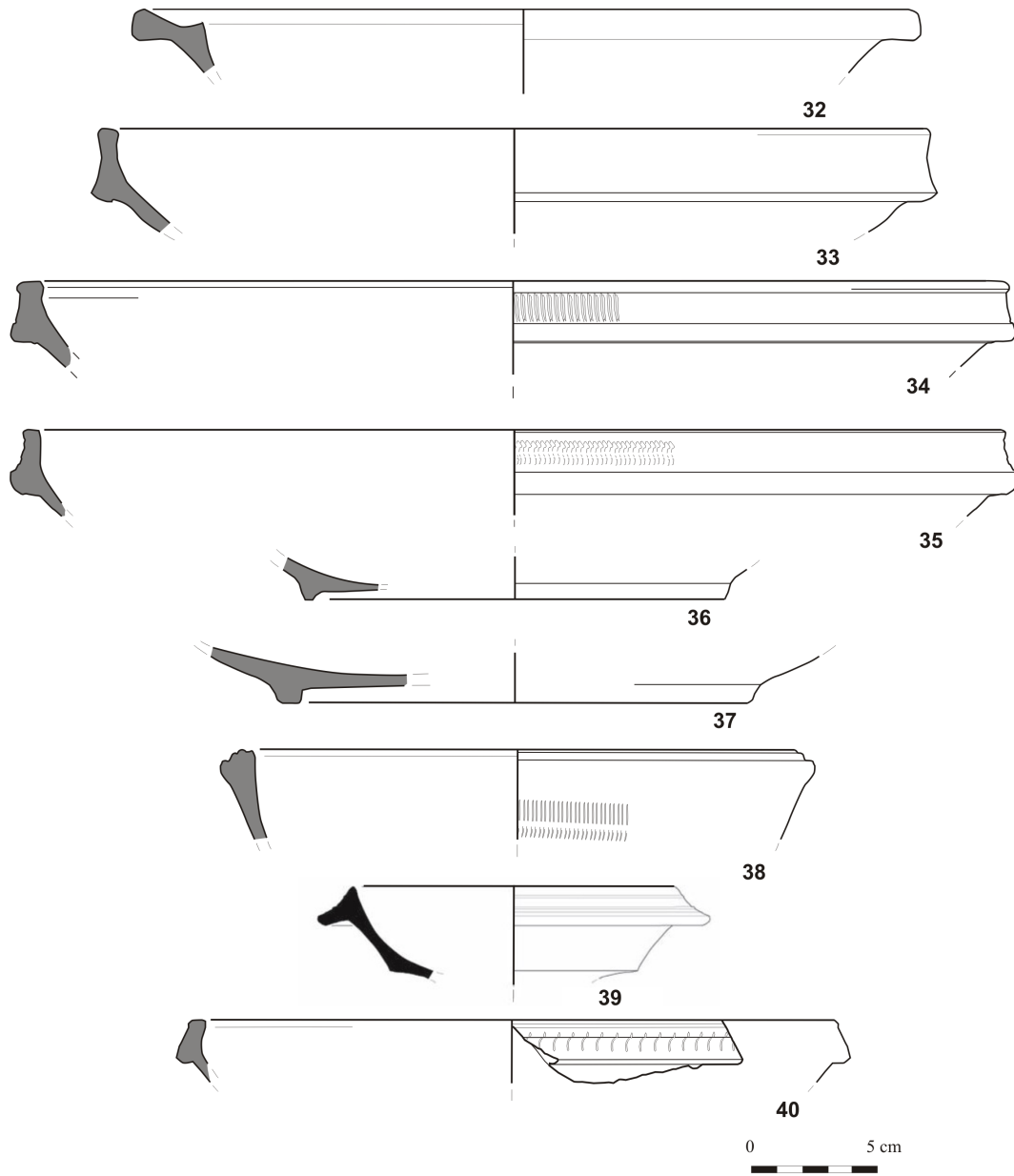


Fig. 7: Late Phocaean and Cypriot tableware from Lisbon.

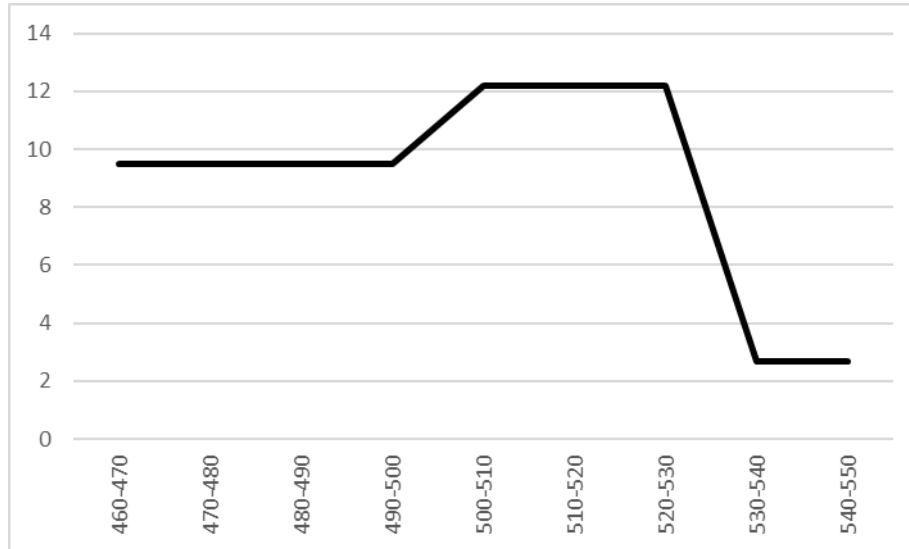


Fig. 8: Chronological evolution of Late Phocaeen and Cypriot sigillata imports at Olisipona (MNV- Praça da Figueira 1999-2001, Largo das Portas do Sol 1993, Rua das Pedras Negras 1991-1998, Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel 1992-1993, Rua da Saudade 2, Teatro Romano 1966-1967).

An effort towards a regional synthesis on Late Phocaeen and Cypriot tableware trade and consumption: typology, contextual data and historical reading

In Mediterranean chronology terms (Reynolds 1995, 28; Fentress and Perkins 1987), after the stagnation of the Early Vandal period a new economic growth recovery affected Western Mediterranean during the last quarter of the 5th century AD and the first one of the 6th century AD.

With regard to fine wares trade, this recovery allowed the growth of the African sigillata exports, as well as the floruit of the Late Phocaeen sigillata, whose previous exports into the Atlantic façade had been scarce. Late Phocaeen sigillata remained always in a secondary position, but it seems that in the last moments of the 5th century AD it achieved very good competitive skills. This is not the case of the Late Cypriot sigillata, whose trade reached the Atlantic only during the early years of the 6th century AD, always in very low quantities.

Late Phocaeen sigillata trade in South and Western Lusitania has produced a morphological repertoire based mainly on types Hayes 3B, C, D, E, F and H. Here, only one vessel of type Hayes 1A has been found at Torres Vedras (Sepúlveda, Sousa and Sousa 2003, 303), type Hayes 2 being present only at Olisipona (Diogo and Trindade, 1999) and Monte da Cegonha (Vidigueira- Delgado 1988). Type Hayes 3-small variant (dated from the early years of the last quarter of the 5th century AD: Hayes 1987) is attested at Myrtilis (Mértola- Delgado 1992, nr. 10) and Lacobriga (Lagos- Ramos, Almeida and Laço 2006), hence scarcely imported in Lusitania.

Another exception to this framework is the more consolidated trade of types Hayes 5 and 8, present at Cerro da Vila (Loulé- Delgado 1988), Myrtilis (Mértola-Delgado 1992;

Fernandes 2012), Olysipona (Diogo and Trindade 1999; Pimenta, Mota and Silva 2014), Scallabis (Santarém- Viegas 2003, 202) and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha- Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975, 285). In this last site, the classical work *Les Fouilles de Conimbriga* published 95 vessels, distributed by forms Hayes 3B and 3C (50%), 3H (30%), and some Hayes 3F and 3D.

The distribution of the trade points of Oriental tableware dated from 460 to 500 AD, reveals a very good number of consumption sites (although frequently in very small amounts), located not only on the Atlantic shore but also in hinterland, and some main sites near the coastline, as Myrtilis (Mértola), Olysipona and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha).

The typological assemblage of circa 500-525 AD (Hayes 3E, 3F and 3H: Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011, 6) has been traded for a few amount of sites, whose position is essentially coastal, apart from Augusta Emerita (Mérida). This typological framework reflects that the import floruit has occurred in the last quarter of the 5th century AD, and the breakdown of the Late Phocaeen trade occurred from 500 AD onwards.

Between 500 and 525 AD Late Phocaeen sigillata reaches only some markets on the southern coastline and on the lower Guadiana, western coast at the Sado and the Tagus rivers, Conimbriga (near the Mondego river), and Crestuma (Gaia), on the Douro estuary (Silva et Al. 2015), being the northernmost site of the former Lusitania (on its border with Gallaecia). Late Phocaeen diffusion is similar (but much stronger) to the Late Cypriot's one, whose type Hayes 2 (dated typologically to the first half of the 6th century AD) is the only one attested in Lisbon's region.

At villa of Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora), near Olysipona, a stratigraphic phase is dated of the 5th century or beginning of the 6th century AD. The pottery assemblage (68 MNV) includes 13,1% of non-residual African sigillata, well above Late Phocaeen numbers (4,4%), attested through types Hayes 3C, Hayes 3D or 3E (Quaresma, forthcoming b). A stratigraphic phase similar to Quinta da Bolacha was recorded at Vigo. In this case, African sigillata represents 47,4%, while Late Phocaeen remains on just 26,3% (Hayes 3B, C, D- Fernández Fernández 2014).

Olysipona has some other non-quantified stratigraphic phases from this period. In Lisbon's Cathedral (former Late Antique residential area) some layers are related to the abandonment of the area and display Late Phocaeen sigillata through types Hayes 3F and 3E(?) (Amaro 1995, fig. 6, nr. 1-3). Here, one Hayes 3F shows a monogram (motif 71 - group III), dated from 500 AD (Hayes 1972, 365).

At Rua dos Correeiros, in the artisanal area of Olysipona, basin nr. 4 preserved some stratigraphic units from the period immediately after the end of the garum officina activities, the authors detecting types Hayes 3C and 3F in these layers (Grilo, Fabião and Bugalhão 2013).

With regard to the first quarter of the 6th century AD, the lower Tagus region has two contextual cases at Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora) and Olysipona.

At villa of Quinta da Bolacha, the 500-525 AD phase includes African sigillata D1, whose non-residual types achieve 3,88% of the total ceramic assemblage, along with 0,99% of African sigillata D2. Hayes 3E is the only Late Phocaeen type present, achieving 2,97%, while Late Cypriot sigillata displays also a single type (Hayes 2), but its numbers reach only 0,99% of the ceramic assemblage. Considering the scarce amount of vessels, statistical conclusions are fragile, but it seems that the dominance of the African trade during the end of the 5th century AD in this site is substituted by more balanced values between Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean during the first quarter of the 6th century AD (Quaresma, forthcoming b).

In Olysipona (sector of Escadinhas de São Crispim, near the Late Antique wall), the 500-525 AD trade indicators on Late Phocaeen sigillata achieve 8,4% (with regard to the entire ceramic assemblage – 56 MNV), and includes types Hayes 3B and 3C, whose production ends then (Hayes 1972; Quaresma forthcoming a). The African values are clearly lower, 4,2%, but if types Hayes 3B and 3C of the Late Phocaeen sigillata are to be disclaimed, for they are earlier, and one takes into account only types types 3E, 3F and 3H (Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011, 6), the situation seems then balanced and analogous to the one observed at Quinta da Bolacha (Amadora) (Quaresma forthcoming b).

The second quarter of the 6th century AD is a period of general breakdown on imports to Lusitania and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. The conquer of Carthage by Eastern Roman Empire in 533 AD has apparently worked as a turning point in the History of the trade networks of Western Mediterranean, and certainly this is valid also to the former Lusitania (Reynolds 1995, 2010). On one hand, the *Renovatio Imperii* has stimulated trade in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, in spite of the 25 shipwrecks from this period recorded in the Central Mediterranean (Vizcaíno Sánchez 2009, 294; Reynolds 1995, 2010). On the other hand, Western Mediterranean, and particularly the Atlantic area, suffered a profound breakdown on imports, as observed at Bracara Augusta (Braga-Morais 2005), Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha- Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975), Augusta Emerita (Mérida- Bustamante Álvarez, 2013), Tróia (Grândola- Étienne, Makaroun and Mayet 1994), Balsa (Tavira), Ossonoba (Faro-Viegas 2011) and Myrtilis (Mértola- Fernandes 2012), with regard to the Portuguese territory (see discussion in Quaresma 2012, chapter 4).

The diffusion chart of eastern sigillata tableware reflects a strong commercial contraction. With regard to Late Phocaeen sigillata, the only types certainly dated from this period are Hayes 3F/G and 3G (Hayes 1972). Hayes 3F/G has been attested at Balsa (Tavira- Viegas 2011, nr. 780), Olysipona (Roman Theatre, Rua das Pedras Negras - published here; Escadinhas de São Crispim - Quaresma, forthcoming a) and Freiria (Cascais - Sepúlveda forthcoming: nr. 21). Type Hayes 3G has been recorded in only 2 cases: the lower Guadiana, at Myrtilis (Mértola), and at villa de Casal do Clérigo (Cascais), on the lower Tagus (Sepúlveda forthcoming: nr.14).

The available stratigraphy in the former Lusitania is limited and reflects naturally the scarce empirical basis available for this period.

In Olysipona, at sector Escadinhas de São Crispim (Quaresma, forthcoming a), the non-residual assemblage of African sigillata reaches 7,1% of the total ceramic assemblage. Late Phocaeen sigillata includes Hayes 3C (residual) and type Hayes 3F/G, which achieves 3,4% (without type Hayes 3C). Accordingly, Late Phocaeen is represented through 3 individuals, two of them Hayes 3F (13-14), in the nearby Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel published context, dated through epigraphic criteria of 540-560 AD (Silva and De Man forthcoming).

At the former Lusitanian capital, Augusta Emerita (Mérida - sector suburbio norte), SU 1063 disclosed the residual type Hayes 3B, but SU 1003 displayed type Hayes 3F, whose chronology may reach the second quarter of the 6th century AD (Cau, Reynolds and Bonifay 2011, 6).

At Vigo (Fernández Fernández 2014), 500-550 AD phase is dominated by African sigillata, which reaches 52,7%. Cypriot sigillata is still present here with 1,2%, and Late Phocaeen sigillata keeps a good level, with 35,3%. Nevertheless, Hayes 3F and 3E are dominant, but residual types Hayes 3B, 3C and 3D are also present.

At Hispalis (Seville), the stratigraphic phase from 525-550 AD or 540-550 (non quantified) is dominated by African sigillata, Late Phocaeen sigillata including types Hayes 3C (residual) and 3E (Vásquez Paz and Garcia Vargas 2011).

The main Atlantic patterns show different evolutions on Oriental commerce of tableware: Myrtilis (Fernandes 2012) and Bracara (Braga) floruits are situated circa 460-500 AD, but numbers drop in 500-525 AD, Oriental tableware imports disappearing after this last date (Fernández Fernández, Delgado, Quaresma and Morais 2014), as occurs also with Conimbriga published material (Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975). On the opposite, Vigo has a longer floruit between 460-525 AD, and in spite numbers decay after that period, they remain stable during the second half of the 6th century (Fernández Fernández 2014).

Olysipona available evidence differs from the aforementioned cases in two different ways. On one hand there is a floruit in 460-525, in contrast with the patterns shared by Myrtilis (Mértola), Bracara (Braga) and Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha), where floruits are more centred in the last quarter of the 5th century AD. Lisbon's pattern is, therefore, closer to the one of Vigo in the same period. On the other hand, Phocaeen tableware trade lasts longer on the Galician site, until the second half of the 6th century AD, while Olysipon's imports apparently ended by the mid-century decades.

How to historically interpret those trade dynamics patterns, given that there are no major events in the former Lusitania that explains them? Did Byzantine's conquer of southern Iberian Peninsula, and the formation of the new imperial province of Spania, created a counter effect on Eastern trade to Atlantic façade of Hispania, with the exception of Vigo? Or, in the coming years must consider to extend some artefact chronologies, in order to match them with the Justinian's plague from the 540's, or the campaigns of king Leovigildus against byzantine province of Spania, in the 570's?

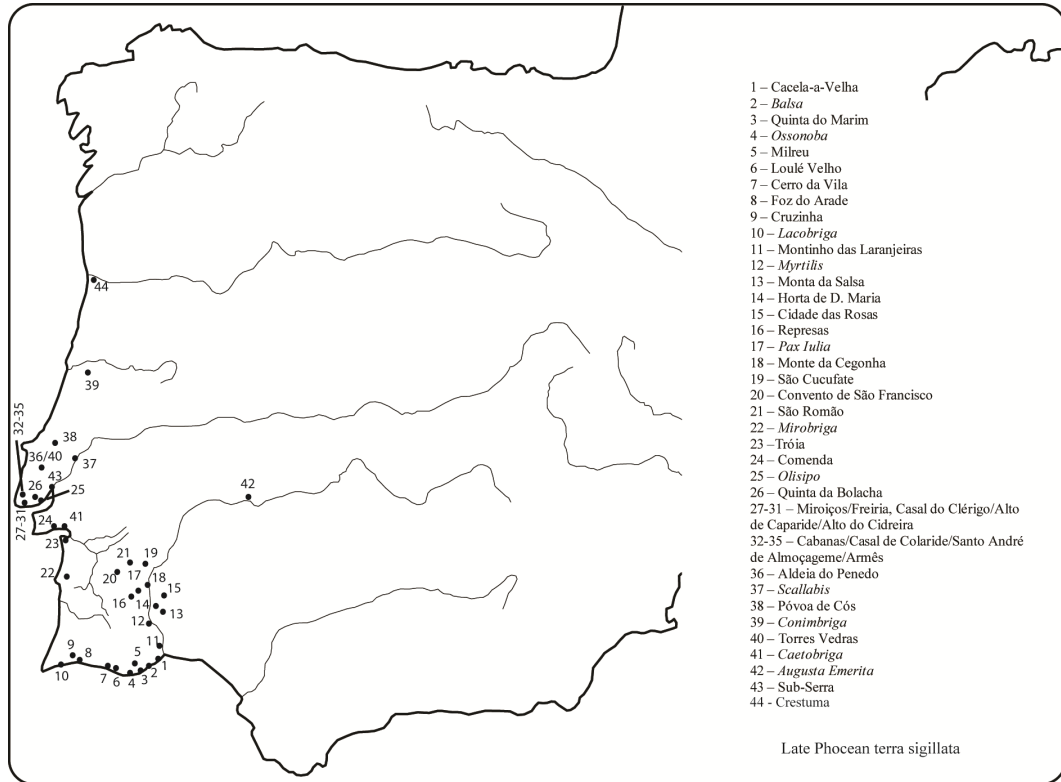


Fig. 9: Distribution of Late Phocaean terra sigillata in the former southern Lusitania with some strategic points in the northern Portuguese territory (all types – Hayes 1, 2, 3, 5, 8) (from Batalha *et Al.* 2009; Fernández Fernández and Soto Arias 2007; Fernández Fernández 2014; Fabião 2009; Sousa 2001; Sepúlveda forthcoming; Silva and Coelho-Soares 2014 ; Bustamante 2013; Sepúlveda, Sousa and Sousa 2003; Silva *et Al.* 2015; Viegas 2011).



Fig. 10: Distribution of Late Phocaean terra sigillata (types Hayes 3E, 3F, 3H) and Late Cypriot terra sigillata (Hayes 2 and 3). **Figure A:** Delgado 1992; Fernandes 2012; Teichner 2008; Ramos, Almeida and Laço 2006: fig. 15; Delgado, Mayet and Alarcão 1975; Maia 1977; Silva and Coelho-Soares 1987; Quaresma 2012; Maia 1973; Nolen 1988; Diogo 2001; Diogo and Trindade 1999; Quaresma forthcoming; forthcoming b; Bustamante 2013; Viegas 2011; Étienne, Makaroun and Mayet 1994: fig. 29, nr. 120; Batalha *et Al.* 2009; Silva *et Al.* 2015. **Figure B:** Delgado 1992; Dias 1995-1997; Quaresma forthcoming; Osland 2011; Diogo and Trindade, 1999.

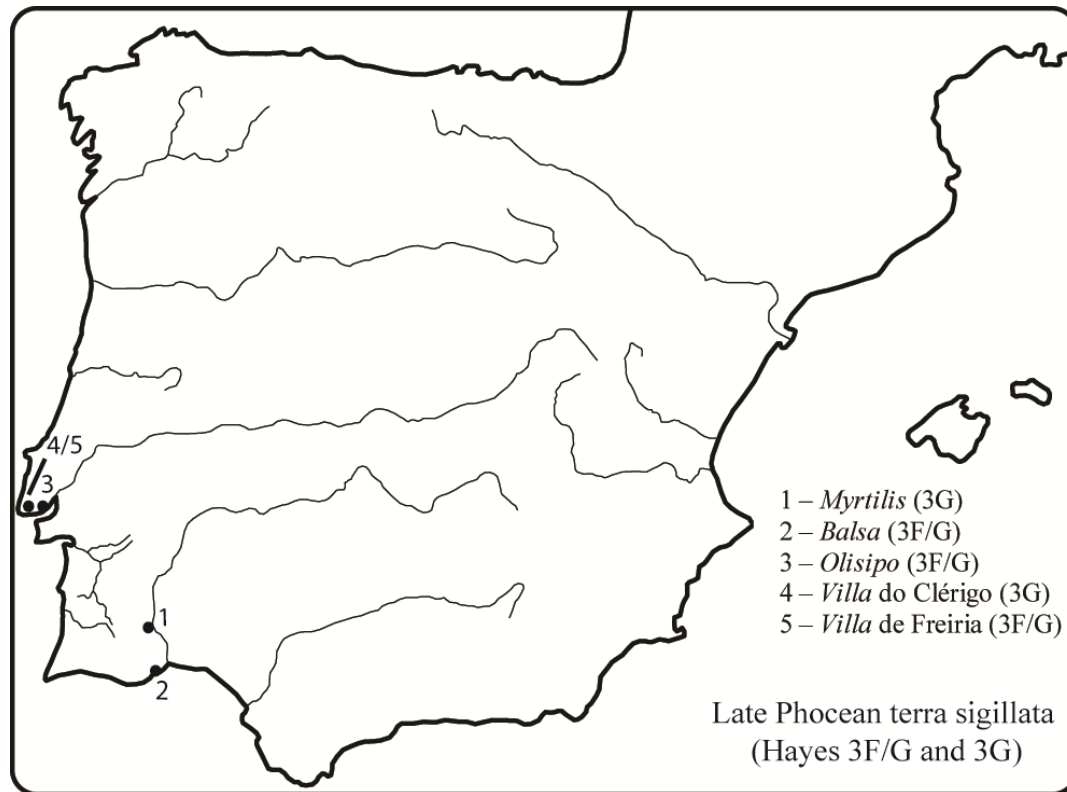


Fig. 11: Distribution of Late Phocaean terra sigillata (types Hayes 3F/G and 3G) (Fernandes 2012; Viegas 2011; Quaresma forthcoming; Sepúlveda forthcoming).

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