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AFRICAN COOKING WARE IN THE ALGARVE (SOUTHERN PORTUGAL): AN OVERVIEW

Imports of African cooking ware in the Algarve region are very abundant and started appearing at the end of the 1st century AD, with the first forms of ARS A. The typological and contextual data shows that these imports lasted until the 5th century. In this paper we focus on the African cooking ware imports, to establish their position within the larger volume of traffic in African products (amphorae and ARS wares) during the early and the late Roman Empire. We present a re-evaluation of old assemblages, as well as some new data

1. Introduction

The process of integration of southern *Hispania* into the Roman sphere during the Republican period is clearly documented by the importation of both foodstuffs (Dressel 1 wine amphorae), as well as by artifacts that originated in the Italian Peninsula, such as the Campana ware and thin-walled wares found in Faro. From the Augustan period onwards, the southern part of today's Portugal, namely the Algarve region, was integrated into the Province of *Lusitania*. Its privileged location within the framework of the Roman Empire encouraged the development of a dense settlement, centred on the main capitals of *civitates*, such as the ancient Roman towns of *Ossobona* and *Balsa* (fig. 1A). From the middle of the 1st century AD onwards the coastal settlement involved in the exploration of fish-salting products shows a significant development. A series of different types of sites, such as *villae*, but also smaller fishing communities, are present all along the coast. The production of fish-salting products may have started in the late 1st century, but the manufacture of the amphorae destined for transport and exportation occurred later: only two production centres are known in the early imperial period¹. Due to its proximity to Baetica, a strong economic dynamism may be observed, assimilating southern *Lusitania* into this broader region of southern *Hispania*, with major imports of fish products in the Republican and Early Roman period.

From the 3rd century onward there is a clear growth and development in the production of fish sauces that is followed by the consequent spread of workshops dedicated to the manufacture of amphorae for their export. The *villae* flourish at this period and the *pars urbanae* are subject to important remodeling, with the installation of new decorative programs. In the complex process of change and transformation that take place in these *villae*, some then developed to become urban centres ("agglomération secondaire"), as in the case of Cerro da Vila².

Despite the relevance of the role of marine exploitation and the production of fish sauces in the framework of the southern Lusitanian economy, the production and processing of agricultural products (wine, olive oil) was also real and valuable, as is exemplified by the *villa* at Milreu and in other maritime, as well as inland, *villae* in the region³.

The exports of foodstuffs that were transported in amphorae show a considerable change during the period between the 3rd and the 5th centuries, with a significant increase in the locally produced Lusitanian amphorae, which play a considerable role among the consumption patterns in urban centres.

Unlike the other regions of today's Portugal, the imports of African cookware (ACW) into the Algarve are very abundant and must have started at the end of the 1st century AD, arriving with the first forms of ARS A. The typological and contextual data shows that these imports continued on until the 5th century⁴. In this paper, we highlight the main features of the pattern and rhythms of imports into the Algarve region. We will also examine the ACW ware so as to define its position within the larger volume of other African products that were coming into southern Lusitania during the Roman Republican times, and also in the early and the late Roman Empire (amphorae and ARS). This is of particular interest because it allows the comparison and enhances the differences between the Algarve region: as seen, for example, in the towns of Faro and *Balsa* and those from other urban or rural sites⁵ in western *Lusitania*, such as the Roman *villa*

¹ BERNARDES/VIEGAS 2016.

² TEICHNER 2008.

³ TEICHNER 2008.

⁴ A first approach to studying these African cookwares from *Balsa* and *Ossobona* was undertaken in C. VIEGAS, Les céramiques tardives dans les sites du sud-ouest de la Péninsule Ibérique (Algarve – Portugal). In: M. Bonifay/J.-Chr. Trégliá (eds.), LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 2. BAR Internat. Ser. 1662 (Oxford 2007)71–83.

⁵ Even though we do not have the complete information for the African amphora, the cookware or the ARS in all of these sites.

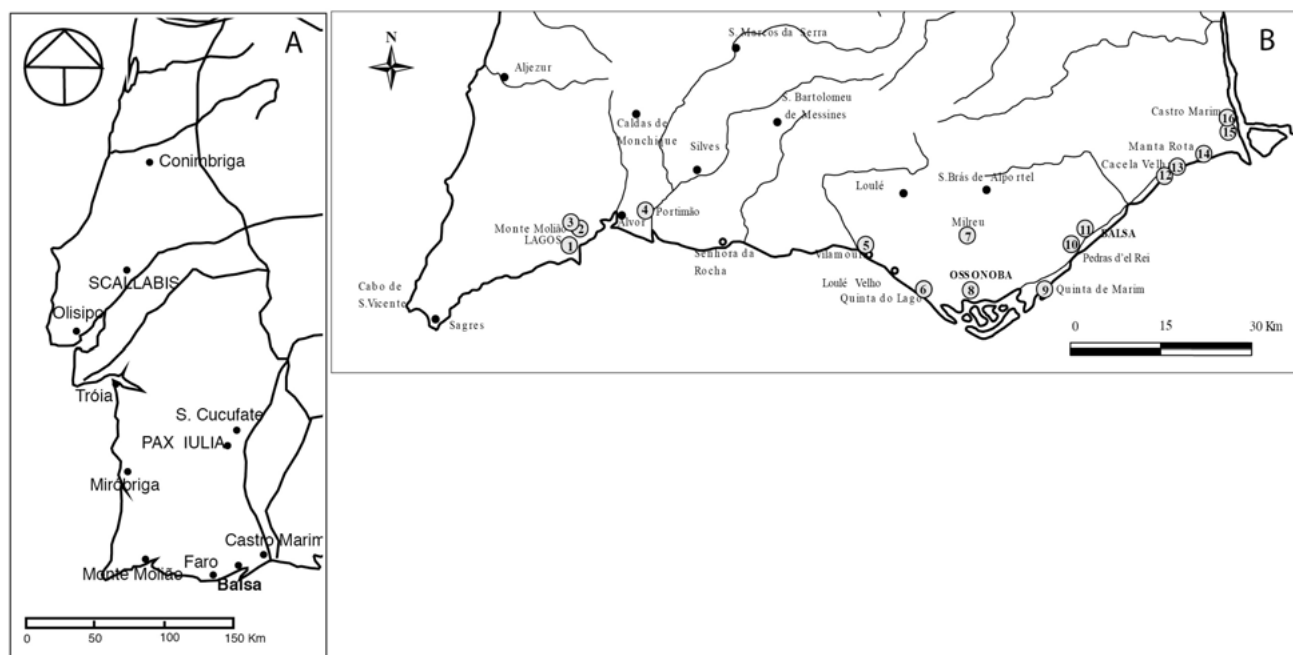


Fig. 1 A. Map of the western part of *Lusitania* with the main sites mentioned in the text. – B. Distribution of ACW in the Algarve, (according to ARRUDA/VIEGAS 2014, adapted): **1** Lagos; **2** Monte Molião; **3** S. Pedro do Pulgão; **4** Vale da Arrancada; **5** Cerro da Vila; **6** Quinta do Lago; **7** Milreu; **8** Faro; **9** Qta de Marim; **10** Pedras d'el Rei; **11** Torre de Ares (*Balsa*); **12** Qta do Muro; **13** Cacela; **14** Manta Rota; **15** Lezíria; **16** Castro Marim.

in S. Cucufate⁶ or the Roman towns in *Conimbriga*⁷ and *Mirobriga*⁸, as well as Tróia⁹.

Another aspect that we will address is the role and function of the African cookware in the domestic context, relating it to the other local and imported common wares. This approach is possible in *Balsa*, where we have been studying common ware in a systematic though somewhat intermittent way over the last few years¹⁰. Then too, the data from Monte Molião is particularly useful, because it has allowed us to understand the process by which the Baetican common ware was replaced by the North African products in the early Empire. Also relevant in this context is the evidence of the imitation of some of the most popular African forms by the local pottery production¹¹.

To fulfil our objectives we will re-evaluate the assemblages known in the Algarve, particularly those from Faro and *Balsa*, and will add what new information is available.

2. African imports in the Algarve region: Roman Republican period, Early Empire and Late Roman periods

In the Roman Republican period, African imports are limited to a minute amount of North African amphorae (mainly from Tripolitania and from the Carthage/Tunis region). At the time Italian products are significant, with the Baetican/Ulterior products predominant in the markets. The occasional African amphorae are present at most sites having assemblages of this date. In the town of Faro (the ancient *Ossonoba*) they are present at a mere 1.8% of the Roman Republican amphorae: the Italian imports (such as Dressel 1) correspond to 13.6% and most of the foodstuffs imported in amphorae (mainly fish-sauce products) had their origin in Ulterior/Baetica province. In *Baesuri* (today Castro Marim) the African products comprise 0.8% of the total imports (both Tripolitanian and Mañá C2)¹². For the westernmost part of the Algarve region, the same pattern of imports prevails as seen in the site at Monte Molião (Lagos), where North African amphorae make up 11.06% of material dating from Roman Republican period¹³. Most of the African forms represented are the Mañá C2 type from the Carthage/Tunis region, although the Tripolitanian form is also present – with just four pieces¹⁴. Again the assemblages show that the majority of fish-sauce amphorae originated from Ulterior/Baetica, mostly from the coast of Cadix.

During the Early Roman period, we observe the beginning of a more noteworthy importation of ACW, mainly the products associated with the ARS A (“culinaire A”), but also

⁶ ALARCÃO/ÉTIENNE/MAYET 1990

⁷ DELGADO/MAYET 1975; ALARCÃO 1976; BURACA 2005.

⁸ QUARESMA 2010, 157–166.

⁹ MAGALHÃES/BRUM/PINTO 2014.

¹⁰ C. VIEGAS, A cerâmica cinzenta grosseira do Algarve. In: D. Bernal Casasola/A. Ribera I Lacomba (eds.), *Cerâmicas Hispanorromanas II. Producciones Regionales* (Cádiz 2012) 681–697; C. VIEGAS, Imports and local production: common ware from urban sites in southern Lusitania (Algarve). *Acta RCRF* 42, 2012, 407–417. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10451/9774>.

¹¹ The Monte Molião (Lagos) project has been directed by A. M. Arruda since 2006 (Lagos Municipality and the Centre for Archaeology, Univ. of Lisbon). – For the Roman Republican amphorae, see ARRUDA/SOUSA 2013, 93–133. – For the characterization of locally produced common ware in Monte Molião (Lagos), see A. M. ARRUDA/C. VIEGAS/P. BARGÃO, A cerâmica comum de produção local de Monte Molião. *Xelb* 10, 2010, available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10451/9701>. – Concerning the local imitations of African forms, see: VIEGAS/ARRUDA 2014, 247–260.

¹² VIEGAS 2011, 549–551.

¹³ ARRUDA/SOUSA 2013, 93–133.

¹⁴ ARRUDA/SOUSA 2013, 110–112.

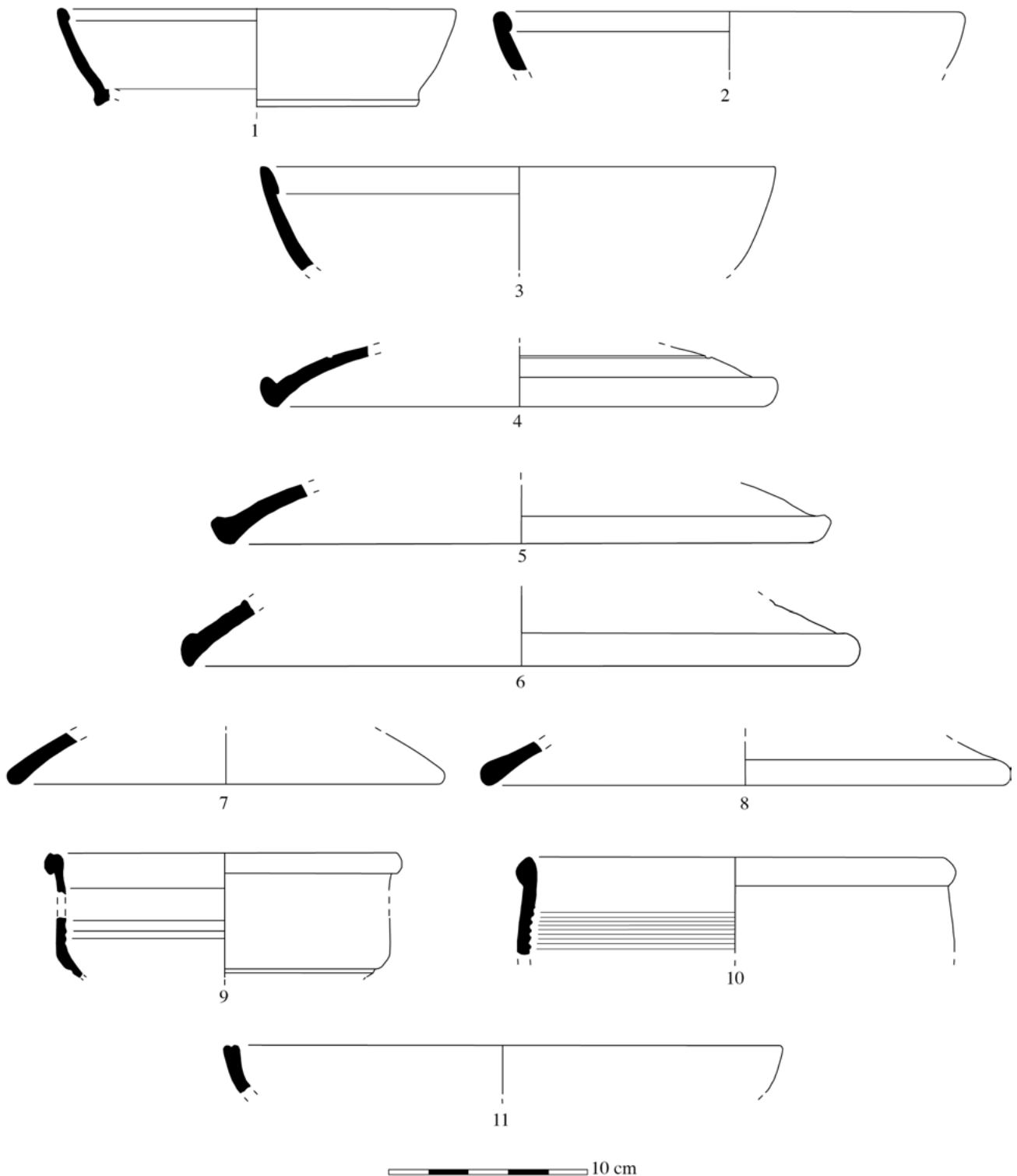


Fig. 2. ACW from Faro. Abandonment levels of the Neptunus mosaic: **1–3** Hayes 23B; **4** Hayes 182; **5–8** Hayes 196; **9–10** Hayes 197; **11** Ostia III, 306.

including examples of “culinaire C” from north Tunisia, arriving together with important amounts of ARS A.

Concerning the amphorae, the Baetican imports are still now in a majority, with a notable percentage of fish-sauce amphorae again coming from the Cadix region, as well as the imports from Guadalquivir region (both olive oil in Dressel 20 and wine products in Haltern 70 types). In addition to the urban sites in eastern central Algarve, the

western coastal region, Monte Molião (Lagos), also seems to show a similar consumption pattern. Despite this, it should be stressed that we were able to identify African amphorae like the Hammamet type in *Balsa*, the Tripolitana 2 form in Faro¹⁵ and the Ostia XXIII form in Monte Molião (Lagos)¹⁶,

¹⁵ VIEGAS 2011.

¹⁶ A. M. ARRUDA/C. VIEGAS, As ânforas alto-imperiais de Monte Molião. In: R. Járrega/P. Berni (eds.), *Amphorae ex Hispania: paisajes de pro-*

	Balsa (MNV)	Faro- Neptunus (MNV)
Hayes 23 B	195	10
Hayes 196	365	24
Hayes 197	197	10
Ostia II, Fig. 306	2	0
Hayes 181	38	1
Hayes 182	35	1
Hayes 183	4	1
Hayes 184	4	0
Hayes 185	3	0
Hayes 199	0	1
Total	843	48

Table 1. Distribution of forms in *Balsa* and Faro (Neptunus mosaic area) (MNV).

thereby showing that there was not a complete cessation in the African amphora supply between the Roman Republican and Late Roman periods.

Unfortunately, contextual data for these African imports is limited - in Faro and *Balsa*, so we have to take on trust the typological data and its chronology. The earlier imports to these urban centres took place at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd centuries AD, as is evidenced by forms such as Hayes 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9; it was intensified in the subsequent period from the middle of the 2nd century onwards.

Despite the evidence existing in Spain for early imports of African cookware in Badalona (ancient *Baetulo*)¹⁷, so far in the Algarve this testimony is lacking from stratigraphically-sound contexts.

In Faro, the assemblage that we were able to study came from the sector of the Roman town where the Neptune mosaic was recovered (fig. 2). A synthesis of the main features of both form and fabric in this area shows that the majority of the recovered pieces originate in the North of Tunisia (“culinaire C”)¹⁸. Most popular forms is the lid Hayes 196, as well as the deep casserole Hayes 197 (in the typical black top ware). This picture could be added to by the shallow casserole Hayes 23B, that can also be attributed to the Carthage region, given its similarity with ARS A. Central Tunisian products (“culinaire B”) are scarce: they consist only of a few examples of the Hayes 181 plate, with a burnished slip only on the inside (table 1).

As in Faro, so in *Balsa* north Tunisian cookware is predominant. We were able to identify, alongside the fragments of form Hayes 181, a few examples of plates that from their burnished surface are to be included in “culinaire C”. We were also able to examine more carefully a series of pieces that we had incorrectly attributed to African cookware. We specifically refer to some plates that we had classified as form Ostia II fig. 314: a closer observation has returned them to local production¹⁹ (fig. 2).

The most common types recovered in *Balsa* are the deep casserole, form Hayes 197, and the lid, Hayes 196. Also very frequent is the casserole, Hayes 23B. Due to the limited space in this paper we cannot give more detailed information on the variants observed in these forms (mainly based on different proportions in the height and width of the rim). But we believe that, as M. Bonifay has pointed out, some typological details may allow further refinements in the chronology of the assemblages²⁰. Apart from this, most of the differences observable in the different ACW sets present in the Algarve concern the minoritarian forms. In *Balsa*, these types are the deep casseroles Hayes 183 and 184, as well as the lid Hayes 185. The last, together with most of the examples of the dish Hayes 181, were made in the “culinaire B” fabric (with a burnished surface) (table 1). This phenomenon, a clear majority of north Tunisian products in the Algarve sites, had already been recognized by the researchers in Tróia and *Mirobriga*. It seems to be a general trend also at other sites in the Iberian Peninsula.

In Monte Molião, the site where exists the largest assemblage of African cooking ware recovered in the Algarve until today²¹, we were also able to identify imitations of this ware²². Specifically the locally produced common ware imitated forms such as the dish Hayes 181, the lid Hayes 196, and the deep casserole Hayes 197. One could also consider that a small cup was a possible imitation of form Hayes 131. This was the first time that the imitation of African cookwares is detected in southern *Lusitania*, although this phenomenon is well known in other provinces in Hispania, from the 2nd century onward, such as in *Tarraconense*²³ or in *Baetica*²⁴, where several examples could be pointed out²⁵. In a recent study on the African imitations, M. Bonifay²⁶, in covering

¹⁹ We thank M. Bonifay and C. Capelli who have confirmed that this is a non-African, most probably local fabric.

²⁰ BONIFAY 2004.

²¹ The study of this assemblage was recently done by A. Pereira: A. PEREIRA, *A cerâmica de cozinha africana de Monte Molião*, Lagos (MA dissertation Univ. Lisbon 2015), available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10451/24154>. – See also A. M. ARRUDA/A. PEREIRA, *A cerâmica de cozinha africana de Monte Molião* (Lagos, Portugal) e o seu enquadramento regional. *Onuba*, 5, 2017, 21–43.

²² VIEGAS/ARRUDA 2014.

²³ C. AGUAROD, *Cerámica romana importada de cocina en la Tarraconense* (Zaragoza 1991).

²⁴ J. A. DE LA SIERRA FERNÁNDEZ, *Imitaciones locales de cerámicas africanas en el Vale del Guadalquivir*. In: D. Bernal/L. Lagóstena (eds.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional Figlinae Baeticae. Talleres alfareros y producciones cerámicas en la Bética romana* (ss. II a.C.-VII d.C.). BAR Internat. Ser. 1266 (Oxford 2004) 537–544.

²⁵ X. AQUILUÉ, *Las imitaciones de cerámica africana en Hispania*. In: D. Bernal Casasola/A. Ribera i Lacomba (eds.), *Cerámicas hispanorromanas. Un estado de la cuestión* (Cádiz 2008) 553–561.

²⁶ M. BONIFAY, *Céramique africaine et imitations: où, quand, pourquoi?* In: R. Morais/A. Fernández/M. J. Sousa (eds.), *As produções cerâmicas de imitação na Hispania* (Porto 2014) 75–91.

ducción y consumo. *Monogr. Ex Officina Hispana* 3 (Tarragona 2016) 446–463; available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10451/25550>.

¹⁷ X. AQUILUÉ, *Algunas consideraciones sobre el comercio africano. Tres facies características de la cerámica común africana de época alto-imperial*. *Empúries* 47 (Barcelona 1989) 210–221.

¹⁸ BONIFAY 2004, 210–244.

	Common wares	MNV	%MNV
Phase 2 (Stratigraphic units [108], [112], [117] and [121]) Flavian period	Italian common ware	6	2,51
	Kaolinitic ware	2	0,84
	Baetican common ware	108	45,19
	Local common ware (orange /redish fabric)	51	21,34
	Local common ware (granular grey ware)	35	14,64
	African cooking ware	37	15,48
	Total	239	100
Phase 3 (Stratigraphic units [28], [29], [36], [55], [59] and [85]) second half – end of the 2nd century	Italian common ware	5	0,38
	Kaolinitic ware	5	0,38
	Baetican common ware	338	25,72
	Local common ware (orange /redish fabric)	369	28,08
	Local common ware (granular grey ware)	36	2,74
	African cooking ware	561	42,70
	Total	1341	100

Table 2. Distribution of common ware in Monte Molião main phases in Early Empire (MNV), according to VIEGAS/ARRUDA 2014, modified.

the wide geographical extent involved in this issue, reviewed the different interpretations for this multifaceted phenomenon that need to be carefully analyzed. At Monte Molião, the imitation of African cooking ware is limited to a few forms: not many examples were produced and almost all were destined for consumption by the local population. These copies were never of such a quality that they could be confused with the African prototypes. It is nonetheless difficult to understand why such were made at all, given the ready supply of African products as existed on the Coast of the Algarve. Indeed, as pointed out before, during this period African cooking ware is widely distributed in the Algarve region (**fig. 1 B**).

From the Flavian period onward, the production and consumption of common ware in the Algarve region underwent a process of change: this is reflected in and can be accessed through the stratigraphical data of Monte Molião. The well-preserved domestic contexts in sector A show that despite the presence of locally produced common ware, the Baetican calcareous fabrics prevailed in phase 2 dated from the Flavian period²⁷ (**table 2**). These vessels make up the typical domestic ceramic set: used for storage (pots), as tableware (jugs and bowls), and in food preparation (*mortaria*). In a selected sample from the stratigraphical units of this period, out of a total of 239 (MNV), 45.19% were Baetican common ware and only 15.48% corresponded to North African cookware. To understand the process of change, stratigraphical units were chosen that related to the abandonment of the site, dated from the second half until the end of the 2nd century. From a sample of 1341 (MNV), a considerable modification of the earlier picture could be appreciated: a sizeable growth in the African cooking ware (now at a much higher percentage of 42.70%)

and a corresponding decrease in the Baetican common ware to 25.72%)²⁸. Unfortunately, the excavations and archaeological data available from *Balsa* and *Ossonoba* do not permit any parallel observations.

During the Late Roman period, a strong growth in the production of fish-salting products took place, and the amphorae workshops are found aplenty, disseminated along the southern coast from East to West²⁹. Concerning the consumption patterns of African products, there is still a significant importation of amphorae, ARS and ACW. In the overall trade of foodstuffs in amphorae to *Balsa* and Faro, there is an increase in the amphorae that originated in Tunisia: now attaining 18.2% in *Balsa* and 19% in Faro,³⁰ alongside the locally produced Lusitanian containers (34.5% and 38.2%, at the same towns respectively). A closer scrutiny of forms, variants and fabrics shows that most of the African amphorae correspond to the Africana IIA, C and D types, with examples from the production areas of Nabeul, Sidi Zahrani in the North of Tunisia and Salakta³¹. Type Key 25 is not so common; one item had a fabric that could be attributed to a centre south of Bizacene; type Key 35B was from the workshop of the Nabeul area. These imports start in the 3rd century, are still considerable in the 4th century, but seem to decrease in the 5th.

²⁸ VIEGAS/ARRUDA 2014 Fig. 7

²⁹ BERNARDES/VIEGAS 2016.

³⁰ VIEGAS 2011; R. R. ALMEIDA/C. VIEGAS/N. BEJA/N. TEIXEIRA, As Ânforas do Mediterrâneo Oriental em Faro (*Ossonoba*). Novos dados para equacionar o comércio durante a Antiguidade Tardia. In: R. Morais/A. Fernandez/M. J. Sousa (eds.), As produções cerâmica de imitação na Hispânia. Actas do II Congresso Internacional da SECAH. Ex Officina Hispana Monogr. 2 (Tarragona 2014) 151–160.

³¹ We have followed the fabric characterization and form variants proposed in BONIFAY 2004, although some pieces could not be attributed to a specific production area.

²⁷ VIEGAS/ARRUDA 2014 Fig. 7–8.

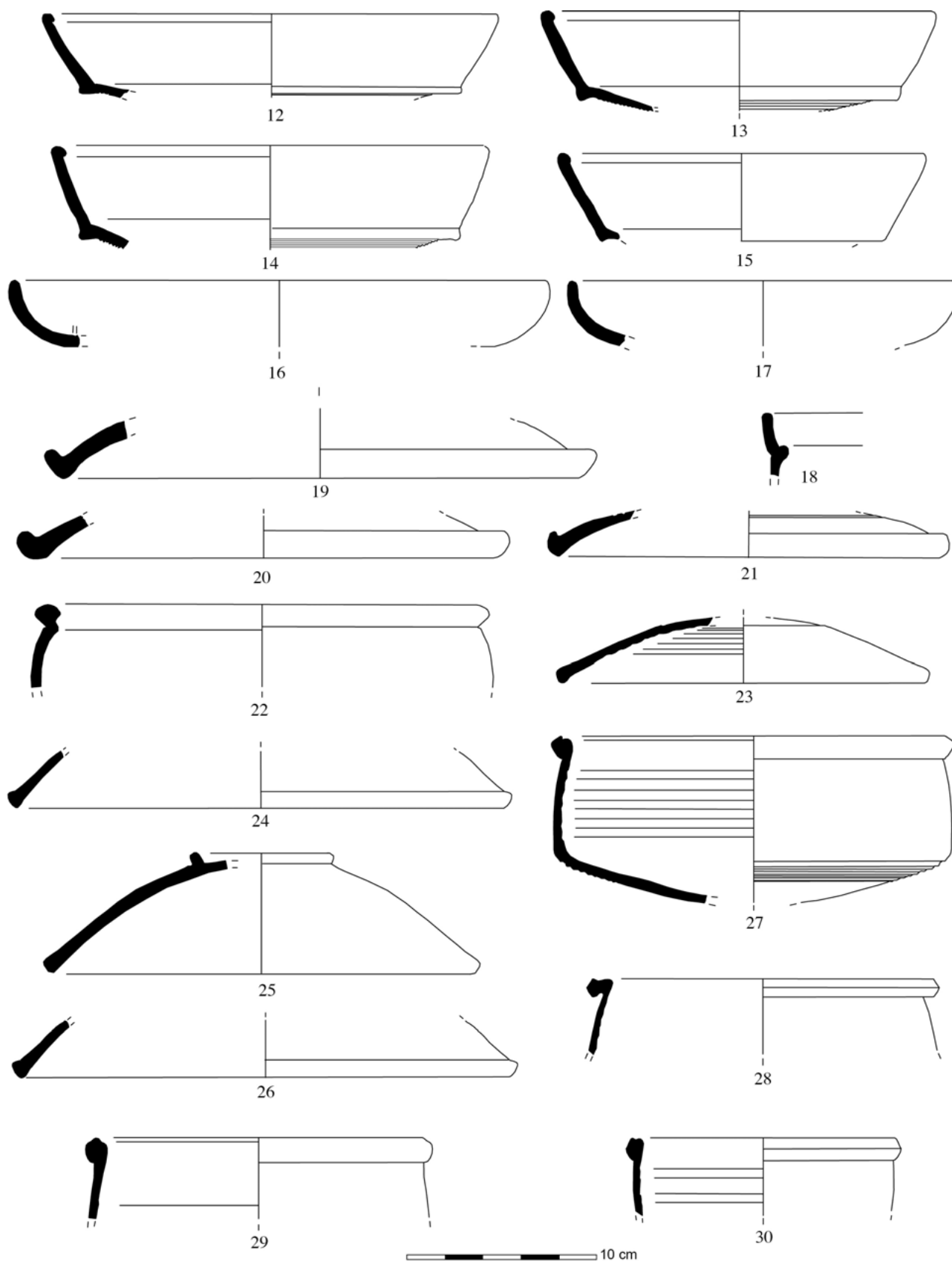


Fig. 3. African cooking ware from *Balsa*: **11–15** Hayes 23B; **16–17** Hayes 181; **18** Hayes 184; **19–21** Hayes 182; **22** Hayes 183; **23–26** Hayes 196; **27–30** Hayes 197.

Most of the ARS from the 3rd to the 5th centuries were made in the north of Tunisia (ARS D), but the inland, Bizacene products of ARS C are also present³². Later, 6th century examples of ARS are not very numerous in Faro and *Balsa*, although new information from Faro should be taken into consideration here (see E. Fernandes, this volume).

Comparing the African imports in the Algarve (in *Balsa*) with those from other contexts like the Roman villa at S. Cucufate³³ or in *Conimbriga*³⁴ (table 3; fig. 4), it seems that the African imports are mainly composed of ARS, with but few examples of both amphorae and ACW.

In the Roman villa of S. Cucufate, in southern Portugal, or further north, in the Roman town of *Conimbriga*, it seems equally clear that the importation of African products was limited to ARS, the consumption of ACW and of foodstuffs transported in amphorae being relatively insignificant. The picture in *Mirobriga* seems identical, with a decent level of ARS brought in, but only a few fragments of ACW (37 pieces)³⁵.

Only Tróia seems to escape this pattern, showing significant quantities of African pottery (both ARS and ACW)³⁶, which must have been accompanied by equally important sets of amphorae. The similarity of Tróia with the Algarve in the pattern of imports of African products, may allow us to establish a close connection between the dissemination of Lusitanian products and those originating in North Africa. In fact, Lusitanian fish-salting products transported in amphorae seem to have been part of usually mixed cargos: their shipment in the company of North African and Baetican amphorae is known: various examples of this have been recently summarized by S. Bombico³⁷.

Finally, when addressing the question about the role of ACW apropos the domestic common ware, one should understand that despite the former being quite prevalent, local production was also a reality. In the present state of knowledge, the demand for kitchen ware was also catered for by the local granular grey wares that are present on all the Algarve Roman sites. These would have been particularly suitable for food preparation and are resilient to being exposed to fire, due to the characteristics of the fabric. The repertoire of forms of this ware clearly confirm its purpose. Among other local fabrics that were identified (in orange-reddish fabrics), some forms were also used in food preparation.

³² For further information and characterization of ARS D and C imports, see VIEGAS 2011.

³³ ALARCÃO/ÉTIENNE/MAYET 1990; I. V. PINTO, A cerâmica comum das villae romanas de São Cucufate (Beja) (Lisboa 2003); I. V. PINTO/C. LOPES, Ânforas das villae romanas alentejanas de São Cucufate (Vila de Frades, Vidigueira), Monte da Cegonha (Selmes, Vidigueira) e Tourega (Nossa Senhora da Tourega, Évora). Setúbal Arq. 13 (Setúbal 2006) 197–224.

³⁴ DELGADO/MAYET 1975; ALARCÃO 1976, 79–91; BURACA 2005.

³⁵ QUARESMA 2010, 157–166; J. C. QUARESMA, Economia antiga a partir de um centro de consumo lusitano. Terra sigillata e cerâmica africana de cozinha em Chãos Salgados (Mirobriga?). Estudos e Memórias 4. UNIARQ (Lisboa 2012)

³⁶ MAGALHÃES/BRUM/PINTO, 2014

³⁷ S. BOMBICO, Salted Fish Industry in Roman Lusitania: Trade Memories Between Oceanus And Mare Nostrum. In: F. T. Barata/J. M. Rocha (eds.), Heritages and Memories from the Sea (Évora 2015) 19–39; S. BOMBICO, Lusitanian amphorae on Western Mediterranean Shipwrecks: Fragments of economic history. In: I. V. Pinto/R. R. de Almeida/A. Martín (eds.), Lusitanian Amphorae: Production and Distribution. Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery 10 (Oxford 2016) 445–460.

	Balsa	S. Cucufate	Conimbriga
ARS	341	2078	979
ACW	850	5	0
African Amphorae	20	4	2

Table 3. ARS, ACW and African amphorae in Faro, *Balsa*, S. Cucufate and *Conimbriga* (MNV).

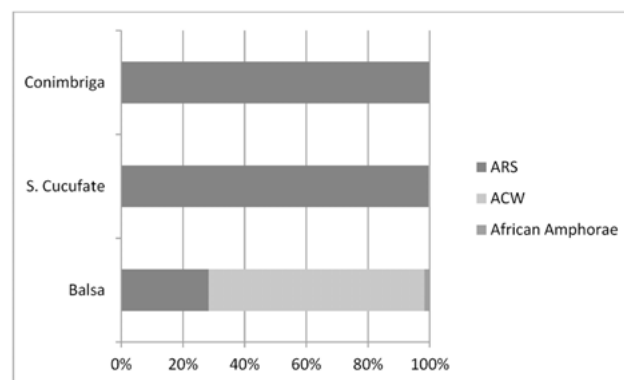


Fig. 4. Percentual distribution of ARS, ACW and African amphorae in *Balsa*, S. Cucufate and *Conimbriga* (MNV).

3. Final remarks

The influence of Roman North Africa on the Algarve is also to be acknowledged in other sectors, beside the strict commercial and economic level, particularly in the Late Roman period. The decorative programs of the mosaics in *Ossonoba* and in the *domus* at Cerro da Vila, as well as the epigraphic evidence from Quinta de Marim, should be considered in this context, to mention but a few examples. In fact, several Roman inscriptions from Quinta do Marim have long been viewed as showing ties to North Africa, as too have the decorative motifs on several epitaphs that share strong resemblances to those from today Tunisia³⁸. Also further confirming this strong connection is the epitaph discovered near *Pax Iulia* (present Beja), where an inhabitant of the Roman town of *Balsa* during the 3rd century, one Saturninus, clearly indicates his origin as from Nabeul, in dedicating an *ara* to his deceased daughter³⁹.

³⁸ J. D'ENCARNAÇÃO, La persistance esthétique africaine dans la décoration des monuments épigraphiques romains de l'Algarve. In: L'Africa romana: mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano. Atti del XVI convegno di studio, Rabat 2004 (Rome 2006) 1939–1944.

³⁹ J. D'ENCARNAÇÃO, L'Africa et la Lusitania: trois notes épigraphiques. L'Africa romana. Atti del XIII Convegno di studio, Djerba 1998 (Rome 2000) 1291–1298.

Other instances could be added, for example, the important testimony of the letter of the Carthaginian Christian bishop to the Hispanic church in the 3rd century⁴⁰, which is an important milestone in the spread of Christianity in southern *Lusitania*.

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⁴⁰ J. MACIEL, *Antiguidade tardia e paleocristianismo em Portugal* (Lisboa 1996).

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