

Olisipo (Lisbon, Portugal) and its place in the Roman trade

OLISIPO (LISBOA, PORTUGAL) Y SU LUGAR EN EL COMERCIO ROMANO

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Abstract. Although usually considered the most important city of *Lusitania* - after *Augusta Emerita* - and the main maritime harbour of the whole Atlantic peninsular façade, there remains a generalized absence of studies that highlight the role that *Olisipo* played in the most western of the Roman provinces' economy and commercial relations. This work aims to address that absence, by focusing on the research on *Olisipo*, located at the Tagus estuary, during the period encompassing the Republic and the Principate, and based on the study of amphorae.

The dataset resulting from the analysis of the amphorae from Lisbon discloses the existence of a vast network of commercial relations with the diverse areas of the Mediterranean throughout all of the considered chronology, thus revealing a cosmopolitan city, with an active and central role in the complex commercial exchanges of the West of Iberian Peninsula with the rest of the Roman Empire. These results underline *Olisipo's* importance as a trading post in the Atlantic coast during the Roman period, a role that has been recognized long ago, allowing to draw in a more accurate way how the city's economic history was shaped.

Keywords Atlantic façade; *Lusitania*; Roman Republic/Principate; amphorae; Roman economy; consumption patterns.

Resumen Aunque generalmente se la considera la ciudad más importante de *Lusitania*, después de la capital provincial *Augusta Emerita*, y como el principal puerto marítimo de toda la fachada peninsular del Atlántico, todavía hay un panorama general de falta de estudios que muestren el papel destacado desempeñado por *Olisipo* en la economía y las relaciones comerciales de *Lusitania*. Este trabajo, basado en el estudio de las ánforas de la República y el Principado, busca precisamente llenar este vacío que existe actualmente en la investigación de *Olisipo*.

El conjunto de datos obtenidos del análisis de las ánforas de Lisboa revela la existencia de una vasta red de enlaces comerciales con las áreas más diversas del Mediterráneo a lo largo de la diacronía considerada, revelando una ciudad cosmopolita con un papel activo y central en los complejos intercambios comerciales del occidente peninsular con el resto del Imperio Romano. Estos resultados subrayan el papel de *Olisipo* y su puerto como un importante puesto comercial en la costa atlántica durante el período romano, un papel que ha sido reconocido desde hace mucho tiempo, permitiendo ahora una delimitación más cercana de cómo y con qué ritmos se formó la historia económica de esta ciudad.

Palabras clave Fachada atlántica; *Lusitania*; época republicana/época imperial; ánforas; economía romana; patrones de consumo.

1. INTRODUCTION

Through the study of the Republican and the Principate amphorae, the aim of this paper is to characterise the commercial relations of the ancient city of *Olisipo* during a period of time that extends from the third quarter of the 2nd c. BC to late 2nd-early 3rd c. AD. It is intended to define the main trends in import and consumption profiles and the distinct rhythms and expression of the acquisition of food transported in amphoric containers. But also to demonstrate the relevance that the city of *Olisipo* achieved in the political and economic framework of *Lusitania* and the Atlantic façade and the role of its port in trade relations between the various provinces of the Empire.

As containers for the transport of food products by sea, the amphorae are recognized as one of the most valuable archaeological testimonies for the knowledge of the commercial dynamics of antiquity and interprovincial relations, constituting important indicators of the diet and the rhythms of imports and consumption in the different regions of the Roman Empire.

Although usually considered the most important city of *Lusitania* - after the capital of the province *Augusta Emerita* - and as the main seaport of the entire Atlantic peninsular façade, there is still a general lack of knowledge concerning the outstanding role played by *Olisipo* in the economic and trade relations of the most western of the Roman provinces. It is precisely this gap that currently exists in the research on the city of *Olisipo* that is sought here.

2. GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The geographical location of Lisbon, situated in the border area between the North Atlantic and the South Mediterranean (Ribeiro, 1998) and between the ocean and the interior of a vast territory, controlling the entrance of an extensive and navigable river, reveals the close connection of the city to the Tagus. This close relation provided the necessary conditions for the city to act early as a prominent regional pole, establishing the contact between different geographical and cultural entities. The primitive urban nucleus developed on the right bank of the Tagus, near its mouth, on a modest but prominent hill where the castle of St. Jorge is now located (fig. 2). Its location allowed a broad visual control of the surrounding region, especially the river and its access to the interior and the entire southern bank, with excellent natural conditions of defence. To the west, in the area where the Baixa Pombalina is currently located, the city was bordered by a small river crawl where the streams of Arroios and Vale do Pereiro flowed, converging where the Praça da Figueira is located today (Filipe, 2008).

In the hinterland, along the valley of the largest peninsular river, a vast alluvial plain developed which extends beyond the Santarém area, periodically subject to flooding, and where the soils with high agricultural capacities stood out. To the west, the bottleneck of the Tagus and the vast Atlantic, with a coast marked by high and vertical cliffs and punctuated by small bays or coves that correspond to the mouth of the thalweg that come from the interior of the territory (Silva, 2012, p. 78). To the north, the Lisbon Peninsula is a rugged terrain marked by a basalt mantle and the granite massif of Sintra, and marked by hills and valleys, of which the Serra de Sintra and, further north, Montejunto can be highlighted in the landscape (Daveau, 1994, pp. 224-31; Silva, 2012, pp. 77-78).



Figure 1. Southeast view of the Roman city of *Olisipo* (virtual reconstruction: César Figueiredo).

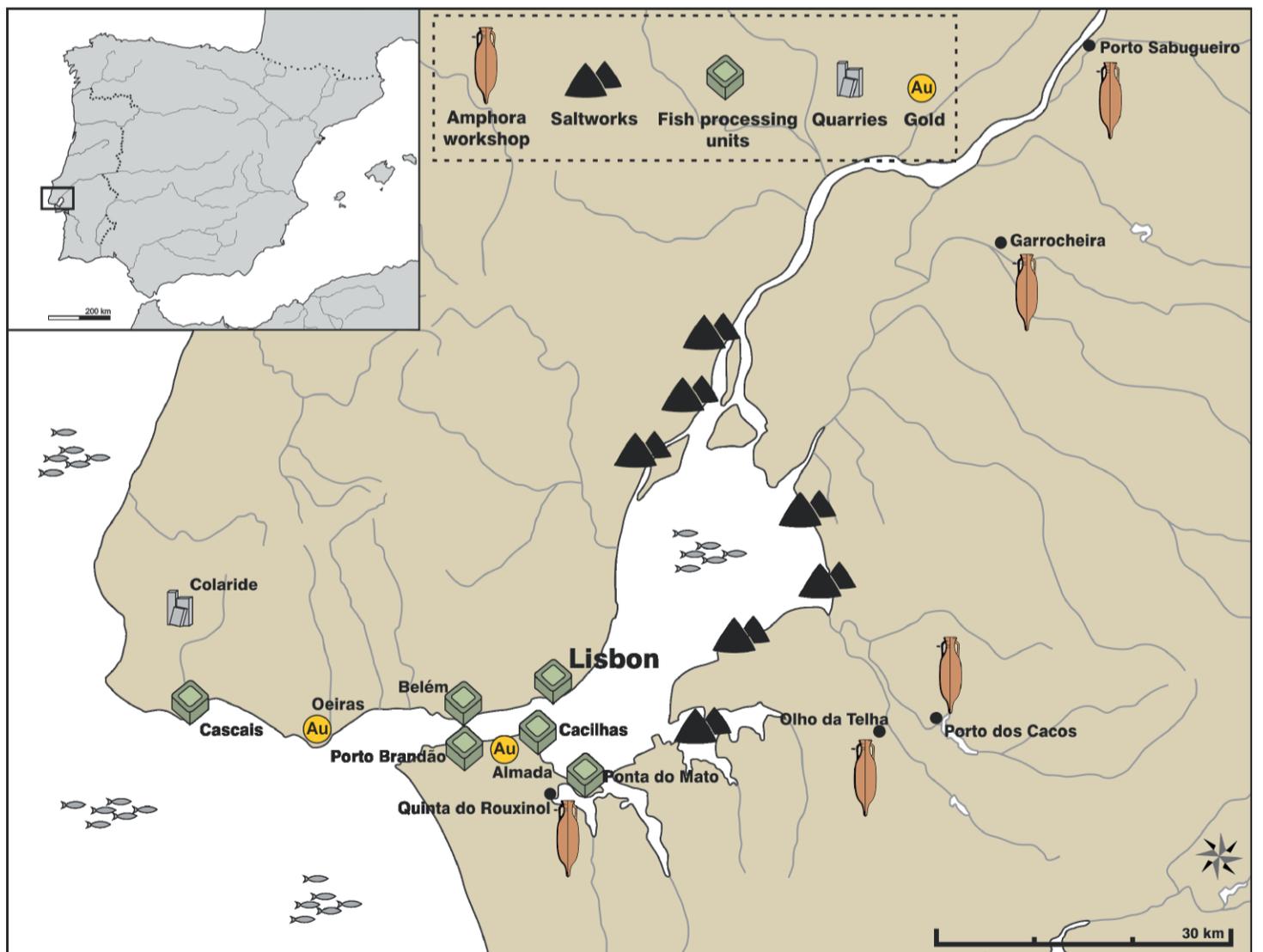


Figure 2. Lisbon's location in the Tagus Valley and distribution of fish processing units, amphora workshops, quarries, gold and salt exploration sites.

3. OLISIPO, BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC AND THE PRINCIPATE

The city of *Olisipo* is implicitly mentioned in the Book III of Strabo's *Geography* (3.3.1), where he describes the river and the estuary, emphasizing its navigability. The geographer of Amaseia refers to the first major Roman military campaign in the current Portuguese space conducted in BC 138 by the governor of *Ulterior*, Decimus Junius Brutus. He established his headquarters in the Tagus Valley near the city of Moron, not neglecting, however, the rear, where he created conditions to ensure an easy supply by sea to his army through the fortification of *Olisipo* (Fabião, 1993, p. 217).

The onslaught of that Roman general is, simultaneously, the most ancient literary reference of the Roman presence in the extreme west of the Iberian Peninsula and the first known Roman presence in the region of the Tagus Valley (fig. 3). This is indicated, on the one hand, by the absence of italic imports prior to the third quarter of the 2nd c. BC and, on the other hand, by the chronology of the oldest republican archaeological contexts documented in Lisbon, dating precisely to the third quarter of the 2nd c. BC, or more accurately between BC 140 and 130 (Pimenta, 2005). Thus, the archaeological record and the information contained in the literary sources are in conformity with the earliest Roman presence in *Olisipo*, which, it must be said, is not always the case.

In BC 61-60, in the context of the military operations undertaken in the region between the Douro and the Tagus against the Lusitanians, Julius Caesar established his headquarters in *Scallabis*, which reflects the strategic importance that the Tagus Valley had in the context of the military campaigns developed by Rome in the West (Arruda and Almeida, 1998, pp. 201-231). The role played by *Olisipo* in these actions is not yet clear, but it is probable, as happened with Decimus Junius Brutus, that the city constituted an important point of support in the military movements, especially in the apparently successful naval expedition that took place then on the Galician coast (Alarcão, 1990; Fabião, 1993). Although the archaeological contexts of this period known in *Olisipo* are somehow scarce and unclear, the profile of amphoric imports observed in the city around the middle of the 1st c. BC indicates a significant increase in the arrival of food products in amphorae, probably related to the presence of this prominent Roman general.

This positive conjuncture was maintained in *Olisipo* throughout the third quarter of the 1st c. BC, having received between BC 31 and 27 the important legal-administrative status of *municipium civium romanorum* and, with it, the designation of *Felicitas Iulia Olisipo* (Faria, 1999). But the great urban development of *Olisipo* is traditionally attributed to Augustus, given the important political-administrative reforms he carried out in the Hispanic West (Alarcão, 1990; Fabião, 1993; Le Roux, 1995). This city, like the whole West, benefited from a set of events that took place at this time and which resulted in the pacification of *Hispania* and the institution of the Roman *pax*. Among these events, it can be mentioned: the military campaigns initiated by Augustus in *Callaecia*, Asturias and Cantabria (Alarcão, 1988; Fabião, 1993); the foundation of *Augusta Emerita*, presumably in BC 25, and the allocation of war veterans in this city (Faria, 2006); the foundation of the province of *Lusitania* itself, of controversial chronology but framed somewhere between BC 27, according to Dion Cassius (Dio C. 53.12.4-5), and BC 16-13, when Augustus remained in *Hispania* (Alarcão, 1988); and the creation of a road network program (Alarcão, 1988; Fabião, 1993).

Until then, the maritime port of *Olisipo* had played a relevant role in the context of Atlantic navigation and control over the navigation of the Tagus River. But it is from the mentioned foundation of the provincial capital that this role became decisive, truly deserving the title of the maritime capital of *Lusitania* (Mantas, 1990). The construction of



Figure 3. Roman provinces of Hispania and its main cities during Republic.

some of *Felicitas Iulia Olisipo*'s main public buildings, such as the theatre, the forum, the so-called temple of Cybele and the *Thermae Cassiorum* (Alarcão, 1994; Silva, 2005; Fernandes, 2007), has been attributed to the period of Augustus.

This dimension of expressive urban development and economic growth of *Olisipo*, reflected in the entirety of the territory of *Lusitania*, continued throughout the 1st c. AD, being partially observable in: the construction of the Imperial wall, apparently built at the end of the Principate of Tiberius (Gaspar and Gomes, 2007); the remodelling and embellishment works of the Roman theatre dated to AD 57 (Fernandes, 2007; Fabião, 2013); the construction of the monumental structure of the cryptoporticus of Rua da Prata, on which a square linked to the port and to commercial activities must have been built (Fabião, 1994a); and the implementation of several fish processing units in the western *suburbium* and riverside area of the city namely from the middle of the 1st c. AD (Diogo and Trindade, 2000; Bugalhão, 2001; Fernandes *et al.*, 2011; Filipe *et al.*, 2016). Also demonstrating the relevance of the port of *Olisipo* is its road network, with two of the three main routes of *Hispania* starting from this city (Mantas, 1999).

The existing archaeological and literary information for the entire 2nd c. AD is significantly scarcer than for the previous century. Most of the fish processing units documented in the ancient city seem to have been in full operation during the 2nd c. of our Era. This phase apparently corresponds to a first peak of that industry in *Lusitania*, which had begun in the preceding century (Bugalhão, 2001; Fabião, 2009a; Mayet and Silva, 2010). Similarly, it was also in the course of the 2nd c. AD that the wine production of the regions of the Tagus and Sado Valleys reached its peak, having made very important contributions to the region's economy.



Figure 4. Roman provinces of *Hispania* and its main cities during the Principate.

However, it is to epigraphy that we owe much of the knowledge that is currently held about the ancient Roman city of Lisbon, particularly with regard to the *Olisipo* society, not being observable here the above-mentioned lack of data relating to the 2nd c. AD. The very significant set of Roman epigraphs so far recorded (mainly gathered in: Silva, 1944) allows us to glimpse the existence of an aristocracy with sufficient power to control municipal positions, showing a fundamentally Latin anthroponymy, particularly highlighted by a significant set of inscriptions dedicated to *duumviri* and *aediles*. Epigraphy also reveals a city that has achieved a very relevant political status, supplanting *Scallabis* (capital of *conventus*), and of which the profuse inscriptions dedicated to emperors or mentioning governors of *Lusitania* are eloquent testimony, reflecting characteristics similar to “those of the great economic and administrative centres” (Mantas, 1990, pp. 165-166; 1994, p. 71; 1999, p. 33).

4. EMPIRICAL BASIS

Within the scope of this study, the analysis included the amphoric samples of 40 sites located in the *pomerium* and *suburbia* of the old city, excavated over the last 57 years by different archaeological teams, ranging from State and Municipal archaeologists to archaeology companies and independent professionals (fig. 5). Among those sites, the following can be highlighted for their size and importance: Praça da Figueira, the Claustros da Sé Catedral, *Thermae Cassiorum*, Bank of Portugal, Palácio dos Condes de Penafiel, Zara/Rua Augusta, the Roman Theatre and Largo de Santa Cruz do Castelo.



Figure 5. Location of the studied sites in the plan of *Olisipo*. 1. R. dos Lagares, 2. Encosta de Sant'Ana, 3. Circo Romano, 4. Praça da Figueira, 5. Hotel de Santa Justa, 6. Rua do Oudo, 197, 7. R. Augusta (1988), 8. R. do Ouro 133-145, 9. Zara, 10. Banco de Portugal, 11. Criptopórtico, 12. *Thermae Cassiorum* (1990'), 13. *Thermae Cassiorum* (2013), 14. S. Crispim, 15. Rua de S. Mamede, 16. Palácio Condes de Penafiel, 17. Calçada do Correio Velho, 18. Lg. St. António, 19. R. da Madalena, 20. R. dos Bacalhoeiros, 21. Teatro Romano, 22. Claustros da Sé, 23. Casa dos Bicos, 24. Trv. das Merceiras, 25. Beco do Marquês de Angeja, 26. Pátio Sr.ª. De Murça, 27. R. S. João da Praça, 28. R. S. João da Praça (2009), 29. Palácio do Marquês de Angeja, 30. FRESS, 31. R. do Recolhimento, 32. Pátio José Pedreira, 33. R. Sta. Cruz do Castelo, 34. R. do Espírito Santo, 35. Palácio das Cozinhas, 36. Grupo Desportivo do Castelo, 37. Lg. de Santa Cruz do Castelo, 38. Praça Nova, 39. R. dos Remédios.

The existing record of each of these interventions is quite diverse, comprising some archaeologically well documented and others of which there is virtually no stratigraphic record. Equally diversified is the type of site when it comes to functionality and location in the city, which includes, among others, housing, necropolis, roads, public buildings and fish processing units.

For the Republic and the Principate, 9906 diagnosable amphora sherds were inventoried and classified, equivalent to a Minimum Number of 4270 Individuals (fig. 6). The Principate sample clearly stands out, representing 75.32%, while the Republican sample does not exceed 15.27%, with the remaining 9.41% corresponding to containers of undetermined

type. In overall terms, this is a quantitatively appreciable sample whose statistical reliability is unquestionable, attesting to a vast and unsuspected multiplicity of typologies from the most diverse geographical quadrants of the Mediterranean. This wide diversity is an eloquent testimony to the cosmopolitan character of *Olisipo*.

Provenience	TF	TF %	MNI	MNI %
Lusitania, Tejo/Sado	4912	49,59%	1939	45,41%
Lusitania, Peniche	43	0,43%	33	0,77%
Baetica, West coast	573	5,78%	260	6,09%
Baetica, East coast	11	0,11%	8	0,19%
Baetica, Guadalquivir Valley	2066	20,86%	895	20,96%
Hispania Ulterior, South coast	344	3,47%	211	4,94%
Hispania Ulterior, Guadalquivir Valley	58	0,59%	52	1,22%
Hispania Ulterior, Tejo/Sado	2	0,02%	2	0,05%
Tarraconensis, North coast	29	0,29%	26	0,61%
Ibiza Island	22	0,22%	12	0,28%
Hispania Citerior, North coast	2	0,02%	2	0,05%
Gallia Narbonensis	185	1,87%	81	1,90%
Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	907	9,16%	377	8,83%
Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	62	0,63%	47	1,1%
Lipari Island	20	0,20%	12	0,28%
North Africa	259	2,61%	136	3,19%
Eastern Mediterranean	221	2,23%	100	2,34%
Unknown	190	1,92%	77	1,80%
TOTAL	9906	100%	4270	100%

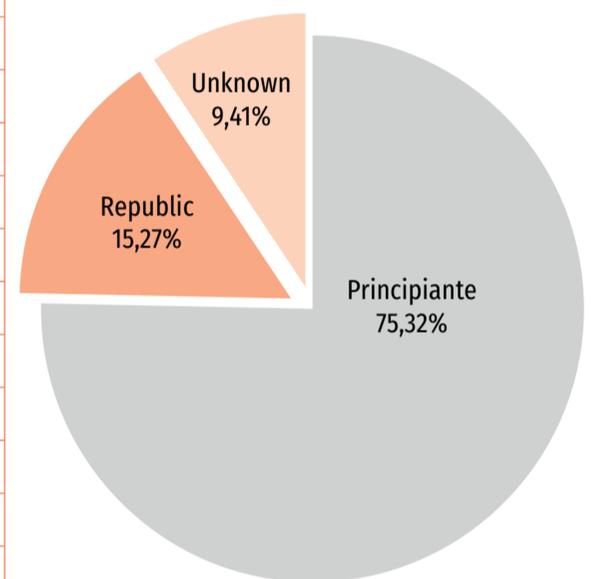


Figure 6. Global quantification of the studied sample.

5. THE COMMERCIAL DYNAMICS OF OLISIPO

Although they introduce new and important nuances that complement the previously outlined overview, the data relating to the Republic that are now disclosed - in approximate number to the existing one - confirm the major trends that had already been documented in the consumption framework of *Olisipo* (Pimenta, 2005; Filipe, 2015). The main novelties relate, on the one hand, to the documentation of typologies and regions of origin whose presence was previously unknown in Lisbon, such as the Kos Dressel 4 and the Rhodian amphorae from the Eastern Mediterranean, the imitations of Greco-Italics and Dressel 1 from the northern coast of *Citerior* or the T-8.1.3.2./PE 17 from the island of Ibiza. Also present are other new typologies, whose areas of origin were already registered in the city, such as Class 67/Ovoid 1, Ovoid Gaditan and Ovoid 5 from the southern coast of *Hispania*, the Ovoid 2 and Ovoid 8 from the Guadalquivir Valley or the Adriatic Ovoid amphorae. On the other hand, the new data relates also with a greater representativeness of the 1st c. BC amphoric productions, largely from the Guadalquivir Valley, until now poorly documented (fig. 7). Equally important is the fact that the unpublished sample includes a significant number of republican materials from sites located on the

Provenience	TF	TF %	MNI	MNI %	Extraprov. MNI %
<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , South coast	342	27,1%	209	32,06%	32,06%
<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	58	4,60%	52	7,98%	7,98%
<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , Tejo/Sado	2	0,16%	2	0,31%	0,31%
Ilha de Ibiza	1	0,08%	1	0,15%	0,15%
<i>Hispania Citerior</i> , North coast	2	0,16%	2	0,31%	0,31%
Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	774	61,33%	322	49,39%	49,46%
Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	55	4,36%	43	6,60%	6,60%
North Africa	24	1,90%	18	2,76%	2,76%
Eastern Mediterranean	4	0,32%	3	0,46%	0,46%
TOTAL	1262	100%	652	100%	100%

Figure 7. Republican amphorae quantification.

slope of the Castle hill and in the lower part of the city, i.e. outside of the old Islamic citadel from where the overwhelming majority of the amphorae from that period until now known in Lisbon come, thus considerably diversifying the origin of the samples. In this respect, the expressive set of the Cathedral is particularly relevant, contributing significantly to the perception of the different patterns of consumption that would occur in the space of the ancient city of *Olisipo* during the Republic (Filipe, 2019), complementing a framework previously seen in the Roman Theatre sample (Filipe, 2008; 2015).

The remotest Roman presence in the Tagus Valley, within the scope of the military campaign of *Decimus Junius Brutus* in BC 138, is accompanied by a very significant influx of amphoric imports intended to supply the military contingents, the italic wines being particularly expressive and the fish products of the southern region of the *Ulterior*. The clear dominance of italic imports would have been part of a public supply network for the army that guarantees food supplies to the contingents established in this region (Fabião, 1989, p. 42). In fact, the dominance of italic wine is generally observed in all sites of this time with a military presence, both in *Hispania* (Días García and Otiña Hermoso, 2003; Pimenta, 2005; Ribera i Lacomba, 2009) and in other regions (Tchernia, 1986).

The import of wine and fish products from other regions was insignificant, with the Adriatic coast of Italy being the most representative in terms of wine, followed by the Eastern Mediterranean, the northern coast of *Citerior*, and the island of Ibiza (fig. 8). This scenario is even more evident in terms of fish products, where the exceptions are only represented in very small percentages by products coming from North Africa and the Guadalquivir Valley. In this framework, olive oil was the least consumed food product and was imported in modest quantities from the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts of the Italian Peninsula and from North Africa. In addition to extra-regional imports, there was also the consumption of food products of the Tagus Valley region and packed in pre-Roman tradition amphorae, which are difficult to quantify in the case of Lisbon, but seemingly of modest statistical representativeness in the overall set of this phase.

If we compare the data from *Olisipo* with those of other urban centres in the Tagus Valley, such as Santarém (Arruda and Almeida, 1998; 2001; Arruda *et al.*, 2005; 2006a; Bargão, 2006; Almeida, 2008) and Chões de Alpompe (Pimenta and Arruda, 2014 - with references), we can observe that the patterns are generally similar, with only slight

Content	Provenience	MNI	MNI %	Content MNI %
Fish products	<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , South coast	207	31,75%	97,18%
	<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	2	0,31%	0,94%
	North Africa	4	0,61%	1,88%
	TOTAL	213	32,67%	100%
Wine and wine-products	<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	15	2,3%	4,08%
	Ibiza Island	1	0,15%	0,27%
	<i>Hispania Citerior</i> , North coast	2	0,31%	0,54%
	Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	321	49,23%	87,23%
	Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	26	3,99%	7,07%
	Eastern Mediterranean	3	0,46%	0,82%
	TOTAL	368	56,44%	100%
Olive oil	<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , South coast	2	0,31%	2,9%
	<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	35	5,37%	50,72%
	Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	1	0,15%	1,45%
	Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	17	2,61%	24,64%
	North Africa	14	2,15%	20,29%
	TOTAL	69	10,58%	100%
Unknown	<i>Hispania Ulterior</i> , Tejo/Sado	2	0,31%	100%
	TOTAL	2	0,31%	100%
	TOTAL	652	100%	—

Figure 8. Republican amphorae quantification by content.

differences, highlighting the same historical and geographical context of the occupations in these places during this period (fig. 9).

A significantly different pattern can be observed in some places in Algarve, such as Monte Molião (Arruda and Sousa, 2013), Faro (Viegas, 2011) and Castro Marim (Arruda *et al.*, 2006b; Viegas, 2011). Here, the main difference to the Tagus Valley is related to the lower importance of italic imports and the higher relevance of imports from the southern peninsula. This can be explained by the military movements that took place at the time in the Tagus Valley and the direct relationship between the import of italic wine and the military presence. The amphoric repertoire documented in *Olisipo* finds a remarkable parallel in Valencia, on the Spanish east coast, a city that was founded in BC 138, precisely the same year in which *Decimus Junius Brutus* arrived in *Olisipo* (Ribera i Lacomba, 2009).

During the late 2nd c. BC and during the first quarter of the following century, there seems to have been a sharp decline in amphoric imports, which can only be understood in light of a significant decrease in military personnel in this region. This scene underwent some changes from the second quarter of the 1st c. BC onwards, when there was a slight increase in imports of food transported in amphorae. Also by then the ovoid-shaped containers from the Guadalquivir Valley, inspired by italic models, began to arrive, while the supply of italic wine and fish products from the southern coast of *Ulterior* continued. This rise, difficult to specify in the case of Lisbon due to the scarcity

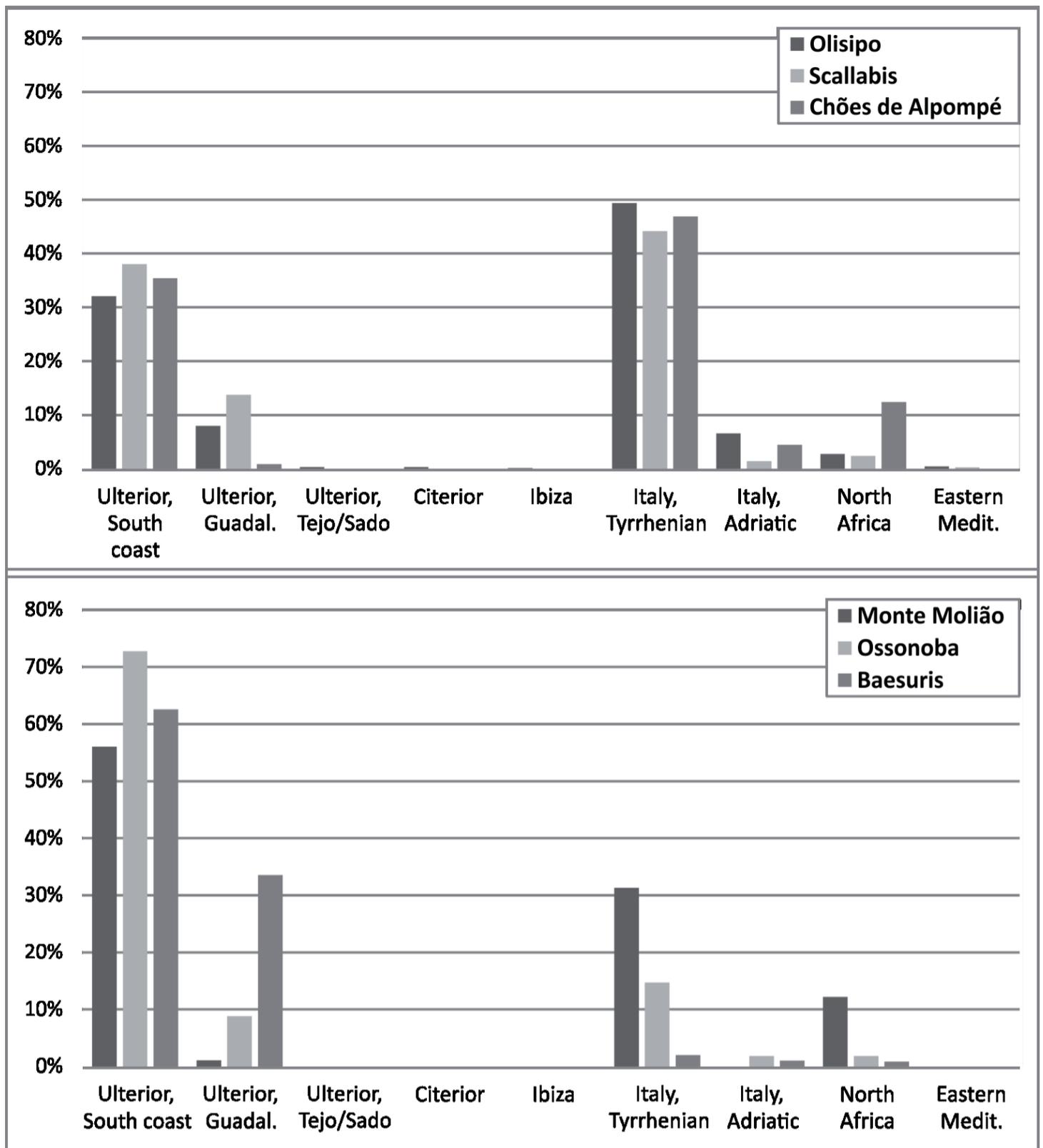


Figure 9. Comparison tables with other Lusitanian urban centres import patterns.

of contexts of that time, may be a reflection of the Sertorian episode and/or the military actions undertaken by Caesar during his stay in the area of the future province of *Lusitania*, which is very well documented in other sites in the Tagus Valley (Pimenta and Arruda, 2014; Pimenta and Mendes, 2014; Almeida and Pimenta, 2018).

From the middle of the 1st c. BC until the beginning of the Principate of Augustus, there was a sharp increase in food trade, although it did not seem to reach the proportions observed during the third quarter of the 2nd c. BC. This new peak in imports is characterised mainly by the hegemony of the products of the *Ulterior*, particularly the Guadalquivir Valley, and by the sharp decrease in imports of italic wine. The new or remodelled amphoric repertoire is from then on dominated by the ovoid forms of the Guadalquivir - whose increasing standardization had an important economic impact on its diffusion abroad - and the southern coast of the *Ulterior*, while the T-7.4.3.3. and the italic Dressel 1, seem to decrease significantly from then on (fig. 10).

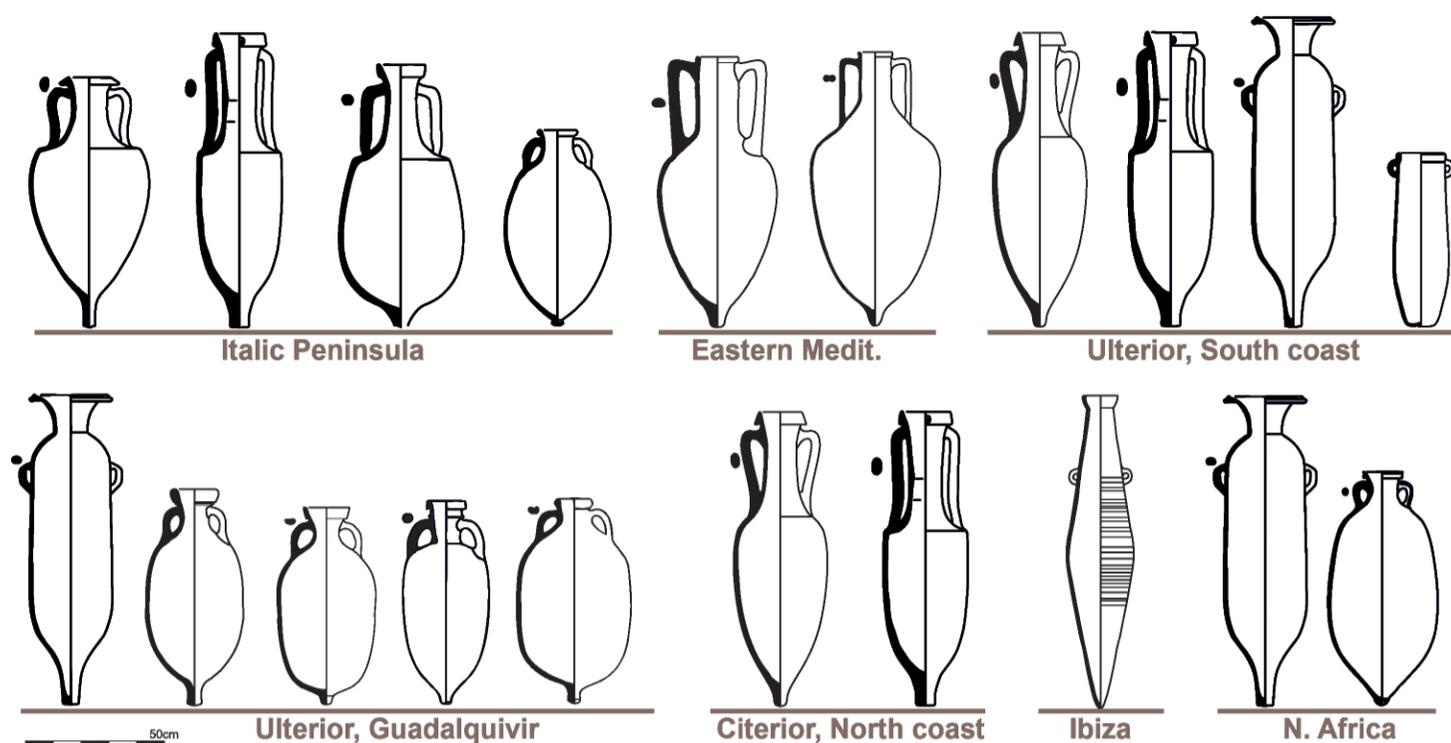


Figure 10. Main Republican amphora types recorded in Lisbon.

In relation to the previous century, the consumption background is now more balanced between the three main products, although the hegemony of wine, which now comes mainly from the Guadalquivir Valley, is maintained. Also from this region, it is important to note the significant increase in imports of olive oil. Fish products continue to proceed almost exclusively from the southern coast of the *Ulterior* in substantial proportions.

Still within the third quarter of the 1st c. BC, it is worth mentioning the appearance of the first fully Roman amphoric productions in *Lusitania* which, although very scarce in *Olisipo* during this period, are well documented in the Tagus Valley, at Monte dos Castelinhos (Pimenta and Mendes, 2014; Pimenta, 2017), in the Sado Valley (Mayet and Silva, 2016) and in the interior of Alentejo, in Rocha da Mina (Mataloto *et al.*, 2016). In this early phase, the occurrence of these containers seems to coincide, at least in part, with sites with proven military presence or with an active role in the process of Romanization and articulation of the interior of the territory that, simultaneously, coincide with the distribution circuits of the Baetican amphorae of the second half of the 1st c. BC (García Vargas *et al.*, 2011).

These profound changes are generally transversal to the entire Peninsular West and the rest of *Hispania* (Mateo Corredor, 2016), being part of the important commercial transformations that occurred across the Empire during the second half of the 1st c. BC and particularly during the Principate of Augustus. There was a reversal of this trend in central/periphery relations, in which Italy ceased to be the main producing and exporting region and became the main beneficiary (especially Rome) of goods produced in the provinces, where Italic products arrive in ever smaller quantities (Tchernia, 1986; Fabião, 1998; Mateo Corredor, 2016).

It is precisely the beginning of local/regional production of fish products in substantial quantities that enacts changes in the profile of imports from Augustus, resulting in a gradual decrease in the influx of these products from the region of Cadiz, albeit still arriving in somewhat significant quantities. This represented an important boost in the regional economy that would become one of the most important economic drivers in *Lusitania* (Almeida *et al.*, 2014a; Filipe *et al.*, 2016). At the same time, during the Principate of Augustus, where there were no significant changes in the regions of origin of

imported products and where there was a gradual increase in trade, the proportional increase in consumption of olive oil recorded since the middle of the 1st c. BC seems to have continued, with the turn of the Era seeing a relative balance between the consumption of olive oil, wine, and fish products.

This scene, which reveals a very positive conjuncture in the commercial dynamics and economy of the city between the beginning of Augustus and the end of the first quarter of the 1st c. AD, is part of a historical context in which an important set of favourable factors was gathered. On the one hand, the urban development that took place in *Olisipo* during this period which resulted mainly from the important political-administrative reforms carried out by Augustus (Alarcão, 1990; 1994; Fabião, 1993; Mantas, 1994; Silva, 2005). On the other hand, the relevant commercial dynamics provided by the military campaigns in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, from which *Olisipo* and the remaining province of *Lusitania* have certainly benefited, both in receiving the most varied goods in transit and in intensifying the industry of fish products and their export to that region. Naturally, also the foundation of *Augusta Emerita* and the establishment of war veterans in this city along with the foundation of the province of *Lusitania* (Alarcão, 1988; Mantas, 1990; Fabião, 1993; Faria, 1999; Le Roux, 2010). This has generated a significant commercial and economic dynamic of which *Olisipo* has certainly been one of the main beneficiaries, increasing since then its role of main trading post and pole of redistribution.

The second quarter of the 1st c. AD represents the period of greatest commercial activity in *Olisipo*, apparently extending to the rest of the Hispanic West and reaching its peak during the reign of Claudius and the beginning of the reign of Nero, around the middle of the century. The development of the *Lusitanian* fish industry, which becomes increasingly important in local and regional supply, and the import of olive oil and wine from the Guadalquivir Valley in large quantities, have contributed in particular to this peak, while the strong urban growth and development in *Olisipo* that had begun with Augustus continued. The strong influx of Guadalquivir Valley products should be linked to the conquest of *Britannia* by Claudio and to the important and strategic role played by the Atlantic route in these campaigns (Fabião, 2009b; Remesal Rodríguez, 2010; Carreiras Monfort and Morais, 2010; Morillo Cerdán *et al.*, 2016).

In the third quarter of the 1st c. AD, more likely from the last years of Nero's reign, there was a general trend towards a decrease in extra-provincial imports, particularly of wine, which fell sharply, accompanied by an increase in local/regional fish products. This was particularly boosted by the important development of the *Lusitanian* fish industry from the middle of the century onwards, with the emergence of the container which, at least until the end of the following century, would be the main representative of fish products produced in the most western province of the Roman Empire: the Dressel 14.

These trends in the consumption framework were accentuated in the last quarter of the 1st c. AD, with a significant drop in imports of olive oil, while imports of Baetican fish products seem to maintain a certain degree of stability. The decrease in the import of wine is part of the decline in the great trade of that product throughout the Empire at that time (Tchernia, 1986; Fabião, 1998). That decline should be directly related to the development of local and regional production of wine, which at this stage could still be regionally transported mainly in containers made of perishable materials (wineskins or barrels). This period was also marked by the collapse of the import of Baetican wine, which until then had been totally predominant, with that product now being imported

mainly from Gaul and the Eastern Mediterranean, although in significantly smaller quantities than in previous periods.

Provenience	TF	TF %	MNI	MNI %	Extraprov. MNI %
<i>Lusitania</i> , Tejo/Sado	4642	60,93%	1836	57,09%	—
<i>Lusitania</i> , Peniche	26	0,34%	23	0,72%	—
<i>Baetica</i> , West coast	400	5,25%	199	6,19%	14,70%
<i>Baetica</i> , East coast	6	0,08%	6	0,19%	0,44%
<i>Baetica</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	2007	26,34%	871	27,08%	64,33%
<i>Tarraconensis</i> , North coast	23	0,30%	20	0,62%	1,50%
Ibiza Island	21	0,28%	11	0,34%	0,81%
<i>Gallia Narbonensis</i>	167	2,19%	72	2,24%	5,32%
Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	104	1,37%	43	1,34%	3,18%
Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	2	0,03%	2	0,06%	0,15%
Lipari Island	20	0,26%	12	0,37%	0,89%
North Africa	72	0,95%	56	1,74%	4,10%
Eastern Mediterranean	124	1,63%	62	1,93%	4,60%
Unknown	5	0,07%	3	0,1%	—
TOTAL	7619	100%	3216	100%	100%

Figure 11. Príncipe's amphorae quantification.

In the first quarter of the 2nd c. AD, the drop in extra-provincial imports of wine but also of fish products was accentuated, while olive oil seems to register a very slight increase. Regardless of the existence or not of a slowdown in the economy of the Empire from the beginning of this century (Quaresma, 2012) and its possible relationship with the decrease in the volume of imports in *Olisipo*, which in reality has been recorded here since the second half of the 1st c. AD, particularly its last quarter, the data from Lisbon does not necessarily constitute a sign of economic decline or decrease in the economic capacity of its inhabitants. On the contrary, they seem to suggest a positive economic situation, indicating the significant development of the Lusitanian economy, particularly fish and wine production but also the exploitation of salt and pottery production, whose products have largely replaced the articles that were previously imported from other regions.

This vitality of the Lusitanian economy is particularly evident in the export of its products, especially fish but also, and certainly more expressively than is currently documented, wine. Although the presence of Lusitanian fish amphorae in *Britannia* (Carreras Monfort, 1998; 2000), in *Gallia Belgica* (Laubenheimer and Marlière, 2010) and in *Germania Superior* (González Cesteros, 2014; Monsieur, 2016; Almeida and González Cesteros, 2017) is surprisingly scarce - as opposed to the Baetican that should have benefited from the *annona* trade traveling at a lower cost (Reynolds, 2010) -, they are well documented in Ostia and Rome, as well as in several other places in the Italian Peninsula, southern Gaul, the western Mediterranean islands and in several shipwrecks, in

addition to *Hispania* itself (Among others: Parker, 1992; Rizzo, 2003; 2014; 2016; Ferrandes, 2008; Bombico, 2016; Djaoui and Quaresma, 2016; Gaddi and Degrassi, 2016; García Vargas, 2016; Járrega Domínguez and González Cesteros, 2016).

The decrease in the volume of extra-provincial products, coherent with and perfectly verifiable in the overall sample analysed here, does not necessarily represent a sign of economic decline or slowdown. It should be pointed out that it was mainly in the import of products from neighbouring *Baetica* that a significant drop was observed, which, with the exception of olive oil, should be directly related to the important development of local/regional winery and fish industries. More relevant is the fact that it is precisely from the beginning of the 2nd c. AD onwards that trade relations expanded towards more distant regions, diversifying the production areas origin and increasing the volume of imports from regions such as the eastern section of the Mediterranean, North Africa and Gaul, in relation to the 1st c. AD. In other words, the maturity of the Lusitanian winery and fish industry, together with the increase in imports from outside *Hispania* seem to show a moment of particular vitality in the economy of *Olisipo* and the western Iberian Peninsula that seems to be maintained until the late 2nd c. AD.

Concerning the influx of olive oil, the framework of imports changed significantly during the second quarter of the 2nd c. AD. There was a notable increase in the import and consumption of this product, which was always overwhelmingly from Guadalquivir, with amounts during the middle of the century reaching very close to those seen in the middle of the previous century. This situation seems to have remained unchanged until the end of the Antonin Dynasty, coinciding with a period of increased production and distribution of olive oil (Blázquez Martínez, 1980; Berni Millet, 2008; Berni Millet and García Vargas, 2016).

Also during the second quarter of the 2nd c. AD, there was a stabilisation at very low levels of the imports of fish products from *Baetica* and wine from *Gallia* and the Eastern Mediterranean.

This scenario seems to have remained largely unchanged until the late 2nd c. AD, or more probably until the end of the Antonin Dynasty. By that time the imports of olive oil from the Guadalquivir Valley fell considerably (to levels below those of the Flavian period) and the import of fish products from the Baetican coast returned in greater proportions, while the consumption of extra-provincial wine apparently remained relatively stable. The scarcity of good archaeological contexts from the 2nd c. AD does not make it possible to clarify the oscillations that may have occurred in the production and consumption of Lusitanian products during that time. Nonetheless, it seems that both the production of fish products and wine have increased significantly during the second half of the 2nd c. AD. This scenario seems to be confirmed primarily in the Ostia data (Rizzo, 2014), for the first product, and in some *Olisipo* contexts, for wine.

These data suggest the vitality of the Lusitanian fish economy at the end of the Antonin Dynasty, though it is not easy, from its reading, to locate chronologically the turning point for the general disruption in the export flows of fish products that is generally observed in *Lusitania*, usually associated to the transition from the 2nd to the 3rd c. AD (Fabião, 2004; 2009b; Mayet and Silva, 2010) and documented in *Olisipo* in sites such as NARC (Núcleo Arqueológico da Rua dos Correeiros) (Bugalhão, 2001), Rua dos Correeiros (Silva, 1999; Bugalhão, 2001) and Casa dos Bicos (Filipe *et al.*, 2016). Taking into account what has been said so far, it seems safe to claim that before the late 2nd c. AD, there were no signs of a marked depression and slowdown of the economy in the Lusitanian fish industry, as seem to be observed in the consumption of *terra sigillata*

Content	Provenence	MNI	MNI %	Content MNI %
Fish products	<i>Lusitania</i> , Tejo/Sado	1215	37,78%	84,79%
	<i>Lusitania</i> , Peniche	23	0,72%	1,61%
	<i>Baetica</i> , West coast	180	5,75%	12,56%
	<i>Baetica</i> , East coast	4	0,12%	0,28%
	<i>Baetica</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	10	0,31%	0,7%
	Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	1	0,03%	0,07%
	TOTAL	1433	44,71%	100,00%
Wine and wine-products	<i>Lusitania</i> , Tejo/Sado	580	18,03%	55,66%
	<i>Baetica</i> , West coast	15	0,47%	1,44%
	<i>Baetica</i> , East coast	2	0,06%	0,19%
	<i>Baetica</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	232	7,21%	22,26%
	<i>Tarraconensis</i> , North coast	20	0,62%	1,92%
	Ibiza Island	11	0,34%	1,06%
	<i>Gallia Narbonensis</i>	72	2,24%	6,91%
	Italic Peninsula, Tyrrhenian coast	42	1,31%	4,03%
	Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	1	0,03%	0,10%
	North Africa	6	0,19%	0,58%
	Eastern Mediterranean	58	1,8%	5,57%
	Unknown	3	0,09%	0,29%
	TOTAL	1042	32,40%	100,00%
Olive Oil	<i>Baetica</i> , West coast	4	0,12%	0,62%
	<i>Baetica</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	611	19,00%	94,88%
	North Africa	26	0,81%	4,04%
	Eastern Mediterranean	3	0,09%	0,47%
TOTAL	644	20,02%	100,00%	
<i>Alúmen</i>	Lipari Island	12	0,37%	100,00%
	TOTAL	12	0,37%	100,00%
Olives	Italic Peninsula, Adriatic coast	1	0,03%	100,00%
	TOTAL	1	0,03%	100,00%
Unknown	<i>Lusitania</i> , Tejo/Sado	41	1,27%	48,81%
	<i>Baetica</i> , Guadalquivir Valley	18	0,56%	21,43%
	North Africa	24	0,75%	28,57%
	Eastern Mediterranean	1	0,03%	1,19%
TOTAL	84	2,61%	100%	
TOTAL	3216	100%	—	

Figure 12. Principate's amphorae quantification by content.

during the 2nd c. in *Olisipo* (Silva, 2012), Santarém (Viegas, 2003) and other places in *Lusitania* (Viegas, 2011; Quaresma, 2012).

In addition to the main commercial rhythms of *Olisipo*, some general comments can be added regarding to “minor” imports. The fluctuations in imports from Gaul are not easy to trace in the archaeological record of *Olisipo*. They are attested since the middle of the 1st c. AD, when the great diffusion of wines from *Narbonensis*, mainly exported in the Gauloise 4, seems to have taken place. The data seems to point to an intensification of their arrival in the city from the Flavian Dynasty onwards, coinciding with the sharp drop in imports of Baetican wine and also in the large wine trade on the scale of the Empire (Tchernia, 1986; Fabião, 1998). During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, the import of Gaulish wines seems to have maintained a certain stability, with no significant fluctuations in their arrival in *Olisipo*, which apparently continued until the late 3rd c. AD or early 4th. Although never reaching the volume that Baetican wines had reached in previous periods, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD Gaul became the main wine supply region for *Olisipo*, in the context of extra-provincial imports.

Regarding the products from the Eastern Mediterranean, almost exclusively represented by wine, although attested since the 2nd c. BC, they do not seem to reach any statistical significance until the end of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty. Its arrival in slightly more significant proportions in the Hispanic West seems to have started mainly from the second half of the 1st c. AD, which may be related to the incorporation of Rhodian productions in the institutional supplies to the northern provinces during the time of Claudius (Peacock, 1977, p. 170; Fabião, 1998, p. 183), a reality that is mainly traceable in *Britannia*. Even so, as with Gaulish wine, the archaeological record of *Olisipo* seems to indicate that the import of eastern products occurred mainly from the Flavian dynasty onwards, remaining apparently at stable levels throughout the next century. Although this trade never reached very significant volumes, eastern products constituted a very important percentage of the extra-provincial import of wine during the 2nd c. AD, being only surpassed by the ones from Gaul.

Concerning Italic productions, they have been attested since the earliest stages of the Roman presence in *Olisipo*, when they were absolutely dominant, manifesting in the form of wine amphorae from the Tyrrhenic coast (Greco-Italic and Dressel 1), though other products such as olive oil and even fish products are also present, as well as other production regions such as the Adriatic coast. In the third quarter of the 2nd c. BC, Tyrrhenic wine was imported in large quantities to supply the armies in the Western Peninsula. This trade slowed down significantly during the end of that century, although it continued to dominate the import scene at the time, probably maintaining a certain stability until the middle of the 1st c. BC. From this date on, Italic imports into Lisbon seem to have suffered a considerable drop, which gradually continued until the end of the century, when they should have reached very low levels. By then, Dressel 1 was replaced by Dressel 2-4, whose production had started around the middle of the 1st c. BC and would never reach the same volume in import as the Dressel 1.

Italic Dressel 2-4, mainly from the Campania region, arrived in *Olisipo* mainly during the first three quarters of the 1st c. AD, thus constituting a smaller percentage of the wine trade that was then dominated in the Hispanic West by *Baetica*. Its import seems to have fallen to residual levels from the last quarter of that century and throughout the 2nd c. AD, which can be linked to the Vesuvius eruption, since its presence is very rare in the contexts of that period in *Olisipo*. It should also be noted that its occurrence in this city in stratigraphic levels of the 3rd c., namely in Praça da Figueira, may indicate

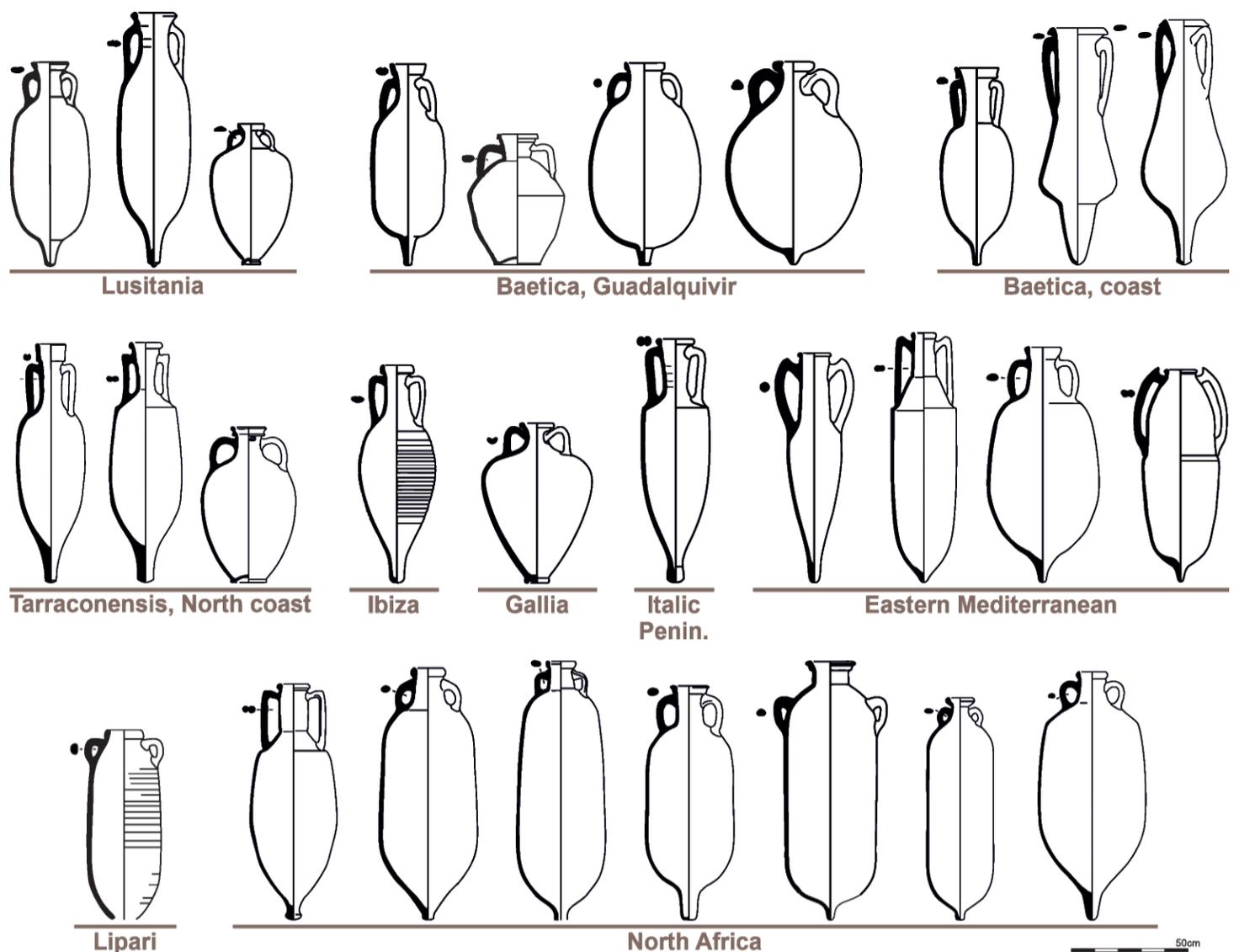


Figure 13. Main Principate amphora types recorded in Lisbon.

that some of the fragments analysed may actually correspond to the late Dressel 2–4 from Campania, commonly called “Almond Rim”, whose presence is attested in *Hispalis* (García Vargas, 2016) and *Augusta Emerita* (Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo, 2013), being expectable that they also arrived in *Olisipo*.

The commercial relations with North Africa also go back to the earliest moments of the Roman presence in the West, when olive oil from Tripolitania and current Tunisia region bottled in the so-called Ancient African (former Ancient Tripolitanian amphora) was part of the official supplies to military personnel in campaign, albeit in relatively small quantities. The import of fish products from that area during the Republic is also documented through the presence of T-7.4.2.1./T-7.4.3.1. If the latter seems to be limited to the 2nd c. BC, the import of Ancient Africans extended until an advanced moment in the 1st c. AD. The archaeological record of Lisbon does not allow us to define precisely the rhythm of arrival of these containers during the Republic, although it is expected that the oscillations in their import could be related to the greater or lesser presence of the army in the region, as was the case with Dressel 1.

The commercial connections of *Olisipo* and the Hispanic West to North Africa seem to have diminished considerably between Augustus and the middle of the 1st c. AD, with very few typologies identified in Lisbon whose production fits, at least in part, in that time - Tripolitana I and Dressel 2-4/Schoene-Mau XXXV. These typologies are unknown in the contexts of that time in *Olisipo*. Although difficult to specify due to the scarcity of contextual data, trade relations with *Africa Proconsularis* may have increased slightly in the second half of the 1st c. AD, taking into account the chronologies of production of some amphorae attested in this city. It seems, however, that it was primarily from the

beginning of the following century that the trade dynamic with that region gained a new lease of life, although always in modest proportions. These imports, which rose again around the middle of the 2nd c. AD, should have increased mainly from the last quarter/final of that century onwards, reaching more significant levels during the 3rd c. AD.

Products from the northeast region of *Hispania* never reached significant proportions in the West of the Iberian Peninsula, being more oriented towards the centre of the Empire. Its presence in this latter region can, however, be traced back to the 2nd c. BC, if we take into account the occurrence of an imitation of Greco-Italic produced in the *Citerior* province. First century productions from this region are also attested by the presence of a Dressel 1 and a Pascual 1, the latest being identified in a context of the third quarter of 1st c. BC. Although residual in the context of imports of *Olisipo* before the turn of the Era, the products from *Tarraconensis* increased significantly during the 1st c. AD (although always representing a minority), beginning probably during the Principate of Augustus. Its arrival seems to have diminished significantly during the 2nd c. AD, falling back to residual levels, having lasted at least until the first half of the 3rd c. AD.

Also of decreased importance, in addition to the sporadic presence of the Republican T-8.1.3.2./PE 17, the wine imports from the island of Ibiza, bottled in the PE 25 amphora, makes its presence visible from the middle of the 1st c. AD onwards and can be found mainly between the Flavian Dynasty and the middle of the following century. Its occurrence in contexts of the second half of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD, as well as the presence of later variants, seems to indicate that its import was maintained until the first decades of the 3rd c. AD.

Comparing the consumption patterns of *Olisipo* with those of other cities in *Lusitania* (fig. 14), Alcácer do Sal seems to correspond to the urban centre with the most similar profile (Silva *et al.*, 1981; Pimenta *et al.*, 2006; Pimenta *et al.*, 2015). Taking into account both its geographical location and the relevance it had during this period (Mantas, 1990), one can claim that this city had a role similar to that of *Olisipo* in the redistribution of food products transported in amphorae into the territory through the Sado Valley, probably also to Mérida, the capital of the province.

Scallabis (Santarém), whose published imperial amphorae refer mainly to the period between Augustus and the late 1st c. AD (Diogo, 1984; Arruda *et al.*, 2005; Arruda *et al.*, 2006a; Almeida, 2008), show markedly different trends regarding the weight of local/regional products, which exhibit much lower percentages than those found in *Olisipo* during the same phase.

The preponderance of Lusitanian fish products in Lisbon for the mentioned period - which is not the case of *Scallabis* - had already been observed in the Roman Theatre sample (Filipe, 2008; 2015), and is now fully corroborated by the data from Lisbon (Filipe, 2019). Taking into account the statistical relevance of both samples for the time interval between Augustus and Nero, this distinction is unlikely to correspond to any deficiency in the samples, but rather to real distinct trends in the import and consumption of food transported in amphorae. However, it is paradoxical that it is precisely in the city located in the interior of the territory, although accessible by river, that extra-provincial imports of fish products are more representative, even taking into account the status of capital of *conventus* of *Scallabis* and/or admitting the hypothesis that the production of fish products (and probably amphorae) in the city of Lisbon goes back to the Augustus Period. The framework of its extra-provincial imports is close to that of *Olisipo*, particularly in terms of the proportion of products from the different regions of *Baetica*.

Other sites located in the Sado Valley, such as Setúbal (Coelho-Soares and Silva, 1978; Silva and Coelho-Soares, 1981) and Tróia (Diogo and Trindade, 1998; Diogo and Paixão, 2001; Almeida *et al.*, 2014a; 2014b), seem to exhibit different import patterns, diverging from those of Lisbon and Alcácer do Sal, especially in Baetican imports, with a lower weight of Guadalquivir productions.

Similarly, comparing with cities in southern *Lusitania*, such as Lagos (Almeida and Moros Dias, 2014), Faro (Viegas, 2011) and *Balsa* (Fabião, 1994; Viegas, 2011), the main distinction is related to the greater weight of imports from the *Baetica* coast compared to those from the Guadalquivir Valley in these cities, in contrast to what happens in Lisbon and Alcácer do Sal. This difference is justified by the privileged relationship that the South of the current Portuguese territory had with the area of influence of Cadiz, whose roots go back to an era prior to the Roman presence (Arruda, 1997; 2002; Arruda *et al.*, 2006b; Viegas, 2011).

Looking at the provincial capital, which has a distinct consumption profile (Calderón Fraile, 2002; Almeida and Sánchez Hidalgo, 2013; Almeida, 2016), the main difference in relation to *Olisipo* and Alcácer do Sal is based on the greater importance of long-distance trade, especially from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Italian Peninsula and Gaul, denouncing a greater purchasing power of part of its citizens.

Although in Merida extra-provincial imports are dominated by Baetican products, these do not exceed 50% of the total, while in all other places mentioned the products of that province range between 67% and 94%. The greater economic capacity of the Mérida elites, to which other factors can be added, should explain this significant difference. This can also be seen in the diversity of typologies and regions of origin of imported amphorae, which can only be compared to *Olisipo*.

6. CONCLUSION

In the current state of knowledge, the documentation presented and analysed here is the closest representation of the acquisition and consumption habits of the inhabitants of *Olisipo* between the military campaign of the *Decimus Junius Brutus* and the beginning of the Severo Dynasty, with regard to the food transported in amphorae. The data from Lisbon can also be interpreted as an instrument for reading the commercial traffic aimed at the capital of the province during the Principate, with *Olisipo* playing the role of the main maritime port of *Augusta Emerita* and the “coastal capital of *Lusitania*” (Mantas, 1990, p. 160). In this perspective, the consumption profile of *Olisipo* is inseparable from that role, and this is one of its characterising and defining elements.

The existence of an important Atlantic route that established the maritime connection between the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean, guaranteeing the supply of an institutional nature to the military contingents stationed in *Germania*, *Britannia* and the northwest peninsula, which enabled the development of parallel commercial networks of a private nature, has been strongly demonstrated by several authors over the last decades (Among others: Remesal Rodríguez, 1986; 2010; Fabião, 1994; 2009a; Morais and Carreras Monfort, 2004; Carreras Monfort and Morais, 2010; 2012; Morillo Cerdán *et al.*, 2016).

The data presented in this paper underline the importance of this route and its vitality from the second half of the 1st c. BC until the end of the Principate, constituting further evidence of its importance in the framework of the empire’s maritime routes and interprovincial connectivity, particularly in the trade of food in amphorae.

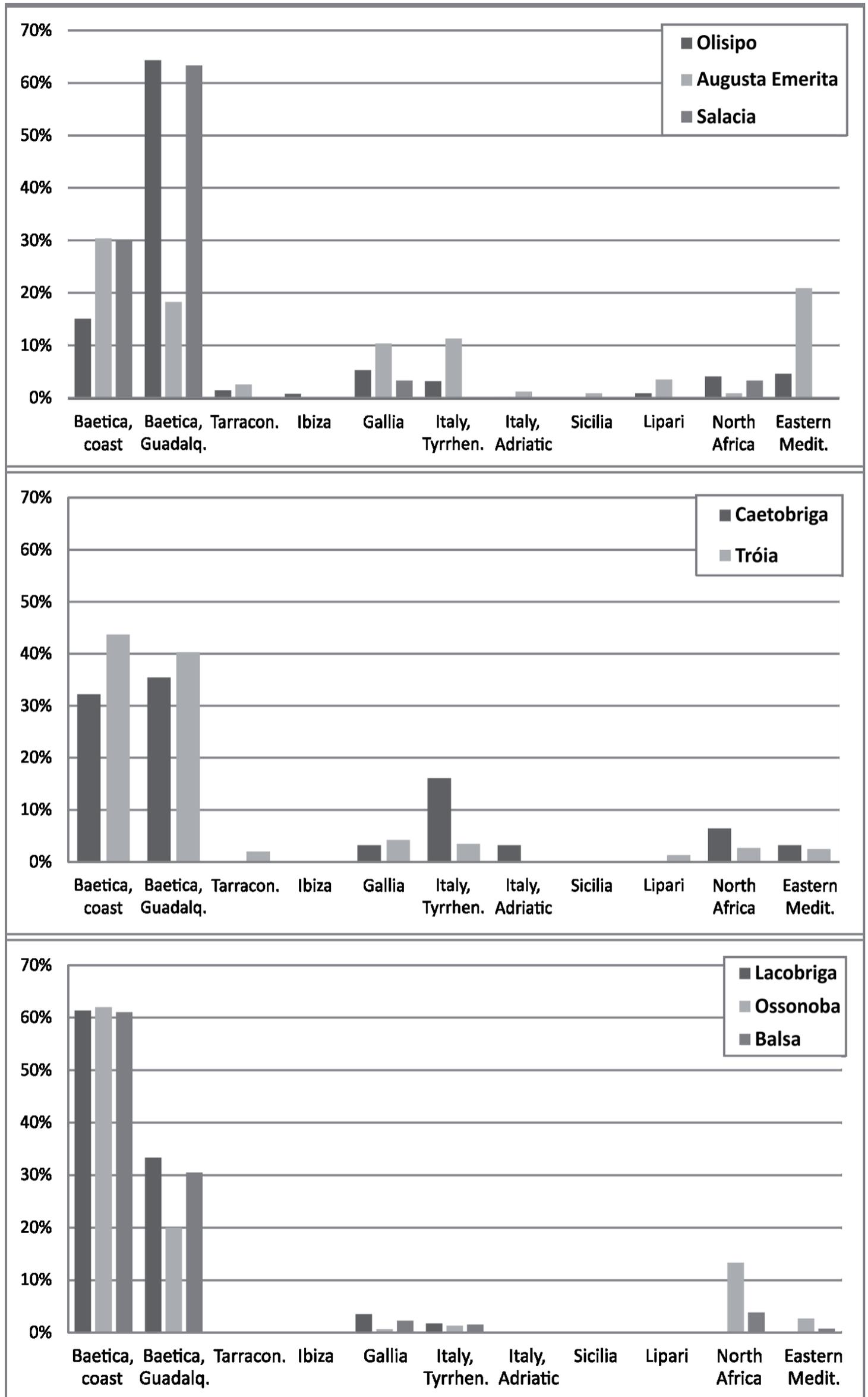


Figure 14. Comparison tables with other Lusitanian urban centres import patterns.

Naturally, in addition to the Atlantic route, *Olisipo* would also benefit from a cabotage route, which would run along the western and northern façades of *Hispania* and Gaul, and direct routes to the main ports on this coast that acted as redistribution centres - where *Olisipo* would stand out -, mainly to the interior regions, or multiple routes between the various ports of the extensive Atlantic coast of the Empire (Remesal Rodríguez, 2010, pp. 153-154).

Olisipo, a cosmopolitan city and the main seaport on the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula during the Empire, played an active and central role in the context of trade exchanges in the Roman world, occupying a key place both as a transit point for important maritime routes, from which it would benefit, and as the final destination of goods from the most diverse points of the Mediterranean.

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