

Transition from the Pre-Roman World to the Roman World in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula: The Example of *Bracara Augusta*

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Abstract—The foundation ex novo of *Bracara Augusta*, in the heart of the Bracari's region, is connected to a strategy of economic, political, and administrative control of the emperor Augustus of a vast area that stretched out from Douro up to the estuary of Vigo, and from the Atlantic up to the Gerês mountains. The foundation was not an independent and lonely deed. We cannot speak of her correctly without inserting her in a wide and comprehensive historical context. This historical context is precisely Augustus' policy in Hispania and the development of the campaigns that the Emperor and his generals carried out against the peoples of the North of the Peninsula in the last years of the first century B.C.E.

The foundation of the city, between the years 16/15 B.C.E., at the time of Augustus' presence in the Hispania, can be corroborated by the group of exhumed materials, which are the result of a large number of excavations undertaken in several places of the city. The older levels and the turned over contexts of those excavations provided varied materials that unquestionably prove that date. In this study, we will present the ceramic remains dated from the late first century B.C.E. to the mid-first century C.E. Some of this ware have some affinities with ceramic found in fortified settlements ("Castros"), revealing a continuity in the indigenous pottery designed to supply the new nuclei that the Roman world brought about.

Keywords—*Bracara Augusta*, *Bracari*, Augustus, ceramic remains.

I. BRIEF OVERVIEW

THE Roman city of *Bracara Augusta* was founded in a region called Entre Douro e Minho, or simply Minho, located on a gently rising plateau of mostly granite substrate and a maximum altitude of 200 meters, at the intersection of the Rivers Cávado and Este, the latter a tributary of the River Ave (Fig. 1).

Examining its origins is a complex exercise. Like a palimpsest, it is a matter of compiling literary references and accumulating archaeological knowledge gathered over decades of excavation in the city of Braga [2].

The literary references are, however, very sparse. In his *Natural History*, Pliny calls the city *Bracarum oppidum Augusta*, setting it apart from the other nearby convent seats, *Lucus Augusti* and *Asturica Augusta* [3]. It can, thus, be

surmised that the city was, from its origins and from an administrative point of view, a site of pilgrimage.

Archaeological remains have revealed that, in the site where the Roman city was found, an older settlement had existed dating back to the Late Bronze Age, in the first millennium B.C. According to Ana Bettencourt, the site was settled by family nuclei whose homes were cabins built of perishable materials [4]. A number of open gravel trenches, post-holes and ceramics suggest there may have been a small settlement located on the top of the Cidade Hill, as well as presumably a necropolis identified in the Granjinhos area [5] (Fig. 2).

Traditional historiography dates the foundation of the city to the period of Augustus. The foundation of the three convent capitals (*conventus iuridicus*) is attributed to Augustus during his second trip to the north of the Peninsula, between 15 and 13 B.C. (Fig. 3). The basis of the system was the creation of *civitates*, regional entities with a well-defined territory and population, from the administrative, legal and political point of view [6].

Archaeological data seem to corroborate that foundational date, in particular the imported earthenware [7] that appear

designation and Pliny followed an unidentified source of information that referred to the city in this manner. See R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, pp. 126-137.

⁴ A. M. S. Bettencourt, *Estações da Idade do Bronze e inícios da Idade do Ferro da bacia do Cávado (Norte de Portugal)*. Braga: Cadernos de Arqueologia: Monografias, 2000.

⁵ Idem.

⁶ I. Sastre, A. Beltrán, and A. Sánchez-Palencia, "Ejército y comunidades locales en el Noroeste peninsular: Formas de control y relaciones de poder en torno a la minería del oro," in *Militares y civiles en la antigua Roma. Dos mundos diferentes. Dos mundos unidos*, J.J. Palao Vicente, Ed. Salamanca: Aquilafuente 163, 2010, pp. 117-134.

⁷ In my PhD thesis, (see R. Morais, *Autarcia e Comércio em Bracara Augusta. Contributo para o estudo económico da cidade no período Alto-Imperial. Bracara Augusta, Escavações Arqueológicas 2*. Braga: UAUM/Narq., 2005a, republished in 2009), I focused on the oldest imported ceramic materials dating from the Augustan era. This study provided a framework for those ceramics in the context of trade on the Atlantic coastline and discussed this convent capital's role as a municipality. Other studies related to this period followed, particularly those presented and published at international conferences which focused on the early life of the city. See R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, pp. 125-138; R. Morais, "Bracarum oppidum Augusta. Os dados da cultura material," in *Contextos cerâmicos y cultura material de época augustea en el occidente romano. Actas de la reunión celebrada en la Universitat de Barcelona los días 15 y 16 de abril de 2007*, V. Revilla and M. Roca, Eds. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2010, pp. 443-461; R. Morais, "Bracarum Oppidum Augusta: os dados da cultura material," in *Celebração do Bimilenário de Augusto. Ad nationes. Ethnous kallaikon*, R. Morais, M. Bandeira, and M.J. Sousa, Eds. Braga, pp. 153-164, R. Morais, "O desenvolvimento do comércio no Noroeste a partir da conquista. O caso de Bracara Augusta," in *Clausus est lanus. Augusto e a transformação do noroeste hispano* (Philtate 1. Studia et acta antiquae Callaeciae), 1), M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de

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² Noteworthy are the excavation and follow-up campaigns carried out under the "Safeguard Project of the Roman city of Bracara Augusta" begun in 1976 by the Archaeology Unit of the University of Minho.

³ *N.H.* 4, 112. It is possible that like the other cities called Augustae (Augusta Emerita, Augusta Vindelicum, Augusta Taurinorum, Augusta Raurica,...) the city followed the same model. However, it was an unofficial

associated with the regional productions of *Castrejo* manufacture from the last Iron Age [8].

The idea that has been conveyed regarding the *ex novo* foundation of the city must, however, be duly nuanced. Indeed, while accepting that the act of its official creation conformed to all the precepts and habitual beliefs of a new urban nucleus, we believe that an act of synoecism [9] took place resulting from the gradual displacement of indigenous populations that inhabited the region's settlements. As has recently been suggested, it was most likely the local populations who contributed to the demarcation of streets and areas for housing and public buildings, as well as having participated in building roads and necropolises [10].

However, the apparent inexistence of structures dating from the Iron Age does not prove the city was founded in a deserted, virgin area. We do not know, for example, whether these remains existed in the northwest area of the Cividade Hill [11], to be destroyed during the foundational act itself, or due to different construction works carried out during the imperial period, namely the pre-thermal building, the thermal baths and the theatre [12].

These vestiges, if they existed, would not necessarily have been associated with a settlement with the usual characteristics. Alain Tranoy (1981) suggests the hill was where the inhabitants of the various *Castros* that integrated the *Bracari* met, in order to discuss matters of common interest and to exchange products [13]. This hypothesis is seconded by Sande Lemos (2007-2008: 203-239) who emphasises the sacred character of the site and its central position between the river basins of the Ave and Cávado

rivers and at the intersection of major land routes [14]. Tranoy's hypothesis is very appealing. It is very likely that, as Dio Cassius reports with regard to Germania, the legions (even before the Augustan period) would first take control of the main routes of communication and, then, promote the organisation of "markets" or "*synodoi*", with the purpose of establishing new social and economic relations [15].

As has been noted previously, the lack of evidence of a military camp in the city does not mean the absence of strong military contingents in the region in the first years following its foundation [16]. They were undoubtedly essential in the planimetric representation of its *Forma Urbis* and, most probably, in the city's planning, which was carefully parcelled [17]. This circumstance questions whether the city was founded with a purely civil purpose, as other authors have come to accept, or whether it grew within a militarised environment, given the presence of Roman troops who were passing through on northern campaigns, regardless of whether or not it was a military settlement proper [18].

If we look at the location of the Roman city, it is indeed situated in a region with an abundance of vestiges of settlements from the Iron Age, especially that of *Castro Maximum* [19], given its proximity and importance. This

¹⁴ F.S. Lemos, "Antes de Bracara Augusta," *Forum* 42-42, 2007-2008, pp. 203-239.

¹⁵ R. Morais, *Autarcia e Comércio em Bracara Augusta. Contributo para o estudo económico da cidade no período Alto-Imperial*. Bracara Augusta, *Escavações Arqueológicas* 2. Braga: UAUM/Narq., 2005a, p. 25.

¹⁶ R. Morais, Á. Morillo Cerdán, and M^a. J. Sousa, "A fundação de Bracara Augusta: assentamento militar ou estabelecimento civil num ambiente militarizado?" in *Rethinking Warfare 2012. International conference on the social perceptions and representations of war*, F. R. Queiroga and T.F. Taylor, Eds, Porto: Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2015, pp. 115-131.

¹⁷ H.P. Carvalho, "Marcadores da paisagem e intervenção cadastral no território próximo da cidade de Bracara Augusta (Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis)," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 85, 2012, pp. 149-166; H.P. Carvalho, "Bracara Augusta e as transformações do território. Homogeneização e diversidade. In *Clausus est Ianus. Augusto e a transformação do noroeste hispano* (Philtate 1. *Studia et acta antiquae Callaeciae*), 1), M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2016, pp. 285-305; H.P. Carvalho, "Centurição e reciclagem das formas cadastrais no território de Bracara Augusta," in *Roma nata, per Italian fusa, in provincias manat. A cidade romana no noroeste: novas perspectivas*, M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2017, pp. 277-288.

¹⁸ One of the most important indications is the existence of more than a dozen coins issued by Augustus with a *caetra* on the reverse found in the ancient areas of Bracara, one of which a rare sestertius found in the Cividade Hill, as well as pieces associated with military weapons and attire, namely 5 spear parts, 3 belt parts and 4 buttons. See R.M.S. Centeno, *Circulação monetária no noroeste de Hispânia até 192*, diss. Universidade do Porto. Porto: Anexos Nummus 1, 1987; R.M.S. Centeno, "Um novo sestertius de Augusto com a *caetra* no reverso, aparecido em Braga," in *Braga Augusta*, R. Morais, Ed. Braga, 2010, pp. 171-173. There is no doubt about the military character of these pieces of material culture. See R. Morais, Á. Morillo Cerdán, and M^a. J. Sousa, "A fundação de Bracara Augusta: assentamento militar ou estabelecimento civil num ambiente militarizado?" in *Rethinking Warfare 2012. International conference on the social perceptions and representations of war*, F. R. Queiroga and T.F. Taylor, Eds, Porto: Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2015, p. 122.

¹⁹ In addition to Castro Maximum, there is a belt of settlements that surrounds the site where the city was founded, respectively, Castro de Consolação, Castro de Ferreiros (currently destroyed), Castro de Santa Marta das Cortiças, Castro das Caldas, Castro de Monte Redondo and Castro de Monte de Castro. See E. P. Oliveira, *Estudos de Arqueologia de Braga e Minho*. Braga: Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 1998, 153-169; M. Martins, "Topografia e urbanismo fundacional de Bracara Augusta," in *Roma nata, per Italian fusa, in provincias manat. A cidade romana no noroeste: novas perspectivas*, M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M.

Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2016b, pp. 307-339; M. Martins, "Topografia e urbanismo fundacional de Bracara Augusta," in *Roma nata, per Italian fusa, in provincias manat. A cidade romana no noroeste: novas perspectivas*, M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2017, pp. 202-225.

⁸ E.J. Alcorta Irastorza, "Avance al estudio de la cerámica común romana de cocina y mesa de Lucus Augusti," in *Cerámica común romana d'època imperial a la Península Ibérica. Estat de la qüestió. Empuries*, X. Aquilué and, M. Roca, Eds. Empuries: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, 1995, pp. 201-226. This situation is similar to that of the Roman city of Lucus Augusti in which the ceramics from the first phase correspond to productions made in indigenous potteries together with Roman forms imported from other provinces.

⁹ Synoecism, a Greek word, finds its expression in the Latin term *contributio*, meaning the gathering of populations living in a certain region who come to cohabit (cohabitatio) in a common place, at the "invitation" of the central Roman power.

¹⁰ M. Martins et al., "Topografia e urbanismo fundacional de Bracara Augusta," in *Roma nata, per Italian fusa, in provincias manat. A cidade romana no noroeste: novas perspectivas*, M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2017, pp. 202-225.

¹¹ Sande Lemos suggested the possibility that a Castro may have existed on the Northwest slope of the Hill, See F. S. Lemos, J.M.F. Leite, A. Bettencourt, and M. Azevedo, "O balneário pré-romano de Braga." *Al-Madam* 12, 2003, pp. 43-46.

¹² R. Morais, Á. Morillo Cerdán, and M^a. J. Sousa, "A fundação de Bracara Augusta: assentamento militar ou estabelecimento civil num ambiente militarizado?" in *Rethinking Warfare 2012. International conference on the social perceptions and representations of war*, F. R. Queiroga and T.F. Taylor, Eds, Porto: Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2015, pp. 116-117. Based on identical arguments made by Armando Coelho Ferreira da Silva and Carlos Alberto Brochado de Almeida, who discuss the possibility of a "pre-Roman Castro" in Braga (on these authors' opinions, see recently F.S. Lemos, "Antes de Bracara Augusta," *Forum* 42-42, 2007-2008, pp. 203-239.

¹³ A. Tranoy, *La Galice romaine: recherches sur le nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique dans l'Antiquité*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard. 1981.

settlement's geographical closeness, only about 2 km in straight line distance from the place the city was founded, is quite obvious [20].

This settlement is mentioned for the first time in medieval sources dated 873 and 911 [21]. The first references to archaeological findings were made by Jerome Contador de Argote, taken up a century later by de Senna Freitas, who mentions the discovery of silver coins, and by Albino Belino [22]. However, the first detailed description is made by Carlos Teixeira, who refers to the existence of moats on the slope facing the city and to the south a double line of walls reinforced by moats (still noticeable at the time), besides abundant fragments of pottery, coal and ash [23]. In 1953 and 1954, Russel Cortez cleaned some of the cuttings exposed by quarrying and conducted some land surveys in a housing area [24]. Later, in the 1970s, the settlement was subject to small prospections and surveys under the Archaeological Field of Braga [25], retaken at the end of that decade, with two small surveys conducted in 1977 and 1978 by the newly created Archaeology Unit of the University of Minho [26]. In 2001, the town was partially excavated by the Archaeological Office of the Municipality of Braga, under the responsibility of Armandino Cunha, in the site where today the modern Braga stadium [27] is located. Housing units and circulation areas were discovered, organised according to several road intersections [28]. Among the recovered specimens, a clay pavement is particularly noteworthy, decorated with geometric patterns (Fig. 4) [29].

Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2017, pp. 205-206, Fig. 2.

²⁰ Today, the site, with about 198m of maximum altitude, is part of the urban mesh of Braga. See R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, p.125-138; M. Martins, *O povoamento proto-histórico e a romanização na bacia do curso médio do Cávado*. Cadernos de Arqueologia. Monografias. Braga: Universidade do Minho, 1990, p. 86.

²¹ E. P. Oliveira, *Estudos de Arqueologia de Braga e Minho*. Braga: Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 1998, p. 155.

²² J.C de Argote, *Memórias para a História Eclesiástica do Arcebispado de Braga*, 3. Lisbon: Lisboa Occidental: na officina de Joseph Antoni da Sylva, 1734, p. 299; B.J. de Senna Freitas, *Memórias de Braga*, 1. Braga: Imprensa Catholica, 1820, p. 320. A. Belino, "Cidades mortas: estudo póstumo: relatório das minhas explorações nas estações archeológicas suburbanas de Braga, e nomeadamente no Monte Redondo." *Archeólogo Português*, 14, 1909, p. 5.

²³ E. P. Oliveira, *Estudos de Arqueologia de Braga e Minho*. Braga: Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 1998, pp. 155-156.

²⁴ E. P. Oliveira, *Estudos de Arqueologia de Braga e Minho*. Braga: Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 1998, p. 157.

²⁵ Part of these materials was studied by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1974) and Susana Oliveira Jorge (Jorge 1976, unpublished). See C. A. F. de Almeida, "Cerâmica castreja." *Revista de Guimarães*, 84, 1974, pp. 171-198 and S.M.O. Jorge, *Cerâmica Castreja* (unpublished MS presented to the chair of Archaeology of the Iron Age at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto), 1976.

²⁶ E. P. Oliveira, *Estudos de Arqueologia de Braga e Minho*. Braga: Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 1998, pp. 158-167; M. Martins, *O povoamento proto-histórico e a romanização na bacia do curso médio do Cávado*. Cadernos de Arqueologia. Monografias. Braga: Universidade do Minho, 1990; D.S.F. da Rocha, *O Castro Máximo. Contributo para o estudo do povoamento proto-histórico da região de Braga* (MA thesis in archaeology, Universidade do Minho), 2017, p. 28.

²⁷ Unfortunately, the possibility of conducting new research is very limited given the site's excessive destruction, because of a quarry, a residential area and the aforementioned modern stadium in the area.

²⁸ D.S.F. da Rocha, *O Castro Máximo. Contributo para o estudo do povoamento proto-histórico da região de Braga* (MA thesis in archaeology, Universidade do Minho), 2017, p. 65.

²⁹ D.S.F. da Rocha, *O Castro Máximo. Contributo para o estudo do povoamento proto-histórico da região de Braga* (MA thesis in archaeology, Universidade do Minho), 2017, 64; R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a

The *Castro* pottery, mostly dating from the last phase of occupation, are abundantly represented by jars and pots, followed by the inner handled pots, hoists and bowls. Other forms, such as mortars, are residual. When decorated, these ceramics show the typical incised motifs (grooves and spine patterns) and/or stampings (triangles, circles, series in SSS, etc.); sometimes these motifs are accompanied by the decorative application of cords (Fig. 5).

In spite of the archaeological excavations mentioned above, the dates of occupation of the settlement have not been well defined. Diana Rocha, in a recent Master's thesis, states that the settlement is part of Manuela Martins' Phase III, which corresponds to the interval between the end of the 2nd century B.C. / beginning of the 1st century B.C. until the first half of the 1st century A.D. [30]. In a brief analysis of the materials gathered from different excavation campaigns, we found that the *Castro* had a much longer occupation in time. In fact, we detected the presence of ceramics from the Late Bronze Age and the entire Iron Age, albeit with a clear predominance of the aforementioned Phase III.

Equally problematic is the date of the *Castro's* abandonment. According to the author, this moment must have occurred between the time of Augustus or Tiberius, given the lack of Roman archaeological material from that era³¹. In fact, we think that the *Castro* may have been abandoned in the late 1st century B.C., despite the residual presence of imported Roman pottery. As we have suggested previously [32], and which has recently been upheld by other authors [33], it is possible that the abandonment of the settlement is associated with the displacement of part of its population to the new city [34].

Another testimony in favour of the city's synoecism is documented in the discovery of *Castro* baths currently integrated in the new building of the Braga railway station (Figs 6a-d). Although subject to several interpretations and distinct chronological proposals [35], what matters here is its location on the outskirts of the Roman city and its relative proximity to *Castro Maximum* [36].

However, pottery of indigenous tradition are particularly noteworthy as some of the oldest records associated with the

fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, pp. 126-132.

³⁰ D.S.F. da Rocha, *O Castro Máximo. Contributo para o estudo do povoamento proto-histórico da região de Braga* (MA thesis in archaeology, Universidade do Minho), 2017, p. 88.

³¹ D.S.F. da Rocha, *O Castro Máximo. Contributo para o estudo do povoamento proto-histórico da região de Braga* (MA thesis in archaeology, Universidade do Minho), 2017.

³² R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, p. 127.

³³ M. Martins, "Topografia e urbanismo fundacional de Bracara Augusta," in *In Roma nata, per Italian fusa, in provincias manat. A cidade romana no noroeste: novas perspectivas*, M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2017, 202-225.

³⁴ According to Martins et alii 2017, 208, "the presence of indigenous labour in the city can also be deduced from the construction of structures, whose facades reveal similarities with those found in the walls and houses of the Castros of the Bracaran region. An example is a large support wall identified at the top of Cidade Hill, or the wall that delimited Via XVII, of which construction began in the time of Augustus". According to the author (Martins 1990), it is possible that the *Castro Maximum* corresponded to the castellum Agripia, based on two funeral inscriptions found in Braga, referring to Agrippa, a lieutenant of Augustus³⁵.

³⁵ See F. S. Lemos, J.M.F. Leite, A. Bettencourt, and M. Azevedo, "O balneário pré-romano de Braga." *Al-Madam* 12, 2003, pp.43-46.

³⁶ R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, p. 127.

early days of life in the city. These ceramics are mainly concentrated in the southwest quadrant of the city, at the 'Alto' (Top) of Cividade Hill, in the areas next to the *forum* and 'Cavalariças' (stables) [37], as well as in the burial grounds of the Via XVII necropolis [38]. Many of these ceramics, however, come from trench fillers for the extraction of gravel or the foundations of buildings dating back to the middle of the first century [39]. The careful analysis of the manufacture and morphology situates them in Phase III as established by Manuela Martins for the proto-historical and Romanised settlements of the Cávado's middle course [40]. They are ceramics that evolved significantly from previous phases, with a more consistent use of the lathe and a better quality in manufacture, with thinner pastes and better finishes.

Among many other examples, an indigenous carving tradition is particularly noteworthy, bearing the *CAMAL* mark, an abbreviation of *CAMALVS*, a well-known name in native onomastics, found frequently on *dolia* and stone and rock inscriptions in the settlements of the Northwest, particularly in the *Citânia de Briteiros* (Fig. 7 a) [41].

Similarly, two *tegulae* were found, one in Braga and the other at an archaeological excavation near the city bearing the *SATVR* (= *SATVRNINVS*) stamp, a cognomen also associated with pre-Roman anthroponomy [42], (Fig. 7 b-c). We can find this same acronym, *SAT*, in writing of an actuarial type, on the wall of small red-slip pots from the town of S. Julião (Vila Verde), (Fig. 7 d-e).

³⁷ R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, pp. 130-132.

³⁸ R. Morais, A. Fernández, and C. Braga, "Contextos cerâmicos de la transición de Era y de la primera mitad del s. I provenientes de la necrópolis de la Via XVII de Bracara Augusta," in *SFECAG, Actes du Congrès d'Amiens*. Marseille: SFECAG, pp. 313-326; R. Morais, T. Soeiro, and T. Fernández, "Necrópolis de finales del s. I a.C. a mediados del s. I d.C. en el conventus bracaraugustano: el caso de la necrópolis de la Via XVII de Bracara Augusta (Braga) y de Monteiras (Bustelo, Penafiel)," in *XVIII CIAC: Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico. Centre and periphery in the ancient world / Congreso Internacional Arqueología Clásica*. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2014, pp. 1259-1264.

³⁹ R. Morais, A. Fernández, and F. Magalhães, "El sondeo nº 8 de 'As Cavalariças': un contexto augusteo de Bracara Augusta (Braga, Portugal)," in *SFECAG, Actes du Congrès de Poitiers*. Marseille: SFECAG, pp. 499-520; M. Martins et al., "Topografia e urbanismo fundacional de Bracara Augusta," in *In Roma nata, per Italian fusa, in provincias manat. A cidade romana no noroeste: novas perspectivas*, M.D. Dopico Caínzos and M. Villanueva Acuña, Eds. Lugo: Servizo de Publicacións da Deputación de Lugo, 2017, pp. 202-225.

⁴⁰ M. Martins, *O povoamento proto-histórico e a romanização na bacia do curso médio do Cávado*. Cadernos de Arqueologia. Monografias. Braga:Universidade do Minho, 1990.

⁴¹ See ⁴¹ R. Morais, "Ab urbe condita. Desde a fundação da cidade de Bracara Augusta," *Saguntum* 37, 2005b, pp. 125-138; R. Morais, "Bracarum oppidum Augusta. Os dados da cultura material," in *Contextos cerâmicos y cultura material de época augustea en el occidente romano. Actas de la reunión celebrada en la Universitat de Barcelona los días 15 y 16 de abril de 2007*, V. Revilla and M. Roca, Eds. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2010, pp. 443-461; M. Delgado and R. Morais, *Guia das cerâmicas de produção local de Bracara Augusta*. Porto: Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória (CITCEM), 2009, pp. 13; 18-19, nº 27. The presence of this name in funeral inscriptions found in the city is also very interesting. On such names, see A. Tranoy and P. Le Roux, *As necrópoles de Bracara Augusta. B. Les inscriptions funéraires*. Cadernos de Arqueologia, 6-7. Braga: Universidade do Minho e Museu D. Diogo de Sousa, 1990, pp. 201, nº 11; 212-213, nº 3, Fig. 17; 216, nº 4, Fig. 20; 220, nº 2; 224-225 and 226, which indicate close relations with the indigenous elite, who would have been interested in the advantages associated with the imperial foundation of the new town.

⁴² I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*. Rome: G. Bretschneider Editore, 1982, p. 213.

Apart from these ceramics, there is a significant and important amount of ceramic bivalve moulds used in the casting of bronze escutcheons. Dating from the last decades of the first century B.C. and the first decades of the next century, these moulds are, as would be expected, black on the inside and orange on the outside. They have profuse geometric decorations on the inside, although limited in the number of motifs: elements in interlaced SSS arranged into horizontal bands, spine-type elements and lines of pearls, also placed horizontally. One of them, represented by the two faces of the bivalve mould, reveals that these are moulds for the casting of decorated slabs probably belonging to the upper part of the escutcheons (Fig. 8 a). Another corresponds to the upper part of the annular support of the handle of an escutcheon (Fig. 8 b).

Although these scattered examples clearly indicate the presence of indigenous production materials in the early days of the city, we will focus on the presentation of two case studies, one in the context of housing [43], and the other of a necropolis [44].

II. FIRST CASE STUDY: THE MATERIALS FROM HOUSING AREAS

A good example of a housing site dating back to the early days of the city is associated with the earliest vestiges of a *domus*, which still houses mosaic walls and pavements, located east of the Rua dos Bombeiros Voluntários and currently on the property of the D. Diogo de Sousa Museum of Archaeology (Fig. 9) [45]. From this site we will highlight the sample collected in the so-called "Survey No. 8 of the Stables", where a gravel extraction pit was identified, sealed by a beaten earth floor (*UE 2295*), possibly used in the mortars for the construction of the building (Figs. 10 a-b). Three datable contexts were identified: a first one, dating from the end of the reign of Augustus, associated to the construction of an *insula* (*UE 2301*); a second, dating from the early Flavian period, related to a levelling filler for the construction of a series of infrastructures for new housing units (*UE 2300*); a third, from the end of the first century, corresponding to a draw ditch of structures associated with the previous context (*UE 2294*) (Fig. 11).

We are particularly interested in the first of these three contexts. The fine pottery is represented by Italic *sigillata*, belonging mainly in the Haltern I and II services (*Consp.* 12, 18, 21, 22 and 23) (Fig. 12, no. 1-22), as well as by the thin walls from the Po Valley (XXXIII-XXXV form) and Etruria

⁴³ R. Morais, A. Fernández, and F. Magalhães, "El sondeo nº 8 de 'As Cavalariças': un contexto augusteo de Bracara Augusta (Braga, Portugal)," in *SFECAG, Actes du Congrès de Poitiers*. Marseille: SFECAG, pp. 499-520.

⁴⁴ R. Morais, A. Fernández, and C. Braga, "Contextos cerâmicos de la transición de Era y de la primera mitad del s. I provenientes de la necrópolis de la Via XVII de Bracara Augusta," in *SFECAG, Actes du Congrès d'Amiens*. Marseille: SFECAG, pp. 313-326; R. Morais, T. Soeiro, and T. Fernández, "Necrópolis de finales del s. I a.C. a mediados del s. I d.C. en el conventus bracaraugustano: el caso de la necrópolis de la Via XVII de Bracara Augusta (Braga) y de Monteiras (Bustelo, Penafiel)," in *XVIII CIAC: Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico. Centre and periphery in the ancient world / Congreso Internacional Arqueología Clásica*. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2014, pp. 1259-1264.

⁴⁵ R. Morais, A. Fernández, and F. Magalhães, "El sondeo nº 8 de 'As Cavalariças': un contexto augusteo de Bracara Augusta (Braga, Portugal)," in *SFECAG, Actes du Congrès de Poitiers*. Marseille: SFECAG, pp. 499-520.

(VIII C, X, XIB) [⁴⁶] (**Fig. 13, no. 23-32**). The oil lamps, although very fragmented, are also of Italic production, one of which can be attributed to the Loeschcke type IA (**no. 33-36**). In this sample, the amphorae are particularly interesting, especially the Haltern 70 of *Baetican manufacture*, with 32 specimens (**no. 37-51; Fig. 14, no. 52-66**). The remaining amphorae correspond to Iberian productions, namely *Baeticans of the Dressel type 2-4* (no. 67), *urceus* (no. 68-69) and Dressel 7-11 (no. 70-76), Lusitanians of the archaic Dressel type 14 (no. 77-79) and *Tarraconensians*, possibly Pascual 1. A specimen from the island of Ibiza of Pellicer type 18 (no. 80) can also be mentioned, and several wall fragments most probably belonging to Rhodian amphorae and to amphorae from the Lipari Island of the Richborough form 527.

The remaining productions dated from the end of the Augustan period belong to common and kitchen pottery, divided into imported and regional productions. Among the imported dishes, most of the pieces are of *Baetican* origin, represented by mortars (**Fig. 15, no. 81-84**) and common pottery (**no. 85-86**), followed by Lusitanian pottery (**no. 87-88**) and of the new Italic productions such as mortars (**no. 89**) and the typical Pompeian red-glazed vases of Campanian origin (**no. 90-92**).

The regional productions are mostly represented by pottery of indigenous tradition (**no. 93-94; Fig. 16, no. 95-107**) and, to a lesser extent, by pieces of Roman manufacture, of which the pots, bowls and the large platters, together with some lids and a spindle whorl (**no. 108-112**).

III. SECOND CASE STUDY: THE MATERIALS FROM THE NECROPOLISES IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE CITY. THE EXAMPLE OF THE VIA XVII NECROPOLIS

As we mentioned previously, the second case study corresponds to a necropolis area. *Bracara Augusta*, renowned as an important transit centre, was intersected by a number of routes connecting it to the main cities of the Northwest and South of the Peninsula (**Fig. 17**). Associated with these routes were six necropolises: the Maximinos necropolis, probably associated with Via XX, *per loca maritima*; the Via XVII necropolis, which lies mostly under the Avenida da Liberdade, Largo Carlos Amarante and Cangosta da Palha [⁴⁷]; the highway necropolis, in the southeast part of the Roman city, associated to the south door and to the exit of Via XVI; the necropolis of Campo da Vinha, probably belonging to Via XIX that linked the city to Lugo, by Ponte de Lima and Valença (still poorly defined); the necropolis of Via Nova, located in the northwest part of Avenida Central and which seems to mark Via XVIII; and finally, the necropolis of S. Lázaro, which may be associated with an exit from the city to the southeast and following the direction of Mérida, through Viseu (this is the only route not mentioned in Antonino's Itinerary) [⁴⁸].

⁴⁶ An example probably of Tarraconensian origin was identified and another one of unknown provenance.

⁴⁷ The continuation of this necropolis was identified in the parish of S. Vitor with graves dating from the entire imperial period. Furthermore, a structure Sande Lemos interpreted as being a Mausoleum was found in this nucleus.

⁴⁸ M. Martins and M. Delgado, *As necrópoles de Bracara Augusta. Os dados arqueológicos*. *Cadernos de Arqueologia*, 6-7, pp. 41-186; M. Martins, *O povoamento proto-histórico e a romanização na bacia do curso*

In this study, we present the materials from the oldest occupation of the Via XVII necropolis, whose graves date from the era transition to the mid-first century (**Figs. 18-22**). The analysis of the findings from this first occupation provides an accurate idea of the type of pottery used in funeral rituals. With the exception of three graves documented in the intervention called *Interligação* ('*Interconnection*') (graves 5, 18 and 22), the graves are documented in an intervention known as CTT (graves 2, 27, 90, 91, 97, 112, 183, 187, 188 and 199).

The pottery found in these graves correspond to vases of regional production, with curved rims, which were used as funeral urns (graves 12, 13, 20, 25 and 26). One of these graves, number 18, contained a vase/urn which still had its lid, made in the same manufacture. Besides these vases/urns these graves also documented other pottery pieces which are similar to specimens found in the Castro settlements. An example is grave number 2, dating from Augustus/Tiberius, where a small vase [⁴⁹] identical to those from Phase II (IV-II B.C.) of Castro da Pena was recovered, next to an imported oil lamp and a set of necklace beads [⁵⁰]. The same can be said, even though we have not identified clear similarities, in relation to a vase found in grave 27, dating from the beginning of the first century, which bears features peculiar to the Iron Age [⁵¹]. More clearly similar to the Castro world is a vase found in grave 183, dating from the first third of the first century, known as the "Lusitanian vase" (Type C2b), one of the most common forms in Phase III - 1st century A.D.) found in numerous settlements in the Bracarian area [⁵²]. The same can be said of the bell-shaped vase found in grave 187, dating from the reign of Tiberius, which exhibits a red-glazed outer surface.

Apart from these materials of regional production, other imported materials were recovered such as glass unguentaria (ointment jars) and, as already mentioned, imported oil lamps (graves 2, 90, 91, 187 and 188). The unguentaria are blue in colour, ovoid or drop-shaped in form, similar to the Isings type 8, generically dated from the 1st century [⁵³]. This kind of unguentaria is common in Roman limes camps, as is the case with Vindonissa [⁵⁴]. The oldest oil lamps are Italic in origin, bearing a triangular rostrum, a narrow, horizontal rim separated from the discus by a variable number of transition frames and by the absence of handles. The first, considering the ratio between the separation of the volutes and the vertices of the nozzle, are Loeschcke type IA in form, dating from the Augustus-Tiberius period, and the second, in the Loeschcke type IB, dating from the time of Tiberius to the end of the reign of Claudius [⁵⁵]. As is

médio do Cávado. Cadernos de Arqueologia. Monografias. Braga: Universidade do Minho, pp. 47-54.

⁴⁹ We cannot tell if it was used as a cinerary urn.

⁵⁰ A.C. Ferreira da Silva, *A cultura castreja no noroeste de Portugal*. Paços de Ferreira, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Paços de Ferreira, Museu Arqueológico da Citânia de Sanfins., 2007, XLV, no. 3.

⁵¹ Micaceous paste, thick and coarse walls, with outer smoothing.

⁵² A.C. Ferreira da Silva, *A cultura castreja no noroeste de Portugal*. Paços de Ferreira, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Paços de Ferreira, Museu Arqueológico da Citânia de Sanfins, 2007.

⁵³ C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*. Groningen: Wolters, 1957.

⁵⁴ L. Berger, *Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa. Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa*. Band IV. Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1960, pp. 74-77, Table 12, pp. 186-187.

⁵⁵ Á. Morillo Cerdán, *Lucernas romanas en la región septentrional de la Península Ibérica: contribución al conocimiento de la implantación romana en Hispania*. Monographies Instrumentum. 8/2, I e II. Montagnac: Éd. Monique Mergoïl, 1999, p. 71.

customary in this type of lamps, the discuses are large and concave, with embossed decorations - a bird (ibis?) on the right; Venus naked, seated to the right and in profile, with Eros to her left; two stylized abundance cornucopias. Another lamp, found in grave 187 (next to the abovementioned lamp with a bird on its discus) has a rostrum identical to the volute lamp but, contrary to the typical form, does not have the upper volutes, which leads us to classify it as a so-called "rare variant" of the Loeschke I. It has a mark on its base with retrograde letters in relief *·A·D·I*. Similar marks are known in productions by *Lucius Munatius Adiectus*, a potter who possibly worked for an owner or *patronus* who commissioned his freedmen to manage various workshops [56]. The fact that these marks appeared on lamps dating from the end of the Flavian period to the reign of Antoninus leads us to think that they are from another workshop operating in the Central-Italic region in the period of Augustus-Tiberius.

The other oil lamps, classified as the so-called "derivatives of the Dressel form 3", found in graves 90 and 91, respectively, are dated from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. These lamps are of Hispanic production, clearly inspired by the Italic models. These have very peculiar morphological characteristics since, in addition to the frustoconical body of high, straight walls, they have lateral handles located near the rostrum. As usual, the lamps' discus is concave and is decorated with a shell whose ridges originate from the filling hole. One of them bears the workshop's mark on the outer base, in this case, the letter *M*. The cream-coloured or light beige porous paste seems to indicate Baetican origins, where several manufacturing centres are known, such as Andújar and Córdoba, even though a workshop has been documented in *Emerita Augusta* [57]. According to Morillo Cerdán, these lamps can be dated to the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, at a time when Italian imports had ceased [58].

⁵⁶ D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, 2, *Roman Lamps in Italy*. London: British Museum, 1980, 98; Á. Morillo Cerdán, *Lucernas romanas en la región septentrional de la Península Ibérica: contribución al conocimiento de la implantación romana en Hispania*. Monographies Instrumentum. 8/2, I e II. Montagnac: Éd. Monique Mergoïl, 1999, p. 297.

⁵⁷ Andújar: M. Sotomayor, A. Perez Casas, and M. Roca, "Los alfares romanos de Andújar (Jaén): Dos nuevas campañas," *NAHisp* 4, 1976, pp. 111-147; M. Sotomayor, M. Roca, A. Sotomayor, and R. Atienza, "Los alfares romanos de Los Villares de Andújar (Jaén, campaña 1978-9)," *NAHisp* 11, 1981, pp. 307-316. Córdoba: M^a. T. Amaré, "Notas sobre un posible taller de lucernas romanas en Córdoba," *Ifigea*, V-VI, 1988-89, pp. 103-115; D. Bernal, "Una pieza excepcional del Museo Nazionale de Roma y el problema de las lucernas tipo Andújar," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma (HistAnt)*, serie II 6, 1993, pp. 214-215; D. Bernal, and R. García Giménez, "Talleres de lucernas en Colonia Patricia Corduba en época bajoimperial: evidencias arqueológicas y primeros resultados de la caracterización geoquímica de las pastas," *AACord*. 6, 1995, p. 178; R. García Giménez, D. Bernal Casasola, and Á. Morillo, "Consideraciones sobre los centros productores de lucernas tipo Andújar: análisis arqueométrico de materiales procedentes de los Villares de Andújar (Jaén) y de la Submeseta Norte," in *Segunda Reunión de Arqueometría. Primer Congreso Nacional*, J. Capel Martínez, Ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995.

⁵⁸ Á. Morillo Cerdán, *Lucernas romanas en la región septentrional de la Península Ibérica: contribución al conocimiento de la implantación romana en Hispania* Monographies Instrumentum. 8/2, I e II. Montagnac: Éd. Monique Mergoïl, 1999, pp. 100 and 104.

Imported fine ceramics were only found in grave 183, specifically, a *Consp.* type 20.3 vase, dated between the turn of the millennium and 30 A.D. [59].

Graves 2 and 199 deserve some mention, due to their singularity. The first, mentioned previously, dating from the reigns of Augustus/Tiberius, stands out for the quality and rarity of its findings, which included the following: a vase of indigenous tradition, an Italic lamp, a piece in perforated brass and three Egyptian faience beads possibly belonging to a necklace deposited as an offering. In grave 199, a granite urn sealed with lead clamps was recovered, similar to urns found in the Uxama and Poitiers necropoleis. Once opened, the urn contained a coin and an imported glass unguentarium of the Isings type 8, drop-shaped and bluish-green in colour. The coin gives us a very precise date: it is an Augustus *aes* from the mint of *Victrix Iulia Celsa*, dated between the years 5 and 3 B.C. (*RPC* I - 278), although its wear points to circulation situated at the end of the reign of Augustus.

IV. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The two case studies presented here reveal the importance of imported ceramics and regional pottery in the early life of the city of *Bracara Augusta*.

The amount and diversity of the former is associated with its economic importance, thanks to the logistical facilities provided by the city's privileged location, functioning as a veritable transit centre intersected by multiple routes (land, river and maritime) [60].

Regional productions, mostly made up of pots, vases and the typically indigenous small, two-handled jars, are similar to specimens found in the northwestern *Castros* of the Peninsula. As we have mentioned previously, this circumstance is very interesting in that it reveals that, at the time, the city had no potteries and was dependent on the traditional supply centres of the pre-Roman epoch, namely the hamlets near the town. They present, as usual, micaceous pastes identical to those documented in Phase III of the *Castro* settlements, used in daily life (to eat, cook, store, etc.), but also used as cinerary urns or as part of funeral offerings.

The stratigraphic analysis and contextualisation of the materials found in Survey 8 (*UE 2301*) of the Stables, dating from the end of Augustus' reign (Morais, Fernández, Magalhães, in the press), reveals the same trend: in addition to the numerous imported productions, there is an important group of ceramics of indigenous tradition (only a few pottery fragments can be considered "Roman", less than 2% of the total).

In terms of funeral pieces, with the exception of the oil lamps and a piece of Italic *sigillata* from grave 183, imported materials are absent. This circumstance shows that in the first decades of the city the local population tended to

⁵⁹ E. Ettlinger et al., *Conspectus Formarum Terrae Sigillatae Italico Modo Confectae. Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1990.

⁶⁰ The presence of a rare inscription alluding to the presence of negotiators in the period of Claudius bears witness to this, See G. Alföldy, "Um 'cursos' senatorial de Bracara Augusta," *Revista de Guimarães*, 76, 1-2, 1966, pp. 363-372; R. Morais, *Autarcia e Comércio em Bracara Augusta. Contributo para o estudo económico da cidade no período Alto-Imperial*. *Bracara Augusta, Escavações Arqueológicas* 2. Braga: UAUM/Narq., 2005a.

deposit ashes in vases/urns and other pottery of indigenous tradition.

The pottery materials recorded associated with these early times of the city are in accordance with epigraphic and onomastic data that reveal that the civic population was mostly made up of natives from the region's *Castros*, as we mentioned previously. The foundation of the city was part of a strategy of economic, political and administrative control and was motivated by the desire to equip the “powerful” *gens* of the *Bracari* with a *concilium gentis* and a necessary *caput* for citizens living in the city’s area of influence.

APPENDIX OF FIGURES

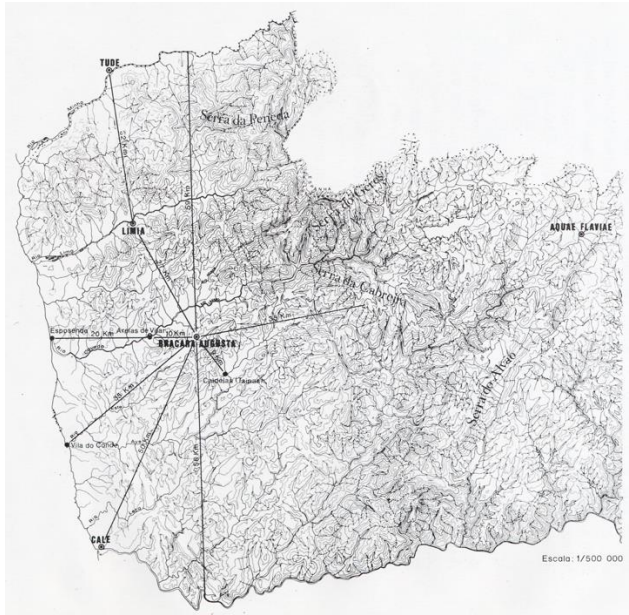


Fig. 1. Location of Bracara Augusta in the context of the peninsular road network

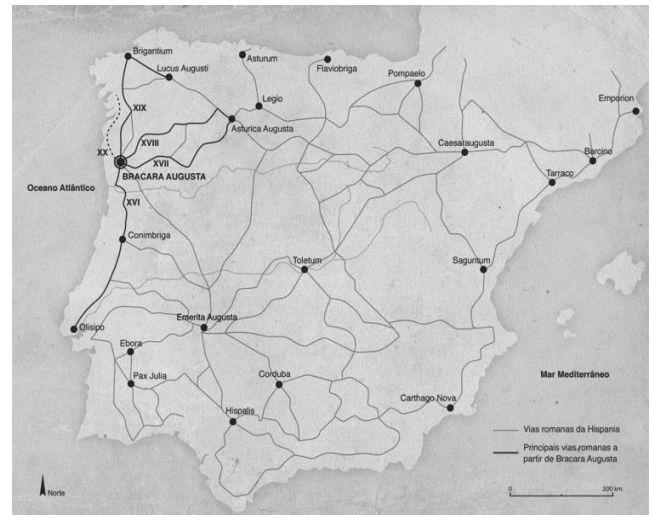


Fig. 3. Location of Bracara Augusta

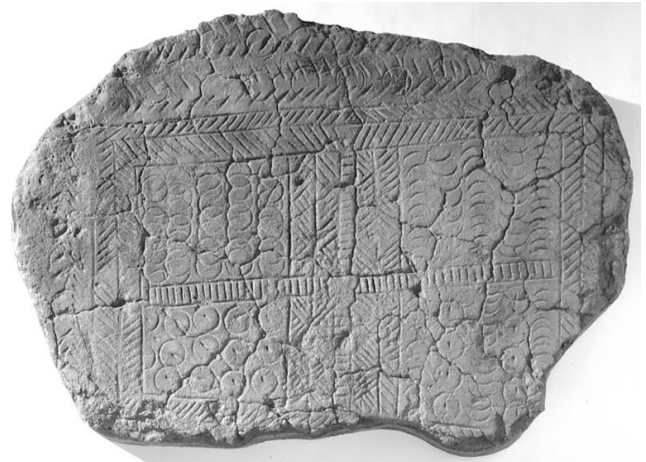


Fig. 4. Castro Maximo Hillfort. Clay pavement decorated with geometric patterns



Fig. 2. Late Bronze Age ceramics. Granjinhos necropolis, Braga



Fig. 5. Castro Máximo Hillfort ceramics, mostly dating from the last phase of occupation



Fig. 6a Ruins of the pre-roman bath



Fig. 6b. Musealization of the pre-roman bath



Fig. 6c. "Pedra Formosa" of the pre-roman bath

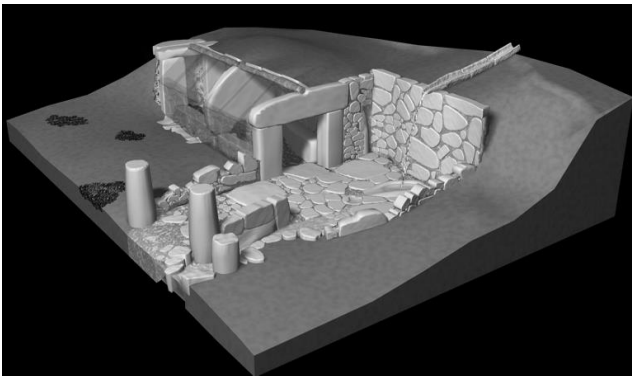


Fig. 6d. 3D Reconstitution of the pre-roman bath. @ UAUM

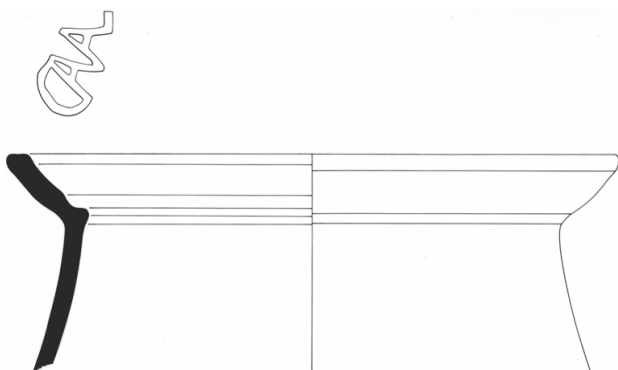


Fig. 7a. Dolia with stamp CAMAL(VS).

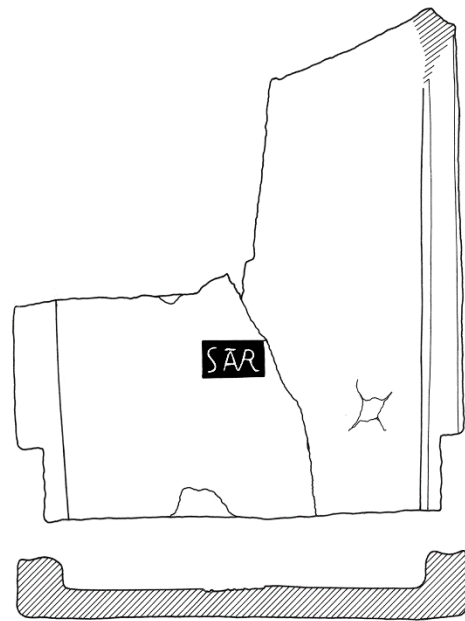


Fig. 7b. Tegulae with stamp SATUR(NINUS)

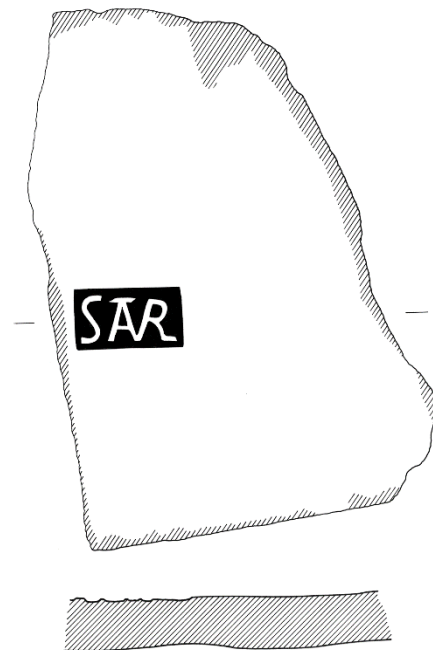


Fig. 7c. Tegulae with stamp SATUR(NINUS).

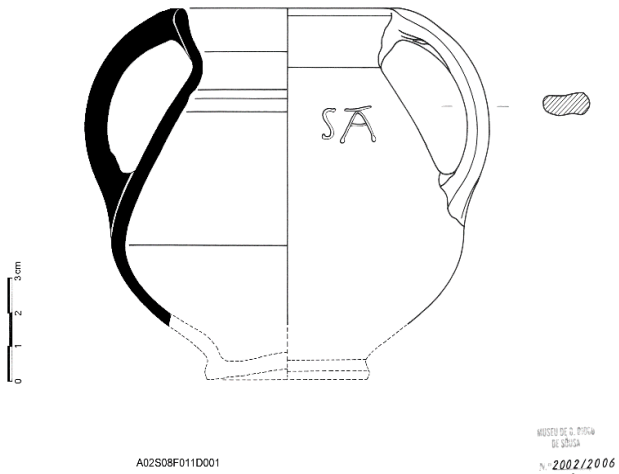


Fig. 7d. Pot with graffito SATUR (S. Julião Hillfort, Vila Verde)

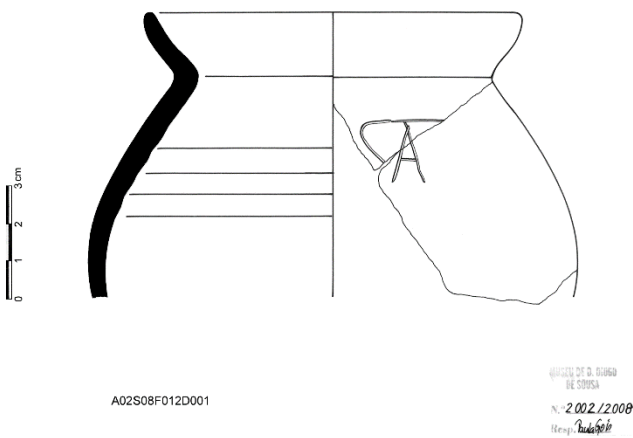


Fig. 7e. Pot with graffito SATUR (S. Julião Hillfort, Vila Verde)

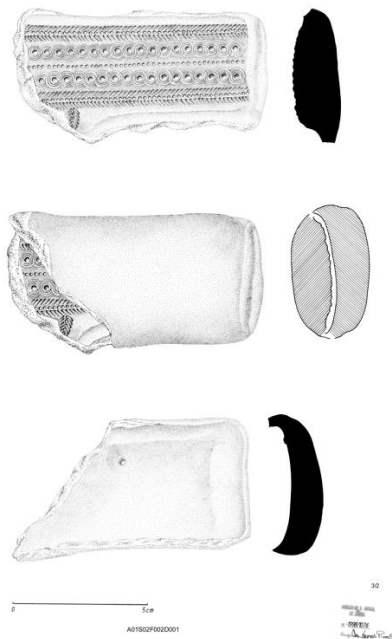


Fig. 8a. Bivalve ceramic molds used in the foundry of bronze *situlae*

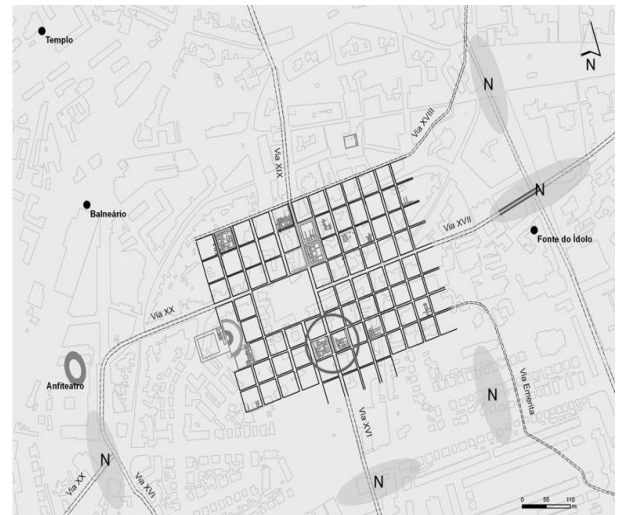


Fig. 9. Location of insulae in the urban city plan of Bracara Augusta

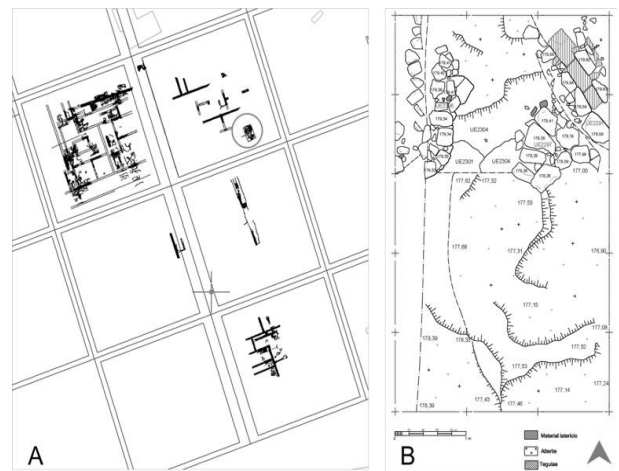


Fig. 10a. Location of Survey No. 8 in the urban city plan of Bracara Augusta

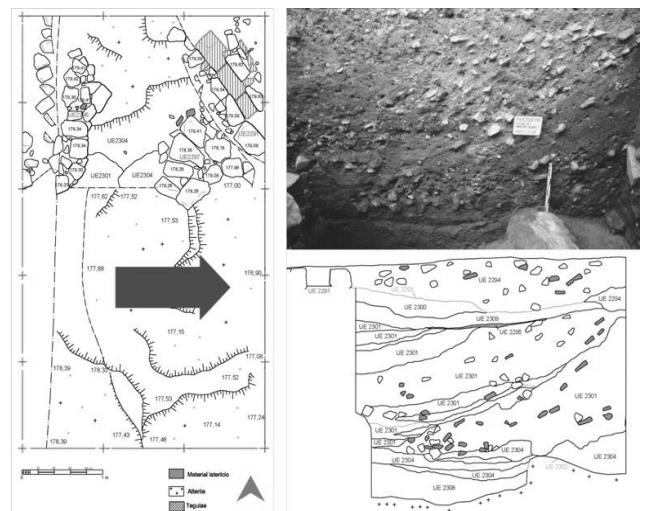


Fig. 10b. East stratigraphic profile of Survey No. 8

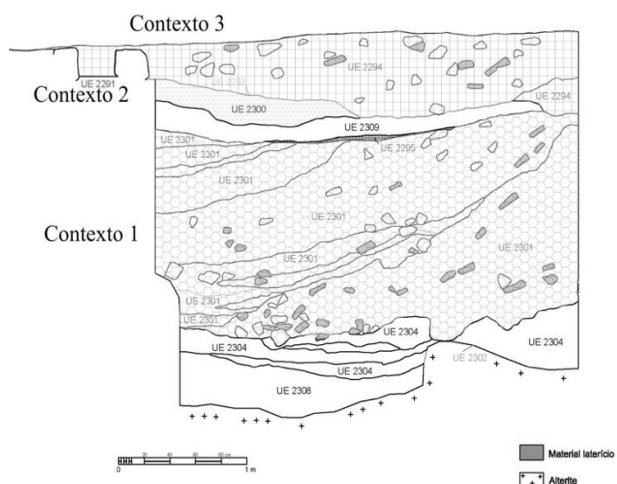


Fig. 11. East stratigraphic contexts of Survey No. 8

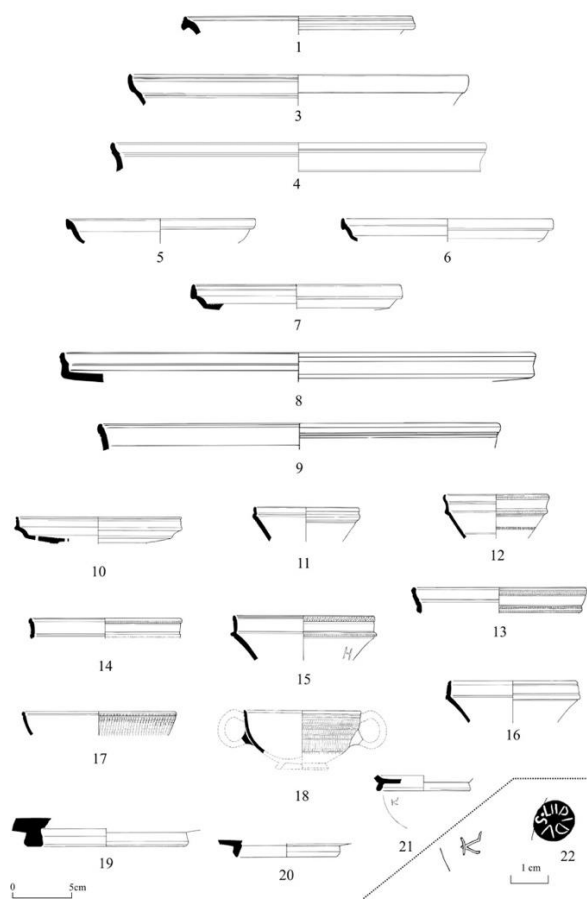


Fig. 12. Cavalariças (Braga). Italic Terra sigillata

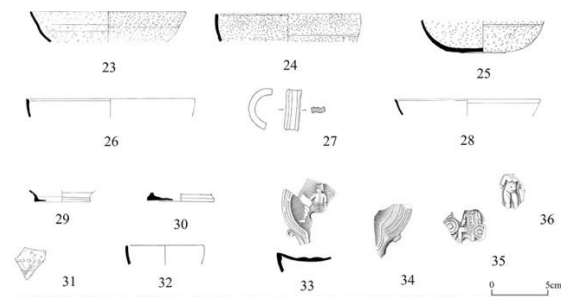


Fig. 13. Cavalariças (Braga). Thin Walled Ware, Lamps and amphorae (Haltern 70)

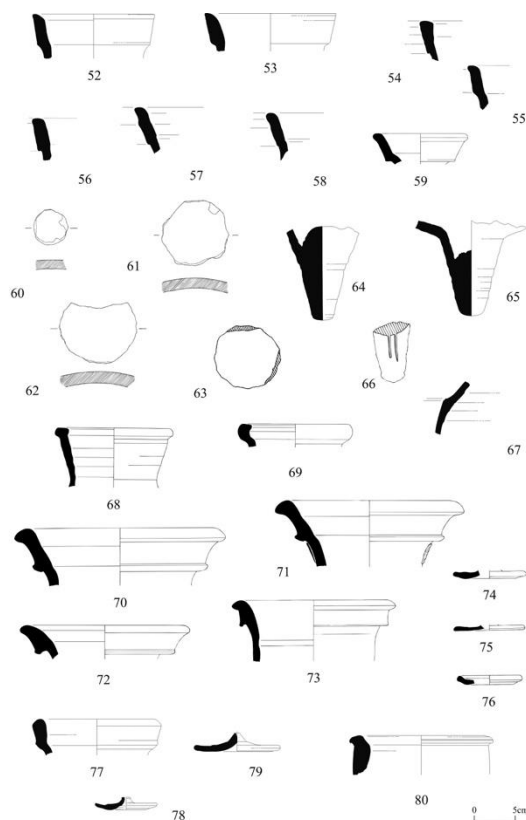


Fig. 14. Cavalariças (Braga). Amphorae (Haltern 70, Urceus Type, Dressel 2-4, Dressel 7-11, Archaic Dressel 14, Pascual 1, Pellicer 18, Rhodian type and Richborough 527).

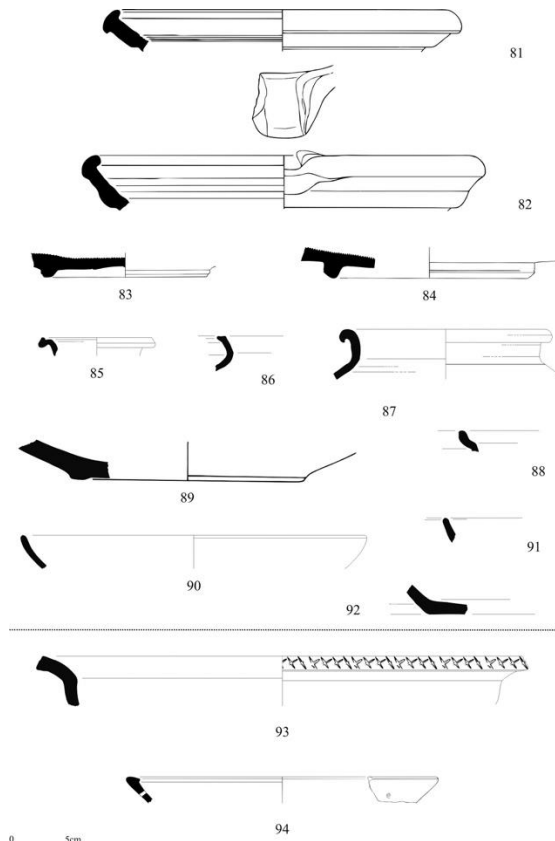


Fig. 15. Cavalariças (Braga). Baetican mortars and ceramics of indigenous tradition

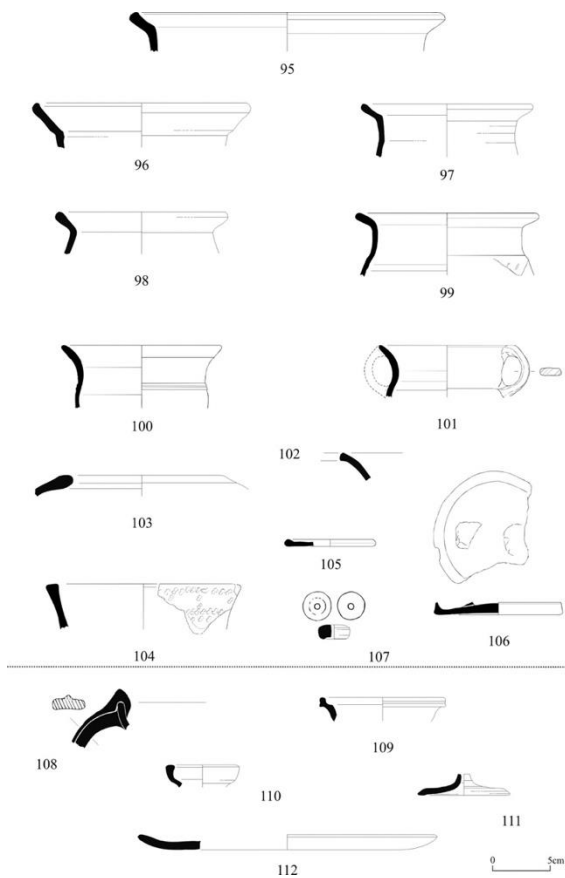


Fig. 16. Cavalariças (Braga). Ceramics of indigenous tradition and roman common ware



Fig. 17. Localization of the necropolises in the Roman Urban Grid of Bracara Augusta, with the Via XVII necropolis

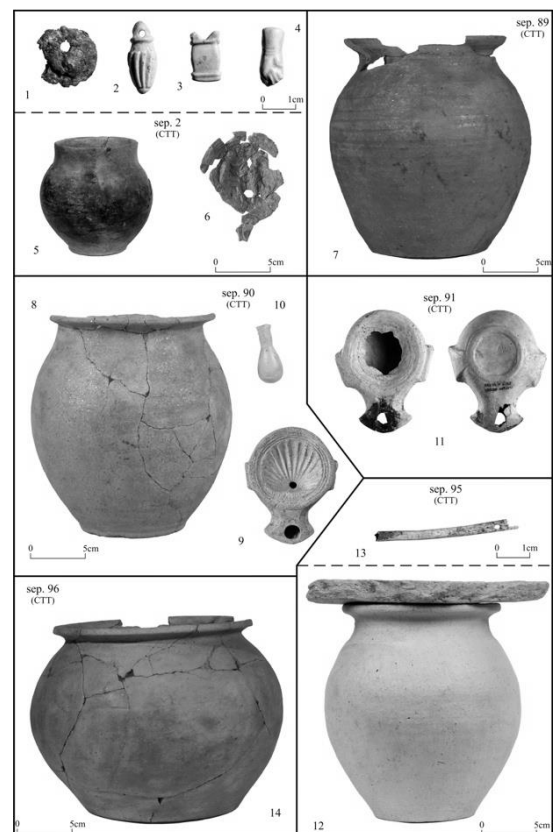


Fig. 18. Via XVII necropolis (graves 2, 89 a 91, 95 and 96)

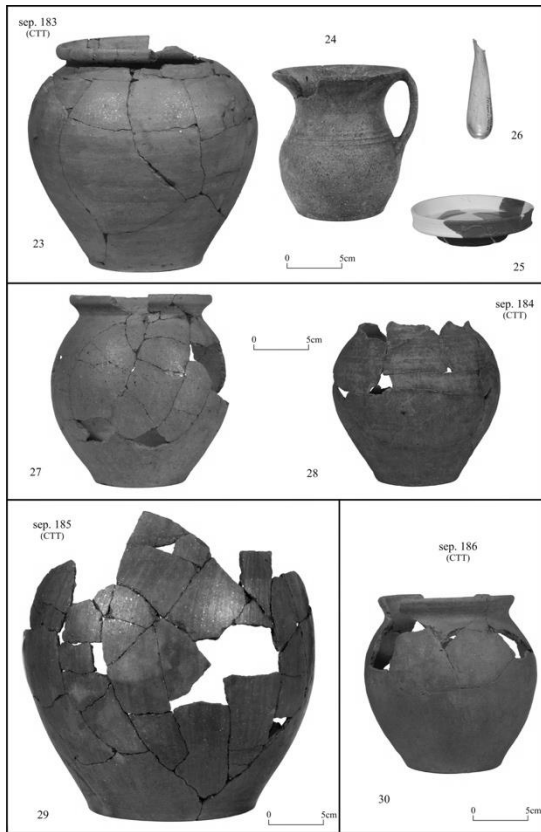


Fig. 19. Via XVII necropolis (graves 183 and 186)

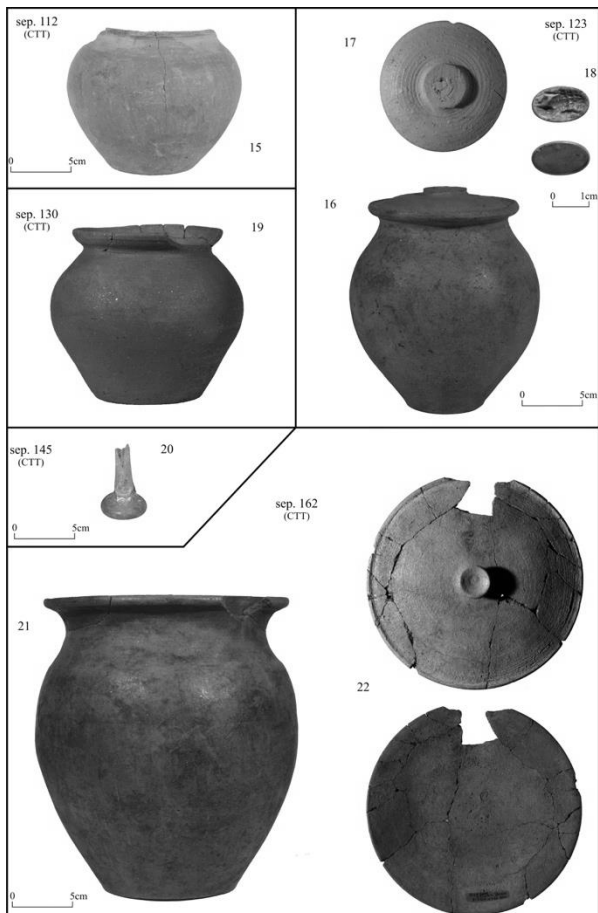


Fig. 20. Via XVII necropolis I (graves 112, 123, 130, 145 and 162)

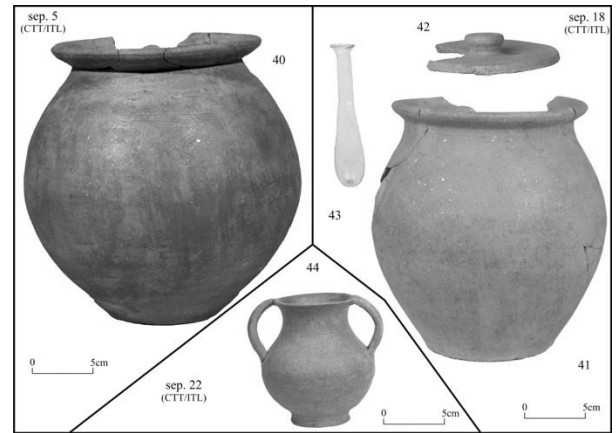


Fig. 21. Via XVII necropolis (graves 5, 18 and 22)

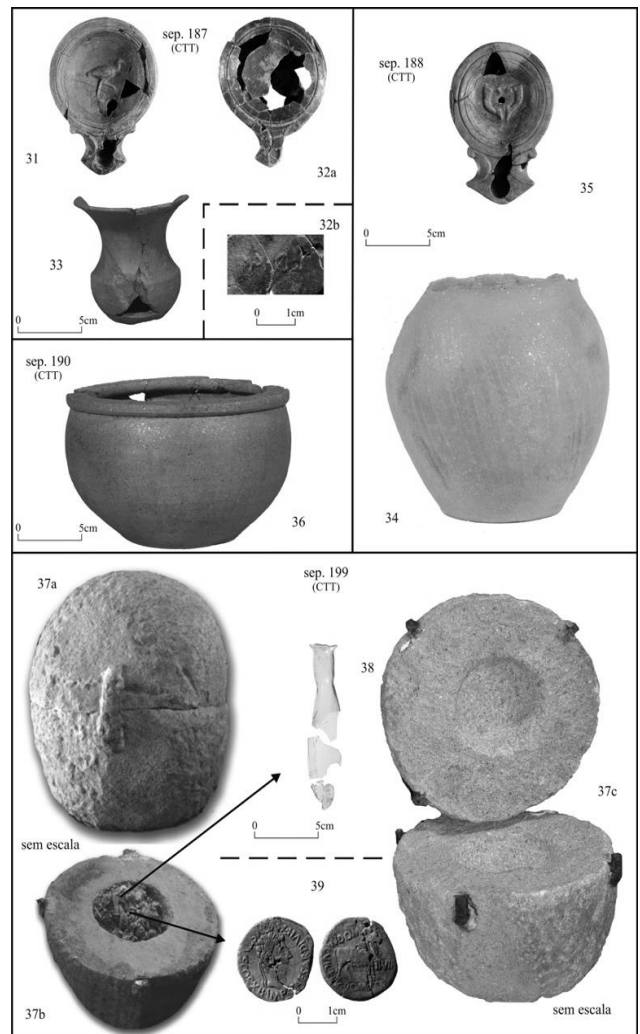


Fig. 22. Via XVII necropolis (graves 187 a 188, 190 and 199)