About 25 years ago P. Arthur suggested an Italic origin for the flat-bottomed amphorae model: he maintained that in the Augustan Age in Northern Campania, in the Garigliano basin⁷, precisely in the Masseria S. Donato workshop (located near Suessa Aurunca), Dressel 2–4 bearing the stamp MAESELS and Dressel 28/Oberaden 74² amphorae were produced side by side. According to the author, these flat-bottomed forms or similar ones were manufactured in the same area as early as the beginning of the 1st century BC as they were found in the ship which sank at Spargi (fig. 1; 2,1) after having set out from Campania⁸.

The dating of these Campanian amphorae in the early 1st century BC can be corroborated by other finds, in particular the 2nd–1st century BC flat-bottomed amphorae from Albitin-millium and from the Albenga shipwreck (fig. 2,2) which N. Lamboglia attributed to the Dressel 28 form – underlining that it had an evolution from the 2nd century BC to the Augustan Age⁹ – and the amphorae found at Portus Cosanus and Casa (fig. 2,3), dating from the second quarter of the 1st century BC, in local fabric according to E. Lyding Will⁹.

Furthermore, a fragment which can be attributed to the same form has been found in the ager Cosanus near Albinia (Casa Brancazzi) (fig. 2,4), in a rural site dated in the early decades of the 1st century BC. All these above-mentioned Italic items appear to belong to the same form and very significantly are similar to the earliest flat-based amphorae produced in Marseilles (Butte des Carmes), from the second half of the 1st century BC, and at Velaux (Moulin-du-Pont)⁴ and Aix-en-Provence⁵ from the Augustan Age.

In P. Arthur’s view, as in the case of Dressel 1 and Dressel 2–4 types, the production of Dressel 28/Oberaden 74 amphorae spread from the central Tyrrenian area to Gaul and Spain where they were abundantly produced in Augustan times and later¹².

A. Tchernia considered this hypothesis “envisageable” but lacking in corroborative evidence¹³.

In 2001 C. Panella wrote that the flat-bottomed model had derived from Late-Republican prototypes¹⁴, citing the chronological evidence provided by N. Lamboglia¹⁴, but, analyzing the Paul Arthur arguments about the productions of these amphorae in Campania, Narbonensis and Tarraconensis, she came to the conclusion that it was not possible to determine a chronological priority among the three regions¹⁵.

But now, given the development of the research about the Roman amphorae in the Western Mediterranean, the recent new data derived from excavations of amphorae workshop centres in Italy and with an overall review of the data already known for some time, we think this topic could be reconsidered, by trying to support P. Arthur’s opinion.

We will present the data from the following workshop centres:

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¹ The district, including the towns of Minturnae, Suessa, Suessa, is still well-known for its luxury wines, such as Falernum and Massicum and for the massive production of wine amphorae starting from the later part of the 2nd century BC (Dressel 1a type); ARTHUR 1991, 71–77.

² ARTHUR 1991, 74–76; see also TCHERNIA 1996, 208. The amphorae do not appear to have been published, but the site is most probably the one referred to by HEINRAD ET AL. 1989, 26; according to the authors Dr. 1 e Dr. 2–4 forms were produced there. A fragment of rim, published in HEINRAD ET AL. 1989 (fig. 10 on the lower right-hand side) seems similar to the Bertucchi 6b = Gauloise 7 form from the Velaux workshop (see PORCHER 2009 fig. 7,6; BERTUCCHI 1992, 109 fig. 50,2). Perhaps the flat–based and miniature Dressel 2–4 amphorae produced in the ager Falernus and in other Campanian districts (ARTHUR 1991, 76; PANELLA/FANO 1977, 151 figs. 25–26) may also be linked to the same productive phenomenon. They were regionally distributed as documented by the items identified in the Pompeii deposits (PANELLA/FANO 1977, 145; 150–151; PANELLA 2001, 194). The work by Panella and Fano remains of fundamental importance for the characterization of the Campanian production see: S. Iavarone/G. OLCHE, Le anfore Dressel 2–4 di produzione tirrenica: una proposta di progetto archeologico ed archeometrico. In: G. Olcese (ed.), Immensa Aquorea Workshop. Atti del Convegno, Roma 2011 (Roma 2013) 221–226. See also REZZO 2014, 109.


⁴ LAMBOLGIA 1952, 166 fig. 24.


⁶ LYDING WILL 1987, 214 figs. IX–441, 442 (type 24a).

⁷ CAMPOLETTI 1984, 156–157 fig. 11,43.


⁹ PORCHER 2009 figs. 7,5–9.


¹¹ ARTHUR 1991, 76.


¹³ PANELLA 2001, 184

¹⁴ See notes 4–5.

1) Vingone near Florentia (Florence, Tuscany).
2) Ca lo Spelli in the ager Pisanus (Livorno, Tuscany).
3) Various centres in the coastal ager Volaterranus (Livorno, Tuscany).
4) Albinia near Cosa (Tuscany).
5) Naxos near Tauromenion (Sicily).

1) Vingone

Vingone is a quarter of Scandicci, a small town bordering the south-western periphery of Florence; its name derives from the torrent Vingone, a left tributary of the river Arno. Here rescue excavations carried out by the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana (in 1980) brought to light a workshop centre involved in various productions (bricks and tiles, common and cooking wares, thin walled pottery, amphorae and others). The Vingone workshop is interpreted as a pottery service centre for the immediate needs of the Florentia colony which dated 59–41 BC on the basis of literary sources. The city wall of Florentia, dated 30–15 BC by stratigraphic evidence, consists of sesquiedales rectangular...
bricks, the same type produced in the Vingone kilns. The most productive phase of the centre lasted up to 20 AD.

In this site Dressel 2–4 and flat-bottomed amphorae were produced, the latter were classified in various types which were thought to be derived from “Gaulish” forms.

Vingone form 2 variants 1 and 2 (Martelli 2008 fig. 110) (figs. 3,1–2). They appear very similar to Gauloise 7 amphorae produced in Gallia from the last third of the 1st century BC, e.g. in the Marseilles (Butte des Carmes) (fig. 3,3) and Velaux (fig. 3,4) workshops.

Vingone form 4 (Martelli 2008 figs. 119–120) (fig. 3,5). From about 30 BC this form started to be manufactured in various areas of Gallia and the Iberian peninsula, respectively classified as Gauloise 222 (fig. 3,6), Gauloise 823 (fig. 3,7) and Oberaden 724 (fig. 3,8).

Vingone form 3 (Martelli 2008 figs. 116–117) (fig. 3,9). It is very similar to the Bertucci 7a produced at Marseille in the first half of the 1st century AD25 (fig. 3,10).

2) Ager Pisanus: Ca lo Spelli Workshop

It is a large productive centre located about 5 km from Portus Pisanus (Northern periphery of Leghorn). It consists of almost five kilns located in different levels along hilly slopes, near the Acqua Salsa torrent. The two lower kilns were partially destroyed by uncontrolled public works, subsequently (2003) the area was the object of surveys and excavations. The two kilns were found to be part of a complex which included a large portico room. They produced brick and tiles, common ware, thin walled pottery and, mainly, amphorae Dressel 1A, Dressel 1B and their intermediate variants26, followed by a scarcer production of Dressel 2–4 and flat-bottomed amphorae (Vingone 2, variant 3 – fig. 4,1 – and Vingone 3 forms29 – fig. 4,2). We have no stratigraphic information for dating the production of these Ca lo Spelli amphorae, but in accordance with the chronology of the other ceramics manufactured in the site, this activity should be circumscribed within the Augustan Age. Furthermore, Vingone 4 amphorae have been found in the horreum recently excavated in the Portus Pisanus area28, thus confirming a local and/or regional distribution of these flat-based containers.

3) Coastal Ager Volaterranus

A lot of pottery workshops have been identified by surveys in the hinterland of Voda Volaterrana29. They were active from the Late Republican up to Late Roman times and produced bricks and tiles, cooking and common wares, dolia, thin walled pottery and amphorae (from Graeco-Italic to Empoli types). In this district flat-based amphorae were also manufactured. Vingone 3 forms were made at the Podere del Pozzo site30 (fig. 4,3), and local similar amphorae appear to have been redistributed in the consumption sites in the countryside, such as the forms Vingone 3 or Vingone 4th (fig. 4,4) and the Gauloise 5 similis31 (fig. 4,5) found in the San Vincenzo Villa which dates from 50 BC32. Moreover, it seems that the Volaterran workshops went through an experimental phase, during which they attempted to produce other types of flat-bottomed amphorae33 which would have constituted a transition to the 1st century AD forms, such as the Spello type, locally produced in large numbers34.

4) Albinia

It is a large and well-known workshop centre located in the ager Cosanus, along the Via Aurelia and near the modern small-town of Albinia and the Albegna river mouth. It was pointed out by Peacock in 197735 and later it was the object of survey campaigns coordinated by D. Manacorda (University of Siena) and of excavations by G. Ciampoltrini (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana)36. In 1999 a Franco-Italian team started an integrated project including survey campaigns, geophysical research and excavations which brought to light a large manufacturing complex consisting of four kilns. Continued and more recent excavation work has provided a more detailed picture of the site’s history and function.


33 Ciamperini, Iconografia 2007, 48 fig. 3.5. The name of the workshop site has been given personally by the authors.
35 From the S. Vincenzo villa: Genovesi 2006, 364 fig. 9,28.
38 Ciamperini, Iconografia 2007, 73.
Fig. 3. Vingone amphora forms compared with Gaulish and Spanish productions.
Late Republic–Early Imperial flat-bottomed amphorae: some remarks about their origins and widespread success

Fig. 4. Flat-bottomed amphorae produced in various Italian workshops.
common wares and amphorae: Dressel 1A and 1C were the most ancient forms, later followed by Dressel 1B40.

Starting from the last third of the 1st century BC the Albinia workshops produced Dressel 2–4 and flat-based amphorae classified by the Authors as being similar to Gaulo- 
ise 7 and Gauloise 55 (figs. 4,6–8) which were respectively produced in Gaul in the last decades of the 1st century BC and in the 1st century AD43. As shown above44, locally produced flat-based amphorae, having an even older chronology, were found at Portus Casanus and Cosse45 and just south of Albinia (Cas Brancazzi)46.

5) Naxos workshops

There is evidence of pottery production in Naxos since the 4th century BC; when the city was destroyed in 403 BC and soon afterwards Tauroremenon was founded on the neighbouring hills, the potters’ activities continued, in fact they developed a specialized production of bricks, tiles and wine amphorae47, in particular the MGS III and Dressel 1 forms.

Starting from the end of the 1st century BC60 these workshops manufactured miniature and flat-bottomed Dressel 2–4 forms (fig. 4,9) and amphorae similar to Gaulish types (G 1b 69 – fig. 4,10 – and G 4 50 – fig. 4,11) respectively produced in Gaul in the 1st century AD 51 and from the mid-14th century AD52.

It was not by chance that when N. Ollà published these amphorae, she considered the problem of the temporal priority of the Sicilian production in relation to the Baetican and Gaulish ones, pointing out moreover that the presence in Sicily of those “provincial” forms was very limited 53. However she did not arrive at a specific conclusion because obviously a single instance was not sufficient to challenge a consolidated tradition of studies. It is therefore possible that this experimental phase started in Naxos in the last decades of the 1st century BC, in the period of the foundation of the colony of Tauroremenon dated 36 or 21 BC 54 which sanctioned the Latin and Roman economic presence, already active in the district for a lot of time 55.

As is well known, in the Naxos area the flat-based amphorae production continued with other types up to the 5th–6th century productions56.

The above-presented documentation seems to have shown that the flat-based amphorae were produced in various Italian workshops in the last decades of the 1st century BC. The Gaulish amphorae do not seem to have been produced before the early Augustan period57, and both the Tarraconensis Oberaden 74, recently analyzed by Carreras and Gonzales58, and the Baetican flat-bottomed amphorae designated as urcei by R. Morais59 can be dated to the same period.

This generic model had standardized dimensions: the height ranged from a minimum of 45 cm to a maximum of 65 cm. In the Vingone productions the sizes went from 45 to 50 cm62; the Tarraconensis Oberaden 74 had an average height of about 65 cm61; the Baetic urcei about 50 cm52. The Gaulish amphorae 2 and 8 had an average height of about 60 cm, while the Gaulish amphorae 9 and 7 were about 55 cm61.

Therefore we think that these Italian, Gaulish and Iberian flat-based forms were regional variations of the same basic prototype and this hypothesis can be supported by the close likeness noted between Gaulish and Spanish amphorae. Many years ago A. Tchernea and J. P. Villa had stressed the great similarities between the flat-bottomed amphora produced at Velaux-Moulin-du-Pont (kiln B) and the ones from Tivissa (Tarraco)48. More recently, Carreras and Gonzales have identified many similarities between the Oberaden 74 and the Gaulish amphorae, in particular the G 2 and G 8 forms, high-

40 BENQUE/TITALI/LAUBENHEIMER 2013, 513–529.
41 Ibid. 528.
42 Ibid. fig. 22,19–21.
43 Gaulish 7: LAUBENHEIMER 1985, 302–306; 385 fig. 162–165. – Gaulish 5: Ibid. 293–299; 390 fig.158.
44 See note 6–7.
45 LYDING WIL 1987, 214.
46 CIAMPOLETTINI 1984, fig. 11.43.
47 LENTINI/MUSCOLINO 2013, 275–277.
48 C. M. COLETTI/M. C. LENTINI, NAXOS (ME), Proprietà GDM (Larunchi). In: G. Olicese (ed.), Atlante dei siti di produzione ceramica (Toscana, Lazio, Campania e Sicilia) (Rome) 2012 461–462 tav. 4.XXIV nn. 2 e 4–5. In particular, the amphorae have been found in the dumping grounds of the GDM building site near the harbour area (OLLÀ 2001, 47).
49 OLLÀ 2001, 55 n. 6 comparable with amphorae produced at Mandelieu in the 1st century AD. See also the productions of Frejus: GERBARI/BERAUD 1996 fig. 11.1.
50 OLLÀ 2001, 55 fig. 5.
51 Rivet 1986, 125–126 fig. 11; GERBARI/BERAUD 1996 fig. 11.1.
53 OLLÀ 2011, 48 and note 12.
54 LENTINI/MUSCOLINO 2013, 279.
55 Ibid. 278–280.
57 The earlier Gaulish amphorae were: BERTUCCHI 1992, 6a = Gauloise 2; BERTUCCHI 1992, 6b = Gauloise 7, Gauloise 8 and Gauloise 9 (LAUBENHEIMER 1985, 385–386).
58 CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012.
60 MARTELLI 2008, 150 fig. 116 (Vingone 3 type); 152 fig. 119.1 (Vingone 4 type).
61 CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 263.
62 See for example the items found in the Sud Perduto 2 shipwreck (BERNAUD 2007 fig. 2).
63 Respectively BERTUCCHI 1992, 101–106 forms 6a = 62, and LAUBENHEIMER 1985, 308 fig. 166; 309 fig. 167; 303 fig. 161.
lighting the extreme difficulty in distinguishing between these types\textsuperscript{65}, as has been evident since Loeschcke’s classification of the Oberaden amphorae\textsuperscript{66}. Moreover, the Authors consider the Tarraconensis Oberaden 74 very similar to the Gauloise 8 amphorae manufactured in some workshops in Narbonese (Saint-Côme, Gard; Saint-Lambert, Fréjus; Aspiran, as well as the above-mentioned Velaux)\textsuperscript{67}. Amphorae classified as Oberaden 74 and G 2 appear to have been manufactured side by side also in the Loron workshop in Istria, dated from 10 AD\textsuperscript{68}.

That the Baetican, Tarraconensis and Gaulish flat-bottomed amphorae had the same fundamental prototype has been pointed out also by E. Garcia Vargas, R. Roberto de Almeida and H. Gonzalez Cesteros, who took into consideration the issue of possible reciprocal influences and derivations between these different regional productions\textsuperscript{69}.

In conclusion, we think that this model derived from an experimental phase in the central Tyrrhenian area of Italy, where the flat-bottomed amphorae appear to have been produced from the beginning of the 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC.

This basic model spread increasingly and became standardized, with the obvious regional variants, in Italy and in the Western Provinces, in the late-Republican-early Imperial period, linked with Augustan colonization and his policy of conquest, particularly because of the veterans’ and soldiers’ requirements.

Quite rightly Carreras and Gonzáles linked the beginning of the Oberaden 74 production in Tarraconensis with the Romanization process: previously with the Cantabrian-Asturian war (29–19 BC) and then with the foundation of the colonies of Celsa and Caesaraugusta in the Ebro valley\textsuperscript{70}.

The same link with the Romanization process can be applied to Gaul where the production of flat-bottomed amphorae started in the districts (Marseille, Nîmes, Fréjus)\textsuperscript{71} which had, for a long time, been progressively involved in the Roman military, political, economic and social system\textsuperscript{72}.

During the conquest of the Western Provinces, Rome established an integrated communication system based on land routes and navigable rivers from the Ebrus to the Rhone\textsuperscript{73}. Therefore in this vast area the new model from Italy was particularly successful: the smaller dimensions and the flat bottoms were very suitable for carts and river-borne transport and moreover these containers could be involved also in the maritime trade\textsuperscript{74}.

Hence the flat-based amphorae were soon utilized for the wine supply for the Roman army throughout the Rhone-Rhine axis, in the same circuits used for terra sigillata and other goods which were sent to the castra\textsuperscript{75}. In this case the smaller capacity and the flat bottoms were no evidence of a “crisis” leading to a reduced distribution of goods, as it would have been the case in Italy from the late 1\textsuperscript{st} century AD\textsuperscript{76}, but, rather, an adaptation to the specific requirements of an expanding market.

For example, flat-bottomed amphorae classifiable as Oberaden 74 began to be manufactured in Lyon between 15 BC and 15 AD\textsuperscript{77}. It is very significant because the town was the site of both the mint for paying the troops on the limes and the branch of Ateius’ sigillata workshops, also supplying the Roman army\textsuperscript{78}.

Transporting wine for the veterans and immediately afterwards for the soldiers along the German limes, these small containers became a symbol of this expansive phase of the Western Mediterranean economy: not only the amphorae models but, above all, the economic processes were a direct consequence of the Augustan policy, in Italy, Gaul, Spain and Germany.

It was not by chance that the greatest exports of Oberaden 74 amphorae are dated between 20 BC and 20 AD, the period which included the operational phase of the best known castra (Oberaden, Dangstetten, Haltern, Neuss)\textsuperscript{79}.

An Oberaden 74 amphora bearing the stamp MAECELS reached the homonymous camp, as is known, dated 12–8 BC\textsuperscript{80}. Even if A. Tchernia excluded the possibility that this stamp belonged to the same series of Dressel 2–4 amphorae stamped in the Masseria S. Donato workshops near Suessa Aurunca\textsuperscript{81}, in any case the productive link between this particular Oberaden 74 amphora and the ager Falernus district seems obvious.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{65} CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 255–256.
\textsuperscript{66} S. LOESCHCKE, Die Römische und die Belgische Keramik aus Oberaden nach den Funden der Ausgrabungen von Albert Baum. In: C. Albrecht (ed.), Das Römerlager in Oberaden und das Uferkastell in Beckinghausen an der Lippe (Dortmund 1942) 7–148 esp. 78; CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 255.
\textsuperscript{67} CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 260–261.
\textsuperscript{69} GARCIA VARGAS/ROBERTO DE ALMEIDA/GONZALEZ 2011, 250–252.
\textsuperscript{70} CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 262–266.
\textsuperscript{71} In general see LAURENHEIMER 1985; F. LAURENHEIMER/A. SCHMITT, Amphores vinaires de Narbonnaise. Production et grand commerce. Création d’une base de données géochimiques des ateliers (Lyon 2009).
\textsuperscript{72} See WOOLEY 1998, 38–47 regarding the ways in which Roman power was established in Gaul, through warfare, political favourites, colonies, taxation and the new economy expanding into Gallic society.
\textsuperscript{73} This topic has been considered by GARCIA VARGAS/ROBERTO DE ALMEIDA/ GONZALEZ 2011, 250–252.
\textsuperscript{74} As stressed by CAPANELLA 2001, 214 note 30.

\textsuperscript{77} A. DESCHÂT/M. GENINI/ J. LABARGUES, Les productions des ateliers des potiers antiques de Lyon, 1\textsuperscript{ère} partie: les ateliers précoce. Gallia 53, 1996, I–249, 111 fig. 84.
\textsuperscript{78} A. PELLETIER, Histoire de Lyon: de la capitale les Gaules à la métropole européenne (Lyon 2004). No less important for the town, in Lyon was the Altar of priesthood worshipping Roma and Augustus (WOOLEY 1998, 35).
\textsuperscript{79} The Oberaden 74 overall chronology extends from 30 BC to 60 AD: CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 266.
\textsuperscript{80} P. ARTHUR 1991, 74 attributed the stamp to the family of the Maesianii Celsi, in particular to Quadratus Maesianus Celsus, a young man of senatorial rank, mentioned in an inscription found at Suessa Aurunca (CIL X 4749). More recently, G. Camodeca has provided a new interpretation of this stamp, attributing it to the Maeritii, the Suessaan family from which the Maesianii Celsi derived (G. CAMODECA, I ceti dirigenti di rango senatorio e decorutale della Campania romana [Napoli 2008] in particular 23–24). See also CARRERAS/GONZALEZ 2012, 266.
\textsuperscript{81} TCHERNIA 1996, 208 (2013): see notes 1 and 2.
The end of the production of the late Republican/early Imperial flat-based amphorae occurred in the mid-1st century AD: the Oberaden 74 form was replaced by Dressel 28, produced in the Guadalquivir valley since approximately 50 AD. In more or less the same years the above-mentioned Gaulish amphorae were replaced by the G 4 form, which, from the 60s AD, began to dominate the markets in Germany and Britain.44

In the following decades and centuries many other amphorae characterized by flat-bottoms or small spikes were produced in Italy and in the provinces, due to different regional and general historical and economic factors.

For example:

– The form Gauloise 4/Dressel 30 was manufactured in North-Africa from the late 2nd century AD: as well as in the well-known Mauretanian workshops83 we now also have to take into consideration the Tunisian ones, identified more recently86. The type also appears to have been produced in Lusitania, Baetica83, Britannia84 and in Eastern Cilicia85.

– Spello, Forlimpopoli, Empoli types were produced in various regions in Central Italy (Tuscany, Emilia-Romagna, Umbria, the Marches, Abruzzo) ranging from the 1st to the early 6th century AD89.

– Sicilian amphorae were manufactured in many workshops in the North-Eastern part of the region from the 1st to the 6th century AD (Ostia II, 523 form; Sant’Alessio Amphora type, Spinella/Via Larunchi amphora type; MR1a and MR1b; Keay 52, Termini Imerese 151 amphora, and others)90. But this is another story. S. M.

Credits

Fig. 1: Giulia Picchi, Pisa. – Fig. 2: 1 PALLARÈS 1986, 93 fig. 6d; 2 LAMBORGIA 1952, 166 fig. 24; 3 LYDING WILL 1987 fig. IX–442 cat. A295; 4 CIAMPOLTRINI 1984 fig. 11,43. – Fig. 3: 1–2 MARTELLI 2008, 146 fig. 110; 3 BERTUCCHI 1992, 109 fig. 50,2; 4 TCHERNIA/VILLA 1977 fig. 6; 5 MARTELLI 2008, 152 fig. 119,1; 6 BERTUCCHI 1992, 103 fig. 45,4; 7 LAUBENHEIMER 1985 fig. 166; 8 CARRERAS/GONZALES 2012; 9 da MARTELLI 2008, 150 fig. 116; 10 da BERTUCCHI 1992, 113 fig. 54,2. – Fig. 4: 1–2 PICCHI ET AL. 2010 fig. 6,3–5; 3 da CHERUBINI/DEL RIO 1997 fig. 3,5; 4 DONATI/PAOLETTI/PARRA 1989 fig. 28,4; 5 GENOVESE 2012 fig. 9,29; 6–8 BENQUET/ITALI/LAUBENHEIMER 2013 fig. 22,19–21; 9–11 OLLA 2001, 54 nr. 2; 55 nr. 5–6.

84 LAUBENHEIMER 1985, 390; CARRERAS/GONZALES 2012, 265–266.
91 See note 56.
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