

Kaiserhauses gezeigt. Die Forschung verweist hier größtenteils auf Caligula, der ja der *damnatio memoriae* anheim fiel, weshalb man seinen Vater Germanicus als Ersatz verwendet hätte. Nun sind allerdings Caligulas militärische Leistungen eher symbolischer Natur: Erinnert sei hier nur an die Episode des Muschelsammelns am Ärmelkanal während seines Britannienfeldzuges, die als Kriegsbeute den Erfolg der Operation suggerieren sollte. Olszewski kann deutlich machen, dass mitnichten nur die Köpfe der in Ungnade gefallenen Personen ersetzt wurden, sondern im Gegenteil auch derjenigen, die positiv konnotiert waren. Somit konnte für die neu entstehenden Statuen gleich noch stärkere Verehrung durch den Bezug auf die Ahnen und deren Leistungen für die *res publica* ausgedrückt werden. Der Autor nimmt für den ursprünglich vorhandenen Originalkopf aufgrund ikonographischer Besonderheiten der Statue, insbesondere des Brustpanzers und der Waffen, eine Identifikation mit Caius Caesar an, was plausibel erscheint.

Insgesamt bietet der Band ein breites Spektrum an Zugängen zum Großneffen des Augustus. Mehrwert für die Forschung bieten vor allem der letzte und vorletzte Artikel zur Statue von Ameria und zur numismatischen *memoria* des Germanicus sowie die Beobachtung von Ziółkowski in seinem Beitrag, dass die beiden von ihm betrachteten taciteischen Passagen in der Zusammenschau bereits auf die tiberische Politik zu beziehen seien. Das Verdienst des Sammelbandes ist es zweifelsohne, ein weiteres Mitglied des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses in den Fokus der Betrachtungen gerückt zu haben, der leider allzuoft in der Forschung nur eine nachgeordnete Rolle spielt.

Saarbrücken

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Juan Fran Álvarez-Tortosa, *Nacimiento y desarrollo de la vinicultura comercial (ss. II a.C. – II d.C.). Modelos de producción agrícola en el noroeste de Hispania*, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2023; 380 S.

The ancient economy has been a long-standing subject of scholarly research, with monographs on specific and regional topics being a particularly important avenue of investigation. The recent surge in case studies has led to a much deeper and more nuanced understanding of the subject. This is especially true for the Roman world, where there has been a welcome proliferation of case studies from across the empire.

Juan Fran Álvarez-Tortosa has produced a masterful study of northeastern Roman Spain (nowadays Catalonia, Spain). His main argument is that general inter-

pretive schemes are useful, but local realities often challenge them. In other words, the *villa* slave system of central Italy, with its large numbers of enslaved people producing large quantities of wine for towns throughout the Roman world, was not the only or even the prevailing system. Álvarez-Tortosa's case study, along with others, challenges the idea that the ancient economy ran exclusively on slave labor during the period from the second century BC to the second century AD. Instead, he argues that there were a variety of production models, both in Italy itself and in the provinces, including those that relied primarily on non-slave labor.

Álvarez-Tortosa begins by challenging the so-called philological/romantic archaeological approach (chapter 2, pp. 17–30). This approach tends to overvalue classical texts, which are limited in scope and reflect an elite worldview. As a result, archaeology is used as a tool to confirm the evidence of these literary sources. This approach can be compared to biblical archaeology, which searches for confirmation of the Bible, rather than to the archaeology of the Middle East, which is not constrained by a literary narrative. Álvarez-Tortosa argues that it is important to use archaeological evidence to produce data and interpretations that differ from or even challenge the main literary narratives. His main tenet is that the archaeological record does not depend on ancient textual narratives and in fact can be used to illuminate the writings of these authors themselves. While Cato, Columella, and Pliny the Younger do mention slaves, they also refer to farmers, day laborers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and husbandmen. Archaeological evidence supports the existence of these other forms of labor relations in the countryside, as well as the sale of products such as wine. Indeed, Álvarez-Tortosa argues that *villas* did not necessarily rely on slaves for their operation.

This case study explores wine production in Roman Hispania Citerior, beginning with the geographic and chronological setting (chapter 3, pp. 31–36). Using Thiessen polygons, the study focuses on five districts around Barcelona: El Maresme, Barcelonès, Baix Llobregat, Western Vallès, and Eastern Vallès. The chronological setting is based on the floruit of wine export, as attested by amphora remains, including evidence from kilns and the distribution of vessels outside the producing areas throughout the empire, from the second century BC to the first AD (chapter 4, pp. 37–43). The corpus includes a variety of agricultural production models, including non-commercial (traditional husbandry) and commercial (specialized, non-specialized, autonomous, and dependent), as well as urban workshops and small producers. This complex system was articulated by its link or otherwise with the market (chapter 5, pp. 45–55). Wine production in Hispania Citerior dates back to the first quarter of the second century BC, becoming a proper industry, even if small, in the last third of the century (chapter 6, pp. 57–75). It

spread in response to political power around the valley of the Cabrera River and the oppidum of Burriac (Cabrera de Mar, Ilturo). The true first commercial wine production started in the first three decades of the first century BC, particularly around the new settlements of Iluro (Mataró) and Baetulo (Badalona) (chapter 7, pp. 77–101).

The territorial reorganization during the Principate of Augustus, in the last three decades of the first century BC, witnessed the spread and floruit of wine commercial industry, thanks to Roman interest but also to indigenous agency (chapter 8, pp. 103–208). The Roman province (Hispania Citerior) during the Julio-Claudian period (14–68 AD) witnessed the increase in road construction, and the flourishing of the wine commercial industry (chapter 9, pp. 209–270).

In the last quarter of the second century BC, two settlement models prevailed: the *villa perfecta* (20%) and small producers (22%), implying that the vast majority does not conform to the model of the large, autonomous, slave-labor *villa* (Chapter 10, pp. 271–291). The first two thirds of the first century AD witnessed an increase in autonomous *villae* (54.2%), due to the decrease of small holders (from 19.6% to 10.9%), but still almost half of the settlements linked to wine commercial production does not conform to the model of the large, slave-labor *villa*.

Álvarez-Tortosa argues that there was no single productive model in the wine industry in Roman Hispania Citerior (chapter 11, pp. 293–297). He shows that there were not only traditional husbandmen and slave labor *villae*, but a complex settlement pattern. However, he acknowledges that there is still a prevailing view that the slave labor *villa* dominated the Roman world countryside. He attributes this view to the impressive data and interpretation proposed by the Italian Marxist school and Andrea Carandini's pioneering dig at Settefinestre. He argues that the slave production model was taken as an interpretive paradigm beyond its original delimitation of the model to Italy in the period from the second century BC to the second AD. Furthermore, he notes that there has been an association of *villa*, slave labor, and specialized country production to be commercialized, as necessarily linked. He argues that the case study in the northeast of Hispania Citerior suggests that this corollary was not necessary.

Álvarez-Tortosa emphasizes that there are hardly any *villae rusticae* with clear evidence of slave quarters or slave labor. He acknowledges that this may be due to the fact that it is hard to find evidence of slaves in the archaeological evidence, but he still maintains that it is clear that there are few available evidences. He stresses that the ancient Roman world was always a slave society, but he also emphasizes that we do not know the real dimension of slavery in the Roman economy. He suggests that this is rather an epistemological question: slavery may be a defining

practice and concept, in that slaves are so overwhelming that they define the Weltanschauung or worldview of a society. In this aspect, there is no doubt, as states Álvarez-Tortosa, that Rome was a slave society. However, he argues that this was only so for a short period, from the end of the Second Punic War to the end of the first century AD. Even in this central period, he notes that it is still difficult to know how much this was so throughout the Roman world, as it depends on the further study of local realities in the huge area covered by the Empire. He suggests that the evidence gathered in Italy itself reveals a variety of settlements, beyond the autonomous and centralized *villae*. He argues that only new field research in Italy and throughout the empire may confirm the suggestion that different modes of production were in place.

I agree with Álvarez-Tortosa that it is important to consider the historiographic discussion when trying to understand the evidence. Commercial agriculture is key here, for the importance of trade in the Roman world has been linked to slavery in a way not dissimilar to the modern slave system, which also depended on trade. It is thus clear that slavery and trade may be coincidental in different historical contexts. In the case of the Roman world for a period, this relationship was clear and commercial agriculture and its features is one of the main issues. The Roman *villa* has been taken as the prototype of the large slave-holding exploitation, producing commodities for the market, including both private and state ones. The ancient world and the Roman one in particular had a complex mix of private and state interests, so much so that the key political role of the army and the Roman people is also to be taken into account. But in any case, trade is part of the issue, as taxes and purchases by the state are interlinked to the market.

Chattel slavery was not the only labor force, but different other labor relations were present in different parts of the Roman world, including in trading agricultural production, from husbandry to tenant-farming, passing through other labor relations, such as seasonal labor management. This variety is not always evident in the ancient literature, not even in the specialized one: Cato, Varro, and Columella. However, it is always there the mix of slaves with free laborers and day farm-workers, increasingly so, peaking with Columella. From the early second century there are also references to *coloni*, as in Pliny the Younger. The archaeological record contributes to a much better understanding of this picture, as it comes from different places. As the archaeological record is continuously increasing, and considering also the study of the unpublished and published field work reports, the outlook is bright.

The case study of Northeast Roman Spain, in ancient Hispania Citerior, attests to the importance of detailed local analysis. The accumulation of monographs on

different places throughout the Roman world may prove decisive to figure out the complex features of commercial agriculture in different periods. Álvarez-Tortosa's book serves as an encouragement for others to further explore the complexities of Roman country settlement.

Campinas

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