

*Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche.* Actes du colloque de Sienne (22–24 mai 1986). Collection de l'École Française de Rome, Band 114. École Française de Rome, Rom 1989. 618 Seiten mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text.

This generously produced, and very large, volume presents the acta of a colloquium held in Siena in 1986. The subject of the colloquium was wide-ranging; the contribution of Roman amphorae, whose production spanned almost a millennium and encompassed much of the Roman world, to the study of economic history. Some 61 papers mostly in French or Italian, with some in Spanish or English, are published.

The volume stands in direct succession to two ones previously published by l'École Française de Rome: P. BALDACCİ (ed.), *Recherches sur les amphores romaines*. Coll. de l'École Franç. de Rome 10 (1972); *Méthodes classiques et méthodes formelles dans l'étude typologique des amphores*. Coll. de l'École Franç. de Rome 32 (1977), which derived from similar colloquia held in 1971 and 1974. The intent of the 1986 colloquium was to review developments between 1974 and 1986, and it is clear that considerable progress has been made in many areas. In assessing this progress, it is germane to recall that the colloquium was organised by two Italian institutions (l'Università degli Studi di Siena and l'Università degli Studi di Roma-La Sapienza) and two French ones (le Centre national de la recherche scientifique [RCP 3403] and l'École Française de Rome), for this has a bearing on the extent to which the acta contribute to an economic history of the Roman world.

Most of the major papers concentrate on Italy and the western Mediterranean in the late Republic and early Principate. This is an area where the study of amphorae and the commodities they carried have been thrust to the forefront of economic history. The very considerable production and distribution of Italian commodities in the later Republic, followed by the rapidly changing patterns of import and export of food-stuffs between Italy and the western provinces, was barely suspected from literary and epigraphic sources. The amphorae which have attracted most attention in these studies usually carried wine, although amphorae for olive-oil and fish-based commodities were also distributed widely. To have shifted the focus of much work on economic history represents a considerable achievement.

In part there are good reasons for the emphasis on the early west in the present volume, amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean were considered in the proceedings of a related conference held in Athens in 1984: J. Y. EMPEREUR/Y. GARLAN (eds.), *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*. Bull. Corr. Hellénique, Suppl.

13 (1986). However, it does result in the later Roman and Byzantine period not being considered in the present volume as fully as it might be, and as the two major papers (out of 18 in all) on this area and some of the poster papers (39 are included) indicate, considerable progress has been made in this field. In effect the volume primarily considers the frequently excellent work by French and Italian scholars on the early west, but even within this field, the emphasis on wine amphorae which were themselves considered in a conference held in Barcelona in 1985 (*El vi a l'antiguitat: economia, producció i comerç al Mediterrani occidental*. Barcelona, Monografies Badalonines 9 [1987]), and the omission of some very important topics, for example shipwrecks (with the partial exception of Cambi, pp 311–37), is puzzling.

As the major papers in the present volume show, the pace of research is uneven. The careful and thoughtful papers on epigraphic evidence from stamps on amphorae (MANACORDA, pp 443–67) and pozzolana stoppers (HESNARD and GIANFROTTA, pp 393–441) obviously draw on a long tradition, but without the huge increase in the number of pozzolana stoppers found *in situ* in the necks of amphorae on shipwrecks, and also the number of painted inscriptions (*tituli picti*) also found on amphorae on shipwrecks, these studies would be less soundly based. The systematic prospection for kilns in western Italy and their characterization by scientific analyses (HESNARD, RICQ, ARTHUR, PICON and TCHERNIA, pp 21–65; RICQ DE BOUARD [sic], MEILLE, VICHY and PICON with MATTIAS, pp 257–68) also reflects the stimulus for such studies provided by earlier work on late Republican amphorae from western Italy. In contrast, the amount of research devoted to eastern Italy (CIPRIANO and CARRE, pp 67–104; ZACCARIA, pp 469–88), and Dalmatia (CAMBI, pp 311–37) has until recently lagged behind, but for the eastern Mediterranean, the papers by PEACOCK, BEJAOU, and BELAZREG (pp 179–22), and EMPEREUR and PICON (pp 223–48) both represent pioneering studies of provenance and production.

Even so, there is much still to be learnt about the production and consumption of amphora borne commodities in western Italy, as is shown by what appear, at present at least, to be both comparatively minor types (ARTHUR, pp 249–56), and increasingly important ones. The latter, with a range of developed Dressel 2–4 types and flat-bottomed flagon-like types, demonstrate the continuing importance of Italian viticulture after the early Principate in a period when the evidence of Italian exports would suggest that it was in decline (PANELLA, pp 139–78), and when imported Gaulish wines were increasingly popular (WIDEMANN and NACIRI, pp 285–96).

The recognition of the continuing importance of Italian production owes much to the careful study and quantification of assemblages from settlement contexts. There is a danger here. The importance ascribed to Italian amphorae in the early west was often ascribed to production and export from Italy without due consideration of either military supply (NOLLA and NIETO, pp 367–91) or of the Barbarian peoples who were assumed to demand the imports. With the recognition of continuing Italian production, but diminished export, the emphasis of many studies appears to be shifting towards Italian consumption, and in particular quenching the thirst of Rome. In practise the focus for much of this work was, and remains, Roman Italy, particularly Rome and her hinterlands.

Much of this work focussed on Italy has been of a high quality but a more balanced approach, in terms of both method and theory, would see an increasing balance between studies of production *and* consumption. These tend to cross language barriers (and there are not any foreign languages summaries in the present volume) and the results of two such studies are summarised; LAUBENHEIMER's on the production and consumption of wine in Gaul (pp 105–38: F. LAUBENHEIMER, *La production des amphores en Gaule Narbonnaise sous le haut-empire*. Ann. Litt. Univ. Besançon 327, Series Centre Histoire Ancienne 66 [1985]) and REMESAL's on the manufacture and export or perhaps taxation in kind of Baetican olive oil (pp 489–503: J. REMESAL RODRIGUEZ, *La annona militaris y la exportación de aceite betico a Germania*).

Some of the best, integrated, studies which apply research on production in both Italy and the western provinces, and assimilate this with scientific characterization, contextual information and quantification for data about supply, consumption and diet are appearing from studies on the frontiers of the Roman world. Thus the contribution from DESBAT and MARTIN-KILCHER, *Les amphores sur l'axe Rhône-Rhin à l'époque d'Auguste* (pp 339–65) draws on work such as that by J. VAN DER WERFF, *Roman amphoras at Nijmegen: a preliminary report*. Ber. ROB 34, 1984, 347–87 and Martin-Kilcher's systematic publication of the amphorae from the colonia at Augusta Rauricum in Förschungen in Augst. The production at Lyon of types of amphorae which usually contained fish-based products may point to the bulk transportation to Lyon of these commodities in different sorts of containers.

The present volume undoubtedly witnesses a tremendous advance in the study of amphorae between 1974–86, but it cannot fairly be said to witness an interpretive economic history. This is reflected by the organization of the volume, which lacks editorial direction. There are 18 major papers, but few are overviews or syntheses, rather than substantive pieces of primary research or summaries of such work. The inclusion of 39 poster papers shows how much work is being undertaken, but their summary publication without the support of the verbal presentations which are an integral part of poster papers/presentations does not do them justice. As published they are effectively summaries of new discoveries or of primary research.

In contrast the 'final debate' on interpretation amounts to only four papers, two of which encapsulate the economic histories which the present volume falls between. CARANDINI (pp 505–21) revises a typology of production in Italy; in this case of economic institutions not amphorae. Instead TCHERNIA (pp 529–36) focusses on the change from a world of different societies, that is to say the later Republic, to a world which Romanization had made more uniform and in which there was a different balance between Rome and what were now the western provinces of the early Principate. In making those remarks TCHERNIA is by no means exempted from all of the comments made here, but his vision extends beyond Italy and his "Le vin de l'Italie romaine". *Bibliothèque des Écoles Franç. d'Athènes et de Rome* 261, attempts the economic histories largely absent from the present volume.

There can be no dispute concerning the advances made in the study of Roman amphorae in the late Republic and early Principate between 1974–86, and these have given this field of study a great initiative. However, if the next colloquium on Roman amphorae sponsored by the École Française de Rome does not show a wider vision and a shift away from containers to contents and consumption, to context and quantification then that initiative may well be lost.

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