

references, and even nomenclature, such as εἰς ὁ θεός, *mystes* taken as plural, ‘the Iseum Campanese’, all repeated.

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PAULINA KOMAR, *EASTERN WINES ON WESTERN TABLES: CONSUMPTION, TRADE AND ECONOMY IN ANCIENT ITALY* (Mnemosyne supplements 435). Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021. Pp. xiii + 376, illus. ISBN 9789004433700. €115.00/US\$139.00.

The role of Eastern wines in Roman Italy is an important yet long under-studied aspect of the ancient (wine) economy. Paulina Komar fills this void with an explicitly holistic and multi-faceted analysis of their supply and consumption in the peninsula in late republican and early/high imperial times. She starts with an unprecedented organoleptic review of these wines, moulding the relevant literary evidence into an expert oenological discussion that reveals much of their qualities and defaults. She then scrutinises the diachronic scale of imports based on amphora finds from Campania, Rome-Ostia and the northern Adriatic. This convincingly shows the increasing dominance of these wines over time, and the overall popularity of Aegean wines across Italy, but also reveals the distinct profile of the Adriatic, where local wines continued to rule in all periods. The data so presented provide strong indications for aggregate economic growth in several parts of early imperial Italy, but it remains to be seen if these trends can also be linked with per capita economic growth, as K. argues. However plausible it may be, corroborating such a claim would require more than the archaeological data which are discussed in this book.

A subsequent ranking of Eastern wines (based on texts and amphorae) reveals an interesting if still largely hypothetical (as K. admits) shift from expensive luxury wines to cheaper mass drinks across Republic and Empire. There seems, however, no denying that the success of Aegean wines was linked in part to the low transport costs associated with carrying them to Italy, as demonstrated by the author’s use of Stanford’s ORBIS Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (<https://orbis.stanford.edu>). Still, even if these and other datasets suggest a role for modern-looking market forces and profit maximisation in the Roman economy, K.’s insightful prosopographic and socio-onomastic analysis of *tituli picti* on Rhodian, Cnidian, Cilician and Coan amphorae from Campania in the next chapter discloses a typically ‘Roman’ trade system, ruled by a dynamic entanglement of various actors and groups, from freedmen to elite, and from private to state. This synergy — largely responsible for the prominence of Cretan vintages among Aegean wines in Rome, whose grain *annonae* ships passed the island on route from Alexandria — was the key constituting mechanism of Roman economic pathways, shaped and structured in entirely different ways to modern economies (A. Tchernaia, *The Romans and Trade* (2016)).

As K. rightly observes in her sixth and final chapter, it was precisely the transformation of this system — and much less so pure commercial motives — that caused the decline of Aegean (and particularly Cretan) wines and the following rise of Palestinian, Cilician and Cypriote wines after the third century A.D. But while Komar considers this switch as mostly reflecting the lessening of market forces and the tightening of the state’s grip on the late antique economy, history and archaeology suggest a more organic process of change, unfolding against the background of socio-political and environmental developments, and increasingly influenced by the emergence of the Church as an important player in trade.

K. has produced a valuable contribution to the debate on Roman Italy’s wine economy. For sure, the lacunose geographical coverage of the book (large parts of Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Italy remain un-discussed) and the variety of contexts analysed (mingling houses, shops, baths, graves and drainage works) raise questions about the representativeness of its results for Roman Italy as a whole. Also, much of the author’s reasoning is anchored in the now dreary primitivist-versus-modernist debate, which in this reviewer’s view continues to hinder rather

than help investigation of the ancient economy. Despite these minor caveats, K. has succeeded in skilfully dissecting the dialects of the Eastern wine phenomenon in Italy, appropriately visualised through helpful maps and graphs. Two useful appendices (collecting first all relevant textual sources and then Eastern wine amphora types), together with a comprehensive bibliography, offer ample ground to continue the study.

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PETER CANDY and EMILIA MATAIX FERRÁNDIZ (EDS), *ROMAN LAW AND MARITIME COMMERCE*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. Pp. x + 204, illus. ISBN 9781474478144. £85.00.

The volume collects an introduction and nine papers, which are in part the product of a seminar held in Helsinki on 12–13 September 2019. In the introduction, the editors point out how the divide between the study of legal rules and principles in themselves (internal history) and analysis of how the law interacts with society (external history) has affected the historiography of the relationship between Roman law and maritime commerce. Written by legal historians, archaeologists and historians *tout court*, the papers collected in this volume seek to investigate the interface between Roman law and maritime trade from a holistic perspective.

Building on both literary and archaeological evidence (including traditions regarding the resources of the Tiber delta, the Roman attempt to colonise Corsica, discoveries of Etrusco-Corinthian vases, and the first treaty between Carthage and Rome), Gabriele Cifani highlights the role of fishing, salt production, shipbuilding, maritime trade and piracy in archaic Rome. Reacting against ancient and modern *clichés* that describe its economy as merely pastoralist, Cifani argues that archaic Rome was, in cultural terms, already a maritime society. Peter Campbell focuses on contingency as a hallmark of seafaring, which he sees as ‘a negotiation with the marine environment subject to chance and changing circumstances’ (25) and a ‘series of decisions made instance-to-instance’ (28) based on the conditions of the sea. The case is compellingly illustrated with the troubled voyages of St Paul and Synesius. However, we should not underestimate the efforts by experts in maritime commerce (merchants, shipowners and captains) to document the characteristics of each sea route (*periploi* and *diaploi* are based on experience) in order to manage the risks of the sea voyage. Piracy is the focus of Anna Tarwacka’s chapter, specifically how Romans came early to classify piracy as a form of lawlessness, denying that a free person became a slave after being captured and sold by pirates. Drawing from the second treaty between Rome and Carthage, Plautus’ comedies, Pseudo-Quintilian’s declamations and other sources, Tarwacka reviews the legal procedures through which pirates’ captives could be recovered to freedom and emphasises the different fate of captives who were kept for ransom.

Annalisa Marzano argues that, in the Roman world, successful trade relied heavily on a complex network of social interactions and personal contacts, which she labels the ‘personal infrastructure of maritime trade’. The point is extensively and persuasively argued by discussing epigraphical evidence from Italy, Baetica, Lugdunensis and Asia. Developments in the formulae of *tituli picti* on Dressel 20 amphoras are interpreted by Emilia Mataix Ferrándiz as reflecting changes in how the supply was circulated. She also appeals to the Saepinum inscription (following, however, Corbier’s questionable interpretation) and Claudius Iulianus’ letter to the *navicularii* from Arelate in order to give examples of the protection extended by the imperial administration to the individuals working for the *annona*. Gianfranco Purpura deals with problems arising from the bulk transport of cargoes that were to be sold in several ports and belonged to multiple merchants. He cites the *deigmata* (samples sealed in little amphorae, little sacks, and small flasks) as an expedient that would have enabled transactions in different ports without unloading and reloading commodities at each port. Drawing on *Dig.* 19.2.31, Purpura then goes on to spell out the obligations of the carrier (*nauta*) towards the merchants (*vectores*).