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# UNA LEZIONE DI ARCHEOLOGIA GLOBALE

## Studi in onore di Daniele Manacorda

*a cura di  
Mirco Modolo, Silvia Pallecchi,  
Giuliano Volpe, Enrico Zanini*

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# *E S T R A T T O*

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Le immagini

# The Domitii Ahenobarbi and Tribal Slaving in Gaul

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## Abstract

This reflection the Cosan amphora trade from the point of view of the Gallic importers draws its inspiration from Daniele Manacorda's contribution to the subject. I briefly review the recent archaeology of the Auvergne, particularly that of the *oppidum* of Corent, and then discuss the function of wine in the context of the Gallic slaving states. The final section deals with the peculiar relationship between the producers of the territory of Cosa and the major importing tribes, the Aedui and the Arverni. The article derives from a work in progress on Slaving States.

**Key-words:** Celtic slaves; amphorae; Gaul; Domitii Ahenobarbi.

Maria-Grazia Celuzza's paper in this volume stimulates me to reflect on the role played by the Domitii Ahenobarbi in the society of pre-Roman Gaul. Although not the first instance of a society in which slaving played a substantial role, Gaul gives us perhaps the clearest and the best-documented example. The large-scale importation of alcohol, the abrupt change in settlement patterns, and the well-documented importation of large amounts of Celtic slaves into Italy during the second and first centuries BC – come together to form a coherent picture. The stimulating work of the first Istituto Gramsci conference, and Daniele Manacorda's contribution to that reflection<sup>1</sup>, remain milestones in the study of Roman society in the second and first centuries BC, and provide a key with which we can examine the religious and social context of the trade on its periphery, the area to the north of the Province of Gallia Narbonensis. Archaeological work in Gaul, particularly in the last few decades of rescue archaeology along motorways, has revealed hundreds of sites of this period, giving an intricate and detailed pattern of the interplay between the coastal emporia zone, the slaving states to the north of it, and, further north and west, of the areas that were preyed on, and those that resisted. The work of André Tchernia, Fanette Laubenheimer, Fabienne Olmer and Matthieu Poux remains fundamental to this study<sup>2</sup>.

## Settlement Patterns in Pre-Roman Gaul

Until Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, our sources for this period are a series of scattered texts that owe much to Poseidonius' account of the Celts, based on travels at the beginning of the

first century BC<sup>3</sup>. Although lost, it clearly served as a textbook for later writers and was extensively quoted by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Caesar himself. The area this paper focusses on is that which Caesar describes as Celtic. At its center lies the Massif Central, with, on its southern edge, the range of mountains running roughly southwest-northeast known to the Romans as the Cevenna (fig. 1). Linked to the Mediterranean coast by the Rhone as well as a series of smaller rivers, it constitutes the heart of Celtic territory, with easy communications both to the north and to the south. To the north begins the drainage basin of the Loire valley, and, further north again, that of the Seine. It was from the area of the Massif Central that a group of tribes, including the Arverni, the Aedui, the Carnutes and others, marched on North Italy around 390 BC, encouraged by Etruscans worried by the growing power of Rome<sup>4</sup>.

One of the best-studied territories is that identified with the tribe of the Arverni, in the eponymous Auvergne, to the southeast of Clermont-Ferrand<sup>5</sup>. Here the bulk of the sites of the fourth and third centuries BC. were undefended small farms. The most important of these were larger structures, with numerous farm buildings enclosed by ditches. An example of this is the 3<sup>rd</sup> century site of Pâtural, with a square courtyard enclosed by a palisade, measuring around .4 ha<sup>6</sup>. Both its size and the relative richness of its finds, including over 100 amphorae and traces of a forge, suggest that this was an aristocratic residence, in sharp contrast to the little farms of the area. Around the same time, a large agglomeration was built some 5 km away, at Aulnat-Gandaillat, covering over 150 ha<sup>7</sup>. This was undefended, with roads running

<sup>1</sup> Manacorda 1980; 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Tchernia 2009; 2016; Laubenheimer 2007; Olmer 2010; Poux 2004; 2011; 2015.

<sup>3</sup> On the literary sources for the Gauls, Goudineau, 2007, 162-164.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, *Hist.* V, 33-35.

<sup>5</sup> Poux (ed.), 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Deberge, Collis and Dunkley 2007; Poux 2004, 133.

<sup>7</sup> Most recently Deberge, Vermeulen and Collis 2007, with previous bibliography.





Fig. 1. - Oppida in Gaul c. 70 BC (after Collis 1984).

through it. The properties, their lots defined at times by palisades, are themselves very like the rural farms, with all of the standard annexes of granaries and farm buildings. As at Pâtural, the architecture was of wood, and the plans of the houses are determined by postholes. No 'public' structures are known from the site, although its huge size means that Aulnat has not been entirely excavated<sup>8</sup>. This massive agglomeration lasted for two centuries, until the end of the second century BC: it was not the only agglomeration on the plain, although the others were significantly smaller. However, at the end of the second century BC and during the first half of the first, fully three defended *oppida* appeared to the south of it. Of these, the site of Corent, ten km to the south of Aulnat-Gandaillat, has been the most thoroughly investigated, and throws new light on what we know about the development of urban sites in Gaul<sup>9</sup>. Its appearance signaled the end of open settlement on the plains, which disappeared entirely by the end of the century<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.arafa.fr/SPIP/spip.php?article41>.

<sup>9</sup> Poux (ed.) 2011, from which the following description is taken.

<sup>10</sup> Lallemand 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Poux (ed.) 2015, 37-58.

The first occupation on the site of the plateau of Corent, whose steep sides make it admirably defensible, took the form of a sanctuary in a large, square enclosure surrounded by a palisade, with an elaborate entrance tower<sup>11</sup>. Within it, two small structures covered vats and altars that served for sacrifice, while a wooden enclosure, probably for animals destined to be sacrificed, occupied the southern corner. Within a generation, towards the end of the century, a town grew up around the sanctuary, reserving in front of it a vast open space that must have functioned as a public square. At this point the sanctuary was rebuilt, decorated on its exterior with human skulls and arms trophies, and at the gate with the skulls of carnivores such as foxes and wolves. Inside, porticoes to protect the banqueters were built, along with multiple hearths on which meat was roasted.

A separate building, just next to the market, was a long structure with a central trench designed, apparently, to hold as many as 120 amphorae of wine at one time under the floor level: many of these were found still *in situ*. This was just one of the areas of the town in which evidence for a massive importation of wine can be found: Poux estimates the total importation of Italian wine amphorae at 100,000 amphorae over a period of just over fifty years<sup>12</sup>. Although there has been a sub-

stantial question about the urban status of many of the *oppida*, most of which seem to be defended agglomerations rather than having a specifically urban structure<sup>13</sup>, the public buildings – sanctuary, market and central square – at Corent, and the enormous amount and variety of artisan activity found there, leave no doubt that its status was urban by any measure. It also seems to have been placed well at the top of the settlement hierarchy in the region. Two other defended sites were created. One of these is Gondole, lying six kilometers from Corent, and founded around 70 BC. This is an *oppidum* on the river Allier, which seems to have specialized in pottery production, using the clay banks of the river for its raw materials. Here the houses and the building lots are smaller than at Corent, and only a few weapons have been found. However, the rampart, built around the time of Caesar, is impressive, while outside it is a striking burial ground, with large trenches in which eight horses and as many humans are buried together<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>13</sup> Collis 1984; Woolf 1993. Both were, of course, written before the excavations at Corent. On the reassessment of many of the *oppida* Fernández-Götz 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Cabezero, Caillat and Meniel 2007.



The final site, again built just before the arrival of Caesar in 52 BC, has always been identified with the 'Gergovia' of the Gallic Wars, which Caesar believed to be the birthplace of Vercingetorix, and which was certainly his headquarters at one point during the war. Now, while the vast amount of Roman and Celtic armour found at the site, as well as two Roman camps placed between Gergovia and Gondole and linked by long ditches, leave no doubt that this was the site of the famous battle, the late date of the foundation of the *oppidum* seems to imply that it could not have been the birthplace of the Celtic commander<sup>15</sup>. Indeed, the only structures that date with any certainty to the time of Caesar are the imposing ramparts themselves. Poux tends to see the three sites as functionally different poles of a single urban system, with Corent serving as the political and aristocratic capital of the territory (perhaps the Nemossos of Strabo or the *Mons Arvernus*<sup>16</sup>), Gondole as a productive agglomeration with its own hierarchy, and Gergovia as it fortress, built at a very specific conjuncture for purely defensive purposes. Other *oppida* occupied the heights on both sides of the river Allier towards the northern end of the Arverni territory, but their dating is less certain<sup>17</sup>.

I have lingered on the changes in settlement pattern in the Auvergne because the information on them is so recent, and so good. The progression from the undefended, open settlement of the fourth and third centuries, with at least one aristocratic residence at Pâtural, to the large, but still undefended agglomeration of Aulnat-Gandaillat, followed a century later by the construction, first of what was perhaps the major sanctuary of the Arverni at Corent, and then by that of the planned, defended city around it, and the subsequent development of satellite *oppida*, point towards a social development that would, even without the texts, be characterized as state formation, occurring over the period from 150 to perhaps 80 BC. The centralized defense and nucleated population, as well as the clearly – planned urbanism of Corent, point to a move beyond chieftancy or kingship towards a fully-fledged oligarchy, with the power vested in an aristocracy which competed for power within the state. The texts further support this hypothesis: Poseidonius tells of Luernios, who gained power (or demonstrated it) with the multitudes by throwing gold and silver to the Celts in his path, and created a huge enclosure filled with vats of high-quality wine, offering a feast that went on for days<sup>18</sup>. His name derives from the Celtic word for 'fox', and it is impossible not to associate him with the fox skulls over the sanctuary gate, and the multiple coins from the sanctuary

bearing the image of the same animal<sup>19</sup>. His successor Bituitos adopted an even more grandiose style, travelling on a silver chariot accompanied by an escort of warriors dressed as wolves (a continuation of the totemic association of the family with wild beasts). His embassy to the Romans in c.122 BC, does seem to have come from a larger confederation, loosely associated with the Saluvii and the Allobroges, rather than from the Arverni alone, as Appian's confused identification of Bituitos as king of the Allobroges suggests. Under Bituitos, they raided their neighbours the Aedui, a friction that persisted in subsequent decades<sup>20</sup>.

The Arverni were not the only group where some kind of state formation in this period seems particularly evident, although I shall deal more briefly with the others. To the northeast of them were found the Aedui, whose *oppidum* at Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, is one of the best-known in Gaul, and referred to by Caesar as an *oppidum longe maximum et copiosissimum*<sup>21</sup>. Allied from an early date with the Romans, the Aedui thus distinguished themselves from the Arverni, who were not. Their territory straddled the area between headwaters of the Rhône and those of the Loire and the Seine, occupying a strategic corridor which linked the coastal zone, and particularly Massilia, with the inland areas and the Loire valley. Just to the south of them, their clients the Segusiavi, controlled the confluence with the Saône at Lugdunum (Lyon). Their geographical position thus enabled the Aedui to control goods moving through their lands with customs duties, and explains, perhaps, their early and close relationship with Rome. Indeed, there is a real reason to suspect that Lugdunum, which Strabo describes as an emporium in his day, constituted the main inland emporium in the earlier period as well<sup>22</sup>.

The third quarter of the second century BC. thus produced an extremely rapid change in the previous settlement pattern, with open sites being replaced by defended settlements along the whole of the chain from the Massif Central to the Jura, with the exception of the area of Aquitania, where the open sites persisted<sup>23</sup>. This creation of large, fortified settlements happened very quickly, but only in a relatively restricted area, that of the large and opposed polities of Central Gaul. What are we to make of these changes over a vast area, and the speed with which they took place? North of the emporial zone were found tribal areas with (like everywhere in Gaul) an aristocratic élite whose principal activity was petty warfare, usually with their neighbours. Towards the beginning of the second century the previously dispersed settlement of the area slowly began to concentrate in larger

<sup>15</sup> Poux (ed.) 2011, 239.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, *Geography* IV, 2, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Lallemond 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.152; Poseidonius frag. 170, 30-40,

<sup>19</sup> Pranyies 2011, 181.

<sup>20</sup> Florus I, 37.

<sup>21</sup> Caesar *BG* 1, 23. Goudineau and Peyre, 1993.

<sup>22</sup> Note that at the time of Caesar Roman merchants were found in settlements right up the Loire, such as Cenabum; *BG* 7, 1, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Haselgrove and Guichard 2013.

settlements. The neighbouring tribes would have emulated each other, and their hostility led to leap-frog alliances, like that between the Arverni and the Sequani. As the market for slaves developed, these states began to raid, not only their neighbours, but further out to the north and east: the Arverni towards the coast, through the territories of the Lemovices and the Pictoni, the Aedui towards the basin of the Seine, where we later find their ‘allied’ tribes – the Senones, the Parisii and the Bellovaci – tribes whose alliance, by the time of Caesar may have been won at sword point. These imbricated groups were clearly at odds with each other, competing both militarily and in terms of settlement type, with ever-larger oppida facing each other across their borders, and specialized oppida like Gergovia built for emergency defense. Indeed, Gergovia could be interpreted as having the double function of defense and a holding place for the 2000 slaves that must, on average, have been traded by the Arverni each year<sup>24</sup>. The importance of the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône for this traffic is emphasized by Strabo’s mention of the struggle between the Aedui and the Sequani for its control<sup>25</sup>. The area to the north of the Massif Central thus became emptier, with settlement particularly rare in the lower valleys of the Seine and the Loire. Although we know the names of a number of tribes in the area, there is not much trace of them. It is impossible to prove an archaeological negative, but the suspicion remains that some areas became emptied as their population was raided or chased out in the first half of the first century.

## Wine for the Gauls

The scientific study of the importation of Italian wine into Gaul was initiated, to all intents and purposes, by André Tchernia in the 1970’s, with the discovery of multiple wrecks off Marseilles<sup>26</sup>. Since then, his students and others have continued the work, cataloguing and counting the origins and contexts of the amphorae found in pre-Roman Gaul, and extending their research to the Italian peninsula, where industrial kiln sites like those at Albinia have been investigated<sup>27</sup>. The most extraordinary product of this research is the 2004 thesis of Mathieu Poux, published as *L’Âge du Vin*, in which he catalogues and analyzes a vast number of contexts in which Roman amphorae were found, particularly tombs, sanctuaries and feasting sites. Fabienne Olmer has investi-

gated the distribution of different amphorae productions in Gaul, showing that it is remarkably non-random, with certain exporters specializing in specific regions: of these, as we will see, the specialization of the merchants selling the wine of Cosa in the region of the Auvergne is the most striking<sup>28</sup>. The connection between the wine imported from Italy and the export of slaves from Gaul has been recently forcefully restated by Tchernia: the following is a summary of his argument<sup>29</sup>.

The beginning of the second century saw what Poux has referred to as a ‘revolution in demand’, and the rate of importation shot up<sup>30</sup>. The bulk of these early amphorae come from sites such as the great *oppidum* at Bibracte, as well as from the feasting sites that will be discussed below, together with ritual deposits in sanctuaries and tombs. These sites indicate a geometric rise in the demand for Italian wine after the creation of the province of Gallia Narbonensis in 123 BC, culminating in the charging of purpose-built ships such as the famous wreck at the Madragues de Giens, scientifically loaded with somewhere between 6,000 and 7,000 Dressel 1B amphorae, whose stamps, many of which were of P. Veveius P. f. Papus, indicate that they came from the estates of a producer in the region of Terracina<sup>31</sup>. Lugdunum, in the territory of the Segusiani, received the lion’s share of the imports. At the Rue de Souvenir in Lyon was found an unusual enclosure, apparently defended by a ditch 7 metres wide with a palisade and a tower. Within it, a porticoed building was decorated with paintings in the Pompeian first style, and a signinum floor. This is interpreted as a base for Italian *negotiators*, mindful of their comfort and worried by the dangers posed by the tribesmen outside<sup>32</sup>. These would be the merchants that Cicero tells us Gaul was full of: «All Gaul is filled with traders, – is full of Roman citizens. No Gaul does any business without the aid of a Roman citizen; not a single sesterce in Gaul ever changes hands without being entered in the account-books of Roman citizens»<sup>33</sup>. The Segusiavi were by this period clients of the Aedui, who thus controlled the major emporium through which wine entered Celtic Gaul.

The importance of this trade to the Roman merchants is signaled by the extraordinary efforts to which they went to satisfy Celtic tastes. Italians drank their wine white, but the amphorae of the Madrague de Giens wreck contained red wine, miraculously preserved after two millennia<sup>34</sup>. Wines

<sup>24</sup> This figure is based on that of Poux for the amphorae at Corent, 100,000 over a fifty year period. The suggestion that it served as a holding pen comes from Daphne Nash Briggs.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo, *Geo.* IV, 3, 2.

<sup>26</sup> For the number of amphorae see Pomey and Tchernia 1978: 234. They note a text from the Digest (14.2, 1) where ships are described as ‘of 2000 amphorae’.

<sup>27</sup> Vitali (ed.) 2007.

<sup>28</sup> Laubenheimer 2007; Olmer 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Tchernia 2009; 2016, 41-123.

<sup>30</sup> Poux 2004, 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Pomey and Tchernia, 1978: 233-251.

<sup>32</sup> Tchernia 2009, 104; Poux 2004, 533-5. It does not seem impossible, however, that this was a residence of a chief, for whom an obliging merchant had provided Italian builders.

<sup>33</sup> Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 5.

<sup>34</sup> The striking photograph is published in Brun *et al.* 2010, pl. 121, 112.

from Cosa appear in the Auvergne towards the end of the second century BC<sup>35</sup>. Three or four producers of amphorae are known: L. Sestius, whose kilns are found near the *Portus Cosanus*, an anonymous producer at the *Portus Feniliae*, another at Albinia, and still another at La Parrina<sup>36</sup>. This factory may have produced the amphorae whose distribution is almost exclusively in central and eastern Gaul, in the region of the Arverni and the Aedui, although, as Celuzza points out, it is uncertain that the two-letter stamps that characterize the material found there were produced at Albinia. It has long been assumed that this part of Cosa's territory was controlled by the Domitii Ahenobarbi, who would have been the owners of the kilns<sup>37</sup>. It cannot be a coincidence that the wine from Cosa was sold particularly in the area north of Gallia Narbonensis where Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus defeated Bituitos in 121 BC<sup>38</sup>. We might note that at Corent there are no amphorae stamped by Lucius Sestius – the Domitii Ahenobarbi seemed to have exclusive rights there – while at Lugdunum, in the merchant's enclosure, we find only amphorae of Sestius, who may have been more closely linked to the Aedui<sup>39</sup>.

What was exchanged for all that wine? Although there may have been many other components, such as hides, slaves remain the only plausible merchandise whose value could equal, or surpass, that of the wine. Precious metals may account for some of the return cargo, but we have no evidence for massive importation of metals from Gaul, nor is there any explanation as to why the trade in metals should have ceased with the conquest. The boom in coinage registered in the first century BC may relate to an increased internal commerce, but in no way was indigenous coinage used for the purchase of imported goods. It is certain, too, that however many fibulae and bone objects were produced by the workshops of, say, Corent, few or none made their way to Italy. The only possible return cargo was human.

Thus, as Tchernia argues, the merchants supplying this wine to Gaul were also supplying slaves to Italy, slaves that were used, in large part, to augment the production of the very product for which they were exchanged<sup>40</sup>. Though the slave trade is largely invisible apart from chance texts, the discovery of three identical sets of shackles in the river at Chalons-sur-Saône, 125 km. north of Lugdunum in the territory of the Aedui, is certainly suggestive<sup>41</sup>. Indeed, Gallic coins celebrate shackles<sup>42</sup>. How many slaves were exchanged for this wine remains unknown: if we are to believe Diodorus Siculus, the Gauls were happy to exchange a slave

for each amphora – here a measure of quantity equal to around a jug<sup>43</sup>.

### Feasting Sites

It is now time to look more closely at the type of sites on which the great deposits of amphorae are found. The work of Mathieu Poux and of Michael Dietler gives us the key to understanding these sites. Their pedigree is long: as Dietler has shown, the banquet was fundamental to Hallstatt society, where the competition between chiefdoms led to reciprocal exchanges of banquets, and their use for the mobilization of labour, for war and other community activities<sup>44</sup>. The giving of a feast enhanced the giver's prestige, and created greater cohesion among his guests, as well as a complex set of obligations toward the giver. The kings doubled as priests and the banquet linked the élite to the gods, on the one hand, and to the people they entertained on the other. If we have no evidence for the size or the exact locations of these earlier feasts, there is no doubt that they were an integral part of Celtic society from an early date, probably exchanged between the very top members of the warrior aristocracy.

Although slaves had always formed part of the booty owed to a warrior, with the second century prisoners captured in war began to have an economic as well as a political and religious value, they became worth more alive than slain on the battlefield or in a sanctuary. Their deaths became, in Orlando Patterson's sense, social rather than physical. And it is at this moment that a new type of sacrificial and feasting site emerged. This sort of site is typified by that of the Verbe Incarné at Lugdunum<sup>45</sup>. This consists of two deep parallel ditches, stretching over 70 metres, that formed part of an enclosure whose total area must have been around 1 ha. Besides over 700 amphorae, neatly laid out in the bottom of the ditch, were found the remains of at least 60 pigs. Although this was initially interpreted as a Roman camp, Poux argued convincingly that this was impossible, given the total absence of military material, the use of the site over several decades, the 'decapitation' of the amphorae by slashing with a sword or an axe (as the young bloods in Russia used sabres to open their champagne). Instead, he suggests that the site was dedicated to periodic ritual feasting, the ritual suggested by the symbolic decapitation of the amphorae and the detachment of their handles, buried separately and lined up. This was a sacred enclosure corresponding precisely to Poseidonius' description of the feasts of Luernios,

<sup>35</sup> Loughton 2014, 460.

<sup>36</sup> Vitali (ed.) 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Manacorda 1981.

<sup>38</sup> Olmer and Maza 2004; Olmer 2010, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Loughton 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Tchernia 2009, 109.

<sup>41</sup> Armand-Caillat 1958.

<sup>42</sup> Olmer and Maza 2004, fig. 00.

<sup>43</sup> Diodorus Siculus V, 26, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Dietler 2005, 161-178.

<sup>45</sup> Poux 2004, 156.

where hundreds of warriors could feast for days. The areas I have identified with the slaving states have, predictably, the largest of these sites, with the most massive deposits of amphorae. They are evidence for long days of feasting on multiple, probably annual, occasions.

But the nexus between the feasting sites, their amphorae and the slave trade is more closely and intricately tied than the incidental fact that the same merchants brought the one and went off with the other on an annual basis. Poux plausibly argues that the ritual dismemberment of the amphorae is a substitute sacrifice: their red wine taking on the role of the victim's blood, the amphora assimilated to the body of the victim<sup>46</sup>. It seems obvious that the conquered, once killed on the battlefield or in the sanctuaries, were no longer sacrificed, but sold, and thus the amphorae for which they were exchanged had to take their place. In a sense, then, the feasts were also funerary feasts, marking the transition of the human cargo from prisoner (and thus still tenuously linked to a social role) to commodity, or thing: Orlando Patterson's 'social death'. As prisoners became things, the amphorae for which they were exchanged became, in a sense, people, and were finally sacrificed, the wine pouring like red blood into libation pits as well as collective drinking cups. In the feasts, transactions between gods and humans, community and outsiders, warriors and captives were sealed and consummated in consumption. It is hardly by chance that Vercingetorix, the last of the great war leaders, stamped his coins with the image of an amphora<sup>47</sup>.

### Producers of the Ager Cosanus

The work of Olmer has shown that the market of the Arverni, the Aedui and the Sequani was supplied overwhelmingly by the three great firms of the territory of Cosa, the L. Sestii, the Domitii Ahenobarbi, and the anonymous producer of the kilns of the *Portus Feniliae*. These seem to have had special relationships with the slaving states, having produced a wine both cheap, abundant, and satisfyingly red<sup>48</sup>. The quantity of amphorae, Celtic *oppida* and the villas of the Albegna Valley in the territory of Cosa expanded at the same rate, enjoyed the same heyday at the end of the second century and the first half of the first, and formed part of a single coherent system – although perhaps with divided markets. The extraordinary performance of the territory of Cosa, tiny compared to those of Latium and Campania, is worth considering a little further. What is striking is the very *personal* nature of the relationship between these enterprises and the slaving states. From the campaigns of Cn. Domitius

Ahenobarbus onward, the producers of the territory of Cosa were intimately involved with the tribes of the Massif Central, who were, themselves, consolidating their position. The two-letter amphorae account for 70% of the wine imported to the territory of the Arverni<sup>49</sup>. We do not seem to be dealing with a free market of small traders, but with a trade specifically set up between two sets of producers: the Cosan landholders, who produced wine on their slave-manned estates, and the tribes, who produced slaves in their annual raids. They will have worked through merchants, of course, but the quasi-monopoly that the Cosans seem to operate in this area must imply that the merchants worked to very strict rules. The mutual profit was, apparently, great: the Domitii Ahenobarbi and the Sestii made vast fortunes and senatorial careers, while Luernios and his ilk were famous for their wealth. The trade was demand-led on *both* sides, though one would bet that the Romans were the ones making money, for the vast numbers of slaves that derived from this trade were surely in excess of those needed to staff their own plantations and amphora factories. They could thus produce a steady supply for the markets of Rome and the south. How could such a monopoly have worked? Is it possible that it was based the control of access to the Rhone valley, perhaps at Aquae Sextiae? The town was founded by L. Sextius Calvinus, a partner with Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in the struggle against the Saluvii, around 124-122 BC: it is not sure what if any control existed over the cargoes travelling up the Rhône, but the distribution of stamps certainly makes it seem that some such filter existed downstream from Lugdunum – a feasting site south of Aquae Sextiae shows a quantity of Campanian amphorae, sharply contrasting with the Cosan presence at the Verbe Incarné feasting site, is characterized by multiple amphorae stamped by L. Sestius<sup>50</sup>.

Perhaps the best demonstration of the relationship between the slave trade and that of wine is found in the end of the system. After Caesar's conquest of Gaul the feasting sites are all but deserted, while consumption falls off everywhere else<sup>51</sup>. Poux plausibly attributes this to the demilitarization of Celtic society: the symposium replaced the feast, and the aristocrat no longer consorted with his warriors. Of course, we can imagine this easily, while adding that the last thing that Rome needed was periodic riots of drunken Celts, or the political danger that those assemblies could produce. At the same time, slaving within the Roman provinces could not be tolerated: it was legal nowhere in the Roman world. As Roman law began to apply, the slaving expeditions came to an end, and with them the sacrificial feasts with which their victories would be celebrated. While there is no evidence

<sup>46</sup> Poux 2004, 339.

<sup>47</sup> Olmer and Maza 2004, 150.

<sup>48</sup> Olmer 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Olmer 2010, 76.

<sup>50</sup> Poux 2004, 546-548.

<sup>51</sup> Poux 2004, 381 and fig. 191.



that the Romans ever thought of cutting imports of wine, the influence of Roman law could be felt at the other end, in the elimination of slaving. Poux points out that Caesar supported Diviciacus, the conservative Aeduan leader, over his brother Dumnorix, the plutocratic friend of the Italian merchants<sup>52</sup>. If in so doing he only offended, not the whole of the Roman wine-producers, but only those concentrated in the territory of Cosa, the political damage at home would have been substantially less important.

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<sup>52</sup> Poux 2004, 383.