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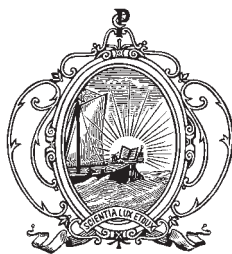
VINE-GROWING AND WINEMAKING IN THE ROMAN WORLD

New Data and Original Perspectives

Edited by

DIMITRI VAN LIMBERGEN, EMLYN DODD and
MARIA STELLA BUSANA

with Paulina Komar



PEETERS

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The Nature of Lusitanian Wine Production

Felix TEICHNER

Summary – The far west of the Roman Empire is traditionally discussed in ancient historical and archaeological studies for its maritime economy and mining activities. This chapter, however, reveals how archaeology in the Portuguese part of *Lusitania* has also uncovered large-scale agricultural production of wine. Through a discussion of rock-cut wineries, urban facilities and especially rural production settlements (Torre de Palma, Vale do Mouro, São Cucufate, Milreu, Torre Águila), technical and production aspects of winemaking in the area are explored, revealing the magnitude and flexibility of the wine sector in this area through the Imperial period.

INTRODUCTION

“For now, that I have completed my survey of Nature’s works”, writes Pliny the Elder in his encyclopedic study of the world compiled in the 1st century AD, “it is right that I should make a critical assessment of her products, as well of the lands that produce them.” In this, he continues, Italy takes the first place (*merito principatum*) in the whole world (*in toto orbe*). “Next to Italy,” one should place “Spain, or at least the districts where Spain is bordered by the sea. For although the country is partly rough desert, yet all its productive regions are rich in crops (*ferracem frugum*), oil (*olei*), wine (*vini*), horses (*equorum*) and every kind of ore (*metallorum omnium generum*).” Moreover, Spain excels compared to Gaul because of its “luxury – in the form of pigments (*pigmentorum delicias*); here is a place where there is an incentive to toil (*laborum excitatione*), where slaves can be schooled (*servorum exercitio*), where men’s bodies are hard (*corporum humanorum duritia*) and their hearts passionately eager (*vehementia cordis*)” (Pliny, *HN* 37.57.201–203).

These advantages of Roman *Hispania*, clearly analyzed and presented by the classical sources, still apply today (from an economic point of view) to agricultural production. One may regret that the characteristics of the Hispanic workers mentioned by Pliny – diligence, zeal, toughness and especially also

enthusiasm – are hardly able to be determined through archaeological methods. Similarly, as is to be expected, the foods consumed in antiquity are rarely visible archaeologically and thus cannot often provide direct evidence of *Hispania*'s export-oriented production; however, their more durable transport containers provide one sort of window into the movement of these commodities. Therefore, scholars have traditionally turned their attention to the abundant stock of transport containers, particularly *amphorae*, to study the export products of the Iberian Peninsula, including oil and wine, but also fish sauce and salted fish¹. In this way, wide-ranging models have been developed for the contemporaneous flow of commodities and their distribution structures². Due to their content-specific shape, we can distinguish between the spherical olive oil *amphorae* with almost no neck (Dressel 20) and the cylindrical to slightly oval wine *amphorae* with a long slender neck (Dressel 2-4). Decisive evidence regarding the origins of the transport containers, in relation also to their primary contents, comes from producers' stamps and painted inscriptions (*tituli picti*)³.

This documentation enables the identification of key regions of ancient wine production with surprising clarity along the Mediterranean coast of *Tarraconensis*, especially *Laetania*. The main area of olive oil production, however, lay at the heart of the southern Spanish province of *Baetica*, along the banks of the *Baetis* River (Guadalquivir)⁴. On the other hand, the Atlantic West of the Iberian Peninsula, the province of *Lusitania* (the third Roman province in *Hispania*), was for a long time considered important only for metal mining and maritime economies⁵. The latter can also be identified by its own *amphorae* for fish sauces and salted fish, characterized by a more diverse, pear-shaped/piriform to oval shape with a wide neck and hollow foot.

Nevertheless, the plains in the west, nurtured by the Atlantic winds and rain, are considered even today sufficiently fertile and suited for agricultural surplus production. It should not be surprising, therefore, that palynological evidence from the lower *Tagus* River basin (esp. Alpiarça) and the estuary and lagoons of the southern coast (Algarve) indicates the presence of pollen from *Vitis vinifera* during the later Holocene⁶. Defining this in detailed chronological

1. WILSON 2009, pp. 220–237. Cf. JÁRREGA DOMÍNGUEZ, BERNI MILLET 2016.

2. E.g., REMESAL 1997; TEICHNER, PUJOL 2008.

3. MILLET, BOTTE 2021. Cf. BERNAL-CASASOLA ET AL. 2021.

4. ÉTIENNE, MAYET 2000; 2004. Cf. TEICHNER 2014.

5. EDMONDSON 1987; ÉTIENNE, MAYET 2002.

6. ARRUDA, GONCALVES 1995, pp. 23–24; FLETSCHER, BOSKI, MOURA 2007; VIZ, KAASE 2009; SCHNEIDER ET AL. 2016; CUNHA ET AL. 2020; BRUN 2004a, p. 198. Summarized by FABIÃO 1998, pp. 173–174; 2021, pp. 73–74.

resolution, however, remains notoriously difficult, as does distinguishing between domesticated and wild *Vitis vinifera*. Even contextualized macro remains (e.g., grape pips) from a pre-Roman settlement near Almada ultimately prove only the consumption of grapes, but not the production of wine⁷.

ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Classicists have focused first and foremost on iconographic testimonia for wine production in *Lusitania*, which presents several methodological problems. The best example in this case is the prominent scene of grape treading shown in a polychrome mosaic floor from the 3rd century AD in the provincial capital of *Emerita Augusta* (Mérida)⁸. Three male figures dressed in extremely short loincloths tread grapes inside a shallow pressing vat (*calcatorium*). The fresh must flows through three drains into three ceramic containers (possibly *dolia*) with double handles in the foreground (Fig. 14.1). Looking at the surrounding vine tendrils and *putti* with grape baskets, however, we should not automatically consider this surviving scene in the Casa del Anfiteatro, as well as other similar examples, like those from the villas of Torre de Palma (Monforte), Vale do Moura (Mêda) and Santa Victória de Ameixal (Estremoz), as evidence of viticulture connected to the site or the commissioner. They perhaps belong simply to the popular and wide-spread subjects of bucolic agricultural scenes and the Dionysian *thiasos* in general⁹.

The same is true, at first sight, for the illustrative funerary relief of a female tavern-keeper from the same Lusitanian metropolis (Fig. 14.2). On this gravestone, donated by her husband during the 2nd century AD or early 3rd century AD, the late *Sentia Amarantis*, who died at the age of 45, is depicted with a jug in her hand into which she is filling a fluid, probably wine, from a wooden barrel resting on two wooden trestles¹⁰. This is a scene, however, that must have been common in the everyday business of most taverns in the Roman Empire, as it is today, not only in viticultural areas. These motifs can be seen, therefore, as

7. FABIÃO 1998, pp. 173–174 (esp. Quinta do Almaraz); FABIÃO 2021, pp. 73–75 (Quinta do Almaraz). Cf. for Spain: PEÑA 2020.

8. BLANCO FREIJEIRO 1978, pp. 18–20, 44 tab. 73.

9. LANCHÁ, ANDRÉ 2000, pp. 167–170, pl. XLIX–L. LV.LXV. (Torre de Palma); SÁ COIXÃO, DE OLIVEIRA, CORREIA 2016 (Vale do Moura); MOURAO 2012, fig. 75 (Santa Victória de Ameixal). Cf. BRUN 1997a, p. 49; BRUN 2004, p. 284; BUSTAMANTE ÁLVAREZ, CORDERO 2013, p. 86 fig. 3b; PERREIRA 2017, p. 122 fig. 88.

10. NOGALES BASARRATE in HISPANIA 1998, p. 556 no. 182 (“siglos II–III AD”). Cf. MARLIÈRE 2002, p. 154 R71 fig. 193 (“fin du I^{er} siècle ou début du II^e siècle”); BUSTAMANTE ÁLVAREZ, CORDERO 2013, p. 86 fig. 3a; TEICHNER 2014, p. 84 fig. 3.



Fig. 14.1. Mosaic showing an agricultural-bucolic scene, with a *calcatorium* at the center, from the Lusitanian capital of *Emerita Augusta* (Mérida). Casa del Anfiteatro (© MNAR Mérida)



Fig. 14. 2. Funerary relief of the female tavern-keeper *Sentia Amarantis* (© MNAR Mérida)

evidence of the hospitality industry and of wine consumption, but not of viticulture. The comparatively early 2nd century AD depiction of a wooden barrel, on the other hand, is remarkable in this case because the consensus to date is that the transition from *amphorae* to wooden containers occurred only in the course of the 3rd century AD¹¹.

The preference for such wooden barrels in funerary reliefs in the region of Baixo Alentejo in the *Conventus Pacensis* already seems to be more significant (Fig. 14.3). The example from Alcaçovas, stored today in the National Archaeological Museum in Lisbon, is made from local marble, commissioned by her husband *T(itus) LAE(lius) S(everus)*, and shows a funerary inscription for a certain *L(aelia) AMA* who died at the age of 35¹². This object of 94 cm length illustrates how wooden barrels were depicted in incredible realism on funerary monuments. It appears especially important to the stone carvers producing these reliefs to make the iron hoops keeping the wooden staves of the *cupae* together clearly visible and thus the barrel easily identifiable. Although this motif is known in the *Tarraconensis* and in North Africa, the distribution of

11. FABIÃO 1998, p. 175; MARLIÈRE 2002, pp. 189–191; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 159–162.

12. CIL II 86; ENCARNÇÃO 1984, no. 427; ÉTIENNE, MAYET 2000, p. 25 no. 3 fig. 3.

this type of funerary monument in the west of Iberia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD overlaps with the contemporary Portuguese winemaking region of Alentejo and trading routes along the Guadiana River¹³. Scholars have drawn attention to the fact that these epitaphs – of which nearly 100 examples have been identified – mostly represent the lower social classes, such as slaves and freedmen, whereas Roman citizens are less common¹⁴. According to Brun, this means that the villas and vineyard owners were not immortalized in these locations and, instead, the *cupae* should be seen as a reflection of the commonness of its occurrence in the everyday life of this region.

Another key tool in the viticultural process, linked to the harvesting of fruit and especially grapes, are vine knives (*falx vinitoria*). These belong, also in *Lusitania*, to the inventory of many Roman farmsteads. The find of nine iron sickles (*faucilles*) from the Roman *latifundium* of São Cucufate (Vidigueira), which is considered below in more detail, has been published in an exemplary manner and serves as a reference. Of these, at least four can be classified as relevant grapevine knives based on an antiquarian analysis¹⁵.

PRODUCTION FACILITIES

Thus far only indirect evidence for wine production and commerce has been discussed. Modern investigations of the ancient economy highlight the importance of an identification and analysis of production sites and, above all, their quantitative analysis regarding number and production volumes. This can deliver a sound basis for capturing and modelling the ancient economy¹⁶. Unfortunately, until the late second half of the 20th century, archaeological knowledge on ancient wine production in *Lusitania* – as in most regions of the Iberian Peninsula – remained fragmentary¹⁷. More recently, however, the exact documentation, analysis and subsequent publication of large villas excavated long ago and the modern excavations of new building units from the Roman Imperial period have generated a wealth of information regarding the locations and techniques of *Lusitanian* wine production.

13. ENCARNÇÃO 1984, p. 813 map 3; ÉTIENNE, MAYET 2000, pp. 23–58. Cf. BRUN 2004, pp. 284–286; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 163–169 figs 120 and 123.

14. BRUN 2004, p. 286. Cf. TUPMAN 2004.

15. ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE, MAYET 1990, pp. 238–239 pl. 96, 9–12. Similar sickles were also found at the villa of Torre de Palma (ALARCÃO 1997, p. 157 nos. 13–14; PEREIRA 2017, pp. 172–173 figs 126–127).

16. BOWMAN, WILSON 2009. See also the similar discussion in BRUN 2004, p. 287.

17. Summarized by TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010–2011, p. 376.

Jean-Pierre Brun led this approach in the far west of the *Imperium Romanum*. Two decades ago, he presented an initial systematic compilation of the technical facilities (wine press units and oil mills) known at the time¹⁸. The number of archaeologically documented Roman wineries, especially presses (*torcularia*) and storerooms (*cellae vinariae*), has consistently risen since. I shall not include here all relevant *Lusitanian* examples of wine production in the Imperial Roman period¹⁹, but instead discuss a selection of sites and features to highlight different production contexts of the *Lusitanian* wine industry.

Rock-cut wine presses

The largest group of evidence consists of simple vats for wine production cut directly into the bedrock and sometimes with presses anchored into them (Fig. 14.4). These ancient rock-cut wine presses (Portuguese '*lagar rupestre*') show rather homogeneous typological characteristics, and usually a vat can be identified through the groove or channel draining the must. The end of these channels likely held ceramic collecting vessels (or some sort of *dolium*) which have not survived. In some cases, rock-cut holes or niches survive, interpreted as the anchoring point of presses, most likely simple direct-pressure screw presses²⁰. The facility of Quinta da Tapada in Ferreira da Aves (Satão) shows all the typical characteristics of such a rock-cut press (Fig. 14.4). The almost square upper level, with only a shallow cut into the ground, is connected to a second (lower) vat (*lacus*) of 2.2 × 1.6 m by a small channel. The two holes cut at the sides of the upper vat, which could be used for both pressing and treading, probably served as the fastenings of a direct-pressure press²¹.

Once again, several methodological problems must be considered when interpreting these rock-cut presses. First, a distinction between use for wine or oil production does not seem possible in most cases. Second, while being cut into the bedrock improves preservation, it usually lowers the quantity of preserved stratigraphic information and constructional contexts, which results in uncertain dating. Further problematizing this is the fact that, for example, rock-cut presses were still used during the Middle Ages and even until the

18. BRUN 1997a.

19. The reader is referred to two recently published works: the catalogue by PEREIRA (2017) in his dissertation at the University of Porto and the detailed guide on presses in *Hispania* by PEÑA CERVANTES (2010).

20. BROCHADO DE ALMEIDA 2011–2012; PEÑA 2010, pp. 90–92 tab. 15; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 133–139 with typology: fig. 93; PEÑA 2019; GONZÁLEZ, GONZÁLEZ CORDERO 2021. Cf. CONTRERAS VILLASEÑOR, ELÍAS PASTOR 2015.

21. PEÑA 2010, p. 1038; PERREIRA 2017, p. 418.

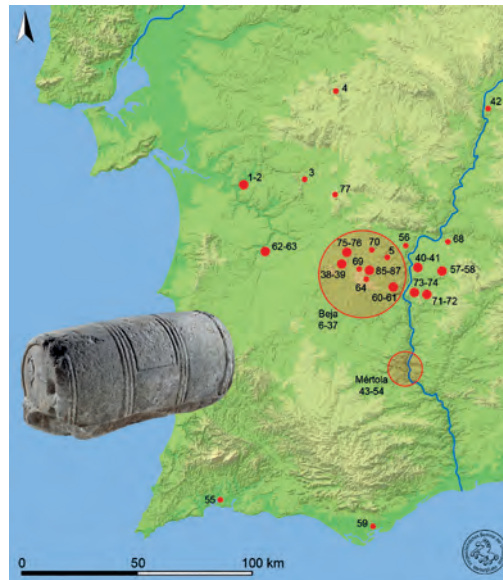


Fig. 14.3. Distribution of the barrel-shaped funerary monuments (*cupae*) in the province of *Lusitania* (after ÉTIENNE, MAYET 2000, p. 48 fig. 9, by Katja Bieber, University of Marburg) and the *cupa* of Alcaçovas (Alentejo), marble barrel-shaped tombstone (© Lisbon, Portuguese National Museum of Archaeology, MNA Inv. 994-58.1/E.6341)



Fig. 14.4. Distribution of the rural rock-cut wineries in *Lusitania* (after PERREIRA 2017). The winery of Quinta da Tapada in Ferreira de Aves (Satão) is shown as an example (© Y. Peña Cervantes, by Katja Bieber, University of Marburg)

recent past (as shown by ethnographic data). Simultaneously, however, excavated rock-cut production facilities have become more numerous with dateable material suggesting operation in the Imperial Roman period. For example, the press of Rumansil (Vila Nova de Foz Côa), which was integrated into an Imperial *pars rustica*²², and the facility in the Castro of Santa Ana (Galicia), in north *Lusitania*²³. Experts generally consider these rock-cut production sites, which have seen soaring numbers documented in recent years due to systematic survey, as the expression of a rural production for self-sufficiency or local markets, and often interpreted as connected to the production of wine²⁴. It is not surprising, therefore, that concentrations of these small-scale rock-cut sites are found in the northern and northeastern regions of the province of *Lusitania* along the Duero River, within the modern administrative districts of Guarda, Porto, Vila Real and Viseu, i.e., in the ancient *Conventus Scalabitanus* and far from the main ancient traffic routes and consumer centers (Fig. 14.4)²⁵.

Urban wineries

Alongside the more rural rock-cut facilities, staple or basic foods, including wine, were also produced at (often smaller) production sites in consumer cities across the Roman world, at least for self-sufficiency²⁶. It is surprising, therefore, that little evidence exists for wine production in the urban centers of *Lusitania*. The 'Insula de Vaso fálco' in *Conimbriga* (Condeixa-a-Nova) is a well-known example, where the trapezoid *insula* was divided into three residential units, each arranged around an inner courtyard, with up to eight *tabernae*²⁷. The largest *domus* in the west wing is characterized by not only a *porticus* in the front and a tetra-style atrium, but also a vat of 5 m² lined with *opus signinum*. This vat has been interpreted as a *calcatorium* and was connected by a channel to a *lacus* of 600 L capacity on a lower level. Together with the *domus*, this production facility dates between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD. The problematic nature of such a clear identification for isolated vats (given the lack of a corresponding *torcularium* or *cella vinaria*) is highlighted by the facility's recent reinterpretation as a *fullonica*²⁸. A press from the neighboring

22. PEÑA 2010, pp. 980–981; PERREIRA 2017, p. 434.

23. PÉREZ LÓSADA 2017. See also PÉREZ LÓSADA ET AL. in this volume.

24. PERREIRA 2017, p. 135.

25. It is equally as important to note that the geological and topographical requirements for these facilities (i.e., rocky outcrops) occur only in this area.

26. See the overview of urban production in DODD, VAN LIMBERGEN 2024b.

27. BRUN 1997a, pp. 61–62; BRUN 2004, p. 297; PEÑA 2010, pp. 938–939 fig. 284; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 215–216 fig. 82.

28. CORREIA 2010, pp. 63–71 figs 37 and 39; BUSCAMENTE 2020, p. 385.

city of *Aeminium* (Coimbra) is also known and must have been used for olive oil production due to its connected mill. Evidence of wine production is also lacking at other Lusitanian cities, including *Pax Iulia* (Beja), *Libralitas Iulia* (Evora), *Ossonoba*, *Mirobriga* or even the intensively investigated provincial capital, *Emerita Augusta* (Mérida). Only in the immediate *suburbium* of the ancient harbor city of *Olisipo* (Lisbon) can a characteristic cellar room (*cella vinaria*) with *in situ dolia defossa* be seen, recently documented during a rescue excavation in 2018, though even this interpretation is tentative due to the brief nature of the published preliminary report²⁹.

Large rural production facilities

An alternative perspective, interconnected into supra-regional, empire-wide economic markets, can be distinguished from those former winery facilities producing for self-sufficiency or local customers, and more complex facilities focused on surplus production. An orientation towards production for export is justified by excavated vats and storerooms, with quantified volumetric data, along with the sheer number of press floors. This quantitative classification does not only comply with modern economic theory, but also aligns with descriptions in the works of Roman agrarian writers. Cato the Elder makes clear that the successful economic operation of an ideal farm of the Republican period – a *villa perfecta* – depended on specific quantifiable requirements regarding the production means and workforce. Specifically, in relation to wine production, there should be “at least three complete presses” (*vasa torcula instructa*), vats for holding five vintages of 800 *cullei* (*dolia, ubi quinque vindemiae esse possint culleum DCCC*), in addition 20 jars for holding grape pulp (*dolia, ubi vinaceos condant XX*), besides, amongst other things, “40 grape-knives” (*falculas viniaticas*) and 16 workers (*homines*) (Cato, *Agr.* 11.1–4; 13). As in the case of the human virtues mentioned by Pliny (above), it is difficult for archaeologists to find concrete pieces of evidence for the human workforce described by the ancient sources, including an administrator (*villicus*), housekeeper (*villica*) or muleteer (*asinarius*) (Cato, *Agr.* 11.1–4; 13). In contrast, archaeological fieldwork regularly identifies the equipment described, including, for example, the *vasa torcula* and *dolia*, especially at the large *latifundia* of the Lusitanian south and east, like Torre Águila (Badajoz), Milreu (Faro) and São Cucufate (Vidgueira).

29. ROCHA 2021.

Torre de Palma

The extensive country estate of Torre de Palma (Monforte) is one of the most prominent examples of these “*villae viticoles*”. The remains of this Imperial villa were found in the middle of the agrarian inland landscape of the north Alentejo (Alto Alentejo), lying between the Roman *municipia Eborā Liberalis Iulia* (Évora) and *Ammaia* (S. Salvador de Aramenha). The discovery of high-quality mosaic floors within its ruins, which exceed 5 ha, resulted in the international prominence of the site, and the large-scale excavations followed during the 1950s aimed at uncovering a “*villa lusitano-romana*”³⁰. Based on numismatic and sigillata material, the construction of the estate can be dated to the beginning of the 1st century AD, after which a reconstruction phase occurred in the second half of the 3rd century AD. The estate then continued to be occupied until the Early Christian period in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

The residential areas of the villa were clearly separated in the center of the complex of Torre de Palma. During the Imperial period, it expanded several times up to a size of ca. 13,000 m², but the traditional separation of *pars urbana*³¹ and *pars rustica* was maintained throughout. In later phases, the servants’ rooms and production buildings were grouped around two large farmyards, each closed off by their own gates³². Additional separate residential units developed around this ensemble of buildings, among them the quarters of a *villicus*, two small *balnea* (one each in the west and east), as well as other production buildings not yet investigated in the north³³. In the 5th century AD, an Early Christian basilica with interrelated cemeteries was erected to the north of the villa³⁴.

At the north end of a space characterized by a three-aisled hall, belonging to the west wing of the building surrounding the larger of the two farmyards, two almost square rooms with a floor space of 42 m² were identified (*Fig. 14.5*). In the area of the hall, two vats of considerable size adjoined these rooms³⁵. A cylindrical counterweight recovered from one of the square rooms undoubtedly belonged to a screw press. A solid lining of hydraulic mortar made it possible to use the elevated floor area of the east room as a pressing floor.

30. HELENO 1962.

31. TEICHNER 2008a, p. 461 note 591 *fig. 264*, 6; TEICHNER 2018b, p. 243 *fig. 14.6*, 6.

32. TEICHNER 2008a, p. 535 *fig. 293*, 3 (production building); p. 294, 17 (building wing); 295, 3 (gate).

33. TEICHNER 2008a, p. 484 *fig. 274*, 3 (house of *villicus*); p. 495 *fig. 279*, 6 (*balneum* west); p. 499 *fig. 280*, 3 (*balneum* east); p. 524 *fig. 290*, 14.

34. ALMEIDA 1972–1974.

35. BRUN 1997a, p. 61; BRUN 1997b, pp. 149–151; BRUN in LANCHÁ, ANDRÉ 2000, pp. 115–122. The site seems to be missing evidence for the oil mills. For the most recent interpretation of these features, see TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010–2011, pp. 430–434.

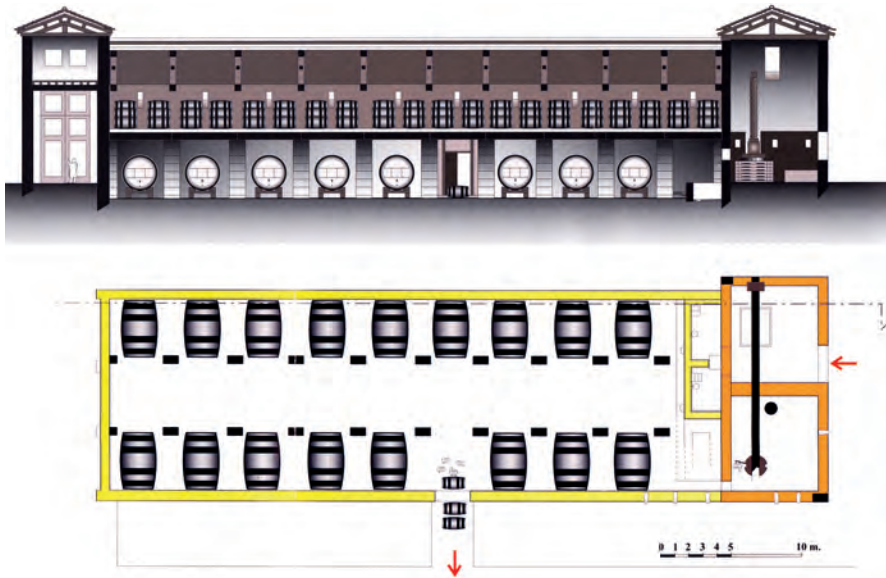


Fig. 14.5. Reconstruction of the wine press in the *pars rustica* of the villa of Torre de Palma (Monforte, Alentejo) (after BRUN 2000, pl. XXXIX)

There was no separate collection channel so that both pressing and treading of the grapes could be carried out in this area (*calcatorium*) – a detail that has been noted elsewhere. The must was collected in two interconnected collection vats, situated in the area of the large *cella vinaria* (555 m²), which had its 13.5 m width divided into three aisles by two rows of solid stone pillars. It has been suggested that 17 wooden barrels of 85 hl each were spaced out over the building's length of 41 m for both storage and secondary fermentation (Fig. 14.5)³⁶.

At the end of the 20th century, two different research teams undertook analyses of this *Lusitanian* site³⁷. Unfortunately, the chronological divisions of different construction phases are not yet fully comprehensible based on the published data. Maloney and Hale determine five building phases, mainly by considering the construction technique of the walls, which start in the mid-1st century AD and end in the 7th century AD. In contrast, Lancha and André propose twelve phases and two reconstructions based on the building axes ("vertical stratigraphy"), dating them between AD 20/40 and the 5th–6th centuries AD. According to these different specialists, the construction of the production buildings, including the wine press and its *cella vinaria* with

36. TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010–2011, pp. 430–434.

37. MALONEY, HALE 1996; MALONEY 1999–2000; LANCHA, ANDRÉ 2000.

wooden barrels, can be dated either to the second half of the 3rd century AD or between AD 225 and 227³⁸. Due to this complex history of research, the abandonment chronology for the wine production spaces at Torre de Palma remains unclear. A cross that was incised on the upper side of the counterweight described above might suggest that the press remained in use into the Christian occupation of the site. Large-scale wine production ended with the large storage hall being divided into small separate rooms during one of the last settlement phases, probably not before the 6th century AD.

Vale do Mouro

Storage rooms as big as the *cella vinaria* of Torre de Palma have also been found at other *Lusitanian* villas in connection with production facilities for wine; for example, at the site of Carrión in the suburban area of the capital, *Emerita Augusta*³⁹, and the site of Vale do Mouro (Mêda, Guarda)⁴⁰. The latter is situated in the northern periphery of the province of *Lusitania* and in the viticultural region still known today along the Rio Douro. Located 20 km south of the river and laid out traditionally, the estate consisted of an extensive *pars urbana* arranged around a peristyle and a farmyard in the east (building phase 2: 2nd century AD). In the east wing of the latter, a wine production unit similar to that at Torre de Palma was located, including two collection vats and a smaller scooping vat situated at the upper end of an elongated, two-aisled hall. The pressing floor (*ara*) and *torcularium* must have been in the room adjoining to the north. In light of the facility at Torre de Palma, the excavators reconstructed wine barrels in the large 150 m² storage space, but many *dolia* fragments can be seen in the area of the villa, along with later evidence for olive oil production. Elsewhere in *Lusitania*, sites illustrate that early wineries still fermented their wines in *dolia*, and wooden barrels (*cupae*) were a later development in the western Roman provinces⁴¹.

São Cucufate

The south *Lusitanian latifundium* of São Cucufate (Vidigeira) was excavated in the 1980s and 1990s in the viticultural region of Alentejo, to the north of the

38. MALONEY, HALE 1999–2000; LANCHÁ, ANDRÉ 2000, pp. 83–95. Critical to the plausibility of these proposals: MALONEY, HUFFSTOT 2002; PEÑA 2010, pp. 1000–1006; TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010–2011, pp. 430–434 figs 40–41; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 86–89.

39. PEÑA 2010, pp. 336–338 figs 95–96.

40. PERREIRA 2017, p. 54, figs 18–19 and 22; p. 108, figs 75–78; p. 449. Cf. SÁ COIXÃO, SILVINO 2010, pp. 22–27; SÁ COIXÃO, PEREIRA, SILVINO 2015, pp. 25–27.

41. On this topic, see also the contribution by PEÑA CERVANTES in this volume.

Roman city of *Pax Iulia* (Beja), and revealed several building phases from the 1st–5th centuries AD. In the older phases I–II during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, the *pars urbana* was arranged around a peristyle courtyard and, towards the southeast, the two wings of the *pars rustica* encompassed the farmyard. During the 4th century AD, a completely new building with a linear residential part with corner risalites (phase III) was constructed⁴². In front of this main façade, a detached banqueting hall (*aula*) was erected following the example set by other south *Lusitanian* villas. Later, this hall was converted into a Christian place of worship⁴³.

An L-shaped storage room of 110 m² immediately adjoining the residential area attests to wine production even during the earliest phase of the villa in the 1st century AD. When this part of the *pars rustica* was excavated, finds included not only numerous fragments of ceramic storage containers (*dolia*), but also, conserved under a later *opus signinum* floor, the remains of several *dolia defossa in situ*. Judging by the imprints on the ground these were arranged in three rows and served to ferment the grape must according to the traditional Campanian example⁴⁴. From the following phase II, evidence for a press has survived, with two cylindrical counterweights made from local granite of 1.25 m in height, diameters of 1 m and 1.1 m respectively and dovetail mortises to attach the press beam (*prelum*). This evidence suggests the existence of a double screw press in the east wing of the *pars rustica* (Fig. 14.6). This sector probably remained in use until the abandonment of the villa in the 5th century AD. Several press elements were recorded, including the pressing floor (*ara*) for the two *torcularia*, secondary settling vats (*lacus*) lined with *opus signinum* and a storage room. Regarding the latter, Brun previously suggested the use of barrels, contrary to the interpretation of the excavators⁴⁵. Grape pips recovered from a pit in one of the counterweights provide additional confirmation for the processing of grapes and production of wine⁴⁶.

42. ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE, MAYET 1990; TEICHNER 2008a, pp. 461–465 fig. 264, 11 (phase II); p. 594 fig. 313, 3 (phase III); TEICHNER 2014, pp. 243–245 fig. 14, 8 (phase II); p. 249 fig. 14, 10.3 (phase III). Cf. BRUN 2004, pp. 288–290.

43. Summarized by TEICHNER 2008a, pp. 514–516 fig. 287, 2. Most recently in TEICHNER, BRÜHLMANN 2023.

44. ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE, MAYET 1990, p. 54 tab. 43. Cf. BRUN 1997a, pp. 58–59 fig. 5; BRUN 2004, p. 288; PEÑA 2010, p. 922 fig. 279.

45. ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE, MAYET 1990, p. 68; pp. 80–81 tab. 50 (they assume *dolia* due to ceramic fragments). BRUN 1997a, p. 60 figs 6–7; VAZ PINTO 1997; BRUN 2004, pp. 289–290 fig; PEÑA 2010; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 83–86 figs 47–50.

46. ALARCÃO, ÉTIENNE, MAYET 1990, p. 237; BRUN 1997a, p. 60.

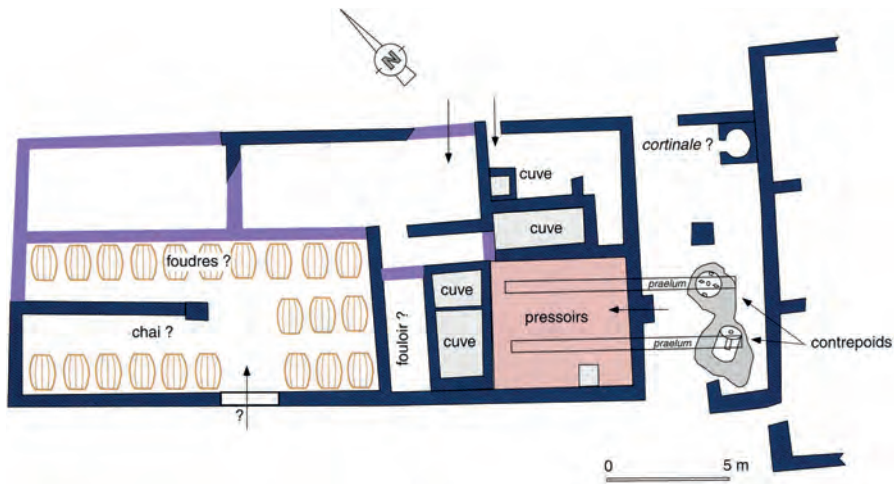


Fig. 14.6. Reconstruction of the wine press in the *pars rustica* of the villa of São Cucufate (Vidigeira, Alentejo)
(after TCHERNIA, BRUN 1999, p. 86 fig. III)

Milreu

The transition from the traditional fermentation of must in ceramic jars (*dolia*), which had to be laboriously dug into the ground, were high-maintenance (through cleaning and repairs), heavy and breakable, to fermentation in wooden barrels (*cupae*), which were cheaper to acquire, and easier to set up and empty, forever altered the vinicultural production process. It is conceivable that new tastes could be achieved by aging in wooden containers, but from a modern perspective, one rather thinks of a significant rationalization of the winemaking process in the surplus-oriented *Lusitanian* wine business. These observations regarding technological developments seem to be confirmed by the features in a south *Lusitanian* country estate ca. 9 km north of the harbor city *Ossonoba* (modern Faro). Situated at the foot of the Serra do Monte Figo, the country villa of Milreu (Estói, Faro) was a mixed farming business in which oil and wine were produced at the same time according to the recommendations of the ancient agrarian writers⁴⁷. The owner possessed a country estate of about 300–400 ha in the direct hinterland of a trading metropolis (*Ossonoba*) and ran a successful agricultural factory. This success was expressed not only through continual refurbishment of the *pars urbana* with precious mosaic floors, but also by a gallery of high-quality marble busts representing

47. TEICHNER 2008a, pp. 95–270; TEICHNER 2014, p. 242 figs 14.6, 1, 14.7–9.

members of the Roman Imperial family (Agrippina Minor, Hadrian, Gallienus). Excavations identified a residential building (*pars urbana*, A) with a corresponding bathing suite (*balneum*, B) and a late antique *aula* (G, compare the feature in São Cucufate), an extensive *pars rustica* with an oilery (C), winery (D), servants' quarters (F) and storage halls (H) as well as a necropolis with two temple-shaped *mausolea* (E)⁴⁸.

An agricultural unit was established at least by the Flavian phase B, following the specifications of Cato (*Agr.* 12.4). Situated in the west wing, the oilery had five monumental presses and a *cella olearia* that contained ca. 50 *dolia*, complemented in the east wing by a winery, where two to three wine presses were in use simultaneously. A linear residential wing in the south connected the two flanking production wings into a square yard which was open to the north (*Fig.* 14.7a). At the beginning of the 4th century AD (phase E), the continuous expansion of the villa, arranged around a peristyle courtyard from the Hadrianic period onwards, necessitated the relocation of the winery (formerly integrated in this building) to a new wing towards the east (*Fig.* 14.7b). Even if these production facilities were somewhat reduced from the Valentinian-Theodosian era (phase F) onwards, the production of wine and olive oil continued until the late antique Visigothic period.

The winery (D) of Milreu was situated in the east side wing, which was oriented parallel to the west wing with the oilery and its elongated *cella olearia* (*Fig.* 14.7a). The unit (phase B–D) was erected in the 1st century AD and adjoined immediately to the northwest corner of the *pars urbana*⁴⁹. The north *torcularium*, with a pit hewn into the bedrock for the counterweight of a screw press, constitutes the best documented area (*Fig.* 14.8). The must was drained from a pressing floor built from limestone slabs through a rectangular channel into two elongated rectangular collection vats with a storage capacity of 65 hl each. A lead pipe on the floor of the vat connected it to another *lucus*, access to which was facilitated by a step of 0.3 m width. A few meters to the south, a floor of *opus signinum* might have been used as an *ara* for a small screw press (A37.5). Connected to this press, immediately to the south, the wine was fermented and stored in a large *cella vinaria* with *dolia defossa* arranged in at least four rows (*Fig.* 14.7a)⁵⁰.

The gradual expansion of the residential wing of this peristyle villa instigated the relocation of the presses and cellar. The older *cella vinaria* and wine presses

48. TEICHNER 2008a, p. 119 fig. 43. On the phases of the oil mill (C), see TEICHNER 2008a, p. 212 fig. 99.

49. TEICHNER 2008a, p. 235 fig. 114; p. 233, fig. 113; TEICHNER 2010–2011.

50. TEICHNER 2008a, pp. 135–136 fig. 54; TEICHNER 2008b, p. 734 fig. 1.

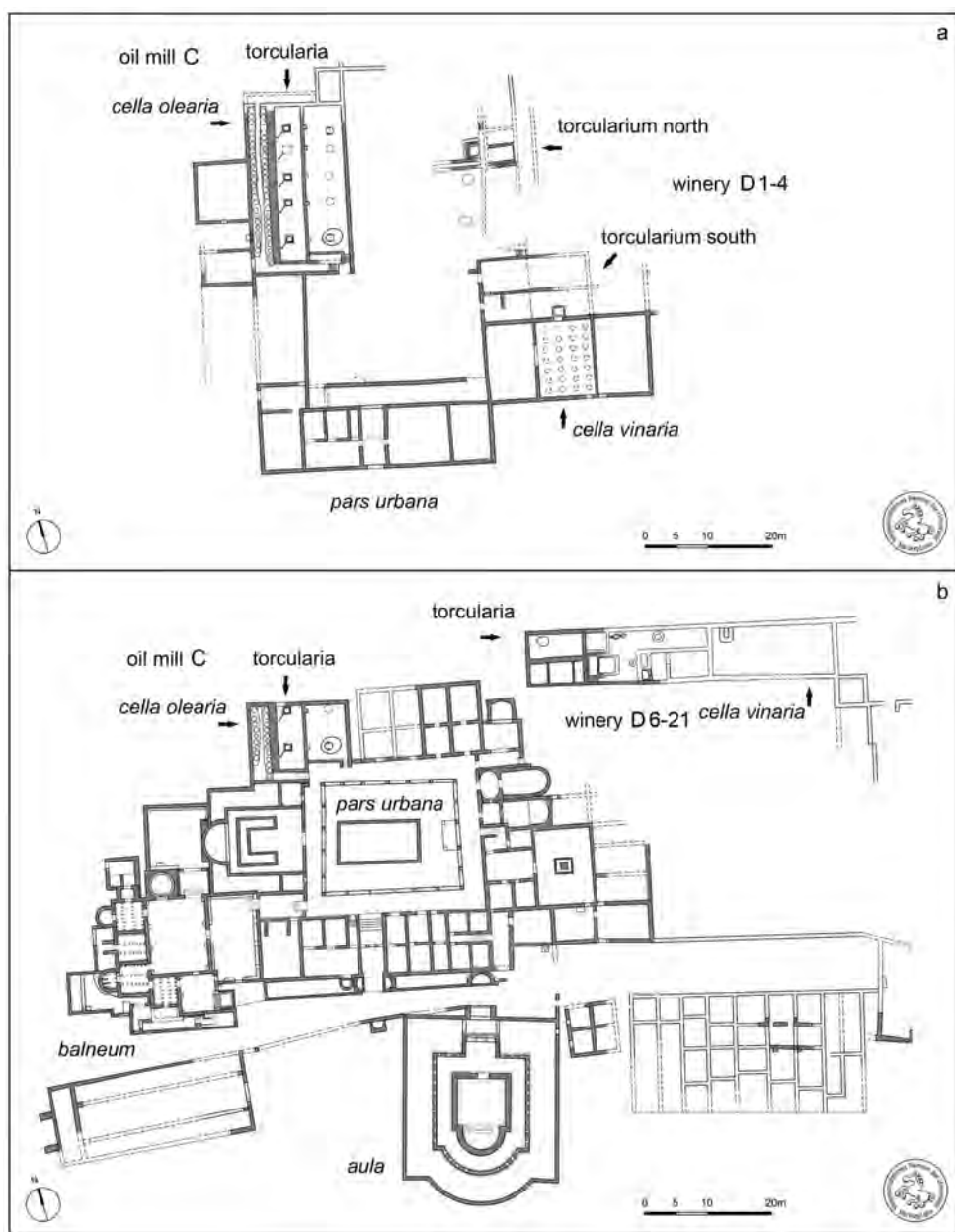


Fig. 14.7. Roman Villa of Milreu (Faro, Algarve). Above (a): In the older building phase of the Middle Imperial period at least two wine presses existed in the north (D1-4: fig. 8) and south (A37.5) with an adjoining *cella vinaria* with *dolia defossa* (A38.9-10). Below (b): In the later building phase of the Late Imperial period, further wine presses, settling vats (*lacus*) and storerooms were situated in the elongated wine pressing wing D6-21 (after TEICHNER 2011-2012, figs 2-3)

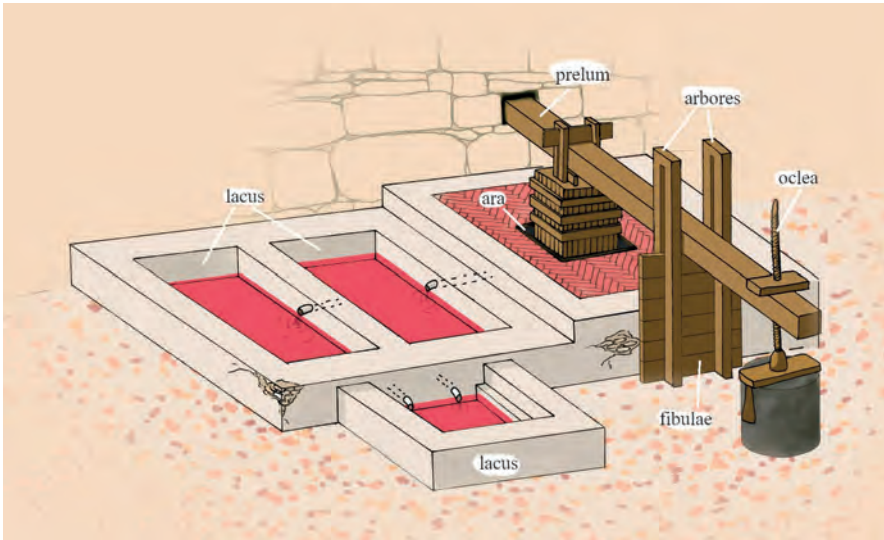


Fig. 14.8. Older wine press D1 in the villa of Milreu (Estói, Algarve). Reconstruction of the north *torcularium* (drawing by C. Hassenpflug, University of Marburg; after TEICHNER 2008a, p. 551 fig. 301)

were abandoned towards the end of the 3rd century AD and disappeared under new residential spaces with an atrium courtyard (phase E). The winery of the 4th–5th centuries AD was erected further to the east⁵¹. At the west end of the winery building, the vats and an *ara* for the *torcularium* were placed, the latter a large *opus signinum* floor from which a roundish elevation of 1.5–1.75 m was carved. A system of drains took the freshly pressed must into vats situated towards the east. The immediately adjoining *lacus*, the only one so far completely excavated, possessed a capacity of 40 hl. An excavation plan from the 19th century indicates further vats and pressing floors in the wing that continues to the east, which adjoined another elongated wing and in which we might imagine wooden barrels arranged in rows like in Torre de Palma, Vale de Moura, Carrión and São Cucufate (Fig. 14.7b).

Torre Águila

Finally, besides the large wine-producing *latifundia* of the *Conventus Pacensis* (Torre de Palma, São Cucufate und Milreu), another concentration of large agricultural estates can be distinguished in the *Conventus Emeritensis* – the

51. TEICHNER 2008a, pp. 232–240 fig. 114; TEICHNER 2011–2012, figs 2–3 pl. 2. Cf. HANEL 1989, pp. 231–236 fig. 11.

direct hinterland of the eponymic provincial capital of *Emerita Augusta* (Mérida). Evidence of wine production in this area has been previously attested at the estates of Dehesa de la Cocosa, La Sevilliana, Torre de Águila and Carrión⁵². The villa of Torre Águila (Barbaño, Badajoz), however, should be highlighted because its building features are the most unambiguous. Moreover, it is clearly visible how the owner of this large-scale winery reacted during the 4th century AD to changing market demand, or, rather, the changing consumer taste.

The villa area encompasses over 12,000 m² and is situated on an alluvial terrace in the middle of the fertile lowland of the middle Guadiana. The settlement, occupied from the 1st century AD (“Tiberian-Claudian”) until Late Antiquity, has been roughly subdivided into three main phases⁵³, the last of which, starting in the 4th century AD, also includes the so-called Visigothic and Arabic periods. The agricultural production unit dates mainly to phases II and III.

The villa of phase II was erected in the mid-2nd century AD, arranged around two open courtyard areas, as noted at Torre de Palma and Milreu. Without doubt these courtyards can be identified as the peristyle of the *pars urbana* and the farmyard of the *pars rustica*⁵⁴. In the southwest of the farmyard, a concentration of several collection and settling vats points to the presence of a *torcularium* for olive oil production (Fig. 14.9).

Above the peristyle villa of the mid-Imperial period, a new architectural design that catered to the changing residential tastes of Late Antiquity was implemented in the first half of the 4th century AD (phase III). During these changes, a bath (*balneum*) and an adjoining winery were erected in a wing above the walls of the former oilery (Fig. 14.9)⁵⁵. A central hallway divided *torcularia* 1 and 2 situated in the west from a probable storage space in the east. The primary fermentation of the must delivered via the hallway was carried out in the southwest corner of pressing room 1. The slight incline of the *calcatorium* was sufficient to ensure that the must flowed via a funnel-shaped collector into a channel leading to the north. A ledge of 20 cm width separated and delimited pressing area 1 (1.9 × 1.9 m) in the center of the *opus*

52. PEÑA 2010, pp. 314–338; BUSTAMANTE ÁLVAREZ, CORDERO 2013, pp. 87–88; PERREIRA 2017, fig. 23.

53. RODRIGUEZ MARTÍN 1995a; 1995b; RODRIGUEZ MARTÍN, GORGES 1999; DURÁN, RODRIGUEZ MARTÍN, MORILLO 2005/6; RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍN, JEREZ LINDE 2021. Cf. PEÑA 2010, pp. 319–328; PERREIRA 2017, pp. 73–76; TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010–11.

54. TEICHNER, in press.

55. This description follows the interpretation offered by TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010–2011, pp. 443–449.



Fig. 14.9. Late antique wine press in the villa of Torre de Águila (Barbaños, Badajoz), Extremadura (after TEICHNER, PEÑA 2010/II, fig. 50)

signinum-paved room. The position of the *ara* and its related anchoring holes for the load-bearing press structure (*arbores*) encourages the reconstruction of a lever press. Channels that were lined with hydraulic mortar provided drainage from the pressing floor to the two vats (L2 and L3) in the northeast half of the room.

The second pressing room, 60 m² in size, was closed off in the north by an apsidal extension unusual for production buildings. The floor in this room consisted of a beaten clay layer covered by hydraulic mortar in areas that came into contact with liquids. This primarily applied to the roundish press bed floor (diam. 1.6 m) and its surrounding *canalis rotunda*. As expected, the lime mortar lining also continued in the channel leading to *lacus* 1. The precise function of the second building wing situated towards the southeast remains unclear, although it was originally interpreted as a *cella vinaria*. It is possible that in fact another *calcatorium* was located in this wing and that its must was collected in vat 4 adjoining to the south.

The late antique production facility of Torre Águila continued to operate despite building alterations and size reductions until the time of the Emirate of Córdoba. The two separate presses and the capacity of the vats indicate once again a scale of production that exceeded self-sufficiency, perhaps supplying nearby *Emerita Augusta*, the new metropolis of the *diocesis Hispaniarum*. In comparison to other sites, the absence of *dolia defossa* or storage rooms for wooden barrels raises the question of how fermentation and storage were undertaken at Torre Águila. The stone blocks with axle bearings worked into them that were found in the walls of *lacus* 1 and 2 are perhaps of interest in this regard. These may have been the bearings for the axle of a pulley, part of a block and tackle system that was used to conveniently transfer must or wine. Equivalent technical installations are especially known from the east of the Empire, around the Black Sea, Syria, Judea and Egypt, a region where wine was traditionally fermented in open vats⁵⁶. Such a fundamental alteration of the production process in *Hispania* was likely accompanied by changes in wine flavors and aromas. This would have involved acceptance of (if not a deliberate demand for) different, perhaps ‘eastern style’, wines by Emeritan customers. Such changes were perhaps due to new demand by an increasingly diverse urban population, particularly since at that time Mérida became the administrative center of the *diocesis Hispaniarum*, attracting new non-local administrative civil servants.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of wine production spaces and methods illustrates how the *Lusitanian* vinicultural industry demonstrated flexibility and adaptability to the constantly changing circumstances over several centuries of the Imperial period. This is most evident in the evolution from the ‘Punic’ to ‘Italic’ model of fermentation – that is, from freestanding containers to *dolia defossa*. Specific architectural modifications also facilitated fermentation in vats and wooden barrels (*cupae*). At the same time, evidence from facilities in large *Lusitanian latifundia* highlights the export-oriented nature of wine production in ancient Lusitania.

It remains difficult, however, to reconcile the proportion of consumption by local markets, such as neighboring urban centers (e.g., Mérida) versus inter-regional, or even empire-wide, export and market distribution. To discern the

⁵⁶ BRUN 2004a, p. 288.

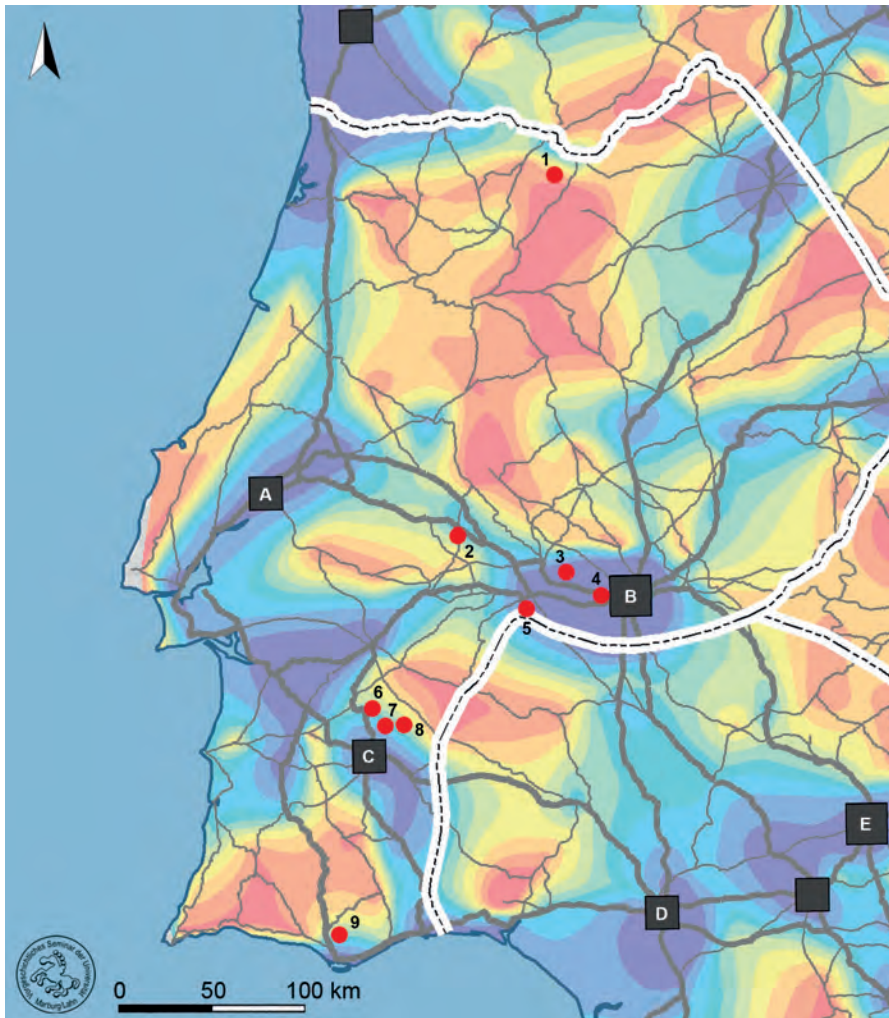


Fig. 14.10. Roman *latifundia* with evidence of wine production (1–9) on a least cost map of the Iberian Peninsula (after DE SOTO, CARRERAS, in press), indicating the main urban centers: A: *Scalabis*, B: *Emerita Augusta*, C: *Pax Iulia*, D: *Italica*, E: *Cordoba*.
 1: Vale do Mouro, 2: Torre de Palma, 3: Torre de Águila, 4: Carrión, 5: La Cocosa,
 6: São Cucufate, 7: Insuínha II, 8: Alpendre dos Lagares I, 9: Milreu
 (© K. Bieber)

marketing opportunities of these agrarian products, one must analyze the means of and accessibility to transport and economic infrastructure. It seems meaningful in this regard that the small rural rock-cut facilities appear concentrated in the geographically disadvantaged regions of the province (Fig. 14.4). On the other hand, the known major *Lusitanian* producers of surplus-oriented

wine are found exclusively in zones identifiable with privileged infrastructure, close to the north-south corridor between the urban centers of the *Conventus Pacensis* and in the immediate hinterland of the metropolitan area of *Emerita Augusta* (Fig. 14.10). In this way, producers secured favorable routes of transportation to the urban population of the province.

The remark by Polybius (34. 8; Ath., 8, 330 c), who as early as the 2nd century BC explicitly praised the reasonably priced wine as the result of the natural wealth of *Lusitania*, seems a first indication of the supra-regional, empire-wide level of awareness of these west Hispanic wines. Reconsideration of the transport routes in *Lusitania* (Fig. 14.10) similarly shows that large trade currents did not only link the urban centers with each other but were, ultimately, also connected to maritime trading hubs, including the harbor cities of *Ossonoba* (Faro) and *Lacobriga* (Lagos) in the south as well as *Caetobriga* (Setubal), *Olispio Iulia* (Lisbon) and *Portus Cale* (Porto) in the west.

As research continues, further local *amphora* types are also starting to be gradually distinguished, besides the 'classic' oil, wine and fish *amphorae*. One example of this are the flat-bottomed *amphorae* that were produced from at least the 2nd century AD in the *Lusitanian* workshops of the Tejo and Sado estuaries according to Tarraconensian and Gallic models (*Lusitania* 3, later 9)⁵⁷. More recently, researchers have also highlighted a group of *amphorae* dating to the Early Imperial period, produced from workshops in the provincial capital of *Emerita*. Because of their similarity to the well-known Haltern 70 *amphorae*, they might be considered for the distribution of local wine already in the Early Imperial period⁵⁸. With the number of studies of this material growing, the visibility of Lusitanian wine export along coastal trade routes of the Mediterranean will also increase. Wines from the west periphery of the Roman world, therefore, must be included not just within traditional discussions of self-sufficiency but also in the context of empire-wide trade and export.

57. FABIÃO 1998, pp. 184–189 fig. 5; 2021, pp. 76–85 figs 2–3.

58. BUSTAMANTE ÁLVAREZ, CORDERO 2013, pp. 82–85 fig. 2.

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